GENGHIS KHAN

THE HISTORY OF THE WORLD CONQUEROR



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GENGHIS KHAN

THE HISTORY OF THE WORLD CONQUEROR

by

'Ala-ad-Din 'Ata-Malik Juvaini

translated from the text of
Mizra Muhammad Qazvini

by

J. A. BOYLE

with a new introduction and bibliography by
David O. Morgan

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THIS TRANSLATION
IS GRATEFULLY DEDICATED TO

MY WIFE,
MARGARET ELIZABETH

FOREWORD

WHETHER or not the Bible legend is true that it was Man's presumption in building the Tower of Babel which caused the multiplicity of languages in the world, the punishment was very severe; and it falls with especial severity upon historians. Anyone who wishes to trace the major events in history must be himself an accomplished linguist or must put his reliance on translations that are often inaccurate and out of date or on indirect references to works that have never been translated from their original tongue. The rise and expansion of the Mongol Empire are among the most important events of later medieval history. There was barely a country in Europe or Asia that was not in some way affected by the Mongol onslaught, and many of them had their whole course changed by it. But the historian who attempts to tell its story is faced with essential sources in a greater number of languages than any one human being can be expected to know. Sooner or later he has to depend upon translators, whose works will be useless to him unless they are exact, intelligent and clear.

Of the writers who have left contemporary accounts of the Mongols none is more important than Juvaini. He knew personally many of the chief actors in the dramatic stories that he told. He enjoyed the confidence of the Il-Khan Hülegü, the Mongol conqueror of Baghdad. He himself was intimately connected with one of the most interesting episodes in the story, the destruction of the headquarters of the Assassins at Alamut. He was, moreover, a historian in the best Moslem tradition, a man of wide interests and of literary accomplishment. But hitherto his work in its entirety has only been accessible to Persian scholars. A full and worthy translation of his history into English is therefore a very welcome contribution to historiography. I hope that it will be read not only by the specialist students of the Mongol expansion and of the strange sect of the Assassins but also by everyone who finds pleasure in reading history.

STEVEN RUNCIMAN, 1958

CONTENTS

FOREWORD, by The Hon. Steven Runciman vii
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS xiv
INTRODUCTION TO THE 1997 EDITION xvii
TRANSLATOR'S INTRODUCTION xxvii
NOTE ON TRANSLITERATION xlviii
SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY OF WORKS PUBLISHED SINCE 1958 li
BIBLIOGRAPHY lviii
ABBREVIATIONS lxiv
MAPS lxv

PART ONE

Doxology 3
Introduction 4
I Of the condition of the Mongols before the time of Chingiz Khan's rise to power 19
II Of the laws which Chingiz-Khan framed and the *yasas* which he promulgated after his rise to power 23
III Chingiz-Khan's rise to power and the beginning of the passing to him of the empires and kingdoms of the kings of the world: a brief account thereof 34
IV Of the sons of Chingiz-Khan 40
V Of the conquest of the land of the Uighur and the submission of the *idi-qut* 44
VI Of the further history of the Uighur 45
VII Of the origin of the *idi-qut* and the land of the Uighur according to their own belief 53
VIII Of Küchlüg and Toq-Toghan 61
IX Of the martyred *imam*, 'Ala-ad-Din Muhammad of Khotan (*God's mercy be upon him!*) 70
X Of the conquest of the regions of Almaligh, Qayaligh and Fulad; together with an account of the rulers thereof 74
XI Of the reason for the attack on the countries of the Sultan 77

XII	Of the advance of the world-conquering Khan against the countries of the Sultan and the capture of Otrar	81
XIII	Of the advance of Ulush-Idi against Jand, and the conquest of that region	86
XIV	Of the capture of Fanakat and Khojend, and the story of Temür Malik	91
XV	A short account of the conquest of Transoxiana	95
XVI	Of the capture of Bokhara	97
XVII	Of the rebellion of the Tarabi	109
XVIII	Of the conquest of Samarqand	115
XIX	Of the fate of Khorazm	123
XX	Of the departure of Chingiz-Khan to Nakhshab and Tirmiz	128
XXI	Of Chingiz-Khan's crossing of the river at Tirmiz and the taking of Balkh	130
XXII	Of Chingiz-Khan's turning to do battle with the Sultan	133
XXIII	Of the return of Chingiz-Khan	138
XXIV	Of the expedition of Törbei Toqshin in search of Sultan Jalal-ad-Din	141
XXV	Of the expedition of Yeme and Sübetei in pursuit of Sultan Muhammad	142
XXVI	A brief account of Toli's conquest of Khorasan	150
XXVII	Of Merv and the fate thereof	153
XXVIII	Of what befell at Nishapur	169
XXIX	Of the accession of the World-Emperor Qa'an to the throne of the Khanate and the power of World-Empire	178
XXX	Of the campaign of the World-Emperor Qa'an against Khitai and the conquest of that country	191
XXXI	Of the second *quriltai*	196
XXXII	Of the deeds and actions of Qa'an	201
XXXIII	Of the houses and dwelling-places of Qa'an	236
XXXIV	Of Töregene Khatun	239
XXXV	Of Fatima Khatun	244
XXXVI	Of the accession of Güyük Khan to the throne of the Khanate	248
XXXVII	Of Princess Oghul-Ghaimish and her sons	262

XXXVIII Of Tushi and the accession of Batu in his stead 266
XXXIX Of the conquest of Bulghar and the territory of the As and the Rus 268
XL Of the horsemen of the Keler and Bashghird 270
XLI Of Chaghatai 271

PART TWO

I Of the origin of the dynasty of the Sultans of Khorazm (*May God make bright their example!*) 277
II Of the accession of 'Ala-ad-Din Khorazm-Shah 315
III How the kingdom of the Sultans of Ghur passed into the hands of Sultan Muhammad 327
IV Of what befell Kharmil after the Sultan's return 333
V Of Közli and his latter end 336
VI Of the accession of Mazandaran and Kerman 340
VII Of the conquest of Transoxiana 341
VIII Of the Sultan's returning a second time to wage war on the *gür-khan* 349
IX Of the conquest of Firuzkuh and Ghaznin 352
X Of the Khans of Qara-Khitai, their rise to power and their destruction 354
XI Of the remaining events in the life of Sultan Muhammad of happy memory and of the confusion of his affairs 362
XII Of the causes of the estrangement between Sultan Muhammad and the Commander of the Faithful an-Nasir li-Din-Allah Abul-'Abbas Ahmad 390
XIII Of the destruction of the Sultan of Sultans and the cause thereof 392
XIV Of Sultan Jalal-ad-Din 396
XV Of his adventures in India 411
XVI Of Sultan Jalal-ad-Din's approach to Baghdad 421
XVII Of Jalal-ad-Din and the Georgians and the extirpation of that people 426
XVIII Of the Sultan's return to Georgia 438
XIX Of the Sultan's advance against Akhlat and the capture thereof 443

XX	Of the Sultan's advance to make war on the Sultan of Rum	449
XXI	Of Yamin Malik and Ighraq and their fate	460
XXII	Of the Sultan's mother, Terken Khatun	465
XXIII	Of Sultan Ghiyas-ad-Din	468
XXIV	Of Sultan Rukn-ad-Din	474
XXV	Of Baraq Hajib and the conquest of the region of Kerman	476
XXVI	Of Chin-Temür and his governorship of Khorasan and Mazandaran	482
XXVII	Of Nosal	488
XXVIII	Of Körgüz	489
XXIX	Of Körgüz's arrival in Khorasan and what befell him thereafter	500
XXX	Of the Emir Arghun	505
XXXI	Of the Emir Arghun's proceeding to the great *quriltai*	514
XXXII	Of Sharaf-ad-Din of Khorazm	525
	PART THREE	
	Doxology	547
	Introduction	548
I	Of Ulugh-Noyan and Sorqotani Beki	549
II	Of Bachman and his destruction	553
III	Of the accession of the Lord of the Seven Climes, the Just Emperor, Mengü Qa'an, to the throne of the Khanate, and of his spreading the carpet of Nushirvanian justice, and reviving the practices of sovereignty, and laying down the principles of monarchy	555
IV	Of an instance of the virtuous deeds of His August Majesty the World-Emperor Mengü Qa'an after his accession to the throne of the Empire	602
V	Of the pillars of State	604
VI	Of the advance of the Prince of the World Hülegü to the countries of the West	607
VII	Of the advance of the World-King Hülegü to capture the castles of the Heretics	618
VIII	An account of the tenets of the Isma'ilis or Batinis as also a history of that sect	641

IX	Of the declaration regarding the false Mahdi	658
X	Of the accession of Mustansir, the son of Zahir	660
XI	An account of these events [i.e. the overthrow of the Fatimid Caliphate] and the reason therefor	664
XII	Of Hasan-i-Sabbah and his innovations (*tajdīd*) and the propaganda of the Heretics which they call 'the New Propaganda' (*may God not renew it!*)	666
XIII	Of the birth of Hasan, the son of Muhammad, the son of Buzurg-Umid	686
XIV	Of the history of Rukn-ad-Din Khur-Shah after his father's death	712
XV	Of Rukn-ad-Din's castles afier his coming down	718
XVI	Of Rukn-ad-Din's fate and the end of that people	723
GENEALOGICAL TABLES		726
INDEX		731

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WHILST recording the names of those who have helped me in the preparation of this work I should like at the same time to pay tribute to the memory of the late Professor H. H. Schaeder, who occupied, at the time of his recent death, the chair of Oriental Philology and the History of Religion in the University of Göttingen. It was in Professor Schaeder's *Seminar* in Berlin, in the autumn of 1938, that I first became acquainted with the *Ta'rikh-i-Jahan-Gusha* of Juvaini; and it is a source of deep regret to me that he did not live to see the translation of a work to which I was introduced under his stimulating guidance nearly twenty years ago.

A version of Part I was included in a Ph.D. thesis prepared under the supervision of Professor Vladimir Minorsky, then Professor (now Professor Emeritus) of Persian in the University of London. I afterwards continued to work on the translation with the encouragement of Professor Minorsky, who took an active interest in its progress. I used to send my version to him in instalments of a chapter or two at a time and he would check it against the Persian original; and down to the time when the translation was actually in the press he was constantly answering my queries on historical, geographical and linguistic problems. It was he too who revised the final draft of the translation in accordance with the requirements of Unesco. The initials V. M. in the footnotes are far indeed from indicating the extent of my indebtedness to Professor Minorsky. The idea of the translation was his, and but for his help and inspiration it would never have been completed.

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publish a series of translations from and into Persian; and with the agreement of the Iranian authorities the *Ta'rikh-i-Jahan-Gusha* was chosen as the first book of Persian literature to be translated into English in the UNESCO Collection of Representative Works.

Throughout the preparation of this work I have drawn upon the experience of specialists in many fields of study. In the early stages I had the privilege of frequent consultations with the eminent Iranian scholar, His Excellency Sayyid Hasan Taqizadeh, then resident in Cambridge. In the final stages I had the good fortune to enter into correspondence with Professor F. W. Cleaves, Associate Professor of Far Eastern Languages in Harvard University, who painstakingly answered my numerous queries on Mongolian and Chinese problems and also provided me with translations of passages from the *Yüan shih,* the official history of the Yüan or Mongol dynasty of China, a source still for the most part accessible only to Sinologists. The annotation of the *History of the World-Conqueror* has been much enriched by these contributions from Professor Cleaves. Other scholars whom I consulted include Dr. M. A. Azzam, Special Lecturer in Arabic in the University of Manchester; Professor A. F. L. Beeston, Laudian Professor of Arabic in the University of Oxford; Sir Gerard Clauson, K.C.M.G., O.B.E., F.S.A.; Professor Willy Hartner, Professor of the History of the Natural Sciences in the University of Frankfurt-am-Main; Professor W. B. Henning, Professor of Central Asian Studies in the University of London; Dr. W. O. Howarth, formerly of the Department of Botany in the University of Manchester; Professor E. S. Kennedy, Associate Professor of Mathematics in the American University, Beirut; Dr. J. D. Latham of the University Library, Manchester; Professor Reuben Levy, Professor of Persian in the University of Cambridge; Professor Bernard Lewis, Professor of the History of the Near and Middle East in the University of London; Dr. M. M. Majdhub, Lecturer in Arabic in the University of Khartoum; the late Dr. A. A. A. Meguid, formerly Special Lecturer in Arabic in the University of Manchester; Professor O. Neugebauer, Professor of the

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The maps were planned with the collaboration and advice of Mr. W. C. Brice of the Department of Geography in the University of Manchester and were executed by Miss E. A. Lowcock, Draughtswoman to that Department.

By the courtesy of the Bibliothèque Nationale, the Trustees of the E. J. W. Gibb Memorial and Messrs. Luzac and Co. two plates from the original Persian edition by the late Muhammad Qazvini have been reproduced as frontispieces to Vols. I and II respectively.

Mr. T. L. Jones, Secretary to the Manchester University Press, was always ready with help and counsel throughout the whole process of publication and the Printers, Messrs. Butler and Tanner, surmounted with complete success the difficulties of a text which presented many unfamiliar typographical problems.

To all who have been of assistance in the production of this book I offer my warmest thanks.

J. A. BOYLE, 1958

INTRODUCTION TO THE 1997 EDITION

David O. Morgan

John Andrew Boyle (1916-1978) was the first, and so far the only, Professor of Persian Studies at Manchester University. His father, a versatile figure, was among other things a bookseller, an encyclopaedia editor, a translator and the Bolivian consul in Birmingham. It was at Birmingham University that Boyle took his first degree, in German. He then went to Germany, taking up the study of Oriental languages at Göttingen and Berlin. In 1939 he became a research student at the School of Oriental and African Studies in the University of London, but his academic work, like that of so many of his generation, was interrupted by the onset of war. He finally submitted his PhD thesis in 1947, and in 1950 he became Senior Lecturer in Persian at Manchester where, apart from a year in the United States as a Visiting Professor at Berkeley, he remained for the rest of his life.

Boyle taught the Persian language and was the author of a Persian grammar and a small Persian dictionary. He was interested in Persian literature and indeed his last published book (1977) was a translation of 'Attar's *Ilahi-nameh*. He was a scholar of wide linguistic and other interests, for example in Celtic languages and in folklore. But there can be no doubt that what he did best was translation and annotation. What he will deservedly be mainly remembered for is his translation work on the great Persian histories of the Mongol period of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries: Juvaini's *Ta-rikh-i-Jahan-Gusha* (*History of the World-Conqueror*), which is reprinted here, and Rashid al-Din's *Jami' al-Tavarikh* (*Collection of Histories*).

Though a notable translator and annotator of historical sources, Boyle was not himself a historian on the grand scale. He did, very successfully, edit the volume of the *Cambridge*

History of Iran on the Saljuq and Mongol periods (1968), and his clear and useful chapter on the political and dynastic history of the Ilkhans, the Mongol rulers of Iran, is one of the best elememts of that volume. But although he wrote many articles on the history of the Mongol period, he never wrote a book; nor was he, perhaps, temperamentally disposed towards that variety of scholarship. His colleague, friend and obituarist, Professor Charles Beckingham, justly remarked that 'Boyle's interest was in the meaning and derivation of words, the identification of persons and places mentioned in texts, and the dating of events. The more complicated such problems were, the more he enjoyed them. He was never happier than when trying to extricate the correct form of a Turkish or Mongol name from a transcription in unvowelled and preferably undotted Arabic characters.' Such activities might not be methodologically fashionable in the changed atmosphere of the 1990s, but what Boyle produced is likely, even certain, long to outlast most of the monographs which score heavily in the 1990's Research Assessment Exercises. This is because Boyle knew so much about his chosen field, and was so meticulous in his use of that knowledge. The result was annotated translations of major and often difficult historical texts which all historians of the Mongol period have been gratefully using ever since their publication, and which show no sign of being superseded. Put simply, Boyle has saved everyone in his field an enormous amount of work.

Juvaini was his major interest from the start. When he went to the School of Oriental and African Studies, he was to be supervised by Vladimir Minorsky, Professor of Persian and an exile from Russia who had his own place in history as the Czarist Russian representative on the boundary commission which defined the Ottoman–Persian frontier in 1913. Minorsky was a scholar after Boyle's own heart, and he remained a strong influence until his death in 1966. For a research topic to study under Minorsky, Boyle chose part of Juvaini's history; so his eventual complete translation was a natural progression from his PhD work. An equally natural

progression was to move from Juvaini to the other great historian of Mongol Persia, who lived a generation later, Rashid al-Din. In 1971 Boyle published *The Successors of Genghis Khan,* a section of Rashid al-Din's *Jami' al-Tavarikh* which drew heavily on Juvaini but which was sometimes interestingly different - a feature which Boyle could be relied on to bring out in his annotations. It was Boyle's intention to proceed to the translation of other parts of Rashid al-Din's massive work: at the time of his death he had completed a draft translation, though without annotation, of the section which dealt with the reign of Hülegü, the founder of the Ilkhanate in Persia. This remains unpublished.

In 1958 Boyle still thought it necessary to defend Juvaini's importance for the historian of the Mongol period. He quoted Barthold to the effect that Juvaini's work 'has not yet been valued at its deserts'; and, Boyle continued, 'in the West at least Juvaini has been overshadowed by the later Rashid-ad-Din'. He pursued the comparison, conceding that, because of his access to Mongolian sources inaccessible to Juvaini (and indeed to us), Rashid al-Din's account of the early life of Chinggis Khan is 'infinitely fuller and more detailed than the earlier historian's'. But he felt that Juvaini lived nearer to the events than Rashid al-Din, that much that he related 'must be based upon reports of eye-witnesses', and he suggested that for the period between the two great invasions, those of Chinggis Khan and Hülegü, Juvaini was able to rely on both his father's and his own recollections; 'and in the end, he became ... himself a participant in events' (p. xxvii).

Juvaini's significance is now undoubted. Indeed, much of his current standing may well be attributable in some measure to Boyle's translation, which made Juvaini available to a far wider readership than would otherwise ever have known more about him than his name. The ability to read classical Persian at all is not, in the West, very much more widespread in the 1990s than it was in the 1950s; and Juvaini's Persian, written in an elaborate and flowery style which was much admired and emulated, is by no means easy

to understand even for those who do know some Persian. It is interesting that the Foreword to the translation was written by the distinguished Byzantinist and historian of the Crusades, Sir Steven Runciman. The chapter on the Mongols in the third volume of Runciman's *History of the Crusades* (1954), written so grippingly in that great historian's matchless English prose, was one of the first accounts of the subject I ever read, as a susceptible schoolboy. I went on to ask for Boyle's *History of the World-Conqueror* as my prize for an unexpectedly adequate performance in O-level History. Boyle and Runciman have, then, a lot to answer for; but it was Boyle's achievement to make Juvaini's work, previously a closed book to all but a few, available to historians like Runciman who did not know oriental languages but whose historical horizons were not limited to the history of England and Western Europe.

Boyle can be forgiven, then, for perhaps rather overstating both Juvaini's comparative importance and the extent to which he had been neglected. Boyle saw himself, understandably enough in the circumstances, as counsel for the defence. The quotation from Barthold derived from the Russian historian's classic *Turkestan down to the Mongol Invasion*, a book which first appeared in 1900, with an English translation belatedly following in 1928. Certainly Juvaini was not valued at his deserts in 1900: no critical edition of the Persian text yet existed. Even in 1928, only two of the thee volumes of Muhammad Qazvini's edition (which Boyle translated thirty years later) had been published. It was hence inevitable that Juvaini should have been neglected; but this was less true by 1958. So far as the comparison with Rashid al-Din is concerned, few historians of the Mongol period would now be inclined to rank Juvaini above him, though this is neither to deny that what Boyle said about Juvaini was true, nor to denigrate him in any way. It is more a measure of the way in which Rashid al-Din's stature has grown. It may well be that Boyle himself, who worked extensively on Rashid al-Din in his later years and wrote a good

deal about him, would have wished, with hindsight, to adjust his comparative ranking of the two historians.

Boyle's discussion, in his Translator's Introduction, of Juvaini himself, of his work, his point of view, and his attitude towards his disagreeable Mongol masters, can still stand without major adjustment. My only real reservation is over Boyle's explanation of the fact that Juvaini ended his history with the fall of the Assassin castles to Hülegü in 1256, rather than continuing to a more natural culmination of the story, the Mongol capture of Baghdad and the execution of the last 'Abbasid Caliph two years later. Boyle simply quotes Muhammad Qazvini as suggesting that perhaps 'the exacting duties of the governorship of Baghdad ... allowed him no leisure for the continuance of his great history'. But this is hardly convincing. While it may well be that Juvaini never really finished his history - as the various gaps, inconsistencies and references to non-existent chapters suggest - there is nothing that looks at all provisional about the book's ending. Juvaini was clearly intent on finishing his great work on what was for him a positive note, with what he saw as a great blow for, rather than against, Islam, administered by the Mongols. Such was Juvaini's perception of the near-extermination of the Assassins. The book was designed to end in triumph. To end in 1258, with the sack of Islam's historic metropolis and the death of Sunni Islam's titular head at Mongol hands, would have struck quite the wrong note so far as Juvaini was concerned. It seems unlikely that he ever had any intention of proceeding further than 1256.

But with this one exception, Boyle's remarks are as balanced, knowledgeable and perceptive as one would expect from a scholar who had spent so many years with his subject. Boyle's view of Juvaini's attitude towards the Mongols could be summed up in the words of an earlier scholar, E. G. Browne: that Juvaini's circumstances 'compelled him to speak with civility of the barbarians whom it was his misfortune to serve'. As Boyle points out, while Juvaini could hardly castigate his employers directly, there is plenty of at least

implied criticism as well as mention of the Mongols' good points. Not everyone, before Boyle or since, has agreed with this largely positive verdict. In 1971, for example, David Ayalon accused Juvaini, in an article on Chinggis Khan's alleged 'Great *Yasa*' or legal code, of 'extravagant flattery' of the Mongols, and used such adjectives as "servile" and 'nauseating'.

It is instructive here to compare Juvaini with another historian of the same events, writing at around the same time: Juzjani in his *Tabaqat-i Nasiri*. Juzjani, a much older man than Juvaini, had himself experienced Chinggis Khan's invasion, at a time when Juvaini was not yet even a gleam in Baha al-Din Juvaini's eye. He did not much care for what he saw, and soon departed for India, spending the remainder of his long life in the Sultanate of Delhi. His *Tabaqat-i Nasiri* is a lengthy historical work, much concerned with the history of the Ghurid sultans in what is now Afghanistan; but its last section recounts the events of the Mongol invasions. Juzjani seems to have finished writing in 1260, the same year as that in which Juvaini completed his book. What is significant is that Juzjani was writing from outside the frontiers of the Mongol Empire; indeed, he was living and working in a state which was extremely hostile to the Mongols. He could be as impolite as he wished about them without any fear of reprisal. How does his account of events compare with Juvaini's?

It is certainly true that Juzjani says exactly what he thinks about the Mongols, and that this is often unflattering to them in the extreme. Chinggis Khan rarely appears unaccompanied by the epithet *mal'un* , 'the accursed one'. Nothing like this is to be found in the pages of Juvaini. But overall what is much more striking is their similarity to each other. Mongol destruction and massacre is related unflinchingly by both historians: a study of Juzjani by no means suggests that Juvaini made any attempt to tone down the horrors that had occurred. In this context it should of course be remembered that the notion that there was anything discreditable about

destroying a city and putting all its inhabitants to the sword is not one that would have occurred to the Mongols: there is no reason to suppose that Juvaini ran any risk by not toning things down. There are other similarities. Juzjani's feelings of revulsion towards the Mongols are in no doubt. Yet he gives much space to what he regards as their good points - their honesty and truthfulness, for example, or their high if idiosyncratic standards of sexual morality. Both historians tell similar - in some cases the same - anecdotes about the Good Great Khan, Chinggis Khan's son and successor Ögödei, who was known for his tolerant indulgence towards Muslims. Altogether Juvaini comes out of the comparison remarkably well, with his integrity substantially intact.

The study of the history of the Mongol Empire has made great strides in the forty years since Boyle translated Juvaini. For the first half of that period, Boyle was himself one of the major contributors. Even as late as 1968, in his chapter on the Ilkhans in the volume of the *Cambridge History of Iran* which he edited, Boyle made regular footnote references to Sir Henry Howorth's *History of the Mongols* of 1876-1927, a massive four-volume work which contains a great deal of information, but which is based entirely on second-hand knowledge and is unreliable and wholly uncritical. No historian of the Mongols today would regard it as anything more than an interesting historiographical curiosity. That is the measure of the change in both the amount and the quality of historical writing on the Mongols since 1958. A glance at the bibliography Boyle provided of works he cited in his notes reveals something of this. On sources, there are now better and more up to date translations of the Franciscan travellers Carpini and Rubruck, notably Peter Jackson's version of the latter; there is an acceptable modern edition of Juzjani; and there are new and better editions of various parts of Rashid al-Din's history. No one has yet made any further attempt to translate Vassaf, Juvaini's Persian continuator. Since even Iranians find him extraordinarily difficult to understand, this is hardly surprising. But there is now a Persian abridgement

- produced for native Persian speakers but no less useful to others - containing the substance of what Vassaf actually says, with page references to the standard edition. Important parts of the *Yüan-shih*, the official history of the Mongol dynasty in China, have been translated into German. F. W. Cleaves's translation of that enigmatic document *The Secret History of the Mongols* was listed by Boyle as having been published in 1957. This was over-optimistic. It was indeed set up in type at that time, but for undisclosed reasons not published till 1982. Unhappily it turned out not to have been worth the wait, as it was translated into a bizarre pastiche of the Authorised Version of the Bible, and is for much of the time virtually incomprehensible. Fortunately those who wish simply to read the *Secret History* in English now have Urgunge Onon's version, and for scholars there is Igor de Rachewiltz's superb annotated translation.

There has been an explosion in the secondary literature. Much of this has appeared in the form of articles, and cannot be discussed here, though no bibliography on the Mongol Empire should omit the late and sadly lamented Joseph Fletcher's 'The Mongols: ecological and social perspectives', published in 1986 after Fletcher's early death, and in my opinion the best single piece of work ever written on the subject. Nor is it possible to discuss works which are concerned with the period after Juvaini's history stops. But many books of great importance on the early Mongol period have appeared. Grousset's biography of Chinggis Khan, a notable book in its day, appeared in 1967 in an English translation with an admirable annotated bibliography by Professor Denis Sinor. Since then there have been other biographies which have superseded Grousset's: Leo de Hartog's of 1989, and, most important of all, Paul Ratchnevsky's, which first appeared in German in 1983, and then in 1991 in an edited English translation by Thomas Haining. This is a study which for the first time fully conforms to modern standards of scholarship, and Haining's version is, remarkably, an improvement on the already excellent original. At the other

end of the biographical scale there is an immensely valuable collection of thirty-seven lives, *In the Service of the Khan: Eminent Personalities of the Early Mongol-Yüan Period*, edited by Igor de Rachewiltz and others and published in 1993. De Rachewiltz also published, in 1971, a delightful study of *Papal Envoys to the Great Khans*.

Among relevant recent monographs, Thomas Allsen's *Mongol Imperialism: The Policies of the Grand Qan Möngke in China, Russia and the Islamic Lands, 1251-1259* (1987) is outstanding. Allsen has published numerous articles, which benefit especially from his enviable ability to use the Chinese and the Persian sources with equal ease - something which even Boyle was not able to do. Allsen was also the author of the chapter on the early Mongol period in the highly valuable sixth volume of the *Cambridge History of China*, subtitled *Alien Regimes and Border States, 907-1368*, and edited by Herbert Franke and Denis Twitchett (1994). At the Persian end of the Mongol Empire, of more direct relevance to Juvaini's own concerns, A. K. S. Lambton's magisterial *Continuity and Change in Medieval Persia: Aspects of Administrative, Economic and Social History, 11th-14th Century* (1987) should be noted. Persia's Mongol experience is recounted briefly in three chapters of D. O. Morgan's, *Medieval Persia 1040-1797* (1988). The third volume of Juvaini's history in the Persian edition (Part III of Boyle's translation) is concerned with the history of the Nizari Isma'ilis, the Assassins. In 1958 the main point of reference was Marshall Hodgson's *The Order of Assassins* of 1955. Hodgson subsequently contributed a valuable chapter to the volume of the *Cambridge History of Iran* which Boyle edited; and there has been Bernard Lewis's characteristically lucid *The Assassins: A Radical Sect in Islam* (1967), as well as, much more recently, several important books written or edited by Farhad Daftary: of these the most essential is his imposing *The Isma'ilis: Their History and Doctrines* (1990).

Of general books on the Mongols, Sechen Jagchid and Paul Hyer's *Mongolia's Culture and Society* (1979) is infor-

mative and attractive. The best general account of the Mongol imperial phenomenon is probably still J. J. Saunders, *The History of the Mongol Conquests* (1971), though E. D. Phillips, *The Mongols* (1969) is useful for its plates and its archaeological material. D. O. Morgan, *The Mongols* (1986) was an attempt at a kind of synthesis of work on the subject at the stage which had been reached by the mid 1980s. It is already out of date in a number of areas. As the mention of these publications - only a selection from those which could have been discussed - may have demonstrated, the study of the history of the Mongol Empire has perhaps been more vibrant since Boyle published his translation of Juvaini than in any comparable period. But whatever progress may have been made in the past forty years, scholars and students - even those who can read Persian - still need to refer to this, Boyle's finest achievement, and they will continue to have to do so for the foreseeable future. The new edition is necessary and timely.

TRANSLATOR'S INTRODUCTION

I. THE AUTHOR

ʿALA-AD-DIN ʿAta-Malik Juvaini was born, in all probability, in the year 1226. This is the date given by the Syrian historian Dhahabi[1] and it accords with Juvaini's own statement that when he began to work on his history, i.e. during his residence in Qara-Qorum between May, 1252, and September, 1253, he was in his twenty-seventh year. As the name Juvaini implies his family was connected with the district of Juvain in Khorasan. This district, now known as Jaghatai, lies to the north-west of Nishapur in a valley between the Harda and Jaghatai mountains. The chief town was then Azadvar, a place which afterwards declined in importance but is still to be found on large-scale maps. Yaqut, the celebrated geographer, a contemporary of Juvaini, describes Azadvar, which he had visited, as a prosperous little town with mosques and a bazaar; outside the gates was a great caravanserai for the accommodation of merchants. Here it was that Juvaini's great-grandfather, Baha-ad-Din, had waited upon the Khorazm-Shah Tekish when he passed through on his way to do battle with Sultan Toghril, the last of the Seljuq rulers of Persia. And here was the birthplace of the two famous brothers, Shams-ad-Din, the vizier of the Il-Khans, and ʿAla-ad-Din, the historian of the Mongol invasion.[2]

The family from which they sprang was one of the most distinguished in Persia. Juvainis had held high office under both the Seljuqs and the Khorazm-Shahs; and they claimed descent from Fadl, the son of ar-Rabiʿ, who succeeded the Barmecides in the service of Harun ar-Rashid and who, in turn,

[1] Most of the information on Juvaini's life is derived from the *History of the World-Conqueror* itself supplemented by the various sources gathered together by Muhammad Qazvini in his introduction to the Persian text.

[2] Hamdallah in the geographical part of his *Nuzhat-al-Qulūb* (tr. le Strange, 169) mentions only Shams-ad-Din, but Daulatshah in his *Memoirs of the Poets* (ed. Browne, 105) refers to Azadvar as the birthplace of both brothers.

traced his pedigree back to a freedman of 'Uthman, the third Caliph. So often had they occupied the post of *sahib-divan* or Minister of Finance that the title had become a sort of family surname; it was borne by Juvaini's brother Shams-ad-Din, who did in fact hold this office, though he was also Grand Vizier both to Hülegü and to his son and first successor Abaqa; and it was borne by Juvaini himself, who was actually governor of Baghdad.

Of Juvaini's ancestors Muntajab-ad-Din Badi', the maternal uncle of his great-grandfather, the Baha-ad-Din already mentioned, was a secretary and favourite of Sultan Sanjar the Seljuq. How he intervened to save the life of the poet Vatvat, who had incurred Sanjar's displeasure by his verses, is related in the pages of Juvaini. The author's grandfather, Shams-ad-Din Muhammad, was in the service of the ill-fated Muhammad Khorazm-Shah, whom he accompanied on his flight from Balkh to Nishapur. At the end of his life the Khorazm-Shah appointed him *sahib-divan* and he was confirmed in this office by Muhammad's son, the reckless adventurer Jalal-ad-Din, whose service he entered after Muhammad's death. He died before Akhlat on the shores of Lake Van in what is now Eastern Turkey, during his master's siege of that town, which lasted, according to the historian Ibn-al-Athir, from the 12th of August, 1229, to the 18th of March, 1230. Nasawi, the secretary and biographer of Jalal-ad-Din, was the executor of Shams-ad-Din's will. In conformity with the dead man's wishes he caused his remains to be transported to his native Juvain, while his property was conveyed, through trustworthy intermediaries, to his heirs.[3]

This latter circumstance shows that his son, Baha-ad-Din, Juvaini's father, cannot have been with him at Akhlat, and in fact we know nothing of Baha-ad-Din's activities or whereabouts until some two years after his father's death when we read of his presence in Nishapur in Khorasan. He was then about 40 years of age. It seems likely that he had been living quietly on

[3] See Nasawi tr. Houdas, 324–5 (text, 195). Houdas translates Shams-ad-Din Muhammad's title *(sahib-divan)*, somewhat misleadingly, as 'président du divan'.

the family estates in Juvain, at no great distance from Nishapur, of which it was a dependency.

Khorasan, which had suffered terribly during the invasion, was now in a state of utter chaos. The province was not yet completely subdued and there was still sporadic resistance to the Mongols. To add to the confusion, two adherents of Jalal-ad-Din, then but recently dead, used to make raids on the Nishapur area and kill the Mongol officials. In 1232–3 Chin-Temür, the newly appointed governor of Khorasan and Mazandaran, dispatched an officer called Kül-Bolat with instructions to expel or destroy these forces. On the news of his approach Baha-ad-Din together with certain of the leading citizens of Nishapur fled to Tus, where they sought and found sanctuary with one Taj-ad-Din Farizani, who had seized a castle in the midst of the ruined city. Meanwhile Kül-Bolat, after driving off the enemy, had learnt of the fugitives in Tus. He sent to Farizani demanding their return, and Farizani, despite the assurances he had given, at once surrendered them to Kül-Bolat, 'thinking,' says Juvaini, 'that he would put them to death'. If such was his expectation, he was disappointed. Kül-Bolat received them with every honour; and Baha-ad-Din was enrolled in the service of the Mongols. Soon Chin-Temür made him *sahib-divan* and in 1235–6 he accompanied Körgüz, an Uighur Turk then deputy to Chin-Temür, upon a mission to the Great Khan, Ögedei, the son and first successor of Chingiz-Khan. Ögedei received him very favourably: he gave him a *paiza*, Marco Polo's 'tablet of authority', and a *yarligh* or firman confirming his appointment as '*sahib-divan* of the lands'.

The return of the mission coincided with the death of Chin-Temür and Körgüz was summoned back to Mongolia to report upon the situation. He was a clever and ambitious man, and he determined to avail himself of this opportunity to advance his own cause. 'Fortune,' he said to Juvaini's father, with whom he was evidently on intimate terms, 'is like a bird. No one knows on which branch it will alight. I will make the endeavour and find out what exactly has been pre-ordained and what is required by the revolution of the heavens.' So well did

he succeed that he returned from Qara-Qorum as the virtual governor of these western territories.

In 1239, he was again in Mongolia, answering certain charges that had been laid against him; and during his absence Baha-ad-Din acted as his deputy. Again he returned in triumph and Baha-ad-Din prepared a great feast to welcome him. In 1241, having started on a third journey to Qara-Qorum he was met *en route* with the news of the Great Khan's death and returned to Khorasan. But having in the course of his journey antagonized one of the officials of the House of Chaghatai, he was shortly afterwards arrested and taken to Almaligh near Kulja in the present day Sinkiang, the residence of Qara-Hülegü, the grandson and successor of Chaghatai, at whose orders he was brutally put to death.

Baha-ad-Din's position was unaffected by his patron's downfall. He was confirmed in his office by Körgüz's successor, the Emir Arghun, who now, by a decree of the Regent of the Empire, Princess Töregene, Ögedei's widow, was appointed the ruler over an area which extended from the Oxus to Fars and included not only Khorasan and Mazandaran but also Georgia, Armenia and part of Asia Minor and Upper Mesopotamia. In the course of a tour of inspection Arghun had reached Tabriz in Azerbaijan, when he received a summons to attend the *quriltai* or assembly of the princes at which Güyük, the son of Ögedei, was elected his successor as Great Khan (1246); and during his absence Juvaini's father, the *sahib-divan*, acted as his deputy over all these territories. When he returned, loaded with honours by the new Khan, Baha-ad-Din advanced to meet him as far as Amul in Mazandaran, where he prepared a splendid banquet to welcome his return, just as he had done for his predecessor Körgüz on a similar occasion some seven years before.

Before Arghun could continue on his journey to Azerbaijan he received news of intrigues against him in the Mongol capital; and he determined to return thither without delay. On this journey he was accompanied not only by Baha-ad-Din but also, at his express desire, by Juvaini himself, who at this time was about twenty-two years of age. The party had reached Talas,

the present-day Jambul in Kazakhstan, when they were met with the tidings of Güyük's death, and at the advice of the Mongol general Eljigitei Arghun returned to Khorasan to organize the provisioning of the armies under Eljigitei's command. In the late summer of 1249 he again set out on the eastward journey and finally reached the *ordu* of Princess Oghul-Ghaimish, in whom, as the widow of Güyük, was vested the Regency of the Empire. His case was duly examined, his enemies discomfited and Arghun himself completely vindicated. On the homeward journey the party (of which Juvaini was one) halted for a month or two at the *ordu* of Yesü, who now ruled over the apanage of Chaghatai. It was here, near the present-day Kulja, only ten years before that Körgüz, Arghun's predecessor, had met his untimely end. The party had arrived in Almaligh in the late summer or early autumn of 1250; when they left it was winter and the roads were blocked with snow, nevertheless they made rapid progress and were soon back in Merv in Khorasan.

Arghun did not remain long in Persia. In August or September, 1251, he again set out for the East in order to be present at the great *quriltai* which had assembled to elect the new Khan. On this journey too he was accompanied by Juvaini. He had got no further than Talas when he received the news that Möngke had already been elected. It was now mid-winter and the great quantities of snow made travelling almost impossible. Nevertheless he pressed on and finally reached Besh-Baligh, the old Uighur capital, which corresponds to the modern Jimsa, a little to the north-west of Guchen in Sinkiang. From here Arghun sent on a message to inform the new Khan of his approach, but the party did not reach the Mongol Court till the 2nd May, 1252, i.e. nearly a year after Möngke's accession.

Arghun reported to the Khan on the economic situation of the Western lands and as a result of the discussions that followed Möngke instituted a number of reforms in the system of taxation. These deliberations lasted so long that it was not until August or September, 1253, that Arghun finally took his leave.[4] It was during this lengthy stay in the Mongol capital that Juvaini was

[4] See, however, ii, 598 and n. 155.

persuaded by friends to commence work on a history of the Mongol conquests. When the party set out on the homeward journey he was presented by Möngke with a *yarligh* and a *paiza* confirming his father in the office of *sahib-divan*.

Baha-ad-Din was now in his sixtieth year and after some twenty years in the Mongols' service it was his wish to retire into private life, but this was not to be. The fiscal reforms were now being put into practice, and Baha-ad-Din, together with a Mongol called Naimatai, was sent to take over the governorship of Persian Iraq, i.e. Central Persia, and Yezd. He had reached the district of Isfahan when he was taken ill and died.

It is perhaps to administrators like Baha-ad-Din that Persia owes her survival through so many troublous ages. Dynasties might rise and fall but there were always officials to be found who, by cooperating with the new régime, maintained a kind of continuity in the government of the country and saved it from falling into utter ruin and disintegration. The traditions of his ancestors under the Khorazm-Shahs, under the Seljuqs before them and perhaps under earlier dynasties also were upheld by Baha-ad-Din in a period of transition and after his death were carried on by his sons under a new dynasty, that of the Mongol Il-Khans of Persia.

The founder of that dynasty, Prince Hülegü, a younger brother of the Great Khan, was now advancing westwards at the head of an immense army, his first objective being the destruction of the Isma'ilis or Assassins of Alamut. In Kish, to the south of Samarqand, famous afterwards as the birthplace of Tamerlane, he was met by Arghun in November, 1255. Arghun had again been the victim of intrigues at Court and with Hülegü's encouragement he now set out for Qara-Qorum to defend himself against his accusers. The administration of the Western lands he entrusted, under Hülegü, to his son Kerei Malik, a certain Emir Ahmad and Juvaini. From thence onward Juvaini was to continue in the service of Hülegü and his descendants until his death.

An incident had already occurred which showed the esteem in which he was held by the Mongol conqueror. A certain

Jamal-ad-Din, who was a party to the intrigue against Arghun, had handed Hülegü a list of the officials whom he proposed to accuse before the Great Khan. Hülegü at once replied that these were matters within Arghun's own competence. Then, coming upon Juvaini's name in the list, he added: 'If there is a charge against him let it be stated in my presence so that the matter may be investigated here and now and a decision given.' Whereupon Jamal-ad-Din withdrew his accusation and retired in confusion.

The great army had now crossed the Oxus and was marching through Khorasan, where they passed by the town of Khabushan (the present-day Quchan), 'which had lain derelict and in ruins from the first incursion of the Mongol army until that year, its buildings desolate and the *qanats* without water, and no walls still standing save those of the Friday mosque'. 'Having observed the King's interest and pleasure in restoring ruins,' Juvaini drew his attention to the case of Khabushan. 'He listened to my words and issued a *yarligh* for the repairing of the *qanats*, the erection of buildings, the establishment of a bazaar, the alleviation of the people's lot and their re-assembly in the town. All the expense of re-building he met from the treasury so that no charge fell upon the people.'

Finally, in the late autumn of 1256, the Mongols converged from every side upon the Assassins' strongholds in Alamut, 'the Eagle's Nest', to the north-east of Qazvin. Rukn-ad-Din, the last feeble successor of the redoutable Hasan-i-Sabbah, had been playing for time in the hope that the snows of winter would come to his aid and render a siege impracticable; but the weather remained unseasonably mild and, in the middle of November, he decided to surrender. For this purpose he asked for a *yarligh* granting him safe-conduct and this was drawn up by Juvaini, who must also have taken part in the actual negotiations. It was Juvaini too who composed the *fath-nama* or proclamation of victory announcing the final defeat and extirpation of the Assassins. He also tells how with Hülegü's permission he examined the famous library of Alamut, from which he selected many 'choice books' whilst confiding to the flames those 'which related to their heresy and error and were neither founded on

tradition nor supported by reason'. Of these latter works, however, he fortunately preserved an autobiography of Hasan-i-Sabbah, from which he quotes large extracts in the third volume of his history.

With the destruction of Alamut accomplished Hülegü turned to his second objective, the conquest of Baghdad and the overthrow of the 'Abbasid Caliphate. How Alau, 'the Great Lord of the Tartars,' captured the city of Baudac and starved the Caliph to death in 'a tower, all full of gold, silver and other treasures' may be read in the pages of Marco Polo. In point of fact, the unfortunate Caliph was probably wrapped in a carpet and beaten to death with clubs, such being the Mongols' practice in the execution of their own princes. However, Marco Polo's version of the preliminary interview between Hülegü and the Caliph agrees very closely with the account given by the famous Persian philosopher Nasir-ad-Din Tusi, who had been in the service of the Assassins and who now accompanied Hülegü to Baghdad.

Juvaini too had accompanied the conqueror, and a year later, in 1259, Hülegü appointed him governor of all the territories that had been directly held by the Caliphs, i.e. Baghdad itself, Arab Iraq or Lower Mesopotamia and Khuzistan. Hülegü died in 1265 but under his son Abaqa Juvaini retained his position though nominally deputy to the Mongol Sughunchaq. For more than twenty years he continued to administer this great province and during this time did much to improve the lot of the peasantry. He caused a canal to be dug from Anbar on the Euphrates to Kufa and the holy city of Najaf and founded 150 villages on its banks; and it was said, with some exaggeration, that he had restored the country to greater prosperity than it had enjoyed under the Caliphs.

Neither Juvaini himself nor his brother Shams-ad-Din, who united in his person the posts of Grand Vizier and *sahib-divan*, was without his enemies, and during their long tenure of office there were several attempts to encompass their ruin. However, intrigues of this sort had left the brothers comparatively unscathed until the latter years of Abaqa's reign when a certain Majd-al-

Mulk, originally a protégé of the Juvainis, succeeded in gaining the ear, first of Arghun, Abaqa's son, and then of Abaqa himself and laid against Shams-ad-Din the usual charges of being in league with the Mongols' most formidable enemies, the Mameluke Sultans of Egypt, and of having embezzled large sums from the Treasury. Shams-ad-Din succeeded in allaying the Il-Khan's suspicions, and finding him immune from attack Majd-al-Mulk now turned his attention to his brother. He persuaded Abaqa that Juvaini, during his governorship of Baghdad, had misappropriated the enormous sum of 2,500,000 dinars and that this money was buried in his house.

In October, 1281, Abaqa was on a hunting expedition in Upper Mesopotamia intending to proceed to his winter quarters at Baghdad; and Juvaini was sent on in advance to arrange for accommodation and commissariat. No sooner was he out of sight than Majd-al-Mulk repeated the old charge, and the Il-Khan at once dispatched certain of his emirs to follow Juvaini and investigate the matter. They overtook him at Takrit and informed him of Abaqa's orders. 'I realized', says Juvaini, 'that the matter was serious, that the statements of prejudiced persons had produced a deep impression on the King's mind, and that the demand for these "residues" was merely an excuse for obtaining the money they purposed to take from me, with which money, as they vainly believed, the water-tanks in my house were filled. To be brief, I accompanied the commissioners from Takrit to Baghdad, where I handed over to them everything that was in my house and treasury, gold and silver, precious stones and plate, clothes and in short everything that I had either inherited or acquired.'[5] He then gave a declaration in writing that if thereafter so much as a *dirham* was found in his possession he should be held responsible and punished.

Learning of his predicament his brother Shams-ad-Din, who was in attendance on the Il-Khan, at once hurried to Baghdad, collected from his own and his children's houses all the gold and silver plate on which he could lay his hands, borrowed what

[5] E. G. Browne's translation. See the English introduction to Qazvini's text, xxxix–xl.

valuables he could from persons of consequence and offered all this wealth to Abaqa, who was now approaching Baghdad, in the hope of propitiating him. It was all of no avail. Juvaini was held in confinement in his house while the Mongol officials searched for the money he was supposed to have buried, torturing his servants and digging up the graves of his children and kinsmen. Finding nothing they transferred Juvaini to the Qasr Musanna to languish as a prisoner whilst they returned to report to Abaqa. However, certain of the Mongol princes and princesses, including Abaqa's favourite wife, intervened on Juvaini's behalf, and finally, on the 17th of December, 1281, the Il-Khan was persuaded to order his release.

This attempt having failed, Majd-al-Mulk now caused Juvaini to be accused of maintaining a correspondence with the Mamelukes of Egypt, and in March, 1282, he set out from Baghdad to Hamadan, in the company of the Il-Khan's commissioners in order to answer this charge before his accusers. On the 1st of April, the party having just crossed the pass of Asadabad near Hamadan, they were met by certain of Abaqa's courtiers with the good news that the Il-Khan, finally convinced of Juvaini's innocence, had restored him to favour and released his agents from custody. Upon reaching Hamadan, however, Juvaini learnt that Abaqa had just died; and in the changed circumstances it was decided to retain him in confinement. This confinement was not of long duration, for soon there came the news that Tegüder, the brother of Abaqa, a convert to Islam and known also by the Moslem name of Ahmad (he is the Acomat Soldan of Marco Polo), had succeeded to the throne and that one of his first acts had been to order Juvaini's release.

The new ruler was then in Armenia. Juvaini went to join him there and afterwards accompanied him to the *quriltai* that was held in the Ala-Taq pastures to the north-east of Lake Van, near the headwaters of the Eastern Euphrates. Here the new governors were appointed to their various provinces; and Juvaini received back his old governorship of Baghdad. Tegüder was informed of the activities of Majd-al-Mulk and his associates and ordered an investigation. Majd-al-Mulk was found guilty

and condemned to death but before the sentence could be carried out he was seized and lynched by a party of Moslems and Mongols who 'fell upon him, even wounding one another in their struggle to reach him, tore and hacked him to pieces, and even roasted and ate portions of his flesh.'

This account of his own triumph and his enemy's discomfiture concludes the second of two tracts in which Juvaini has described the various intrigues against himself and his brother. His own end was now near at hand. There was open hostility between the new ruler and his nephew Arghun; and because the Juvainis stood high in his uncle's favour and also because he shared the widespread belief that Shams-ad-Din had poisoned his father Abaqa, Arghun was determined to bring about their ruin. Going to Baghdad he revived the old charge of embezzlement against Juvaini and began to arrest his agents and put them to the torture. One of these men having recently died he caused his body to be exhumed and flung upon the highway. Upon receiving news of this barbarity Juvaini, according to one account, was seized with a violent headache from which he shortly afterwards died. According to Dhahabi, however, his death was due to a fall from his horse. Whatever the cause, he died in Mughan or Arran on the 5th of March, 1283, being about fifty-seven years of age, and was buried in Tabriz. His death would not in any case have been long delayed. In the next year Arghun dethroned and succeeded his uncle; he ordered the execution of Shams-ad-Din and his four sons and soon the Juvaini family was all but extinguished.

II. HIS WORK

The *History of the World-Conqueror* was begun in Qara-Qorum in 1252 or 1253; and Juvaini was still working on it in 1260, when he had recently been appointed governor of Baghdad. In that year or soon afterwards he must have renounced the idea of continuing his history, for there are no references to events subsequent to that date. Of the conditions under which much of

his work was written we have Juvaini's own testimony. Commenting on the Mongol conquest of Khorasan he expresses himself in the following terms:

> And though there were a man free from preoccupations who could devote his whole life to study and research and his whole attention to the recording of events, yet he could not in a long period of time acquit himself of the account of one single district. *How much more is this beyond the powers of the present writer,* who, despite his inclination thereto, has not a single moment for study save when, in the course of distant journeys, he snatches an hour or two, when the caravan halts, and writes down these histories! (I, 118; i, 152).

These conditions have left their traces on the history. Dates are sometimes omitted or incorrectly given, and the author occasionally contradicts himself. Such faults are understandable in an unrevised work; they are even more so in a work which there is evidence to show was never completed.

In one early MS. (B) there is a blank equivalent to 7 or 8 lines of the text at the chapter on Arghun (II, 262; ii, 525) and a much longer blank (over a page) at the end of the chapter on Möngke's ministers (III, 89). These blanks, as Muhammad Qazvini suggests, were probably left by the author for later additions which were never made. There are also references to non-existent chapters: to one on the capture of Herat (I, 118; i, 151) in Vol. I and to at least five—one on Chinqai, Carpini's 'protonotary', (III, 58; ii, 158), one on Eljigitei, the Mongol commander who sent an embassy to Louis IX (III, 62; ii, 590), and one on each of the missions to Möngke (III, 82; ii, 602)—in Vol. III.[1] Vol. III itself is evidence of incompletion. In the original division of the text it formed the second volume of the work. The text is still so divided in at least three MSS. one of which (E) is based on a MS. contemporary with the author; and we have Juvaini's own testimony to this division in his introduction to Vol. III, where in summarizing the contents of 'the previous volume' he enumerates the events recorded in Vols. I and II of the text as found in most MSS.

[1] In the translation the three volumes of the Persian text are referred to as parts in order to avoid confusion with the two volumes into which the translation itself is divided. Small roman numerals indicate the volumes of the translation.

and in the printed edition. In such a division of the text the second volume is much smaller than the first, but they might well have been equal in size, if the five chapters referred to above had actually been written and if Juvaini—as one would have expected—had closed his work with an account of the culmination of Hülegü's campaign against the West, the sack of Baghdad and the extinction of the 'Abbasid Caliphate, an event which he survived by some twenty-seven years. 'Perhaps', as Qazvini suggests, 'the exacting duties of the governorship of Baghdad . . . allowed him no leisure for the continuance of his great history.'[2]

His work, to quote Barthold, 'has not yet been valued at its deserts',[3] and in the West at least Juvaini has been overshadowed by the later Rashid-ad-Din, considerable parts of whose enormous compilation, 'a vast historical encyclopedia, such as no single people, either in Asia or in Europe, possessed in the Middle Ages',[4] have long been available in European translations. Rashid-ad-Din was able to draw upon Mongol sources inaccessible to Juvaini; his account of the early life of Chingiz-Khan is infinitely fuller and more detailed than the earlier historian's. On the other hand Juvaini lived much nearer to the events he describes, and much of his account of the invasion must be based upon reports of eye-witnesses. For the history of Persia between the invasion and the expedition of Hülegü he could rely upon his father's reminiscences and his own recollections; and in the end, he became, as we have seen, himself a participant in events. It is significant that Rashid-ad-Din, in dealing with the history of this period, is usually content to follow his predecessor almost word for word. Juvaini enjoyed the further advantage of having twice visited Eastern Asia. Most of his information regarding the Turks and Mongols must have been gathered at the courts of the Mongol princes and in the course of his journeys thither; and the accuracy of his data may be tested by comparison not only with Rashid-ad-Din but also with

[2] See the English introduction to Vol. I of Qazvini's text, lxiii–lxiv.
[3] Barthold, *Turkestan down to the Mongol Invasion*, 40.
[4] *Ibidem*, 46.

the works of Western travellers such as Carpini, Rubruck and Marco Polo and with the Chinese and native Mongolian sources.

The *History of the World-Conqueror* at once became the great authority on the Mongol invasions and as such was freely utilized by both contemporary and subsequent historians, Arab and Persian. In Pococke's Latin translation of Barhebraeus (Oxford, 1663) parts of Juvaini became accessible, at second hand, to Western scholars also. His work was not, however, directly used in Europe until the 19th century with the appearance of Baron d'Ohsson's *Histoire des Mongols depuis Tchinguis-Khan jusqu'à Timour Bey ou Tamerlan* (1st edition 1824, 2nd edition 1834–5), which still provides the best, and certainly the most readable, survey of the whole Mongol period. D'Ohsson was unfortunately obliged to work on an indifferent manuscript, the only one then in the possession of the Bibliothèque Royale (now the Bibliothèque Nationale), which afterwards acquired the excellent MSS. on which Qazvini's text is based. Since d'Ohsson, Barthold, in his *Turkestan*, is the only historian who has made extensive use of Juvaini's work in the original, but being concerned only with the events that culminated in the actual invasion he does not touch upon the history of the Empire under Chingiz-Khan's successors. In the English edition of his work he was able to consult the first two volumes of Qazvini's monumental edition of the Persian text; but it was not until the publication of Vol. III in 1937 that the whole of Juvaini became accessible even to Orientalists. It is now presented, in an English translation, to a wider circle of readers.

Much is inevitably lost in translation. Unlike the later Rashid-ad-Din, whose language is plain and simple in the extreme, Juvaini was a master of what was already the traditional style of Persian prose literature. It is a style which disposes of all the rhetorical devices known to the Euphuists. Word-plays are indulged in, whenever possible, and these are not merely puns as we understand them but what might be called *visual* puns, which appeal to the eye only, two words being identical in shape though perhaps entirely dissimilar in pronunciation.

The text is interlarded with quotations from the Arabic and Persian poets, with verses of the author's own composition and with passages from the Koran; and the chapters begin and end or are interrupted in the middle with reflections on such subjects as the vanity of human wishes or the inexorability of Fate. However, Juvaini was a man of taste; he had his rhetoric under some measure of control and could, when the occasion demanded it, tell his tale in the plainest and most straightforward language. In this he differed from his admirer and continuator Vassaf, who has been described as being 'so ornate in style that one cannot see the wood for the trees'.[5] 'We could forgive the author', says E. G. Browne, 'more readily if his work were less valuable as an original authority on the period (1257–1328) of which it treats, but in fact it is as important as it is unreadable.'[6] In Juvaini, on the other hand, there is often a point concealed even in what appears to be mere ornament. By quoting, for example, from the *Shahnama* or 'Book of Kings', the National Epic, he was able to give vent to feelings which it would have been impossible openly to avow.

III. HIS POINT OF VIEW

Ibn-al-Athir, in the preface to his account of the Mongol invasion, of which he was a contemporary, remarks that for years he had shrunk from mentioning that event as being too horrible to record. It was, he protested, the greatest calamity that had ever befallen mankind.[1] Juvaini, who was actually in the Mongols' service, could hardly be expected to echo such sentiments, and in fact he says much in his masters' praise and even attempts to justify the invasion as the fulfilment of the divine will. On the other hand, he was a devout and orthodox Mohammedan, and his real feelings cannot have been materially different from those of Ibn-al-Athir. Moreover, in Juvaini's

[5] E. Denison Ross, *The Persians*, 128.

[6] *A Literary History of Persia*, III, 68.

[1] For a translation of the whole passage see Browne, *A Literary History of Persia*, II, 427–8.

case, there were traditional ties with the house of the Khorazm-Shahs—his grandfather as we have seen, had accompanied Muhammad on his flight from Balkh to Nishapur and had ended his days in the service of Muhammad's son, Jalal-ad-Din —and he can hardly have looked back without regret upon the extinction of that dynasty. In fact, Juvaini, though denied the freedom of expression enjoyed by Ibn-al-Athir, is at no great pains to conceal his preference of the Moslem past to the Mongol present.

* * *

On the invasion itself he could of course express no opinion, but the wholesale massacres to which so many of the captured cities were subjected are always faithfully recorded together with all the accompanying atrocities. It is Juvaini too who tells the famous story of Chingiz-Khan in the mosque of Bokhara (I, 80–1; i, 103–4). Of the consequences of the invasion he speaks at times with the utmost frankness. He twice refers to the condition of hopeless desolation to which the conquerors had reduced his homeland, the once flourishing province of Khorasan (I, 75 and II, 269; i, 96–7, ii, 533). He also refers to the disastrous effects upon the pursuit of learning and then launches a bitter attack upon the new generation of officials, the product of a great social upheaval (I, 4–5; i, 6–8). To one member of this class, Sharaf-ad-Din of Khorazm, he devotes a whole chapter (II, 262–82; ii, 525–46), in which he paints him in the blackest of colours and assails him with the coarsest of abuse. Sharaf-ad-Din, the son of a porter, had accompanied Chin-Temür from Khorazm to Khorasan at a time when 'no reputable scribe' was willing to undertake the journey because 'it was intended to lay waste a Moslem country'. He owed his advancement to his knowledge of the Turkish language (II, 268; ii, 532). Another official received his appointment because he could write Mongolian in the Uighur character, which, as Juvaini sarcastically adds, 'is in the present age, the essence of learning and proficiency' (II, 260; ii, 523).

The Mongols themselves, if one disregards one or two oppro-

brious references,[2] are never openly attacked, but there is perhaps an undertone of irony, and therefore of disapproval, in the various allusions to their addiction to strong drink. Ögedei, for example, is made to offer an apology for his inebriety. It was due, he said, to 'the onslaught of sorrow which arises from grievous separation.' He therefore chose to be drunk in order to find relief from that sorrow (III, 4; ii, 550). The 'grievous separation' he referred to was the loss of his brother Tolui, who, according to Juvaini, had drunk himself to death (III, 4; ii, 549).

But the real state of Juvaini's feelings is most clearly revealed in the attitude he adopts towards the defeated Khorazm-Shahs. Muhammad is frequently criticized. His conquests are shown to have paved the way for the Mongol invasion (I, 52; i, 70). His campaigns against the Qara-Khitai, in particular, were undertaken without regard to a warning that this people formed 'a great wall' between the Moslems and 'fierce enemies' and ought therefore to be left in peace (II, 79 and 89; i, 347, 357). Having removed every obstacle in the way of the Mongol invasion he renders that invasion inevitable by commanding the execution of Chingiz-Khan's ambassadors (I, 61; i, 79). When the storm finally breaks, he is seized with panic and decides to disperse his forces and seek safety in flight; and his son Jalal-ad-Din is made to deliver a speech in which he strongly protests against the cowardice of such a policy and volunteers to lead the armies in person against the invader (II, 127; ii, 397). Muhammad, in short, is blamed for having needlessly provoked the Mongol invasion but also for having abjectly failed to repel it. Juvaini's attitude, in fact, is that of the disappointed partisan; and only a partisan could write that Islam was heartbroken and the very stones wept tears of blood because of Muhammad's death (II, 117; ii, 387).

Towards Muhammad's son, Jalal-ad-Din, Juvaini's attitude is one of unreserved admiration. He is presented everywhere as a figure of great physical courage. In the clash with Jöchi,

[2] II, 133 (ii, 403) ('Tartar devils') and 275 (539) ('strangers to religion'); III, 141 (ii, 640) ('their [the Isma'ilis'] *Maulana* . . . has become the serf of bastards').

before the outbreak of hostilities, he rescues his father who was in danger of being taken prisoner, and Juvaini vents his feelings in an apposite verse from the *Shahnama* (I, 51–2; i, 69). As he plunges into the Indus after the final charge against the Mongols, the words of admiration are made to proceed from the lips of Chingiz-Khan himself (I, 107; i, 134–5). And again Juvaini quotes from the *Shahnama*, comparing Jalal-ad-Din with Rustam, the mythical hero of the Iranians. Such quotations are not of course fortuitous; by this device Juvaini is able to identify the Khorazm-Shahs with Iran and the Mongols with Turan, the hereditary foe.[3]

* * *

But not every allusion is hostile. There are passages in which Juvaini speaks of the Mongols in terms of high praise; and there is usually no reason for doubting his sincerity. It is clear, for example, that he had a genuine admiration for the military genius of Chingiz-Khan, of whom Alexander himself, he says, would have been content to be a pupil (I, 16–17; i, 24). He expatiates with enthusiasm on the efficiency of the Mongol army, its powers of endurance and its excellent discipline; and he compares it in these respects with the forces of Islam, very much to the latter's disadvantage (I, 21–3; i, 29–31). He praises the Mongol princes for the spirit of harmony that prevailed amongst them and here again contrasts their behaviour with that of the Moslems (I, 30–2 and III, 68; i, 41–3, ii, 594). He commends them also for their informality and avoidance of ceremonial (I, 19; i, 26–7). Despite his strong Mohammedan prejudices he speaks with apparent approval of their tolerance in matters of religion (I, 18–19; i, 26). And finally he has much to say of their protection and patronage of the Moslems.

Several of the anecdotes[4] in the chapter 'On the deeds and actions of Qa'an' are concerned with the kindness shown by

[3] Cf. II, 136 and 139 (ii, 406, 409), where by this means Chingiz-Khan is likened to Afrasiyab, and I, 73 (i, 95), where a quotation from the *Shahnama* serves to illustrate Temür Malik's boasting about his victories over the 'Turanian host'.

[4] See I, 161, 163, 179, etc. (i, 204, 206, 223, etc.).

the jovial, good-natured Ögedei to Mohammedans in distress. Of Ögedei's nephew, Möngke, during whose reign the *History of the World-Conqueror* was written, it is stated that 'of all the sects and communities he most honoured and respected the people of Islam, upon whom he bestowed the most alms and conferred the greatest privileges' (III, 79). And Juvaini speaks of him at times in terms hardly distinguishable from those applied to Moslem rulers (I, 85 and 195; i, 109, 239). He even confers upon him the exclusively Mohammedan title of *ghazi* or 'victor against the infidel' with reference to his execution of a group of Uighur nobles who had plotted, amongst other things, to massacre the Moslem population of Besh-Baligh (III, 61; ii, 589). Möngke's mother, too, Princess Sorqoqtani, is praised not only for her probity and administrative ability, but also for her patronage of Islam: though a Christian she would bestow alms upon Moslem divines and had provided a large sum for the endowment of a *madrasa* or theological college in Bokhara (III, 8–9; ii, 552–3).

* * *

It was not however sufficient to record the good qualities of the Mongol invaders; as an official in their service, Juvaini had to justify the invasion itself. This he has done by representing the Mongols as the instrument of the divine will.

He compares the invasion with the punishments visited on earlier peoples for their disobedience to God and in support of this analogy adduces a *hadith* or tradition of Mohammed to the effect that the destruction of the Moslems was to be by the sword (I, 12; i, 17). Another *hadith* refers to the horsemen whom God will send to exact vengeance on the wicked; and nothing is easier than to identify these horsemen with the Mongols (I, 17; i, 24). And to drive the point home, the Conqueror himself, in a speech directed to the people of Bokhara, is made to declare that he is the scourge of God (I, 81; i, 105).

This divine mission of the Mongols was particularly manifest in their destruction of the foes of Islam. Thus it was God who dispatched them against Küchlüg, the Naiman ruler of

Qara-Khitai, who had crucified a Moslem divine upon the door of his *madrasa* (I, 55; i, 73); and the people of Kashghar, when the Mongols had expelled their persecutor and restored freedom of worship, perceived 'the existence of this people to be one of the mercies of the Lord and one of the bounties of divine grace' (I, 50; i, 67). God's purpose was also revealed in Hülegü's capture of the Isma'ili stronghold of Alamut, which Juvaini compares with the conquest of Khaibar, i.e. the Prophet's defeat and extermination of his Jewish adversaries at Khaibar near Medina (III, 138; ii, 638).

But their mission was not merely negative; their conquests actually had the effect of extending the boundaries of Islam. The transportation of craftsmen, saved by their skill from the fate of their fellow townsmen, to new homes in Eastern Asia, and the thronging of merchants to the new capital at Qara-Qorum had introduced a Moslem population to regions to which the True Faith had never penetrated (I, 9; i, 13–14).

Even the massacres were a blessing from God; for by the manner of their death the slaughtered millions achieved the status and enjoyed the privileges of martyrs to the Faith (I, 10; i, 15). And here at least we may question Juvaini's sincerity and share the indignation expressed by d'Ohsson at arguments 'faits pour démontrer que c'est pour le bien des Musulmans que les Mongols sont venus les égorger'.

* * *

How is one to reconcile these seeming contradictions—on the one hand, the candid recital of Mongol atrocities, the lament for the extinction of learning, the thinly veiled criticism of the conquerors and the open admiration of their vanquished opponents; and on the other hand, the praise of Mongol institutions and Mongol rulers and the justification of the invasion as an act of divine grace? The contradictions are, however, apparent only. Juvaini's sympathies did indeed lie with the defeated dynasty; he had been brought up in the traditions of the Perso-Arabian civilization which the Mongols had all but destroyed; and in these circumstances he could scarcely be a

whole-hearted supporter of the new régime. But the old order was dead and gone; there was no hope of its resuscitation; and it was necessary to reach some kind of compromise. Without therefore glossing over the darker side of the picture Juvaini says whatever he truthfully can in the Mongols' favour. He extols their military and social virtues and rightly attributes the Moslems' defeat to the neglect of those virtues. He makes much of their destruction of anti-Moslem forces such as the Buddhist Qara-Khitayans and the heretic Isma'ilis. He stresses the favourable attitude adopted by certain of the Mongols (and it is to be noted that in this respect he speaks only of specific individuals) towards the Mohammedan religion. And finally he endeavours to prove that the Mongol invasion was foreshadowed in the traditions of Mohammed and that it was in consequence a manifestation of the divine will. These theological arguments may not always carry conviction, but their object is clearly to reconcile the author and his readers to the inevitable. In short, Juvaini is a Moslem raised in the pre-Mongol tradition striving to adapt himself to the new conditions but everywhere betraying the prejudices and predilections of his upbringing.

NOTE ON TRANSLITERATION, Etc.

IN a translation intended primarily for the general reader I have simplified the spelling of Oriental words by dispensing with the diacritical marks conventionally employed to indicate the precise Persian or Arabic orthography. For the same reason I have adopted such Anglicized forms as 'vizier', 'cadi' and 'emir' in preference to *wazīr (vazīr)*, *qāḍi (qāẓi)* and *amīr*. The Holy Book of Islam is called the Koran rather than the Qur'ān and the Prophet to whom it was revealed Mohammed rather than Muhammad, the form Muhammad being reserved for all other bearers of the name.

On the other hand it is often desirable, in the interests of the specialist, to indicate the exact spelling of words (and in particular names) in the Arabic character. In the case of Persian and Arabic words this end has been achieved by spelling them in the index in strict accordance with a system of transliteration which is basically that approved by the Royal Asiatic Society. The same system is employed in the case of words enclosed in round brackets in the text of the translation; it is also employed, though with less rigid consistency, in the footnotes. In the text itself, as has already been stated, the diacritical marks are omitted. Also the spellings Khorazm, Khoja and Khaf have been adopted in place of the more correct Khwārazm, Khwāja and Khwāf.

Sometimes, as for example in discussing a corrupt spelling in the Persian original, it is difficult to dispense with the use of the Arabic script. As a substitute for that script I have resorted to an alphabet of capital letters which differs from the system of transliteration otherwise employed in that *alif* is always rendered by A, *wāw* by W and *yā* by Y; that Ā denotes *alif mamdūda* only; and that J̌, Č, X, Ž, Š and Γ are equivalent to *j, ch, kh, zh, sh* and *gh* respectively. The omission of diacritical points is indicated in two ways. When the loss of the dot or dots makes the Arabic letter identical with another letter of the same shape,

the Roman equivalent of that other letter is written. Thus QRDWAN represents a corruption of QŽDWAN (Qizh-duvān), the omission of the three dots over the *zhā* making it identical with *rā*. When however there is no undotted letter of identical shape the corrupt spelling is indicated by means of italics, the letter in italics being either the Roman equivalent of the letter that appears to be meant or else any letter of the required shape chosen at random. An example or two will make this use of italics clear. In SYALAN (for SYALAN, i.e. Siyālān) the two dots beneath the *yā* have been omitted and it could equally well be read as any other letter of the same shape. In KNḤK (for KNǰK, i.e. Kenchek) the dot over the *nūn* has been lost and there is a similar ambiguity. (The dot beneath the *jīm*—here equivalent to *chīm*—has also been lost but this is shown by the use of Ḥ, i.e. the corresponding undotted letter.) A more complicated example is *YY*QAQ. Here *YY* (or *BB* etc.) is actually a corruption of Š, the first Q could equally well be written *F*, the final Q is a corruption of N and the whole is a corruption of ŠQAN, i.e. Shuqān !

The same system is used to indicate the Arabic spelling of Turkish and Mongol words. This is done in the footnotes upon their first occurrence in the text. The Perso-Arabic alphabet is of course incapable of adequately reproducing all the Turkish and Mongol vowel sounds although by the use of the hard and soft consonants and of *alif*, *wāw* and *yā* as *matres lectionis* it can give some approximate idea of the pronunciation. Following such indications I have spelt all Turkish and Mongol words in the text, the footnotes and the index as far as possible in accordance with the phonetic laws of the two languages. No distinction is made however between Turkish *ä* and *e* (*é*), both being represented by *e*. Similarly the distinction between *i* and *ī* is ignored in the text though it is always observed in the notes and index, not only in the case of Turkish words but also in the case of Mongol words when the Arabic spelling indicates that the old pronunciation still survived.

In quoting Far Eastern sources I have spelt Mongol words according to the system of the late Professor Pelliot, with some

slight modifications, whilst for Chinese I have used the Wade-Giles method of transcription.

The Armenian alphabet is transliterated as follows:

a b g d e z ē ə t' zh i l kh ts k h dz gh ch
m y n sh o ch' p j ř s v t r ts' w p' k' ō f.

Arabic phrases and passages in the original appear in the translation in italics.

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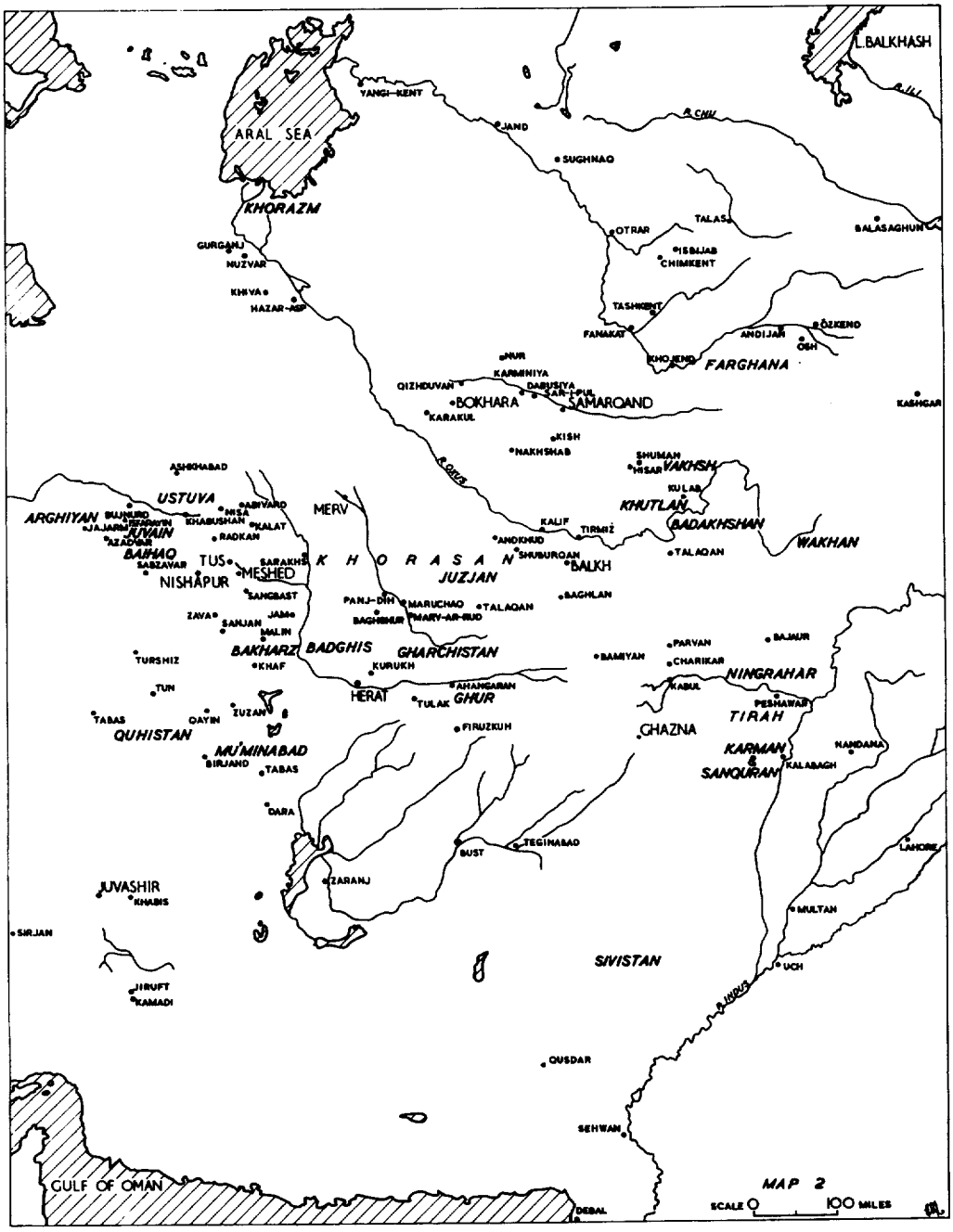
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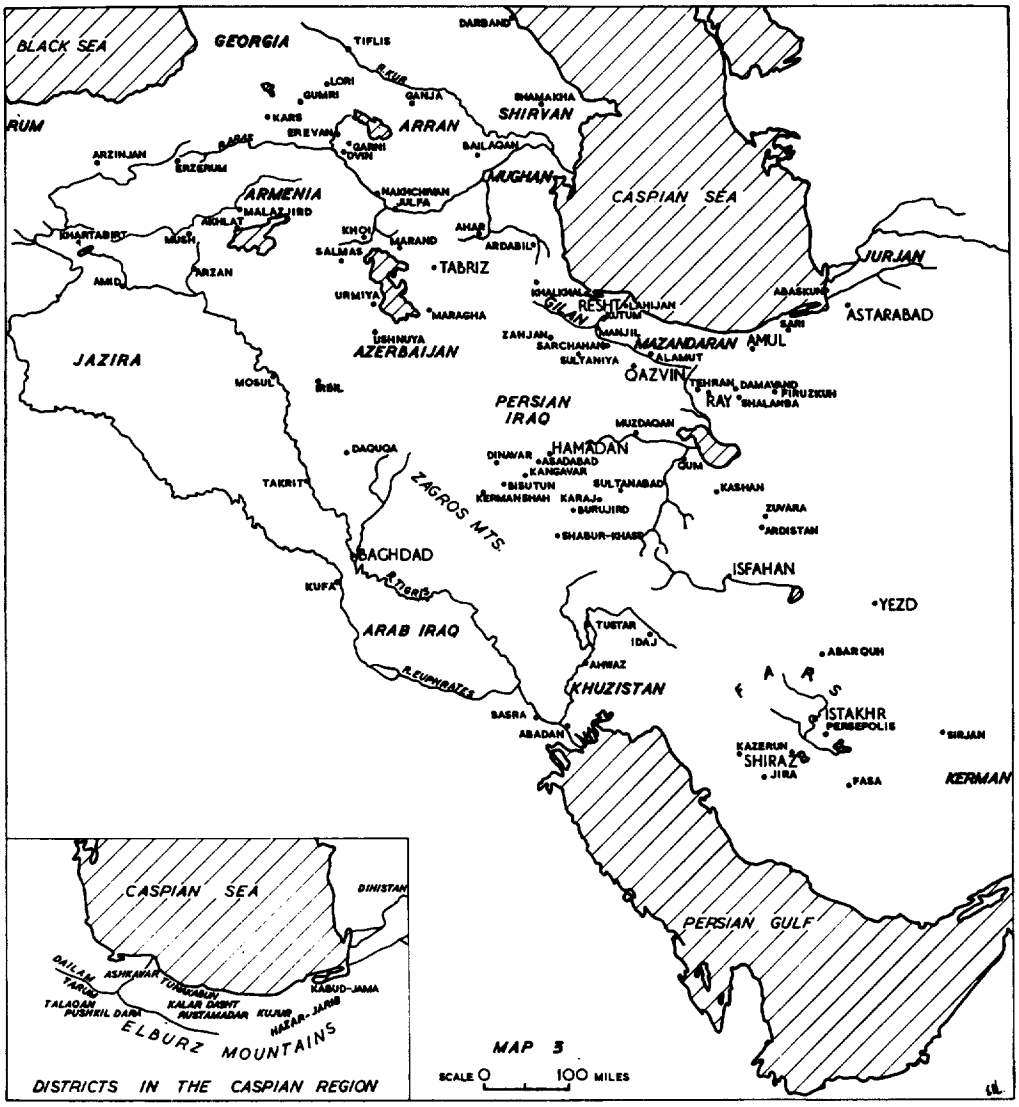
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ABBREVIATIONS

BSOAS: Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies.
BSOS: Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies.
Campagnes: Histoire des campagnes de Gengis Khan. See the *Shêng-wu ch'in-chêng lu.*
GMS: Gibb Memorial Series.
HJAS: Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies.
Horde d'Or: Notes sur l'histoire de la Horde d'Or. See Pelliot.
JA: Journal Asiatique.
JRAS: Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society.
M.Q.: Muhammad Qazvini.
SPAW: Sitzungsberichte der preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften.
TP: T'oung Pao.
V.M.: Vladimir Minorsky.
VOIAO: (Trudï) Vostochnago Otdeleniya Imperatorskago Arkheologicheskago Obshchestva.

MAP 1
MAP 2
MAP 3
R. KEMCHIK
TANNU—OLA
KENTEI
ULAN BATOR
QARA—QORUM
KOBDO
ALTAI
KHANGAI
L. BALKHASH
TARBAGATAI
CHUGUCHAK
R. EMIL
R. QORAQ
ALA KUL
QAYALIGH
R. BORO-TAL
EBI NOR
SAIRAM NOR
ALMALIGH
R. ILI
KULJA
BESH-BALIGH
GUCHEN
ISSIK KUL
BARSKHAN
TURFAN
QARA-KHOJA
QOMUL
TIEN SHAN
KUCHA
R. TARIM
KHOTAN
MAP I
SCALE 0 100 MILES
TUMAT
SAYAN MTS.
OIROIZ
OIRAT
MERKIT
R. KEMCHIK
TANNU-OLA
R. KHOBDO
R. KHARA
R. KHILOK
R. SELENGA
BARGUZIN
BAIKALIAN ALTAI
KENTEI MTS.
ULAN BATOR
KHERLEN
MONGOLS
ONGIRAT
TATAR
KHINGHAN MTS.
L. ZAISAN
KOBDO
ALTAI
NAIMAN
QARA-QORUM
KHANGAI RANGE
KEREIT
GOBI DESERT
TARBAGATAI MTS.
R. EMIL
ALA KUL
DZUNGARIA DESERT
EBI NOR
BESH-BALIGH
THE MONGOLIAN HOMELAND


L.BALKHASH
ARAL SEA
YANGI-KENT
JAND
R.CHU
SUGHNAQ
KHORAZM
OTRAR
TALAS
BALASAGHUN
GURGANJ
NUZVAR
ISBIJAB
CHIMKENT
KHIVA
HAZAR-ASP
TASHKENT
FANAKAT
ANDIJAN
ÖZKEND
ÖSH
KHOJENT
FARGHANA
NUR
KARMINIYA
QIZILDUVAN
DABUSIYA
SAR-I-PUL
BOKHARA
SAMARQAND
KASHGAR
KARAKUL
KISH
NAKHSHAB
SHUMAN
MISAR
VAKHSH
R.OXUS
ASHGHABAD
USTUVA
KULAB
KHUTLAN
ARGHIYAN
ABIVARD
MERV
NISA
BUNJIRD
TAJARMI
KHABUSHAN
KALAT
KALIF
TIRMIZ
BADAKHSHAN
KUHAIN
RADKAN
ANDKHUD
SHUBURQAN
TALAQAN
WAKHAN
BAIHAQ
SABZAVAR
TUS
SARAKHS
MESHED
K H O R A S A N
BALKH
NISHAPUR
JUZJAN
SANGBAST
PANJ-DIH
MARUCHAQ
TALAQAN
BAGHLAN
ZAVA
SANJAN
JAM
BAGHBUR
MARV-AR-RUD
MALIN
BAKHARZ
BADGHIS
GHARCHISTAN
PARVAN
BAJAUR
TURSHIZ
KHAF
KURUKH
BAMIYAN
CHARIKAR
NINGRAHAR
TUN
HERAT
AHANGARAN
TULAK
GHUR
KABUL
PESHAWAR
TIRAH
TABAS
QAYIN
ZUZAN
FIRUZKUH
GHAZNA
QUHISTAN
MU'MINABAD
KARMAN
SANQURAN
NANDANA
BIRJAND
TABAS
KALABAGH
DARA
TEGINABAD
LAHORE
BUST
JUVASHIR
ZARANJ
KHABIS
MULTAN
SIRJAN
SIVISTAN
UCH
R.INDUS
JIRUFT
KAMADI
QUSDAR
SEHWAN
GULF OF OMAN
DEBAL
MAP 2
SCALE
100 MILES


BLACK SEA
GEORGIA
TIFLIS
DARBAND
R. KUR
LORI
GUMRI
GANJA
SHAMAKHA
SHIRVAN
KARS
ERIVAN
ARRAN
GARNI
GOVIN
BAILAQAN
RUM
ARZINJAN
BAGAE
ERZERUM
MUGHAN
CASPIAN SEA
ARMENIA
HAMSCHINN
JULFA
MALAZJIRD
AKHLAT
KHOY
AHAR
ARDABIL
SALMAS
MARAND
TABRIZ
URMIYA
MARAGHA
KHALKHAL
RESHT
GILAN
LAHIJAN
SUTUM
ASTARABAD
JURJAN
ABASKUN
ZANJAN
SARCHAHAN
MANJIL
MAZANDARAN
AMUL
SARI
JAZIRA
AZERBAIJAN
SULTANIYA
ALAMUT
QAZVIN
MOSUL
TEHRAN
DAMAVAND
FIRUZKUH
RAY
SHALAMBA
PERSIAN IRAQ
MUZDAQAN
DAQUQA
DINAVAR
HAMADAN
ABADABAD
KANGAVAR
QUM
TAKRIT
BISUTUN
KERMANSHAH
KARAJ
BURUJIRD
SULTANABAD
KASHAN
ZUVARA
ARDISTAN
ZAGROS MTS.
SHABUR-KHAST
BAGHDAD
ISFAHAN
KUFA
TIGRIS
YEZD
TUSTAR
IDAJ
ARAB IRAQ
ABARQUH
AHWAZ
KHUZISTAN
R. EUPHRATES
BASRA
ABADAN
ISTAKHR
PERSEPOLIS
SIRJAN
KAZERUN
SHIRAZ
JIRA
FASA
KERMAN
PERSIAN GULF
CASPIAN SEA
DIHISTAN
DAILAM
TARUD
ASHKAVAR
TONKABUN
KABUD-JAMA
TALAQAN
PUSHKIL DARA
KALAR DASHT
RUSTAMDAR
KUJUR
HAZAR-JARIB
ELBURZ MOUNTAINS
DISTRICTS IN THE CASPIAN REGION
MAP 3
SCALE 0 100 MILES

THE HISTORY OF THE WORLD-CONQUEROR

[DOXOLOGY]

In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate.

Thanksgiving and praise unto Him Whom men worship, Who is necessarily existent; unto Him before Whom men prostrate themselves, Whose existence bestoweth the lights of wisdom and munificence: He is the Maker, and the proof of His oneness lieth in each of the atoms of created things; He is the Protector, and the purpose of the diversity of tongues and qualities is to give thanks for His strange and wonderful works; He is the Provider, and at His table, because of His divinity, monotheist and atheist *(mulḥid)* are as one; He is the Creator, and the known inventions of His nature are but one tale of the perfection of His power; He is mighty, and in praise of His countless blessings the melodious nightingale singeth a thousand songs; He is generous, and the plenteous rain of April is but one drop in the sea of His bounteousness; He is the Pardoner, and the zephyr of His favour hath been the source of the endurance of every lover; He is the Avenger, and the glittering sword of the Tartar was the instrument of His severity; He is outward, and the minds of the wise are astounded at the greatness of His perfection; He is inward, and the imagination and understanding cannot attain to real knowledge of His glory; He is one, and is sought alike by those that keep to the middle in the valleys of true guidance and by those that travel hurriedly through the wilderness of passion; He is eternal, and is loved alike by the lovers of truth and by idolatrous libertines—

> Infidelity and Islam walking this way, saying, '*He is alone, He hath no companion.*'

And may the blessing of His praise descend upon the flower of the garden of creation, the light of the pupil of men of insight, the seal of the prophets, Mohammed the Elect—a blessing out of which the scent of true devotion reacheth the nostrils of the lovers of holiness and from whose fragrance the supreme Pleroma, in agreement with them that dwell in the garden of

contentment, scattereth the largesse [2] of benedictions upon his pure and holy spirit!

And upon the chosen ones of his people and the followers of his law—his friends and household, who are stars in the heavens of righteousness and stones cast at the demon of iniquity—be praise that is adorned with the jewel of purity and the gem of truth and that shall endure for the length of days and nights!

[INTRODUCTION]

In the year 650/1252–3 Fate was kind to me, and Fortune smiled, and there befell me the honour of kissing the threshold of the Court of the World-Emperor, the Commander of the Earth and the Age, the source of the blessings of peace and security, the Khan of all Khans, Mengü [1] Qa'an—may victory and triumph over the foes of state and faith be fastened to his banner and may his august shadow extend over all mankind! —and I beheld the effects of that justice whereby all creation hath recovered and bloomed again, just as young plants and trees will smile because of the weeping of the spring clouds; wherein I fulfilled the commandment of the Lord—'*Look to the effects of God's mercy, how He maketh the earth to live after its death.*' [2] The eye of insight was ennobled by contemplation of that justice and the ear of truth adorned with the cry of

> O lovers, that ravisher of hearts hath appeared again.
> Scatter your hearts, for that sweetheart hath appeared.

The tales of Nushirvan's [3] justice were hidden thereby and the traditions of Faridun's [4] wisdom seemed effaced. The breezes

[1] This, the *Turkish* form of the name, is also used by Carpini (Mengu) and Rubruck (Mangu). Rashid-ad-Din always uses the native form, viz. Möngke. This latter form occurs regularly in E (written MWNK KA) in place of the Mengü (MNKW) of the text, which however in one place (I, 157) has Möngke (written MWNKKA) and in another (I, 195) the hybrid form MWNKW. Both *möngke* and *mengü* are adjectives meaning 'eternal'.

[2] Koran, xxx, 49.

[3] Nūshīrvān, i.e. Khusrau I, the Sassanian ruler (531–578), is always represented in Persian literature as the personification of justice.

[4] Farīdūn, actually a figure of Indo-Iranian mythology, appears in the National Epic as the slayer of the tyrant Ẓaḥḥāk (Dahāk) and the founder of a pre-Achaemenid dynasty.

of the north wind of his comprehensive equity perfumed the entire world and the sun of his royal favours illumined the whole of mankind. The blast of his shining sword cast fire into the harvest of the abject foe; the subjects and servants of his Court raised the throne of his pavilion to the Pleiades; opponents, for fear of his rigour and fury, tasted the fatal potion; and the hand of his severity and majesty blinded the eye of sedition.

When in this manner and wise I had beheld the magnificent and awful presence of him that bruiseth the lips and seareth the brows of illustrious kings, some of my faithful friends and pure-hearted brethren, the toil of travel to whose august presence was as easy as resting at home, [3] suggested that in order to perpetuate the excellent deeds and to immortalize the glorious actions of the Lord of the Age, the youth of youthful fortune and aged resolve, I should compose a history, and in order to preserve the chronicles and annals of his reign I should compile a record such as would abrogate the verses of the Caesars and erase the traditions of the Chosroes.[5]

Now it is not hidden from the eloquent and the wise, the learned and the accomplished, that the bloom and lustre of the face of literature and the brilliance and prosperity of scholars is due to the patrons of that art and the protectors of that craft—

> *Would that I knew whether I should ever see a man as a companion from whom fair praise was inseparable!*
> *Then would I lament and he lament for what was in my heart and his heart, each of us sure of his brother's lamenting.*

But because of the fickleness of Fate, and the influence of the reeling heavens, and the revolution of the vile wheel, and the variance of the chameleon world, colleges of study have been obliterated and seminaries of learning have vanished away; and the order of students has been trampled upon by events and crushed underfoot by treacherous Fate and deceitful Destiny; they have been seized by all the vicissitudes of toils and tribulations; and being subjected to dispersion and destruction they

[5] I.e. the Persian dynasty of the Sassanians (229–652), who overthrew the Parthians and were themselves overthrown by the Arabs.

have been exposed to flashing swords; and they have hidden themselves behind the veil of the earth.

> All learning must now be sought beneath the earth, because
> all the learned are in the belly of the earth.

But in former days when the necklace of the empire of learning and the claimants thereto were strung together on one string—

> *When pleasure was fresh and youth propitious, and amongst*
> *the vicissitudes of fortune men had no eye for thee—*

the most learned in the world and the most excellent amongst the sons of Adam would direct their attention to the perpetuation of fair remembrance and the keeping alive of noble customs. For to the man of insight, who with the eye of reflection considereth the end and conclusion of affairs, it is well known and fully established that the endurance of good fame is the occasion of eternal life,

> *for memory of the hero is his second life.*[6]
> *And when a hero encounters death, it seems that but for*
> *eulogy he might never have been born.*[7]

[4] Therefore it was that sublime poets and eloquent writers, Arabic and Persian, would compile in verse and prose works concerning the kings of the age and the worthies of the era and would write books about them. But to-day the surface of the earth in general and the land of Khorasan in particular (which was the rising-place of felicities and charities, the location of desirable things and good works, the fount of learned men, the rendezvous of the accomplished, the spring-abode of the talented, the meadow of the wise, the thoroughfare of the proficient and the drinking-place of the ingenious—the pearl-raining words of the Prophet have a tradition on this subject: '*Knowledge is a tree which hath its root in Mecca and beareth its fruit in Khorasan*')—to-day, I say, the earth hath been divested of the adornment of the presence of those clad in the gown of science and those decked in the jewels of learning and letters; and they only are

[6] Mutanabbi. (M.Q.)
[7] Yazid al-Harithi, a poet of the *Hamāsa*. (M.Q.)

left of whom indeed it can be said: *'But others have come in their place after them who have made an end of prayer and have gone after their own lusts.'*[8]

Those are departed under whose protection it was pleasant to live, and I am left amongst a posterity like the skin of a scabby man.[9]

My father the *sahib-divan* Baha-ad-Din Muhammad b. Muhammad al-Juvaini—*may the lofty tree of excellence continue green in his resting-place and the eyes of virtue continue to gaze upon him!*—hath a *qasida* on this subject of which the following are the first two lines:

Have pity on me, the traces of right and truth have been effaced and the foundation of noble deeds is about to collapse.
We have been plagued by successors who in their blindness used combs for their heels and towels for their combs.

They regard lying and deception as exhortation and admonishment and all profligacy and slander bravery and courage.

And many people regarded it as a trade but I was restrained therefrom by my religion and my office.[10]

They consider the Uighur language and script to be the height of knowledge and learning. Every market lounger in the garb of iniquity has become an emir; every hireling has become a minister, every knave a vizier and every unfortunate a secretary; every ----[11] a *mustaufi* and every spendthrift [5] an inspector; every rogue a deputy treasurer and every boor a minister of state; every stableboy the lord of dignity and honour and every carpet-spreader a person of consequence; every cruel man a competent man, every nobody a somebody, every churl a chief, every traitor a mighty lord and every valet a learned scholar; every camel-driver elegant from much riches and every porter in easy circumstances by reason of Fortune's aid.

[8] Koran, xix, 60. [9] Labīd b. Rabī'a al-Amīrī. (M.Q.)
[10] Ba'ith b. Huraith, one of the poets of the *Hamāsa*. (M.Q.)
[11] The text has *mustadfi'*, 'one who warms himself': perhaps something like 'shivering wretch' is meant.

The pedigrees of people such as were handed down of yore
cannot be compared with the pedigrees that have grown
with the grass.[12]

The noble yielded themselves to chastisement and from sorrow
and grief gave up their breasts to lamentation.
The back of learning was utterly broken that day when these
ignorant ones leant their backs upon the cushion.

How much did we yearn to praise that age when we were engaged
in blaming this present age! [13]

They consider the breaking of wind and the boxing of ears to proceed from the kindness of their nature, for '*God hath sealed up their hearts*',[14] and they deem vituperation and sottishness to be the consequences of a scatheless mind. In such an age, which is the famine year of generosity and chivalry and the market day of error and ignorance, the good are sorely tried and the wicked and evil firmly established; in the performance of noble deeds the virtuous are twisted in the snare of tribulation, while the vicious and foolish attain the riches they desire; the free are beggars and the liberal outcasts; the noble are portionless and the important of no account; the ingenious are exposed to danger, traditionists are the victims of calamities, the wise the prisoners of shackles and the perfect overtaken by disaster; the mighty are subservient to the base by compulsion and the discriminating are captive in the hands of the ignoble.

I have seen the age which raises every base person and
lowers every person of noble qualities;
Like the sea which drowneth every pearl and on which
carrion floateth ever;
Or like the scales which lower everything of just measure
and raise everything of light weight.

From this it may be known what labours the wise and the talented must perform to ascend the highest and explore the lowest scales. And in accordance with the saying '*People are more like their age than their parents*', in the flower of my youth,

[12] 'Amr b. al-Hudhail al-'Abdī, one of the poets of the *Hamāsa*. (M.Q.)
[13] From a *qasida* by Abul-'Ala al-Ma'arri. (M.Q.)
[14] Koran, xvi, 110.

which should be the season for laying the foundations of virtues and accomplishments, I complied with the words of my contemporaries and coevals, who were the brethren of devils [6] and before I was twenty years of age I was employed on the work of the Divan, and in the management of affairs and the transaction of business neglected the acquisition of knowledge and heeded not the advice of my father (*may God lengthen his life and place a wall between him and misfortunes!*), advice which is the jewel of the unadorned and the exemplar of the wise:

My little son, strive to acquire knowledge, hasten to gather the fruits of thy desires.
Hast thou not seen on the chessboard how a pawn, if it bestirs itself in its journeyings, becomes a queen?
Our illustrious ancestors have founded us lofty edifices of glory:
If we strengthen them not with our labours, of a surety these edifices will collapse.

However

Well-wishers give advice but it is only the fortunate who take it.

And now that discretion, which is the halter of the frenzy of young men, hath made its appearance, and advancement of years, which is the bridle of the impetuosity of youths, hath gained the upper hand, and things have reached such a pitch that

Seven have been joined unto twenty of my years and discretion hath abstained from excess.

it is idle to regret and lament the waste of the days of study just as it is profitless to bemoan and bewail the days of idleness.

Alas that the years should have passed so suddenly and this life dear as my soul should have passed thirty!
What pleasure is there now? And if there be pleasure, a hundred goblets for a loaf when the wedding-feast is over!

Nevertheless, as I have several times visited Transoxiana [15]

[15] In Arabic *Mā warā-an-nahr*, lit. 'what is beyond the river'. Transoxiana corresponded more or less to the later Russian Turkestan (excluding, of course, the territory west of the Oxus, the present-day Turkmenistan), i.e. the present-day Uzbekistan and South Kazakhstan with parts of Tajikistan and Kirghizia.

and Turkestan [16] to the confines of Machin [17] [7] and farthest China, which is the site of the throne of the kingdom and the abode of the race of Chingiz-Khan's [18] posterity and the middle bead of the necklace of their empire, and have observed certain circumstances and have heard from certain creditable and trustworthy persons of bygone events; and as I saw no escape from complying with the suggestion of friends, which is a definite command, I could not refuse and held it necessary to carry out the behest of dear ones. I therefore reduced to writing all that was confirmed and verified and called the whole of these narrations *Juvaini's History of the World-Conqueror.*[19]

> *The land was emptied, and I was a leader without followers;*
> *And it was part of my misery that I was alone in my leadership.*[20]

It befitteth men of learning and beneficence—may the evil eye be far removed from the courtyard of their glory and may the edifices of nobleness and sublimity be constructed with their being!—that, by way of kindness, they cover the feebleness and deficiency of my language and style with the train of forgiveness and cancellation, since for ten years I have set my foot in foreign lands and have eschewed study; and the leaves of the sciences

[16] By Turkestan, i.e. Turkistān, 'the land of the Turks', is meant the Turkish and Mongol territories to the east of Transoxiana.

[17] Māchīn, i.e. Southern China, called also Manzī, the Manji of Marco Polo.

[18] ČNGZ XAN. The title assumed by the Mongol chieftain Temüjin. See below, p. 35. According to Ramstedt and Pelliot it means 'Oceanic Khan', i.e. 'Universal Ruler', *chingiz* being a palatalized form of the Turkish *tengiz* (*tängiz*) 'sea'. See Pelliot, *Les Mongols et la Papauté* [23]. Ibn-Battuta, as Pelliot points out (*loc. cit.*, n. 9), actually uses the form Tengiz-Khan. The normal spelling of the name in English (Genghis Khan) and French (Gengis-Khan) appears to be due to the example set by Voltaire. See Gibbon, VII, 3, n. 4. It is based ultimately on the spelling of the name in the Arabic script. The Cyngis of Carpini and the Chingis of Rubruck represent the native Mongol pronunciation, viz. Chinggis.

[19] This, and not simply *The History of the World-Conqueror,* appears to be the full title of the work. Otherwise it is difficult to understand why the author in the *fath-nama* he composed on the capture of Alamut (see below, ii. 631) should refer to '*Juvaini's* History of the World-Conqueror'.

[20] From a poem in the *Hamāsa* by an unknown author. (M.Q.)

have become *'woven over by the spider'* and the pictures thereof erased from the page of the mind—

Like the writing writ upon the surface of the water;

and that they lay not the finger of criticism upon the false steps, wherefrom no man remaineth exempt, *'for every courser stumbleth'*.

If thou perceivest irregularity in my style, my calligraphy, my ability or my rhetoric,
Question not my understanding: verily my dance is to the tune of the times.

And if in the regions of excess and deficiency I have trodden the pathway of latitude, let them be pleased to consider the force of the verse, *'And when they pass by frivolous sport they pass on with dignity'*;[21] for the purpose of recounting these tales and declaring and delineating the shape of events compriseth two objects, viz. the achievement of spiritual and temporal advantage.

As for the spiritual advantage, if a keen-sighted man of pure nature, who is fair and moderate, look not upon these matters with the eye of rancour and envy, which occasioneth [8] and causeth faults, and giveth rise to vices and defects, whereof the origin is baseness of mind and meanness of nature; and if he gaze not with the regard of complaisance and loyalty, which seeth misdemeanours in a fair light and holdeth sackcloth for brocade—

The eye of contentment is blind to every defect, but the eye of anger giveth rise to faults——; [22]

but if he consider these matters honestly and sincerely as one that taketh the middle course—*'for the best of things is the middle thereof'*—

Provided I am content to bear the burden of love and be saved therefrom, I gain nothing and lose nothing—

and if he reflect upon these discourses and compositions, which are announced in various styles [?]; then the veil of doubt and

[21] Koran, xxv, 72.

[22] One of the lines by 'Abdallah b. Mu'awiya b. 'Abdallah b. Ja'far b. Abu-Talib in which he reproaches his friend Husain b. 'Abdallah b. 'Ubaidallah b. Abbas. See the *Kitāb-al-Aghāni*, XI, 76. (M.Q.)

suspicion and the covering of mistrust and uncertainty will be lifted from his sight, and it will not remain concealed and hidden from his mind and heart that whatever of good or evil, of weal or woe, appeareth in this world of growth and decay is dependent upon the decree of a powerful Sage and hingeth upon the will of an absolute Potentate, Whose deeds are the rule of wisdom and the prerequisite of excellence and justice; and when such events occur as the devastation of countries and the scattering of peoples through the adversity of the good and the triumph of the evil there are wise saws rolled up inside them. *God Almighty hath said*: *'Haply ye love a thing though it be bad for you.'* [23] And Master Sana'i [24] saith:

> Take either hope or fear, the Sage hath created nothing vain
> In the world whatever is gone and whatever is to come and whatever is must be so.

And Badi' of Hamadan [25] saith in one treatise: *'Oppose not God in His will and vie not with Him in multitude in His own land; "for the earth is God's: to such of His servants as He pleaseth doth He give it as a heritage".'* [26]

Whatever is secret is a sea into which no man has the knowledge or the wisdom to plunge: what people can fly over that horizon or what understanding or imagination can pass through that valley?

> Whence am I? whence the word of the secret of the kingdom?
> *For none knoweth the hidden save only God.*
>
> [9] Thy soul is ignorant of this secret, for thee there is no way through this curtain.

But whatever can be reached through reason or tradition and is not remote from the imagination and understanding is limited

[23] Koran, ii, 213.

[24] The celebrated mystic poet who flourished in the first half of the twelfth century.

[25] I.e. Badi'-az-Zaman (†1007), an Arabic writer and the creator of a new literary genre, the *maqāma*, a kind of picaresque tale in rhymed prose.

[26] Koran, vii, 125.

to two kinds: First, the manifestation of the miracle of the Prophecy, and secondly, theology. And can there be a greater miracle than that after six hundred odd years the fulfilment of the tradition: *'The earth was allotted to me and I was shown the East and the West thereof; and the kingdom of my people shall reach what was allotted to me thereof'* should come to pass in the appearance of a strange army ?—for the abundance of the lights of the sunbeams seems no more strange than dampness from water or heat from fire, but every light that shineth because of the darkness is exceeding marvellous and wonderful.

> We did not die until through jugglery we saw
> the dawn at midnight.

For this reason the Banner of Islam is raised higher and the candle of the Faith lit brighter; and the sun of the creed of Mohammed casts its shadow over countries whose nostrils had not been perfumed by the scent of Islam, whose ears had not been charmed by the sound of the *takbir* and the *azan* and whose soil had not been trodden save by the unclean feet of the worshippers of al-Lat and al-'Uzza;[27] whereas to-day so many believers in the one God have bent their steps thitherwards and reached the farthest countries of the East, and settled, and made their homes there, that their numbers are beyond calculation or computation. Some are those who at the time of the conquest of Transoxiana and Khorasan [28] were driven thither in the levy as craftsmen and keepers of animals; and many are those who —from the farthermost West, from the two Iraqs,[29] from Syria and the other lands of Islam—have wandered in the way of trade and commerce, visiting every region and every city, acquiring fame and seeing strange sights, and have cast away the staff of travel in those regions and decided to abide there; and have settled down, and built mansions and castles, and reared the

[27] The names of two goddesses worshipped by the ancient Arabs.

[28] Khorasan was then much larger than the present-day province of north-eastern Persia. Of its four great cities of Balkh, Merv, Herat and Nishapur (see below, p. 151) only the last is still in Persian territory. Merv (the modern Marī) is in Turkmenistan and Balkh and Herat in Afghanistan.

[29] I.e. Arab 'Irāq or Lower Mesopotamia and Persian 'Irāq or Central Persia.

cells of Islam over against the houses of idols, and established schools, where the learned teach and instruct and the acquirers of learning profit thereby: it is as though the tradition: *'Seek knowledge even in China'* related to this age and to those who live in this present era.

And as for the children of the polytheists, some have fallen into the hands of the Moslems in the baseness of servitude and have attained the dignity [10] of Islam, and others, when the ray of the lights of true guidance had influenced the stony heart of the quality of *'They are like rocks or harder still'*,[30] have acquired the glory of the faith, as is the nature of the sunbeams, which appear in the rocks and through which lustrous jewels are made manifest. And because of the auspiciousness of the blessings of the people of the faith, wherever the eye roameth, it seeth from the multitude of believers in the One God a vast city and in the midst of the darkness a bright light; and it is believed by the ascetic order amongst the idolaters (whom in their own language they call *toyin*) [31] that before the settlement of the Moslems and the performance of the *takbir* and the *iqamat* (*may God maintain and perpetuate them!*) the idols used to converse with them—*'the Satans will indeed suggest to their votaries (to wrangle with you)'* [32] —but because of the inauspiciousness of the coming of the Moslems they have grown angry with them and will not say a word—*'God hath sealed up their mouths.'* And indeed so it must be, for *'truth is come and falsehood is vanished: verily, falsehood is a thing that vanisheth'*.[33] Wherever the lights of the power of truth shine forth the darkness of infidelity and iniquity is dispersed and destroyed like the mist which resisteth not the elevation of the sun.

When the dawn of the power of truth begins to blow,
the *divs* begin to flee from every region.
Man comes to a place where in every moment without
difficulty the eye begins to see the beloved.

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[30] Koran, ii, 69.

[31] I.e. Buddhist priests, the Tuini of Rubruck. The Turkish word *toyīn* is a borrowing from the Chinese *tao-jên*, lit. 'man of the Way'.

[32] Koran, vi, 121.

[33] *Ibid.*, xvii, 83.

As for those who have attained to the degree of martyrdom, which after the dignity of Prophecy is the most excellent and perfect of degrees in the Court of Glory, by the flashing sabre of *'the sword is the eraser of sins'* they have been rendered heavy of scale and light of weight from the burden of the loads and the load of the burdens which they had acquired in a life of security and ease—*'and repute not those slain in God's path to be dead; nay they are alive with their Lord'*.[34]

> *And the blood which thou didst cause to flow in thyself*
> *was glorious, and the heart which thou didst frighten*
> *was thy panegyrist.*

And as for the survivors of those endued with insight they have received a warning and an admonishment.

[11] As for the temporal advantage, it is that whoever peruses these discourses and traditions (which are free from the semblance of boasting and the suspicion of lying, for what room is there for untruth seeing that these tales are too clear and manifest for mortal man to make a mistake regarding them ?—

> Perchance until the day of judgement these words
> shall not grow old amongst the wise)

and discovers therein the parables of the strength and might of the Mongol army and the agreement of Fate and Destiny with whatever they set their hands to, such a man, I say, will take for his pattern and exemplar the commandment of the Lord: *'And throw not yourselves with your own hands into ruin.'*[35] It is the *yasa* and custom of the Mongols that whoever yields and submits to them is safe and free from the terror and disgrace of their severity. Moreover, they oppose no faith or religion—how can one speak of opposition ?—rather they encourage them; the proof of which assertion is the saying of Mohammed (*upon whom be peace*!): *'Verily, God shall assert this religion through a people that have no share of good fortune.'* They have exempted and dispensed the most learned of every religion from every kind

[34] *Ibid.*, iii, 163.

[35] *Ibid.*, ii, 191.

of occasional tax (*'avārizāt*) and from the inconvenience of contributions (*mu'an*); their pious foundations and bequests for the public use and their husbandmen and ploughmen have also been recognized as immune; and none may speak amiss of them, particularly the imams of the faith of Mohammed, and especially now in the reign of the Emperor Mengü Qa'an, when there are several princes of the family (*urugh*) of Chingiz-Khan, his children and grandchildren, in whom the dignity of Islam hath been joined to worldly power; and so many of their followers and adherents, their horsemen and servants have been decorated and adorned with the jewel of the glory of the faith that their numbers are beyond calculation or computation. In view of the foregoing it is necessary on the grounds of reason, now that the Piebald Horse of the Days [36] is tame between the thighs of their command, that men should comply with the commandment of the Lord: *'And if they lean to peace, lean thou also to it;'* [37] and should yield and submit; and desist from rebellion and frowardness in accordance with the words of the Lord of the Shari'at: *'Let the Turks be as long as they let you be, for they are endued with terrible prowess;'* and place their lives and property in the stronghold of immunity and the asylum of security—*'for* [12] *God guideth whom He pleaseth into the straight path.'* [38]

Since in every age and century men have been prevented by the petulance of wealth, the pride of riches and the arrogance of prosperity from carrying out the commandments of God (*glorious is His power and exalted His word!*) and have been impelled and instigated thereby to set their hands to sin—*'verily, man is insolent because he seeth himself possessed of riches'* [39]—therefore for the admonishment and chastisement of every people a punishment hath been meted out fitting to their rebellion and in proportion to their infidelity, and as a warning to those endued with insight a calamity or castigation hath overtaken them in accordance with their sins and misdemeanours. Thus, in the age of Noah (*upon whom be peace!*) there was a general deluge; in the age

[36] I.e. the World.
[37] Koran, viii, 63.
[38] *Ibid.*, ii, 209.
[39] *Ibid.*, xcvi, 6–7.

of Thamud,[40] the punishment of the people of 'Ad; and in the same way every nation hath undergone punishments such as metamorphoses, plagues of noxious creatures and the like, as hath been recorded in the *Qisas*.[41] And when the time came for the reign of the Seal of the Prophets (*for whom let there be offered up the most excellent of devout prayers!*), he besought the Lord of Majesty and Glory to grant that all the different punishments and calamities which He had sent to every nation on account of their disobedience might be remitted in the case of his own nation—and this honour hath been for his nation the source of their other excellencies—but not as regards the punishment of the sword, concerning which his prayer attained not the manifestation of acceptance and hit not the target of admission. The learned Jarallah[42] in his commentary, the *Kashshaf*, when he comes to the following verse in the *sura* of the Cattle: '*Say: It is He who hath power to send on you a punishment from above you*,'[43] quotes these words of the Prophet of God (*God bless him and give him peace!*): '*I asked God not to send upon my nation a punishment from above them, or from beneath their feet. And He granted it unto me. And I asked Him not to put their bane amongst them, and He prevented me. And Gabriel told me that the destruction of my nation would be by the sword.*' And from the point of view of reason it is necessary and essential that if the threat of the sword, which is the immediate menace, were to remain in abeyance and men were content with that which is promised in the next world everything would be confused; the common people, whose feet are bound with '*What is restrained by authority*',[44] would have their hands freed; the nobles would remain in the corner of calamity and the nook of tribulation;

[40] This is apparently a mistake for Hūd, the name of a prophet who was sent to warn the Arabian people of 'Ād. (Koran, lxxxvii, 63.) Thamūd was the name of another people to whom a prophet called Sālih was sent. (*Ibid.*, 71.)

[41] I.e. the *Qiṣaṣ-al-Anbiyā* or *Tales of the Prophets* of Tha'labi.

[42] I.e. Zamakhshari, whose work, the *Kashshāf*, is one of the best known commentaries on the Koran.

[43] Koran, vi, 65.

[44] A reference to the well known *hadith*: '*Those who are restrained by authority are more than those who are restrained by the Koran.*' (M.Q.)

and some of the advantages of '*And we have sent down iron, wherein resideth dire evil, as well as advantage, to men*' [45] would be rendered null and void, for without this instrument the gates of justice [13] and equity, which have been opened and flung wide by '*And we have sent down the book and the balance*',[45] would be bolted and barred and the order of men's affairs would of a sudden be deranged. And from this it is clear, and the darkness of doubt arises, that whatever was predestined in the beginning of time is for the benefit of the servants of God (*glorious is His power and universal His dominion!*). And when a period of six hundred odd years had passed since the mission of His Prophet to all creation an abundance of wealth and a superfluity of desires were the cause of rebellion and estrangement: '*verily, God will not change His gifts to men, till they change what is in themselves.*' [46] And it is stated without ambiguity in His glorious Word: '*And thy Lord was not one who would destroy the cities when the inhabitants were righteous.*' [47] The whisperings of Satan drove them far from the path of rectitude and the highway of righteousness.

> Infidelity came and religion was borne off by the whispering of Satan; love came and reason was borne off by the coquetry of the beloved.
> O thou who art ignorant of the latter end, show justice: can one spend one's life in a way more wretched than this?

'*Except those who believe and do the things that are good and right; and few indeed are they*'.[48]

> *And how many crimes have been committed by fools and the punishment has fallen on the innocent!* [49]

> To complain of fate is useless; whatever befalleth us is our own doing.

It was the will of God (*holy are His names!*) that these people should be roused from the slumber of neglect—'*Men are asleep, and when they die they wake*'—and recover from the drunkenness

[45] Koran, lvii, 25.
[46] *Ibid.*, xiii, 12.
[47] *Ibid.*, xi, 119.
[48] *Ibid.*, xxxviii, 23.
[49] Mutanabbi. (M.Q.)

of ignorance and so be a warning to their posterity and children; and that the miracle of the faith of Mohammed should come to pass as the culmination thereof, something of which has been mentioned in the foregoing; and that He should prepare a certain person, and make his nature the receptacle of all manner of power, and daring, and ruthlessness, and vengeance, and then by means of praiseworthy qualities and laudable properties bring it into a position of equilibrium; just as a skilful healer in dispelling base diseases maketh use of scammony in his purgatives and then seeth fit to apply correctives, so that the constitution be not wholly turned aside from its original state and utterly changed, and dispelleth the humours in accordance with nature; and the Greatest Physician is well aware of the temperaments and constitutions of His servants and [14] understandeth the use of drugs, which He administereth according to the time and in agreement with nature. '*Verily, God knoweth and understandeth.*' [50]

[I]

OF THE CONDITION OF THE MONGOLS BEFORE THE TIME OF CHINGIZ-KHAN'S RISE TO POWER

WHEN the phoenix (*humā*) [1] of prosperity wishes to make the roof of one man its abode, and the owl of misfortune to haunt the threshold of another, though their stations be widely different, the one in the zenith of good fortune and the other in the nadir of abasement, yet neither scarcity of equipment nor feebleness of condition prevents the fortunate man from attaining his goal—

> Whoever hath been prepared for Fortune, though he seek her not, Fortune seeketh him—

and neither abundance of gear nor excess of accoutrement can save the unfortunate one from losing even that which he hath.

[50] Koran, xxxv, 28.

[1] The *humā*, a bird of good omen, is actually the Lammergeyer.

[2] Ascribed by 'Aufi in his *Jawāmi'-al-Hikāyāt* to a secretary in the service of Malik-Shah called Muzaffar Khamaj. (M.Q.)

'Exertion unaided by fortune is illusive.' Nor may the counsel of man lay the hand of protection upon his brow; but *'when he prospereth, he prospereth, and when he faileth, he faileth'*. For if craft, and might, and wealth, and affluence could accomplish aught, then would power and empire never have passed from the houses of former kings to another; but when the time of the decline of their fortunes was arrived, neither craft, nor perseverance nor counsel could aid them; and neither the multitude of their troops nor the strength of their resistance was of any avail. And of this there is still clearer proof and plainer evidence in the instance of the Mongol people, when one considers in what circumstances and position they found themselves before they beat the drum of the greatness of Chingiz-Khan and his posterity, and how to-day the waters of prosperity flow in the rivers of their desire and the army of affliction and sorrow has fallen upon the stations and relays of opponents and insurgents, which same were mighty Chosroes and illustrious kings; and in what manner Fate has shown herself kind to that people, and how the world was stirred up by them, [15] prisoners becoming princes and princes prisoners. *'And that was easy unto God.'* [3]

> *Upon the head of a slave a crown of honour that adorneth him, and on the foot of a freeman a chain of shame that disfigureth him.*

The home of the Tartars,[4] and their origin and birthplace, is an immense valley, whose area is a journey of seven or eight months both in length and breadth. In the east it marches

[3] Koran, iv, 34 and 167; and xxxiii, 19 and 20.

[4] In Persian *Tatār*. This term in Juvaini (as the Arabic equivalent *Tatar* in Ibn-al-Athir and Nasawi) always refers to the Mongols in general and never to the original Tatar, a tribe to the south-east of the Mongols proper. This comprehensive use of the name Tatar was due to the importance assumed by that people in the 12th century. See Vladimirtsov, *Gengis-Khan*, 10–11. In Europe the word was associated with Tartarus or Tartara and Matthew of Paris (Rockhill, xv) tells how 'the countless army of the Tartars . . . poured forth like devils from the Tartarus, so that they are rightly called Tartari or Tartarians, 'whilst the Emperor Frederick II in a letter to Henry III of England (*ibid.*, xix) expresses the hope that 'the Tartars will be driven finally down into their Tartarus.'

with the land of Khitai,[5] in the west with the country of the Uighur,[6] in the north with the Qirqiz [7] and the river Selengei [8] and in the south with the Tangut [9] and the Tibetans.

Before the appearance of Chingiz-Khan they had no chief or ruler. Each tribe or two tribes lived separately; they were not united with one another, and there was constant fighting and hostility between them. Some of them regarded robbery and violence, immorality and debauchery (*fisq va fujūr*) as deeds of manliness and excellence. The Khan of Khitai used to demand and seize goods from them. Their clothing was of the skins of dogs and mice, and their food was the flesh of those animals and other dead things; their wine was mares' milk and their dessert the fruit of a tree shaped like the pine, which they call *qusuq* [10] and besides which no other fruit-bearing tree will grow

[5] Marco Polo's Cathay, i.e. Northern China.

[6] At an earlier period the Uighur Turks had ruled in Mongolia itself but they had then been expelled by the Kirghiz and had settled in the various oases to the north of the Tarim. See Grousset, *L'Empire des Steppes*, 172–8.

[7] I.e. the Kirghiz Turks, who at that time inhabited the region of the Upper Yenisei.

[8] SLNKAY. The Selenga.

[9] The Tangut were a people of Tibetan origin who had founded a kingdom in North-Western China. On their destruction by Chingiz-Khan see Grousset, *Le Conquérant du Monde*, 233–6.

[10] QSWQ, which I take to be identical with the *qusuq* of Kashghari. Kashghari's Arabic equivalent is *jillauz*, which is translated by Brockelmann and Atalay as 'hazelnut': in actual fact, as was pointed out to me by Professor Henning in a letter dated the 14th October, 1954, it is simply the Arabicized form of the Persian *chilghūza* 'pignon', 'fruit of the edible pine'. The *qusuq* tree is referred to again in Chapter VII, p. 55, where it is described as 'a tree shaped like a pine whose leaves in winter resemble those of a cypress and whose fruit is like a pignon (*chilghūza*) both in shape and taste'. It is in fact, as was already suggested by Marquart, *Ǧuwayni's Bericht über die Bekehrung der Uighuren*, 490, the Siberian Cedar (*Pinus cembra*). According to Loudon, *Arboretum et Fruticetum Britannicum*, IV, 2274 *et seq.*, there are two varieties of this tree, *sibirica*, 'a lofty tree not found beyond the Lena', and *pygmaea*, which '*covers rocky mountains which are so barren that herbage of no kind will grow on them*'. Dr. W. O. Howarth, of the Department of Botany in the University of Manchester, to whom I am indebted for the above reference, suggested in a letter dated the 17th February, 1954, that the second variety is simply a form of the first 'dwarfed by the conditions under which it grows'. As for the pignons, they are to-day a favourite delicacy of the Russians. Turner, *Siberia*, 89–90, gives an amusing account of the vast consumption of these nuts on the Trans-Siberian Railway

in that region: it grows [even] on some of the mountains, where, on account of the excessive cold, there is nothing else to be found. The sign of a great emir amongst them was that his stirrups were of iron; from which one can form a picture of their other luxuries. And they continued in this indigence, privation and misfortune until the banner of Chingiz-Khan's fortune was raised and they issued forth from the straits of hardship into the amplitude of well-being, from a prison into a garden, from the desert of poverty into a palace of delight and from abiding torment into reposeful pleasances; their raiment being of silk and brocade, their food and fruit '*The flesh of birds of the kind which they shall desire, and fruits of the sort which they shall choose*',[11] and their drink '*(pure wine) sealed; the seal whereof shall be musk*'.[12] And so it has come to pass that the present world is the paradise of that people; for all the merchandise that is brought from the West is borne unto them, and that which is bound in the farthest East is untied in their houses; wallets and purses are filled from their treasuries, and their everyday garments are studded with jewels and embroidered with gold; and in the markets of their residences gems and fabrics have been so much cheapened [16] that were the former taken back to the mine or quarry they would sell there for more than double the price, while to take fabrics thither is as to bear a present of carraway-seeds to Kerman or an offering of water to Oman.[13] Moreover, everyone of them has laid out fields and everywhere appointed husbandmen; their victuals, too, are abundant, and their beverages flow like the River Oxus.

and goes on to say that they 'are obtained in the northern parts of the Governments of Tomsk and Mariinsk, and in the mountainous localities of the Kuznetsk districts, Tomsk being the principal market for their sale. From five to six thousand tons are collected in a good season, the nuts being sold wholesale at 10*s*. to 15*s*. a cwt. The harvest in the forest begins about the 10th of August and ends about the middle of September. The cones are obtained by climbing, or by shaking the trees, while, in remote spots, huge trees, centuries old, are ruthlessly felled by greedy collectors. One family will gather as much as 10 cwt. of nuts in one day during the season.' Turner is of course describing conditions at the turn of the century.

[11] Koran, lvi, 21 and 20 (in that order).

[12] Koran, lxxxiii, 5 and 6.

[13] I.e. coals to Newcastle.

Through the splendour of the daily increasing fortune and under the shadow of the august majesty of Chingiz-Khan and his descendants the circumstances of the Mongols have risen from such penury and indigence to such abundance and affluence. And as for the other tribes their affairs also have been well ordered and their destiny firmly established. And whoever could not [previously] afford to make himself a cotton bed will trade with them for fifty thousand or thirty thousand gold or silver *balish* [14] at a time. Now the *balish* is worth fifty *misqals* of gold or silver, round about seventy-five *rukni* [15] dinars, the standard of which is two thirds.

May God Almighty grant his posterity, and in particular Mengü Qa'an, who is a most wise and just monarch, countless years in the pursuit of a prosperous life; may He uphold his clemency towards mankind!

[II]

OF THE LAWS WHICH CHINGIZ-KHAN FRAMED AND THE *YASAS* WHICH HE PROMULGATED AFTER HIS RISE TO POWER [1]

GOD Almighty in wisdom and intelligence distinguished Chingiz-Khan from all his coevals and in alertness of mind and absoluteness of power exalted him above all the kings of the world; so that all that has been recorded touching the practice of the mighty Chosroes of old and all that has been written concerning the customs and usages of the Pharaohs and Caesars was by Chingiz-Khan invented from the page of his own mind

[14] An ingot of gold or silver. It is the *iascot* of Rubruck, which, as Pelliot has shown, *Horde d'Or*, 8, *TP*, 1930, 190–2, and 1936, 80, is a misreading of **iastoc*, i.e. *yastuq*, the Turkish name for these ingots. *yastuq*, like the Persian *bālish*, means literally 'cushion'. An *iascot* according to Rubruck (Rockhill, 156) was 'a piece of silver weighing ten marks'; he does not seem to have known of the gold *bālish*.

[15] I.e. struck by some ruler called Rukn-ad-Din.

[1] This chapter has been translated into Russian by Professor Minorsky. See G. Vernadsky, *O sostave velikoy yasī Chingis khana*, Brussels, 1939. There is also an English translation by Professor Vernadsky in *Annales de l'Institut Kondakov*, 1939, xi, 37–45.

without the toil of perusing records or the trouble of conforming with tradition; while all that pertains to the method of subjugating countries and relates to the crushing of the power of enemies and the raising of the station of followers was the product of his own understanding and the compilation of his own intellect. And indeed, Alexander, who was so addicted to the devising of talismans and the solving of enigmas, had he lived in the age of Chingiz-Khan, would have been his pupil in craft and cunning, and of [17] all the talismans for the taking of strongholds he would have found none better than blindly to follow in his footsteps: whereof there can be no clearer proof nor more certain evidence than that having such numerous and powerful foes and such mighty and well-accoutred enemies, whereof each was the *faghfur*[2] of the time and the Chosroes of the age, he sallied forth, a single man, with few troops and no accoutrement, and reduced and subjugated the lords of the horizons from the East unto the West; and whoever presumed to oppose and resist him, that man, in enforcement of the *yasas* and ordinances which he imposed, he utterly destroyed, together with all his followers, children, partisans, armies, lands and territories. There has been transmitted to us a tradition of the traditions of God which says: *'Those are my horsemen; through them shall I avenge me on those that rebelled against me,'* nor is there a shadow of doubt but that these words are a reference to the horsemen of Chingiz-Khan and to his people. And so it was that when the world by reason of the variety of its creatures was become a raging sea, and the kings and nobles of every country by reason of the arrogance of pride and the insolence of vainglory had reached the very zenith of *'Vainglory is my tunic, and pride my cloak'*, then did God, in accordance with the above-mentioned promise, endow Chingiz-Khan with the strength of might and the victory of dominion—*'Verily, the might of the Lord is great indeed'*;[3] and when through pride of wealth, and power, and station the greater part of the cities and countries of the world

[2] The Facfur of Marco Polo, the Persian translation (lit. 'son of God') of one of the titles of the Emperor of China.

[3] Koran, lxx, 12.

encountered him with rebellion and hatred and refused to yield allegiance (and especially the countries of Islam, from the frontiers of Turkestan to uttermost Syria), then wherever there was a king, or a ruler, or the governor of a city that offered him resistance, him he annihilated together with his family and followers, kinsmen and strangers; so that where there had been a hundred thousand people there remained, without exaggeration, not a hundred souls alive; as a proof of which statement may be cited the fate of the various cities, whereof mention has been made in the proper place.

In accordance and agreement with his own mind he established a rule for every occasion and a regulation for every circumstance; while for every crime he fixed a penalty. And since the Tartar peoples had no script of their own, he gave orders that Mongol children should learn writing from the Uighur; and that these *yasas* and ordinances should be written down on rolls. These rolls are called the *Great Book of Yasas* and are kept in the treasury of the chief princes. Wherever a khan [18] ascends the throne, or a great army is mobilized, or the princes assemble and begin [to consult together] concerning affairs of state and the administration thereof, they produce these rolls and model their actions thereon; and proceed with the disposition of armies or the destruction of provinces and cities in the manner therein prescribed.

At the time of the first beginnings of his dominion, when the Mongol tribes were united to him, he abolished reprehensible customs which had been practised by those peoples and had enjoyed recognition amongst them; and established such usages as were praiseworthy from the point of view of reason. There are many of these ordinances that are in conformity with the Shari'at.

In the messages which he sent in all directions calling on the peoples to yield him allegiance, he never had recourse to intimidation or violent threats, as was the custom with the tyrant kings of old, who used to menace their enemies with the size of their territory and the magnitude of their equipment and supplies; the Mongols, on the contrary, as their uttermost warning, would write thus: 'If ye submit not, nor surrender, what know we

thereof? The Ancient God, He knoweth.'[4] If one reflects upon their signification, [one sees that] these are the words of them that put their trust in God—*God Almighty hath said 'And for him that putteth his trust in Him God will be all-sufficient'*[5] —so that of necessity such a one obtains whatever he has borne in his heart and yearned after, and attains his every wish.

Being the adherent of no religion and the follower of no creed, he eschewed bigotry, and the preference of one faith to another, and the placing of some above others; rather he honoured and respected the learned and pious of every sect, recognizing such conduct as the way to the Court of God. And as he viewed the Moslems with the eye of respect, so also did he hold the Christians and idolaters in high esteem. As for his children and grandchildren, several of them have chosen a religion according to their inclination, some adopting Islam, others embracing Christianity, others selecting idolatry and others again cleaving to the ancient canon of their fathers and forefathers and inclining in no direction; but these are now a minority. But though they have adopted some religion they still for the most part avoid all show of fanaticism and do not swerve from the *yasa* of Chingiz-Khan, namely, to consider all sects as one and not to distinguish them from [19] one another.

It is one of their laudable customs that they have closed the doors of ceremony, and preoccupation with titles, and excessive aloofness and inaccessibility; which things are customary with the fortunate and the mighty. When one of them ascends the throne of the Khanate, he receives one additional name, that of Khan or Qa'an, than which nothing more is written [in official documents]; while the other sons[6] and his brothers are addressed

[4] Cf. the ending of Güyük's letter to Innocent IV: *va agar dīgar kunad* [*kunīd*] *mā chī dānīm khudāi dānad.* 'And if ye do otherwise, what know we? God knoweth.' (Pelliot, *Les Mongols et la Papauté* [16].) Cf. too the letter of Baichu to the Pope: '. . . et si tu preceptum Dei stabile et illius qui faciem totius terre continet non audieris illud nos nescimus Deus scit.' (*Ibid.*, [128]).

[5] Koran, lxv, 3.

[6] I.e. *princes*. For this use of the Persian *pisar*, lit. 'son', like the Turkish *ogbul* and the Mongol *kōbe'ün*, in the sense of 'prince of the blood' see M.Q., II, ix, also Pelliot, *op. cit.*, [168].

by the name they were given at birth, both in their presence and in their absence; and this applies both to commoners and to the nobility. And likewise in directing their correspondence they write only the simple name, making no difference between Sultan and commoner; and write only the gist of the matter in hand, avoiding all superfluous titles and formulas.

He paid great attention to the chase and used to say that the hunting of wild beasts was a proper occupation for the commanders of armies; and that instruction and training therein was incumbent on warriors and men-at-arms, [who should learn] how the huntsmen come up with the quarry, how they hunt it, in what manner they array themselves and after what fashion they surround it according as the party is great or small. For when the Mongols wish to go a-hunting, they first send out scouts to ascertain what kinds of game are available and whether it is scarce or abundant. And when they are not engaged in warfare, they are ever eager for the chase and encourage their armies thus to occupy themselves; not for the sake of the game alone, but also in order that they may become accustomed and inured to hunting and familiarized with the handling of the bow and the endurance of hardships. Whenever the Khan sets out on the great hunt [7] (which takes place at the beginning of the winter season), he issues orders that the troops stationed around his headquarters and in the neighbourhood of the *ordus* shall make preparations for the chase, mounting several men from each company of ten in accordance with instructions and distributing such equipment in the way of arms and other matters as are suitable for the locality where it is desired to hunt. The right wing, left wing and centre of the army are drawn up and entrusted to the great emirs; and they set out together with the Royal Ladies *(khavāṭīn)* and the concubines, as well as provisions of food and drink. For a month, or two, or three they form a

[7] Rubruck speaks of these *battues*: 'When they want to chase wild animals, they gather together in a great multitude and surround the district in which they know the game to be, and gradually they come closer to each other till they have shut up the game in among them as in an enclosure, and then they shoot them with their arrows.' (Rockhill, 71.) Cf. also Friar Odoric's account of 'the Khan's great hunting matches', Yule, *Cathay and the Way Thither*, II, 234–6.

hunting ring and drive the game slowly and gradually before them, taking care [20] lest any escape from the ring. And if, unexpectedly, any game should break through, a minute inquiry is made into the cause and reason, and the commanders of thousands, hundreds and tens are clubbed therefor, and often even put to death. And if (for example) a man does not keep to the line (which they call *nerge*) but takes a step forwards or backwards, severe punishment is dealt out to him and is never remitted. For two or three months, by day and by night, they drive the game in this manner, like a flock of sheep, and dispatch messages to the Khan to inform him of the condition of the quarry, its scarcity or plenty, whither it has come and from whence it has been started. Finally, when the ring has been contracted to a diameter of two or three parasangs, they bind ropes together and cast felts over them; while the troops come to a halt all around the ring, standing shoulder to shoulder. The ring is now filled with the cries and commotion of every manner of game and the roaring and tumult of every kind of ferocious beast; all thinking that the appointed hour of '*And when the wild beasts shall be gathered together*'[8] is come; lions becoming familiar with wild asses, hyaenas friendly with foxes, wolves intimate with hares. When the ring has been so much contracted that the wild beasts are unable to stir, first the Khan rides in together with some of his retinue; then, after he has wearied of the sport, they dismount upon high ground in the centre of the *nerge* to watch the princes likewise entering the ring, and after them, in due order, the *noyans*, the commanders and the troops. Several days pass in this manner; then, when nothing is left of the game but a few wounded and emaciated stragglers, old men and greybeards humbly approach the Khan, offer up prayers for his well-being and intercede for the lives of the remaining animals asking that they be suffered to depart to some place nearer to grass and water. Thereupon they collect together all the game that they have bagged; and if the enumeration of every species of animal proves impracticable they count only the beasts of prey and the wild asses.

[8] Koran, lxxxi, 5.

[21] A friend has related how during the reign of Qa'an [9] they were hunting one winter in this fashion and Qa'an, in order to view the scene, had seated himself upon a hilltop; whereupon beasts of every kind set their faces towards his throne and from the foot of the hill set up a wailing and lamentation like that of petitioners for justice. Qa'an commanded that they should be set free and the hand of injury withheld from them.

It was Qa'an that commanded that between the land of Khitai and his winter quarters a wall should be built of wood and clay, and gates set into it; so that much game might enter it from a great distance and they might hunt it after the manner described. In the region of Almaligh [10] and Quyas [11] Chaghatai constructed a hunting ground in the very same manner.

Now war—with its killing, counting of the slain and sparing of the survivors—is after the same fashion, and indeed analogous in every detail, because all that is left in the neighbourhood of the battlefield are a few broken-down wretches.

With regard to the organization of their army, from the time of Adam down to the present day, when the greater part of the climes are at the disposition and command of the seed of Chingiz-Khan, it can be read in no history and is recorded in no book that any of the kings that were lords of the nations ever attained an army like the army of the Tartars, so patient of hardship, so

[9] I.e. Ögedei (Ögetei), the second son and first successor of Chingiz-Khan. See my article, *On the Titles Given in Juvainī to Certain Mongolian Princes*, 152, where I suggest that Qa'an was the posthumous title of Ögedei.

[10] Almaligh or Almalïq, the 'Apple-Orchard', was situated in Semirechye, in the valley of the Ili, not far from the present-day Kulja. It was here, 'in the Vicariat of Cathay or Tartary, in the city of Armalec in the Middle Empire of Tartary', in 1339 or 1340 that the Franciscan martyrs met their end. See Yule, *op. cit.*, III, 31–2, also Wyngaert, 510–11.

[11] Reading QYAS and QWYAS for the QNAS and QWNAS of the text. There is also MS. authority for the spelling Quyash, but Kashghari distinguishes between Quyas the township (*qaṣaba*) and *quyash* 'sun'. Quyas, according to Kashghari, lay beyond Barskhan (I, 393) and two rivers, the Greater and the Lesser Keiken, flowed from it to the Ili (III, 175). Pelliot, *Horde d'Or*, 185, n. 2, suggests its possible identity with the Equius of Rubruck, 'a goodly town . . . in which were Saracens speaking Persian' (Rockhill, 139), in which Barthold, *Histoire des Turcs*. 76, and Minorsky, *Ḥudūd*, 277, see the Iki-Ögüz of Kashghari.

grateful for comforts, so obedient to its commanders both in prosperity and adversity; and this not in hope of wages and fiefs nor in expectation of income or promotion. This is, indeed, the best way to [22] organize an army; for lions, so long as they are not hungry, will not hunt or attack any animal. There is a Persian proverb: 'An overfed dog catches no game', and it has also been said: *'Starve thy dog that it may follow thee.'*

What army in the whole world can equal the Mongol army? In time of action, when attacking and assaulting, they are like trained wild beasts out after game, and in the days of peace and security they are like sheep, yielding milk, and wool, and many other useful things. In misfortune and adversity they are free from dissension and opposition. It is an army after the fashion of a peasantry, being liable to all manner of contributions *(mu'an)* and rendering without complaint whatever is enjoined upon it, whether *qupchur,*[12] occasional taxes *('avārizāt)*, the maintenance *(ikhrājāt)* of travellers or the upkeep of post stations *(yam)* [13] with the provision of mounts *(ulagh)* [14] and food *('ulūfāt)* therefor. It is also a peasantry in the guise of an army, all of them, great and small, noble and base, in time of battle becoming swordsmen, archers and lancers and advancing in whatever manner the occasion requires. Whenever the slaying of foes and the attacking of rebels is purposed, they specify all that will be of service for that business, from the various arms and implements down to banners, needles, ropes, mounts and pack animals such as donkeys and camels; and every man must provide his share according to his ten or hundred. On the day of review, also, they display their equipment, and if only a little be missing, those responsible are severely punished. Even when they are actually engaged in fighting, there is exacted from them as much of the various taxes as is expedient, while any service which they used to perform when present devolves upon their wives and those of

[12] Originally equivalent to the Arabic *marā'ī* 'pasturage levy' this term was afterwards applied to irregular levies in general. See Minorsky, *Naṣīr al-Dīn Ṭūsī on Finance*, 783–4.

[13] The *iam* of Rubruck, who however takes the word as meaning the officer in charge of such a station, and the *yanb* of Marco Polo.

[14] In Turkish 'post horse'.

them that remain behind. Thus if work be afoot in which a man has his share of forced labour *(bīgār)*, and if the man himself be absent, his wife goes forth in person and performs that duty in his stead.

The reviewing and mustering of the army[15] has been so arranged that [23] they have abolished the registry of inspection *(daftar-i-'arẓ)* and dismissed the officials and clerks. For they have divided all the people into companies of ten, appointing one of the ten to be the commander of the nine others; while from among each ten commanders one has been given the title of 'commander of the hundred', all the hundred having been placed under his command. And so it is with each thousand men and so also with each ten thousand, over whom they have appointed a commander whom they call 'commander of the *tümen*'.[16] In accordance with this arrangement, if in an emergency any man or thing be required, they apply to the commanders of *tümen*; who in turn apply to the commanders of thousands, and so on down to the commanders of tens. There is a true equality in this; each man toils as much as the next, and no difference is made between them, no attention being paid to wealth or power. If there is a sudden call for soldiers an order is issued that so many thousand men must present themselves in such and such a place at such and such an hour of that day or night. *'They shall not retard it* (their appointed time) *an hour; and they shall not advance it.'*[17] And they arrive not a twinkling of an eye before or after the appointed hour. Their obedience and submissiveness is such that if there be a commander of a hundred thousand between whom and the Khan there is a distance of sunrise and sunset, and if he but commit some fault, the Khan dispatches a single horseman to punish him after the manner prescribed: if his head has been demanded, he cuts it off, and if gold be required, he takes it from him.

How different it is with other kings who must speak cautiously to their own slave, bought with their own money, as soon as he has ten horses in his stable, to say nothing of when they place

[15] Cf. Marco Polo's account, Benedetto, 86–7.
[16] In Turkish 'ten thousand'.
[17] Koran, vii, 32.

an army under his command and he attains to wealth and power; then they cannot displace him, and more often than not he actually rises in rebellion and insurrection! Whenever these kings prepare to attack an enemy or are themselves attacked by an enemy, months and years are required to equip an army and it takes a brimful treasury to meet the expense of salaries and allotments of land. When they draw their pay and allowances the soldiers' numbers increase by hundreds and thousands, but on the day of combat their ranks are everywhere vague and uncertain, and none presents himself on the battle-field.[18] A shepherd was once called to render an account of his office. Said the accountant: 'How many sheep remain?' 'Where?' asked the shepherd. 'In the register.' 'That,' replied the shepherd [24], 'is why I asked: there are none in the flock.' This is a parable to be applied to their armies; wherein each commander, in order to increase the appropriation for his men's pay, declares, 'I have so and so many men,' and at the time of inspection they impersonate one another in order to make up their full strength.

Another *yasa* is that no man may depart to another unit than the hundred, thousand or ten to which he has been assigned, nor may he seek refuge elsewhere. And if this order be transgressed the man who transferred is executed in the presence of the troops, while he that received him is severely punished. For this reason no man can give refuge to another; if (for example) the commander be a prince, he does not permit the meanest person to take refuge in his company and so avoids a breach of the *yasa*. Therefore no man can take liberties with his commander or leader, nor can another commander entice him away.

[18] Lit.: '. . . their ranks are *ḥashv* from beginning to end, and none becomes *bāriz* on the battle-field.' *ḥashv* and *bāriz* were terms of accountancy, the former referring to items in kind entered in the right-hand (i.e. the first) column of the ledger whilst the latter referred to the final cash entries in the left-hand column. The point seems to be that the value of the *ḥashv* entry, as opposed to the *bāriz*, was liable to fluctuation and perhaps to very considerable depreciation by the time it was finally converted into cash and so became *bāriz*. On these two terms see 'Abdallah b. Muhammad b. Kiya, *Die Resālä-ye Falakiyyä*, 28, also Hinz, *Ein orientalisches Handelsunternehmen im 15. Jahrhundert*, 315.

Furthermore, when moonlike damsels are found in the army they are gathered together and dispatched from the tens to the hundreds, and each man makes a different choice up to the commander of the *tümen,* who makes his choice also and takes the maidens so chosen to the Khan or the princes. These too make their selection, and upon those that are deemed worthy and are fair to look upon they recite the words '*Keep them honourably,*'[19] and upon the other, '*Put them away with kindness.*'[19] And they cause them to attend on the Royal Ladies until such time as it pleases them to bestow them on others or to lie with them themselves.[20]

Again, when the extent of their territories became broad and vast and important events fell out, it became essential to ascertain the activities of their enemies, and it was also necessary to transport goods from the West to the East and from the Far East to the West. Therefore throughout the length and breadth of the land they established *yams,* and made arrangements for the upkeep and expenses of each *yam,* assigning thereto a fixed number of men and beasts as well as food, drink and other necessities. All this they shared out amongst the *tümen,* each two *tümen* having to supply one *yam.* Thus, in accordance with the census, they so distribute and exact the charge, that messengers need make no long detour in order to obtain fresh mounts while at the same time the peasantry [25] and the army are not placed in constant inconvenience. Moreover strict orders were issued to the messengers with regard to the sparing of the mounts, etc., to recount all of which would delay us too long. Every year the *yams* are inspected, and whatever is missing or lost has to be replaced by the peasantry.[21]

Since all countries and peoples have come under their domination, they have established a census after their accustomed fashion

[19] Koran, ii, 229.

[20] For an account of the practice under Qubilai see Benedetto, 114–16. Cf. also Carpini ed. Beazley, 121: '. . . yea, often times he [i.e. the Empetor] makes a collection of virgines throughout all the Tartars dominions, and those whom he meanes to keepe, he retaineth vnto himselfe, others he bestoweth vpon his men.'

[21] For an account of the working of this system in China see Benedetto, 152–7.

and classified everyone into tens, hundreds and thousands; and required military service and the equipment of *yams* together with the expenses entailed and the provision of fodder—this in addition to ordinary taxes; and over and above all this they have fixed the *qupchur* charges also.

They have a custom that if an official or a peasant die, they do not interfere with the estate he leaves, be it much or little, nor may anyone else tamper with it. And if he have no heir, it is given to his apprentice or his slave. On no account is the property of a dead man admitted to the treasury, for they regard such a procedure as inauspicious.

When Hülegü [22] appointed me to [the governorship of] Baghdad, the inheritance taxes were in force in all that region; I swept away that system and abolished the imposts that had been levied in the countries of Tustar [23] and Bayat.[24]

There are many other *yasas,* to record each of which would delay us too long; we have therefore limited ourselves to the mention of the above.

[III]

CHINGIZ-KHAN'S RISE TO POWER AND THE BEGINNING OF THE PASSING TO HIM OF THE EMPIRES AND KINGDOMS OF THE KINGS OF THE WORLD: A BRIEF [1] ACCOUNT THEREOF

THE tribes and clans of the Mongols are many; but that which to-day is most renowned for its nobility and greatness and has

[22] HWLAKW. Juvaini's spelling perhaps indicates the Turkish pronunciation of the name. The native pronunciation (Hüle'ü) is represented by the Alau of Marco Polo, the Hulawu or Hōlawu of the Armenian sources and the HLAW of Juzjani.

[23] I.e. Shustar in Khuzistan.

[24] The westermost district of Khuzistan (north of the Kerkha). (V.M.)

[1] It is in fact a very brief summary with no mention of the vicissitudes of his early life, his rivalry with Jamuqa or his campaigns against the Tatar, the Merkit and the Naiman. For an account of his career previous to his invasion of the West see the *Secret History,* Rashid-ad-Din tr. Smirnova, Vladimirtsov, *Gengis-Khan,* and Grousset, *Le Conquérant du Monde.*

precedence over the others is the tribe of the Qiyat,[2] of which the forefathers [26] and ancestors of Chingiz-Khan were the chieftains and from which they traced their descent.

Chingiz-Khan bore the name of Temüjin[3] until the time when, in accordance with the decree of '*" Be," and it is,*'[4] he became master of all the kingdoms of the habitable world. In those days Ong-Khan,[5] the ruler of the Kereit and the *Saqiyat,[6] surpassed the other tribes in strength and dignity and was stronger than they in gear and equipment and the number

[2] Actually the Qīyat or Kiyat were a sub-division of the Mongol clan of the Borjigin.

[3] Reading TMWǰYN with B and C for the TMRǰYN of the text, which would give Temürjin. Both forms are possible but Temüjin is the older and is the form used in the *Secret History*, the *Yüan shih* and the *Shêng-wu ch'in-chêng lu*. The name is derived from *temür* 'iron' and means 'blacksmith'. This accounts for Rubruck's statement (Rockhill, 114 and 249) that Chingiz-Khan had actually been a blacksmith. According to the *Secret History*, the Chinese sources and Rashid-ad-Din he was so called after a Tatar chieftain Temüjin-Üke whom his father had brought in as a prisoner at the time of his birth.

[4] Koran. ii, 111.

[5] The Unc of Rubruck and the Unc Kan of Marco Polo, who identified him with Prester John. In fact Ong is the Mongol pronunciation of the Chinese title *wang* 'prince' conferred on him by the Chin in recognition of the part he had played in one of their campaigns against the Tatar. See Grousset, *op. cit.*, 117–20. His real name was Toghril (To'oril in Mongol). On his early career see the *Secret History*, §177, Grousset, *op. cit.*, 116–17. His people, the Kereit, perhaps of Turkish origin, were Nestorian Christians; they lived along the Orkhon and Tula between the Khangai and Kentei mountains.

[6] The printed text has SAQYZ, i.e. Saqiz, and M.Q. reproduces a note by Blochet to the effect that Saqïz is the equivalent of Naiman because *saqïz* means 'eight' in Turkish as does *naiman* in Mongol. There are, as Pelliot has pointed out (*Campagnes*, 220), two decisive objections to this theory. In the first place the Turkish for 'eight' is not *saqïz* but *sekiz*, and secondly Ong-Khan, far from being the ruler of the Naiman, was the bitter enemy of that people and was constantly at war with them. Pelliot suggests that for the SAQYR of the MSS. (which also occurs in Vassaf, Bombay ed., 558, the SAQYZ of the text being an amendment due to the editor) we should read the form here adopted, viz. SAQYT, corresponding to the SAQYAT, i.e. Saqïyat, mentioned by Rashid-ad-Din (Berezin, V, 95, and VII, 122; Khetagurov, 128) among the Kereit tribes. The name is omitted in Berezin's text (VII, 122), perhaps because it occurred in only one of his MSS. and is there followed by a blank. In Khetagurov the tribes are listed in a different order, the Saqïyat (or Sakait as he calls them) appearing after the Qonqïyat, not after the Jirgin as in Berezin, and in place of the blank is the short sentence: 'They also are a tribe.'

of his men. And in those days the Mongol tribes were not united and did not obey one another. When Chingiz-Khan rose from the grade of childhood to the degree of manhood, he became in the onslaught like a roaring lion and in the *mêlée* like a trenchant sword; in the subjugation of his foes his rigour and severity had the taste of poison, and in the humbling of the pride of each lord of fortune his harshness and ferocity did the work of Fate. Upon every occasion, by reason of the nearness of their confines and the proximity of their territories, he used to visit Ong-Khan, and there was a feeling of friendship between them. When Ong-Khan beheld his counsel and discernment, his valour, splendour and majesty, he marvelled at his courage and energy and did all that lay in his power to advance and honour him. Day by day he raised his station and position, until all affairs of state were dependent upon him and all Ong-Khan's troops and followers controlled by his discipline and justice. The sons and brothers of Ong-Khan and his courtiers and favourites became envious of the rank and favour he enjoyed: they accordingly cast the nets of guile across the passage provided by opportunity and set the traps of treachery to effect the blackening of his name; in the ambushes of private audiences they put out the story of his power and pre-eminence and repeated the tale of the inclination of all hearts towards obedience and allegiance to him. In the guise of well-wishers they kept these stories fresh until Ong-Khan too became suspicious of him and was doubtful as to what he should do; and fear and dread of his courage and intrepidity became implanted in his heart. Since it was impossible to attack him and [27] break with him openly, he thought to remove him by craft and guile and to hinder by fraud and treachery God's secret design in fortifying him. It was agreed, therefore, that at dawn, while eyes were anointed with the collyrium of sleep and mankind was rendered negligent by repose, Ong-Khan's men should make a night attack upon Chingiz-Khan and his followers and thus free themselves from their fears. They made every preparation for the deed and were about to put their intention into action; but since his luck was vigilant and his fortune kind, two youths in

Ong-Khan's service, one of them named Kishlik [7] and the other Bada, fled to Chingiz-Khan and informed him of the badness of their faith and the uncleanness of their treachery. He at once sent off his family and followers and had the tents moved away.[8] When at the appointed time, in the dawn, the enemy charged down upon the tents they found them empty. Though the accounts [9] differ here as to whether they then returned or whether they at once took up the pursuit, the upshot of the matter was that Ong-Khan set off in search of him with a large force of men, while Chingiz-Khan had but a small force with him. There is a spring [in that region] which they call Baljuna:[10] here they joined battle and fierce fighting ensued.[11] In the end Chingiz-Khan with his small army routed Ong-Khan with his great host and won much booty. This event occurred in the year 599/1202–3,[12] and the names of all who took part therein [13] are recorded, whether base or noble, from princes down to slaves, tent-pitchers, grooms, Turks, Taziks and Indians. As for those two youths, he made them *tarkhan*. *Tarkhan* are those who are

[7] The text has KLK, which, as M.Q. suggests, must be a corruption of KSLK or KŠLK. The name appears in Rashid-ad-Din as Qïshlïq (QYŠLYQ) and in the *Secret History* as Kishliq. Qïshlïq was still in attendance on the conqueror on his return journey from the campaign against the West. See Waley, *The Travels of an Alchemist*, 118.

[8] I.e. *moved a short distance away*, because it is clear from the context that they did not take the tents with them.

[9] An interesting reference to Juvaini's sources. Neither the *Secret History* nor Rashid-ad-Din mentions the attack on Chingiz-Khan's deserted encampment.

[10] It is not clear from the sources whether Baljuna is the name of a river or of a lake. Pelliot, *Campagnes*, 45–7, discusses the problem of its identity at some length and reaches the conclusion that it is to be sought somewhere along the lower course of the Kerulen. See now, however, Hung, *Three of Ch'ien Ta-hsin's Poems on Yüan History*, 20–24, n. 4.

[11] None of the other sources mention any fighting at Baljuna. This is probably a reference to the encounter at Qalqaljit-Elet, where Chingiz-Khan won a 'victoire à la Pyrrhus, qui fut peut-être une défaite' (Pelliot, *op. cit.*, 46). See the *Secret History*, §§170–1, Smirnova, 124–6, Grousset, *op. cit.*, 157–60.

[12] 1203 according to the *Yüan shih* (Krause, 21).

[13] I.e. all who were with Chingiz-Khan at Baljuna. See Smirnova, 126, Grousset, *op. cit.*, 171–2. The story of those who 'drank the water of the Baljuna river' is not recorded in the *Secret History*, and doubts have been cast on its authenticity, but see now Cleaves, *The Historicity of the Baljuna Covenant*.

exempt from compulsory contributions, and to whom the booty taken on every campaign is surrendered: whenever they so wish they may enter the royal presence without leave or permission. He also gave them troops and slaves and of cattle, horses and accoutrement more than could be counted or computed; and commanded that [28] whatever offence they might commit they should not be called to account therefor; and that this order should be observed with their posterity also down to the ninth generation. To-day there are many people descended from these two persons, and they are honoured and respected in every country, and held in high esteem at the courts of kings. As for the rest of those that took part in this battle, they all obtained high rank, and the very tent-pitchers and camel-drivers attained to great dignity; some became kings of the age, while others rose to great offices of state and became famous throughout the world.

When Chingiz-Khan's army had been reinforced, in order to prevent Ong-Khan from rallying, he dispatched troops to pursue him. Several times they joined battle, and on each occasion he was victorious and Ong-Khan defeated. Finally all the latter's family and retainers, even his wives and daughters, fell into Chingiz-Khan's hand; and he himself was slain.

And when Chingiz-Khan's cause prospered and the stars of his fortune were in the ascendant, he dispatched envoys to the other tribes also; and all that came to tender submission, such as the Oirat [14] and the Qonqurat,[15] were admitted to the number of his commanders and followers and were regarded with the eye of indulgence and favour; while as for the refractory and rebellious, he struck the breath from their bodies with the whip of calamity and the sword of annihilation; until all the tribes

[14] A forest tribe on the western shores of Lake Baikal.

[15] QNQWRAT. The Qonqīrat of Rashid-ad-Din and the Onggirat of the *Secret History*. It was to this tribe, in the extreme east of Mongolia, that Börte, Chingiz-Khan's first and chief wife, belonged. Juvaini's spelling of the name is interesting. Pelliot remarks (*Campagnes*, 406–7): 'La forme "Kunkurat", adoptée comme correcte par Howorth, I, 703, II, 14, et qui a passé par exemple dans Elias et Ross, *The Tarikh-i-Rashidi*, 16, n'est attestée nulle part et ne repose sur rien.' In fact it goes back to the form used by Juvaini, which form, in turn, is perhaps to be explained as an imagined derivation from the Turkish *qonghur* 'chestnut-coloured', 'bay', and *at* 'horse'.

were of one colour and obedient to his command. Then he established new laws and laid the foundation of justice; and whichever of their customs were abominable, such as theft and adultery, he abolished; something of which has been mentioned in the previous chapter.

At this time there arose a man of whom I have heard from trustworthy Mongols that during the severe cold that prevails in those regions he used to walk naked through the desert and the mountains and then to return and say: 'God has spoken with me and has said: "I have given all the face of the earth to Temüjin and his children and named him Chingiz-Khan. Bid him administer justice in such and such a fashion."' They called this person Teb-Tengri,[16] and whatever he said [29] Chingiz-Khan used implicitly to follow. Thus he too grew strong; and many followers having gathered around him, there arose in him the desire for sovereignty. One day in the course of a banquet, he engaged in altercation with one of the princes;[17] and that prince, in the midst of the assembly, threw him so heavily upon the ground that he never rose again.

In short, when these regions had been purged of rebels and all the tribes had become as his army, he dispatched ambassadors to Khitai, and afterwards went there in person, and slew Altun-Khan,[18] the Emperor of Khitai, and subjugated the country. And gradually he conquered other kingdoms also, as shall be hereinafter separately mentioned.

[16] Reading TB TNKRY for the BT TNKRY of the text. Teb-Tengri, i.e. 'Most Heavenly', was actually a sort of title, the shaman's real name being Kökchü. See Grousset, *op. cit.*, 225–8.

[17] According to the *Secret History*, §245, this was Chingiz-Khan's youngest full brother, Temüge-Otchigin (the Otegin of Juvaini). He and Teb-Tengri wrestled for a while in the Khan's presence and were then ordered outside. Temüge had posted three men in the doorway; they fell upon Teb-Tengri, dragged him to one side and broke his backbone. See also Grousset, *op. cit.*, 229–32.

[18] I.e. the Chin Emperor, *altun* in Turkish, like *chin* in Chinese, meaning 'gold': the Golden King of Marco Polo. Chin was the dynastic title adopted by the leaders of the Jürchen, a people of North Manchuria, who in 1123 expelled the Khitan (Liao) Dynasty from Northern China. In fact no Chin Emperor was put to death by Chingiz-Khan and the reference is perhaps to the suicide of the last ruler of the dynasty in 1234 during the reign of Ögedei. See below, p. 195; also Grousset, *L'Empire Mongol*, 292.

[IV]

OF THE SONS OF CHINGIZ-KHAN

CHINGIZ-KHAN had much issue, both male and female, by his wives and concubines. His eldest wife was Yesünjin Beki.[1] Now according to the custom of the Mongols the rank of the children of one father is in proportion to that of their mothers, so that the child of an elder wife is accorded greater preference and precedence. By this wife Chingiz-Khan had four sons who had risked their lives in the execution of great affairs and glorious actions and were to the throne of the kingdom as its four pedestals and to the palace of the khanate as its four pillars. For each of these Chingiz-Khan had selected a special office. To Tushi,[2] the eldest, he assigned hunting and the chase, which is a great sport with the Mongols and held in high esteem by them; while to Chaghatai,[3] who came next to him, fell the administration of the *yasa* and the law, both the enforcement thereof and the reprimanding and chastisement of those that contravened it. Ögetei [4] he selected for [all that called for] understanding and counsel and for the administration of the kingdom; and Toli [5] he promoted to the command and organization of troops and the equipment of armies. When the matter of Ong-Khan had been disposed of [30] and the tribes of the Mongols had, some by

[1] Actually her name was Börte. Perhaps Juvaini confused her with Hülegü's wife Yesünjin, the mother of his successor Abaqa.

[2] TWŠY. So spelt by Juzjani also; Nasawi has DWŠY. The Tossuc or Tosuccan of Carpini. The pronunciation is uncertain and may be either Toshi, Töshi or Tüshi. It is apparently the Turkish form of the native Jochi, Jöchi or Jüchi. Pelliot, *Horde d'Or*, 10–27, discusses this name at considerable length but reaches no definite conclusion as to the pronunciation or meaning.

[3] ǰITAY. In the *Secret History* he is called Cha'adai: the Chiaaday, etc., of Carpini.

[4] AWKTAY. In the *Secret History* he is called Ögödei or Öködei. Pelliot, *Campagnes*, 10, suggests that the name may be a derivative of Ük̇e, the second element of Temüjin-Ük̇e, the name of the Tatar prisoner after whom Chingiz-Khan was called. See above, p. 35, n. 3. Carpini has the form Occoday.

[5] TWLY. The usual form of the name is Tolui. Juvaini's spelling is interesting in view of the statement of Rashid-ad-Din that upon his death the use of the word *toli* 'mirror' was declared taboo. See my article, *On the Titles Given in J̌uvainī to Certain Mongolian Princes*, 147.

choice and some by compulsion, been reduced to his command and rendered submissive and obedient to his orders, he divided the tribes and peoples of the Mongols and the Naiman,[6] as well as all the armies, between the aforesaid sons; and to each of his other younger sons and to his brothers and kinsmen he allotted their share of the armies. And thereafter he was wont to urge the strengthening of the edifice of concord and the consolidation of the foundations of affection between sons and brothers; and used continually to sow the seed of harmony and concord in the breasts of his sons and brothers and kinsfolk and to paint in their hearts the picture of mutual aid and assistance. And by means of parables he would fortify that edifice and reinforce those foundations. One day[7] he called his sons together and taking an arrow from his quiver he broke it in half. Then he took two arrows and broke them also. And he continued to add to the bundle until there were so many arrows that even athletes were unable to break them. Then turning to his sons he said: 'So it is with you also. A frail arrow, when it is multiplied and supported by its fellows, not even mighty warriors are able to break it but in impotence withdraw their hands therefrom. As long, therefore, as you brothers support one another and render stout assistance one to another, though your enemies be men of great strength and might, yet shall they not gain the victory over you. But if there be no leader among you, to whose counsel the other brothers, and sons, and helpmeets, and companions submit themselves and to whose command they yield obedience, then your case will be like unto that of the snake of many heads. One night, when it was bitterly cold, the heads desired to creep into a hole in order to

[6] An interesting distinction in view of Pelliot's theory that the Naiman, who inhabited the region to the west of the Khangai, were in fact Mongolized Turks. See Grousset, *L'Empire Mongol*, 30; also Hambis, *La Haute-Asie*, 58 and 59.

[7] This anecdote is briefly repeated below, ii. 593–4, and M.Q. there comments that it is a very old story and is related in Tabari of the famous Umayyad general Muhallab. It is in fact much older still being Aesop's fable of the husbandman and his quarrelsome sons. There is no reason, however, for supposing that Juvaini drew on other than Mongol sources, for the story is also to be found in the *Secret History*, where it is related (§§ 19–20) not of Chingiz-Khan himself but of his mythical ancestress, Alan Qo'a.

ward off the chill. But as each head entered the hole another head would oppose it; and in this way they all perished. But another snake, which had but one head and a long tail, entered the hole and found room for his tail and all his limbs and members, which were preserved from the fury of the cold.' And there were many such parables which he adduced in order to confirm in their minds his words of counsel. They afterwards always abided by this principle; and although authority and empire are apparently vested in one man, namely him who is nominated Khan, [31] yet in reality all the children, grandchildren and uncles have their share of power and property; a proof whereof is that the World-Emperor Mengü Qa'an in the second *quriltai* apportioned and divided all his kingdoms among his kinsfolk, sons and daughters, and brothers and sisters.

When during the reign of Chingiz-Khan the kingdom became of vast extent he assigned to everyone his place of abode, which they call *yurt*. Thus to Otegin Noyan,[8] his brother, and to some of his grandchildren he apportioned territory in the regions of Khitai. To his eldest son, Tushi, he gave the territory stretching from the regions of Qayaligh [9] and Khorazm [10] to the remotest parts of Saqsin [11] and Bulghar [12] and as far in that direction as the hoof of Tartar horse had penetrated. Chaghatai received the territory extending from the land of the

[8] I.e. Temüge-Otchigin. *ot-tigin* (in Mongol *ot-chigin*) from the Turkish *ot* 'fire' and *tigin* 'lord', i.e. 'lord of the fire (hearth)', was the title of the youngest son as inheriting the Father's *yurt*. See Vladimirtsov, *Le régime social des Mongols*, 60.

[9] Qayalīgh or Qayalïq, the Cailac of Rubruck, lay a little to the west of the modern Kopal.

[10] In Persian Khwārazm. The ancient Chorasmia and the later Khanate of Khiva. The Khorazm Oasis is now divided between Uzbekistan (Khorezm Oblast) and Turkmenistan (Tashauz Oblast).

[11] Saqsīn was a town and territory on the Volga. The position of the town is discussed at length by Pelliot, *Horde d'Or*, 165–74. He agrees (*loc. cit.*, 169) with Marquart that it was situated 40 days downstream from Bulghar, i.e. on the lower reaches of the Volga.

[12] I.e. the territory of the Volga Bulghars, not here the actual town of Bulghar, of which the ruins are situated near the village of Bolgarskoye, 'in the Spassk district, 115 Km. south of Kazan and at 7 Km. from the left bank of the Volga'. (Minorsky, *Ḥudūd*, 461.)

Uighur to Samarqand and Bokhara, and his place of residence was in Quyas in the neighbourhood of Almaligh. The capital of Ögetei, the heir-apparent, during his father's reign was his *yurt* in the region of the Emil [13] and the Qobaq ;[14] but when he ascended the throne of the Khanate he removed it to their original homeland, between Khitai and the land of the Uighur, and gave that other fief to his own son Güyük :[15] an account of his various dwelling places has been recorded separately.[16] Toli's territory, likewise, lay [32] adjacent thereto, and indeed this spot is the middle of their empire like the centre of a circle.

What we have related is but an insignificant part of the story. The children and grandchildren of Chingiz-Khan are more than ten thousand, each of whom has his own position *(maqām), yurt,* army and equipment. To record them all is impossible: our purpose in relating this much was to show the harmony which prevails among them as compared with what is related concerning other kings, how brother falls upon brother and son meditates the ruin of father till of necessity they are vanquished and conquered and their authority is downfallen and overthrown. *God Almighty hath said: 'And dispute not lest ye become faint-hearted and your success go from you.'* [17] Whereas by mutual aid and assistance those khans of the children of Chingiz-Khan that succeeded him on the throne have conquered the whole world and utterly annihilated their enemies. Now the purpose of these tales and histories is that the intelligent man may learn

[13] AYMYL. Emil is the name of a river, south of Chuguchak, flowing into the Ala Kul. It was also, in Mongol times, the name of a town (the Omyl of Carpini) in the region of the Emil.

[14] Reading QWBAQ with Pelliot (*Les Mongols et la Papauté,* [206]–[207], n. 2) for the QWNAQ of the text. Of Qobaq Pelliot, *loc. cit.,* says: 'De même qu'Emil survit comme nom de la rivière Emil, Qobaq est encore aujourd'hui le nom d'une rivière Qoboq (" Chobuq " des cartes allemandes) à l'Est de l'Emil. C'est essentiellement la vallée de ces deux rivières qui constituait l'apanage propre de Güyük.'

[15] KYWK. The form Küyük is perhaps preferable for Juvaini in view of the Cuyuc of Carpini and the Keuchan of Rubruck. Güyük is the native Mongol form or at any rate the form used in the *Secret History.*

[16] In Chapter XXXIII.

[17] Koran, viii, 48.

without the pain of experience and be edified by the study of these discourses.

[V]

OF THE CONQUEST OF THE LAND OF THE UIGHUR AND THE SUBMISSION OF THE *IDI-QUT*

THE Uighur Turks call their ruler *idi-qut,* which means *lord of fortune.*[1] At that time the *idi-qut* was a certain Barchuq. During the spring when [the Emperor of] the Qara-Khitai [2] subjugated Transoxiana and Turkestan, he too entered the noose of allegiance and accepted the payment of tribute; and the Emperor sent him a *shahna* [3] named Shaukem.[4] This Shaukem, once he was

[1] Juvaini has evidently confused the first element of the name with *idi* 'lord', 'owner', which occurs for example in the compound name Ulush-Idi (see Chapter XIII), i.e. 'Lord of the *ulus*'. *Lord of Fortune* would be * *qut-idi.* Actually *īdī-qut* (cf. the Idu'ut of the *Secret History,* § 238), 'Holy Majesty', is a title which the Uighur took over from the earlier Basmīl. See Barthold, *Histoire des Turcs,* 37.

[2] Lit. the Black Khitai, the 'Karakitai sive nigri Kitay' of Carpini (Wyngaert, 88). This name was given to a branch of the Khitan who migrated westward after the overthrow of their dynasty by the Jürchen (see above, p. 39, n. 18), and founded an empire in Eastern Turkestan. On their history see below, pp. 354–61; also Grousset, *L'Empire des Steppes,* 219–22, and Wittfogel and Fêng, *History of Chinese Society: Liao,* 619–73.

[3] The Arabo-Persian word *shaḥna* is used by Juvaini as a synonym of the Turkish *basqaq* and the Mongol *darugha* or *darughachin* (see below, p. 105, n. 24), i.e. the representative of the conqueror in conquered territory responsible in particular for the collection of tribute. The word is used in the same sense in the Armenian chronicler Grigor (310 and 312).

[4] ŠAWKM. Shaukem is actually the Chinese title *shao-chien* 'junior supervisor'. This and *chien-kuo* 'state supervisor', apparently representing a higher rank than *shao-chien,* were the Qara-Khitai terms corresponding to *shaḥna, basqaq,* etc. (see previous note). See Wittfogel and Fêng, *op. cit.,* 666. A somewhat different account of the *shaḥna's* end is given in a Chinese source, *The Chronicle of the Hsieh Family of Kao-ch'ang.* When the *shao-chien* was surrounded he took refuge in a tower, whereupon a certain Bilge, the instigator of this attack upon the Qara-Khitai agent, followed him up the stairs, cut off his head and hurled it to the ground. See Wittfogel and Fêng, *op. cit.,* also Mostaert and Cleaves, *Trois documents mongols des Archives secrètes vaticanes,* 488. According both to the Chinese sources and to Rashid-ad-Din (Smirnova, 152) this event took place in 1209.

firmly established in his office, began to behave with tyranny and injustice, treating the *idi-qut* and his commanders with contumely and rending the veil of their honour; so that he became an object of detestation both to the nobles and to the common people. When Chingiz-Khan had made himself master of Khitai and the fame and report of his victory had been noised abroad, the *idi-qut* gave orders that Shaukem should be encompassed in a house in the town [5] which they call Qara-Khoja [6] and that the house should be pulled down upon his head. Then, in order to announce his rebellion [33] against the Qara-Khitai and his allegiance to the world-conquering Emperor Chingiz-Khan, he dispatched to the latter Qut-Almish-Qaya,[7] 'Umar Oghul [8] and Tarbai.[9] Chingiz-Khan showed every honour to these ambassadors but intimated that the *idi-qut* should make haste to present himself in person. The latter obeyed this command with alacrity, and upon his arrival witnessed the fulfilment

[5] *dih*. This word normally means 'village', but cf. below, p. 133, where it is used to translate the Turkish *balīgh* 'town'.

[6] QRA XWAǰH. Qocho or Qara-Khoja, the Carachoco of Marco Polo, known at an earlier period as Chinanch-Kath, 'the Chinese town', lay some 45 kilometres to the east of Turfan in what is now the Chinese province of Sinkiang. The ruins are still known as Ïdïqut-Shehri, i.e. 'the *ïdï-qut's* town'. See Minorsky, *Hudūd*, 271.

[7] QTALMŠ QYA (reading QYA for the QTA of the text). Qut-Almïsh means 'he that has received fortune (majesty)'. *qaya* 'rock', as Pelliot has pointed out, *Horde d'Or*, 70, n. 1, often forms the second element of proper names.

[8] I.e. *Prince* 'Umar. See above, p. 26, n. 6. To judge by his name he must have been a Mohammedan.

[9] TARBAY. The Darbai of the *Secret History*, §238, where he is accompanied by At-Kiraq (or Al-Buiruq). In Rashid-ad-Din (Berezin, XV, 15–16, Smirnova, 152) he also appears as Darbai (spelt DRBAY, which both Berezin and Smirnova read as Durbai) and is accompanied by one Alp-Ünük (?) or Alp-Ütük (?), perhaps identical with the Al-Buiruq of the *Secret History*. Here however Darbai and his companion are represented as the envoys, not of the *ïdï-qut*, but of Chingiz-Khan himself. As the result of their embassy the *ïdï-qut* sends his own ambassadors to the Khan, and their names are given as Bügüsh-Ish Aighuchï (Smirnova has Bargush instead of Bügüsh) and Alghïn-Temür. Elsewhere, in his chapter on the Uighur (Berezin, VII, 164, Khetagurov, 148) Rashid-ad-Din gives the same names as Juvaini for the *ïdï-qut's* ambassadors, but Tarbai is corrupted to Tatari (TATARY) in Berezin's text and Tatar in Khetagurov's translation and the latter has changed Qut-Almïsh-Qaya into Kalmish-Kata.

of all the promises that had been made to him and returned from thence loaded with honours. When the army set out against Küchlüg,[10] the *idi-qut* received orders to present himself with warriors from the Uighur country. In obedience to this command he joined Chingiz-Khan with three hundred men and rendered him assistance. When he returned from that campaign, he was allowed to have a retinue of his tribe, family and servants. Finally, when Chingiz-Khan set out in person against the lands of Sultan Muhammad he was again commanded to mount horse with his army. When the princes Chaghatai and Ögetei proceeded to their posts to lay siege to Otrar,[11] he too accompanied them. After the capture of Otrar, Törbei,[12] Yasa'ur [13] and Ghadaq [14] led an army to Vakhsh [15] and that region; and he too was sent with them. And when the royal standards reached the original encampment and Chingiz-Khan marched against the Tangut, he also, in fulfil-

[10] KWČLK. For the career of Küchlüg the Naiman see below, Chapter VIII.

[11] The ruins of Otrar, the earlier Fārāb, are situated on the right bank of the Syr Darya near the mouth of the Arīs. It was here, on the eastern frontier of Muhammad Khorazm-Shah's empire, that Chingiz-Khan's envoys were murdered (see below, pp. 79–80); and it was here, in 1405, that Tamerlane died whilst on his way to attack China.

[12] TRBAY, for which D has TWRTAY, i.e. TWRBAY. This person, as is suggested by M.Q. in his index, is probably identical with the Törbei Toqshin who was sent across the Indus in pursuit of Sultan Jalal-ad-Din. See below, Chapter XXIV.

[13] Reading YS'WR with E, I, 92, for the YSTWR of the text.

[14] ΓDAQ. Barthold, *Turkestan*, 417, has confused this person with the Alaq who led the expedition against Banakat. See my article, *Iru and Maru in the Secret History of the Mongols*, 409, n. 33, where I suggest his possible identity with Qadaq Ba'atur of the Jirgin (*Secret History*, §§ 170 and 185). In the corresponding passage in Rashid-ad-Din, Berezin's text (VII, 164), like B and E, has 'LAF, which he translates as 'provisions for the campaign'. The same corrupt form occurs in all Khetagurov's MSS.: he reads '*allāf* and translates 'provider of fodder for the [army] animals'. On the other hand, V. A. Zhukovsky, who translated the passage for Radloff, had recognized that 'LAF must represent a proper name. See Khetagurov, 148, n. 6. Barhebraeus has the form ΓLAQ.

[15] The Vakhsh is a right-bank affluent of the Oxus or Amu Darya, in what is now Tajikistan. Vakhsh was also the name of a district on the banks of the Vakhsh.

ment of orders, set out from Besh-Baligh [16] with his army in order to join him.

In recognition of these praiseworthy services Chingiz-Khan distinguished him with extraordinary attentions and favours; and betrothed one of his own daughters to him. Owing to the death of Chingiz-Khan this daughter remained behind; and he returned to Besh-Baligh. When Qa'an ascended the throne, in fulfilment of his father's command he bestowed Altun [34] Beki [17] upon him; but he had not yet arrived at Court when she died. After some time Qa'an betrothed Alajin Beki [18] to him, but before she was delivered up to him the *idi-qut* was no more. His son Kesmes [19] then presented himself at Court,

[16] Lit. 'Five Towns' from the Turkish *besh* 'five' and *balīgh* or rather *balīq* 'town'. Besh-Balīgh was situated in the present-day Sinkiang, slightly to the north-west of Guchen.

[17] I.e. *Princess* Altun. The Al-Altun of the *Secret History* (§ 238). Rashid-ad-Din calls her Altan Beki (Khetagurov, 149) and El-Altī or Il-Altī (Smirnova, in the table facing 73). In the *Yüan shih* she is referred to in the biography of the *īdī-qut* Barchuq, Chapter 122 (*ts'e* 38), 114–513 (2v5), as Yeh-li An-tun (El-Aldun) and in the table of imperial princesses, Chapter 109 (*ts'e* 36), 114–3v as Yeh-li K'o-tun (El-Qadun), in which latter case, as Hambis has suggested, *Le chapitre CVIII*, 133, *qadun* (i.e. *qatun* 'princess') was probably substituted by the editor for *altun*. Professor F. W. Cleaves, of Harvard University, to whom I am indebted for these references to the *Yüan shih*, remarks in a letter dated the 2nd August, 1955, that in neither passage is there any indication that the princess was not actually married to Barchuq. Her betrothal or marriage to the Uighur ruler was known to Rubruck: 'These Iugurs used to inhabit the cities which first obeyed Chingis chan, who therefore gave his daughter to their king.' (Rockhill, 149.) This statement, which has the authority both of Juvaini and of the Far Eastern sources, has been disputed by Rubruck's editors. 'Friar William would seem to have been misinformed on this point, for I can find no record of Chingis having given one of his daughters in marriage to an Uighur prince.' (Rockhill, *loc. cit.*, n. 1.) 'Filia Chingis in uxorem data est Regi Merkitarum, non autem Uigurorum, d'Ohsson, *Histoire des Mongols*, I, 419.' (Wyngaert, 233, n. 2.)

[18] I.e. Princess Alajin. The text has ALAǰY in l. 2 and ALAǰYN in l. 4. The name appears to be the feminine form of *ala* 'mottled'. Perhaps this lady was the daughter of Ögedei: she is nowhere mentioned as the daughter of Chingiz-Khan. The *Yüan shih*, so Professor Cleaves informs me in the letter referred to in the previous note, says nothing of her marriage to the *īdī-qut* in place of the deceased Altun Beki.

[19] Reading KSMAS, which C has for the KSMAYN of the text in 1. 4. The meaning of the name would appear to be 'he that does not cut'.

became *idi-qut* and married Alajin Beki. After a short space the *idi-qut* Kesmes likewise passed away; and at the command of Queen Töregene [20] his brother Salindi [21] took his place and was called *idi-qut*. He was firmly established on the throne and held in high esteem; *'and the giver of success is God'*.

[VI]

OF THE FURTHER HISTORY OF THE UIGHUR

ALTHOUGH this chapter ought to be placed after that on the accession of Mengü Qa'an, nevertheless as the general arrangement of this history favoured its insertion in this place it seemed appropriate to observe this order.

When the empire of the universe had been settled upon the World-Emperor Mengü Qa'an, there arose dissension because of the treachery which certain people were meditating.[1] These persons dispatched to the *idi-qut* [2] a certain Bala Bitikchi,[3] an Uighur and an idolater, and one of the ministers of the kingdom *('like being ever attracted unto like')*. Bala Bitikchi tempted the *idi-qut* with many promises and with countless inducements; he suggested among other things that the Uighur should slay all the Moslems in Besh-Baligh and its environs, pillaging their property and leading their children captive; and that they should fit out an army of fifty thousand men to render assistance in case of need. Of the Uighur nobles that were privy [35] to this conspiracy were Bilge Quti,[4] Bolmish-Buqa,[5] Saqun [6] and

[20] The widow of Ögedei and the Regent of the Empire. See below, Chapter XXXIV.

[21] SALNDY.

[1] On the conspiracy against Möngke see below.

[2] Apparently Salïndï. See above.

[3] I.e. Bala the *bitikchi* (*bitigchi*), the Scribe.

[4] Reading BYLKAQTY for the BYLKAFTY of the text. Cf. the title of Bilge Qut conferred upon the Bilge who slew the *shao-chien* of the Qara-Khitai. See Mostaert and Cleaves, *Trois documents mongols des Archives secrètes vaticanes*, 488, also above, p. 44, n. 4. Professor Cleaves informs me in a letter dated the 6th February, 1956, that the Chinese transcription of the title (Pi-li-chia-hu-ti) may equally well represent Bilge Qutï. For the use of *qutï*,

Idkech.[7] It was agreed that they should spring from ambush in the precincts of the mosque upon a Friday when the congregation were engaged in prayer, and blacken the face of their lives and discomfit the army of Islam.

They will quench the glory that was kindled by God; they will lessen the grace that was given by God.

In order to carry out this plan and accomplish this intention, under the pretext that he was going to Ghaimish, Khoja and Naqu,[8] the *idi-qut* pitched his camp upon the plain; and the troops of the Uighur were assembled. Now one of the slaves of Bilge Quti, Tegmish [9] by name, had been eavesdropping one night and had overheard their plans and schemes. He concealed what he had heard until a week later, when being involved in an altercation with one of the Moslems in the market-place, he exclaimed: 'Do your worst now, for you have but three days left to live.' Now at that time the Emir Saif-ad-Din, a trusted minister of the Court and a man of lofty position and high rank, was in Besh-Baligh; and the Moslems informed him of these words. He sent for Tegmish and questioned him concerning the riddle which he had spoken in the midst of the altercation. Tegmish for his part disclosed the real state of affairs and the plot and design of those malcontents. Now during these two days news had arrived of the accession of the World-Emperor; and the change in the affairs of the conspirators became manifest. The *idi-qut,* thus constrained by circumstances, abandoned that idea and set out on the journey to Court. Saif-ad-Din sent a

lit. 'his fortune', in the sense of 'His Highness' or 'His Majesty' see Radloff, *Uigurische Sprachdenkmäler,* 146.

[5] Reading BWLMYŠ BWQA for the TWKMYŠ BWQA of the text. A has BWLMYŠ, D BWLMS and E BWLMYŠ for the first element of the name. For Bulmïsh or Bolmïsh as a personal name see Radloff, *op. cit.*

[6] SAQWN. Apparently identical with the Saghun of Kashghari (I, 403), a title given to the chief men of the Qarluq Turks.

[7] AYDKAǰ. The spelling is uncertain: E has ANDKAǰ.

[8] I.e. Princess Oghul-Ghaimish, the widow of Güyük and the Regent of the Empire (on whom see below, Chapter XXXVII) and her two sons.

[9] TKMYŠ. Perhaps from the same root as Tekish or Tegish, the name of Muhammad Khorazm-Shah's father. Cf. Pelliot-Hambis, *Campagnes,* 91.

messenger to fetch him back; and when he and his followers returned and came into the presence of Saif-ad-Din, they were confronted with Tegmish, who withdrew nothing from his statement, but recounted the exact time and place of the meeting and the names of those that took part in it. They were overcome with fear and consternation [36] and bereft of wit and reason. There being no other course open to them they denied the matter and disclaimed all knowledge of it. After much clamour and wrangling on the part of the *idi-qut* and his accomplices they gave written declarations in attestation of their innocence, as did Tegmish in support of his own statement. Written undertakings were also taken from the other Uighur of note to the effect that should any one of them have had knowledge of this matter and concealed it, and should any intrigue be disclosed and revealed, he too should be reckoned in the number of the culprits and his life and property should be forfeit. Hereupon Tegmish arose and said: 'It would seem that this affair cannot be decided in Besh-Baligh. Let us go to the Court of the World-Emperor, in order that it may be thoroughly discussed and investigated in the great *yarghu*.'[10]

Tegmish, accordingly, was sent in advance with the messenger to report this affair at Court. He was ordered to halt and wait for the *idi-qut* and his followers. He halted for a while but the *idi-qut* did not appear. Tegmish then conducted Bala Bitikchi to the *yarghu*. When he denied the charge, he was, in accordance with their custom, stripped stark naked and beaten with drumsticks until at last he declared the truth of the matter concerning their conspiracy against the World-Emperor Mengü Qa'an, just as it had been declared by Tegmish. He was then dismissed but detained; and Tegmish was sent back with the envoy Mengü-Bolad[11] in order to fetch the *idi-qut*. When the latter heard of the messenger's approach, before their arrival he set off

[10] In Turkish 'court of criminal investigation'.

[11] The text has MNKFWLAD and B MNKWFWLAD, but I have preferred the reading MNKWBWLAD based on the MNKWBWLAẒ and MNKBWLAT of C and D respectively, II, 247–50. *bolad* or *bolat* is the Turkish form of the Persian *pūlād* or *fūlād* 'steel'.

for Court by a different road. After Tegmish had been lording it in Besh-Baligh, where [37] each of the Uighur (who were in fear of their lives) plied him with bribes and rendered him all manner of services, he too returned in the footsteps of the *idi-qut*.

Mengeser[12] Noyan then began the inquiry. As the *idi-qut* denied the charge recourse was had to torture and questioning. They so twisted his hands that he fell upon his face in exhaustion. A wooden press was then fastened on his forehead. The jailer loosened the press and in punishment for this action received seventeen stout blows upon the posterior *(mouẓe'-i-izār)*. The *idi-qut* still persisted in his denial and would make no confession. They then confronted him with Bolmish-Buqa,[13] who said: 'Nought will avail thee but the truth.' But persisting in his former error he would not confess the words that had passed between them. Bala Bitikchi was then brought in. In the face of the *idi-qut* he recounted all that had been said from beginning to end. The *idi-qut,* in great astonishment, asked, 'Art thou Bala?'[14] And as his name was Bala, he answered, 'Yes.' Then the *idi-qut* also confessed, whereupon his bonds were loosened and he was removed some distance away. Bilge-Quti too, after enduring all manner of questioning, spoke the truth and avowed his guilt. The two or three others that remained were questioned separately; and after sipping the unpalatable cup of the roughness of Tartar rods they vomited forth and declared what was hidden in their breasts. Thereafter they were all brought into the presence of one another and without the imposition of bonds and chains were questioned as to the making of their league and covenant of conspiracy and conjuration. *'They said, "Is not this it in truth?" They said, "Aye, by our Lord." He said, "Taste then the punishment for that ye would not believe."'*[15]

When confessions had been obtained from them all [38] and

[12] MNKSAR. On Mengeser see below, ii. 578–81; also Pelliot-Hambis, *op. cit.*, 368–9.

[13] Here the text has TKMŠ for the first element of the name, A BKMŠ, D BWKMŠ and E BKMYŠ.

[14] There is a word-play involved, since *balā* in Arabic means 'calamity'.

[15] Koran, xlvi, 33.

had been submitted to the firm judgement of the Monarch of the Face of the Earth, he gave orders that the *idi-qut* and his accomplices should be sent back to Besh-Baligh together with the messengers. And on a Friday, the day on which they had thought to attack the true believers, the common people, both monotheists and idolaters, were brought out on to the plain and the command of the mighty World-Emperor was put into execution. Ögünch,[16] the brother of the *idi-qut,* with his own hand severed his head; and his two accomplices Bilge Quti and Idkech were sawn in half. And thus was this country cleansed of the mark of the guile of these wicked infidels and of the impurity of their religion. *'And the uttermost part of that impious people was cut off. All praise be to God, the Lord of the Worlds!'*[17] The faithful were exalted and the idolaters down-trodden by the grace of God Almighty.

The truth shineth forth and the swords are bared: beware
of the lions of the thicket, beware![18]

Now Bala Bitikchi was one of the officers of Ghaimish. At the time of the trial of the conspirators and their punishment for their evil intent, previous to the divulgement of this secret plot he had been held in confinement and had despaired of his life. He was now taken out on to the plain with some others and stripped naked in preparation for his execution. But Beki[19] being ill and her illness having grown worse, as an almsgiving for her long life those who had that day been condemned to death all received their pardon. And so he escaped from under the sword.

[16] AWKNǰ. Professor Cleaves informs me in the letter quoted above that in the biography of the *īdī-qut* Barchuq in the *Yüan shih,* Chapter 122 (*ts'e* 38), 11a–5r3, it is stated that when Barchuq died (2v8), he was succeeded by his *second* son Yü-ku-lun-ch'ih (Ügürünchi), who is obviously Juvaini's Ögünch. There is no mention in the biography of an elder son (or, according to Juvaini, two elder sons, Kesmes and Salindi).

[17] Koran, vi, 45.

[18] The opening line of a *qasida* by Abu-Tammam in praise of the 'Abbasid Caliph Mu'tasim. (M.Q.)

[19] I.e. Sorqoqtani Beki, the widow of Tolui and the mother of Möngke, Qubilai and Hülegü, on whom see below, pp. 108–9, n. 31.

Oh! how often did the field grow narrow to the fighters,
and it was yet possible to escape from amongst the lances!

In this case too, because clemency had been previously ordered, his blood remained unshed; but his wives and children, his servants and cattle, all his animate and inanimate possessions, were seized and distributed. It is the custom of the Mongols in the case of a criminal who is worthy of death [39] but whose life has been spared to send him into the wars; arguing that if he is fated to be killed he will be killed in the fighting. Or else they send him on an embassy to foreign peoples who they are not entirely certain will send him back: or again they send him to hot countries whose climate is unhealthy. And thus, on account of the heat of the climate of Egypt and Syria they dispatched Bala Bitikchi upon an embassy to those parts.

Since Saqun was not deeply involved in the conspiracy and as he had connections with the Court of Batu, he escaped with a hundred and ten stout blows upon the posterior.

As for Tegmish, who had drawn attention to the conspiracy, he received tokens of favour and benevolence; and God Almighty bestowed upon him the nobility of Islam.

After the dust of this sedition had settled Ögünch arose and went to Court. He was given his brother's office and the title of *idi-qut*.

These events took place in the year 650/1252–3.

[VII]

OF THE ORIGIN OF THE *IDI-QUT* AND THE LAND OF THE UIGHUR ACCORDING TO THEIR OWN BELIEF[1]

AFTER writing their history we have recorded something of what is found in their books regarding their beliefs and religion; which we offer as matter for astonishment and not as truth and certainty.

[1] This chapter has been translated into French by d'Ohsson, I, 429–35, and German by Salemann in Radloff, *Das Kudaktu Bilik*, Theil I, xli-xlix.

It is the opinion of the Uighur that the beginning of their generation and increase was on the banks of the river Orqon,[2] whose source flows from a mountain which they call Qara-Qorum;[3] the town that was built by Qa'an in the present age is also called after that mountain. Thirty rivers have their sources in it; upon each river there dwelt a different people; the Uighur forming two groups upon the Orqon. When their number increased, after the manner [40] of other peoples they appointed a chief from their midst and yielded him obedience. And so they continued for five hundred years until the appearance of Buqu Khan.[4] Now it is said that Buqu Khan was Afrasiyab;[5] and there are ruins of a well, and also a great stone, on the hillside near Qara-Qorum, and this well is said to be that of Bizhan.[6]

There are also the ruins of a town and a palace on the banks of this river, of which the name is Ordu-Baligh[7] though it is now called Ma'u-Baligh.[8] Outside the ruins of the palace, opposite the gate, there lie stones engraved with inscriptions, which we have seen ourselves. During the reign of Qa'an these stones were raised up, and a well was discovered, and in the well a great stone tablet with an inscription engraved upon it.[9]

[2] ARQWN, i.e. the Orkhon.

[3] Lit. 'Black Rock' from the Turkish *qara* 'black' and *qorum* 'rock'.

[4] Marquart, *Ğuwayni's Bericht über die Bekehrung der Uiguren*, 486–7, sees in Buqu an historical figure, the Khan mentioned on the Qara-Balghasun inscription (see below, pp. 54–5, n. 9) under whom Manichaeism was introduced amongst the Uighur. On the other hand, Pelliot, *Notes sur le 'Turkestan' de M. Barthold*, 22, regards Buqu as Juvaini's spelling of Bügü, 'le nom du premier roi plus ou moins légendaire des Ouigours'.

[5] Afrāsiyāb is a figure in the National Epic, in which he appears as the ruler of Tūrān and the hereditary foe of the Iranians. He and his followers, who may originally have represented Iranian tribes hostile to the teachings of Zoroaster, had by the time the Epic received its final form in the *Shāhnāma* of Firdausi been identified with a more recent enemy, the Turks.

[6] Bīzhan, an Iranian hero, was imprisoned by Afrasiyab in a well.

[7] Or Qara-Balghasun, the old Uighur capital.

[8] I.e. 'Bad Town' from the Mongol *ma'u* 'bad' and the Turkish *balīgh* or *balïq* 'town'.

[9] This is perhaps the famous trilingual inscription (in Chinese, Turkish and Soghdian) in praise of the Uighur ruler Ai tengride qut bulmïsh alp bilge. See Grousset, *L'Empire des Steppes*, 174; also, for translations of the Chinese

The order was given that everyone should present himself in order to decipher the writing; but no one was able to read it. Then people were brought from Khitai who are called . . .:[10] it was their writing that was engraved on the stone [and this is what was written:]

In that age two of the rivers of Qara-Qorum, one called the Tughla [11] and the other the Selenge, flowed together in a place called Qamlanchu;[12] and close together between these two rivers there stood two trees; the one they call *qusuq*,[13] which is a tree shaped like a pine *(nāzh)*, whose leaves in winter resemble those of a cypress and whose fruit is like a pignon *(chilghūza)* both in shape and taste; the other they call *toz*.[14] Between the two trees there arose a great mound, and a light [15] descended on it from the sky; and day by day the mound grew greater. On seeing this strange sight, the Uighur tribes were filled with astonishment; and respectfully and humbly they approached the mound: they heard sweet and pleasant sounds like singing. And every night a light shone to a distance of thirty paces around that mound,

text, Radloff, *Die alttürkischen Inschriften der Mongolei*, 286–91, and Schlegel, *Die chinesische Inschrift auf dem uigurischen Denkmal in Kara Balgassun*. That inscription, however, while it refers at some length to the conversion of the Uighur to Manichaeism by missionaries brought from China, makes no reference whatsoever (as was already pointed out by Marquart, *op. cit.*, 497) to the miraculous birth of Buqu or to his various conquests. May it perhaps be that the Qara-Balghasun inscription is rather to be identified with 'the stones engraved with inscriptions' mentioned immediately before? For a description of the monument as discovered by the Russians (the actual stele was broken into six pieces) see Radloff, *op. cit.*, 283.

[10] There is a blank in all MSS. except C, which has QAMAĀN, and J and K (not utilized by M.Q. for this part of his edition), which have QAMAN, i.e. *qams* or shamans (see below, p. 59, n. 23); but this can hardly be right.

[11] TWTLA. The Tula.

[12] QMLANJW. Marquart, *Über das Volkstum der Komanen*, 59–60, regards Qamlanchu as an entirely mythical locality. He points out that there is in fact no confluence of the Tula and the Selenga, the former being a tributary of the Orkhon. Kashghari, III, 242, knows Qamlanchu only as 'the name of a small town near Iki-Ögüz'.

[13] I.e. the Siberian Cedar. See above, p. 21, n. 10).

[14] I.e. the Birch, reading TWZ with E for the TWR of the text.

[15] 'Der wunderbare Lichtstrom, welcher auf den Baum fällt, wodurch dieser befruchtet wird und fünf Anschwellungen bekommt, ist echt manichäisch.' (Marquart, *Ǧuwayni's Bericht*, 490.)

until just as with pregnant women at the time of their delivery, a door opened and inside there were five separate tent-like cells [41] in each of which sat a man-child: opposite the mouth of each child hung a tube which furnished milk as required; while above the tent was extended a net of silver. The chiefs of the tribe came to view this marvel and in reverence bowed the knee of fealty. When the wind blew upon the children they gathered strength and began to move about. At length they came forth from the cells and were confided to nurses, while the people performed all the ceremonies of service and honour. As soon as they were weaned and were able to speak they inquired concerning their parents, and the people pointed to those two trees. They approached the trees and made such obeisance as dutiful children make to their parents; they also showed respect and honour to the ground in which the trees grew. The trees then broke into speech and said: 'Good children, adorned with the noblest virtues, have ever trodden this path, observing their duty to their parents. May your lives be long, and your names endure for ever!'[16] All the tribes of that region came to view the children and showed them the honours due to the sons of kings; and as they left they gave each boy a name: the eldest they called Sonqur Tegin, the second Qotur Tegin, the third Tükel Tegin, the fourth Or Tegin and the fifth Buqu Tegin.[17]

After considering these strange matters the people agreed that they must make one of the children their leader and their king; for they were, they said, sent by God Almighty. They found Buqu Khan to be superior to the other children in beauty of features and strength of mind and judgement; moreover he knew all the tongues and writings of the different peoples. Therefore

[16] Cf. Rashid-ad-Din's reference to Bügü Khan (see above, p. 54, n. 4), who 'was a great ruler in ancient times, held in high esteem by the Uighur and many [other] tribes, who relate of him that he was born of a tree'. (Khetagurov, 139.) The legend was known to Marco Polo: 'They [i.e. the Uighur] say that the king, who first ruled them, was not of human origin, but was born of one of those swellings that the sap produces on the bark of trees, and that we call *esca*.' (Benedetto, 73.) For the Chinese version as given in the *Yüan shih* (which is remarkably close to Juvaini) see Bretschneider, I, 247.

[17] In Old Turkish *tegin* or *tigin* means 'lord' or 'prince'. In the case of Tükel I read TWKAL with D for the TWKAK of the text.

all were of one accord that he should be made Khan; and so they gathered together, held a feast and placed him on the throne of the Khanate. Thereafter he spread out the carpet of justice and rolled up the scroll of oppression; and his retainers and domestics and followers and servants were many. God Almighty sent him three ravens *(zāgh)* [18] that knew all tongues; [42] and wherever he had a matter on hand thither the ravens would go to act as spies and bring back news.

Some time later, when he lay asleep one night in his house, the form of a maiden came down through the smoke-hole and awakened him; but in his fear he feigned to be still asleep. On the second night she came again; and on the third night, following the advice of his vizier, he departed with the maiden to a mountain which they call Aq-Tagh,[19] where they conversed together until the break of dawn. And for a space of seven years, six months and twenty-two days he resorted thither every night, and they spoke with each other. Upon the last night, when the maiden bade him farewell, she said to him: 'From East to West shall be thy domain. Be diligent and zealous in this work, and care for the people.'

Hereupon he assembled armies and dispatched three hundred thousand picked men under Sonqur Tegin against the Mongols and the Qirqiz; a hundred thousand men, similarly equipped, under Qotur Tegin against the Tangut; and the like number of men under Tükel Tegin against the Tibetans; while he himself with three hundred thousand men marched against the Khitayans, leaving his other brother behind in his stead. Each returned in triumph from the place to which he had been sent, and with so much booty as was beyond measure or computation; and they brought many people from all sides to their home on the Orqon

[18] The Persian word is vague: it is applied to-day to the Magpie and the Jackdaw.

[19] Lit. 'the White Mountain' from the Turkish *aq* 'white' and *taq* or *tagh* 'mountain'. Perhaps identical with the Ektag (= Aq-Tagh) of Menander Protector, i.e. the T'ien Shan, in 'a certain hollow' in which mountain range Zemarchus, the ambassador of Justin II, was received in audience by Istemi, the ruler of the Western T'u-chüeh (552–75). See Yule, *Cathay and the Way Thither*, I, 209, Grousset, *L'Empire des Steppes*, 129.

and built the town of Ordu-Baligh; and the whole of the East came under their sway.

Then Buqu Khan beheld in a dream an aged man,[20] clothed in white and holding a white staff; who handed him a jasper stone shaped like a pine-cone, saying: 'If thou canst keep this stone, then shall the four corners of the world be under the shadow of the banner of thy command.' His vizier also [43] dreamt a similar dream. In the morning they began to prepare his army; and he set out for the regions of the West. When he had come to the boundary of Turkestan he beheld a pleasant plain with abundance of grass and water. He himself settled here and founded the town of Balasaqun, which is now called Quz-Baligh;[21] and sent out his armies in all directions. In the space of twelve years they had conquered all the climes, leaving nowhere a single rebel or insurgent. And when they had come to a place where they saw men with animal limbs they knew that beyond this there was no inhabitable land; and they returned home bearing with them the kings of the different countries whom they presented to Buqu Khan in that place. He received each of them with the honour befitting his station; except the

[20] So in the text, which follows E and reads *shakhṣī pīr rā*. All the other MSS. used by M.Q. except A have *shakhṣī bazār rā* or *shakhṣī bazār* 'some 1000 persons'. A, which is corrupt, seems also to have *bazār rā*, which is likewise the reading of J and K, the two Bodleian manuscripts, which were not consulted by M.Q. for this part of his edition. J also has '*aṣābā* 'staves' for the '*aṣā* 'staff' of the text. The verbs relating to the apparently plural subject are in the singular except in two MSS. (C and D), which have the plural forms. The whole passage ought then perhaps to be translated as follows: 'Then Buqu beheld in a dream some 1000 persons, clothed in white and holding white staves, etc., etc.' This is how it was understood by Salemann and Marquart except that Salemann's text has '*iṣābahā* 'turbans' instead of '*aṣābā* so that the 1000 men are described as 'wearing white turbans' and not as 'holding white staves'. On this passage Marquart, *op. cit.*, 486, comments: 'Jene 1000 Männer sind augenscheinlich Manichäer, wie schon ihre Kleidung . . . erweist . . .'

[21] The precise position of Balasaqun (BLASAQWN) or Balasaghun is not known: it lay somewhere in the valley of the Chu. See Barthold, *Histoire des Turcs*, 64–5. As for the name Quz-Baligh (I read QZ BALYT for the QR BALYT of the text) it should be noted that according to Kashghari Balasaghun was also known as Quz-Ulush (I, 62, *ulush* being synonymous with *balīq* 'town') or Quz-Ordu (I, 124). [According to Smirnova, 182, n. 3, the ruins of Balasaghun are situated 24 kilometres to the south-west of Tokmak].

king of India, whom, because of his hideous appearance, he would not admit to his presence. He sent them all back to their kingdoms and fixed a tribute upon each. Then, as there was no longer any obstacle in his path, he decided to return from thence; and so came back to his former place of abode.

The reason for the idolatry [22] of the Uighur is that in those days they knew the science of magic, the experts in which art they called *qam*.[23] Now there are still to this day among the Mongols people that are overcome with *ubna*,[24] and speak vain things, and claim that they are possessed by devils who inform them of all things. We have questioned certain people regarding these *qam*, and they say: 'We have heard that devils descend into their tents by the smoke-hole and hold converse with them. And it is possible that evil spirits are intimate with some of them and have intercourse with them. Their powers are at their strongest just after they have satisfied their natural lust in an unnatural way *(az manfaẓ-i-birāz)*.' In a word, these people we have mentioned are called *qam*; and when the Mongols had no knowledge or science, they had from ancient times yielded obedience to the words of these *qam*; and even now their princes [44] still believe in their words and prayers, and if they engage upon some business they will conclude nothing until these astrologers have given their consent.[25] And in a similar manner they heal their sick.

Now the religion of Khitai was idolatry. Buqu dispatched a messenger to the Khan [of that country] and summoned the *toyins* [26] to him. When they arrived he confronted the two parties so that they might choose the religion of whichever party

[22] *but-parastī*. Here used in the sense of Buddhism: *but* 'idol' is derived from Buddha. See Marquart, *op. cit.*, 489.

[23] *qam* is a Turkish word. It is confused by Rubruck with *kban* or *qa'an*: 'All soothsayers are called *cham*, and so all their princes are called *cham*, because their government of the people depends on divination.' (Rockhill, 108.)

[24] In Arabic 'the craving of the pathic'.

[25] Cf. the statement of Rubruck: 'They [the diviners] predict lucky and unlucky days for the undertaking of all affairs; and so it is that they never assemble an army nor begin a war without their assent and long since (the Moal) would have gone back to Hungary, but the diviners will not allow it.' (Rockhill, 240.)

[26] See above, p. 14, n. 31.

defeated the other. The *toyins* call a reading from their [holy] book *nom.*[27] Now the *nom* contains their theological speculations and consists of idle stories and traditions; but excellent homilies are likewise to be found in it such as are consonant with the law and faith of every prophet, urging men to avoid injury and oppression and the like, to return good for evil and to refrain from the injuring of animals, etc. Their dogmas and doctrines are manifold; the most typical is that of reincarnation. They say that the people of to-day existed several thousand years ago: the souls of those that wrought good deeds and engaged in worship attained a degree in accordance with their actions, such as that of king, or prince, or peasant, or beggar; while the souls of those that had engaged in debauchery *(fisq)*, libertinism *(fujūr)*, murder, slander and injury to their fellow-creatures descended into vermin, beasts of prey and other animals; and so they are punished for their deeds. But then ignorance is [everywhere] in the ascendant: *'they say that which they do not.'*

When they had read certain *noms*, the *qam* were completely dumbfounded. For this reason the Uighur adopted idolatry as their religion, and most of the other tribes followed their example. And there are none more bigoted than the idolaters of the East, and none more hostile to Islam.

As for Buqu Khan he lived happily until the time when he passed away. [45] And these lies which we have recorded are but few out of many and but a hundredth of what might have been related. Our purpose in recording them was to expose the ignorance and folly of this people.

A friend has told us that he read in a book how there was a man, who made a hollow in the space between the two trees, and placed his own children in it, and lighted candles in the middle of it. Then he brought people to see this wonder, and worshipped it, and commanded them to do likewise. And so he deceived them until he had dug up the ground and fetched out the children.

[27] The Buddhist *dharma*. See Marquart, *loc. cit.* *nom* is the Greek νόμος, which passed through Soghdian into the Uighur and Mongol languages: to-day it is the ordinary Mongol word for 'book'.

After Buqu's death he was succeeded by one of his sons.

The tribes and peoples of the Uighur, when they listened to the neighing of horses, the screaming of camels, the barking and howling of dogs and beasts of prey, the lowing of cattle, the bleating of sheep, the twittering of birds and the whimpering of children, in all this heard the cry of '*köch, köch!*'[28] and would move on from their halting-place. And wherever they halted the cry of '*köch, köch!*' would reach their ears. Finally they came to the plain where they afterwards built Besh-Baligh, and here that cry was silenced; and here they settled down and built five quarters and called them Besh-Baligh:[29] they gradually became one long and wide space. And from that time their posterity have been princes, and they call their prince *idi-qut*. And that family tree, which is an accursed tree,[30] is fastened upon the wall in their houses.

[VIII]

[46] OF KÜCHLÜG AND TOQ-TOGHAN[1]

WHEN Chingiz-Khan had defeated Ong-Khan, the latter's son[2] succeeded in escaping together with some others that had

[28] I.e. 'move, move!'

[29] Besh-Baligh meaning literally 'Five Towns'. See above, p. 47, n. 16.

[30] Cf. '*the cursed tree of the Koran*' (Koran, xvii, 62), i.e. the tree az-Zaqqūm. '*It is a tree which cometh up from the bottom of hell; its fruit is as it were the heads of Satans; and lo! the* damned *shall surely eat of it, and fill their bellies with it.*' (*Ibid.*, xxxvii, 62–4.)

[1] TWQ TTAN (E has TWQ ṬTAN, II, 101). The name itself is unquestionably to be identified with that of the Merkit chieftain, the Toqto'a Beki of the *Secret History* and the Toqta of Rashid-ad-Din. Pelliot, *Horde d'Or*, 67–71, discusses its etymology and concludes that like Toqtamïsh, the name of the antagonist of Tamerlane, it is derived from the Mongol-Turkish verb *toqta-*, *toqto-*, 'to stop', 'to be fixed'. However the form of the name as it occurs in Juvaini seems to have been modified by Turkish speakers to give it an entirely different meaning: 'the falcon that has eaten its fill', from *toq* 'satiated' and *toghan* 'falcon'. Pelliot himself, *loc. cit.*, 68, refers to the analogous names of Toq-Buqa and Toq-Temür as being of frequent occurrence in the *Yüan shih*. As to the identity of the person called by this name Juvaini has confused Toqto'a Beki with one of his sons (Qodu or Qul-Toghan); and in the present chapter Toq-Toghan stands sometimes for the father and sometimes for the son.

[2] Juvaini's mistake is pointed out by M.Q. Küchlüg was the son, not of

a large following. He struck the road for Besh-Baligh, and from thence he came to Kucha, where he wandered in the mountains without food or sustenance, while those of his tribe that had accompanied him were scattered far and wide.[3] Now some say that a detachment of the *gür-khan's* [4] soldiers took him prisoner and bore him to their master; but according to one report he went of his own free will.[5] In any case, he remained for some time in the *gür-khan's* service.

Ong-Khan, the ruler of the Kereit, but of Tai-Buqa or Tayang-Khan, the ruler of the Naiman. After his father's death in battle (in 1204) he had fled to his uncle Buiruq and upon the latter's death had made common cause with Toqto'a of the Merkit. In 1208 (or 1205 according to the *Secret History*) they suffered a crushing defeat on the upper reaches of the Irtish. Toqto'a was killed and Küchlüg fled to the *gür-khan*. See the *Secret History*, § 198, Krause, 28–9, Smirnova, 151–2, 180 and 254.

[3] These details are not in Rashid-ad-Din, who simply states (Smirnova, 186) that Küchlüg proceeded from Besh-Balīgh to Kucha.

[4] *gür-khan* was the title of the ruler of the Qara-Khitai. The spelling *kür-khan* is perhaps preferable for Juvaini. Cf. the Coirchan of Rubruck (Wyngaert, 205). *gür-khan* occurs in the *Secret History* also as the title assumed by the Mongol Anti-Caesar Jamuqa (§ 141) and Gür-Khan was the name of the uncle of Ong-Khan who deposed him for murdering his brothers (§§ 66–7). The meaning of the title according to Juvaini (II, 86; i, 354) is 'khan of khans'. In the *Secret History gür* is always translated by the Chinese *p'u* 'universal'. See Pelliot-Hambis, *Campagnes*, 248. On the other hand, Barthold, *Histoire des Turcs*, 97, n. 1., sees in the first element of the title the Old Turkish *kür* or *kül*. *kür*, according to Kashghari, means 'brave', 'heroic'. *kül*, which is given by Gabain only as a proper name (Kül Tigin, Kül Chor), means 'glorieux' according to Pelliot, *Neuf notes sur des questions d'Asie Centrale*, 210. The *gür-khan* or *kür-khan* was then the Universal, the Heroic or the Glorious Khan.

[5] An interesting reference to sources. Rashid-ad-Din (Smirnova, 180) gives the following account of Küchlüg's first meeting with the *gür-khan*: 'They say that when Küshlüg reached the *ordu* of the *gür-khan* he called one of his followers by his own name and pretending himself to be a groom sat at the entrance at the time when they went to the *gür-khan*. Gürbesü [the *gür-khan's* wife] came out, caught sight of Küshlüg and said: "Why have you not brought him inside?" They brought him in, and the *gür-khan's* emirs were offended. Gürbesü was the *gür-khan's* eldest wife: she had a daughter called Qunqu, who fell in love with Küshlüg. Three days later she was given in marriage to him. She was so masterful that she would not allow the *boghtaq* to be put on her. She declared that instead of a *boghtaq* she would wear a *nikse* like the women of Khitai.' In Qunqu Professor Cleaves (I quote a letter dated the 31st October, 1955) sees the Chinese title *huang-hou* 'empress'. He suggests that *nikse* (for which the B.M. MS. Or. 7628, 500*a*, has MYLSH, i.e. *milse*—the passage is absent

When the Sultan [6] began his revolt against the *gür-khan* and the other princes to the east commenced to rebel, and to seek the protection of Chingiz-Khan, and to find in his favour security from the *gür-khan's* evil; then said Küchlüg to the *gür-khan*: 'My people are many; they are scattered throughout the region of the Emil, in Qayaligh and in Besh-Baligh; and everyone is molesting them. [47] If I receive permission, I will collect them together and with the help of this people will assist and support the *gür-khan*. I shall not deviate from the path he prescribes and as far as in me lies I shall not twist my neck from the fulfilment of whatever he commands.' By such deceitful blandishments he cast the *gür-khan* into the well of vainglory. And when the latter had presented him with numerous gifts and bestowed upon him the title of *Küchlüg-Khan*, he leapt forth like an arrow from a strong bow. And when the report of his rise was noised abroad, all those in the army of Qara-Khitai that had some connection with him, set out to join him; and so he penetrated to the region of the Emil and Qayaligh. Toq-Toghan, who was also [7] a chief of the Mekrit and had fled before the fame of Chingiz-Khan's onslaught had likewise allied himself with Küchlüg. And from all sides his tribesmen assembled around him. And he assaulted divers places and plundered them, striking one after another; and so he obtained a numerous army and his retinue and army was multiplied and reinforced. Then, turning upon the *gür-khan*, he ravaged and plundered his territory, now attacking and now retreating. And hearing of the Sultan's conquests he sent a succession of ambassadors to him urging him to attack the

from Berezin's text) may be a Chin or Jürchen word. On the headgear known as a *boghtaq* or *boghtagh* see below, p. 262, n. 2.

[6] I.e. Sultan Muhammad Khorazm-Shah.

[7] Implying that Küchlüg, already falsely described as a Kereit, was also a Merkit! The Merkit (Mekrit is a less usual spelling of the name) were a forest tribe and inhabited the region of the Lower Selenga, along the southern shores of Lake Baikal. On the identity of Toq-Toghan see above, p. 61, n. 1. It seems likely that in this instance Toqto'a Beki himself is meant and that the reference is really to his and Küchlüg's earlier collaboration upon the Irtish. See above, p. 61, n. 2. There is no evidence in the other sources of any alliance between Küchlüg and the Merkit after the former had established himself in Semirechye.

gür-khan from the west while he himself attacked him from the east; so that between them they might make an end of him. If the Sultan was the first to conquer and destroy, all the *gür-khan's* kingdom to Almaligh and Kashghar should be surrendered to him; while if Küchlüg took the lead and bore off Qara-Khitai, then all the territory to the river of Fanakat [8] should be his. Being thus agreed and having formed a compact on these terms, they sent their armies [48] against Qara-Khitai from either side. Küchlüg won the lead; the troops of the *gür-khan,* who were some distance away, were routed and he plundered the *gür-khan's* treasures in Özkend [9] and passed from thence to Balasaqun. Here the *gür-khan* was encamped; they joined battle near *Chinuch [10] and Küchlüg was defeated and the greater part of his army taken prisoner. He returned to his own country and set about reorganizing his forces. Then, hearing that the *gür-khan* had returned from his war with the Sultan and had committed excesses against the population, whilst his army had dispersed to their homes; Küchlüg fell upon him like lightning from a cloud, and taking him by surprise made him prisoner and seized his kingdom and his army. He took one of their maidens to wife. Now the Naiman are for the most part Christian; but this maiden persuaded him to turn idolater like herself and to abjure his Christianity.[11]

[8] Fanākat (or Banākat) lay on the right bank of the Syr Darya near the mouth of the Angren (Āhangarān), but by 'the river of Fanakat' the Syr Darya itself is probably meant.

[9] Presumably the Özkend on the Syr Darya between Suqnaq and Jand (see below, p. 87) is meant here, but in any case not the Özkend in Farghana (now Uzkend in Kirghizia).

[10] The text has ḤYYNWḤ. The spelling is quite uncertain but the second element of the name is probably the Turkish *uch* 'edge', 'border'. The phrase translated by 'near' (*dar kanār-i*) usually means 'on the banks of', so that *Chinuch could be a river, but it can also mean 'on the border of', in which case *Chinuch might be a region or a mountain-range.

[11] According to the passage from Rashid-ad-Din quoted above, p. 62, n. 5, it was Qunqu, the daughter of the *gür-khan* and Gürbesü, who converted Küchlüg to Buddhism. Elsewhere Rashid-ad-Din attributes his conversion to a wife described as 'a girl of the . . . people, most of whom are . . .', the first blank occurring both in Berezin's text (XV, 60) and in Smirnova (182), while the relative clause is not in Smirnova.

With thy idol-like face thou hast made me thy worshipper,
and hast charmed me who didst formerly raise up troubles for me.
'Tis no wonder that the fire of heaven consumeth my liver
seeing that he deserveth the fire who worshippeth an idol.

When he was firmly established in the kingdom of Qara-Khitai he went several times to war against Ozar Khan [12] of Almaligh. Finally he took him by surprise in his hunting grounds and put him to death.

The rulers of Kashghar and Khotan had previously risen in rebellion and the son of the Khan of Kashghar had been held prisoner by the *gür-khan*. Küchlüg released him from custody and sent him back to Kashghar; but the nobles of that place plotted against him and slew him at the gates before he could set foot in the town. Thereupon Küchlüg, at every harvest time, would send his troops to devour their crops and consume them with fire. When for three or four years [49] they had been prevented from gathering in their corn, and a great dearth had made its appearance, and the populace were distressed with famine; they then submitted to his command. He betook himself thither with his army; and in every house in which there was a householder he quartered one of his soldiers, so that they were all assembled in one place and under one roof with the inhabitants. And oppression, and injustice, and cruelty, and depravity were made manifest; and the pagan idolaters accomplished whatever was their will and in their power, and none was able to prevent them.

From here Küchlüg proceeded to Khotan, and seized that country; whereupon he compelled the inhabitants to abjure the religion of Mohammed, giving them the choice between two alternatives, either to adopt the Christian or idolatrous creed or to don the garb of the Khitayans. And since it was impossible to go over to another religion, by reason of hard necessity they clad themselves in the dress of the Khitayans. *God Almighty hath said: 'But who shall be a forced partaker, if it be without wilfulness,*

[12] On Ozar (AWZAR) see below, p. 75. According to Jamal al-Qarshi his name was Buzar. See Barthold, *Turkestan*, 401, Pelliot, *Horde d'Or*, 185.

and not in transgression—verily, thy Lord is indulgent, merciful.' [13] The muezzins' call to prayer and the worship of monotheist and believer were broken off; and the schools were closed and destroyed. One day, in Khotan, he drove the great *imams* out on to the plain and began to discuss religion with them. One of their number, the *imam* ʿAla-ad-Din Muhammad of Khotan, ventured to dispute with him: After undergoing torture he was crucified upon the door of his college, as will be hereinafter described.[14] Thus was the Moslem cause brought to a sorry pass, nay rather it was entirely wiped out, and endless oppression and wickedness were extended over all the slaves of the Divinity; who sent up prayers that were blessed with fulfilment, saying:

O Lord, when Pharaoh became proud and haughty, being
rendered insolent by what he possessed,
Thou wert kind, Who art the Kind, the Knowing, and didst
plunge him in the sea until he perished.
How then is it with this man who is not shown to me treading
another path than that which he hath ever trodden,
Secure from the vicissitudes of Fortune, though Heaven may
work its will upon all?
Art Thou not able to seize him? Seize him then, and the
kingdom shall have been freed.[15]

It was as though the arrow of prayer hit the target of answer and acceptance; for when Chingiz-Khan set out to attack the countries of the Sultan [50] he despatched a group of *noyans* [16] to remove the corruption of Küchlüg and lance the abscess of his sedition. Küchlüg was at that time in Kashghar. The people of Kashghar relate as follows: 'When they arrived they had not yet joined battle, when he turned his back and set his face towards flight, and fled away. And each group of Mongols, arriving one after another, sought nothing of us save Küchlüg,

[13] Koran, vi, 146.

[14] In Chapter IX.

[15] From a poem by Ahmad b. Abū-Bakr Kātib in which he satirizes Abū-ʿAbdallah al-Jaihāni the Samanid. (M.Q.)

[16] According to the *Secret History* (§§ 202 and 237) and Rashid-ad-Din (Smirnova, 183, Khetagurov, 194) it was the famous general Jebe (Yeme in Juvaini) who was sent in pursuit of Küchlüg.

and permitted the recitation of the *takbir* and the *azan*, and caused a herald to proclaim in the town that each should abide by his own religion and follow his own creed. Then we knew the existence of this people to be one of the mercies of the Lord and one of the bounties of divine grace.'

And when Küchlüg fled, all his soldiers that sojourned in Moslem houses in that town, were annihilated in one moment, like quicksilver upon the ground. And the Mongol army set out in pursuit of Küchlüg; and wherever he halted, they would come up to him; and so they chased him like a mad dog until he came to the borders of Badakhshan and entered the valley which is called *Darra-yi-*Dirazi*.[17] When he drew near to *Sarigh-Chopan,[18] he mistook the road (as it was right that

[17] Reading DRAZY for the WRARNY of the text (for which D has WRAZY), i.e. the Valley of *Dirāzī. See the following note.

[18] Reading SRΓ ČWPAN for the SRX ǰWYAN of the text (for which E has SRX ČWPAN) in accordance with the version of this passage in Mirza Haidar (Elias-Ross, 292), which has Sarigh Chupán (SRYΓ ČWPAN) and for the WRARNY of the text (see the preceding note) Darázukhán. Mirza Haidar refers elsewhere (*op. cit.*, 353–4) to Sárigh Chupán (SARYΓ ČWPAN) and adds that 'the people of Badakhshán call the frontier [between Badakhshán and Wakhán] *Darázukhán*. The Kashghári call it *Sárigh Chupán*.' On Darázukhán Elias comments (*op. cit.*, 354, n. 1): 'I expect that the term intended is *Darazi-i-Wakhán* or *Daráz-Wakhan*, and that it points to the long narrow valley of the upper Panjah, sometimes known in modern days as *Sarigh Chupán* or *Sarhad*.' Juvaini's Darra-yi-*Dirāzī and *Sarïgh-Chopan do not however seem to be identical and the latter may have been some point along the former, conceivably the district of Sarhadd. The valley of the Upper Panja (i.e. the Sarhadd river or Āb-i-Vakhān) is one of the two alternative routes for Marco Polo's journey to Kashghar from the West. See Yule, *The Book of Ser Marco Polo*, I, 175, also Cordier, *Ser Marco Polo: Notes and Addenda*, 38 and 39. The other, more northerly route lay along the valley of the Pamir River which rises in Lake Victoria, long regarded after its discovery by Wood as the source of the Oxus; and it is also possible that Küchlüg in his flight from Kashghar, may have followed this route. According to the *Secret History* (§ 237) he was captured in Sariq-Qol (the text has Sariq-Qun, 'Yellow Cliff', but see Pelliot, *Notes sur le "Turkestan" de M. Barthold*, 55). The same name occurs in Rashid-ad-Din (Smirnova, 179 and 183) and has usually been identified with the Sarikol range in Western Kashgharia. It should be noted however that Rashid-ad-Din agrees with Juvaini that Küchlüg was captured and killed on 'the frontier of Badakhshan' (Khetagurov, 194, Smirnova, 179 and 183) and that the 'valley (*darra*) which is called Sarïq-Qol' is therefore presumably located further west than the Sarikol. In view of these considerations Smirnova has suggested

he should do) and entered a valley which had no egress. Some Badakhshani huntsmen were hunting in the neighbouring mountains. They caught sight of Küchlüg and his men and turned towards them; while the Mongols came up from the other side. As the valley was of a rugged nature and the going was difficult, the Mongols came to an agreement with the hunters. 'These men,' they said, 'are Küchlüg and his followers, who have escaped from our grasp. If you capture Küchlüg and deliver him up to us, we shall ask nothing more of you.' These men accordingly surrounded Küchlüg and his followers, took him prisoner and handed him over to the Mongols; who cut off his head and bore it away with them. The people of Badakhshan received endless booty in jewels and money, and so returned home.

And be it remarked that whoever molests the faith and law of Mohammed never triumphs, while whoever fosters it, even though it be not his own religion, advances day by day in prosperity and consideration. [51]

> If God lights a candle, whoever blows at it only
> burns his beard.

And God Almighty hath said: 'How many generations have we destroyed before them? We had settled them on the earth as we have not settled you, and we sent down the very heavens upon them in copious rains, and we made the rivers to flow beneath their feet: yet we destroyed them in their sins, and raised up other generations to succeed them.' [19]

Thus the region of Kashghar and Khotan up to an area which was under the command of the Sultan became subject to the world-conquering Emperor Chingiz-Khan.

(179–80, n. 7) that the reference may perhaps be to the region around the Sarigh-Köl (or Sar-i Köl), the 'Yellow Lake', i.e. Lake Victoria, called also by the Russians Zor Kul; and this suggestion finds support in the fact that Wood's Kirghiz informants called the valley of the Pamir 'the durah [i.e. *darra*] of Sir-i-kol'. See Wood, *A Personal Narrative of a Journey to the Source of the Oxus*, 332. It would appear therefore that Küchlüg's flight westward like Polo's journey eastward lay along the one or the other of these two possible routes.

[19] Koran, vi, 6.

As for Toq-Toghan [20] he had seceded from Küchlüg during the latter's ascendancy and had gone to the region of Qam-Kemchik.[21] In the trail of his flight Chingiz-Khan dispatched his eldest son Tushi with a large army in order to destroy him: he cleansed away his evil and left no trace of him.

As they returned they were followed by the Sultan; and though they refrained from giving battle, the Sultan could not withhold himself but set his face towards the wilderness of error and hallucination. As he was not rebuffed by admonishments they prepared for action. Both sides attacked, and the right wing of both armies routed its opponents. The rest of the Mongol army was emboldened by this success; they attacked the centre where the Sultan was stationed in person; [52] and he was nearly taken prisoner, when Jalal-ad-Din repelled the attackers and bore him out of that strait.

> What is finer than a furious male lion, his loins
> girded before his father? [22]

And the battle continued all that day, and the fighting lasted till the evening prayer, when by the disappearance of the greater luminary the face of the world became as black as the face of evildoers and the back of the earth as dark as the belly of a well.

> Last night, at the time when the shadow of the earth
> lay in ambush for the steed of light,
> I beheld the whole of the inhabitable globe in blackness
> like a miserable hovel
> Thou mightest truly have said that it was a black pavilion
> raising its head unto the highest heaven.

Thereupon they sheathed the sword of combat, and each army rested in its own quarters. The Mongol army then withdrew.[23]

[20] Here Qodu or Qul-Toghan is meant and not Toqto'a Beki (see above, p. 61, n. 1) but the reference is probably to the flight of the Merkit after the battle on the Irtish.

[21] Reading QM KMČK for the QM KBČK of the text. Qam-Kemchik or rather Kem-Kemchik was the territory between the Kem, i.e. the Upper Yenisei, and its tributary the Kemchik.

[22] *Shahnama* ed. Vullers, 1632, I. 2408.

[23] For a fuller account of the battle see below.

And when they came to Chingiz-Khan, and he had assayed their bravery and learnt of the extent and size of the Sultan's army, and knew also that there remained no intermediary screen that had not been removed nor any enemy that could offer resistance, he mobilized his armies and advanced against the Sultan.

As for the Sultan, during the time that he cleansed the world of dreadful foes, he might have been called Chingiz-Khan's vanguard *(yezek)* that swept away everything in front of him. For though he did not achieve the complete destruction of the *gür-khan,* yet he loosened the foundations of his power and was the first to attack him; as it was he also that destroyed other khans and princes. But everything has its limit, and every beginning its end, whose delay or postponement is inconceivable. *' The pen hath dried up with respect to what already is.'*

[IX]

OF THE MARTYRED *IMAM,* 'ALA-AD-DIN MUHAMMAD OF KHOTAN (GOD'S MERCY BE UPON HIM !)

AFTER Küchlüg had conquered Kashghar and Khotan and had abandoned the law of Christianity [53] for the habit of idolatry, he charged the inhabitants of these parts to forsake their pure Hanafite faith for unclean heathendom, and to turn from the rays of the light of Guidance to the wilderness of infidelity and darkness, and from allegiance to a merciful King to subservience to an accursed Devil. And as this door would not give way, he kicked it with his foot; and by force they were compelled to don the garb and headdress of Error: the sound of worship and the *iqamat* was abolished and prayers and *takbirs* were hushed.

After truth hath been made manifest, do they hope to undo it, truth that is bound with a knot of which there is no undoing?

Meanwhile, in his strength, and ruthlessness, and fury, and tyranny he wished to convince by proof and evidence the Mohammedan *imams* and the Christian monks.

And when thou hopest for the impossible, thou dost
but build upon a crumbling slope.[1]

A proclamation was made in the town, and his command was communicated that all that wore the garb of science and piety should present themselves upon the plain. More than three thousand illustrious *imams* assembled there, and turning towards them he said: 'In all this crowd what man is there who will dispute with me concerning affairs of religion and state, and will not give in to me, and fears neither wrath nor punishment?' For in his corrupt mind he was convinced that none of those present would dare to refute his words and disprove his argument; and even though anyone should make a beginning, yet for fear of his violence he would restrain himself and not attract to himself the fire of calamity nor be '*like* [the sheep] *that dug up its death with its own hoof*'; but would certify his lies and confirm his falsehoods.

But from that multitude there arose the Heaven-aided *shaikh*, the *imam* in very deed, 'Ala-ad-Din Muhammad of Khotan (*may God illuminate his tomb and increase his reward!*); who approached Küchlüg, seated himself, girded the belt of truth about the loins of veracity and began to dispute about religion. As his voice rose and the martyred *imam* adduced decisive proofs, knowing that Küchlüg's presence and existence was but nonentity; truth prevailed over falsehood and the wise over the ignorant, and the beatified *imam* confuted the accursed Küchlüg. '*For the truth speaketh clearly, but the false doth stutter.*' Consternation, [54] bewilderment and shame overpowered the deeds and words of that wicked man; the fire of wrath arose from the absence of courage; so that his tongue was severed and his speech enchained. Foul ravings, unfit to be uttered regarding the Holy Prophet, poured from his lips, and in this strain he delivered a whole discourse. The truth-speaking *imam*, convinced that '*if the covering were uncovered, I should not be more certain*' and urged on by religious fervour was unable to tolerate or ignore his puerilities and absurdities; but exclaimed, 'Dust

[1] From a poem by the well-known poet Abul-Hasan 'Ali b. Muhammad at-Tihāmi, an elegy on his son.

be in thy mouth, thou enemy of the faith, thou accursed Küchlüg!'

When these hard words reached the ears of that prideful Guebre, that lewd unbeliever, that unclean wretch, he gave command that 'Ala-ad-Din should be seized and forced to abjure Islam and embrace unbelief and infidelity. *'Away, away with his predictions!'*[2]

> The alighting-place of the divine light will not become
> the home of a devil.

For several days he was kept naked and fettered, hungry and thirsty, and worldly food and sustenance was withheld from him, although he was a guest at the table of *'I shall pass the night with my Lord, who will feed me and give me to drink.'* And this *imam* of Mohammed was like Salih[3] among the people of Thamud, as overcome with grief as was Jacob and tried with the tortures of Jirjis.[4] The prophet *(peace be upon him!)* hath said: *'Affliction is enjoined upon the prophets, and then the saints, and then the most excellent, and then the next most excellent.'* He was as patient as Job, and struggled like Joseph in the well of their prison. For the true lover, when in the sweetness of love he tastes the sting of suffering, accounts it a fresh gain and a boundless felicity, and says: 'All that comes from thee is sweet, be it cure or be it hurt.' And if poison from the hand of his beloved reaches the palate of the lover's soul, in conformity with the verse,

> One may eat poison from the hand of a silver-breasted
> mistress.

from the sweetness of his taste he discovers the sweetness of honey and sugar in the bitterness of colocynth and aloes and says:

> *If I were given poison to drink by the hand of my beloved,*
> *from her hand poison would be an agreeable drink.*

And when a luminous heart receives its light from the niche of the divine lamp, every moment [55] it has greater confidence in

[2] Koran, xxiii, 38.

[3] See above, p. 17, n. 40.

[4] Jirjīs is St. George of England, who besides being a Christian saint has also become a Mohammedan prophet.

faith, even though it be racked and tormented with the pains of torture.

> Dost thou seek union with thy beloved? Then court affliction;
> for thorn and rose may both be together.
> Forsake thyself that thou mayst come to the street of thy
> beloved; for such affairs may be fraught with danger.

Finally, after they had tried every wile that lies in the nature of that misguided people—promises, threats, inveiglements, intimidation and chastisement—and his outer form had not deviated from that which his inner essence was bound up with and composed of, namely, inquiry, faith, confirmation and certainty; they crucified him upon the door of his school which he had built in Khotan, and he delivered up his soul to God, chanting the creed of His oneness and instructing his fellow-creatures that faith cannot be destroyed by the punishments of the dust-heap of this transient world, nor can it ever be imprisoned in the fire of hell! that it is a complete fraud and a notorious fault to exchange the permanent for the evanescent, and for the dung-hill verdure of this present world, which is but the sport and plaything of children, to barter away the comforts and pleasures of the world to come. *God Almighty hath said: 'Life in this world is but a play and a pastime; and better surely for men of godly fear will be the future mansions! Will ye not then comprehend?'* [5]

And so he passed from the prison of the world to the paradise of the hereafter, and flew from the lowest alighting-place to the highest abode.

> Friend hath gone to friend, lover to lover—what in
> all the world is more beautiful than this?
>
> If a man place his arm around the neck of his purpose,
> this may be a shield against the blows of calamities.

And when this event had fallen out, God Almighty, in order to remove the evilness of Küchlüg, in a short space dispatched the Mongol army against him; and already in this world he

[5] Koran, vi, 32.

tasted the punishment of his foul and wicked deeds and his ill-omened life; and in the hereafter the torment of hellfire. *Ill be his rest!*

And Heresy hath learnt, since the True Guidance hath conquered, that the Hanafite faith cannot be destroyed.

God Almighty hath said: 'But they that treat them unjustly shall find out what a lot awaiteth them.' [6]

[X]

OF THE CONQUEST OF THE REGIONS OF ALMALIGH, QAYALIGH AND FULAD;[1] TOGETHER WITH AN ACCOUNT OF THE RULERS THEREOF

DURING the reign of the *gür-khan* the ruler of this area was one Arslan-Khan [2] of Qayaligh, who was assisted in the government thereof by the *shahna* of the *gür-khan*. When the *gür-khan's* fortunes began to decline and neighbouring princes were breathing the fire of rebellion, the Sultan of Khotan also revolted against him. The *gür-khan* led his army against him and at the same time sought aid from Arslan-Khan. This he did with the motive of putting him to death; so that if he too should rebel like the other chieftains, he might rid himself of him once and for all; while if he yielded obedience but treated the Moslems gently and showed no energy in the campaign against Khotan, on this pretext also he might withdraw his neck from the noose of life. Arslan-Khan obeyed his command and hastened to present himself before him. But one of the *gür-khan's*

[6] Koran, xxvi, 228.

[1] Fūlād or Pūlād (it is the Persian word for 'steel') was situated, according to Bretschneider, II, 42, 'not very far from lake Sairam, perhaps in the fertile valley of the river *Boro tal*, which discharges itself into the Ebinor'. It is the Bolat of Rubruck, where the 'Teuton slaves of Buri' were 'digging for gold and manufacturing arms'. (Rockhill, 137.)

[2] Like Ozar of Almaligh the ruler of Qayaligh was a Qarluq Turk. On the Qarluq, who had formerly occupied territory farther to the West, in the Chu basin, see Minorsky, *Ḥudūd*, 286–97.

commanders, Shamur Tayangu [3] by name, who had long been on terms of friendship and intimacy with him, informed him of the *gür-khan's* intention, and added: 'If he makes some attempt against thee, thy house and thy children will also be extirpated. The best course for the welfare of thy children will be for thee to drink poison and so to escape from the affliction of an ill-omened life and an iniquitous ruler. I will then be thy instrument and will establish thy son in thy place.' Having no other refuge or asylum, with his own hand he sipped a fatal potion and gave up the ghost. Shamur, as he had promised, obtained his son's appointment in his place, and the *gür-khan* dismissed him with honour, sending a *shahna* to accompany him. Such was the state of affairs for some time, until the fame of Chingiz-Khan [57] and his rise to power was diffused abroad. Thereupon, the *gür-khan's* agent having become tyrannous and cruel in his treatment of the people, he was slain by Arslan-Khan's son, who then made his way to the Court of Chingiz-Khan, where he was received with marks of special condescension and favour.

And in Almaligh there was one of the Qarluq of Quyas, a man of great valour, whose name was Ozar [4] and who used to steal the peoples' horses from the herds and to commit other criminal actions, such as highway robbery etc. He was joined by all the ruffians of that region and so became very powerful. He then used to enter the villages, and if in any place the people refused to yield him obedience he would seize that place by war and violence. And so he continued until he took Almaligh, which is the chief town of that region, and subjugated the whole country; as he also captured Fulad. On several occasions Küchlüg marched against him, and was defeated every time; whereupon he sent a messenger to Chingiz-Khan to report on Küchlüg and to announce his own enrolment amongst the servants and liegemen of the world-conquering Emperor. He was encouraged with expressions of favour and attention; and at Chingiz-Khan's command he became allied in marriage to

[3] ŠMWR TYANKW. *tayangu* in Old Turkish meant 'chamberlain'.
[4] See above, p. 65, n. 12.

Tushi. When the foundations of his servitude had been strengthened, in obedience to the orders of Chingiz-Khan he proceeded to Court in person, and was kindly received there. As he departed, having been distinguished with all manner of honours, Chingiz-Khan bade him refrain from the chase lest he should unexpectedly become the prey of other huntsmen; and as a substitute for game he presented him with a thousand head of sheep. Nevertheless, when he returned to Almaligh, he again devoted himself to hunting, being unable to withhold himself from that sport; until one day, being taken unawares, he was trapped in his hunting-grounds by the troops of Küchlüg, who bound him in chains and bore him off with them to the gates of Almaligh. The people of Almaligh closed their gates and joined battle with them. But in the meanwhile they had suddenly received news of the arrival of the Mongol army; and they turned back from the gates of Almaligh and slew their prisoner upon the road.

Ozar, although rash and foolhardy, was a pious, God-fearing man and gazed with the glance of reverence upon ascetics. One day a person in the garb of the Sufis approached him saying, 'I am come upon an embassy to thee from the Court of Power [58] and Glory; and my message is thus, that our treasures are become somewhat depleted. Now therefore let Ozar give aid by means of a loan and not hold it lawful to refuse.' Ozar arose and made obeisance to the Sufi, while tears rained down from his eyes. Then he ordered one of his servants to bring a *balish* of gold, which he presented to the Sufi, saying: 'Make thy excuses to the Master after thou hast communicated to Him my duty.' Whereupon the Sufi took the gold and departed.

After Ozar's death his son Siqnaq Tegin obtained the royal good will: his father's office was bestowed upon him, and he was given one of Tushi's daughters to wife.

As for Arslan-Khan,[5] he was sent back to Qayaligh and he

[5] As M.Q. points out, this must be, not the Arslan-Khan who had poisoned himself, but his son. He concludes that Arslan-Khan must have been rather an hereditary title than a name. The *Secret History*, § 235, gives a somewhat different version of Chingiz-Khan's relations with the rulers of Qayaligh. It

too received a royal maiden in marriage. And when Chingiz-Khan marched against the Sultan's empire, he joined him with his men and rendered him great assistance. One of Arslan-Khan's children is still alive. Mengü Qa'an gave him the fief of Özkend [6] and because of the claims of his father to their gratitude he held him in high honour.

Siqnaq Tegin, too, was honoured by Chingiz-Khan and was confirmed in the governorship of Almaligh. On the homeward journey he passed away. He was succeeded by his son in the year 651/1253–4.

[XI]

OF THE REASON FOR THE ATTACK ON THE COUNTRIES OF THE SULTAN

In the latter part of his reign he had brought about complete peace and quiet, and security and tranquillity, and had achieved the extreme of prosperity and well-being; the roads were secure and disturbances allayed: so that wherever profit or gain was displayed, in the uttermost West or the farthermost East, thither merchants would bend their steps. And since the Mongols were not settled in any town [59] and there was no concourse of merchants and travellers to them, articles of dress were a great rarity amongst them and the advantages of trading with them well known. For this reason three persons, Ahmad of Khojend,[1] the son of the Emir Husain and Ahmad Balchikh,[2] decided to journey together to the countries of the East, and having assembled an immeasurable quantity of merchandise—gold-embroidered fabrics, cottons, *zandanichi* [3] and whatever else they

was not until his general Qubilai had marched against the Qarluq that Arslan-Khan came to do homage. He was then however favourably received and promised one of the Khan's daughters in marriage.

[6] Apparently Özkend on the Syr Darya. See above, p. 64, n. 9.

[1] Now Leninabad in Tajikistan.

[2] The spelling is uncertain. The text has BALḤYḤ.

[3] The name of a cloth manufactured in the village of Zandana (or Zandān, according to Barthold, *Turkestan,* 113), some fourteen miles north of Bokhara.

thought suitable—they set their faces to the road. By that time most of the Mongol tribes had been defeated by Chingiz-Khan, their habitations demolished and the whole region purged of rebels. He had then posted guards (whom they call *qaraqchis*) upon the highways and issued a *yasa* that whatever merchants arrived in his territory should be granted safe conduct, while whatever merchandise was worthy of the Khan's acceptance should be sent to him together with the owner. When this group of merchants arrived on the frontier, the *qaraqchis* were pleased with Balchikh's fabrics and other wares and accordingly dispatched him to the Khan. Having opened out and displayed his merchandise, Balchikh demanded three *balish* of gold for pieces of fabric each of which he had bought for ten or twenty dinars at most. Chingiz-Khan was enraged at his boastful talk and exclaimed: 'Does this fellow think that fabrics have never been brought to us before?' And he gave orders that Balchikh should be shown the fabrics from the stores of former khans that were deposited in his treasury; and that his wares should be listed *(dar qalam āvarda)* and then distributed as plunder, and his person detained. Then he sent for his companions and had their merchandise brought to him in its entirety. Although [60] the Mongols importunately inquired as to the value of their wares the merchants refused to fix a price but said: 'We have brought these fabrics for the Khan.' These words were accepted and approved, and Chingiz-Khan commanded that for each piece of gold-embroidered fabric they should be paid a *balish* of gold and for every two pieces of cotton or *zandanichi* a *balish* of silver. Their companion Ahmad was also called back and his wares purchased at the same prices; and honour and favour were shown to all three.

For in those days the Mongols regarded the Moslems with the eye of respect, and for their dignity and comfort would erect them clean tents of white felt; but to-day on account of their calumny one of another and other defects in their morals they have rendered themselves thus abject and ragged.

At the time of these merchants' return Chingiz-Khan ordered his sons, *noyans* and commanders to equip, each of them, two

or three persons from their dependents and give them capital of a *balish* of gold or silver, that they might proceed with this party to the Sultan's territory, engage in commerce there and so acquire strange and precious wares. They obeyed his command, each dispatching two or three people from his retinue, so that in this way four hundred and fifty Moslems were assembled. Then Chingiz-Khan sent the following message to the Sultan: 'Merchants from your country have come among us, and we have sent them back in the manner that you shall hear. And we have likewise dispatched to your country in their company a group of merchants in order that they may acquire the wondrous wares of those regions; and that henceforth the abscess of evil thoughts may be lanced by the improvement of relations and agreement between us, and the pus of sedition and rebellion removed.'

When the party arrived at Otrar, the governor of that town was one Inalchuq,[4] who was a kinsman of the Sultan's mother, Terken Khatun,[5] and had received the title of Ghayir-Khan.[6] Now amongst the merchants was an Indian who had been acquainted with the governor in former times. He now addressed the latter simply as Inalchuq; and [61] being rendered proud by reason of the power and might of his own Khan he did not stand aloof from him nor have regard to his own interests. On this account Ghayir-Khan became annoyed and embarrassed; at the same time he conceived a desire for their property. He therefore placed them under arrest, and sent a messenger to the Sultan in Iraq to inform him about them. Without pausing to think the Sultan sanctioned the shedding of their blood and deemed the seizure of their goods to be lawful, not knowing

[4] The text has AYNAL ǰQ, B AYNAL ǰWQ and E AYNAL ČWQ. It is the diminutive form of the Turkish word *īnal*. 'On remarquera que *īnalčīq* signifie 'prince' en ǰaghatai (à peu près comme *īnal*) et pourrait donc être en soi un titre aussi bien qu'un nom.' (Pelliot, *Notes sur le "Turkestan" de M. Barthold*, 52–3.)

[5] I.e. Princess Terken (or Tergen, spelt TRKAN). On this Turkish name or title see Pelliot-Hambis, *Campagnes*, 89–91.

[6] I.e. 'the Mighty Khan', *ghayīr* or rather *qayīr* being the Türkmen (Turcoman) equivalent of the Eastern *qadīr*.

that his own life would become unlawful, nay a crime, and that the bird of his prosperity would be lopped of feather and wing.

> He whose soul hath understanding looketh to the capital of deeds.

Ghayir-Khan in executing his command deprived these men of their lives and possessions, nay rather he desolated and laid waste a whole world and rendered a whole creation without home, property or leaders. For every drop of their blood there flowed a whole Oxus; in retribution for every hair on their heads it seemed that a hundred thousand heads rolled in the dust at every crossroad; and in exchange for every dinar a thousand *qintars* were exacted.

> *Our property was plunder, and our hopes in vain; our affairs in a state of anarchy, and our counsels but the advice of one another.*
> *And they drove away our beasts of burden and led off our chargers beneath loads that crushed their saddles,*
> *Loads of furniture, clothing, money and goods; what had been acquired by purchase and stored up in treasuries.*
> *To this hath Fate condemned some of her people; the calamities of some appear a feast to others.*

Before this order arrived one of the merchants devised a stratagem and escaped from the straits of prison. Having acquainted himself with the state of affairs and ascertained the position of his friends, he set his face to the road, made his way to the Khan and informed him of what had befallen his companions. These tidings had such an effect upon the Khan's mind that the control of repose and tranquillity was removed, and the whirlwind of anger cast dust into the eyes of patience and clemency while the fire of wrath flared up with such a flame that it drove the water from his eyes and could be quenched only by the shedding of blood. [62] In this fever Chingiz-Khan went up alone to the summit of a hill, bared his head, turned his face towards the earth and for three days and nights offered up prayer, saying: 'I was not the author of this trouble;

grant me strength to exact vengeance.' Thereupon he descended from the hill, meditating action and making ready for war. And since Küchlüg and Toq-Toghan, the fugitives from his army, lay across his path, he first sent an army to deal with their mischief and sedition, as has been previously mentioned. He then dispatched envoys to the Sultan to remind him of the treachery which he had needlessly occasioned and to advise him of his intention to march against him; so that he might prepare for war and equip himself with thrusting and striking weapons.

Now it is a fully established fact that whoever sows a dry root never reaps any harvest therefrom, while whoever plants the sapling of opposition by common consent gathers the fruit thereof, namely repentance and regret. And so the beatified Sultan because of the harshness of his disposition and the violence of his custom and nature was involved in grave danger; and in the end his posterity had to taste the bile of punishment therefor and his successors to suffer the bitterness of adversity.

If thou doest evil, thou dost punish thyself; the eye
of Fate is not asleep.
Bizhan's picture is still painted on the walls of palaces;
he is in the prison of Afrasiyab.

[XII]

OF THE ADVANCE OF THE WORLD-CONQUERING KHAN AGAINST THE COUNTRIES OF THE SULTAN AND THE CAPTURE OF OTRAR

WHEN the dust of the seditions of Küchlüg and Toq-Toghan had settled and the thought of them had been dismissed from his mind, he equipped and instructed his sons, the great emirs, the *noyans* and the thousands, hundreds and tens, disposed the two wings and the vanguard, proclaimed a new *yasa,* and in the year 615/1218–19 commenced the march—

[63] *With youthful Turkish warriors whose onslaught left the*
thunder neither sound nor fame;

Had they passed hurriedly by the house of Qarun,[1] *by nightfall for very indigence he would not have had the wherewithal of a meal.*[2]

They were archers who by the shooting of an arrow would bring down a hawk from the hollow of the ether, and on dark nights with a thrust of their spear-heads would cast out a fish from the bottom of the sea; who thought the day of battle the marriage-night and considered the pricks of lances the kisses of fair maidens.

But first he dispatched a party of envoys to the Sultan to warn him of his resolve to march against him and exact vengeance for the slaying of the merchants. For *'he that warneth hath an excuse'*.

When he came to the region of Qayaligh, from amongst he princes of that country Arslan-Khan[3] (who had previously accepted submission and servitude and had guarded himself against the severity of his punishment by humility and contempt of self and riches, and had then been distinguished with favour) set out from thence with his own men in the Khan's retinue. And from Besh-Baligh there joined him the *idi-qut* with his followers, and from Almaligh Siqnaq Tegin with men that were veteran warriors; and by these the number of his troops was multiplied.

First of all they came to the town of Otrar

With awesomeness such that the lightning dared not step forward nor the thunder preach aloud.

[64] They pitched his tent *(bārgāh)* in front of the citadel. Now the Sultan had given Ghayir-Khan fifty thousand men from his auxiliary *(bīrūnī)* army and had sent Qaracha Khass-Hajib, to his aid with another ten thousand: moreover, the citadel, the outworks *(faṣīl)*, and the town wall had been well

[1] Qārūn, the Korah of the Old Testament, was proverbial for his great riches.

[2] From a famous *qasida* by Abu-Ishaq Ibrahim b. Muhammad al-Ghazzi in praise of the Turks. (M.Q.)

[3] According to Juzjani (Raverty, 1004, 1023–6 and 1054–5) he afterwards collaborated with Tolan Cherbi in the capture of two forts in what is now Northern Afghanistan.

strengthened, and a great quantity of instruments of war collected together. Ghayir-Khan for his part, having made everything ready for battle within the town, posted infantry and cavalry at the gates and himself mounted the wall; where looking forth he bit the back of his hand in amazement at the unexpected sight. For he perceived that the plain had become a tossing sea of countless hosts and splendid troops, while the air was full of clamour and uproar from the neighing of armoured horses and the roaring of mail-clad lions.

> The air became blue, the earth ebony; the sea boiled with the noise of the drums.
> With his finger he pointed to the army on the plain, a host to which there was no end.[4]

The army formed several circles around the citadel; and when all the troops were assembled there, Chingiz-Khan dispatched each of the leaders in a different direction. His eldest son [5] he sent to Jand [6] and Barjligh-Kent [7] with several *tümen* of brave and active soldiers; while a number of his commanders were sent to Khojend and Fanakat. He himself proceeded against Bokhara, leaving Ögetei and Chaghatai in command of the army that was charged with the investment of Otrar.

As cavalry could be used on every side, the garrison kept up a continuous battle and resisted for a space of five months. Finally, when the position of the people of Otrar had become desperate, Qaracha questioned Ghayir about surrendering and

[4] *Shahnamá* ed. Vullers, 473, ll. 633 and 642. For *bi-jūshīd daryā* 'the sea boiled' Vullers has *bi-junbīd hāmūn* 'the plain was set in motion'.

[5] I.e. Tushi (Jöchi). See Chapter XIII for a detailed account of this expedition down the Syr Darya, which is passed over in complete silence by the contemporary Moslem historians, Ibn-al-Athir, Juzjani and Nasawi. See Barthold, *Turkestan*, 39. The Chinese sources, the *Shêng-wu ch'in-chêng lu* (Haenisch, *Die letzten Feldzüge Cinggis Han's und sein Tod*, 527) and the *Yüan shih* (*ibid.*, 530, Krause, 37) state simply that Jöchi attacked Yang-chi-kan (Yangï-Kent), Pa-êrh-chên (Barchin) and other towns.

[6] The ruins of Jand are situated not far from Kzyl Orda (the former Perovsk) on the right bank of the Syr Darya.

[7] BARǰLYT KNT. The Barchin of Carpini and the Parch'in (the Venice edition has the corrupt form Kharch'in) of Kirakos. It lay somewhere between Jand and Sughnaq.

delivering up the town to the Mongols. But Ghayir knew that he was the cause of these troubles and could not expect his life to be spared by the Mongols; and [65] he knew of no loophole through which he might escape. Accordingly, he continued to struggle with all his might, knowing conciliation to be inexpedient, and would not countenance surrender. 'If,' he said, 'we are unfaithful to our master (meaning the Sultan), how shall we excuse our treachery, and under what pretext shall we escape from the reproaches of the Moslems?' Qaracha, for his part, did not persist in his argument, but waited until

> When the sun became invisible to the world and the dark night drew its skirt over the day.[8]

he sallied forth with the greater part of his army from the Sufi-Khana Gate. The Tartar army entered by the same gate during the night and took Qaracha prisoner. When

> *The darkness of the East was dispersed by a perpendicular line from the radiant morning,*

they bore him to the princes together with some of his officers. The princes saw fit to examine them closely in every manner. Finally, they declared: 'Thou hast been unfaithful to thy own master in spite of his claims on thee on account of past favours. Therefore neither can we expect fidelity of thee.' They caused him and all his companions to attain the degree of martyrdom;[9] while all the guilty and innocent of Otrar, both wearers of the veil and those that donned *kulah* and turban, were driven forth from the town like a flock of sheep, and the Mongols looted whatever goods and wares there were to be found.

As for Ghayir, together with twenty thousand brave men and

[8] *Shahnama* ed. Vullers, 474, l. 653.

[9] This was typical of the Mongols' attitude in such cases. Thus Kököchü, the groom of Ong-Khan's son, Senggüm, was executed by Chingiz-Khan for having left his master to perish in the desert. (*Secret History*, § 188.) So too the betrayers of the Conqueror's great rival, Jamuqa, were beheaded for their pains. (*Ibid.*, § 200.) On the other hand, Naya'a of the Ba'arin, who had persuaded his father and brother to release a captured Tayichi'ut chieftain, a bitter enemy of Chingiz-Khan, was actually rewarded for his conduct. (*Ibid.*, § 149.)

lion-like warriors he took refuge in the citadel; and in accordance with the verses

The taste of death in a despicable cause is like
the taste of death in a great cause.[10]

We are all destined to die, young and old; no one
remaineth in this world for ever.

they set their hearts upon death and having bid themselves farewell sallied forth fifty at a time and spitted their bodies upon spears and swords.

The lances are clamouring on our side and on theirs,
the clamour of hungry crocodiles.[11]

And as long as one of them had breath in his body they continued to fight; and for this reason many from the Mongol army were slain. And so the battle went on for a whole month [66] until only Ghayir and two others were left, and still he continued to do battle and would not turn tail and flee. The Mongol army entered the citadel and confined him to the roof; but together with his two companions he still would not surrender. And as the soldiers had been ordered to take him prisoner and not to slay him in battle, in obeying this order they might not kill him. Meanwhile his companions had attained the degree of martyrdom and he had no arms left. Maidens then handed him bricks from the wall of the palace; and when these too were exhausted the Mongols closed in on him. And after he had tried many wiles, and made many attacks, and felled many men, he was led into the snare of captivity and was firmly bound and placed in heavy chains. The citadel and the walls were levelled with the street and the Mongols departed. And those of the common people and artisans that had escaped the sword they bore away with them, either to serve in the levy *(ḥashar)* or to practise their trade. And when Chingiz-Khan had come from Bokhara to Samarqand they proceeded thither

[10] From a *qasida* by Mutanabbi. (M.Q.)
[11] Muthallam b. Riyah al-Murri, a poet of the *Hamasa*. (M.Q.)

also. As for Ghayir, they caused him in the Kök-Sarai [12] to drink the cup of annihilation and don the garb of eternity.

Such is the way of high heaven; in the one hand
it holds a crown, in the other a noose.[13]

[XIII]

OF THE ADVANCE OF ULUSH-IDI [1] AGAINST JAND, AND THE CONQUEST OF THAT REGION

THE world-obeyed command of the world-conqueror Chingiz-Khan had been issued to the effect [67] that he should free that region from the hands of enemies and that he should be accompanied by emirs representing each of the sons and kinsmen, just as he too had delegated emirs and troops to represent him in the other armies. In the month of . . . he put this intention into action and hastened off with a band of warriors like unto Fate, whom no guile can prevent, or to Death, whom no weapon can repel.

First of all, upon approaching the town of Suqnaq,[2] which lies

[12] Apparently a suburb of Samarqand surrounding a palace of this name (which was afterwards given to a palace built for Tamerlane). See Barthold, *Turkestan,* 412, also below.

[13] *Shahnama* ed. Vullers, 512, l. 1234.

[1] ALŠ AYDY (for which B and D have ALWŠ AYDY), the Ulus-Idi of Rashid-ad-Din, 'the lord of the *ulus*', i.e. Tushi (Jöchi). See my article, *On the Titles Given in Juvaini to Certain Mongolian Princes,* 148–52, where I suggest that this title, like Ulugh-Noyan in the case of Tolui, was bestowed upon Jöchi after his death to avoid the mention of his real name. Not realizing that Ulus-Idi and Jöchi were one and the same person, Rashid-ad-Din (Smirnova, 199–201) has represented the former as a general in joint command with the latter; and Ulus-Idi has been identified by Berezin (XV, 171) with the *idī-qut,* the ruler of the Uighur, and by Barthold (*Turkestan,* 416, n. 1) with Jedei Noyan of the Manqut tribe. On the *ulus* or 'peuple-patrimoine' as distinct from the apanage of land, the *yurt* or *nuntuq,* see Vladimirtsov, *Le régime social des Mongols,* 124 *et seqq.*

[2] SQNAQ. The ruins of Sughnaq or Sīqnaq, known as Sunak-Kurgan, lie some six or seven miles north of the post station of Tumen-Aryk in Kazakhstan. See Barthold, *Turkestan,* 179.

on the banks of the river near Jand, he sent on Hasan Hajji [3] in advance as his envoy. This Hasan Hajji, in his capacity of merchant, had long been attached to the service of the world-conquering Emperor and was enrolled in the ranks of his followers. After delivering his message, by virtue of his acquaintance and kinship with the inhabitants he was to give them advice and call upon them to submit so that their lives and property might go unscathed. Having entered Suqnaq he communicated his message but before he came to the advice, the rogues, rascals and ruffians *(sharīrān va aubāsh va runūd)* of the town raised an uproar, and shouting *'Allah akbar!'* did him to death; holding their action for one of holy war and desiring a great reward for the slaying of this Moslem; whereas, in reality, that assault was the cause of the opening of their jugular vein and that violence was the reason for the death of all that multitude. *'When the appointed time is at hand, the camel hovers around the water-hole.'*

When Ulush-Idi received tidings of this, he turned his standards against Suqnaq, and, enflamed with the fire of anger, he ordered his troops to fight in relays from morn till night. For seven days they proceeded as he had commanded and took the town by storm, closing the door of forgiveness and mercy and in avenging one single individual expunging from the record of life almost every trace of their existence.

The government of that place was entrusted to the son of the murdered Hasan Hajji that he might gather together the survivors that still remained in odd corners; and advancing from thence the Mongols took Özkend [4] and Barjligh-Kant, where since [68] the people made no great resistance there was no general slaughter. They next proceeded against Ashnas,[5] the garrison of which town consisted mainly of rogues and ruffians *(runūd va aubāsh)*,

[3] Ḥasan Ḥājjī, as was already suggested by Barthold, *op. cit.*, 414, is probably to be identified with Asan, the Mohammedan trader whom the Mongols encountered at Baljuna. (*Secret History*, § 182.)

[4] See above, p. 64 and n. 9. The precise position of Özkend is not known: it may have been situated in the Kara-Tau mountains. See Barthold, *op. cit.*, 179.

[5] AŠNAS. The ruins of Ashnas (known as Asanas) are situated on the left bank of the Syr Darya, 17 miles from the river and 20 from the post station of Ber-Kazan. See Barthold, *op. cit.*, 179, n. 4.

who fought very bravely so that the greater part of them were martyred.

When news of these events arrived in Jand, Qutlugh-Khan, the commander-in-chief, together with a large army which the Sultan had assigned to the defence of that district, complied with the proverb ' *He that escapeth with his head hath gained thereby* ': he rose up like a man,[6] turned his back in the night-time, set his face to the road, and crossing the river made across the desert towards Khorazm. When the Mongols received tidings of his departure and of the evacuation of Jand by his forces, they sent Chin-Temür[7] upon an embassy to the inhabitants. He used conciliatory language but warned them against showing hostility. Since there was no absolute leader or governor in Jand, each man spoke according to what in his eyes seemed right or expedient. The common people raised an uproar and attempted to give Chin-Temür—like Hasan[8]—an unpalatable potion. Chin-Temür, perceiving their intentions, in a speech fraught with shrewdness, ingenuity, kindness and conciliation allayed their passions by recalling the affair of Suqnaq and the fate of those who had murdered Hasan Hajji; and he concluded a treaty with them saying that he would not allow the foreign army to interfere with Jand. The inhabitants were pleased with the advice and the agreement and did him no injury. Returning to Ulush-Idi he recounted his experiences, the attempt on his life and its aversion by flattery and soft words, and described also the weakness and impotence of the people and the divergence of their views and passions. Although the Mongol army had

[6] The expression must be used ironically.

[7] JNTMWR. The name is Turkish and means ' True Iron ' from *chïn* ' true ' and *temür* ' iron '. Cf. the name Edgü-Temür ' Good Iron ', as also the compounds with *bolad* ' steel ', Kül-Bolat (' Glorious Steel ') and Mengü-Bolad (' Eternal Steel '). Rashid-ad-Din states in one place (Khetagurov, 141) that he belonged to the Öngüt tribe; elsewhere (Blochet, 37) he reproduces Juvaini's statement (II, 218; ii, 482) that he was a Qara-Khitayan. Barthold, *op. cit.*, 415, n. 1, suggests that he was probably indebted to the Qara-Khitai for his education or else may have been a Qara-Khitayan living amongst the Öngüt. For his further history see below.

[8] I.e. both like Hasan Hajji and like Hasan, the son of 'Ali, who was poisoned by one of his wives.

intended [69] to rest at Qara-Qum [9] and not to attack Jand, for this reason they turned their bridles thitherward and directed their attention towards the capture of that town. On the 4th of Safar, 616 [21st of April, 1219] they halted in front of Jand; and the army busied themselves with filling the moat and setting up battering rams, catapults and scaling-ladders upon it. The inhabitants of the town, apart from closing the gates and seating themselves on the walls and embattlements like spectators at a festival, made no preparations for battle. And since the greater part of the citizens had never had any experience of warfare, they marvelled at the Mongols' activities, saying, 'How is it possible to mount the walls of a fortress?' However, when the bridges had been built and the Mongols laid their scaling-ladders against the citadel, they too were moved to action and began to set a catapult in motion; but a heavy stone in falling to earth smashed the iron ring of the very catapult by which it had been propelled.[10] Thereupon the Mongols scaled the wall from all sides and threw open the gates. No one was hurt on either side. The Mongols afterwards brought the inhabitants out of the town, and since they had withdrawn their feet from battle they laid the hand of mercy upon their heads and spared their lives; though a small number of the chief men, who had been insolent to Chin-Temür, were put to death. For nine days and nights

[9] The text has QRAQRWM, i.e. Qara-Qorum, but in II, 101 (ii, 370), where it is described as 'the place of residence of the Qanqlī', M.Q. has adopted the reading of G, viz. QRAQM, and identified it with the Kara Kum desert to the north-east of the Sea of Aral (not to be confused with the other Kara Kum between Khiva and Merv).

[10] Cf. a similar episode during the siege of Mexico in 1521. A soldier who had served in the Italian wars undertook to construct 'a sort of catapult, a machine for discharging stones of great size, which might take the place of the regular battery-train in demolishing the buildings . . .

'. . . At length the work was finished; and the besieged, who with silent awe had beheld from the neighbouring *azoteas* the progress of the mysterious engine which was to lay the remainder of their capital in ruins, now looked with terror for its operation. The machinery was set in motion; and the rocky fragment was discharged with a tremendous force from the catapult. But, instead of taking the direction of the Aztec buildings, it rose high and perpendicularly into the air, and, descending whence it sprung, broke the ill-omened machine into splinters!' (Prescott, *History of the Conquest of Mexico*, Book VI, ch. vii.)

they kept the inhabitants upon the plain, while they looted the town. They then appointed 'Ali Khoja to the government and administration of Jand and entrusted the welfare of that district to his care. This 'Ali Khoja was a native of Qizhduvan [11] near Bokhara and had entered the service of the Mongols long before their rise to power. He became firmly established in this office and came to be held in high repute; and until the Decree of Death for his dismissal went forth from the Palace of Fate, he continued to occupy that post.

To the town of Kent [12] there proceeded a commander with one *tümen* of troops. He captured the town [70] and left a *shahna* there.

As for Ulush-Idi he proceeded to Qara-Qum.

A band of Turcoman nomads,[13] some ten thousand in number, were commanded to march against Khorazm with Tainal [14] Noyan at their head. After a few days' march their unlucky ascendant caused and instigated them to slay the Mongol whom Tainal had set over them in his stead and to break into rebellion. Tainal, who was marching in advance, returned to quench the flame of their disorder and sedition and slew the greater part of them, though some escaped by a hair's breadth and together with another army reached Merv and Amuya,[15]

[11] Reading QŽDWAN for the QRDWAN of the text. The present-day Gizhduvan in Uzbekistan.

[12] I.e. Yangī-Kent (as in the corresponding passage in Rashid-ad-Din, Smirnova, 200), in Turkish 'New Town': the Iankint of Carpini. Its ruins, now known as Jankent, lie 'to the south of the Syr-Darya, about three miles from the former Khivan fortress of Jān Qal'a, fifteen miles from Kazalinsk'. (Barthold, *op. cit.*, 415–16.)

[13] The Turcomans (in Persian *Turkmān*, in Turkish *Türkmen*) are the earlier Ghuzz. Both the Seljuqs and the later Ottomans belonged to this branch of the Turkish family. The name according to Deny means something like 'Turk *pur sang*'. See Minorsky, *Ḥudūd*, 311.

[14] TAYNAL. This Tainal Noyan is probably the same as the T'enal Nuin of Grigor, 303. See Cleaves, *The Mongolian Names and Terms*, 430. It is however also possible to read BAYNAL and identify him with the Benal who accompanied Chormaghun into Albania and Georgia (Grigor, 296). See Cleaves, *op. cit.*, 415–16.

[15] Amūya, more commonly known as Āmul (not to be confused with the Āmul in Mazandaran) was situated on the left bank of the Oxus about 120 miles to the north-east of Merv. See le Strange, *Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, 403–4. It is the modern Charjui in Turkmenistan.

where their numbers were greatly increased, as shall be recorded in the proper place, God willing.

[XIV]

OF THE CAPTURE OF FANAKAT AND KHOJEND AND THE STORY OF TEMÜR MALIK [1]

ALAQ NOYAN, Sögetü and Taqai [2] with an army of five thousand men were dispatched to Fanakat. The commander of this place was Iletgü [3] Malik. With an army of Qanqli [4] he fought a pitched battle for three days, and the Mongols made no progress until on the fourth day

> When the sun cast his lasso to the heights, and
> Fate rose to high heaven

their opponents begged for quarter and came forth to make surrender. Soldiers and burghers *(arbāb)* were placed in separate groups; whereupon the former were executed to a man, some by the sword and others by a shower of arrows, while the latter

[1] His name means simply 'Temür the *malik*', not 'le Roi de fer' as it is translated by Grousset, *L'Empire Mongol*, 233.

[2] All three generals are mentioned in the list of commanders of a thousand in § 202 of the *Secret History*. Alaq (ALAQ) was the brother of Naya'a of the Ba'arin (on whom see above, p. 84, n. 9; also Khetagurov, 187). Sögetü (SKTW), the Süyiketü Cherbi of the *Secret History* (on the spelling see Pelliot-Hambis, *Campagnes*, 256), belonged to the Qongqotan (§ 120). According to Rashid-ad-Din (Khetagurov, 168) he was the brother of Kökchü or Teb-Tengri, the shaman (see above, p. 39). This is however inconsistent with the facts as given in the *Secret History* (*loc. cit.*), according to which Süyiketü attached himself to Chingiz-Khan on the morning after the latter's breach with Jamuqa, whereas it was not till some time later, after there had been actual hostilities between the two rivals, that Mönglik, the father of Teb-Tengri, came with his seven sons to declare his allegiance (§ 130). As for Taqai (TQAY), he had like Süyiketü joined Chingiz-Khan immediately after the break with Jamuqa (§ 120): he belonged to the Süldüs tribe. On the spelling of his name see Pelliot-Hambis, *op. cit.*, 255.

[3] AYLTKW.

[4] The Qanqlï Turks (the Cangitae of Carpini and the Cangle of Rubruck) were closely associated with the Qïpchaq or Comans.

were drafted into hundreds and tens. The craftsmen, artisans and keepers of hunting animals *(aṣḥāb-i-javāriḥ)* [71] were assigned [to appropriate employment]; and the young men amongst those remaining were pressed into the levy *(ḥasbar)*.

The Mongols then advanced on Khojend. When they arrived before the town, the citizens took refuge in the citadel and found salvation from the calamities of Fate. The commander of the citadel was Temür Malik, of whom it might be said that had Rustam [5] lived in his age he would have been fit only to be his groom. In the middle of the river, where the stream divides into two arms, he had fortified a tall stronghold and had entered it with a thousand fighting men and famous warriors. When the Mongol army arrived they found it impossible to capture the place immediately since it could be reached neither by bowshot nor by mangonel. They therefore drove the young men of Khojend thither in a forced levy *(ḥasbar)* and also fetched reinforcements from Otrar, Bokhara, Samarqand and the other towns and villages, so that fifty thousand levies and twenty thousand Mongols were assembled in that place. These were all formed into detachments of tens and hundreds. Over every ten detachments of ten of the Taziks there was set a Mongol officer: on foot they had to carry stones a distance of three parasangs, and the Mongols, on horseback, dropped these stones into the river. Now Temür Malik had built twelve covered-in barges, the damp felt of the covering being smeared with clay kneaded with vinegar, while eye-holes had been left [to shoot from]. Every day at dawn he would dispatch six of these barges in either direction, and they would engage in fierce conflicts, being unaffected by arrows. As for the fire, naphtha and stones which the Mongols threw in the water he used to get rid of it all; and by night he used to make surprise attacks on them. They tried to put a stop to this harrassing, but to no avail, though both arrows and mangonels were employed. When the situation had become difficult and the moment had come to win fame or merit shame, at the time when the loaf-like disk of the

[5] The chief hero of the *Shahnama*, familiar to English readers from the *Sohrab and Rustam* of Matthew Arnold.

sun became food in the belly of the earth and the world from darkness was like a wretched hovel, he embarked his luggage, goods and kit on seventy boats, which he had prepared for the day of escape, while he himself and a group of his men mounted a barge, held up torches and sped along over the water like a flash of lightning, so that one might have said [72]:

> *A lightning flash has plunged into the darkness pulling down the curtain of night, a flash like the brandishing of a polished sword.*

The army moved along the banks of the river, and wherever they appeared in force there he proceeded in the barge and repelled them with arrows which, like Destiny, did not miss their mark. And so he drove the boats on until he came to Fanakat. Here the Mongols had drawn a chain across the river in order to impede the boats. He stuck it one blow and passed through, the armies attacking him from either side until he came to the district of Jand and Barjligh. When news of him reached the ears of Ulush-Idi, he stationed troops in Jand, on either side of the river, constructed a bridge of boats and held ballistas in readiness. Temür Malik received tidings of the army awaiting him: and when he drew near to Barjligh-Kent, he turned to the desert, leaving the water, and fled like fire upon swift horses. The Mongol army followed close at his heels; and so they continued, whilst he for his part would send on his baggage in advance and remain behind to do battle, wielding his sword like a man. And when the baggage had been removed some distance he would follow on. After he had fought in this manner for several days, most of his men had been killed or wounded; and the Mongols, who grew daily stronger, took his baggage away from him. He was left with only a handful of followers, but still resisted, though to no avail. When the few that still accompanied him had been slain and he had no weapon left save three arrows, one broken and without a point, he was pursued by three Mongols. Shooting the pointless arrow he blinded one Mongol in the eye; upon which he said to the two others: 'I have two arrows left. I begrudge using them

when they are only enough for you two. It is in your best interest to retire and so save your lives.' The Mongols accordingly withdrew; and he reached Khorazm and again prepared for battle. With a group of men he proceeded to the town of Kent, slew the Mongol *shahna* and retreated. When [73] he considered it inadvisable to remain any longer in Khorazm, he set out after the Sultan, whom he joined on the road to Shahristana. And for a time, while the Sultan was moving to and fro, he gave proof of his abilities; but after a while he departed for Syria in the garb and character of a Sufi.

After some years, when these troubles had subsided and the wounds of Time had been healed, the love of home and country were the cause of his return, nay he was urged thereto by heavenly decree. Arriving in Farghana he lived for several years in the town of Osh,[6] in the places of pilgrimage; and being advised of the present state of affairs he used constantly to visit Khojend. There he met with his son, to whom, by the good will of the Court of Batu, had been granted *(soyurghamishi)* his father's goods and possessions. Temür approached him and said: 'If you sawst thine own father, wouldst thou know him again?' The son replied: 'I was but a suckling when I was parted from him; I should not recognize him. But there is a slave here who would know him.' And he sent for the slave, who, seeing the marks on Temür's body, certified that it was indeed he. His story was noised abroad, and some other persons, with whom deposits had been made, would not accept him but denied his identity. On this account he conceived the idea of going to Qa'an and being viewed with the eye of his condescension and mercy. Upon the road he met with Qadaqan,[7] who ordered him to be put in bonds; and all manner of words having passed between them Qadaqan questioned him concerning his fighting with the Mongol army.

[6] Reading AWŠ for the ARS of the text. Osh, on the upper reaches of the Syr Darya, now lies within the Soviet Republic of Kirghizia.

[7] QDQAN. According to Rashid-ad-Din (Blochet, 13), who calls him Qadan, as does also the *Yüan shih* (see Hambis, *Le chapitre CVII*, 71), he was he sixth son of Ögedei and was brought up in the *ordu* of his uncle Chaghatai.

Sea and mountain have seen how I dealt with the
illustrious heroes of the Turanian host.
The stars bear witness thereto: by my valour is
the whole world beneath my feet.[8]

The Mongol whom he had struck with the broken arrow, now recognised him; and Qadaqan having questioned him more closely, in replying he neglected the ceremonies of respect that are incumbent on those that speak in the presence of royalty. In his anger Qadaqan let fly an arrow, which was the reply to all the arrows which he had discharged on that former occasion. [74]

He writhed in agony and then heaved a sigh; he
ceased to think of good or ill.[9]

The wound proving fatal he was removed from this transient dust-heap to the Abode of Eternity, and escaped from the wilderness of

There is no refuge from death and no escape therefrom.

O world, strange are thy deeds, it is thou that
breakest and thou too that mendest.[10]

[XV]

A SHORT ACCOUNT OF THE CONQUEST OF TRANSOXIANA

TRANSOXIANA comprises many countries, regions, districts and townships, but the kernel and cream thereof are Bokhara and Samarqand. In the *Mu'jam-al-Buldan*[1] it is stated on the authority of Huzaifa b. al-Yaman of Merv that the Apostle of God *(God be gracious to him and grant him peace!) said: 'There shall be conquered a city in Khorasan beyond a river which is called the Oxus; which city is named Bokhara. It is encompassed with*

[8] *Shahnama* ed. Vullers, 488, ll. 502–3. See also the Introduction, pp. xxix and xxxii.

[9] *Ibid.*, 503, l. 1155.

[10] *Ibid.*, 489, l. 924.

[1] The work of the celebrated Arab geographer, Yaqut, a contemporary of Juvaini.

God's mercy and surrounded by His angels; its people are Heaven-aided; and whoso shall sleep upon a bed therein shall be like him that draweth his sword in the way of God. And beyond it lieth a city which is called Samarqand, wherein is a fountain of the fountains of Paradise, and a tomb of the tombs of the prophets, and a garden of the gardens of Paradise; its dead, upon the Resurrection Day, shall be assembled with the martyrs. And beyond this city there lieth holy ground, which is called Qatavan,[2] *wherefrom there shall be sent seventy thousand martyrs, each of whom shall intercede for seventy of his family and kinsfolk.'* We shall give a particular account of the fate of these two cities; and as for the authenticity of this tradition, it is confirmed by the fact that the affairs of this world are relative and that *'some evil is lighter than other'*; or, as has been said:

> Under all circumstances gratitude best befitteth the slave [of God], for much evil is worse than [simple] evil.

Chingiz-Khan came to these countries in person. The tide of calamity was surging up from the Tartar army, but he had not yet soothed his breast with vengeance nor caused a river of blood to flow, [75] as had been inscribed by the pen of Destiny in the roll of Fate. When, therefore, he took Bokhara and Samarqand, he contented himself with slaughtering and looting once only, and did not go to the extreme of a general massacre. As for the adjoining territories that were subject to these towns or bordered on them, since for the most part they tendered submission, the hand of molestation was to some extent withheld from them. And afterwards, the Mongols pacified the survivors and proceeded with work of reconstruction, so that at the present time, i.e. in 658/1259–60, the prosperity and well-being of these districts have in some cases attained their original level and in others have closely approached it. It is otherwise with Khorasan and Iraq, which countries are afflicted with a hectic fever and a chronic ague: every town and every village has

[2] The reference is to the disastrous defeat of Sultan Sanjar the Seljuq by the Qara-Khitai in 1141 on the Qaṭavān steppe to the east of Samarqand. See Barthold, *Turkestan*, 326. It was the news of this victory over the Moslems that gave rise in Europe to the legend of Prester John.

been several times subjected to pillage and massacre and has suffered this confusion for years, so that even though there be generation and increase until the Resurrection the population will not attain to a tenth part of what it was before. The history thereof may be ascertained from the records of ruins and midden-heaps declaring how Fate has painted her deeds upon palace walls.

In accordance with the general expectation the reins of those countries were placed in the competent hands of the Great Minister Yalavach and his dutiful son the Emir Mas'ud Beg.[3] By their unerring judgement they repaired the ravages thereof and struck the face of opponents with the saying, '*The druggist may not repair what time hath ravaged*'; and Yalavach abolished compulsory service *(mu'an)* in the levies *(ḥashar)* and the *cherig*[4] as also the burdens and superfluities of occasional imposts *('avārizāt)*. And the truth of this statement is to be seen in the records of freshness and prosperity (the glittering East of their justice and mercy), which are plainly written on the pages of those countries and are clearly visible in the affairs of the inhabitants thereof.

[XVI]

OF THE CAPTURE OF BOKHARA

IN the Eastern countries it is the cupola of Islam and is in those regions like unto the City of Peace.[1] Its environs are adorned with the brightness of the light of doctors and jurists and its

[3] Mahmud Yalavach was afterwards appointed by Ögedei to the governorship of Khitai, i.e. Northern China, and his son Mas'ud to that of Uighuria, Khotan, Kashghar and Transoxiana. See Rashid-ad-Din ed. Blochet, 85–6. (M.Q.) Barthold, *op. cit.*, 396, n. 3, suggests the identity of Mahmud Yalavach with Mahmud the Khorazmian, who according to Nasawi was one of the leaders of Chingiz-Khan's embassy to Sultan Muhammad. The *Secret History* also (§ 263) refers to Mahmud Yalavach and his son as Khorazmians (*Qurumshi*).

[4] The Turco-Mongol word *cherig* 'soldier', 'army' (it forms the second element of janissary, in Ottoman Turkish *yeni cheri*, 'the new army') is used by Juvaini in the sense of irregular forces collaborating with the Mongols.

[1] I.e. Baghdad.

surroundings embellished with the rarest of high attainments. [76] Since ancient times it has in every age been the place of assembly of the great savants of every religion. Now the derivation of Bokhara is from *bukhar,* which in the language of the Magians signifies *centre of learning.* This word closely resembles a word in the language of the Uighur and Khitayan idolaters, who call their places of worship, which are idol-temples, *bukhar.*[2] But at the time of its foundation the name of the town was Bumijkath.[3]

Chingiz-Khan, having completed the organization and equipment of his armies, arrived in the countries of the Sultan; and dispatching his elder sons and the *noyans* in every direction at the head of large forces, he himself advanced first upon Bokhara, being accompanied by Toli alone of his elder sons and by a host of fearless Turks that knew not clean from unclean, and considered the bowl of war to be a basin of rich soup and held a mouthful of the sword to be a beaker of wine.

He proceeded along the road to Zarnuq,[4] and in the morning when the king of the planets raised his banner on the eastern horizon, he arrived unexpectedly before the town. When the inhabitants thereof, who were unaware of the fraudulent designs of Destiny, beheld the surrounding countryside choked with horsemen and the air black as night with the dust of cavalry, fright and panic overcame them, and fear and dread prevailed. They betook themselves to the citadel and closed the gates, thinking, 'This is perhaps a single detachment of a great army and a single wave from a raging sea.' It was their intention to resist and to approach calamity on their own feet, but they were aided by divine grace so that they stood firm and breathed not opposition. At this juncture, the World-Emperor, in accord-

[2] I.e. the Buddhist *vihāra* or monastery.

[3] The old Soghdian name Bumich-Kath, lit. 'land town', i.e. 'capital'. See Marquart, *Wehrot und Ārang,* 162*n.*

[4] Zarnūq' is mentioned in the description of Timur's last march from Samarqand through the Jilanuta defile to Utrār [Otrar], as the last station before the bank of the Syr-Darya'. (Barthold, *Turkestan,* 407.) It is also mentioned (in the spelling Zuṙnukh) as the first stage after Otrar on the return journey of the King of Little Armenia from the Court of Möngke. (Kirakos, 215.)

ance with his constant practice, dispatched Danishmand Hajib upon an embassy to them, to announce the arrival of his forces and to advise them to stand out of the way of a dreadful deluge. Some of the inhabitants, who were in the category of *'Satan hath gotten mastery over them'*,[5] were minded to do him harm and mischief; whereupon he raised a shout, saying: 'I am such-and-such a person, a Moslem and the son of a Moslem. Seeking God's pleasure I am come on an embassy to you, at the inflexible command of Chingiz-Khan, to draw you out of the whirpool of destruction and the trough of blood. [77] It is Chingiz-Khan himself who has come with many thousands of warriors. The battle has reached thus far. If you are incited to resist in any way, in an hour's time your citadel will be level ground and the plain a sea of blood. But if you will listen to advice and exhortation with the ear of intelligence and consideration and become submissive and obedient to his command, your lives and property will remain in the stronghold of security.' When the people, both nobles and commoners, had heard his words, which bore the brand of veracity, they did not refuse to accept his advice, knowing for certain that the flood might not be stemmed by their obstructing his passage nor might the quaking of the mountains and the earth be quietened and allayed by the pressure of their feet. And so they held it proper to choose peace and advantageous to accept advice. But by way of caution and security they obtained from him a covenant that if, after the people had gone forth to meet the Khan and obeyed his command, any harm should befall any one of them, the retribution thereof should be on his head. Thus were the people's minds set at ease, and they withdrew their feet from the thought of transgression and turned their faces towards the path of advantage. The chief men of Zarnuq sent forward a delegation bearing presents. When these came to the place where the Emperor's cavalry had halted, he asked about their leaders and notables and was wroth with them for their dilatoriness in remaining behind. He dispatched a messenger to summon them to his presence. Because of the great awe in which the Emperor was

[5] Koran, lviii, 20.

held a tremor of horror appeared on the limbs of these people like the quaking of the members of a mountain. They at once proceeded to his presence; and when they arrived he treated them with mercy and clemency and spared their lives, so that they were once more of good heart. An order was then issued that everyone in Zarnuq—be he who he might—both such as donned *kulah* and turban and such as wore kerchief and veil, should go out of the town on to the plain. The citadel was turned into level ground; and after a counting of heads they made a levy of the youths and young men for the attack on Bokhara, while the rest of the people were suffered to return home. They gave the place the name of Qutlugh-Baligh.[6] A guide, one of the Turcomans of that region, [78] who had a perfect knowledge of the roads and highways, led them on by a little frequented road; which road has ever since been called the *Khan's Road.* (In the year 649/1251–2, when journeying to the Court of Mengü Qa'an in the company of the Emir Arghun we passed along this very road.)

Tayir Bahadur[7] was proceeding in advance of the main forces. When he and his men drew near to the town of Nur[8] they passed through some gardens. During the night they felled the trees and fashioned ladders out of them. Then holding the ladders in front of their horses they advanced very slowly; and the watcher on the walls thought that they were a caravan of merchants, until in this manner they arrived at the gates of the citadel of Nur; when the day of that people was darkened and their eyes dimmed.

It is the story of Zarqa of Yamama.[9] She had built a lofty castle, and her keenness of sight was such that if an enemy attempted to attack her she would descry his army at a distance of several stages and would prepare and make ready to repel him and drive him off. And so her enemies achieved nought

[6] I.e. 'the Fortunate Town'.

[7] The Dayir of the *Secret History* (§ 202) and Rashid-ad-Din. According to the latter (Khetagurov, 168, Smirnova, 275) he belonged to the Qonqotan.

[8] Now Nurata in Uzbekistan.

[9] I.e. the Blue-Eyed Woman of Yamāma. See Nicholson, *A Literary History of the Arabs*, 25.

but frustration and there remained no stratagem which they had not tried. [Finally one of them] commanded that trees should be cut down with their branches and that each horseman should hold a tree in front of him. Thereupon Zarqa exclaimed: 'I see a strange sight: the likeness of a forest is moving towards us.' Her people said: 'The keenness of thy sight hath suffered some hurt, else how should trees move?' They neglected to watch or take precautions; and on the third day their foes arrived, and overcame them, and took Zarqa prisoner, and slew her.

To be brief, the people of Nur closed their gates; and Tayir Bahadur sent an envoy to announce the arrival of the World-Conquering Emperor and to induce them to submit and cease resistance. The feelings of the inhabitants were conflicting, because they did not believe that the World-Conquering Emperor Chingiz-Khan had arrived in person, and on the other hand they were apprehensive about the Sultan. They were therefore uncertain what course to take, some being in favour of submission and surrender while others were for resistance or were afraid [to take any action]. Finally, after much coming and going of ambassadors it was agreed that the people of Nur should prepare an offering of food and send it to the Lord of the Age together with an envoy, and so declare their submission and seek refuge in servitude and obedience. [79] Tayir Bahadur gave his consent and was satisfied with only a small offering. He then went his own way; and the people of Nur dispatched an envoy in the manner that had been agreed upon. After the envoys [sic] had been honoured with the Emperor's acceptance of their offering, he commanded that they should surrender the town to Sübetei,[10] who was approaching Nur with the vanguard. When Sübetei arrived they complied with this command and

[10] SBTAY. The great Mongol general, who together with Jebe (Yeme) swept across Northern Persia in pursuit of Sultan Muhammad, crossed the Caucasus and, after defeating the Russians on the Kalka, returned to Chingiz-Khan by way of the Qipchaq Steppe. See below, Chapter XXV; also Grousset, *L'Empire Mongol*, 257–61 and 515–21, *Le Conquérant du Monde*, 340–6. In the *Secret History* his name is spelt Sübe'etei; he belonged to the Uriangqat tribe (*ibid.*, § 120, Khetagurov, 159).

delivered up the town. Hereupon an agreement was reached that the people of Nur should be content with the deliverance of the community from danger and the retention of what was absolutely necessary for their livelihood and the pursuit of husbandry and agriculture, such as sheep and cows; and that they should go out on to the plain leaving their houses exactly as they were so that they might be looted by the army. They executed this order, and the army entered the town and bore off whatever they found there. The Mongols abided by this agreement and did no harm to any of them. The people of Nur then selected sixty men and dispatched them, together with Il-Khoja, the son of the Emir of Nur, to Dabus [11] to render assistance to the Mongols. When Chingiz-Khan arrived, they went forth to meet him bearing suitable [presents] in the way of *tuzghu* [12] and offerings of food *(nuzl)*. Chingiz-Khan distinguished them with royal favour and asked them what fixed taxes *(māl-i-qarārī)* the Sultan drew from Nur. They replied that these amounted to 1500 dinars; and he commanded them to pay this sum in cash and they should suffer no further inconvenience. Half of this amount was produced from the women's ear-rings, and they gave security for the rest and [finally] paid it to the Mongols. And so were the people of Nur delivered from the humiliation of Tartar bondage and slavery, and Nur regained its splendour [13] and prosperity.

And from thence Chingiz-Khan proceeded to Bokhara, and in the beginning of Muharram, 617 [March, 1220],[14] he encamped before the gates of the citadel.

> And then they pitched the king's pavilion on the plain in front of the stronghold.[15]

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[11] Dabūs or Dabūsīya lay on the highroad between Bokhara and Samarqand. The name is preserved in the ruins of Qal'a-yi-Dabus somewhat to the east of Ziaddin. See Barthold, *op. cit.*, 97.

[12] Reading TZIW for the TRIW of the text. The Turkish *tuzghu*, like its Arabic equivalent *nuzl*, means 'food offered to the passing traveller'. The word occurs in Grigor (300) in the form *tzghu*. See also Cleaves, *The Mongolian Names*, 442.

[13] Lit. 'light' (*nūr*): a pun on the name.

[14] In February according to Ibn-al-Athir and Juzjani. See Barthold, *op. cit.*, 409.

[15] *Shahnama* ed. Vullers, 474, l. 651.

[80] And his troops were more numerous than ants or locusts, being in their multitude beyond estimation or computation. Detachment after detachment arrived, each like a billowing sea, and encamped round about the town. At sunrise twenty thousand men from the Sultan's auxiliary *(bīrūnī)* army issued forth from the citadel together with most of the inhabitants; being commanded by Kök-Khan[16] and other officers such as Khamid-Bur,[17] Sevinch-Khan[18] and Keshli-Khan.[19] Kök-Khan was said to be a Mongol and to have fled from Chingiz-Khan and joined the Sultan *(the proof of which statements must rest with their author)*; as a consequence of which his affairs had greatly prospered. When these forces reached the banks of the Oxus, the patrols and advance parties of the Mongol army fell upon them and left no trace of them.

When it is impossible to flee from destruction in any manner, then patience is the best and wisest course.[20]

On the following day when from the reflection of the sun the plain seemed to be a tray filled with blood, the people of Bokhara opened their gates and closed the door of strife and battle. The *imams* and notables came on a deputation to Chingiz-Khan, who entered to inspect the town and the citadel. He rode into the Friday mosque and pulled up before the *maqsura,* whereupon his son Toli dismounted and ascended the pulpit. Chingiz-Khan asked those present whether this was the palace

[16] C has KWR XAN, i.e. Gür-Khan, and it has been suggested by Barthold, *Histoire des Turcs,* 119–20, that this was no other than Chingiz-Khan's old rival Jamuqa, who as the head of a confederation opposed to his former friend received the title of *gür-khan.* See Grousset, *Le Conquérant du Monde,* 132. On the other hand, according to the native sources he had been executed by Chingiz-Khan many years before the campaign against the West. See Grousset, *op. cit.,* 206–10.

[17] XMYD BWR. Perhaps Ḥamīd-Pūr. He was a Qara-Khitayan and the brother of Baraq Ḥājib, the first of the Qutlugh-Khans of Kerman. See below, ii, 476.

[18] SWNJ XAN.

[19] KŠLY XAN. His full name was Ikhtiyār-ad-Din Keshli or Küshlü; he was the Grand Equerry (*amīr-ākhur*) of the Khorazm-Shah. See Nasawi tr. Houdas, 62 and 80, and Rashid-ad-Din (Smirnova, 191 and 205); also Barthold, *Turkestan,* 409.

[20] From a *qasida* by Abu-Firas al-Hamdani. (M.Q.)

of the Sultan; they replied that it was the house of God. Then he too got down from his horse, and mounting two or three steps of the pulpit he exclaimed: 'The countryside is empty of fodder; fill our horses' bellies.' Whereupon they opened all the magazines in the town and began carrying off the grain. And they brought the cases in which the Korans were kept out into the courtyard of the mosque, where they cast the Korans right and left and turned the cases into mangers for their horses. After which they circulated cups of wine and sent for the singing-girls of the town to sing and dance for them; while the Mongols raised their voices to the tunes of their own songs. [81] Meanwhile, the *imams, shaikhs, sayyids,* doctors and scholars of the age kept watch over their horses in the stable under the supervision of the equerries, and executed their commands. After an hour or two Chingiz-Khan arose to return to his camp, and as the multitude that had been gathered there moved away the leaves of the Koran were trampled in the dirt beneath their own feet and their horses' hoofs. In that moment, the Emir Imam Jalal-ad-Din 'Ali b. al-Hasan Zaidi,[21] who was the chief and leader of the *sayyids* of Transoxiana and was famous for his piety and asceticism, turned to the learned *imam* Rukn-ad-Din Imamzada, who was one of the most excellent savants in the world—*may God render pleasant the resting-places of them both*—and said: '*Maulana,* what state is this?

That which I see do I see it in wakefulness or in sleep, O Lord?'[22]

Maulana Imamzada answered: 'Be silent: it is the wind of God's omnipotence that bloweth, and we have no power to speak.'

When Chingiz-Khan left the town he went to the festival *musalla* and mounted the pulpit; and, the people having been assembled, he asked which were the wealthy amongst them. Two hundred and eighty persons were designated (a hundred and ninety of them being natives of the town and the rest strangers,

[21] So according to C, D and E. The text has RNDY. Barthold, *op. cit.*, 410, reads Zandi with B (ZNDY).

[22] Anvari. Quoted also below, ii, 639.

viz. ninety merchants from various places and were led before him. He then began a speech, in which, after describing the resistance and treachery of the Sultan (of which more than enough has been said already) he addressed them as follows: 'O people, know that you have committed great sins, and that the great ones among you have committed these sins. If you ask me what proof I have for these words, I say it is because I am the punishment of God. If you had not committed great sins, God would not have sent a punishment like me upon you.' When he had finished speaking in this strain, he continued his discourse with words of admonition, saying, 'There is no need to declare your property that is on the face of the earth; [82] tell me of that which is in the belly of the earth.' Then he asked them who were their men of authority; and each man indicated his own people. To each of them he assigned a Mongol or Turk [23] as *basqaq* [24] in order that the soldiers might not molest them, and, although not subjecting them to disgrace or humiliation, they began to exact money from these men; and when they delivered it up they did not torment them by excessive punishment or demanding what was beyond their power to pay. And every day, at the rising of the greater luminary, the guards would bring a party of notables to the audience-hall of the World-Emperor.

Chingiz-Khan had given orders for the Sultan's troops to be driven out of the interior of the town and the citadel. As it was impossible to accomplish this purpose by employing the

[23] Reading TRKY with C and E for the YZKY (i.e. *yazakī* 'a patrol') of the text.

[24] The Turkish equivalent of the Arabo-Persian *shaḥna* (see above, p. 44, n. 3) and the Mongol *darugha* or *darughachi(n)*. On the identity in meaning of the Turkish and Mongol terms see Pelliot, *Horde d'Or*, 72–3, n. 1. Both are derived from roots (Turkish *bas-* and Mongol *daru-*) meaning 'to press' but not in the sense of one who 'presses', i.e. oppresses, the people but of one who 'affixes' a seal. The Turkish term was used by the Russian chroniclers (see Vernadsky, *The Mongols and Russia*, 220) and also by Carpini: 'Bastacos [*bascacos] sive prefectos suos ponunt in terra illorum quos redire permittunt, quibus oportet ut ad nutum tam duces quam alii debeant obedire. Et si homines alicuius civitatis vel terre non faciunt quod volunt isti bastaki [*bascaki] opponunt eis quod sint Tartaris infideles . . .' (Wyngaert, 86.)

townspeople and as these troops, being in fear of their lives, were fighting, and doing battle, and making night attacks as much as was possible, he now gave orders for all the quarters of the town to be set on fire; and since the houses were built entirely of wood, within several days the greater part of the town had been consumed, with the exception of the Friday mosque and some of the palaces, which were built with baked bricks. Then the people of Bokhara were driven against the citadel. And on either side the furnace of battle was heated. On the outside, mangonels were erected, bows bent and stones and arrows discharged; and on the inside, ballistas and pots of naphtha were set in motion. It was like a red-hot furnace fed from without by hard sticks thrust into the recesses, while from the belly of the furnace sparks shoot into the air. For days they fought in this manner; the garrison made sallies against the besiegers, and Kök-Khan in particular, who in bravery would have borne the palm from male lions, engaged in many battles: in each attack he overthrew several persons and alone repelled a great army. But finally they were reduced to the last extremity; resistance was no longer in their power; and they stood excused before God and man. The moat had been filled with animate and inanimate and raised up with levies and Bokharians; the outworks *(faṣīl)* had been captured [83] and fire hurled into the citadel; and their khans, leaders and notables, who were the chief men of the age and the favourites of the Sultan and who in their glory would set their feet on the head of Heaven, now became the captives of abasement and were drowned in the sea of annihilation.

Fate playeth with mankind the game of the sticks with the ball,
Or the game of the wind blowing (know thou!) a handful of millet.
Fate is a hunter, and man is naught but a lark.[25]

Of the Qanqli no male was spared who stood higher than the butt of a whip and more than thirty thousand were counted

[25] By the Cadi Abul-Fadl Ahmad b. Muhammad ar-Rashidi al-Laukari. Quoted in the *Tatimmat-al-Yatima.* (M.Q.) See Eghbal's ed., II, 77.

amongst the slain; whilst their small children, the children of their nobles and their womenfolk, slender as the cypress, were reduced to slavery.

When the town and the citadel had been purged of rebels and the walls and outworks levelled with the dust, all the inhabitants of the town, men and women, ugly and beautiful, were driven out on to the field of the *musalla.* Chingiz-Khan spared their lives; but the youths and full-grown men that were fit for such service were pressed into a levy *(ḥasbar)* for the attack on Samarqand and Dabusiya. Chingiz-Khan then proceeded against Samarqand; and the people of Bokhara, because of the desolation, were scattered like the constellation of the Bear and departed into the villages, while the site of the town became like *'a level plain'*.[26]

Now one man had escaped from Bokhara after its capture and had come to Khorasan. He was questioned about the fate of that city and replied: 'They came, they sapped, they burnt, they slew, they plundered and they departed.' Men of understanding who heard this description were all agreed that in the Persian language there could be nothing more concise than this speech. And indeed all that has been written in this chapter is summed up and epitomized in these two or three words.

After the capture of Samarqand Chingiz-Khan appointed Tausha Basqaq[27] [84] to the command and governorship of the district of Bokhara. He proceeded thither and the town made some little progress towards prosperity. Finally, when, by the order of the World-Emperor, the latter-day Hatim,[28] Qa'an, the keys of government were placed in the solicitous hands of the Minister Yalavach, those scattered and dispersed in nooks and crannies were by the magnet of his justice and clemency attracted back to their former homes, and from all parts of the world people turned their faces thitherward; for because of his

[26] Koran, xx, 106.

[27] I.e. Tausha the *basqaq.* The text has TWŠA, which might also be read Tusha or Tosha, but cf. below, I, 87, the variant spelling TMŠA, i.e. apparently Tamsha.

[28] I.e. Ḥātim of Ṭayyi', a pre-Islamic Arab famous for his generosity and hospitality. See Nicholson, *op. cit.,* 85–7.

solicitude the prosperity of the town was on the increase, nay it reached its highest pitch and its territory became the home of the great and noble and the place of assembly of patrician and plebeian.

Suddenly in the year 636/1238–9 a sieve-maker of Tarab in the district of Bokhara rose up in rebellion in the dress of the people of rags,[29] and the common people rallied to his standard; and finally things came to such a pass that orders were given for the execution of all the inhabitants of Bokhara. But the Minister Yalavach, like a good prayer, averted their evil fate and by his mercy and solicitude repelled from them this sudden calamity. And that territory regained its splendour and prosperity and the affairs thereof recovered their lustre. And day by day the bounty of God's favour, by dint of which mercy and compassion everywhere form the carpet of justice and munificence, shines forth like the sun in the mercy of Mahmud and the pearl of that sea, namely Mas'ud.[30] And to-day no town in the countries of Islam will bear comparison with Bokhara in the thronging of its creatures, the multitude of movable and immovable wealth, the concourse of savants, the flourishing of science and the students thereof and the establishment of pious endowments. Two edifices of lofty porch and firm foundation that were built in this place at this period are the Madrasa-yi-Khani built by Sorqotani[31] [85] and the Madrasa-yi-Mas'udiya, in each of

[29] I.e. the Sufis.

[30] I.e. Mahmud Yalavach and his son Mas'ud. See above, p. 97, n. 3.

[31] The Sorqaqtani of the *Secret History*, Sorqoqtani of Rashid-ad-Din and Seroctan (*Soroctan) of Carpini. She was the younger daughter of Ja-Gambu, the brother of Ong-Khan, the ruler of the Kereit. After the final defeat of that people Chingiz-Khan gave her in marriage to his youngest son, Tolui, and she became the mother of Möngke, Qubilai, Hülegü and Arïgh Böke. The name of this princess is discussed at length by Pelliot in his article, *Le vrai nom de Serotan;* see also *Campagnes*, 66–7 and 133. It is the feminine form of a name which appears as Sorqatu in the *Secret History* and Sorqoqtu in Rashid-ad-Din and is an adjective in *-tu* from a word *sorqaq, sorqoq* or *sorqan* 'birthmark'. The meaning of Sorqaqtani, etc., is therefore 'she that has a birthmark'. As for the form of the name in Juvaini, the text has everywhere (except in one instance) SRQWYTY, but there is MS. authority for a form SRQWTNY, which is also the reading of Barhebraeus in both his Syriac and his Arabic history. I see in this form, viz. Sorqotani, the feminine of a form Sorqotu corre-

which every day a thousand students are engaged in profitable studies, while the professors are the greatest scholars of the age and the wonders of their day. And indeed these two buildings with their lofty pillars and trim courts at once adorn and dignify Bokhara, nay they are an ornament and delight to all Islam.

Under these circumstances the people of Bokhara have regained some comfort as well as relief from subventions and similar burdens. May God Almighty adorn the surface of the earth with the continuance of the Just King's being and with the splendour of Islam and the Hanafite faith!

[XVII]

OF THE REBELLION OF THE TARABI [1]

IN the year 636/1238–9 there was a conjunction of the two malefic planets [2] in the house of Cancer, and the astrologers had calculated that an insurrection would break out and that perhaps a heretic would arise.

Three parasangs from Bokhara there lies a village called Tarab, in which there dwelt a man named Mahmud, a sieve-maker, of whom it was said that in stupidity and ignorance he had not his equal. This man began to sham and counterfeit piety and saintliness and claimed to have powers of magic (*parī-dārī*), i.e. he asserted that jinns held converse with him and informed him of what was hidden.

For in Transoxiana and Turkestan many persons, especially women, claim to have magical powers; and when anyone has a pain or falls ill, they visit him, summon the exorcist (*parī-khwān*), perform dances and similar nonsense and in this manner convince the ignorant and the vulgar.

sponding to the Sorqatu of the *Secret History*. On the other hand, in one place (II, 219) the text has SRQWQYTY, i.e. SRQWQTNY, the Sorqoqtani of Rashid-ad-Din, and it may be that the normal SRQWYTY is also a corruption of this form.

[1] This chapter is the subject of an article by A. Yakubovsky (*Vosstaniye Tarabī v 1238g.*) in *Trudī Instit. Vostokoved.*, XVII, 1936. (V.M.)

[2] I.e. Saturn and Mars.

Mahmud's sister used to instruct him in all the absurdities of the magicians *(parī-dārān)* [86] which he would at once spread abroad. Now what can the vulgar do but follow their ignorance? And in fact the common people turned towards him, and wherever there was a paralytic or one afflicted in any way they would bring him to Mahmud. It chanced that one or two of the persons that were brought to him in this way were found [afterwards] to bear signs of health; whereupon most of the people turned towards him, both the nobility and the commonalty, *'save them that shall come to God with a sound heart'*.[3]

In Bokhara I heard from several respectable and creditable persons how in their actual presence he had blown a medicine prepared from dogs' excrement into the eyes of one or two blind persons, and how they had recovered their sight. I replied: 'The seeing were blind, or else this was a miracle of Jesus, the son of Mary, and no one else. *As God Almighty hath said: "Thou didst heal the blind and the leper."*[4] As for me, if I should see such things with my own eyes, I should concern myself with the treatment of my eyesight.'

Now in Bokhara there was a learned man, renowned for his virtue and descent, whose *laqab* was Shams-ad-Din Mahbubi. This man, by reason of his prejudice against the *imams* of Bokhara, aggravated the disease of that madman and joined the band of his followers, telling that ignoramus how his father had recorded and written in a book that from Tarab of Bokhara there should arise a mighty lord, who should conquer the world; and had indicated the signs thereof, which were manifest on Mahmud.

By this deception the ignorant, foolish man became even more puffed up with pride; and since these words agreed with the calculation of the astrologers, his followers increased in number, the whole town and region turned towards him, and confusion and unrest became apparent. The emirs and *basqaqs* that were present in Bokhara consulted with one another as to the means of quenching the flame of the turmoil and dispatched a messenger

[3] Koran, xxvi, 89.

[4] *Ibid.*, v, 110.

to Khojend to the Minister Yalavach, to acquaint him with the situation. Meanwhile, under the pretext of seeking favour and a blessing, they went to Tarab and besought Mahmud to come to Bokhara that the city also might be adorned with his presence. It had been arranged that when he reached Sar-i-Pul [5] near Vazidan he should be suddenly assailed with a shower of arrows. When they set out from Tarab, he observed signs of displeasure in their attitude; and when they drew near to Sar-i-Pul, [87] he turned to Tamsha,[6] who was the senior *shahna,* and said: 'Desist from thy evil intent, else I will command that without the intervention of human hand thy world-comprehending eye be wrenched out.' When the Mongols heard these words, they said: 'It is certain that no one has advised him of our intention; perhaps everything he says is true.' They were afraid, and did him no harm; and so he came to Bokhara and alighted at the palace of Sanjar-Malik.

The emirs, grandees and chief men surpassed themselves in showing him honours and attentions, while all the time they sought an opportunity to slay him; but the common people were in the majority and that quarter of the town where he was lodged and the neighbouring bazaar were so filled with people that there was not even room for a cat to pass. The thronging of the people soon passed all bounds; and as they refused to depart without his blessing and there were no ways of entry left and it was equally impossible for him to come out, he went up on the roof of the palace and rained down spittle upon them. Every person on whom there fell a sprinkling departed to his home smiling and contented.

One of the followers of his error then informed him of those people's [7] intention; and all at once he stole out of a doorway and mounted one of the horses that were fastened there. The onlookers, being strangers, did not know who he was and paid no attention to him. In one gallop he reached the hill of Abu-

[5] Vazīdān has not been identified. Sar-i-Pul, 'the Bridgehead', is the older Khushūfaghn. The ruins of the fortress of this name are situated 4 miles from Katta-Kurgan. See Barthold, *Turkestan,* 126–7.

[6] TMŠA. Called Tausha above, p. 107. [7] I.e. the Mongols'.

Hafs; and in one moment a crowd of people were gathered around him. After some time [the Mongols] sought that foolish man and could not find him. Horsemen galloped in all directions in search of him, until all at once they discovered him at the top of the aforesaid hill. They returned and reported his whereabouts. The common people raised up a shout, saying: 'With one stroke of his wings the Master (Khoja) has flown to Abu-Hafs.' And at once the reins of choice fell from the hands of great and small, and the greater part of the people turned their faces towards the open country and Abu-Hafs, and gathered around Mahmud.

At the time of the evening prayer he rose up, and turning towards the people spoke as follows: 'O men of God, why do you linger and wait? The world must be purged of the infidel. Let each of you equip himself as best he can, with weapon or tool, staff or club, and set to work.'

Upon this all men in Bokhara turned towards him; and that day being Friday he re-entered the town, alighted at the palace of Rabi' Malik and sent for the *sadrs,* grandees and notables of the town. [88] He superseded the chief of the *sadrs,* nay of the age, Burhan-ad-Din, the seed of the house of Burhan and the last of the race of Sadr-Jahan,[8] because he had no defect in reason or virtue; and in his stead he appointed Shams Mahbubi to the office of *sadr.* And he insulted most of the grandees and notables and besmirched their honour; some of them he slew but others succeeded in escaping.

Thereupon he sought the favour of the vulgar and dissolute *('avāmm va runūd)* by speaking as follows: 'My army is partly visible, consisting of men, and partly invisible, consisting of the heavenly hosts, which fly in the air, and of the tribe of the jinns,

[8] On this 'dynasty of hereditary ra'īses of the town . . . which from the name of its founder was entitled "the house of Burhān",' see Barthold, *op. cit.,* 326 and 353–4. 'The office of ra'īs, head of a town and its neighbourhood, was not infrequently hereditary from father to son . . . The ra'īs was the chief person in the town and the representative of its interests; through him the sovereign made known his will to the inhabitants. It is very probable that, at any rate at first, they were nominated from amongst the members of important local families.' (*Ibid.,* 234.)

which walk on the earth. And now I will reveal these to you also. Look at the heaven and the earth that you may see the proof of my claim.' The initiated amongst his followers began to look, and he would say: 'Behold! in such-and-such a place they fly in green raiment, and in the same place they also fly in garments of white.' The vulgar *('avāmm)* agreed with all he said; and whenever anyone said, 'I see nothing,' his eyes were opened with the cudgel.

He also kept saying: 'God Almighty will send us arms from the invisible'; and at this juncture a merchant arrived from Shiraz bringing four *kharvars* of swords. After that the people no longer entertained any doubt as to victory; and that Friday the *khutba* was read in Mahmud's name as Sultan of Bokhara.

When the prayers were concluded he sent to the houses of the great to fetch tents, *yurts,* carpets and rugs. And the people formed themselves into large bands, and the rogues and ruffians *(runūd va aubāsh)* entered the houses of the wealthy and set their hands to pillage and plunder. When night fell, the Sultan suddenly retired to the company of peri-like maidens and heart-ravishing damsels and engaged in pleasant dalliance with them. In the morning he performed the ceremonial purification in a tank of water, in accordance with the verse:

When she left me she washed me, as though we had been applying ourselves to what was wrong.[9]

By way of seeking favour and a blessing the people divided this water into portions of a maund and a *daramsang* and made them into potions for the sick. As for the property they had obtained, Mahmud bestowed it on this man and that and shared it out *(tafriqa)* amongst his troops and associates.

[89] When his sister saw his pre-occupation with women and riches, she seceded from his faction, saying: 'His cause, which came into being through me, has changed for the worse.'

Meanwhile the emirs and *sadrs,* who had read the verse of

[9] Mutanabbi. (M.Q.)

'Flight', assembled in Karminiya,[10] and calling together the Mongols that were stationed in that area, they fitted out an army of such troops as could be mustered from every side and advanced on Bokhara. Mahmud, too, made preparations for battle and marched to encounter the Mongol army with a band of market loungers clad only in shirt and *izār*. Both sides put themselves in battle-array, the Tarabi and Mahbubi standing in their ranks without weapon or breast-plate. Now it had been spread abroad among the people that whoever moved a hand against Mahmud would become paralysed *(khusbk)*; consequently this army too were somewhat slow in stretching their hands to sword and bow. Nevertheless, one of their number let fly an arrow, which struck him in a vital part, while another of them shot Mahbubi also; but no one was aware of this either of his own people or of their other opponents. At this juncture a strong wind arose and the dust was stirred up to such an extent that they could not see one another. The enemy thought that this was one of the Tarabi's miracles; and they withdrew their hands from battle and set their faces towards flight, with the Tarabi's army at their heels. The people of the country districts issuing forth from their villages fell upon the fugitives with spades and axes; and whenever they came upon one of their number, especially if he was a tax-gatherer or landowner, they seized him and battered in his head with their axes. They followed the Mongols as far as Karminiya, and nearly ten thousand were slain.

When the followers of the Tarabi returned from the pursuit, they could not find him and said: 'The Master has retired into the unseen; until he re-appears his two brothers Muhammad and 'Ali, shall be his vicegerents.'

These two ignorant men proceeded after the manner of the Tarabi; the vulgar and the rabble *('avāmm va aubāsh)* became their followers and at once, the reins being loosened, set their hands to plunder and rapine. At the end of one week Ildiz[11] Noyan and Chigin[12] Qorchi arrived with a large army of

[10] Now Kermine. [11] AYLDZ. [12] ČKYN. Apparently the Mongol form of *tigin* 'lord' as in *ot-chigin*. See above, p. 42, n. 8.

Mongols. [90] Again these foolish persons advanced with their men into the open country and drew up in battle-array completely unarmoured. At the first discharge of arrows both these misguided fellows were killed, and about twenty thousand others were also slain on this occasion.

The next day, after the swordsmen of dawn had cloven the skull of night, the people of Bokhara, both men and women, were driven out into the open; and the Mongols sharpened the tooth of revenge and opened the jaws of greed, saying: 'Again we will strike a blow, and satisfy our appetite, and turn these people into fuel for the fire of calamity, and carry off their property and their children.'

It was only the divine grace and favour that through the agency of Mahmud's [13] mercy rendered the end of this disturbance as praiseworthy as his name [14] and the ascendant of the town once more auspicious.[15] When he arrived he checked and prohibited their massacring and looting, saying: 'Because of the wickedness of a few how can you slay so many thousands? And how can you destroy a city which we have so long endeavoured to restore to its prosperity because of a few ignorant people?' After much importunity, exertion and insistence he agreed that the matter should be referred to Qa'an and that whatever order he might give should be put into execution. Afterwards he dispatched messengers to the Emperor and exerted great efforts, so that the latter passed over the fault which had no possibility of forgiveness and spared their lives. And because of that endeavour he earned praise and thanks.

[XVIII]

OF THE CONQUEST OF SAMARQAND

IT was the greatest of the countries of the Sultan's empire in width of territory, the most pleasant of his lands in fertility of

[13] I.e. Mahmud Yalavach's.
[14] Mahmud means 'praiseworthy'.
[15] *mas'ūd*. A pun on Mas'ud, the name of Mahmud's son.

soil and, by common consent, the most delectable of the paradises of this world among the four Edens.

If it is said that a paradise is to be seen in this world, then the paradise of this world is Samarqand. O thou who comparest the land of Balkh therewith, are colocynth and candy equal to one another? [1]

Its air inclines to mildness, its water is embraced in the favour of the North wind and its earth by the force of its exhilaration has acquired the property of the fire of wine.[2]

[91] *A country whose stones are jewels, whose soil is musk and whose rain water is strong wine.*[3]

When the Sultan withdrew from the conflict, the control of firmness having slipped from his hands and the attraction of constancy having been replaced by that of flight, while perplexity and doubt had taken abode in his nature; he deputed the protection of most of his lands and territories to his generals *(quvvād)* and allies *(anṣār)*. Thus to Samarqand he has assigned a hundred and ten thousand men, of whom sixty thousand were Turks, with their khans, who were the Sultan's élite and such that had Isfandiyar [4] of the brazen body felt the prick of their arrows and the thrust of their lances, he would have had no resource but [to acknowledge] his weakness and [beg for] quarter. The rest of the army consisted of fifty thousand Taziks,[5]

[1] Attributed by Yaqut—under Samarqand—to Busti, i.e. apparently Abul-Fath Busti. (M.Q.)

[2] The word for 'fire' does not occur in A and is not required by the sense. It is introduced in accordance with the figure known as *tanāsub* (see below, p. 117, n. 7): three of the elements having been mentioned the fourth must somehow be mentioned too.

[3] From a *qasida* by Abu-Sa'id ar-Rustami in praise of Sahib b. 'Abbad: the poet is praising Isfahan. (M.Q.)

[4] Isfandiyār, a celebrated hero of the National Epic. The son of Gushtāsp, the patron of Zoroaster, he is ordered by his father to make war on Rustam, who had refused to accept the new religion; and the slaying of Isfandiyār is the last geste of the aged hero, who soon after meets his own end through the treachery of a brother.

[5] Tazik or Tajik was the term applied by the Turks to the Iranians. Cf. the modern Tajikistan. Actually *tāzīk* or *tāzī* is a Persian word and was applied by the Persians themselves to the Arabs: hence *Ta-shih*, the Chinese name for the Arabs.

picked men *(mufradān)* each of whom was in himself the Rustam of the age and the cream of the armies; together with twenty elephants of perfect shape and *div*-like appearance,

Who twisted columns and played with serpents
And wore coats of mail that exhibited many colours,[6]

to be a protection *(farzīn-band)* [7] to the king's horse and foot upon the field of battle, that they might not avert their faces from attack and assault. Moreover, the numbers of the townspeople themselves were such as to be beyond computation. And in addition to all this, the citadel had been greatly strengthened, several lines of outworks *(faṣīl)* had been drawn around it, the walls had been raised to the Pleiades and the moat sunk through the dry earth to the water beneath.

When Chingiz-Khan arrived at Otrar the news had been spread abroad of the strengthening of the walls and the citadel of Samarqand and the great size of its garrison; and everyone was of the opinion that it would be a matter of years before the town could be taken, to say nothing of the citadel. Following the path of circumspection he held it expedient to purge the surrounding country before proceeding against the town. First of all, he advanced against Bokhara [92], and when his mind had been set at rest by the capture of that city, he concerned himself with the question of Samarqand. Turning his reins in that direction he drove before him a great levy raised in Bokhara; and whenever the villages on his path submitted, he in no way molested them; but wherever they offered resistance, as in Sar-i-Pul and Dabusiya, he left troops to besiege them, while he himself made no halt until he reached Samarqand. When his sons had disposed of the affair of Otrar, they too arrived with a levy raised in that town; they chose the Kök-Sarai for

[6] From a *qasida* by Badi'-az-Zaman of Hamadan in praise of Sultan Mahmud of Ghazna. (M.Q.)

[7] Lit. 'a check to the king by the queen at chess'. The whole passage is an example of the figure called *tanāsub*: the mention of *fil* 'elephant', in chess 'bishop', involves the introduction of the other chessmen: *asb* 'horse' or 'knight', *piyāda* 'foot-soldier' or 'pawn', *shāh* 'king', *farzīn* (in *farzīn-band*) 'queen' and *rukh* 'cheek', 'face' or 'castle', 'rook'.

Chingiz-Khan's encampment. The other troops also, as they arrived, encamped round about the town.

For a day or two Chingiz-Khan circled the town in person in order to inspect the walls, the outworks and the gates; and during this period he exempted his men from fighting. At the same time he dispatched Yeme and Sübetei, who were two of the great *noyans* and enjoyed his special trust, in pursuit of the Sultan together with thirty thousand men; and sent Ghadaq Noyan and Yasa'ur [8] to Vakhsh and Talaqan.[9]

Finally, on the third day, when the flare of the sun's flame had risen from the darkness of the pitchy night's smoke and the nocturnal blackness had retired to the seclusion of a corner, so many men, both Mongols and levies, were assembled together that their numbers exceeded those of the sand of the desert or drops of rain. They stationed themselves in a circle round about the town; and Alp-Er [10] Khan, Shaikh Khan, Bala Khan and some other khans made a sally into the open, drew up opposite the army of the world-subduing Emperor and discharged their arrows. Many horse and foot were slain on either side. That day the Sultan's Turks engaged in constant skirmishes with the Mongols—for the light of the candle flares up a little before going out—killing some of the Mongol army, [93] capturing others and carrying them into the town, while a thousand of their own number likewise fell.

Finally,

> When for the benefit of the earth the fire of heaven
> was hidden by the earth's smoke,

everyone retired to his quarters. But as soon as the deceitful shield-bearer again struck his sword upon the cloud of night,

[8] See above, p. 46 and n. 13.

[9] This Ṭalaqān (or Ṭayaqān, cf. the Taican of Marco Polo), now the town and district of Talikhan in the Afghan province of Badakhshan, is not to be confused with the Talaqan destroyed by Chingiz-Khan (see below, p. 132), which lay between Balkh and Marv-ar-Rud. There was also a district called Ṭālaqān near Qazvin.

[10] ALBAR. Lit. 'Brave Man' from the Turkish *alp* 'brave' and *er* 'man' (*vir*).

Chingiz-Khan mounted in person and stationed his troops in a circle round about the town. Both inside and outside the troops assembled and made ready for battle; and they pulled up the girth of combat and hostility until the time of evening prayer. From the discharge of mangonels and bows, arrows and stones were set in flight; and the Mongol army took up a position at the very gates and so prevented the Sultan's troops from issuing forth on to the field of battle. And when the path of combat was closed to them, and the two parties had become entangled on the chess-board of war and the valiant knights were no longer able to manoeuvre their horses upon the plain, they threw in their elephants; but the Mongols did not turn tail, on the contrary with their King-checking arrows they liberated those that were held in check by the elephants and broke up the ranks of the infantry. When the elephants had received wounds and were of no more use than the foot-soldiers of chess, they turned back trampling many people underneath their feet.[11] At length, when the Emperor of Khotan[12] had let down the veil over his face, they closed the gates.

The people of Samarqand had been rendered apprehensive by this day's fighting, and their passions and opinions were divergent: some were desirous of submission and surrender, while others feared for their lives; some, by heavenly decree, were restrained from making peace, while others, because of the aura diffused by Chingiz-Khan, were prevented from doing battle. Finally, on the next day

> When the shining sun spread its glory, and the black
> raven of the firmament shed its feathers,[13]

the Mongol troops being bold and fearless and the people of Samarqand irresolute in mind and counsel, the latter put the

[11] Another example of *tanāsub* (see above, p. 117, n. 7). The 'queen' *(farzīn)* does not appear in the translation but is found in the original in *farzīn-band* 'King-checking', whilst the 'king' (*shāh*), also absent from the translation, appears in *shāh-savārān* 'valiant knights': the 'horses' and 'elephants' are of course the 'knights' and 'bishops' and the 'rook' is contained in the phrase *rukh na-tāftand* ('did not turn tail').

[12] I.e. the Sun.

[13] *Shahnama* ed. Vullers, 497, l. 1049.

idea of war out of their heads and ceased to resist. The cadi and the *shaikh-al-Islam* together with a number of wearers of the turban hastened to approach Chingiz-Khan: they were fortified and encouraged by the breakfast of his promises [94] and with his permission re-entered the town.

At the time of prayer they opened the gate of the *musalla* and closed the door of resistance. The Mongols then entered and that day busied themselves with the destruction of the town and its outworks. The inhabitants drew their feet beneath the skirt of security, and the Mongols in no way molested them. When the day had clad itself in the black garb of the heathen Khitayans, they lit torches and continued their work until the walls had been levelled with the streets and there was everywhere free passage for horse and foot.

On the third day, when the unkind, black-hearted juggler of the blue countenance held up the hard, brazen mirror before his face, the greater part of the Mongols entered the town, and the men and women in groups of a hundred were driven out into the open in the charge of Mongol soldiers; only the cadi and the *shaikh-al-Islam* together with such as had some connection with them and stood under their protection were exempted from leaving the town. More than fifty thousand people were counted who remained under such protection. The Mongols then caused a proclamation to be made that if anyone sought safety in the corner of concealment his blood should be forfeit. The Mongols and the [other] troops busied themselves with pillaging; and many people who had hidden in cellars and cavities were [discovered and] slain.

The mahouts brought their elephants to Chingiz-Khan and demanded elephant fodder. He asked them what the elephants lived on before they fell into captivity. They replied: 'The grass of the plains.' Whereupon he ordered the elephants to be set free to forage for themselves. They were accordingly released and finally perished [of hunger].

When the king of the heavens had sunk beneath the ball of the earth, the Mongols departed from the town, and the garrison of the citadel, their hearts cut in two with fear and terror, could

neither stand and resist nor turn and flee. Alp Khan,[14] however, made a show of valour and intrepidity: issuing forth from the citadel with a thousand desperate men he fought his way through the centre of the Mongol army and joined up with the Sultan. The next morning, when the heralds of the Lord of the planets rose up striking their swords, the Mongol army completely encircled the citadel, and discharging arrows and projectiles from either side they devastated the walls and outworks and laid waste the Juy-i-Arziz.[15] [95] During the space between the two prayers they took the gates and entered the citadel. A thousand brave and valiant men withdrew to the cathedral mosque and commenced a fierce battle using both naphtha and quarrels. The army of Chingiz-Khan likewise employed pots of naphtha; and the Friday mosque and all that were in it were burnt with the fire of this world and washed with the water of the Hereafter. Then all in the citadel were brought out into the open, where the Turks were separated from the Taziks and all divided into groups of ten and a hundred. They shaved the front of the Turks' heads in the Mongol fashion in order to tranquillize them and allay their fears; but when the sun had reached the west, the day of their life drew to its close, and that night every male Qanqli was drowned in the ocean of destruction and consumed by the fire of perdition. There were more than thirty thousand Qanqli and Turks, commanded by Barishmas[16] Khan, Taghai[17] Khan, Sarsigh[18] Khan and Ulagh[19] Khan, together with some twenty of the Sultan's chief emirs, whose names are recorded in the *yarligh* which Chingiz-Khan wrote to Rukn-ad-Din Kart;[20] in which *yarligh* full mention is made of

[14] I.e. Alp-Er Khan. See above, p. 118.

[15] On this famous 'leaden watercourse' see Barthold, *Turkestan*, 85, 89 and 413.

[16] BRŠMAS. *barīshmas* in Turkish means 'he that does not make peace'.

[17] TTAY. *taghai*, i.e. 'maternal uncle'.

[18] SRSYT. *sarsīgh* means 'hard', 'rough'.

[19] AWLAT. For *ulagh* 'post horse' see above, p. 30 and n. 14.

[20] The progenitor of the Kart dynasty of Herat. See Lane-Poole, *The Mohammadan Dynasties*, 252. An interesting reference to a written source: it would appear that Juvaini had examined this document in person.

all the leaders of armies and countries whom he crushed and destroyed.

When the town and the citadel equalled each other in ruin and desolation and many an emir, and soldier, and townsman had taken a sip at the cup of destruction, on the next day, when the eagle which is the heavenly Jamshid [21] had raised its head above the mountain-tops of the earth and the fiery countenance of the sun was lit up upon the round tray of the sky, the people who had escaped from beneath the sword were numbered; thirty thousand of them were chosen for their craftmanship, and these Chingiz-Khan distributed amongst his sons and kinsmen, while the like number were selected from the youthful and valiant to form a levy. With regard to the remainder, who obtained permission to return into the town, [96], as a thanksgiving because they had not shared the fate of the others nor attained the degree of martyrdom but had remained in the ranks of the living, he imposed [a ransom of] two hundred thousand dinars on these suppliants and deputed the collection of this sum to Siqat-al-Mulk and ʿAmid Buzurg, who belonged to the chief officials of Samarqand. He then appointed several persons to be *shahnas* of the town and took some of the levies with him to Khorasan, while the others he sent to Khorazm with his sons. And afterwards, several times in succession levies were raised in Samarqand and few only were exempted therefrom; and for this reason complete ruin overran the country.

This event occurred in Rabiʿ I, 618.[22]

Where are there men of insight to gaze with the eye of reflection and consideration upon the movements of deceitful Destiny and the trickery and cruelty of the vainly revolving wheel; until

[21] A famous king of ancient Iran, overthrown and slain by the usurper Ẓaḥḥāk (Dahāk). So Jamshīd is represented in the National Epic; by the early Arab historians he was sometimes identified with Solomon. He is in fact a figure of Indo-Iranian mythology, the Yima of the Avesta and the Yama of the Vedas. In the present passage of course the name is simply a personification of the sun.

[22] A mistake for 617, i.e. May–June, 1220. According to Juzjani (Raverty, 980) Samarqand fell on the 10th of Muharram, i.e. the 19th of March, a date more consistent with Juvaini's subsequent statement (see below, pp. 128–9) that after the capture of Samarqand Chingiz-Khan spent the *spring* of that year near the town.

they realize that its zephyr is not equal to its simoom, nor its gain commensurate with its loss; that its wine lasts but a single hour, but the headache therefrom for ever; that its profit is but wind, and its treasure pain?

O heart, lament not, for this world is only metaphorical;
O soul, grieve not, for this abode is only transient.

[XIX]

OF THE FATE OF KHORAZM [1]

THIS is the name of the region; its original name was Jurjaniya, while the inhabitants call it Urganch. Before the vicissitudes of fortune it stood in the category of '*Goodly is the country, and gracious is the Lord!*' [2] It was the site of the throne of the Sultans of the world and the dwelling-place of the celebrities of mankind; its corners supported the shoulders of the great men of the age, and its environs were receptacles for the rareties of the time; its mansions were resplendent with every kind of lofty idea, and its regions and districts were so many rose-gardens through the presence of men [97] of quality, great *shaikhs* being assembled in one place with the Sultans of the age.

All that thou wishest is therein, spiritual and temporal

—such was the state of that country.

Khorazm to me is the best of lands—may its rain-giving clouds never be blown away!
Happy is that man's face which is greeted by the shining faces of its striplings! [3]

When Chingiz-Khan had completed the conquest of Samarqand, all the countries of Transoxiana were subdued and his opponents crushed in the mills of calamity, while on the other

[1] Khorazm (Khwārazm) is applied here (as often) not to the region but to its capital, Gurganj or Urganch, which lay on the site of the present-day Kuhna-Urganch (Kunya-Urgench), i.e. 'Old Urganch'.

[2] Koran, xxxiv, 14.

[3] Attributed by Yaqut, under Khorazm, to Muhammad b. 'Unain ad-Dimishqi. (M.Q.)

side the districts of Jand and Barjligh-Kent were secured; so that Khorazm was left in the middle like a tent whose ropes have been cut. Since he wished to pursue the Sultan in person and to purge the countries of Khorasan of his adversaries, he dispatched his elder sons, Chaghatai and Ögetei, against Khorazm together with an army as endless as the happenings of Time and such that the mountains and deserts were filled with its numbers. He commanded Tushi also to send levies from Jand as a reinforcement.[4] The princes proceeded by way of Bokhara, sending on ahead as vanguard an army which moved like evil destiny and flew like lightning.

At that time Khorazm was deserted by [both] the Sultans, but Khumar Tegin, one of the leaders of the army and a kinsman of Terken Khatun, was still present; and certain of the chief emirs had likewise remained behind, viz. Moghol Hajib,[5] Er-Buqa Pahlavan, the *sipahsalar* 'Ali Durughini[6] and a number of others of the same sort, to enumerate whose names were prolixity without utility. [98] Besides these there were so many of the notables of the town and the learned of the age as could be neither counted nor computed; while the number of the inhabitants exceeded that of grains of sand or pebbles. And since in all that great multitude and assembly of mankind no leader had been appointed to whom they might refer upon the occurrence of untoward events and for the administration of affairs of state and the business of the commonweal, and by whose agency they might resist the violence of Fate; Khumar, by reason of his relationship to the royal house, was with one voice elected Sultan and made a *Nauruz* king.[7]

And they were heedless of the disorder and unrest prevailing

[4] It would appear from Juvaini's narrative that, contrary to the testimony of all the other authorities, both Moslem and Far Eastern, Jöchi did not take part in person in the siege of Gurganj.

[5] See below, p. 158, n. 17.

[6] In Nasawi (tr. Houdas, 94) he is called Kūh-i-Durūghān ('Mountain of Lies') 'à cause de l'énormité de ses mensonges'.

[7] I.e. king for a day. It would appear that the ceremonies of the great national festival of *Naurūz*, or New Year's Day, at the vernal equinox, must at one time have included the election of a kind of 'May King'.

in the world and of Fate's assault and battery of her creatures, great and small; until suddenly they beheld a small troop of horsemen like a puff of smoke, who arrived before the gates of the town and busied themselves with driving off cattle. Hereat some short-sighted persons became exultant thinking that they had come in so small a party out of bravado and that they had ventured on such insolence by way of sport. They did not realize that this would be followed by calamities, that after the mountain-top of these calamities would come other mountain-tops, and thereafter torments. A whole world of people, both horse and foot, rushed thoughtlessly out of the gates upon that small troop. The Mongols, like wild game, now started, now cast a glance behind them and ran. Finally when they came to the Bagh-i-Khurram, which lies a parasang distant from the town, they caused Tartar horsemen and men of might and dread and prowess and war to spring forth from the ambush of the wall. They cut off the road before and behind and fell briskly upon them like wolves upon a flock without a shepherd. They dispatched flying arrows against that people and wielding sword and lance they drove them before them: by nightfall they had felled to the dust nearly a hundred thousand souls of fighting men. And in the same fever and excitement, with shouts and cries they cast themselves after them into the city by the Qabilan Gate [99] and advanced like fire to a place called Tanura.

As the sun began to set the strange army withdrew by way of caution; but on the next day when the Turkish swordsman raised his head from the ambush of the horizon, the fearless swordsmen and intrepid Turks spurred on their mounts and set their faces towards the town. A certain Faridun Ghuri, who was one of the Sultan's chief generals, awaited them at the gate with five hundred men and preparing to resist deprived those accursed ones *(? rujūm)* of the power to attack. And to the end of that day they continued to struggle and fight.

Chaghatai and Ögetei then arrived with an army like a flood in its onrush and like blasts of wind in the succession of its ranks. They made a promenade around the town and sent ambassadors to call on the inhabitants to submit and surrender.

The whole army then encompassed the town as the circle encompasses the centre and encamped around it in the guise of Fate. They busied themselves with the preparation of instruments of war such as wood, mangonels and missiles therefor. And since there were no stones in the neighbourhood of Khorazm they manufactured these missiles from the wood of mulberry trees. As is their custom, they daily plied the inhabitants of the town with promises and threats, inducements and menaces; and occasionally they discharged a few arrows at one another.

Finally, when the preparations for battle had been completed and the necessary instruments finished, when, moreover, the reinforcements had arrived from Jand etc., they at once set their faces towards war and combat from every side of the town, and raising a yell like thunder and lightning they rained down missiles and arrows like hailstones. They commanded rubbish to be collected and stuffed into the moat; and then the levies were moved forward in a circle *(bi-jirg)* to demolish the foot of the outworks and cast earth into the eyes of the heavens.

When the counterfeit Sultan and leader of the army, Khumar, drunk [8] with the wine of adversity, [100] *(God Almighty hath said: 'As thou livest, O Mohammed, they were bewildered in the drunkenness of their lust')* [9] beheld the slaughter which they wrought, for fear of abasement his heart was cut in two, and the signs of the Tartar army's victory agreed with his secret surmise; cunning was removed from his nature, and with the appearance of Destiny the face of counsel and deliberation was hidden from him. He descended from the gate, and on this account even greater confusion and disorder prevailed among the people.

The Tartar army planted a standard on the top of the wall, and warriors climbed up and caused the earth to ring with their shouts, cries, yells and uproar. The inhabitants opposed them in all the streets and quarters of the town: in every lane they engaged in battle and in every cul-de-sac they resisted stoutly.

[8] There is a word-play on Khumar's name, which is actually Turkish but seems to be derived from the same Arabic root as *khamr* 'wine': in fact, *khumār* in Arabic means 'drunken headache'.

[9] Koran, xv, 72.

The Mongols meanwhile were setting fire to their houses and quarters with pots of naphtha and sewing the people to one another with arrows and mangonels. And when the cloak of the sun's light was being wrapped in the tyranny of evening darkness, they began to return to their encampment. In the morning the people of the town for a while applied themselves to battle in the same manner and bared the claw of conflict with sword, arrow and banner. By now the greater part of the town was destroyed; the houses with their goods and treasures were but mounds of earth; and the Mongols despaired of benefiting from the stores of their wealth. They therefore agreed among themselves to abandon the use of fire and rather to withhold from the people the water of the Oxus, across which a bridge had been built inside the town. Three thousand men from the Mongol army put themselves in readiness and struck at the centre of the bridge; but the inhabitants entrapped them there, so that not one was able to return.

On this account the townspeople became more energetic in their action and more stubborn in their resistance. On the outside also, the weapons of war became more furious, the sea of battle more raging and the winds of confusion more tumultuous, on earth and in the heavens. Quarter by quarter, house by house, the Mongols took the town, destroying the buildings and slaughtering the inhabitants, until finally the whole town was in their hands. Then they drove the people out into the open; those that were artisans or craftsmen, of whom there were more than a hundred thousand, were separated from the rest; [101] the children and the young women were reduced to slavery and borne off into captivity; and the men that remained were divided among the army, and to each fighting man fell the execution of twenty-four persons. *God Almighty hath said: 'So we made them a tale, and scattered them with an utter scattering. Truly, herein are signs to everyone that is patient, grateful.'* [10] The army then busied themselves with plunder and rapine and destroyed what remained of the quarters and houses.

Khorazm, which was the centre of battling men and the

[10] *Ibid.*, xxxiv, 18.

venue of banqueting women, on whose threshold Fate laid her head and which the phoenix of Fortune made its nest, became the abode of the jackal and the haunt of owl and kite; pleasure was far removed from its houses and its castles were reduced to desolation; so withered were its gardens that one would think that the words *'We changed them their gardens into two gardens'* [11] had been revealed concerning their condition. Upon its parks and pleasances the pen of *'all that is transient departeth'* has written these verses:

How many horsemen have dismounted about us, mixing wine
with limpid water;
Then in the middle of the morning Fate snatched them away—
for such is Fate, time and again.[12]

To be brief, when the Mongols had ended the battle of Khorazm and had done with leading captive, plundering, slaughter and bloodshed, such of the inhabitants as were artisans were divided up and sent to the countries of the East. To-day there are many places in those parts that are cultivated and peopled by the inhabitants of Khorazm.

The princes Chaghatai and Ögetei returned by way of Kalif,[13] which they joined with Khorazm in two days.

As for the fighting and killing, in spite of the proverb *'Do as was done before'* I have heard of such a quantity of slain that I did not believe the report and so have not recorded it. *'O God, preserve us from all the ills of this world and the torments of the world to come.'*

[XX]

OF THE DEPARTURE OF CHINGIZ-KHAN TO NAKHSHAB [1] AND TIRMIZ [2]

WHEN Samarqand had been taken and he had dispatched his sons Chaghatai and Ögetei against Khorazm, [102] he passed

[11] Koran, xxxiv, 15. *Two gardens'*, to complete the quotation, *'of bitter fruit and tamarisk and some few jujube trees.'*

[12] Verses by 'Adi b. Zaid al-'Ibadi, quoted in a long story in the *Kitab-al Aghan*.

[13] Reading KALYF with Barthold, *Turkestan*, 437, n. 3, for the KASF of the text. On Kalif, a town on the Oxus (which still exists), see Barthold, *op. cit.*, 80.

the spring of that year beside Samarqand and proceeded from thence to the meadows of Nakhshab.

When the summer had come to an end and the horses were fattened and the soldiers rested, he set out for Tirmiz. Upon arriving there he sent forward messengers to call upon the people to surrender and submit, and to destroy the fortress and citadel. But the inhabitants, encouraged by the strength of the fortress, half of whose walls were raised up in the middle of the Oxus, and rendered proud by the multitude of their troops, gear and equipment, would not accept submission but sallied forth to do battle. Mangonels were set up on either side, and they rested neither day nor night from strife and warfare until upon the eleventh day the Mongols took the place by storm. All the people, both men and women, were driven out on to the plain and divided proportionately among the soldiers in accordance with their usual custom; then they were all slain, none being spared.

When the Mongols had finished the slaughter they caught sight of a woman who said to them: 'Spare my life and I will give you a great pearl which I have.' But when they sought the pearl she said: 'I have swallowed it.' Whereupon they ripped open her belly and found several pearls. On this account Chingiz-Khan commanded that they should rip open the bellies of all the slain.

When they had done with looting and slaying he departed to the region of Kangurt [3] and Shuman,[4] where he passed the winter. That region also he purged with slaying, and attacking, and sapping, and burning; and sent armies into the whole of Badakhshan and all that country, and conquered and subjugated

[1] Now Karshi in Uzbekistan.

[2] The ruins of the medieval city lie near the modern town of the same name (Termez) on the right bank of the Oxus, which here forms the boundary between Uzbekistan and Afghanistan.

[3] KNKRT. Kangurt lies to the west of Baljuan on the old Hisar-Kulab road in Tajikistan. (V.M.)

[4] Reading ŠMAN for the SMAN of the text. I take this to be identical with the town and district of Shūmān. Minorsky, *Ḥudūd*, 353, suggests that the town may have stood on the site of the later Dushambe, now Stalinabad, the capital of Tajikistan.

the peoples, some by kindness, but most by severity; so that in all that region there was left no trace of his opponents. And when the season of winter drew to a close he made ready to cross the river.

All this occurred in the year 617/1220–21.

[XXI]

[103] OF CHINGIZ-KHAN'S CROSSING OF THE RIVER AT TIRMIZ AND THE TAKING OF BALKH

BALKH, by reason of the multitude of its produce and its manifold kinds of revenue, was superior to other regions; its territory was more spacious than that of other countries; and in former time it was in the Eastern lands as Mecca in the West. As Firdausi says:

> He departed unto fair Balkh to that *nau-bahar* which
> at that time the worshippers of God
> Held in as much honour as the Arabs now hold Mecca.[1]

Chingiz-Khan crossed the river and advanced on Balkh. The chief men of the town came forward professing submission and servitude and bearing all manner of *tuzghu* and presents. Whereupon, because a census had to be taken, he gave orders that all the people of Balkh should be brought on to the plain and numbered. But as Jalal-ad-Din was still casting confusion and disorder into those regions and riding his horse on to the field of rebellion and contumacy, the Mongols could place no confidence in their professions of submission, especially in the case of Khorasan. And since the sea of the annihilation of lands and peoples was raging and the tempest of calamity had not come to an end, there was no possible wile whereby they might ward off disaster; and since Destiny held them captive,

[1] *Shahnama* ed. Vullers, 1496, ll. 15–16. By the *nau-bahār* or 'new *vihāra*' is meant the great Buddhist temple near Balkh, on which see Barthold, *Turkestan*, 77.

surrender availed them not, neither could they rely on submission and abasement; [104] while to rebel was a deadly poison and an irremediable pain. Therefore Chingiz-Khan commanded that the population of Balkh, small and great, few and many, both men and women, should be driven out on to the plain and divided up according to the usual custom into hundreds and thousands to be put to the sword; and that not a trace should be left of fresh or dry. For a long time the wild beasts feasted on their flesh, and lions consorted without contention with wolves, and vultures ate without quarrelling from the same table with eagles.

Eat and rend, O hyaena, and rejoice in the flesh of a man who had no one to help him this day.[2]

And they cast fire into the garden of the city and devoted their whole attention to the destruction of the outworks and walls, and mansions and palaces. *God Almighty hath said: 'There is no city which we will not destroy before the day of Resurrection or chastise it with a grievous chastisement. This is written in the Book.'* [3]

When Chingiz-Khan returned from Peshawar and arrived at Balkh, he found a number of fugitives who had remained hidden in nooks and crannies and come out again [after the Mongols' departure]. He commanded them all to be killed and fulfilled upon them the verse, *'Twice will we chastise them.'* [4] And wherever a wall was left standing, the Mongols pulled it down and for a second time wiped out all traces of culture from that region.

And their mansions shall weep for them, which were once accustomed to glory.
We began by gazing on them with admiration and ended by gazing on them in astonishment.[5]

After Chingiz-Khan had thus disposed of Balkh, he dispatched his son Toli with a large army to conquer the countries

[2] From Nabigha Ja'di. (M.Q.)
[3] Koran, xvii, 60.
[4] *Ibid.*, ix, 102.
[5] Attributed by Tha'alibi in the *Tatimmat-al-Yatima* to Abu-Bakr 'Abdallah b. Muhammad b. Ja'far al-Aski, who flourished under the later Samanids. (M.Q.) See Eghbal's ed., I, 95.

of Khorasan, whilst he himself turned against Talaqan.[6] The citadel of that place was called Nusrat-Kuh and apart from its own strength was crammed full of warriors prepared to earn a glorious name. Though he dispatched messengers and envoys and called on them to tender submission, they would not give in but were inclined for nothing but strife and battle. The Mongols drew a circle about the citadel [105] and set many catapults in motion; they bestirred themselves untiringly nor did the garrison rest from their exertions: both sides fought fiercely and inflicted many wounds on their opponents. The garrison of Talaqan continued to resist in this manner until after Toli had subjugated Khorasan and returned from thence with large forces; when the size of the Mongol army was greatly increased and they took Talaqan by storm, leaving no living creature therein and destroying fortress and citadel, walls, palaces and houses.

Of a sudden there came tidings that Jalal-ad-Din had gained a great victory and vanquished Tekechük[7] and the army under his command. Chingiz-Khan hastened to meet him. The road lay through Gurzivan,[8] and on account of the resistance offered by the inhabitants of that place he tarried there a month until he took it and forced down the throats of its people that same draught of slaughter, rapine and destruction which other like peoples had tasted.

Starting from thence the Mongols came to Bamiyan, the inhabitants of which place issued forth in hostility and resistance, and on both sides hands were laid to arrows and catapults. Suddenly, by the thumb of Fate, who was the destroyer of all that people, a quarrel, which gave no respite, was discharged from the town and hit a son of Chaghatai,[9] the favourite grandchild

[6] See above, p. 118, n. 9.

[7] TKJWK. Spelt also TKJK (I, 106, and II, 136) and TKAJK (II, 197). It is a Turkish word and means 'little he-goat'. See Houtsma, *Glossar*, 68, where it is spelt TKAJWK.

[8] Barthold, *op. cit.*, 443, n. 4, suggests that the place in question was probably the fortress of Rang in Gurzivān (Raverty, 1003). There is still a district of Afghanistan called Durzab and Gurziwan.

[9] He is called MATYKAN (I, 228; i, 273), i.e. apparently Metiken. Rashid-

of Chingiz-Khan. The Mongols made the greater haste to capture the town, and when it was taken Chingiz-Khan gave orders that every living creature, from mankind down to the brute beasts, should be killed; that no prisoner should be taken; that not even the child in its mother's womb should be spared; and that henceforth no living creature should dwell therein. He gave it the name of Ma'u-Baligh, which means in Persian *Bad Town*.[10] And to this very day no living creature has taken up abode therein.

This event fell out in the year 618/1221–22.

[XXII]

[106] OF CHINGIZ-KHAN'S TURNING TO DO BATTLE WITH THE SULTAN

FROM Talaqan Chingiz-Khan dispatched Tekechük and a group of commanders to put an end to Jalal-ad-Din. But the Sultan had been strengthened by the advent of Ighraq [1] and other warriors from every side; and he utterly defeated the army which had been detailed to destroy him, because of the paucity of its numbers and the lack of reinforcements. When tidings of this defeat were brought to Chingiz-Khan, he considered day as night, and in his haste reckoned night as day, and travelled two stages at a time, so that it was impossible to cook food.

When he reached Ghazna he received tidings that Jalal-ad-Din had departed from thence a fortnight since with the object of crossing the Indus. He appointed Mama Yalavach to be

ad-Din (Blochet, 161) calls him MWATWKAN (? Mö'etüken). The name, which does not occur in the Mongol and Chinese sources, is discussed by Pelliot, *Horde d'Or*, 86–7.

[10] See above, p. 45, n. 5.

[1] Saif-ad-Din Ighraq was a Khalaj Turk, the leader of a large force of Khalaj and Turcomans gathered together at Peshawar. (See below, ii, 462.) He had joined forces with Jalal-ad-Din and taken part in the Battle of Parvan, which is here alluded to. For a fuller account of the battle see below, ii, 406–7. On the Khalaj, the ancestors alike of the Khalji Sultans of Delhi and the Ghilzai Afghans of Qandahar, see Minorsky, *The Turkish Dialect of the Khalaj*, 426–34.

basqaq of Ghazna, whilst he himself pursued Jalal-ad-Din like the wind which drives the clouds, until he came up with him on the banks of the Indus.[2] The Mongol army cut off the Sultan's front and rear and encompassed him on every side; they stood behind one another in several rings in the shape of a bow and made the Indus like a bowstring. Chingiz-Khan commanded his men to exceed themselves in battle and to endeavour to take the Sultan alive. Meanwhile Chaghatai and Ögetei also had arrived from Khorazm. The Sultan, for his part, seeing that the day of action was arrived and the time of battle, set his face to combat with the few men that were still left to him. He hastened from right to left and from the left charged upon the Mongol centre. He attacked again and again, but the Mongol armies advanced little by little leaving him less space to manoeuvre and less room to do battle; but still he continued to fight like an angry lion.

[107] Whithersoever he spurred on his charger, he mingled dust with blood.[3]

Since Chingiz-Khan had ordered them to take him prisoner, the army were sparing with their lances and arrows wishing to execute Chingiz-Khan's command. But Jalal-ad-Din was too quick for them and withdrew. He was brought a fresh horse, and mounting it he attacked them again and returned from the charge at the gallop.

Like the lightning he struck upon the water and like the wind he departed.

When the Mongols saw him cast himself in the river they were about to plunge in after him. But Chingiz-Khan prevented them. From excess of astonishment he put his hand to his mouth and kept saying to his sons, 'Such a son must a father have.'

When Isfandiyar gazed behind him, he descried him on the dry land on the far side of the stream.

[2] On the site of the Battle of the Indus see Barthold, *Turkestan*, 445–6. It was probably fought at Dinkot, near the modern Kalabagh.

[3] *Shahnama* ed. Vullers, 1556, l. 1074.

He said: 'Call not this being a man—he is a raging
elephant endued with pomp and splendour.'
So he spoke and gazed thitherwards where Rustam went seeking
his way.[4]

To be brief, all of Jalal-ad-Din's army that were not drowned in the river were slain by the sword. His wives and children were brought before Chingiz-Khan, and as for those that were male, down to very sucklings, the breast of death was put to the mouth of their lives and they were given to nurse to Ibn-Daya,[5] that is, they were thrown to the carrion crows.

It is hard for us that Ibn-Daya continues to examine
that to which the tear-ducts are joined.

Since the riches and wealth which the Sultan had with him consisted chiefly of gold and silver coin he had given orders that day for all of it to be cast in the river. The Mongols sent in divers to bring up what they could out of the water.

This event, which was one of the wonders of Destiny, fell out in Rajab of the year 618 [August—September, 1221].[6] [108] And there is a proverb which says, *'Live in Rajab and thou shalt see wonders.'*

Chingiz-Khan proceeded along the banks of the river[7] but sent Ögetei back to Ghazna, the people of which made voluntary submission. Ögetei ordered them all to be led out into the open country, where such as were artisans were set on one side while the rest of their number were put to death and the town too was destroyed. He left Qutuqu[8] Noyan in charge of the captives

[4] For the first two lines see *Shahnama* ed. Vullers, 1693, ll. 3575–6. The third line is not in Vullers.

[5] I.e. the Crow. The word-play with *dāya* 'nurse' is lost in the translation.

[6] According to Nasawi on Wednesday the 24th November. See Barthold, *op. cit.*, 445.

[7] Upstream according to Rashid-ad-Din (Smirnova, 225) and the *Shêng-wu ch'in-chêng lu* (Haenisch, *Die letzten Feldzüge Cinggis Han's und sein Tod*, 529), whilst he sent Ögedei downstream.

[8] QTQW. This was Shigi-Qutuqu, the Mongol commander at Parvan. He had been discovered as a young child in the deserted encampment of the Tatar after the defeat of that people by Chingiz-Khan and Ong-Khan as allies of the Chin. (*Secret History*, § 135.) He was adopted by Chingiz-Khan's

and craftsmen, who were to pass the winter in that place, whilst he himself returned by way of the Garmsir of Herat.[9]

Chingiz-Khan, meanwhile, had arrived at Karman and Sanquran.[10] Here he received tidings that Jalal-ad-Din had recrossed the Indus and buried his dead. He left Chaghatai in Karman, and Chaghatai not finding him [where he expected] still continued the pursuit. During that winter he took up quarters in the neighbourhood of Buya Katur, which is a town of Ashtaqar.[11] The ruler of that place, Salar Ahmad,[12] bound the girdle of submission about his loins and did all in his power to provide the army with victuals.

mother, Hö'elün, (*ibid.*) or by his wife Börte according to Rashid-ad-Din (Khetagurov, 107, Smirnova, 174). At the great *quriltai* at the sources of the Onon in 1206 he was given the function of grand judge. See the *Secret History*, § 203, Grousset, *L'Empire Mongol*, 183.

[9] *Garmsīr*[*-i-*]*Harāt*. The text should probably be emended to read *Garmsīr va Harāt* 'the Garmsir *and* Herat'. Rashid-ad-Din (Smirnova, 225) says simply that Ögedei returned 'by way of the Garmsir' (as does also D), and Smirnova, *loc. cit.*, n. 2, takes Garmsir to be the region of that name along the middle course of the Helmand still known as Garmsel. In fact the Mongols had already followed this route on a previous occasion. From Talaqan Chingiz-Khan had sent a Mongol army 'by way of the Garmsir' to attack Amin Malik at Ghazna. Amin Malik drove this force back as far as Bust (the modern Qal'a-yi-Bist) and Teginabad (perhaps Qandahar), i.e. to this very region; and the Mongols then retreated in the direction of Herat and Khorasan. See below, ii, 461–2. According to Rashid-ad-Din (*loc. cit.*, cf. also the *Shêng-wu ch'in-chêng lu*, *loc. cit.*, and Bretschneider, I, 293) Ögedei, after destroying Ghazna, sought his father's permission to advance against Sistan. However, because of the heat, Chingiz-Khan ordered him to turn back and said that he would send other forces instead. According to Juzjani (Raverty, 1047) Ögedei fixed his winter quarters at Pul-i-Āhangarān, i.e. the modern Qal'a-yi-Āhangarān on the upper Herirud.

[10] Reading SNQWRAN for the SYQWRAN of the text. The modern Kurram Agency. Raverty (498–9n) identifies Sanquran with the *dara* (valley) of the Shalūzān (Shalūzān in the *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, which has Kirmān for the Kaṛmān of Raverty). Shalūzān and Kaṛmān, besides being the names of two tributaries of the Kurram, are also the names of two villages in the wide open valley of the Upper Kurram.

[11] Neither Būya Katūr (BWYH KTWR) nor Ashtaqār (AŠTQAR), has been identified. According to Juzjani (Raverty, 1043–5) Chingiz-Khan advanced from the Indus to besiege Ïghraq (cf. below, p. 137) in a fortress which Raverty calls Gībarī, captured it and 'other forts of the Koh-pāyah [hill-skirts]' and then for three months encamped 'in the Gībarī territory and the Koh-pāyah'. Raverty, 1043, n. 1., locates the fortress of Gībarī in Bajaur in the Dir, Swat and Chitral Agency. On the other hand it is also possible to read Gīrī instead

On account of the insalubrity of the climate the greater part of the soldiers fell sick and the strength of the army declined. There were many prisoners with them in that place, and they had also captured Indian slaves in that region, [109] so that in each house there were ten to twenty prisoners. All of these were employed in preparing food by scouring rice, etc., and the climate agreed with their constitution. Chingiz-Khan gave orders that every slave in every house should scour four hundred maunds of rice. They accomplished this task with great speed within the space of one week; upon which Chingiz-Khan commanded that all the prisoners in the army should be killed. The unhappy wretches had no idea of their fate; one night, just before dawn, not a trace was left of the prisoners and the Indians.[13]

All the neighbouring peoples sent envoys and tendered their submission. Chingiz-Khan dispatched an ambassador to Rana[14] also; who at first accepted submission but did not remain constant. Chingiz-Khan sent an army which seized and slew him. He also sent an army to beleaguer Ighraq in the stronghold which he had fortified.

When the army had recovered its health Chingiz-Khan conceived the idea of returning home by a route through India to the land of the Tangut.[15] He advanced several stages, but as

of Gībarī and identify it with the fortress in which Mas'ud the Ghaznavid (1030–40) was imprisoned and put to death and which was situated close to the Indus, in the neighbourhood of Peshawar. See Raverty, *loc. cit.*, also 1074*n*.

[12] Sālār Aḥmad is also unidentified. See Raverty, 1074n.

[13] Barthold, *Turkestan*, 454, is inclined to discredit the details of this story (which, as he points out, was afterwards related of Tamerlane) especially as Juzjani, 'who was not in the habit of concealing the cruel actions of the Mongols, says not a word of this action, of which he could not have been ignorant'.

[14] Juvaini has taken the North Indian title *rānā* as a proper name. This was probably the successor of Nasawi's Rāna *Shatra (ZANH ŠTRH in Houdas' text and Zâna-Chatra in his translation, 142), 'le seigneur du Djebel El-Djoudi', slain in battle by Sultan Jalal-ad-Din (*ibid.*, 143). Juzjani (Raverty, 815) speaks of a later Rana of the 'Jud hills' (i.e. the Salt Range) against whom an expedition was sent in 644/1246–7 to punish him for having acted as guide to the Mongols in the previous year.

[15] By way of Bengal, Assam and the Himalayas according to Juzjani (Raverty, 1046 and 1081).

there was no road, he turned back,[16] and came to Peshawar,[17] and returned by the road by which he had come.

[XXIII]

OF THE RETURN OF CHINGIZ-KHAN

WHEN the tidings of the coming of spring had reached every quarter of the inhabitable world, verdure leapt up like the hearts of the sorrowful, and at the dawning of day nightingales mourned and lamented upon the branches of the trees in unison with turtles and ring doves; in memory of the striplings who every year in gardens and pleasances had poured out wine and driven away care upon the petals of flowers and blossoms, the clouds rained tears from their eyes and said, 'It is rain'; [110] the rosebud, filled with longing for wanton glances, from sadness filled its cup with blood and made believe that it was a smile; the rose, filled with regret for the violet-cheeked rose-faced ones, tore its garment and said, 'I have bloomed'; the lily, in the garb of the sorrowful, donned blue and claimed that it was heaven-coloured; the trim cypress, in recollection of the graceful cypress-shaped ones, bent its back to the heavy sigh which it heaved at every dawn and called this 'stateliness'; in harmony with the cypress the willow from grief laid its head upon the

[16] Rashid-ad-Din (Smirnova, 225) is more explicit. Rugged mountains, dense forests, an unhealthy climate and bad drinking water—these and the report that the Tangut had risen in revolt were the reasons for his turning back. According to Juzjani (Raverty, 1045–6 and 1081–4) he had from his encampment in the Gībarī (or Gīrī) area dispatched envoys to Il-Tutmīsh in Delhi seeking permission to return through India; and he was still in that encampment, burning and examining the shoulder-blades of sheep (for an account of this form of divination see Rockhill, 187–8), when the news arrived of the Tangut's rebellion. According to the *Yüan shih* he had actually penetrated into Eastern India when the appearance of a fabulous animal, a kind of unicorn, caused him to retrace his steps. See Krause, 39, Haenisch, *op. cit.*, 531, Bretschneider, I, 289, d'Ohsson, I, 318, n. 1.

[17] The text has here Farshāvar and elsewhere Parshāvar, at that time the normal spelling of the name (the older Purushapura, 'the town of Purusha'). The form Pēshāvar (our Peshawar) was introduced by the Mogul Emperor Akbar.

dark earth and from anguish at its fate heaped dust upon its head, saying, 'I am the *farrash* of the meadow'; the wine bottle made a gurgle in its throat; and the lute and the rebeck were embraced with melody.

Look, at the dawn of day, that thou mayst hear the
Pahlavi song of the nightingale:
It laments the death of Isfandiyar, of whom there is no
memorial but lamentation.

None has opened his lips in mirthful laughter this year;
the world has not rested from strife for one moment
this year.
Who has shown me a face tinged with rose-blood this year?
In such times as these what time has there been for
roses this year?

Chingiz-Khan decided to return from Peshawar to his original home; and the reason for his haste to return was that the Khitayans and the Tangut, profiting by his absence, had grown restive and wavered between submission and insurrection.

By way of the mountains of Bamiyan he rejoined his heavy baggage which he had left in the region of Baghlan.[1] He passed the summer in that pasture land and when the season of autumn was come he again took to the road and crossed the Oxus.

After crossing the river he sent back Törbei Toqshin[2] in pursuit of the Sultan.

That winter he abode in the region of Samarqand, whence he sent a messenger to summon his eldest son Tushi, bidding him set out from the Plain of the Qifchaq[3] [111] driving the game in front of him (which for the most part was wild asses).

[1] Perhaps Baghlān and not Parvān is meant by the 'plain of Baruan' of the *Secret History* (§§ 257 and 258), the river Pa-lu-wan of the *Yüan shih* (Krause, 38, Haenisch, *Die letzten Feldzüge Cinggis Han's und sein Tod*, 531) and the *Shêng-wu ch'in-chêng lu* (Haenisch, *op. cit.*, 529) and 'the plain which the *Mongols* call Parvan' of Rashid-ad-Din (Smirnova, 225).

[2] See below, Chapter XXIV.

[3] *Dasht-i-Qifchāq* for the more usual *Dasht-i-Qipchāq*, the name given to the vast steppes stretching from the Dniester to the Irtish: it was afterwards applied to the territory of the Golden Horde.

Chaghatai and Ögetei, for their part, went to Qara-Köl [4] to amuse themselves with the hunting of the swan; every week, as a sample of their hunting, they would send Chingiz-Khan fifty camel-loads of swans.

Finally, when no game was left, and the winter had drawn to its close, and the world was become a rosebud with the signs of spring, and the earth had donned a robe of flowers and blossoms; Chingiz-Khan determined to depart and remove; the princes gathered around their father by the river of Fanakat,[5] and held a *quriltai,* after which they proceeded from thence until they came to Qulan-Bashi,[6] where Tushi came up from the other side and joined his father.

Among the presents which he brought were a thousand grey horses. In accordance with his father's command he had driven herds of wild asses from the Plain of the Qifchaq like so many sheep. It was said that the hoofs of the wild asses had become worn out on the journey and that they had been shod with horseshoes. When they came to a place called Utuqa,[7] Chingiz-Khan, his sons and the soldiers mounted horse to disport themselves, and the wild asses were driven before them. They gave chase, but from excess of weariness the wild asses had become such that they could be taken by hand. When they had grown tired of the chase and none but lean animals remained, each branded those he had taken with his own brand and let them go free.

To be brief, they passed the summer in Qulan-Bashi; and hither were brought a number of Uighur nobles whom they executed for a crime they had committed. Then Chingiz-Khan

[4] Now the name of a town (Karakul) in Uzbekistan, Qara-Köl, lit. 'the Black Lake', was originally the name of the swampy region in which the Zaraf-shan finally loses itself. According to Barthold, *Turkestan,* 118, 'there was a vast quantity of fish and birds here'.

[5] See above, p. 64, n. 8.

[6] Reading QLAN BAŠY for the QLAN TAŠY of the text. The pass between the basins of the Arïs and the Talas on the way from Chimkent to Aulie Ata (Jambul), well known for its cold climate. See Prince Masalsky, *Turkestan-skii krai,* 757. (V.M.) Qulan-Bashï means 'Wild Ass's Head'.

[7] AWTWQA. Unidentified.

departed from thence and in the springtime arrived at his own *ordu*.

[112] [XXIV]

OF THE EXPEDITION OF TÖRBEI TOQSHIN IN SEARCH OF SULTAN JALAL-AD-DIN [1]

WHEN Chaghatai returned without having found the Sultan, Chingiz-Khan deputed Törbei Toqshin, together with two *tümen* of Mongol troops, to cross the Indus in his pursuit.

Törbei Toqshin advanced to the region of *Nandana,[2] a province of India which had previously been held by Qamar-ad-Din Karmani [3] but of which one of the Sultan's commanders had now made himself master.

Törbei Toqshin took the fortress of *Nandana [2] and wrought

[1] This chapter has already appeared in print in my article, *Iru and Maru in the Secret History of the Mongols*. As to the name Törbei Toqshin the text has everywhere TRBAY TQŠY or TWRBAY TQŠY but in II, 144, E and G have TWQŠYN for the second element. It is the Turkish form of Dörbei Doqshin, 'Dörbei the Brutal', the name of a Dörbet commander who had distinguished himself in an expedition against the forest people of the Qori-Tumat in 1217. See the *Secret History*, § 240, and Rashid-ad-Din (Smirnova, 178 and 255–6); also the above-mentioned article, 405–6 and 410.

[2] The text has in both cases BYH, but for the name of the fortress B has *N*NDH and J, i.e. the Bodleian MS. Fraser 154 (I am indebted to Professor A. F. L. Beeston, formerly Keeper of Oriental Books, and to the Printer to the University of Oxford for a photograph of the passage) YNDH, both of which forms must be regarded as corruptions of an original NNDNH (i.e. Nandana), which actually occurs in Juzjani (Raverty, 534). In the case of the district also BYH is doubtless to be regarded as a corruption of NNDNH, as is also the first element of Nasawi's DBDBH WSAQWN (text, 86, it appears in Houdas' translation, 144, as Debdeba-Ousâqoun). It was here that Qubacha heard the news of Jalal-ad-Din's battle with the Rana of the Jud hills. On Nandana see the long footnote in Raverty (534–9), also the *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, Vol. XVIII, 349, where it is described as a 'place of historical interest in the Pind Dādan Khān *tahsil* of Jhelum District, Punjab, situated 32° 43′ N. and 73° 17′ E., 14 miles west of Chao Saidān Shāh, in a remarkable dip in the outer Salt Range. Of the fort, two bastions of large, well-cut sandstone blocks still remain.'

[3] Smirnova, 224, n. 3, identifies Qamar-ad-Din Karmānī with Qamar-ad-Din Tamar Khan Qīrān, the future governor of Bengal (1244–6). However, according to Juzjani (Raverty, 743) this latter person, a Qipchaq Turk purchased

great slaughter. Then he turned against Multan. There were no stones in Multan, so he ordered levies to be driven from thence to build rafts of wood: these were loaded with catapult missiles and launched upon the river. When he arrived before Multan the mangonels were set in motion; a large part of the wall was demolished and the town was on the point of surrendering. However, the great heat of the climate prevented his remaining longer; so having plundered and massacred throughout the province of Multan and Lahore he returned from thence and recrossed the Indus; and arriving in Ghazna followed in the wake of Chingiz-Khan.[4]

[XXV]

OF THE EXPEDITION OF YEME [1] AND SÜBETEI IN PURSUIT OF SULTAN MUHAMMAD

WHEN Chingiz-Khan arrived before Samarqand and threw a ring around the city he received intelligence [113] that the Sultan

by Il-Tutmïsh, held no fief till the reign of Razīya (1236–9), when he became feudatory of Kanauj. In fact the Qamar-ad-Din in question is none other than Qubacha, the ruler of Sind and the former slave of the Ghurid Sultan Shihab-ad-Din. According to Nasawi (see above, n. 2) he was in the Nandana area at the time of Jalal-ad-Din's battle with the Rana of the Jud hills. See also below, ii, 414–16. I follow Raverty (536*n*) in calling him Kaṛmānī, i.e. of Kaṛmān, the present-day Kurram Agency, rather than Kirmānī, i.e. of Kerman; and in fact he may well have had some connection with Kaṛmān, which his father-in-law Yulduz held as a fief. See Raverty, 498–500.

[4] For a somewhat different version of this expedition see below, ii, 413. According to the *Secret History* (§§ 257 and 264), the *Shêng-wu ch'in-chêng lu* (Haenisch, *Die letzten Feldzüge Cinggis Han's und sein Tod*, 529) and the *Yüan shih* (*ibid.*, 531, Krause, 38) it was led not by Dörbei but by Bala of the Jalayir; according to Rashid-ad-Din (Smirnova, 224) it was led by Dörbei and Bala jointly.

[1] YMH. This is apparently the Turkish form of the name Jebe; it is found in Nasawi and Juzjani also. The famous general belonged to the Besüt, who were vassals of the Tayichi'ut, and his name, according to the *Secret History* (§ 147), was originally Jirqo'adai. He had fought under Jamuqa at the Battle of Köyiten (1201), in the course of which an arrow, discharged from his bow, had wounded Chingiz-Khan's horse, 'a chestnut with a white muzzle'. After the final defeat of the Tayichi'ut Jirqo'adai presented himself before the

had crossed the river at Tirmiz and had dispersed the greater part of his army and the chiefs of his household troops throughout the villages and countryside; that few men were left with him; and that he had crossed the river in a state of terror and bewilderment.

He exclaimed: 'It is necessary to make an end of him and be well rid of him before men gather around him and nobles join him from every side.'

So he chose from the chief of his commanders Yeme and Sübetei to pursue the Sultan; and from the troops that were with him he selected proportionately [2] thirty thousand men, each of whom was to a thousand men of the Sultan's army as a wolf to a flock of sheep or a red-hot coal to a dry cane-brake.

Conqueror. Questioned about the shot he freely admitted his responsibility but promised, if his life was spared, to serve his new master faithfully and well. Chingiz-Khan was pleased with his frankness, gave him the name of Jebe, which means 'weapon' or perhaps 'arrow' (see Pelliot-Hambis, *Campagnes*, 155–6), to commemorate his action and admitted him amongst his followers. Rashid-ad-Din (Khetagurov, 194), gives a somewhat different version of his first entry into Chingiz-Khan's service. After the defeat of his people Jebe had gone into hiding. He is discovered by Chingiz-Khan in the course of a *battue*. Borji, the early friend and close companion of the Conqueror (the Bo'orchu of the *Secret History*) gives chase on his leader's horse (the same 'chestnut with the white muzzle') letting fly an arrow which misses its mark. Jebe shoots back, hits and kills the horse and so makes his escape. Ultimately, however, he is obliged to surrender. Kneeling before the Conqueror he confesses to the crime of having killed his horse but undertakes, if the crime is pardoned, to provide the Khan with 'many such horses'. Because he is a brave man (*bahadur*) he is not only forgiven but made a commander of ten. When, having risen to the command of a *tümen*, he is sent in pursuit of the Naiman Küchlüg, he remembers his promise and returns from that campaign bringing with him, as a present for his master, a thousand chestnut horses with white muzzles! See also Grousset, *L'Empire Mongol*, 116–17. It is stated by Wolff, *Geschichte der Mongolen oder Tataren*, 110, and repeated by Howorth, I, 97, that Jebe did not long survive the great expedition across the Caucasus and round the Caspian. Wolff does not quote his authority for this statement, but the fact seems likely enough, for unlike his comrade Sübetei, who was still to distinguish himself in China and in Hungary, Jebe now vanishes from history; nor has he, like Sübetei, been accorded the honour of a biography in the *Yüan shih*. See Pelliot-Hambis, *loc. cit.*, also Pelliot, *Horde d'Or*, 133, n. 3.

[2] Cf. below, p. 151: 'And from all the armies that accompanied him Chingiz-Khan detached men from all his sons in proportionate number, and from each ten he designated one to accompany Toli.'

They forded the river at Panjab;[3] and pursuing and seeking him like a flood descending from hill to valley they hastened in the manner of smoke.

First they came to Balkh. The notables of the town sent a deputation to meet them and brought them *tuzghu* and offerings of food. The Mongols, in consequence, did them no harm and gave them a *shahna*. Then taking a guide from amongst them, they sent forward Taisi[4] by way of vanguard.

When they came to Zava,[5] they asked for provisions (*'ulūfa*); but the people of the town closed their gates and paid no attention to their words, refusing to give them anything. Since the Mongols were in a hurry they did not stop but rode on. And when the people of Zava saw the banners being borne away and beheld the backs of the Mongols, in their lightheadedness they turned their hands within their fortresses to the beating of drums and tabors and opened their mouths in abuse and vituperation. The Mongols, perceiving their contemptuous behaviour and hearing their voices, turned back and made a strenuous assault upon all three fortresses, laying their scaling-ladders against the walls. On the third day, at the time when the goblet of the horizon was filled to the brim with the blood of the dawn-red, they scaled the walls and left not alive whomsoever they saw; and being unable to stay they burnt and broke whatever was too heavy to carry.

And this was the first pawn that Fate set down upon the chess-board of Oppression, and the first trick that appeared from under the thimble of the thimble-rigging Heavens. [114] It was as though this fighting and slaying were the clue to the calamities of Fate and the disasters of cruel Destiny. From the sound thereof an earthquake shook Khorasan, and from hearing of that event, whereof they had never heard the like, the people were seized with terror.

[3] Panjāb or Mēla was a 'well-known crossing place' near the mouth of the Vakhsh. (Barthold, *Turkestan*, 72.)

[4] ṬAYSY. *taisī* 'prince' is an Uighur borrowing from the Chinese (*t'ai-tsŭ* 'crown prince'). See Gabain, also Pelliot-Hambis, *op. cit.*, 94.

[5] The modern Turbat-i-Haidari in Eastern Khorasan.

At the beginning of Rabi' I, 617 [May, 1220], Yeme and Sübetei arrived before Nishapur and dispatched an envoy to Mujir-al-Mulk Kafi Rukhkhi,[6] Farid-ad-Din and Ziya-al-Mulk Zuzani,[7] who were the ministers and *sadrs* of Khorasan, calling upon them to submit and surrender and demanding provisions (*'ulūfa*) and offerings of food (*nuzl*). They dispatched three persons from the mass of the people to Yeme bearing offerings and presents and making outward profession of submission. Yeme admonished them saying that they should eschew opposition and hostility and whenever a Mongol or a Mongol envoy arrived they should welcome him and not rely upon the stoutness of their walls and the multitude of their people; so that their houses and property might go unscathed. And by way of a token they gave the envoys an *al-tamgha* [8] in the Uighur script and a copy of a *yarligh* of Chingiz-Khan, whereof the gist was as follows: 'Let the emirs and great ones and the numerous common people know this that . . . all the face of the earth from the going up of the sun to his going down I have given it unto thee. Whosoever, therefore, shall submit, mercy shall be shown unto him and unto his wives and children and household; but whosoever shall not submit, shall perish together with all his wives and children and kinsmen.'

The Mongols indited documents after this manner and encouraged the people of the town with promises. Then they left Nishapur, Yeme making for Juvain [9] and Sübetei proceeding to Tus [10] by way of Jam.[11] Wherever the people came forward to tender submission, [115] they were spared; but those that offered resistance were utterly destroyed.

[6] I.e. of Rukhkh, another name for the district of Zāva. [7] I.e. of Zuzan.

[8] On this 'vermilion seal' attached by the Mongols to their documents see Pelliot, *Notes sur le "Turkestan" de M. W. Barthold*, 35–6.

[9] To the north-west of Nishapur. This district, the home of Juvaini, is now called Jaghatai.

[10] The name Ṭūs was applied both to the whole district and to the town of Ṭabarān, of which the ruins are situated a few miles to the north of Meshed.

[11] Now Turbat-i-Shaikh Jām, to the east of Turbat-i-Haidari on the Afghan border.

The eastern villages of Tus, viz. Nuqan and all that quarter *(rub')* [12] tendered submission and so were at once saved; and from thence they dispatched an envoy to the town itself; and since the inhabitants did not answer to their liking they carried slaughter to excess both in the town and in the neighbouring villages.

When Sübetei came to Radkan, the greenness of the meadows and the copiousness of the springs so pleased him that he did that people no harm and left a *shahna* there. When he came to Khabushan,[13] on account of the lack of attention shown by that people, the Mongols wrought great slaughter. From thence he came to Isfarayin; [14] and in Isfarayin and Adkan [15] also the Mongols carried out a great massacre.

By way of Juvain Yeme then turned his reins towards Mazandaran, while Sübetei hastened on by way of Qumish.[16]

Yeme slew many people in Mazandaran, especially in Amul, where he ordered a general massacre. He also left troops to beleaguer the fortresses in which the Sultan's harem had taken refuge; and the siege continued until they were captured.[17]

Meanwhile Sübetei had arrived before Damghan. The notables of the town sought refuge in Girdkuh,[18] but a band of ruffians *(runūd)* remained behind refusing to surrender; and issuing forth at night they fought at the gates of the town, and some few were slain on either side.

From Damghan the Mongols proceeded to Samnan, and here

[12] The name of Nūqān (or Nauqān), which was at one time the chief town of the district of Ṭūs, is still preserved in Naughān, the name of a quarter of Meshed. By 'all that quarter' is perhaps meant all that part of the 'Quarter of Nishapur', Khorasan being divided into the four Quarters of Nishapur, Merv, Herat and Balkh. See le Strange, *Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, 382. It is more likely however that the reference is to one of the four 'quarters' or 'territories' into which Nishapur itself was divided. See below p. 297, n. 50.

[13] The modern Quchan.

[14] The ruins of Isfarāyin are now known as Shahr-i-Bilqīs. See Smirnova, 120, n. 3.

[15] ADKAN or AYKAN. Unidentified.

[16] Kūmish, Qūmish or Qūmis was a small province to the south of the eastern extremity of the Elburz range.

[17] For a fuller account of the siege see below, ii, 467.

[18] A castle in the mountains near Dāmghān, a stronghold of the Assassins.

they slew many people, as in Khuvar of Ray also.[19] And when they came to Ray,[20] the cadi [together with several other persons] came forward and tendered submission. Then, learning that the Sultan had departed in the direction of Hamadan, Yeme hastened from Ray in his pursuit, while Sübetei proceeded towards Qazvin and that region.

When Yeme came to Hamadan, 'Ala-ad-Daula [21] of Hamadan tendered submission, sent presents of mounts and clothing and offerings of food, victims and drink and accepted a *shahna*.

When the Sultan had been put to flight, Yeme turned back and came once more to Hamadan. And when news reached him that a considerable portion of the Sultan's army had assembled at Sujas,[22] [116] headed by Beg-Tegin Silahdar and Küch-Bugha Khan,[23] he advanced against them and utterly destroyed them.

The Mongols then plundered and massacred throughout the greater part of Iraq [24] and departed from thence to Ardabil, which they took by siege slaughtering the inhabitants and pillaging their possessions.

When the season of winter arrived, they departed to Mughan [25] and passed the winter there; and that year the roads were blocked up with the great quantities of snow.

[19] Khuvār of Ray (so called to distinguish it from another Khuvār in Fars) lay between Samnān and Ray; the name is perpetuated in the Plain of Khar.

[20] The ruins of the famous city of Ray, the Rhages of the Ancients, lie a few miles to the south of Tehran.

[21] His name is given by Nasawi (tr. Houdas, 121) as 'Alā-ad-Daula ash-Sharīf al-'Alawī.

[22] Sujās was a small town, a few miles to the west of Sultaniya.

[23] Presumably identical with the Küch-Bugha Khan who, according to Nasawi (tr. Houdas, 118) was sent by Sultan Jalal-ad-Din's brother Rukn-ad-Din against Jamal-ad-Din Ai-Aba and who was afterwards (*ibid.*, 229) killed in the battle between Jalal-ad-Din and the Mongols near Isfahan.

[24] I.e. Persian Iraq. See above, p. 13, n. 29.

[25] The Moghan Steppe, south of the Aras on the western coast of the Caspian, now lies for the most part within the Soviet Socialist Republic of Azerbaijan. It was presumably from this base that the Mongols launched their first attack on the Georgians, on whom they inflicted a crushing defeat near Tiflis in February, 1221. See Grousset, *op. cit.*, 258 and 516–17.

Jamal-ad-Din Ai-Aba [26] and some others again began to stir up sedition and unrest in Iraq and started a revolt. They slew the *shahna* who had been placed over Hamadan, and seizing 'Ala-ad-Daula because of his having tendered submission they imprisoned him in the Castle of Girit.[27]

When spring came Yeme arrived in Iraq to avenge the slaying of the *shahna*. Jamal-ad-Din Ai-Aba came to offer submission, but it availed him nothing, and he was executed together with a number of others.

The Mongols then left Iraq and subjugated Tabriz, Maragha and Nakhchivan [28] massacring the people in all these countries. The *atabeg* Khamush [29] came forward to tender submission and was given a letter and an *al-tamgha*.

From thence they went to Arran,[30] and took Bailaqan,[31] and

[26] AYBH, for which C has ĀY ABH. The first element of this Turkish name is *ai* 'moon', and I take the second to be *aba* 'bear'; it could however be *apa*, a vague word meaning among other things 'ancestor'. On the use of this latter word as a title see Hamilton, *Les Ouïghours à l'époque des Cinq Dynasties*, 96–7 and 146. According to Nasawi (tr. Houdas, 117 and 120) his full name was Jamal-ad-Din Muhammad b. Ai-Aba. (Houdas' text has ABY instead of AY and Houdas, by a natural mistake, has converted his name into Ibn Abou Abeh.) It would seem therefore that Ai-Aba was actually his father's name and perhaps Juvaini's text should be read *Jamāl-ad-Dīn-i-Ai-Aba*, i.e. Jamal-ad-Din, *son* of Ai-Aba.

[27] *Qal'a-yi-Girīt*. This castle is mentioned by Cherikov, a Russian member of the commission for the delimitation of the Ottoman-Persian frontier in 1848–52, as lying to the south of the present-day Khurramabad in Northern Luristan. See Minorsky, *Luristān*, in the *Encyclopedia of Islam*, also M.Q., III, 471–2.

[28] The province of Nakhchivān, immediately to the north of the Aras, is now the Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic of Nakhichevan within Azerbaijan, from which it is physically separated by the Republic of Armenia.

[29] The son of the *atabeg* Öz-Beg and a deaf-mute—hence his name, *khāmūsh* in Persian meaning 'silent'. See Nasawi tr. Houdas, 215–16. Nasawi says not a word of his submission to the Mongols; according to Rashid-ad-Din (Smirnova, 227) it was Öz-Beg himself who bought them off.

[30] The province of Arrān, the classical Albania, lay within the great triangle of land formed by the junction of the Kur and the Aras, of which the greater portion now forms part of the Soviet Socialist Republic of Azerbaijan, the remainder belonging to the Republic of Armenia.

[31] Bailaqān was at that time the chief town of Arran: its ruins, known as Mīl-i-Bailaqān (Mīller), lie to the south-east of Shusha. See Minorsky, *Ḥudūd*, 398.

went on by way of Shirvan.[32] Then they came to Darband and none remembered that any army had ever passed through or gone to war by this route, but they had resort to a stratagem [33] and so passed through.

The army of Tushi were stationed on the Plain of the Qifchaq and that region; they linked up with them and departed from thence to rejoin Chingiz-Khan.[34]

From the telling of this tale their might and prowess become manifest, nay the power of '*And He is the Supreme over His servants*' [35] is verified and confirmed; for that from an army there should go forth a detachment and smite so many kingdoms and kings and sultans, having on all sides such foes and adversaries as no created being might resist or oppose, this can mean nought but the end of one empire and the beginning of another.[36]

[32] Before entering Shirvān the Mongols had again invaded Georgia and inflicted a second defeat on the Georgians. See Rashid-ad-Din tr. Smirnova, 228, tr. Khetagurov, 194–5, Grousset, *op. cit.*, 259 and 517. The province of Shirvan, which lay to the north of the Kur along the Caspian, now forms part of Soviet Azerbaijan. According to Rashid-ad-Din (Smirnova, *loc. cit.*), the Mongols had on their way to Darband sacked the chief town of the province, Shamakha, carried out a general massacre and borne off great numbers of prisoners.

[33] This 'stratagem' was, according to Rashid-ad-Din (Smirnova, 228–9), to invite the ruler of Shirvan, the Shirvan-Shah, to send a delegation to conclude peace. Of the ten notables whom he dispatched for this purpose one unfortunate man was put to death, and the remainder were then threatened with the same fate unless they guided the Mongols through the pass! Elsewhere (Khetagurov, 195) Rashid-ad-Din says that the people of Darband presented *tuzghu* to the Mongols and tendered submission.

[34] Juvaini says nothing of the Mongols' encounter with a coalition of Caucasians and Qipchaq upon their descending into the steppes; nor does he mention their defeat of the Russians on the Kalka. See Grousset, *op. cit.*, 259–60 and 517–21.

[35] Koran, vi, 18.

[36] 'They had trampled on the nations which opposed their passage, penetrated through the gates of Derbend, traversed the Volga and the desert and accomplished the circuit of the Caspian Sea, by an expedition which had never been attempted and has never been repeated.' (Gibbon, VII, 10.)

[XXVI]

[117] A BRIEF ACCOUNT OF TOLI'S CONQUEST OF KHORASAN

WHEN Sultan Muhammad passed through Khorasan Yeme and Sübetei pursued him in great haste with the speed of fire; they were in fact a whirlwind, and the greater part of Khorasan lay across the path of their armies, and there were few districts through which a detachment of their forces did not pass. And as they advanced, wherever a province lay in their path, they dispatched an envoy to the people announcing the arrival of Chingiz-Khan and warning them not to resort to war and frowardness nor refuse to accept submission, and plying them with threats and menaces. And whenever the people elected to submit, they gave them a *shahna* with an *al-tamgha* as a token, and departed. But wherever the people refused to submit and surrender and the place was readily assailable and easily attacked, they showed no mercy but took the town and slew the inhabitants. When they passed by, the people busied themselves with strengthening their forts and citadels and laying in a stock of provisions; but after some time they became slack, and the rumours concerning the Mongol armies having somewhat died down, they fancied that perhaps that host was a flood which had rolled by, or a whirlwind which had raised a dust-storm from the face of the earth, or the fire of lightning which had flashed and gone out.

When Chingiz-Khan crossed the river and turned in person to the pursuit of the Sultan, he deputed his son Ulugh-Noyan [1] to invade Khorasan; Ulugh-Noyan, who in his severity was like a flashing sword with the potency of fire, whereof the wind turned into dust whomsoever it overtook, while in his horsemanship he was the lightning-flash which leaps out from the veil of clouds, and renders the place where it falls like unto ashes, and

[1] I.e. Toli (Tolui). See my article, *On the Titles Given in Juvaini to Certain Mongolian Princes*, 146–8, where I suggest that this title (or the purely Mongol equivalent Yeke-Noyan, both meaning 'the Great *Noyan*') was conferred upon Tolui posthumously to avoid the mention of his real name.

leaves no sign or trace, and seeks not time to tarry or stay. And from all the armies that accompanied him Chingiz-Khan detached men from all his sons in proportionate number, and from each ten he designated one to accompany Toli; men such that if the wind of war in any way comes into agitation, fire falls into their being, [118] the fetters of restraint are loosened from the hands of their choice, and though the vast ocean be their enemy they thrust it down into the bowels of the dark earth.

When Toli went forth, he set commanders over either flank and himself proceeded in the centre, sending forward the vanguard to reconnoitre. He proceeded by way of Maruchuq,[2] Bagh and Baghshur.[3]

Now Khorasan was divided into four cities: Balkh, Merv, Herat and Nishapur.[4] Chingiz-Khan destroyed Balkh in person, as has been separately mentioned; and with respect to the three other cities, inasmuch as other events fell out in those countries both before and after the arrival of the Mongols, their several fates shall be related [hereafter] in detail.[5] As for the rest of that region, he dispatched armies to the right and the left and to the East and the West and subjugated it all, including Abivard,[6] Nisa,[7] Yazir,[8] Tus, Jajarm, Juvain, Baihaq,[9] Khaf,[10]

[2] Maruchuq (the more usual spelling is Maruchaq), in Turkish 'little Merv', on the Murghab, now lies just inside Afghan territory on the frontier with Turkmenistan.

[3] Bagh and Baghshūr are two names of the same place. Its ruins lie near the station of Qal'a-yi-Mor on the Transcaspian Railway. See Minorsky, *Ḥudūd*, 327.

[4] See above, p. 13, n. 28.

[5] Whole chapters (XXVII and XXVIII) are devoted to Merv and Nishapur, but there is no detailed account of the capture of Herat. See the Introduction, p. xxvi.

[6] Abīvard, also known as Bāvard, 'lay near the present villages of Abīvard, at 8 Km. west of the Qahqa [Kaakha] station of the Transcaspian railway'. (Minorsky, *op. cit.*, 326.)

[7] Nisā (or Nasā) was situated near the village of Bāgīr (Baghir) to the west of Ashkabad in Turkmenistan. (*Ibid.*)

[8] Barthold, *K istorii orosheniya Turkestana*, 41: 'About half way between Ashkabad and Qizil Arvat lie the ruins of the town of Durun. There stood here, in pre-Mongol times, the stronghold (*krepost'*) of Tāq, which, not later than the beginning of the thirteenth century, received the name of Yazir from the Türkmen tribe which settled there. See Tumansky, *Zap. V.O.*, IX, 301.' (V.M.)

[9] Baihaq was the name of the Sabzavar district. [10] Spelt in Persian Khwāf.

Sanjan,[11] Sarakhs and Zurabad:[12] and by way of Herat they came to the country of Sijistan,[13] massacring, plundering and ravaging. With one stroke a world which billowed with fertility was laid desolate, and the regions thereof became a desert, and the greater part of the living dead, and their skin and bones crumbling dust; and the mighty were humbled and immersed in the calamities of perdition. And though there were a man free from preoccupations, who could devote his whole life to study and research and his whole attention to the recording of events, yet he could not in a long period of time acquit himself of the account of one single district nor commit the same to writing. How much more is this beyond the powers of the present writer who, despite his inclinations thereto, has not a single moment for study, save when in the course of distant journeyings he snatches a hour or so when the caravan halts and writes down these histories!

To be brief, then, in two or three months Toli subjugated cities with such populations that every borough thereof is a city, and from the surging [119] of creatures every one of them is an ocean; and whole regions were rendered like the palm of the hand and the mighty ones that rebelled were crushed in the fist of calamities. The last of all to suffer was Herat,[14] and when he had joined her to her sisters he returned to wait upon his father. Talaqan had not yet been taken when he joined him; and with his help that too was conquered. And Khorazm, Jand and all that region were subjugated within two months. Now from the time when Adam descended until this present day no king has ever made such conquests nor has the like been recorded in any book.[15]

[11] Apparently identical with Sangān (Sangūn) between Turbat-i-Haidari and Khaf.

[12] Zūrābad appears to be identical with Zūrābād or Zuhrābād, to the south-west of Meshed near the frontier with Turkmenistan and Afghanistan.

[13] The Arabic name of Sistan (Seistan), the region in Eastern Persia and Western Afghanistan.

[14] See above, p. 151, n. 5. Juzjani (Raverty, 1038) states that the Mongols took the town after a siege lasting eight months and massacred the entire population.

[15] In the margin of B someone has written in this place: *Kāshki tu nīz nanivishta būdī*, 'Would that thou too hadst not recorded it!' (M.Q.)

[XXVII]

OF MERV AND THE FATE THEREOF

MERV was the residence of Sultan Sanjar and the rendezvous of great and small. In extent of territory it excelled among the lands of Khorasan, and the bird of peace and security flew over its confines. The number of its chief men rivalled the drops of April rain, and its earth contended with the heavens; its *dihqans,* from the greatness of their riches, breathed the breath of equality with the monarchs and emirs of the age and set down the foot of parity with the mighty and haughty ones of the world.

A fair land and a merciful lord, and a soil whose clay
bleeds ambergris;
And when a man prepares to depart therefrom, by its very
name it forbids him to depart.[1]

When Sultan Muhammad (*God illuminate his example!*) had deposed Mujir-al-Mulk Sharaf-ad-Din Muzaffar from the governorship and vizierate on account of an offence committed by his uncle and had entrusted that office to the son of Najib-ad-Din Qissa-Dar,[2] known as Baha-al-Mulk, Mujir-al-Mulk remained in attendance on the Sultan until the time when he fled from Tirmiz; [120] when Küsh-Tegin Pahlavan[3] approached the courtiers resident at Merv in order to sound their views and brought tidings of confusion and dispersion and the advent of a strange army. And thereafter came messages from

[1] Attributed by Tha'alibi in the *Yatimat-ad-Dahr* to Abu-'Ali as-Saji. The name Merv—in the Arabic character MRW—may also be read *ma-rau* 'go not'. (M.Q.)

[2] According to Nasawi (tr. Houdas, 168) Najīb-ad-Dīn Qiṣṣa-Dār had been 'vizier of Jand'. As *qiṣṣa-dār* he was 'le fonctionnaire chargé de recevoir les requêtes, pétitions et réclamations. A la fin de la semaine il réunissait tout son dossier; il le portrait le jeudi soir à la salle de réception, et quand le sultan avait fini de l'examiner, il le remportait avec les solutions données.' Nasawi calls him *ash-Shahrazūri,* i.e. of Shehrizur in Kurdistan, and his son Bahā-al-Mulk *Ḥājji.*

[3] The Küch-Tegin Pahlavan of Nasawi (tr. Houdas, 115), according to whom (*ibid.,* 229) he afterwards took part in the battle between Sultan Jalal-ad-Din and the Mongols near Isfahan. On this battle see below, ii, 436–7. *küsh* is simply a dialectical variant of the Turkish *küch* 'strength', 'might'.

the Sultan adorned with signature and *toghra* and annotated with folly and impotence, whereof the contents and purport was that the levies, soldiers and officials should take refuge in the fortress of Margha and that the *dihqans* and all that could not remove themselves should remain where they were and should, whenever a Tartar army arrived, go forth with ceremony to meet them and preserve their lives and property by accepting a *shahna* and obeying their orders.

Now, when the King, who is, as it were, the heart, becomes weak in his limbs, how shall there remain strength in the members of the body ? And so timidity prevailed over events and fear over men, and bewilderment and uncertainty overwhelmed them.

Baha-al-Mulk together with a great number of the nobles and military made every preparation; but when he reached the fortress he judged it inexpedient to remain there and set out for the castle of Taq-i-Yazir [4] together with some others. Others again departed to various places according to their fancy, while those whose reins had been seized by Destiny returned to Merv.

As his deputy Baha-al-Mulk had left behind a man of the people who was the *naqib*. This man was inclined to surrender, and the *shaikh-al-Islam* Shams-ad-Din Harisi favoured his idea but the cadi and the chief of the *sayyids* strayed from the path of rectitude and stood aloof. When it was confirmed that the army of Yeme and Sübetei had reached Maruchuq, they sent an envoy with tokens of submission and friendship.

At this juncture, a Turcoman, who had been the leader and guide of the Sultan and whose name was Buqa, sprang up from a corner and, a number of Turcomans having gathered around him, [121] threw himself unexpectedly into the city, where a number of people that were opposed to submission and obedience to the Tartar army made common cause with him. The *naqib* removed the veil of government from his face, and the Turcomans of all that region joined up with Buqa. A number of the inhabitants of Jand,[5] who had fled from the levy and had turned towards Merv attracted by the abundance of its wealth,

[4] I.e. Yazir. See above, p. 151, n. 8. [5] See above, pp. 90–1.

arrived at this time and sought refuge with him; and so he acquired a large following.

Meanwhile, the Sultan having found his rest[6] on the islands of Abaskun, Mujir-al-Mulk, now riding a donkey, now walking on foot, turned his reins and passed by the castle of Su'luk.[7] Here the Emir Shams-ad-Din 'Ali greeted him with honour and reverence; and from thence he came to Merv, where he alighted in the Garden of Mahiabad at the Sarmajan Gate. Some of the officers of Merv, who were his liegemen, came to him individually; but Buqa would not admit him into the town being apprehensive of pressure from the common people. However, when a few individuals had gathered around him, they suddenly, in the middle of the day, covered their armour [8] with their cloaks and threw themselves into the town. The Mervian levies at once girded their loins in his service, and Buqa came to him alone and was pardoned. The Turcomans and Jandians in the town, though numbering more than seventy thousand, also submitted to him. He thought himself in consequence superior to the rank of vizier, and his fancy kept the dream of Sultanship ever in his brain; for his mother had been a favourite in the harem of the Sultan whom the latter had given to his father and who, at the time she was delivered up to him, was already with child. In short, when the report of his success was noised through Khorasan, the lower classes *(aubāsh)* [everywhere] turned towards him, and in the core of his heart the delusion became implanted that the heavens could not revolve without his leave nor the winds move through the plains of the air.

At this time the people of Sarakhs had accepted a Tartar *shahna* and submitted; and the *shaikh-al-Islam*, who still had a leaning towards the Tartars, wrote whisperings to the cadi of

[6] *sukūn*: a word-play with *Ābaskūn*, which is here apparently not the port of that name but the Caspian Sea itself. Cf. below, ii, 385, where Muhammad is said to take refuge on 'one of the islands of the Sea of Abaskun'. See also Minorsky, *Ḥudūd*, 386.

[7] According to Hamdallah (tr. le Strange, 148) the 'strongly fortified castle of Ṣu'lūk' lay to the north of the town of Isfarayin.

[8] *pūshishhā*, which would normally mean 'clothes', but cf. the use of *pūshan* in the sense of 'armour' in Minorsky, *A Civil and Military Review*, 164.

Sarakhs, who was his kinsman. [122] Mujir-al-Mulk had been informed of this state of affairs but said nothing: until one day, in the midst of a sermon from the pulpit in the cathedral mosque, there slipped from the tongue of the *shaikh-al-Islam* the words: ' May the life-veins of the Mongols' enemies be severed ! ' Those present in the assembly were much exercised by these words; and he himself was silenced, confused and bewildered, and said: ' Such words passed my lips without my volition and my thought and intention was the contrary of what I said.' But when the moment is ripe, a prayer comes to the lips in accordance with the requirement of the time. *God Almighty hath said, ' The matter is decreed concerning which ye enquire.'* [9]

These words also reached the ear of Mujir-al-Mulk and confirmed his suspicion; but he was related to the man, and he bore the name of *shaikh-al-Islam* and was in himself a learned man; and so Mujir-al-Mulk was unwilling to touch him without the evidence of proof such as all the world might see and none might deny or refute. Finally, a letter in his own handwriting which he had written to the cadi of Sarakhs was retrieved from the messenger in the middle of his journey; and when Mujir-al-Mulk read this letter he had him summoned and questioned him. He denied all the rumours and hints about his having dispatched the message. Mujir-al-Mulk then handed him the letter, which was like that of Mutalammis,[10] saying, " ' *Read what thou hast written.* ' " [11] As for the *shaikh-al-Islam*, when his eye fell on the writing, he became disturbed and confused. Mujir-al-Mulk ordered him to be taken away, and the officers *(sarhangān)* laid hold of him and poured the fire of calamity over him; they cut him to pieces with their knives, took him by the leg and dragged him face downwards to the market place. Verily, the result of hypocrisy and guile is grievous and the consequence of treachery and betrayal disastrous.

And on account of the submission of Sarakhs Mujir-

[9] Koran, xii, 41.

[10] I.e. it contained the bearer's death sentence. For the story of Mutalammis (i.e. Jarīr) see the *Kitab-al-Aghani* ed. Brünnow, XXI, 193. (V.M.)

[11] Koran, xvii, 15, where the meaning is: ' Read thy book.'

al-Mulk continually sent troops and harassed the people of the town.

Meanwhile Baha-al-Mulk had fled from the fortress of Taq-i-Yazir and taken refuge in Mazandaran. Here he approached the Mongols and the levy, informed them of the position in Merv and offered to go thither and reduce the town and to furnish every year from every house a linen garment for the treasury. [123] His words met with their full approval and they dispatched him to Merv together with seven Mongols.

Being unaware of the developments in Merv and ignorant of the jugglings of Fate, he arrived full of greed and avidity in Shahristana,[12] where he received tidings of the taking of the town by Mujir-al-Mulk. He sent forward an officer to announce [his arrival] and wrote a letter to Mujir-al-Mulk whereof the contents were as follows: 'If there were formerly differences between us and apprehension about the holding of office, all that is now over and there is no protection against the might of the Mongol army save in service and the acceptance of allegiance. Seven thousand Mongols together with ten thousand levies are approaching Merv, and I am allied with them; and they have in one moment razed Nisa and Bavard [13] to the ground. And now, being moved by compassion and desiring concord between us, I have sent forward runners to inform you hereof, so that you may refrain from persistence in strife and not cast yourselves into the whirlpool of destruction and the oven of perdition.'

Mujir-al-Mulk and the grandees and notables were divided in their opinions and distracted in their minds. The more responsible together with Mujir-al-Mulk himself wished to disperse and abandon the town; but they reflected that to rely upon the word of an interested party was remote from prudence and wisdom. They therefore took Baha-al-Mulk's messengers aside, one by one, and interrogated them about the size of the army. When they discovered the truth of the matter, they slew them and dispatched two thousand five hundred from the

[12] Or Shahristān. It lay 3 miles north of Nisa. See Barthold, *Turkestan*, 153, n. 16.

[13] Or Abīvard. See above, p. 151, n. 6.

remnants of the Sultan's Turks to fight their forces. When Baha-al-Mulk and the Mongols learnt of their dispositions they retired in the direction of Sarakhs and Baha-al-Mulk's officers dispersed. The Mongols bound Baha-al-Mulk and bore him with them as far as Tus, where they put him to death.

Mujir-al-Mulk's army proceeded as far as Sarakhs; and because the cadi Shams-ad-Din, at the time of Yeme Noyan's arrival, had gone out to meet him with *tuzghu* [124] and had handed over Sarakhs to the Mongols, becoming *malik* and governor of the town and receiving a wooden *paiza*[14] from Chingiz-Khan, they seized him and delivered him up to the son of Pahlavan Abu-Bakr Divana, who slew him in vengeance for his father.

The rumours about the Mongols having by this time somewhat died down, Mujir-al-Mulk and the notables of Merv concerned themselves with pleasures and amusements and gave themselves completely over to the excessive drinking of wine. At this juncture Ikhtiyar-ad-Din, the *malik* of Amuya, arrived with tidings that the Tartar army was besieging Qal'a-yi-Kalat and Qal'a-yi-Nau[15] and that a detachment of them had come to Amuya and were at his heels. Mujir-al-Mulk made Ikhtiyar-ad-Din welcome; he joined the other Turcomans and took up his abode among them.

A Mongol army of eight hundred men now attacked the town; but Shaikh Khan[16] and Oghul Hajib[17] arriving from

[14] PAYZH. The Chinese *p'ai tzŭ*. On these 'tablets of authority', as Marco Polo calls them, see Benedetto, 112–13. See also Yule's note, *The Book of Ser Marco Polo*, I, 351–4, for plates representing two silver *paizas* found in Russian territory. Polo speaks only of gold and silver tablets: wooden *paizas* were given to minor officials. See Vernadsky, *The Mongols and Russia*, 125–6 and 128.

[15] Qal'a-yi-Kalāt must be the famous stronghold afterwards known as Kalāt-i-Nādirī, for a description of which see Curzon, *Persia and the Persian Question*, I, 126–40. Qal'a-yi-Nau, 'the New Castle', has not been identified. (V.M.).

[16] He had been one of the defenders of Samarqand. See above, p. 118.

[17] He is referred to above, p. 124, as Moghol Hajib. See Barthold, *op. cit.*, 433, n. 2. He appears to be identical with the Oghul Hajib of Nasawi (tr. Houdas, 19) on whom the title of Ïnanch-Khan had been conferred. In the chapter specially devoted to this general (*ibid.*, 111–17) he is called Badr-ad-Din Ïnanch-Khan. He had been designated by Jalal-ad-Din to take part in the

Khorazm with some two thousand men fell upon the rear of the Mongols, overcame them and left the greater part of them on the field. Some, whose horses were less tired, fled away; they were pursued by the Sultan's Turks and Turcomans, who captured sixty of them and after parading them through the quarters of the town and the market places put them to death. Shaikh Khan and Oghul Hajib established themselves in Dastajird.[18]

As for Ikhtiyar-ad-Din, the Turcomans made him their leader; and forming a compact among themselves they turned away from Mujir-al-Mulk and began to stir up such tumult and confusion that the face of the earth was made as black as the hearts of hypocrites, and strove to take possession of the town. Mujir-al-Mulk received tidings of their intention to make a night attack and took counter measures. Being thus unable to achieve a victory and their position having become insecure, they retired to the bank of the river and set their hands to plundering; they would come up to the gates of the town, pillage the villages and seize whatever they set their eyes on.

It was at this juncture that Chingiz-Khan [125] dispatched Toli to conquer the countries of Khorasan with men of action and lions of battle; and raising levies from the subject territories which lay across their path such as Abivard, Sarakhs, etc., they assembled an army of seven thousand men. Drawing near to Merv they sent four hundred horsemen across the ford by way of vanguard. These came by night to the bank where the Turcomans were encamped and watched their activities. Twelve thousand Turcoman horsemen were assembled there and used at every dawn to go to the gates in order to attack the town.

defence of Bokhara and after the fall of the town had fled westward, first to the region of Nisa and Abivard, then to Sabzavar and finally to Jurjan on the eastern shores of the Caspian, where he inflicted a defeat upon the Mongols. There is no mention of his passing through Gurganj; and yet elsewhere (tr. Houdas, 96) Nasawi, like Juvaini (ii 401), speaks of his presence there at the time of Jalal-ad-Din's arrival from the West and even of his warning the Sultan of a plot against his person.

[18] Perhaps the Dastagird mentioned by Hamdallah (tr. le Strange, 169) as lying on the road from Marv-ar-Rud to Balkh.

Upon a jet-black night whose face was washed with pitch,
when neither Mars was visible, nor Saturn, nor Mercury.[19]

the Mongols laid an ambush in their pathway and waited in silence. The Turcomans were unable to recognize one another [in the dark] and as they arrived in small groups the Mongols cast them into the water and on to the wind of annihilation. Having thus broken their strength the Mongols came like the wind to their encampment and left the trace of the wolf upon the herd. And thus the Turcomans, whose numbers exceeded seventy thousand, were defeated by a mere handful of men. Most of them flung themselves into the water and were drowned, while the remainder took to flight. For since the Mongols were aided by Fortune and assisted by Fate, none was able to contend with them and he whose time was not yet come fled away casting down his arms.

The Mongols proceeded in this manner till nightfall and collected on the plain a herd of sixty thousand cattle (including sheep) which the Turcomans had driven from the gates, as well as other possessions, the amount of which was beyond computation. On the next day, which was the first of Muharram, 618 [25th of February, 1221], and the last of the lives of most of the inhabitants of Merv, Toli, that furious lion, arrived with an army like unto a dark night and a raging sea and in [126] multitude exceeding the sands of the desert, 'all warriors of great renown'.

He advanced in person to the Gate of Victory together with some five hundred horse and rode right round the town; and for six days they inspected the outworks, walls, moat and minaret [*sic*] [20] and reached the conclusion that the townspeople's supplies would suffice to defend them and that the walls were a stout bastion that would withstand their attack.

On the seventh day,

When the shining sun sought to cast his glittering lasso
from the lofty citadel,

[19] *Shahnama* ed. Vullers, 1065, l. 1.

[20] *manāra*: perhaps the turrets on the wall are meant.

the armies gathered together and halted before the Shahristan Gate. They joined battle, some two hundred men issuing from the gate and attacking. Toli dismounted in person—

> He uttered a roar like a furious elephant, raised his shield above his head and showed his hand [21]

—and advanced upon them. And the Mongols attacked in his company driving them back into the town. Others issued forth from another gate but the Mongols stationed there repelled the attack. And so the townspeople were nowhere able to achieve any result and could not even put their heads out of the gates. Finally the world donned garments of mourning, and the Mongols took up positions in several rings around the fortifications and kept watch throughout the night, so that none had any means of egress.

Mujir-al-Mulk saw no way out save surrender and submission. In the morning, therefore, when the sun had raised the black veil from his moonlike face, he dispatched Jamal-ad-Din, one of the chief *imams* of Merv, as his ambassador and sued for quarter. Being reassured by fair words and promises, he got together presents from the quadrupeds in the town—horses, camels and mules—and went to Toli [in person]. Toli questioned him about the town and asked for details regarding the wealthy and notable. Mujir-al-Mulk gave him a list of two hundred persons, and Toli ordered them to be brought into his presence. Of the questioning of these persons one might have said that '*the Earth quaked with her quaking*' [22] and of the digging up of their buried possessions, both money and goods, that '*the Earth cast forth her burdens*'.[23]

The Mongols now entered the town and drove all the inhabitants, nobles and commoners, out on to the plain. For four days and nights the people continued to come out of the town; the Mongols detained them all, separating the women from the men. [127] Alas! how many peri-like ones did they drag from the bosoms of their husbands! How many sisters

[21] *Shahnama* ed. Vullers, 476, l. 700.
[22] Koran, xlix, 1.
[23] *Ibid.*, xlix, 2.

did they separate from their brothers! How many parents were distraught at the ravishment of their virgin daughters!

The Mongols ordered that, apart from four hundred artisans whom they specified and selected from amongst the men and some children, girls and boys, whom they bore off into captivity, the whole population, including the women and children, should be killed, and no one, whether woman or man, be spared. The people of Merv were then distributed among the soldiers and levies, and, in short, to each man was allotted the execution of three or four hundred persons. The people *(arbāb)* of Sarakhs in avenging their cadi exceeded [the ferocity of] such as had no knowledge of Islam or religion and passed all bounds in the abasement and humiliation [of their fellow Moslems]. So many had been killed by nightfall that the mountains became hillocks,[24] and the plain was soaked with the blood of the mighty.

> *We have grown old in a land in whose expanses one treads on nought but the cheeks of maidens and the breasts of striplings.*

Then, at Toli's command, the outworks were destroyed, the citadel levelled with the ground and the *maqsura* of the mosque belonging to the sect of the greatest *imam* Abu-Hanifa [25] *(God have mercy on him!)* set on fire. One might have said that this was in vengeance for what befell in the time of the righteous rule of Shams-ad-Din Mas'ud of Herat, the vizier of the kingdom of Sultan Tekish;[26] who caused a Friday mosque to be built for the followers of the *imam* Shafi'i,[27] which fanatics set fire to by night.

When the Mongols had finished plundering and leading

[24] I.e. the mountains seemed no more than hillocks when surrounded by the huge piles of dead. For *kūbbā* 'mountains' M.Q. suggests the reading *gaubā* 'ditches'; but the emendation seems unnecessary.

[25] Abū-Ḥanīfa an-Nu'mān was the founder of the Hanifi sect, one of the four orthodox sects of the Sunnis.

[26] On Sultan Tekish, the father of Muhammad Khorazm-Shah, see below, pp. 289–315.

[27] Muḥammad b. Idrīs ash-Shāfi'ī, was the founder of the Shafi'i sect of Sunni Islam.

captive and massacring, Ziya-ad-Din 'Ali, one of the notables of Merv, who had been spared by reason of his retirement, received orders to enter the town and be emir and governor of those that reassembled out of nooks and crannies. The Mongols also left Barmas [28] as *shahna*.

When the army departed, [128] those that had sought refuge in holes and cavities came out again, and there were gathered together some five thousand persons. A party of Mongols belonging to the rearguard then arrived and wished to have their share of slaughter. They commanded therefore that each person should bring a skirtful of grain out on to the plain for the Mongols; and in this way they cast into the well of annihilation most of those that had previously escaped. Then they proceeded along the road to Nishapur and slew all they found of those who had turned back from the plain and fled from the Mongols when half way out to meet them. In this manner many persons lost their lives, and hereafter Taisi, who had turned back from Yeme Noyan's army, arrived in Merv; he too laid balm on their wounds,[29] and all that the Mongols found there were drawn out of the noose of life and caused to drink the draught of annihilation.

> *By God, we live in violent times: if we saw them in a dream we should be terrified.*
> *The people are in such an evil plight that he that has died deserves to rejoice.*[30]

Now the *sayyid* 'Izz-ad-Din Nassaba was one of the great *sayyids* and renowned for his piety and virtue. He now together with some other persons passed thirteen days and nights in counting the people slain within the town. Taking into account only those that were plain to see and leaving aside those that had been killed in holes and cavities and in the villages and deserts, they arrived at a figure of more than one million

[28] Here BRMAS but elsewhere BARMAS: apparently 'he that does not go'.
[29] Note Juvaini's irony.
[30] Attributed by Tha'alibi in the *Yatimat-ad-Dahr* to Abul-Hasan Muhammad b. Muhammad known as Ibn-Lankak al-Basri. (M.Q.)

three hundred thousand. 'Izz-ad-Din quoted a quatrain of 'Umar-i-Khayyam which was *à propos* of the occasion:

> The form of a cup in which it has been moulded together
> Even the drunkard does not hold it lawful to shatter.
> So many lovely heads and feet—by his art
> Who has joined them in love and who has broken them in hate? [31]

The Emir Ziya-ad-Din and Barmas both remained in Merv until news arrived that Shams-ad-Din the son of Pahlavan Abu-Bakr Divana had started a rising in Sarakhs. The Emir Ziya-ad-Din set out with a few men to suppress the rebellion; and Barmas, after taking out of the town the artisans, etc., who were to proceed to Bokhara, [129] encamped outside. Hereupon a number of persons, the measure of whose lives was filled and their fortune reversed, thought that the *shahna* had received tidings about the Sultan and was preparing to flee. They at once beat a drum and rose in revolt, on the last day of Ramazan, 618 [7th of November, 1221]. Barmas came to the gate of the town and sent some men to summon the notables. No one showed his face or treated him with any respect; and in revenge he slew numbers of people whom he found at the gate of the town. Then he departed together with those that had accompanied him; among whom was Khoja Muhazzib-ad-Din Dashtabadi, who followed him as far as Bokhara. In Bokhara the *shahna* died, and there the people from Merv remained.

When Ziya-ad-Din returned he entered the town under the pretext of making preparations for his departure and distributed the plunder he had taken amongst the people. He also sent the son of Baha-al-Mulk to them as a hostage saying that he was his own son. He himself did not show his face but rose in rebellion with them and repaired the walls and the citadel; a number of people rallying around him. At this juncture a party of Mongol soldiers arrived. He judged it expedient to treat them well and kept them with him for some time.

When Küsh-Tegin Pahlavan arrived from the Sultan's retinue together with large forces and began to invest the town, some of the common people revolted and went over to him. Ziya-ad-

[31] One of the earliest quotations from Khayyam.

Din, realizing that his affairs could not prosper with such a conflict of interests, set out for the fortress of Margha together with the party of Mongols that were in attendance on him; and Küsh-Tegin entered the town, where he began to lay new foundations, repair the fortifications, improve agriculture and mend the dam. Some of the people of the town dispatched a secret letter to Ziya-ad-Din urging him to return to the town. When he came back and halted at the gates [130] one of his followers entered the town and told some person of his arrival. The news at once reached the ears of Küsh-Tegin and Ziya-ad-Din's enemies. Küsh-Tegin dispatched a party of men and had him seized. Then he demanded his money of him. Ziya-ad-Din said that he had given it to prostitutes. Küsh-Tegin asked who they were. 'They are,' he said, 'persons of quality and men of trust who to-day are drawn up before you just as formerly they were drawn up before me; but when the time came for action they deserted me and set the brand of treason upon their foreheads.' When he realized that Ziya-ad-Din had no money and there was nothing to be got from him, Küsh-Tegin deemed his death to be his own life and considered his destruction the survival of the realm.

After the death of Ziya-ad-Din he turned with an untroubled mind to his building and agricultural schemes and worked at the construction of a dam for the river, whereas the water of Destiny had burst the dam of his life and confined the water of his existence [32] in the wells of perdition.

While thus negligent [of events] he received tidings of the arrival of Qaracha Noyan in Sarakhs.[33] He retreated by night by way of Sangbast [34] together with a thousand picked *(mufrad)*

[32] More literally, his 'water of life', *āb-i-ḥayāt*, i.e. 'immortality'. The meaning of this figurative language seems to be simply that Küsh-Tegin was about to experience a reversal of fortune and not that his death was at hand. In fact he survived to take part in the Battle of Isfahan. See above, p. 153, n. 3.

[33] The approach of the Mongols, according to Nasawi, was due to his having marched on Bokhara and killed the Mongol *shabna*. See Nasawi tr. Houdas, 115, also Barthold, *op. cit.*, 448 and n. 5.

[34] The text has *sang-pusht* 'tortoise'! Sangbast is a village some 20 miles to the south-east of Meshed. See Barthold, *op. cit.*, 449, n. 9.

horsemen. Qaracha went in his pursuit and overtook him at Sangbast slaying the greater part of his force; while his deputies remained in charge of the government of Merv.[35]

Three or four days afterwards some two hundred horsemen, who were going to join Qutuqu Noyan,[36] arrived at Merv. Half of them continued their journey in order to carry out their orders, while the other half laid siege to the town and hurriedly sent messengers to the generals Törbei[37] and Qaban[38] in Nakhshab reporting the gathering together of people at Merv; [131] for at that time strangers from all parts, attracted by the abundance of its wealth, had risen from their corners and turned their faces towards Merv; and the townspeople also out of patriotism were casting themselves into that well of stench.

Within five days Törbei arrived at the gates with five thousand men and accompanied by Humayun Sipahsalar, who had received the title of Aq-Malik. They took the town within an hour; and putting camel halters on believers they led them off in strings of ten and twenty and cast them into a trough of blood. In this manner they martyred a hundred thousand persons; after which they distributed the various quarters among the troops and destroyed the greater part of the houses, palaces, mosques and shrines.

The generals then returned to their post together with the Mongol army, leaving Aq-Malik behind with a small force for the purpose of laying hands on any persons that might have exercised prudence and escaped from the beak of the sword-

[35] Küsh-Tegin himself, according to Nasawi, fled first to Sabzavar and then to Jurjan, where he joined forces with Oghul-Hajib Inanch-Khan. See Nasawi tr. Houdas, 115, also Barthold, *loc. cit.*

[36] I.e. Shigi-Qutuqu. See above, p. 135 and n. 8.

[37] TRBAY. E has TWRTAY, i.e. apparently TWRBAY. As was already suggested by Barthold, *loc. cit.*, n. 1, this general is probably identical with the Törbei Toqshin who had been sent across the Indus in pursuit of Sultan Jalal-ad-Din.

[38] Reading QBAN with E in place of the QBAR of the text. Cf. the Qaban who accompanied the Emir Arghun on a mission to China (ii, 506). Qaban was also the name of a great grandson of Chaghatai, the Ciban of Marco Polo. See Hambis, *Le chapitre CVII*, 92.

crow [39] by taking refuge in a corner. Aq-Malik put into practice the most impious forms of espionage. When no other wile remained untried a person from Nakhshab who was with them played the muezzin and gave the call to prayer; and all that came out of the holes in which they were hiding were seized and crammed into the Shihabi college, being finally cast down from the roof. In this manner many more people perished. For forty-one days Aq-Malik continued this work and then returned whence he had come And in the whole town there remained not four persons alive.

When there was no army left in Merv and its surroundings, all those that had remained in the villages or departed into the deserts turned their faces towards the town. And the son of an emir, a man called Arslan, again assumed the emirate of Merv, and the common people (*'avāmm*) rallied to his side.

When news of what had happened at Merv reached Nisa, a Turcoman [40] in that place collected an army of his tribesmen and came to Merv. The townspeople went over to him and so ten thousand people were gathered around him and he was emir for the space of six months, during which time he constantly sent forces to Marv-ar-Rud, Panj-Dih [41] and Talaqan to strike by stealth at the Mongols' baggage and carry off their cattle and horses.

At the same time, desiring to take Nisa,[42] the Turcoman proceeded thither with the greater part of his force [132] and laid siege to the town, the governor of which was Nusrat.[43] He continued the siege until Pahlavan,[44] coming from the direction

[39] *ghurāb-i-shamshīr*: a pun, since *ghurāb* in Arabic means both 'crow' and 'edge (of a cutting weapon)'.

[40] His name, according to Nasawi (tr. Houdas, 165), was Taj-ad-Din 'Umar b. Mas'ud, and he had also made himself master of Khurqan and Abivard.

[41] Marv-ar-Rud is the modern Bala Murghab in Afghanistan. Panj-Dih (Panjdeh) is further down the Murghab in Turkmenistan.

[42] There is a pun involved since *nisā* (*nisā'*) in Arabic means 'women'.

[43] His full name was Nusrat-ad-Din Hamza b. Muhammad b. Hamza b. 'Umar b. Hamza. See Nasawi tr. Houdas, *loc. cit.*, also 173–9.

[44] Apparently Shams-ad-Din, the son of Pahlavan Abu-Bakr Divana. See above, pp. 158 and 164.

of Yazir, suddenly fell upon him, and he took to flight.[45] Halfway back *(dar miyān-i-rāh)* he was attacked and slain by the governor of the castle.

Meanwhile Qaracha Noyan had come from Talaqan to attack the Turcoman and had suddenly appeared before Merv. He again put salt on the burn, slaying all that he found and causing their grain to be devoured. And in his trail came Qutuqu Noyan with a hundred thousand men and began to torture and torment the inhabitants. And the Khalaj of Ghazna and the Afghans, who had been pressed into the levy, set their hands to such tortures as no man has ever seen the like. Some they laid on fire and some they killed with other torments, sparing not a single creature. In this manner they passed forty days and then departed; and in the town and the villages there remained not a hundred souls alive and not enough food even for these enfeebled few. And in addition to all these calamities, a person called Shah together with a small band of ruffians searched all the holes and cavities, and whenever they found an emaciated person they slew him. Some few such wretches escaped and were scattered throughout the country; and except for ten or a dozen Indians who had been resident in the town for ten years past there was no one left in the town.

O nights of Royal Merv when we were all united! God give
thee to drink of the cloud of spring rains!
We snatched thee from the vicissitudes and uncertainties
of Fate whilst the eye of Intention was anointed with
the collyrium of sleep.
Now the vicissitudes of Fate have awakened and renewed their
intention, and have scattered them like rain in every
land.[46]

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[45] E has a blank after the word for 'castle' (*qal'a*), which Barthold, *loc. cit.*, takes to be the citadel of Nisa. It would appear however that the Turcoman was some distance from Nisa at the time of the attack.

[46] These lines are quoted, under Merv, in the *Mu'jam-al-Buldan*, where the third line has, instead of *ṣayyarahum* as in the text, *ṣayyaranā*, i.e. 'scattered *us* like rain'. (M.Q.)

[133] [XXVIII]

OF WHAT BEFELL AT NISHAPUR

IF the earth may be compared to the heavens, then the lands are like its stars and Nishapur, amongst these stars, is like the Fair Venus of the skies. And if it be likened unto a human being, then Nishapur by reason of its choice and excellent qualities is like the pupil of the eye.

And what are men doing in Baghdad and Kufa
Seeing that Nishapur is upon the earth what the pupil
is in the man? [1]

Hail to the town of Nishapur! For if there be a paradise on the face of the earth it is this; and if it be not a paradise, then there is no paradise at all.

Sultan Muhammad left Balkh for Nishapur, and the terror of the Last Day was apparent on the pages of his condition and fear and dread were manifest in his speech. And although by the influence of the heavens upon the centre of the earth things fall out such that if the picture thereof were imagined for one moment in the thoughts of the mountains their members would be shaken and their joints loosened for all eternity—

There have befallen me calamities such that did they
befall the days they would become nights [2]

—yet to all this there were added hidden and imaginary fears in the likeness of dreams and the semblance of omens, so that weakness and neglect gained complete mastery over his being and his cogitative and imaginative faculties were rendered incapable of inventing, contriving and employing devices.

One night in [134] his sleep the Sultan had seen luminous persons, their faces scratched, their hair disordered and dishevelled, clad in black robes like mourners; who smote their heads and

[1] Lit. what the *man* is in the man, i.e. the *man* of the eye, in Arabic *insān-al-'ain*, 'the pupil of the eye'. The verses are by Abul-Hasan Muhammad b. 'Isa al-Karaji and are quoted by Tha'alibi in the *Tatimmat al-Yatima*. (M.Q.) See Eghbal's ed., II, 68.

[2] Attributed to Fatima, the daughter of the Prophet. (M.Q.)

made lamentation. He asked them who they were and they replied, 'We are Islam.' And similar things were constantly being revealed to him.

At this time, whilst going to visit the Shrine of Tus,[3] he beheld two cats, one white and one black, fighting on the threshold. He determined to take an augury of his own fate and that of his enemy from the fight of these two cats. He stopped to watch; and when his enemy's cat was victorious and his own cat defeated, he heaved a sigh and departed.

When Night spread her tent, wert thou roused by a raven croaking upon an Egyptian willow?
It is fitting that the tears running from thy eyes should not be dried;
For in the croakings of the raven there was exile, and in the Egyptian willow the distance that keeps one just out of reach.[4]

And by reason of the victory of the hosts of cares and griefs the night of his youth had drawn near to the dawn of age, and from the *ghaliya* [5] there had welled up a fountain of camphor,[6] and from the heat of the bowels and the agitation of the bile fluid there had broken out upon the skin of his members the pustules of scabies like bubbles in boiling water.

My father has related as follows: 'In the midst of his flight, whilst proceeding from Balkh, the Sultan halted one day upon a hilltop to take his rest. For a time he gazed down on his beard, marvelling at the tricks of Destiny. Then turning to thy grandfather Shams-ad-Din Sahib-ad-Divan he heaved a sigh and said, "If old age and adversity join forces and attack, and youth, prosperity and health disperse and flee, how shall this pain be cured, which is the dregs of the cup of Fate? and by whom shall this knot be unravelled which was tied by the revolving heavens?"'

To be brief, having in this manner arrived before Nishapur,

[3] *Mashhad-i-Tūs*, the modern Meshed.

[4] Probably by Abush-Shīs al-Khuzā'ī. The first line is introduced into one of his *qasidas* by Manuchihri and attributed to this poet. (M.Q.)

[5] *ghāliya* was a perfume composed of musk, ambergris, etc., and *black* in colour.

[6] I.e. his hair had turned white.

on the night of the 12th of Safar, 617 [18th of April, 1220], he entered the town, where from the excess of fear that had overcome him he constantly frightened the people with the Tartar army and bemoaned the destruction of the fortresses which he had ordered in the days of his prosperity, imagining that mere conceit would assist him in time of trouble. He urged the people to disperse and depart, saying: 'Since multitude of assemblies cannot avert or repel the Mongol army; since, indeed, when that people reach this place, which is the most illustrious of lands [135] and the abode of the *sadrs* of the kingdom, they will spare no living creature but will put them all to the sword of annihilation and your wives and children will fall into the abasement of captivity; flight will then be of no avail, whereas if you disperse now it is possible that most of the people, or at least some of you, may be saved.'

But since to quit their homes is to mankind because of their love of country as the departure of the soul from the body and in the Glorious Koran exile is likened unto grievous punishment, in that passage where He Who is the most truthful speaker saith: '*And were it not that God had decreed their exile, surely in this world would He have chastised them*';[7] and since Destiny had laid hold of their skirts, nay had thrust her neck out of her collar to them —'*and He is closer to us than our neck-vein*';[8]—they would not consent to disperse. And when the Sultan realized and perceived that the acceptance of advice had no place in their hearts, he commanded that although strength of arm would be of no avail nor the stoutness of fortifications be to any purpose, they should nevertheless hold it necessary to repair and rebuild the walls. The people accordingly set to work. And during these few days reports about the Mongols had died down and the Sultan thought that they would be in no hurry to cross the river. He recovered his peace of mind and dispatched Jalal-ad-Din to Balkh; but when the latter had travelled one stage there came tidings that Yeme and Sübetei had forded the river and were close at hand. Jalal-ad-Din returned; and the Sultan, in order

[7] Koran, lix, 3.

[8] Cf. Koran, 1, 15: '. . . and we are closer to him than his neck-vein.

not to dishearten the people, mounted horse under the pretext of going hunting and set his face to the road leaving the greater part of his retinue behind.

Prince Muhammad departed and there left her the boon of that blessing;
For Fortune hath many vicissitudes, whereof the days pass over mankind like shadows.

He left Fakhr-al-Mulk Nizam-ad-Din Abul-Ma'ali Katib Jami and Ziya-al-Mulk 'Ariz Zuzani together with Mujir-al-Mulk Kafi 'Umar Rukhkhi to administer the affairs of Nishapur in common.

When the Sultan departed, Sharaf-ad-Din, the Emir of the Assembly *(amīr-i-majlis)*, who was a courtier and a trusted minister of the Sultan and had been appointed *malik* of Nishapur, was proceeding from Khorazm to take up residence in the town and take over the governorship. [136] When he had arrived within two stages of Nishapur, he suddenly died. The news of his death was concealed for fear his servants might plunder the treasury and his own personal property. Mujir-al-Mulk went forth as though to greet him and brought his servants into the town. They did not wish to remain and departed in the wake of Sultan Muhammad.

The next day, which was the 11th of Rabi' I, 617 [24th of May, 1220], the vanguard of Yeme and Sübetei Noyan under Taisi approached the gates of the town. They sent forward fourteen horsemen, who drove off several herds of camels, and also got news of Sharaf-ad-Din's retinue. A few horsemen galloped in their pursuit and overtook them three parasangs from the town. They were about a thousand horse: the Mongols slew them all. They made close inquiries of all they found regarding the Sultan, inflicting torture on their victims and forcing them to take an oath. They then called on the people of the town to surrender, and Mujir-al-Mulk answered as follows: 'I govern this town on behalf of the Sultan and am an old man and a cleric. You are pursuing the Sultan: if you defeat him, the kingdom will be yours and I too shall be your

servant.' They gave provisions to the Mongol army and they departed.

Day by day fresh armies arrived, received provisions and went their way. Finally, on the first of Rabi' II [6th of June] Yeme Noyan arrived in person. He summoned the *shaikh-al-Islam,* the cadi and the vizier; and they sent under their names three persons from amongst the middle class to make arrangements about the provision of food *('ulūfa)* and the rendering of other small services. Yeme gave them a letter in the Uighur script and charged them to give provisions to all that came and to destroy their walls. He then departed; and wherever the people submitted the Mongols deposited baggage and left a *shahna.*

When for some time the passing of Mongol armies had been less frequent and false rumours were current on men's tongues that the Sultan had been victorious in Iraq, the demon of temptation laid an egg in the brains of mankind.

On several occasions the *shahna* whom the Mongols had left at Tus sent messages to Shadyakh [9] saying that they should surrender [137] and not be deceived by idle words. He received rude answers from Nishapur.

In the meanwhile the levies of Tus under their leader, one Siraj-ad-Din, a man from whom sense was a thousand parasangs distant, slew the *shahna* and sent his head to Nishapur, not realizing that with that one head they had severed the heads of a great multitude and aroused from its sleep a great evil. In accordance with the proverb, *'Evil makes the dog to whine,'* the *sayyid* Abu-Turab, who had been set over the artisans of Tus, proceeded to Ustuva [10] unbeknown to the citizens *(arbāb)* and bullies *(fattānān)* of Tus and told Qush-Temür (who had been left with three hundred horsemen in charge of the animals) of the murder of the *shahna* and the consequent disorders. Qush-Temür sent a man to report the position to the *noyans* and himself left Ustuva for Tus with his three hundred horse. He surprised Siraj-ad-Din, who with three thousand men had seated himself in the court of command at Tus, slew the greater part of them

[9] Shādyākh was a suburb of Nishapur.

[10] Ustuvā, the classical *Ἀστανηνή,* was the district of Quchan.

and until the arrival of the main army occupied himself with destroying the fortresses of Tus.

When Toghachar Küregen (who was the son-in-law[11] of Chingiz-Khan) arrived with the great emirs and ten thousand men as Toli's vanguard and rode up to the gates of Nishapur in the middle of Ramazan [November], the people of the town conducted themselves with furious courage, and since their numbers were great and those of the Mongols less, they made frequent sallies and engaged in battle. And being weary of life they wrestled with lions and despite the crocodiles they embarked in boats only to be torn to pieces. Until the third day they fought fiercely from the Tower of Qara-Qush [138] and discharged quarrels and arrows from the walls and ramparts. By

[11] In fact *küregen* (KWRKAN) itself means 'son-in-law'. On the various forms of the word see Mostaert and Cleaves, *Trois documents mongols des Archives secrètes vaticanes*, 474. This same title was afterwards borne by Tamerlane (Tīmūr Gūrakān) as the husband of a Chingizid princess. That Toghachar (TTAǰAR) was a son-in-law of Chingiz-Khan is confirmed by Nasawi (tr. Houdas, 87). (Houdas calls him Tifdjâr, his text having TFǰAR for an original TQǰAR, i.e. Toqachar, or TTǰAR, i.e. Toghachar.) Juzjani too speaks of the death of a son-in-law of Chingiz-Khan before Nishapur, though without mentioning his name. See Raverty, 992. Barthold, *Turkestan*, 423–4, identifies Toghachar with the Toquchar (or Toqochar) of the Secret History (§ 257) and Rashid-ad-Din (Smirnova, 220), who was dispatched, in the wake of Jebe and Sübetei, in pursuit of Sultan Muhammad, and who then, disobeying the injunction not to molest the territory of Malik Khan, was either relieved of his command (according to the former authority) or killed in an encounter with the mountaineers of Ghur (according to the latter). Neither authority, however, refers to him as a son-in-law of Chingiz-Khan. He belonged to the Qonqirat tribe and was called Dalan-Turqaqtu (Khetagurov, 163) or Dalan-Turqaq (Smirnova, 163) Toqochar; and if he is identical with the Toqochar who, together with Arajen (Arachan), was entrusted during the reign of Ögedei with the administration of the *yams* or post-stations (*Secret History*, § 280), he is clearly a different person from the Toghachar who fell before Nishapur. Toghachar is conceivably identical with Küregen Küregen, a son of the ruler of the Qonqirat and the husband of Chingiz-Khan's fourth daughter, Tümelün. See Rashid-ad-Din tr. Smirnova, 70. Rashid-ad-Din seems to have been struck by the strangeness of the name, for he comments: 'Although *küregen* means "son-in-law", yet such was his name.' May it perhaps be that, in accordance with the Mongol custom, Toghachar's name had become taboo with his death and that he was referred to thereafter as Küregen, 'the Son-in-Law'? See my article, *On the Titles Given in Juvainī to Certain Mongolian Princes*, where I suggest that Ulugh-Noyan (Tolui), Ulush-Idi (Jöchi) and Qa'an (Ögedei) are instances of this

an evil chance which was to be the bane of all that people an arrow was let fly whereby Toghachar fell lifeless, the townsmen having made an end of him without recognizing his person. The Mongol army retired in the course of the day and two prisoners escaped and came to the town with tidings of his death. Whereupon the people thought that they had wrought a great deed, not realizing that '*after a time he shall surely know its message*'.[12]

When the army withdrew, Börkei[13] Noyan, who was Toghachar's second-in-command, divided it into two parts. He himself proceeded to Sabzavar, which he took after three days' fighting, ordering a general massacre, so that seventy thousand corpses were counted that were buried. The other half of the army went to Tus to assist Qush-Temür and took the remainder of the fortresses which Qush-Temür's army had been unable to

practice. The confusion arising from the use of so vague a title as Küregen might account for the absence of any reference, in Rashid-ad-Din and the Far Eastern sources, to Toghachar's violent end before Nishapur and even to his very existence, if in fact he is a different person from Toqochar. It would account also for Rashid-ad-Din's uncertainty as to the identity of Tümelün's husband. He states elsewhere (Berezin, VII, 200–1) that Chingiz-Khan gave her in marriage to Shinggü (ŠNKKW) Küregen, the son of a Qonqirat emir called Alchu (reading ALJW with two MSS. and Khetagurov for the ANJW of the text) or Darke (DARKH) Noyan, and sent them into the Tumat country (to the west of Lake Baikal), where their descendants were still resident in Rashid-ad-Din's day; and yet he adds a little further on (*ibid.*, 203) that Tümelün's husband was a Qonqirat called Dayirkei (DAYRKAY) Küregen, apparently identical with Shinggü's father Darke. See also Khetagurov, 162 and 164. Alchu or Dayirkei (Darke) would appear to be identical with the Alchi Güregen of the Secret History, § 202, appointed by Chingiz-Khan to the command of 3,000 Onggirat.

[12] Cf. Koran, xxxviii, 88: '. . . *and after a time shall ye surely know its message.*'

[13] Reading BWRKAY for the NWRKAY of the text. Barthold, *op. cit.*, 424 and n. 2, identifies him with Börke (BWRKH) of the Jalayir, who, according to Rashid-ad-Din, accompanied Jebe and Sübetei on their great expedition but died 'on that side of the river', i.e. apparently to the east of the Oxus (Berezin, VII, 52)—elsewhere (*ibid.*, 278) it is stated simply that he died 'on the way'. In Khetagurov's translation his name is spelt in the first instance (97) Burke but in the second (194) Nurke. I have adopted the spelling Börke (i), but in fact the vocalization of the name is quite uncertain: it is not attested in the Far Eastern sources. See Pelliot, *Horde d'Or*, 48, n. 1. According to Nasawi (tr. Houdas, 87–9) Börke (called Yerka by Houdas, his text having YRKA for BRKA) had been sent into Khorasan together with Toghachar, and they were in joint command of the operations which led to the capture of Nisa.

capture. And although the people of Nuqan and Qar[14] offered fierce resistance and wrought countless deeds of valour, in the end the Mongols took Qar and slew all its inhabitants. As for Nuqan and Sabzavar they were taken on the 28th [of Ramazan: 26th of November, 1220] and the people massacred.

Meanwhile, the people of Nishapur were engaged in open revolt; and wherever a detachment of Mongols appeared, thither they would send bravos to seize them.

That winter prices rose very high in Nishapur and the people were prohibited to leave the town, and for this reason most of them were in great distress.

When the spring of 618/1221–2 came round and Toli had finished with Merv, he set out for Nishapur, none knowing of his approach. He collected and dispatched so large an army that in the region of Tus they seized all the villages with one blow and reunited with their companions all that had escaped the sword. He also sent a large army in advance to Shadyakh with the mangonels and [other] weapons [139], and although Nishapur is in a stony region they loaded stones at a distance of several stages and brought them with them. These they piled up in heaps like a harvest, and not the tenth part of them were used.

The people of Nishapur saw that the matter was serious and that these were not the same men they had seen before; and although they had three thousand crossbows in action on the wall and had set up three hundred mangonels and ballistas and laid in a correspondent quantity of missiles and naphtha, their feet were loosened and they lost heart. They saw no hope [of salvation] save in sending the chief cadi Rukn-ad-Din ʿAli b. Ibrahim al-Mughisi to Toli. When[15] he reached him he asked for quarter for the people of Nishapur, and agreed to pay tribute. It was of no avail nor was he himself allowed to return.

At dawn on Wednesday the 12th of Safar [7th of April, 1221]

[14] Qār. Unidentified. Perhaps we should read *Fāz or *Fāzh, i.e. Bāzh, the native place of Firdausi. (V.M.)

[15] Reading *chūn* with B. The text has BDRNA, which does not seem to make sense. C has *bi-dar raft tā* 'he went to the gate and so . . .'

they filled the cup of the morning draught of war and fought fiercely until midday prayers on the Friday, by which time the moat had been filled in several places and a breach made in the wall. And because the fighting was fiercer at the Gate of the Camel-Drivers and in the Tower of Qara-Qush and there were more warriors engaged in these parts, the Mongols raised their standard on the wall of Khusrau-Kushk and going up fought with the men on the rampart; while a force from the Gate of the Camel-Drivers also ascended the fortifications. And all that day until nightfall they continued to mount the walls and to push the people down from the top.

By the Saturday night all the walls and fortifications were covered with Mongols; and on that day Toli himself had arrived within three parasangs of Changarak.[16] The Mongols now descended from the walls and began to slay and plunder; and the townspeople fought back, dispersed amongst the palaces and mansions. The Mongols looked for Mujir-al-Mulk and dragged him out of a tunnel. In order that he might the sooner be drawn out of the noose of life, he spoke harsh words to them; and they finally put him to a disgraceful death. [140] They then drove all the survivors, men and women, out on to the plain; and in order to avenge Toghachar it was commanded that the town should be laid waste in such a manner that the site could be ploughed upon; and that in the exaction of vengeance not even cats and dogs should be left alive.[17]

A daughter[18] of Chingiz-Khan, who was the chief wife of Toghachar, now entered the town with her escort, and they slew all the survivors save only four hundred persons who were selected for their craftsmanship and carried off to Turkestan, where the descendants of some of them are to be found to this day.

[16] Reading ČNKRK for the ḤNKRK of the text. Unidentified. (V.M.)

[17] Cf. Nasawi tr. Houdas, 92: 'Sur l'ordre des Tatars, des prisonniers en égalisèrent le sol avec des pelles; la surface en devint si lisse qu'on n'y trouvait plus ni une motte, ni une pierre en sorte que les cavaliers n'ayant pas à craindre d'y voir trébucher leurs montures y installèrent un jeu de mail. La plupart des habitants périrent sous terre, car ils s'étaient réfugiés dans des souterrains et sous des galeries creusées dans le sol, avec l'espoir d'échapper au danger.'

[18] Perhaps his fourth daughter, Tümelün. See above, p. 174, n. 11.

They severed the heads of the slain from their bodies and heaped them up in piles, keeping those of the men separate from those of the women and children. After which, when Toli decided to proceed to Herat, he left an emir with four hundred Taziks to dispatch in the wake of the dead all the survivors that they found.

Flies and wolves feasted on the breasts of *sadrs;* eagles on mountain tops regaled themselves with the flesh of delicate women; vultures banqueted on the throats of houris.

The land hath died for loss of them that have left it:
it is as though they had been its soul.

Abodes and dwelling places were levelled with the dust; palaces, which in loftiness had vied with Saturn in their abasement, professed humility like the earth; mansions were far removed from pleasure and prosperity; castles after all their haughtiness fell at the feet of abjection; rose gardens became furnaces; and the rows of the lands became '*a level plain*[19]'.

Aye, calamities have enslaved it, and its hills have
become lowly things accustomed to kneeling.
Upon my oath, its aloes wood is like damp mandal in
dryness and its soil like pounded musk.

[XXIX]

[141] OF THE ACCESSION OF THE WORLD-EMPEROR QA'AN TO THE THRONE OF THE KHANATE AND THE POWER OF WORLD-EMPIRE

AFTER God Almighty—*holy are His names and great His blessings*—in accordance with the words: '*With somewhat of fear and hunger, and loss of wealth, and lives, and fruits will we prove you*'[1] had tried His servants upon the touchstone of calamity and melted them in the crucible of tribulation—

I am in the fire of trial when thou causest clay to drip;
I am on the stone of testing when thou assayest gold

[19] Koran, lv, 106.

[1] *Ibid.*, ii, 50.

—and when in proportion to the wickedness of their deeds they had each of them borne the rope of punishment, and in accordance with the evilness of their actions and the uncleanness of their ways had drunk the brimful cup of *'the recompense of evil with its like'*; it being ordained that every event hath its limit and every beginning its end

When a thing is complete its fall is nigh

and [Mohammed] *(upon whom be peace!) hath said:* *'One piece of bad luck shall not overcome two pieces of good luck'*; it became necessary in accordance with both reason and tradition that the treasures of the mercy of God—*great is His glory!*—should again be opened up and the ease and comfort of His servants again provided for; and that all the different manifestations of His limitless charity and clemency should pursue and outstrip all the various distresses of His punishment in accordance with the text of *'My mercy hath outstripped my wrath'*; for 'the first attaineth to the last'.

When I come to an adverse period of my life, when my body has to bear the burdens of camels,
I do not despair, for the mercy of the Pure Creator reaches everyone of His creatures though it be only a single atom.

Gradually and regularly the traces of this clemency became apparent and the signs and marks thereof evident and manifest. And the prefacing of these remarks and the laying of these foundations announces the tale of the transfer of empire to the Lords of the World Ögetei Qa'an and Mengü Qa'an. I shall begin by describing in due order the accession of Qa'an, expressing myself with conciseness and brevity so that those that honour this book with their perusal may not reproach the author of these lines with garrulity [142] but may understand the purpose of this narration and learn in what manner Qa'an administered affairs and protected the commonweal; how he reduced the other climes, which were hesitating between hope and despair, to obedience and submission, some by threats and some by fair words, and brought them under his control and command; and how after his death Mengü Qa'an shored up the building of

justice after its collapse and raised and strengthened the foundations thereof. May God Almighty grant the success of truth and righteousness!

Before he alighted at the quarter of kingship Qa'an bore the name of Ögetei. And Chingiz-Khan from the deeds he performed and the words he uttered was wont to deduce his fitness for the throne and [to rule over] kings and armies, and in his shutting and opening and loosing and binding used daily to find the signs of valour and prowess in dealing with the affairs of the State and the defence thereof against the hand of foes. And by suggestion and allusion he used to paint the picture of this idea in the hearts of his other sons *' like the picture on the stone '*, and gradually sowed the seed of this advice in their innermost minds.

When Chingiz-Khan returned from the lands of the West to his old encampment in the East, he carried out his intention to proceed against the Tangut.[2] And after the whole region had been purged of the evilness of his enemies and they had all been conquered and subjugated, he was overcome by an incurable disease arising from the insalubrity of the climate.[3] He called to him his sons Chaghatai, Ögetei, Ulugh-Noyan, Kölgen,[4] Jürchetei [5] and Orchan,[6] and addressed them as follows:[7] ' The

[2] For a detailed account of this last campaign against the Tangut see Grousset, *L'Empire Mongol*, 268–77.

[3] For the various Far Eastern accounts of Chingiz-Khan's death see Haenisch, *Die letzten Feldzüge Cinggis Han's und sein Tod.* The *Secret History* (§ 265) speaks of a fall from his horse during the winter of 1226–7, which may have been a contributory factor; but the only source that mentions the direct cause of his death is the late (1601) *Altan Tobchi*, according to which he died of a fever contracted in the Tangut town of Dörmegei. This fever, Haenisch suggests, *op. cit.*, 548, may have been typhus, which is also compatible with Juvaini's reference to ' an incurable disease arising from the insalubrity of the climate '.

[4] KLKAN. His mother was Princess Qulan, the daughter of Dayir-Üsün, the ruler of the Uhaz-Merkit. (Smirnova, 71.) He was killed in Russia before Kolomna on the Oka. (Blochet, 46, also Minorsky, *Caucasica* III, 226 and 229.)

[5] JWRJTAY. According to Rashid-ad-Din (Smirnova, 72) Jürchetei or Jürchedei, ' the man of the Jürchen ', ' the Manchurian ', was the son of a Naiman concubine. See also below, n. 7.

[6] I see in this name the second element of the Qodon-Orchan of Rashid-ad-Din

severity of my illness [143] is greater than can be cured by treatment, and, of a truth, one of you must defend the throne and the power of the State and raise up that pedestal which has received so strong a foundation.

> *It is sufficient for him, if we die, that we be reviled and as for him it is sufficient for us that his ancestors be mentioned.*[8]

For if all my sons wish each of them to become Khan, and be the ruler, and not be subservient to one another, will it not be like the fable of the snake with one head and the snake with many heads (whereof mention has been made at the beginning of this book) ?'[9]

When he had finished speaking these words and admonitions,

(Khetagurov, 117, Smirnova, 89), the Qodun-Orchang or Qoton-Orchang of the *Secret History*, on whom see Pelliot-Hambis, *Campagnes*, 147 and 286. The form of the name in Rashid-ad-Din is Orchaqan (AWRJQAN). For the use of such diminutive forms cf. the Ch'awrman and Ch'awrmaghan of Grigor (see Cleaves, *The Mongolian Names*, 419, also below, p. 190, n. 31) and Juvaini's Qadaqan (see above, p. 94, n. 7) and Sibaqan (see below, p. 184, n. 15) beside the normal Qadan and Siban. Orchaqan, according to Rashid-ad-Din (Smirnova, 72), was the son of a Tatar concubine. He is not mentioned in the Far Eastern sources. See Hambis, *Le chapitre CVII*, 52. See also the following note.

[7] According to Rashid-ad-Din (Smirnova, 231–2) this interview took place in the spring of 1227, whilst the war against the Tangut was still in progress, in a place called Onqon-Dalan-Quduq, and of Chingiz-Khan's sons only Ögedei and Tolui were present, the Conqueror specifically referring in his address to the absence of Chaghatai. The presence, according to Juvaini, of Jürchetei and Orchan is particularly interesting. Rashid-ad-Din states categorically in one place (Smirnova, 72) that the former died 'the earliest of all the sons' and that the latter 'also died in childhood'. Elsewhere (*ibid.*, 169) he describes the Jürchetei who took part in the campaign of 1213 in North China as 'the youngest son' of Chingiz-Khan. In fact, as Pelliot has suggested in his article, *Sur un passage du Cheng-wou ts'ing-tcheng lou*, 919, this was probably a different person of the same name, viz. Jürchedei of the Uru'ut, who is several times mentioned in the *Secret History* and is the subject of a biography in the *Yüan shih*. Nevertheless Pelliot himself, *op. cit.*, 923, identifies Jürchetei with the Pi-yin described in the *Mêng-Ta pei-lu* as the eldest son of Chingiz-Khan killed in battle when the Mongols attacked Si-ching, i.e. Ta-t'ung in Shansi, in 1213 or 1214.

[8] Bashama b. Hazn an-Nahshali. (M.Q.)

[9] See above, pp. 41–2.

which are the pivot of their deeds and their *yasa,* the aforesaid sons knelt down and said:

> 'Our father is the king, and we are his thralls; we bow our heads to thy command and counsel.' [10]

Chingiz-Khan then spoke as follows: 'If it is your wish to pass your lives in ease and luxury and to enjoy the fruits of sovereignty and wealth, my advice, as I have lately given you to understand, is that Ögetei should ascend the throne of the Khanate in my place because he stands out amongst you for the excellency of his firm counsel and the superiority of his perspicacious understanding; and that the government of the army and the people and the defence of the frontiers of the Empire should be executed by his auspicious advice and good counsel. I therefore make him my heir and place the keys of the Empire in the hand of his valour and ability. What is your advice, my sons, concerning this thought and what is your thought concerning this advice?'

They again laid the knee of courtesy upon the ground of fealty and submission and answered with the tongue of obedience, saying: 'Who hath the power to oppose the word of Chingiz-Khan and who the ability to reject it?

> Heaven opens its eye and Fate lends her ear to every commandment which thy counsel decrees.

[144] Our welfare and that of our followers is dependent upon that wherewith the counsel of Chingiz-Khan is bound up, and the success of our affairs is entrusted to his direction.'

'If, then,' said Chingiz-Khan, 'your will be in agreement with your words and your tongues in accordance with your hearts, you must make a confirmatory statement in writing that after my death you will recognize Ögetei as Khan, and regard his command as the soul in the body, and suffer no change or alteration of what has been decided to-day in my presence, nor deviate from my decree.'

[10] *Shahnama* ed. Vullers, 1639, l. 2352.

All Ögetei's brothers obeyed his commandment and made a statement in writing.

Chingiz-Khan's illness grew worse, and it being impossible to remove him from where he was he passed away on the 4th of Ramazan, 624 [18th of August, 1227].[11]

The princes then all set out for their places of residence, intending in the new year to hold the assembly which in the Mongol tongue is called *quriltai.* They all returned to their *ordus* and made preparations for this *quriltai.*

As soon as the chillness of the air and the violence of the cold had abated and the earth was cheered and gladdened by the blowing of the gentle zephyr—

> The zephyr has adorned this worldly abode with green;
> the world has become a pattern of the Hereafter.
> The zephyr, by performing the miracle of restoring the
> earth to life, has stolen all the glory of the miracles
> of Jesus

—the aforementioned sons and their kinsmen sent a relay of messengers to spread the tidings of the death of Chingiz-Khan throughout the world and to proclaim that in order that no harm might come to the Kingdom, it was necessary to hold an assembly and decide the question of the Khanate. Upon this each man left his *ordu* and set out for the *quriltai.* From the lands of the Qifchaq [12] came the sons of Tushi, Hordu,[13] Batu,[14]

[11] On the 25th of August according to the *Yüan shih* (Krause, 40), having fallen ill on the 18th.

[12] The Qïpchaq Turks, known to the Russians as Polovtsï and to Byzantium and the West as Comans, had dominated the steppes of Southern Russia for a period of nearly 200 years at the time of the Mongol invasions. See Minorsky, *Ḥudūd,* 315–17, Barthold, *Histoire des Turcs,* 88–91, Grousset, *L'Empire des Steppes,* 241–2. Juvaini's Qifchāq, like the earlier Khifchākh, appears to be an Arabicized form of the name, but cf. the Khuch'akh and Khiwch'akh of Kirakos and the Khwch'agh (i.e. Khəwch'agh) of Vardan.

[13] HRDW. The Orda (AWRDH) of Rashid-ad-Din and the Hordu or Ordu of Carpini. Pelliot, *Horde d'Or,* 29–30, advocates the spelling Ördü. Orda, Hordu or Ordu, the eldest son of Jöchi, was the founder of the Khanate known as the White Horde in what is now Kazakhstan. See Grousset, *op. cit.,* 469–70, Lane-Poole, *The Mohammadan Dynasties,* 226–9.

[14] On Batu see below, Chapter XXXVIII.

Sibaqan,[15] Tangut,[16] Berke,[17] Berkecher [18] and [145] Togha-Temür;[19] from Quyas, Chaghatai; from the Emil and the Qobaq, Ögetei; from the East, their uncle Otegin, Belgütei [20] Noyan, Elchitei [21] Noyan, * Yekü and * Yesüngei;[22] and from the other parts, the emirs and *noyans* that were stationed on every side. As for Ulugh-Noyan and his younger brothers, they were already in the *ordu* of Chingiz-Khan.

All the above-mentioned persons gathered together in the region of the Kelüren;[23] and when the world had begun to smile because of the alighting of the Sun at the house of Aries and the air to weep through the eyes of the rain-clouds—

[15] Reading SYBQAN for the ŠYBQAN of the text. Sibaqan, a form of which Pelliot, *op. cit.*, 44, is inclined to doubt the very existence, would appear to be the diminutive of the normal Siban, which also occurs in Juvaini (I, 205, where the text has ŠYBAN). Cf. the Siban or Syban of Carpini and the Stican of Rubruck. The later pronunciation of the name was Shiban, which was converted into Shaiban because of an imaginary connection with the Arab tribe of that name. In fact Siban may be a Christian name: Pelliot, *op. cit.*, 46–7, suggests that it is the Turkish form of Stephen. From the line of this prince there sprang, besides occasional rulers of the Golden Horde, the Tsars of Tiumen and the Uzbeg Khans of Bokhara and Khiva. See Lane-Poole, *op. cit.*, 239–40, Grousset, *op. cit.*, 556–68.

[16] TNKWT. The Tangqut (TANKQWT) of Rashid-ad-Din (Blochet, 120).

[17] BRKH. The Berca of Carpini and Barca of Marco Polo. A convert to Islam, Berke, as ruler of the Golden Horde, was the bitter enemy of the Il-Khans of Persia and the ally of their most formidable adversary, the Mameluke Sultan of Egypt. See Grousset, *op. cit.*, 474–8, Spuler, *Die Goldene Horde*, 33–52.

[18] BRKǰAR. Perhaps 'little Berke'. See Pelliot, *op. cit.*, 51–2.

[19] TTATYMUR. The Tuatemur, Thuatamur, etc., of Carpini, for which Wyngaert's text has Chucenur. He was the ancestor of the Khans of Kazan and the Crimea. See Lane-Poole, *op. cit.*, 233–5, Grousset, *op. cit.*, 549–56.

[20] BYLKTAY. He was Chingiz-Khan's half-brother.

[21] AYLČTAY. He was the son of Chingiz-Khan's brother Qachi'un. Other forms of the name are Eljigidei (*Yüan shih*) and Alchidai (*Secret History*). See Hambis, *op. cit.*, 29–30.

[22] Reading YKW W YSNKAY for the YKWB WRKAY of the text. Of the corresponding passage of the *Secret History* (§ 269), where mention is made of 'the princes of the left hand [i.e. the East] with Otchigin Noyan, Yekü and Yesüngge at their head'. Yekü and Yesüngge were the sons of Chingiz-Khan's brother Jöchi-Qasar.

[23] KLRAN. The Kerulen. See Pelliot, *op. cit.*, 121, n. 1. The election took place, according to the *Secret History*, *loc. cit.*, in the district of Köde'e-Aral.

Spring has come with its beauty and splendour, and the fragrance of its air has told of the desires of lovers

—when, moreover, the herbs and flowers had blossomed in the meadows and for wonder thereat the ringdoves in praise of field and mead had sung a hundred songs in a thousand ways in unison with the nightingales—

Now we must drink sweet-tasting wine, for the scent of musk is rising from the stream;
[146] The air is filled with clamour and the earth with agitation; happy is he that has a merry heart to drink [24]

—all the princes, *noyans* and emirs together with so large an army that the plain was filled therewith and the desert straitened with their multitude—

When it plunged into the sea, its foremost part did not leave to its hindmost part enough water in the sea to satisfy a single drinker.
And if it made for land, its vanguard did not leave to its rearguard enough space on land for a single horseman

—first of all feasted and revelled for three days and nights in succession filled with joy and delight, the impurities of deceit and envy remote from their secret thoughts—

They gathered the flower of deceit and drew near to the tree of union whose fruit was ripening
In a spot where they gave to drink abundance of pleasure, and greatness of desire, and goodness of life

—and after some days they spoke of the affairs of the realm and the testament of Chingiz-Khan and read over again and again the written statements made by his sons that the Khanate should be settled on Ögetei. This counsel they adopted, and all the princes with an unanimity unmingled with evil or strife said to Ögetei: 'In accordance with the command of Chingiz-Khan it behoves thee with divine assistance to set thy foot upon the hand of kingship in order that all the mighty ones may with one accord gird the loins of their lives with the girdle of submission

[24] *Shahnama* ed. Vullers, 1630, ll. 2372–3. For the *jūibār* 'stream' of the text (which Mohl also has) Vullers has *kūhsār* 'mountains'.

and servitude and incline their eyes and ears to obeying thy command.'

Ögetei replied as follows: 'Although Chingiz-Khan's command was to this effect, yet there are my elder brothers and uncles, who are more worthy than I to accomplish this task, and moreover, in accordance with the Mongol custom, it is the youngest son from the eldest house that is the heir of his father, and Ulugh-Noyan is the youngest son of the eldest *ordu* and was ever in attendance on Chingiz-Khan day and night, morning and evening, and has seen, and heard, and learnt all his *yasas* and customs. Seeing that all these are alive and here present, how may I succeed to the Khanate?'

[147] All that day till nightfall they debated together with gaiety and friendly emulation. And in like manner for full forty days they donned each day new clothes of different colour [25] and quaffed cups of wine, at the same time discussing the affairs of the kingdom. And every day Ögetei in a different way and in a style at once subtle and correct expressed these same sentiments. When the forty days had come to an end, on the morning of the forty-first—

> When dawn with augury of good fortune raised a world-illuminating banner,
> And the eyebrow of Abyssinia was puckered into a frown, and the Chinese mirror arose from China

[25] Cf. Carpini's account of the election of Güyük: 'On the first day they [the Tartars] were all dressed in white purple; on the second day, and then it was that Cuyuc came to the tent, they were dressed in red (purple); on the third day they were all in blue purple, and on the fourth day in the finest baldakins.' (Rockhill, 19.) According to Khara-Davan the wearing of white on the first day symbolized the participation of Jöchi's *ulus* in the election of the Khan. See Vernadsky, *The Mongols and Russia*, 138–9. It should be noted however that the colours appear in a different order in the account of Carpini's mission based on a statement made by his companion, Benedict the Pole, who 'told us orally that he and the other friar saw there about five thousand great and mighty men, who on the first day of the election of the king all appeared dressed in baldakin; but neither on that day nor on the next, when they appeared in white samites, did they reach an agreement. But on the third day, when they wore red samites, they came to an agreement and made the election'. (Rockhill, 37–8.)

—the knots of all the princes and every class of freeman and slave having been resolved, all the princes of one accord went up to Ögetei and said: 'This task Chingiz-Khan has confided to thee of all his sons and brethren and has entrusted to thy counsel the binding and loosing, the tying and untying thereof. How then may we suffer any change or alteration of his words or allow any transformation or violation thereof? To-day, which according to the astrologers and *qams* is a fortunate day and a favourable and auspicious time, thou must with the aid of God —*holy is His name*—be established upon the throne of universal sovereignty and adorn the world with justice and beneficence.'

Finally, after much importunity on their part and much refusing on the part of Ögetei, he obeyed the command of his father and followed the advice of his brothers and uncles. In accordance with their ancient custom they removed their hats and slung their belts across their backs; and it being the year 626/1228–9 [26] Chaghatai took his right hand and Otegin his left and by the resolution of aged counsel and the support of youthful fortune established him upon the throne. Ulugh-Noyan took a cup, and all present in and outside the Court thrice knelt down and uttered prayers, saying, 'May the kingdom prosper by his being Khan!'

[148] *And if pearls adorn the beauty of faces, the beauty of*
thy face is an adornment to pearls.
And thou addest fragrance to the most excellent of fragrances
if thou do but touch them—where, oh where is thy like?

And they named him Qa'an, and in accordance with the usual custom all the princes, in service and obeisance to Qa'an, knelt three times to the sun outside the *ordu*; then re-entering they

[26] Actually in 1229, though it would appear from Juvaini's narrative that the election took place in the spring of the year immediately following Chingiz-Khan's death, i.e. in 1228. This is explicitly stated in the *Secret History*, according to which (*loc. cit.*) Ögedei was elected in the Year of the Rat, i.e. 1228. However, according to Rashid-ad-Din, nearly two years elapsed before the holding of the election (Blochet, 15) and it was then held in the Year of the Ox, i.e. 1229 (*ibid.*, 16–17). During 1228, according to the *Yüan shih* (Krause, 41), Tolui was Regent of the Empire.

held an assembly of mirth and sport and cleared the plains of merriment of the thorns of sorrow.

The world-ruling Emperor seated himself upon the ladder of vigilant fortune, Heaven-assisted and powerful, and the princes, Orion-like, girded the zone of service about the loins of affection before the sun of the heavens of greatness and power; while on the left were the ladies, each of them richly endowed with fairness and beauty, in their exquisite freshness and brightness resembling flowers and in their sweetness and purity like unto the verdure of spring.

Her face, which is like a rose garden, is the spring of the world of the soul;
Her mail-like tresses are the lasso of the neck of patience;
Her bow-shaped eyebrows are the crescent of the face of the sky;
Her ambergris-scattering ringlets are the elegance of the cheek of beauty.

All that beheld that assembly with its abundance of houris and striplings and its profusion of wine and milk exclaimed in excess of astonishment:

By this thou shalt know how the highest paradise will be.

The eyes of Time were brightened by the presence of Qa'an and the world by his influence became without hatred or anger.

The realm hath a fresh-faced market because the world hath a ruler like thee.
The wind is heavy because of his resolve, the earth is light because of his clemency.

The trees of peace and security after withering away were again filled with sap; and the cheek of Hope after being scratched by despair and hopelessness again recovered its lustre. The days from rest and quiet acquired the pleasantness of nights, and the nights from the geniality and brilliance of the fire of wine became like broad day.

[149] Qa'an then ordered that they should open the deposits of the treasuries collected during so many years from the countries of the East and the West for the behoof of Chingiz-Khan, the

sum total of which could not be contained within the bellies of ledgers. He closed the mouths of the censorious with rejection of their advice and allotted his portion to each of his relatives and soldiers, his troops and kinsfolk, noble and base, lord and liege, master and slave, to each in accordance with his pretensions; and left in his treasuries for the morrow neither much nor little, neither great nor small.

For the lion storeth not provisions for a day, while the ant storeth food for a year.[27]

And when he had done with feasting and bestowing gifts and presents, in accordance with the custom of '*Verily we found our fathers with a religion*',[28] he commanded that for three days in succession they should prepare victuals for the spirit of Chingiz-Khan; also that from moonlike virgins, delightful of aspect and fair of character, sweet in their beauty and beautiful in their glances, graceful in motion and elegant in repose, such that '*God hath promised to them that fear Him*',[29] they should select forty maidens of the race of the emirs and *noyans* to be decked out with jewels, ornaments and fine robes, clad in precious garments and dispatched together with choice horses to join his spirit.[30]

And when he had finished with these matters he began to concern himself with the administration of the kingdom and the management of affairs.

First of all he made a *yasa* that such ordinances and commands as had previously been issued by Chingiz-Khan should be maintained, and secured, and protected against the evils of change, and alteration, and confusion. Now, from all sides there had

[27] Attributed by Tha'alibi in the *Tatimmat-al-Yatima* in one place to Abul-Harith b. at-Tammar al-Wasiti and in another place to Abu-Muhammad Lutfallah b. al-Mu'afi. (M.Q.) See Eghbal's ed., I, 48, and II, 89.

[28] Koran, xliii, 22. [29] *Ibid.*, xiii, 35.

[30] This custom was also followed in the case of Hülegü. Cf. Vassaf tr. Hammer-Purgstall, 97: 'Es wurde nach mongolischem Gebrauche eine Grabstätte bereitet, viel Gold und Juwelen hineingeworfen und ihm einige wie Sterne schimmernde Mädchen mit Schmuck und funkelndem Geschmeide zu Beischläferinnen gegeben, damit er von der Wilderniss der Finsternisse, von dem Grauen der Einsamkeit, von des Grabes Bedrängnisse und peinlicher langer Weile Verhängnisse verschonet bleibe.'

come talebearers and informers to report and make known the doings of each of the emirs and governors. But Qa'an said: 'Every hasty speech which until the day of our accession hath issued from the mouth of any man, we shall pardon and cancel it; but if from henceforth any man shall set foot to an action that contravenes the old and new ordinances and *yasas*, the prosecution and punishment of that man shall be proportionate to his crime.'

And after decreeing these *yasas* he dispatched armies to all the climes of the world.

In Khorasan and Iraq the fire of strife and unrest had not yet died down and Sultan Jalal-ad-Din was still active there. Thither he dispatched Chormaghun [31] with a number of emirs and thirty thousand warriors.

[150] To the lands of the Qifchaq and Saqsin and Bulghar he sent Köketei [32] and Sübetei [33] Bahadur with a like army.

Likewise to Tibet and Solangai [34] he dispatched greater or lesser forces: to Khitai he decided to proceed in person accompanied by his brothers.

All of these campaigns shall be hereinafter described so that

[31] JWRMAIWN. The Chormaqan of the *Secret History*. As appears from Grigor's *History of the Nation of the Archers*, 301, it is the diminutive form of the name Chorman. See Cleaves, *The Mongolian Names*, 419. Chormaqan is hardly recognizable in the Chirpodan, Cyrpodan, etc., of Carpini.

[32] KWKTAY. Cf. the Kökedei who took part in an embassy from Ghazan Khan to Pope Boniface VIII. See Mostaert and Cleaves, *Trois documents mongols des Archives secrètes vaticanes*, 469 and 471. The name means 'he of the swarthy complexion'. (*Ibid.*, 473–4.)

[33] Reading SBTAY for the SNTAY of the text, which however corresponds to the SWNDAY of Rashid-as-Din (Blochet, 18) and would appear to represent the name Sönitei or Sönidei, 'the man of the Sönit'. A man of this name actually appears in a list of Chormaghun's commanders. See Grigor, 303. His name had originally been Chaghatai but had been changed to Sönitei upon the death of a namesake. See Rashid-ad-Din tr. Khetagurov, 100, also my article, *On the Titles Given in Juvainī to Certain Mongolian Princes*, 153–4, n. 39. It is however far more likely that the great general Sübetei Bahadur is here meant. Cf. below, p. 269.

[34] SLNGAY. North Korea or the North Koreans, the Solangqas of the *Secret History*, Solangi of Carpini and Solanga of Rubruck. This is perhaps the expedition under Jalayirtai referred to in the *Secret History*, § 274. See also below, p. 196, n. 18.

the manner and nature of each of them may be made known: if God Almighty so will.

[XXX]

OF THE CAMPAIGN OF THE WORLD-EMPEROR QA'AN AGAINST KHITAI AND THE CONQUEST OF THAT COUNTRY [1]

WHEN the crown of sovereignty had been auspiciously placed upon the head of the World-Emperor and the bride of empire had been laid in the bosom of his ability, having dispatched armies to all the climes of the inhabitable quarter, he carried out his intention of proceeding in person against the clime of Khitai, whither he was accompanied by his brothers Chaghatai and Ulugh-Noyan and the other princes, together with so many leviathan-like warriors that the desert from the flashing of their arms and the clashing together of their horses appeared like a raging, billowing sea, whose length and breadth were beyond comprehension and whose shores and centre were indiscernible. The plain from the press of the cavalry vied with the mountains, and the hills were trampled underfoot by the stamping of the horses.

The army was led by noblemen by whom the atmosphere was choked and the mountain tops crushed.

First of all they came to a town called * Khojanfu Balaqaṡun [2] and beleagured it all round from the banks of the river Qara-Müren.[3] [151] By the encircling disposition of their ranks they

[1] For an account of this campaign based on the Chinese sources see Franke, *Geschichte des chinesischen Reiches,* IV, 285–90. See also Grousset, *L'Empire des Steppes,* 321–4, *L'Empire Mongol,* 291–4.

[2] Reading XWǰANFWBLQSWN for the XWǰATBWNSQYN of the text. Khojanfu represents the Chinese Ho-chung fu, the modern P'u-chou. As for Balaqasun, this reading was suggested to me by Professor Cleaves in a letter dated the 14th June, 1955. As he points out in a subsequent letter dated the 2nd August, 1955, *balaqasun* or *balaqasu,* the Mongol word for 'town' or 'city', occurs several times in the *Secret History* (§§ 247, 248, 253 and 263) in apposition to the names of Chinese towns.

[3] QRAMWRAN. Lit. 'the Black River', the Mongol name for the Huang Ho or Yellow River, the Caramoran of Marco Polo and Friar Odoric.

raised up fresh fortifications; and for the space of forty days they fought fierce battles, the Turkish archers (who can, if they wish, with the discharge of an arrow, sew up the eyes of the heavens) charging to and fro with such effect that

> With every arrow that they let fly with the speed of
> a shooting star they hit the target.

When the people of the town realized that to strike against the goad would yield no fruit but repentance and to quarrel with the fortunate was to attract misfortune and was the sign of desertion [by Fate], they asked for quarter, and for excess of weakness and terror the countrymen and townspeople

> At last all laid their heads on the threshold of the
> King's Court,

while the Khitayan soldiers, to the number of a *tümen,* embarked in a ship they had built and fled away. A great number of the townspeople, who had stretched their arms to combat, were dispatched *'unto the Fire of God and His Hell'*; while their youths and children were carried off in the bonds of servitude and sent to other places.

And when the Mongols departed from this town, Ögetei sent on Ulugh-Noyan and Güyük in advance with ten thousand men, whilst he himself slowly brought up the rear. When Altun-Khan,[4] who was the khan of those climes, got tidings of the approach of the Mongol army, he sent back against them two of his generals, Qadai Rengü and Qamar Neküder[5]

[4] See above, p. 39, n. 18. This was Ai-tsung, the last ruler of the Chin dynasty.

[5] QDAY RNKW and QMR NKWDR. Of these two Chin generals the former, as Professor Cleaves points out in his letter of the 14th June, is unquestionably to be identified with the Qada of the *Secret History* (§§ 251 and 252), who appears as Ho-ta in the *Yüan shih,* Chapter 2 (*ts'e* 1), 3r4. RNKW (or perhaps Y RNKW) is conceivably a corruption of SNKM, i.e. *senggüm,* the Chinese *chiang-chün* 'general'. See Pelliot, *Notes sur le "Turkestan" de M. W. Barthold,* 45, n. 3. As for QMR NKWDR, QMR is perhaps a corruption of TMR, i.e. Temür, and Neküder is a perfectly good Mongol name ('the Slave', see Cleaves, *The Mongolian Names,* 427). It is however more likely, as Professor Cleaves suggests in his letter, that QMR NKWDR is a corruption of Höbögetür, the name of a Chin general mentioned together with Qada in § 251 of the *Secret History.*

together with a hundred thousand picked men. The Khitayan army, being rendered over-confident by their own strength and numbers and the fewness of the Mongols, completely encompassed them and stood in a circle all round them, thinking that in this way they would bring the Mongol army to their khan, who could then hold a hunting review and himself deal the finishing stroke.

Ulugh-Noyan realized that the belt of resistance had been drawn tight and that the Khitayans might be countered by guile and deceit—for 'war is fraud'—and their candle extinguished with the wind of trickery. Amongst the Mongols was a Qanqli who was well versed in the science of *yai*,[6] that is the use of the rain-stone. Ulugh-Noyan commanded him to begin practising his art and ordered the whole army to put on raincoats over their winter clothes and not to dismount from their horses for three days and nights. The Qanqli busied himself with his *yai* so that it began to rain behind the Mongols, and on the last day the rain was changed to snow, to which was added a cold wind. From this excessive summer chill, which was such as they had not experienced in winter, the Khitayan army were disheartened and dismayed and the Mongol army emboldened and exhilarated. Finally—

> When the red jewel of morning distinguished the white
> from the black

—they beheld the army of Khitai like a flock of sheep—'the head of one at the tail of another'—huddled together in groups on account of the coldness of the weather and the excessive chill, their heads and feet tucked in like hedgehogs [153] and their weapons frozen with ice—'*and thou mightest have seen the*

[6] *yai* was the Turkish and *jada* the Mongol name for the magical process of producing rain, snow, etc., by placing bezoar-stones in water. The Naiman, according to the *Secret History* (§ 143) and Rashid-ad-Din (Smirnova, 121–2), had attempted to employ this same device against the forces of Chingiz-Khan; but the storm they had raised turned against themselves, with disastrous effects. See also Grousset, *L'Empire Mongol*, 112–13. Quatremère, *Histoire des Mongols de Perse*, 328–35, has collected together a number of references in medieval Mohammedan authors to this method of rain-making. For an account of the practice in modern times see Frazer, *The Golden Bough*, I, 305–6.

people laid low, as though they had been the trunks of hollow palms'.[7] The *yaichi*[8] now ceased his *yai,* and the army issued forth behind them and like hawks falling upon a flock of pigeons, nay like lions charging upon a herd of deer, they turned upon those deer-necked ones with the eyes of wild cows, the gait of partridges and the appearance of peacocks and attacked them from every side.

> The falcon seized the dove with the beak of severity; the lion crushed the deer with the claw of violence.

They did not pollute their swords with their blood but from the backs of their horses dispatched them to hell with their lances.

> *And the bodies of the stout-hearted amongst them were dissolved by the twist of the solid-hearted spear.*[9]

As for the two aforementioned generals they escaped together with five thousand men and cast themselves upon the water: with a discharge of arrows the Mongols laid them low and stretched them out on the black earth; and as for those two demon-like wretches, who were in the van with a hundred thousand[10] men, though they crossed the water like the wind, yet soldiers who had crossed beforehand cast the fire of perdition on these abject ones; and it was commanded that the greater part of the army should commit upon them the deed of the companions of Lot, according as they saw fit.[11]

> *Hold back and beware of the lance points which are a thicket through which the serpent passed and returned throttled.*[12]

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[7] Koran, lxix, 7. [8] I.e. the master of the art of *yai* or rain-making.

[9] From a *qasida* of Abu-Ishaq Ibrahim b. 'Uthman al-Ghazzi in praise of Mukram b. al-'Ala, the governor of Kerman.

[10] This seems to be inconsistent with the *five thousand* men mentioned just above. The whole army numbered a hundred thousand men. See above, p. 193.

[11] This was apparently an act of reprisal for the insulting references made by the Chin troops to the Mongols' womenfolk. See Rashid-ad-Din ed. Blochet, 21 and 23.

[12] From a *qasida* of Abu-Ishaq al-Ghazzi, two *baits* of which have been quoted above, I, 63 [i, 81–2]. (M.Q.)

They made a mound with the right ears of the slain [13] and sent messengers to bear the good tidings of the victory to Qa'an. He too now arrived and they turned against Altun-Khan, who was at that time in the town of Namging.[14] For one week he continued to fight there; [154] then perceiving that the brick of fortune had left the mould of his kingdom and that the greater part of his army had been slain, he entered a house together with his wives and children, who were still with him, and commanded wood to be laid all round the house and set fire to; and so he was burnt alive.[15] *'He lost both this world and the next. This same is the clear ruin.'* [16]

And when the Mongol army entered the town,

> *They lengthened their hands and eyes to plunder, and the agitation of their morals increased by their standing firm.*[17]

And they plundered and pillaged exceedingly, and wrought incalculable slaughter, and took immeasurable booty. They also captured several other towns and took prisoner so many moon-faced beauties, both youths and maidens, that all the ends of the earth were rendered flourishing thereby and all men's hearts laid desolate.

Ögetei left 'Aziz Yalavach in Khitai and, victorious and triumphant, turned his reins towards his own *ordu,* dispatching

[13] Cf. below, p. 270. So too after the Battle of Liegnitz 'the victorious Mongols cut one ear off every enemy corpse they found on the battlefield; nine large bags of ears were collected'. (Vernadsky, *The Mongols and Russia,* 55.)

[14] NAMKYNK. The Namging of the *Secret History,* i.e. Nan-ching, the southern capital of the Chin, the present-day K'ai-fêng.

[15] Juvaini gives a somewhat garbled account of the Chin Emperor's suicide. Ai-tsung was no longer in K'ai-fêng having fled first to Kuei-tê and then to Ts'ai-chou (the present-day Ju-nan) near the Sung frontier. Hemmed in once again by Mongol and Sung forces and despairing of the possibility of further resistance he hanged himself in a palace or pavilion, which was then set on fire, either in accordance with his own previous instructions or by the subsequent command of a close kinsman. See Franke, *op. cit.,* IV, 290, V, 157.

[16] Koran, xxii, 11.

[17] Another line of the *qasida* by al-Ghazzi in praise of the Turks. See above, I, 63 [i, 81–2]. (M.Q.)

armies against Manzi and to Solangai [18] and other regions such as the lands of the Tangut, Tibetans and Su-Moghol;[19] as you shall hereinafter read.

[XXXI]

OF THE SECOND *QURILTAI*

WHEN the Emperor, who was a Hatim in bounty and a Khusrau in affability, his mind set at rest regarding the conquest of Khitai, had proceeded in triumph to his place of residence and the princes and emirs whom he had dispatched to the ends of the inhabitable quarter had all of them attained their goal and object and [155] returned pleased with their success, his high counsel and lofty resolve required that he should again call together his children and kinsmen so that in consultation with them he might confirm the old and new *yasas* and ordinances, and they might again dispatch armies to such countries as they saw fit, and all the princes and armies, noble and base, might have their share of the gifts of his goodness and liberality, which were like the spring rain. Accordingly he dispatched messengers to summon them, and they all set out from their places of residence and turned their faces towards the Court. In the year . . .[1], at

[18] This too could be a reference to the expedition under Jalayirtai. See above, p. 190, n. 34.

[19] SWMΓWL. Lit. 'Water Mongols', *su* being the Turkish word for 'water', the 'Sumongol, id est aquatici Mongoli' of Carpini (Wyngaert, 51), the 'Su-Moal, hoc est Moal aquarum' of Rubruck (*ibid.*, 269) and the Shui Ta-ta of the Chinese: they inhabited the eastern part of Manchuria. See Bretschneider, II, 175, n. 935. Professor Cleaves informs me, in a letter dated the 26th August, 1955, that he can find no evidence in the Far Eastern sources that Ögedei sent an expedition against the Shui Ta-ta. It is stated however in the passage from the *Secret History* referred to above (p. 190, n. 34) that Jalayirtai's expedition was intended to reinforce troops that had been previously dispatched against the Jürchen and Solangqas; and Professor Cleaves suggests that in this instance the term Jürchen may perhaps include the Shui Ta-ta, who appear to have been a branch of that people and are often mentioned in association with them in the *Yüan shih*.

[1] There is a blank in A and B. The correct year, as M.Q. points out, must be 632/1234–5 since this *quriltai* was held, according to Rashid-ad-Din (Blochet, 40–1), in the Year of the Sheep, i.e. 1235.

the time when the world was a Garden of Iram,[2] and the hands of the flowers from the bounty of the clouds were generous and munificent like the disposition of the King, and when the earth by the continuous favours of the heavens had donned many-coloured robes, and the trees and branches had drunk the sap of well-being and verdancy—

The spring wove for her mansion a dress of brocade from
the essence of the flowers prepared with dew.
The heavens shed thereon the fine rain of their tears, and
it smiled in the morning in place of the stars of the
heavens,
In a green robe, whose embroidery was adorned by the basil
royal with a yellow jewel

—the princes reached his Court, and the meeting was adorned and beautified as are the Pleiades when blessed by conjunction with the radiant full moon. It was as though

They gathered together again on the bank of the Euphrates
after having been long separated.
And they made the meadows of their kinsman fertile again
and the gardens of flirtation green with herbs.

And there came also crowds of *noyans* and emirs, officials *(arbāb-i-ashghāl)* and local governors *(aṣḥāb-i-aʿmāl)*.

The World-Emperor welcomed those of his kinsmen that were his elder brothers and uncles with every mark of respect, and deference, and honour, and veneration, [156] while as for his younger brothers and sons, who were as his children, nay, as pieces of his liver, he distinguished them with all manner of benevolence and with excess of kindness. And for one continuous month in unison with like-minded relatives and with the assistance of kinsmen without compare he joined dawn to dusk and morning to evening in constant application to bowls and goblets and the handing round of cups by the hands of beauteous cupbearers. And they had their heart's desire of the flowers and fruit of false Fate, that is the enjoyment of all kinds of wanton pastimes. And all present at the assembly and

[2] A fabulous earthly paradise in the deserts of South Arabia, constructed by the jinn for Shaddād the son of ʿĀd.

resident at the Court passed several days in sweet and pleasant content in the sanctuary of Qa'an's royal munificence, which was raised up by the action and power of God, and complied with the following quatrain which I heard in Qara-Qorum:

> O thou whose lifetime is certainly but a few days,
> What is even the empire of the whole world for a few days?
> Enjoy thy share of life as best thou canst
> For these few days will pass away.

And Qa'an in his wonted manner and in accordance with his usual practice opened the doors of the treasuries, which no man had ever seen closed, and distributed amongst all present, kinsman and stranger, all the valuables that had been gathered together from every clime since the holding of the first *quriltai*, scattering them upon small and great as the spring cloud rains upon grass and trees.

> *Thy fingers flowed with liberality in times of misfortune, and the sons of the earth cried out for help because they were drowning therein.*

And from all the corners of the earth there had come merchants, and speculators, and seekers of governorships *(a'māl)* and appointments, and all returned having attained their goal and object, and succeeded in their wishes and desires, and received the double of what they had in mind. How many a poor man became rich, how many a pauper wealthy and prosperous! And every obscure person became a man of great account.

When in this manner the feasting had come to an end, he turned to affairs of state and the disposition of the armies. And since there were many parts of the climes where the wind of rebellion had not left men's brains, he charged each of his sons and kinsmen with a different campaign and resolved once again to take part in person and set his reins in motion. [157] But after he had made up his mind, Mengü Qa'an, who, though in respect to age he was in the first stage of youth, yet with regard to wisdom and dignity was in the rank of the elders of the age and of experienced veterans, remarked upon Qa'an's [decision] to take part [in person] and said: 'All of us brothers and sons

stand ready to obey thy ever-fulfilled command and have set our eyes and ears to the execution of affairs and the removal of difficulties, in order that we may attend to whatever may be commanded, while Qa'an busies himself with spectacles, and amusements, and the enjoyment of every wish and pleasure, and rests himself from the toil of travels and the endurance of dangers. Otherwise of what use are so many kinsmen and such countless armies ?

Go slowly, for the zenith of the sun will not move.'

When these aged words from the tongue of that incomparable prince had reached the hearing of those present, they made them their model and guide and each of them delivered a speech in the same manner until Qa'an too was convinced.

Thereupon each of the princes and *noyans* was designated to a different campaign and they were dispatched to the East and the West, the South and the North. And since the tribes of the Qifchaq and the Keler [3] had not yet been completely crushed the chief attention was paid to the conquest and extirpation of these peoples. Of the princes Batu, Mengü Qa'an and Güyük were appointed to conduct this campaign and each departed to his own encampment with a large army of Taziks and Turks intending to set out at the beginning of the coming spring. They made preparations for the journey and started out at the appointed time.

As for Qa'an he was exempted from the wearying of his person. Agents and scribes were dispatched to the regions that had submitted. Drawn swords were sheathed; the foot of tyranny and oppression was shackled; the hand of justice and munificence was opened; and mandates and *yasas* were written to every side saying that no man should injure another nor the strong impose upon the weak. The dust of disturbances and calamities subsided and all creation was secure. Qa'an's fame was spread by the north wind like a fragrant zephyr throughout

[3] I.e. the Hungarians. Keler (KLAR), like the Kerel of the *Secret History* (§§ 262 and 270), is a corruption of the Hungarian *király* 'king', the name of the ruler being applied to his people. See Pelliot, *Horde d'Or*, 115–23.

the plain of the world, and the report of his justice and bounty travelled to every horizon [158] and soared up like the Eagle.

Thou sojournest in a country, and thy fame journeys on:
it hates the siesta and loathes the bivouac.[4]

And by reason of the fair tales that were spread about him the people of every side chose from sincere desire to be his subjects and considered temporal happiness to consist in obedience and allegiance to him. They therefore dispatched messengers with presents to his Court, and from the uttermost lands, on account of a name and fame compared with which the mention of former kings seemed naught but a fable, all the races of mankind vied with one another in hastening to do him homage.

And so he passed his time and had his full share of the enjoyment of listening to songs, and dallying with songstresses, and quaffing purple wine.

What life is that when vicissitudes last long? That is
life when joy is universal.
The days when I am honoured and my command obeyed, it is
these that I reckon as my life.

For the remainder of his life he continued in this manner until suddenly on the 5th of Jumada II, 639 [11th of December, 1241], the Destroyer of Delights sprang out from ambush and unexpectedly discharged the arrow of Doom from the thumb of Destiny.

Such is ever the wont of the Blue Circle: when it sees a man without grief, it swiftly brings about his decline.[5]

The drinking-place of Life was muddied by the dust of Death.

If it were possible for roses to exist without thorns, every moment there would be a fresh pleasure in the world.
This ancient palace of Life would be pleasant to us if Death were not at the door.

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[4] The opening line of a 'hunting poem' by Abu-Firas al-Hamdani. (M.Q.)
[5] Quoted again in III, 6 (ii, 549).

[XXXII]

OF THE DEEDS AND ACTIONS OF QA'AN

WHEN the hand of the creation of power had placed the signet of the Empire upon the finger of his fortune, as has already been set forth, he dispatched armies to all sides and every land, and most of the climes were purged of his adversaries. The fame of his justice and beneficence became an ear-ring in all ears and his favours and kindnesses like bracelets on the hands and forearms of all. [159] His Court became an asylum to all the world and his presence a refuge and shelter to the whole earth. As the lights of the dawn of his equity were without the dust of the darkness of evening *(shām)*, so the extent of his empire reached from farthest Chin and Machin to the uttermost districts of Syria *(Shām)*. His bounty was general to all mankind, and waited not for month or year.[1] His being and generosity were two coursers running neck and neck, and his nature and constancy twin sucklings at one breast. The mention of Hatim Tai was abolished during his lifetime, and the clemency of Ahnaf[2] was as nothing compared with his. During his reign the reeling world came to rest and the cruelties of the implacable heavens were tempered. In the time of his Khanate

> Heaven, that swift steed that had never been tamed, ambled gently under the saddle of obedience to him.

And in the prospect of his mercy and compassion hope revived in every breast. And such as had survived the sword remained in the noose of life and the bed of security. The banners of the Mohammedan faith were unfurled in the farthest lands of infidelity and the remotest countries of polytheism, whose nostrils the scent of Islam had not yet reached. And opposite the temples of idols were reared up the shrines of God the Merciful. The fame of his justice caused the chaining of strays, and the report of his bounty occasioned the capture of wild beasts.

[1] I.e. he was generous at all times, not merely on festive occasions.

[2] Aḥnaf the son of Qais was a pre-Islamic Arab famous for his clemency (*ḥilm*).

Because of the awe he inspired the froward were enslaved, and by reason of the severity of his punishment the haughty were humbled. His *yarligh* did the work of the sword, and the pages of his letters stole the lustre from the sabres of cavalry.

He routed them with fear before he pursued them and put them to flight with letters, without squadrons.

The generals of his Court and the servants of his fortune led armies to the East and the West, while Qa'an was able to dispense with being present in person, and in accordance with the verses,

The world is half for rejoicing and half for acquiring fame.
When thou loosenest thine own bonds are loosened, and when thou bindest thou thyself art bound,

and in opposition to the words of advisers and censurers, rejecting this saying of theirs:

When the king spends his mornings engaged in amusement, condemn his kingdom to woe and destruction,[3]

[160] he was ever spreading the carpet of merrymaking and treading the path of excess in constant application to wine and the company of peri-faced ones of beautiful form.

In the distribution of gifts he bore the palm from all his predecessors. Being by nature extravagantly bountiful and liberal he gave away everything that came in from the farthest and nearest parts of the Empire without its being registered by accountant *(mustaufi)* or inspector *(mushrif)*. And he drew the line of cancellation through the sum total of the tales of former kings, since it appeared to be *hashv* [4] compared with the expenditure of his own actions, and marked as paid *(tarqīn mī nihād)* the *bariz* [5] of past traditions, which was wrong from beginning to end. No mortal returned from his presence without his lot or share and no petitioner heard from his tongue the words *No* and *Nay*.

[3] Abul-Fath Busti. (M.Q.)
[4] I.e. entries in kind of which the ultimate cash value was doubtful.
[5] I.e. cash entries. On the terms *ḥashv* and *bāriz* see above, p. 32, n. 18.

No in answering cuts the wings of desires and on that account resembles the scissors.[6]

Those in need that came to him from every side speedily returned with their wishes unexpectedly fulfilled, and office-seekers and petitioners straightway went home with whatever each of them had desired.

For the voice of the petitioner was sweeter and more desirable to his ear than the melodies of music.[7]

Upon those that came from distant and rebellious *(yaghī)* lands he bestowed presents in the same way as upon those that were from near and subject *(il)* countries. And no one went away from his presence disappointed or frustrated. From time to time the pillars of the Empire and the Court would object to his extravagance, saying that if there was no escape from this conferring of gifts and favours it was incumbent upon him to bestow them on his servants and subjects. Qa'an would reply: 'The censorious are devoid of the jewel of wit and understanding, and their words are idle in two ways. Firstly, because when the fame of our manners and customs has reached the rebellious, their hearts will necessarily incline towards us, for "*Man is the slave of kindness*"; and by reason of that beneficence the army and the people will be saved the trouble of encountering and fighting them and spared much toil and hardship. And secondly, it is even clearer—since this world has notoriously been faithful to none but in the end has turned the back of cruelty —that it beseems a wide-awake man, who is adorned with the light of understanding, [161] to keep himself alive by the perpetuation of a good name.

Come, let us not tread the world in evil; let us by
striving take every opportunity of doing good.
If I die with a good name, it is well; I need a name
since for the body there is death.[8]

[6] A reference to the shape of the letter *lām-alif* used to write *lā* 'no'.

[7] From a *qasida* by Abu-Tammam. (M.Q.)

[8] For the first line see the *Shahnama* ed. Vullers, 61, l. 528. The second line is not in Vullers.

And whenever the kings of olden time were mentioned together with their customs and usages, and reference was made to their storing up and hoarding of gold and silver, he would say that those who deposited valuable treasures beneath the earth were devoid of their share of intellect and strong understanding, for no distinction could be made between that treasure and the dust, seeing that it could be neither the cause of warding off harm nor the occasion of a source of advantage. When the day of doom arrived, of what assistance would be the treasures they had laid by and of what avail to them ?

Where are the Khusraus, the first mighty ones? They stored up treasures, and the treasures endured not, neither did they endure.[9]

' As for us, for the sake of our good name we shall store up our treasures in the corners of men's hearts and shall leave nothing over for the morrow.

Even in their sleep the Sultans of the age do not see
as much wealth as is the tenth part of what we bestow
as presents from what is ready at hand.
We have given the silver and gold of the whole world to
mankind because they are the acts of generosity of
our riskless hand.'

The above is but a brief account of his actions. It may be that those who hear and read this history will regard these statements as belonging to the category of ' *The fairest poetry is the falsest* '. In order to prove their truth we shall in a succinct manner free from the contingencies of detraction or hyperbole recount some few anecdotes wherefrom these statements may be fully confirmed, though indeed they are but little out of much and as one out of a thousand.

[i] It is laid down in the *yasa* and custom of the Mongols that in the season of spring and summer no one may sit in water by day, nor wash his hands in a stream, nor draw water in gold or silver vessels, nor lay out washed garments upon the plain; it being their belief that such actions increase the thunder and

[9] Mutanabbi. (M.Q.)

lightning. For in the country where they live it rains most of the time from the beginning of spring until the end of summer, and the clashing of the thunder is such [162] that when it roars *'they thrust their fingers into their ears because of the thunder-clap, for fear of death'*,[10] and the flashing of the lightning is such that *'the lightning almost snatcheth away their eyes'*;[11] and it has been observed that when it lightnings and thunders they become *'as mute as fishes'*.[12] Every year that one of them is struck by lightning they drive his tribe and household out from amongst the tribes for a period of three years, during which time they may not enter the *ordu* of the princes. Similarly if an animal in their herds and flocks is so struck, they proceed in the same manner for several months. And when such a happening occurs they eat no food for the remainder of the month, and as in the case of their periods of mourning, they hold a celebration *(süyürmishī)* at the end of that month.

One day Qa'an was returning from his hunting ground together with Chaghatai when at noon they beheld a Moslem sitting in midstream washing himself. Now Chaghatai was extremely zealous in enforcing the *yasa* and spared no one who had deviated even slightly from it. When he caught sight of this man in the water, from the flame of the fire of his anger he wished to commit the earth of his being to the wind of annihilation and to cut off the source of his life. But Qa'an said: 'To-day it is late and we are tired. This man shall be held in custody until to-morrow, when we can inquire into his case and ascertain the reason for his violating our *yasa*.' And he ordered Danishmand Hajib to take charge of the man till the morning, when his innocence or guilt might be discovered; he also told Danishmand, in secret, to have a *balish* of silver thrown in the water where the man had been sitting and to instruct the man,

[10] Koran, ii, 18. [11] *Ibid.*, 19.

[12] Cf. Rubruck: 'They never wash clothes, for they say that God would be angered thereat, and that it would thunder if they hung them up to dry. They will even beat those they find washing them. Thunder they fear extraordinarily; and when it thunders they will turn out of their dwellings all strangers, wrap themselves in black felt, and thus hide themselves till it has passed away.' (Rockhill, 75–6.)

when he was examined, to say that he was a poor man with many obligations, that this *balish* was his whole capital and that it was for this reason that he had acted so rashly. On the next day the guilty man was examined in Qa'an's presence. Qa'an listened to the excuse with the ear of acceptance, but by way of precaution someone went to the spot and the *balish* was taken out of the water. Then Qa'an said: 'To whom could it occur to meditate breaking our *yasa* and commandment [163] or swerving a single hair's-breadth therefrom? But it seems to be that this man is a person of poor estate and little property and so has sacrificed himself for a single *balish*.' He commanded that the man should be given ten more *balish* in addition to the one; and a written statement was taken from him that he would not commit a similar action again. And so he not only escaped with his life but acquired property. And on this account freemen became the slaves of this act, which was better than immense treasures.

And from his fair sword there came blades wherewith the freeman was enslaved and the careworn liberated.[13]

[ii] When they first rose to power they made a *yasa* that no one should slaughter animals by cutting their throats but should slit open their breasts after the Mongols' own fashion.

A Moslem bought a sheep in the market, took it home, closed the gates securely and slaughtered the animal after the Moslem fashion in [the lane between] two or three houses, not knowing that he was being watched by a Qifchaq, who, awaiting his opportunity, had followed him from the market. When he drew the knife across the sheep's throat, the Qifchaq leapt down from the roof, bound him tight and bore him off to the Court of the World-Emperor. Qa'an examined the case and sent out scribes to investigate. When the circumstances were made known to his clear intellect, he spoke as follows: 'This poor man has observed the commandment of our *yasa* and this Turk has infringed it.' The Moslem's life was spared and he was

[13] From a *qasida* by Ibrahim b. 'Uthman al-Ghazzi in praise of Abu-'Abdallah, the governor of Kerman. (M.Q.) This anecdote is also recounted by Juzjani. See Raverty, 1107–9.

treated with favour *(soyurghamishī)*, while the ill-natured Qifchaq was handed over to the executioners of Fate.

If one zephyr of thy favour passes through the forest, the
musk deer carries off its navel from the jaws of the lion.

[iii] A troupe of players had come from Khitai and acted wondrous Khitayan plays such as [164] no one had ever seen before. One of these plays consisted of tableaux of every people, in the midst of which an old man with a long white beard and a turban wound round his head was dragged forth upon his face bound to the tail of a horse. Qa'an asked who this was meant to portray. They replied that it represented a rebellious Moslem, for that the armies were dragging them out of the lands in this manner. Qa'an ordered the show to be stopped and commanded his attendants to fetch from the treasury all sorts of jewels from the lands of Khorasan and the two Iraqs, such as pearls, rubies, turquoises, etc., and also gold-embroidered webs and garments, and Arab horses, and arms from Bokhara and Tabriz; and likewise what was imported from Khitai, being garments inferior to the others, small horses and other Khitayan products; and all these things he commanded to be laid side by side so that it might be seen how great was the difference. And he said: 'The poorest Moslem has many Khitayan slaves, while the great emirs of Khitai have not one Moslem captive. And the reason for this can only be the beneficence of the Creator, Who knoweth the station and rank of every nation; it is also in conformity with the ancient *yasa* of Chingiz-Khan, according to which the blood-money for a Moslem is forty *balish* and for a Khitayan a donkey. In view of such proofs and testimonies how can you make a laughing stock of the people of Islam? This crime you have committed ought to be punished, but I will spare your lives. Count that as a total gain; depart from my presence forthwith and be seen no more in this neighbourhood.'

[iv] A certain ruler from . . .[14] sent a messenger to him and

[14] D has: 'Someone sent a messenger to him who was son of the king (*pādshāh*) of Badakhshan . . .' The corresponding passage in Rashid-ad-Din (Blochet, 64) runs: 'One of the rulers (*mulūk*) of Persia (*Īrān-zamīn*) sent a messenger . . .'

expressed a desire to yield him homage and obedience, sending among other gifts a polished ruby which had come down to him from the victories of his ancestors. [165] The name of Mohammed the Prophet of God was written on top of the stone, while beneath it in due order were impressed the names of his forefathers. Qa'an commanded the jewellers to leave the name of Mohammed for luck's sake but to erase the names of the sultans and to set his own name after the name of the Prophet *(upon whom be mercy and peace!)* and that of Him Who sent him.

[v] A poor man, who was unable to earn a living and had learnt no trade, sharpened pieces of iron into the shape of awls and mounted them on pieces of wood. He then sat down where the retinue of Qa'an would pass and waited. Qa'an caught sight of him from afar and sent one of his attendants to him. The poor man told him of the weakness of his condition, the smallness of his property and the largeness of his family and gave him the awls. But when the messenger saw his clumsy awls, whereof even a hundred would hardly have been worth a barley-corn, he thought them unworthy of being presented to Qa'an and so left them with him and [returning] told what he had seen. Qa'an ordered him [to go back and] bring all the awls that the man had with him. And taking them in his hand he said: 'Even this kind will serve for herdsmen to mend the seams in their *qumiz* [15] skins with.' And for each awl he gave the man a *balish*.

[vi] An aged man, whose strength had been exhausted by the revolution of days and nights, came to Qa'an and asked for two hundred *balish* of gold to form a company with him. Said one of the courtiers: 'The sun of this man's life has reached its evening, and he has no children or grandchildren or any fixed dwelling or abode, and no one is acquainted with his condition.' Qa'an replied [166]: 'Since he must have cherished this wish in his heart during all his long life and ever sought such an opportunity, it would be remote from magnanimity to send him from our presence disappointed and frustrated, nor would this

[15] *qumīz*, i.e. fermented mare's milk, is the *cosmos* of Rubruck, who gives a detailed account of its manufacture. See Rockhill, 66–7.

be worthy of the royalty which God has bestowed upon us. Give him what he asks for before he goes to meet his destiny.

O caviller! verily generosity will not destroy me and
the avaricious soul will not be rendered immortal by
its baseness.
The character of the hero will still be mentioned when
his bones are hidden in the grave, rotten and decayed.[16]

He shall not give up the ghost without accomplishing his desire.' The man had not yet received all the *balish* when he died. The report hereof brought many persons to Qa'an's threshold.

His fame showed the way to his beneficence as the
murmur of waters bids one to the sea.

[vii] A person came to him and asked for five hundred *balish* in connection with some deal. He ordered his petition to be granted. His courtiers pointed out that the man was a person of no standing who had not a farthing of his own and owed debts amounting to all that he had asked for. Qa'an told them to double the amount so that he might make half of it his capital and give the remainder to his creditors.

These acts of generosity are not two cups of milk.[17]

[viii] A document was found which told that in such-and-such a place in his dominions was a treasure that had been laid up by Afrasiyab. And it was written in the document that all the beasts of burden in that region could not raise up that treasure. But Qa'an said: 'What need have we of a treasure laid up by another? We bestow it all upon the servants of God Almighty and our own subjects.'

He hath cares to the greatest of which there is no limit,
and his slightest care is more glorious than Destiny.

[ix] An *ortaq* [18] came to him and received a capital of five hundred *balish*. He went away for a while and then returned

[16] Attributed in the *Hamasa* to Hatim of Tayyi'. (M.Q.)

[17] From the well-known verses by Umayya b. Abus-Salt ath-Thaqafi in praise of Saif b. Dhu-Yazan quoted in a long story in the *Kitab-al-Aghani*. (M.Q.)

[18] An *ortaq*, in Turkish lit. 'partner', was a merchant who formed a commercial association with a ruler or great man. See Minovi and Minorsky, *Naṣīr ad-Dīn Ṭūsī on Finance*, 788, Hinz, *Ein orientalisches Handelsunternehmen*, 334.

saying that he had not one *balish* left and offering some unacceptable excuse. Qa'an ordered him to be given the same amount again. In a year's time the man returned even poorer than the first time and gave some other excuse. He was given another five hundred *balish*. When he returned the third time the *bitikchis* were afraid to communicate his message. Instead they denounced his wastefulness and extravagancy saying, 'He wastes and devours this money in such-and-such a country.' 'How,' asked Qa'an, 'can one devour *balish*?' They replied that he gave them to worthless persons and spent them on food and drink. 'Since the *balish* themselves are there,' said Qa'an, 'and since those who take them from him are also our subjects, the money remains in our hands and is not scattered underfoot. Give him as much as you gave him the first time but tell him to stop being wasteful and extravagant.'

And I tried him in both conditions together and found him more generous on his return than in the beginning.[19]

[x] There is a town in the clime of Khitai called *Tayanfu,[20] the people of which presented a petition saying, 'We have incurred a debt of eight hundred *balish*, which will be the cause of our undoing, and our creditors are demanding payment. If an order is given for our creditors to be easy with us for a time, we shall then be able gradually to repay them and shall not be uprooted and scattered.' 'If we order their creditors to be easy with them,' said Qa'an, 'they will suffer a great loss, and if we leave things as they are the people will be ruined and homeless.' He therefore commanded a proclamation to be made and declared throughout the realm that whoever had a claim on them [168] should bring documentary proof or else the debtor should produce the creditor and he should receive cash from the treasury. And the door of the treasury, which had never been shut, was opened wide, and the people came thither and received

[19] From a *qasida* by Ibn-al-'Amid, the famous minister of the Buyids. (M.Q.)

[20] The text has ṬAYM'W, which I have emended to ṬAYNFW, i.e. Tayanfu. Cf. Marco Polo's Taianfu for T'ai-yüan fu, which was then the capital of the province of Shansi. See Yule, *The Book of Ser Marco Polo*, II, 15, n. 2. On the other hand cf. Blochet, 66–7, n. *k*.

balish; and there were many who had no debts and pretended to be creditor and debtor and so received *balish*; and so they received double the sum they had mentioned.

And when his generosity flows, the rain is put to shame,
and the Euphrates falls—and where is the Euphrates?

[xi] When he was on his hunting ground someone brought him two or three water-melons. None of his attendants had any *balish* or garments available, but Möge[21] Khatun, who was present, had two pearls in her ears like the two bright stars of the Lesser Bear when rendered auspicious by conjunction with the radiant moon. Qa'an ordered these pearls to be given to the man. But as they were very precious she said: 'This man does not know their worth and value: it is like giving saffron to a donkey. If he is commanded to come to the *ordu* to-morrow, he will there receive *balish* and clothing.' 'He is a poor man,' said Qa'an, 'and cannot bear to wait till to-morrow. And whither should these pearls go? They too will return to us in the end.

Give then and be not stingy when a beggar approaches, for
I have an attachment thereto, and there are no longer any excuses.'[22]

At Qa'an's command she gave the pearls to the poor man, and he went away rejoicing and sold them for a small sum, round about two thousand dinars. The buyer was very pleased and thought to himself: 'I have acquired two fine jewels fit for a present to the Emperor. He is rarely brought such gifts as these.' He accordingly took the pearls to the Emperor, and at

[21] MWKA. According to Rashid-ad-Din (Khetagurov, 149–50) she was the daughter of the ruler of the Bekrin, who gave her in marriage to Chingiz-Khan. After his death she became in accordance with the Mongol custom the wife of his son Ögedei, who 'loved her more than his other wives so that they were jealous of her'. (Cf. below, p. 218, where it is stated that he loved her 'more than all his other ladies'.) She was evidently a woman of considerable attractions. Chaghatai too was enamoured of her and having sought her hand too late refused the offer of any other of his father's ladies as a substitute. Ögedei had no children by her and this is perhaps the reason why she is not mentioned in the section on his wives and concubines (Blochet, 3–4).

[22] See the *Sharh-al-Hamasa*, Bulaq ed., IV, 67. (M.Q.)

that time Möge Khatun was with him. Qa'an took the pearls and said: 'Did we not say that they would come back to us? The poor man did not leave us disappointed but gained his end, and the pearls too have come back to us.' [169] And he distinguished the bearer with all kinds of favours.

Whoever says that the sea and the rain are the two things most resembling each other names thee and so praises both rain and sea.

[xii] A stranger brought him two arrows and knelt down afar off. Qa'an commanded his attendants to inquire into the man's condition and find out what he wanted. The man said: 'I am by trade an arrowsmith. I have incurred a debt of seventy *balish* and that is the reason for the confusion of my affairs. If it is commanded that I be given this quantity of *balish* I will deliver ten thousand arrows every year.' Said the Hatim of the age: 'Unless this poor fellow's affairs are entirely distraught and he is in despair, he will not accept so contemptible an amount of *balish* in return for so many arrows. Let him be given a hundred *balish* so that he can mend his affairs.' When they brought the *balish* the old arrowsmith was incapable of carrying them. Qa'an smiled and commanded an ox-wagon to be brought also, and the old man loaded the *balish* on it and went his way.

And thou didst load him with wealth, wherewith the stages are lightened to him that crosseth the desert.[23]

[xiii] At the time when he ordered the building of Qara-Qorum and the royal mind was busied with this scheme, he one day entered the treasury where he found one or two *tümen* of *balish*. 'What comfort,' he said, 'do we derive from the presence of all this money which has to be constantly guarded? Let the heralds proclaim that whoever wants some *balish* should come and take them.' Everybody set forth from the town and bent their steps towards the treasury. Master and slave, rich and poor, noble and base, greybeard and suckling, they all received what they asked for and, each having obtained an abundant

[23] From a *qasida* by Ibrahim b. 'Uthman al-Ghazzi. (M.Q.)

share, left his presence uttering their thanks and offering up prayers for his well-being.

> *When our dirhems were gathered together one day, they were continually hastening along the roads of the good and lawful.*[24]

[xiv] There had been no agriculture in the neighbourhood of Qara-Qorum on account of the excessive cold, but during his reign they began to till the ground. [170] A certain person planted radishes and succeeded in growing a few, which he brought to Qa'an. Qa'an ordered the radishes and their leaves to be counted. The number came to a hundred and so he gave the man a hundred *balish.*

> If the heart and hand are sea and mine, it is the heart and hand of the king.[25]

[xv] Two parasangs to the east of Qara-Qorum a palace had been built in a nook upon a hillside, and he was wont to pass by on his way to and from his winter quarters so that offerings of food (which they call *tuzghu)* might be brought him from the town. And on this account they called the place Tuzghu-Baligh.[26] A certain person planted several almond and willow trees at the foot of this hill. No one had ever seen green trees in that region before, but these trees became verdant with foliage. Qa'an commanded that the man who planted them should be given a *balish* for each tree.

> *And the manner of the clouds when shedding their water was almost telling him that if he were generous of mien he would rain gold.*[27]

[xvi] When he seated himself upon the throne of kingship and the fame of his kindness and generosity was spread throughout the world, merchants began to come to his Court from every side, and whatever goods they had brought, whether good or

[24] From the *Hamasa.* (M.Q.)

[25] The opening line of a famous *qasida* by Anvari in praise of Sultan Sanjar.

[26] This is the T'u-su-hu ch'êng ('Tusqu City') which, according to the *Yüan shih,* was constructed in the tenth year of Ögedei's reign, i.e. 1238. See Cleaves, *The Mongolian Documents in the Musée de Téhéran,* 90.

[27] Badi'-az-Zaman of Hamadan. (M.Q.)

bad, he would command them to be bought at the full price. And it usually happened that without casting a glance at their wares or inquiring the price he would give them all away. The merchants would then calculate to themselves: 'This cost so much and that so much,' and for 'one' they would say 'ten' and every shell they would call a pearl. When the merchants had noted this custom of his, they used to open their bales and then turn away; and in one or two days' time, though their wares had been the Sea of Oman, there remained thereof not one drop. The merchants would then return and state the prices of their goods; and it was Qa'an's command that whatever the price amounted to, his officials should raise it by 10 per cent *(dah-yāzdah)* and pay the money to the merchants. One day the officers and ministers of his Court represented to him that it was unnecessary to add this 10 per cent seeing that the price of the goods was already in excess of their real value. 'The dealings of the merchants with our treasury,' [171] said Qa'an, 'are for the purpose of their acquiring some benefit and securing some advantage under our protection. And indeed these people have expenses to pay to your *bitikchis,* and it is their debt to you that I am discharging lest they depart from our presence having suffered a loss.'

And why did the words of men withhold thee from well-doing?
and who bars the way of him that encounters a wolf? [28]

[xvii] Some people from India brought him two tusks of ivory, He asked what they wanted and was told 'Five hundred *balish.*' Without the slightest hesitation he ordered them to be given this amount. His officers made a great outcry, asking how he could give so large a sum for so contemptible a matter. 'Moreover,' they said, 'these people come from an enemy country.' 'No one,' he replied, 'is an enemy of mine.'

So extravagantly does he strive to be generous that he
causes enemies to receive the gifts of his hands.

[xviii] At a time when his brain was heated with cups of wine, in a time of debauch when he had grown merry, a man

[28] Mutanabbi. (M.Q.)

brought him a hat fashioned after the manner of the hats of Khorasan. He ordered his officials to write the man a draft for two hundred *balish*. They delayed affixing the *al-tamgha*, thinking he had specified such a sum because of the effect of the wine. On the next day at the same time the man again presented himself at the *ordu*. Qa'an's glance fell upon him and, the draft being laid before him, he commanded his secretaries to make it up to three hundred *balish*. There the matter rested; and every day he added a hundred *balish* until the total came to six hundred. Then summoning his emirs and scribes he asked them whether in this world of growth and decay there was anything that would endure for ever. They replied with one voice that there was not. Then, addressing himself to the Minister Yalavach, he said: 'That is wrong. Good repute and fame endure for ever in this world.' Then, turning to the scribes, he said: 'You are my real enemies; for it is your wish that no fair monuments or good reports should remain as a memorial to me. You think perhaps [172] that if I give someone a present when I am drinking it is because I am drunk; and that is why you delay payment and hold up what is due. Until one or two of you are punished for their deeds as a warning to their fellows, no good will ever come of you.'

Others than I obey the censorious, others than I hearken
to the reproachful.
I oppose those who reproach me for loving
her, nay I go farther.[29]

[xix] At the time when Shiraz had not yet submitted, a person came from that place and bending his knee spoke as follows: 'I have come from Shiraz, because of the fame of the Emperor's generosity and goodness; for I am a man with a family and have many debts and little backing; and my petition is for five hundred *balish*, which is the amount of my debt.' Qa'an ordered his officials to give him what he had asked for and to add the same amount again. They hesitated, saying, 'To add to what he asked for is extravagance, if not ruination.'

[29] The second of these two *baits* is ascribed in the *Dumyat-al-Qasr* to Abu-Bakr 'Ali al-Quhistani. (M.Q.)

He answered: 'Because of our fame this careworn wretch has traversed many mountains and plains and experienced hot and cold; and what he asked for will not meet the expenses of his journey hither and his return home, nor will it be sufficient to cover his debt. Unless it is added to it will be as though he returned without achieving his object. How can it be considered just that a poor man after travelling so great a distance should return disappointed to his family and children? Give him the full amount that I said without any delay or procrastination.' The poor man returned home rich and joyful, and with the Emperor there was left fair fame in this world.

When the petitioner comes from afar to sue him, he holds it unlawful to refuse him when he has a large family.[30]

[xx] A poor man came to his Court with ten thongs tied to a stick. He opened his mouth in prayer [for Qa'an] and took his stand at a distance. The royal glance fell upon him, and when the officers inquired about his business he spoke as follows: "I had a kid in my household. I made its flesh the sustenance of my family, and out of its hide I fashioned thongs for the men-at-arms, which I have brought with me.' Qa'an took the thongs [173] and said: 'This poor fellow has brought us what is better than goats.' And he ordered him to be given a hundred *balish* and a thousand head of sheep. And he added that when all this was consumed he should come to him again and he would give him more.

In the morning his bounty was the harbinger of morning showers and the messenger of provisions and victuals.

[xxi] A man brought him a hundred bone arrow-heads. He gave him the like number of *balish*.

[xxii] It was his custom to pass the three winter months in the pleasures of the chase, and during the remaining nine months he would sit down after breakfast on a throne outside his Court, where, heaped up in piles according to their kind, was every sort of merchandise that is to be found in the world; and these

[30] From a *qasida* by Ibrahim b. 'Uthman al-Ghazzi, a *bait* of which has been quoted above, 169 [212]. (M.Q.)

he would scatter amongst Moslems and Mongols and cast before fortune-hunters and suppliants. And it would often happen that he would command persons of great size and bulk to take as many of the wares they chose as they could hold in their arms. One day he so commanded a person of this description and the man took as many costly garments as could be contained in the arms of several [normal] persons. As he went away one of the garments fell to the ground; and when he had taken the others home he returned to fetch the one he had dropped. 'How,' said Qa'an, 'can a man have the trouble of a journey for the sake of a single garment?' And he commanded him again to take as many as he could carry.

Were Hatim alive he would experience the generosity of thy hand; there is no doubt that he would be converted at thy hand.

[xxiii] A man brought him two hundred whip handles made of the wood of the red willow *(ṭabarkhūn)* which they burn in those parts as firewood. He gave him a *balish* for every stick.

And seekers after boons came to him in crowds from every quarter craning their necks.
And they obtained from his hands that which they sought, and he gave the glad tidings of his generosity in his wonted way.[31]

[174] [xxiv] A person brought him three of these same sticks and he gave him half of that amount, i.e. a hundred *balish.*

[xxv] When Qara-Qorum was first being built he happened to be going through the market and passed by a shop in which jujubes were exposed for sale. He felt a craving for this fruit, and when he sat down in his Court he ordered Danishmand Hajib to take a *balish* from the treasury and go and buy some. Danishmand went to the greengrocer, took a trayful of jujubes and paid a quarter of the *balish,* which was double the value of the jujubes. When the tray was set before Qa'an he remarked: 'A *balish* is a very small price for so many jujubes.' Danishmand took the rest of the *balish* out of his sleeve and said: 'They cost but little.' Qa'an upbraided him roundly and said: 'When has

[31] From a *qasida* by Abu-'Ali al-Fadl b. Muhammad at-Tarasti. (M.Q.)

this man ever had a customer like us ? Make up the price to ten *balish* and give him them all.'

And name his benefits, which are not benefits but necklaces about the necks of men.[32]

[xxvi] He was going hunting and the house of the Minister Yalavach happened to lie on his way. *Tuzghu* was brought forth and Yalavach told him the story of Solomon, the ant and the locust's leg.[33] It was a pleasant spot; Qa'an had the joy of wine in his head ; and Möge Khatun, whom he loved more than all his other ladies, was beside him. He condescended to alight, and outside his tent he laid carpets of *nasij* [34] and brocade *(zarbaft)* and strewed the inside with the bubbles of pearl necklaces. And when they were seated upon their thrones he poured a great quantity of royal pearls over their heads.

And had I bestowed what was worthy of thee, I had bestowed upon thee all the auspicious stars of the heavens.[35]

And that day he watched many spectacles and gave a robe and a horse to all that were present in his service. And the next day he ordered the Minister Yalavach to be honoured with all manner of valuable presents, [175] to which were there added four hundred *balish.*

His bounty extended to the flock and to the shepherds.

[xxvii] He commanded a hundred *balish* to be given to a poor man. The Ministers of the Court said to one another: ' Does he know how many dirhems there are to so many *balish* ? ' They took the hundred *balish* and scattered them where he would pass by. And when he passed by he asked, ' What is this ? '

[32] The Cadi Hasan Mu'ammal b. Khalil b. Ahmad al-Busti, a contemporary of the Ghaznavids. (M.Q.)

[33] The ant brought Solomon a locust's leg as the choicest gift she had to offer. The story is referred to by Sa'di in his *Gulistan.* See Arberry, *Kings and Beggars,* 91 and 110.

[34] *nasij,* in Turkish *nasich,* the *nasic* of Rubruck and the *nasich* of Marco Polo, was ' un tissu fait de soie et d'or '. See Pelliot, *Une ville musulmane dans la Chine du Nord sous les Mongols,* 269, n. 1.

[35] Abul-Fath Busti. (M.Q.)

They replied that it was the hundred *balish* for the poor man. 'It is a miserable amount,' he said. And so they doubled it and gave it all to the poor man.

Kiss his fingers, which are not fingers but the keys to provisions.[36]

[xxviii] A certain person had made a deal for a hundred *balish* with his emirs and treasurers. He gave orders that the man should be paid in cash. One day a poor man was standing at the door of Qarshi.[37] When the World-Emperor came out his glance fell upon the man and he thought: 'Is this perhaps the same person to whom the hundred *balish* are to be paid?' And he called his officials to account, saying, 'Days have passed since we commanded that this man's money was to be paid in cash without any delay or procrastination.' He waited where he stood, and the *qorchis*[38] went to the treasury to fetch the *balish*. Putting a hundred *balish* in the hems of their gowns they brought them to the poor man. 'What are these *balish*?' he asked, and they replied, 'They are the *balish* to be given in payment for your wares.' When they realized that he was someone else, they took the *balish* back and informed the Emperor. 'It was his good fortune,' he said. 'How can anything be returned that is taken out of our treasury?' And so they gave all the money to the poor man.

The claims of chivalry pass judgement on my wealth:
supererogatory acts of chivalry are obligatory duties
in the eyes of the generous.[39]

[xxix] An Indian woman with two children on her back was passing by the gate of Qarshi. Qa'an, who had just returned from the country, caught sight of her and ordered the treasurer to give her five *balish*. [176] He took them to her at once, but put one in the pocket of his cloak and gave her only four. The

[36] Ibn-Duraid. (M.Q.)

[37] *qarshi* in Mongol means 'palace'. The reference is perhaps to Qarshi-Suri. See below, p. 237.

[38] *qorchi* means lit. 'quiver-bearer'. On the institution of this office by Chingiz-Khan and the duties performed by the *qorchis* see the *Secret History*, §§ 124, 225 and 229.

[39] Ibn-Duraid. (M.Q.)

woman noticed that one was missing and pleaded with him to give it to her. Qa'an asked him what the woman had been saying. He replied that she was a woman with a family and was uttering a prayer. Qa'an then asked, 'What family has she?' 'Two small orphans,' replied the treasurer. When Qa'an entered Qarshi he went to the treasury and ordered the woman to be summoned. Then he commanded her to take of every kind of clothing that pleased her fancy as many embroidered garments as a rich and wealthy man would wear.

Thou art a guardian of orphans in place of their fathers
so that we wish that we ourselves were orphans.[40]

[xxx] A falconer came to him with a falcon upon his wrist. 'What sort of falcon is that?' asked Qa'an. 'It is a sick one,' said the man, 'and its medicine is the flesh of fowls.' Qa'an ordered his treasurer to give the man a *balish*. The treasurer took the man with him, gave a *balish* to a banker and from that sum credited him with the price of several fowls. When Qa'an's eyes next fell on the treasurer he asked him what had happened about the falcon and the treasurer told him of his efficiency. Qa'an was angry and said: 'I have placed in thy hands all the wealth of the world, which cannot be counted or calculated, and even so much is not sufficient for thee.' He went on: 'That falconer did not want a fowl, he only used that as a pretext to seek something for himself. Everyone that comes to us—those that say, "We shall become *ortaqs* and take *balish* in order to give interest," and those others that bring wares, and those others again of every sort that come to us—we know that they have all fashioned a net in a different way, nor is it hidden from us. But we wish everyone to have comfort and repose from us, and so they receive a share of our fortune, and we pretend not to know their circumstances.' And he commanded that several *balish* should be given to the falconer.

[177] [xxxi] A certain person was a bow-maker and made bad bows. He was so well known in Qara-Qorum that no one would pay a single barleycorn for his wares; and he had

[40] From a *qasida* by Abu-Tammam in praise of the Caliph Ma'mun. (M.Q.)

no other trade. The bow-maker became poor and embarrassed in his affairs; and he could think of no other device than to take twenty bows, bind them to the end of a stick and take his stand at the gate of the *ordu*. When Qa'an came out he sent someone to ascertain who the man was. 'I am,' he said, 'that man whose bows no one will buy. I have no other trade and so my affairs have become embarrassed. I have brought twenty bows to give to Qa'an.' Qa'an ordered his attendants to take the bows and to give the man twenty *balish*.

[xxxii] A valuable jewelled belt was brought to Qa'an. He examined it and bound it round his waist. A stud became loose at one end of it and he gave it to one of his courtiers to get the stud fastened. The officer in question gave it to a goldsmith whose name was Rashid Sudagar. The goldsmith took the belt and sold it. And every day when they came to claim it he had some different excuse. When this procrastination had passed all bounds Qa'an sent a bailiff to make him give it back. He was forced to disclose how he had got rid of it, and on account of this impudence they bound him, bore him before Qa'an and explained what had happened. 'Although the crime is a great one,' said Qa'an, 'yet his resorting to such an action is a proof of weakness, impotence and poverty, for if his affairs had not been utterly confused he could not possibly have ventured upon such an act. Let him be freed and give him a hundred and fifty *balish* from the treasury so that he may mend his affairs and not presume to do the like again.'

> If thy kindness is of the substance of thy being, it is to the body a picture of the soul.
>
> *Only he gave abundantly that gave with apologies, and only he pardoned that was strong.*[41]

[xxxiii] Someone brought him an Aleppo[42] goblet. Those who were seated in the Court took it and showed it to him without bringing in the person that had brought it. 'He that brought

[41] Abul-Ghauth al-Manjibi. (M.Q.)

[42] *ḥalabī* 'of Aleppo' may refer to the metal of which the goblet was made: in the modern language it means 'tin-plate'. (V.M.)

[178] this,' said Qa'an, ' has endured hardships in order to bring so fine a jewel to us from so great a distance. Let him be given two hundred *balish.*' The bearer of the goblet was seated at the gate of the *ordu* wondering whether anyone had delivered his message to the august ear of the Emperor. Suddenly the chamberlains came out and told him the glad tidings of his having been honoured; and on the same day they gave him two hundred *balish.* The same day also there was talk about Abyssinian servants, and Qa'an ordered his attendants to ask this man whether he was able to get servants for him. ' That is just my business,' said the man, and Qa'an ordered them to give him another two hundred *balish* for his travelling expenses, and also gave him letters-patent. The man never came back again and no one knew his home or origin.

I give away my wealth, then I wish for a sister to it that
I may drink a second time and support it with another draught.

[xxxiv] It has never been heard that anyone left his presence disappointed except a person from Malin in Bakharz,[43] who spread the tale far and wide that he had found a treasure but would tell nobody where it was until his eyes had been brightened with the beauty of Qa'an. And he would repeat these words to every envoy proceeding in that direction. When his words reached the august ear of Qa'an, he ordered him to be given a mount. When the man came into his presence and entered the *ordu,* they discussed his statement, and he said: ' I had to have some means of beholding the august countenance of Qa'an. I know of no treasure.' Since these words had the appearance of impudence and everyone can imagine such actions, they displeased Qa'an and he showed signs of anger. However, he pretended not to understand and said: ' You have seen my face [44] and now you must go back.' And he gave orders that

[43] The district of Bākharz lay to the south of Jām, the present-day Turbat-i-Shaikh Jam. Mālin appears to be identical with the modern Shahr-i-Nau.

[44] Cf. Rashid-ad-Din tr. Khetagurov, 160: ' The Mongols have a custom that when they have seen the king they say: " We have seen the king's golden face."' (V.M.)

the man was to be handed over to the messengers and sent back safely to his home.

And what are the clouds if they do not disperse from a town and if they are not ready to gather one day over a blameworthy person? [45]

[179] [xxxv] There was a person in Qara-Qorum to whose affairs weakness and poverty had found their way. He made a cup out of the horn of a mountain goat and sat upon the highway and waited. When he saw Qa'an's retinue in the distance he rose to his feet and held out the cup. Qa'an took it from him and gave him fifty *balish*. One of the scribes repeated the number of *balish* and Qa'an said: 'How long must I ask you not to deny my bounty and begrudge petitioners my property?' And to spite the censorious he commanded the sum to be doubled and with those *balish* made that poor man rich.

O king of the age and the time, who art lofty in greatness of state,
Two foes that never meet together in one place amongst men are thy face and poverty. [46]

[xxxvi] A Moslem had borrowed four *balish* of silver from an Uighur emir [47] and was unable to pay the money back. He therefore seized him and took him to task saying that he must forsake the faith of Mohammed *(upon whom be peace!)* and embrace the creed of idolatry, or else he should be disgraced in the middle of the market-place and receive a hundred blows of the bastinado. The Moslem, bewildered by their [48] threats, asked for three days' grace and went to Qa'an's audience-hall, where he held up a sign on the end of a stick. Qa'an ordered him to be brought forward. When he learnt of the poor man's position he ordered his creditors to be sent for, and they were prosecuted for the charge they had laid on the Moslem. As for the Moslem he was given a Uighur wife and house. And Qa'an commanded that the Uighur should receive a hundred blows of the

[45] Abu-Dufafa al-Misri. (M.Q.) [46] Abul-Wafa ad-Damiyati. (M.Q.)
[47] Reading *amīrī* with Rashid-ad-Din ed. Blochet (75) for the *umarā-yi* of the text.
[48] I.e. the Uighurs'.

bastinado in the middle of the market-place and that the Moslem should be given a hundred *balish.*

When wayfarers alight upon the seashore, their having drunk a first draught does not prevent them from drinking a second.

[xxxvii] There was a certain *sayyid* from Chargh near Bokhara who was called [180] the 'Alid of Chargh. He had received some *balish* from Qa'an for a commercial enterprise. When the time came to make a payment he said that he had already handed over the interest. The scribes asked for a statement in writing, a receipt and witnesses. He said that he had given the money to Qa'an in person. They brought him into the audience-hall. 'When did this happen?' asked Qa'an, 'and in whose presence? for I know thee not.' 'Thou wast alone that day,' said the man, 'and no one was present but myself.' Qa'an reflected a while and then said: 'His impudence is manifest and his mendacity and falseness evident; but if I call him to account for these words, those who hear will say, "The World-Emperor has gone back on his word." Let him be, but do not purchase from him what he has brought to sell to our treasury.' A number of merchants had come that day. They took the wares of each of them and Qa'an gave them all a greater sum than the actual price. Suddenly, he inquired again about the *sayyid,* saying, 'Where is he?' They brought him in and Qa'an said: 'Is thy heart sore because we commanded them not to take thy goods?' He at once began to lament and weep. Qa'an then asked, 'What is the price of thy goods?' 'Thirty *balish,*' replied the *sayyid,* 'and with that I shall be satisfied.' He gave him a hundred *balish.*

[xxxviii] A kinswoman of his came in and gazed upon his wives and concubines and examined their clothes and pearls and jewel-studded ornaments. The Minister Yalavach was present and Qa'an ordered him to bring in the pearls that were held in readiness. Twelve trays of pearls were then produced which he had purchased for eighty thousand dinars. He ordered them to be poured into her sleeves and the hem of her

skirt. And he said: 'Now that thou art sated with pearls how many glances wilt thou cast on others?'

The son of Armak trod pathways in kindness such that, had
Hatim passed along them, he would have lost his way.
And he was lofty in his resolve which abased the heads of
Simak and the horn of the twenty-fourth lunar mansion.[49]

[181] [xxxix] Someone brought him a pomegranate as a present. He commanded the seeds to be counted and each of those present to receive his share. And afterwards he gave the man a *balish* for every seed.

On this account the crowding of people at his gate was
like the crowding of seeds in a pomegranate.[50]

[xl] An Arabic-speaking apostate came to him and said: 'In the night I saw Chingiz-Khan in a dream and he said: "Tell my son to slay the Moslems, for they are evil."' After reflecting a while Qa'an asked whether he had spoken to him through an interpreter or in his own person. 'With his own tongue,' said the man. 'Dost thou know the Mongol and Turkish languages?' asked Qa'an. 'No,' said the man. 'Neither am I in any doubt,' said Qa'an, 'but that Chingiz-Khan knew no language save Mongolian. It is clear therefore that what thou sayest is nothing but lies.' And he ordered the man to be put to death.[51]

[xli] A Moslem from the Tangut region, from a place called Qara-Tash,[52] brought him a wagon-load of victuals in the hope

[49] From a *qasida* by Abu-Salih b. Ahmad of Nishapur in praise of Abu-Sa'd b. Armak. (M.Q.)

[50] From a *qasida* by al-Ghazzi, one *bait* of which has already been quoted above, I, 163 [i, 206]. (M.Q.)

[51] In Juzjani's version of this anecdote (Raverty, 1110–14) the denouncer of the Moslems is a *toyïn* or Buddhist priest who knew Turkish but not Mongol. For a theory that Chingiz-Khan may have had some knowledge of Chinese, see Waley, *The Travels of an Alchemist*, 159.

[52] Hamdallah tr. le Strange, 250, mentions Eriqaya (spelt Yarāqiyā, the Egrigaia of Marco Polo, i.e. Ning-hsia in Kan-su) and Qara-Tash as 'the best known towns' in the Tangut country, both being 'cities of a certain size, with numerous buildings'.

that he would receive permission to return [182] to his own country. Qa'an gave him a wagon-load of *balish* and set him free.

> The water in the sea is a tale of his nature; the clouds in the month of Bahman are a tradition of his generosity.

[xlii] A man came one day in the expectation of a feast. Seeing that the guards were drunk he entered the sleeping chamber, stole a goblet and went his way. The next day they looked for the goblet and could not find it. Qa'an caused a proclamation to be made that whoever brought the goblet back would not only be pardoned but any boon that he craved would be granted. The next day the thief brought the goblet back. 'Why didst thou commit this act?' asked Qa'an. 'In order,' said the man, 'that it might be a warning to the World-Emperor not to trust his guards (whom they call *turqaq*).[53] Otherwise there were more goods than that in the treasury if I had gone there for the purpose of stealing.' Some of the emirs said that an example should be made of him so that no one else might commit such an action. 'I have pardoned him,' said Qa'an. 'How then can I proceed against him a second time? It would be a pity for such a spirited fellow to be killed, otherwise I would command his breast to be cut open to see what sort of heart and liver he had considering they did not burst under such circumstances.' And Qa'an gave him five hundred *balish* with many horses and garments, and made him the commander of several thousand soldiers, and sent him to Khitai.

[xliii] When the crops were growing so much hail fell as to destroy them all. And at the time of this disaster there was such a scarcity of corn in Qara-Qorum that a single maund could not be obtained for a dinar. Qa'an ordered the heralds to proclaim that whoever had sown corn should not give way to anxiety, for his crop had suffered no harm. If they watered their fields again, and tilled them, and there was no harvest, they would

[53] The *turqaq* was the day-guard in contrast to the *kebte'ül* or night-guard. See Minorsky, *A Civil and Military Review in Fārs in 881/1476*, 163. On their duties see the *Secret History*, § 229.

receive the full equivalent from his treasury and granaries. It so happened that so much corn was reaped that year that there had never been such a crop and harvest since they had first begun to till the ground.

[183] [xliv] Three persons were brought to him for a crime they had committed. He ordered them to be put to death. When he left his audience-hall he came upon a woman scattering dust and crying out aloud. 'Why art thou doing this?' he asked. 'Because,' she replied, 'of those men whom thou hast ordered to be put to death, for one of them is my husband, another my son and the third my brother.' 'Choose one of them,' said Qa'an, 'and for thy sake he shall be spared.' 'I can find a substitute for my husband,' replied the woman, 'and children too I can hope for; but for a brother there can be no substitute.' He spared the lives of all three.[54]

[xlv] He was fond of watching wrestling and at first had a number of Mongols, Qifchaqs and Khitayans in his service. When Khorasan was subjugated he was told about the wrestlers of Khorasan and Iraq, and he sent a messenger to Chormaghun and ordered him to send one of these wrestlers. There was a man from Hamadan called Pahlavan Fila, and it was he that they sent. When he came to Qa'an the latter was well pleased with his shape and appearance, the stoutness of his body and the symmetry of his limbs; and he ordered him to wrestle with certain other wrestlers who were present. He beat them all, and none could throw him on his back. Besides other presents Qa'an gave him five hundred *balish*; and after a while he bestowed on him a beauteous, graceful and sweet-voiced maiden. It being the custom of wrestlers to abstain from sexual intercourse in order to conserve their strength, he did not lay hands on her but rather avoided her company. One day the girl went to the *ordu* and Qa'an said to her: 'How hast thou found this Tazik? Hast thou received thy full share of the joys of love?' For it

[54] This story is related word for word in the *Marzuban-Nama* of Sa'd-ad-Din Varavini written nearly 50 years before the *Ta'rikh-i-Jahan-Gusha*. It is there told with reference to the tyrant Dahak. See my edition of the *Marzuban-Nama*, 16–17. (M.Q.)

is a standing joke with the Mongols to credit the Taziks with extraordinary sexual powers. As the poet says:

[184] *Vae tibi, o mi penis, nonne te pudet dedecorare me inter sodales,*
Inciviliter exsilire e sinu et pannum tollere de capite? [55]

'I have had no taste thereof,' said the girl, 'and we live apart.' Qa'an sent for Fila and questioned him about this state of affairs. 'I have become famous in the Emperor's service,' said the wrestler, 'and no one has vanquished me. If I enter the arena, my strength must not wane nor my rank be reduced in the Emperor's service.' 'My intention was,' said Qa'an, 'for you to beget children between you. From now on I exempt thee from the strife and contention of wrestling.'

Fila had a kinsman called Muhammad-Shah. A messenger was sent after him and he was ordered to bring several of the practitioners of that art. When they arrived Muhammad-Shah entered the field of contest with several wrestlers and beat them all. 'Wilt thou wrestle with Fila?' asked Qa'an. Muhammad-Shah at once knelt down and answered, 'Yes.' 'You are kinsmen,' said Qa'an, 'and there is brotherhood between you. Do not wrestle with one another like enemies.' And when some five days had passed, during which time he continued to view him with the eye of favour, he gave him some *balish*. At that moment seven hundred *balish* came in from somewhere, and he gave him these also.

Riches know of a surety, when they alight in thy hands,
that they are not in a lasting abode.[56]

And that which he bestowed upon them in pay, etc., in the way of clothes, furs and *balish*, was like running water, which might in no wise be cut off. And it would often happen that he would command them both to take as many as they could carry of the garments which had been thrown down in a heap in front of the *ordu*.

[185] [xlvi] One of my friends of pleasing speech told me the following story:

[55] Abus-Simt of Ra's-'Ain. (M.Q.)
[56] Abul-Hasan 'Ali b. Muhammad of Tihama. (M.Q.)

During the reign of Sultan 'Ala-ad-Din Kai-Qubad [57] I was in Rum, and amongst my intimates was a person in embarrassed circumstances who earned his bread by buffoonery. Now at that time the tale of the bounty of the Emperor of the World and the Hatim of the Age was on all men's tongues, and it was said that in the East there sat a king of the Mongol race to whom earth and gold were one and the same thing.

> By the measure of his lofty resolve the cash of the seven planets was of low standard.

It occurred to the buffoon to travel thither, but he had neither mount nor travelling provisions. His friends all contributed together and bought him a donkey, on which he set forth. Three years later I was walking in the market place when I saw a gentleman with a mounted retinue and horses, mules, camels and Khitayan slaves upon his right and left. When he caught sight of me he at once dismounted from his horse, greeted me warmly and evinced great pleasure at seeing me again. He insisted upon carrying me off to his house, where, as is the manner of the courteous and the liberal, he showed me every attention, placing food and drink before me and dishes of gold and silver; while ranged in order around us stood singing-girls, minstrels and cup-bearers. In this manner he insisted on keeping me with him all that day, and the second and third days likewise; and I did not recognize him until he said, 'I am such-and-such a person, whose entire property was one donkey.' I asked what had befallen him, saying, '"*I saw thee foolish: since when art thou become wise?*"' 'When I left Rum,' he said, 'I went a-begging on that same donkey to the Emperor of the Face of the Earth. I had taken with me some dried fruit, and I sat down upon a hilltop in a place by which he would pass. His auspicious glance fell upon me from afar, and he sent someone to inquire into my circumstances. I described the feebleness of my state, telling how I had come from Rum on account of the fame of the Emperor's bounty and liberality and had set my

[57] The Seljuq ruler of Rūm or Asia Minor, 'Alā-ad-Dīn Kai-Qubād I (1219–36).

face to the road with a hundred thousand privations in order that the glance of the Emperor, who was the Lord of the Conjunction, [186] might fall upon my wretched self and my condition might be reversed and my horoscope rendered auspicious.

> My father—may his soul be filled with light because of me!—
> gave me a wise and famous piece of advice:
> Flee from the unfortunate like an arrow and take up thy abode
> in the street of the fortunate.

They held the tray of fruit before him and told him what I had said. He took two or three of the fruits and dropped them in a *suluq*.[58] Perceiving that his attendants inwardly objected to his action, he turned towards them and said: "This man has come hither from a distant land. He has passed through many sacred shrines and holy places and has attended on many great ones. To seek a blessing from the breathings of such a person is a profitable action. I therefore dropped the fruit in the *suluq* so that I could eat it at any time as dessert with my children and you might share the remainder among yourselves." With that he urged his horse on, and when he reached the *ordu*, he took the fruit out of the *suluq*, counted it carefully over and turning to Danishmand Hajib asked him where I was lodging. Danishmand said that he did not know, and the Emperor upbraided him roundly, saying, "What sort of Moslem art thou? A poor man comes to us from a great distance and thou art negligent of his eating and drinking, his waking and sleeping. Go this moment in person, seek him out and allot him an honourable place in thy own house. But in any case seek him out." I had taken up lodgings near the market place. People came running from right and left inquiring after me and finally one of them found me and bore me off to Danishmand's house. The next day, when Qa'an had taken his seat, he saw a wagon-load of *balish* being brought in to the treasury from the conquest of a town in Manzi. The number of *balish* was seven hundred. Qa'an said to Danishmand Hajib: "Call that person." When I appeared he gave them to me and encouraged

[58] A Turkish word meaning 'vessel for holding water'.

me with other promises. And so I received all those *balish* and my affairs from the straits of poverty entered the broad plain of prosperity.'

And when there came to him as a suppliant the lord of sheep and camels,
Thou sawest him in his courtyard the lord of Khawarnaq and Sadir.[59]

[xlvii] A Mongol called Minquli Böke [60] had a flock of sheep. One night when a cold wind was blowing a wolf fell upon his flock and destroyed the greater part of it. The next day the Mongol came to Court and told of the flock and the wolf saying that a thousand head of his sheep had been lost. Qa'an asked where the wolf had gone. It so happened that a troupe of Moslem wrestlers brought in a live wolf with its jaws bound. 'I will buy that wolf from you for a thousand *balish*,' said Qa'an. And to the owner of the sheep he said: 'Thou wilt derive no advantage or benefit from the killing of this animal.' And he ordered his officers to give the man a thousand head of sheep and said: 'We will release this wolf so that he can inform his friends of what has happened and they may leave this region.' When they released the wolf the lion-like hounds of the dog-keepers ran after it and tore it to pieces. Qa'an was angry and ordered the dogs to be put to death for killing the wolf. He entered the *ordu* in a pensive and melancholic state of mind and turning to his ministers and courtiers he said: 'I set that wolf free because I felt a weakness in my bowels and I thought that if I saved a living creature from destruction God Almighty would grant that I too should be spared. Since the wolf did

[59] From a *qasida* by Abu-Bakr of Khorazm in praise of Abu-'Ali b. Simjur. (M.Q.) Khawarnaq and Sadīr were the names of two palaces said to have been built for the Sassanian monarch Bahrām Gūr (Fitzgerald's 'Bahrám, that great Hunter') by the Arab king of Hira, Nu'mān b. Mundhir.

[60] Reading MYNQWLY BWKA for the SNQWLY BWKA of the text. The corresponding passage in Rashid-ad-Din (Blochet, 83) has MYNĪWLY BWKH. Minquli appears to be Turkish—Ming-Qulī, from *ming* 'thousand' and *qul* 'slave'. Böke, which is Mongol and stands in apposition, means 'the Wrestler'. Cf. the name of Möngke's youngest full brother, Arīgh Böke, Arīgh the Wrestler.

not escape from the dogs, neither perhaps shall I come forth from this danger.' A few days later he passed away.

Now it is not concealed from the wise and discriminating that kings are snatched up and carried off by God and that they receive divine inspiration. And that story is like the one that is told in the . . .

When Ma'mun sent Tahir b. al-Husain and 'Ali b. 'Isa b. Mahan to Baghdad to make war on his brother Muhammad Amin,[61] [188] at the same time Muhammad Amin was saying to Hammad Rawiya, who was one of his courtiers: 'To-day we shall walk abroad and drink and be merry.' They fetched a boat and embarked in it. Now Amin had a slave girl called Qabiha, who had a yellow tooth, and the perfection of her beauty depended upon that tooth. He took her with him on to the boat. And he had a goblet made of fiery red rubies and fashioned in the shape of a vessel, and in his eyes it was worth all the fair things of this world and all the contents of his treasury. When the company had become heated with wine and all had grown merry, Qabiha stood up for some purpose and, her foot catching in her skirt, she fell upon the goblet and broke it; and her teeth striking the boat, the yellow tooth, which was the apple of Muhammad's eye, was likewise broken. Muhammad Amin turned to Hammad and said, 'It is all over with us.' Hammad, as is the wont of courtiers, uttered a deprecatory prayer and said, 'Far be it from thee!' And they began to argue about it. Suddenly a voice from above cried out, "*The matter is decreed concerning which ye inquire.*"'[62] 'Didst thou hear?' said Muhammad Amin to Hammad; but he turned a deaf ear. Again Amin heard those words, uttered in a loud and terrible voice, and he said to Hammad, 'There is no longer any doubt. Arise and see to thy own affairs, for

We shall not meet again till Judgement Day.'

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[61] The Caliphs Amīn (809–13) and Ma'mūn (813–33) were sons of the famous Hārūn ar-Rashīd (786–809). In the civil war between the brothers 'Alī b. 'Īsā b. Māhān, as is pointed out by M.Q., was actually the commander of Amin's forces: he engaged the forces of Ma'mun under Tāhir b. al-Husain at Ray and was slain in battle.

[62] Koran, xii, 41.

[xlviii] An old man from the neighbourhood of Baghdad came and sat down in the roadway. When the Emperor passed by he saw the old man standing in his way, and he had him summoned before him. 'Why art thou standing in the road?' asked Qa'an. 'I am old and poor,' replied the other, 'and I have ten daughters, and because of my poverty I cannot find husbands for them.' 'Thou art from Baghdad,' said Qa'an. 'Why does not the Caliph give thee something and help thee to find husbands for thy daughters?' [189] 'Whenever I ask the Caliph for alms,' said the old man, 'he gives me ten dinars in gold, and I need that amount for my own expenses.' Qa'an gave orders for him to be given a thousand *balish* of silver. His courtiers suggested that a draft should be made on the land of Khitai, but Qa'an ordered him to be paid in cash from the treasury. When they brought the *balish* from the treasury and set them before the old man, he said: 'How shall I carry all these *balish* from hence? I am old and feeble and can lift up only one *balish*, or two at most.' Qa'an ordered his officers to give him mounts and bags and the means to take the *balish* with him. But the old man said: 'I cannot reach my own country safely with so many *balish*, and if anything happens to me on the way my daughters will be deprived of the Emperor's bounty.' Qa'an then ordered that two Mongols should go along to guard him and the money until they reached friendly *(il)* country and should bring him and the *balish* safely through. The Mongols departed with him but he died upon the way. They informed the Emperor, who asked: 'Did he not indicate his house and say where his daughters lived?' They replied that he had done so. 'Then take those *balish* to Baghdad,' said Qa'an, 'enter his house and give them to his daughters. And say, "The Emperor has sent these *balish* as alms so that husbands may be found for those daughters."'

[xlix] The daughter of one of his courtiers was being sent to her husband and a casket of pearls carried by eight persons had been brought for her dowry. When the casket was borne before Qa'an he was engaged in carousing. He ordered the lid to be taken off the casket and distributed all the pearls, the value of

which varied between one dinar and two sixths of a dinar, among those present. It was represented to him that he had bestowed that casket upon such-and-such a maiden as her dowry. 'To-morrow,' he said, 'you shall give her that other casket which is the fellow of this one.'

[1] The *atabeg* of Shiraz,[63] sent his brother Tahamtan to Qa'an and among [190] the presents he brought were two carboys filled with pearls, which are held in high esteem amongst them in accordance with the saying, '*Every party rejoiceth in what it hath.*' When this was represented to Qa'an and he learnt that these gems were of value in the eyes of him that brought them, he ordered his attendants to bring in a long casket filled with royal pearls. The envoy and all present were dumbstruck at the sight. Qa'an gave orders for the cup that was being passed round in that banquet to be filled with these pearls; and they were thus all distributed among those present.

> When thou bringest a drop of water to the deep sea,
> this judgement resembles madness.

We have described something of that which the Necessarily Existent caused to be present in his nature in the way of clemency, forgiveness, justice, generosity and the teachings of the religion of God; and this we have done that it may be known that in every age there is a Lord of the Conjunction, such as in former times were Hatim and Nushirvan and others, and their fame will shine forth like the fountain of the sun until the end of time, and tales and traditions will be told and recorded of them. '*And in every age there is a Sodom and a *Jandab.*'[64] And had we treated this subject exhaustively it would have led to prolixity; we have therefore limited ourselves to this brief summary. And we shall tell one story of his violence, fury, severity and awesomeness, so that it may be known not only how his kindness and bounty would flow but how his vengeance and rigour would chasten.

[63] This was Abu-Bakr (1226–60), the patron of the poet Sa'di.

[64] JNDB. This word defeated M.Q. The whole phrase is clearly some kind of proverbial saying.

He had a day of hardship on which there were misfortunes for mankind, and a day of ease on which there were blessings for mankind.
On the day of generosity there rained dew from his hands, and on the day of severity there rained blood from his hands.[65]

Among the tribe of . . .,[66] who was the commander of a thousand, a rumour sprang up that [191] it had been decreed that the daughters of that tribe should be affianced to certain persons. Being frightened by this news they affianced most of their daughters to husbands within the tribe and some they actually delivered up to them. Tidings hereof spread from mouth to mouth and reached the ear of the Emperor. He appointed a group of emirs to go thither and investigate the matter. When the truth of the report had been established, he gave orders that all the girls over seven years old should be gathered together and that all who had been given that year to husbands taken back from them. Four thousand starlike maidens, each of whom affected men's hearts in a different way, were thus assembled.

When her beauty removes the veil from its face, the moon of '*O for shame!*' is overcast.

And first he ordered those who were daughters of emirs to be separated from the rest; and all who were present were commanded to have intercourse with them. And two moonlike damsels from amongst them expired. As for the remaining chaste ones, he had them drawn up in rows in front of the *ordu*, and such as were worthy thereof were dispatched to the harem, while some were given to the keepers of cheetahs and wild beasts and others to the various attendants at the Court, and others again were sent to the brothel and the hostel of the envoys to wait upon travellers. As for those that still remained it was decreed that all present, whether Mongols or Moslems, might

[65] Husain al-Mutayyar al-Asadi. (M.Q.)

[66] There is a blank in A and B. D has 'the Oirat', which does not make sense in the context, though according to Rashid-ad-Din's version of the anecdote (Blochet, 84) the tribe in question were in fact the Oirat.

carry them off. And their fathers, brothers, relatives, kinsmen and husbands looked on and were unable to breathe or move their tongues. And this is an absolute proof of his rigid enforcement of his orders and of the obedience of his army.

[XXXIII]

OF THE HOUSES AND DWELLING-PLACES OF QA'AN

AFTER the Hatim of the Age and the Ruler of the World had been established on the throne of kingship and, his mind set at rest regarding the campaign against Khitai, had proceeded in triumph to the great *ordu* of his father, [192] he bestowed his own place of residence, which was in the region of the Emil, upon his son Güyük, choosing for his [new] residence and the capital of the kingdom a place in the region of the river Orqon and the Qara-Qorum mountains. There had previously been no town or village in that place except for the remains of a wall called Ordu-Baligh. At the time of his accession a stone was found outside the ruins of the fortress on which there was an inscription stating that the founder of that place was Buqu Khan. (This matter has been described in detail in the chapter on the land of the Uighur.[1]) The Mongols named it Ma'u-Baligh,[2] and Qa'an caused a town to be built on it, which they called Ordu-Baligh, though it is better known as Qara-Qorum. Hither artisans of every kind were brought from Khitai, and likewise craftsmen from the lands of Islam; and they began to till the ground. And because of Qa'an's great bounty and munificence people turned their faces thitherward from every side, and in a short space of time it became a city.

Above the town a garden was built for Qa'an with four gates, one for the passage of the World-Ruling Emperor, another for his children and kinsmen, another again for the princesses, and a fourth for the entrance and egress of the populace. And in

[1] See above, Chapter VII.

[2] I.e. 'Bad Town', the name given by the Mongols to Bamiyan. See above, p. 133.

the midst of that garden Khitayan artisans reared up a castle with doors like the gates of the garden; and inside it a throne having three flights of steps, one for Qa'an alone, another for his ladies and a third for the cupbearers and table-deckers; and on the right and left houses for his brothers and sons and the *turqaq,* [the walls of these houses being] painted with pictures. And in the quarters of the cupbearers they placed vats which could not be moved because of their weight and other utensils in like proportion, besides [193] elephants, camels, horses and their attendants in appropriate numbers, so that when a public feast was held they might lift up the various beverages. And all the utensils were of gold and silver and studded with jewels. Twice in the year would Qa'an alight in this pleasant abode. Whenever the sun entered the sign of Aries, and the world was glad, and the face of the earth, because of the weeping of the clouds, smiled and shone forth through the mouths of the flowers, he would feast for a month in this residence Venus-like in the manner of the sun; and as the bounty of the rain reaches both herbs and trees, so both great and small took part in the feasting, and Poverty took flight from that assembly.

The slowness of the rain in reaching them did not hurt the people of the frontier seeing that among them was Yusuf the son of Muhammad.

And when the beauty of spring had reached its culmination and the herbs had grown to their full height, he would betake himself to another pleasance which had been raised up by Moslem engineers to despite the Khitayans and was called Qarshi-Suri. It was a very tall castle filled with all kinds of many-coloured, jewel-studded embroideries and carpets. In the entrance was placed a throne full worthy of the place, and in the banqueting-hall were jasper vases, and ewers studded with pearls, and other utensils in keeping with them. Here he would feast for forty days. And in front of the castle there were pools of water (which they call *köl),*[3] wherein many water fowls used to gather. And he would watch the hunting of these birds and afterwards

[3] *köl* is the normal Turkish word for 'lake'.

would give himself up to the joys of drinking and spread the carpet of bounty, which was never rolled up. And every day [194] without cease he dispensed his bounty to all and sundry as long as he abode in that place; and as for conviviality and constant application to pleasure it was as though he had hearkened with the ear of acceptance to the advice of Quhistani:[4]

Enjoy this world, for its seasons are transitory, and the life of a young man (may thou have the joy thereof!) lasteth at most for a moment.
And hasten to take an abundant share of pleasure, for a share that has passed will not return nor can it be confined.
And spend the time of good fellowship in good fellowship, and be awake to thy pleasure, for there is no pleasure to him that sleepeth.
And do not preoccupy thyself to-day with the cares of to-morrow, but bid adieu to the tale of to-morrow, for to concern thyself therewith is folly.
The spirit is like a lamp, and wine is its oil, so be off with thee—this is advice to be accepted.
I shall tell thee of myself and what I have experienced, not traditions handed down from Anas through Qatada.[5]

And when the life of spring had reached its maturity and the day thereof its decline, he would return to his summer residence. And since the garden and palace in the town lay upon his way, he would reside there for several days in his wonted manner carrying out the commandments of God *(amr-i-maʿrūf)* and would thence move on towards his destination. And when he left there he would go to a small palace which he had built on a hilltop three miles from the town, through which he also passed in returning from his winter residence. On both occasions he would amuse himself for four or five weeks in this spot, and offerings of food would be brought out to him from the town. And from thence in the summer he would go into the mountains, where there would be erected for him a Khitayan pavilion, whose walls were made of latticed wood, while its ceiling was

[4] I.e. Abu-Bakr ʿAli b. al-Hasan al-Quhistani of Ghazna, a contemporary of Sultan Mahmud. (M.Q.)

[5] Anas b. Malik was a Companion of the Prophet and one of the most prolific of the traditionists. Qatāda, who died in 117/735–6, was another traditionist.

of gold-embroidered cloth, and it was covered all over with white felt: this place is called Shira-Ordu.[6] In these parts there are cool waters and much grass. Here he would remain until the sun entered Virgo and there was a fall of snow. And here [195] his bounty would flow more freely than in his other pleasances. And departing from hence he would arrive at his winter residence by the end of autumn, which is the beginning of their winter. There he would make merry for three months, and during these months his generosity and munificence were under some restraint and did not flow so freely. There too were fulfilled these verses of double meaning:

Between us and the rose has passed a long-lasting
cold as though good omens had been hidden in ill.
The spring and its beauty have been veiled with snow just
as peacock chicks are concealed in white eggs.[7]

And praise be to God Almighty, these dwelling-places are to-day adorned by the blessed footsteps of that mighty king and glorious emperor, the Nushirvan of the Age, Mengü Qa'an, from the shadow of whose statesmanship and justice the world is made resplendent and every place in every clime turned into a rose-garden. May God Almighty grant him endless years of life, his justice ever increasing and his word ever obeyed, and strengthen through him the hand of the True Faith!

[XXXIV]

OF TÖREGENE[1] KHATUN

WHEN the decree of God Almighty had been executed and the Monarch of the World, the Hatim of the Age, Qa'an, had

[6] Reading ŠYRH ARDW with E. The text has SYR ARDW and Rashid-ad-Din (Blochet, 49) SRH ARDW, i.e. apparently Sira-Ordu. It is the Sira-Orda of Carpini and the Syra-Orda of Benedict the Pole, who has left a detailed description of it. See Rockhill, 38.

[7] Abu-Mansur Qasim b. Ibrahim al-Qa'ini, whose *laqab* was Buzurjmihr. He was a poet at the court of Sultan Mahmud. (M.Q.)

[1] TWRAKYNA. The Döregene of the *Secret History*. According to Rashid-ad-Din (Blochet, 3) she belonged to the Uhaz-Merkit and had or had

passed away, Güyük, his eldest son, had not returned [2] from the campaign against the Qifchaq, and therefore in accordance with precedent the dispatch of orders and the assembling of the people took place at the door of the *ordu* or palace of his wife, Möge Khatun, who, in accordance with the Mongol custom, had come to him from his father, Chingiz-Khan. But since Töregene Khatun was the mother of his eldest sons [196] and was moreover shrewder and more sagacious than Möge Khatun, she sent messages to the princes, i.e. the brothers and nephews of Qa'an, and told them of what had happened and of the death of Qa'an, and said that until a Khan was appointed by agreement someone would have to be ruler and leader in order that the business of the state might not be neglected nor the affairs of the commonweal thrown into confusion; in order, too, that the army and the court might be kept under control and the interests of the people protected.

Chaghatai and the other princes sent representatives to say that Töregene Khatun was the mother of the princes who had a right to the Khanate; therefore, until a *quriltai* was held, it was she that should direct the affairs of the state, and the old ministers should remain in the service of the Court, so that the old and new *yasas* might not be changed from what was the law.

Now Töregene Khatun was a very shrewd and capable woman, and her position was greatly strengthened by this unity and concord. And when Möge Khatun shortly followed in the wake of Qa'an, by means of finesse and cunning she obtained control of all affairs of state and won over the hearts of her relatives by all kind of favours and kindnesses and by the sending of gifts and presents. And for the most part strangers and

not been the wife of Dayir-Üsün, the ruler of that tribe. In the chapter on the Merkit (Khetagurov, 116) she is also stated to have been the wife of Dayir-Üsün. On the other hand, according to the *Secret History*, § 198, her first husband had been Qodu, the eldest son of Toqto'a, the ruler of the Uduyit-Merkit. According to the *Yüan shih* (quoted by Pelliot, *Les Mongols et la Papauté*, [193]) she was not a Merkit but a Naiman.

[2] Reading *nuzūl na-karda* with E for the *nuzūl karda* of the text. The corresponding passage in Rashid-ad-Din (Blochet, 232) has *furū na-y-āmada*.

kindred, family and army inclined towards her, and submitted themselves obediently and gladly to her commands and prohibitions, and came under her sway. *The Prophet of God (may God bless him and give him peace!) hath said: 'Hearts were formed to love them that use them well and to hate them that use them ill.'* And all manner of men bent their steps towards her; while Chinqai [3] and the other ministers of Qa'an continued to perform their duties as before, and the governors on every side remained at their posts.

Now during the lifetime of Qa'an there had accumulated in her breast a feeling of hatred towards certain of the courtiers, and the wound had grown deep. When she was entrusted with affairs of state, and her position had grown strong, and none dared quarrel or dispute with her, she determined to act at once, and without losing time [197] or missing an opportunity, in accordance with the hemistich:

Make haste, for time is a trenchant sword,[4]

to seek relief from her pain by avenging herself on each of these persons. She accordingly sent messengers to Khitai to fetch the Minister Yalavach and also tried to lay hands on the Emir Chinqai. Chinqai, however, with the discernment of understanding perceived that she had something else in mind; and before her plan could be realized he set his face to the road and went his own way. And hastening to Köten,[5] her son, he sought his protection and so saved his life by running away. As for Yalavach, when the messengers reached him, he welcomed them with marks of respect and honour. And every day he showed them fresh attentions and civilities so that in this way two or three days passed by. And all this time he was secretly preparing the means of flight by getting together horses etc. At last on the third night, which in fact was the day of his fortune,

[3] Reading ČYNQAY for the ǰYNQAY of the text. He is Carpini's 'Chingay the prothonotary'. For an account of his career and his origins see Waley, *Travels of an Alchemist,* 34–8.

[4] From a *qasida* by Abu-Ishaq al-Ghazzi. (M.Q.)

[5] KWTAN. He is called K'uo-tuan, i.e. Ködön, in the *Yüan shih.* See Hambis, *Le chapitre CVII,* 71.

he put the messengers to sleep [6] and departed to Köten together with a few horsemen, and so escaped from their hands.

> *And I returned to Fahm though I had not expected to return—*
> *and how often have I escaped from the like of them, while*
> *they whistled [impotently]!* [7]

And when both notables reached Köten, and sought refuge with him, and made his threshold their asylum, they were embraced with his favour. Töregene Khatun sent a messenger to demand their return, and Köten replied: 'The kite that takes refuge in a thicket from the talons of the falcon is safe from its fury.[8] These too have sought sanctuary with us and touched the skirt of our authority. To send them back is forbidden by the code of magnanimity and humanity and is remote from the practice of generosity and liberality: I should find excuse with neither far nor near, [198] neither Turk nor Tazik. A *quriltai* is shortly to be held: let their crimes and offences be brought to the attention of the family and the emirs, and let them receive whatever punishment they deserve.' She sent messengers several times again, and Köten excused himself in the same manner. When she realized that their return was impossible and that he would in no wise send them back, she endeavoured to persuade the Emir 'Imad-al-Mulk Muhammad of Khotan, who had been one of the ministers of Qa'an, to turn to account the intimate terms on which he had been with them in former times by making a statement regarding them and fabricating some falsehood so that by that pretext she might cast a stumbling-block in their path and on that excuse they might be punished at the great *quriltai*. But since loyalty and generosity, which are amongst the most essential and the most beautiful of the characteristics of

[6] By making them drunk. The story is told in greater detail in Rashid-ad-Din (Blochet, 233–4).

[7] Ta'abbata Sharran. (M.Q.)

[8] Barthold, *Turkestan*, 41, n. 3, quotes this passage as an indication of Juvaini's use of Mongol sources, the same image being employed by the sons of Sorqan Shira in reproaching their father for his harsh words towards the fugitive Temüjin. See the *Secret History*, § 85: 'If a *turumtai* [the name of a small bird of prey, perhaps the Merlin] causes a little bird to take refuge in a bush, the bush saves the little bird.' See Mostaert, *Sur quelques passages de l'Histoire secrète des Mongols*, 313.

the great and are as non-existent in this present age as the *simurgh* [9] or the philosophers' stone, had gained mastery of his being, he refused to consent to the shame and disgrace of slander and calumny and made his body the prisoner of free will until God Almighty, because of his pure faith, delivered him from that frightful gulf and the like thereof, and at the Court of Güyük Khan he enjoyed even greater authority than in the previous reign.

And when the Emir Mas'ud Beg observed this state of affairs he too thought it inadvisable to remain in his own territory and saw fit to hasten to the Court of Batu.

And Qara Oghul [10] and the wives of Chaghatai sent Qurbagha [11] Elchi together with the Emir [199] Arghun [12] to seize Körgüz.[13]

And at that time there was a woman called Fatima, who had acquired great influence in the service of Töregene Khatun and to whose counsel and capability were entrusted all affairs of state. She exalted 'Abd-ar-Rahman and sent him to Khitai in place of Mahmud. An account of this woman will be given separately in a subsequent chapter.[14]

And when Emir Arghun brought Körgüz to Töregene Khatun she imprisoned him because of an ancient grudge and sent the Emir Arghun to Khorasan in his stead.

And everyone sent ambassadors in every direction and broadcast drafts and assignments; and upon every side they attached themselves to parties and followed their instructions—all save

[9] The name of a fabulous bird which appears in the *Shahnama* as the foster-parent of Rustam's father Zāl.

[10] I.e. Prince Qara. On Qara or Qara-Hülegü, the grandson and first successor of Chaghatai, see below, pp. 273–4.

[11] Reading QWRBQA for the QWRBQAY of the text, which elsewhere has QRBQA (II, 230 and 239) and QWRBΓA (II, 243). Rashid-ad-Din (Blochet, 57) has QWR BWQA, which would appear to be a compound name with *buqa* 'bull' as the second element. I have however taken the QWRBQA or QWRBΓA of Juvaini as standing for the Turkish *qurbaqa* 'frog'.

[12] On Arghun see below, II, Chapters XXX and XXXI.

[13] On Körgüz see below, II, Chapter XXVIII.

[14] Chapter XXXV.

Sorqotani Beki and her sons, who did not swerve one hair's breath from the *yasa* and law of their ordinances.

As for Töregene Khatun she dispatched ambassadors to the East and the West of the world and to the North and South thereof to summon the sultans and emirs, the grandees and governors, and to bid them to the *quriltai.*

Meanwhile Güyük had not yet returned and his place seemed empty. In accordance with the saying, *' He that is strong taketh, and the strength of the free man is in his abstinence '*, Otegin thought to seize the Khanate by force and violence. With this intention he set out for the *ordu* of Qa'an. When he drew near, Mengli Oghul,[15] a grandson [of Chingiz-khan], approached him with his retinue and troops and made him repent of his design. He made use of the pretence that he was mourning some disaster and excused himself in this manner. In the meantime there came tidings of the arrival [200] of Güyük at his *ordu,* which lies on the bank of the Emil; whereupon his repentance increased.

And when Güyük came to his mother, he took no part in affairs of state, and Töregene Khatun still executed the decrees of the Empire although the Khanate was settled upon her son. But when two or three months had passed and the son was somewhat estranged from his mother on account of Fatima, the decree of God the Mighty and Glorious was fulfilled and Töregene passed away.

[XXXV]

OF FATIMA KHATUN

AT the time of the capture of the place in which there lies the Holy Shrine [1] of 'Ali ar-Riza *(upon whom be the most excellent of blessings and benedictions!)*, she was carried off into captivity. It so chanced that she came to Qara-Qorum, where she was a

[15] I.e. Prince Mengli (MNKLY). This is apparently Melik (see below, ii, 573, and n. 73), a son of Ögedei, who appears in the *Yüan shih* both as Mie-li (Meli[k]) and Ming-li (*Mingli[k]). See Hambis, *op. cit.*, 72, n. 7.

[1] I.e. the modern Meshed.

procuress in the market; and in the arts of shrewdness and cunning the wily Delilah could have been her pupil. During the reign of Qa'an she had constant access to the *ordu* of Töregene Khatun; and when times changed and Chinqai withdrew from the scene, she enjoyed even greater favour, and her influence became paramount; so that she became the sharer of intimate confidences and the depository of hidden secrets, and the ministers were debarred from executing business, and she was free to issue commands and prohibitions. And from every side the grandees sought her protection, especially the grandees of Khorasan. And there also came to her certain of the *sayyids* of the Holy Shrine, for she claimed to be of the race of the great *sayyids*.

When Güyük succeeded to the Khanate, a certain native of Samarqand, who was said to be an 'Alid,[2] one Shira, the cup-bearer of Qadaq,[3] hinted that Fatima had bewitched Köten, [201] which was why he was so indisposed. When Köten returned, the malady from which he was suffering grew worse, and he sent a messenger to his brother Güyük to say that he had been attacked by that illness because of Fatima's magic and that if anything happened to him Güyük should seek retribution from her. Following on this message there came tidings of Köten's death. Chinqai, who was now a person of authority, reminded Güyük of the message, and he sent an envoy to his mother to fetch Fatima. His mother refused to let her go saying that she would bring her herself. He sent again several times, and each time she refused him in a different way. As a result his relations with his mother became very bad, and he sent the man from Samarqand[4] with instructions to bring Fatima by force if his mother should still delay in sending her or find some reason for refusing. It being no longer possible to excuse herself she agreed to send Fatima; and shortly afterwards she passed away. Fatima was brought face to face with Güyük, and was kept naked, and in bonds, and hungry and thirsty for many days and nights; she was plied with all manner of violence, severity,

[2] I.e. a descendant of the Caliph 'Ali.

[3] On Qadaq see below, p. 259 and n. 37.

[4] The text has *Samarqant*, i.e. apparently *Samarqandi*.

harshness and intimidation; and at last she confessed to the calumny of a slanderous talebearer and avowed her falseness. Her upper and lower orifices were sewn up, and she was rolled up in a sheet of felt and thrown into the river.

> One thou raisest up and givest him a kingdom, and then
> thou castest him into the sea to the fishes.[5]

And everyone that was connected with her perished also. And messengers were sent to fetch certain persons who had come from the Shrine and claimed to be related to her; and they suffered many annoyances.

This was the year in which Güyük Khan went to join his father, [202] and it was then that 'Ali Khoja of Emil [6] accused Shira of the same crime, namely of bewitching Khoja. He was cast into bonds and chains and remained imprisoned for nearly two years, during which time by reason of all manner of questioning and punishment he despaired of the pleasure of life. And when he recognized and knew of a certainty that this was the punishment of '*Here is our money returned to us*,'[7] he resigned himself to death and surrendering his body to the will of Fate and Destiny confessed to a crime which he had not committed. He too was cast into the river, and his wives and children were put to the sword.

> He slew his grandfather, and he himself did not remain
> here, nor did the world read his proclamation.[8]

When in that same year, in a happy and auspicious hour, the Khanate had been settled upon Mengü Qa'an, he set * Bürilgitei [9] over the region of Besh-Baligh. And when Khoja was brought to the Qa'an, a messenger was sent to 'Ali Khoja, who was one of his courtiers. Some other person brought the same accusation

[5] *Shahnama* ed. Vullers, 1003, l. 734.

[6] I.e. the town of Emil named after the river: Carpini's Omyl.

[7] Koran, xii, 65. [8] *Shahnama* ed. Vullers, 1277, l. 99.

[9] The text has here *BRNKWTAY* and elsewhere (III, 53 and 57) BRNKWTAY, for which I read BRLKTAY in view of the spelling of his name in the *Yüan shih*, viz. Pu-lin-chi-tai (Bürilgidei). Professor Cleaves, in a letter dated the 5th December, 1954, was good enough to supply me with translations of the two passages—*Yüan shih*, 3 (*ts'e* 2), 2b5–6 and 8a1–2—in which this

against him, and Mengü-Qa'an ordered him to be beaten from the left and the right until all his limbs were crushed; and so he died. And his wives and children were cast into the baseness of slavery and disgraced and humiliated.

Approve not for another what thou approvest not for thyself.

And the voice of Destiny cried out saying, *' Thy hands were binding while thy mouth was blowing.'*

If it be silk, thou hast woven it thyself, and if it is a load of thorns, thou hast sown them thyself.[10]

And the Lord of the Prophets (upon whom be the most excellent of blessings and peace!) hath truly said: ' Thou hast slain and shalt be slain; and thy slayer shall be slain.' And it was said of old:

There is no hand but the hand of God is above it, and there is no tyrant who is not tormented by a greater tyrant.

[203] And it is not hidden from the wise and intelligent man, who looks at these matters in the light of understanding and reflects and ponders upon them, that the end of treachery and the conclusion of deceit, which spring from evil ways and wicked pretensions, is shameful and the termination thereof unlucky. And fortunate is he that can take warning from another: *' happy is he that is advised by what befalleth others.'*

And had they known what iniquity brings upon them that practise it, [it had been well] but they looked not to the consequences.[11]

God preserve us from the like positions and from trespassing into the region of deliberate offences!

commander is mentioned. The first reference is *sub anno* 1251: ' The princes [of the blood] Yeh-su Mang-k'o (Yesü Möngke), Pu-li (Büri), Hou-che (Qoja) and others not having arrived [even] after the appointed time, Pu-lin-chi-tai (Bürilgidei) was dispatched to deploy (lit. "lead") troops to prepare against them.' The second reference, *sub anno* 1257, runs as follows: ' The army of the marshal Pu-lin-chi-tai (Bürilgidei) [went forth] from Teng-chou and occupied the region and crossed the Han-chiang.' In a subsequent letter, dated the 4th February, 1955, Professor Cleaves suggests that Bürilgidei is a derivative of the Mongol word *bürilgi* and means ' Dissipator ' or ' Destroyer '.

[10] *Shahnama* ed. Vullers, 122, l. 1042.

[11] From a *qasida* by Abu-Ishaq al-Ghazzi. (M.Q.)

[XXXVI]

OF THE ACCESSION OF GÜYÜK KHAN TO THE THRONE OF THE KHANATE

IN the year in which Qa'an was to bid farewell to the comforts of this life and to forswear the pleasures of this vile world, he had sent for Güyük, bidding him turn the reins of homecoming and direct his will and desire towards hurrying to his presence. In compliance with this command Güyük pressed the spurs of haste and loosened the bridle of speed; but when the time was at hand when the touch of plague that arises from length of distance was to have been expelled by closeness of propinquity and the veil of absence and exile removed, Fate's inevitable decree was carried out, and no respite was given for those thirsting in the desert of separation to quench their thirst with a drop of the limpid water of reunion or for father and son to anoint their eyes with the collyrium of each other's beauty. When Güyük received tidings of that irremediable calamity he saw fit to make still greater haste, and grief for what had happened did not suffer him to halt until he reached the Emil. Neither did he tarry here, for there was a report of the coming of Otegin, but proceeded to his father's *ordu*: and the hopes of the ambitious were dashed by his arrival. And in that neighbourhood he took up his abode.

State business was still entrusted to the counsel of his mother, Töregene Khatun, and the binding and loosening of affairs was in her hands, and Güyük did not intervene therein to enforce *yasa* or [204] custom nor did he dispute with her about these matters.

And when messengers were dispatched to far and near to bid princes and *noyans* and summon sultans and kings and scribes, everyone left his home and country in obedience to the command. And when the world, because of the coming of spring, had set the foot of beauty upon the head of the stars and drawn the pen of oblivion through the Garden of Iram; and the earth, because of the arrival of Farvardin and her auxiliary plants, had donned

a covering of every manner of flower; and the springtime, in thanksgiving for this wondrous bounty, had with blossoms made its whole body a mouth and with lilies converted all its limbs into tongues; and ring-doves dallied with turtles, and melodious nightingales together with the lark composed this *ghazal* in mid air:

> The host of Spring have pitched their tents out on the plain
> —thou too must pitch thy tent out on the plain,
> Drink wine from morn till eve and gather roses from dusk till dawn

—then it was that the princes arrived, each with his horsemen and servants, his army and retinue. The eyes of mankind were dazzled by their accoutrement, and the fountain of their enemies' delight was troubled by the harmony that reigned among them all.

Sorqotani Beki and her sons arrived first with such gear and equipage as *'eye hath not seen nor ear heard'*. And from the East there came Köten with his sons; Otegin and his children; Elchitei; and the other uncles and nephews that reside in that region. From the *ordu* of Chaghatai came Qara, Yesü,[1] [205] Büri,[2] Baidar,[3] Yesün-Toqa [4] and the other grandsons and great-grandsons. From the country of Saqsin and Bulghar, since Batu did not come in person, he sent his elder brother Hordu and his younger brothers Siban, Berke, Berkecher and Toqa-Temür. And distinguished *noyans* and leading emirs, who had connections with one or other party, came in attendance on the princes. From Khitai there came emirs and officials; and from Transoxiana and Turkestan the Emir Mas'ud accompanied by the grandees of that region. With the Emir Arghun there came

[1] YSW. Yesü, Yesü-Mengü or Yesü-Möngke was the fifth son of Chaghatai.
[2] BWRY. The second son of Metiken or Mö'etüken.
[3] BAYDAR. The sixth son of Chaghatai.
[4] Reading YSNTWQH for the YSNBWQH of the text. Rashid-ad-Din usually has variants of this form but in one place (Blochet, 166) YYSWTWA or YYSWNTWA, i.e. Yesün-To'a. Pelliot, *Horde d'Or*, 88–92, equates the name with the Yesünte'e or Yesüntö'e of the *Secret History*, but the forms in Juvaini and Rashid-ad-Din seem rather to support the etymology proposed by Blochet, 242n, viz. *yesün-togha* 'the number nine', from the Mongol *yesün* 'nine' and *togha* (*to'a*) 'number'. Yesün-Toqa or Yesün-To'a was the third son of Metiken.

the celebrities and notables of Khorasan, Iraq, Lur, Azerbaijan and Shirvan. From Rum came Sultan Rukn-ad-Din [5] and the Sultan of Takavor;[6] from Georgia, the two Davids;[7] from Aleppo, the brother of the Lord of Aleppo;[8] from Mosul, the envoy of Sultan Badr-ad-Din Lu'lu';[9] and from the City of Peace, Baghdad, the chief cadi Fakhr-ad-Din. There also came the Sultan of Erzerum,[10] envoys from the Franks,[11] and from Kerman and Fars also; and from 'Ala-ad-Din [12] of Alamut, his governors *(muḥtasham)* in Quhistan, Shihab-ad-Din and Shams-ad-Din.

And all this great assembly came with such baggage as befitted such a court; and there came also from other directions so many envoys and messengers that two [206] thousand felt tents had been made ready for them: there came also merchants with the rare and precious things that are produced in the East and the West.

When this assembly, which was such as no man had ever seen nor has the like thereof been read of in the annals of history,

[5] Qīlij-Arslan IV (1257–65).

[6] TAKWR. As M.Q. has shown, III, 484–90, this is the Armenian word *t'agawor* 'king' mistakenly applied by Juvaini, not to the ruler of Cilicia or Little Armenia, but to the country itself. Here, however, is meant not King Het'um I himself but his brother the Constable Sempad (Smbat).

[7] I.e. David IV, the son of Queen Rusudani, and David V, the illegitimate son of her brother King Giorgi. See Allen, *A History of the Georgian People*, 113–14.

[8] This was the Ayyubid Nāṣir Salāḥ-ad-Dīn Yūsuf, the ruler of Aleppo (1236–60) and Damascus (1250–60).

[9] The Zangid *atabeg* of Mosul (1233–59).

[10] This is an anachronism, and it is significant that Rashid-ad-Din, who in this part of his history (Blochet, 242) follows Juvaini almost word for word, has omitted the reference to 'the Sultan of Erzerum'. Rukn-ad-Din Jahan-Shah, the Seljuq ruler of Erzerum, had been deposed and executed after the defeat of Jalal-ad-Din Khorazm-Shah by the allied forces of Rum and Syria (1230); and his territory had then been incorporated in the kingdom of his cousin 'Ala-ad-Din Kai-Qubad I.

[11] This would appear to be a reference to the mission of John de Plano Carpini.

[12] Marco Polo's 'Old Man of the Mountain, Alaodin by name', i.e. Muhammad III, the Grand Master of the Isma'ilis or Assassins (1221–55), on whom see below, ii, 703–12, also Hodgson, *The Order of Assassins*, 256–8.

was gathered together, the broad plain was straitened and in the neighbourhood of the *ordu* there remained no place to alight in, and nowhere was it possible to dismount.

> Because of the many tents, and men, and pavilions there remained no level place on the plain.[13]

There was also a great dearth of food and drink, and no fodder was left for the mounts and beasts of burden.

The leading princes were all agreed as to committing the affairs of the Khanate and entrusting the keys of the Empire to one of the sons of Qa'an. Köten aspired to this honour because his grandfather had once made a reference to him. Others were of the opinion that Siremün,[14] when he came of age, might be a suitable person to charge with the affairs of the Kingdom. But of all the sons of Qa'an Güyük was most renowned for his might, and ruthlessness, and intrepidity, and dominion; he was the eldest of the brothers and had had most practice in the handling of difficult matters and most experience of weal and woe. Köten, on the other hand, was somewhat sickly, and Siremün was but a child. Moreover, Töregene Khatun favoured Güyük, and Beki and her sons were at one with her in this, and most of the *noyans* were in accord with them in this matter. It was therefore agreed that the Khanate should be settled upon Güyük and that he should ascend the throne of the Kingdom. Güyük, as is the custom, for some time rejected the honour and recommended instead now this person, now that. Finally on a day chosen by the practitioners of the science of the *qam* all [207] the princes gathered together and took off their hats and loosened their belts. And [Yesü] [15] taking one hand and Hordu the

[13] *Shahnama* ed. Vullers, 474, l. 652.

[14] SYRAMWN. The older pronunciation of the name. Cf. the Siramun of Grigor and the Chinese transcription Hsi-lieh-mên. The later pronunciation (Shiremün) is represented by the Chirenen of Carpini, the ŠYRAMWN of Rashid-ad-Din and the Chinese transcription Shih-lieh-mên. See Cleaves, *The Mongolian Names*, 426–7. The name appears to be the Turco-Mongolian form of Solomon. See Pelliot, *Les Mongols et la Papauté*, [203]–[204], n. 4, or Cleaves, *loc. cit.*, where Pelliot's note is quoted in full. Siremün or Shiremün was the eldest son of Ögedei's second son, Köchü.

[15] There is a blank in the text as in A and B, but E has NYSW, i.e. YYSW.

other they set him on the throne of Dominion and the cushion of Kingship and seized their goblets; and the people that were present inside and outside the audience-hall knelt down three times [16] and called him 'Güyük Khan'. And in accordance with their custom they gave declarations in writing that they would not change his word or command, and uttered prayers for his welfare; after which they went out of the hall and knelt three times to the sun. And when he reposed again upon the throne of greatness, the princes sat on chairs on his right and the princesses on his left, each in exceeding grace like a precious pearl. And in the place of cupbearers was every youth of graceful mien, and violet cheeks, and rosy complexion, and sable locks, and cypress form, and blossom-like mouth, and pearly teeth, and happy aspect.

And had it been in the age of Joseph, the hearts of men
would have been cut, not the hands of women.[17]

Sweethearts such that if recluses behold their fair faces
they snatch them to their bosom with a blessing.

They girded up their loins and at the beginning of that day passed round in succession cups of *qumiz* and every kind of wine.

When the bubbles dance around the brim thou seest
pearls in red caskets.

Venus the Fair, gazing upon that pleasant assembly, was but a spectator upon the roof of the green cupola; and the Moon and Jupiter, for wonder at the peri-like sun-faced ones, were grief-stricken and sat in the midst of ashes. And the minstrels, Barbad-like,[18] opened their lips in song before the Chosroes of the World, and all others were tongue-tied for awe and dread. And in this manner till midnight [208] of that day the wine cups were filled to the brim, and the princes in the presence of the peerless King

[16] Cf. above, p. 187, D has 'nine times'.

[17] The reference is to a well-known episode in the Joseph saga. The Egyptian ladies, guests of Zulaikha (Potiphar's wife), unable to take their eyes off the handsome young man-servant, cut their hands with the knives provided for peeling their oranges.

[18] Bārbad was a famous court minstrel in Sassanian times.

To the tune of the strings and the melody of the flute,
with jessamine-cheeked beauties at the feet of the Chosroes,
Drank wine till midnight, and the minstrels opened their
lips in song.[19]

When they had grown drunk, after uniting in praising and belauding the Monarch of the Face of the Earth, they departed to their sleeping quarters; and on the next day, when the bright-faced Chosroes lifted the pitchy veil from his shining countenance and the patrolman, Dawn, left the Turk, Night, weltering in his blood—

Until Dawn pitched her tent and Darkness departed trailing
the hem of her cloak

—the princes, *noyans* and common people

Came strutting to the King's court, open-hearted and
well-wishing they came.[20]

And when the bright banner of the sun was unfurled on the roof of the azure vault, the mighty king and puissant monarch, preparing to leave his chamber,

Donned imperial brocade, placed on his head the crown
of greatness,[21]

and with the arrogance of greatness and the haughtiness of pride

Came strutting from the pavilion, a shining banner
standing behind him,[22]

and sat down in his audience-hall upon the throne of pomp and magnificence: and noble and commoner were granted permission to enter, and everyone sat in his own place and

Began to praise the hero, saying, 'Thou art wakeful and
enlightened:
May the world, from end to end, be under thy feet; may
thy place always be upon the throne!'[23]

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[19] *Shahnama* ed. Vullers, 472, ll. 623–4, which instead of 'and the minstrels opened their lips in song' has 'having opened their lips in mention of the great'.
[20] *Ibid.*, 465, l. 504.
[21] *Ibid.*, 1648, l. 2669.
[22] *Ibid.*, l. 2670.
[23] *Ibid.*, 470, ll. 571–2.

The princesses and concubines strutted in with the beauty of youth, like envoys of the materials of gaiety, and held cups of wine before them.

I saluted thy cheeks, nay I saluted for joy rose with rose and apple with apple.

And they seated themselves upon the left like the northern zephyr. And all the men and women [209] and youths and maidens had donned garments of fine pearls, whose sparkle and lustre was such that the stars of the night out of jealousy wished to be scattered before the time of scattering. And in the drinking-bout of enjoyment they stretched out for cups of pleasure and set the foot of merriment in the arena of amusement, gratifying their eyes by gazing on the songstresses and their ears by hearkening to the songs;—and their hearts were exalted by the succession of joys and delights—

In the head the headache of wine, and in the hand the tresses of the Beloved.

In this manner the day drew to its close: and on this wise for seven days, from noon till eve and from dawn till dusk, they were employed in handing round goblets of wine and gazing on peri-faced, fair-limbed beauties.

And many a fawn's song did his hands suggest to the strings, signs of longing.

When they had done with feasting, he ordered the doors of the old and new treasuries to be opened and every sort of jewels, money and clothes to be got ready. And the direction of this business, that is, the distribution of these valuables, he entrusted to the counsel and discretion of Sorqotani Beki, who had the greatest authority in that *quriltai.* The first to receive their share were the princes and princesses that were present of the race and lineage of Chingiz-Khan; as also all their servants and attendants, noble and base, greybeard and suckling; and then in due order the *noyans,* the commanders of *tümen,* thousands, hundreds and tens, according to the census, the sultans, *maliks,* scribes, officials

and their dependents. And everyone else who was present, whoever he was, did not go portionless, nay everyone received his full share and appointed lot.

And after dispatching this business they began to inquire into affairs of state. [210] First they took the case of Otegin, which they saw fit to investigate carefully and examine minutely. And since this examination was a matter of great delicacy and it was impossible to confide in strangers, Mengü and Hordu were the examiners and no one else could have a say in the matter. When they had completed their task, a group of emirs put him to death in accordance with the *yasa.* And in the same way they dealt with other important matters which the emirs were not allowed to discuss.

A short while after Qa'an Chaghatai also died. He was succeeded by his grandson, Qara Oghul, and Yesü, who was his immediate son, did not interfere. And because Güyük Khan had a great friendship and affection for the latter, he said: 'How can a grandson be heir when there is a son?' During their lifetime both Qa'an and Chaghatai had designated Qara Oghul as the successor to Chaghatai's kingdom; but Güyük settled it upon Yesü [211] and strengthened his arm in all affairs.

After Qa'an's death each of the princes had acted for himself, and each of the nobles had attached himself to one of them; and they had written drafts on the Kingdom and issued *paizas.* Güyük ordered these to be called in. And since what had been done was outside their *yasa* and custom, they were ashamed and hung their heads in confusion. And the *paizas* and *yarlighs* of everyone of them were called in and laid before the author with the words: '*Read what thou hast written.*'[24] But Beki[25] and her sons held their heads high, for no one could produce any document of theirs that was contrary to the *yasa.* In all his speeches Güyük Khan used to hold them up as an example; and because

[24] Koran, xvii, 15.

[25] I.e. Sorqotani (Sorqoqtani) Beki. Beki ('*the* Princess') may have been a sort of posthumous title adopted in order to avoid the mention of her real name. See my article, *On the Titles Given in Juvainī to Certain Mongolian Princes,* 153.

of their observance of the *yasas* he held others lightly but them he praised and lauded.

And he made a *yasa* that just as Qa'an, at the time of his accession, had upheld the *yasas* of his father and had not admitted any change or alteration of his statutes, so too the *yasas* and statutes of his own father should be immune from the contingencies of redundance and deficiency and secure from the corruption of change, and every *yarligh* that had been adorned with the royal *al-tamgha* should be signed again without reference to the Emperor.

And after this they consulted together about the army and the sending thereof to all parts of the world. And when it was learnt that of the clime of Khitai Manzi, which is the farthermost part thereof, had freed itself from its allegiance and set aside its submission, he dispatched Sübetei Bahadur and Jaghan [26] Noyan to that region with a mighty host and a numerous army; and the like to Tangut and Solangai; while to the West he dispatched Eljigitei [27] and a large army. And he commanded that from [212] every prince two men out of every ten should join Eljigitei, that all the men in that region should mount horse with him, that two out of every ten Taziks should go along and that they should begin by attacking the Heretics.[28] And it was agreed

[26] ǰΓAN. In III, 64, the name is spelt ǰΓA, i.e. Jagha. *jaghan* in Mongol means 'elephant'. Blochet, 306, adopts the form ČΓAN, i.e. Chaghan, which is also possible, *chaghan* being the Mongol for 'white'. According to Rashid-ad-Din (Berezin, VII, 156–7, Khetagurov, 144–5, where the name is spelt Uchagan), Jaghan was by origin a Tangut and had, at the age of fifteen, been adopted by Chingiz-Khan as his fifth son. (There is evidently some confusion with Orchan or Orchaqan, the Conqueror's son by a Tatar concubine, on whom see above, pp. 180–1, n. 6, also Khetagurov, 110, where his name is spelt Chagan.) He commanded Chingiz-Khan's 'chief *tümen*' (*bazāra-yi-buzurg*) and was afterwards appointed by Ögedei to the command of all the Mongol forces on the borders of Khitai or Northern China, as also to the governorship of Khitai itself.

[27] Reading AYLǰYKTAY for the AYLČYKTAY of the text. On the form and meaning of the name see Pelliot, *Les Mongols et la Papauté*, [116], n. 2, and [171], n. 2. This was the Elcheltay, etc., 'king of the Tartars', who sent a mission to Louis IX. See Pelliot, *op. cit.*, [154]–[155], also, for the Latin translation of his letter to St. Louis, [161]–[164]. See also Grousset, *L'Empire des Steppes*, 421–3.

[28] *malāḥida* (sing. *mulḥid*): the term usually applied to the Isma'ilis or Assassins

that he himself should follow after. And although he had placed all the armies and conquered peoples under the command of Eljigitei, he especially entrusted to him the affairs of Rum, Georgia, Aleppo, Mosul and Takavor [29] in order that no one else might interfere with them and the sultans and governors of those parts might be answerable to him for their tribute. And he bestowed the countries of Khitai upon the Great Minister Yalavach, as also Transoxiana, Turkestan and the other lands that had been under the control of the Emir Mas'ud Beg. And Iraq, Azerbaijan, Shirvan, Lur, Kerman, Fars and the territory in the direction of India he entrusted to the Emir Arghun. And to all of the emirs and *maliks* that were dependent on each of them he gave *yarlighs* and *paizas*: he confided important business to them and distinguished them with tiger-headed [30] *paizas* and with *yarlighs*. And he settled the Sultanate of Rum upon Sultan Rukn-ad-Din, because he had come to do him homage, and deposed his elder brother.[31] And David, the son of Qiz-Malik,[32] he made subject to the other David. And *yarlighs* were given to the Sultans of Takavor [33] and Aleppo and to the envoys. As

It was known to Rubruck, who speaks of 'the Hacsasins, whom they call Mulidet' (Rockhill, 222), and is used also by the Armenian writers Vardan (Mlhedk') and Kirakos (Mlhedk' and Mulhedk'). *mulḥid* is actually a stronger word than *heretic*, the Isma'ilis being regarded as outside the pale of Islam.

[29] The text has Diyar-Bekr (Diyār-Bakr), but E has TAKWR (corrupted by B and C into BAKWR), i.e. Takavor, on which see above, p. 250, n. 6.

[30] *shīr-sar*, which could also mean 'lion-headed'. Cf. Marco Polo ed. Benedetto, 112: 'And you must know that he who is captain of 100 men has a silver tablet, he who is captain of 1000 men a tablet of gold or gilt silver, he who is captain of 10,000 men a gold tablet with a *lion's head*.' What is meant in both cases is the Chinese *hu-fu* or 'tiger tally'. Marco Polo, as Pelliot remarks, always uses 'lion' for 'tiger'—'par exemple à propos des *hou-fou* ou "tablettes au tigre", vraisemblablement sous l'influence du persan *šēr, šīr*'. (*Notes sur le "Turkestan" de M. W. Barthold*, 17.) In fact in Classical Persian *shīr* (or *shēr*, as it was then pronounced) was applied indifferently to the Lion and the Tiger. In present-day Persia the word means exclusively 'lion', but in India, where the old pronunciation (*shēr*) has been preserved, it is the ordinary term for 'tiger'. Cf. the Shere Khan of the *Jungle Tales*.

[31] 'Izz-ad-Dīn Kai-Kā'ūs II (1245–57). For the somewhat complicated details of the two princes' reigns see Grousset, *op. cit.*, 423.

[32] I.e. Rusudani. Qīz-Malik is more or less 'Queen', from the Turkish *qīz* 'maiden' and the Arabic *malik* 'king'.

[33] See above, p. 250 and n. 6.

for the envoy from Baghdad the *yarligh* with which he had been honoured was taken back from him, and Güyük Khan sent angry messages to the Commander of the Faithful [213] because of a complaint that Siremün,[34] the son of Chormaghun, had made about them. As for the envoys from Alamut, he dismissed them with contempt and disdain; and the reply to the memorandum they had brought was couched in correspondingly harsh language.

And when important affairs had thus been disposed of, the princes, after taking leave and performing the ceremonies of obeisance, departed homewards and busied themselves with the words and commands of Güyük Khan by arranging the dispatch of armies and the appointment of emirs.

And when the report of his accession was published throughout the world and the severity and awesomeness of his justice became known, before the armies reached his opponents, for fear and dread of his rigour there was a host in every heart and a warrior in every bosom.

> Before thy foe thy arrow is a valiant army; around thy army thy terror is a strong fortress.

And every lord of the marches who heard that report, for fear of his fury and dread of his ferocity, '*sought out an opening into the earth or a ladder into Heaven*'.[35]

> I see no foeman in the whole world, either overt or covert,
> Who when he hears thy name will not writhe. Writhe, did I say? verily he will fall lifeless.[36]

And his ministers, favourites and courtiers were unable to raise the foot of representation nor could they bring any matter to his attention before he had taken the initiative in speaking of it. And visitors from near and far did not step a span higher than the stables except that person who used to present his

[34] Not to be confused with the grandson of Ögedei, on whom see above, p. 251, n. 14.

[35] An adaptation of Koran, vi, 35.

[36] *Shahnama* ed. Vullers, 1637, ll. 2492–3.

offering on the first day and then depart without even going inside.

Now Qadaq[37] had been in attendance on him since his childhood in the capacity of *atabeg*; and since he was by religion a Christian, Güyük too was brought up in that faith, [214] and the picture thereof was painted on the page of his bosom '*like a picture carved on stone*'. To this was added [the influence of] Chinqai. He therefore went to great lengths in honouring the Christians and their priests, and when this was noised abroad, priests set their faces towards his Court from Damascus and Rum and Baghdad and the As[38] and the Rus;[39] and for the most part too it was Christian physicians that were attached to his service. And because of the attendance of Qadaq and Chinqai he naturally was prone to denounce the faith of Mohammed *(upon whom be the most excellent of peace and blessings!)*. And since the Emperor was of a languid nature he had entrusted the binding and loosening, the tying and untying of affairs to Qadaq and Chinqai and made them responsible for good and evil, weal and woe. Consequently the cause of the Christians flourished during his reign, and no Moslem dared to raise his voice to them.

Now Güyük Khan wished the fame of his own generosity to surpass the fame of his father's. His munificence exceeded all bounds. When the merchants gathered together from the farthest and nearest parts of the world and brought rare and precious things, he commanded them to be valued in the same way as had been done in his father's reign. On one occasion the dues of a group of merchants who had waited upon him amounted to the sum of seventy thousand *balish*, for which drafts were written upon every land. Now the goods received from those merchants and those delivered in one day from the lands of the East and West, from Khitai to Rum, together with the wares of every clime and people, were piled up in heaps, each

[37] Carpini's 'Kadac, the procurator of the whole empire'. (Rockhill, 27.)
[38] The As (Ās) or Alans (Ālān) were the ancestors of the present-day Ossetes.
[39] I.e. the Russians. On the derivation of the name see Vernadsky, *Ancient Russia*, 276–8.

sort in a different pile. 'It will be difficult to transport all this,' said the ministers, 'and it has to be sent to the treasury in Qara-Qorum.' 'It would also be difficult to guard,' said Güyük, 'and would not profit us: let it be distributed among the soldiers and those in attendance on us.' And for days it was distributed and sent to all the subject peoples on the right and the left; [215] and not an infant remained without its share. And it was distributed likewise among all who had come from far and near, whether master or slave. Finally only a third had not been disposed of; this too was distributed but in the end there still remained a great deal. One day Güyük came from the *ordu* and passed by these wares. 'Did I not tell you,' he said, 'to give it all to the army and the people?' 'This,' they replied, 'is what is left after everyone has twice received his full share.' He commanded everyone that was present at that moment to carry off as much as he could.

And that year [40] he passed in his winter-quarters; and when the New Year came, and the world escaped again from the cold of winter, and a pleasant haze descended, and the face of the earth donned the motley robe of spring, and the trees and branches again drew up sap, and the fertilizing winds began to blow, and the air *(havā)* was like the love *(havā)* of a sweet mistress, and the gardens became radiant like the cheeks of princesses, and birds and beasts mated, and fond friends and intimate companions, taking advantage of the days of joy before the coming of autumn, slept not nor rested in compliance with the verses

> Arise thou, who art the one the love of whom stole the peace of mind of the jasmine, let us rejoice together in the time of the jasmine;
> Let us pluck roses from the face of the rose-coloured garden, let us drink wine from the lips of the wine-coloured jasmine

—then it was that Güyük Khan fulfilled his intention of departing and quitted the capital of his kingdom.[41] And wherever

[40] I.e. 1247.

[41] According to Rashid-ad-Din (Blochet, 250), he gave it out that he was proceeding, for reasons of health, to the region of the Emil, but Princess Sorqoq-

he came where there was a sown field or where he saw people, he would command his attendants to give them *balish* and clothes, so that they were freed from the humiliation of poverty and indigence. And in this manner with the greatest awesomeness and majesty he proceeded towards the countries of the West. When he reached the confines of * Qum-Sengir,[42] a week's journey from Besh-Baligh, the predestined hour [216] arrived [43] and did not grant him respite to advance one step beyond that place.

How many hopes have been unfulfilled through the jugglery of the cruel Heavens! Neither violence nor fury hindered, and neither armies nor munitions could coerce. And what is still stranger is that however much men look and observe the like hereof they in no wise take warning; greed and cupidity are every day on the increase; the predominance of avidity is strengthened hourly; and yet the voice of the tongueless speaker does not prevent, and its admonishment in the ear of understanding does not prohibit.

> The world is ever saying: 'It were better not to set thy heart on me.' Thou dost not hearken to the voice of this speechless speaker.

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etani suspected that his real intention was to attack his cousin Batu, to whom she accordingly sent a warning.

[42] Reading QMSNKR for the SMRQND, i.e. Samarqand of the text, which is of course impossible. In *Les Mongols et la Papauté*, [196]–[197], n. 1, Pelliot had already suggested such an emendation based on the MSKR of D and the QMSTKY of the corresponding passage in Barhebraeus, which forms he identified with the Hêng-sêng-yi-êrh of the *Yüan shih* and the Ghumsghur of Kirakos. According to the latter (213, Bretschneider, I, 168), King Het'um of Little Armenia, leaving Qara-Qorum on the homeward journey, reached Ghumsghur after travelling for 30 days and proceeded from thence to Bērbalekh and Bēshbalekh, i.e. Besh-Baligh. Qum-Sengir, the 'Sand Promontory', is the Qum-Shinggir of the *Secret History* (§ 158) and is to be sought, according to Pelliot, *Campagnes*, 316, along the upper course of the Urungu, where that river is still known as the Bulgan, 'probablement quand il cesse de couler du Nord au Sud pour faire son grand coude vers l'Ouest et le Nord-Ouest; c'est encore là que passe aujourd'hui la route postale en direction de "Gutchen".'

[43] The death of Güyük occurred, according to the *Yüan shih*, in the third month (27th March–24th April) of 1248. See Pelliot, *Les Mongols et la Papauté*, [195]–[196].

Wherefore dost thou seek the love of the cruel one by whom
Alexander lost his life? Wherefore dost thou dally with
the mistress by whom Darius lost his kingdom?
Seest thou not what tricks this fair-seeming beldame produces
every hour from this mercury-coloured tent?

[XXXVII]

OF PRINCESS OGHUL-GHAIMISH[1] AND HER SONS

WHEN the inevitable fate of all mortals had overtaken Güyük Khan, the roads were closed (as is their custom and wont whenever a king dies) and a *yasa* was promulgated to the effect that everyone should halt in whatever place he had reached, whether it was inhabited or desert. [217] And after the sorrow for this calamity had abated Oghul-Ghaimish sent messengers to Sorqotani Beki and Batu informing them of what had happened; and after consulting and deliberating with the ministers as to whether she should return to the *ordu* of Qa'an or proceed to the Qobaq and the Emil, where the former *ordu* of Güyük Khan was situated, in accordance with her own inclination she set out for the Emil. And Sorqotani Beki, as is their usual custom, sent her clothing and a *boghtagh*[2] together with messages of

[1] AΓWL ΓAYMŠ. According to Rashid-ad-Din, who calls her Oqul-Qaimish, she was a Merkit. (Khetagurov, 116.) It was she who received the first mission from Louis IX and her reply to the French King has been preserved in the pages of Joinville. See Pelliot, *Les Mongols et la Papauté*, [213]. In Möngke's letter to St. Louis she is referred to as Camus: '. . . After the death of Keu Chan your ambassadors reached this court. And Camus his wife sent you *nasic* stuffs and letters. But as to affairs of war and peace and the welfare and happiness of a great realm, what could this woman, who was viler than a dog, know about them? . . .' (Rockhill, 249–50.)

[2] The *boghtagh* or *boghtaq* was the headdress of the married women. It is the *bocca*, i.e. **bocta*, of Rubruck, who describes it as follows: 'Furthermore they have a headdress which they call *bocca*, made of bark, or such light material as they can find, and it is big and as much as two hands can span around, and is a cubit and more high, and square like the capital of a column. This *bocca* they cover (233) with costly silk stuff, and it is hollow inside, and on top of the capital, or the square on it, they put a tuft of quills or light canes also a cubit or more in length. And this tuft they ornament on the top with peacock feathers, and round the edge (of the top) with feathers from the mallard's tail, and also

advice and condolence. And Batu consoled and comforted her in the like manner and heartened her with fair promises; and among other things he suggested that Oghul-Ghaimish, as heretofore, should administer affairs of state together with the ministers and attend to all that was necessary. On the pretext that his horses were lean, he halted in Ala-Qamaq;[3] and word was sent to all the princes and emirs bidding them present themselves at that place in order to consult together regarding the entrusting of the Khanate to a fitting person so that affairs of state might not again be deranged and confusion might not arise. Khoja and Naqu also should come, and Qadaq should not fail to accompany them. [218] Khoja and Naqu for their part set out to join Batu. As for Qadaq, at the time when from loftiness of station he had set foot on the Heavens he had uttered ravings that befitted not his rank and from extremity of folly

with precious stones. The wealthy ladies wear such an ornament on their heads, and fasten it down tightly with an amess, for which there is an opening in the top for that purpose, and inside they stuff their hair, gathering it together on the backs of the tops of their heads in a kind of knot, and putting it in the *bocca*, which they afterwards tie down tightly under the chin. So it is that when several ladies are riding together, and one sees them from afar, they look like soldiers, helmets on head and lances erect. For this *bocca* looks like a helmet, and the tuft above it is like a lance.' (Rockhill, 73–4.)

[3] ALAQMAQ. Apparently identical with the A-la-t'o-hu-la-wu (*Ala-Toghra'u ?) of the *Yüan shih*, in which Pelliot, *Les Mongols et la Papauté*, [190], n. 2, sees *Ala-Toghraq, 'le Peuplier tacheté', from the Turkish *ala* 'speckled', 'black and white' and *toghraq* 'poplar'. He accounts for the discrepancy between the two forms by suggesting that Ala-Qamaq may be a corruption of *Ala-Toghraq. Another solution of the problem would be to see in the second element of Ala-Qamaq a variant or corruption of the Ottoman and Azerbaijani word for 'poplar', viz. *qavaq* (*kavak*). Ala-Qamaq lay a week's journey from Qayalïgh (see below, ii, 557), perhaps, as Barthold suggests in his article on Batu in the *Encyclopedia of Islam*, in the Ala-Tau mountains between the Issik-Kul and the Ili. According to Rashid-ad-Din (Blochet, 274–8) Batu's meeting with the princes took place, not at Ala-Qamaq (which is nowhere mentioned), but somewhere in his own territory. Being crippled with rheumatism at the time of Güyük's death (see also Blochet, 251), he summons the princes to his own headquarters in the West; and the sons of Ögedei, Chaghatai and Güyük are represented as refusing to make the long journey to the Qipchaq Steppe. Otherwise Rashid-ad-Din's account of the meeting in no way differs from Juvaini's detailed description of the *quriltai* at Ala-Qamaq. See below, ii, 557–62.

and excess of ignorance had spoken words that were the source of panic and the substance of gossip. Therefore being afraid he drew back his foot and bowed his head pretending to be ill. And though messengers were sent several times again he did not give way, nor would Oghul-Ghaimish and her sons consent to his going. They therefore took their leave of him immediately.

And when Khoja and Naqu arrived in Ala-Qamaq they did not remain more than a day or two and went back before the other princes, because the star of their fortune was on the wane. They left Temür Noyan with Batu as their representative telling him that whatever agreement was reached by the princes he too was to give a written undertaking to the same effect. And when the princes were agreed as to the accession of the Just Monarch Mengü Qa'an he too gave his written consent.

The princes, in order to show respect to the sons of Güyük Khan, still left the government in their hands until such time as there should be a *quriltai;* and they sent a messenger to them to say that since Chinqai had always been a trustworthy person and had charge of weighty matters he was to continue the direction of affairs and issue *yarlighs* until such time as a Khan was appointed and the secret of God Almighty revealed.

[219] From Ala-Qamaq the princes all departed to their own *ordus* in order to make ready for the *quriltai.* As for Temür he went back to Khoja and Naqu and told them how the princes had agreed to the auspicious accession of Mengü Qa'an. They reproached him for having given his written word and agreed with the rest; and they plotted to set an ambush in the pathway of Mengü Qa'an and let fly the arrow of treachery from the thumb of incivility. However Fortune being vigilant, and helpful, and kind, and Fate being at his side, and Luck his helpmeet, and the Grace of the Creator *(glorious are His bounties and many His blessings!)* accompanying him, and the solicitude of the people assisting and supporting him, he had passed through the ambushes and dangers before they were aware. Nevertheless they still cherished that thought in their breasts and continued to deal with current affairs, although these amounted to little except negotiations with merchants, the provisional allocation

of sums of money to every land and country and the dispatch of relays of churlish messengers and taxgatherers. And most of the time Oghul-Ghaimish was closeted with the *qam* carrying out their fantasies and absurdities.[4] As for Khoja and Naqu they held two separate courts in opposition to their mother; and thus there were three rulers in one place. And elsewhere also the princes made dealings in accordance with their own wishes, and the grandees and notables of every land attached themselves to a party according to their own inclination. And the affairs of Oghul-Ghaimish and her sons got out of control because of their differences with one another and their contentions with their senior kinsmen; and their counsels and schemes diverged from the pathway of righteousness. As for Chinqai he was weak and confused in the conduct of affairs, and his advice was not admitted to the ear of their understanding: [220] being young they acted in accordance with their own counsel, while Oghul-Ghaimish pleased herself in hindering men of goodwill.

Two things with which the ascetic can do nothing are the
counsel of women and the command of young men:
As for women their inclination is towards passion, and as
for young men, they run with loose bridle.[5]

And they sent messengers to Batu saying: 'We will not consent to the election of another Khan; we shall never connive at that agreement.'

A sentence was passed and a letter preceded, but of what
avail was impatience or anxiety?
God passeth what judgement He pleaseth: wherefore then art
thou disturbed seeing that all is well?

They sent all these messages with Yesü's encouragement and with his consent and support. And again and again their loving kinsfolk Beki and Batu sent them words of advice, saying, 'At any rate you should come to the *quriltai,* and take counsel,

[4] William of Rubruck was informed by Möngke 'with his own lips that Camus was the worst kind of a witch, and that she had destroyed the whole of her family by her witchcraft'. (Rockhill, 250.)

[5] Husain b. 'Ali of Marv-ar-Rud, who flourished under the Samanids. (M.Q.)

and deliberate together a second time when all the *aqa* and *ini*[6] are assembled together.' And from Batu there would come messengers saying that [221] if the Khanate was settled on Mengü Qa'an most of the advantages therefrom would accrue to them. But since they looked with the gaze of puerility and petulance and had not been chastened and corrected by experience of life, they persisted in these ideas. And as for Qadaq, for fear of the effects of his foolish words and immature thoughts, he agreed with their ideas of opposition. And though messengers came from every side bidding them hasten the calling of the *quriltai*, they persisted in their lassitude and procrastination, planning schemes behind the curtain of opposition and casting the dice of counsel on the chequer-board of desire; and they still held back from doing what was expedient. Finally a messenger came from the princes saying that they were gathered together in the presence [of Mengü]. Accordingly Naqu set out to join them, and was followed by Khoja, and afterwards by Ghaimish, as shall be related in the chapter on the accession of the World-Emperor Mengü Qa'an; when through shortsightedness and vanity things came to such a pass that the understanding of the wise struggled in the mire of the thought thereof and could find no way out.

[XXXVIII]

OF TUSHI AND THE ACCESSION OF BATU[1] IN HIS STEAD

WHEN Tushi, who was the eldest son, had gone to Qulan-Bashi to join Chingiz-Khan and had returned from thence, the predestined hour arrived. And of his sons, Boghal,[2] Hordu, Batu, Sibaqan, Tangut, Berke and [222] Berkecher, these seven,

[6] I.e. the elder and young brothers.

[1] On the reign of Batu, the founder of the Golden Horde, see Vernadsky, *The Mongols and Russia*, 140–9, Grousset, *L'Empire des Steppes*, 470–4, Spuler, *Die Goldene Horde*, 10–32.

[2] Reading BWTL for the BMḤL of the text. Rashid-ad-Din has BWWAL, i.e. Bowal or Bo'al, and BWQAL, i.e. Boqal. Bo'al is in fact the Western pronunciation of the Mongol name Bo'ol meaning 'slave'. See Pelliot, *Horde d'Or*, 52–4. Bo'al, who appears in Lane-Poole, *The Mohammadan Dynasties*, as Teval, was the grandfather of the famous general Noqai, the Nogai of Marco Polo.

had come of age; and Batu succeeded his father and became ruler of the kingdom and his brothers. And when Qa'an came to the throne of the Empire Batu reduced and subjugated all the territory adjoining his own, including all that remained of the Qifchaq, the Alan, the As and the Rus, and other lands also such as Bulghar, Magas,[3] etc.

And Batu abode in his own encampment, which he had set up in the region of the Etil;[4] and he built a town there which is called Sarai;[5] and his word was law in every land. He was a king that inclined towards no faith or religion: he recognized only the belief in God and was blindly attached to no sect or creed. His bounty was beyond calculation and his liberality immeasurable. The kings of every land and the monarchs of the horizons and everyone else came to visit him; and before their offerings, which were the accumulation of ages, could be taken away to the treasury, he had bestowed them all upon Mongol and Moslem and all that were present, and heeded not whether it was much or little. And merchants from every side brought him all manners of wares, and he took everything and doubled the price of it several times over. And he wrote drafts on the Sultans of Rum and Syria and granted them *yarlighs*; [223] and no one that came to visit him departed without achieving his purpose.

When Güyük Khan succeeded to the Khanate, Batu, at his request and entreaty, set out to meet him. When he had reached Ala-Qamaq the death of Güyük Khan occurred. He halted in that place, and the princes came to visit him from every side; and they settled the Khanate upon Mengü Qa'an, the account whereof will be given in the chapter on Mengü Qa'an. And

[3] MKS. Magas, the Meget, etc., of the *Secret History*, was actually the capital of the Alans or Ossetes. See Minorsky, *Caucasica III*, 232–8.

[4] AYTYL. The Volga. Carpini was the first Western writer to call the river by its Russian name. Even Rubruck calls it Etilia. See Rockhill, 8, n. 2. The name was given to the Volga by the Bulgars and Avars; and *etil* is to this day the Chuvash word for 'river'. See Barthold, *Histoire des Turcs*, 22.

[5] This is Chaucer's 'Sarray, in the land of Tartarye'. Sarai (called afterwards 'Old Sarai' to distinguish it from the 'New Sarai' founded by Berke) was situated on the eastern bank of the Akhtuba, about 65 miles north of Astrakhan. See Vernadsky, *op. cit.*, 141 and 153, Spuler, *op. cit.*, 266–8.

from thence he went back, and came to his own *ordu,* and busied himself with pleasures and amusements. And whenever a campaign was being organized he would, in accordance with the exigencies of the occasion, dispatch armies led by his relations, kinsfolk and commanders. When, in the year 653/1255–6, Mengü Qa'an held another *quriltai,* he sent Sartaq, who was an adherent of the Christian faith. Sartaq had not yet arrived when the commandment of God was fulfilled and the inevitable state [6] came to pass in the year . . .[7] And when Sartaq arrived, Mengü Qa'an received him with honour and respect and distinguished him with all manner of kindnesses above all his equals; and he dismissed him with such wealth and riches as befitted so great a king. He had not yet reached his *ordu* but had only come to . . . when he too departed to join his father. Mengü Qa'an sent his emirs to console his wives and brothers; and he commanded that Boraqchin [8] Khatun, who was Batu's chief wife, should issue orders and educate Ulaghchi,[9] the son of Sartaq, until he grew up and succeeded his father. But Fate had not willed it thus, and Ulaghchi passed away that same year.

[XXXIX]

[224] OF THE CONQUEST OF BULGHAR [1] AND THE TERRITORY OF THE AS AND THE RUS [2]

WHEN Qa'an held the great *quriltai* for the second time, they deliberated together concerning the extirpation and subjugation

[6] I.e. the death of Batu.

[7] There is considerable divergency in the sources as to the date of Batu's death, but it seems most likely that he died in 1255. See Spuler, *op. cit.,* 32, n. 108.

[8] BRAQČYN. On Boraqchin—the name is the feminine form of the Mongol *boro* 'grey'—see Pelliot, *op. cit.,* 39–44. According to Rashid-ad-Din (Khetagurov, 111) she belonged to the Alchi tribe of the Tatar.

[9] According to Rashid-ad-Din Ulaghchi—'the man in charge of post horses'—was not the son but the brother of Sartaq, but see Pelliot, *op. cit.,* 34–9.

[1] Bulghar is used in this chapter both for the town (on which see above, p. 42, n. 12) and for the people. On the Volga Bulgars see Vernadsky, *Ancient Russia,* 222–8.

[2] This and the following chapter have already appeared in print in Minorsky, *Caucasica III,* 222–3.

of all the remaining rebels; and it was decided to seize the lands of the Bulghar, the As and the Rus, which bordered on the camping grounds of Batu; for they had not completely submitted being deluded by the size of their territory. He therefore deputed certain princes to aid and assist Batu, viz. Mengü Qa'an and his brother Böchek;[3] his own sons Güyük Khan and Qadaghan; of the other princes, Kölgen, Büri and Baidar; Batu's brothers, Hordu and Tangut; and several other princes as well as Sübetei Bahadur from amongst the chief commanders. The princes departed each to his own place of residence in order to organize their forces and armies; and in the spring they each of them set forth from his own territory and hastened to carry out this undertaking. They came together in the territory of the Bulghar. The earth echoed and reverberated from the multitude of their armies, and at the size and tumult of their forces the very beasts stood amazed. First they took by storm the city of Bulghar, famous throughout the world for the strength of its position and its ample resources; and as a warning to others they slew the people or led them captive. And from thence they proceeded to the land of the Rus and conquered that country[4] as far as the city [225] of Magas,[5] the inhabitants of which were as numerous as ants or locusts, while its environs were entangled with woods and forests such that even a serpent could not penetrate them. The princes all halted on the outskirts of the town, and on every side they built roads wide enough for three or four waggons to pass abreast. And they set up

[3] BWČK. The Büjek of the *Secret History* and the Bichac or Bechac of Carpini. Böchek was actually Möngke's half-brother. See Rashid-ad-Din ed. Blochet, 207, where there is a blank for his mother's name. He must be the brother of Möngke and Arīgh Böke, 'by the father', who according to Rubruck had captured the goldsmith William Buchier 'in Hungary, in a town called Belgrade'. See Rockhill, 222.

[4] At this place, Minorsky, *op. cit.*, 222, n. 2, assumes a great lacuna in the text. Hence the impression is given that Magas was captured during the operations in Russia, whereas it was actually taken in the course of a subsequent campaign in the Caucasus.

[5] In Persian *magas* means 'fly', and the following reference to ants, locusts and a serpent is therefore an example of the figure known as *tanāsub*. See above, p. 117, n. 7.

mangonels opposite the walls, and after a space of several days left nothing of the city but its namesakes,[6] and took great booty. And they gave orders to cut off the right ears of the people, and two hundred and seventy thousand ears were counted.[7] And from thence the princes turned homewards.

[XL]

OF THE HORSEMEN [1] OF THE KELER AND BASHGHIRD [2]

WHEN the Rus, the Qifchaq and the Alan had been annihilated, Batu resolved to proceed to the destruction of the Keler and Bashghird, who are large nations professing the Christian faith and are said to border on the land of the Franks. With this object in mind he arrayed his armies and set out in the new year. And that people was rendered arrogant by the magnitude of their numbers, the greatness of their power and the strength of their arms; and when they heard the report of Batu's approach they too set out to meet him with four hundred thousand horsemen, each of whom was famous in war and considered flight disgrace. Batu sent his brother Sibaqan on in advance with ten thousand men to spy out their numbers and send word of the extent of their strength and might. Sibaqan set forth in obedience to his command and at the end of a [226] week came back and reported that they were double the size of the Mongol army, all men of war and battle. When the two armies drew close to each other Batu went up on to a hilltop;[3] and for one day and night he spoke to no one but prayed and lamented; and he bade the Moslems also assemble together and offer up

[6] A pun: nothing but *flies*. [7] Cf. above, p. 195 and n. 13.

[1] Or 'the horsemen (*khail*) *who marched against* the Keler and Bashghird'. This is how Minorsky, *Caucasica III*, 223, understands the heading. On the other hand cf. the reference below to the 400,000 horsemen of the Hungarians.

[2] Bashghird is here simply a synonym of Keler, i.e. the Hungarians, and does not refer to the Uralian Bashkirs, whose descendants are now citizens of the Bashkir Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic. On these latter see Minorsky, *Ḥudūd*, 318–19.

[3] Cf. above, p. 80.

prayers. The next day they made ready for battle. A large river [4] lay between the armies: Batu sent over a detachment by night and then his [main] army crossed. Batu's brother entered the battle in person and made attack after attack; but the enemy's army was strong and did not budge. Then the [main] army arrived from behind; and Sibaqan attacked at the same time with all his forces; and they bore down on their royal pavilions and cut the ropes with their swords.[5] And when the Mongols had overturned their pavilions the army of the Keler [6] lost heart and fled. And no more of that army escaped, and those lands also were subjugated. This was one of their greatest deeds and their fiercest battles.

[XLI]

OF CHAGHATAI

CHAGHATAI was a fierce and mighty khan, stern and severe. When the lands of Transoxiana and Turkestan were subjugated, his camping grounds and those of his children and armies extended from Besh-Baligh to Samarqand, fair and pleasant places fit to be the abode of kings. In spring and summer he had his quarters in Almaligh and Quyas, which in those seasons [227] resembled the Garden of Iram. He constructed large pools (which they call *köl* [1]) in that region for the flocking of the waterfowl. He also built a town [2] called Qutlugh. The

[4] The Sayó.

[5] As Minorsky, *Caucasica III*, 223, n. 3, has pointed out, Carpini saw in Batu's camp on the lower Volga 'tents made of linen. They are large and quite handsome, and used to belong to the king of Hungary.' (Rockhill, 10.)

[6] 'The battle against the Hungarians was won at Mohi, on the right bank of the river Sayó, above its junction with the Tisza, on 11th April, 1241. On this occasion quarrels arose between Batu and Sübedey, see the translation of the latter's Chinese biography in Pelliot, [*Horde d'Or,*] 131. The Mongols spent the summer of 1241 on the Hungarian plain and on 25th December, 1241, crossed the Danube on the ice.' (Minorsky, *op. cit.*, 228.)

[1] See above, p. 237, n. 3.

[2] Or village (*dih*). See above, p. 45, n. 5.

autumn and winter he spent in [? Marauzik] [3] on the Ila. And at every stage, from beginning to end he had laid up stores of food and drink. And he was ever engaged in amusements and pleasures and dallying with sweet-faced peri-like maidens.

For fear of his *yasa* and punishment his followers were so well disciplined that during his reign no traveller, so long as he was near his army, had need of guard or patrol on any stretch of road; and, as is said by way of hyperbole, a woman with a golden vessel on her head might walk alone without fear or dread. And he enacted minute *yasas* that were an intolerable imposition upon such as the Taziks, e.g. that none might slaughter meat in the Moslem fashion nor sit by day in running water, and so on. The *yasa* forbidding the slaughter of sheep in the lawful manner he sent to every land; and for a time no man slaughtered sheep openly in Khorasan, and Moslems were forced to eat carrion.

When Qa'an died Chaghatai's Court became the rendezvous of all mankind, and men journeyed from near and far to do him homage. But it was not long before a sore disease attacked him such that the cause was victor over the cure. He had a Turkish vizier, a man called Hujir, who had risen to power at the end of his reign and had taken over the affairs of the Kingdom. Together with the physician Majd-ad-Din this man did everything in his power to cure Chaghatai's disease and showed great kindness and solicitude. [228] However, when Chaghatai died, Yesülün,[4] his senior wife, ordered them both to be killed together with their children.

The Emir Habash 'Amid, who had been attached to Chaghatai's service ever since the conquest of Transoxiana and had attained to the rank of vizier, still remained in the service

[3] The text has MRAWRYL following A, but there are several variants. The word is either a proper name or a corruption of some word meaning 'neighbourhood', 'banks' or the like, in which case the whole phrase would run: 'near (on the banks of) the Ila.' Ila was the Old Turkish name of the Ili.

[4] YSLWN. According to Rashid-ad-Din (Blochet, 154) she was the daughter of Qata Noyan, the son of Daritai of the Qonqirat tribe. Daritai was the brother of Dei Sechen, the ruler of the tribe and the father of Chingiz-Khan's chief wife, Börte Fujin: Yesülün's father and Börte were therefore first cousins. Rashid-ad-Din, however, goes on to say that after Yesülün's death Chaghatai married her sister, whereas, according to Juvaini's account, she outlived her husband.

of Chaghatai's widow. There was a poet called Sadid-i-A'var Sha'ir. One feast day he composed certain topical verses, which he dedicated to the Emir Habash 'Amid:

> It has become clear to thee that this gloomy world is the snare of calamity; thou hast learnt that this world is a deceitful coquette.
> Of what avail were *qorchis* and *kebte'üls* [5] and valiant soldiers when Fate attacked and struck to right and left?
> He for fear of whom none entered water is drowned in an ocean that is exceeding vast.

Chaghatai had many sons and grandsons; but his eldest son, Metiken, having been killed at Bamiyan and Qara [6] having been born at that time, Chingiz-Khan, and after him Qa'an and Chaghatai, had made him Chaghatai's heir and successor. [229] In accordance with this ruling, after Chaghatai's death, his wife Yesülün, Habash 'Amid-al-Mulk and the Pillars of the State favoured his claim. But when Güyük Khan was raised to the Khanate, having a friendship for Yesü, who was Chaghatai's own son, he said: 'Why should the grandson succeed when there is a son?' Accordingly he set up Yesü in his father's kingdom and entrusted him with the direction of affairs of state. Now Yesü was constantly carousing; he was ignorant of sobriety and made intoxication a habit, drinking wine from morn till eve.

When he became firmly established in the kingdom he grew angry with Habash 'Amid because of his having supported Qara; and he plotted against him. Now when Habash 'Amid first rose to power he had given his sons to the sons of Chaghatai and allotted each of them to one of the princes. Chaghatai, however, used to contrast them with Baha-ad-Din Marghinani on account of the latter's accomplishments and learning; and he appointed him to wait on Yesü. Because of the length of his service Baha-ad-Din also rose to power; he was entrusted with the office of vizier to Yesü, and Habash 'Amid was discarded. The *imam* Baha-ad-Din performed all the ceremonies and courtesies of respect and several times restrained Yesü from

[5] I.e. night-guards. See above, p. 226, n. 53. [6] I.e. Qara-Hülegü.

carrying out the designs he had upon Habash 'Amid. However, there was an ancient grudge in the heart of the Emir Habash 'Amid, [230] and he was waiting for an opportunity to ease his breast thereof.

Yesü continued to reign until Mengü Qa'an ascended the throne of the Khanate. Yesü opposed his accession, whereupon Mengü Qa'an settled the kingdom upon Qara by virtue of the earlier testament. He distinguished Qara with all kinds of favours and sent him home. Upon the way back the inevitable hour prevented him from reaching his *ordu*. Accordingly Mengü Qa'an settled the kingdom upon his son; and since the latter was as yet but a child, he placed the keys of government in the hands of Orqina,[7] Qara's widow. When she returned to her *ordu*, Yesü also, by Batu's leave, shortly afterwards arrived home. To him also Fate gave no quarter.[8]

The Emir Habash 'Amid and his son Nasir-ad-Din returned to power in the service of Orqina. And when Qara returned [9] he delivered up Baha-ad-Din Marghinani to Habash 'Amid together with his property and children [231] in order that he might wreak his vengeace on him.

When Baha-ad-Din was seized and fastened in the two-pronged press he composed the following quatrain:

> Those that have tied up the bundle of their lives
> Have escaped from the toil and trouble of this world.
> My body broke because of my many sins.
> Therefore it was that they bound up this broken thing.

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[7] AWRQYNH. Spelt AWRQNH by Rashid-ad-Din (Blochet, 102) and HRΓNH, i.e. apparently Horghīna, by Vassaf (ed. Hammer-Purgstall, 28, Bombay ed., 14). The Organum of Rubruck, as was already pointed out by Yule, *Cathay and the Way Thither*, IV, 161, is the name of this princess transferred to the territory in which she resided. According to Rashid-ad-Din she was the sister of Buqa-Temür of the Oirat and therefore the grand-daughter of Chingiz-Khan by his second daughter Checheken. See Khetagurov, 119, Smirnova, 70.

[8] According to the more detailed account of Rashid-ad-Din (Blochet, 175 and 184–93), Orqīna, the wife of Qara-Hülegü, after her husband had died on the homeward journey, put Yesü to death by the order of Möngke Qa'an and then for ten years ruled the *ulus* of Chaghatai in her husband's stead. (M.Q.)

[9] This is inconsistent not only with the facts but with the author's own statement a few lines before. (M.Q.)

And in order to sue for favour he sent this other quatrain also:

> O King, take what was my woof and warp;
> And if my life avail thee aught take that also.
> It is a life that has come to my lips and left my bosom.
> Of these two take whichever thou wilt.

But when he saw that no stratagem would be of service and that humility and self-abasement were of no avail he composed the following two verses and sent them to Habash ʿAmid:

> I revelled with friend and foe, and then departed; I tucked the garment of life under my arm, and then departed.
> The hand of Fate gave me the pill that purges the spirit; I uttered a hundred effective curses on her pill,[10] and then departed.

Habash ʿAmid ordered his men to roll him up in a piece of felt and crush his limbs and members in the way they beat felt.

In the year 649/1251–2, when we were returning from the *ordu* of Ghaimish, I went to the Court of Yesü in the train of the Emir Arghun. When I paid my respects to the *imam* Baha-ad-Din, he first recited the following verse before uttering anything else:

> *When the generous man is generous, he is generous by himself; but when the son of the generous man is generous, he makes them both generous.*

[232] And he distinguished me with the glance of honour and respect.

Baha-ad-Din united lofty descent with noble attainments, for on his father's side he was hereditary *shaikh-al-Islam* of Farghana, while on his mother's side he was related to Toghan Khan,[11] who was the khan and ruler of that country; and as for his noble attainments, he joined to the lofty rank of vizier to which he had risen the nobility of every kind of spiritual and temporal knowledge. Of a truth, I found his presence the meeting-place

[10] I.e. *ḥabb-ash*, which can also be read *Ḥabash*.

[11] On Toghan Khan, the Qara-Khanid ruler of Kashghar, who died in 408/1017–18, see Barthold, *Turkestan*, 274–5 and 279–82.

of all the savants in the world and the resort of the *sadrs* of the horizons. Whoever had a capital of the goods of learning (for which there is no sale) always found a market for his wares with Baha-ad-Din and was relieved by his mercy and compassion. It would take long to relate his accomplishments and virtues, but there is neither time nor space to record them. And what person of merit hath Fate reared up whom she hath not cast down again ?

> To what cypress hath she given loftiness which she did not bend again with sorrow ?
>
> *O Time, why dost thou all thy life tend the gardens of noble deeds, both shoots and luxuriant plants ?*
> *O Time, what hast thou to do with the noble ones that sit in the highest places ? What harm would it do thee if thou left one noble man ?* [12]

The Emir Baha-ad-Din was survived by sons and small infants, and Habash ʿAmid wished to send all his male children after their father.

[12] Abul-Faraj b. Abu-Hasin, the cadi of Aleppo. (M.Q.)

In the name of God Almighty!

THE SECOND PART OF JUVAINI'S HISTORY OF THE WORLD-CONQUEROR

[I]

OF THE ORIGIN OF THE DYNASTY OF THE SULTANS OF KHORAZM (*MAY GOD MAKE BRIGHT THEIR EXAMPLE!*)

IT is recorded in the *Masharib-at-Tajarib*[1] of Ibn-Funduq al-Baihaqi, which is the continuation of the *Tajarib-al-Umam*,[2] and is likewise mentioned in the historical section of Razi's *Jawami'-al-'Ulum*,[3] which latter work was written for Sultan Tekish, that a certain Bilge-Tegin[4] was one of the principal officials of the House of Seljuq, just as under the Samanids Alp-Tegin[5] was Army Commander of Khorasan. This Bilge-Tegin purchased from Gharchistan[6] a Turkish slave [2] called Nush-Tegin Gharcha, who by dint of intelligence and sagacity gradually attained to greatness of rank, until he became an important official in the House of Seljuq, just as Sebük-Tegin[7] in the

[1] On the *Masharib-at-Tajarib wa-Ghawarib-al-Gharā'ib* of Abul-Hasan 'Ali b. Zaid of Baihaq see Barthold, *Turkestan*, 31.

[2] *Tajarib-al-Umam* ('Experiences of the Nations') is the title of a celebrated historical work by Abu-'Ali Ahmad b. Muhammad Miskawaih. See Barthold, *op. cit.*, 31–2.

[3] The *Jawami'-al-'Ulum* was the name of an encyclopedia compiled by the famous theologian Fakhr-ad-Din Abu-'Abdallah b. Muhammad b. 'Umar ar-Razi.

[4] In Turkish 'Wise Lord'.

[5] Alp-Tegin ('Brave Lord') was the founder of the Ghaznavid dynasty.

[6] The mountainous region of Gharchistan lay to the east of Badghis along the Upper Murghab. It corresponds to the modern Firuzkuh.

[7] 'Beloved Lord' from the Turkish *sebük* (*sevük*) 'beloved' and *tegin* 'lord'. See Pelliot, *Notes sur le "Turkestan" de M. W. Barthold*, 16. Sebük-Tegin (976–97), the slave, son-in-law and successor of Alp-Tegin, was the father of the celebrated Sultan Mahmud (998–1030).

latter days of the Samanids, and received the title of Basin-Holder *(ṭasht-dār)*.[8] Now in those days the expenses of this office were met by the revenues of Khorazm, just as the expenses of the Wardrobe were paid from the revenues of Khuzistan. Nush-Tegin, in consequence, was given the title of *shahna* of Khorazm.

Several sons were born to him, the eldest of whom, Qutb-ad-Din Muhammad, he put to school at Merv in order that he might learn the etiquette and ceremonial of leadership and command.

At that time Berk-Yaruq [9] son of Malik-Shah had conferred the absolute viceroyalty of all his empire upon Dadbeg Habashi son of Altun-Taq, the Emir of Khorasan, in whose praise many poems were composed by the poets of the age, his official panegyrist being Abul-Ma'ali Nahhas of Ray. Dadbeg Habashi now [3] transferred the office of Khorazm-Shah from Ekinchi son of Qochqar [10] Khorazm-Shah, a slave of Sanjar, to Qutb-ad-Din Muhammad, conferring that title upon him in the year 491/1097–8. From thence onward Qutb-ad-Din on many occasions distinguished himself in the service of the Seljuqs, as will be found recorded in works of history. For thirty years he ruled Khorazm in ease and contentment, one year coming in person to attend at Sanjar's court and the next year sending his son Atsiz [11] in his place, and so he continued until his death.

In 522/1128 he was succeeded by his son Atsiz. Atsiz is renowned for his virtues and accomplishments; he is the author of many Persian poems and quatrains. In courage and bravery [4] he dwarfed all his peers and equals; he won many victories in the service of Sultan Sanjar and was constant in the fulfilment of his duties as a vassal; whereof one example is the following: In the year 524/1129–30 Sultan Sanjar had passed into Tran-

[8] According to Barthold, *op. cit.*, 323, 'the superintendent of the royal washing utensils'. The *ṭasht-dār* was the servant in charge of the wash-basin (*ṭasht*) and ewer offered after meals, etc.

[9] 1094–1104. His name means 'Strong Brightness'.

[10] Ekinchi, i.e. 'the Sower'. See Houtsma, *Glossar*, 31. *qochqar* is the Turkish for 'ram'. On Ekinchi as an authority on the great migration of Turkish tribes in the 11th century see Minorsky, *Marvazi*, 101 and 104.

[11] 'Horseless.'

soxiana to quell the rebellion of Tamghach-Khan [12] and upon arriving in Bokhara had gone one day to his hunting grounds; where a number of slaves and domestics, who had but recently been enlisted in his service, had plotted to waylay the Sultan and make an end of him. Atsiz, who had not gone hunting that day, awoke at noon from his sleep, called for a horse and hurried off to join the Sultan. When he arrived, the Sultan, surrounded by that rabble, was indeed in an evil case and fallen into a desperate strait. Atsiz at once charged down upon those wretches and rescued the Sultan. The latter asked him how he had become aware of his plight, and he replied: 'I dreamt that an accident had befallen the Sultan in the hunting grounds, and I at once hastened to his side.'

On account of this display of loyalty the affairs of Atsiz prospered; his power and prestige increased daily, and the Sultan was ever conferring fresh honours and favours upon him. He became in consequence an object of envy to the other *maliks* and emirs, and because of their jealousy they plotted against him and made attempts on his life. From Zul-Qa'da of the year 529 [August–September, 1135] when the Sultan marched against Ghazna to crush the rebellion of Bahram-Shah [13] until Shavval of the next year [July–August, 1136] when he arrived in Balkh, Atsiz was ever in attendance on him. In the course of these journeyings he had become aware of the intrigues of those envious emirs and of the ill-will they bore him, and was also apprehensive regarding the Sultan himself. He obtained leave to return home; and as he was departing the Sultan remarked to his courtiers: 'There goes the back of one whose face we shall not see again.' They answered: 'If Your Majesty

[12] This was the Qara-Khanid ruler Arslan-Khan Muhammad b. Sulaiman (1102–30), on whom see Barthold, *op. cit.*, 319–21. That he was also known as Tamghach-Khan is confirmed by 'Aufi and the author of the *Kitāb-i-Mullā-Zāda*. (*Ibid.*, 319, n. 2.) On this Qara-Khanid title ('Emperor of China') see Barthold, *op. cit.*, 304, *Histoire des Turcs*, 77–8. The Tamghach or rather Tabghach (Tavghach), in Chinese T'o-pa, were a Turkish or proto-Mongol people who founded the Chinese dynasty of the Wei (436–557) and whose name became synonymous with Northern China. See Grousset, *L'Empire des Steppes*, 103–9, Hambis, *La Haute-Asie*, 29–31, Gabain, 2.

[13] The Ghaznavid (1118–52).

is certain of this, why then did he obtain leave to return home and receive such kindness?' [5] And he replied: 'The services he has rendered us have placed us under a great obligation to him: to harm him would be contrary to our tenets of generosity and clemency.'

Arriving in Khorazm Atsiz entered upon the path of frowardness and rebellion, and day by day the ill-will increased on either side and finally reached such a pitch that in Muharram of the year 553 [September–October, 1138] Sultan Sanjar marched into Khorazm to do him battle. The Khorazm-Shah got together an army to oppose that of the Sultan and even set it in fighting array; and then, without making any attempt to offer battle, realizing he could place little confidence in his troops, he sought safety in flight. His son Atligh was taken prisoner and brought before the Sultan, who gave orders that he should be immediately cut in half. Sanjar then conferred the kingdom of Khorazm upon his nephew Sulaiman b. Muhammad and returned to Khorasan; whereupon Atsiz re-entered Khorazm and Sultan Sulaiman fled before him and returned to Sanjar. And Atsiz continued in the path of frowardness and rebellion until the year 536/1141–2, when Sanjar was defeated in the battle against Khitai [14] at the gates of Samarqand and came fleeing to Balkh (the story is well known): Atsiz then seized his opportunity and marched against Merv, looting the city and making great slaughter of the inhabitants. Thereafter he returned to Khorazm.

Here we reproduce a letter from the correspondence which passed between the *hakim* Hasan Qattan [6] and Rashid-ad-Din Vatvat concerning the books that were lost from the former's library during the pillaging of Merv and which he suspected Vatvat of having appropriated:

'It has reached my ear from the mouths of those that arrive in Khorazm and from the tongues of those that journey hither that Your Honour (may God perpetuate his excellence!), when he is not busy with his private affairs or occupied with his lectures, doth proceed in his assemblies to speak evil of me and to abuse and defame me at great length. And

[14] I.e. Qara-Khitai. See above, p. 44, n. 2.

be accuseth me of plundering his library and exceedeth himself in tearing down the veils and coverings of generosity. Doth this beseem virtue and humanity, is it in accordance with generosity and manliness that thou shouldst fabricate concerning a brother Moslem so disturbing a lie and so painful a calumny? By God, when the trumpet shall be blown upon the Day of Resurrection, and when these rotten bones shall be dispatched from the tomb to be clad in the raiment of the Second Life; when the servants of God shall be gathered together at the stations of the plains, and when the leaves of men's deeds shall be scattered upon their doers; when every soul shall be asked concerning that which it hath gained—both that of the sinner who shall be dragged face downward into hellfire and that of the righteous man who shall be borne on the shoulders of the angels into Paradise: none shall in that dreadful place lay hold of my skirt seeking of me property that I seized, or wealth that I pillaged, or blood that I shed, or a veil that I rent away, or a man that I slew, or a right that I denied. For, behold, God hath placed me by lawful means in the way of [7] *a thousand volumes of choice books and noble treatises, and I have bequeathed them all to the libraries that have been founded in the countries of Islam, that the Moslems might profit by them. And whoever holdeth such tenets, how could he find it in his heart to rob the books of a learned* imam *that hath expended the whole of his life in gathering together a few paltry leaves such as, were they sold with their leather bindings, would not fetch the price of a miser's dinner? Of a truth, let Your Honour fear God, let him not—may God perpetuate his excellence!—be guilty of fabricating a lie against the like of me, and let him not commit a sin that will cleave to his skirts on the Day of Judgement. Let him fear God, than Whom there is no other god, and let him think of the day when the truthteller shall be rewarded for his truthtelling and the liar punished for his lying. Farewell!'*

Because of this weakening of the Sultan's position vainglory waxed great in the brain of Atsiz. Rashid Vatvat has a *qasida* on this subject, of which the following is the opening line:

> King Atsiz ascended the throne of the kingdom: the luck of Seljuq and his family came to an end.

And he has other *qasidas* in the same strain.

Sultan Sanjar, in order to take vengeance for this shameful

act, set out for Khorazm to make war on him in the year 538/1143–4; and halting at the gates of the town he set up his mangonels and unfurled the standard of battle. But when the moment was at hand when Khorazm should have been conquered and the weal of Atsiz changed to woe, he dispatched gifts and presents to the emirs of the Court and sought the Sultan's pardon [8] and courted his favour. The Sultan was mollified and turned back along the path of peace and reconciliation, whereupon Atsiz raised the head of rebellion in his wonted manner. The Sultan then sent Adib Sabir upon a mission to him and Adib remained for some time in Khorazm. Meanwhile, Atsiz had suborned two Khorazmian ruffians of the sect of the Heresy,[15] buying their souls and paying the price, and had sent them to slay the Sultan unawares. Adib Sabir learnt of this circumstance, and he wrote a description of the two men and sent it to Merv in the leg of an old woman's boot. When the letter reached Sanjar he ordered a search to be made for the men; and they were discovered in a tavern and dispatched unto hellfire. When Atsiz learnt of this he flung Adib Sabir into the Oxus.

In Jumada II, 542 [October–November, 1147], the Sultan again attacked Khorazm; and first he besieged for two months the small town of Hazar-Asf,[16] which in the present age was submerged after [the passage of] the Mongol army. Anvari, who was in attendance on Sanjar in this campaign, wrote the following quatrain upon an arrow, which he let fly into Hazar-Asf:

O king, all the empire of the earth is accounted thine;
By fortune and good luck the world is thy acquisition:
Take Hazar-Asf[17] to-day with a single assault,
And to-morrow Khorazm and a hundred thousand horses shall be thine.

Vatvat, who was in Hazar-Asf, wrote the following lines upon the arrow and shot it back:

[15] I.e. the heresy (*ilḥād*) of the Isma'ilis. See above, p. 256, n. 28.

[16] Or Hazar-Asp, as it is called to this day.

[17] Or 'a thousand horses', the literal meaning of Hazar-Asp, from the Persian *bazār* 'thousand' and *asp* (*asb*) 'horse'.

If thine enemy, O king, were the hero Rustam himself,
He could not carry forth a single ass from thy thousand horses.

[9] After much toil and countless trouble the Sultan finally took Hazar-Asf. And because of the verse previously mentioned and the lines quoted above and other similar poems he was greatly wroth with Vatvat and had sworn that when he was found his seven limbs should be torn asunder. Accordingly he made great efforts to trace him issuing proclamation after proclamation. Meanwhile Vatvat [lay hidden] all night on a rooftop and all day in a riverbed.[18] Then, realizing that flight would avail him nothing, he secretly approached the king's ministers, but none of them, seeing the Sultan's wrath, would undertake to intercede on his behalf. By virtue of their common profession he then sought refuge with the uncle of the great-grandfather of the author of these lines, Muntajab-ad-Din Badi' al-Katib *(may God water the surface of his grave with the clouds of His sanctity!)*. Muntajab-ad-Din, since he united the office of scribe with that of courtier, was accustomed to approach the Sultan at the time of the morning prayer before the dignitaries of the Divan came in, and after the performance of the prayer he would begin to give advice and would relate some merry tale suitable to the occasion after the serious business was over; and the Sultan used to consult him about the secrets of the kingdom. To be brief, the conversation gradually came round to Rashid Vatvat and Muntajab-ad-Din rose to his feet and said: 'I have a request if Your Majesty will grant it.' The Sultan having promised to do so, Muntajab-ad-Din went on: 'Vatvat is but a puny little bird;[19] [10] he will not bear being divided into seven pieces. If Your Majesty so command, let him be simply cut in two.' Whereupon the Sultan laughed and spared Vatvat's life.

When the Sultan reached the gates of Khorazm, an ascetic called Zahid-i-Ahu-Push,[20] whose food and clothing was the flesh and hide of the deer, presented himself before Sanjar and

[18] Not to be taken literally: *vaṭvāṭ* (*waṭwāṭ*) in Arabic means 'swallow' or 'swift'.

[19] Cf. the preceding note.

[20] I.e. 'the hermit clad in deerskins'.

after delivering a goodly sermon interceded for the people of the town. Atsiz too sent messengers bearing gifts and presents and offering excuses. The Sultan, who was clemency and forgiveness personified, pardoned his faults for the third time, and it was arranged that Atsiz should come to the banks of the Oxus and make obeisance to him. On Monday the 12th of Muharram, 543 [2nd of June, 1148], Atsiz came and made obeisance on horseback; and then rode off before the Sultan could turn rein. Though Sanjar was incensed at this lack of respect, yet since he had already pardoned him he swallowed his anger as best he could and said nothing. And at once he was distinguished with the excellence of the verse: *'And who master their anger and forgive others,'* [21] for *'God loveth the doers of good.'* [21]

And when the Sultan reached Khorasan he dispatched messengers and distinguished Atsiz with donatives and gratuities. Atsiz for his part received the messengers with every respect and sent them back with many gifts and presents. Hereafter Atsiz went on several campaigns against the infidels [22] and gained the victory over them. At that time the ruler of Jand was Kamal-ad-Din,[23] the son of Arslan-Khan Mahmud, and there was great friendship between them. When Atsiz had conquered most of that region he set out in Muharram, 547 [April–May, 1152], for Suqnaq and the other territories [beyond] intending to proceed thither together with Kamal-ad-Din. He had reached the neighbourhood of Jand when Kamal-ad-Din took fright and fled with his army to [11] Rudbar.[24] When Atsiz learnt of his alarm and flight, he sent a number of the notables and chief men to reassure him with promises and safeguards. Kamal-ad-Din came to join him, and he ordered him to be put in chains, in which he remained until his death.

Kamal-ad-Din had been on terms of friendship and affection with Rashid Vatvat, and Atsiz was now given to understand that Vatvat had been aware of Kamal-ad-Din's attitude. For

[21] Koran, iii, 128.

[22] I.e. the heathen Turks.

[23] Apparently a Qara-Khanid. See Barthold, *Turkestan*, 328.

[24] Perhaps the Rūdbār in the province of Shāsh (the present-day Tashkent). See Barthold, *op. cit.*, 174, n. 3.

this reason he dismissed him from his service for a while. Vatvat has both *qasidas* and *qit'as* on this subject. The following are two or three verses from such a *qit'a*:

O king, when Destiny saw that the hand of thy magnificence was no longer laid on my head, she ground my body under the foot of oppression.
Without the fairness of thy favour and the goodness of thy grace, the World decreased my comfort and Destiny increased my pain.
Look upon me with greater kindness, for should aught befall me, then, by God, Destiny will show no other like unto me.

And here are some verses from another:

For thirty years thy servant did sing thy praises in the shoe-rank,[25] and thou didst call for those praises from thy throne.
The Lord of the [Heavenly] Throne knoweth that never did there stand in any court such a singer of praises as thy servant,
Now thy heart hath grown weary of him that was thy servant for thirty years: weariness findeth its way into thy heart because of the length of time.
But the proverb says: 'When the master is annoyed he findeth fault'—and yet thy wretched servant is blameless.

[12] And when Jand was purged of rebels Atsiz dispatched Abul-Fath Il-Arslan[26] thither and set him over that region.

And it was in this year that the Ghuzz host *(ḥasham)* was victorious and took Sultan Sanjar prisoner, setting him by day upon a royal throne and keeping him at night in an iron cage.[27] Desirous of seizing the kingdom but giving as his pretext that

[25] 'The "shoe-rank" (*Ṣaffu'n-ni'ál* in Arabic, *pá-máchán* in Persian) is the place by the door where those who enter kick off their shoes, and where servants and humble visitors take their stand.' (Browne, *A Literary History of Persia*, II, 332, n. 1.)

[26] His son and successor.

[27] *qafaṣ-i-áhan*. The cage would appear to have been a real one, unlike that in which the Ottoman Sultan Bayezid was said to have been imprisoned by Tamerlane. The story of this latter cage, 'so long and so often repeated as a moral lesson', was already in Gibbon's day 'rejected as a fable by the modern writers, who smile at the vulgar credulity'. See Gibbon, VII, 60 and n. 53.

he was fulfilling his obligations to his benefactor, Atsiz set out for Amuya with all his following and troops. He advanced very slowly and upon reaching Amuya endeavoured to possess himself of the castle by diplomacy. However, the governor refused to listen to him, and he sent a message to Sultan Sanjar to make professions of fealty and loyalty and to crave the castle of Amuya. The Sultan sent the following reply: 'We begrudge thee not the castle, but first send Il-Arslan with an army to our assistance, and then we shall grant thee the castle of Amuya and the double thereof.' Emissaries passed twice or thrice between them with question and answer, but finally, in the face of this refusal, Atsiz turned back and went to Khorazm, from whence he again prepared a foray against the infidel.

At this juncture Rukn-ad-Din Mahmud b. Muhammad Boghra-Khan,[28] the nephew of Sultan Sanjar, to whom the army had sworn allegiance and whom they had set on the throne of the Sultanate as Sanjar's successor, bethought himself of his former friendship with Atsiz and sent a messenger from Khorasan to seek his assistance in quenching the flame of the Ghuzz. The Khorazm-Shah accordingly set out for Shahristana taking Il-Arslan with him and leaving another son, Khitai-Khan,[29] in Khorazm as regent. Upon reaching Shahristana he summoned the emirs of that region in order to restore order to a kingdom that had been lost and to affairs that had become distraught. Meanwhile news [13] arrived that the Emir 'Imad-ad-Din Ahmad b. Abu-Bakr Qamaj had dispatched a thousand horsemen and carried off Sultan Sanjar from the hunting field bearing him to Tirmiz. Nobles and commoners rejoiced and made merry; and the Khorazm-Shah halted in Nisa to wait for Mahmud Khan and the other emirs. These now regretted both his coming and their having sent for him. However they dispatched 'Aziz-ad-Din Tughra'i and concluded a treaty with

[28] The son of Arslan-Khan, on whom see above, p. 279, n. 12. His father is here wrongly given the title of Boghra-Khan, probably on account of a confusion with his uncle Abul-Muzaffar Tamghach-Boghra-Khan Ibrahim. Mahmud Khan had abandoned his territories in Transoxiana after the defeat of Sanjar by the *gür-khan*. See Barthold, *op. cit.*, 322 and 326.

[29] Cf. the Qara-Khanid title of Tamghach-Khan. See above, p. 279, n. 12.

him. He then departed and went to Khabushan of Ustuva, whither came Khaqan Rukn-ad-Din from Nishapur. They met and trod together the pathway of friendship, remaining in each other's company for three months striving to repair the ruin of the kingdom. One day the Khorazm-Shah held a feast to which he invited Khaqan Rukn-ad-Din. The following is a verse in their praise from a *qasida* of Vatvat:

> They are united like two auspicious stars in one house,
> two monarchs in one happy court.

After this the Khorazm-Shah fell ill. One day in the midst of his illness there reached him the sound of someone reciting the Koran. Thinking to take an augury he listened intently and bade his courtiers be silent. The reader had reached the following verse: '*Neither knoweth any soul in which land it shall die.*'[30] He took this as an evil omen; his illness grew worse; and on the night of the 9th of Jumada II, 551 [30th of July, 1156], he passed away and the pride of haughtiness and arrogance went out of his head. [14] Rashid-ad-Din Vatvat wept over his body and pointing to it said:

> 'O King, Heaven trembled at thy severity, it laboured
> like a slave before thee.
> Where is there a man of discernment to consider whether
> all thy kingdom was worth but this?'

After four days had passed his death was made known and Il-Arslan set out for Khorazm; and on his journey thither all the emirs and soldiers swore allegiance to him. He imprisoned his younger brother, Sulaiman-Shah, on whose brow he had observed the signs of rebellion, and executed Oghul-Beg, his *atabeg*. And on the 3rd of Rajab of the same year [22nd of August, 1156] he ascended the throne of the Khorazm-Shahs; whereupon he arrested some that harboured thoughts of ill-will and granted the emirs and soldiers more pay and larger fiefs than they had had in his father's day; he likewise bestowed many charities. Rukn-ad-Din Mahmud Khan sent envoys to

[30] Koran, xxxi, 34.

congratulate him on his accession and to condole with him on his father's death.

And when news came that on the 6th of Rabi' I, 552 [8th of May, 1157], Sultan Sanjar had passed into the nearness of God, the people of Khorazm sat down in mourning for three days.

And in the year 553/1158–9 some of the chiefs of the Qarlugh that dwelt in Khorazm, under the leadership of Lachin Beg and the sons of Bighu Khan [31] and others like them, fled from the Khan of Samarqand, Jalal-ad-Din 'Ali b. al-Husain [32] known as Kök-Saghir,[33] and came to Khorazm saying that Jalal-ad-Din had slain Bighu Khan, who was the leader of the Qarlugh, and had designs upon the leaders. The Khorazm-Shah Il-Arslan [15] gave them encouragement and in Jumada II of the same year [July, 1158] set out for Transoxiana. When the Khan of Samarqand received the report of his approach he sought refuge in the citadel and took with him into Samarqand all the nomad Turcomans that lived between Qara-Köl and Jand. He appealed to the Qara-Khitai for help and they sent Ilig Türkmen [34] to the rescue with ten thousand horse. Meanwhile the Khorazm-Shah, having encouraged the people of Bokhara with promises, set out from thence for Samarqand. The Khan of Samarqand, for his part, drew up his forces, and the two armies halted on either side of the Sughd River, the

[31] BYTW. Barthold, *op. cit.*, 333, reads this name Payghū but suggests the reading Yabghū. (*yabghu* was the title of the ancient rulers of the Qarluq. See *Ḥudūd*, 97.) On the other hand, Pelliot, *op. cit.*, 16, prefers to see in it the Turkish word *bīghu*, 'nom d'un oiseau de proie assez analogue au faucon'. Cf. the name of the other Qarluq leader Lachīn, i.e. 'the Falcon'.

[32] His father's name was actually Hasan—Qīlīch-Tamghach-Khan Abul-Ma'ali Hasan b. 'Ali b. al-Mu'min, also known as Hasan Tegin. See Barthold, *op. cit.*, 322 and 333.

[33] KWK SAΓR. Perhaps 'Blue Ox'. Cf. the form *saghīr* in Houtsma, *Glossar*, 81, for the normal *sīghīr* 'ox'. He also bore the title of Chaghrī-Khan. See Barthold, *op. cit.*, 333 and n. 5. *chaghrī* according to Kashghari was one of the innumerable Turkish words for 'hawk' or 'falcon'.

[34] AYLK TRKMAN, i.e. apparently Ilig the Turcoman. Barthold, *op. cit.*, 333, n. 10, suggests that this was perhaps the former ruler of Balasaqun, on whom see below, p. 355 and n. 7. *ilig* is an Old Turkish word for 'king'. See Pelliot, *op. cit.*, 16.

young men attacking each other in skirmishes. But when Ilig Türkmen saw the Khorazm-Shah and his army he began to humble and abase himself, and the *imams* and *ulema* of Samarqand engaged in intercession and supplication and sued for peace. The Khorazm-Shah acceded to their prayers and having restored the Qarlugh emirs to their posts with full honours he returned to Khorazm.

Now after the death of the Sultan, Mahmud Khan had ascended the throne, but because of the Ghuzz and the victories of Mu'ayyid Ai-Aba,[35] who had been a *ghulam* [36] at Sanjar's court [16], where he was distinguished above the other *ghulams* for his horsemanship and skill in racing, the affairs of Khorasan were confused and distraught. And in Ramazan, 557 [August–September, 1162] Mu'ayyid Ai-Aba took Sultan Mahmud out of the inner city of Nishapur and blinded him; and he died in the castle in which he had been imprisoned. And in the year 558/1162–3 the Khorazm-Shah set out for Shadyakh with a numerous army and a mighty host; and for a while he besieged Ai-Aba there, till envoys passed between them, and they made peace, and he returned to Khorazm.

And in the year 566/1170–1 the armies *(ḥasham)* of Khitai and Transoxiana gathered in great numbers to attack him. Upon receiving tidings hereof he made ready for battle and sent 'Ayyar Beg, his commander-in-chief, who was one of the Qarlugh of Transoxiana, on [17] in advance to Amuya. Before the Khorazm-Shah's arrival the armies had already joined battle: 'Ayyar Beg's army was put to flight, and he himself was taken prisoner. Il-Arslan fell ill and returning to Khorazm he died upon the 19th of Rajab of the same year [8th of August, 1170].

His younger son, Sultan-Shah, who was his heir apparent, ascended the throne of Khorazm in succession to his father; and his mother, Queen Terken, administered the kingdom. His elder brother, Tekish, was then in Jand. A messenger was sent to summon him but he refused to come. An army was then

[35] On the name see above, p. 148, n. 26.

[36] On the career of the *ghulām* ('slave') as a member of the sovereign's personal guard see Barthold, *op. cit.*, 227.

fitted out to attack him, and upon receiving tidings of this he fled and betook himself to the daughter of the Khan of Khans of Qara-Khitai, who at that time herself bore the title of Khan,[37] the affairs of the kingdom being administered by her husband, Fuma.[38] When he had come to them Tekish promised them all the treasures and wealth of Khorazm and undertook, once the country was subjugated, to send a yearly tribute. Fuma was accordingly dispatched to accompany Tekish with a numerous army. When they drew near to Khorazm, Sultan-Shah and his mother, rather than fight and do battle, took the straight road before them and joined the *malik* Mu'ayyid; and on Monday the 22nd of [18] Rabi' I, 568 [Monday the 11th of December, 1172], Tekish entered Khorazm and ascended the throne of the Khorazm-Shahs. Each of the poets and orators composed congratulatory speeches and poems. Rashid-ad-Din Vatvat, who had passed his eightieth year in the service of his ancestors, was brought before Tekish on a litter. 'Everyone,' he said, 'has composed his congratulations in accordance with his fancy and talent. But as for thy servant, because of the weakness of my constitution and the greatness of my age my strength is unequal to the task. I must confine myself to a single quatrain that I have composed for luck's sake:

> Thy grandsire washed tyranny off the page of the world;
> Thy father's justice repaired whate'er was broken;
> O thou, whom the cloak of the Sultanate exactly fits,
> Come, let us see what thou canst do for 'tis thy turn to rule.'

And Tekish performed the rites of justice and equity and having fulfilled his obligations to Fuma sent him back with all honour and respect.

As for the mother of Sultan-Shah she sent the *malik* Mu'ayyid presents consisting of precious jewels and all kinds of treasures

[37] This was P'u-su-wan, the Empress Ch'êng-t'ien (1164–77). She was the sister of the late Khan, the Emperor Yi-lieh (1151–63), and the daughter of the original *gür-khan*, Yeh-lü Ta-shih (1124–43). See Wittfogel and Fêng, *History of Chinese Society: Liao*, 621 and 644.

[38] Reading FWMA with Barthold for the FRMA of the text. Fuma is really a title, the Chinese *fu-ma* 'imperial son-in-law'. See Barthold, *op. cit.*, 337 and n. 3, Wittfogel and Fêng, *op. cit.*, 665 and 670.

and offered him the kingdom of Khorazm and all its territory, boasting of the attachment of the people and the army to mother and son. In the end the *malik* Mu'ayyid was deluded by their words, and the Satanish whisperings of his lust for land and wealth led him far astray from the path of righteousness. He collected his scattered forces and set out for Khorazm with Sultan-Shah and his mother. When they reached Suburni [39] [19] a town which is now submerged in the river, Mu'ayyid's army being unable to cross the desert in one body, they proceeded in detachments not knowing that the Khorazm-Shah himself had halted in Suburni. The *malik* Mu'ayyid was in the van. When he reached Suburni Tekish fell upon his detachment, slew the greater part of them and took Mu'ayyid himself prisoner. He was brought before him and was cut in half at the door of his tent. This event fell out on the ninth of Zul-Hijja, 569 [11th of July, 1174].

Meanwhile Sultan-Shah and his mother fled to Dihistan.[40] Tekish followed them thither and Dihistan surrendered to him: he put Sultan-Shah's mother to death and returned home. Sultan-Shah fled from thence and made his way to Shadyakh, where Toghan-Shah, the son of the *malik* Mu'ayyid, had taken up residence in succession to his father. He remained some time in Nishapur, but Toghan-Shah being unable to assist him with men or money he went from thence to join the Sultans of Ghur [41] and laid hold of the skirt of appeal to them: they welcomed him with the kindnesses that are shown to such guests.

[39] The text has SWBRLY. There are many variant spellings. According to Yaqut it was the last place in Khorazm on the road to Shahristan (i.e. to Khorasan). See Barthold, *op. cit.*, 153 and 337, n. 5.

[40] Dihistān was the name of a district north of the Atrek on the eastern shores of the Caspian, in what is now Turkmenistan. 'Dihistān undoubtedly echoes the name of the ancient nomad people *Δάαι Dahae* one of whose branches were the Aparnoi; from the latter arose the family of the future Parthian rulers. . . .' (Minorsky, *Ḥudūd*, 386.)

[41] I.e. Ghiyāṣ-ad-Din Muhammad and his younger brother Shihāb-ad-Dīn (Muhammad Ghūr). On the Sultans of Ghur (the Ghurids or Ghorids) see Barthold, *op. cit.*, 338–9, Lane-Poole, *The Mohammadan Dynasties*, 291–4. 'The name of Ghūr was borne by the mountain region situated to the east and south-east of Herāt and south of Gharjistān and Gūzgān; the dialect of these mountaineers differed materially from that of Khurāsān.' (Barthold, *op. cit.*, 338.)

As for Sultan Tekish, he had completed the restoration of order in Khorazm and the affairs of the kingdom were in good trim. Meanwhile the envoys of Khitai were continually passing to and fro, and their constant impositions and demands were beyond endurance, and moreover they did not observe the conventions of courtesy. Now the nobility of the soul necessarily refuses to tolerate oppression and will not bear to accept tyranny. '*The nature of a free soul is filled with pride.*' He caused one of the notables of Khitai, who had come upon an embassy, to be put to death on account of his unseemly behaviour; and there was an exchange of abuse between Tekish and the people of Khitai.

When Sultan-Shah learnt of this estrangement between them he rejoiced and considered it a sign [20] of his own good fortune. The Khitayans, in order to despite Tekish, summoned him to them; and at his request Sultan Ghiyas-ad-Din dispatched him thither with ample gear and equipment. When he left Ghiyas-al-Din the latter turned to his emirs and said: 'It has occurred to me that this man would have stirred up sedition in Khorasan and must needs have caused us much toil and trouble. Perchance this was a divine inspiration.'

Upon arriving in Khitai Sultan-Shah spoke of his popularity with the people of Khorazm and with the army, and they sent Fuma to assist him with a large army. When they reached the neighbourhood of Khorazm Tekish flooded the way of passage with the waters of the Oxus; and on this account they were unable to move to and fro. The Sultan then made ready for battle within the town and disposed his thrusting and striking weapons. Fuma halted at the gates, and seeing of Sultan-Shah's popularity with that people no sign save strife and contention he repented of his precipitance and made ready to return home. Sultan-Shah perceived that no good would come of the attack on Khorazm, and knowing of no other means of escape he asked Fuma to send a detachment of his army to escort him to Sarakhs. Fuma granted his request, and he fell upon Sarakhs and attacked Malik Dinar, who was one of the Ghuzz emirs. Most of the defenders he made fodder of the sword, and Malik

Dinar himself he hurled into the castle moat. He was pulled out of the water by the hair by those inside the castle, in which the remainder of the Ghuzz now sought refuge. Sultan-Shah then set out for Merv, where he took up his abode, sending back the army of Khitai. And he made constant attacks upon Sarakhs until most of the Ghuzz had been scattered. [21] As for Malik Dinar, finding himself powerless in the fortress, for most of his men had deserted him, and he was left like a bad dinar at the bottom of the purse, he sent a message to Toghan-Shah to ask for Bistam in place of Sarakhs. Toghan-Shah granted his request and sent the Emir 'Umar of Firuzkuh [42] to Sarakhs to take over the castle from him; and Malik Dinar departed to Bistam.[43]

When Sultan Tekish came to Jajarm from Khorazm on his way to Iraq Malik Dinar abandoned his dinars and his fief and went to join Toghan-Shah. The latter then recalled 'Umar of Firuzkuh from Sarakhs and sent in his stead the Emir Qara-Qush, who was one of his father's *ghulams*. Meanwhile, Sultan-Shah made ready to attack Sarakhs with less than three thousand men and sought an opportunity to break and violate his covenant and agreement. Toghan-Shah, for his part, set out from Nishapur with ten thousand men fully equipped with money and supplies and marched against Sarakhs intent on battle. In Asiya-yi-Hafs on Wednesday the 22nd of Zul-Hijja, 576 [13th of May, 1181], the millstone *(āsiyā)* of war began to turn, and the warriors entered the field from either side; and after much strife and carnage the shock of the onslaught of Sultan-Shah's army was the bane and ruin of Toghan-Shah; [22] and by the might of God Sultan-Shah triumphed and much wealth and property found its way as booty into his treasury, including amongst other things three hundred backgammon boards.

Sultan-Shah now made himself master of Sarakhs and Tus and all that region, and the star of his fortune rose again after setting. And being, unlike Toghan-Shah, a man of war and

[42] See below, p. 328, n. 5.

[43] Bisṭām, the modern Bustam (Bostam), was famous for the tomb of the celebrated Sufi Abu-Yazid (Bayazid), who died and was buried here in 874.

battle, not a lover of cymbal and harp, he was constantly attacking the latter, so that his army grew weary, and most of his emirs and nobles went over to Sultan-Shah, and his kingdom lost its lustre. He appealed several times for help to Sultan Tekish and the Sultan of Ghur, sending messengers to them and on one occasion going to Herat in person to ask for an army to assist him. It was of no avail, and he continued in the like state of frustration until the night of Tuesday the 12th of Muharram, 581 [15th of April, 1186], when he departed from this to the next world and his son, Sanjar-Shah, was set upon the throne in succession to his father. Mengli Beg,[44] who was his *atabeg,* was now paramount and opened his hand in confiscations and extortions; whereupon most of Toghan-Shah's emirs entered the service of Sultan-Shah, who gained control of the greater part of Toghan-Shah's territory.

As for Malik Dinar, he went to Kerman, and all the Ghuzz Turks, wherever there were any of them left, came to join him there.

In the beginning of the year 582/1186–7 Sultan Tekish went from Khorazm to Khorasan, and Sultan-Shah availed himself of the opportunity to enter Khorazm at the head of a large army. Sultan Tekish came to Merv and sat down before the gates of the town. As for Sultan-Shah, contrary to his expectations, he was not admitted into Khorazm; and because of Tekish's presence at the gates of Merv he dared not remain where he was. Upon reaching Amuya he left most of his army there and in the night with only fifty men-at-arms cut his way through the armies of [23] Tekish and entered Merv. The next day, when the Sultan learnt that his brother had entered the town and fortified himself there, he turned rein and without waiting further hastened away to Shadyakh. In Rabi' I, 582 [March–April, 1186], he sat down before that town and besieged Sanjar-Shah and Mengli Beg for two months. When peace had been established and the Sultan had returned home, he sent Shihab-ad-Din Mas'ud the Grand Chamberlain, Saif-ad-Din Mardan-Shir the Table-Decker and Baha-ad-Din of Baghdad the Scribe

[44] Ibn-al-Athir calls him Mengli Tegin. (M.Q.)

upon a mission to Mengli Beg to conclude the treaty of peace and confirm the agreement to which he had engaged himself. The Sultan's domestics not having accompanied them Mengli Beg sent them in chains to Sultan-Shah, and they remained imprisoned until a reconciliation was effected between the brothers.

Now the *imam* Burhan-ad-Din Abu-Sa'id b. al-Imam Fakhr-ad-Din 'Abd-al-'Aziz of Kufa was in the service of the Sultan. He was one of the greatest savants and the most distinguished *imams* of the day and held in high esteem by the sultans of the age; and the posts of Cadi and *shaikh-al-Islam* of Khorasan were entrusted to him. Of the products of his mind are these two or three verses which he sent to Kufa and which were dictated *(imlā)* to me by a friend when I was writing this account of him:

Will returning to the confines of Kufa slake the thirst
of longing before my death?
*And shall I walk in the morning between al-Kunas and *Kinda* [45]
shedding my tears upon those hills?
[24] *God preserve my companions in Iraq even though they have flung the*
whole of my life from them in shattered fragments.

After the conclusion of peace he entered Shadyakh, and Mengli Beg seized him and put him to death.

Upon hearing the tidings of his brother's return home, Sultan-Shah, in conformity with his custom and his desire to hold sway over the territory of Nishapur, again advanced on Shadyakh and fought there for a while; but perceiving that he made no progress and that the townspeople were too strong for him, he turned from thence to Sabzavar, to which he laid siege, setting up his mangonels. The people of Sabzavar hurled insults at him and he grew angry and exerted every effort to take the town. When the inhabitants were in desperate straits and were left without asylum or means of escape, they approached Ahmad-i-Badili, the *shaikh* of the age, who was one of the saints *(abdāl)*

[45] Al-Kunās must be an abbreviated form of al-Kunāsa, the name of a quarter of Kufa. The vocalization of KNDH is quite uncertain. It is clearly not identical with Kinda, a district in the Yemen. (M.Q.)

of this world and without peer in the religious and mystic sciences. He went forth to save them and interceded with Sultan-Shah, who received him with marks of respect and granted his prayer for fair pardon and condonation of their faults and hasty utterances. Now Shaikh Ahmad was a native of Sabzavar, and as he left the town on his mission of intercession the people hurled abuse at him on account of their quarrel with the Sufis [46] and the *shaikhs*. And he said: 'If there had been a more refractory people than this, Ahmad, my teacher,[47] would have sent me to them.' They shot an arrow after him and it hit him in the heel; but he paid no attention. Shaikh Ahmad is the author of mystic poetry, *ghazals*, quatrains and epistles. The following [25] is one of his quatrains:

> O soul, if thou cleansest thyself from the dust of the body,
> Thou wilt become a holy spirit in the heavens.
> A throne is thy seat: art thou not ashamed
> To come and dwell in an earthly abode?

Sultan-Shah entered Sabzavar but kept his word and left for Merv after remaining but an hour.

And on Friday the 14th of Muharram, 583 [27th of March, 1187], Sultan Tekish sat down before Shadyakh, set up his mangonels and began a fierce battle. Mengli Beg was finally compelled to appoint *imams* and *shaikhs* as mediators sending them to him and laying his hand upon the skirt of supplication. Tekish granted his petition and confirmed his word by oath. And Mengli Beg presenting himself before the Sultan the latter entered the town on Tuesday the 17th [48] of Rabi' I of the same year [27th of May, 1187], and spread the carpet of justice and

[46] *ahl-i-ṣuffa* had nothing to do with the Sufis but by a false etymology *ṣuffa* had been associated with *ṣūfī* (see Reckendorf in the *Encyclopedia of Islam*); therefore here probably 'the saintly people', 'the Sufis'. (V.M.)

[47] *pīr*. Possibly the reference is to Ahmad of Jam (441–536/1049–1142), whose sanctuary (the town of Turbat-i-Shaikh Jam) lies in Khorasan near the Afghan border. (V.M.)

[48] So according to E. The rest of the MSS. give the date as the 7th, but that day, as Barthold has pointed out (*op. cit.*, 346, n. 2), was actually a Sunday. The 17th of Rabi' I (which is also given in a Petrograd University MS. quoted by Barthold) would be a Wednesday, only one day out.

clemency, and cleared the site of the thorns and rubbish of injustice and oppression. He set a supervisor over Mengli Beg to see that he duly restored what he had wrongfully taken; and then in order to avenge Burhan-ad-Din—for *'the flesh of the learned is poisoned'*—he was handed over, in accordance with the *fatwas* of the *imams,* to the *imam* Fakhr-ad-Din 'Abd-al-'Aziz of Kufa to be put to death in vengeance for his son—*'life for life, and for wounds retaliation.'* [49] The whole region [50] of Nishapur, purged of his tyranny, was now surrendered to the Khorazm-Shah, who placed the reins of the administration thereof in the competent hands of his elder son, Nasir-ad-Din Malik-Shah, and in Rajab of the same year [September–October, 1187] returned to Khorazm.

Seeing that the coast was clear again Sultan-Shah at once led an army to attack Malik-Shah, and caused the inhabitants of Shadyakh to drink brimful goblets of striking and thrusting, and destroyed the greater part of the wall. And from either side the armies clashed together [26] and opposed each other in strife and battle. And Malik-Shah dispatched a relay of couriers to his father and sent letters seeking aid and assistance. Wherefore Tekish also, for his part, brooked no delay but set out with such troops as he had at hand. And he commanded a member of his bodyguard *(mufradān-i-khāṣṣ)*[51] to proceed from Nisa in the guise of a deserter and inform Sultan-Shah that Tekish had arrived in Khorasan at the head of a great army. On receiving these tidings Sultan-Shah set fire to his mangonels and departed with the humility of dust and the speed of the wind. And when the Sultan reached the town he repaired the ruins and in the winter departed to winter quarters in Mazandaran; and all the emirs of Khorasan, who had not previously joined his service, now attached themselves to him and were distinguished and singled out by inclusion amongst the recipients of his favour.

[49] Koran, v, 49. The full version is: *'Life for life, and eye for eye, and nose for nose, and ear for ear, and tooth for tooth, and for wounds retaliation.'*

[50] The text has *arbā' 'quarters'*, apparently a reference to the four 'territories' of Nishapur. See the *Ḥudūd,* 102 and 325.

[51] See below, ii, 412, in. 1.

Finally, when Spring revealed her face from behind the veil of Winter and gave the world a share of her beauty, he returned to Khorasan and encamped in the meadows of Radkan of Tus. Ambassadors passed to and fro between him and Sultan-Shah and they made peace with each other. The Khorazm-Shah, to show his good will, placed Jam, Bakharz and Zir-i-Pul [52] in the hands of Sultan-Shah; and the latter, for his part, sent back in robes of honour the Khorazm-Shah's ministers whom Mengli Beg had dispatched to him in chains; and either party was cleansed from the impurities of discord and Khorasan was purged of rebels and enemies. And on Tuesday the 18th of Jumada I, 585 [24th of July, 1189], [27] the Khorazm-Shah ascended the throne of the Sultanate in the meadows of Radkan of Tus; and his fame spread throughout the world and fear of his majestic presence took root in the hearts and minds of all creation. The poets composed many congratulatory poems and addresses upon this occasion, and 'Imadi of Zuzan has a *qasida* on this subject of which the opening lines are as follows:

> Praise be to God, from East to West hath the world
> been confided to the sword of the World-Monarch.
> The supreme Commander, the Emperor of the Universe,
> the Giver of signets to kings, the Lord of the Earth,
> Tekish Khan, son of Il-Arslan, son of Atsiz—kings,
> father and son, from the time of Adam.
> He hath stridden up to the throne of victorious fortune
> as the sun strides up to the throne of the turquoise canopy.

The Sultan showered gifts and presents upon the poets in particular and upon mankind in general; and in the autumn of that year returned to Khorazm.

Now whilst there was peace between the brothers there was constant enmity and warfare between Sultan-Shah and the Sultans of Ghur; but finally, after Sultan-Shah had been routed in the battle of Marv-ar-Rud and Panj-Dih and the pillar of his might and glory overthrown, both parties thought it expedient to come to terms and outwardly concluded peace with each other.

As for Sultan-Shah, he was constantly imposing on his

[52] Unidentified.

brother and made many demands of him; and certain of his actions pointed to a breach of their pact and a violation of their covenant. Accordingly, in the year 586/1190–1, the Sultan set out from Khorazm to attack him, and sitting down before the castle of Sarakhs, which was crammed with Sultan-Shah's men and with endless stores and armaments, he took it by storm and destroyed it. He turned back from thence to Radkan [28] and passed the summer there. The brothers were now reconciled a second time, and Sultan-Shah repaired the castle of Sarakhs and filled it with treasures and provisions. And the ropes of fraternity and concord remained twined together between the two brothers until the year 588/1192–3, when Qutlugh-Inanch, the son of the *atabeg* Muhammad, the son of Ildegiz,[53] dispatched messengers to the Sultan from Iraq to inform him about Sultan Toghril the Seljuq—how he had escaped from the fortress in which he had been imprisoned [54] and was wresting the kingdom of Iraq from his hands.

In reply to his appeal for help the Sultan set out from Khorazm. Now Baha-ad-Din the Scribe of Baghdad [55] was at that time in the Sultan's service. When the Sultan came to Juvain [and arrived] at the town of Azadvar, my great-grandfather Baha-ad-Din Muhammad b. ʿAli went to wait upon him. And in the royal presence a discussion took place between these two [56] and the Sultan's gaze fell upon them, whereupon at a sign from the minister my great-grandfather extemporized the following quatrain:

Thy favour steals the glory of the hidden jewel;
The generosity of thy hand steals away the splendour of the Oxus;

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[53] Shams-ad-Din Ildegiz (1136–72) was the founder of the dynasty of the *atabegs* of Azerbaijan. His son Muhammad Jahan-Pahlavan (1172–85) was the father not only of Qutlugh-Inanch but also of the *atabegs* Abu-Bakr (1191–1210) and Öz-Beg (1210–25). His immediate successor was his brother Qïzïl-Arslan ʿUṣmān (1185–91).

[54] By the recently deceased Qïzïl-Arslan. Toghril II (1177–94) was the last of the Seljuqs of (Persian) Iraq.

[55] On Baha-ad-Din Muhammad b. Mu'ayyid al-Baghdadi and his collection of official documents see Barthold, *op. cit.*, 33–4.

[56] I.e. the two Baha-ad-Dins.

Thy decision, if thou deliberatest,
Will remove a foolish fancy from the head of Heaven.

To this tune the Sultan drank wine till nightfall; and he made much of my great-grandfather and honoured him with presents.

When the sun entered Aries he took the road to Iraq to assail the rebels. And as news of his coming reached Qutlugh-Inanch and his mother [57] they repented of having invited him and decided to take refuge in the castle. Sitting down before Ray the Sultan took the castle of Tabarak,[58] which was crammed with men of battle and weapons of war [29], within one or two days; and his army was heartened by the capture of much booty. He passed the summer in the neighbourhood of Ray; and because of the unhealthiness of the air and the insalubrity of the water many of his army perished. Meanwhile, Sultan Toghril, perceiving the estrangement which had arisen between the Sultan and Qutlugh-Inanch, dispatched gifts and presents and took refuge in the seeking of protection. And on that account the highway of friendship was cleansed from the impurities of embroilment and the goblet of affection filled to the brim. And the Sultan collected the taxes and placed the Emir Tamghach (who was the senior Turkish emir) in Ray together with an army.

As he returned he was met on the road by scouts with the news that Sultan-Shah, taking advantage of his absence, had departed to lay siege to Khorazm. Sultan Tekish hastened thither with great speed, but when he reached Dihistan messengers arrived with the glad tidings that upon the news of his homecoming Sultan-Shah had turned back. Arriving in Khorazm the Sultan gave himself up to feasting during the wintertime, but when fresh down appeared upon the lips of the earth and the bud of spring displayed its tongue in wide-mouthed laughter, he made ready to proceed to Khorasan and attack his brother. Upon his reaching Abivard ambassadors again passed between the brethren and resumed the work of peace and

[57] Qutlugh-Khatun. (V.M.)

[58] On the castle of Tabarak, built on a hill of the same name to the north of Ray, see le Strange, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, 216–17.

reconciliation. But in spite of correspondence and the dispatch of letters by either side the pus of contention could not be removed, and Sultan-Shah from the exceeding malignancy of his nature and violence of his temper would speak words remote from the path of righteousness and divorced from modesty and propriety. Meanwhile the governor of Sarakhs, Badr-ad-Din Chaghir,[59] growing apprehensive on account of calumnies and slanders which had been related against him before Sultan-Shah, imprisoned a number [30] of the garrison in whom he had no confidence and dispatched a courier to Abivard to summon the Sultan. The latter sent on a large force in advance and set out in person in their wake. Upon his approach Chaghir came out to meet him and make professions of loyalty; and he delivered up the key to the castle and the treasuries. From grief at this news and mortification at these tidings the light of day was darkened to Sultan-Shah, and two days later, viz. on the night of Wednesday, the last day of Ramazan, 589 [22nd or September, 1193] the sun of his life and fortune reached its decline. The next day, because of this news, was to the Sultan as the festival of Nauruz and in triumph he seized upon the kingdom and possessions of Sultan-Shah.

Having thus inherited the latter's throne and court and treasury and army he dispatched a swift messenger to Khorazm to summon Malik Qutb-ad-Din Muhammad.[60] However, his elder son, Nasir-ad-Din Malik-Shah, who was governor of Nishapur, was passionately fond of hunting with cheetahs and falcons, and because of the great number of hunting grounds around Merv he offered to exchange Nishapur for that place.

> *What a poor substitute for you are Syria and its people, even though they are my own people and my home is amongst them!*

The Sultan granted his request and settled Nishapur upon

[59] Reading ČΓR with D for the ǰΓR of the text. *chaghīr* is a variant of the Turkish *chaqīr* 'merlin', 'stone-falcon'. On the use of this word as a proper name see Houtsma, *op. cit.*, 28.

[60] This is the famous Muhammad Khorazm-Shah, who, after his father's death, received the title of 'Ala-ad-Din. (M.Q.)

Malik Qutb-ad-Din; and he strengthened the hands of both sons in their kingdoms and in the loosening and binding, the tying and untying [of affairs].

Now having at the time of the dispute with his brother received tidings that Sultan Toghril had violated the treaty between them and hearing afterwards from Tamghach of his attack upon the army of Khorazm and seizure of the castle of Tabarak, which was filled with Tamghach's men, the Sultan set out for that region in the beginning of the year 590/1194–5 in order to avenge himself on Sultan Toghril and resolve that problem. Inanch accompanied by the emirs of Iraq came as far as Samnan to meet him and [31] in a posture of shame and contrition busied himself with excuses and apologies for having donned the necklace of his past crimes. The Sultan pardoned and forgave him and sent him back in advance with the army of Iraq. Meanwhile Sultan Toghril together with a great army and a numerous host had pitched his camp three parasangs from Ray and unfurled the banner of resistance and conflict. When Inanch drew near he too disposed his forces and donned the garments of battle. Now Sultan Toghril had a heavy mace, in which he took great pride. He rode to and fro in front of the army and, as was his custom, recited the following verses from the *Shahnama*:

> When the dust arose from that countless army,
> the cheeks of our worthies turned pale.
> As for me I raised the mace that kills with a single
> blow and felled that host upon the spot.
> I uttered a yell from my saddle saying, 'The earth
> has become a millstone upon them.' [61]

And at that very moment the mill of Heaven was grinding the grain of his life beneath the stone of annihilation and changing the hope he had cherished into despair. He fell from his horse and as he lay on the ground Qutlugh-Inanch came up and was about to deal him a blow without having recognized him. He threw off his veil to make himself known, and when Qutlugh-

[61] *Shahnama* ed. Vullers, 188, ll. 1060–2.

Inanch realized who he was he exclaimed: 'It was thou I sought amongst all these and that was the purpose of this bustling amongst friend and foe.' With one blow he removed the haughtiness of pride and the dominion of terror from his vain-glorious brain and confided his spirit to its original home. Against the fickleness of the revolving heavens of what avail is the Sultan's heavy mace? And when Fate is hostile where is there any conceivable advantage from abundance of troops [32] and allies? He was slung across a camel and brought before the Sultan. And when the latter saw his enemy in that condition he dismounted from his horse to prostrate himself in thanksgiving to God and rubbed his face in the ground. Toghril's head, which had borne no good will towards the Commander of the Faithful an-Nasir li-Din-Allah,[62] he sent to Baghdad; whilst his corpse was hanged in the market-place in Ray. This event fell out on Thursday the 29th of Rabi' I, 590 [24th of April, 1194]. The poet Kamal-ad-Din, who was Toghril's familiar companion and one of his panegyrists, was taken prisoner and brought before the vizier Nizam-al-Mulk Mas'ud, who said: 'So great was the fame of this fellow Toghril's strength and power, and yet he could not stand up to one charge by a scouting party from the army of the Lord of Islam.' Kamal-ad-Din at once replied:

> 'Human was superior to Bizhan in strength: virtue
> becomes vice when the sun has set.'[63]

The Sultan did not remain long in Ray, from whence he set out for Hamadan; and within a short time he had captured most of the castles in Iraq.

Now the Commander of the Faithful, an-Nasir li-Din-Allah, wished [33] the Sultan to surrender Iraq or part of it to the Supreme Divan.[64] Messengers passed to and fro between the two parties, and as the Sultan would not agree the Caliph sent

[62] 1180–1225.

[63] *Shahnama* ed. Vullers, 1182, l. 809. Hūmān was a Turanian hero slain by Bīzhan.

[64] I.e. the Caliphate.

his vizier, Mu'ayyid-ad-Din Ibn-al-Qassab, to him with robes and gifts and all kinds of honourable presents. By the time the vizier had reached Asadabad more than ten thousand men—Kurds from Iraq and Arab soldiery—had gathered around him; and his excessive officiousness and lack of wit and learning prevailed upon him to send the following message to the Sultan: 'The honour and the diploma of Sultanship have been bestowed by the Supreme Divan, and the surety for the affairs of the realm, that is the vizier, has come hither on that errand. The obligation under which he is placed by that boon requires the Sultan to advance to meet the vizier with a small following and great humility and to proceed on foot in front of the vizier's horse.' The pride of kingship and the Sultanate, and the knowledge of the guile and treachery of such a meeting, and the good fortune that attended him caused the Sultan to ward off that treason by dispatching an army to greet him; and before the men of Baghdad had eaten supper they gave the vizier a taste of breakfast. He fled, bringing disgrace on the Caliphate, and the army pursued his forces as far as Dinavar.[65] Their reputation had been destroyed; and the Sultan entered Hamadan possessed of dinars and dirhems and riches beyond measure. He dispatched revenue officials *('ummāl)* to the countries of Iraq and entrusted the affairs of that realm to the emirs and agents *(gumāshtagān)*. He bestowed Isfahan upon Qutlugh-Inanch and enrolled the emirs in his suite. Ray he conferred upon his own son Yunis Khan with Mayanchuq [66] as his *atabeg* and [34] controller *(naqīb)* of the army. And the other districts having been disposed of in like manner the Sultan set off in triumph to return to Khorasan. On the way thither he received tidings that Malik-Shah had fallen ill on account of the unhealthy climate of Merv. He sent for him, and when he came to Tus and had recovered his health he again entrusted the emirate of Nishapur to him and struck the tents of departure to Khorazm. Having allotted a fief to Sultan Muhammad in Khorasan he took him along with him.

When the winter of the year 591/1194–5 was over he set out

[65] The ruins of Dīnavar lie about half way between Kangavar and Kermanshah.
[66] The text has MYANJQ and E MYANJWQ.

for Suqnaq and that region to attack Qayir-Buqu[67] Khan. The Sultan and all his forces had reached as far as Jand, when Qayir-Buqu Khan, upon news of his approach, turned rein and fled, and the Sultan hastened in his pursuit. Now in the Sultan's army [35] there were a number of Oran[68] (who used to serve as A'jamis)[69] in attendance upon the Sultan. These now sent a message to Qayir-Buqu saying that he should stand firm and when the armies came together they would turn their faces and show their backs. Relying upon this Qayir-Buqu returned and the two armies drew up in battle-order on Friday the 6th of Jumada II of that year [7th of February, 1195]. The Sultan's Oran withdrew behind the centre of the army and plundered the baggage. The army of Islam was routed; many perished under the sword and yet more were buried in the desert on account of heat and thirst. The Sultan himself reached Khorazm after eighteen days.

Whilst the Sultan had been preparing for this expedition, Yunis Khan had sent men of trust to his brother Malik-Shah in Khorasan to announce the approach of the army of Baghdad and to seek his aid. Upon his request Malik-Shah set out for Iraq but before he could come to his brother's aid Yunis Khan himself had already routed the army of Baghdad [36] and taken much booty. The brothers met in Hamadan, and after they had remained together a while carousing and making merry, Malik-Shah returned home.

Upon arriving in Khorasan he sent a decree to Arslan-Shah[70] in Shadyakh appointing him his deputy and set out for Khorazm to wait on his father. On account of his absence the humours

[67] Reading QAYR BWQW with E for the QATR BWQW of the text. Further on (II, 40 and 41) the text has QADR BWQW, i.e. Qadïr-Buqu. *qayïr* is the Western form of the normal Turkish *qadïr* 'strong': *buqu* means 'stag'.

[68] The text has *Ūrānīyān*, i.e. more precisely *Oranians*. On the Oran tribe see Barthold, *op. cit.*, 343, n. 2. Cf. also Qara-Alp Oran, i.e. Qara-Alp the Oran. (See below, p. 309, n. 83.) For a quite different reading of the name see Pelliot-Hambis, *Campagnes*, 107–8.

[69] *a'jamiyān*, i.e. 'barbarians' in the Greek sense. So the Janissary novice was called *'ajemī oghlan* 'foreign lad' as being of non-Moslem birth. See Gibb and Bowen, *Islamic Society and the West*, 329, n. 4.

[70] Malik-Shah's son.

of corruption were generated in Nishapur by the agency of a number of demon-like men the hand of whose domination had been restrained from tyranny and oppression under the rule of the Solomon-like Sultan,[71] as the sword of iniquity and injustice had then remained undrawn in the sheath of their volition. These persons, from behind the curtains of opposition, began to prepare for war against the Sultan together with the son of Toghan-Shah, Sanjar-Shah, whom the Sultan used to cherish in the bosom of his kindness and in the stronghold of his benevolence and to favour like his own children by reason of two ties which he maintained with him, the first being that Sanjar's mother was married to the Sultan and the second that the Sultan's sister had followed his daughter into Sanjar's household. He now by reason of his adverse fortune and unlucky horoscope was reduced by the above-mentioned persons to join in their plot. They made their plans in secret in order that no rumour thereof might get abroad and their design might not be revealed until they should raise up right and left and front and rear. And in sympathy with these plans of rebellion Sanjar's mother sent gold and jewels to Nishapur from Khorazm in order to beguile the notables and chief men of the town with money and lead their counsel far astray from the right path. However, their secret became known, and Sanjar-Shah was summoned to Khorazm where he was held in custody after being blinded in his world-beholding eyes.[72] The light of his sight was not completely cut off but he did not reveal this. The following is [part of] a quatrain of his:

[37] When the hand of Destiny blinded my eye,
A cry arose from the world of Youth.

After a while the emirs and Pillars of State interceded on his behalf urging the claims of his close relationship by marriage, and he was released and reinstated in the fiefs he held. And so he continued until upon a pretext made by the Angel of Death his appointed hour arrived, viz. in the year 595/1198–9.

[71] I.e. Tekish.

[72] This was done by passing a white-hot bar before the victim's eyes.

At the time when the bar was passed before his eyes no one had known [that he had not been completely blinded] nor had he informed anyone thereof, so that the very members of his household were ignorant of that circumstance, and he would squint at all that happened, good or ill, and suffered no hurt therefrom, for *'to the wise man a sign is enough'*.

After his death the Sultan turned to preparation for war and the disposition of striking and thrusting weapons, and he dispatched messengers to every side to summon the emirs of every quarter so that he might again make ready for some adventure. At this juncture news arrived of a dispute among the emirs of Iraq. In the meantime, his son Yunis Khan, on account of some hurt that had affected his eye and which could not be cured (perhaps a punishment, *for God Almighty hath said: 'An eye for an eye'* [73]), returned from Ray leaving Mayanchuq behind as his deputy. And in Baghdad an army commanded by [38] the vizier was fitted out to make an attack on Iraq. Qutlugh-Inanch came to Ray to the assistance of Mayanchuq. They remained together for several days, and then Mayanchuq suddenly fell upon Qutlugh-Inanch and killed him. He sent his head to Khorazm claiming that he had been meditating rebellion. The Sultan was much affected by this shameful excuse and manifest treason and realized that these were the symptoms of insurrection, but he judged it expedient not to reveal his feelings. Finally, in [592/1195–6] [74] he set out for Iraq for the third time. The vizier of the Caliph being in Hamadan with an army the Sultan halted upon reaching Muzdaqan.[75] A day or two later the two sides joined battle and the army of Baghdad saw no refuge save in seeking quarter. In his wonted manner the Sultan spared their lives and dismissed them with honour. Some days before the battle the vizier, who had commanded the army, had passed away, and the news of his death had been kept so secret that the army were ignorant of it until after their defeat. The

[73] Koran, v. 49. See above, p. 297, n. 49.

[74] There is a blank in the MSS. and M.Q. has supplied the date from Ibn-al-Athir.

[75] Now Mazdaqan to the west of Saveh in Central Persia.

dead man's head was cut off and sent to Khorazm—an act as unchivalrous as it was unworthy of a Sultan.

The report of the Sultan's victory spread through the two Iraqs and his cause prospered accordingly. The *atabeg* Öz-Beg came to him from Azerbaijan having fled from his brother. The Sultan received him with honour and bestowed Hamadan upon him.

From Hamadan the Sultan proceeded to Isfahan where [39] he remained some time. The following *qit'a* was composed by Khaqani [76] [in reference to that occasion]:

> Glad tidings! the Khorazm-Shah has taken the kingdom of Isfahan; he has taken the kingdom of the two Iraqs as well as Khorasan.
> The crescent [77] upon his parasol has conquered the castle of the heavens; the wavy lustre [78] upon his sword has taken the kingdom of Solomon.[79]

After a while he set out upon the return journey having placed his grandson Erbüz Khan,[80] son of Toghan-Toghdi [81] in the town of Isfahan and left Bighu Sipahsalar-i-Samani [82] as his *atabeg*. Upon arriving in Khorazm he sent Nasir-ad-Din Malik-Shah a mandate conferring upon him the emirate of Khorasan but said: 'Go not to Merv, for its climate agrees not with your constitution.' However, the violence of his passion for the chase made his intellect its prey and he set out for Merv, where he fell sick. He left for Nishapur but his illness grew worse; his disease prevailed over him and because of that malady he betook himself from this transient abode to the place of eternity; and

[76] According to 'Ali 'Abdorrasuli, the editor of Khaqani's *Divan*, Tehran, 1216/1937–8, viii, the author of these lines was actually Kamal-ad-Din Isma'il.

[77] *māhcha* 'little moon', which can also mean the *knob* at the end of his parasol.

[78] *mūrcha*, which means lit. 'little ant'.

[79] This would normally mean Fars.

[80] ARBWZ. Cf. the name Ervüz (Erwüz) in Kashghari.

[81] Actually a sentence: *toghan toghdī* 'the falcon is born'. For other examples of this type of name see Houtsma, *op. cit.*, 34–5.

[82] Lit. 'the Samanid Commander-in-Chief'. Conceivably the title was inherited from an ancestor in the service of the Samanids (874–999), the Persian rulers of Transoxiana, whose dynasty was overthrown by the Qara-Khanids.

this came to pass on the eve of Thursday the 9th of Rabi' II, 593 [1st of March, 1197]. When news of his death smote the ear of the Sultan he moaned and lamented loudly, which availed him nothing, and abandoned the expedition which he had intended to make against the infidel. And since the sons of Malik-Shah were meditating connivance at rebellion and opposition to the Sultan, he dispatched Nizam-al-Mulk Sadr-ad-Din Mas'ud of Herat to Shadyakh to administer affairs and allay disturbances; [40] he sent Malik-Shah's sons, the eldest of whom was Hindu-Shah, to Khorazm; and by reason of his well-considered measures the tumults of unrest and the calamities of Fate died down under his firm control. And in the wake of this vizier the Sultan dispatched his second son Qutb-ad-Din Muhammad, to assume responsibility for the affairs of Khorasan. When he arrived the vizier had already completed his work and repelled the disturbers of the peace: two days later on the second of Zul-Hijja [16th of October, 1197] he returned to the Sultan and Malik Qutb-ad-Din busied himself with the administration of Khorasan.

[He continued to administer that province] until the time when an estrangement occurred between Qadir-Buqu and his nephew Alp-Direk.[83] The latter came to Jand and sent messengers to the Sultan to say that if he received help from him he would get rid of Qadir-Buqu and his kingdom would then be the Sultan's for the taking. The vindictiveness of anger, more malignant than the evil eye, prevailed on him to listen to a people of strangers, and he dispatched emissaries in all directions to assemble troops and conclude treaties and likewise summoned Malik Qutb-ad-Din back from Shadyakh. Upon the latter's arrival in Khorazm they set out together in Rabi' I, 594 [January–February, 1198], and Qadir-Buqu made a raid as far as Jand in order to attack Alp-Direk. His arrival at Jand coincided with that of Malik Qutb-ad-Din, who had advanced ahead of the

[83] ALB DRK. I take the second element of the name to be the Turkish *tirek* or *direk* 'pillar'. On the use of this word in Old Turkish in the sense of 'minister' see Hamilton, *Les Ouïghours à l'époque des Cinq Dynasties*, 157. Barthold, *op. cit.*, 343–4, identifies Alp-Direk with the Qipchaq chieftain Qara-Alp Oran (*ibid.*, 340–1).

main army in order to reconnoitre; and in this divine predestination favoured the Sultan's lot. The two forces drew up and joined battle. Qadir-Buqu was put to flight and [41] Malik Qutb-ad-Din set out in his pursuit. [Having captured him] he bore him, together with his chiefs and troops—*'linked together in chains'* [84]—before the Sultan, who dispatched him in bonds and shackles to Khorazm in Rabi' II of that year [February–March, 1198]. Following upon him the victorious Sultans themselves arrived in the capital.

The remains of Qadir-Buqu's people, despairing of their leader, gathered around * Kün-Er-Direk [85] and collected together to work confusion and light up the flame of unrest. Acting upon the proverb: *'Iron is split by iron'* [86] the Sultan raised Qadir-Buqu from the abasement of captivity to the glory of command and having bound him by firm treaties dispatched him at the head of a large force to deal with Alp-Direk.

Meanwhile, the Sultan himself set out for Khorasan and arrived in Shadyakh on Tuesday the 2nd of Zul-Hijja, 594 [5th of October, 1198]. Three months later he left for Iraq to settle with Mayanchuq. Because he had for so long ruled that country and preoccupied himself with its affairs a desire for absolute rule and complete independence had taken firm root in his brain, and the demon of Error had rested in his overweening mind, and he was deluded and misled by the munitions and equipment [42] that had accrued to him by the Sultan's fortune. During the winter of that year the Sultan tarried in Mazandaran, but in the beginning of spring he prepared for action. As for Mayanchuq, for all the great army he had gathered together, when he heard the sound of the raging sea, that is, the movement of the Sultan's troops, he was unable to picture constancy in his heart and became exceedingly frightened and alarmed; he was at his wits' end as to what course he should take, and pride

[84] Koran, xiv, 50, or xxxviii, 37.

[85] KNAR DRK. The first part of the name is conceivably a compound of the Turkish *kün* 'sun' and *er* 'man'. As M.Q. states in a footnote, Kün-Er-Direk must be identical with Alp-Direk, the nephew of Qadir-Buqu.

[86] 'Set a thief to catch a thief.'

and firmness were inconsistent with the state of his mind. With the few men that still remained with him he was twice chased all round Iraq by the Sultan; and all this time he was constantly sending messengers to make excuses and seek pardon and at the same time in his fear was beseeching the Sultan to desist from summoning him to his presence. When it became clear to the Sultan that his heart was false he dispatched an army to pursue him like the wind. They came upon him unawares and put the greater part of his followers to the sword. He himself with a small defeated band made his way to the castle of Firuzkuh,[87] which he had previously seized by guile and treachery from the Sultan's commanders, slaying those who held it on his behalf and installing his own men in it with a great store of supplies and provisions. Arriving before the castle in his pursuit the Sultan's army set about besieging it: under shots from their mangonels they dragged him by force out of the castle, bound him upon a camel and took him to the Sultan at Qazvin. The latter, speaking through his chamberlains, enumerated all the boons and blessings he owed to the royal house and went on to recount the ingratitude with which he had requited these kindnesses and favours, committing acts of treachery, abolishing imposts, cancelling taxes, ousting Erbüz Khan from Isfahan and expelling his tax-collectors [43] from the Divan. 'Although,' said the Sultan, 'his just retribution would be nought less than exemplary punishment and the imposition of every degree of chastisement, nevertheless because of my debt of gratitude to his brother Aqcha, who never committed an act of disloyalty, I have spared his life, but on condition that as a punishment for some of his rebellious actions he shall be enchained and imprisoned for a year and then pass the rest of his life on one of the frontiers against the infidel on the Jand border.'

Simultaneously with this victory came the glad tidings of Qadir-Buqu's defeat of * Kün-Er-Direk and, thirdly, the news that messengers had arrived from Baghdad bearing splendid and

[87] I.e. the famous castle on the slopes of Mt. Damavand (see le Strange, *op. cit.*, 371 and 372, n. 1), not to be confused with Firuzkuh in Ghur, on which see below, p. 328, n. 5.

numerous presents and a patent conferring the title of Sultan of Iraq, Khorasan and Turkestan.

Being no longer preoccupied with all these matters and having no further cause for apprehension regarding the Supreme Divan, the Sultan now took it into his head to uproot and extirpate the Heretics and led an army to the foot of Qal'a-yi-Qahira,[88] a castle which had been captured by Arslan son of Toghril[89] and had therefore become known as Arslan-Gushai. He continued to lay siege to it for four months until, finally, being compelled to come to terms the garrison began to come down [44] in detachments and depart to Alamut; and so they all of them got away in safety with all their possessions. Arslan-Gushai is a castle near Qazvin on the borders of the Rudbar of Alamut, near to earth and far from heaven, by no means impregnable and but ill supplied with men and treasure. Sayyid Sadr-ad-Din in the *Zubdat-at-Tawarikh,* wishing to magnify the exploits of the Sultan,[90] describes it as follows: *'It is a strong castle built of solid rock upon a lofty mountain-top, which seizes Heaven by the forelock and butts Orion; and it was crammed with men eager to give their lives and supported by every manner of arms.'*[91]

Now had Sayyid Sadr-ad-Din been witness of the conquest of their strong castles that were taken in the present age by the army of the illustrious King[92] within a short space of time (as shall be mentioned in its proper place), he would have been ashamed to mention this conquest, let alone describe the castle, and would have considered the following line of 'Unsuri appropriate to the occasion:

> Such are the actions of the great when action is called for;
> such are the traces left by the swords of the Khusraus.

[88] Lit. 'the Mighty Castle'. According to Ravandi, 289–90, the castle was built by the Assassins during the reign of Sultan Mas'ud (1133–52), Arslan's uncle, and given the name of Jahān-Gushāi. It was unsuccessfully besieged by Mas'ud but was finally captured by Arslan (1161–77) at the beginning of his reign.

[89] I.e. Toghril I (1132–3). [90] I.e. Sultan Arslan, not of course Tekish.

[91] This passage is absent from the history of Sadr-ad-Din edited by Muhammad Iqbal (Lahore, 1933). This may not however be the original work of Sadr-ad-Din but a later compilation based upon it. The absence of the passage quoted by Juvaini was first noticed by Houtsma in *Acta Orientalia,* III, 145. (V.M.)

[92] I.e. Hülegü.

And if it should occur to anyone who has not seen these castles that this is nought but rhetorical language bearing the brand of flattery like that describing Arslan-Gushai, such a person may be answered with the jest of Abul-Fazl Baihaqi, who in the *Ta'rikh-i-Nasiri* relates as follows: 'When the Sultan was returning from Somnat [93] one of his falconers slew a great serpent. They skinned it, and the hide was thirty ells long and four ells broad.' Now the point of this is that Abul-Fazl goes on to say: 'If any one doubts this story let him go to the castle of Ghazna and see that hide for himself where it hangs from the gate like a curtain.' [94] The compiler of these histories for his part [45] remarks that nothing now remains of that hide but a story, but let such a doubter rise up and from Tarum [95] in the West to the region of Sistan, which is a distance of nearly 300 parasangs, let him survey the mountains and castles that shall stand firm till the time when it shall come to pass *'that the mountains shall be like flocks of carded wool'*;[96] let him with his reason compare that one puny fortress with the hundred or more stout castles, each of them a hundred times as strong as Arslan-Gushai, that were conquered in this present age by the grace of God the Avenger and the fortune of the august monarch Hülegü; and from thence let him deduce the prowess and might of each of their armies and warriors.

After capturing that castle and quenching the flame of unrest the Sultan established his son Taj-ad-Din 'Ali-Shah in Iraq, fixing his place of residence in Isfahan, and he himself turned back and made his way to Khorazm, which he entered on the 10th of Jumada II, 596 [28th of March, 1200].

Meanwhile, the Heretics observing that the Sultan's hostility was due to the endeavours of Nizam-al-Mulk, who was the chief vizier, *fida'is* took up positions on the path to a palace to

[93] Or Somnath, on the south coast of the peninsula of Kathiawar.

[94] This passage is not to be found in the edition of the *Ta'rīkh-i-Baihaqī*. On the author and his work see Barthold, *op. cit.*, 22–4.

[95] Ṭārum (Tarom) is a district to the north of Zanjan on the south-western slopes of the Elburz range, by which it is separated from the Caspian province of Gilan.

[96] Koran, ci, 4.

which the vizier was going. When he came out of the palace one of the accursed ones struck a blow at his back whilst another from the other side stabbed him in the head, so that he straightway gave up the ghost. Now it was one of the wondrous events of this world that the said vizier bore an enmity towards the Grand Chamberlain Shihab-ad-Din Mas'ud of Khorazm and also Hamid-ad-Din 'Ariz of Zuzan, and in those last days he had been attacking these two dignitaries before the Sultan. Just before his own death he had caused 'Ariz to be beheaded at the gate of that palace and he was plotting to send Shihab-ad-Din Mas'ud after him. But vengeful Fate, nay rather the previous commandment of the Creator, required it that before fulfilling this intention his own blood should be spilled upon that of 'Ariz. As for the *fida'is* they were cut to pieces on the spot [46]. *The Apostle of God (may God bless him and his family!) hath truthfully said: 'Thou hast slain and shalt be slain; and thy slayer shall be slain.'*

Sultan Tekish was much grieved at this and determined upon requital and revenge. He appointed Malik Qutb-ad-Din to this task and sent a messenger to instruct him first to choose his troops and then to begin with Quhistan.[97] In accordance with this command Qutb-ad-Din made his preparations and commenced with Turshiz.[98] With a host such that the mountain could not bear the trample of their feet he laid siege to that castle. For four months he continued to fight; the moat of Turshiz, which was as deep as a cavern, had been filled in, and the siege was so far advanced that the castle might have been taken within a week. Meanwhile, the Sultan, who had been assembling armies from every side in Khorazm and preparing for action, was attacked by a plethoric disease which developed into quinsy *(from which God preserve us!)*. His physicians treated the disease, and when he began to recover he set out

[97] Quhistān, 'the Mountain Country', was the name given to the region stretching southwards from the Nishapur area along what is now the Afghan border. It is Marco Polo's Tunocain, a name derived from its two chief towns Tūn (now Firdaus) and Qā'in. The principal town to-day is Birjand.

[98] There is still a district of Turshiz, to the west of Turbat-i-Haidari. Le Strange, *op. cit.*, 354, n. 2, locates the town on the site of the present-day Firuzabad.

[for Turshiz]. The physicians forbade him to travel, but the Sultan, because of the fierceness of the fire of wrath, would not recite the *sura* on the acceptance of advice. He continued to journey till he came to the stage known as Chah-i-'Arab ('Arabs' Well'), and since the bucket of his life had fallen to the bottom of the well his malady returned and he departed from this transient abode to that eternal resting-place. This was on the 19th of Ramazan, 596 [23rd of June, 1200].

The Pillars of State at once dispatched messengers to Malik Qutb-ad-Din to inform him. Meanwhile a prodigy occurred: his standard snapped for no reason and drooped its head. He took this as an evil omen and following upon it came the news of his father's death. He concealed it from the army and on the pretext of sickness [47] made ready to return. Envoys passed to and fro and they began to discuss terms of peace. Having no inkling of his father's death the people of Turshiz performed many services and offered tribute over and above 100,000 dinars. Malik Qutb-ad-Din then returned. Like a downrushing flood or a torrent of rain he joined day to night and night to day until he reached the gates of Shahristana. There he performed the rites of mourning and hastened on to Khorazm.

[II]

OF THE ACCESSION OF 'ALA-AD-DIN KHORAZM-SHAH

WHEN he arrived at the capital, the emirs and Pillars of State gathered together and held a feast; and on Thursday the 20th of Shavval, 596 [4th of August, 1200] with divine assistance they set him upon the throne of kingship. The withered branches of the realm became fresh and verdant and the dead soul of justice returned to life and health; and bearers of the good tidings proceeded to every corner of the land.

When news of his father's death reached the Sultans of Ghur, Shihab-ad-Din and Ghiyas-ad-Din, those painters, the promptings of the demon Ambition, limned pictures of wicked and unprofitable imaginings and drawings of lewd and fruitless

phantasies upon the page of their brain; and the bride-dressers known as Human Pride [48] perfumed and painted the brides called Greed and Cupidity. They therefore dispatched an army in advance to Merv, where they stationed Muhammad Kharang; whilst they themselves set out with a great host and ninety elephants, each the size of a mountain. First they came to Tus, where they engaged in much looting and pillaging, and from thence in Rajab, 597 [April–May, 1201], to Shadyakh. Here was the brother of Sultan Muhammad, 'Ali-Shah, who had returned from Iraq, together with other dignitaries. The brother Sultans rode all round the walls as though they were sightseeing and then came to a halt in front of the town. In order to watch the army a large crowd of people had taken up their stand in a tower facing them. The tower collapsed. The soldiers took this as a favourable augury; they stormed the town that very day and began to plunder, sending *shahnas* to the houses of ascetics and holy men lest any harm should befall them. They continued to pillage till mid-day, when a proclamation was made that they should desist. [49] And such was the discipline of the army that each soldier at once let go of what he was holding; and all the spoil having been gathered together, as soon as anyone recognized his goods, they were at once restored to him; for there was policy in their plundering.

As for the army of Khorazm they were taken out of Shadyakh together with Taj-ad-Din 'Ali-Shah and the notables and dignitaries of the Sultan's realm and subjected to many tortures and torments, after which they were dispatched to the capital of Ghur. Every one who had had some hand in the administration of the Divan had his property confiscated, and *shahnas* were dispatched to Jurjan and Bistam to take possession of those places. The Sultans then turned back after placing Ziya-ad-Din in Nishapur at the head of a large army and repairing the walls of the fortifications. Ghiyas-ad-Din went to Herat, whilst Shihab-ad-Din proceeded to Quhistan to destroy the abodes of the Heretics and demolish their castles. After first resisting, the people of Junabid [1] sued for peace and tendered their submission.

[1] Now Gūnābād.

He set the cadi of Tulak [2] over that place as guardian and went to Herat.

When Sultan Muhammad learnt of the turmoil and confusion amongst the people of Khorasan he set out from Khorazm like a raging lion or a terror-striking lightning-flash with a great army and an immense host, and on the 17th of Zul-Hijja of the same year [18th of September, 1201] sat down before Shadyakh and stationed his forces around the town. The Ghuris made sallies and engaged in battle, being full of conceit of their might and prowess. But after tasting the valour of the army of Khorazm, they realized that their toil was in vain and all their fighting of no avail. They crept like mice into their hole, and mangonels were set in action on the outside until the walls were humbled like the earth and the moat filled in. Perceiving that they were about to fall into the abasement of captivity, they had recourse to ambassadors and causing the *shaikhs* and *'ulema* to intervene on their behalf they humbly and servilely begged the Sultan [50] for quarter. He put into practice the proverb: *' If thou art king, be indulgent '* with respect to them and closed his eyes to crimes and misdemeanours; and having honoured and dignified them with robes in great number and money without measure he dispatched them, loaded with boons and favours, to the Sultan of Ghur, in order that they might learn how to give when powerful and how to be clement and indulgent in the face of great rancour and hatred.

Having ordered the walls of the town to be completely demolished the Sultan set out from thence for Merv and Sarakhs, which was held by Hindu-Khan, his nephew, on behalf of the Sultans of Ghur. When Hindu-Khan heard of his uncle's approach the rain of discomfiture rained down upon him and he left for Ghur. Upon the Sultan's arrival at Sarakhs the governor of the fortress did not come forward [to meet him], and he left a party to besiege the town until they took it and made the governor prisoner.

Meanwhile the Sultan himself had returned to Khorazm by

[2] Tūlak is still the name of a town and district to the east of Herat. Juzjani took part in the defence of the fortress against the Mongols. (Raverty, 1961.)

way of Merv and had a second time made ready for battle. In Zul-Qa'da of that year [3] he set out once again intending to attack Herat and extirpate its noble rulers. He encamped in the meadows of Radkan, and as soon as his followers were gathered together from every side set out from thence at the head of a great army of Taziks and Turks. His pavilion was erected outside Herat, and his troops pitched tent after tent all round the town, like a bracelet about the arm. Mangonels were set in action upon either side, and battering rams moved with the speed of chargers; the towers were breached and the walls smashed to pieces. Now the governor *(kūtvāl)* of the fortress, 'Izz-ad-Din Marghazi,[4] was a man who had been polished and pruned by the experiences of life. He saw no other means of escape but to seek humbly for quarter. He therefore sent forward ambassadors [51] and accepted a heavy tribute, dispatching his own son to the Sultan as a hostage. At this the violence of the Sultan's anger abated and his acceptance of the people's request for pardon and forgiveness became a chain of gratitude about their necks.

Meanwhile the Sultans of Ghur were gathering their forces and making ready to return to Khorasan. When the Sultan was occupied with the siege of Herat they determined to avail themselves of the absence of the Khorazm-Shah and his allies from the lands and regions of that kingdom and to lead their armies thither. Receiving tidings of this the Sultan turned back by way of Marv-ar-Rud, while Sultan Shihab-ad-Din came up by way of Talaqan. Sultan Muhammad thought it would be prudent not to cross the river so that the water, like fire, might serve as a screen between the two armies. As for the troops they were divided in their minds whether to cross or to stay; and some actually crossed. As the Sultan had no mind for an encounter he decided to proceed to Merv. The men of Ghur followed in pursuit of the Sultan's army. Upon reaching

[3] Which year? Juvaini cannot mean Zul-Qa'da of the year 597 since on the 17th of Zul-Hijja of that year (19th of September, 1201) the Khorazm-Shah had laid siege to Shadyakh. [See above, p. 317.] It seems most likely that he means Zul-Qa'da of the following year [August, 1202]. (M.Q.)

[4] I.e. of Merv.

Sarakhs, he halted; and ambassadors passed to and fro between the two sides. The Sultan was asked to surrender some of the provinces of Khorasan, but because he disdained to accept tribute he would not agree and set out from Sarakhs for Khorazm. As for Sultan Shihab-ad-Din he led his army to Tus and wrenched out the wings and feathers of the inhabitants with tortures and confiscations. There being insufficient provisions for his army he forced the people to sell corn and sent men to carry off the grain which they had transported to Meshed *(Mashhad-i-Ṭūs)* where it was under the protection of the tomb of the shrine. For these hard reasons, in addition to what had gone before, the minds of noble and base alike were filled with hatred of their rule, and the people had an even greater desire to attach themselves [52] to the Khorazm-Shah's party.

At this juncture there came news of the death of his brother Ghiyas-ad-Din and Shihab-ad-Din beat the drum of departure. Upon reaching Merv he left Muhammad Kharang there. This Muhammad Kharang was one of the chief emirs and heroes of Ghur and, in bravery, the Rustam of the age. He made a raid on Abivard, where he took some of the Sultan's emirs prisoner and slew a number of people. From thence he proceeded to Tarq [5] to attack Taj-ad-Din Khalaj, who sent him his son as a hostage; and as he turned back the emir of Margha [6] likewise sent him his son. Elated by this success he was returning to Merv when he received tidings that an army from Khorazm was approaching the city by way of the desert. He turned to meet them, and when the two armies came together the winds of the Sultan's fortune began to blow from the direction of Divine Assistance and the hearts of his adversaries began to tremble. And though the army of Khorazm was not the half of the army of Ghur they charged down upon them and put them to flight. By a thousand wiles Kharang succeeded in entering Merv, but the army of Khorazm arrived before the town and making a

[5] Unidentified. The spelling is uncertain but may be the same as that of the village called Ṭarq in Central Persia. See le Strange, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, 209 and 449.

[6] The castle near Merv. See above, pp. 154 and 165.

breach in the walls took him prisoner. For fear of his fury one of the emirs at once dealt him a blow and his head was dispatched to Khorazm, where the Sultan disavowed the killing. When news of his death reached Sultan Ghiyas-ad-Din,[7] he was filled with anxiety and bewilderment and overwhelmed with weakness and impotence, for Kharang had been the mainstay of the Sultans of Ghur and [53] their bulwark in battle; and his strength of arm and courage were such that on several occasions they had commanded him to engage in combat with a lion[8] and an elephant and he vanquished both. When the Sultans made him fight with these beasts every few days he killed them both and said: 'How long must I fight with a dog and a pig?' He would break the leg of a three-year old horse.

After the Sultan's troops had won this victory the Pillars of State began to urge him to attack the kingdom of Herat,[9] which kingdom they decked out to appeal to his heart and eye. 'The elder brother, Ghiyas-ad-Din,' they said, 'is now removed, and his sons are quarrelling among themselves about the kingdom and the inheritance. The greater part of the emirs are inclined in favour of the Sultan, and since his exalted banners have cast their shadow over those regions, most of them have been clutching the handle of fortune.' These words produced a most pleasant effect upon the Sultan's heart, and dreams of wealth became pictures upon his mind. In Jumada I, 600 [January, 1204], he set out for Herat with a well-equipped army of warriors adorned with bravery and valour. Now Alp-Ghazi, the chief emir of Ghur, had been appointed governor of Herat. When the Sultan's retinue arrived before the town they set up the royal pavilion. Mangonels were then aimed at the towers and from every side stones rained down like hail upon the bazaars and streets so that it became impossible for people to walk about. The inhabitants began to despair, and Alp-Ghazi caused ambassadors to intercede. 'I have,' he said, 'full authority from the Sultan to make peace and so ensure that the path of unity

[7] So in all the MSS. for Shihab-ad-Din. (M.Q.)
[8] Or perhaps a tiger. See above, p. 257, n. 30.
[9] I.e. the kingdom of the Ghurids.

be trodden and the customs of orthodoxy observed. No one shall henceforth molest Khorasan neither shall the Sultan's men in any way molest or injure these regions.' In addition to these agreements and covenants he undertook to pay a huge tribute and went surety for the Ghuris' good faith. The Sultan for his part, wishing to lance the abscess of strife and rancour [54] and so spare the lives and honour of fellow Moslems, gladly accepted the offers of Alp-Ghazi and the people of Herat and protected them from losing their lives and property. Alp-Ghazi came to wait upon the Sultan, and the floor of the audience-hall was bruised by the touch of his lips and his forehead covered with dust from his prostrating himself in thanksgiving. In accordance with their treaty the Sultan sent him back to the town after loading him with honours, and Alp-Ghazi, in order to collect the tribute which he had undertaken to pay, opened the hand of oppression and exaction against the people and began to extract it from them by such means. When the Sultan heard of his tyranny and violence, he did not neglect the obligations of justice towards the people and considered the waiving of this condition to be a more lasting treasury and a stouter bastion. In fulfilment of the treaty he withdrew. His army laid waste the region of Badghis [10] and were heartened by the capture of goods and cattle, although they were in fear and dread of the Sultan on account of that pillaging. He proceeded to Merv, and Alp-Ghazi, who had been dismissed from the service of Sultan Shihab-ad-Din for undertaking to effect a reconciliation, reached the appointed time only two or three days after the Sultan's departure.

In order to take his revenge Sultan Shihab-ad-Din was again preparing to go to war and this time he intended to begin by attacking Khorazm. When news of his intention reached the Sultan, he practised caution by acting with decision and returned to Khorazm by way of the desert. In this way he raced the army of Ghur, which exceeded ants or locusts in their numbers, and arriving in his capital, informed the people of that army's

[10] Bādghīs is now a district of Afghanistan, to the north of Herat on the frontier with Turkmenistan.

approach, and announced the occurrence of that unexpected calamity. The whole population, inwardly boiling with zealous rage and outwardly agitated with fear of humiliation and abasement, with one heart and voice agreed to resist and fight, to oppose and repel, and all [55] of them busied themselves with the provisions of arms and implements of war such as swords and lances. The revered *imam* Shihab-ad-Din of Khivaq,[11] who was a pillar of the Faith and a bulwark of the realm, went to every extreme in his efforts to discomfit the enemy and repulse them from harem and homeland, and in sermons from the pulpit he gave sanction for battle in accordance with the true tradition: *' Whoso is slain in defence of his life and property, the same is a martyr.'* On this account the zeal and good will of the people were redoubled, and they set to work as one man. Meanwhile, the Sultan had sent relays of messengers to every part of Khorasan to summon infantry and cavalry, having also sought aid from the *gür-khan.* He fixed his camp on the bank at Nuzvar,[12] and within only a few days seventy thousand men of action and spirit had been gathered together. Meanwhile the army of Ghur, with so many troops and elephants and with such bustle and clangour that, had they wished, they could have turned the Oxus into a plain and made the plain an Oxus with blood, pitched their camp opposite on the eastern bank.[13] The Sultan of Ghur ordered them to seek a ford in order to cross the next day and trouble the drinking-place of the Sultan's pleasure. And he began to dispose his elephants and instruct his men in order that next day at dawn they might fashion the cup of battle out of human skulls. Suddenly news came that Tayangu [14] of Taraz,[15] the commander of the army of Qara-Khitai, was approaching

[11] The later Khiva.

[12] Reading NWZWAR for the NWRAWR of the text. On Nūzvār see Barthold, *Turkestan,* 148 and 155.

[13] Barthold, *op. cit.,* 350, n. 5, comments that ' perhaps not the main river bed but the channel flowing near Gurgānj is intended '.

[14] ṬAYNKW. This was probably the man's title rather than his name: *tayangu* in Old Turkish means ' chamberlain '.

[15] Ṭarāz or Talas, the later Aulie-Ata and the present-day Jambul, on the river Talas.

with a fire-like host and that with him was the Sultan of Sultans of Samarqand. When the people of the elephant [16] realized that the Lord of Lords had cast their plotting into confusion and that from war and battle could come nought but despair, they thrust back the sword of combat into the belt of retreat and chose to flee rather than to stay; and despite [56] disappointment and loss of honour complied with the proverb:

This is not thy nest, depart then from a dwelling that befits thee not.

Shihab-ad-Din commanded his men to burn the baggage in the night and sew up the eye of sleep; and from excess of aberration and perversity they hamstrung the horses and the camels. As they retreated the Sultan pursued them like a raging lion or a jealous stallion as far as Hazar-Asf, where they turned and gave battle. The Sultan's army charged their right wing, and the standards of the Ghuris were overturned and their fortune reversed. Many of their emirs and leaders fell into the bonds of captivity, and the rest of them limped and stumbled through the waterless wilderness *'like some bewildered man whom the Satans have spell-bound in the desert'*.[17] The army of Khorazm continued to follow angrily at their heels, like stallions in pursuit of mares, until by infamous wiles they passed through Saifabad.[18] The Sultan, enveloped in gracious bounty and submerged in bounteous grace, turned back possessed of wealth, and elephants, and camels, and horses; and Auspicious Fortune through the tongue of Predestined Felicity inspired men's hearts with the verse: *'God promised you the taking of a rich booty and sped it to you.'* [19] The Sultan gave a feast in Khorazm, and one of his courtiers asked Firdaus of Samarqand, a minstrel girl, for a quatrain suitable to the occasion. She extemporized as follows:

O king, the Ghuri escaped from thee in confusion;
Like a chicken he escaped from the kite.

[16] A reference to Koran, cv, where by 'the people of the elephant' are meant the forces of Abraha, the Abyssinian viceroy of the Yemen, who marched against Mecca in the year of the Prophet's birth. See Nicholson, *A Literary History of the Arabs*, 65–9.

[17] Koran, vi, 70. [18] Unidentified. [19] Koran, xlviii, 20.

He alighted from his horse and hid his face;
The king gave thee his elephants and escaped being killed.[20]

As for the army of Ghur, when they reached Andkhud[21] they saw what they saw; for the army of Khitai overtook them [37] and encompassed them on every side. And from dawn till dusk either side fought with sword and lance, and many perished. On the next day, when the standard of the sun was raised upon the walls of the horizon and the solar scouts appeared from behind the Eastern curtain, the army of Khitai showed their mettle and charged all together. The neck of their opponents' resistance was broken and the hand of conflict tied; all that were left of the army, viz. 50,000 men, were slain in battle, and Sultan Shihab-ad-Din found himself alone in the centre with some 100 men. By means of a ruse he flung himself into the citadel of Andkhud; but the army of Khitai breached a hole in the wall and he was on the point of being captured when the Sultan of Samarqand sent him the following message: 'For the honour of Islam I should not like a Moslem Sultan to fall into the snare of unbelievers and be slain at their hands. It is advisable therefore for thee to offer as ransom for thy person all that thou hast in the way of elephants and horses and immovable and movable property. On this pretext I will seek to mediate on thy behalf and obtain the consent of this people.' Sultan Shihab-ad-Din offered everything that he had as a ransom and all at once the contents of the treasuries and arsenals were scattered as largesse. By a thousand wiles he obtained his release through the intercession of the Sultan of Samarqand and got away with his life at a time when '*no time was it of escape*'.[22]

If we return safe with honourable souls that hoped
for something but were disappointed in their hope,

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[20] The second two lines have a double meaning and may also be translated as follows:

From being a knight he became a pawn and hid [covered] the castle.
The king surrendered the bishops to thee and so became checkmated.

[21] The present-day Andkhui in Northern Afghanistan.

[22] Koran, xxxviii, 2.

Our souls are the best of all spoils: they return with their sap and their life in them.[23] [58]

When the Sultan of Ghur arrived in his own country stripped of his army and treasure and displaying a hundred thouand blemishes, the Sultan sent one of his chamberlains to him with the following message: 'It was your men who started these hostilities and *"the aggressor is the more unjust"*, but henceforward let the paths of concord be followed and the highway of discord closed.' Sultan Shihab-ad-Din for his part confirmed the terms of peace with mighty oaths and bound himself to aid and assist the Sultan whenever he so commanded; and a pact was concluded between the two Sultans to this effect. However, two months later a part of the army of Ghur assembled in the confines of Talaqan, and Taj-ad-Din Zangi, who was the instigator of this rebellion, made an attack on Marv-ar-Rud (which was to result in his losing his head), drove the revenue official *('āmil)* unexpectedly into the snare of destruction and began to stir up oppression, and arouse tyranny, and extort money. News of this reached the Sultan, and he dispatched Badr-ad-Din Chaghir from Merv and Taj-ad-Din 'Ali from Abivard to repel these disturbers of the peace. After the battle Zangi, together with ten of the emirs, was sent in chains to Khorazm, where in punishment for their actions their heads—*far be it from my listeners!*—were severed from their bodies. The violence of these disturbances was allayed and the realm was at peace.

But though the ropes of solemn oaths were spliced together between the two Sultans, yet Sultan Shihab-ad-Din because of chagrin for what had passed was gnawing the back of his hand and, in preparation for action, was assembling troops and manufacturing weapons on the pretext of an expedition against the infidel. Finally, in the year 602/1205–6 he took it into his head to make a beginning by an inroad into India for the purpose of mending the affairs of his retainers and followers, who had

[23] Abdallah b. 'Utaiba, one of the chief men of Basra. Quoted by 'Utbi in his history. See Shaikh Ahmad al-Manini, *Sharḥ-al-Yamīnī*, Cairo ed., II, 417. (M.Q.)

lost all their gear and accoutrement during the last few years of campaigning in Khorasan.[24] Upon arriving in India, he was able by one victory that God granted him to repair all the deficits of treasury and army. He turned back for the homeward journey and forded the Jhelum.[25] [59] His pavilion was erected on the bank of the river[26] so that half of it extended over the water; and no care was taken to guard that side against *fida'is*. Suddenly, in the middle of the day at the time of the Sultan's siesta two or three Indians[27] emerged from the water as unexpectedly as fire and threw themselves into the pavilion, where he was lying forgetful of the waiting and watching of foes and oblivious to the perversity of Fate. They turned the bright day into black night for the army by destroying the king, and spoiled for him the flavour of the food of life. When our doom awaits us, of what avail is the might of man? And when fortune wanes of what assistance are quantities of elephants? All his gear and accoutrement, all this white and black profited him nothing.

[24] The purpose of the expedition seems rather to have been to quell a rising of the Khokars and the tribes of the Salt Range. See Juzjani tr. Raverty, 481–2, Rashid-ad-Din tr. Smirnova, 156–7, Haig, *Turks and Afghans*, 47–8.

[25] Reading JYLM, i.e. Jēlam, for the ḤYLY of the text, as suggested by M.Q.

[26] *Jaiḥūn*, i.e. the Indus. Barthold, *Turkestan*, 352, takes this for the Oxus, but in Juvaini, as M.Q. has pointed out in his introduction to Vol. II, x, this name is applied to any large river such as, for instance, the Kur in the Caucasus and the Jaxartes or Syr Darya.

[27] It is not clear from Juvaini's account whether the assassins were or were not *fida'is*, i.e. agents of the Isma'ilis; and Rashid-ad-Din (Smirnova, 158) implies that they were Khokars. On the other hand Juzjani (Raverty, 484–5) states specifically that Shihab-ad-Din 'attained martyrdom at the hand of a disciple of the Mulāḥidah'. Haig, *op. cit.*, 48, discusses the various versions of the assassination and concludes that though the Khokars 'were perhaps privy to the design, and, if so, certainly furthered it, the actual assassins appear to have been fanatical Shiahs of the heretical Ismā'īlī sect'. The scene of his death, according to both Juzjani (Raverty, 484 and 486) and Rashid-ad-Din (Smirnova, 157), was a place called Damyak; and the date is given in a quatrain quoted by Juzjani (Raverty, 486) as the 3rd of Sha'ban, 602, i.e. the 15th of March, 1206. The position of Damyak is not known, but it was probably situated on the northern bank of the Indus. Raverty, however, *loc. cit.*, n. 5, thinks it most likely that it was a little to the west of the Jhelum.

All who ruled and were obeyed and possessed wealth
and valiant troops
Reigned for a while and were chiefs and leaders and
then became nothing but the theme of conversation.[28]

[60] So many times had he toiled that the Sultan might have the profit of his toil! Still stranger was the case of the *malik* of Bamiyan, his close kinsman, himself wasting away and yet awaiting the approach of Shihab-ad-Din's end. When by the latter's death he attained his long-cherished wish he thought that the branches of his desire had borne fruit and that the garden of his fortune was become fresh and verdant. Without any pause or delay he travelled two stages in the space of one and traversed three parasangs in a single spurt. He was on the verge of realizing his wish when Death, by the decree of the Almighty, charged out from ambush and cut off the caravan of his life, which was fully loaded with the ambitions of this world. For a throne was substituted a bier, and misery took the place of felicity.

If any man attains a wish from his life in this world,
Fate causes the alif *to fall from it,*
Because from her is the origin of his composition, when
both ends of his wish are elided.[29]

Now these events were the cause of the Sultan's fortune, as shall be set forth in another chapter.

[III]

[61] HOW THE KINGDOM OF THE SULTANS OF GHUR PASSED INTO THE HANDS OF SULTAN MUHAMMAD

WHEN Sultan Shihab-ad-Din departed from this vile abode to the eternal mansion, his slaves, each of whom had become a

[28] Abul-Faraj Ahmad b. 'Ali b. Khalaf of Hamadan, a contemporary of Tha'alibi and quoted by him in the *Tatimmat-al-Yatima*. (M.Q.) See Eghbal's ed., II, 99.

[29] If the initial *alif* of AMNYH (*umnīya*) 'wish' is elided there remains MNYH (*manīya*) 'death'; and when the final *hā* is also removed there remains MNY (*manī*) 'seminal fluid'. (M.Q.)

local ruler, now achieved independence within the territory under their sway. Thus Qutb-ad-Din Ai-Beg was for a time ruler of Delhi and the frontiers of India and carried out several great expeditions against the infidel of that country. When he died and left no male heir, a slave of his own, Il-Tutmish by name, renowned for his intelligence and acumen, was set upon the throne as his successor [1] and received the *laqab* of Shams-ad-Din. His fame spread through the greater part of India and into every land and country: there are many tales and traditions regarding his campaigns and victories. The countries along the Indus including Ucha,[2] Multan, Lahore and Peshawar were seized by Qubacha [62] and were afterwards conquered by Sultan Jalal-ad-Din, as shall be mentioned in the proper place. Zavulistan [3] and Ghaznin [4] after many uprisings and disturbances were taken by Taj-ad-Din Ilduz, who became the ruler of that area. Herat, Ghiyas-ad-Din's capital, and Firuzkuh [5] were occupied by his son the Emir Mahmud. As is usual with heirs, he devoted himself to drinking and pleasure, to extravagance and frivolity; and because of the cheerful sound of the harp could not reconcile himself to the hardships of war. And since the emirs saw in his actions nought but softness and langour, and weakness and impotence, there arose a disagreement among the notables and chief men, and 'Izz-ad-Din Husain, son of Kharmil, the governor of Herat, who was the pride and the bulwark of the Sultan's kingdom, anticipated the other emirs

[1] In fact Ai-Beg was succeeded by his son Aram Shah, who was however dethroned by Il-Tutmish after reigning for less than a year. See Haig, *Turks and Afghans*, 50–1.

[2] Reading AWČA for the AWǰA of the text, i.e. Uch on the Chenab in the State of Bahawalpur.

[3] Zāvulistān (or Zābulistān) was the name given to the mountainous country along the upper waters of the Helmand.

[4] Ghaznīn is another form of Ghazna (now Ghazni).

[5] Identified by Holdich, *The Gates of India*, 222–3, with Taiwara in the Ghur valley. 'Taiwara is locally known as Ghur, and may be absolutely on the site of the ancient capital, for there are ruins enough to support the theory. . . . There is . . . absolutely no difficulty in traversing these Taimani mountain regions in almost any direction, and the facility for movement, combined with the beauty and fertility of the country, all point unmistakably to Taiwara and its neighbourhood as the seat of the Ghuri dynasty of the Afghan kings.'

in swearing allegiance to Sultan Muhammad *(may God make bright his example!)* and sent message after message and messenger after messenger to him urging him first of all to advance against Herat and annex that kingdom to his other dominions. Now at that time the Sultan was apprehensive of the Khan of Khitai [6] fearing lest he should steal a march on him and take possession of Balkh and the adjoining territory, which had been in the hands of the Sultans of Ghur and lay close to the kingdom of Khitai. Wishing, therefore, in the first place to keep off the Turks of Khitai he refrained from approaching that area [in person] but sent a messenger to Shadyakh to bid the army of Khorasan proceed to Herat. 'Izz-ad-Din, son of Kharmil, came out to welcome them and surrendered the town to them, and trod not the road of resistance. He was greatly distinguished by the Sultan with all kinds of gifts and presents [63] and received also a patent with *toghra* conferring that territory upon him. Meanwhile the other emirs, who sided with the Emir Mahmud, united to attack the Sultan's army. But before they could bestir themselves the Sultan's army charged down upon them like a lion leaping upon its prey or a falcon attacking a mountain partridge. They dispersed and scattered the whole of them, and sent bearers of these good tidings to the Sultan, and craved his presence with them; and whilst awaiting the arrival of the royal standards they halted by the way. When the Sultan arrived in the region of Balkh, the commanders of the castles came to wait on him and hastened to surrender the keys of their strongholds. As for the governor of Balkh, 'Imad-ad-Din, who was the chief emir of Bamiyan, he at first breathed hotly the breath of devotion to the Sultan and was constantly giving voice to claims of allegiance and loyalty to his Court. But when the royal banners rose up upon the desert horizon it became as clear as the sun that his claims were illusory and his words inconstant; for relying upon the fortress of Hinduvan, which was a stout stronghold and a firm foundation, he broke his promise and assembled therein choice treasuries of jewels and money. The victorious army, both horse and foot, sat down like a bracelet

[6] I.e. Qara-Khitai.

around the walls of the fortress and rained down arrows and missiles until the foundations began to collapse and the garrison to turn their backs in flight. And since there was no other cure to 'Imad-ad-Din's hurt save submission and subjection, by force of necessity, not from choice, he began to knock at the door of supplication and sued for quarter. The Sultan granted his request lest he should take fright and treated him with greater indulgence than he had expected, promising to confirm him in the possession of the territories of which he was governor. When he came out of the fortress and kissed the floor of the audience-hall, he was distinguished by the greatness of the royal attentions and the abundance of the kingly favours he received; the bird of his security began to soar over the horizon of protection; and the distinction he enjoyed in the banquet of conviviality made him the envy alike of man and jinn—'*and the Lord knoweth what their breasts conceal*'.[7] [64] Suddenly the patrols seized a letter from the hands of the couriers and brought it to the Sultan. The contents of that letter, which was addressed to the governor of Bamiyan, consisted of nothing from beginning to end but belittling of the Sultan's cause and warnings against yielding obedience and allegiance to him. The Sultan placed that epistle in his hand saying: '"*Read thy book: there wanteth none but thyself to make out an account against thee this day.*"'[8] He fell to the ground, and since his tongue could pronounce no excuse for his treachery, the Sultan declared that his violation of his covenant called for his release from the noose of life, but that since the tongue of pardon had granted his comprehension in the royal favour, in chivalry it might not be held lawful by the code of magnanimity to make any change or alteration therein. He therefore sent him to Khorazm together with all he desired in the way of choice treasures and congenial companions.

His son was in the castle of Tirmiz. Upon receiving news of his father he decided to refuse to come out. However his father sent a confidential messenger to upbraid and threaten him;

[7] Koran, xxviii, 69.

[8] *Ibid.*, xvii, 15. The Arabic word for 'book' also means 'letter'.

and he came down and, at the Sultan's command, surrendered Tirmiz to the Sultan of Samarqand.

The Sultan then entrusted the region of Balkh to Badr-ad-Din Chaghir and strengthened his hand with a large army.

Having cleansed that area of the impurities of internal disturbances the Sultan decided to proceed to Herat. Triumphant and victorious he set out by way of Jurzuvan,[9] with Time submissive to his command and the revolution of the heavens in accordance with his desire. Bearers of the glad tidings proceeded to Herat, and the inhabitants rejoiced and were of good cheer. The nobles hastened out to accord him a dutiful welcome, whilst the other classes busied themselves with decorating the town. They adorned the thoroughfare through the markets and streets with all kinds of gold-embroidered garments and hung up images and pictures. In the middle of Jumada I of that year [10] the Sultan entered the town with such equipage and majesty as no eye had ever seen and such elegance and good order as no ear had ever heard of. Cherubs preceded him crying [65] '"*Enter ye therein in peace, secure,*"'[11] and the people praised God, saying, '"*Praise be to God, Lord of the world!*"'[12] The Sultan strengthened the foundations of justice and under the shadow of his mercy and equity brought peace and repose to the whole people; and all the local rulers came to make obeisance to him. Thus the *malik* of Sistan hastened to his Court and was enrolled among the dignitaries of the kingdom: in the attentions and favours he received he was distinguished above all his coevals.

The Sultan likewise sent ʿAllama of Kerman to win over the Emir Mahmud, whom he encouraged with many promises. The following verse about the Emir Mahmud is taken from a

[9] Jurzuvān or Gurzuvān was situated either at Qal'a Wali or at Takht-i-Khatun in north-western Afghanistan east of Bala Murghab. See le Strange, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, 424 and n. 1.

[10] What year? There has been no previous mention of any year in this chapter. Ibn-al-Athir records this event *sub anno* 603/1206–7. (M.Q.)

[11] Koran, xv, 46.

[12] *Ibid.*, i, 1.

qasida composed by ʿAllama at the time when he was sent on this mission:

Sultan of East and West, Emperor of West and East,
Mahmud, son of Muhammad, son of Sam, son of Husain.[13]

Mahmud sent an ambassador to the Sultan together with ʿAllama in order to crave his appointment as viceroy of Firuzkuh and the settlement of that territory upon him. And by that envoy he sent such presents as were the accumulated treasures of all his ancestors, to which he added a white elephant. The following verse is from a *qasida* of ʿAllama of Kerman describing this elephant which was brought along with him:

To the capital of the realm I have led an elephant,
although I am not Abraha,[14] *the son of as-Sabbah.*

The Sultan granted Mahmud's request and settled the viceroyalty upon him; and he ennobled the coinage and the *khutba* with the Sultan's title and adorned men's ears with the sound thereof.

Being now finished with the affairs of that region the Sultan decided to return home. He honoured ʿIzz-ad-Din Husain, son of Kharmil, with the viceroyalty of those countries, showing him all manner of kindnesses and favours in gratitude for his services and assigning him land to the value of 250,000 [15] dinars of *rukni* gold. And in Jumada [66] II of that year [16] he shook the reins of departure in the direction of Khorazm gladdened with the advent of victory and prosperity and blessed by auspicious Exertion and predestined Fortune with the achievement of his desires.

[13] *Husain* no doubt for the sake of the rhyme with *maghribain* 'East and West'. His great-grandfather was 'Izz-ad-Din *Hasan*. His grandfather was Baha-ad-Din Sām, who ruled in Firuzkuh.

[14] See above, p. 323, n. 16.

[15] In A these figures are written in *siyāq* notation [*siyāq* or *dīvānī* is a system of figures in which Persian revenue officials keep their accounts], and since this MS. is very old (689/1290–1) it appears that in that age the *siyāq* notation was employed in more or less the same form as at the present day. (M.Q.)

[16] Again what year? Apparently 603/1206–7 according to Ibn-al-Athir and also the context. (M.Q.)

[IV]

OF WHAT BEFELL KHARMIL AFTER THE SULTAN'S RETURN

HAVING placed the government of the countries of Herat in the grasp of Kharmil, the Sultan turned his reins homewards and thereafter busied himself with all kinds of other matters such as raids and expeditions against the infidel. Rumours spread abroad that he had perished in an attack upon the army of Khitai, and the demon Temptation stuffed Kharmil's brain with foolish imaginings and the vanities of pride took up their abode in his nature. He sent an emissary to Sultan Mahmud, and since to oppose the Sultan was to agree with them [1] they promised him all kinds of benefits, and he again struck coin and read the *khutba* in the name of the Ghuris and imprisoned such as claimed some connection with the Sultan's court. However, when the news spread of the Sultan's return and triumphant entry into Khorazm, Kharmil was frightened at his own stupidity *(kharmailī)* and in dread of the violence and fury of the Sultan's anger. He had recourse to insincere excuses and sought by falsification and dissimulation to conceal his shortcomings from the Sultan and to be exempted from the duty of hastening to his presence. The Sultan pardoned and forgave him and saw fit to condone his offences.

The men of Ghur, perceiving his hypocrisy and duplicity, and realizing that he again supported the court of Khorazm, prepared to attempt his life. Becoming aware of their secret intention Kharmil applied to the Sultan's officers in Khorasan and besought their [67] aid. Most of the leading men set out for Herat and encamped outside the town. After obtaining an oath from them and craving the Sultan's protection Kharmil came out, and all agreed as to the extirpation and destruction of the army of Ghur. On this account the words: *'At early dawn your waters shall have sunk away'* [2] might have been applied

[1] I.e. presumably Mahmud and his advisers.

[2] Koran, lxvii, 30. Lit. 'your waters shall have become a *ghaur* (i.e. a sinking in the ground)'—a word-play on Ghūr.

to the source of the Ghuris' power, and all their followers were scattered.

When Kharmil's duplicity became apparent, men ceased to repose confidence in his words or deeds, because in the first place he had for no reason entered the noose of obedience and had then, without any motive of fear or dread, divested himself of the garb of allegiance. On account of such suspicions accusations were made against him before the Sultan, to whom messages were sent, saying: 'Herat is a forest whereof he is the lion, and an ocean whereof he is the leviathan. If you neglect to deal with him, there will be distraction of minds and hearts.' The Sultan accordingly sent a message to the emirs ordering them to remove him and excise the source of his corruption. They continued to treat him with courtesy in their wonted manner and still kept treading the path of gaiety and joviality. Finally, one day, they summoned him for a consultation and closeted themselves with him. They discoursed on all manner of topics, and when they had finished the *malik* of Zuzan, Qivam-ad-Din, invited him to his house ostensibly to take food and drink; but he persisted in refusing, giving frivolous excuses *(? bi-bahāna-yi-takhfīf)*. The *malik* of Zuzan then openly seized the reins of his horse and signalled to the chief officials to unsheathe the swords of death. His followers were scattered and he was dragged on foot into a tent. From thence they sent him to the castle of Salumid [3] near Khaf and pillaged his movable and immovable property. Several days later they sent his head to Khorazm.

His chief supporter and mainstay [68] was a person called Sa'd-ad-Din Rindi, a man of shrewdness and intelligence, not a fool or a glutton. He now escaped like a fox from the hunter and took refuge in the citadel of Herat. Together with him the followers of Kharmil had no desire but to repel attack, and the ruffians *(aubāsh)* and libertines *(rindī)* of Herat made ready to resist in the company of Rindi. He distributed Kharmil's

[3] Salūmid, the Salūmidh of the *Ḥudūd*, also known as Salūmak and Salām, is presumably the present-day Salāmī to the north-west of Khaf on the road to Turbat-i-Haidari.

treasuries and all his possessions as largesse among the common people and such of them as had previously possessed nothing but a stick now became men of wealth and affluence. On this account they had, like *fida'is,* taken their lives in their hands and prepared themselves for war and battle.

At this juncture, Közli [4] drew his hand out of the sleeve of rebellion in Shadyakh, as shall be described in the following chapter. The Sultan came from Khorazm to Shadyakh and from thence to Sarakhs.

Now when during Rindi's rebellion envoys were sent to him to reproach and rebuke him for an action which ill befitted his condition he used to excuse himself by saying: 'I am a faithful servant of the Sultan and only await the arrival of the royal standards to surrender the town and perform the ceremonies of fealty; for I place no trust in the word of the emirs.' This statement was reported to the Sultan, and the emirs instigated him to proceed to Herat and urged him to hasten thither. When he arrived Rindi repented of what he had done and continued to offer resistance. The flame of the Sultan's anger flared up higher and he ordered the water of the river to be diverted against the walls and the bank of the moat to be piled with tree-trunks and rubbish. After some time had elapsed and the water had thoroughly soaked the walls, a dyke was opened and the water flowed back with a rush like the wind. The tower known as the Tower of Ashes collapsed, after which they filled in the moat in the neighbourhood of the gates and raised it up with earth and rubbish, thus affording access to the fighting men [69] on every side. One day Rindi was feasting a crowd of louts and ruffians, when the *bahadurs* [5] raised their standards upon the walls, and before that company had finished their breakfast they had the supper of revenge upon them. The crafty Rindi, perceiving his position to be hopeless, exchanged the robes of iniquity for

[4] KZLY. Cf. the *kōzlü* 'seeing' of Houtsma, *Glossar,* 99.

[5] *bahādur,* a word yet to be borrowed from his victorious opponents, is here—anachronistically—applied to Sultan Muhammad's own forces. The word still survives in modern Mongolian in the form *bātor.* Cf. Ulan Bator, 'the Red Hero', as Urga, the capital of Outer Mongolia, is now called.

the rags of Sufism and sought in this way to conceal himself. The net of search was cast over the streets and bazaars until he was caught therein and dragged by the hair into the Sultan's presence. The latter then issued a proclamation that the soldiers should desist from pillage; and the shops of the town were re-opened that very day.

As for Rindi he was brought to account and questioned regarding the treasuries and what he had unjustly taken from the citizens of the town; and he rendered up all that he had or knew of. And in the end he was punished for his deeds, and Herat was purged of the impurities caused by the strife and tyranny of the unrighteous and was decked out with the bounteous justice of the Sultan. And from thence the Sultan set out for Khorazm.

[V]

OF KÖZLI AND HIS LATTER END

KÖZLI was a Turk, one of the kinsmen of the Sultan's mother. The emirate of Nishapur had been entrusted to him and the administration of that region was in his hands. Being informed of certain suspicions that the Sultan entertained against him, he took fright, and at the time of the siege of Herat, he suddenly withdrew,[1] before the Sultan set out thither, and came to Shadyakh. Here he put out a rumour that the army of Khitai had entered Khorazm and that the Sultan had retired in precipitation from Herat and on that account had ordered him to strengthen the walls of Shadyakh. On this pretext he took possession of the town [70] and opened the hand of confiscation and oppression upon the officials of the Divan and the wealthy. He likewise set about strengthening the ramparts and walls and digging out the moat and sent an envoy to the court of Khorazm seeking to engage the Sultan for the time being with false pretences and misrepresentations until the town had been fortified. What he thought was that when these fortifications were com-

[1] Apparently from the siege of Herat.

plete and he was in possession of dinars and dirhems, the kingdom being in a state of disorder, the Sultan would fear the danger of the outcome and so would not forfeit the pleasure of safety but would meet him on equal terms and do him no harm. When his envoy arrived in Khorazm it was clear from the message he bore that Közli had deviated from the path of rectitude, and the auspicious banners of the Lord of the Sultans of the age were borne forth at the head of an army beyond number, every soldier a Mount Bisutun [2] in valour, the whirlwind of zeal fanning the flame of wrath in their nature and their flashing swords grinding all opponents in the dust. Közli's envoy fled back to Shadyakh and reported what had happened. Not having the wherewithal to resist Közli prepared for flight and together with his family and following left the town for the desert. The more eminent officials of the Divan such as Sharaf-al-Mulk (who was the vizier), Sayyid ʿAla-ad-Din the ʿAlid, etc., as also the chief cadi Rukn-ad-Din Mughisi and other notables were compelled to accompany him. That same dark night with his Turks and Taziks he took the road to Turshiz. Upon his arrival there the governor *(muḥtasham)* [3] besought him to release the notables whom he had brought with him by compulsion. From fear, not free will, he left them in Turshiz, after seizing all their belongings, and then departed in the direction of Kerman. Meanwhile, on the 11th of Ramazan, 604 [30th of March, 1208] the Sultan arrived at Shadyakh, from whence he visited the Shrine [71] of Tus [4] and then left for Sarakhs on his way to Herat. As for Közli, he had had no success in Kerman and when he heard of the Sultan's departure from Khorasan, the craving for the soil of Shadyakh so fanned the flame of vain ambition in his being that he speedily returned from Kerman. Some persons arrived from Tabas with the news that he was coming back but that his destination was unknown. Then came tidings of his arrival in Turshiz. In the night of the third day when the dawn birds raised their lament, his son together

[2] The great mountain to the north of Kermanshah on whose rocks were carved the famous Achaemenid inscriptions.

[3] *Muḥtasham* was an Isma'ili title.

[4] I.e. Meshed.

with some of his followers charged forward and cast turmoil and confusion into the town. The townspeople hastily closed the gates and the soldiers took up their positions on the walls. Közli's son and his men circumambulated the town for a while and then encamped nearby, uncertain whether to stay or to depart. Suddenly by one of those chances which are due to the goodness and grace of the Lord of Favours there came news of the arrival in Tus of the *isfahbad*.[5] Sharaf-al-Mulk dispatched a courier to report Közli's rebellion and to crave the aversion of that evil. The *isfahbad* ordered a thousand horsemen to set out without delay. They fell upon Közli, put him to flight and then began to plunder and pillage. Közli and his men returned and charging down upon them, drove each of them into a [different] valley.

However, when Közli realized that he could not obtain admittance into the town, that the *isfahbad* had arrived in Shadyakh and that the Sultan was at the gates of Herat, he began to quiver like a bird with its throat cut and to tremble like a gazelle before the hawks and the hunters. He repented of his deeds and began to bite his fingers at the commission of rebellion, which was a pain without cure, and to consult with his followers as to whether they should depart or remain and what their destination and objective should be. Some said that they should seek the protection of the Sultan's mother and therefore proceed to Khorazm. A Turcoman from Yazir[6] who was amongst them, said: 'Our best course is to go to Yazir and make its strongholds [72] our refuge. I will go on ahead and devise some stratagem. It may be that I can at once easily obtain possession of a stronghold.' His words were in agreement with Közli's wishes, and he sent him on in advance with a band of men. When he came to Yazir the townspeople perceived his intention and realized his treachery. They bound him and dispatched him in chains to the Sultan.

When this plan too had broken in their jaws, their bewilderment increased and a difference of opinion arose between Közli,

[5] I.e. the *isfahbad* or ruler of Kabūd-Jāma, on which see below, p. 351, n. 3.
[6] See above, p. 151, n. 8.

his son and his followers. His son said: 'We must go to Transoxiana and attach ourselves to the Khan of Khitai.' His father said: 'Let us go to Khorazm and place ourselves under the protection of Terken Khatun.' Neither would accept the other's opinion, and Közli's son plundered his treasury and set out for Transoxiana. Upon reaching the ford over the Oxus he was met by a company of the Sultan's courtiers, who, after a furious struggle, took him and his followers prisoner and sent their heads to the Sultan.

As for Közli himself, when he arrived in Khorazm, Terken Khatun encouraged him with promises and said: 'The cure [for thy affairs] is for thee to take up thy abode beside the tomb of Sultan Tekish, clad in garments of rags. Perhaps by this device the Sultan will be induced to pass over thy faults and offences.' He accordingly adopted the practices of Sufism beside the dust of Tekish, until Terken Khatun suddenly learnt that his head had been severed from his body and brought to the Sultan. And so the wind of that insurrection subsided, and the Sultan's justice was scattered upon the noble and the base.

> The revolving cupola, we can imagine, is appreciative of good and evil.

It was in that same year, viz. 605/1208–9, that God Almighty showed His servants an example of the terror of '*When the Earth with her quaking shall quake*';[7] and it was by His grace that the beginning of that calamity was in broad daylight so that the whole of the people rushed out into the countryside [73] leaving all that they had in the town. All the mansions and palaces bowed their heads to the ground like worshippers and of the buildings of the town few only stood firm except the Mani'i mosques, [the buildings round] the square and the like thereof. And so it continued whilst for a time all the people remained in the open country. Nevertheless, 2000 men and women were buried beneath the walls, and in the villages so many perished that their numbers cannot be computed. The two villages of

[7] Koran, xcix, 1.

Dana and Banask [8] actually collapsed in a single instant and of the people inside them not a single soul escaped alive. *God Almighty preserve us from the like thereof and the punishment of this world and the next!*

[VI]

OF THE ACCESSION OF MAZANDARAN AND KERMAN

WHEN Fortune began to smile upon the Sultan, important events would show their faces hour by hour from behind the veil of the unseen, without any effort or exertion on his part; and one such instance was the case of Mazandaran.

When the Sultan set out for Transoxiana in the year 606/1209–1210 Shah-Ghazi,[1] who was a descendant of King Yazdajird [2] and retained of the possessions of his ancestors only the interior of Mazandaran, chose out from amongst his *sarbangs* a person called Bu-Riza [3] and showed him favour, exalting his rank so that he shared the kingdom with him and giving him his sister as wife. Bu-Riza's authority became more absolute than that of a deputy and he began to aspire to the nobility of kinghood. He assassinated Shah-Ghazi in his hunting grounds, but the latter's sister, his own wife, acted like a man and put her husband to death with violent torture in vengeance for her brother.

When Mengli [4] had returned from waiting on the Sultan and had arrived in Jurjan he received news of this. Conceiving a desire for the kingdom of Mazandaran [74] he proceeded thither, took possession of Shah-Ghazi's treasures, which had

[8] Neither place has been identified. The spelling of Banask (BNSK) is uncertain.

[1] The *isfahbad* or *ispahbad* Naṣīr-ad-Daula Shams-al-Mulūk Shāh-Ghāzī Rustam was the last ruler of the House of Bāvand. See Rabino, *Māzandarān and Astarābād*, 134–6.

[2] Yazdajird III, the last of the Sassanians.

[3] This was Abū-Rizā Husain b. Muhammad al-'Alavi al Mamtīrī. See Ibn-Isfandiyar tr. Browne, 257.

[4] I.e. apparently Nāsir-ad-Din Mengli, a slave of the *atabeg* Muzaffar-ad-Din Öz-Beg, who had made himself master of Persian Iraq. See below, ii, 701–2, also M.Q.'s note, III, 407–8.

come down to him from ancient kings and noble monarchs, and sought his sister's hand in marriage. She refused him and dispatching a messenger to the Sultan offered herself as his bride and her kingdom as dowry. The Sultan sent a deputy to take possession of Mazandaran and summon the woman to him. Desirous of marriage with the Sultan she came to Khorazm and he bestowed her on one of his emirs and a year later entrusted that kingdom to Amin-ad-Din of Dihistan. And so was that kingdom obtained which might not be procured by arms or armies.

And in the next year, which was the year 607/1210–11, Kerman passed into his hands.

[VII]

OF THE CONQUEST OF TRANSOXIANA [1]

AFTER the lands of Khorasan had been purged by him of the impurities of rebels, the notables and chief men of Transoxiana dispatched letter after letter to the Sultan calling upon him to turn in that direction and cleanse that region from the oppression and tyranny of the Khitayan tyrants; for they were weary of yielding obedience to idol-worshippers and had been humiliated by subjection to their command, especially the inhabitants of Bokhara; for a man from amongst the common people of that town, a person called Sanjar, the son of a shield-seller, had usurped authority over them and had seen fit to treat with contempt and contumely those to whom respect and honour were due. His name was changed to Sanjar-Malik and one of the wits of Bokhara composed the following quatrain about him:

[75] *Kingship is a precious and valuable thing, but the*
son of the cutler [? **maddai**] *would have it for nothing.*
Kingship and a throne are not fitting for one whose
father used to sell shields.

[1] A quite different version of the struggle between Sultan Muhammad and the Qara-Khitai is given in Chapter X. See Barthold, *Turkestan*, 355–9. Barthold concludes that 'the second version is nearer the truth, although it also contains some statements which evoke great doubt'.

At the same time the Sultan himself had had his fill of the domineering attitude of Khitai and the contemptuous behaviour of Khitayan envoys and ambassadors, and it irked him to pay the tribute, to which his father had agreed at the time when he sought the aid of Khitai against his brother Sultan-Shah. Year after year, the ambassadors of Khitai would come and he would pay that tribute, writhing with grief thereat and seeking a pretext for breaking the treaty. Finally, in the year . . .,[2] when the envoys of Khitai came as usual to collect the tribute headed by * Tushi,[3] the latter, in their wonted manner, seated himself on the throne beside the Sultan and did not pay the proper respect to royalty. Since a noble soul disdains to endure the contempt of every base fellow, the Sultan ordered that foolish man to be crushed to pieces and his body thrown in the river; and in accordance with the verses:

Thou art under an obligation to this sword, therefore discharge
thy debts to it, for the sword hath a just claim on thy hand.[4]

he openly declared his enmity and proclaimed his hostility, and in the year[5] . . . set out for that region. [76] When he had crossed the ford and reached Bokhara, the inhabitants were engulfed in the effects of his all-embracing justice and overflowing mercy and the whole area was made to blossom with the report of his copious equity; while the son of the shield-seller received the punishment of his deeds *'in recompense of their works.'*[6]

From Bokhara he proceeded to Samarqand sending on in advance messengers to the Sultan of Samarqand, Sultan 'Usman. The latter had become estranged from the *gür-khan* because of

[2] There is a blank in A and B. C has 607/1210 but this, as M.Q. points out, is inconsistent with the statement in the previous chapter (see above, p. 340) that Sultan Muhammad set out for Transoxiana in 606/1209.

[3] The spelling of the name is quite uncertain. The text has TWYSY, for which I read TWŠY with C and E. The name is probably Chinese and is therefore not to be identified with that of Chingiz-Khan's eldest son.

[4] From a *qasida* by Abu-Bakr al-Khuwarizmi in praise of Shams-al-Ma'ali Qabus b. Vashmgir. It is quoted by 'Utbi in his history. (M.Q.)

[5] 'In the same year' according to C and D. There is a blank in A and B. 606/1209–10 must be meant or at the latest the beginning of 607/1210–11. (M.Q.)

[6] Koran, xxxii, 17.

his refusal to give him one of his daughters in marriage; he therefore hailed the auspicious arrival of the Sultan's retinue with joy and pleasure, of which the traces might be plainly seen on the brow of his circumstances. He agreed to obey and abide by the royal and imperial commands and prohibitions and read the *khutba* and struck coin in the Sultan's name. The people of Samarqand were then heartened by the Sultan's presence amongst them, and the two monarchs consulted together as to how they should repel the *gür-khan* and agreed upon declaring a holy war against him and engaging him in battle. As a measure of precaution the Sultan ordered the gates of the town to be strengthened. He also appointed Tört-Aba,[7] an emir related to his mother, to be his representative with the Sultan of Samarqand; and they set about preparing for action and assembling their forces for battle. Meanwhile the Sultan himself set out from thence to conduct the holy war at the head of valiant warriors skilled in onslaught and attack. When news of this reached the *gür-khan,* he for his part ordered Tayangu, who was the embroidery *(ṭirāz)*[8] on the garment of his kingdom and had his post at Taraz, to place himself in readiness. Tayangu, with the arrogance of pride, mustered an army [in its numbers] like unto serpents [77] or ants.

Having crossed the river at Fanakat the Sultan ordered the bridge that had been built for the passage of his troops to be destroyed so that they might set their hearts on honour and not disgrace themselves and bring shame upon their cause; but rather restore the water of Islam, which for some time past had been drained from the stream of those parts; and cast the water of true guidance upon the fire of that people's error or rather cast

[7] Reading TRTBH for the TRTYH of the text. Barthold has adopted the form Burtana. The name appears to be a compound of the Turkish *tört* 'four' and *aba* 'bear'. The second element might also be *apa,* on which see above, p. 148, n. 26. Houtsma, *Glossar,* 34, gives two examples of this type of compound: Altï-Bars from *altï* 'six' and *bars* 'panther' and Toquz-Temür from *toquz* 'nine' and *temür* 'iron'. Tört-Aba seems also to have been the name of Sultan Jalal-ad-Din's 'Grand Huntsman' (*amīr-shikār*), spelt by Nasawi (ed. Houdas, 198 and 244) ṬRT ABH.

[8] Introduced for the sake of the word-play with Ṭarāz 'Talas'.

the fire '*whose fuel is men and stones, prepared for the infidel*'[9] upon those worshippers of the fire; so that perchance the arrested winds of Islam might again begin to blow, and the tempests of misfortunes destroy their lands, and the side wind of adversity ruin the harvest of those liars' desire, and cast the dust of the true faith in the eyes of those wretches, and force back the hands of those vile ones from the kingdom. He came as far as the steppe of Ilamish,[10] whilst Tayangu with a mighty host, misled by conceit and self-delusion regarding his own strength and infatuated and encouraged by the number of his men and weapons, reached the ford over the Jaxartes, oblivious of God the Changer who saith, '*"Be!" and it is.*'[11]

> Lean not upon water, or else thou wilt limn pictures on the water vainly like bubbles and wilt measure the wind.

Now it so happened that they came face to face and opposed their ranks one to another on a Friday in Rabi' I, 607 [Aug.–Sept., 1210]. The Sultan commanded his men to behave in a careless and dilatory manner and to advance not a single step until the preachers of Islam had mounted their pulpits and uttered the prayer, '*O God, assist the armies and squadrons of the Moslems!*' after which they should all attack on every side, and perhaps, in answer to the prayers of the preachers of Islam and the amens of the Moslems, God would vouchsafe the victory. In obedience to the Sultan's command they waited for that moment, the young men on either side engaging meanwhile in skirmishes and knights defeating pawns upon the chessboard of battle. Finally, when the oven of war had been heated,

> The noise of the kettle-drum and the clamour of the fife rose up; the earth rose out of its place like the heavens;
> The commanders raised their banners on high, the valiant warriors laid down their lives—

[78] and on both sides bow and arrow were discarded and sword and dagger unsheathed. The sound of the *takbir* was

[9] Koran, ii, 22.
[10] In the northern part of the Andijan district according to Barthold, *op. cit.*, 159.
[11] Koran, ii, 111.

heard from the ranks of the Sultan and the shrilling of flute and whistle from the side of that Satan. Dust was stirred up like a cloud and swords were unsheathed like lightning. The Sultan became Lord of the banner of '*Verily, We have won*',[12] whilst his enemies became the target of '*We will surely take vengeance on the guilty ones*'.[13] The zephyr of divine grace began to blow and the bird of those miscreants' hearts to tremble. At the time of prayer the whole army raised a shout and charged down upon those wretches. At once the people of error [14] became '*like the people of Saba*',[15] one man of the Sultan's army victorious and a thousand of the enemy defeated, a lion and a thousand gazelles, a hawk and a thousand partridges.[16] The greater part of that sect of perdition were destroyed beneath the sword, and Tayangu himself was wounded in the battle and had fallen on his face like the subjects of the Khan of Khitai. A girl was standing over him and when someone tried to cut off his head she cried out: 'It is Tayangu!' and the man at once bound him up and carried him off to the Sultan. He was then sent to Khorazm together with the dispatches announcing the victory. And by this triumph the army waxed mighty and because of this favour they became possessed of fortune. Each achieved his object according to his desire, and all received in their embraces mistresses worthy of their longings. And by this victory, to which the words

She hath two lovers, a pederast and an adulterer [17]

might have applied, Majnun attained to Laila and Vamiq to 'Azra;[18] the devotees of wanton pastimes began to take their pleasure of moon-faced beauties; and the ambitious were

[12] Koran, xlviii, 1. [13] *Ibid.*, xxxii, 22.

[14] *khaṭā*: a pun on Khitai.

[15] The Arabic proverb, '(*They departed*) *like the people of Saba*,' refers to the dispersion of the Sabaeans caused by the bursting of the Dyke of Ma'rib. See Nicholson, *A Literary History of the Arabs*, 15–17.

[16] *tihū*: according to Houtum-Schindler, *Eastern Persian Irak*, 36, the Sand-Partridge, *Ammoperdix bonhami*, Gray (*A. griseogularis*, Brandt), a bird 'found everywhere in Persia up to elevations of 7000 feet'.

[17] From a well-known *qasida* by Abū-Nuwās. (M.Q.)

[18] Majnūn ('Madman', his real name was Qais al-'Āmirī) and Lailā are the Romeo and Juliet of the Arabs. Their story forms the subject of an epic

gratified by the acquisition of wealth and the amassing of horses and camels. And to every part of the Sultan's domains there set out a messenger bearing the glad tidings of the victory that had been won. And in every soul there was relief at these tidings and in every spirit ease from these victories; and dread of the Sultan was increased a thousandfold in the hearts of men. Now it was the custom to write 'the Second Alexander' as one of Sultan Muhammad's titles. The Sultan said: 'The reign of Sanjar was very long. [79] If these titles are written for good luck let them write "Sultan Sanjar".' And so Sultan Sanjar was added to his titles. The *imam* Ziya-ad-Din Farsi [19] has a *qasida* on this victory and on the Sultan's being proclaimed as Sultan Sanjar. I shall set down a few verses of what I remember of it; it begins as follows:

Thy face by its beauty has given perfection to the world of the soul; thy love by its kindness has given comeliness to the countenance of the heart.
Now thy face has become the flame of the full moon; now thy locks have emitted the fragrance of the North wind.
Behold the talisman whereby the night has been mixed with pure musk and thy ringlets given the colour of musk and moles.
The joy he gave in my reunion with him was given by the arrival of the virtuous Chosroes,
Sultan 'Ala-yi-Dunya Sanjar, whom the Possessor of Glory has chosen out from His creatures and given pomp and glory,
The King of the Persians, the Second Alexander, whose counsel commanded his followers to conquer the kingdom of the Turks.
If the atmosphere of the age has been contaminated with infidelity, thy sword with the fragrance of its victory has restored it to salubrity.
Like the Sun thy sword has appeared in the East of righteousness and has brought about the downfall of the kingdom of Error.

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by the Persian poet Nizami. See Browne, *A Literary History of Persia*, II, 406–8. The romance of Vāmiq (Wāmiq) and 'Aẕrā ('Adhrā), despite the Arabic names of its hero and heroine, was said to have been compiled for the Sassanian monarch Nushirvan. (*Ibid.*, 275–6.)

[19] A manuscript of the *divan* of this poet (not mentioned by Browne in his *Literary History of Persia*) was recently discovered by Professor D. S. Robertson. See his note, *A Forgotten Persian Poet of the Thirteenth Century.*

I have heard as follows from my cousin the late Sadr-i-Imam, the most excellent of the moderns, Shams-ad-Din 'Ali son of Muhammad *(may God envelop him in His mercy!)*: 'When messengers arrived in Shadyakh with the news that the Sultan had gained a victory over Khitai, all the people of the town, each in accordance with his temperament and circumstances, presented one another with gifts and addressed congratulations one to another. The order of ascetics offered thanks to God; the great men and notables feasted and revelled to the sound of timbal and flute; the common people rejoiced and made merry; the young men frolicked noisily in the gardens; and the old men engaged in talk one with another. With some others I called on my master Sayyid Murtaza the son of Sayyid Sadr-ad-Din *(may God clothe them both in the raiment of His mercy!)*. I found him sitting sad and silent in a corner of his house. We asked the reason for his grieving on so joyous an occasion. "O men of little heed," he replied, "beyond these Turks are a people stubborn in their vengeance and fury [80] and exceeding Gog and Magog [20] in the multitude of their numbers. And the people of Khitai were in truth the wall of Zul-Qarnain [21] between us and them. And it is unlikely, when that wall is gone, that there will be any peace within this realm or that any man will recline in comfort and enjoyment. To-day I am in mourning for Islam."'

> What is seen by the young man in a mirror is seen by
> the greybeard in a baked brick.

At the time when the Sultan returned in triumph from this campaign against the infidel, the *malik* of Otrar had been opposing righteous men, relying, as was his wont, upon strength and might; and although envoys were constantly being sent to

[20] Gog (Ya'jūj) and Magog (Ma'jūj) personified the barbarous peoples of North-Eastern Asia.

[21] Ẕul-Qarnain (Dhul-Qarnain, 'He of the Two Horns') was an epithet applied to Alexander the Great, who was said to have constructed a wall of brass and iron to keep out Gog and Magog. See Koran, xviii, 82–98, Hamdallah tr. le Strange, 236–7. The 'Wall of Gog and Magog' was in fact the Great Wall of China.

soften his attitude, he would not slip his head through the collar of obedience. He refused to dislodge from his brain the arrogance of pride and the vanity of riches, nor would he let himself be saved from the perils of ignominy by the prohibitions of admonition; and he turned aside from *'the straight path'* [22] by leaguing himself with Khitai. *God Almighty hath said: 'And what, now that guidance is come to them, letteth men from believing and from asking forgiveness of their Lord—unless they wait till that the doom of the ancients overtake them, or the chastisement come upon them in the sight of the universe?'* [23] When the Sultan learnt of his obstinacy and presumption he set out to attack him. As he drew near to their territory, the people of Otrar, seeing the onrush of a raging flood in his vast host and realizing that it could not be stemmed by resistance, approached the *malik* in a body and said: 'By thy rashness thou hast brought down upon us a ravenous lion whom it is inconceivable that we can overcome; and thou hast forcibly and ignominiously cast thyself and us into the jaws of a leviathan. Try courtesy in this predicament and desist from thy rude behaviour.' The ruler of Otrar realized that it was impossible to strike a kite with the talons of falcons and he saw no way to mend his affairs save by submission. So he came out sword in hand but clad only in a linen shirt, being midway, as it were, between hope and despair, and laid his head upon the floor of the Sultan's tent begging forgiveness for his crimes and offences. The Sultan requited his sins and misdemeanours with pardon and [81] remission and spared his life and property on condition that he left Otrar and removed to Nisa *(bā Nisā)* with his horsemen and horses, bag and baggage, there to settle with his women *(bā nisā)*[24] and men.

In this way no blood was shed, and having dispatched the *malik* to Nisa, the Sultan turned back to Samarqand, where Sultan 'Usman craved a pearl from the shell of the royal house and sought in marriage a full moon from the starry sky of majesty.

[22] '*Guide Thou us on* the straight path, *the path of those to whom Thou hast been gracious—with whom Thou art not angry, and who go not astray.*' (Koran i, 5–6.)
[23] *Ibid.*, xviii, 53.
[24] The usual pun on Nisa.

The Sultan honoured him by granting that boon, as shall be related in another chapter, and having appointed Tört-Aba, a relation of Terken Khatun, as *shahna* of Samarqand, he left for Khorazm, the harbingers of good fortune upon his right and left and the lights of prosperity upon his neck and brow.

His saddlecloth flung across the back of the Sun,
his stirrup putting a ring in the ear of the Moon;
The banner of Kava [25] over the king's head was like
a wisp of cloud over the Moon.
He pierced the forbidding mouth with a smile, he said
'Keep back!' to the heavens from afar.

Upon arriving in Khorazm the Sultan prepared a feast and caused Tayangu to be put to death and flung in the river. By this victory fear of the Sultan was increased a thousandfold in men's hearts and rulers upon every side sent relays of envoys and gifts to his court. The words *'Shadow of God upon earth'* were written upon his auspicious *toghra,* and the chief scribe Fakhr-al-Mulk Nizam-ad-Din Farid of Jam composed the following verses:

O king of kings, disposer of the world, thou art he
from whose highmindedness the heavens might borrow.
In the eye of thy highmindedness the world in its
length and breadth seems smaller than an atom.
All the pure cherubs of thy age, after performing
the rites laid down by holy law,
[82] Chant as a charm the words: *'The Sultan is the shadow of God on earth.'*

[VIII]

OF THE SULTAN'S RETURNING A SECOND TIME TO WAGE WAR ON THE *GÜR-KHAN*

DURING the Sultan's absence from Khorazm some remnants of the followers of Qadir Khan had breathed the breath of rebellion

[25] *dirafsh-i-kāviyānī.* The blacksmith Kāva was the first to revolt against the tyrant Ẓaḥḥāk (Dahāk); and his apron, converted into a banner, became the national standard of Iran.

in the region of Jand. On that account the Sultan did not remain long in Khorazm but set out for Jand to excise the pus of their being; whilst Sultan 'Usman stayed behind to complete his nuptials.

When the Sultan had extirpated that band of rebels, there came tidings that the army of Khitai had arrived at the gates of Samarqand and laid siege to the town. The Sultan set out in that direction from Jand; and at the same time he sent messengers to every part of his kingdom, and summoned all the armies that he had upon every side, and raised levies from all his lands. Meanwhile he proceeded towards Samarqand, where the army of Khitai had for some time been encamped on the bank of the river at the gates of the town. They had fought seventy engagements, and each time they had been defeated and the army of Islam triumphant except on one occasion when they had been victorious and had driven the army of Samarqand into the town. They now perceived that they were achieving nothing by their fighting and would soon be in a desperate plight, since bread will not return once it has fallen into water. Moreover, from one direction came news of the Sultan's approach and from the other reports of Küchlüg Khan's conquests. They therefore withdrew under cover of a truce.

When [83] the Sultan arrived in Samarqand the armies came together from every side and he departed from the town. Meanwhile the governor of Ighnaq,[1] who though a Moslem had not the character of one on account of his sympathy with the people of hypocrisy and contention, had refused to do his duty, although the Sultan had several times called on him to yield obedience and had encouraged him with fair promises; but because he had fortified himself in a castle which he held Satan had blown the wind of pride into his brain. The Sultan dispatched a detachment from a great army, nay a wave from a raging sea, which, upon arriving there, after some time brought him down

[1] AΓNAQ. Ighnaq (AΓNAQ) or Yighnaq (YΓNAQ), according to Yaqut, was a town in Turkestan, a dependency of Banakat. (M.Q.) Barthold, *Turkestan*, 356, n. 7, suggests its identity with Yūghank, a village near Samarqand (*ibid.*, 133).

from his castle and sent him in chains and shackles to the Sultan.

The Sultan now heard of Küchlüg's victories over the Khitayans, and he became more ambitious. Küchlüg's envoys approached him in secret and an agreement was reached between them that first of all the *gür-khan* must be removed: if the Sultan gained the victory over him he should receive all territory as far as Khotan and Kashgar, and if Küchlüg was the victor he should have everything as far as the river at Fanakat. After they had arrived at this understanding, Küchlüg was on one occasion victorious and on another defeated, as has been recorded in the chapter on the Qara-Khitai.[2] The Sultan now advanced beyond Samarqand, and the *gür-khan* receiving tidings thereof likewise made his preparations. When the armies drew near together the *isfahbad* of Kabud-Jama [3] and Tört-Aba, the *basqaq* [4] of Samarqand [84] joined in a conspiracy against the Sultan and sent a messenger in secret to the *gür-khan* to say that on the day of battle they and their troops would desert the Sultan on condition that, after the *gür-khan's* victory, Khorazm should be ceded to Tört-Aba and Khorasan to the *isfahbad*. In his reply the *gür-khan* promised the double of what they had asked. The two armies now came face to face and charge after charge was made [by either side]. The left wing of the Khitai attacked the Sultan's right, and in accordance with their promise Tört-Aba and the *isfahbad* withdrew and their forces also retired behind the centre. At the same time the Sultan's left wing defeated the *gür-khan's* right and they were put to flight. The centres of the two armies then became so involved with one another that neither could distinguish victor and vanquished, and both sides

[2] In this chapter [Chapter X] there is in fact no mention of Küchlüg's first and second campaigns against the *gür-khan*, which are dealt with only in I, 47–8 [i, 63–5]. (M.Q.)

[3] The district of Kabūd-Jāma, now called Hajjilar, lies in the extreme east of Gurgan (Astarabad). See Rabino, *Mázandarán and Astarábád*, 84.

[4] Tört-Aba had been appointed to act as Sultan Muhammad's 'representative with the Sultan of Samarqand' (p. 343); he is then described as 'the *shahna* of Samarqand' (p. 349), and here as the *basqaq*. On the terms *basqaq* and *shahna* see above, p. 105, n. 24, p. 44, n. 3.

looted and plundered and took to their heels. Now it was the custom of the Sultan on the day of battle to don the garb and dress of his opponents. Moreover certain of his retinue also in the confusion of the two armies had found themselves amongst the army of Khitai. For some days the Sultan remained unrecognized amongst that outlandish people until seizing a sudden opportunity he turned rein and reached the river at Fanakat. His arrival brought new life to his army. When the news of his disappearance had been spread about, everyone had had his own theory, some saying that he was a prisoner in the midst of that strange host, others that he had been killed; and no one knew the truth. Therefore messengers went forth with the glad tidings and letters-patent were dispatched to every side. Meanwhile the Sultan of the World returned to the city of Khorazm and again made ready for war and battle.

[IX]

OF THE CONQUEST OF FIRUZKUH AND GHAZNIN

AFTER the Sultan had conquered Herat he assigned Firuzkuh to Sultan Mahmud [1] [85] and did no harm thereto; and Sultan Mahmud read the *khutba* and struck coin in the Sultan's name.

During the Sultan's campaign against the infidel, his brother Taj-ad-Din ʿAli-Shah, betook himself to Sultan Mahmud on account of an estrangement from his brother Sultan Muhammad. Sultan Mahmud received him with every honour, yielding him precedence over all the great nobles and bestowing upon him all manner of gifts and presents. After some time had passed somebody entered Sultan Mahmud's harem by way of a conduit, found him seated upon a throne and killed him. No one knew who had struck the blow but there was a rumour amongst the people that ʿAli-Shah had assassinated him because he coveted his kingdom. However that might be, when he was dead (and his death took place in the year 609/1212–13) there was no

[1] The son of Shihab-ad-Din (Muhammad Ghuri).

other descendant of the Sultans of Ghur who might strengthen the pillars of the Sultanate and reinforce the foundations of the kingdom; and accordingly the notables of Firuzkuh agreed upon Taj-ad-Din 'Ali-Shah [as his successor] and set him upon the throne of the Sultanate. In order to observe the forms of respect he dispatched a message to the Sultan to inform him of what had occurred and to seek permission to assume the rank of Sultan as his brother's deputy. The Sultan sent Muhammad-i-Bashir with robes of honour and other presents for the purpose of his investiture as Sultan together with a signet and letter-patent. When Bashir had completed the ceremonies of congratulation, 'Ali-Shah retired to his robing-chamber in order to don the robes of honour. Bashir picked up the robes and followed him in. Then drawing his sword he struck off his head at one blow. The bearer of good tidings *(bashīr)* became a harbinger of evil *(nazīr)*, and congratulations were turned into condolences. With 'Ali-Shah's death there was no one left to compete for the throne. The other letters-patent addressed to the chief officials with a view to winning them over were now read out, and the kingdom of Ghur and Firuzkuh and all that region passed into the hands of the Sultan.

After this, in the year 611/1214–15, there came news that Taj-ad-Din Ilduz had passed away in Ghaznin leaving no heir to succeed him and that one of the *ghulams* had ascended the throne in his place. The Sultan set out for that kingdom, which was a goodly realm, and directed his whole attention towards the conquest of those climes, which were then added to his other possessions. [86] In the treasury at Ghaznin which had been set up by Sultan Shihab-ad-Din there were discovered letters-patent from the Holy Seat of the Caliphate wherein the Ghurids were incited to attack the Sultan of Khorazm and the latter's (?) deeds and actions were reviled and misrepresented. 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 and encouragement of the Seat of the Caliphate. Having taken possession of the lands of the Sultan of Ghur in the direction of India he returned to Samarqand. For the time

being he made no mention of that discovery wishing first of all to conquer the eastern provinces. This subject has been dealt with in a previous chapter.[2]

The countries of Herat, Ghur, Gharchistan and Sijistan to the frontiers of India were now added to the Sultan's domains. This was a realm which no one had conquered. These lands formed the central basis of the empire of Sultan Mahmud son of Sebük-Tegin and his descendants, generation after generation; and they still remained a separate entity under the Sultans of Ghur. They were now made the seat of Sultan Jalal-ad-Din.

[X]

OF THE KHANS OF QARA-KHITAI,[1] THEIR RISE TO POWER AND THEIR DESTRUCTION

THEIR original home was in Khitai where they were persons of authority and importance. Some powerful reason required their expulsion from their country, and they were forced to go into exile exposing themselves to perils and enduring the hardships of travel. Their prince and leader they call the *gür-khan*, i.e. the khan of khans. When he[2] left Khitai [87] he was accompanied by 80 members of his family and retinue,[3] though according to another tradition he was accompanied by a very

[2] There is in fact no previous mention of this matter. There is however a subsequent reference in Chapter XII (ii. 390).

[1] A translation of this chapter was made by Dr. K. H. Menges for the use of Professor Wittfogel and Professor Fêng in the appendix on Qara-Khitai in their monumental work, *History of Chinese Society: Liao (907–1125)*.

[2] I.e. the original *gür-khan*, Yeh-lü Ta-shih (1124–43). On the title *gür-khan* see above, p. 62, n. 4.

[3] 'Literally, "eighty people of his tribe and his followers". The wording is ambiguous. It may mean: eighty followers, members of his own tribe and others; or: eighty members of his tribe and (in addition) other followers. The first interpretation seems suggestive since the figure eighty more probably refers to the whole escort than to part of it; but the argument is by no means conclusive. The second interpretation implies the existence of additional followers beside the eighty tribesmen, which would bring the total closer to the number mentioned in the *Liao Shih*, i.e. two hundred.' (Wittfogel and Fêng, *op. cit.*, 631, n. 16.)

large following.[4] When they reached the country of the Qirqiz they made attacks on the tribes in that area, who in turn harassed the Khitayans. From thence they journeyed on till they came to the Emil, where they built a town of which some traces still remain. Here many Turks and tribes in great numbers gathered around the *gür-khan* until they amounted to 40,000 households. But here too they were unable to remain and so they moved on until they came to the region of Balasaqun, which the Mongols now call Ghuz-Baligh.[5] The ruler of that country was a man who traced his descent to Afrasiyab but had no strength or power. The Qarligh[6] and Qanqli Turks in that area had shaken off their allegiance to him and used to molest him by making raids upon his followers and cattle and carrying out depredations. And this person, who was the ruler, was unable to check them or ward them off. Hearing of the settlement of the *gür-khan* and his followers and their great numbers, he sent messengers to him to inform him of his own powerlessness and of the strength and wickedness of the Qanqli and Qarluq and to beg him to advance upon his capital so that he might place the whole of his kingdom under his control and so free himself from the cares of this world. The *gür-khan* proceeded to Balasaqun and ascended a throne [88] that had cost him nothing. From the descendant of Afrasiyab he took over the title of *khan,* giving him the designation of *ilig* **türkmen.*[7] He then dispatched

[4] 'The two versions recorded by Juwayni seem irreconcilable. However both make sense if we accept the Chinese record which notes that Yeh-lü Ta-shih reached K'o-tun with only a small group of followers, adding numerous new troops to this nucleus during his sojourn in the northern garrison. He soon had "ten thousand war horses" . . . Juwayni's seemingly contradictory versions possibly refer to these two phases of Yeh-lü Ta-shih's military career, which the Moslem historian, writing a hundred and fifty years after the event, failed to distinguish.' (*Loc. cit.,* n. 17.)

[5] Reading ΓZ BALYT for the ΓR BALYT of the text. The name has already appeared in the form Quz-Balïgh. See above, p. 58 and n. 21. In the Chinese record we find the older form of the name, Quz-Ordu. See Wittfogel and Fêng, *op. cit.,* 538. [6] Qarlïgh (QRLYT) for the usual Qarlugh (QRLT).

[7] Reading AYLK TRKMAN for the AYLK TRKAN of the text in accordance with Barthold's suggestion. See above, p. 288, n. 34. It may be however that the phrase is to be read: *ilig-i-Turkān* 'the *ilig* of the Turks'. See Marquart, *Über das Volkstum der Komanen,* 164.

shahnas to every region from Qam-Kemchik [8] to Barskhan [9] and from Taraz to Yafinch.[10] When some time had passed and his people had prospered and their cattle grown fat, he brought the Qanqli under his sway and dispatching an army to Kashghar and Khotan conquered that region also. He next dispatched an army to the land of the Qirqiz to avenge the treatment he had received at their hands. He also conquered Besh-Baligh and sent an army from thence to Farghana and Transoxiana, which countries likewise submitted to him, the Sultans of Transoxiana, who were the ancestors of Sultan 'Usman, acknowledging him as their suzerain. After he had gained these victories and his army had been heartened thereby and his horsemen and horses increased in number, he sent Erbüz, who was his commander-in-chief, to Khorazm, where he sacked the villages and wrought great slaughter. Atsiz, the Khorazm-Shah, sent an envoy to him, accepted allegiance to the *gür-khan* and agreed to pay a tribute of 3,000 gold dinars, which he delivered thereafter every year in goods or cattle. Having made peace on these terms Erbüz returned home. Shortly afterwards the *gür-khan* died and his wife, Kuyang,[11] ascended the throne as his successor and began to issue commands. All [89] the people yielded obedience to her until she was overcome with sensual desire and was put to death with someone who was related to and associated with her.[12] One of the *gür-khan's* two

[8] I.e. the region of the Upper Yenisei. See above, p. 69, n. 21.

[9] Reading BARS XAN for the BARSRḤAN of the text. Apparently Upper Barskhan, which lay south of the Issyk Kul, ' most probably near the present-day Przhevalsk (Qara-qol) '. See Minorsky, *Ḥudūd*, 292–3.

[10] Reading YAFNČ for the YAMNḤ of the text. Yafīnch according to Kashghari was ' a town near the Ili ' (III, 375) and also the name of a river (I, 59), which Minorsky, *op. cit.*, 276, is inclined to identify with the Qara-Tal, which flows into Lake Balkhash north of the Ili.

[11] KWYNK. This was T'a-pu-yen (1144–50), whose honorific title was the Empress Kan-t'ien, her reign title being Hsien-ch'ing. See Wittfogel and Fêng, *op. cit.*, 621 and 643. Kuyang is perhaps identical with the Mongol title *guyang* from the Chinese *kuo-wang* ' prince de royaume ', on which see Pelliot-Hambis, *Campagnes*, 221 and 362–4.

[12] Here Juvaini has confused Yeh-lü Ta-shih's widow with his daughter, P'u-su-wan, on whom see above, p. 290, n. 37. The paramour was her brother-in-law, Hsiao p'u-ku-chih. See Wittfogel and Fêng, *op. cit.*, 646.

brothers,[13] who were still alive, was chosen to succeed him. The other brother tried to seize the kingdom and was removed. The first brother waxed in strength, appointing each person to some office and sending *shahnas* to all parts.

When Atsiz was succeeded by his son Tekish, the latter continued to pay the fixed amount in tribute and strove to please the *gür-khan* in every way. When he was lying on his death bed he charged his sons not to fight the *gür-khan* nor to break the agreement that had been reached, because 'he was a great wall behind which there were terrible foes'.[14]

When Sultan Muhammad came to the throne he continued for a while to pay the tribute and there was nothing to mar the friendship between them. Thus, when Shihab-ad-Din of Ghur attacked the Sultan, the *gür-khan* sent a force of 10,000 men to his assistance. They joined battle at Andkhud and the Ghuris were routed. However, the Sultan's ambition was such that he considered the Lord of the Planets inferior in rank to his own parasol, and it irked him to submit to a capitation-tax and to pay tribute to the *gür-khan*. He held up payment for two or three years and was slow in discharging his obligation. In the end the *gür-khan* sent Mahmud Tai,[15] his chief vizier, to claim what was due. When he arrived in Khorazm, the bearer of somewhat harsh missives, the Sultan was preparing for a campaign against the Qifchaq and did not wish to give a rough reply and so disobey his father's injunctions. Furthermore he was about to absent himself from his kingdom and it was undesirable that the Qara-Khitayans should avail themselves of

[13] These two brothers must in fact be the sons of the Emperor Yi-lieh (1151–63), who according to the *Liao shih* had left instructions that his younger sister was to succeed him since his son, i.e. apparently his elder son, was still of tender age. Upon P'u-su-wan's death however it was Yi-lieh's younger son who came to the throne. It would appear from Juvaini's account that the elder brother had then attempted to assert his rights. See Wittfogel and Fêng, *op. cit.*, 644, 646 and n. 18. The younger brother was Chih-lu-ku, the last of the *gür-khans* (1178–1211).

[14] See above, p. 347.

[15] Cf. the name Öz-Beg Tai (ii, 414). Tai (TAY) could be either *tai* 'maternal uncle' (Houtsma, *Glossar*, 83) or *tai* 'colt' *(ibid.)*, which frequently occurs in compound names.

the opportunity and make an attack. On the other hand he was ashamed to accept his position as a tributary. In replying, therefore, he said neither good nor ill but entrusted the settlement [90] of the matter to the counsel of his mother, Terken Khatun, and made his departure.

Terken Khatun ordered the *gür-khan's* envoys to be received with honour and respect. She treated them courteously and paid up the annual tribute in full. She also sent some of the notables of her court to accompany Mahmud Tai to the *gür-khan* and apologize for the delay in payment; and confirmed that the Sultan was still bound by the terms of subjection and submission. However Mahmud Tai had observed the ambition and contumacy of the Sultan and had recognized that his temper was such that he considered his rank too elevated for him to abase himself and fawn before any mortal or to humble himself in any way; he deemed all the monarchs of the world to be his servants, nay he considered Fortune herself to be his handmaid.

In war I am a raging lion, javelins my lair and
my swords my claws.
Time is my slave and Generosity my thrall, the earth
my abode and mankind my guests.

Mahmud Tai reported all these circumstances to the *gür-khan* and said: 'The Sultan is insincere and will not pay tribute again.' The *gür-khan,* for his part, did not specially honour the Sultan's envoys or pay them much attention.

When the Sultan returned in triumph from his campaign against the Qifchaq to Khorazm, the capital of his kingdom, he began to make plans for the conquest of Transoxiana, leading an army to Bokhara and sending secret messages to every side and encouraging everyone with promises, holding out particular inducements to Sultan 'Usman. All were tired of the long rule of the *gür-khan* and had come to detest his revenue officials *(manṣūbān-i-ʿummāl)* and local administrators *(muqalladān-i-aʿmāl),* who, contrary to their former practice, had begun to conduct themselves in a lawless and oppressive manner. Accordingly everyone accepted the Sultan's invitation, which both heartened

and rejoiced them; and the Sultan turned back from Bokhara on the understanding that he would return in the following year to attack the *gür-khan.*

In the East, too, the emirs of the *gür-khan* began to breathe rebellion. At that time Küchlüg [91] was in attendance on the *gür-khan* and was unable to oppose him as he would have wished. When he heard how his fortunes had changed and his kingdom was tottering he craved permission to return and gather together the scattered remains of his forces, dispersed on every side, in order that he might come to his assistance. This pretence accorded with the *gür-khan's* temper and he believed his words, which exuded from a well of falsity and a mass of iniquity. He distinguished him with costly robes of honour and conferred upon him the title of *Küchlüg-Khan.*[16] When he had gone the *gür-khan* repented of having sent him—

And he repented when repenting was of no avail.

He sent for the local rulers upon every side that were his emirs and agents such as Sultan 'Usman and others. Now Sultan 'Usman had sought a daughter of the *gür-khan* in marriage and had been refused. He was therefore full of resentment against him and did not respond to the summons. Instead he sent a messenger to Sultan Muhammad to declare his loyalty to him. He also read the *khutba* and struck coin in Samarqand in the Sultan's name and rose in open rebellion against the *gür-khan.* When the latter received tidings of this he mustered 30,000 men and sent them to wage war on Sultan 'Usman. He recaptured Samarqand but would allow no great harm to be done to it, for he regarded it as his treasury. But when Küchlüg had gathered strength in the more distant regions and began to attack and ravage his territory he withdrew his army from Samarqand in order to repel him and dispatched them against him. Learning of the confusion caused by Küchlüg and of the *gür-khan's* having sent his army to destroy and uproot him, the Sultan availed himself of the opportunity and set out for Samarqand. The Sultan of Sultans came out to receive him and surrendered the

[16] Cf. above, p. 63.

kingdom of Samarqand into his hands. From thence they proceeded together against the *gür-khan* and came at last to Taraz, where Tayangu lay with an enormous army. He too mustered his forces and came out to do battle. When the two armies stood facing each other, attacks were made by either side, and the left wing of both armies drove back the opposing right wing [92], after which both sides withdrew. The *gür-khan's* army then retreated, Tayangu having been taken prisoner; and the Sultan also retreated. As they retired the army of Khitai set their hands to rapine and massacre and devastation in the towns and villages and amongst the peasantry. When they arrived before Balasaqun, the inhabitants, who had set their hearts on the Sultan's conquering that region, closed their gates and, when the army of Qara-Khitai arrived, refused to admit them; nay rather they joined battle with them and fought hard for sixteen days thinking that the Sultan was at their heels. Mahmud Tai and the emirs of the *gür-khan* tried to come to terms with them and offered advice, but they would not trust them. Finally, the army of Khitai, which lay open every side, was all gathered together; whereupon they drove the elephants they had captured from the Sultan's army against the gates and destroyed them. Having massed upon every side their troops now entered the town, where they laid their hands on their swords sparing no one. For three days and nights they massacred the inhabitants, and 47,000 of the chief notables were counted among the slain; whilst the *gür-khan's* army were greatly heartened by the quantity of booty. Now the Khan's treasuries had been emptied partly by looting and partly by the payments of wages and salaries, and Mahmud Tai, fearing lest covetous eyes might be cast upon his own wealth, which was greater than that of Qarun, suggested that the private treasury which the army had retrieved from Küchlüg should be collected together again. But when the emirs heard of this idea, they hung back and became uneasy; and began to breathe the breath of independence and rebellion. Meanwhile Küchlüg was again ready for action, and when he heard that the *gür-khan* was separated from his army, [93] that the towns and peasantry had been subjected to oppression and

that the greater part of the army was standing aloof from him, he again availed himself of his opportunity and falling upon him like a lightning-flash from a cloud took him completely unawares. *God Almighty hath said: 'Seest thou not that we send the Satans against the Infidels to urge them into sin?'*[17] All of his army was scattered and far away, and having no other choice he sought to do homage to Küchlüg and humble himself before him; but Küchlüg would not suffer this but treated him with respect, looking upon him as a father and sparing his feelings. Now the *gür-khan* had affianced to himself the daughter of a great emir, who was the envy of Venus and Jupiter. When he came under Küchlüg's dominion the latter took the girl for himself. A year or two later the *gür-khan* passed away[18] and the wind of that dynasty died down after they had reigned in prosperity and happiness for three *qarn* and five years,[19] during all of which period no harm had touched the skirt of their fortune. But when the time came for their decline and fall, one who had been a captive in prison became ruler over the khan of that people, whilst the *gür-khan* received a tomb for his abode and all his people were bewildered and dismayed.

When the time came that kingdom did not remain;
all that lordly activity was of no avail.
When it comes, it is gain, when it goes it is pain;
empty-handedness is preferable to such treasure.

God Almighty hath said: 'Their state is like that of the people of Pharaoh, and of those before them who treated their Lord's signs as lies. We therefore destroyed them in their sins, and we drowned the people of Pharaoh; for they were all doers of wrong.'[20]

[17] Koran, xix, 86.

[18] Chih-lu-ku was deposed by Küchlüg in 1211 and died in 1213. See Wittfogel and Fêng, *op. cit.*, 652 and 653.

[19] Reading *si qarn va panj sāl* with D. The text, following A, has *si qarn navad va panj sāl*, i.e. probably 'three *qarn* (= ninety) and five years'. Rashid-ad-Din (Berezin, XV, 80) has the same reading as D. Smirnova, 182, translates the phrase 'three hundred and five years', evidently taking *qarn* in its modern sense of 'century'. For *qarn* 'a period of thirty years' see Minovi and Minorsky, *Naṣīr al-Dīn Ṭūsī on Finance*, 760 and 772. In actual fact the dynasty (1124–1213) lasted for rather less than 95 years—89 solar or 92 lunar years.

[20] Koran, viii, 56.

[XI]

[94] OF THE REMAINING EVENTS IN THE LIFE OF SULTAN MUHAMMAD OF HAPPY MEMORY AND OF THE CONFUSION OF HIS AFFAIRS

WHEN the [rule of the] Ascendant, Fortune, has been transferred to [that of] the Anareta,[1] Tribulation, then the sun of a man's prosperity, which used formerly to thrust out its head through the collar of the Eastern horizon of felicity, approaches the decline of disappointment and the West of adversity, and the tail node of evil augury becomes the cause [2] of his misery. And although he be adorned with excess of perspicacious counsel and with superabundance of judicious resolve and decked out with the experience of a lifetime of dealing with men, yet every reflection that he makes and every task that he undertakes becomes the source of evil and the cause of confusion to his mind and spirit, whilst every perfection he awaits occasions deficiency and privation; to such an extent that from observing the auspiciousness of the benefic planets [3] he is affected by the inauspiciousness of the malefic planets,[4] and the light of his brilliant mind, which used to shine like the moon in the Sea of Darkness, lies hidden in the net of eclipse behind the curtain of amazement and in the fog of bewilderment, and the flints of his desire give no spark, and the means of salvation are precluded from him, and he loses sight of the goal to which the path of righteousness leads, and the veil of neglect covers his heart and eyes, so that all his actions tend to nothing but the frustration of his cause. *God*

[1] *jirm-i-qāṭi'* : the planet which causes death, the Anareta (a corruption of ἀναιρέτης) or Abscissor of European astrologers. Professor O. Neugebauer of the Institute for Advanced Study, Princeton, and Professor E. S. Kennedy of the American University, Beirut, have been good enough to check my translation of this and two other astrological passages (pp. 374–5 and 567–8).

[2] *ra's* : lit. 'head', i.e. 'head node'. The head and tail nodes are the *caput draconis* and *cauda draconis* where the orbit of the Moon intersects that of the Sun —with both Sun and Moon near such a node, and only then, an eclipse becomes possible.

[3] Jupiter and Venus.

[4] Saturn and Mars.

Almighty hath said: 'And when God willeth evil unto men, there is none can turn it away, nor have they any protection beside Him.' [5]

When God wishes something to a man, even though he be
endued with wisdom, and intellect, and understanding,
And craft which he exercises against whatever is brought
to him through the unpleasant resources of Fate,
He causes him to be ignorant, and blinds his eyes, and
plucks him out of his wisdom like a hair,
Until, when His decree concerning him has been carried out,
He restores his understanding to him in order that he
may take warning.[6]

If therefore, kind and gentle friend, thou art doubtful and [95] suspicious of these statements and dost not credit the tales of the Ancients—

If thou believest me not, then put out thy hand,

and seize the rein of this manifest parable, and view this circumstance with the eye of truth, and hearken to this tale with the ear of understanding, and take a taste from this potful of wonders with the palate of experience, and with the nostrils of acceptance sniff the scent of this advice! Now these allusions are explained and these secrets and mysteries revealed in the form and shape of the life of the Sultan of happy memory, Muhammad *(may God illuminate his example and cause him to dwell in His gardens!)*. For as long as the humpbacked circle, and the blind-hearted heavens, and the base wheel, and the chameleon world, and unkindly Fate were in agreement with his commands and wishes, without any great effort or endeavour on his part all the marvels of Fortune came out to meet the vanguards of his ambitions whilst the delegations of Prosperity welcomed the main body and the wings. He turned the reins of intention in the direction of no undertaking but that the grandeur of his daily increasing fortune made a night-attack upon the hearts of foes and rebels with fear and dread of the punishment of his furious

[5] Koran, xiii, 12.

[6] Abu-Ja'far Muhammad b. 'Abdallah b. Isma'il al-Mikali, governor of Nishapur. Quoted by Tha'alibi in the *Yatimat-ad-Dahr* and also by 'Utbi. (M.Q.)

severity. The leader and commander of his army was ever-wakeful Luck, whilst his guard and scout were the protection and custody of the Almighty. The centre and right consisted of cherub angels, while the left was composed of relays of the troops of heavenly blisses. His parasol was fashioned by the concurrence of Fate and Destiny, and his banners were raised with the assistance of Victory and Triumph, the pen of Success having written on the borders thereof with the ink of Divine Assistance the words: *'Help from God and speedy conquest!'*

Prosperity to the South and victories to the North;
Heaven beside the stirrup and Fate beneath the reins.

But when his luck turned and the side-wind of adversity extinguished the fire of prosperity, the water of success was muddied with the dust of disappointment and the guides of his counsels and deliberations avoided the pathway of righteousness [96] and strayed from the station of rectitude. And one of the first signs of coming events and harbingers of future happenings was that in the year . . .[7] he set out against the Abode of Peace *(may it continue to flourish!)*.[8] At that time the robe of the Caliphate was adorned by the Commander of the Faithful an-Nasir li-Din-Allah,[9] and there had been bad feelings between them, one of the reasons for which was that when Jalal-ad-Din Hasan [10] adopted Islam and sent a *sabil* [11] on the Pilgrimage the Caliph had given his standard and *sabil* precedence over those of the Sultan, treating the latter's representatives with contempt. Other incidents also occurred, and Sultan Muhammad was deeply offended and obtained *fatwas* from the *imams* of his kingdom to the effect that the 'Abbasids had no right to the Caliphate, that the title belonged to the *sayyids* of the line of Husain and that whoever had the power to do so was under an obligation

[7] There is a blank in most MSS. The correct date, according to Ibn-al-Athir and Nasawi, was 614/1217–18. (M.Q.)

[8] Apparently written before the destruction of the 'Abbasid Caliphate.

[9] 1180–1225.

[10] I.e. Hasan III, the Isma'ili ruler of Alamut (1210–21), on whom see below pp. 698–703, also Hodgson, *The Order of Assassins*, 217–25.

[11] Apparently a caravan of pilgrims. (M.Q.)

to redress wrongs. Moreover, the 'Abbasid Caliphs had been backward in undertaking holy wars in the way of God Almighty and, though possessing the means thereto, had failed to defend the frontiers, to extirpate the heterodox and the heretical and to call [97] the infidel to the True Faith, as is incumbent upon, nay obligatory to all in command; and so had neglected this pillar, which is the main pillar of Islam. With such argument as his pretext he designated 'Ala-al-Mulk of Tirmiz, one of the chief *sayyids,* to be set up as Caliph; and he set out to put this intention into effect.

Upon reaching Damghan he received news that the *atabeg* Sa'd [12] had approached Ray in the hope of seizing the kingdom of Iraq. The Sultan rode forward with a band of warriors, travelling like a patrol with the speed of lightning. He came upon the *atabeg* in Khail-i-Buzurg,[13] where he lay with the army of Iraq. No sooner was battle joined than the army of Iraq was put to flight. The *atabeg* Sa'd was taken prisoner and the Sultan wished to put him to death, but he sought refuge with the *malik* of Zuzan, whom he prevailed upon to intercede for him; and at the *malik's* request the Sultan spared his life. He gave his eldest son, the *atabeg* Zangi,[14] as a hostage to the Sultan and likewise settled upon him the two castles of Istakhr [15] and

[12] The Salgharid ruler of Fars (1195–1226).

[13] According to Yaqut Khail-i-Buzurg was a small town and district between Ray and Qazvin: it was considered a dependency of the former although situated nearer to the latter. (M.Q.) See also Nasawi tr. Houdas, 25, where the name is misspelt Djebel-Bourzouk.

[14] Not mentioned by Lane-Poole, *The Mohammadan Dynasties,* or Zambaur, *Manuel de généalogie et de chronologie pour l'histoire de l'Islam.*

[15] I have adopted the Iṣṭakhr of C, E and G (the usual spelling of the name) in place of the Iṣṭarkh of the text. The Castle of Istakhr was also known as Iṣṭakhr-Yār, 'the Friend of Istakhr'. This and two other fortresses, the Castle of Ashkanavān (on which see the following note) and the Qal'a-yi-Shikasta, or 'Broken Castle' lay on the hills to the north-west of the town of Istakhr, a Sassanian foundation, which at the time of the Moslem conquest was one of the largest cities of Fars. It was situated in the narrow gorge through which the Pulvar passes before entering the Marv-Dasht and so lay a short distance to the north of the great Achaemenid platform-palace of Persepolis. See le Strange, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate,* 275–6, and, for a description of the Castle of Istakhr, Hamdallah tr. le Strange, 131.

Ashkanavan [16] and two thirds of the revenue of Fars; upon which he received permission to return home. When he arrived before the Castle of Istakhr the *atabeg* Abu-Bakr having learnt the terms of the agreement issued forth to do him battle. Father and son stabbed one another and the *atabeg* Sa'd took his son prisoner and then complied with the engagement he had given and the terms he had accepted.[17]

At the same time the *atabeg* Öz-Beg, who also had been cherishing a desire for the kingdom of Iraq, entered Hamadan from Azerbaijan,[18] but fled when the Sultan's forces [98] arrived. They wished to pursue him but the Sultan said that it would be inauspicious to capture two kings in one year and bade them let him go. Reaching Azerbaijan in safety he struck coin and read the *khutba* in the Sultan's name and sent envoys to him with gifts and presents.

From Hamadan the Sultan proceeded in the direction of Baghdad. By the time he had reached Asadabad it was mid-autumn. The vanguard of Dai [19] made an assault and struck with their swords in the shape of snow that descended like showers of arrows. In that night the Sultan's army witnessed the Day of Judgement, and from the spears of the cold and the wind, which no breastplate could ward off, they experienced the terrors of *zamharir*.[20] Many persons perished in the snow, and of the animals there was left not even a trace, so that in the hands of Resolve there remained only Repentance and Regret: '*for*

[16] Reading Ashkanavān (AŠKNWAN) with E for the ASKNAN of the text. Other forms of the name are Shaknavān (Ibn-al-Balkhi) and Shankavān (Hamdallah). The Askanābād of Nasawi (tr. Houdas, 34) would appear to be a corruption of Ashkanavān.

[17] According to Nasawi (tr. Houdas, 34) this encounter took place at the gates of Shiraz.

[18] In fact the *atabeg* was not in Azerbaijan but in Isfahan, which he had seized at the same time as Sa'd had possessed himself of Ray and Qazvin, viz. upon the death of Ighlamish, the governor of Persian Iraq (on whom see below, p. 702 and n. 34); and he had approached Hamadan in flight upon receiving the news of the defeat and capture of Sa'd. See Nasawi tr. Houdas, 25 and 27, also, for the whole of Öz-Beg's career, Minorsky's article *Uzbek* in the *Encyclopedia of Islam*.

[19] The Persian solar month, December–January.

[20] Intense cold.

God's are the armies of the Heavens and of the Earth: and God is Knowing, Wise.' [21]

Let them beware of the wrath of God whereby fairness of face is rendered foul and transformed.

And this was a buffet *(chashm-zakhm)* upon the face of his fortune and a scratch on the cheek of his cause, and from then onward the claims of Misfortune answered one another and the caravans of Frustration and Disappointment followed one behind the other.

I was not one that loved thee, this I know—but
Destiny pulls down a veil before my eyes.

And since this weakness and impotence had penetrated his affairs and the miracle of the Mohammedan faith had turned aside his hand—

Fate has turned aside the hand of my fortune; therefore
my hand cannot reach the end of my Beloved's ringlets—

of necessity he drew back from that enterprise and remained in Iraq for a few days only in order to mend the affairs of his followers and to cleanse that kingdom from the impurities [99] of disaffection.

As he returned home, a messenger reached him from Ghayir-Khan, the emir of Otrar, announcing the arrival of merchants connected with the Tartars and the circumstances thereof. Without thinking or reflecting upon the matter or weighing the profit or loss or good or evil thereof in his mind, the Sultan at once gave orders for that party of Moslems, who had sought refuge in the asylum of his safeguard, to be put to death and for their goods, which were accounted splendid spoils, to be carried off.

Often one bite has prevented a second and for the enjoyment of a moment has precluded eating for all time.

When life darkens for a man, he does everything that
avails him not.

In accordance with his orders Ghayir-Khan took the lives of 450 Moslems and in so doing caused Peace and Security to rise

[21] Koran, xlviii, 4.

in rebellion. And in fact, if the consequences of an act are not considered from the first, one must look for unexpected troubles that were not apparent at the beginning.

Beware of the enmity of men, for it sullies
the purity of every drinking-place.
And do not stir up war even though thou reliest
upon a firm support and a strong shoulder,
For the wise man will not drink deadly poison because
of his confidence in a tested antidote that he has.

Now Chingiz-Khan had sent the Sultan by those merchants a message to the following effect: 'The areas which bound on our territory have been purged of enemies and have been completely conquered and subjugated to our will; and we now have the obligations of neighbours. Human wisdom so requires it; that the path of concord should be trodden by either side; that the duties of friendship should be observed; that we should bind ourselves to aid and assist one another in the event of untoward happenings; and that we should keep open the paths of security, frequented and deserted, so that merchants may ply to and fro in safety and without restraint.'

[100] Not only did the Sultan fail to hearken with the ear of understanding to these counsels, but he actually put the messenger to death. And these unworthy acts gave rise to the matter which generates evil humours and were the cause of retribution and precipitate attack.

When news of these happenings reached the ear of Chingiz-Khan the fire of wrath so set him upon the hurricane of violence that with the water of destruction and perdition he annihilated the very soil of the Sultan's empire. Küchlüg, the son [of the ruler of] the Naiman, had fled from him and after defeating the Khan of Qara-Khitai had occupied his kingdom, his army was the only screen between the two parties, and therefore Chingiz-Khan first of all dispatched forces again Küchlüg, as has already been recounted.[22]

When the Sultan left Iraq for Transoxiana, he appointed Sultan Rukn-ad-Din over that kingdom—he is mentioned in a

[22] See above, i, 66–8.

separate chapter[23]—and upon reaching Khorasan went to Nishapur. He remained there a month, and carelessly, and contrary to his wont, strayed from the path of seriousness in compliance with his desires, and set foot in the wilderness of merriment, and for some days tasted the pleasures of riotous living.

Drink wine, for the jasmine will see many a sky;
Live gaily, for the cypress will see many a Suha.[24]
Enjoy this one moment that thou hast on loan—
Know that the meadow will see many a one like us.

From thence he set out for Bokhara, where he remained from the 8th of Sha'ban to the 10th of Shavval. . . .[25] [101] And since it was springtime and the world was as beautiful as a bride, he forgot the malice of the revolving circle in compliance with the verse:

Now that the spring has smiled, fresh and new, let us have
music, and red wine, and the locks of our beloved.

And for the remainder of his life he was constantly satisfying his desires in the company of fair songstresses and in continual drinking of purple wine, gratifying every pleasure and appetite and answering thus the reproaches of unkind Fate:

It is the time of the rose. Not long remains. Drink wine!
What is the rose when life is gone? Drink wine!
As the heavens revolve, in this deserted caravanserai
No one remains long, only a very short time. Drink wine!

From thence he set out for Samarqand with the intention of proceeding against Küchlüg and collected all the armies stationed in that area. In Samarqand also out of wanton pride, nay from carelessness and because his luck and fortune had changed, he had for a while, like Venus, spread the carpet of merriment, and applied himself to Dargham[26] wine, and pitched the tent of Desire upon the plain of Gaiety. And with the

[23] See below, Chapter XXIV. [24] The star 80 *Ursae Majoris.*

[25] There is a blank in B, E and G. Probably 615 according to both M.Q. and Barthold (*Turkestan,* 370), i.e. the 30th of October to the 30th of December, 1218, which was hardly the springtime!

[26] A district near Samarqand famous for its wine. (M.Q.)

(? navīr) and bass and treble strings of the lute these words came from the Sultan's tongue to the ear of the soul of wisdom.

> The plain of my heart is covered with blood, O cupbearer!
> And madness has brought my heart from the world, O cupbearer!
> Give wine openly for no one knows
> What will appear from behind the veil, O cupbearer!

Meanwhile he received tidings of the flight of Toq-Toghan [27] before the Mongols towards Qara-Qum,[28] which is the home of the Qanqli. He left Samarqand for Jand by way of Bokhara in order to follow [102] them, but learning that the emirs and main army of Chingiz-Khan were pursuing them, he took the precaution of returning to Samarqand, where he gathered together all the troops that were still left there and then proceeded again to Jand at the head of a great and splendid host, thinking to kill two birds with one stone and not realizing that '*he that seeketh all loseth all*'.[29] He followed in their trail and between the two rivers Qaili and Qaimich [30] came upon a battle-field,

[27] On the name see above, i, 61, n. 1. Here is meant not Toqto'a Beki, but one of his sons—Qul-Toghan according to Barthold, *op. cit.*, 370 and n. 4, Qodu according to Marquart, *Über das Volkstum der Komanen*, 134 and n. 1.

[28] See above, i, 89, n. 9.

[29] On the different versions of this first clash with the Mongols see Barthold, *op. cit.*, 369. The sources are here particularly divergent in their chronology; and Barthold and Marquart disagree in their conclusions upon this difficult problem. 'Until we have more accurate data, it must be taken as most probable that the sultan's campaign in the Turgai province was begun in the winter of 1215–16, and that his collision with the Mongols took place in the summer of 1216.' So Barthold, *op. cit.*, 371. On the other hand, Marquart, *op. cit.*, 133, concludes that the battle with Jöchi was fought about the 15th of July, 1219.

[30] QYLY and QYMJ. Minorsky, *Marvazī*, 100, n. 3, suggests the restoration of these names as QNQLY and QBJX, i.e. Qanqlï and Qïpchakh (Qïpchaq). It may be however that the forms as recorded in Juvaini are correct. In the biography of Sübetei in the *Yüan shih* (see Marquart, *op. cit.*, 132, Haenisch, *Die letzten Feldzüge Cingis Han's und sein Tod*, 533–4, also below, p. 373, n. 35) there is mention of an indecisive battle between the Mongols and Sultan Muhammad on the Hui-li River, which already Marquart, *op. cit.*, 133, had identified with Juvaini's Qailï. As for Qaimïch (Qïmïch, Qaimach, etc.), H. Desmond Martin, in his article, *The Mongol Wars with Hsi Hsia (1205–1227)*, 217, quotes a Chinese report of an interview between Chingiz-Khan and the widow of the Khitan prince Yeh-lü Liu-ku, in the course of which the Conqueror recounts how Yeh-lü Liu-ku's eldest son had rescued Jöchi when he had been surrounded

where he beheld great piles of dead and fresh blood. Amongst the fallen a wounded man was discovered and questioned. It being ascertained that the Mongols had been the victors and had left the spot that very day, the Sultan, without stopping to consider, set his face to the road and hurried after them. The next day, when the scouts of Dawn raised their flashing swords out of the scabbard of the eastern horizon and removed the black bile from the brain of the army of Night, the Sultan overtook them and made ready for battle. The Mongol army did not lay hand on the skirt of war but held back, saying: 'We have no authority from Chingiz-Khan to fight with thee. We have come upon another errand, seeking a quarry which had escaped from our net.

[103] Do not, O king, do not act like a [rash] youth, do not indulge thyself thus in what leads to calamity.

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by Moslem troops in a place called Qimaq. The passage is reproduced in Martin's book, *The Rise of Chingis Khan and his Conquest of North China,* 284, but here the name of the battle-field is spelt Kimach. The report is derived, according to a footnote in Martin's article, *loc. cit.,* from the *T'ung-chien kang-mu.* In fact, as Professor Cleaves pointed out to me in a letter dated 15th September, 1955, the ultimate source of the story is not this work but the biography of Yeh-lü Liu-ku in the *Yüan shih,* 149 (*ts'e* 45), 114–5v7. Professor Cleaves was good enough to supply me with a translation of the relevant passage (4r2–5r2). Returning from his campaign against the West Chingiz-Khan is met by Yao-li, the widow of Liu-ku, and in the course of the interview he extols the bravery of Liu-ku's son. '"Hsieh-ch'e,"' he says, '"has left [you] and has become a Mongol. When he accompanied Us on Our campaign in the Western Region, the Hui-hui [i.e. the Moslems] surrounded the *t'ai-tzŭ* [eldest imperial son, i.e. Jöchi] at Ho-mi ch'êng. Hsieh-ch'e led 1,000 troops and brought him out [of danger]. His [own] body was pierced by a lance. . . ."' It will be seen that Martin's Qimaq or Kimach is in fact Ho-mi ch'êng, 'the city of Ho-mi', and this, as Professor Cleaves informed me in his letter, would appear to be Qamïl, the Camul of Marco Polo and the present-day Qomul (Hami) in Sinkiang. There can however be no question of a clash with Sultan Muhammad's forces on the edge of the Gobi; and it would seem therefore that the compiler of the biography or his informants substituted the familiar name of Qamïl for some unknown word resembling Juvaini's Qaimïch, of which the final *-ch* is perhaps represented by the *ch'-* of *ch'êng* 'city'. It is a curious point that the rescue of Jöchi by the son of Liu-ku has its exact parallel in the rescue of Sultan Muhammad by his son Jalal-ad-Din. See above, i, 69, also below, p. 372. As to the identity of the Qailï and the Qaimïch, Professor Minorsky has suggested in a written communication that they are possibly the Irghiz and the Turghai.

Do not, O king, sadden my heart, do not imperil my life
and thy own.[31]

However, if the Sultan takes the first step and stretches his hand to war, then we have no choice and cannot turn face but must stand our ground. But if he desists and does not idly draw upon himself the fire of calamity, but considers the evil consequences of a quarrel that will end only in repentance, and hearkens to this advice with the ear of wisdom, and does not caress the tail of the viper nor wound the spirit of repose with the spear of ill temper, but avails himself of a gift that is offered him, and does not persist in this matter, it will be the nearer to the interests of his country and he will remain the farther from the infamy of corruption and the calamity of perversity.' However

Whenever evil fortune grows angry, hard stone becomes
like wax—[32]

and since the mirror of his fortune was clouded and the eye of his experience blinded, the Sultan was not rebuked by this admonishment nor rebuffed by these warnings—

Thou knowest that the king's evil temper is a colocynth
tree that is always bearing fruit—[33]

and he opened the battle in such manner that from the clanging of swords, and the neighing of horses, and the war-cries of horsemen and heroes the ear of the World was deafened, and from the dust thereof the face of the sun was hidden and the shining stars came into view. The right wing of either side attacked the opposing left wing and forced it back. Then the whole Mongol army attacked the centre, where the Sultan had taken his stand. They gave way and had almost been put to flight, when Sultan Jalal-ad-Din came to the rescue from the right wing, where he was stationed with a few horsemen. He stood firm and repelled the attack. The battle continued till

[31] *Shahnama* ed. Vullers, 1680, ll. 3239–40. Rustam is addressing Isfandiyar.
[32] *Ibid.*, 502, l. 1146.
[33] *Ibid.*, 509, l. 1283. Instead of *tu dānī ki* 'thou knowest that' Vullers has *bidū guft* 'he said to him'. I have preferred Vullers' *ḥanẓal* 'colocynth tree' (which D also has) to the *jangī* 'warlike' or 'a war' of the text.

between the evening prayer and nightfall; both sides exerted themselves to the utmost and no one [104] showed the back of flight until

> When the ends of the locks of Night were combed and
> the writing of Infidelity was written upon the World—

they gathered up their skirts from the fight and encamped opposite one another.

> *And they returned with their lances shattered, and*
> *we returned with our swords bent.*[34]

The Mongol army then kindled a fire for every man and made off on their swift horses casting dust in the eyes of Fate. As for the Sultan, he remained for some time where he had encamped until

> When the true dawn appeared in the world and all
> the hundred leaves of heaven began to sprout,
> And the negro, Night, with magic, as it were, began
> to blow a flame of fire from his mouth—

he found their encampment empty and returned hurriedly to Samarqand without having gained a victory;[35] vacillation and bewilderment taking possession of his mind and his inner uncertainty disturbing his external appearance. For when he thought of the power and might of that people and of the stirring up of the troubles that had gone before, and when he realized that he had brought this calamity upon himself by force, he was overcome with misery and disgust, and repentance was manifest in his speech. For that army was but a river out of a sea, a

[34] 'Abd-ash-Shāriq, one of the poets of the *Hamasa*. (M.Q.)

[35] Cf. the account in the biography of Sübetei. There is a German version by Haenisch (see above, n. 30) and I quote here from an English translation kindly provided me by Professor Cleaves. Sübetei and Jebe having pursued the Sultan as far as the Hui-li River, where Jebe had suffered a defeat, 'Su-pu-t'ai quartered [his] army east of the River and warned [i.e. commanded] his multitude that [each] man should light three torches in order to magnify the strength of the army. Their king escaped by night.' It is clear from this account that the purpose of lighting fires or torches was to intimidate the enemy and not, as Juvaini implies, to conceal the fact of the Mongols' own withdrawal. The same ruse had been employed by Chingiz-Khan himself against the Naiman. See the *Secret History*, § 193, Grousset, *L'Empire Mongol*, 161–2.

town out of a clime, a hair out of a head, and he had seen and experienced their absolute superiority. When the seas of trouble began to rage and all the winds of affliction to blow, the ship of safety would not be able to reach the shore of salvation and the tempest of calamity would be universal. And because of the domination of doubt and suspicion the gates of true counsel were closed to him; his heart was wounded by the cruelty of the revolving dome; timidity and terror prevailed and sleep and repose departed. *' For success is brought to nought between impotence and anxiety.'* And since by his futile ambition he had attracted to himself the fire of unrest and had brought the pot of calamity to the boil—

[105] *Through greed my age has caused me to miss its advantages,*
and the greedier I was the more I missed.
The rope of desires like the rope of the sun [36] *seems all one*
piece, but when one touches it it is broken—[37]

that spy, the reputation of religion and state, was exposed and the law of severity and punishment revealed so that the nightmare of impotence and weakness gained the mastery, the peacock of the realm became the prey of the owls of Calamity and King Ka'us [38] remained in chains in the hands of the demon host of Trial and Grief. He resigned himself to inexorable Destiny and yielded to impotence and failure, surrendering to evil fortune and complied with the words: *' We submitted to the will of God.'*

If only they had made the attempt like the noble,
then they would have succeeded.
Or else they might resign themselves to their
predestined stations in life.[39]

The astrologers too said that the beneficent stars were cadent from the angles of the Ascendant and the Tenth House and the

[36] *ḥabl-ash-shams*, i.e. ' sunbeam '.

[37] From a *qasida* by Abu-Ishaq al-Ghazzi in praise of the Turks. The opening line and some other verses are quoted in Vol. I, 63, 153 and 154, [i, 82, 194, and 195]. (M.Q.)

[38] Kā'ūs, a legendary king of Persia, was imprisoned by the *dīvs* or demons of Mazandaran.

[39] From a famous *qasida* by Abul-Hasan at-Tihami, of which the opening line has already been quoted in Vol. I, 240. (M.Q.)

maleficent stars were in attendance; until the transmission [of power] to the Dark Houses had passed, it would be prudent to undertake no course which would involve an encounter with the enemy.

This circumstance added to the confusion of his case, and he determined to turn back and hasten elsewhere. Most of his armies he left in Transoxiana and Turkestan, including 110,000 men in Samarqand, where he ordered the citadel to be strengthened. A corner of the moat was opened to let in water, and the Sultan passing by on the day of his departure remarked: 'If every soldier in the army which is about to attack us were to throw in his whip, it would be filled up.' The army and the people were depressed by these words. As for the Sultan he proceeded from thence by way of Nakhshab, and wherever he came he advised the people to look to their own affairs and [106] to find some refuge or asylum since it was impossible for them to oppose the Mongol army. He also sent someone to take his womenfolk from Khorazm to Mazandaran. His confusion and perturbation, his perplexity and distress increased daily and he was ever consulting the ministers of his court as to how this pain might be cured and by what means this situation might be met.

And shall the druggist remedy what has been spoilt by Fate? [40]

And when disturbing reports arrived one after the other and the confusion grew greater—

Every day the heavens give birth to a new calamity
Such that thought cannot imagine even with an effort.
One needs an understanding clearer than the sun
In order to solve the riddle of this time—

all the wise and the great were bewildered thereby and distraught at the vicissitudes of Fate; and every one spoke and suggested a course of action according to his own intellect and understanding.

The behaviour of Destiny is beyond the grasp of the mind:
man is but the plaything of events.

[40] The *Kāmil* of Mubarrad, Leipzig ed., 176. (M.Q.)

Those who had been tested with the practice of a lifetime, and had experienced good and evil, and had thought deeply on the administration of affairs, suggested as follows: 'The position in Transoxiana has passed out of our control and it is no longer possible to hold that area; but we should do everything in our power not to lose the kingdoms of Iraq and Khorasan. The armies which have been stationed in every city and upon every side must be recalled; a general advance must be made; the Oxus must be converted into a moat; and they must not be suffered to set foot across that river. *"Haply God will of Himself bring about some victory or event of His ordering."*'[41]

Others said: 'We must go to Ghaznin and gather forces there. If it be possible we shall give the enemy his reply; if not, we can make India our rampart against him.'

Sultan Muhammad preferred this latter advice [107] and with the object of putting it into practice advanced as far as Balkh. However, his son Rukn-ad-Din had sent 'Imad-al-Mulk to him with gifts and presents. 'Imad-al-Mulk was a man of influence and enjoyed great respect; and the management of affairs was in his hands. Love of home and country prevailed on him to advise the Sultan to come to him. 'For if,' he said, 'these people are victorious, we can put ourselves at a greater distance from them by going to Iraq, where we can gather together the army of that country and turn to do battle with open eyes and abundance of equipment.'

But his son Jalal-ad-Din rejected these various counsels and said: 'My advice is that we should, as much as possible, gather the armies together and advance against them. And if the Sultan have no heart for this, let him proceed to Iraq and hand over the armies to me so that I may advance to the frontier, and join battle with them, and smite them hard—[42]

Help, O strong man, raise up in me one that advances
against death and plunges whole squadrons therein.
When he purposes anything he sets its intention before
his eyes and turns away from thought of the consequences.

[41] Koran, v, 57.

[42] Lit. 'strike a stone and a pitcher together'.

He consults no one in his affairs but himself and is
satisfied with no companion but the hilt of the sword— [43]

so that we may be excused before God and man—

In order to be excused or to obtain an advantage, for he
that causes himself to be excused is like him that is
successful.[44]

If fortune is kind we shall with the polo-stick of success have borne off the ball of our desire, and if our luck be unfavourable we shall at least not be the target of the reproaches of freeman and slave, nor will they lash us with the tongue of abuse and say: "How many times did they exact tax and tribute from us! Yet in time of need they place us in the jaws of disappointment."'

He repeated these words on several occasions and was awaiting the permission of his father, from [108] attendance upon whom he was never absent. But Sultan Muhammad, being overcome with fear and dread did not heed his earnest words but would say:

'Do not lose thy head for a crown, for no king was
born of his mother with a crown.'

And, as is the custom of the unfortunate, he would regard the sage advice of his son as childish sport and pay no attention to it, because the star of fortune was still in the house of descent and disaster and he did not know that

The sword is more truthful in giving news than books:
on its edge is the boundary between earnest and play.
In the whiteness of the blades of swords, not in the
blackness of the texts of books lies the exile of
doubt and suspicion.[45]

Finally the Sultan accepted the advice of 'Imad-al-Mulk that he should hasten to Iraq and departed from Balkh with bitter joy,

[43] Sa'd b. Nāshib, one of the poets of the *Hamasa*. (M.Q.)
[44] 'Urwa b. al-Ward al-'Absi. Quoted in the *Hamasa*. (M.Q.)
[45] The opening lines of a famous *qasida* by Abu-Tammām in which he praises the 'Abbasid Caliph al-Mu'tasim billah [833–42] and describes his capture of Ammuriya [Amorion] in Asia Minor. (M.Q.)

sending a patrol from thence to Panjab [46] to obtain news of the development of events. When he came to the bank of the river at Tirmiz the patrol came up [109] to report that Bokhara had been taken, and following upon this came the news of the capture of Samarqand. At once he recited the four *takbirs* [47] over his kingdom and fastened three divorces [48] upon the corner of the veil of the bride of kingship, so that return thereto was unthinkable; and set his face to the road.

He ceased to think of good or ill

'that God might carry out the thing that was to be done'.[49]

Now the greater part of his army were Turks of the tribe to which his mother's kinsmen belonged called the Oran.[50] In the midst of all this distraction and confusion they plotted to kill the Sultan. Someone informed him of their plan, and that night he changed his sleeping quarters and left his tent. At midnight they let fly their arrows, and in the morning the tent appeared as full of holes as a sieve from the arrow shots. On this account the Sultan's apprehension was increased and his fright and terror redoubled.

Every shaft that falls from the circle of the heavens
comes as salt to the stricken one with a wounded heart.

He made great haste in the direction of Nishapur, and wherever he came he would enjoin the people, with threats and menaces, to strengthen their citadels and fortify their dwelling-places; and so fear and dread were increased a thousandfold in men's hearts and an easy matter made difficult. When they came to Kalat [51] in Khabaran [52] of Tus he was persuaded by some of his followers that the castle of Kalat, of which the upper circumference was seven parasangs and comprehended two or three fields, ought to

[46] On Panjāb or Mēla see above, i, 144, n. 3.

[47] I.e. he read the burial service over his kingdom.

[48] According to Mohammedan law the third pronouncement of divorce is irrevocable.

[49] Koran, viii, 43 or 46. [50] *Ūrānīyān*. See above, i, 305, n. 68.

[51] The later Kalāt-i-Nādirī. See above, i, 158, n. 15.

[52] Khābarān was the district in which Abivard stood. By the 'Khabaran of Tus' is presumably meant that part of the district nearest to Tus.

be repaired, stores and treasures collected therein and troops and tribal levies transported thither—

Whithersoever the heavens will turn in the end.

On this too the Sultan could reach no decision, and following his previous intention he came to Nishapur on the 12th of Safar, 617 [18th of April, 1220]. Here he turned his back on the affairs of the realm and set his face towards pleasure and enjoyment, amusing himself with songstresses and songs. [110] And since he now knew of a certainty that the fraudulence of wicked Fate and cruel Destiny would not suffer him to take one step in accordance with his wishes nor to breathe one breath to his heart's desire, he paid little heed to the world and would say:

To-day one must eat the world like sugar;
To-morrow, as thou shalt see, one will have to drink the blood of the liver.

It was as though the following quatrain had been taken down from his lips:

When the rose blossoms we shall rise for an hour,
And with the joy of wine we shall flee from the clutch of Grief.
It may be that in another spring, O my companions,
The rose will be scattered on the ground, and we too shall be scattered.

He therefore constantly applied himself to the quaffing of cups of wine and had no fear of the arrows of reproach. And such as ministered to sport and mirth and provided joy and pleasure gathered around him and became his companions and advisers. And he recognized no business but merrymaking. Because of arranging the jewels of women he could not concern himself with the training of men, and whilst pulling down the garments of his wives he neglected to remove the confusion in important affairs. Now at that time the vizier of Nishapur, in succession to Khoja Sharaf-al-Mulk, was Mujir-al-Mulk Kafi-ad-Din ʿUmar of Rukh[53] *(may God have mercy on them both!).* He had a noble spirit and a pleasant disposition, and Sayyid

[53] The district of Zāva.

Siraj-ad-Din composed the following verses on the occasion of his appointment to the vizierate:

They said—and they bore good tidings—: 'Your vizier
is 'Umar al-Kafi from Rukh.' I said: 'Victory is ours
For thou wilt find no crookedness in the course of the rook (rukh),[54]
and justice has always been connected with 'Umar.' [55]

Now the Sultan being present in Nishapur, all manner of people, leaders *(quvvād)* and petitioners, had come from all sides to wait on him; but no one would deal with their affairs, and they were perplexed and bewildered. One day they gathered in great numbers at the gate of Mujir-al-Mulk's palace, where they raised an uproar and began to shout abuse. Mujir-al-Mulk came out, and turning towards them spoke as follows: 'What you say is perfectly true and your complaints are fully justified, but I too am blameless in the eyes of men of sound judgement. Because of my duties as a pander *(qavvādagī)* I cannot attend to the business of leaders *(quvvād)* who are in charge of affairs; and because [111] I must see to the provisions of damsels I have no time to check the pages of registers. Some days ago the Sultan commanded us to provide so and so many ornaments for the singing-girls and to do nothing else. The Sultan's orders must be complied with, but it is also necessary to attend to the requests of petitioners.'

They were engaged in this conversation when the bearer of evil tidings, that is the patrol from Panjab, arrived with the news that the Mongol army under Yeme Noyan and Sübetei Bahadur had crossed the river. The dust of grief was scattered on the Sultan's head, the fire of anxiety flared up in his bosom and the wind of fortune died down.

And I passed the night as though I had been attacked by
a slender snake of the kind with black and white speckles
in whose fangs the poison is deadly.[56]

[54] I.e. the castle in chess. The English *rook* is in fact derived from the Persian *rukh*.

[55] A reference to the Caliph 'Umar (Omar), the father-in-law and second successor of Mohammed.

[56] From a famous *qasida* by the pre-Islamic poet, Nabigha of the Dhubyan tribe. In it he defends himself against accusations laid by his enemies before his patron, King Nu'man b. Mundhir of Hira. (M.Q.)

Having drunk every drop in the goblet of pleasure he ought to have expected the sting in the headache that followed.

The same man drank the dregs who drank the pure wine.

That life was nought but intoxication; the delight thereof departed and the headache therefrom descended.[57]

The thought of wine and beloved left my head; the sound of harp and lute departed from my mind.

And for every joy there was substituted a sorrow and every rose was exchanged for a thorn.

Grief is my friend, pain my intimate, complaint my minstrel, the blood of the liver my wine, and the pupil of the eye my cupbearer.

And having no choice he preferred the law of the flight of the prophets to the ordinance of God, Who saith: *'And contend with your substance and your persons in the Way of God.'* [58] The cupbearer Fate had been plying all and sundry with cup after brimful cup of patience,[59] the unpalatable drink of sorrows, and with patience they had had to taste that bitter pill out of loyalty, whilst those singers, the cares of mankind, had set the following words in the key of the Sorrows of Husain [60] to a harsh and discordant tune [112]:

O cupbearer of Care, if [the cup] is moving towards me do not mix [the wine], for I am mixing my cup with my tears.
And, O young man of the tribe, if thou singest mirthfully, sing 'O grief, because of the heat of my breath.'

In the midst of all this alarm and confusion on Tuesday the 7th of Rabi' I, 617 [12th May, 1220], he set out for Iraq by way of Isfarayin, filled with every kind of despair and composing the following *ghazal* out of the pain of his heart and the grief of his bosom:

When Venus at dawn plays the harp upon the horizon, Fate gives shrill voice to my lament.

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[57] As-Sarri ar-Raffa' of Mosul. (M.Q.) [58] Koran, ix, 41.
[59] *ṣabr*, which also means 'aloes'. [60] Probably a reference to Shia laments.

Discordant Fate drives out of my head desire for the
wail of the pipe and joy in the plucking of the harp.

And the dirge in the wilderness of his sorrowing heart was:

Neither the pleasure of union with the Beloved has
remained, nor yet the Beloved.
Nothing has remained of anything but grief and care.
And of the foundations of our union in the street of desire
No trace was left in the twinkling of an eye.

When he reached Ray, the Khorasan patrol, which was indeed the patrol of grief of heart, suddenly came up from another direction with the news that the strange army was close at hand. He repented of his decision to proceed to Iraq knowing of a surety that *'he had left his counsel in Ray'*.[61]

When the crow is men's guide, the Magians' burial-ground is
their place of rest.[62]

He departed from thence for the castle of Farrazin,[63] at the foot of which his son Rukn-ad-Din was encamped with 30,000 [113] men of the army *(ḥasham)* of Iraq. When they received news of the Sultan's arrival they hastened out to meet him and powdered their eyes with the dust raised by his troops. The same day he sent Sultan Ghiyas-ad-Din and his mother with the rest of his harem to Taj-ad-Din Toghan in the castle of Qarun[64] and likewise dispatched a messenger to summon the *malik* Hazar-Asf,[65] who was a descendant of the ancient kings of the Lurs.

[61] A pun on *ra'y* 'counsel' and *Rayy* 'Ray'.

[62] For a variant of this proverb see below, p. 704.

[63] Farrazīn was a castle at the gates of Karaj, a town 30 parasangs south-east of Hamadan on the Hamadan-Isfahan road near the present-day Sultanabad [founded by Fath-'Ali Shah at the beginning of the nineteenth century, now Erāk]. The word occurs four times in Houdas' edition of Nasawi (pp. 15, 17, 69 and 73) and except in the last instance is mis-spelt *Qazvīn*; it is also mis-spelt *Qazvin* in the first instance in the unique Paris MS. on which Houdas' edition is based. [It appears everywhere as Qazvin in Houdas' translation. See pp. 27, 30, 117 and 122.] (M.Q.) Now Farzīn. I saw it on my left in 1905 (coming from Burujird to Sultanabad). (V.M.)

[64] Qārūn must be somewhere in Central Persia, probably in the region of Hamadan. (V.M.)

[65] The usual spelling is Hazār-Asp. He reigned from 600/1203–4 to 626/1228–9 or 650/1252–3. The dynasty known as the *atabegs* of the Greater Lur

Meanwhile he consulted the emirs of Iraq as to how this formidable enemy should be encountered and repelled. They thought the best course would be to take refuge in the Ushturan-Kuh [66] and make it their bastion and asylum and so repulse their foes. The Sultan went to inspect the mountains and said: 'This is no place for us to take refuge in nor can we withstand the Mongol army in such a fastness.' On hearing these words the soldiers were much disheartened. When he had descended from the mountains the *malik* Nusrat-ad-Din Hazar-Asf arrived and came straight from the road to the audience pavilion. He kissed the ground in seven places, and the Sultan honoured him by commanding him to be seated. After returning to his tent the Sultan sent 'Imad-al-Mulk and Dokhan [67] to consult him as to how they might deal with this difficult task and this fearful calamity. Nusrat-ad-Din replied: 'The best course is for us to set out this very hour without waiting to reflect or consider. There is a mountain between Fars and Luristan called Tang-i-*Balu.[68] When one passes through its defiles [114] there is a rich and fertile region.[69] Let us go there and make it our asylum. We shall muster a hundred thousand foot out of Luristan, Shulistan [70] and Fars and set men at all the approaches to the mountain. When the Mongol army arrives,

and also as the Hazaraspids ruled over Eastern and Southern Luristan between 1155 and 1423, their capital being at Idaj (Malamir). They were not descended from 'the ancient kings of the Lurs', the founder of the dynasty being a Kurd from Syria. Juvaini appears to have confused them with another dynasty, that of the Lesser Lur (1184–1597) in Northern and Western Luristan with their capital at Khurramabad. See Minorsky's articles, *Lur-i Buzurg* and *Lur-i Kūčik* in the *Encyclopedia of Islam.*

[66] Ushturān-Kūh ('the Mountain of the Camels') is a mountain range stretching southwards from Burujird and separating Iraq or Central Persia from Luristan.

[67] DWXAN. Perhaps for Doghan, a form of Toghan. D has ARDWXAN, i.e. apparently Ordu-Khan.

[68] Reading BLW for the TKW of the text in accordance with the suggestion made by Minorsky in his article, *Shūlistān,* in the *Encyclopedia of Islam.* Tang-i-*Balū would mean 'the Pass of the Oak'.

[69] Probably the Shi'b-i-Bavvān. (V.M.) On this celebrated valley, which was considered one of the four Earthly Paradises, see Hamdallah tr. le Strange, 128.

[70] On the district of Fars called Shūlistān, 'the land of the Shul', Marco Polo's Cielstan or Suolstan, see Minorsky's article in the *Encyclopedia of Islam.*

we shall advance against them with a stout heart and fight a good fight. As for the Sultan's army, which has been suddenly overcome with fear and terror, if on that occasion we gain a victory, they will realize their own strength and might and the weakness and impotence of their enemies; and they will take fresh heart.' But the Sultan said: 'His object in giving this advice is to come out in open enmity against the *atabeg* of Fars and so prevent the conquest of his country. When we have finished dealing with the foes in front of us then will be time to think of settling with the *atabeg*. My opinion is that we should remain here and send to all sides until the armies are gathered together.'

Such was his intention when his patrol arrived from Ray with the report that the Mongols had reached the town, sacked it and massacred the inhabitants. At the heels of this patrol came the Mongols themselves; and no troops had been got ready except for the gathering together of griefs and cares and the dispersal of the desires of the heart. *'And after the desolation of Basra'* [71] the Sultan realized that

> Deeds must be done at the proper time; an untimely deed is feeble, feeble.

The *malik* Nusrat-ad-Din went his way and returned home; each part of the army betook itself to a different place; and the Sultan together with his sons set out for the castle of Qarun. The Mongol army overtook him on the way. They did not recognize him and discharged arrows without realizing [whom they were attacking]. The Sultan's mount was severely wounded in several places but did not stumble and bore him at a gallop out of the whirlpool of destruction. Thus he came to Qarun, where he remained for one day receiving several horses from the emirs. Then descending from Qarun and taking guides he stole off in the direction of Baghdad. In the very same hour the Mongol army arrived and thinking the Sultan was still in the castle commenced a fierce battle. Then realizing [115] that he had departed they set out in his pursuit. On the way they fell

[71] I.e. when it was too late.

in with the guides whom the Sultan had dismissed and who informed them of his intention of proceeding to Baghdad. They set off on his trail but the Sultan had turned back and made for Sarchahan.[72] Not finding his tracks, the Mongols realized that he had eluded them and withdrew after putting the guides to death. The Sultan remained seven days in the castle of Sarchahan and then struck out towards Gilan. Su'luk, one of the emirs of Gilan, came forward to meet him and placed himself at the Sultan's disposal. He urged him to stay but after a week the Sultan departed to the province of Ustundar.[73] Here what treasure was left to him was lost and from hence he came to the district of Dabuye,[74] a dependency of Amul, and the emirs of Mazandaran came to offer their services. Wherever he halted for a day the Mongols would overtake him; and in the meanwhile his harem too had arrived from Khorazm and had gone into the castles. The Sultan sent for certain of the emirs of Mazandaran who enjoyed his confidence and were the repositories of his secrets and consulted with them as to how he might take refuge in some fastness where for a few days he might be safe from the Mongols. They thought it best for him to seek asylum in one of the islands of the Sea of Abaskun.[75] He went to one of these islands, [116] where he remained for a while. Then when the report of his presence on that island was spread about, he took the precaution of removing to another island. His departure coincided with the arrival of a detachment of Mongols whom Yeme Noyan had sent in pursuit of him from Ray. Not finding the Sultan they turned back and laid siege to the castles in which his harem and treasures lay and stormed them within a few days. When the dreadful news reached the Sultan and he learnt that his harem had been dishonoured and his attendants disgraced; that his small sons had been put to the sword; that his veiled womenfolk were in the clutches of strangers; and that

[72] Sarchāhān lay between Zanjan and Tarum on the road to Gilan.

[73] Reading ASTNDAR for the ASPYDAR of the text. On Ustundār, another name for the district of Rustamdār in Mazandaran, see Rabino, *Mázandarán and Astarábád*, 26, also Minorsky's article, *Rūyān*, in the *Encyclopedia of Islam*.

[74] Dābūyē (or Dābūyī). The usual form is Dābū. See Rabino, *op. cit.*, 40.

[75] I.e. the Caspian. See above, i, 155, n. 6.

all of his wedded wives had fallen into the embraces of [other] men and had been crushed in the clasp of beggars—

And now they showed their cheeks whilst wearily beating
their breasts with the hands of shame—

and when he learnt also that all of his dependants in that region had put their necks through the collar of Destiny and their feet down the smoke-vent of Calamity, and had fallen into the snare of Affliction and the jaws of Annihilation, and had become but a tale in the world and strangers amongst friends—

When the Sultan heard this, his head grew dizzy, the world grew dark before his eyes.

Such are the nights and their happenings renewing to
men event after event—

then was the pain past remedy and threatened his very existence, and he preferred death to life and chose annihilation rather than survival—

Pay thy visit, then, O Death, for life is detestable;
be serious, O Soul, for thy lot is hazardous.

He writhed in this anguish and agitation and bemoaned this calamity and disaster until he delivered up his soul to God and was released from the sorrow of this life and the trickery of the revolving heavens.

[117] *Farewell to the world and all its good things! It is as though Ya'qub had never sojourned in it.*[76]

And on the occasion of his death someone composed the following:

O thou, who didst die seeking the solution of difficulties,
Who didst die alone though born of union;
O thou who didst turn to dust, thirsty upon the shores of the sea;
O thou who didst die of penury on the top of treasure!

He was buried at the time upon that very island but afterwards

[76] A slight variation of one of the lines said to have been written on the tomb of Ya'qub b. Laiṣ the Saffarid, 868–78 and quoted by Ibn-Khallikan in his biography of Ya'qub. (M.Q.)

Sultan Jalal-ad-Din ordered his bones to be taken to the castle of Ardahn.[77] One of the learned composed the following lines *à propos* of the occasion:

O king, this has befallen thee because of the evil eye;
Thou hast departed and many a discomfiture has overtaken the Faith.
O thou, to the crown of whose sultanate the heavens were a helmet,
The tightness of the cloak of thy kingdom was caused by Chin.[78]

Islam was heartbroken and paralysed by this disaster; because of this catastrophe, which caused blood to drip from the eye of hard rock, the hearts of true believers were sore and sad.

Behold the weeping of the rock and say not that it is [only] exudation; and ask the mountain to lament and think not that it is [but] an echo.

In every hovel there was weeping and in every corner sorrow in

[77] The text has Ardahīn, but I have preferred the Ardahn of E, which is also the form of the name in Nasawi and Yaqut. The latter describes Ardahn as a strong castle situated in the mountains between Damavand and Mazandaran, three days' journey from Ray. According to Nasawi, Jalal-ad-Din, during the siege of Akhlat (August, 1229–March, 1230), had conceived the idea of building a *madrasa* in Isfahan to be the final resting-place of his father's bones. He had therefore dispatched a message to his paternal aunt in Mazandaran requesting her to superintend the transfer of the coffin to the castle of Ardahn where it should remain until the *madrasa* was completed. It was Nasawi himself who wrote the letter, but not without grave forebodings. 'Par ma vie! j'écrivis cette dépêche bien à contre-coeur, tant l'idée m'en semblait ridicule. . . . Je savais, en effet, que le cadavre du prince . . . n'avait échappé à l'incinération de la part des Tatars que parce que ceux-ci n'avaient pu arriver jusqu'à lui, car ils avaient l'habitude de brûler les os de tout sultan enterré dans quelque pays que ce fût, croyant que tous les sultans étaient les descendants d'un ancêtre commun. C'est pour cela qu'ils avaient exhumé les os de Yemin ed-Daula Mahmoud ben Sebokteguin . . . qui était enterré à Ghazna et qu'ils les avaient brûlés . . . Les choses d'ailleurs se passèrent effectivement comme je l'avais pensé: les Tatars, après en avoir fini avec le sultan dans les environs d'Amid, ainsi qu'on le racontera plus loin, firent le siège de cette forteresse d'Ardehen; puis ils exhumèrent le corps du grand sultan et l'expédièrent au Khâqân [i.e. Ögedei] qui le fit brûler.' (Nasawi tr. Houdas, 319–21.)

[78] *Chīn* 'China', i.e. the Mongols, or *chīn* 'fold', i.e. too many folds.

men's hearts at this happening. Mourning and tearing their hair they recited and sang with sighs, and groans, and lamentations:

[118] *Where is the Sultan of the lands of the Moslems? Where*
is the exemplar of the Commander of the Faithful?
Where is he who was like the edge of the sword in mightiness?
Where is he who was like the shaft of the spear in suppleness?
Verily, that calamity has brought misfortune upon us
which we cannot see clearing away.

However we must avoid the practice of the discursive and turn aside from the pathway of rhetoric.

Make for the essence of the matter, never mind
the smell and the colour.

This, then, is all we will say in that manner:

Why dost thou relate the adventures of a cutpurse?
Listen rather to the tale of Destiny.
Let her tell the wise, and the deaf, and the blind
to whom it was that she gave and from whom it was
that she took away gold and power;
How she bound the hands of the Khusraus and how she
razed [their] castles
Let her tell how with might she broke the necks of
the haughty,
So that, when thou hast heard of the pride of greatness,
thou mayst not set thy heart upon this fickle life.

From this tale may the seeing man know that such is the end and conclusion of this present world. She is an angry deceiver, wicked and impudent; her society is the cause of estrangement, and her company fraught with peevishness. She is one that shows wheat and sells barley, a poison tasting of honey, an old hag in the guise of a beautiful maiden clad in fine silk; her lovers pursue her as in a trance and with a hundred thousand cries and laments.

The world is a juggler with a wrinkled head; it does a
thing in one way and appears to do it in another.
It calls with love and drives away with hate—all
its actions were ever thus.

Thou knowest not, when it calls thee, whither it calls thee,
and thou knowest not, when it drives thee away, whither
it drives thee.
Thou didst not come willingly in the beginning, and thou
shalt not depart willingly in the end.
Between two such disappointments how can one live contentedly
in this world?

He must be keen of sight who realizes that the uttermost pleasure and the highest friendship are reserved for those who take warning from the inconstant deeds and actions of this present world, and have spurned it with [119] the foot of '*Touch me not!*' and shunned all contact with it, holding its good and ill to be equal and with the water of contentment washing the hand of greed for this tottering edifice full of dogs and carrion—

And it is nought but ridiculous carrion covered with dogs
which are concerned at their being attracted to it.

Consider the commands and prohibitions of the world to be a
dream; consider its wine to be nothing but a mirage.
Be like a dog, thou art intended for carrion: thou art the
shadow and the *farr*[79] of the *ustukhan-khar*.[80]

Rather they renounce its goods and vanities—

How shall the glory of God display the sanctity of divinity
to the frivolous heart?—

and turn the face of inquiry towards the Kingdom of Heaven until the sanctity of divinity is reflected on their luminous breasts and they soar on the wings of High Resolve with Wisdom as guide over the horizon of the spirit and miracles, and stand shoulder to shoulder with the holy in the ranks of purity, and ride in the company of the cherubim gripping the firm handle

[79] The *farr* was a kind of halo, especially the aureole that surrounded the heads of the legendary kings of ancient Persia.

[80] The *ustukhwān-khwār*, lit. 'bone-eater', is another name for the *humā* or *humāi* (on which see above, i, 19, n. 1), i.e. the Common Lammergeyer or Ossifrage. It 'is a bird of good omen and its shadow also is of good omen. . . . It eats bones; and in regard to it they have said: "The *humāy* is held in greater honour than all other birds for this reason, that it eats bones and harasses no animal."' (Hamdallah tr. Stephenson, 73.)

which is trust in God, and know of a certainty that this rubbish-heap is a conduit suspended from the wind and there is no place in it that one can build on, or profit by, or find ease and comfort in—

> The ringlets of the Beloved One's tresses are the snare of calamity: we have lost our heart to them: it is the essence of sin—

neither should one be distressed or incapacitated by its deceit, nor set one's heart on its joy, [120] nor be sad and grief-stricken because of its sorrow. Its good and its evil are parallel and equal in the eyes of the wise man.

> *The meanness and the generosity of Laila are as one to us.*

> Why praise and decry prosperity and adversity? For when thou hast closed thy eyes thou shalt see neither the one nor the other.

[XII]

OF THE CAUSES OF THE ESTRANGEMENT BETWEEN SULTAN MUHAMMAD AND THE COMMANDER OF THE FAITHFUL AN-NASIR LI-DIN-ALLAH ABUL-'ABBAS AHMAD

EVER since in the days of Tekish a dispute had arisen on account of the kingdom of Iraq and Tekish had routed the army of Baghdad and slain the Vizier (as has been previously mentioned),[1] the Caliph had been constantly sending clandestine messages to the Khans of Qara-Khitai calling upon them to attack Sultan Muhammad, and he had also on many occasions dispatched letters to the Sultans of Ghur [to the same effect]. These secrets were revealed when the Sultan came to Ghaznin, and a search being made in their treasuries the correspondence came to light in which the Caliph egged on and incited him[2] to attack the

[1] See above, i, 307, where however it is stated that the Vizier died (presumably a natural death) several days before the battle.

[2] I.e. Shihab-ad-Din. See above, i, 353.

Sultan and asked him to render aid to the army of Qara-Khitai. The Sultan did not reveal this secret but kept those letters for use as evidence.

Furthermore, when Jalal-ad-Din Hasan [3] had for reasons of expediency made profession of Islam and the Caliph had accepted his profession, he wished, in order to make his conversion widely known, to send a *sabil* on the pilgrimage. [121] The Caliph commanded his standard to be carried in front of that of Sultan Muhammad, and when news of this reached the Sultan he was much distressed and offended. The Caliph also asked Jalal-ad-Din for a band of *fida'is*, and he sent him a body of men whom he had ordered not to deviate from whatever the Caliph commanded. An estrangement having arisen between the latter and the ruler of Mecca, he sent some of these *fida'is* to stab him. They made a mistake and instead of the ruler of Mecca it was his brother that they stabbed and killed. This abominable act occurred on the day of *'arafa* [4] on the plain of 'Arafat.[5] He likewise sent some of these *fida'is* to Iraq to stab and kill Ighlamish.[6] Ighlamish, who had been sent to the *atabeg* Öz-Beg by the Sultan, regarded himself as the latter's servant and chosen [emissary].

To these outward reasons were added others. The Sultan regarded himself as in no way inferior to the Buyids [7] and the Seljuq Sultans, nay he considered even one of his emirs to be on a par with the Buyids whilst he held his own worth and dignity to be vastly superior to those of the Seljuqs. Now the kingdom of Baghdad, though in the possession of the Caliphs, had in fact been under the sway of the Seljuqs, and the Caliphs of that time, such as Tayi',[8] Mustarshid,[9] etc., had been subject

[3] The ruler of Alamut. See above, p. 364, n. 10.

[4] The 9th of Zul-Hijja, the eve of the *'Id-al-Aẓḥā* or Feast of Sacrifice.

[5] 'Arafāt, the 'Mount of Recognition', situated 12 miles from Mecca, is the place where the pilgrims stay on the 9th of Zul-Hijja.

[6] On Ïghlamïsh see below, p. 702, n. 34. *ïghlamïsh* in Turkish means 'he wept'. On names of this type see above, i, 308, n. 81.

[7] A dynasty (932–1055) which reigned in Central and Southern Persia and Iraq.

[8] Ṭāyi' (974–91) lived and died long before the rise of the Seljuqs (1037).

[9] 1118–35.

to their rule and obedient to their commands and prohibitions, as has been recorded in every history. And if one studies these histories the matter becomes clear. However, the Sultan needed some excuse whereby he might be secured from the reproaches of mankind and the rulers all around him and such as might prevent its being said that a Sultan professing Islam had, out of lust for empire, attacked that Imam to do homage to whom is to complete the pillar of Islam and in so doing had cast his faith to the winds. *The Prophet of God (may God bless him and give him peace!) hath said: 'Whosoever dieth without having done homage to an Imam, hath died as though he lived in the Days of Ignorance.' And the poet hath said:*

We pray, and the completion of our prayer is that we
believe thee to be the best Imam before God.

He therefore asked the *imams* in his own kingdom for a *fatwa* to the effect that the Imamate of any Imam who committed such acts [122] as have been mentioned was not a true Imamate; and that when such an Imam made an attack upon a sultan who succoured Islam and had passed a lifetime in Holy War, that sultan had the right to reject that Imam and to set up another [in his place]. Furthermore, the *sayyids* of the line of Husain had the right to the Caliphate and the 'Abbasids were usurpers. Having obtained *fatwas* to this effect he removed the name of the Caliph from the *khutba* throughout his kingdom. However, this attack on the 'Abbasids was to turn out ill for the Sultan.

[XIII]

OF THE DESTRUCTION OF THE SULTAN OF SULTANS AND THE CAUSE THEREOF

His descent is traced back to Ilig[1] and Boghra-Khan,[2] who were the khans of Transoxiana and the account of whose rise

[1] By Ilig is meant perhaps Boghra-Khan's father, who bore the title of *ilig*. See Barthold, *Turkestan*, 257, n. 5, also above, i, 288, n. 34.

[2] On the rise of the Qara-Khanids and the career of Boghra-Khan Hārūn b. Mūsā see Barthold, *op. cit.*, 254–60.

to power is recorded in the *Yamini* of 'Utbi.[3] In Transoxiana he was called the Sultan of Sultans.

When the Khans of Qara-Khitai made themselves masters of Transoxiana, Sultan 'Usman also came under the sway of the *gür-khan* and yielded obedience to his commands and prohibitions. The *gür-khan* for his part accorded him the continued possession of the kingdom of Transoxiana and did not oust him therefrom, contenting himself with a small annual tribute and with the appointment of a *shahna* to reside with him. Sultan 'Usman led a life of ease and pleasure, and whenever he visited the *gür-khan* was received with honour and respect. Now the *gür-khan* had a daughter such that the face of the moon was the reflection of her cheeks and the *sura* of *Beauty* had been sent down regarding her.

> O thou from whose musk-bag the locks of the beautiful
> are but a scent, on whose surface the eighteen
> thousand worlds are but an alleyway.

She was the Joseph of Egypt of her age, and the Sultan of Sultans became smitten with her beauty, [123] the shirt of his patience being rent with desire of her like a rose that has blown: their love became as famous as that of Joseph and Zulaikha. The Sultan of Sultans asked for her hand in marriage, but the *gür-khan,* because of the difference between their kingdoms, refused to agree and rejected his suit.

> *O thou who givest the Pleiades in marriage to Canopus,*
> *in the name of God how shall they come together?* [4]

The Sultan was hurt and offended, and to this cause of resentment were added others arising out of the brutality of the *gür-khan's* tax-collectors and *shahnas.*

Now at that time the local rulers *(mulūk-i-aṭrāf)* and various nobles held Sultan 'Usman in detestation, for he was, they said, the Sultan of a Moslem country who was subject and tributary to a polytheist. If he had not power to resist, why did he not

[3] The *Ta'rīkh-al-Yamīnī* of Abū-Nasr Muhammad b. 'Abd-al-Jabbār 'Utbī (†1036), on which work see Barthold, *op. cit.,* 19–20.

[4] 'Umar b. Abū-Rabī'a, the famous poet [†719]. (M.Q.)

apply to the Sultans of Islam and seek their aid and support? *God Almighty hath said: 'Those who take the unbelievers for friends besides the faithful—do they seek honour at their hands? Verily, all honour belongeth unto God.'* [5] Now at that time the pomp, power and grandeur of the Sultan had taken firm hold of men's hearts and the expanse of his kingdom had been far extended; and whoever had no call on his friendship and no claim on the bond of his affection might expect to draw upon himself the calamities of Fate and look to endure the vagaries of wily Fortune. To oppose the *gür-khan,* then, was possible [only] in agreement with the Sultan. Sultan 'Usman, accordingly, dispatched messengers to him, and throughout the land of Transoxiana he perfumed the wood of the pulpits with the mention of his name and circulated coins bearing his titles.

[124] When Sultan Muhammad went to war against Qara-Khitai, Sultan 'Usman was in attendance upon him rendering obedience and assistance; and upon his return he betrothed to him a pearl from the shell of the Sultanate and a full moon from the Heaven of Bliss. To complete the nuptials, and hold the feast, and plant firmly the sapling of union, he bore him with him to Khorazm and showed him every delicate attention that is possible between two Sultans. After the marriage had been consummated Sultan 'Usman was minded to return to his own capital, but Terken Khatun would not allow this in view of the custom of the Turks, who, as a sign of respect, will not let the son-in-law go back to his own house until a full year has elapsed. When the Sultan set out a second time against Khitai and came to Samarqand, the inhabitants and notables had misgivings about the continued absence of Sultan 'Usman, to which they each gave a different interpretation. The Sultan, therefore, sent back some of his officers to give Sultan 'Usman permission to return home with his daughter: he dismissed him in a manner worthy of such a Sultan and sent an escort of retainers to accompany him.

Upon his return to Khorazm the Sultan intended daily to increase the rank of his son-in-law, but there came messengers

[5] Koran, iv, 138.

from his daughter telling how Sultan 'Usman had turned against her father and was again in league with the *gür-khan* and how he had made a mock of her by causing her to appear on a festive occasion as attendant upon a maiden he had now received in marriage from the *gür-khan*.

The Sultan bore this patiently and did not permit it to be made known until another messenger came with the news that the people of Samarqand at the command of Sultan 'Usman had massacred the persons who had accompanied the princess together with such troops as had remained in the town. The estrangement was thus made public and the Sultan could not in honour look idly on. He ordered Sultan 'Usman's brother [125] Otegin,[6] whom he viewed with favour and in whose hands he had intended laying a whole clime, to be imprisoned in Khorazm; while he himself proceeded to Samarqand. The citizens closed the gates; but when they realized that gazelles could not resist hunting lions, Sultan 'Usman took a sword and a shroud[7] and came to wait on the Sultan. The latter, however, gave orders for a general massacre, and nearly ten thousand Moslems were slain. The *sayyids*, holy men, *imams* and *'ulema* held up copies of the Koran and made intercession; and orders were then given for the sheathing of swords. When Sultan 'Usman presented himself the Sultan turned to him and said: 'O man without honour, if thou didst mock thy wife on my account, was she not after all thy consort? What sanction didst thou find in the code of chivalry for the commission of such dishonourable acts?' Sultan 'Usman hung his head in shame. Now the Sultan for his part had no intention of harming him, but his daughter, whose name was Khan-Sultan, would not suffer her husband's life to be spared. He therefore gave command for Sultan 'Usman to be dispatched in the night. This fell out in the year 609/1212–13.

The Sultan sought to win over the people of Samarqand and

[6] Apparently his title as youngest son and 'guardian of the hearth'—*ot-tegin* or *ot-tigin*. See above, i, 42, n. 8.

[7] To indicate that his life and death were in the Sultan's hands. Cf. below, p. 416.

also sent envoys to the emirs of Farghana and Turkestan calling upon them to yield allegiance to him. He likewise sent troops to Sibijab [8] both to guard the place and to make constant attacks on the remnants of the *gür-khan's* forces and so prevent them from recovering their strength and storing up supplies.

When Küchlüg learnt of the Sultan's activities and of the superior strength of his forces, he sent messengers to him and they came to an agreement in accordance with which [126] they were to attack the *gür-khan* from either side, and if the Sultan was the first to defeat him, all territory as far as Kashghar and Khotan would pass to him, while if Küchlüg was the first everything up to the river at Fanakat would be his. They reached an understanding on these terms; and the Sultan then sent army after army to attack the *gür-khan,* and these attacks extended as far as the region of Besh-Baligh. Samarqand now became the Sultan's capital, and he built a Friday mosque there and began the construction of other fine buildings.

It was a curious circumstance that when the Sultan's harem fell into the hands of the Tartar army, Khan-Sultan, who had held Sultan 'Usman in loathing, came into the possession of a dyer in Emil: he married her and they lived together until her death.

[XIV]

OF SULTAN JALAL-AD-DIN

SATAN the Tempter had caused fear and dread to gain such a hold upon the mind of his father, Sultan Muhammad, that he was seeking a hole in the ground or a ladder to the heavens in order to place himself out of reach of the boundless army and to tread heavily [1] upon the stirrups of flight before their onrush. When he retreated before the Tartars and came to Samarqand

[8] Reading, as M.Q. suggests, Sibījāb for the Panjāb of the text. Sibījāb was an older form of the name of Isbījāb or Isfijāb, which lay on the site of the present-day Sairam, a small town in Kazakhstan, north-east of Tashkent and about 6½ miles east of Chimkent.

[1] Reading *sang-girān* for the *sabuk-girān* of the text.

with the intention of removal and flight he began to distribute throughout the country and to depute as guardians of the land those valiant troops and men of battle who for long years and since remote times had been intended for such an occasion and held in reserve for days like these.

And of his sons he who was eldest of age and greatest in valour and daring, the crown upon the head of [127] kingship and the glittering lamp of the divine Faith—

The offspring of the Shadow of God on Earth: if he be
mentioned amongst sultans, they will cry 'Bravo!'
And the hunters of the lands will prostrate themselves
humbly before him when there are drawn up around him,
ripe men and youths—

i.e. Sultan Jalal-ad-Din, was alone in attendance upon his father, while the other sons were the adornment of this life—and of folly.

He was ever denouncing his father's plan, remote as it was from the target of rectitude and the highway of righteousness, and saying: 'To scatter the armies through the lands and turn tail before an enemy whom one has not encountered, nay, who has not yet started from his own territory, is the mark of a craven wretch, not the path of a mighty lord. If the Sultan does not decide to advance, and do battle, and charge, and fight at close quarters, but persists in his decision to flee, let him entrust the command of the valiant troops to me, so that we may set our faces towards the warding off of events and the forestalling of the actions of frivolous Destiny before the opportunity is lost, and our feet are caught in the mire of perplexity and bewilderment, and we are chewed like gum in the mouth of reproach and drowned in the flood of repentance before the eyes of all mankind.

Perchance shining Fortune is not awake, otherwise
such a deed is not difficult.' [2]

His father would straightway reply: 'The good and evil of this world are of a fixed extent and the order and arrangement

[2] *Shahnama* ed. Vullers, 464, l. 479.

of affairs and the derangement and deficiency thereof are of a specified measure. Until the time has elapsed that was predestined in eternity without beginning and written in the page of Fate and Destiny, and until an event which has occurred has produced its full effect, prevention and defence or neglect and procrastination will have one and the same taste in that crucible. For with the feeble measures which men take in ignorance under conditions of hardship and adversity and of which they know not what the final outcome [128] will be nor what number the dice of Empire will throw upon the board, hope of success and prosperity is inconceivable and in that case strength and weakness [3] bear the same appearance. Every perfection has a defect, every full moon a waning and every defect a perfection; and until this has reached its culmination and this misfortune, which has appeared on the globe of the earth through the influence of the heavens and particularly affects our own circumstances, has expended itself, and the flood thereof subsided, and the flame of the fire of calamity died down, and the hurricane of suffering slackened, to attempt to set right affairs of which the order has been deranged and the pillars shaken is perhaps to strive, and endeavour, and struggle, and fight for no profit but toil and increase of tribulation. For it is well known and an established fact that agitation in the noose of the rope only precipitates death and that from the union of conjecture and fantasy there can spring nought but madness.

If the hands of Fate are fastened on us and we are
afflicted with hurt from all the varieties of her
cruelty,
There are in the heavens stars without number, and yet
there are none that suffer eclipse save only the sun
and the moon.' [4]

They several times disputed in this fashion but the Sultan would by no means agree to his son's remaining behind and compelled him to continue at his side. When Sultan Muham-

[3] The text has *quvvat va shaukat* 'strength and magnificence', but, as M.Q. points out, the meaning must be as in the translation.

[4] Shams-al-Ma'ālī Qābūs b. Vashmgīr. (M.Q.)

mad left the ruined caravanserai of this present world for the resting-place of the world to come and betook himself from a dusty salt-marsh to the Garden of Purity, then only did Sultan Jalal-ad-Din and his younger brothers with some few others cross from Abaskun to the mainland,[5] where in accordance with the verses:

[129] *And sit not with thy eyelids covering a mote, when*
on earth there are a mount, a spear and a companion [6]

he wished to gallop on to the field of manliness and by wisdom to prevail over the revolution of the circling heavens, so that perchance he might lay the dust of the unrest which Fate had raised from the earth of tribulation and blunt the sword of hardship which Destiny had drawn from the sheath of tyranny.

And I desire nought but generosity, for it is the
nature of a free soul filled with pride.

However those conversant with subtleties and those who dive into the sea of truths know that when Fortune shies, and shakes the load off its side, and turns the back of unkindness, a man can on no account expect that it will again show the cheek of fidelity; or that having sharpened the teeth of violence and treachery it will again place its tongue against the soft palate; or that once it has made off it can be captured again; or that having twisted the neck of pride it will consider the showing of kindness a sufficient encouragement; or that having knit in hostility the brow of enmity and perversity it will open its lips with the smile of conciliation. But when it has turned but a hair's breadth aside, though a man exert himself to the utmost to regain its favour and bring it back, it cannot be expected to wag its jaw in self-satisfaction again. And if it deviates but the width of a fingernail one cannot raise a finger to prevent it.

[5] *az Ābaskūn bi-shaṭṭ-i-ān āmadand.* Perhaps rather: 'land from [the Sea of] Abaskun'. See above, i, 155, n. 6.

[6] From a *qasida* by Abu-Bakr al-Khuwarizmi praising Shams-al-Ma'ali Qābūs b. Vashmgir. Quoted by 'Utbi. Another *bait* of this *qasida* has been quoted above, i, 342. (M.Q.)

If my soul turns away from something it will hardly face it again until the end of time.[7]

And if sometimes, contrary to custom, it sprouts for a few days, like the verdure of the dunghill, it finally becomes '*dry stubble which the winds scatter*'.[8]

Nor was it concealed from the Sultan's discernment that to struggle with the contentious Heavens and to persevere against fickle Fate is [vain] toil and trouble; that the course of all events is predestined—'*there is no rejecting of His judgement and no* [130] *one to reverse His doom*'[9]—and that it is not in your hands or mine to restore our luck when it is gone, nay the world itself is a snare of calamity, a deceitful coquette.

Shun care, for worldly-wise men have found no shore
to the sea of the world.
Why shouldst thou blindly put thy trust in oppression and
chicane? For the affairs of this world are all oppression
and chicane.

Fortune and prosperity had completely deserted the House of Tekish, and the star of felicity, amid the calamities of adversity, had begun to turn and decline, and there could be no hope of arresting it. The secret of the mandate '*Thou givest power to whom Thou wilt*'[10] was written and revealed upon the brow of the empire of Chingiz-Khan and his posterity, just as the purport of '*Thou takest away the power from whom Thou wilt*'[10] was plain to read in the pages of the circumstances of his opponents, though it was beyond the powers of human imagination to peruse it. Nevertheless, the Sultan wished that the son might not like the father be chid by the tongues of men and struck with the arrows of reproach by the servants of God Almighty.

It is for me to seek glory where it abideth, and it will not be my fault if what I seek escapeth me.[11]

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[7] Ma'n b. 'Aus, a poet of the *Hamasa*. (M.Q.) [8] Koran, xviii, 43.

[9] Apparently an echo of Koran, xiii, 41: '*God pronounceth a doom, and there is none to reverse His doom.*' [10] Koran, iii, 25.

[11] It is very likely that this is a *bait* from the *qasida* by Abu-Bakr al-Khuwarizmi of which two *baits* have already been quoted on pp. 75 [342] and 129 [399]. [M.Q.]

With all this in mind Sultan Jalal-ad-Din, hearing that the Mongol army had passed by in the direction of Iraq, departed to Manqishlagh [12] and requisitioning the horses he found there dispatched messengers to Khorazm. He was accompanied by his brothers, Uzlaq-Sultan,[13] who was heir presumptive [131] to his father and Aq-Sultan.

Now of the chief emirs there were present in Khorazm * Buchi [14] Pahlavan, the maternal uncle of Uzlaq-Sultan, Küch-Ai Tegin, Oghul Hajib and Temür Malik [15] together with 90,000 Qanqli. And on account of his being favoured by Terken Khatun Sultan Muhammad had conferred the Sultanate and control of Khorazm upon Uzlaq-Sultan, who was a very young child and not quick in his studies.[16] When the Sultans arrived, opinions and feelings varied. Everyone inclined to a different party, and because of the weakness and impotence of Uzlaq-Sultan and the lack of agreement amongst the ministers every servant became a master and every oppressed person an oppressor. Some of the emirs who were greatest in power and authority but mounted on the steed of ignorance and stupidity were of opinion that they could achieve something [by themselves] but that if Sultan Jalal-ad-Din, who was the firmest pillar and the strongest party, became Sultan, each would have a rank and station assigned to him beyond which it would be impossible to advance a single step, and offices would be allotted [solely] in accordance with merit.

[132] *An anklet for the foot, and a lofty crown for above the eyebrow, and a pearl necklace for the neck.*[17]

Most of his own following as well as the common people and

[12] The Mangyshlak Peninsula on the eastern shores of the Caspian.

[13] Reading AWZLAQ for the ARZLAQ of the text.

[14] The spelling of the name is uncertain. The text has *B*WḤ following A, in which however the reading may be BWḤY, i.e. BWǰY. A similar form occurs in the MS. of Nasawi. See Pelliot, *Horde d'Or*, 18, n. 2.

[15] On Temür Malik see above, i, 91–5.

[16] According to Nasawi (tr. Houdas, 93–4), Sultan Muhammad, shortly before his death, had deprived Uzlaq-Sultan of the title of heir-presumptive and conferred it upon Jalal-ad-Din.

[17] From a *qasida* by Abul-'Ala al-Ma'arri in his *Saqt-az-Zand*. (M.Q.)

the majority of the higher classes favoured the Sultan, and the more intelligent courtiers, who with the passage of time had tasted the sweetness and bitterness of life and experienced the pleasure and pain thereof, were eager to serve him and came forward to offer their allegiance. Moreover firm covenants and binding agreements had been made between the brothers. Nevertheless, the hostile emirs laid their plans to destroy Jalal-ad-Din by a sudden trick. One of their number [18] informed him of their plot, and when he realized that at such a time the people were thinking only of strife and rebellion, not of concord and unity, he bestirred himself to find an opportunity [of escape] giving up all hope of the throne and castle of Khorazm. Like a man [19] he set out for Shadyakh by way of Nisa. Upon reaching Ustuva he collided with the Tartar army on the Hill of Shayaqan. For a long while he fought that host with his tiny force and opposed them with constantly repeated assaults in circumstances in which the son of Zal could only have trodden the road of retreat. Finally, when the world [133] donned a pitch-black veil—

> The captain gave his dragon rein and with dust removed
> light from the world—[20]

and at the time of '*no time it was of escape*' [21] he got free of that people.

And in the very hour of the Sultan's leaving Khorazm they [22] received news that troops were massing against them and not having the wherewithal to make a stand they hastened off in the Sultan's trail. The next day in the same area they came face to face with those who had fought and striven with Sultan Jalal-ad-Din. And when Aq-Sultan, who was in attendance on Uzlaq-Sultan, and the chief khans beheld the Tartar host,

[18] Oghul Hajib, according to Nasawi (tr. Houdas, 96). See also i, 158, n. 17.

[19] The phrase is introduced for the sake of the word-play with Nisā = *nisā* 'women'.

[20] *Shahnama* ed. Vullers, 451, l. 302. For *gard* 'dust' Vullers has *khashm* 'anger'.

[21] Koran, xxxviii, 2.

[22] I.e. Uzlaq-Sultan, Aq-Sultan and their following. See Nasawi tr. Houdas, 103–6.

they fled like stars when the sun unsheathes his blades, all of them turning their faces from battle upon the first charge and showing their heels without having stretched out their hands to combat. And the Sultans of the age became prisoners in the hands of Tartar devils, and their chief men and most of their followers were food for the edge [23] of the flashing sword and the prey of wolves and hyenas. And after for two days enduring the ignominy of captivity the Sultans paid the penalty for all that their father had done to the royal houses and ancient families, being buried beneath the earth, nay deposited in the bellies of beasts of prey and eaters of carrion.[24] *'And judgement is with God, the Lord of the Worlds.'*

> If a whirlwind springs up from a corner and knocks an unripe orange to the ground,
> Do we call it tyrannous or just? do we call it virtuous or wicked? [25]

Meanwhile Sultan Jalal-ad-Din having arrived in Shadyakh, was employed for two or three days in preparing for departure whenever an opportunity presented itself. Finally one midnight when

> There was no sound of bird and no cry of beast, and the world had silenced its tongue for good or ill—[26]

he suddenly, like a shooting star, leapt upon the mount of trust in God and on the 15th of Zul-Hijja, 617 [10th of February, 1221], set out for Ghaznin which had been assigned to him by his father. [134] Between his departure and the arrival of the Mongol army there was an interval of no more than an hour. Learning that the Sultan had vacated the town they at once took up his trail and came to a place where the road forked. Here the Sultan had left the *malik* Il-Direk [27] with a body of men to

[23] There is a pun in the original, *zubāb* meaning both 'edge' and 'fly'.

[24] Nasawi's account (*loc. cit.*) is quite different. Far from being captured in flight the two princes had fallen in battle; and the Mongols had then cut off their heads, which they had fastened to the ends of lances and paraded throughout the country in order to strike terror into the hearts of the population.

[25] *Shahnama* ed. Vullers, 433, ll. 3–4. [26] *Ibid.*, 1065, l. 13.

[27] AYLDRK. On the title *direk* see above, i, 309, n. 83. C and D have AYLDKZ, i.e. Ildegiz.

offer resistance for a while until there was some distance between him and the enemy. After some while, being no longer able to hold them, Il-Direk withdrew and made off by another route than that taken by the Sultan; and the Tartars followed in his pursuit thinking the Sultan also had gone that way. The latter, meanwhile, proceeding by another route, traversed 40 parasangs in a single stage, although the steed of his ambition was lame; and the Mongol army desisted from their pursuit and turned aside from the road he was following. Arriving before Zuzan he wished to enter the town in order to rest his horses a little, but the inhabitants disputed with him and would not even agree to his taking refuge inside the ramparts, a request which he made so that should the Mongol army arrive he might offer resistance for a while without their being able to approach him at once from the front and from the rear. 'If,' they said, 'the Mongol army arrives, they will assail thee with sword and arrow from that direction whilst we shall attack thee with stones from behind, on this side.' It was just like the story of Khidr in the Glorious Koran: '*(They went on) till they came to the people of a city. Of this people they asked food, but they refused them for guests.*'[28] In short, finding the smoke-hole of treachery open in the hospitable houses of the faithful nobles of Zuzan, he proceeded to Mabizhanabad[29] which he left at midnight. At daybreak the Mongols[30] [135] arrived and continued [in his pursuit] as far as Barduya, which is a dependency of Herat, when they turned back.

The Sultan proceeded on his way and came to Ghaznin. Amin Malik,[31] who was stationed there with an army of 50,000 men, came out to greet him; and everybody, both the soldiers

[28] Koran, xviii, 76.

[29] MABYŽNABAD. M.Q. quotes two instances of a form MABŽNABAD in a collection of documents of the Timurid period. This latter place appears to have been in the vicinity of Khaf and is therefore almost certainly identical with Juvaini's Mābīzhanābād.

[30] Here the text has *Moghal* (MWΓAL) for the usual *Moghol* (MΓWL). *Moghal* (cf. the Moal of Carpini and Rubruck) or *Moghol* was the Turkish form of the name, the native form being *Monggol*.

[31] See below, p. 460, n. 1.

and the local population, rejoiced at his coming and were heartened by his presence. The Sultan married Amin Malik's daughter and passed that winter in Ghaznin in the Maidan-i-Sabz. The news of his arrival being spread abroad, bands of soldiers and tribesmen approached from every side *'arriving by every deep defile'*.[32] Saif-ad-Din Ighraq attached himself to the Sultan with 40,000 valiant warriors, and the emirs of Ghur likewise joined him from every direction.

> From every side an army gathered about him, for he was
> at once of noble birth and a [mighty] swordsman.[33]

His condition was now one of glory and splendour and he had a numerous army and following at his command. Accordingly, in the first days of spring when [136] the flowers began to bloom, he issued forth from Ghaznin and proceeded in the direction of Parvan.[34] Upon encamping there he received a report that Tekechük and Molghor [35] with an army of Mongols were laying siege to the castle of Valiyan [36] and were on the point of capturing it. Leaving his heavy baggage at Parvan the Sultan led his army in an attack on Tekechük and Molghor. He slew a thousand men of the Tartar vanguard; and his army being larger in numbers, the Mongols withdrew across the river,[37] destroying the bridge, and encamped upon the other side. The river thus formed a barrier between the two armies, and they [simply] discharged arrows at one another till nightfall. Then at midnight the Mongol army retreated, and the Sultan also retired, and having brought a great quantity of stores thither, he now took these from his treasury and distributed them amongst the troops. Then he returned to Parvan.

[32] Koran, xxii, 28. [33] *Shahnama* ed. Vullers, 445, l. 201.

[34] To the north-east of Charikar at the confluence of the Ghorband and the Panjshir. According to Raverty, 288, 1021 and 1042, the battle between Jalal-ad-Din and the Mongols was fought at another place of the same name between Ghazni and Bamiyan, near the sources of the Logar. See also Minorsky, *Ḥudūd*, 348.

[35] MLΓWR. Perhaps identical with the Mular of Kirakos and Grigor and the Molar of Vardan, but see Cleaves, *The Mongolian Names*, 424.

[36] The Walian Kotal to the north of Charikar.

[37] 'Probably the Panjshir.' (Barthold, *Turkestan*, 442.)

When news of this reached the ear of Chingiz-Khan and he learnt how the Sultan had mended his affairs and restored them to order—

> Tidings came to Afrasiyab that Suhrab had cast a boat upon the water.[38]
> From the army there were chosen many horsemen, veterans in war—

[137] he dispatched Shigi-Qutuqu[39] with 30,000 men. A week after the Sultan's arrival in Parvan the Mongol army appeared in the middle of the morning. The Sultan at once mounted horse, advanced to the distance of one parasang and drew up his army, confiding the right wing to Amin Malik and the left to Saif-ad-Din Malik Ighraq, whilst he himself took up his position in the centre. He commanded the whole army to dismount whilst keeping hold of their horses and to fight like desperate men. And since the numbers of the right wing, which had been entrusted to Amin Malik were greater than those of the Mongol army, 10,000 horsemen, all valiant warriors, attacked it and forced it back. Repeated reinforcements were sent from the centre and the left wing until they drove the Mongol army back to their base. In all these charges many were killed on either side, there was much hand-to-hand fighting and unending recourse to both guile and force, and none would show his back to the foe. Finally, when the bowl of the horizon was red with the blood of the sunset glow, either side encamped at its base; and the Mongols ordered every horseman to set up an image on his spare horse.[40] The next day, when the swordsman of the sky had brought down his blade upon the skull of night, both sides drew up their forces, and the Sultan's army seeing another rank behind the Mongol army thought that reinforcements had

[38] *Shahnama* ed. Vullers, 445, l. 208. The following line is not in Vullers. On the comparison of Chingiz-Khan to Afrasiyab see above, i, xxxii.

[39] See above, i, 135, n. 8.

[40] This practice is noticed by Carpini: '. . . et faciunt aliquando ymagines hominum et ponunt super equos. Hoc ideo faciunt ut multitudo magna bellancium esse credatur.' (Wyngaert, 82.) According to the translation by Haenisch the same tactics would appear to have been used against the Naiman in 1204 (*Secret History*, § 193), but see Cleaves' review of this translation, 528–9.

arrived. They were alarmed and consulted together as to whether they should take to flight and seek refuge in the *Basta [41] and Tirah [42] mountains. But the Sultan would not countenance this [138] and rejected their corrupt counsels in accordance with the verse:

> *And what I say [to my soul], whenever it wavers*
> *or is disturbed, is: 'Stay as thou art, thou wilt*
> *be praised or thou wilt find rest.'* [43]

And again on the next day they dismounted, and the Mongol army, having experienced the fury and the great numbers of Ighraq's troops, selected their *bahadurs* and attacked the left wing. Ighraq's men stood firm and let fly *(ighrāq)* with their bows; and by attacking with arrows held the Mongols in check. And when the latter withdrew before that attack and made for their base, the Sultan commanded the drums to be beaten, and the whole army mounted horse and made a general charge, putting the Mongol army to flight. In the midst of their flight, however, they turned round a second time and charged down upon the Sultan's army, striking nearly 500 warriors to the ground. At this very juncture the Sultan rode up like a lion of the meadow or a leviathan of the raging sea, and the Mongols were routed; the two *noyans* [44] departing with a small body of men to wait upon Chingiz-Khan and the Sultan's army busying themselves with plunder.

While they were thus occupied a dispute arose between Amin-ad-Din [139] Malik and Saif-ad-Din Malik Ighraq about a horse. Amin-ad-Din Malik struck Malik Ighraq on the head with a whip, and the Sultan exacted no punishment for this act

[41] So in the text, BSTH = *basta* 'bound', 'closed'. E has PŠTH = *pushta* 'hill'.

[42] *Tīrāhī.* On the mountainous region of Tirah in the North-West Frontier Province see the *Imperial Gazetteer of India,* XXIII, 388–90. Ibn-al-Athir, XII, 38, reports, *sub anno* 602/1205–6, a revolt of the Tirahis against Shihab-ad-Din of Ghur.

[43] 'Amr b. al-Itnaba al-Khazraji. See the *Kāmil* of Mubarrad, Leipzig ed., 753. (M.Q.)

[44] By the two *noyans* are presumably meant Tekechük and Molghor, Shigi-Qutuqu, the commander of the army, being passed over in silence.

for he was not confident that the Qanqli troops would submit to punishment. Saif-ad-Din remained where he was all day but when night fell he made off like Jabala son of Aiham [45] and hastened to the mountains of Karman and Sanquran.[46]

After professing the Truth I became a Christian
because of the disgrace of a blow, in which there
would have been no harm had I endured it patiently.[47]

All that befell Ighraq afterwards will be set forth in a separate chapter.[48]

The Sultan's strength was broken by his defection and the highway of honour and success closed to him. He made for Ghaznin with the intention of crossing the Indus, and Chingiz-Khan, who by that time had finished dealing with Talaqan, learning of the dispersal of the Sultan's forces, went forth to defeat him and exact vengeance, like flashing lightning or a torrential flood, his heart filled with rage and leading an army more numerous than the raindrops. When the Sultan received tidings of him and heard the report of his advance against him with so great an army that it was impossible to oppose that vengeful host and confront the Emperor of the Earth—

For that king is a male dragon panting for vengeance,
a cloud of calamity.

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[45] The last of the Arab kings of Ghassān. He had become a Moslem but afterwards reverted to Christianity. 'The occasion of his turning Christian was this: In passing through the bazaar of Damascus he let his horse tread upon one of the bystanders, who sprang up and struck Jabala a blow on the face. The Ghassánís seized the fellow and brought him before Abú 'Ubayda b. al-Jarráh, complaining that he had struck their master. Abú 'Ubayda demanded proof. "What use wilt thou make of the proof?" said Jabala. He answered: "If he has struck thee, thou wilt strike him a blow in return." "And shall not he be slain?" "No." "Shall not his hand be cut off?" "No," said Abú 'Ubayda; "God has ordained retaliation only—blow for blow." Then Jabala went forth and betook himself to Roman territory and became a Christian; and he stayed there all the rest of his life.' (Ibn-Qutaiba tr. Nicholson, *A Literary History of the Arabs*, 51.)

[46] See above, i, 136, n. 10.

[47] From the famous verses recited by Jabala b. al-Aiham after he had become a Christian. (M.Q.) See above, n. 45.

[48] See below, Chapter XXI.

A mountain of hard rock becomes like a sea of water if
it hears the name of Afrasiyab—[49]

he prepared to cross the Indus and ordered boats to be got ready. [140] Orkhan,[50] who was in the rear-guard, took up a stand against the vanguard of the World-Conquering Emperor Chingiz-Khan, but he was defeated and withdrew to join the Sultan.

And when Chingiz-Khan learnt of the Sultan's purpose he hastened forward and overtook him; and his armies hemmed him in before and behind. The next morning when the light of day sprouted upon the cheek of night and the milk of the dawn gushed forth from the breast of the horizon, the Sultan was left between water and fire—on one side the water of the Indus and on the other an army like consuming fire, nay on the one side he had his heart in the fire and on the other his face towards the water. Nevertheless he did not lose heart but quit himself like a man, preparing for action and kindling the fire of war and battle. And when that lion through donning the garb of combat had become like a panther crouching in readiness to strike off the veil of opponents, he saddled the horse of vengeance and chose to plunge into the fray. The victorious army of the Lord of the Seven Climes attacked the right wing which was commanded by Amin Malik: they were driven back and most of them killed. Amin Malik took to flight and struck out for Peshawar hoping to save his life by the fleetness of his mount. But the Mongols had blocked the roads [141] and he was killed

[49] For the first line see *Shahnama* ed. Vullers, 301, l. 35. For 'king' Vullers has 'Turk' and the second half of the line reads: 'panting, and in [exacting] vengeance a cloud of calamity'. The second line is not in Vullers. It occurs however in Macan with 'iron' instead of 'hard rock'. Note again the identification of Chingiz-Khan with Afrasiyab.

[50] AWRXAN. According to Kirakos, 119, he was Jalal-ad-Din's step-father. Both Kirakos, 119, and Nasawi (tr. Houdas, 220) speak of his assassination by the Isma'ilis at Ganja (the later Elizavetpol, now Kirovabad in Soviet Azerbaijan), and according to Nasawi this took place upon the Sultan's return to that town, i.e. apparently in 1226 (*ibid.*, 211); and yet Nasawi, *ibid.*, 406, like Juvaini, ii, 456, recounts how Orkhan roused his master from his drunken sleep to make the final dash before the oncoming Mongols which ended in his death at the hands of a Kurdish mountaineer. This was in 1231; and Nasawi adds, *ibid.*, 406–7, that Orkhan then entered Irbil and afterwards approached and captured Isfahan. Perhaps there were two persons of this name

while on his way. The left wing was pushed back also, but the Sultan stood firm in the centre with a body of 700 men and resisted from dawn till noon, charging from left to right and from the left attacking the centre; and with each attack he felled several persons. But the army of Chingiz-Khan continued to advance and their numbers increased hourly, so as to leave the Sultan less and less space to manoeuvre. Seeing that the situation was desperate, with a moist eye and a dry lip he ceased to care for fame and reputation. Akhash [51] Malik, the Sultan's cousin on his mother's side, seized his bridle and drew him back. With a burning heart and a weeping eye the Sultan bade farewell to his children and with the boast:

When a man does not resort to trickery, even after
exerting every effort, he ruins his cause, and deals
harshly with it, and is unfortunate.
But the man of determination on whom misfortune does not
descend without his having some plan in view—
He is the hero of his age, as long as he lives, sagacious,
and if one nostril is closed the other is in motion—[52]

he ordered his led horse to be brought up and mounting it again charged leviathan-like into the sea of calamity. Then, having forced back the Mongol army he turned rein and discarding his cuirass whipped his mount and caused it to leap into the water from a distance of ten ells or more.

[142] *I stretched out my breast towards it, and my broad back*
and slender waist glided with it over the rocks.[52]

And crossing the great river like a fiery lion he reached the shore of safety.

And it touched the level ground without a single scratch
from the rocks, while Death looked on abashed.[52]

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[51] Reading AXAŠ for the AǰAŠ of the text. Nasawi ed. Houdas has AXŠ (138 and 186) for which the MS. has AḤŠ. Cf. the name Aqash in Radloff and Malov, *Uigurische Sprachdenkmäler*, also the AQŠ of Nasawi (*ibid.*, 152), although this could be read Aq-Qush 'White Bird' like the ĀQWŠ of Houtsma, *Glossar*, 32. Akhash Malik, according to Nasawi tr. Houdas, 229 and 309, was killed in the Battle of Isfahan.

[52] All these lines are from a famous *qasida* by the pre-Islamic poet Ta'abbata Sharran. (M.Q.)

Seeing him swimming across Chingiz-Khan rode down to the edge of the water. The Mongols made to cast themselves in [after him] but he prevented them. They bent their bows, and some who were eye-witnesses have related that so many were killed in the water that as far as their arrows reached the river was red with blood. As for the Sultan, he emerged from the water with a sword, a lance and a shield.

And I returned to Fahm, though I had not expected to return—and how often have I escaped from the like of them while they whistled [impotently]! [52]

And the heavens exclaimed in wonder:

No one has seen the like of this man in the world
nor heard of his like from the worthies of yore.[53]

Chingiz-Khan and all the Mongols put their hands to their mouths in astonishment, and Chingiz-Khan, after witnessing that feat, turned to his sons and said: 'Such sons should a father have! Having escaped the two whirlpools of water and fire and reached the shore of safety, he will be the author of countless exploits and troubles without number. How can a wise man [143] fail to take him into account?'

In the world he has no equal save the wise and illustrious son of Zal.
In bravery he goes beyond the heavens, he does not hold himself light.[54]

[XV]

OF HIS ADVENTURES IN INDIA

WHEN the Sultan had escaped from the twin dangers of water and fire, that is the flood of the Indus and the flame of the fury

[53] *Shahnama* ed. Vullers, 1650, l. 2705, where the reference is to Rustam.

[54] *Ibid.*, 1637, ll. 2494 and 2496. For *na-dārad* 'he has not' Vullers has *na-dārī* 'thou hast not', which is correct, for Gushtasp is addressing his son Isfandiyar. I read *pur-khirad* 'wise' with C for the *bī-khirad* 'foolish' of the text (which has however the support of the best MSS. and is also in Mohl). D and G, like Vullers, have *pur-hunar* 'virtuous'. The second line agrees exactly with Mohl but Vullers has *hamān* 'the same' instead of the particle *hamī* in the first half.

of Chingiz-Khan, he was joined by five or six of his guards *(mufradān)*,[1] whom Fate had not destroyed nor the blast from the flames of tribulation and calamity confided to the dust of annihilation. They could think of no plan but to conceal themselves in the forest, and they remained thus hidden for a day or two, by the end of which some fifty had joined him. Scouts who had gone out to spy the land now returned with the news that a band of Indian scoundrels (*runūd*), both horse and foot, were engaged in wanton destruction and debauchery *(bi-ʿaiṣ u fujūr mashghūl)* [2] two parasangs away from the Sultan's camp. He ordered his companions each to cut himself a cudgel and to fall upon these people by night. They killed the greater part of them and carried off their animals and arms.

Another body of men now joined the Sultan, some on horseback and some mounted on oxen *(dirāz-dunbāl)*. They brought news that Indian troops to the number of two or three thousand men were in the vicinity. The Sultan attacked them with 120 men and thrust his Indian blade through many of these Indians; and with the booty thus gained he re-equipped his forces.

[144] *And whoever is poor among us lives by his sword,*
but whoever is poor among the rest of mankind
goes a-begging.
And we play with swords as a maiden plays with a
necklace or a garland of gilly-flowers.

As the news of the Sultan's strength and his recovery from defeat spread through India, troops gathered together from the mountains of Balala [3] and Nikala [4] and about five or six thousand horse attacked him. On hearing news of their approach he set

[1] *mufrad* appears to be synonymous with *ghulām* (on which see above, i, 289, n. 36). Thus one of the officers who deserted Sultan Ghiyas-ad-Din to enter the service of Malik Nusrat is referred to as a *mufrad* by Juvaini (ii, 470), whereas Nasawi (ed. Houdas, 142) calls these officers *ghulāms* (*ghilmān*).

[2] Perhaps a reference to some Hindu ritual.

[3] BLALH.

[4] Reading NKALH with E (with C, E and G in II, 145) for the RKALH of the text. Raverty, 294*n*, adopts the spelling Nikālah; Elliot and Dowson, II, 553*n*, say that the name may be spelt either Bankāla or Mankāla. According to the *Ta'rīkh-i-Alfī* Balāla and Nikāla were in the vicinity of Lahore. (*Ibid.*)

out against them with the 500 horsemen at his disposal and joining battle scattered and annihilated those Indian forces. And from every side isolated individual forces turned towards the Sultan until about three or four thousand men had joined his service.

The news that he was gathering forces together reached the World-Conquering Emperor Chingiz-Khan, who at that time was in the region of Ghaznin; and he dispatched an army to put an end to him. When the Mongol army, which was led by Törbei Toqshin,[5] had crossed the river, the Sultan, not being strong enough to oppose them, set out in the direction of Delhi. The Mongols, for their part, upon hearing the news of his flight, turned back and laid waste the district of Malikfur.[6]

Meanwhile, the Sultan, having arrived within two or three days' journey from Delhi, sent a man whom he had given the title of 'Ain-al-Mulk with a message to Sultan Shams-ad-Din,[7] in accordance with the saying that '*the noble have a place for the noble*'. [145] 'The vicissitudes of fortune,' his message ran, 'have established my right to approach thy presence, and guests of my sort arrive but rarely. If, therefore, the drinking-place of friendship be purified upon either side and the cups of fraternity filled to the brim (? *muvaffā*), and we bind ourselves to aid and assist one another in weal and woe, then shall all our aims and objects be attained; and when our opponents realize the concord that exists between us, the teeth of their resistance will be blunted.' And he requested that a place might be assigned to him in which he could remain for a few days.

Now the valour and bravery of the Sultan were famous everywhere and his great might and prowess were the talk of the whole world. When, therefore, Sultan Shams-ad-Din heard his message he brooded over the matter for several days, considering

[5] See above, i, 141, and n. 1.

[6] According to Raverty, 537*n*, there is in the Rawalpindi district 'a Malikpūr, in ancient times, the residence of the provincial governors, which lies in the direct line of route from the NANDANAH district on the Jhilam to the locality in which Chingiz Khan had pitched his camp . . .' It is not however mentioned in the *Imperial Gazetteer*.

[7] I.e. Il-Tutmīsh.

the evil consequences thereof and fearing lest the Sultan might gain an ascendancy over him and involve him in ruin. It was said that an attack was made on 'Ain-al-Mulk in Delhi and he was killed. In any case Sultan Shams-ad-Din sent a messenger with offerings of 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 nor any locality such as would be fit for a king. If the Sultan agreed he would assign him a place in the region of Delhi and would hand that area over to him as soon as he had cleared it of rebels.

When this message reached the Sultan he turned back and went to the region of Balala and Nikala. Here refugees from the various armies gathered round him from all sides and having escaped in small bodies from beneath the sword joined themselves to the Sultan, until the total of his followers amounted to 10,000 men.

He now sent Taj-ad-Din Malik Khalaj with an army to the Mountains of Jud:[8] they ravaged the country and carried off much booty.

He also sent to Rai Kokar Sankin[9] and sought his daughter in marriage. He agreed and likewise sent his son to [146] the Sultan with an army. The Sultan conferred upon the son the title of *qutlugh-khan.*

Now Qubacha was an emir who held sway over the provinces of the Indus and breathed the breath of Sultanhood, and there was enmity between him and Rai Kokar Sankin. The Sultan sent an army against him under the command of Öz-Beg Tai.[10] On the bank of the Indus, one parasang from Ucha, Qubacha had an encampment with 20,000 men. Öz-Beg Tai made a surprise attack on him by night with a force 7,000 strong. Qubacha's army was routed and dispersed and he himself escaped by boat to Akar and Bakar,[11] which are two fortresses

[8] I.e. the Salt Range.

[9] Rāi Kōkār is the man's title: 'Raja of the Khokars.' The spelling of his name (SNKYN) is uncertain. See Elliot-Dowson, II, 396, n. 1.

[10] See above, i, 357, n. 15.

[11] '. . . Altogether I make little doubt that the famous island-fort of Bhakkar is the one indicated. Bhakkar indeed does comprise two islands. But, when

on an island. Öz-Beg Tai entered his encampment and took prisoner all whom he found there. He sent the good news to the Sultan, who set out [to join him] and dismounted in that encampment before the pavilion that had been pitched for Qubacha. The latter, meanwhile, fled from Akar and Bakar [147] to Multan. The Sultan sent an envoy to demand the return of the son and daughter of Amir Khan,[12] who fleeing from the battle of the Indus had fallen into Qubacha's hands; he also asked him for money. Qubacha obeyed his command and sent the son and daughter of Amir Khan to him with a large sum of money, at the same time requesting that his territory might not be molested.

When the weather became hot the Sultan left Ucha for summer quarters in the Mountains of Jud and Balala and Nikala. On the way he laid siege to the castle of Parasravar[13] and engaged in a battle in which he was wounded in the hand by an arrow. The castle was taken and everyone in it put to death.

Here news reached him of the Mongol forces in his pursuit. He turned back and as he passed by Multan sent an envoy to Qubacha to notify him of his passage and ask for 'shoe-money.'[14] Qubacha refused and rising against the Sultan came out to do battle. After a hour's skirmishing the Sultan would remain no longer but departed for Ucha. The people of Ucha rose in rebellion, and the Sultan halted there for two days and having

instituting inquiries on the spot I could not find that the small island lying to the north was ever called "Akar". It now goes by the name of the shrine on it. But that it might once have been called so is not improbable, as the tendency to the reduplication of the name of Bhakkar is even now shown by its being rarely mentioned, except when coupled with the name of one of the towns lying on either side of it—as "Barā-Bhakkar", "Sakkar Bhakkar".' (Elliot-Dowson, II, 554*n*.)

[12] As M.Q. points out in a footnote to the text this must be a copyist's error for Amin Khan, i.e. Amin Malik, on whom see, above, pp. 409–10, also below, Chapter XXI.

[13] Parasrāvar appears to be a variant form of Parasrūr, now Pasrur in the Sialkot district of the Punjab.

[14] *na'l-babā*: 'a tribute which a king exacted from the ruler of a place in passing by, being the price of the shoes of the horse on which he was riding at the time.' (M.Q.)

set fire to the city departed in the direction of Sadusan,[15] [148] of which Fakhr-ad-Din Salari was governor on behalf of Qubacha, his army commander being Lachin the Khitayan.[16] This latter attacked Orkhan, who was in charge of the Sultan's vanguard, and was killed. Orkhan then laid siege to the town of Sadusan, and when the Sultan arrived Fakhr-ad-Din Salari presented himself humbly before him with a sword and a shroud. The Sultan entered the town and remained there for a month. He gave presents to Fakhr-ad-Din Salari and conferred the governorship of Sadusan upon him. He then advanced against Deval[17] and Damrila,[18] and Chatisar,[19] the ruler of that province, fled before him and put to sea in a boat. The Sultan encamped near Deval and Damrila and sent Khass-Khan with an army to make an attack on Nahrwala,[20] from whence they

[15] Reading SADWSAN for the SADWSTAN of the text. Sadusan is often mentioned in the Arab geographers. It must have lain near the Indus, somewhere in the neighbourhood of Sahwan, but the Indus has changed its course. Marquart, *Ērānšahr*, 190–5, comes to no definite conclusions on Sadusan: 'Über die wirkliche Lage von Sādūsān können wir also heraus nichts lernen.' (V.M.)

[16] I.e. the Qara-Khitayan.

[17] DYWL. The usual form of the name was Dēbul (Daybul). At the time of the Arab geographers Debul was 'a fine harbour at the principal mouth of the Indus'. Its ruins now lie far inland to the south-west of Tatta. See le Strange, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, 331 and n. 1, Minorsky, *Ḥudūd*, 372.

[18] 'Damrilah is one of the puzzles of Sind record. Like Bakhar, it does not appear till the thirteenth century. It then invariably appears coupled with Debal; so coupled it is mentioned by the *Tabakat-i-Nasiri*, the *Jahan Kusha* and the *Jami-ut-Tawarikh* of Rashiduddin; when Tatha first appears in Barni's account of the Emperor Muhammad Shah's pursuit of the rebel Taghi into Sind, it is equally strangely coupled with Tatha. I know of no instance of its mention alone by any writer of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, though the *Muntakhabu-t-Tawarikh* of Badaoni writes of the conquest of Damrilah by the eldest son of the Sultan Ghiyasuddin. Major Raverty in one passage identifies it with the ruins found by Ibn Batuta near Lohari, an identification made impossible by the later mention of Damrilah in the account of Taghi's rebellion; elsewhere he places it near Shakhrpur in the Shahbandar sub-division, where local traditions certainly still point to the debris of the residences of Sumrah chiefs, among them of Chanisar [Chatisar], whose name history and legend alike associates [sic] with Debal.' (Abbott, *Sind*, 53*n*.)

[19] Reading ČTYSR for the XNYSR of the text. Malik Sinān-ad-Din Chatīsar was the 'eleventh of the Sūmra line, a Rājput dynasty the later members of which accepted Islam'. See Haig, *Turks and Afghans*, 54.

[20] Nahrwāla or Anhalwāra was the capital of Gujerat. Its site is now occupied by the town of Pātan in Northern Baroda.

brought many camels. The Sultan built a Friday mosque in Deval on the site of an idol temple.

Meanwhile [149] news came from Iraq that Sultan Ghiyas-ad-Din had established himself there, but that the greater part of the army in that country were in favour of the Sultan and demanded his presence. News also came that Baraq [21] Hajib was in Kerman and had laid siege to Juvashir.[22] It was likewise reported that the Mongol army was approaching in pursuit of the Sultan, and he therefore departed from thence by way of Makran, numbers of his men perishing on account of the unhealthy climate.

When news that the Sultan's forces were approaching reached Baraq Hajib he sent out many offerings of food and sought to hearten the Sultan with expressions of joy and pleasure. When the latter arrived he begged him to accept the hand of his daughter. The Sultan agreed and went through the ceremony of marriage. The governor of the castle also came out and brought the Sultan the keys of the town *(ḥiṣār)*. He entered and there consummated his marriage; then after two or three days he mounted horse to go hunting and to look for forage. Baraq Hajib remained behind on the pretext that he was suffering from rheumatism *(dard-i-pā)*. In the words of the saying:

Thou pretendedst to limp because thou didst not wish to limp.

News was brought to the Sultan on the road of his holding back and feigning illness. He realized that this backwardness would engender mutiny and this delay beget rebellion before any one was aware. In order to test him he sent back one of the officers accompanying him with the message that he had decided to leave shortly for Iraq and that this plan had priority over all

[21] BRAQ. The spelling Burāq (Barthold, *Turkestan*) or Borāq (Spuler, *Die Mongolen in Iran*) is due to the identity of the word in unvocalized Arabic script with Burāq, the name of the wondrous beast on which the Prophet Mohammed ascended into Heaven. In fact *baraq* is 'le nom turc d'un chien à longs poils plus ou moins fabuleux'. See Pelliot, *Horde d'Or*, 57. On Baraq Hajib, the first of the Qutlugh-Khans of Kerman, see below, Chapter XXV.

[22] Juvāshīr (Guvāshīr) or Bardasīr was the old name for the town, as distinct from the province, of Kerman.

other matters. Baraq Hajib should therefore present himself in the hunting grounds in order that the scheme might be discussed, for he was a man of experience and was particularly conversant with Iraq, so that his advice might promote the realization of this undertaking. Baraq [150] replied that he was prevented from attending on the Sultan and obliged to hold back from waiting upon him by reason of his rheumatism. It was however advisable that the Sultan should set out for Iraq as soon as possible since Juvashir was not fit to be his residence or to accommodate his retinue and following. However, that province must needs have a lieutenant or governor answerable to the Sultan, and there was no one better disposed or more suitable for this office than himself, who had grown grey in the Sultan's service and to whose previous services had been added more recent ones. Moreover he had conquered that kingdom with his own sword and acquired it by his own valour. He sent back the messenger and ordered the gates to be closed and such of the Sultan's men as had remained to be ejected.

Having neither a place of abode nor the means of revenge, the Sultan set out for Shiraz, sending an envoy to announce his arrival to the *atabeg* Sa'd. The latter sent out his son Salghur-Shah [23] with 500 horse to greet the Sultan. He excused himself from attending in person with the plea that he had once sworn a solemn oath, from which it was impossible to be released, that he would never go out to welcome anybody. The Sultan accepted his excuse and distinguished Salghur-Shah with every kind of honour, also conferring upon him the title of *qarindash-khan*.[24] When he reached the frontier of Shiraz [25] in the region of Pasa,[26] Sa'd sent him all manner of presents worthy of such a guest—wardrobes of ceremonial and everyday clothing, all sorts of goblets, purses stuffed with dinars, large numbers of horses, mules and camels, an arsenal and all the appurtenance of drinking and cooking, together with Turkish and Abyssinian slaves

[23] Usually Salghar-Shah. He was the father of Saljuq-Shah (1262–3), the penultimate ruler of this dynasty.

[24] I.e. 'Brother Khan'. I read QRNDAŠ, i.e. *qarīndash*, with B and D for the QRA ANDAŠ of the text.

[25] I.e. Fars.

[26] The usual spelling is Fasā.

for each capacity. He also expressed a desire to be connected with him by marriage, and a pearl which [151] had been reared in the shell of that noble house, in the bosom of chastity, hearkening to the lips of Wisdom and Modesty, was strung upon the Sultan's necklace.[27] When by this marriage the ropes of concord had been spliced together between the two parties and the foundations of agreement and friendship firmly laid, he remained a few days and then set out for Isfahan.

Now at that time the *atabeg* Muzaffar-ad-Din Abu-Bakr, whom God Almighty made heir to his father's kingdom and to those of other kings also, was confined by his father, like a pearl, in the shell of imprisonment because at the time of the latter's returning from Sultan Muhammad he had made war on his father and wounded him. The Sultan now asked for his release, and the *atabeg* replied: 'Although my son Abu-Bakr has neglected his duties and has been marked with the brand of disobedience (and he sent the caftan with the mark of the wound on it), nevertheless the Sultan's command must be obeyed as the body obeys the soul. After the Sultan has left, I will send him after him, with full equipment.' He kept his word and did in fact sent Abu-Bakr.

At the time of the Sultan's departure a slave belonging to 'Izz-ad-Din [152] Sökmez,[28] called Qilij, who had fled from Isfahan, arrived and was brought before the Sultan. He was a Turk, whose picture the Painter had copied from the reflection of the sun and whose beauty the Distributor of comeliness and

[27] The following is written in the margin of C in this place: 'Note by Muhammad Munajjim, who by gleaning after 'Ata-Malik Juvaini had the good fortune to ascertain the following: the name of the *atabeg's* daughter was Malika Khatun. She became the wife of the Rustam-hearted Jalal-ad-Din, son of Muhammad Khorazm-Shah, and he remained here for two and a half months. When he went to Isfahan Muzaffar-ad-Din Abu-Bakr was equipped by his father and went to join him there. He remained in attendance on Sultan Jalal-ad-Din for 3 [? 6] years and the Sultan thought more highly of him than his own brother. Finally the *atabeg* Sa'd sent for him and made him his heir, and when he died in 627/1229–30 or 628/1230–1 [this must refer to the death of Jalal-ad-Din in 1231, not to that of Sa'd in 1226] Muzaffar-ad-Din Abu-Bakr succeeded his father on the throne of Shiraz and was the best of the Salghurids.' (M.Q.)

[28] SKMAZ. The word may be read in several ways: *sökmez* means 'he who does not kneel' and also 'he who does not scold'.

grace had made equal with that of Joseph; while in the delicate bloom of his cheeks was also the flash of fire. The poet might well have been describing him in the following quatrain:

> Those who are unique in the belief of metempsychosis
> Watched thee as thou didst walk abroad yesterday
> And swore by one another's lives
> That this was Joseph the Handsome resurrected.

The Sultan showed honour to Qilij and took him into his service.

Upon arriving in Isfahan he received tidings that his brother Ghiyas-ad-Din was in Ray with the ministers and chief men of the army. Travelling light [he set out] with a few picked horsemen carrying banners of white cloth like the Mongol army; and before any one of them was aware he had swooped down upon them like a falcon upon a pigeon. Ghiyas-ad-Din and some of the army leaders dispersed in alarm. Out of kindness and pity the Sultan sent a message to Ghiyas-ad-Din and his mother. It was not right, he said, to conceal oneself from any kind of guest, and in any case now was no time for differences and no place for strife and disagreement. They should present themselves with ample hopes and easy minds and not abandon themselves to uncertainty and bewilderment. And when such of the army leaders as had hastened to present themselves to the Sultan had been received with honour, Ghiyas-ad-Din, seeing the inclination of men's natures and the attraction of their thoughts toward his brother, came with a burning heart to wait upon him accompanied only by a few followers of long standing. [153] The Sultan retained every man in the army in the rank he held and allotted a post to each of them. As for the local administrators *(aṣḥāb-i-aʿmāl)* he dispatched each of them upon appropriate business and issued the necessary edicts and mandates. And with the advent of the Sultan the various lands and territories saw the prospect of some degree of peace and stability.

Now the Secretary and Controller of the Realm was Nur-ad-Din Munshi,[29] and this Nur-ad-Din was constantly drinking.

[29] This was no other than the celebrated Nasawi, the secretary (*munshī*) and afterwards the biographer of Sultan Jalal-ad-Din.

Kamal-ad-Din Isma'il the Isfahani with some of the *imams* of Isfahan called upon him one morning when he had not yet risen from his drunken slumbers. Kamal-ad-Din wrote the following quatrain and sent it in, and they went away:

> Your accomplishments combined with this fondness for wine
> Are like sublimity combined with baseness.
> Your condition resembles the eyes of the fair
> Because there light and languor [30] are always combined.

Nur-ad-Din Munshi has a *qasida* on the Sultan of which the following comes from the beginning:

> Come, my soul, for the world has again become sweet and pleasant because of the glory of the supreme Chosroes, the *ulugh-sultan*,[31] Jalal-ad-Din.

[XVI]

OF SULTAN JALAL-AD-DIN'S APPROACH TO BAGHDAD

IN the beginning of the year 621/1224 he set out with the intention of proceeding to Tustar [1] and passing the winter there. He sent Elchi Pahlavan on in advance to reconnoitre with a body of 2,000 men, whilst he himself followed after; and as he passed by, Sulaiman-Shah [2] paid a visit to him and gave him his sister in marriage. Upon reaching Shabur-Khast [3] (which

[30] Nur-ad-Din means 'Light of the Faith' and the ordinary meaning of *masti* 'languor' is 'drunkenness'.

[31] I.e. 'the Great Sultan'. Perhaps the Sultan was so called by his Turkish followers.

[1] I.e. Shustar.

[2] This was Shihab-ad-Din Sulaiman-Shah, the ruler of the Ive Turcomans and the future defender of Baghdad against the Mongols. See Minorsky, *Studies in Caucasian History*, 152, n. 2, also M.Q., III, 453–63. According to Nasawi the marriage took place when Jalal-ad-Din was returning from the Baghdad area and had encamped near Sulaiman-Shah's castle, i.e. the castle of Bahār near Hamadan. The circumstances were less scandalous than they appear in Houdas' translation (308–9), the lady being the sister, not the wife, of the 'seigneur de la citadelle', who was of course Sulaiman-Shah himself.

[3] Shābūr-Khwāst or Shāpūr-Khwāst is the later Khurramabad. See Minorsky, *Ḥudūd*, 383, also his article, *Luristān*, in the *Encyclopedia of Islam*.

used to be a great and famous city [154] of which mention is made in histories though only the ruins of it still remain) he remained there for a month, and the chiefs of the Lurs came to wait on him. When his horses had recovered their strength he set out for Baghdad expecting the Commander of the Faithful an-Nasir li-Din-Allah to render him assistance and make of him a bulwark against the foe. He sent a messenger on in advance to announce his arrival and explain his intentions. But the Commander of the Faithful paid no attention to his words, for he still harboured resentment for what he had suffered at the hands of the Sultan's father and grandfather. Instead he deputed Qush-Temür, one of the slaves holding the rank of emir, together with an army of 20,000 valiant men and illustrious heroes to expel the Sultan from his territory; and at the same time carrier pigeons were dispatched to Irbil with the message that Muzaffar-ad-Din [4] should likewise send 10,000 men so that the Sultan might be caught between them. Qush-Temür, who was over-confident on account of the greatness of his own numbers and the smallness of the Sultan's resources, set out before the time appointed for the army from Irbil. When the Sultan drew near he sent someone to Qush-Temür with a message to the effect that the purpose of his coming was to seek refuge under the far-reaching shadow of the Commander of the Faithful, inasmuch as powerful foes had gained the victory and conquered the lands and peoples of Islam, and no army could withstand them. If he received assistance from the Caliph and had the encouragement of his approval, he was just the man to repel that people. However, Qush-Temür turned a deaf ear to this counsel and drew up his army in battle-order; and the Sultan for his part had no choice but to prepare to fight and resist. His own men being not a tenth part of Qush-Temür's army he placed a detachment in ambush, whilst he took up his stand with 500 horse. He made two or three assaults upon the centre and wings of the enemy [155] and then turned as though in flight. Qush-Temür's army thought they had been routed and set off in

[4] This was Muzaffar-ad-Din Kök-Böri ('Blue Wolf'), the last (1190–1232) of the Begteginids of Irbil. See Lane-Poole, *The Mohammadan Dynasties*, 165.

pursuit. The men in hiding then fell upon them from behind, and the Sultan also turned and charged down upon them. They were put to flight, and the Sultan pursued them to the outskirts of Baghdad, when he turned back and struck out in the direction of Daquq,[5] kindling the fire of pillage and rapine in that area.

And the kindled fire that dies not in Takrit.[6]

While he was passing by, scouts reached him with the information that Muzaffar-ad-Din was coming up with the army of Irbil, that he had sent on some baggage in advance and that he intended to put his men in battle array and attack the Sultan from ambush. The latter ordered his heavy baggage to be moved as hitherto along the same route, whilst he himself with a band of valiant horsemen made his way around the mountains. As soon as he knew that the enemy's army had passed by he made an attack with his serpent-like warriors[7] and fell unexpectedly upon Muzaffar-ad-Din. And when the Sultan had him in his power, he observed the practice of pardon and forgiveness in view of the respect and honour due to rulers but would not allow him to proceed further in the direction in which he was going. Muzaffar-ad-Din was ashamed of his actions and asked to be pardoned, expressing his regret by saying that until that day he had been unaware of the Sultan's enlightened outlook and had had no knowledge of his courtesy and dignity. The Sultan in return spoke words befitting a monarch and praised and lauded him because during his reign the roads had been safe and disturbances in abeyance despite the presence among his subjects of Lurs and Kurds who deemed it lawful to shed the blood of pilgrims. [156] He likewise bestowed upon him all manner of presents and showed him every kind of favour; and at the command and by the leave of the Sultan he returned

[5] Daqūq or Daqūqā, the present-day Tauk.

[6] The first half of the *bait* is:

Tell the story of az-Zaura or Hit

It is the opening line of a *qasida* by Abul-'Ala al-Ma'arri in his *Saqt-az-Zand*. (M.Q.) az-Zaurā is Baghdad and Hīt was the name of a town on the Euphrates.

[7] Simply a pun on *shujā'*, which means both 'brave' and 'serpent'.

to the town and strove to please him by the rendering of countless services of every sort.

From that region the Sultan set out for Arran and Azerbaijan of which the ruler at that time was the *atabeg* Öz-Beg. Not being strong enough to oppose the Sultan he fled from Tabriz alone, leaving his wife Malika, the daughter of Sultan Toghril,[8] behind in the town—

And the stallion protects his female even when fettered.

When the Sultan arrived at the gates of Tabriz and laid siege to the town, the leaders of the *atabeg's* army, who were still there, offered strong resistance; but Malika herself, realizing that it was impossible to dislodge the Sultan and having moreover been deeply offended by the *atabeg*, sent privily to Jalal-ad-Din and told him of the secret hatred that she felt towards her husband. She also sent him the *fatwas* of the *imams* of Baghdad and Damascus to the effect that the three divorces that had been made conditional had now come into effect.[9] And a compact was made to the effect that the two sides should come to terms; that Malika should be permitted to go to Nakhchivan with her baggage; and that the Sultan should afterwards follow her thither and marry her. He sent a ring as a token.

Women and their covenants are as dust; the east wind
and their covenants are as one.

After two days had elapsed Malika sent for the emirs and the chief notables of the town and said: 'It is a great sultan who has sat down before the town, and the *atabeg* has not the strength to dislodge and repel him. If we do not come to terms with him and he storms the town, he will do the same as his father did in Samarqand. If it be judged advisable let us send the

[8] I.e. Toghril II (1177–94), the last of the Seljuqs of Iraq.

[9] I.e. the completion of the divorce had been made dependent upon something which had now taken place, as is explicitly stated by Ibn-al-Athir *sub anno* 622/1225–6 (XII, 284): '*And it was legal for him to marry her only because Öz-Beg was recorded as having sworn to divorce her if he killed a slave called . . . Then he killed him, and when the divorce came into effect by reason of the oath, Jalal-ad-Din married her.*' (M.Q.)

cadis [157] and notables to him and reach an agreement with him so that he may do no harm to the *atabeg's* harem or his dependants nor prevent them from going whithersoever they wish. And let us surrender the town to him. This is what my counsel dictates: it is for you, the ministers of the *atabeg,* to say what appears to you to be expedient.' They all exclaimed with one voice that Malika's advice was royal advice and her thought a wise one; and the chief cadi 'Izz-ad-Din of Qazvin, one of the most learned men of the age, was sent to the Sultan together with several of the chamberlains. They begged for pardon and forgiveness with the stipulation that he did not hinder Malika and the dependants of the *atabeg* from proceeding whithersoever they wished. The Sultan granted their petition and gave them leave to depart if they so desired.

The next day, when the hand of the sky drew the sword of the sun from the scabbard of the horizon, the *atabeg's* chief officers and emirs and the principal men of the town presented themselves all at once at the Sultan's audience-place bearing all manner of gifts and offerings. They kissed the carpet over which the sky served as a parasol and observed upon the Sultan's brow the indications of gaiety, cheerfulness and a generous disposition—

The brightness of his countenance informs thee of his gaiety.

Malika for her part followed the bidding of her nature [10] and departed for Khoi; and the Sultan, in the year 622/1225, entered the town in triumph and was received with congratulations by the people. He remained there a few days and then left for Nakhchivan, where, in accordance with the *fatwas* of the *imams,* he took possession of Malika and trod the path of the *atabeg.*

At that time this latter was in the castle of Alinja.[11] Learning of the Sultan's arrival in Nakhchivan he realized what his

[10] *khūi* or *khōi.* Juvaini can never resist a pun on a place-name.

[11] 'La rivière Alinǰa-čai se jette dans l'Araxe à l'est de Nahičevan. Près de son embouchure était située l'ancienne ville J̌ulfa. La forteresse Alinǰa s'élevait sur la hauteur inaccessible de sa rive droite près du village actuel Ḫanaġa. . . .' (Minorsky, *Transcaucasica,* 93.)

purpose was. An internal pain, which was irremediable, was aggravated by this external cause, and on that very day, out of grief and chagrin, he delivered up the ghost.

My soul resolved to depart. I said, 'Go not.' 'What
can I do?' it said, 'the house is coming down.'

Now in justice, the fruit of unlawful actions, especially those which affect the family and the harem, is in all codes regarded as blameworthy, and the like unseemly conduct and reprehensible behaviour arouse nothing but feelings of disgust in the minds of men; *and the Prophet (may God bless him and give him peace!) has truly said: 'Everything is easy except women, and the mention of them.'* [12]

[XVII]

OF JALAL-AD-DIN AND THE GEORGIANS AND THE EXTIRPATION OF THAT PEOPLE

WHEN Fortune, in her wonted manner, had caused the downfall of the *atabeg's* power and transferred his kingdom into the hands of Sultan Jalal-ad-Din and when, moreover, followers and henchmen had turned their faces towards him from every side, those lewd unbelievers, the Georgians, were seized with a desire to possess themselves of the country *(vilāyat)*, wishing in the first place to drive out the Sultan and capture the kingdom of Tabriz and then to proceed to Baghdad to set up the Catholicos in place of the Caliph and turn mosques into churches and the truth into falsehood. Filled with this vain desire and with arrogant folly and relying upon the prowess of their men and the sharpness of their lances and sabres, they gathered their forces; and having mustered more than 30,000 men they sallied forth.

The truth shineth forth and the swords are bared:
beware of the lions of the thicket, beware! [1]

When news hereof reached the Sultan, his forces were still but

[12] As M.Q. points out, this is not a *hadith* but simply a proverbial saying.

[1] This line has already been quoted, i, 52.

few nor had he yet recovered from the confusion of his affairs. [159] Nevertheless, without reflection or hesitation, he advanced against the Georgians with such troops as he had. At the time when the light of morning was dispelling the darkness of night he reached their camp in the valley of Garni,[2] where they lay drunk with wine and sunk in debauchery.

> *O thou who sleepest happily at the beginning of the night, it may be that calamities will overtake thee by dawn.*

Before they could raise their hands in battle he advanced and gained a great victory over them. Now in that valley of Garni there was a cavern in a narrow defile which was as deep as the profoundest reflection of the wise. The Georgians, mounted as they were, made for this cavern and cast themselves into it; but the ringleaders of every sedition and the mischief-makers of the age, namely Shalva and Ivane, were taken prisoner together with the other Georgian notables and dragged in chains before the Sultan. Now Shalva was like the men of 'Ad [3] in hugeness of body and stature and in splendour of dignity and power. When they came before the Sultan he asked him where was now the fury with which he had cried: 'Where is the owner of Zul-Fiqar [4] that he may feel the stroke of my flashing sword?' 'It was the Sultan's good fortune,' he said. He was then invited to embrace Islam, and he replied: 'Cultivators have a custom of hanging up an ass's head in their vegetable gardens in order to ward off the evil eye.[5] Now Shalva too would be an ass's head [6] amongst the verdure of the garden of Islam.' Nay, [160] saving your presence, he was a complete boor *(kūn-i-khar)*.[7]

[2] Reading GRNY for the KRBY of the text. The town of Garni (Gaïni) was situated on the river of the same name which flows into the Araxes to the east of the Zanga, on which Erevan, the present-day capital of Armenia, stands.

[3] On the people of 'Ād in Ancient Arabia see Nicholson, *A Literary History of the Arabs*, 1–2.

[4] Ẕul-Fiqār (Dhul-Fiqār) was the sword of the Caliph 'Ali.

[5] This superstition is referred to in an anecdote in Sa'di's *Bustan* (ed. Forughi, 158).

[6] *sar-i-khar*, i.e. an unwelcome intruder. See Browne, *A Year amongst the Persians*, 300.

[7] Lit. 'podex asini'.

The Sultan now returned victorious and triumphant to Tabriz; and from the awe which he inspired all hearts trembled and foes were overcome with terror throughout those regions; and his army was now large indeed compared to what it was before. He showed honour to Shalva and Ivane, and thinking they might be of assistance to him in conquering Georgia he gave them, as an additional act of bounty, Marand, Salmas, Urmiya and Ushnu.

> What hope hast thou of the unclean? For the Ethiopian
> does not become white from washing?

And he equipped a large army and sent Shalva and Ivane with it, they having spoken words in accordance with his temper, and made all manner of undertakings and deluded him with false promises; intending with the rope of deceit to cast him into the well of assassination and by acting the fox to bind that panther-like lion in the bonds of their wiles. Meanwhile, the Sultan travelling alone, had set off to meet a noble lady [8] *(kharīda)* not a slave-girl bought *(kharīda)* with gold, and made for Khoi. From here he proceeded towards Georgia and they came together at Duvin,[9] which is on the frontier of Georgia. And first of all the Sultan sent Malik the Basin-Holder [10] on an embassy to Qiz-Malik.[11] Now Qiz-Malik was a woman who was ruler of all the Georgians. And there is a tradition regarding the Commander of the Faithful Abu-Bakr *(may God be pleased with him!)* that when the report reached him that the ruler of Persia was a woman [161] he exclaimed: *'Base is he that entrusteth his affairs to a woman!'*

One day Malik the Basin-Holder was standing on the bank of the River Kur, when a drunken *qasis* (for so they call priests)

[8] I.e. Malika, the divorced wife of Öz-Beg.

[9] I.e. Dvin (in Armenian Duin, pronounced *Dəvin*), one of the many capitals of Armenia. It stood on the left bank of the River Garni below the town of that name. See Minorsky, *Studies in Caucasian History*, 86, 125 and n. 4, also, for the history of the town, 116–24.

[10] He evidently held the same office as Jalal-ad-Din's ancestor Nush-Tegin. See above, i, 278 and n. 8.

[11] I.e. Rusudani (1223–47).

coming from Shalva behaved insolently towards him and said: 'Soon Malik [12] will send an army so that we may entrap the Sultan and his army in the valley of Markab [13] and wreak our vengeance on him.' Malik the Basin-Holder slew the priest that very instant and flew to the Sultan like a bird on the wing. At dawn when the voices of the muezzins were arousing the faithful from their slumbers he reached the Sultan and informed him of the true state of affairs and the treachery of the party of error. The Sultan commanded Shalva and Ivane to be brought before him together with forty other emirs so that information might be sought and warning taken. He spoke to them as follows: 'We wish to consult you as to which is the better road to take, the Kars [14] road or the road through the valley of Markab.' Shalva and the emirs replied: 'The Kars road is in fortified territory and it is impossible to pass along it, but the Markab road is the middle road and nearer to Tiflis.[15] When we arrive there the armies will be scattered by the news of the Sultan's approach and we shall subdue and conquer the region of Tiflis.'

The truth being now clear as to the bad faith of those hypocrites the Sultan stood up and with the sword in his hand [162] he struck at Shalva's waist and cut him in two so that his blood polluted the sword. He then ordered them all to be dispatched to hell and took counsel with his own emirs as to which road he should take. Each of them expressed his own views, and the Sultan then said: 'My own counsel is that we should fall upon them by surprise while they are unaware of the fate of

[12] Qïz-Malik ? [13] MARKAB. See below, n. 15. [14] Spelt *Ghārs*.

[15] At the time of this conference Jalal-ad-Din must have been to the south of the Pambak range which he afterwards crossed (see below, n. 16), presumably in the Pambak area. The shortest route to Tiflis lay along the Borchala (Debeda) valley. This must correspond to the *Mārkāb road*. In fact in a side valley there is a place called Marts which may be connected with Mārkāb. By the *Kars road* must be meant the road from Tiflis to Kars by way of Lori and Gumri (the later Alexandropol, now Leninakan). This road could be reached by following a route along the southern slopes of the Pambak Mountains which, at its junction with the Tiflis-Kars road, was dominated by the Georgian fortress of T'et'ris-tsikhe. It was evidently to avoid this westerly, and dangerous, detour that Jalal-ad-Din decided to strike northwards across the mountains and so descend, through the Bezobdal Pass, into the Lori steppe. (V.M.)

Shalva and Ivane and are still awaiting news of them.' In accordance with his own plan he at once set out with 10,000 valiant men and so continued until he came to the foot of the Band-i-Panba [16] pass, to fly over which would be the task of an eagle. He dismounted and his army followed behind. The mountain goats watched his passage and because of the shame of going on foot and fear for themselves they cast themselves down headlong from the rocks. When the fountains of dawn gushed forth he came upon those fornicators. Both sides engaged in fierce battle, and hands were set to arrow and sword, until in the end truth prevailed over falsehood, and the greater part of the sect of polytheism fell into the net of destruction, the people of error being bitten by the serpents of perdition; the companions of the Sultan victorious and the friends of Satan vanquished. *' See they not how many generations we have destroyed before them ? Not to* false gods *is it that they shall be brought back.'* [17]

That day when night drew in they encamped where they were. The next day at the time when

> *The dawn follows the darkness at the heels of its star*
> *Venus like the thruster of the lance at the heels of*
> *the man fleeing before him*—[18]

[163] they came to the plain of Lori.[19] A cloud of dust had been stirred up so that the two sides could not distinguish each other. When it subsided and the sun had risen they descried the Georgians who looked like weary game fallen into the net, in groups of five and ten. As a soldier caught sight of a Georgian so he killed him, and in this way more were slain and went to join their companions. Lori itself Jalal-ad-Din spared. And

[16] So in E. The text has *BND PNBH*. The reference is to the Pambak Mountains which stretch from Leninakan to the region of Lake Sevan.

[17] Koran, xxxvi, 30–1.

[18] From six lines by the Emir Abul-Muta' quoted by Tha'alibi at the beginning of the *Tatimmat-al-Yatima.* (M.Q.) See Eghbal's ed., I, 6.

[19] Lori (in Armenian Lōrē) was the chief town of a district called Tashir. Its ruins are situated near the health resort of Stepanavan in Northern Soviet Armenia. It was for a short time (*circa* 980–1089) the seat of an Armenian dynasty. See Minorsky, *op. cit.,* 41 and 102, Grousset, *Histoire de l'Arménie,* 507–8, 520–1 and 564–6.

from thence he proceeded to the castle of 'Aliabad.[20] The garrison sued for quarter and he did them no harm.

For the whole of the months of Muharram and Safar [21] he remained with the army, but when the new moon of Rabi' I [22] was described he took a fancy to go hunting and set out alone with only a few horsemen. When the Georgians heard of this they dispatched 500 horsemen, all experienced warriors, in the hope that they might capture the Sultan unawares with the lasso of trickery and so extinguish the fire of Islam.

> The knight of the world, the son of Dastan, the son
> of Sam, will not lightly put his head in the snare.[23]

Catching sight of them from a distance the Sultan realized that this was a mighty deluge but hoped that from the quarters of the winds of Fortune there might blow a breeze from the grace of the Powerful and Glorious One and scatter the dust of Adversity in the eyes of those vile ones. He joined battle with them and made charges in which one man drove back five hundred; and each time he felled several of the enemy. The Sultan's army now learning of his plight a detachment came to his assistance; and in the meantime more and more men were joining those wretches until they exceeded 10,000 in number. Orkhan sought refuge in the neighbourhood of Tiflis and kept the army based on it until the Sultan with a detachment of his followers shouting the *takbir* [164] charged down upon those wretches and smiting to right and left with sword and lance left many of them lying on the field.

> Hast thou seen the sea raining mountains? So does
> he wield his sword.
> Thou wouldst think the sun were a cloud if he strikes
> it with fear of himself.

When the Georgians had felt the weight of his mace, they took

[20] 'Alīābād is mentioned in Nasawi ed. Houdas, 178 [tr. Houdas, 295] as belonging to a princess whose mutilated name appears to be T'amt'a. It was probably situated south of the Kur some distance to the east of the Debeda. (V.M.)

[21] January and February, 1226.

[22] The beginning of March.

[23] *Shahnama* ed. Vullers, 1662, l. 2940.

the road of flight; and finding the approaches to the town crammed with stalwarts they turned towards the river,[24] and in their terror the craven wretches hurled themselves, horses, arms and all, to destruction in the water and departed unto hellfire.

> Over the hearts of such as envy him the breast is a grave because of their fear of him.
> Over the bodies of his enemies the skin is a shroud because of their dread of him.

And when the garrison of the castle saw what had happened they set their hands to battle; but when the army put forward the foot of advance and harassed and disabled them with a discharge of star-transfixing arrows and liver-consuming quarrels they cast the treasury of Qiz-Malik into the river and the next day sued for quarter. The Sultan granted their request and stood by in person as they passed his various posts on their way to the Abkhaz country.[25] And whatever villages and castles within the confines of Tiflis were crammed with the factions of Iblis he uprooted them all; and there fell into the hands of his followers plunder beyond all computation. He likewise demolished the churches of Tiflis, on the building of which valuable treasures had been expended since ancient times; and he founded the cells of Islam upon their sites.[26]

[24] *Jaiḥūn:* here the Kur is meant. See above, i, 326, n. 26.

[25] I.e. to Georgia proper, Tiflis being still regarded as a recent acquisition from the Moslems. Abkhaz is not Abkhazia but the territory of the 'Abkhaz' dynasty of Georgia. (V.M.)

[26] It is interesting to compare an account of these events by Kirakos of Gandzak, a witness hostile both to Jalal-ad-Din and to the Georgians: 'The aforesaid nation from the north-east, who were called Tartars, pressed hard upon the Sultan of Khorasan, Jalaladin, defeating his troops and subjugating his country; and they drove him as a fugitive to the land of the Albanians. He came to the town of Ganja and took it; and he gathered about him troops without number, from the Persians, the Arabs and the Turks. Then he came to the towns of Armenia, seeing which Iwanē informed the king of the Georgians and collected many troops to oppose the Sultan. They were greatly puffed up with pride and had made treaties that if they gained the victory over him they would make all the Armenians that were in their power go over to the religion of the Georgians, while such as opposed them they would remove with the sword.

'The Sultan then came to the province of Kotayk' [around the present-day Erevan]; and Iwanē came with the troops of the Georgians and stood opposite

Suddenly [165] messengers arrived with the news that Baraq had slipped off the collar of fidelity and had set off from Kerman with the purpose of conquering Iraq. To counter Baraq the Sultan spurred on Buraq-like [27] steeds and leapt forward like the lightning *(barq)*. Taking such as he could of his troops with him he skimmed the surface of the earth like the wind and yearned to soar like the flames of fire. In the stages he travelled and the routes he followed the troops were left far behind; and in 17 days he rode from Tiflis to the confines of Kerman, accompanied by no more than 300 horsemen. When Baraq Hajib learnt of his coming he sent many presents to him and tendered excuses.[28]

The Sultan then went to Isfahan for several days to rest his

him, above. But the Sultan led on his troops and came in front of them. Seeing this a leader *(ishkhan)* from amongst the chiefs of the Georgians, Shalwē by name, and his brother Iwanē, brave and famous men, and victorious in war, said to the other troops: "Stand and wait a while, and we shall go and join battle with them. If we cause some of them to turn back, ours is the victory: do you then come also and save your lives." And when they joined battle they began to smite the troops of the Sultan, but the troops of the Greeks [i.e. the Greek Orthodox Georgians] took no heed of this but fled from the field in such a fashion that a man could not find his fellow in the rout: they went on without being pursued until they were all pushed over a precipice and filled the valley above the small town of Garni. And when the Sultan's men saw this they entered after them, and slew many and hurled others over the precipice. And when the Sultan came to the head of the valley he beheld a mournful sight, multitudes of men and youths heaped up like mounds of rocks. He shook his head and said: "This deed is not of man, but of God alone, Who is all-powerful." And he turned to strip the fallen. And having laid waste many towns he came to Tiflis, and he was helped by the Persians that were in it; and he took it, and slew many people, and many also he forced to forsake Christianity and accept . . . the doctrine of the Arabs. Many, therefore, being moved by the fear of death, exchanged the truth for falseness; others, preferring a brave death to a life of remorse, inherited the name of martyr and departed this world by a goodly death. Then he gave command not to inquire who believed and who did not but to circumcise all by force. And so men's hands were forcibly held to their sides [by one], while another took a sword and severed the skin of the male member. And they had commerce with the women in filthy lewdness. And in all places, wherever they found a cross or a church, they demolished and destroyed it; and this they did not only in Tiflis but also in Ganja and Nakhchivan.' (Venice ed., 117–18.)

[27] See above, p. 417, n. 21.

[28] No such gesture is recorded by Nasawi, according to whom (tr. Houdas, 207) Jalal-ad-Din turned back because of a report of the strong defensive measures adopted by Baraq.

horses,[29] and the great men of Iraq came to wait on him. Kamal-ad-Din Isma'il has this long *qasida* [*à propos* of this occasion]:

The carpet of the earth's surface has again become verdant
through the auspicious passage of the army of the Lord
of the World.
Such as are left of men and beasts are congratulating one
another on being alive.
From the garden of the Sultanate this one sapling has raised
its head, whose foliage is all justice and its fruit
beneficence.
In order that they may present themselves at his court
Nature has again begun the generation of men.
Jalal-i-Dunya-u-Din[30] *Meng-Burni*,[31] that monarch whom God
has rightly made Sultan of the world.
[166] How excellent the degrees of thy might and thy perfect
counsel! How excellent the qualities of thy character,
which are beyond description!
O World-Conqueror, God has sent thee because the four corners
of the world are thy kingdom. Go! Take them!
Justice is the witness to thy kingship: cause the witness to
thy good nature to pass wherever thou wilt.
Thou wilt experience the life of Noah because through thee
prosperity came to the world after the Deluge.
Thou hast exacted revenge for the pulpit of Islam from the
Cross: thou hast removed the bell from the place of
the *azan*.
Thou hast lifted the covering of tyranny from the face of
justice; thou hast raised the veil of infidelity from
the cheeks of the faith.
Through thy arm the arm of Islam has grown strong which
had been laid waste by infidel warriors.
The Buraq of thy purpose raising its foot in India set
it down again in Arran.
Who has there been save thee of the kings of the age who
has given his horse oats from Tiflis and water from
Oman?

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[29] Reading *istijmām* with C, as M.Q. suggests in the Errata, II, 354. The text has *istiḥmām*, i.e. 'to take a bath'!

[30] 'The Glory of the World and the Faith', an elaboration of his name.

[31] On the spelling of Jalal-ad-Din's title of Meng-Burnī see M.Q., II, 284–92. It appears to be derived from the Turkish *meng* 'mole' and *burun* or *burīn* 'nose' and so to mean 'the man with a mole on his nose'.

[167] From the play of thy blade in striking the foe is checkmated.
What need is there of horses [32] and elephants? [33] Send a single foot-soldier.[34]

News now reached him that the Georgians had gathered their forces again; that the vizier Yulduzchi,[35] whom the Sultan had left as his viceroy in Tiflis, had been forced to flee to Tabriz; that Malik Ashraf[36] had sent Hajib 'Ali[37] from Damascus to Akhlat,[38] which he was attacking every few days; that Malika had gone from Khoi to Akhlat and had been admitted by Hajib 'Ali; and that the Georgians had re-entered Tiflis and were destroying the mosques and torturing the Moslems. The Sultan was disturbed and distressed at this news and at once left for Azerbaijan.

What sort of life is that of a man who every day has
a banner unfurled before a town,
And if the wind brings the sound of a drum from afar,
his heart is startled?
O thou who hast not need for armies and excitement,
pleasant for thee the siesta and the soft bed!
He that has a crust on which he may live unbeholden
to other men, he indeed is the emir!

When the Sultan arrived in the neighbourhood of Akhlat, his army slew whomsoever they found and carried off whatsoever

[32] I.e. knights. [33] I.e. bishops. [34] Or pawn.

[35] Reading YLDZČY for the YLDRǰY of the text. Rashid-ad-Din (Blochet, 28) has YWLDWZČY. The full name of the vizier was Sharaf-al-Mulk 'Ali b. Abul-Qasim al-Jandi (i.e. of Jand, though Houdas in his translation, 159 and 382, has el-Djondi, i.e. al-Jundī, 'the soldier'); and he also bore the titles of Khoja-Jahan and Fakhr-ad-Din. As for Yulduzchi ('the Astrologer') it appears in Houdas' text in the corrupt form BLDWǰN—Beledoudjen in the translation—and is described as a 'sobriquet dédaigneux qu'on lui avait donné au temps où il était encore un personnage obscur'. (Nasawi tr. Houdas, 376. Cf. also, *ibid.*, 382).

[36] On the Ayyubid Malik al-Ashraf, afterwards ruler of Damascus (1229–37), see Minorsky, *op. cit.*, 149–56.

[37] This was the *ḥājib* Husam-ad-Din 'Ali b. Hammad of Mosul, 'a very energetic man to whom the Ayyubid cause owed its greatest successes in Armenia'. See Minorsky, *op. cit.*, 150–4.

[38] Akhlāṭ (now spelt Ahlât) lies on the north-western shores of Lake Van in Eastern Turkey. The original Armenian form of the name was Khlat' (i.e. Khəlat'): it was the chief town of the district of Bznunik'.

[168] they saw. Coming to the gates of the town itself they threw themselves in and began to pillage and massacre. Cries and screams arose from men and women, and the Sultan sent his personal attendants to fetch them out of the town. The common people raised an uproar, and some of the soldiers were killed and the rest driven out. The position had now passed out of control and try as they might the Sultan's men were not allowed to re-enter the town.

Meanwhile news had come of the arrival in Iraq of Taimas [39] and Tainal [40] and, it being impossible to remain, he left for Iraq by way of Tabriz and proceeded from thence to Isfahan. And wherever there were scattered troops or individual men they all rallied to the Sultan. The Mongol army, meanwhile, had arrived at Ray, and the Sultan prepared for battle and summoning all the notables and khans—

He called for the nobles from the army—[41]

addressed them as follows: 'This is a great event which has overtaken us and a mighty disaster which has come upon us. If we give way to impotence and cowardice, it will be impossible to survive. In any case it is better to resist and endure. If the grace of God assist us then both we and you shall be saved. And if the event be otherwise we shall not be deprived of the degree of martyrdom and the excellence of [eternal] bliss. *God Almighty hath said: "Believers! when ye confront a troop, stand firm and make frequent mention of the name of God, that it may fare well with you."*' [42]

They all with one heart and voice acclaimed the Sultan, and he drew up his army, arraying the centre and the wings. The right wing he confided to his faithless brother and tyrannical peer, Ghiyas-ad-Din, and the left wing he strengthened . . .,[43]

[39] Reading TAYMAS (with E, II, 186) for the NAYMAS of the text. Taimas means 'he who does not flinch'. Houdas (text, 135 and 230) adopts the form YATMAS, i.e. Yatmas, 'he who does not lie down', which is also possible.

[40] See above, i, 90, n. 14.

[41] *Shahnama* ed. Vullers, 26, l. 66.

[42] Koran, viii, 47.

[43] Here there is a blank in A and B and a lacuna in the sense.

while he himself took up his stand in the centre and [169] arranged the battle-line. He was about to order the right and left wings to charge together with himself the centre of the enemy's forces and the opposing wings, when his brother, Ghiyas-ad-Din, turned rein together with Elchi Pahlavan, his attendants and some others.

In my experience of Sa'id [in seeking to renew our friendship]
after I had experienced his character in his excesses
I was like one who was doubtful again about dung after smelling
it and to make sure tasted it.[44]

Sultan Jalal-ad-Din was alarmed on this account and filled with disgust of the army. Nevertheless he did not turn tail but attacked the enemy's centre, whereupon the right wing of the Mongols drove back his left wing and his right wing the Mongols' left, and the two armies were mingled together. The Mongols penetrated behind the Sultan's centre, his standard was dislodged from its position and the enemy's right wing continued to pursue his left, so that none knew of each other's whereabouts. The Sultan, meanwhile, was left in the centre, where there remained with him no one but the attendant of his led horse. He was encompassed on all sides like the centre of a circle. Now he felled one from his horse, now he clove the limbs from another, until he escaped from their midst and fled to Luristan, where he took up his abode in a valley and where he was unexpectedly joined by fugitives in ones and twos. No one in Isfahan or in the army was aware of what had befallen him, some thinking that he had been killed in battle and some that he had been taken prisoner.[45]

As for the Mongols they came to the very gates of Isfahan and then without the slightest halt rode at great speed to Ray, which they reached in three days.[46] From thence they made for Nishapur and so returned.

[44] Abu-Ahmad b. Abu-Bakr b. Hamid, one of the secretaries of the Samanids. See the *Yatimat-ad-Dahr*, IV, 5. (M.Q.)

[45] According to Nasawi (tr. Houdas, 231) the Battle of Isfahan was fought on the 26th August, 1228.

[46] E and C add here: 'And part of the army laid siege to Kashan, which they took in three days with much slaughter and pillaging; and from thence proceeded to Ray.'

The Sultan now set out for Isfahan, sending bearers of the good tidings on [170] in advance and himself following in their wake. All the men and women of the town came out to welcome him and deemed his coming to be the advent of joys and the departure of disasters.

> When the Iranians beheld his face, they all together
> went towards him.

The Sultan was angry with most of his chief followers and he ordered such khans and leading men as were court officials and title-holders of his house and had done nothing on the day of battle to be brought before him. Women's veils *(miqnaʿa)*[47] were cast over their heads and they were paraded through the streets. As for such as, while not of the rank of emir, had on that day, which was the Day of Judgement, come to the fore in the fighting, and planted their feet firmly, and faithfully stood their ground, to some of them he gave the title of *khan* and to others that of *malik*[48] together with robes of honour and other presents: he singled them out for special favour and caused their market to flourish.

[XVIII]

OF THE SULTAN'S RETURN TO GEORGIA

FROM thence in the year 625/1227–8 he proceeded to Georgia. Now the Sultans of Rum, Syria, Armenia and all that region, being in dread of his violence and vengeance, his furious charge and headlong attack, had formed a confederacy[1] and united[2] in order to repel him; and an army was assembled consisting of Georgians, Alans, Armenians, Sarir,[3] Lakz,[4] Qifchaq, Svan,[5]

[47] Because of their cowardice?

[48] As a title *khan* was higher than *malik*, which in turn was higher than *emir*. See Nasawi tr. Houdas, 166.

[1] Lit. 'had made a pact (*baiʿat*) with one another'. [2] *yak-tīgh shoda.*

[3] On the Sarīr, i.e. the Avars of Daghestan, see Minorsky, *Ḥudūd*, 447.

[4] *Lakziyān.* On the Lakz, whose name still survives in that of the Lezghians of present-day Daghestan, see Minorsky, *op. cit.*, 411 and 455.

[5] *Suvaniyān.* This people still survives in modern Georgia along the Upper Ingur. See also Allen, *A History of the Georgian People*, 27–8.

Abkhaz,[6] Chanet,[7] Syrians and Rumis; [171] to whom were joined men who had been roasted in the fire of life and chosen on the day of battle.

The Sultan arrived at Mindor [8] near where they lay and pitched camp. He was embarrassed by his shortage of armaments and lack of swordsmen and lancers, as also by the great numbers of the enemy and the reversal of his fortune; and he consulted with the vizier Yulduzchi and his other ministers.

Yulduzchi thought that as their numbers were not a hundredth part of the enemy's, their best course would be to pass through Mindor and cut them off from wood and water so that they might languish in the heat and their horses grow lean. Meanwhile the Sultan's own forces upon every side would have arrived; they would then be in a position of strength and able to see their way clearly, and they could set to and give their minds to battle.

The Sultan became as enraged as it was possible for him to become and seizing a pencase that lay in front of him hurled it at the vizier's head. 'They are a flock of sheep,' he said. 'Does the lion complain of the size of the flock?'

Yulduzchi repented his ineffectual words and as a fine forfeited 50,000 dinars.

'The case,' said the Sultan, 'is hard and difficult, but the only solution is war and trust in God. It is impossible to know who will prevail.'

The doors of the treasury were opened and the herds of horses rounded up, and the emirs and dignitaries as well as those of middling rank and the common soldiers carried off what they could and made their preparations.

[6] The Abkhaz on the Black Sea coast in the extreme north-west of Georgia are now citizens of the Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic of Abkhazia.

[7] Reading ČANYT for the ḤANYT of the text, for which D and E have ǰANYT. Chanet is the Georgian Ch'anet'i, which strictly speaking means 'the *land* of the Ch'an', Ch'an being the Georgian name of the Laz, who still inhabit the south-eastern shores of the Black Sea between Trebizond and Batum. See also Allen, *op. cit.*, 54–6.

[8] I.e. Mindori (in Georgian 'field', 'plain') near Lori. According to the Georgian Chronicle the battle was fought at Bolnisi. (V.M.)

[172] When the enemy hosts arrived with their drums and bugles, their male and female camels, standing rank behind rank in readiness for battle, they thought the Sultan's army in comparison with themselves was but a stream out of a sea, nay but a ball in their field. *God Almighty hath said: 'Twenty of you who stand firm shall vanquish two hundred: and if there be a hundred of you they shall vanquish a thousand of the infidels, for they are a people devoid of understanding.'* [9]

When the Georgian army came up the Sultan's army also donned their arms, and the Sultan ascended a high hill in order to observe the enemy. He caught sight of the signs and banners of the Qifchaq upon the right with 20,000 picked men. Sending for Qoshqar he gave him a loaf of bread and a little salt and dispatched him to the Qifchaq to remind them of their obligations to him. During his father's reign they had been enchained and humiliated, and he by his diplomacy had saved them and had interceded on their behalf with his father. Was it a fulfilment of their obligations that they were now drawing their swords against him ?

On this account the Qifchaq army held back and at once vacating their place in the battle-field stood upon one side from the rest.

The Georgian army having drawn up their ranks the Sultan sent a messenger to Ivane,[10] who was their leader, with this message: 'You have come a long way to-day. Your horses are knocked up and your men tired. Let us remain where we are to-day, and let the warlike youths upon either side enter the arena one at a time and lay hands upon one another, in thrust and parry, while we look on and put aside the affairs of to-morrow.' Ivane was well pleased with these words, and from their valiant youths and courageous stalwarts there stepped into the arena a chieftain who emulated a mountain in bulk, while on this side the Sultan, like Munkar,[11]

[9] Koran, viii, 66.

[10] I.e. Ivane Mkhargrdzeli, the famous Georgian general, on whom see Minorsky, *Studies in Caucasian History*, 102–3.

[11] Munkar is one of the two angels (the other is called Nakīr) who question the dead in their graves.

[173] Charged out from the army like a lion and came valiantly before Hujir—[12]

whilst either side looked on. As he drove on his horse he shouted the *takbir* and

> Thrust a lance at his girdle so that *khaftan* and clasps (*bārband*) were split open.[13]

That accursed one fell from his horse and gave up the ghost. He had three sons, who came forward one after the other, and each time the Sultan through the strength and might of God Almighty dealt a single blow and dispatched the son to hell after his father.

> As the hawk of thy terror pounced the falcon of Fate became a dove,
> O thou whose lance, upon the battle-field, closed the eyes of the stars.

Another *aznaur*[14] with a body like Mount Bisutun and a lance like a pillar galloped forward on a horse of elephantine size—

> *Attacking and retreating, at once advancing and withdrawing,*
> *like a great rock carried downhill by the flood.*[15]

Now the Sultan's mount was no longer capable of moving forward because of its great weariness and was on the point of falling into the shackles of flight. The *aznaur* made a fresh attack every moment and each time the Sultan warded him off by the quickness of his movements. He continued to attack in this manner and dealt blows at the Sultan which had no effect.

[12] *Shahnama* ed. Vullers, 448, l. 252, where however the second half of the line is entirely different and the first half has *bād* 'wind' instead of *shīr* 'lion'. Macan's text, on the other hand, corresponds exactly to Juvaini. Hujīr is the commander of the Dizh-i-Sapīd or White Castle, which is attacked by Suhrab at the head of a Turanian host.

[13] *Ibid.*, 263, l. 341, with *ūi* instead of *ū* and *bunyād* 'foundation' and *paivand* 'joint' instead of *khaftān* and the difficult *bārband*.

[14] In Georgian *aznauri*. On this Georgian rank see Allen, *op. cit.*, 225–7.

[15] From the famous *Mu'allaqa* of Imru'-al-Qais. (M.Q.) On Imru'-al-Qais, the celebrated pre-Islamic poet, see Nicholson, *A Literary History of the Arabs*, 103–7.

The position became serious and the accursed Satan was about to vanquish the merciful Sultan and the king to fall into the hands of the black *div*. The *aznaur* was again approaching in a charge when the Sultan leapt from his galloping horse and

> Hurled a lance at the head of Ashkabus: then Heaven
> kissed his hand.[16]

Thereupon the sound of the applause of the terrestrial angels ascended to the Supreme Pleroma and the cry of '*Praise God, Who hath granted victory to His servant!*' reached the ears of men and jinns, and both sides marvelled at this feat, the like of which was beyond the powers of Rustam son of Zal, and

[174] Everyone said, 'This is Rustam, or else the sun at dawn.'[17]

And when these several persons, each of whom was a great warrior and a bulwark of the army, had in one moment become the prey of a single horseman and the food of dogs and hyenas, despair and terror overcame those wretches while fear and dread departed from the army of Islam.

From where he stood the Sultan made a sign with the butt of his whip, and the men of battle advanced, and the Georgian army turned tail. The first signs of victory became apparent and the beauteous lights of triumph uncovered their faces; and in one moment the plain became a rugged hill from the piles of the slain and the face of the earth was dyed deep red with blood.

The case of those wretches was now beyond repair and the schemes of those liars could no longer be promoted by lying. They saw no alternative but to flee while there was still time, grasping the skirts of Night and concealing themselves behind the curtains of Darkness. '*And God is not unjust.*'[18] Every corner of the hills and plains shook with the noise of their cries and screams, and the earth quivered with the neighing and braying of their distracted beasts.

[16] *Shahnama* ed. Vullers, 950, l. 1410, where the first half of the line is:

> When he shot an arrow at the breast of Ashkabus.

Ashkabūs was a Turanian warrior slain in battle by Rustam.

[17] *Ibid.*, 436, l. 57.

[18] Cf. Koran, xli, 46: '. . . *and thy Lord will not deal unfairly with His servants.*'

So much booty *(ghanā'im)* was taken that no attention was given to flocks of sheep *(aghnām)*, and wealth *(ni'mat)* became so general that no account was taken of herds of cattle *(an'ām)*.

And when the Faith of the Prophet again *(bi-navī)* waxed strong, and news of the dread and terror of the Sultan's name was spread to the horizons, and these good tidings were dispatched to every side, kings and nobles again took heed of him. Meanwhile the Sultan proceeded from thence to Akhlat.

[XIX]

OF THE SULTAN'S ADVANCE AGAINST AKHLAT AND THE CAPTURE THEREOF

WHEN the Sultan returned from Akhlat the first time in order to proceed to Iraq, the rulers of that town had repaired the citadel and strengthened the walls. Upon his arrival for the second time he sent messengers to announce his approach and request their presence. [175] The strangers to the town who were its governors refused to answer that summons and began to knock at the door of resistance. They closed the gates, not realizing that they were trampling on their own fortune and making a felt bed out of the spikes of caltrops. When he despaired of their accepting his advice he commanded his army to form a circle round the town, to build houses [1] and to prepare mangonels and other implements of war such as quarrels and [pots of] naphtha. Inside the town also they made ready for battle. Both sides set up their mangonels, and arrows and quarrels poured down like hail. Night and day the battle-kindling warriors of the Sultan assaulted the gates of the town, and the townspeople for their part kept devising means to repel them until days and months had passed in this fashion and dearth and famine made their appearance in the town. They secretly sent messengers to Baghdad, Rum and Damascus asking the rulers thereof to mediate with the Sultan. And the Commander of the Faithful, al-Mustansir billah,[2] and the Sultans of Rum and Damascus

[1] *khānahā*. Perhaps some kind of siege constructions are meant. [2] 1226–42.

several times sent envoys to intercede on behalf of the people of Akhlat. But since the inhabitants of the town were unwilling to owe allegiance to the Sultan, the brain of these fools of Akhlat having been maddened by the putrefaction of the humours *(akhlāṭ)*, they had opened their mouths in downright abuse and had wagged their tongues with obscene ravings, and all at once the demon of error had darted into their veins and minds. They therefore turned a deaf ear to the acceptance of advice and insisted upon continuing to resist. Nearly ten months [3] passed in this way, and finally the people of the town were reduced to starvation. The Sultan then ordered his men to attack from every side and force their way into the town. He and his emirs were extremely angry and annoyed at the insults and abuse of the townspeople; and he commanded the soldiers [176] to massacre them from morning till midday, when, the flame of his wrath having died down, he had pity on the poor wretches and gave orders for the sparing of their lives.

He took up his abode in the palace of Malik Ashraf, while Mujir-ad-Din, the latter's brother, and his slave [4] 'Izz-ad-Din Ai-Beg entered the citadel *(ḥiṣār-i-andarūnī)* without water or provisions. Mujir-ad-Din then came out and waited on the Sultan, who treated him with honour and respect. He delivered a message from 'Izz-ad-Din Ai-Beg asking that his life might be spared and offering to conclude a treaty. The Sultan turned to Mujir-ad-Din and said: 'When thou canst claim the title of Sultan how will thy pride allow thee to bear the message of an emasculated slave? He cannot be held responsible. Let him do as he likes. He knows.'

Perceiving that the Sultan was not disposed to pay attention

[3] According to Ibn-al-Athir, XII, 318, the siege of Akhlat lasted from the beginning of Shavval, 626 (August, 1229), to Jumada I, 627 (April, 1230), i.e. *eight* months, which is also the figure given by Nasawi in his *fatḥ-nama*. See below, p. 446.

[4] *mamlūk*. 'Izz-ad-Din Ai-Beg had been appointed governor of Akhlat in succession to Hajib 'Ali, who had fallen into disgrace. See Minorsky, *Studies in Caucasian History*, 154. He was afterwards put to death by Jalal-ad-Din (see below, p. 451, also Nasawi tr. Houdas 334) and so is not to be confused, despite the identity of their names and condition, with the future Mameluke Sultan of Egypt, Mu'izz 'Izz-ad-Din Ai-Beg (1250–7).

to his words, they realized that this was no time for importunity. Ai-Beg himself came out having caused his men to don mail under their clothing and placed javelins in their hands, intending to create a disturbance as he entered the Sultan's presence and strike him unawares. The eyes of the guards *(mufradān-i-abvāb)* [5] fell upon their garments and they realized that there was evil underneath. They prevented them from entering and brought in Ai-Beg to the Sultan alone. The latter took no notice of him and ordered his following to be imprisoned.

Finally, when the Jamshid of the heavens set out on his journey to Damascus *(Shām)*, the sun of monarchs turned towards the sweetmeats spread out for supper *(shām)* and made to enter the palace *(īvān)*, where he passed the night in the company of the daughter [6] of Ivane, who was the wife of Malik Ashraf, and so assuaged his anger at the elopement of Malika.

The man of perception will take full warning from these happenings. When the Sultan took Malika to himself [177] another [7] [also] took her to himself; and the year was not ended before the spouse of Malik Ashraf fell into the Sultan's hands.

Approve in no one what thou approvest not in thyself.

Much wealth and riches was carried off from Malik Ashraf's treasury, and the double thereof was obtained from the well-to-do people of the town. The Sultan's treasury was restored to affluence with the influx of cash and jewels; and the soldiers were heartened with the spoils and booty.

The Secretary Nur-ad-Din [8] composed a *fath-nama* of which the following is a copy.

Copy of the *fath-nama*

Praise and thanksgiving unto the Creator *(glorious and sublime is His mention!)*, Who hath caused victory and triumph to

[5] See above, p. 412, n. 1.

[6] Her name was T'amt'a. See Minorsky, *op. cit.*, 155–6, for an account of her subsequent history.

[7] I.e. Hajib 'Ali. See above, p. 435, also Minorsky, *op. cit.*, 153.

[8] I.e. Nasawi, the biographer of Sultan Jalal-ad-Din.

accompany our fortune-begetting counsel and our empire-increasing banners and hath assisted and strengthened our august enterprises and our auspicious undertakings. By a single movement a whole clime comes into the possession and control of the servants of our house *(to which God grant eternity!)*, and with another step a whole army is imprisoned in our might and subjected to our command. And *'this is of the favour of my Lord, to try me whether I will be thankful or unthankful'*.[9]

And thus our banners with triumph embroidered upon them and bearing the effigy of victory *(may God encompass them with His aid!)* came to flutter over the whole land of Armenia and for eight months [10] formed a circle round the town and environs of Akhlat. Again and again we recited to the opponents of our house verses of promise and menace, and time after time we advanced the premisses of warning and admonishment to drive home our argument and prove our case, in order that perchance they might with the eye of insight perceive the road of their salvation and leap to one side from the path of the hurricanes of our fury and the thunderbolts of our displeasure, which even a mountain cannot withstand; but might flee from the clashing of the waves of our conquering army's wrath to the Mount Judi [11] of submission and [178] allegiance; and come forward begging forgiveness, and open their gates. However, during all this long time no answer at all was heard to the prayer of *'O God, guide my people, for they know not'*, and our opponents became day by day more stubborn in their error and delusion—

That God might accomplish what was already done.

Great numbers of soldiers from Diyar-Bekr and the banks of the Euphrates, from Egypt and Syria, and some also from the lands of the East and from the Turcoman and Turkish tribes had crowded together into the town, all kinds of peoples gathered together from every side and relying upon the strength of their

[9] Koran, xxvii, 40. [10] See above, n. 3.

[11] In the Kurdish district of Bohtan (Bühtan) to the south of Lake Van. According to the Mesopotamian and the later Mohammedan tradition it was on Mount Jūdī that Noah's Ark came to rest.

right arms, the stoutness of the walls and their ample stock of crossbows *(charkh u nāvak)*, mangonels, naphtha and siege instruments.[12] And indeed its towers *(burūj)* competed with the eighth sphere *(falak-al-burūj)* while the moat at its bottom passed [13] along the back of the ox-fish.[14] Terrestrial and celestial influences and effects had joined hands in perfecting the fortifications whereof the foundations were as unshakable as the laws of the heavens.

The madness of pride had penetrated the core of these rebels' hearts so that no room was left for the acceptance of admonishment, and depraved imaginings had taken such hold of the enemy's brains that they could not comprehend the idea of right. Finally at the end of Jumada I [15] our victorious followers *(God aid and strengthen them!)* received permission to fight, and orders were given that everyone should make a breach where he stood and every man seek entry in the place in front of him. Our lion-like retinue and valiant followers, who had long wearied of their standing idle and had in all manner of ways begged leave to do battle, engaged for three days and nights in a bitter struggle, seeking to enter the town from every side. On Sunday the 28th Jumada I,[16] at sunrise when the towers and battlements had been decked out with a vanguard of banners and standards as the heavens with stars [179] and shouts and cries arose from every side of the town, the opponents of our house took refuge in a castle in the middle of the town and our victorious followers *(may they never cease to be victorious!)* busied themselves with looting and pillaging. And although the people of Akhlat, in view of their persistence in error, had no right to mercy, yet it was our just and benevolent counsel to spare their lives, and we gave command to our men to desist from plundering. The clouds of our unstinted munificence poured their bounty upon the lot of those hapless wretches; and all settled down to their

[12] *jarrbā-yi-ṣaqīl:* perhaps some instrument for lifting objects. At the present day *jarr-i-ṣaqīl* is the ordinary word for 'crane'.

[13] Reading *ijtiyāz* with C and E for the *ikhbār* of the text.

[14] *gāv-māhī:* a creature, half ox, half fish, supposed to support the world on its back.

[15] April, 1230.

[16] 15th April, 1230.

former pursuits repeating prayers for our victorious house *(may God strengthen the foundations thereof!)*.

Some of our opponents, perceiving that the road of flight was closed and the gate of our all-embracing mercy open, proffered excuses and sought pardon, saying: *'O Lord, we have dealt unjustly.'* [17] It was the decision of our counsel, which ever pardoneth faults and bestoweth happiness, to have compassion on them; and so we passed over their misdemeanours, and by this act of boundless benevolence the door of hope was reopened to all the guilty. And to-day the brothers of Malik Ashraf, viz. Mujir-ad-Din and Taqi-ad-Din, as also 'Izz-ad-Din Ai-Beg, the ruler of Arzan [18] and the Emir Aqsam,[19] everyone of them, together with Asad son of 'Abdallah [20] and all the officials of the Ayyubids are, *nolentes volentes,* strung upon the string of allegiance; and because of their lives that we have spared and the pardon that they have received they raise their hands in prayer for the increase of our strength and dominion and the continuance of our fortune and felicity.

By this auspicious action a clime of this splendour has been added to the realms inherited and acquired by us *(may God increase their extent!)*, as sooner or later the realms of Syria and Rum will likewise fall into the hands of the servants of our house *(may God perpetuate it and grant them victory!)*.

These happy events having occurred and our desires having been thus achieved we have dispatched the Emir So-and-so *(may God support him!)* to the emirs, chief men, *sadrs,* notables, cadis, leaders, *shaikhs,* the wise, the distinguished, the respected and in short to all the inhabitants of Hamadan *(may God cause it to flourish and improve the affairs of its citizens!)*. Let all rejoice and be exceeding glad at these signs of favour which the Creator

[17] Koran, vii, 22.

[18] Arzan was a well-known principality to the south of Bitlis. Nasawi (tr. Houdas, 335) gives the ruler's name as Husam-ad-Din Toghril. He was a descendant of Shams-ad-Daula Toghan-Arslan the Hunchback, on whom see Minorsky, *op. cit.*, 83.

[19] Unidentified.

[20] Nasawi (tr. Houdas, 335) calls him Asad b. 'Abdallah al-Mihrānī, i.e. of the Kurdish tribe of Mihrān.

(glorious and sublime is He!) hath shown unto us, and may they be heartened and encouraged by the success [180] of our victorious house *(may its fabric continue strong and its foundations firm!)*, whereof the profits are common to all nations, and may they add to their duties prayers for our welfare, if God Almighty so will.

[XX]

OF THE SULTAN'S ADVANCE TO MAKE WAR ON THE SULTAN OF RUM

THE Sultan having gained the victory over the Georgians, a people, who by reason of their inaccessibility, the impregnability of their strongholds, the greatness of their wealth and the prowess of their warriors had been secure from the vicissitudes of fortune and whom mighty kings and the princes of Syria and Rum had met on terms of equality for fear of their fierceness in battle, nay from whom they had turned tail in weakness and impotence—all this people now bowed their necks in allegiance to him, and the conquest of Akhlat was added to these conquests and became the evening draught to that morning draught. Fear of the Sultan spread through all those regions and the tale of his severity and rigour was diffused far and wide.

The Rulers of Rum and Syria, imitating the example of the City of Peace dispatched relays upon relays of gifts and presents to the Sultan in his splendid and magnificent hall of audience. His court again became the resort of the noble and the great, his following numerous, his fortunes flourishing, his treasuries overflowing and the surrounding regions fruitful by his justice. The following quatrain was composed by a man of letters at this time:

> O king, the world is becoming as thou wishest;
> Shrewish Fortune is becoming thy slave.
> I wait patiently till the coin of mankind,
> As also their *khutba* is adorned with thy name.

From Akhlat the Sultan proceeded to Malazjird [1] and from thence to Khartabirt,[2] [181] being affected with some infirmity. It was at this time that the Sultan of Erzerum [3] was distinguished with all manner of favours in gratitude for his assistance at the time of the siege of Akhlat by the supplying of provisions and cattle for slaughter.[4] He reported that Sultan ʿAla-ad-Din had made peace with the rulers of Aleppo and Damascus; that they were leagued together against the Sultan and busy collecting together their forces; and that they were constantly threatening him and saying that if the Sultan had not been supplied with provisions at the gates of Akhlat it would have been impossible for the Sultan to maintain himself.

Despite the greatness of his infirmity and the failing of his strength the Sultan rode on. When the army reached the plain around Mush 6,000 men, who were going to the aid of the Syrians, crossed their path. They surrounded and killed them all in a single instant.

Some days after, when the armies were drawing close to one another, the Sultan of Rum, Malik Ashraf and the other Sultans and rulers of those countries came together and assembled so much gear and equipment and mustered so many men as to be beyond computation. They drew up their forces on a hilltop, placing naphtha-throwers and crossbowmen with cowhide shields in front, both mounted and on foot.

When the tinder of battle had caught light and the fighting had reached the pitch when the zephyr of Fortune was beginning to blow and the bud of Hope to unfold, the Sultan decided to get out of his litter and on to the saddle. But his strength was not sufficient to hold the reins. Like victory they slipped from his grasp, and the horse turned round against his will and walked a few paces back. His attendants then said that the Sultan

[1] Now Malazgirt. The original Armenian name of the town was Manazkert. It was here, in 1071, that Alp-Arslan gained his great victory over the Byzantines.

[2] Now Harput.

[3] His name was Rukn-ad-Din Jahan-Shah. See above, i, 250, n. 10.

[4] *gūshtī*: the text has *kūshī*, a word of which M.Q. could make nothing. *gūshtī* occurs in I, 163, and also in III, 32, where it is interpreted by M.Q. as meaning 'animals that are slaughtered for their flesh'.

should be allowed to rest for a while until he had recovered his strength and his personal standards were therefore carried back. Seeing this the right and left wings thought that the Sultan was in retreat, and they too turned back. [182] The enemy, however, imagining that this was a trick of the Sultan to draw them down on to level ground, a herald stood up in the midst of their troops and proclaimed that no one should stir from the spot and go in pursuit of them. Meanwhile, the Sultan's army having scattered and dispersed in every direction, it was impossible to make a stand and the Sultan was in a dilemma.[5] He turned back and made towards Akhlat, from which place he recalled those whom he had detailed to defend it, and then proceeded to Khoi. Of the brothers of Malik Ashraf he dismissed Mujir-al-Mulk with honour, whilst he gave leave to Taqi-ad-Din to return and intercede on his behalf with the Commander of the Faithful, al-Mustansir billah. As for Husam-ad-Din Qaimari [6] he had fled. His wife, who was related *(ham-shākh)* [7] to Malik Ashraf was still there and the Sultan treated her with respect and sent her back with every show of kindness and attention. As for 'Izz-ad-Din Ai-Beg he met his end in the castle of Dizmar.[8]

It would be strange indeed if Fortune were always propitious and did not in the end produce a trick out of her juggler's cup.

> The Heavens do not assist us, it is not hard for them
> to behave basely.
> I complained that my luck was asleep. Alas! being
> awake does not last.
> A stone, O Heavens, lies upon me. It would be strange
> if you do not rain.[9]

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[5] This battle was fought near Arzinjan (Erzincan) on the 10th August, 1230. See Minorsky, *Studies in Caucasian History*, 154.

[6] For an account of his escape see Nasawi tr. Houdas, 334–5. His full name was Husam-ad-Din al-Qaimari al-Hasani b. Abul-Fawaris. He was afterwards the Ayyubid governor of Aleppo, from which he fled upon the approach of Hülegü. See Zambaur, *Manuel de généalogie et de chronologie pour l'histoire de l'Islam*, 34.

[7] According to Rashid-ad-Din (Blochet, 31) she was Malik Ashraf's daughter.

[8] Dizmār is in Western Qaraja-Dagh (east of Marand). (V.M.)

[9] I.e. 'if you do not show mercy'?

The Sultan had not yet recovered from the blow on the cheek of his fortune when he received tidings that Chormaghun Noyan had crossed the Oxus. He deputed the vizier Shams-ad-Din Yulduzchi to defend the castle of Giran [10] and confided his womenfolk to him in that place. The Sultan himself went to Tabriz, from whence, despite his differences with [183] the Commander of the Faithful and the Sultans of Syria and Rum, he dispatched messengers to them reporting the crossing of the river by the Emperor's [11] army and bearing a message to the effect that this great host of Tartar troops was in magnitude and might like unto ants and serpents. Neither castles could withstand them nor cities. Fear and dread of them was deep-rooted in the hearts of the people of those parts. 'If I am removed,' he went on, 'you cannot resist them. I am to you as the Wall of Alexander. Let each of you send a detachment with a standard to support me, and when the news of our concord and agreement reaches them, their teeth will be blunted and our army in good heart. *"And we have decided what we must do."* But if you treat this matter lightly you shall see what you shall see.

> Let each of you see to his life; exert your understanding
> in this matter.'

Alas! Alas! When thou hast planted the sapling of discord in a man's breast and watered the roots thereof with the blood of men's hearts, what fruit dost thou expect therefrom save the thorn of revenge [12] and the sting of Fate? And if you fill a goblet with deadly poison, wherefore desire to taste therefrom the wine of Babylon? To offer excuses and seek pardon after inciting to vengeance is a balm laid upon men who have died of their wounds; it is the potion given to Suhrab after his death.[13]

[10] Gīrān. Now Gīlān, to the north of the Araxes. (V.M.)
[11] I.e. Ögedei's.
[12] Reading *ṣār* 'revenge' with C for the *ṣamār* 'fruit' of the text.
[13] When Suhrab lies dying Rustam sends to Kai-Ka'us to ask for a potion in his possession that will heal his son's wounds. The request being refused Rustam sets out to appeal to the king in person but is overtaken by a messenger with the news that Suhrab is already dead.

I am not the first to hope for what he did not attain,
even if I love one who dwells among the ghada [14] *trees.*[15]

The powerful fortune and auspicious ascendant of the Emperor of the World, Chingiz-Khan,[16] threw their words into disagreement and changed the Sultan's hope into despair and disappointment. Suddenly news arrived that the Mongol army had reached Sarab. The Sultan set out at full speed for the district of Bishkin.[17] The roof of the palace in which he lodged on the night of his arrival caved in, and he took this for an omen and recognized it as a sign that the pinnacles of his greatness were tottering and that his pregnant hopes were suffering a miscarriage. His was a dynasty that had long been on the rise until the announcers of death and the ravens that foretell separation had with the tongue of circumstances whispered in its ear the ill news of its decline and beaten the royal drum in the house of another. He wavered for a while as though to make a show of resistance, just as a bird will flutter when its throat has been cut; and deceitful Fate teased and tormented him like the hunter who, in order to have sport with a wild creature that has fallen into his net, fastens it to a rope; it leaps for joy but when it reaches the end of its tether he draws it back. *God Almighty hath said: 'Until as they were rejoicing in our gifts, we suddenly laid hold upon them, and lo! they were plunged into despair.'* [18]

He set out the next day for Mughan. He had been there five days when the Mongol army arrived close at hand in his pursuit. He abandoned his tent and encampment at dawn and entered the mountains of Qaban.[19] Finding the Sultan's encampment deserted the Mongols at once turned back.

[14] H. R. P. Dickson, *Kuwait and her Neighbours,* London, 1956, p. 594, describes *ghaḍā* as a 'saline-tasting bush *(Haloxylon persicum Bunge),* one of the varieties known under the general name of *hamdh*'. I am indebted for this reference to Dr. J. D. Latham of the University Library, Manchester.

[15] See Tabrizi, *Sharh-al-Hamasa,* Bulaq ed., III, 148. (M.Q.)

[16] This is of course a mistake, Chingiz-Khan having died three years before in 1227.

[17] Now Mishkin (the district round Ahar). [18] Koran, vi, 44.

[19] Qabān. The Armenian Kapan, now Kafan, a district in the extreme south-east of Soviet Armenia, noted as a copper-mining centre.

The Sultan spent the winter of 628/1230 in Urmiya and Ushnu. Sharaf-al-Mulk Yulduzchi, whom he had placed in charge of his harem [185] in the castle of Giran, was falsely accused of having, at the time of the Sultan's absence when all news of him was cut off, cast covetous eyes at his harem and treasury. A report to this effect had reached the Sultan, and when he came to that district, Yulduzchi for fear of the Sultan and dread of [what] this tale [might involve], refused to come out of the castle and asked the Sultan for a safe-conduct *(mīṣāq)*. At his request the Sultan sent in Buqu Khan, who brought him out by force or persuasion. When he reached the place where the ministers' horses were tethered, he was detained there, and such great officials of the Divan and other dignitaries as were in attendance on him, seeing the posture of his affairs, separated themselves from him one by one, until the vizier was left standing all alone. Sultan Jalal-ad-Din then spoke as follows: 'I raised Yulduzchi from the nadir of abasement to the zenith of exaltation and from a foundation of trash to a pinnacle of eminence; and so he has requited my kindness.' He gave orders for his horses to be taken as plunder by the lads in attendance *(vushāqān-i-ḥaẓrat)*, while he himself was handed over to the governor of the castle; and after a time, at the slanderous instigation of the envious and upon the calumniatory accusation of enemies, he entrusted him to the confinement of eternity, nay to the prison of the grave. He later repented of this act.

He now set out for Diyar-Bekr, and when the Mongol army *(ḥasham)* returned to Chormaghun the latter chided them roundly for turning back and abandoning their intensive search for the Sultan. At the very moment, he said, when such an enemy had lost his strength and the veils of concealment had fallen from him, [186] how could they then give him respite and slacken the search. And he dispatched like lightning in his pursuit Taimas [20] and other chief emirs with a band of vengeful Turks such as those who sought to avenge Afrasiyab upon Gurgin.[21]

Now the Sultan had sent back Buqu Khan [22] to act as scout

[20] See above, p. 436, n. 39.
[21] One of the heroes of the *Shahnama*.
[22] See above, i, 305, n. 67.

and reconnoitre the movements of the Mongol army. Upon his arrival in Azerbaijan it was reported to him that they had struck the drum of departure from Iraq also and that there was no trace or news of them in those parts. Without treading the highway of circumspection, as is incumbent upon, and the bounden duty of, the trusted servants of the Court, nay the emirs of the Empire, Buqu Khan turned back and bore the Sultan the glad tidings that the Mongols had disappeared, and in joy thereat

> The king caused music to be played, and the palace became like the garden of spring.
>
> *And I like not drunkenness save only that it benumbs me so that I feel not the hurt of misfortune.*

It is related that one day Mutawakkil [23] was rebuking one of his courtiers for devoting his time to pleasure and indulging in unlawful practices. The man replied: *'I call sport to my aid against Fate only because to endure the cares of this world is possible only with a little rejoicing.'* However, cases differ.

In a word, the ministers and chief men, like the Sultan, neglected the defence of their lives for the circulation of cups. For all the forlornness *(bī-navā'ī)* of their affairs they again *(bi-navī)* struck the road of song *(navā)*; while instruments of war were in preparation they set their hands to harp and tambourine; they preferred the bellies of women to the backs of stallions and chose slender damsels [187] rather than lean steeds. From the goblet there gushed forth pure blood, and they thought it wine; from the strings *(rag)* of the harp there issued a mournful lament, and they sang bass and treble *(bam u zīr)*. This was the same king who had made the saddle his throne, the saddle-cloth his couch, armour his cloak and a helmet his crown. Forsaking preliminary skirmishes and pitched battles for unions with maids and matrons, he now, contrary to his wont, preferred feasting to fighting, making wine the balsam of the wound of Fate, forgetting in the loving-cup the thrust of powerful foes, hearkening to the cheerful notes of harp-strings rather than seeking out bowstrings and drinking old wine rather than mounting

[23] The 'Abbasid Caliph (847–61).

a noble charger. Someone composed the following *à propos* of that occasion:

O king! what will come of [drinking] strong wine?
And what will come of continual drunkenness?
The king drunk, the world in ruin and enemies before and behind—
It is plain to see what will become of this![24]

Two or three days passed in the vanity of merrymaking. Suddenly pregnant Night gave birth to her infant Disaster, and at midnight when the throne of Sultan Wisdom had been usurped by the Demon Ignorance, and the core of the heart had become the centre of human greed, and lofty thoughts, those noble chargers, had been curbed by the bridle of physical desire, and drunkenness had deprived emir and vizier of prudence and forethought, and the army of Sleep had overwhelmed the world of the brain, and all the men and [188] most of the guards *(mufradān)* were shackled and crippled with intoxication—at the time

When a third of the dark night had passed and the morning-star moved across the revolving circle.[25]

a Tartar host of mighty warriors, whose leader was Taimas,[26] came upon men without guard or watch. And it was a strange fact that when Qa'an charged Chormaghun with the destruction of the Sultan and appointed the various emirs, he turned to Taimas and said: 'Of all these it is thou that shalt deal the final blow to the Sultan.' And so it was. Acting with caution, in the belief that the men before them were also watching and waiting, the Mongols advanced noiselessly like creeping ants. Orkhan[27] became aware of their approach and went at once to the Sultan's pillow. The Sultan was in his first sleep forgetful that

Events may fall out at dawn.

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[24] This quatrain is quoted in the *Kitab-al-Fakhri* of Ibn-at-Tiqtaqa, who ascribes it to one of Jalal-ad-Din's courtiers. See my note, *Ibn al-Ṭiqtaqā and the Ta'rīkh-i-Jahān-Gusbāy of Juvaynī.*

[25] *Shahnama* ed. Vullers, 438, l. 82. For the *az* 'of' of the text Vullers has *zān* 'of that'.

[26] See above, p. 436, n. 39.

[27] See above, p. 409, n. 50.

As for sleep I see in it the imagination of joy; it is
a sweeter fruit than the awakening that drives away slumber.

Being thus rudely awakened from sleep he ceased to doubt the power of God Almighty and clearly perceived and realized that the skirt of counsel was firmly held in the hand of Destiny; that the steed of Wisdom lay helpless at the feet of Fate; that the arrows of Cunning, fitted to the bow of Possibility, had broken without hitting the target; that Calamity had intervened between him and Safety; and that he had alighted at the stage of Evil. Without waiting for evening the strange guest had drunk at dawn, and Peace and Security had girded their loins to depart. But this time the guest was a fierce warrior, and the host knew how to dispel a drunken headache. He asked for cold water and poured it over his head as though to signify that he had done with hotheadedness, and [189] with a heart glowing like a blacksmith's furnace and an eye dripping like a broken pitcher he set out with a small following and much lamentation, bidding farewell to that mistress, Empire, nay reaping the field of his luck.

If the eye of the nights overlooked us for a time
we should think this good.

O day of youth, may thy night be pleasant! Thou and
I have seen the Day of Judgement.

And when the Sultan set off with a small body of men he ordered Orkhan not to move his standard and to offer resistance until he had gained a little lead. Obeying the Sultan's command he struggled impotently for a short while, and when he turned tail the Mongol army, believing him to be the Sultan, charged after him like eagles. When they realized that they had failed in their main object *(pāi az dast dāda and va pai girifta)*, they returned to the encampment, where they put officers, soldiers and dignitaries of state to the sword making them the food of flies and the titbit of wolves. The phoenix Vainglory, which had laid an egg in the brain of each man's pride, after hatching the chick of joy set about producing a cock's egg. All the hopes they had entertained of this transitory world now turned to dust, and the garment of their lives was rent in the teeth of annihilation. If

before they had been exalted like the Constellation of the Bear *(banāt-an-naʿsh)*,[28] now indeed they were nought but corpses *(abnā-an-naʿsh)*[28] forming a couch for earth and rubble.

So the ancient circle ever turneth; now it is like
a bow, now like an arrow.[29]
Now it is love and sweet wine, now hatred and poison—
thus is the revolving circle of Fate.

As for the Sultan of blessed memory, unable to fulfil his wishes—

With a heart torn in two with the cruelty and sorrow
of the world, he still fears that fear may be alive.

[190] he set his face to the road.

If this be how the world keeps faith, how then if it played the tyrant? But they have given the name of 'World' to a place set with snares and that of 'Time' to nets of misfortune, just as they have called the centre of griefs 'heart' and the seat of cares 'soul'.

O thou with whom my existence has become entirely one,
I know not whether that seat of griefs is I alone or thou.
Grief knocked at the heart's door. The heart cried, 'Enter!
There is no separate existence: thou art I, and I am thou.'

I do not believe that any age will suffer what we are enduring
from the vicissitudes of Fate.
It is not a period of rest and repose; it is a season of calamity
and a time of troubles.
A whole world is full of evil and confusion because the fortune
of the King of the World is exposed to trial.
O generous man, know that this evil and confusion is nought but
the grieving of an old woman.

It is strange beyond surprise that we should attribute
the blame for events to Time
And attack him with reproach, when he has a muzzle on
his mouth even though he were granted speech.

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[28] Lit. 'daughters of the bier' and 'sons of the bier'.

[29] *Shahnama* ed. Vullers, 1061, l. 229. The following line, which is not in C, E or G, is lacking in Vullers.

Does he not hurry along like man, while everything is bound up with the affairs of Death? [30]

Accounts differ as to how the Sultan met his end.[31] Some say that upon arriving in the mountains of Amid [32] he had encamped for the night in a certain place when a party of Kurds conceived a desire to despoil him of his clothes and stabbed him in the breast, not realizing what deed they had done or what game they had caught. Nor is this strange: wherever there is a *huma* it is vilely treated in the claws of an owl [191] and wherever there is a lion it is sorely tried from fighting with a cur. Now how this came to be discovered was that those Kurds [33] entered the town clad in his garments, and certain of his retinue recognized his clothes and arms; and the ruler of Amid, when he had been acquainted with the circumstances, put the Kurds to death and ordered a grave to be dug and a murdered man, thought to be the Sultan, to be buried in it. But some say that these were other clothes which his retinue had with them and that the Sultan, clad in rags, was following the calling of a Sufi and wandering about amongst the lands and peoples of Islam. But however it came about he departed this life after receiving a blow from this pitiless, inconsiderate world.

Years afterwards, whenever a rumour arose amongst the people that the Sultan had been seen in such-and-such a place, especially in Iraq, Sharaf-ad-Din 'Ali of Tabrish,[34] who was the vizier of Iraq, would for a time be actively concerned with such

[30] It has been impossible to identify the author of these verses but it is almost certain that the two lines quoted above, II, p. 186, and 188, are from the same poem. (M.Q.)

[31] For Nasawi's account see Houdas' translation, 409–10, also d'Ohsson, III, 61–2.

[32] The Roman Amida, now called Diyar-Bekr after the district of which it is the chief town.

[33] At this place there is the following note in the margin of C: 'The Sultan was certainly murdered by the Kurds, for while they were murdering him his wife Malika Khatun with a small party fled from thence to Rum, and the *atabeg* Muzaffar-ad-Din Abu-Bakr then sent men to fetch his sister from Rum to Shiraz. Thus it was ascertained that it was indeed the Sultan whom these wretches had unwittingly murdered for the sake of his clothes.' (M.Q.)

[34] I.e. Tafrish.

reports; and again and again the glad tidings would be spread through the town and countryside that the Sultan was in such-and-such a castle or in such-and-such a place.

In the year 633/1235–6 a man rose in rebellion in Ustundar [35] claiming to be the Sultan; and his fame spread far and wide. During the governorship of Chin-Temür the Mongol emirs sent some persons who had seen and known the Sultan to look at this man. He was put to death for his lying.

In the year 652/1254–5 a party of merchants came to the banks of the [192] Oxus. One of them told the boatmen that he was Sultan Jalal-ad-Din. He was seized and the matter investigated. He persisted in his claim until he was put to death. There are many kinds of madness.

To be brief, all those rumours and reports were of no avail. *'Everything shall perish except Himself! Judgement is His and to Him shall ye return!'* [36]

[XXI]

OF YAMIN MALIK [1] AND IGHRAQ AND THEIR FATE

WHEN Sultan Muhammad fled from the banks of the river, Yamin Malik, who was feudatory of Herat, proceeded to that

[35] See above, p. 385, n. 73. [36] Koran, xxviii, 88.

[1] C has Yamin-al-Mulk. This person is differently named by different historians. Juvaini usually refers to him as Amin Malik and sometimes as Amin-ad-Din Malik; but throughout the present chapter he is called Yamin Malik. Nasawi everywhere calls him Amin Malik, while Ibn-al-Athir, XII, 259, calls him Malik Khan. In the *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī* of Juzjani he appears as Malik Khan and Malik Khan of Herat and in Rashid-ad-Din ed. Berezin, XV, 126, [Smirnova, 220–3] as Khan Malik. [He is called Qan Melik in the *Secret History* (§ 257) and Mieh-li-k'o-han in the *Yüan shih* (Krause, 38, Haenisch, *Die letzten Feldzüge Cinggis Han's und sein Tod*, 530–1) and the *Shêng-wu ch'in-chêng lu* (Haenisch, *op. cit.*, 528).] He was a chief of the Qanqli Turks and the Sultan's cousin (the son of his maternal uncle). His daughter was married to the Sultan. Having first been entrusted by Sultan Muhammad with the governorship of Herat he afterwards entered the service of Sultan Jalal-ad-Din becoming one of his chief commanders. See above, pp. 405 and 406/7, also Nasawi tr. Houdas, 109 and 144–5. He was finally killed by the Mongols at Peshawar at the time of Jalal-ad-Din's crossing the Indus. See above, pp. 409–10. (M.Q.)

place and then went on by way of the Garmsir [2] to Ghazna. Muhammad son of 'Ali [193] Khar-Pust of Ghur was then in Ghazna as the Sultan's representative with 20,000 men. Yamin Malik encamped at Sura [?], two or three stages from Ghazna, and sent a messenger to Khar-Pust asking him to assign them pasturage so that they might remain together, for the Sultan had fled to Iraq, and the Tartars had entered Khorasan, and [they should stay together] until it was known what had become of the Sultan. Now at that time Shams-al-Mulk Shihab-ad-Din of Sarakhs, the vizier of Sultan Jalal-ad-Din, was also in Ghazna, and Salah-ad-Din of Nisa, who was governor of the castle and the inner town on behalf of the Sultan, was likewise present. Khar-Pust and his emirs replied to Yamin Malik as follows: 'We are Ghuris and you are Turks; we cannot live together. The Sultan has assigned fiefs and pasturage to everybody. Let each remain in his own place and see what happens.' Messengers passed several times between them but no decision was reached and the Ghuris persisted in their unfriendly attitude. Shams-ad-Din the vizier and Salah-ad-Din now agreed together to make an attempt on Khar-Pust's life. 'In their hearts,' they said, 'the Ghuris are rebels against the Sultan, and they will not admit Yamin Malik, the Sultan's kinsman, into the territory of Ghazna.' Now all the troops in Ghazna were collected together half a parasang from the town, where they had a camp. Shams-al-Mulk and Salah-ad-Din the Governor having thus agreed to make an end of Muhammad Khar-Pust they entertained him in a garden. Suddenly Salah-ad-Din of Nisa stabbed Khar-Pust and killed him. Having killed him Shams-ad-Din and Salah-ad-Din threw themselves into the town before his troops had learnt of his fate and seized the castle. The Ghuris then scattered and after two or three days Yamin Malik [194] entered Ghazna and became its governor.

After a while there came news that Chingiz-Khan had arrived at the Talaqan near Balkh and that two or three thousand Mongols had come by way of the Garmsir [3] in search of Yamin Malik. He collected an army and advanced against them.

[2] See above, i, 136, n. 9.

[3] See above, i, 136, n. 9.

Seeing that his numbers were superior to theirs they retired without offering battle, and Yamin Malik pursued them as far as Bust [4] and Teginabad,[5] from whence the Mongols departed in the direction of Herat and Khorasan, while Yamin Malik proceeded to Sivistan [6] by way of Qusdar.[7] He had brought Shams-al-Mulk with him and he now imprisoned him in the castle of Kujuran [8] in [the district of] Bust and Teginabad. Salah-ad-Din he had left in Ghazna, and during his absence the people rose in rebellion and killed and mutilated him.

In Ghazna the cadi and Razi-al-Mulk and 'Umdat-al-Mulk, two brothers, made themselves masters of Tirmiz [9] and then agreed together to make Razi-al-Mulk ruler of Ghazna. Meanwhile, Khalaj and Turcoman tribesmen without number had poured out of Khorasan and Transoxiana [195] and gathered together in Peshawar, their leader being Saif-ad-Din Ighraq Malik. Razi-al-Mulk conceived the desire of attacking and defeating them and then making himself master of India. He raised an army and advanced on Peshawar to do them battle, but the Turcomans and Khalaj defeated him and slew both himself and the greater part of his army.

His brother 'Umdat-al-Mulk being in command in Ghazna, A'zam Malik, the son of 'Imad-ad-Din of Balkh, and Malik Shir, the governor of Kabul, proceeded thither with an army of Ghuris, who had gathered around them, and besieged him in the castle in the middle of the town; in the course of the fighting they set up mangonels and at the end of 40 days had taken the castle.

Meanwhile, Sultan Jalal-ad-Din, in his flight from Khorasan before the Mongols had reached the castle of Kujuran and

[4] The modern Qal'a-yi-Bist.

[5] Perhaps on the site of Qandahar. See Minorsky, *Ḥudūd*, 345.

[6] Sīvistān, also known as Bālis or Vālishtān, is the present-day district of Sibi, to the south-east of Quetta.

[7] Quṣdār. Now Khuzdar, 85 miles south of Kalat. See Minorsky, *op. cit.*, 373.

[8] KǰWRAN. Unidentified.

[9] There must be some mistake. There would have been no point in their seizing Tirmiẕ (Termez) on the northern bank of the Oxus.

released Shams-al-Mulk, whom he sent to Ghazna to make preparations for his residence there as ruler. Shams-al-Mulk arrived on the very day the castle was captured and gave the welcome news of Sultan Jalal-ad-Din's approach. A week later the Sultan himself arrived, and armies turned towards him and gathered around him from every side, and provided him with all the appurtenances of royalty. Yamin Malik, who was in India, heard of the Sultan's arrival and hastened to his side. So too Ighraq Malik joined the Sultan from Peshawar with Khalaj and Turcoman troops. And A'zam Malik and Malik Shir with a great host of Ghuris likewise placed themselves at the Sultan's disposal. In this way a well-equipped army of sixty to seventy thousand men was gathered around him.

With these forces Sultan Jalal-ad-Din proceeded to Parvan,[10] which [196] lies on the border of Bamiyan where many roads meet and where he hoped to get information about the course of events. Meanwhile some ten to twelve thousand Mongol horsemen in pursuit of the Sultan arrived before Ghazna. There being no troops in the town there was no obstacle in their way and they had unexpectedly entered the town before the inhabitants were aware of their presence. Some set fire to the Friday mosque whilst others killed whatever people they found in the streets. After remaining one day they took a guide and proceeded to Parvan in pursuit of the Sultan. There they joined battle. The Sultan was victorious, and the Mongol army returned to Chingiz-Khan at Talaqan.

After the Sultan's victory a dispute arose between the Khalaj, Turcomans and Ghuris on one hand and the Khorazmians on the other over the sharing of the horses taken as booty. The result was discord in the Sultan's army; and Ighraq Malik and A'zam Malik turned back with all the Khalaj, Turcomans and Ghuris and made for Peshawar, while the Sultan set out for Ghazna with the Turkish and Khorazmian troops that still remained with him.

Upon leaving the Sultan, Ighraq Malik, A'zam Malik and

[10] See above, p. 405, n. 34.

the other emirs went to Ningrahar,[11] which was the fief of A'zam Malik and where he entertained them as his guests, offering refreshments and every manner of polite attention. Now there was bitter enmity between Nuh Jandar, a Khalaj emir with five to six thousand tents, and Ighraq Malik. The latter now set off for Peshawar with 20,000 men while Nuh Jandar stayed behind to pasture in Ningrahar. When Saif-ad-Din Ighraq Malik [197] was one stage distant he sent the following message to A'zam Malik: 'Between thee and me is the relation of father and son. I am the father and thou art the son. If thou wouldst please me do not give Nuh Jandar leave to abide in thy territory and do not let him stay there.' A'zam Malik replied: 'It is not fitting that there should be war and enmity between Moslem armies at such a time as this.' And with an escort of 50 horsemen from amongst his chief men he set out after Saif-ad-Din Ighraq in order to effect a reconciliation between him and Nuh Jandar. Saif-ad-Din Ighraq bade him welcome and made him sit and drink wine with him. A'zam Malik began to speak of Nuh Jandar and to intercede on his behalf, but Ighraq refused to listen. Suddenly, drunk as he was, he mounted horse and set out for Nuh's encampment accompanied by a hundred horsemen. Nuh, thinking that he came in kindness, went before him with his sons and saluted him respectfully. Ighraq Malik was still drunk. He drew his sword to strike Nuh and was at once seized by Nuh's soldiers, who tore him to pieces. When news hereof reached his camp his men exclaimed: 'This is an act of treachery on the part of A'zam Malik. He came here with the connivance of Nuh in order to put an end to Ighraq Malik.' Thinking this they seized A'zam Malik and put him to death. Then they attacked Nuh's encampment and killed both Nuh and his sons. Many were thus killed on either side, and the Ghuris fought them also, and great numbers were slain.

Shortly afterwards Tekechük and Sayyid 'Ala-al-Mulk of Qunduz came upon them. Tekechük was the commander of

[11] Reading NNGRHAR for the BKRHAR of the text. Ningrahār is the present-day Jalalabad district of Afghanistan. See Minorsky, *op. cit.*, 252–3.

the Mongol army and 'Ala-al-Mulk the leader of the infantry levy *(cherig)*.[12] They destroyed the remnants [198] of the Khalaj, Turcoman and Ghuri armies. In a word, those twenty or thirty thousand Khalaj, Turcomans and Ghuris, after separating from Sultan Jalal-ad-Din, were all scattered and slain within less than two or three months either by the hands of one another or by the armies of Chingiz-Khan, and not a trace was left of them.

[XXII]

OF THE SULTAN'S MOTHER, TERKEN KHATUN [1]

By race she belonged to the Turkish tribes called the Qanqli,[2] and Terken on account of her origin used to favour the Turks,[3] who during her lifetime were in the ascendancy. They were called A'jami,[4] and mercy and compassion were far removed from their hearts. Wherever they passed by, that country was laid in ruin and the people took refuge in their strongholds. And indeed it was their cruelty, violence and wickedness [5] that brought about the downfall of the Sultan's dynasty.

> *People who regard the five prayers as supererogatory and deem it lawful to shed the blood of pilgrims in the Sacred Territory.*[6]

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[12] On *cherig* see above, i, 97, n. 4.

[1] On her name see above, i, 79, n. 3.

[2] Juzjani (Raverty, 240) says that she was the daughter of the Khan of the Qīpchaq, whereas according to Nasawi (tr. Houdas, 44 and 72) she belonged to the Baya'ut, a branch of the Yemek. On the relationship between the Yemek (the earlier Kimek), the Qīpchaq and the Qanqlī, 'une des questions les plus obscures de l'histoire de l'Asie Centrale' (Pelliot, *Campagnes*, 95), see Minorksy, *Hudūd*, 304–10 and 315–17. On the Mongol tribe of the Baya'ut, of which Marquart, *Über das Volkstum der Komanen*, 171, thinks the Yemek Baya'ut may have been an offshoot, see Pelliot, *op. cit.*, 82–9.

[3] There is a word-play, a 'visual' pun in the original, both Terken (Tergen) and *Turkān* 'Turks' being spelt TRKAN.

[4] See above, i, 305, n. 69.

[5] *nā-pāki*, lit. 'uncleanness'. Probably a reference to their paganism. Cf. the following verse. (V.M.)

[6] Slightly adapted from a *qasida* by Mutanabbi. (M.Q.)

Terken Khatun had her own separate court and state officials and disposed of her own separate stipends and fiefs. Nevertheless her power extended over the Sultan, his finances and his high officers and officials. She used to hold secret revelries and it was through her that many an ancient house was overthrown. Whenever a kingdom or a country was conquered and the rulers of such kingdoms were brought to Khorazm as hostages she would cause them to be cast by night into the river [7] to the end that her son's empire might be untroubled by [199] rivals and the fountain of his authority unsullied with dust. She did not realize that God Almighty not only punisheth in this present world but knoweth how to chastise and retribute in the world to come.

> Whatever thou dost, the cruel world will write 'Oppression' upon thee with sharp pens.

When the Sultan in his flight crossed the river at Tirmiz he sent a messenger to Khorazm with instructions that his mother should set out with the rest of his harem for Mazandaran, where they should take refuge in the strongholds of those parts. Obeying her son's command she departed from Khorazm taking with her the other young boys, her grandsons, and the womenfolk. The troops she left in Khorazm in charge of the principal khans. At the time of her departure she ordered a number of local rulers *(ṣāḥib-ṭarafān)* who had been detained as hostages to be cast into the Oxus, all except those who were not of royal rank. With the children and the treasure she then set out for Mazandaran by way of Dihistan, [8] the vizier Nasir-ad-Din being in attendance on them.

When the Sultan arrived in Mazandaran he sent Terken with the rest of the womenfolk to the castles of Larijan [9] and Ilal.[10]

[7] *Dijla,* the name of the Tigris, is here applied to the Oxus. See above, i, 326 and n. 26, for the similar use of *Jaihūn* 'Oxus' to describe any large river.

[8] See above, i, 291, n. 40.

[9] Lārijān is now a sub-district of the district of Āmul. It is here, some 50 miles to the north-east of Tehran, that Mount Damavand is situated.

[10] Ilāl: on the head-waters of the river of Sari (Tījīn) in the Du-Danga canton. (V.M.)

And when Sübetei [11] came to Mazandaran in pursuit of the Sultan he laid siege to these castles. Now in no age had the castle of Ilal been recorded as having suffered a shortage of water, for those water-carriers, the clouds, used to spare the inmates the labour of storing water in tanks: the clouds by their weeping would cause the mouths of the garrison to smile. But it so happened that when the [Mongol] army sat down before the castle, the rain too became hostile and like Fortune deserted them.

> He is the Sultan, Who from water-carrying elephants presents
> the earth from the air with sweet water.

[200] After ten to fifteen days no water was left and Terken Khatun with the other members of the harem and the vizier Nasir-ad-Din was compelled to come down from the castle. And at the very hour when they reached the foot Day in her perversity let down the veil of the clouds and binding them one to another began to weep.[12] It was the story of the duck which said to the fish:

> When we are dead, what does it matter whether the world be
> sea or mirage ? [13]

Terken Khatun together with the other members of the harem and Nasir-ad-Din was taken to Chingiz-Khan in Talaqan in

[11] Elsewhere (i, 146) Juvaini speaks of Jebe's troops as laying siege to these castles. See Barthold, *Turkestan,* 431.

[12] 'The climate of Mázandarán is universally condemned. It is extremely capricious, and not naturally divided into wet and dry, or cold and hot, seasons: one year it pours for a month without cessation, and the same month in the next year may be quite dry. Though not nearly so damp as Gílán, it must be termed a humid climate, for there is no day throughout the year in which the people can rely on dry weather.' (Rabino, *Mázandarán and Astarábád,* 9.)

[13] This is the last line of a quatrain included in Whinfield's edition of Omar Khayyam, where the wording is slightly different (*sharāb* 'wine' instead of *sarāb* 'mirage'). It is certainly not one of the genuine quatrains and is not for instance in the Chester Beatty manuscript recently edited by Professor Arberry. Whinfield's version (p. 16) runs as follows:

> Quoth fish to duck, ''Twill be a sad affair,
> If this brook leaves its channel dry and bare';
> To whom the duck, 'When I am dead and roasted
> The brook may run with wine for aught I care.'

the year 618/1221–2. When they came before him Nasir-ad-Din was tortured and all the male children of the Sultan, however young, were put to death. As for the rest, namely the Sultan's daughters, sisters and wives that accompanied Terken, Chingiz-Khan commanded them on the day of departure to sing a dirge on the Sultan and his empire.

When Sultan Jalal-ad-Din flung himself in the river his harem was sent to join them.

Terken Khatun was dispatched to Qara-Qorum, where she existed wretchedly for a number of years dying in 630/1232–3.

Of the Sultan's daughters two were given to Chaghatai. One he made a special concubine and the other he gave to his vizier Qutb-ad-Din Habash 'Amid. Of the daughters that fell to the lot of the other *ordu* [14] one was given to 'Amid Hajib.

Among the members of Sultan Jalal-ad-Din's harem that were afterwards captured by Chormaghun [201] was a daughter aged two likewise called Terken.

Chormaghun sent her to Qa'an, who ordered her to be brought up in the *ordu*. When the Prince of the World Hülegü set out for the countries of the West, Mengü Qa'an sent her with him to give to any one that was fitting. Since the Lord of Mosul [15] had been distinguished from his peers by his long continued services Hülegü bestowed Terken upon his son Malik Salih.[16] She was married in accordance with the rites of the Shari'at, receiving also a dowry after the Mongol custom. This was in the year 655/1257–8.

[XXIII]

OF SULTAN GHIYAS-AD-DIN

His name was Pir-Shah, and the province of Kerman had been assigned to him. However, '*man proposes but God disposes*'.

When his father left Iraq for Mazandaran he sent his women-

[14] Which other *ordu*? Presumably that of one of Chaghatai's brothers, Ögedei or Tolui.

[15] Badr-ad-Din Lu'lu' (1233–59).

[16] Salih Isma'il (1259–63).

folk to the castle of Qarun [1] and left Ghiyas-ad-Din there also. When Sultan Muhammad *(may God illuminate his example!)* was drowned in the sea of death in the islands of Abaskun [2] [202] and the Mongols had passed by he came out of the castle and, Kerman having been assigned to him by his father, he made his way thither.

Shuja'-ad-Din Abul-Qasim, a retainer *(mufrad)* [3] of the *malik* of Zuzan, had been appointed governor of the castle of Juvashir.[4] Seeing the world in confusion he would not admit Ghiyas-ad-Din into the castle but sent offerings of food with the excuse that the castle must have a trustworthy governor and that he was the same old servant who had sat there at the Sultan's command.

Sultan Ghiyas-ad-Din realized that the man was misled. He made no attempt to fight but turned away with those accompanying him and went to Iraq. Large numbers of men and individual emirs who had been in hiding gathered around him, and Baraq Hajib and Oghul Malik [5] likewise joined him. They marched against the *atabeg* Sa'd and attacked him in a place called Dina.[6] He fled before Ghiyas-ad-Din's assault and when the latter's army came up they obtained [as booty] quadrupeds of every kind and then turned back. Baraq Hajib had words with Ghiyas-ad-Din's vizier Taj-ad-Din Karim-ash-Sharq. He became angry and left with his following for India.

In the year 619/1222–3 Ghiyas-ad-Din marched against Fars. The *atabeg* evacuated the town,[7] which Ghiyas-ad-Din's army entered and plundered. From thence they proceeded to Khuzistan where, after engaging in a dispute with Muzaffar-ad-Din Wajh-as-Sabu',[8] they made peace and returned. It being [203] winter they settled down in Ray.

[1] See above, p. 382, n. 64.
[2] See above, i, 155, n. 6.
[3] See above, p. 412, n. 1.
[4] See above, p. 417, n. 22.
[5] This was Oghul Hajib, Moghol Hajib or Inanch-Khan, on whom see above, i, 158, n. 17. He died according to Nasawi (tr. Houdas, 116 and 130) before Jira in the Kazerun area, poisoned, it was said, by Ghiyas-ad-Din for having aspired to his mother's hand, and was buried in a place called Shi'b-i-Salmān.
[6] Dīna. Perhaps identical with the Kūh-i-Dīnā range in Western Fars on the border of Khuzistan. (V.M.)
[7] Presumably Shiraz.
[8] On the career of Muzaffar-ad-Dīn Sonqur, a Turkish slave (*mamlūk*) of the Caliph Nāsir (1180–1225) see M.Q., III, 411–12. Wajh-as-Sabu' in Arabic means 'Lion's Face'.

All of a sudden there appeared Sultan Jalal-ad-Din like a lion falling unexpectedly upon a herd of gazelles. He alighted in Ghiyas-ad-Din's camp. Ghiyas-ad-Din was alarmed, but he reassured him. The next day Ghiyas-ad-Din's emirs and chief followers came to do obeisance. Those who had been curbed by the restraint of wisdom and had already previously cherished in their hearts the desire to serve the Sultan were distinguished by elevation of degree and loftiness of rank. But as for those who had not followed the [right] path and were constantly stirring up trouble he commanded them to be put to death near his place of audience.

Sultan Ghiyas-ad-Din remained in his service together with some of his chief followers, and Sultan Jalal-ad-Din regarded him with the eye of brotherly affection; until one day, in the course of a drinking bout, referring to an officer *(sarhang)* who had left his service to attach himself to the son of Kharmil, Malik Nusrat,[9] he said to the latter, 'Why didst thou take in my guard *(mufrad)*?' Now Malik Nusrat was one of the Sultan's most intimate companions and one of his chief emirs. He enjoyed his confidence, and in the closet Jalal-ad-Din used to jest with him, and he too would utter pleasantries. He jokingly replied to Ghiyas-ad-Din: 'The officer must have bread in order to serve.' Sultan Jalal-ad-Din observed his brother's anger, and with a glance of the eye he commanded Nusrat Malik to leave. Sultan Ghiyas-ad-Din stayed until the day had drawn to its close and he was overcome with drunkenness. Then he too withdrew, and passing by Malik Nusrat's house he sent a messenger to say that a guest was waiting to see him. Malik Nusrat at once came out of his house and helped Sultan Ghiyas-ad-Din down from his horse. They entered the house, and a wine party being prepared by Malik Nusrat the cups were passed round again and again, and they grew drunk in the extreme. Sultan Ghiyas-ad-Din then took his departure, and, as is customary, Malik Nusrat helped him

[9] Nusrat-ad-Din Muhammad. He was not the son but the grandson of Kharmil, his father's name being Hasan. He had been for a time in the service of Qubacha before attaching himself to Jalal-ad-Din. See Nasawi tr. Houdas, 146, and 233–4.

on to his horse and walked along by his side. Suddenly Ghiyas-ad-Din seized his dagger and struck him between the shoulder-blades.[10] [204] Shouts were raised that Malik had been killed, and bricks and clods of earth came flying down from the rooftops. Ghiyas-ad-Din spurred on his horse and escaped from that street to his own house. Sultan Jalal-ad-Din was at once informed of what had happened. The next morning he came in person to visit Malik Nusrat and ordered surgeons to be sent for. However the wound was beyond the powers of healing, just as the dagger had passed beyond the bone, and in a day or two's time he breathed his last. Sultan Jalal-ad-Din ordered all the emirs and chief men, as well as his soldiers, officials and servants and the people of Isfahan to go in mourning for him and don garments of sackcloth. Ghiyas-ad-Din out of shame for this unworthy act absented himself from attendance on his brother for a whole week, whereupon Sultan Jalal-ad-Din commanded him to be brought outside his audience-chamber and severely reprimanded through the mouths of the emirs. However, certain influential courtiers interceded on his behalf and brought him before the Sultan, his head hung down from excess of shame and too tongue-tied to offer excuses. Several days passed by, Ghiyas-ad-Din being filled with shame at his action and at the same time apprehensive of his brother. Then, when Tainal arrived at the gates of Isfahan and Sultan Jalal-ad-Din led out his army, he withdrew and made for Khuzistan by way of Lur, the reason for this step being his childishness and despondency. When he came to his kinsmen by marriage *(khusurān)*, Hazar-Asf and the other emirs, they received him with honour and respect, but from fear of hurt from the Sultan thought it in their best interest and in his own to send him away. He left his mother and his emirs in Tustar, and the Caliph having honoured him with many presents he set out for Alamut, where he remained for some time. ʿAla-ad-Din of Alamut welcomed him with every show of honour and respect and was constantly making him presents worthy of

[10] Nasawi (tr. Houdas, 235–6) gives a somewhat different account of Nusrat's murder.

such a prince. However, all of a sudden he judged it prudent [205] to decamp from Alamut without their knowledge and proceed to Khuzistan. He then sent a message to Baraq Hajib in Kerman to tell him of his position; and once again treaties were confirmed between them, and they made a rendezvous in the desert near Varkuh,[11] where Baraq was to receive Sultan Ghiyas-ad-Din when the latter should arrive there.

Baraq came to the trysting-place with a body of three to four thousand men and for two or three days he treated the Sultan with proper respect. However, the latter's following not amounting to 500 men, it then entered Baraq's head to marry the Sultan's mother. Rising above the station of his likes he sat on the same carpet with the Sultan and assigned places for his servants with one of the emirs. He began to address him in conversation as 'dearest child' and sent emissaries to seek his mother's hand. Perceiving how matters lay and having no means to prevent [events from taking their course], the Sultan left the decision to his mother. She for her part, after refusing, and denying, and showing many signs of fear and distress, gave way, and the marriage took place. And after much pressing, together with a number of her domestics she donned mail beneath her tunic [12] and entered [Baraq's] house, where the marriage was consummated. Now the spirit of Firdausi (may it be honoured with one of the perfumes of Paradise !) was perhaps describing these very circumstances in the verse:

> When the cypress disappears from its place, grass takes
> the place of that lofty cypress.[13]

And here is a most appropriate place to quote a verse by that elegant scholar Farid-ad-Din of Baihaq regarding a person who became vizier after Sharaf-al-Mulk,

> Raise thy head from the privy to see what he voided who
> sat in thy place.

When Ghiyas-ad-Din had come to the town and some days has passed, two of Baraq's kinsmen [206] approached him and

[11] Or Abarkūh, now Abarqūh. [12] I.e. concealed her real feelings.
[13] *Shahnama* ed. Mohl, VII, 80, l. 917, with *bāgh* 'garden' for the first *jāi* 'place'.

said: 'Baraq is not to be trusted. We have discovered an opportunity of making away with him. Thou art the Sultan and we are thy obedient slaves.' However the goodness of his nature and the purity of his character would not allow him to violate solemn covenants, nor the strength of his faith to break oaths; and he did nothing in this matter.

> Do not always give way to gentleness; knit thy brow when occasion demands.
> When thy object may not be gained by gentle means, in that case roughness is better than gentleness.

But the time having come for the decline of their house and the rise of a dynasty of rebels, one of Ghiyas-ad-Din's most confidential attendants privately informed Baraq of this matter, and he at once questioned both his own kinsmen and Ghiyas-ad-Din. They admitted to the conspiracy, and he first of all commanded his relations to be cut limb from limb that very hour in the presence of everybody and likewise gave orders for the detention of the Sultan and all who were connected with him. Then, a week or two later, they put a rope round the Sultan's neck to strangle him. He cried out: 'After all, did we not make a covenant not to plot against each other? How canst thou justify the breach of that covenant when there has been no hasty action?' His mother heard her son's voice and realized that he had placed his neck in the noose. In sorrow and compassion for her child she was unable to restrain herself and began to moan and wail. She too was strangled; and in the same manner they cast the whole of his army into the furnace of calamity, breaking their covenants, falsifying their oaths and throwing dust into the eyes of their good faith.

> [207] *They were content to—*[14] *what they lacked from ignorance,*
> *and fairness of speech comes from fairness of deed.*

How long, O circling Heavens, with your tricks and jugglery, how long with your tyranny and oppression will ye cast Sultans into the bonds of Satans, and make base churls lords over noble emirs, and cast kings into wells, and raise worthless persons from

[14] The text has ṢFAT (*ṣifāt*?).

the plank of abasement and set them upon the throne of honour ? And, O my wise but careless friend, take advice from these words that thou fall not into the bonds of imperious passion, and look at these happenings with the eye of attention, and draw back thy feet lest the gallows be the resting-place of thy head.

To know about this base world it is enough for thee [to see]
the elevation of slaves therein and the debasement of noble men.
Men of honour are under its shoes and
scabby wretches are upon its hump.
Against the arrows discharged by the thumb of Destiny there is no shield save the eyes and hearts of loved ones.
All the griefs and tribulations that appear from the heavens pass only by the wretched abode of the stranger.
Everyone enters a door at last when night comes—unhappy stranger who has not house or door !
The sigh which the exile heaves in his grief, there are no sparks in the nethermost pit like that sigh.
The tears which the stranger rains from his eyes are nought but bile and the blood of the liver.
See that thou sneer not at the case of strangers, for thou hast no knowledge of the griefstricken breast of strangers.

[XXIV]

[208] OF SULTAN RUKN-AD-DIN

WHEN Sultan Muhammad returned from Iraq he assigned that kingdom to his son Rukn-ad-Din, whose name was Ghur-Sanji,[1] together with equipage and accoutrement worthy of such a kingdom and such a Sultan, and [209] in his suite he dispatched 'Imad-al-Mulk of Sava to act as *atabeg* and administer the country. When Rukn-ad-Din reached Ray the local rulers in Iraq united in rebellion against him, and Sultan Muhammad sent Sharaf-ad-Din, the *amir-i-majlis,* who was a eunuch *(khādim),* with an army to his son's assistance. He attacked and defeated the enemy and took prisoner most of the emirs of Iraq. How-

[1] 'A colic to the Ghur.' (V.M.) According to Nasawi (tr. Houdas, 46) and Juzjani (Raverty, 281) he was given this name to commemorate his father's defeat of the Ghurid Shihab-ad-Din.

ever he did no harm to any of them but spared them all; and by restoring their power and sparing their lives of which they had lost hope he passed over the faults and errors of all and also allotted a fief or a province to each of them. Because of this kindness they all became loyal and cleansed their minds from contention.

When the news arrived that Sultan Muhammad had fled from Transoxiana, Rukn-ad-Din sent 'Imad-al-Mulk to him to attract him to Iraq by holding out hopes of assistance, and he himself went out to meet his father. However nothing could be achieved and, the Sultan having set out for Mazandaran, Rukn-ad-Din made for Kerman. With a small following he arrived in Guvashir,[2] where some of the troops of the *malik* of Zuzan had remained. At first they were overcome with fright and attempted to flee. Then recognizing that it was Sultan Rukn-ad-Din they hastened to pay their respects; and people approached him out of every corner. He opened the treasury of the *malik* of Zuzan and gave its contents to the troops. And from thence he again set out for Iraq.

Upon his arrival in Isfahan there collected around him scattered groups of soldiers and isolated commanders, and so he gathered strength. [210] However the cadi of Isfahan felt insecure and held aloof, behaving with caution and circumspection. Sultan Rukn-ad-Din for his part thought it best not to remain inside the town: he departed and pitched his tents outside. However, the troops were constantly coming and going, and the populace, on the cadi's orders, raised a tumult and rained down stones and arrows from the rooftops. Nearly a thousand men were killed or wounded, and Rukn-ad-Din's troops for their part slew large numbers of the townspeople. On this account Rukn-ad-Din left Isfahan for Ray, where he remained for two months. When the Mongol army, led by . . .,[3] again arrived he departed to the castle of Firuzkuh.[4] The

[2] I.e. the town of Kerman. See above, p. 417, n. 22.

[3] There is a blank in A and B.

[4] According to Nasawi (tr. Houdas, 119) Ustūnāvand, which like Fīrūzkūh was a famous stronghold in the Damavand region.

Mongols laid siege to it and after five or six months forced him to come down with all the people of the castle. For all their pressure he refused to kneel on the ground in fealty; and finally they put him to death together with all his followers and the garrison of the castle.

When are these tricks which Fate produces time and again from under the juggler's cup of the Heavens with such legerdemain that her hand cannot be seen? Or without interposing her hand she sets that poison-tasting cup in the hand [of her victim], and no opportunity is afforded to cast the dice again *(dast bar dast)*. O friend, this affair is beyond remedy. Lay not thy finger on it lest thou suffer harm. Plant thy foot firmly in the centre of resignation and trust in God that thou fall not. And step not forward lest thy foot be caught.

[XXV]

OF BARAQ HAJIB AND THE CONQUEST OF THE REGION OF KERMAN

BARAQ HAJIB and his brother, Khamid-Bur,[1] were from Qara-Khitai, and during the reign of the Khan of Qara-Khitai Khamid-Bur was sent on various embassies to the Sultan. When Tayangu of Taraz was taken prisoner they were brought with him and attained to favour in the Sultan's service: Khamid-Bur gradually became an emir and Baraq was appointed a *hajib*. When the Sultan was going to Transoxiana he left Khamid-Bur in Bokhara with several thousand men: at the beginning of the interregnum he too passed away. As for Baraq he went to Ghiyas-ad-Din in Iraq and entered his service, becoming one of his chief emirs and receiving the title of *qutlugh-khan*. After the corroboration of covenants and oaths Ghiyas-ad-Din appointed him commander of Isfahan.

When news arrived of the approach of a Mongol army led by Tolan Cherbi[2] he sought Ghiyas-ad-Din's permission to

[1] See above, i, 103, n. 17.

[2] TWLAN JRBY. The Tolun Cherbi of the *Secret History* and Rashid-ad-Din. He belonged to the Qongqotan tribe and according to Rashid-ad-

[212] go to Isfahan and then proceed to India with his followers by way of Kerman. When he came to Jiruft [3] and Kamadi [4] the young men in the castle of Juvashir prevailed upon Shujaʿ-ad-Din Abul-Qasim to pursue and attack them and carry off Khitayan slaves. Between five and six thousand men set out regarding them as so much quarry, nay considering them a table set for dining. And when this host drew near, Baraq Hajib and his men realized that the moment had arrived; and he ordered the women also to put on men's clothes and prepare for battle. The enemy divided into four groups and attacked from four sides. A detachment of Turks in Shujaʿ-ad-Din's force went over to Baraq on account of their racial affinity. Nearby were two walled villages *(ḥiṣār)*, one called Harq [5] and the other ʿAbbasi. Shujaʿ-ad-Din's men made for these villages in order to take refuge therein. Baraq's Turks charged down upon them like the flashing lightning that cleaves the clouds and separated the Taziks from one another, leaving many of them dead on the plain. Shujaʿ-ad-Din with some of his men took refuge in the walled village. They were besieged for a day or two and having no stores came out of the village. Shujaʿ-ad-Din was made prisoner and placed in heavy chains; and Baraq Hajib then turned back and went to Juvashir. Shujaʿ-ad-Din was brought in his chains to the gates of the town *(ḥiṣār)* that his son might ransom his life by surrendering the castle. The son ignored him, and he was put to death; and they began to lay siege to both the town and the castle.

A sentinel deserted from the castle [and said] [213] that he

Din (Khetagurov, 168) was, like Sögetü (see above, i, 91, n. 2), a brother of the shaman Teb-Tengri. With Sögetü he was among the first five officers appointed to the post of *cherbi*. See the *Secret History*, §191, Grousset, *L'Empire Mongol*, 158. After fighting at Gurganj and in Afghanistan (see Barthold, *Turkestan*, 433 and 442) he had taken part in the final campaign against the Tangut and, according to the *Secret History*, § 267, had been responsible for the execution of the ruler of that people. See Grousset, *op. cit.*, 279–80, and cf. Rashid-ad-Din tr. Smirnova, 233.

[3] The ruins of Jīruft are known as Shahr-i-Daqiyānūs, 'the Town of the Emperor Decius'. See le Strange, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, 314–15.

[4] Kamādī, the Camadi of Marco Polo, was a suburb of Jīruft.

[5] ḤRQ. The spelling is quite uncertain.

would show them an unguarded route to it and introduce their army into it by this route. Baraq encouraged him with many promises but cautiously did not place full confidence in his words and asked for a written undertaking. The next night the man went to the castle and secretly brought down a girl *(sar-pūshīda)* [6] that he had there and took the men up by the route he had mentioned. At dawn they beat their drums and raised a yell, seized the castle and flung open the gates. Baraq sent his heavy baggage there the same day; and they then laid siege to Shuja'-ad-Din's son who was in the town *(ḥiṣār)*.

Suddenly there came news of Jalal-ad-Din's approaching from the direction of India. Baraq Hajib sent refreshments of every kind on in advance and then hastened to present himself in person and to offer the Sultan the hand of one of his daughters. When the Sultan arrived and his marriage with Baraq's daughter had been solemnized, he sent messengers to Shuja'-ad-Din's son to announce his arrival and summon him to his presence. He replied that he would not trust them till he saw the Sultan's parasol with his own eyes. The Sultan rode in person in front of the town *(ḥiṣār)* and he at once prepared to hasten to his presence sending presents of every kind on in advance. He then took a sword and donned a shroud and waited upon the Sultan. He was viewed with the eye of favour and indulgence, and the Sultan entered the town.

Baraq accompanied the Sultan into the town. One day the latter went out hunting with the greater part of his followers but Baraq refused to leave the town on the pretext of being ill. The Sultan realized that he had remained behind in order to plan rebellion; and wishing to test him he sent a messenger to summon him to his presence for the purpose of consultation on matters of importance. Baraq replied that he had conquered those territories with the sword and that they were not the place for a royal residence. Those strongholds would need to be in safe hands, and he was an old servant and by meritorious services [214] had acquired rights. He was now advanced in years and had no longer the strength to move about. It was his intention

[6] Lit. 'one whose head is covered'. The meaning is not certain.

to pray for the Sultan's august house in that castle and if the Sultan wished to enter it would not be possible.

Being pressed for time the Sultan sent a conciliatory reply and then set out for Shiraz.

Baraq Hajib consolidated his position. He seized all that region and became possessed of great stores of equipment. After putting to death Sultan Ghiyas-ad-Din who had sought his aid and protection—

> *Like one who appeals to the fire to shield him from the scorching earth—*[7]

he sent a messenger to the Commander of the Faithful to announce his conversion to Islam and to beg that he might be honoured with the title of Sultan. His request was granted and he was accorded the honour of being addressed as *qutlugh-sultan*. And so his power increased daily and his troops and following grew in number until the time when the emirs who were laying siege to Sistan [8] under the command of Tayir Bahadur sent a messenger to him calling upon him to tender submission and asking for troops and assistance. Now Baraq Hajib was a shrewd man and he realized that the power was now in the hands of the seed of Chingiz-Khan. His reception of the messengers therefore was to accept their command and to submit himself thereto and by humbling himself to seek protection from the suffering of calamities. He replied that he would deal with Sistan with his own men without incommoding the Mongol army; but that being himself advanced in years and no longer capable of travel he would send his son to attend at Court. He made preparations as he had said and in the year . . .[9] dispatched Rukn-ad-Din Khoja Mubarak to Qa'an.

[7] The second half of a famous line quoted in the story of the War of Baṣūṣ. (M.Q.) On this war of the pre-Islamic Bedouin see Nicholson, *A Literary History of the Arabs*, 55–60.

[8] Perhaps Zaranj, the capital of Sistan, is meant. See le Strange, *op. cit.*, 335.

[9] There is a blank in most MSS. According to the *Ta'rīkh-i-Guzīda*, etc., Baraq died in Zul-Qa'da, 632 [July–August, 1235], and since Rukn-ad-Din had not yet reached the *ordu* of Ögedei when he learnt of his father's death, his departure for the *ordu* must have taken place during the same year, viz. 632, or a little earlier. (M.Q.)

Rukn-ad-Din had not yet reached his destination [215] when he received news of his father's death and the assumption of the government of Kerman by his cousin on his father's side, Qutb-ad-Din. However, he did not halt until he had arrived at Court. Qa'an, as was his natural wont, showed him all kinds of favours, and because he had been the first to reach Court and behold the face of the Emperor he gave him the kingdom of Kerman and issued a *yarligh* conferring upon him his father's title of *qutlugh-sultan*. Chinqai was made his tutor and orders were given that Qutb-ad-Din should present himself at Court and wait upon the Emperor. When Rukn-ad-Din returned Qutb-ad-Din set out with his heavy baggage. Taking the road to Khavis [10] he came to Zuzan, from whence he proceeded to Court. He remained for a time in attendance [on Qa'an] and then orders were given that he should go to Khitai and join the service of Mahmud Yalavach. In obedience to these orders he resided for a considerable time with Yalavach, who viewed him with a father's eye, treating him with honour and respecting his rank.

When Güyük Khan's *quriltai* was held Qutb-ad-Din Sultan also attended and wished to resume the rule of the sultanate. But Chinqai, being the tutor of the *qutlugh-sultan* Rukn-ad-Din, prevented this and orders were given that he should still—as previously at Qa'an's command—remain in attendance upon the Minister *(ṣāḥib)* Yalavach, and that Sultan Rukn-ad-Din should continue in the position to which he had been appointed.

Rukn-ad-Din therefore still held the territory of Kerman and delivered the tribute that had been fixed in *balish* and camels to the emirs appointed to receive it until [216] the throne of the Empire was honoured by the accession of Mengü Qa'an. Qutb-ad-Din then proceeded to Court in the company of the Minister Yalavach, and Mengü Qa'an received him kindly and granted him many favours. He bestowed the sultanate of that region [11] upon him and sent a Mongol to accompany him as

[10] Khavīṣ or Khabīṣ (the usual spelling), now Shāh-Dād, to the east of Kerman on the edge of the Dasht-i-Lūt.

[11] I.e. Kerman.

basqaq. When they reached Herat Qutb-ad-Din sent messengers on in advance to Rukn-ad-Din to inform him of the favour shown him by the Emperor of the World and to summon him to listen to the *yarligh*.

Rukn-ad-Din realized that times had changed. He sent back the messengers and in Ramazan of the year 650 [December 1252—January 1253] removed such of his goods as he could and accompanied by those of his following who had reason to fear Qutb-ad-Din, set out for Luristan. From Yezd he was joined by his sister's son 'Ala-ad-Daula [12] accompanied by his mother; and it was reported that they were making for Baghdad and had sent a message to the Commander of the Faithful . . .[13] However they did not know what course to follow, for if [the Caliph] should admit them their relations [with Mengü Qa'an] might become even worse. Accordingly Rukn-ad-Din left the greater part of his baggage in Luristan and set out in person for Court. When he reached Girdkuh, the animals having been turned loose to fodder in the cornfields in the middle of the day, the Heretics sent a party of men to catch them unawares during the siesta while their horses were grazing and to cause them to taste the drink of destruction. [217] Rukn-ad-Din was awake, and when that band of wretches arrived he mounted horse together with some five or six persons whose horses were saddled and fought with great vigour until his companions had got on their horses and joined him; when they slew the greater part of the Heretics and went their way. The next day Buqa came up, and because of this battle he held Rukn-ad-Din in high esteem and treated him with great respect. And from thence he proceeded to the Court of the World-Emperor Mengü Qa'an. (I chanced to meet him whilst in Almaligh in Ramazan, 651 [October–November, 1253] when returning from the great *ordu* of Mengü Qa'an: the traces of fear and dread prevailed upon him, and the lights of fortune and prosperity had deserted him.)

[12] The future *atabeg* of Yezd (670/1271–2—*circa* 685/1286–7). See Zambaur, *Manuel de généalogie et de chronologie pour l'histoire de l'Islam*, 231.

[13] A and B have a blank for the name of a Caliph. C has—wrongly—an-Nasir li-Din-Allah. The ruling Caliph at that time was al-Musta'sim billah. (M.Q.)

When he reached Mengü Qa'an there came a message from Qutb-ad-Din to report on his proceeding in the direction of Baghdad; and Qutb-ad-Din followed in person. They were both of them questioned and in the end Rukn-ad-Din was handed over to Qutb-ad-Din to execute what Fate and Destiny had pre-ordained for him; and he put him to the sword of annihilation. Qutb-ad-Din now thought the kingdom of Kerman to be cleansed of the stain of tyranny and considered Fortune, contrary to her wont, to be a faithful mistress. Arriving at his capital and having subdued all the surrounding territories he had on several occasions visited the Court of Hülegü and had been distinguished by all manner of favours, [218] when suddenly Death charged out from the ambush of Fortune and in the year 656/1258 he passed away.

If thou hast rested in comfort all thy life
And tasted the pleasures of the world all thy life,
Yet in the end thou must depart and then
'Tis but a dream thou hast dreamt all thy life.

[XXVI]

OF CHIN-TEMÜR AND HIS GOVERNORSHIP OF KHORASAN AND MAZANDARAN

THE first emir to be appointed governor of Khorasan and Mazandaran was Chin-Temür, who was by origin a Qara-Khitayan [1] and had been made *basqaq* of Khorazm by Tushi at the time when that place was conquered. When the World-Emperor Qa'an appointed Chormaghun to the Fourth Clime [2] he issued a *yarligh* that the leaders and *basqaqs* on every side should accompany the levy and render assistance to Chormaghun; and

[1] See above, i, 88, n. 7.

[2] 'The FOURTH CLIME begins in the East and runs across the lands of Tibet, then Khorasan and Transoxiana, the territories of 'Irāq and Daylam, some of the lands of Syria and Rūm, then it cuts through the Syrian Sea, the islands of Cyprus and Rhodes, and the lands of Maghrib, and runs through the territory of Ṭanja (Tanger) to end in the Sea of Maghrib.' (Marvazi, 13–14.) The Moslem geographers followed the Greeks in dividing the earth into seven climes. See Marvazi, *loc. cit.*, and Minorsky's Commentary, 63–4.

Chin-Temür set out from Khorazm by way of Shahristana and at the same time placed at Chormaghun's disposal other emirs representing the princes. So too Chormaghun placed at his disposal an emir to represent every prince and prince's son, Kül-Bolat [3] representing Qa'an, Nosal [4] Batu, Qizil-Buqa [5] [219] Chaghatai and Yeke [6] Sorqotani Beki. At that time Körgüz [7] was a member of Chin-Temür's following, in which he gradually attained to the office of chamberlain.

Chin-Temür called upon all the territories that lay across his path to submit—places such as Yazir, Nisa, Kukrukh [8] and Jaristan;[9] and by a show of kindness he brought them into the noose of obedience: some that rebelled he attacked and reduced by force of arms.

Chormaghun had left Khorasan in a state of turmoil. Some places he had taken and set *basqaqs* over them, while others had not yet thrust their necks into the collar of submission. Rebels and Turks would appear on every side and cast confusion amongst the people; and the scum and rabble *(runūd va aubāsh)* would gain the upper hand so that an area which had been pacified and subdued would relapse into chaos because of these troubles and disturbances. Thus Qaracha and Yaghan-Sonqur, two of Sultan Jalal-ad-Din's emirs, used to make raids on Nishapur and its dependencies; and since men's minds were still [220] exercised by reports about the Sultan there was no peace in that

[3] KLBLAT, for which Rashid-ad-Din (Berezin, VII, 150) has KWL BLAT. The name means 'Glorious Steel'. He was a Naiman according to Rashid-ad-Din (Berezin, *loc. cit.*, Khetagurov, 142).

[4] On Nosal see below, Chapter XXVII, and on the spelling of his name Pelliot, *Horde d'Or*, 54–5.

[5] 'Red Bull.'

[6] Reading YYKH for the YYKH of the text. *yeke* in Mongol means 'great'.

[7] On Körgüz see below, Chapters XXVIII and XXIX. On a later Körgüz (the name is the Turkish form of George), the son-in-law of Qubilai's grandson and successor, Temür Öljeitü (1295–1307), see Grousset, *L'Empire des Steppes*, 362 and 371.

[8] Kūkrūkh or Kū-Kurūkh. There is a Kurukh in North-Western Afghanistan. (V.M.)

[9] The vowel of the first syllable is uncertain. Tabari, II, 1605–13, speaks of a JRYSTAN in Southern Gūzgān where, in 120/783 the Arabs defeated the Turkish Khaqan. (V.M.)

region. An emir would suddenly appear in a district and build a castle on a hilltop. That man would attack this, and this man seize and kill that; and the *basqaqs* set up everywhere by Chormaghun were slain by Qaracha and his Turks, who used to lay hands on everyone who breathed the breath of submission to the Mongols.

It was on this account that Chin-Temür sent Kül-Bolat to Nishapur to put an end to Qaracha. My father together with some of the notables and leading men recited the verse of flight from that town and left for Tus. Now at that time there was a person from the inner town of Tus called Taj-ad-Din Farizani [10] who outdid all the unbelievers in massacring and treachery and who had seized a castle in Tus. When my father and the leading men arrived there, they sent a trustworthy person to him to announce their presence and to inquire about asylum, for *'a drowning man hangs on to anything'*. He encouraged them with false promises, and relying on his insincere word they set out and came to that castle.

> *He that in his distress seeks the protection of 'Amr is like one that seeks the protection of fire from the scorching earth.*[11]

When Kül-Bolat came back after routing Qaracha he heard of the departure of these people and sent a messenger to Farizani to demand their return. The latter dispatched them to him thinking that Kül-Bolat would put them to death. Instead he welcomed my father and the chief men with every kind of attention, and my father composed a *qit'a* on the subject to the following effect:

> *I arrived on an embassy to Farizani, whose acts speak of the feebleness of his intellect:*
> *His discourse is base and full of vileness: it is beneath the dignity of narrators [to relate] even what is easiest to relate.*

[10] Reading Farīzanī for the Farīzana'ī of the text, which below (as B, C and E here) has Farīzanī. According to Yaqut Farīzan was a village just outside Herat.

[11] This is the whole of the line of which the second half is quoted above, II, 214 [ii, 479]. (M.Q.)

[221] When news of all this confusion and unrest reached Qa'an rage flared up in his nature to such an extent that he commanded Tayir Bahadur to lead an army from Badghis and deal with Qaracha: such as had [hitherto] escaped the sword were to be cast upon the wind of annihilation, no one was to be left alive in the lands of Khorasan and their dwellings and habitations were to be flooded with water so that no remains or trace thereof might survive. This is a well-known proverb: 'The wolf must be taught to sew, but he can tear very well already.' And in this very fashion the [Mongol] army was to seek slaughter and rapine [even] in the earth: and so with the speed of fire they went forth from Badghis.

They had proceeded half way when news reached Tayir Bahadur that Kül-Bolat had routed Qaracha and driven him out of Khorasan; and that he had now departed to Sistan,[12] where he had made the citadel his stronghold. Tayir Bahadur proceeded thither and laid siege to the town; but it took nearly two years of toil and fatigue before he captured it. He then sent messengers from Sistan to Chin-Temür to say that the administration of Khorasan had by virtue of a *yarligh* of Qa'an been vested in him and that Chin-Temür should relax his control thereof. Chin-Temür replied that the report of a revolt by the people of Khorasan was false and that there had been motives of self-interest in the presentation of this report. How, for the sins of Qaracha, could so many lands and peoples be made to drink the draught of annihilation and a province which had taken years of toil and trouble to make some little recovery be needlessly destroyed a second time? He too would send a messenger to report on the situation and the matter would be dealt with in accordance with the orders received. But in the meanwhile he, Chin-Temür, would allow no harm to be done to anyone of the people of those parts. Tayir's ambassadors returned angry and disappointed.

Chormaghun, for his part, had sent messengers to summon Chin-Temür and the aforementioned emirs to join him with their armies and to leave Khorasan and Mazandaran to Tayir

[12] See above, p. 479, n. 8.

Bahadur. But how shall one who has for a day been an emir [222] again become an underling ? How shall a man who has been in charge of important affairs submit to the performance of menial tasks ? And how shall the master become the servant ? Chin-Temür consulted his friends and confidants as to how this blow might be warded off, and it was agreed that Kül-Bolat, who was one of the confidential attendants on the Emperor of the Face of the Earth, should go [to Court] taking with him some of the emirs of Khorasan who had already submitted. In the meantime the late *malik,* Baha-ad-Din of Su'luk,[13] had sent down his brother from the castle and made his submission conditional upon his being sent to Qa'an when he came out of the castle. This fitted in with their own plans. Chin-Temür returned from Mazandaran, and most places in Khorasan, hearing of the submission of the emirs of Su'luk, themselves also tendered submission, while those whose skirt had been plucked by Death and who did not come forward, were utterly wiped out. And when the *malik* Nizam-ad-Din [14] arrived back at the castle, the *malik* Baha-ad-Din set out on his journey. When he came to Chin-Temür the latter showed him every kind of honour; and from Mazandaran there was designated the *isfahbad* Nusrat-ad-Din of Kabud-Jama;[15] and they left for Court together in the company of Kül-Bolat. (These events took place in the year 630/1232–3.) Since these two were the first to present themselves from the lands to the west of Transoxiana, Qa'an was greatly delighted and ordered feasts to be held and banquets to go on for days on end. And on this account he distinguished Chin-Temür and Kül-Bolat with all manner of favours, saying: 'During all this time since Chormaghun went and conquered so many great countries he has sent no *malik* to us, whereas Chin-Temür, though his territory be of small extent and his resources few, has served us thus. We approve of him and have placed the governorship of Khorasan and Mazandaran firmly in his hands. Let Chor-

[13] On the castle of Ṣu'lūk to the north of Isfarayin, see above, i, 155, n. 7.
[14] Evidently the brother of the *malik* Baha-ad-Din mentioned above. (M.Q.)
[15] See above, i, 351, n. 3.

maghun and the other emirs [223] relax their hold thereon.' And he made Kül-Bolat Chin-Temür's partner in command and conferred upon the *isfahbad* the rank of *malik* over all the territory from the frontier of Kabud-Jama to beyond Astarabad, at the same time appointing the *malik* Baha-ad-Din *malik* of Khorasan, [i.e., of][16] Isfarayin, Juvain, Jajarm, Jurbad [17] and Arghiyan,[18] of which places Khorasan then consisted.[19] He gave them each a golden *paiza* and a mandate with an *al-tamgha*; and he showed mercy and compassion to the people of Khorasan and spared the survivors. And by the grace of God—for *'the mercy which God layeth open for man, no one can keep back'* [20]—Khorasan, through the care and solicitude of Chin-Temür and by reason of the submission of the late lamented *malik* Baha-ad-Din, remained secure from the blows of Fate; and such few people as had escaped by the fleetness of their feet from a thousand calamities and had by a thousand toils and trials saved their heads from the sword, in hope of life now submitted themselves to the will of Destiny and bowed their necks to the strokes of the revolving Heavens.

Chin-Temür, being now confirmed in his office by the *yarligh*, appointed Sharaf-ad-Din,[21] on account of his seniority, to be vizier representing Batu. He likewise appointed my father *sahib-divan*; and each of the other emirs sent a *bitikchi* to the Divan to represent the princes. Having restored the Divan to a fairly flourishing condition he deputed Körgüz to go on an embassy to the Court of Qa'an accompanied by my father. He [22] left the late Nizam-ad-Din as his deputy in the Divan and set out on the journey. When he [23] came to Qa'an, the latter, upon learning who they each were, questioned Körgüz about the state

[16] The text has *va* 'and', for which in B there has been substituted by a later hand *khuṣūṣan* 'especially'.

[17] Jūrbad, according to Yaqut, was a village in the Isfarayin district.

[18] Arghiyān was the district around Jajarm.

[19] What is meant perhaps is that only this region, in the extreme north-west of Khorasan, was not still lying desolate as the result of the Mongol invasion.

[20] Koran, xxv, 2.

[21] On Sharaf-ad-Din see below, Chapter XXXII.

[22] I.e. Juvaini's father. (M.Q.)

[23] I.e. apparently Körgüz.

of the province. He gave his report in accordance with the Emperor's taste; and Qa'an approved both the manner and the matter of his statement. He also showed favour to my father and gave him a *paiza* and a *yarligh* with an *al-tamgha*. [224] He likewise conferred on him the rank of *sahib-divan* of the lands *(mamālik)*; and my father was distinguished with further marks of his condescension and kindness.

When they returned from the *ordu* with their wishes gratified Chin-Temür had passed away with his hopes of rank and wealth disappointed. His death occurred in the year 633/1235–6.

[XXVII]

OF NOSAL

WHEN Chin-Temür had passed away a message was sent to report his death to the World-Emperor Qa'an, and the decree was issued that Nosal, an aged Mongol [1] more than a hundred years old, should succeed him as emir. By virtue of that decree the emirs, the scribes in the Divans and the ministers *(aṣḥāb)* transferred themselves from Chin-Temür's house to Nosal's encampment, where the business of the Divan was again taken up. Sharaf-ad-Din departed to the Court of Batu, and Körgüz, as usual, travelled to and fro [between the various *ordus*].

It was at this juncture that the *malik* Baha-ad-Din again set out for the Court of Qa'an together with Mahmud Shah of Sabzavar on account of a dispute in which they were involved regarding Baihaq and also for other reasons. Baha-ad-Din laid his case before Qa'an, who decreed that as no adversary was present a definite decision could not be reached in the matter. He should therefore go back again in order to return accompanied by his adversaries so that the case might be fully investigated. And again a *yarligh* was issued and communicated through the *malik* Baha-ad-Din regarding my father and the confirmation of his office.

When the *malik* Baha-ad-Din arrived back and they heard the

[1] He actually belonged to the Tübe'üt clan of the Kereit. See Rashid-ad-Din tr. Khetagurov, 141, also Pelliot, *Horde d'Or*, 54–5.

terms of the *yarligh,* Nosal and Kül-Bolat were not pleased that Körgüz had been sent for. When the latter set off [225] Nosal remained in office, but when he returned, the control and administration of the province was taken away from him and he contented himself with the command of the army until the year 637/1239–40, when he too followed his other friends to the place from which there is no returning.

[XXVIII]

OF KÖRGÜZ

His birthplace was a small village four parasangs from Besh-Baligh called Barligh [1] in the western part of the Uighur country on the route followed by travellers through that region. In the year 651/1253–4, when returning from the *ordu* of the World-Emperor Mengü Qa'an we rested for a while in this place by way of siesta and I recalled to mind something that had been effaced from the page of my memory, viz. a single *bait* which the late Nizam-ad-Din 'Ali as-Sadid of Baihaq had composed and recited to me *à propos* of Körgüz when passing through that village:

In the morning we halted in the church of Barligh; it
became clear to me that men *come from villages.*

And then, in that very moment, I added to that *bait,* which was the expression of his inner conviction, other verses in the same metre although not equal to it:

And I knew of a certainty that a man rises by his endeavour
and resolve: 'the generous man, if he be generous . . .' [2]
And his good stock will not avail an ignoramus if he descend
from a high mountain.
Therefore strive to attain glory and deep-rooted honour and
be not garrulous—a judgement has already been passed.

[1] Reading BRLYT with E for the YRLYT of the text. It is the Bārlugh of the *Ḥudūd,* 94, which, as Minorsky surmised, *ibid.,* 272, lay to the west of Besh-Balīgh.

[2] For the whole of the *bait* of which the first half is here quoted see above, i, 275.

[226] *And if he attain to the eminence to which he had aspired, that is a young tree whose time has come to bear fruit.*
And if he be disappointed of what he had hoped for, and his desires deceive—for Fate is cruel to mankind—
The husbandman is excused if his field be well sown but the rains miss it and it is not watered thereby;
And the warrior is excused on the battle-field if his colt stumble among the ranks.
Therefore bestir thyself so that no reproacher may reproach thee, though the Lord of Creation decree that which was preordained.

I questioned the inhabitants of the village about his parentage. They said that his father was a man of the people who had died while Körgüz was still a child. He was left with no one but a step-mother, who on account of the tenderness of his age and his impoverished state paid no attention to him. When some time had passed since his father's death her hand was sought by a stranger who was about to marry her when Körgüz approached the *idi-qut* and recounted the circumstances of the case. It is the custom of the Mongols and Uighur for the son to have authority over his father's wife and to marry her; and the *idi-qut* now enforced the ancient custom. However, Körgüz afterwards renounced his right taking only a little property and allowing a stranger to obtain her hand. He then concerned himself with learning the Uighur script in which he soon became skilled. Having conceived a lofty ambition he refused to be satisfied with the baseness of contentment and the shame of lowliness. But the cloak of his wealth was not large enough for him to escape therein from the land of distress nor had he the wherewithal to [227] procure the provisions for a journey. He had no connection to whose skirt he might cling, nor a kinsman to save him from the privations of poverty, nor a friend to assist and support him by means of a gift or loan.

I was prevented from enduring oppression by the range of my ambition, and the level of my hopes, and the plane of my recreation.

In this grievous predicament his cousin on his father's side

called Besh-Qulach [3] was intermediary on his behalf with a cultivator, from whom Körgüz borrowed the price of a horse giving his cousin's person as bond.[4] He purchased a horse and set out for the *ordu* of Batu.[5] Upon arriving there he joined the service of one of the emirs of the Court, being appointed a herdsman. Some little time elapsed and Körgüz having shown signs of his ability in that employment he was taken from it by the emir to wait upon his person. Time went by and he became a favourite. When he had gone on a hunt with his emir in attendance on Tushi a *yarligh* arrived from the Court of Chingiz-Khan, the contents of which were matter for pleasure and rejoicing. None of the secretaries being present to read the *yarligh* a search was made among the attendants for someone who knew the [Uighur] script. Körgüz was pointed out and he was taken before Tushi. He read out the *yarligh* observing the requisite etiquette in a manner not to be expected from the likes of a stirrup-holder *(rikābī)* or outside servant *(bīrūnī)*. His manner and delivery pleased Tushi, who ordered him to be enrolled among the secretaries. By showing respect to the emirs and fulfilling the requirements of etiquette and service he grew [in influence] and the signs of prosperity became daily more apparent upon his affairs. Becoming famous for his skill in writing and his eloquence he was appointed to instruct the Mongol children. And when Chin-Temür was deputed to be *basqaq* of Urganch he was sent to accompany him. He remained in attendance on him and displayed his ability and intelligence in the tasks entrusted to him [228] until he enjoyed his full confidence and attained to the rank of chamberlain and deputy to Chin-Temür himself. The latter sent him to wait upon Qa'an, and when Qa'an questioned him about himself, his replies pleased him and those present were filled with wonder thereat. The talk came round to the subject of the districts of Khorasan and Qa'an asked him about the spring, summer and

[3] BYŠ QLAǰ. Lit. 'Five Fathom'.

[4] On the practice of mortgaging one's own person see the Uighur documents in Radloff and Malov, *Uigburische Sprachdenkmäler.* (V.M.)

[5] Though, as appears from the sequel, Batu's father Tushi (Jöchi) was still alive.

winter pastures. He answered as follows: 'The servants of the Emperor's realm live in comfort and luxury, and the bird of their hearts flies over the horizon of well-being. The winter retreats are like the season of spring, each with every kind of narcissus and fragrant herb like the pleasance on high; and the mountains in summer are equal to the Garden of Paradise with every kind and variety of blessing and the songs of all manner of birds singing in unison.' When he spoke in this fashion displaying his language in the garb of praise and thanksgiving, the reliance of Qa'an upon his counsel, sagacity, intelligence and ability increased, and the Emir Chinqai also, because Körgüz was an Uighur [6] and had sought his protection as soon as he arrived at the Court of Qa'an, supported the latter's words when he showed favour to Körgüz. And so Körgüz departed loaded with honours *(soyurghamishī va navākht)*.

His arrival in Khorasan coincided with the death of Chin-Temür. He was succeeded by Nosal, on whom Körgüz continued to be in regular attendance until the *malik* Baha-ad-Din arrived from the Court of Qa'an to deliver the decree that he was to be sent to report on the affairs of Khorasan. Nosal and Kül-Bolat were unwilling for him to go for they guessed from his actions that if he again went to Court the verdure of their livelihood would wither away and the food of their lives be rendered noxious by his presence. As for Körgüz himself he had been thinking how he might find a way of getting himself to the *ordu*. Having now this opportunity he began to make preparations. One day, at this juncture, he went for my father, the *sahib-divan*, and said: 'Fortune is like a bird. No one knows on which branch it will alight. I will make the endeavour and find out [229] exactly what has been preordained and what is required by the revolution of the heavens.'

In the end Nosal and Kül-Bolat were obliged to agree to his going, and the *malik* Baha-ad-Din with Mahmud Shah and some of the leading men of Khorasan accompanied him. They spoke of the taxation, assessment and census of the provinces,

[6] The inference would seem to be that Chinqai too was an Uighur, but see Waley, *The Travels of an Alchemist*, 36–8.

especially Khorasan and Mazandaran, and of the arrears that were still outstanding. Though Chinqai favoured Körgüz, Danishmand Hajib and certain others wished to settle the authority on Chin-Temür's son. When the chief men of Khorasan were present and Körgüz also, Chinqai, who favoured his cause, waited for the opportunity of a private word [with Qa'an] and said: 'The chief men of Khorasan wish to have Körgüz.' Qa'an replied 'Perhaps then a *yarligh* may be written for him saying that as an experiment we have sent him to try to ascertain *(istikhrāj)* the extent of the produce of so many years and of the amount held back by each person; he is also to carry out a census; and no one is to interfere with him. When he returns if he has done his task well we shall know what to do.'

Upon obtaining this mandate Körgüz left the *ordu* like a hawk pouncing out of the sky and in a short time arrived in Khorasan and Mazandaran, where he caused the *yarligh* to be proclaimed. Then, forcing the secretaries and office-holders to come to him he busied himself with the work of government. As for Nosal, he was a simple man, decrepit with age and incapable of holding his own in a controversy; and if Kül-Bolat, who was a shrewd and experienced man, tried to make some objection, Körgüz would thrust the *yarligh* in his face and say: 'The decree says that no one is to interfere in my work. How then canst thou have any say in the matter?' It was a peremptory reply, and Kül-Bolat desisted from what he was doing. As for Nosal, although by the terms of the *yarligh* he had been dismissed, he was not removed from office.

Körgüz restored the affairs of Khorasan and Mazandaran to order and gave protection to property. From all sides he collected presents worthy of the Emperor. He carried out a new census and re-assessed the taxes. [230] He founded workshops and spread justice and equity amongst the people. No mortal could now touch water without rendering account and the covetousness of profiteers was disappointed. The capable and wise were distinguished from the foolish and ignorant; and the hope was born that the land might flourish [once again].

Sharaf-ad-Din had now arrived from the *ordu* of Batu. With Körgüz in power he and certain others were left without any authority, and some of them, as ministers of Chin-Temür, had actually been bound in the shackles of dismissal. They therefore worked upon Edgü-Temür,[7] the eldest son of Chin-Temür, saying that the office of the father should fall to the son, and that if he refrained from seeking the governorship now it would be difficult to dislodge Körgüz later when he was more firmly established. Edgü-Temür should seize the initiative before Körgüz had strengthened his position in the country and report his activities to the Court of Qa'an. Accordingly Edgü-Temür nominated Tonquz [8] and sent him to Court to make all sorts of false and slanderous charges. Certain persons, who were striving to discredit Chinqai, availed themselves of an occasion when he was absent to report these charges to Qa'an, and as a result the Emir Arghun, Qurbaqa [9] and Shams-ad-Din Kamargar were deputed to investigate [231] the matter.

When Körgüz learnt of the sending of a messenger he too made ready and set out [for Court] having appointed my father the *sahib-divan* to deputize for him as governor of the countries under his command. Upon reaching Fanakat he was met by the messengers who had come to investigate the position. When Körgüz refused to turn back at their suggestion Tonquz started a brawl with him and behaved in such a manner that they grappled with each other and he broke Körgüz's teeth. In the night Körgüz sent his blood-stained clothes by the hand of Temür to be shown at Court. Then, of necessity, he turned back. When he reached his house all the Mongol emirs, such as Kül-Bolat, Edgü-Temür and Nosal, gathered together and with clubs drove the *bitikchis, maliks* and ministers *(aṣḥāb)* out of Körgüz's house and took them to their own encampments, where they began the investigation.

Körgüz, while awaiting the return of Temür Elchi,[10] played

[7] 'Good Iron.' [8] 'Pig.'

[9] On his name see above, i, 243, n. 11.

[10] I.e. Temür the Messenger, the Temür just mentioned as having been sent by Körgüz to Ögedei.

for time and gave evasive answers, but some of the more foolhardy people from Mazandaran and elsewhere, disregarding their own safety and not considering the consequences, began to make absurd statements. On the second day Temür Elchi had in 45 days reached Sultan-Duvin [11] near Astarabad from beyond Qara-Qorum. An edict had been issued that all should present themselves at Court and that no inquiry should be conducted on the spot: the Emperor was exceedingly angry on account of Körgüz's blood-stained clothes.

Körgüz's supporters now turned the *maliks* and ministers out of Edgü-Temür's encampment; and Edgü-Temür's men mounted horse and clubbed them back again. In short, office-holders were in a perplexing position: if they supported Körgüz they were attacked by the messengers, whereas if they remained on good terms with them they had reason to fear Körgüz. Sharaf-ad-Din consorted with Edgü-Temür at night and supported [232] Körgüz by day.

Körgüz sent a message to his opponents to say that Temür Elchi had returned and that they must present themselves to hear the *yarligh* that had been issued. Then without waiting to hear what they had to say he mounted horse and rode to his house, from whence he set out for Court with some of the leading men of Khorasan who enjoyed his confidence and were persons of judgement and foresight.

When they learnt of his departure his opponents could not remain where they were; and Kül-Bolat and Edgü-Temür set out in the company of a number of tale-bearers and informers. They arrived all together in Bokhara, the *malik* of which, Sain-Malik-Shah, entertained them in his house. Kül-Bolat went outside to pass water. A band of *fida'is* who had been lying in

[11] Sulṭān-Duvīn (spelt wrongly Sulṭân Darîn in le Strange, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, 376, also in his tr. of Hamdallah, 206) is the name of a hill between the Gurgan River and the Qara-Su. Minorsky, *Transcaucasica*, 43–5, lists a whole series of mounds called *duvīn* in the Turcoman steppe near Astarabad; and he suggests, *ibid.*, 43, *Studies in Caucasian History*, 117, that the Arsacids, whose original home was in this south-eastern corner of the Caspian, may have introduced the word *duvīn* 'hill' into Armenia as the name of their capital, Dvin.

wait for him in Bokhara for some time past were seated in a corner in a vestibule. When he came out they stabbed him and several persons accompanying him, and Kül-Bolat himself was killed.

He had been the ringleader and mainstay of that party. Their spirit was broken by his death, and they were perplexed and bewildered, for in their childishness they had cast the felt of calamity into the water and could not draw it back to the shore. However, when they reached the *ordu,* they [12] first pitched the tent which Chin-Temür had built. Qa'an entered it and sat upon a throne, and they began to feast and be merry. Qa'an arose in order to [go outside and] make water. As he set his foot in the doorway of the tent a wind sprang up and tore it, and the tent-pole in falling injured one of his concubines. By that fire-like wind was the harvest of Edgü-Temür's prosperity consumed and his honour spilt upon the earth of abasement. Qa'an ordered the tent to be taken to pieces and given to the tent-pitchers and camel-drivers. A week later they [12] erected the tent which Körgüz had built, and in it were placed all the gifts and presents that he had brought as offerings. [233] On that day Qa'an's joviality was redoubled, and Körgüz's cause triumphed and his enemies were discomfited. Among the presents was a belt [13] studded with *'auz* [14] stones, which are also called jaundice stones,[15] made and devised by Körgüz himself and altogether priceless. Upon seeing it Qa'an, out of curiosity, fastened it round his waist. It so happened that he had a swelling *(? imtilā')* in that region and it was cured. He

[12] The verb is in the singular in Juvaini but in the plural in the corresponding passage in Rashid-ad-Din (Blochet, 58); and this seems to be the meaning intended.

[13] It was perhaps a belt of this kind that the goldsmith William Buchier sent to Louis IX: ' Master William, once your subject, sends you a girdle ornamented with a precious stone, such as they wear against lightning and thunder.' (Rockhill, 254.)

[14] Reading 'WZ for the 'WR of the text. On *'auz* see Biruni, *Kitāb-al-Jamāhir fi Ma'rifat-al-Jawāhir,* Hyderabad, 1355/1926, p. 216. (V.M.)

[15] *sang i-yaraqān.* In Arabic *ḥajar-al-yarqān*: the *icterias* of Pliny. See Achundow, *Die pharmakologischen Grundsätze . . . des Abu Mansur Muwaffak bin Ali Harawi,* Halle, 1893, pp. 54 and 181. (V.M.)

took this as a good omen and said: 'Make another like it.' And he said to Edgü-Temür: 'Why didst not thou and thy father make *tangsuqs* [16] (that is, novelties or rareties) like this?'

In spite of such clear indications and obvious reproaches those who accompanied Edgü-Temür did not yet fling away their shields nor recognize where their interest lay.

The fool doeth what the wise man doeth in desperate times,
but doeth only after he hath been disgraced.

After they had remained there a while Qa'an ordered Chinqai, * Tainal [17] and some of the other chiefs of the *yarghu* to sit in judgement upon their case; and they set about this task. The men of Körgüz's party were persons of judgement and discretion and owners of wealth and property, *maliks,* like the *malik* Nizam-ad-Din of Isfarayin, Ikhtiyar-ad-Din of Abivard and 'Amid-al-Mulk Sharaf-ad-Din of Bistam, and secretaries, such as Nizam-ad-Din Shah and the like; and Körgüz himself was equal to a thousand men.

His enemies in their hosts consisted of individuals, but they
saw him among the individual warriors like the whole host.

He would consult with these people and then proceed in the manner upon which all were agreed. Important matters were concealed from Sharaf-ad-Din although ostensibly [234] Körgüz behaved in a friendly manner towards him.

As for Edgü-Temür he was very young and the sons of Kül-Bolat were mere children. Of his supporters two or three who were distinguished with the ornament of intelligence were conscious of the exigencies of the occasion and ventured upon no course of action from which it was impossible to draw back. As for the short-sighted, foolish Mazandaranis—a whole herd of these wearers of the *kulah-band* [18] could not do the work of a single man—they could neither utter a sensible word themselves nor repeat the words of others. Whenever anyone of them was questioned and examined, the decision went against him, though

[16] *tangsuq* is a Turkish adjective meaning 'rare', 'precious'.
[17] Reading TAYNAL with D for the TARNAL of the text.
[18] Apparently a kind of headdress. (M.Q.)

the reason for this was largely the favour of the Emperor and the kindness of the emirs—for *' the kindness of the judge is better than two just witnesses ', and he spoke truth who said : ' There is no government save through men, and no men save through money.'* And the two parties were in opposite positions, for while Körgüz had both men and money on his side, his adversaries were destitute of either.

Several months passed in this fashion, and no end being in sight the emirs grew tired of the *yarghu*. Qa'an then ordered the two parties to be mixed up together, one each of Körgüz's and Edgü-Temür's men sharing the same tent, eating out of the same bowl and sleeping in the same bed; so that Körgüz and Edgü-Temür themselves lived together under one roof and fed from one dish, and all their followers likewise. Qa'an also commanded that they should have no knives or iron weapons about them, and accordingly their knives and other arms were taken away from them. The Emperor's idea was that perhaps by night or day they might become reconciled and abandon their hostile claims. But since by this means also no reconciliation could be effected, Chinqai and [235] the *bitikchis* made a report on all the statements and occurrences; and one day Qa'an himself sat in judgement and again examined them in person. * Tümen [19] and his brother and the sons of Kül-Bolat knelt down with the rest of Edgü-Temür's following and underwent questioning. Qa'an's glance fell upon them and he shouted at them: ' What business have you amongst these people ? Come out from amongst them and stand with the sword-bearers.' He then judged their cases and found Edgü-Temür and his follower guilty. To Edgü-Temür himself he said: ' Since thou art one of Batu's men I will send thy case to him. He will know how to deal with it.' However despite his complete lack of sympathy for Edgü-Temür's case Chinqai did not fail to show him some kindness. Having prompted him what to say he communicated his statement to Qa'an, viz.: ' Qa'an is Batu's superior. Who am I that my case should require consultation ? The might of

[19] The text has Nurin (NWRYN) but this is apparently the same person as the Tümen mentioned below, p. 500, where a variant is Nurin.

the Emperor of the Face of the Earth, Qa'an, knows how to deal with it.' Because of this Qa'an spared him: had the case been sent to Batu, even had he been his dearest friend, what mercy would he have shown him?

Qa'an commanded Edgü-Temür and his companions to go to Körgüz. Some were beaten and some handed over to Körgüz, who put them in the *cangue,* which was the reason for their [subsequent] contumacy and rebellion. As for the rest he ordered them to be given relay animals and sent back with Körgüz. He likewise ordered them to be told that in accordance with their deserts and the *yasa* of Chingiz-Khan, according to which a lying *aiqaq* [20] is punished with death, they ought to have been executed as a warning to others; but since they had come a long way to reach his Court and their wives and children were awaiting them, he did not wish bad news of them to reach their households and had therefore spared their lives. But they should not again engage in such actions. To Körgüz he gave the following message [236]: 'These people are our servants. We have pardoned their crimes. If therefore thou continuest to bear a grudge against them, thou too wilt be at fault and it is not difficult to kill the like of thee.'

When these *yarghus* were over Körgüz began to administer affairs of state and public business, and the disposal of petitions proceeded in accordance with his wishes. And whatever countries were conquered by Chormaghun's forces [to the west] of the Oxus [21] were all entrusted to him by Qa'an, who gave him *yarlighs* and *paizas* to this effect.

Now at the time of the *yarghu* Qa'an had said of Sharaf-ad-Din: 'The cause of all this mischief is that Tazik who has taught the young fellows what to do. If he accompanies Körgüz now he will turn his head from the right path. He is not to go with him.' As for Sharaf-ad-Din himself he realized that inwardly Körgüz was angry with him and he feared his revenge. He was therefore glad to be left behind. However, Körgüz,

[20] In Turkish 'informer'.

[21] Here Āmūya would seem to mean the river and not the town later known as Charjui. See le Strange, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate,* 434.

with Chinqai's approval, objected to this decision on the grounds that the accounts for many years past could not be settled without Sharaf-ad-Din's presence and that if he was absent the tax-collectors and financial agents would refer matters to him. Qa'an's consent was thus obtained to his return and he was brought back against his will.

When Körgüz's affairs had been settled the *maliks* and leading men of Khorasan who had accompanied him wished each to be granted his own *yarligh*. However Körgüz came to a secret understanding with Chinqai on this subject arguing that if they were all to receive a *yarligh* or edict, what precedence would he have over the rest ? On this account none was able to procure a *yarligh* or *paiza*.

They all now returned and Körgüz sent on messengers in advance with the good news of Qa'an's favour *(soyurghamishī va marḥamat)* and his enemies' discomfiture. Here too a number of Mongols who had sided with Edgü-Temür [237] were arrested and placed in the *cangue ;* and Tonquz and Tümen were led out of the *ordu* with their hands tied behind their backs. After this Körgüz himself returned.

XXIX

OF KÖRGÜZ'S ARRIVAL IN KHORASAN AND WHAT BEFELL HIM THEREAFTER

HAVING thus found favour and warded off his enemies Körgüz on his journey homeward went to wait upon Tangut, the brother of Batu, and then proceeded by way of Khorazm. To prepare his *tuzghu* [1] my father had dispatched hither a tent complete with all the requisite implements in the way of gold and silver plate *(? majlis-khāna)* and had observed the necessary formalities. All that were left of the leading men of Khorasan went out with my father to welcome him back. He arrived by way of Shahristana and in Jumada I, 637 [November–December, 1239] he alighted before his own house. Messengers having been sent to summon

[1] See above, i, 102, n. 12.

all the chief men, they now presented themselves, and the Mongol emirs came also. My father had provided another tent of marvellous artifice and wondrous colouring with everything in keeping in the way of gold and silver vessels. He pitched this tent and feasted in it for days on end, during which time the *yarlighs* were read out and the newly decreed *yasas* promulgated to all creation. The leaders and *sadrs* of Iraq now arrived, and he sent his son to Iraq, Arran and Azerbaijan with such secretaries as were in the Divan. And though in name they were many yet the pivot of the work was around Nizam-ad-Din Shah on account of his competence and proficiency.

When they arrived in those regions they had many disputes with Chormaghun's commanders, and finally they took over those territories from them and fixed the taxes [238]. For [until then] each province had been held by a *noyan* and every town by an emir, and they had been content to levy but a small portion of the taxes for the Divan and used to seize the remainder for themselves. It was all taken from them and [considerable] sums were drawn upon them *(bar-īshān mutavajjih gardīd)*.

Körgüz made Tus his place of residence and removing thither began to rebuild the town. Nothing had been left of Tus but the name and there were not more than fifty habitable houses in the whole town and even these scattered, one here, one there, in odd corners. And so ruined were the bazaars that two donkeys in passing one another would have *'one leg laid over the other'* [2] amongst the rubble and thorns. Körgüz built treasury buildings and laid out parks; and all the *sadrs, maliks,* and great men began to purchase mansions and set about rebuilding the market, excavating *qanats* and repairing ruined estates. And a mansion which on the first day had been sold for $2\frac{1}{2}$ *rukni* [3] dinars was sold a week later for 250. And from that time dates the rebuilding of the town and district. Körgüz laid a firm foundation in the administration of affairs. He established *yams* in various places complete with horses and other necessities in order that the people might not be put to inconvenience by the ambassadors; and so strict was his rule that no emir, who had previously cut

[2] Koran, lxxv, 29.

[3] See above, i, 23, n. 15.

off heads with no one able to protest, could now decapitate a chicken; whilst the peasantry became so self-assured that if a great army of Mongols encamped in a field they might not even ask a peasant to hold a horse's head, let alone demand provisions *('ulūfa)* and offerings of food *(nuzl),* and the same applied to ambassadors, coming and going. Fear of him became deep-rooted in men's hearts.

Later he sought by some means to place Sharaf-ad-Din in the snare of calamity and the jaws of annihilation. There was a *dihqan's* son from Rughad [4] called Asil who had originally [239] been appointed steward *(vakīl-kharj)* to Körgüz and whose affairs, as Körgüz rose in dignity, had prospered accordingly. When Körgüz began his attack on Sharaf-ad-Din, Asil participated with the utmost zeal. Sharaf-ad-Din having been seized and placed in the *cangue,* the office of vizier was transferred to Asil. He had originally been a coppersmith, and in the Divan he would unashamedly break wind before an assembly of *sadrs* and notables.[5]

Körgüz sent the aforementioned Temür Elchi to Court to report on Sharaf-ad-Din and then followed in person. He was met *en route* by a messenger who informed him of Qa'an's death, as a result of which there was a state of chaos. Whilst on his way Körgüz had had a dispute with one of Chaghatai's chief emirs who traced his descent from the race of Chingiz-Khan [6] and out of haughtiness had given him a rough answer. With such persons words are finer than a hair of the head or a sharp sword and they objected to certain expressions which true or false, they attributed to him—

And what is thy excuse for something when it has been said? [7]

[4] Rūghad was probably in the Kabud-Jama district. See Rabino, *Mázandarán and Astarábád,* 84.

[5] Coppersmiths being notorious for their inability to control their natural faculties. (M.Q.)

[6] According to Rashid-ad-Din his name was Sartaq-Küje'ür (Sartak-Kujan in Khetagurov, 142) and he was a page (*ev-oghlan*) of Oghul-Ghaimish.

[7] From some verses addressed by Nu'man b. al-Mundhir to Rabi' b. Ziyad al-'Absi. See the *Khizanat-al-Adab,* IV, 171–6. The first half of the line runs:

That has been said, whether true or false. (M.Q.)

For fear of the situation Körgüz turned back. The emir reported the incident, and at this juncture a messenger sent in secret by Sharaf-ad-Din arrived as if to take his place *(jāi-gīr)*. The wives and sons of Chaghatai and the other princes deputed Arghun and Qurbaqa to fetch Körgüz to Court, and [240] they were instructed in the event of his refusing to come to bring him as a prisoner.[8]

Körgüz had [just] returned to Tus when the messengers arrived. They sent for Sharaf-ad-Din and made him their decoy. Contrary to the Mongols' custom Körgüz had built a strong treasury in the middle of the walled town *(ḥiṣār)* and made his abode there. The messengers therefore sent for help from the army commanders, for whom this pretext was quite sufficient, for their breasts were filled with anger and their hearts with malice. Great numbers of Mongols arrived, bringing Sharaf-ad-Din out of Sabzavar. As for Körgüz he was uneasy about the messengers and in any case Asil of Rughad would not let him go to them, giving him ill advice and warning him not to place himself in their hands. Being ignorant of the contents of the edict Körgüz was afraid and kept guard on *(maḥfūẓ mī dāsht)* the treasury, to which had been given the name of fortress, until one day the messengers mounted horse and together with the Mongols, clad in armour under their cloaks, entered the gates. Körgüz ordered the gates of the treasury to be closed, and on this pretext they began to shoot. 'I am not a rebel,' said Körgüz, and the gates were opened. The Mongols entered, seized Körgüz and Asil and sent men to the gates to lay hands on all the *maliks* and [other] persons there. However the *malik* Ikhtiyar-ad-Din escaped to Abivard. The affairs of the *maliks* of Khorasan and Mazandaran were thrown into utter confusion and a contemporary composed the following verses *à propos* of their condition:

I see the feet stumbling as they advance having strayed
from the path

[8] According to Rashid-ad-Din (Khetagurov, 142, Blochet, 60) this incident had occurred during the lifetime of Ögedei, who, upon receiving a complaint from Chaghatai's widow, had himself issued the order not only for Körgüz's arrest but also for his execution.

But the wind will subside[9] *soon as the building was founded upon flatulence.*

After some days the messengers returned taking Körgüz and Asil with them as prisoners. Körgüz in no way humbled himself and paid no attention to them. [241] Upon reaching the *ordu* of Ulugh-Ef[10] the emirs of the *yarghu* sat down and began the *yarghu*. Körgüz said to them: 'If you can dispose of my case, let us talk, but if it will be left undecided it is better to say nothing.'

So long as thou hast said nought thou canst still speak,
what thou hast said thou canst not conceal again.

The trial came to a standstill and they said that he was to be taken to Töregene Khatun. Sharaf-ad-Din intervened in the *yarghu* and tried to enter into an argument with Körgüz, but the latter so trounced him that he was unable to reply. One of the emirs of the *ordu* turned to Sharaf-ad-Din and said: 'He has been arrested on another charge, and if he is acquitted on that count what chance will the like of thee have against him? It would be better to seek his pardon and forgiveness than to behave in a hostile manner.'

Leaving Ulugh-Ef they came to the *ordu* of Töregene Khatun. Now at that time Chinqai had fled from the wrath of Töregene and sought refuge with Güyük; and both the Minister Mahmud Yalavach and Körgüz, being under the protection of Chinqai, had paid little heed to Töregene. Moreover, her ministers were people not previously employed in affairs of state and Körgüz at that time had shown no respect towards them and he now had no money wherewith to make good his position with them. And again it was Fatima Khatun,[11] in whom all affairs were now vested, who had chosen out and educated Sharaf-ad-Din before sending him to the countries of Khorasan and Mazandaran in attendance on the Emir Arghun.[12]

[9] Reading *tarkadu* for the *tarkanu* of the text.

[10] Lit. 'the Great House', *ef* being a variant of the Turkish *ev* 'house'. This was the name of Chaghatai's *ordu*. See Barthold, *Histoire des Turcs*, 142.

[11] On Fatima see above, i, 244–6.

[12] There is no mention of this in the chapter on Sharaf-ad-Din.

The order was given that since Körgüz had been arrested on account of words spoken in the *ordu* of Ulugh-Ef [242] he should be taken back thither and tried upon the spot. As usual he had spoken hard words without considering the outcome. Qara Oghul ordered his men to fill his mouth with stones and so put him to death. Towards the end of his life he had become a Moslem and had abandoned the religion of idolatry.[13]

As for Asil he was imprisoned in Samarqand upon his return. He [14] gave orders for him to be kept hungry and finally ordered the jailer to put a drug in a dish of *tutmach* [15] and give it to him, and so he met his end.

The affairs of this world are like lightning, which flashes and then at once disappears, or like the wind which a man blows into a bottle, and when he takes his mouth away there is nothing there.

> If thou remain a hundred and if a hundred thousand [years],
> the day is the same and everything is the same.

[XXX]

OF THE EMIR ARGHUN

He belongs to the Oirat tribe and his father Taichu [1] was the commander of a thousand. The Oirat are one of the best known of the Mongol tribes, and to that tribe belong most of the maternal uncles of the children and grand-children of Chingiz-Khan, the reason being that at the time of his first rise to power the Oirat came forward to support and assist him and vied with one

[13] *but-parastī*, which normally (see above, i, 59, n. 22) means Buddhism. Körgüz was therefore probably a Buddhist despite his Christian name of George and the fact that there was a church in his native village. See above, p. 483, n. 7 and p. 489.

[14] The subject of the sentence is not clear. Probably Qara is meant.

[15] *tutmach* is fresh pastry cut in strips and stewed with meat.

[1] The text has TAYǰW. On the name see Pelliot-Hambis, *Campagnes*, 180–1. According to Rashid-ad-Din (Khetagurov, 120–1), Arghun's father, whom he does not name, far from being the commander of a thousand, was a poor man who, in a famine year, disposed of his son to a Jalayir emir in exchange for a leg of beef!

another in their alacrity to tender allegiance, and in recognition of their services an edict was issued concerning that tribe to the effect that the daughters of their emirs should be married to the descendants of Chingiz-Khan; and he likewise bestowed upon the chief of that tribe a daughter of his own called Checheken [2] Beki. This is the reason why all the princes take their wives from the Oirat.

The Emir Arghun, after mastering the Uighur script and having grown into young manhood, encountered every manner of luck and good fortune. Young though he was he went to the Court of Qa'an and was enrolled amongst the *bitikchis*. [243] Day by day Qa'an looked upon him with greater favour, and he was still in the flower of youth when he sent him to Khitai together with Qaban on an important mission. He remained there some time, and upon his return to Qa'an was nominated, because of his complete reliability, to investigate the case of Edgü-Temür and Körgüz, wherein he was associated with Qurbaqa and Shams-ad-Din Kamargar. Upon arriving in Khorasan he commenced the investigation and then, in accordance with a decree, he sent all the parties to Court and returned thither himself also. At Court he assisted and supported Körgüz; and when the countries of Khorasan and Iraq were entrusted to Körgüz, the Emir Arghun was appointed *basqaq* to him and his *nöker* [3] or associate in the administration of affairs, so that Körgüz might carry out all business in consultation with him and embark upon nothing without him.

[2] Reading ČYČAKAN for the ǰYǰAKAN of the text. The Chechegeyin of the *Secret History*. The name means 'Little Flower'. She was actually given in marriage, not to the Oirat chieftain (Qutuqu Beki), but to one of his sons, Inalchi according to the *Secret History* (§ 239), Törelchi according to Rashid-ad-Din (Khetagurov, 119).

[3] The text has NWKR, while B, D and E have NWKAR. The usual form of the word in Mongol is *nökör*, but a form *nöker* is represented by the *nöger* 'socius' of the *Codex Cumanicus* (see Grønbech, *Komanisches Wörterbuch*) and by the Modern Persian *naukar* (*noukär*) 'servant'. On the *nököt* (Mongol pl. of *nökör*) as 'antrustions, c'est-à-dire des personnes libres au service des dirigeants, des chefs de clans et de tribus, notamment en qualité de guerriers' see Vladimirtsov, *Le régime social des Mongols*, 110–23. Vladimirtsov however makes no mention of the *nököt* as civil administrators.

When Körgüz returned to Khorasan he began to administer the affairs of those countries independently, and the Emir Arghun turned back. Upon reaching the *ordu* of Ulugh-Ef he was sent back again to fetch Körgüz, and Qurbaqa and a number of [other] messengers were sent with him. They arrested Körgüz and released Sharaf-ad-Din from imprisonment, as has been previously recorded. When they reached the *ordu* of Töregene Khatun, Körgüz was imprisoned on account of words he had spoken, and Töregene Khatun placed the territories he had held, from the Oxus to Fars, Georgia, Rum and Mosul, under the command and control of the Emir Arghun and appointed Sharaf-ad-Din to accompany him as *ulugh-bitikchi,*[4] the other officials being retained in their posts.

In the year [244] 641/1243–4 the Emir Arghun arrived in Khorasan, where he read the *yarlighs* and reduced the affairs of the country to order. Then he left Siraqchin [5] Elchi together with other *elchis* who had come from the *ordu* of Töregene Khatun to collect the arrears of taxes; he left Nizam-ad-Din Shah with him also. He himself set out for Iraq and Azerbaijan. When they reached Dihistan Sharaf-ad-Din received news that there was a plot against him at Batu's Court. He set out for that court, whilst the Emir Arghun proceeded towards Tabriz, appointing the Emir Husain, the Khoja Fakhr-ad-Din and a number of secretaries to deputize for him in Khorasan and Mazandaran. Upon arriving in Tabriz he restored to order the affairs of that region which had been disturbed by the proximity of the great emirs such as Chormaghun, Baichu [6] and others, who regarded that territory as their own property. He protected the revenue and caused these people to withdraw their hands

[4] I.e. chief *bitikchi* or secretary.

[5] SYRAQǰYN. Apparently 'the Yellow One', from the Mongol adjective *sira* or *siro* 'yellow'. The ending *-qchin* is normally used to form feminine names (cf. above, i, 268, n. 8, the name Boraqchin) but it would seem that, like *-jin,* it can also occur in masculine names. See Mostaert and Cleaves, *Trois documents mongols des Archives secrètes vaticanes,* 462, n. 49.

[6] Reading BAYČW for the TAYǰW of the text. The native pronunciation of the name was Baiju (see Pelliot, *Les Mongols et la Papauté,* [109]–[110], Cleaves, *The Mongolian Names,* 413) but it would appear to have been pronounced Baichu in Western Asia Cf. in particular the Armenian forms, Bach'u (Grigor and

therefrom: he recovered from the grasp of their control all the inhabitants, noble and base, both such as had resorted to the protection of these men and such as had fled from their tyranny and oppression. He put the affairs of that region to rights, and in response to his fair and handsome treatment both small and great were minded to follow and attend on him; and the hearts of men fell victims to the goodness of his character, and they wished him well. The Sultans of Rum, Syria and Aleppo sent ambassadors to him and sought his protection and favour; and he dispatched *elchis* to those parts to secure the payment of tribute.

When Sharaf-ad-Din arrived in Tabriz from the *ordu* of Batu he made great exactions on the people there and elsewhere because of arrears in taxes. The Emir Arghun opposed this although Sharaf-ad-Din persisted; and love and affection for him [245] became even more firmly implanted in men's hearts.

When *elchis* came to summon [7] local governors *(mutaṣarrifān-i-aṭrāf),* sultans and *maliks* he too set out, having sent messengers to fetch the *maliks* and revenue officials from every side. He left my father the *ṣahib-divan* as his deputy in the lands of Azerbaijan, Georgia, Rum etc., and appointed Buqa as *basqaq.* By the time he reached Tus Sharaf-ad-Din had passed away. The Emir Arghun abolished the illegal taxes which he had imposed on everybody to be collected by confiscation and swept away that innovation, but such taxes as were already collected he dispatched [to the treasury]. Then he set out for Court, accompanied by the *maliks,* secretaries and holders of governorships *(mutalabbisān-i-aʿmāl).*

After the death of Qa'an the princes had each of them taken possession of a region or district, made assignments *(iṭlāq)* on the taxes by means of drafts and transfers and issued *yarlighs* and *paizas* [in their own name], which was contrary to their ordinances

Kirakos) and Bach'aw (Vardan). In 1242 Baichu or Baiju succeeded Chormaghun in the command of the Mongol army of the West; it was he who conquered the Seljuq princes of Asia Minor. See Grousset, *L'Empire des Steppes,* 420–4.

[7] *Sc.* to attend the *quriltai* at which Güyük was elected Khan. (M.Q.)

and *yasas*. Accordingly the Emir Arghun commanded the collection of every *paiza* and *yarligh* issued by the princes after Qa'an's death.

When he came to Güyük Khan he gave him many presents, and he likewise sought the favour of the princes by the offering of gifts proportionate to the rank and importance of each and cloud-like poured buckets of wealth upon the ministers and great dignitaries of Court. Having finished the distribution of gifts he turned to the presentation of affairs of state. First he laid before the assembly, at which all the princes were present, those *paizas* and *yarlighs* which they had issued and which he had retrieved from the holders. This was the most important of his services and produced the greatest effect. Güyük Khan showed him favour and confirmed him in the administration *(taṣarruf)* of all the territories he held. He gave him a tiger-headed *paiza* and a *yarligh* and transferred the affairs of all the *maliks* and ministers to him. To none of these latter did he give a *yarligh* or *paiza,* and none [246] of the governors, *maliks* and *mutasarrifs* were allowed admittance to his presence except the Sahib Yalavach and his son from Khitai and Transoxiana and the Emir Arghun from the lands of the West.

Sharaf-ad-Din being dead Güyük appointed as *ulugh-bitikchi* the Khoja Fakhr-ad-Din Bihishti. He was born and bred in Khorazm, but the fame he enjoyed under that appellation was indeed such as the poet has said:

> *I am called Asma as a nickname amongst the tribesmen as though Asma had become one of my names.*[8]

He was a good and kind-hearted man.

When returning from Court the Emir Arghun arranged the affairs of each of his attendants, whoever he was, in accordance with his desire and ambition, appointing them to important tasks and great enterprises in conformity with their rank and station and granting the wishes of each of them, so that the great officers

[8] From a famous *qasida* by Abu-Muhammad al-Khazin in praise of the Minister Ibn-'Abbad. See the *Yatimat-ad-Dahr,* III, 34–5. (M.Q.) There is a pun in the original since *asmā'* is the Arabic for 'names'.

were united in loving him and agreed in singing his praises, and they went back in attendance upon him filled with joy and exultation.

During the journey the Emir Arghun opened his sea-like hand in the manner of April rain, and all the lands of Turkestan and Transoxiana were immersed in his beneficence, and through the fame of his bountifulness and generosity the hearts [even] of strangers inclined towards him. He sent on messengers in advance to Khorasan and the [adjacent] countries to announce his return, and [the peoples of] all these lands and places set out to welcome him back and gathered together in Merv. The Emir Arghun with the *maliks,* emirs and ministers alighted in Arzanqabad [9] near Merv in . . .[10] For several days [247] they feasted in the royal palace, and he caused the palace to be rebuilt and the park restored, and each of the ministers at his instructions began to lay out a park and erect a mansion in Arzanqabad. From thence he set out for Tus, where he gave orders for the rebuilding of the Mansuriya and the palaces, which had fallen into such complete ruin that all trace of any building had long since disappeared from the site. This task he entrusted to Ikhtiyar-ad-Din of Abivard. He himself took up his abode in the meadows of Radkan, where for some days he took his pleasure in the company of his peers and coevals. He was joined by the nobles from every side; affairs of state developed in accordance with his wishes; *sadrs* and *maliks* kept on arriving every day and he promoted their interests as his auspicious counsel saw fit.

When the nights began to sigh deeply because of separation from the days of Summer, and Autumn grew old and decrepit,

[9] Arzanqābād, according to Yaqut, was the name of one of the villages of Merv. (M.Q.)

[10] There is a blank in B and E. A has no blank and the whole sentence is missing in D and G. C has 'the year 648', i.e. 1250–1, which, as M.Q. points out, is clearly wrong since Juvaini goes on to say (below, p. 512) that Arghun again set out for the *ordu* and having reached Talas received news of Güyük's death and turned back; and (below, p. 513) that he left once again for the *ordu* in the year 647/1249–50. Since Güyük died in the early spring of 1248 (see above, i, 261, n. 43) the date of Arghun's arrival in Merv cannot have been later than the spring of 1247 and was probably earlier.

and the leaves of the trees, upon the assault of the breeze of Dawn, began to desert the elevation of the tree-tops, the Emir Arghun set out for Tabriz by way of Mazandaran. He adjusted the affairs of each region or district as he came to it and so proceeded very slowly. When he reached the Amul country my father came to meet him with all kinds of valuables, jewel-studded objects and precious stones which he had had prepared in Azerbaijan. To these he added rugs and carpets and all the paraphernalia of banqueting, and for a day or two he held a feast.

As the time drew near for his departure [for Azerbaijan] there came a report about Mengü-Bolad,[11] a Mongol, who under Chormaghun had been appointed *basqaq* over the artisans of Tabriz. When the opportunity presented itself he had attached himself to the skirt of the protection and favour of Qadaq Noyan,[12] in whose hands lay the administration of Güyük Khan's realm. [This he had done] because of Qadaq's belonging to the Naiman tribe, a circumstance which was bound to draw them together.[13] [248] Availing himself of this advantage he resorted to the Court of Güyük Khan in order to report upon his activities. Qadaq Noyan obtained a *yarligh* confirming Mengü-Bolad's position as *basqaq* and emir; he also procured a firman with *al-tamgha* appointing as the commander of the *tümen* in Tabriz and Azerbaijan the *atabeg* Nusrat-ad-Din, son of the *atabeg* Khamush,[14] who had come out of Rum and after remaining in hiding had shown his face [again] as an opponent of the *malik* Sadr-ad-Din.

When the Emir Arghun learnt of these circumstances and realized how those who envied and hated him were waiting their opportunity his pride would not suffer him to disregard their intrigues. He ordered his deputies to prepare for the journey and draw upon the funds destined for the expenses of the Court, and he sent on Nizam-ad-Din Shah in advance to serve as his ambassador and to report on the confusion that had

[11] On the spelling of the name see above, i, 50, n. 11.
[12] On Qadaq see above, i, 259, n. 37.
[13] Thus Mengü-Bolad too was a Naiman. [14] See above, i, 148, n. 29.

arisen with the spreading of that rumour. A month later he too set out and at the request of the *malik* Sadr-ad-Din ordered him likewise to set out from Tabriz.

The Emir Arghun loosened his reins and pressed hard on his stirrups as he journeyed to Court. The Khoja Fakhr-ad-Din Bihishti and my father accompanied him, and by his orders the writer of these lines was also in attendance on him. When constant journeying had brought them to Taraz there came news of Güyük Khan's death, which coincided with the arrival of Eljigitei [15] in that area. The Emir Arghun with a party of Mongols set out to meet this latter, travelling light; he ordered the *maliks* and *sadrs* to remain behind in Kenchek.[16] Eljigitei strongly urged him to turn back in order to organize the main army and make ready its equipment, which could not be done in his absence. [249] He returned therefore whence he had come sending the Emir Husain to the *ordu* to report on his setting out for Court, the reason for his turning back and other matters. The Emir Husain and Nizam-ad-Din made their report and the result was in accordance with the Emir Arghun's wishes.

Upon reaching Khorasan the Emir Arghun prepared for the provisioning *(ṭaghār u sharāb)* of Eljigitei. Meanwhile the princes everywhere dispatched messengers and sent drafts in every direction so that the revenue for several years ahead was exhausted by these assignments, the great number of which together with the constant relay of Mongol tax-collectors and the levies *(ikhrājāt)* and demands of Eljigitei reduced the people to indigence and the emirs, *maliks* and secretaries to impotence.

When his emissaries returned the Emir Arghun tarried a little while, then went again to Eljigitei near Badghis and returning from thence proceeded to Sarakhs. When Winter turned her back and Spring showed her face, and the weather became

[15] See above, i, 256, n. 27.

[16] Reading KNČK for the KNḤK of the text, for which C and E have KNǰK, as has also Vassaf, Bombay ed., 12. This was Rubruck's Kinchat, i.e. *Kinchac. See Rockhill, 135 and n. 1. It is mentioned in the *Masālik-al-Abṣār* as one of the towns in the Talas valley. (The relevant passage is quoted by Rockhill, 136, n. 2.). Kashghari, I, 480, calls it Kenchek-Sengir.

milder and the birds began to sing in the gardens, he held it prudent to take a firm decision and in Jumada I, 647 [August–September, 1249] [17] set out [for Court]. And since no order from Mengü-Bolad was obeyed in Tabriz, he too at the Emir Arghun's command set out from thence. When the Emir Arghun reached the *ordu yarghus* were several times held and his case investigated. The truth of his words was plainly distinguished from Mengü-Bolad's lies and his clear proof prevailed over his adversary's false argument. The damask steel of Mengü-Bolad became soft iron [18] and the water of his desire fetid, while with God's aid the Emir Arghun [250] was victorious, and after remaining there awhile he obtained leave to return having succeeded in all his objectives.

Because of their displeasure, of which there were obvious signs, he was unable to go in person to the Court of Beki [19] and Mengü Qa'an. In order therefore to present his excuses for failing to wait upon them he dispatched the *malik* Nasir-ad-Din 'Ali Malik, who was one of the most distinguished *maliks* and the associate and *nöker* of the Emir Arghun on behalf of Beki, and the Khoja Siraj-ad-Din Shuja'i also, who was a *bitikchi* likewise representing her, with gifts and presents to the Court of Beki and Mengü Qa'an. At the same time he sent Nizam-ad-Din Shah, who had succeeded Sharaf-ad-Din as *bitikchi* on behalf of the *qoshqun* [20] of Batu, to that Court, but he died whilst actually in that *ordu*.

The Emir Arghun then journeyed homewards and coming to [the *ordu* of] Yesü in the region of Almaligh he halted for a month or two to celebrate his nuptials with the daughter of one of the emirs of his Court. The Khoja Fakhr-ad-Din and Mengü-Bolad went on in advance, whilst the writer of these lines remained behind with the Emir Arghun.

[17] It will be seen that, if the date is correct, he actually set out in the late summer.

[18] A word-play upon his name ('Eternal Steel').

[19] I.e. Tolui's widow, Sorqoqtani Beki, on whom see above, i, 108, n. 31.

[20] Reading, as M.Q. suggests, QWŠQWN for the QWSQWN of the text. This is the Turkish form of the word, which in its Mongol form (*qoshighun*) seems only at a later stage to have acquired the meaning of '(army) division'. See Vladimirtsov, *op. cit.*, 172, Pelliot-Hambis, *Campagnes*, 168.

When the latter left that place [21] it was winter, and plain and hill were level with each other from the snow, and the intensity of the cold restrained the limbs from motion; and yet he reached Merv from that place [21] in a space of thirteen days. The Emir Husain and the *sahib-divan,* whom he had left there as his deputies, were absent having, at Batu's command, betaken themselves to his Court. After a while the Khoja Najm-ad-Din 'Ali [251] of Jilabad arrived from that Court bringing a *yarligh* appointing him *ulugh-bitikchi* on behalf of that *qoshqun;* the chief *elchis* accompanied him in order to confirm that appointment. And when the *elchis* in response to the invitation of the Emir Arghun and the nobles and chief men had duly arrived, he appointed Naqu and the Khoja Najm-ad-Din to deputize for him in Khorasan, whilst he himself set out for the *quriltai* as is related in the following.

[XXXI]

OF THE EMIR ARGHUN'S PROCEEDING TO THE GREAT *QURILTAI*

In Jumada II, 649 [August–September, 1251], he determined to set out for the *quriltai* and, in accordance with the edict, *elchis* were sent to summon all the *maliks,* emirs and secretaries [to accompany him]. When they had reached the neighbourhood of Taraz he heard the glad tidings of Mengü Qa'an's accession to the throne of the Khanate.[1] He travelled at a faster pace and though the great quantities of snow hampered movement and precluded haste he paid no attention thereto. When he came to the neighbourhood of Qulan-Bashi,[2] the snow had levelled hollows and hillocks blocking the roads and filling the thoroughfare to more than the height of a horse. That day they halted where they were, but the next day the Emir Arghun ordered

[21] What place? Almaligh is altogether out of the question. It was situated near the present-day Kulja and was therefore more than 1000 miles east of Merv.

[1] This had taken place on the 1st July, 1251. See below, p. 567.

[2] See above, i, 40, n. 6.

all the horsemen to proceed in his company in advance of their horses. He turned aside *(multafit)* from the road, crossed the stream and proceeded along the hilltops.

[252] He would make the horsemen dismount ten at a time to dig a road. Wherever there was a hollow he would fill it in, and the horsemen would then follow. And wherever it was impossible to pass he would throw down tarpaulins *(? bārpūshbā)* and so allow the animals to proceed. By the grace of God Almighty the sun was shining that day so that by dint of great labour a parasang had been traversed by evening, and by the bounty of the Glorious and Exalted Creator the dread of that danger had been dispelled. In the same manner he continued to deny himself rest and repose until he reached Besh-Baligh, where the Emir Mas'ud Beg had arrived on his return from the Court of Mengü Qa'an. They received each other with all manner of refined courtesies and gave feasts and banquets. Then he departed from thence and sent on a messenger in advance to Mengü Qa'an to inform him of the exhaustion of their beasts of burden. The messenger was met by another bringing instructions for him to hasten [to the Khan's presence]. With this the gusts of the breeze of divine grace began to blow and the bud of hope of superabundant royal favour to unfold. In obedience to this command the Emir Arghun increased his pace and in the middle of Safar of the year 649 [3] he reached Court.

On the next day his companions arrived likewise and presented their offerings; and he was enrolled amongst the great ones of the realm. Later came the *malik* [253] Sadr-ad-Din, the Khoja Fakhr-ad-Din Bihishti and the other notables who had been held up by the snow and cold, and they had the honour of making presents *(tikishmishi)*. When they had finished presenting their offerings the Emperor ordered an inquiry to be made into the state of land and people, and the Emir Bulghai and certain [other] emirs summoned them all and questioned the

[3] A mistake for 650. According to Juvaini's own statement, III, 74 [ii, 597], Arghun reached the Mongol Court on the 20th Safar, 650 [2nd May, 1252]. (M.Q.)

maliks and *sadrs*. Thereupon the Emir Arghun made an oral report on the chaotic condition of finances and the deficit in tax-payment occasioned by the constant succession of unlawful assignments and a stream of harsh *elchis* and tax-gatherers; and acknowledged and admitted the shortcomings arising from the disordered state of affairs, which in turn was produced by the conditions of the time. Since his confession of negligence in the administration of affairs and his excuses therefor were reinforced with plain and evident proofs, the World-Emperor expressed his approval, being not unmindful of the services the Emir Arghun had rendered in the past, and he distinguished him with increase of favour, and, in excess of kindness and beneficence, singled him out from all his peers and equals. Mengü Qa'an then ordered all the *sadrs* who were present to be gathered together and consulted as to how the people's lot might be alleviated and the country so administered that the poor might be relieved and the lands restored to prosperity. For that which exclusively occupies the Emperor's mind is that the scented breezes of justice and equity should perfume the four corners of the world, that the hands of oppressors and tyrants should be restrained from harming the subjects of his realm, that the prayers of the servants of God Almighty should comprehend his daily-increasing fortune and that the blessings of that fortune should be united with an auspicious era. Moreover there is not a shadow of doubt that everybody is best acquainted with the interests of his own country, and knows most about the cause of its ills, and by reason of that knowledge sees best how those ills may be cured. The Emperor commanded therefore that after careful consideration [254] they should each write a statement explaining what was right or wrong with their country, and how it had been caused, and how it might be remedied, so that he might order the necessary reforms according as his lofty understanding dictated. For it is no secret that the skilful physician, before commencing his treatment, inquires into the symptoms of the disease, its origins and its violence or mildness, and informs himself by means of the beat of the pulse and other indications, so that the causes and symptoms of the disease being

recognized the treatment becomes an easy matter, and he mixes his drugs in accordance with the constitution [of the patient]. Now the justice of the Emperor is like a compassionate physician who dispels the diseases of tyranny and oppression from the constitution of the world with one draught of awesome severity; nay, it is the breath of Jesus which in a moment raises the victims of injustice to life.

In accordance with his command they each wrote a statement setting forth the griefs of the world, and the next day they were all ordered to present themselves in the place of audience. They were brought in before the Emperor and began to discuss the welfare of land and people in the aforesaid manner; and the gist of their conclusions was that the various levies *(ikhrājāt)* and miscellaneous exactments *(iltimāsāt)* from the people were [too] numerous, that the latter's dispersion was due to this cause and that therefore taxation should be fixed in the way it had been established in Transoxiana by the Minister Yalavach, i.e. what was called *qupchur,* in accordance with which the amount of a person's annual payment was determined according to his wealth and ability to pay, and having discharged this fixed amount he might not be approached again during the same year nor might another assignment be made on him. So was the decision reached, and the Emperor gave orders that a wealthy man should be assessed at ten dinars and so in proportion down to a poor man at one dinar, all the revenue from this source to be employed to meet the expenses *(ikhrājāt)* of the forced levy *(ḥashar),* the *yams* and the maintenance of ambassadors. Beyond this the people were not to be interfered with and nothing was to be taken from them by unlawful requisitions,[4] nor were bribes to be accepted. And for every circumstance and [255] contingency he made a *yasa,* some of which are mentioned in the chapter on the accession of Mengü Qa'an.[5]

And when the decrees and *yasas* had been promulgated and the affairs of these countries settled upon the Emir Arghun and

[4] *qismat va dast-andāz.* On *qismat,* 'the distribution of levies among the population', see Minovi and Minorsky, *Naṣīr al-Dīn Ṭūsī on Finance,* 784.

[5] See below, pp. 598–600.

the administration thereof entrusted to his hands, the Emperor first of all gave him a *yarligh* and a tiger-headed *paiza* and appointed Naimatai [6] and Turumtai [7] to be his *nökers,* an emir being likewise nominated as *nöker* on behalf of each of the brothers, viz. Qubilai,[8] Hülegü, Arigh Böke [9] and Möge.[10] He then issued a *yarligh* concerning the various *yasas,* of which the chief purpose was to alleviate the plight of the people, and also gave *yarlighs* and *paizas* to those who had accompanied Arghun. Of the *maliks* Nasir-ad-Din 'Ali Malik, who was in effect the associate of the Emir Arghun, was entrusted with all the territories and in particular with the *tümen* of Nishapur and Tus and the *tümens* of Isfahan, Qum and Kashan. The *malik* Sadr-ad-Din, who was *malik* of all Arran and Azerbaijan, was confirmed in that governorship. The governorship of Herat, Sistan, Balkh and all that area in the direction of India as far as it had been subdued was granted to the *malik* Shams-ad-Din

[6] 'He of the Naiman.'

[7] On *turumtai,* the name of a small bird of prey, see above, i, 242, n. 8.

[8] The text here has QBLA instead of QBLAY (Rashid-ad-Din's QWBY-LAY). This is of course Möngke's successor, Marco Polo's Cublai Kaan (1260–94).

[9] ARYΓ BWKA. Vassaf (ed. Hammer-Purgstall, text, 21, 22, 25 and 28, tr. 23, 24, 26 and 29) has the form ĀRYΓ alongside ĀRYΓ BWKA, and it would appear therefore that his actual name was Arïgh, to which Böke stood in apposition, the whole meaning 'Arïgh the Wrestler'. Cf. the Büri Bökö who wounded Chingiz-Khan's half-brother Belgütei (*Secret History,* § 131) and the Chilger Bökö to whom his wife Börte was given after her capture by the Merkit (*ibid.,* § 111). This seems a more natural explanation of the name than to take *arïgh* 'pure' or *arïq* 'lean' as an adjective qualifying *böke* (*bökö*) and to conclude with Pelliot, *Horde d'Or,* 57, that the meaning is either 'Lutteur Pur' or 'Lutteur Maigre'. Grousset and Baruch (Grousset, *L'Empire Mongol,* 317 and 548) adopt the form Ariq-böge, 'Pure Sorcerer', but as Pelliot points out, *op. cit.,* 56, the *g* of the Mongol *böge* 'shaman' is purely graphic and the pronunciation is *bö'e* or *bö,* which, as he says, accords ill with the Chinese transcription of the name (A-li Pu-ko)—it is equally irreconcilable with the Arabuccha of Rubruck. Arïgh Böke was Tolui's youngest son by his chief wife Sorqoqtani. William Buchier, the goldsmith from Paris, was his slave. On his struggle with Qubilai for the Khanate after the death of Möngke see Grousset, *op. cit.,* 317–24.

[10] MWKA. Tolui's eighth son according to Rashid-ad-Din (Blochet, 202). He died in 1261. See Hambis, *Le chapitre CVII,* 89, n. 7.

Muhammad Kart,[11] while the Emir Mahmud was given Karman and Sanquran.[12] To all of these the Emperor gave tiger-headed *paizas,* whilst each of the others received gold or silver *paizas* and also *yarlighs* according to their importance; after which he bade them depart. And all who were in attendance on them were numbered, and he presented them with Khitayan robes, even the donkey-drivers and cameleers that accompanied [256] them; and after receiving great honours and favours they departed, at the royal command, in the train of the Emir Arghun. The writer of this history and Siraj-ad-Din Shuja'i remained behind for a few days. They received a *yarligh* and a *paiza* confirming the office of *sahib-divan* on behalf of the writer's father and Siraj-ad-Din, who had been *bitikchi* representing Beki (after whose death that office was dependent on Arigh Böke) and then departed in Rajab of the year 651 [August–September, 1253].

When the Emir Arghun arrived in Khorasan, all the ministers *(aṣḥāb)* and *sadrs* presented themselves and he caused the *yarlighs* to be read out and expounded the *yasas* of Mengü Qa'an to the revenue officials *('ummāl)* and *mutasarrifs.* And from each he exacted a written statement that he would not violate the principles thereof nor neglect the matters referred to therein; and that whoever acted contrary thereto and committed an act of oppression against the people would thereby incriminate himself and lay himself open to punishment. And in accordance with the royal decree he appointed emirs and secretaries, who for a number of days deliberated together regarding the fixing of the *qupchur* that had been ordered. It was finally decided that when the census was taken the rate should be fixed at 70 *rukni* dinars per ten persons to be paid annually. He then nominated emirs and secretaries to organize the census and the *qupchur.* In Khorasan and Mazandaran he appointed two or three of the Mongol emirs, who had come as representatives of the princes together with Naqu, a relation of his own, the Khoja Fakhr-ad-Din Bihishti, who was the *ulugh-bitikchi,* and the Minister 'Izz-ad-Din

[11] On the Karts of Herat (1245–1389) see Lane-Poole, *The Mohammadan Dynasties,* 252.

[12] See above, i, 136, n. 10.

Tahir, [his] deputy with full powers *(nāyib-i-muṭlaq)*. To Iraq and Yezd he sent Naimatai and my father, the *sahib-divan,* though the thumb *(shast)* of Fate had tied the latter's age [257] with the knot of sixty *(shast)* and weakened the forces of appetite and desire; he was wearied and disgusted with service in the Divan, and repenting [in time] before falling into the whirlpool of regret he had decided to himself to withdraw his feet beneath the skirt of contentment and make up for the days he had passed in frivolity and idleness. He composed the following bilingual *qit'a* on this subject:

For how long wilt thou commit what is unrighteous and for
how long wilt thou trail the skirt of childishness?
Juvaini, thou art barley (*javīn-ī*), when thou seekest, thou
shalt find. Why hasten so after greed?
Thou reckonest with others in ignorance forgetting that he
who reckoneth hastily is punished grievously.
Thou hast drawn up an account of thyself which is without a
sum total. What a wonderfully improvident man thou art!
If Fate contenteth another some day, thou reproachest
bitterly thine own fate.
Night and day because of thy cowardice thou writhest on
account of thy evil temper.
The light of the gleaming [cloud] of grey hairs rises
high, and thy youth has passed over like a cloud.
Youth has fled and old age arrived: being finished with
that fraud thou art, as it were, in a deep sleep.
Youth is gone and eld is come; misfortune prevaileth,
therefore betake thee to repentance.
Old age has pressed hard on the stirrups of permanence—
why turnest thou the reins of desire towards what is vain?
And be not deceived by singing women (ghawānī), *for sweet*
praises are worse than the teeth of torture.
Cast off the veil of contentment, for no moonshine will reach
thee from the moon of Muqanna'.[13]
And be not led astray by the lapping of wine, for it is but
the craving for a mirage.

[13] On Muqanna', the 'Veiled Prophet', celebrated by Moore in *Lalla Rookh,* see Browne, *A Literary History of Persia,* I, 318–23. The reference here is to 'the false moon which he caused, night after night, to rise from a well at Nakhshab (whence he is often called by the Persians *Máh-sázanda,* 'the moon-maker') . . .

If thou be not a false taster, why art thou constantly full
of wine like a goblet?
Dost thou intrude in the sanctum of the treasures whilst
the worms of prohibited actions [14] *gather together in the leather-bag?* [15]
[258] Like the rain of the heavens thou art restless day and night,
like a *qutrub* [16] thou art all thy life in a commotion.

However, as the emirs would not consent to his retirement, my father set out against his volition for Iraq. When he reached the district of Isfahan he was overcome with mutually harmful ills and surrendered his soul to God, departing from the halt of annihilation to the destination of eternity.

The Emir Arghun likewise sent Turumtai and Sariq-Buqa [17] together with the *malik* Sadr-ad-Din to arrange the census, the division into thousands and the imposition of the *qupchur* in collaboration with the Khoja Majd-ad-Din of Tabriz.

Meanwhile, he himself set out for the Court of Batu to deal with certain matters and the Khoja Najm-ad-Din [18] accompanied him to Batu's *ordu*. These matters were transacted in accordance with Mengü Qa'an's edict and his own improvisation. He then proceeded by way of Darband to Georgia, Arran and Azerbaijan and completed the work of holding a census, imposing *qupchur* and assessing taxes, after which he set out for Iraq.

Now during his absence from the Imperial Court certain persons had banded together in spite and hostility towards him and had obtained a *yarligh* [for the dispatch of] Jamal-ad-Din Khass-Hajib as inspector. Arriving in Khorasan and finding it empty of men he set to work to check the accounts and opened the hand of seizure and appropriation.

When the Emir Arghun had completed his business in Iraq and Azerbaijan he hastened to meet Prince Hülegü, whom he reached in Kish.[19] With his encouragement and favour he

[14] Reading *nuhā* 'prohibitions'. [15] Reading *jirāb* for the *ḥirāb* of the text.
[16] The *quṭrub* was the name of a particularly restless kind of insect.
[17] 'Yellow Bull.'
[18] His full name was Najm-ad-Din 'Ali of Jilabad. See above, p. 514.
[19] The text has Kītū (following A) but D has KS, i.e. KŠ, Kish. Cf. also III, 99 (ii, 613), where the spelling Kish is guaranteed by the word-play

continued his journey to the Court of Mengü Qa'an and came to Khabaran. After [259] his departure from Hülegü Jamal-ad-Din Khass-Hajib went to the latter and laid before him a detailed list of all the ministers, *maliks,* emirs and chief men, saying: 'I have charges against each of them and must go to the Court of Mengü Qa'an.' Hülegü replied: 'This matter is the concern of the Emir Arghun and must be dealt with as he sees fit. At the command of Mengü Qa'an and with our agreement we have placed the keys of the government of those countries in his hands.' Now in the list of names Jamal-ad-Din had included that of the writer of these lines. When he came to my name the Prince said: 'If there is a charge against him let it be stated in my presence so that the matter may be investigated here and now and a decision given.' Jamal-ad-Din repented of what he had said and excused himself; and returning from thence he joined the Emir Arghun at Merv.

The latter now contracted a friendship with the Khoja Fakhr-ad-Din such as had not previously existed between them, and they set out for Court in Rabi' I, 654 [March–April, 1256], the Emir Arghun having appointed his son Kerei Malik, the Emir Ahmad and the present writer for the management of affairs under Prince Hülegü and having handed over to them the administering of Iraq, Khorasan and Mazandaran.

When the Emir Arghun reached the *ordu* of the World-Emperor, a number of calumniators and informers were already there awaiting his arrival, hoping to contrive some action, or hatch some plot and so do harm to his fortunes, whereof God was the protector. Khass-Hajib and some others now joined forces with these people. They made statements, and the Khitayan scribes set about casting the accounts, whilst the emirs of the *yarghu* began to investigate the Emir Arghun's case. Since the favour of the Judge of the Eternal Judgement still attended his affairs, his opponents achieved nought but trials and tribulation and in the arena of conflict nothing but disgrace and repentance. Some of the ringleaders had already passed away whilst

with *'inān-kash* 'drawing rein'. Kish, the later Shahr-i-Sabz, was the birthplace of Tamerlane.

actually in the *ordu,* and [the Emperor] handed over Khass-Hajib and the other informers to the Emir Arghun; and some were put to death on the spot and some executed upon his arrival in Tus. [260] As for Khass-Hajib he was sent back under arrest with only one mount.

In the meantime, the census of the provinces having been completed, the World-Emperor apportioned them all amongst his kinsmen and brothers, as shall be mentioned in the proper place. And since the Heaven-resting parasol of Mengü Qa'an was now moving towards the uttermost lands of Khitai, the Emir Arghun was again ordered to return to the countries under his control together with all the *maliks* and emirs; and he was distinguished with special honours and favours. As for the emirs and *maliks,* those who on the first occasion had not been honoured with *paizas* and *yarlighs* now received them. The Khoja Fakhr-ad-Din Bihishti had died in the *ordu.* His post was given to his son Husam-ad-Din Amir Husain, although he was younger than his other sons, because he could write the Mongol language in the Uighur script,[20] and that, in this present age, is the essence of learning and proficiency.[21] The office of *ulugh-bitikchi* on behalf of Batu was conferred on the Khoja Najm-ad-Din, whilst the other *bitikchis, maliks* and emirs retained the offices which they had hitherto held. The Khoja Najm-ad-Din then set out for the Court of Batu.

The Emir Arghun arrived in Khorasan in Ramazan of the year 656 [September, 1258], and having been witness of important affairs of Court, and experienced the subtlety thereof, and learnt the method of inquiry and investigation there practised, he carried out a minute examination of the accounts, punishing some of the *mutasarrifs* and appointing as his deputy in the affairs of the Divan and the private [22] treasury the Khoja 'Izz-ad-Din, a man whose character was as pure as his name [23] and whose

[20] Lit. 'he united the art of the Mongol tongue with [that of] the Uighur script'.

[21] Juvaini rarely shows his feelings so openly.

[22] *khāṣṣ,* i.e. relating to the *Khassa* or Private Purse. See Minovi and Minorsky, *op. cit.,* 779.

[23] Ṭāhir, i.e. 'the Pure'. See above, pp. 519–20.

competence and capacity were manifest to all mankind. The ties of close relationship and the bonds of friendship unsullied with hypocrisy prevent me from dilating upon this subject, for

The love between us surpassed that of kinship, and what
[261] *kinsmen rate [high] became mean [by comparison].*

It had on every previous occasion been the practice to commence the census and assessment of the *qupchur* and [other] taxes in Khorasan, but on this occasion, to make matters easier, the census of Khorasan was held over.

The Emir Arghun now set out to join Hülegü, who was in the region of Arran. Having arrived and made his report he proceeded to Georgia, where he began to hold a census and divide the population into thousands. On the first occasion the *qupchur* had been fixed at 70 dinars per 10 persons but since the expense *(ikhrājāt)* of levies of men *(ḥashar)*, post-houses *(yam)*, relays *(ulagh)* and supplies for the army exceeded the estimates and could not be met by the *qupchur* as then fixed, it was so adapted that the excess requirements were assessed in proportion to the original assessment. Before the introduction of the *qupchur*, landowners and men of wealth, people for example who had interests in ten different places or widely scattered property were proportionately taxed for each separate interest, so that one person might have to pay 500 or 1000 dinars. But when this new tax was imposed the assessment was 10 dinars, which would have been no great burden to the rich even though it had been doubled, whereas it weighed heavily upon the poor. The Emir Arghun had reported on this state of affairs and the order was given for the re-assessment of the *qupchur* at 500 dinars for the wealthy descending proportionately to 1 dinar for the poor, in order that expenses might be met. This procedure was adopted and the census was carried out with great thoroughness.

The Emir Arghun first went to Georgia because David Malik, the son of Qiz-Malik, had risen in rebellion [24] there and Hülegü had dispatched thither a large force of Mongols and Moslems. The Emir Arghun proceeded in that direction from Tiflis with

[24] See Allen, *A History of the Georgian People*, 116.

his own immediate following and some troops. The armies united from every side and slew or took prisoner a great number of Georgians. The Emir Arghun then turned back and at the end of Ramazan, 657 [beginning of September, 1259] joined the Prince in Tabriz at the moment when he was preparing to march against Syria and reported to him on the affairs of [262] Georgia. Hülegü deputed a Mongol army for the task of levying the *tümens* of Iraq and the subjugated portion *(il)* of Georgia. All of this army he placed under the command of the Emir Arghun.

When the latter arrived back in Tiflis, David Malik the Elder had also risen in rebellion [25] because of demands for arrears of taxes and had shaken off the noose of allegiance.[26]

[XXXII]

OF SHARAF-AD-DIN OF KHORAZM

THE Judge of the Court of '*He rejecteth whom He rejecteth without reason, and He accepteth whom He accepteth without reason*', when He was creating the souls of men, threaded some upon the string of the blessed and fastened some to the tether of the accursed; '*and the blessed man is blessed for aye and the accursed man accursed in eternity*'. And the souls having been moulded and kneaded in men's hearts, by the process of generation and increase each individual at an appointed time and in accordance with predestination enters the plain of manifestation and descends from the loftiest rooftop to the lowliest doorstep. Then, if the garment of a man's being was embroidered with the embroidery of blessedness, the effects of goodness display themselves in his deeds and words without his needing to make any special exertion, whilst if another has been marked with the brand of accursedness, his whole behaviour is in keeping therewith. And the significance

[25] In the autumn of 1260. See Allen, *loc. cit.*

[26] In B there follows a blank space equivalent to seven or eight lines of text. This seems to indicate that the author in his original copy had left space for the insertion of subsequent events. (M.Q.)

hereof is confirmed by the pearl-raining words of the Prophet *(may God bless him and give him peace!): 'There are people in whose hands hath been placed the key of good, and there are people in whose hands hath been placed the key of evil.'* Now in accordance with the verse:

I am a man who brands his foes with qasidas. *Verily,*
the worst qasidas *are the anonymous ones*—[1]

the point of this preamble and the purpose of this exordium will be revealed in the life and deeds of Sharaf-ad-Din.

The Artificer in the workshop of Creation and Invention, having made him the vomiting place of the filthy leavings of depravity and the depository [263] of a mixture of unclean beliefs, wishing that his name too might correspond to his actions and desirous of establishing the truth that *'nick-names are sent down from Heaven'*, composed the letters of his name from the *shin* and *ra* of *sharr* and named him *Sharr fid-Din*.[2] And it being a common custom and long-established practice to drop *tashdids* and infirm letters in names of frequent use for the sake of simplicity, so in this case the *tashdid* of the *ra* was lost and the *ya* in his name omitted and he was called Sharaf-ad-Din.[3] And we must needs say somewhat of that whereof his base nature was made up and which was comprehended in the unclean heart of that ill-fated wretch—

And I do not satirize him because of his rank, but I
saw the dog being pelted with stones [4]—

in doing which we obey the command of the Prophet: *'Describe the scoundrel and all about him.'* Now to the man of discernment it will be obvious that this commandment to make known the

[1] Bashama b. Hazn, one of the poets of the *Hamasa*. See Tabrizi, *Sharh-al-Hamasa*, Bulaq ed., I, 207. (M.Q.)

[2] I.e. 'Evil in the Faith'.

[3] *tashdīd* is the name of the orthographical sign which indicates that a letter is pronounced doubled and the 'infirm letters' are *alif* (A), *wāw* (W) and *yā* (Y). Thus according to Juvaini's pretence ŠR FY ALDYN, i.e. Sharr fid-Dīn, was corrupted into ŠRF ALDYN, i.e. Sharaf-ad-Dīn, his actual name, lit. 'Nobility of the Faith'.

[4] Abu-Yusuf Ya'qub b. Ahmad, a contemporary of Tha'alibi, who quotes these lines in his *Tatimmat-al-Yatima*. (M.Q.) See now Eghbal's ed., II, 21.

evil character of the wicked is not devoid of particular and general advantages, which are limited to two sorts. First, when the crimes and vices of such a fool are recounted in the gatherings and assemblies of men, those who are decked in the raiment of wisdom and adorned with the jewel of felicity perceive the necessity of shunning and avoiding the like actions and neglect not to proceed to the practice of noble customs so that the picture thereof may be delineated in their minds and their bodies become the receptacle of sublime matters. The Commander of the Faithful 'Ali was asked: *'From whom didst thou learn good manners?' He replied: 'From such as had none.'* And secondly, a person possessing such faults, if he be prepared to accept the lights of divine guidance, will doubtless eschew such actions, and shrink from the reproach of the censorious, and hold it his bounden duty to avoid being the butt of criticism, and regard the attainment of the perfections of felicity as taking precedence over all things; in order that he may be saved from that shame and disgrace, whereof the mention remains engraved for ever upon the countenance of [264] Life, and may conscientiously implant in his person praiseworthy qualities and excellent properties by the exclusion of evil deeds, so that within a short time he may be known among his equals for the goodness of his character. But if (which Heaven forfend !) the figure of adversity and the sign of disappointment be already traced upon his being, then no admonishment will draw the cotton of inattention from his ears nor will he desist from his ways, nay every day his persistence therein will increase and he will become more rooted therein than ever.

For the old man will not abandon his ways even when he
is hidden beneath the earth of his grave.[5]

His enormities cannot be separated from him: how can
one separate the stench from the dung?
He complains: 'Why hast thou satirized me?' But he himself
is the satire—with what then dost thou satirize him?

[5] Salih b. 'Abd-al-Quddus az-Zindiq. See the *Kitab-al-Aghani,* XIII, 15. (M.Q.)

So likewise was this scoundrel unworthy of greatness—

High rank befitteth not the person of Abu-Ya'la nor the
light of the beauty of Islam— [6]

this fellow with the viper face and the scorpion manners, of base behaviour and hideous mien, womanish in appearance and effeminate in action—

Abur-Rida al-Qari hath a countenance which betokens an
effeminate nature.
He is womanish in character but lacketh a woman's lightness
of spirit— [7]

a two-faced tale-bearer sunk in shame and ignominy; a bringer of ill-fortune to any master; a reprobate devoid of all good qualities; a whoremonger splendid in tyranny and oppression; a male harlot having attained the uttermost degree in the world; defective in appearance and Yazid-like [8] in nature; evil of character and of unsavoury influence; [265] the betrayer of every friend and the informer against every superior; in boasting and aberration like unto Nimrod; in iniquity and ignorance the companion of Thamud; an impaler like Pharaoh,[9] and like ʿAd in the creation of oppression and unrighteousness throughout the lands and peoples of Islam; a pathic masquerading as a pederast; an outcast ignoring the claims of religion; like a rock when mounting and like an ass when mounted; slaying the oppressed and attracting the oppressors; an afreet in human shape; hated [10] by the good and trusted by the

[6] Ibn-al-Hajjaj, the well known profligate poet. Attributed to him by Ibrahim al-Kutubi in the *Ghurar-al-Khaṣā'iṣ al-Wāḍi'a wa-'Urar-an-Naqā'iṣ al-Fāḍi'a* (Paris, MS Arabe 1301, folio 266). See also the *Muḥāḍirāt-ar-Rāghib*, I, 14, in the new edition of 1326/1908–9. (M.Q.)

[7] Abul-Khair al-Mufassal b. Sa'id b. 'Amr al-Ma'arri. Quoted by Tha'alibi in the *Tatimmat-al-Yatima.* (M.Q.) See Eghbal's ed., I, 9.

[8] Apparently a word-play on the names of two of the Umayyad Caliphs, Yazid b. Mu'awiya [680–3] and Yazid b. al-Walid b. 'Abd-al-Malik [720–4], whose *laqab* was Nāqiṣ lit. 'deficient'. There is also a play on the ideas of increase (*ziyādat*) and deficiency *(nuqṣān)*. (M.Q.)

[9] Cf. Koran, xxxviii, 11: '*Before them the people of Noah and Ad and Pharaoh the impaler treated their prophets as impostors.*'

[10] Reading *mamqūt* with B, D, E and G.

wicked; a tearer of veils and a murderer of petitioners; an impudent miser; morose like a Russian, always in a rage; reviled by all mankind and cursed by every tongue;—

And I never called down curses upon him without my listeners following with 'Amen!'—

a beast on its hind legs; a devil in human form; a demon-like scoundrel; a swine in the garb of mankind; an Iblis in the grossness of his deceit; base from the turpitude of his base ambition; a Satan in the guise of men; ape-like *(nasnās)* [11] in the number of his evil suggestions;—

It is a miracle in this world—one of human mien and yet not born of Adam.
In deceit he is like a devil, never finished with fraud and wickedness.

If our father Adam accepted him, then a dog is better than our father Adam—[12]

[266] *(God pardon the slips of my tongue!)* [13] wealthy in his store of ignorance; poor in the clothing of learning; shunning the duties of generosity; jealous except with respect to his womenfolk; large in bulk but mean in spirit; with no sense of honour or shame; a man of keen vision but [only] in the reckoning of grains and drams; skilled in villainy *(taḥarmuz)* but a fool at—;[14] a foul-mouthed rogue for ever picking quarrels; as a grave-robber outdoing the lowest rabble; impatient of the commands of God; eager to commit forbidden sins; loose of rein in

[11] The term is applied sometimes to the anthropoid apes and sometimes to a fabulous monster. See Browne, *A Year amongst the Persians*, 180 and 291.

[12] This *bait* is adapted from three lines by a Samanid poet, Abul-Hasan 'Ali b. al-Hasan al-Lahhan, in which he satirizes the people of Khorazm. They are quoted by Tha'alibi in the *Yatimat-ad-Dahr*, IV, 42, and by Yaqut in the *Mu'jam-al-Buldān* under Khorazm. In the margin of A, a reader, after blotting out the greater part of the *bait*, has written: *'This is plain blasphemy: God curse him that saith it and dieth unrepentant and forgive him if he repent thereof!'* (M.Q.)

[13] Cf. the preceding note.

[14] The text has *tabarruz* 'going out into the open country', 'sortir pour aller à la selle', but perhaps, as in the case of *taḥarmuz* from *ḥarām-zāda*, ('bastard'), *tabarruz* or some word like it is here an Arabicized derivation from a Persian root.

everything evil; tight of fist in everything good; cruel except towards sin; denying the limitless mercy of God; cowardly and playing the tricks of cowards; blind to the goodness of God the Forgiver; greedy like a dog for the carrion of this world; careless of the world to come; the inscription *'despairing of God's mercy'* engraved upon the brow of his soul; and the lights of certainty withheld from the page of his gloomy bosom by the screens of doubt and suspicion. The truth of the matter is—

Had Iblis recognized thy deeds he would have made thee
his successor in his profession.
And had Adam known that thou wouldst be born, out of shame
he would have castrated himself.

And indeed his ill-fated arrival amongst the people of Khorasan resembled the preliminaries to the arrival of Dajjal,[15] nay it was like the onslaught of the vanguard of Doom.

His eyes are the prelude to ill luck, and there is ill
luck even in the prelude.
Already in the loins of Adam he was called 'the harbinger
of sorrows'.[16]

Now the explanation of the secret here hidden and of the mysteries here hinted at is that this ignoble person, naked of the clothing of learning, was the son of a porter in one of the villages of Khorazm.

How excellent are the people of al-Mala except that if
Mayy be mentioned she is not excellent.[17]

[267] Having passed through the years of infancy and reached the age of puberty he had, from the mildness of the air and the sweetness of the water, acquired a pleasant shape and a handsome presence, his hair falling to his loins and his face putting the moon to shame; his teeth resembling dazzling pearls and his

[15] The Mohammedan Anti-Christ, whose appearance will herald the end of the world.

[16] Abul-Fadl al-Fadli al-Kuskari. Quoted by Tha'alibi in the *Tatimmat-al-Yatima.* (M.Q.) See Eghbal's ed., I, 86.

[17] From the verses of Dhur-Rumma in which he satirizes his mistress Mayya [Mayy]. See the *Kitab-al-Aghani,* XVI, 119–20, the *Mu'jam-al-Buldān* under al-Malā and Ibn-Khallikan under Dhur-Rumma. (M.Q.)

mouth like a smiling pistachio-nut: so that many wept for love of him.

On Mayy's face there is a trace of beauty, but under her clothes is vileness could it but be seen.[17]

One day the *malik* of Khorazm passed by and his glance fell upon him. He found his face well-shaped and his limbs symmetrical; and he became violently enamoured of him and captivated by his beauty. He took him into his service and removed the veil of shame. Some time elapsed and having become skilled in the rules and procedure of service he became secretary *(davāt͡ī)* to the *malik,* nay a pen-case *(davāt͡ī)* for his pen, a cure for his pain and a vessel for his dregs. And from constant use of the pen he came gradually to know the difference between black and white [18] and so on, until the down began to grow on his cheeks and his looks to fade, it being well know that the beauty of striplings is as fleeting as the fidelity of women.

The rose of thy cheek will not always remain in flower,
nor will this heartbroken one remain full of care and grief.

Now sensual love is an obsession which quickly casts dust in the eyes of wisdom, but the fire of that passion is quenched with the shedding of but a little water, and it passes away like the wind.

Love is what does not become less, and as long as it is one does not turn away from it.

The interest of the *malik,* as these ravages grew worse with increase of years, turned to ennui and his passion changed to indifference.

I used to fear the cruelty of slender damsels when I grew older,
But my grey hairs brought an indifference towards them greater than I had expected.
[268] *I feared they would turn away from me, and behold! it is I who turn away from them.*

[18] I.e. he began to learn the rudiments of writing, though there is probably an obscene secondary meaning.

Finally, an edict arrived from Court that Chin-Temür was to proceed to Khorasan with the army of Khorazm and assist Chormaghun in the subjugation of that country. Chin-Temür asked for secretaries but no person of any standing was willing to accompany the expedition for two reasons: first because of the intention of laying waste a Moslem country and secondly because of the uncertainty of the final outcome. However the *malik* of Khorazm compelled Sharaf-ad-Din and by force he departed in his service.

The faces of beardless youths are shining and their teeth
are tempting.
And they are full of blandishments and amorous gestures, and
their powers of wheedling are strong.
But when hair appears on the clean surface of the face,
It separates friend from friend in the manner of Death.[19]

O thou who hast pawned a rose-garden for thorns,
Since thou hast grown thorns, be off with thee and reap thorns.
There was a time when I said: 'Come hither, O handsome one!'
Now I say to thee: 'Begone, thou ugly face!'

He was given a one-eyed donkey and mounting it like Dajjal [20] (*'a wasp riding a scorpion into a serpent's hole'*) he set out on his journey, wherein he endured a hundred thousand privations.

This smoke-reeking wretch, this kinless fool.
Had no acquaintance in any town, no relations in any place.

When he had been some time in Chin-Temür's service he had mastered the Turkish language and apart from him no other interpreter was employed.

When affairs are in a state of confusion a fool is raised
to eminence, by whose elevation harm is done to eminence,
Just as, if thou stirrest water, the dregs at the bottom of
the vessel rise to the surface.[21]

[19] Abu-Muhammad Tahir b. al-Husain. Quoted in the *Tatimmat-al-Yatima.* (M.Q.) See Eghbal's ed., I, 23.

[20] Dajjāl (see above, p. 530) will appear riding on a strange, monstrous donkey.

[21] Abul-Qasim al-Husain b. 'Ali. Quoted in the *Tatimmat-al-Yatima.* (M.Q.) See Eghbal's ed., I, 25.

[269] Now the affairs of Khorasan were in a state of turmoil and commotion and the fires of insurrection and disturbance ablaze; but though the land was trampled underfoot by the passage of the armies, the population was not entirely annihilated, because when a district or village surrendered the Mongols would be satisfied with only a little fodder and ten ells of linen, or at most a hundred, according to the size of the place, and would withdraw the hand of molestation; and even when they took a village by force of arms they would, it is true, carry off all the cattle and clothing they could lay their hands on, but such as had been spared by the sword they did not torment with torture and mutilation. For at first the Mongols paid no attention to gold and jewels, but when Chin-Temür was established in office, this noble, in order to make a show of efficiency, rendered money sweet in their hearts, like Iblis who cast into men's hearts a love for the flowers of this world and made that love the source of every calamity. And wherever he came and wherever his forces passed he would impose a tax upon those who submitted, and whenever a place was taken by storm, the people would be racked with tortures until they surrendered all that they had; and even then their lives would not be spared; and such as it was considered profitable to save ransomed their lives with gold —and in this present age the people's pride is that most of them purchased their lives with gold. And so it went on until Khorasan and Mazandaran were crushed under the stones of the calamity of this revolving mill and rendered as lowly as the earth beneath the footsteps of Destiny.

The affairs of this region were now firmly settled upon Chin-Temür, and disturbing influences were swept aside and factious persons uprooted. And now this aforementioned scoundrel, who after living in poverty and indigence had become the possessor of male and female camels and enriched himself through the heart's blood of orphans and widows *(God Almighty hath said: 'On that day their treasures shall be heated in hell fire, and their foreheads shall be branded with them')*,[22] was, because of his previous services and the concealment of men of proficiency,

[22] Koran, ix, 35.

appointed *ulugh-bitikchi ;* and the eye of Learning and Grandeur wept tears of blood whilst uttering these sentiments:

[270] *The face of the age hath been reversed and the neck hath become the face, O marvel!*
The head hath fallen from its rank and after its glory hath become a tail.
And the donkey, after his lowly estate, hath been saddled with the saddle of leopards [23] *[and] crowned with gold.*
How many spurious sons, the offspring of adultery, are there who do not claim the most noble of men as their father!
Fate hath aided and guided them, and they have acquired wealth and laid claim to consideration.

And in every district where taxes were being assessed or collected he would record the matter on scraps of paper in a hand such as greengrocers use, until such time as some of the chief men of Khorasan entered these details into the records and account-books. And so matters continued until Chin-Temür died and was succeeded by Nosal, when this wicked man betook himself to the Court of Batu and obtained a *yarligh* confirming him in the office to which he had been appointed. When Körgüz came to power he continued in the same office and was assigned to the same duties. Now Körgüz was renowned for his shrewdness and efficiency, and under him Sharaf-ad-Din was no longer able to issue orders or even to draw breath without his instructions; he could oppress no one nor could he bring wrongful charges against the defenceless. On this account he kept urging Edgü-Temür, the son of Chin-Temür, to seek his father's office, and in secret he would send messenger after messenger to him writing reports on Körgüz and planting the sapling of rebellion in his heart, whereas overtly he breathed the breath of agreement with Körgüz and joined with him in enmity towards Edgü-Temür. 'Be a woman that is a woman or a man that is a man.' His evil suggestions took root in Edgü-Temür's heart and he sent a messenger to the Court of Qa'an to report on the activities of Körgüz. And from the Court of the World-Emperor there was dispatched the Emir Arghun with several

[23] I.e. leopard-skin coverings.

nökers to investigate the position and collect the taxes. When they arrived in Khorasan, Sharaf-ad-Din continued to tread the path of hypocrisy and he accompanied Körgüz to Court in the guise of an attendant. When they arrived he was still as before an attendant on Körgüz and a talebearer to Edgü-Temür. When the grace and favour of Qa'an were lavished on Körgüz and his opponents were discomfited, some of Edgü-Temür's followers being well bastinadoed [271], one of these latter gave Körgüz a register which that two-faced one had kept in a scrawling hand resembling flyblow. All doubt now vanished that the greater part of those disturbances had been stirred up by the suggestions of that accursed wretch, and the reports of that wicked man, and the words of that hyena. The true state of affairs was brought to the notice of the Just King and Wise Emperor, Qa'an, through the mouth of the Emir Chinqai, and he spoke as follows: 'His very shape and form speak of worthless evil and mischief. If he accompanies Körgüz he will turn his head away from the path of righteousness and by his rascality and cunning the affairs of those countries that have been entrusted to Körgüz will be diverted from the ways of truth. He must be sent somewhere else lest the concerns and interests of Khorasan be thrown into confusion.'

When Sharaf-ad-Din became aware of the position he was apprehensive of Körgüz's revenge and was only too pleased to remain behind and stay in the *ordu*. However certain persons pressed Körgüz with the following arguments. 'Sharaf-ad-Din,' they said, 'is a feeble enemy such as wise men in all ages have striven to deal with before the opportunity was past and they had cause for regret; regarding negligence in such cases as being contrary and foreign to perfect wisdom and farsightedness and realizing that this world of growth and decay is not without its vicissitudes and accidents. If he remains here, let him not find some chink or breach and avail himself of an opportunity to stir up trouble and mischief.' And Körgüz would say: 'He is a snake that has escaped from the snake-catcher's basket. Whoever lays hands on him should be told: *"Let evil be."*' However as a measure of prudence and precaution these people

persisted in their arguments until Körgüz too was convinced. Accordingly permission was sought for Sharaf-ad-Din's return on the pretext that the accounts of Khorasan and Mazandaran had not yet been settled and it was undesirable that the *mutasarrifs* and tax officials should, on account of his absence, attribute [the cause of] some deficit to him and the revenue of the Divan suffer in consequence. And that oppressor without an equal was at the royal command sent back without a *yarligh*. Körgüz displayed no sign of anger or displeasure towards him; but when he crossed the Oxus and the emirs, *maliks* and chief men of Khorasan and Iraq came to greet [272] him, no one paid any attention to Sharaf-ad-Din and he proceeded to and fro unaccompanied like one of the people.

The true vizier is he who is a vizier when he is dismissed.
When control over a province is lost, he regains control over his own virtues.

When they finally reached Tus he was seized and placed in a *cangue,* Körgüz having arranged with the ministers while he was still in the *ordu* that Sharaf-ad-Din was to be arrested and his crimes investigated [upon their return]. Sharaf-ad-Din made a full confession and a messenger was dispatched to Court to report thereon. The messenger had travelled half the journey thither when Qa'an's death occurred and the roads were closed and the doors of mischief opened. He turned back and came to Körgüz. Meanwhile Sharaf-ad-Din was kept in custody being entrusted every so often to the care of a different *malik.* Now at the time when he was imprisoned and cast like Abu-Lahab into the chains of calamity and torture, *the female laden with firewood,*[24] that is his wife, had sent messengers to report his plight at the courts of the princes. Some of these were arrested en route and did not reach their destination but one of them did reach the court of Ulugh-Ef; and it so happened that certain

[24] See Koran, cxi, where it is stated that Mohammed's uncle, Abu-Lahab ('the Father of Flame'), who at his wife's instigation had rejected his nephew's claim to the Prophecy, shall be burnt *' at the fiery flame, and his wife laden with fire wood,—on her neck a rope of palm fibre '.*

emirs had at that time been nominated to summon Körgüz: they were now entrusted with the case of Sharaf-ad-Din also. By the time they arrived in Tus, however, Sharaf-ad-Din had been handed over to Mahmud Shah of Sabzavar to be put to death. Now Mahmud was notorious for the feebleness of his intellect, the crassness of his ignorance, his disregard of the commands and prohibitions of God and his lawless behaviour *(ibāḥat)* in confiscating the goods and shedding the blood of Moslems; and the idea was that if some enemy made a charge against him he too might be implicated and in this way two birds might be killed with one stone and two rogues got rid of with a single device. However, the floodwater of the tribulation of the people of Khorasan had not yet passed and one draught of the wine of adversity was still left in their cup, and before [273] that benefit could be effected there came news of the arrival of the messengers. As a precautionary measure Körgüz sent a man to Sabzavar with instructions that the case of Sharaf-ad-Din should be held up and nothing done in a hurry—and yet *'calamities arise from delay'* and it is recorded of 'Ali *(upon whom be peace!)* that he said: *'I have recognized my Lord through the abrogation of resolves and the breaking of decisions.'* Mahmud Shah of Sabzavar perceived that the temper of the world was now in agreement with his own ideas, that the sword of rebellion had been drawn from the scabbard of the age, that sleeping Strife had awoken and the infant Days grown weary of their mother, Security. He therefore began to treat Sharaf-ad-Din with honour and respect. When the emissaries arrived they arrested Körgüz and sent a messenger to fetch Sharaf-ad-Din. The messenger brought him back and he had hardly arrived before he opened his hands in tyranny and oppression, attacking the leaders and ill-treating the people. *'What is bred in the bone will out in the flesh.'* [25] And he broke the treaties and covenants which he had made with the Court of Power and Glory in the days of retirement and the nights of tribulation. *God Almighty hath said: 'Whoever shall break his oath shall only break it to his own hurt.'* [26]

[25] This appears to be the meaning of the corrupt Arabic.
[26] Koran, xlviii, 10.

He extorted and confiscated as much as was possible in the time and then set out for Court in the company of the emissaries.

Upon reaching Ulugh-Ef he sought to argue his case with Körgüz in the *yarghu*. But Körgüz so trounced [27] him that his tongue was caught in the 'shut-out' [28] of fatigue and his spirit imprisoned in the 'bar' [29] of perplexity and shame. One of the emirs then turned to him and said: 'This misfortune has befallen Körgüz because of some slip or shortcoming that was reported about him. He has not been involved in this trouble because of your cleverness. It would be more in your interest [274] to make apologies than to engage in strife, because if he is acquitted of this charge, you will then be no match for him.'

Setting out from thence they came to Töregene Khatun, who on account of an ancient grudge she bore him neglected Körgüz's interests and threw his affairs into confusion, whilst showing innumerable favours to the Emir Arghun and holding him in great honour. Through the Emir Arghun's mediation Sharaf-ad-Din's affairs were mended. He received a mandate [30] and assessed the arrears of revenue in Khorasan and Mazandaran at 4,000 gold *balish*, which sum he undertook to collect. He accordingly returned in the suite of the Emir Arghun and upon arriving in Khorasan took over the whole administration of finance.

He vanquished the world by his effort and rose up thereby;
and the world fell on its face and chest.[31]

The Emir Arghun also placed all business in his hands, but when he reached Dihistan he was sent for by Batu. Because of the Emir Arghun's protection and influence and because, too, of the necessity of collecting the arrears of taxes he was saved from that abyss also, because though he was several times brought to trial there was no other party to speak against him. When he returned the Emir Arghun had gone to Tabriz: he did not

[27] Lit. 'pounded his dice' (*ka'batain-i-ū-rā bāz mālīd*). This expression means to get the better of an adversary', but probably meant originally 'to beat someone in backgammon', as would appear from the context.

[28] *shish-dar.* [29] *ḥijāb.* [30] *miṣāl*, probably a *yarlīgh.*

[31] Abu-Muhammad al-Yazidi, a poet of the *Hamasa.* See Tabrizi, *Sharh-al-Hamasa*, Bulaq ed., IV, 57. (M.Q.)

hold rein till he had joined him there. Whilst Körgüz was still alive he could venture on no great enterprises, but when he received the news of his death, he set his hand to what was demanded by his doltish ambition and unclean purpose, and inborn in his nature, and comprehended by his character, viz. the raising of the flames of tyranny and the stirring up of treachery—

For every vessel drips what is in it.

As for the taxes he had undertaken to collect, the hundredth part thereof was no longer available in any locality in such a form that it might be regularly levied *(bi-vajh-i-muʿāmala),* and he began to seize and confiscate property and appointed tax-collectors to each of the lands for each individual *(musammā)* [275] province; and the gist of his written instructions was that they should show favour or consideration to none but should demand cash of the wealthy, since it was gold that was needed, not accounts or registers. They accordingly extracted whatever they could from such as had any property, whilst he himself made his headquarters at Tabriz and set about the financial administration of that area. He imposed upon the Moslems a tax beyond the strength and endurance of each individually *(musammā),* noble and base, leaders and led, rich and poor, pious and wicked, old and young; and appointed a number of vile, impious wretches as bailiffs to bend the heads of the mighty to the feet of abasement. Certain pious men of God, such as the strangers to religion have exempted from extraordinary contributions *(muʾan va ʿavāriẓāt)* and whom they regard with the eye of respect and honour, addressed him by way of advice and admonishment and asked that the citizens of the town in general and themselves in particular might be spared these impositions. However he received them with contempt and scorn and turned a stone-deaf ear to the words of truth.

He greeted them with a frowning face as though the feeding of God's servants were his responsibility.[32]

Instead he doubled the levy upon them and insisted upon its

[32] Attributed in the *Hamasa* to an unnamed woman. See Tabrizi, *loc. cit.* (M.Q.)

exaction. *God the Blessed and Exalted hath said, speaking through Noah (upon whom be peace!) : 'So oft as I cry to them, that thou mayest forgive them, they thrust their fingers into their ears, and wrap themselves in their garments, and persist in their error, and are disdainfully disdainful.'* [33] And it often happened that widows and orphans, on whom there is no charge in the law of God nor impost in the *yasa* of Chingiz-Khan, would approach him begging for mercy, and he would loosen the tongue of abuse and vituperation and close the road of lenity and indulgence, laying the hand of repulsion upon their brows so that they withdrew frustrated and disappointed. [276] The Emir Arghun would then order the amount about which they were protesting to be paid from his own private treasury. And in the town there rose to the Heaven the screaming of women and the wailing of orphans, the supplications of the good and the lamentations of the wicked, cries for help from the oppressed and imprecations from the poor. In every corner there was torture; in every house was quartered a stranger and there was a bailiff in every home; and neither fear of God could prevent nor reproaches and shame before all the world preclude. It is of this situation that the late Sayyid Mujtaba speaks in the following lines:

> Beware, one must strive to keep one's honour.
> And this time one must strive to keep one's honour.
> They do not give quarter and they demand gold—
> One must still strive to keep one's honour!

Having swept clean the floor of Tabriz he proceeded from thence to Qazvin, which is a city of unitarians and a frontier of Islam.[34] He arrived in Ramazan of the year 642 [February 1245] and took up his abode in the palace of the *malik*. The chief men were then summoned to him and he fixed a tax upon each of them individually *(musammā)* confining them on the roof of the palace without food or water; and he did not let them out at the time of the *iftar* [35] nor did he permit anyone

[33] Koran, lxxi, 6.

[34] Against the Isma'ilis, who were not regarded as Moslems.

[35] The *iftār* is the light meal at sunset with which Moslems break the fast during Ramazan.

to bring food to them. He appointed tax-collectors to each individual quarter, and set over the people a crowd of base-born wretches, who for two loaves would set fire to a hundred persons; and so was the honour of the chivalrous trampled in the dust of abasement and their reputation and property cast to the winds; and he imposed upon great and small a burden beyond endurance. Because of punishment by torture and mutilation the groans and supplications of the wretched and the deep sighs of the whole population arose to high heaven. And yet brother might not condole with brother though he saw him at the stake, nor father relieve son, nor kinsman come to the aid of kinsman even though all his blood were being shed. During the few days Sharaf-ad-Din was there the people experienced '*that day wherein a man shall fly from his brother and his mother and his father*'.[36] And how many persons [277] were there who pledged the freedom of their children, aye and who sold their own selves! A person lying on his death-bed had been charged with a trifling amount. When he had died and had been prepared for burial the tax-collectors returned to demand the tax, and there being nothing else they seized the winding-sheet and left the dead man as he was. Certain of the weak and poor, seeing no other recourse in their extreme impotence and helplessness, made their way to the cell of the *shaikh-al-Islam,* the cream of mankind, Jamal-al-Milla vad-Din al-Jili (*may God be gracious to all Moslems by lengthening his shadow!),* in the hope that he might give some advice to his vile wretch. Upon reflection he gave his opinion in auspicious language in the following terms: 'The darkness of oppression has become a screen before his murky heart, which is an example of what is meant by "*hard like rocks or harder still*"[37] and has cut off the light of auspiciousness and faith therefrom. Advice can produce no more effect upon it than rain upon a hard stone. However, we should be light of heart, for the archers of the dawn have from the thumb of prayer discharged at the target of his life a shaft wherefrom the wound is not yet evident.

[36] Koran, lxxx, 34–5.

[37] *Ibid.,* ii, 69.

If the arrow is quivering in the midst of the entrails
how can shields protect the man against it?

However, I wish to be in partnership with you in this calamity and to share with you in the endurance of this oppression, and of the stipend which I receive annually from the Supreme Divan [38] *(may it continue supreme!)* there remain but five dinars, and apart from that there is nought of the vanities of this world laid up in the inner or outer chambers of my house.' And he gave orders for this sum to be given to them.

Having seized all that he could [278] Sharaf-ad-Din now betook himself to Ray, where he repeated his reprehensible practices, which had the effect of a purgative upon the goods of Moslems; for he would bring unveiled women and bare-footed men out of their houses and lay hands upon their property. Hither came the tax-collectors from other places such as Isfahan, Qum, Kashan, Hamadan etc., bringing the sums they had collected. He ordered it all to be taken into the Friday mosque, the beasts of burden being driven inside the precincts. On the day of departure there was insufficient material for packing cases and he personally supervised the use of the mosque carpets for this purpose.

Setting out from thence he sent someone on in advance to impose a tax upon the people of Damghan greater than it was in their power to pay. When the tax-collectors arrived they hanged women by their breasts and men by their feet. Finally in their despair the inhabitants of Damghan turned to the Heretics and surrendered their town to them. The Heretics came and killed some people but carried most of them off to the castle of Girdkuh. They destroyed the citadel by flooding it and levelled its walls with the street, planting corn on the site. They likewise laid waste the town and all the houses.

As for Amul, Astarabad and Kabud-Jama they were in like case.

Sharaf-ad-Din sent Mahmud Shah to collect the taxes from Isfarayin, Juvain, Jajarm, Jurbad and all the territories under the

[38] I.e. the Divan of the Caliphate.

malik Nizam-ad-Din. Because of the fanatical behaviour of the Shiites towards the Sunnites and because of an ancient quarrel between Mahmud Shah and the chief men of Isfarayin the fire of oppression flared up to such an extent that Hajjaj[39] had never practised the like, so that the greater part of the people were ruined with bankruptcy and the honour of most of them cast to the wind. Sharaf-ad-Din likewise sent emissaries to Abivard to seize the *malik* Ikhtiyar-ad-Din, upon whose life he harboured secret designs, let alone his property.

[279] When Sharaf-ad-Din reached Ustuva he lodged near the Shrine *(mashhad).*[40] The custodian of the Shrine approached the Emir Arghun, who gave him alms and ordered the granting of a patent *(parvāna)* for the rebuilding of the Shrine and the tilling of the land with oxen *(dirāz-dunbāl).* The patent coming into the hands of this catamite, ignorant of affairs and oblivious of the Creator, he ordered the custodian to be so soundly boxed about the ears that he fell stunned and at once lost consciousness. A month having elapsed since Nauruz he turned the oxen *(chahār-pāyān)* loose amongst the corn.

By the time he reached Tus the malady which he had first contracted in Tabriz had grown worse and it was only with an effort that he could stay on his feet.

> *My endurance of the malicious is to show that I will not be shaken by the uncertainties of Fate.*[41]

And the Angel of Death having sharpened the teeth of Doom spoke with the tongue of Destiny:

> *And when Death spreads out her claws thou shalt find no amulet of any avail.*[41]

Finally his strength failed and his infirmity gained the upper hand. He took to his bed, being no longer able to walk; and he became blind in the right eye.

[39] The Umayyad viceroy of Arabian Iraq, famous for his severity.

[40] I.e. Meshed.

[41] From a famous *qasida* by Abu-Dhu'aib al-Hudhali, an elegy on his children. See the *Khizanat-al-Adab,* Bulaq ed., I, 202. (M.Q.)

Thou didst drink, as in a goblet, the blood of the innocent:
the time has now come to turn up the cup.

But though he lay on the bedding and mattress of death, he still did not remove the cotton of ignorance from his ears, and still the belly of his avarice was not filled. He was constantly opening his mouth and placing his tongue on his palate to say: 'So-and-so must pay so much and such-and-such a one so much.' The turn came even for his own relations, and he attacked the gains of his very wife and upon her too he imposed a tax of 10,000 dinars. He was now overcome with pain such as the physicians were powerless to deal with, and he recognized within him the assaults of the Angel of Death and [280] realized that resistance to this foe would be impossible. Calling an assembly he made his will and sent the following message to the Emir Arghun: 'I am on the point of death and there is no hope of recovery. If the slightest change is made in any measure that I have instituted or in any tax that I have imposed upon anyone, or if some deficiency should occur in these matters, then the whole basis of administration will be thrown into confusion. As for those persons whom it has been decided to put out of the way, their lives should on no account be spared.'

His message had not yet reached the Emir Arghun before he had departed in haste '*unto the fire of God and His hell*'. The Emir Arghun abolished all the taxes he had instituted and released all prisoners from their bonds. All creation regarded Sharaf-ad-Din's death as a wondrous relief and considered the departure of the calamity of his dishonour to herald the coming of the good things of this world. *God Almighty hath said: 'Now are the two seas alike: the one fresh, sweet, pleasant for drink, and the other salt, bitter.'* [42] *Glory be to God, Who createth what He will in His might!* On the one hand He brings into existence a person such as this and makes him the target of men's curses, and on the other hand He makes a man like the Minister Yalavach Mahmud the centre-point of men's hopes and ambitions; and some He afflicts with the former calamity whilst to others He grants the latter blessings.

[42] Koran, xxxv, 13.

Things are far removed from things which resemble them :
the sky is like water in blueness.[43]

At the time when this vile wretch was in Tabriz Jamal-ad-Din ʿAli of Tafrish, one of the chief men of Iraq, whom his opponents, either from jealousy or because it was a fact, accused of being a bringer of ill-luck, joined his service and was associated in his actions. Sharaf-ad-Din raised him up because of his help and support in wickedness and oppression after he had been shackled with dismissal and seclusion by [281] the hand of the people's forebodings. *'For some tyrants are better than others.'* After appointing him Sharaf-ad-Din died, and every contemporary has composed a poem on the subject, of which the following is one:

Alas for the passing of Simal-ad-Din[44] *on whose survival*
depended the grandeur of the Faith!
They have written on the plaster on his tomb: 'This is
the work of the sadr, *Jamal-ad-Din.'*

And a poet from Tabriz called Zujaji wrote the following *qitʿa :*

O lucky Jamal ʿAli, all the world is glad because of thee.
Thou didst follow him as far as Tus, and in the end he did
not escape thee.
For fear of thee, O Master, the Lord of the Age will not
come out.
The Master of the World, O luckless one, departed from
Tabriz in flight before thee.
No mortal is safe from thee [even] if
he flees to Heaven from thee.

And another contemporary composed the following:

There has died one who revived wicked customs of tyranny
and rose in rebellion against God.

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[43] Attributed by Tha'alibi in the *Tatimmat-al-Yatima* both to Abu-Diyā al-Himsi and to Abur-Rumma al-Fusaisi. (M.Q.) See Eghbal's ed., I, 27 and 73.

[44] Ṣimāl-ad-Dīn means 'Protector of the Faith': it is also possible to read Ṣumāl-ad-Dīn, 'Poison of the Faith'. The reference is of course to Sharaf-ad-Din.

The announcement of his death came to us at a time when
it was a cool—[45] *to our burning liver.*
Sirs, long may ye live in prosperity! Recite to one
another: 'I asked a courier coming from Khorasan . . .'[46]

[282] Those who have seen Sharaf-ad-Din and known of his actions will realize that what has been related about his practices is nothing but a sample, and a brief summary of a lengthy tale, and one part in a thousand, and a little out of much. But Heaven forbid that readers of these lines who did not witness his deeds should accuse the writer of exaggeration and charge him with malice,[47] which springs from baseness and pusillanimity and whereof the Prophet *(peace and blessings upon him!)* hath said: *'Malice is a vile thing.'* But even if a man might hope to escape from this abyss, yet malice, which comes from vileness and cowardice, would still not be seemly.

Say to them that rejoice at our discomfiture: 'Come to
your senses, for those who rejoice at our misfortunes
shall themselves encounter what we have encountered.'[48]

However, the man who is guided by God derives some advantage from whatever he may consider; and from this event he will draw the full moral: he will strive after good works and will avoid and eschew anything in the world or in religion that might contribute to his decline or bring about his ruin: so may he achieve good fame in this present world and attain his just desires in the world to come, if God Almighty so will.

Live in such a way that when thou diest thou shalt be free;
live not in such a way that when thou diest [others] will be free.

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[45] A corrupt word.

[46] The beginning of two famous lines by the Minister Ibn-'Abbad upon the death of Abu-Bakr Khuwarizmi:

I asked a courier coming from Khorasan: 'Has your Khuwarizmi died?' I was told 'Yes'.

I said: 'Write on the plaster of his tomb: "Hath not God cursed whomsoever concealeth blessings?"' (M.Q.)

[47] *shamātat:* more precisely 'Schadenfreude'.

[48] Attributed in the *Hamasa* to Farazdaq, in *al-Hamasa al-Buhturiya* to Mālik b. 'Amr al-Asadi and in the *Khizanat-al-Adab* to Dhul-Asba' al-'Adwani. (M.Q.)

THE THIRD PART

OF

JUVAINI'S

HISTORY OF THE WORLD-CONQUEROR

In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate
May the Lord prosper it!

[DOXOLOGY]

PRAISE and thanksgiving unto God, by the beam of Whose brightness and purity the radiant stars are resplendent and by Whose will and command the revolving heavens are maintained in motion; the Worshipful One, to worship Whom is meet; the Giver, to ask from any other than Whom doth not taste sweet; the Maker of being out of nothingness, and then the Maker of nothingness out of being; Who raiseth thralls from baseness to nobility and casteth down the haughty from their sovereignty; Whom royalty becometh and divinity befitteth. Seek greatness and eminence at His Court alone; whatever is not He is all mere ornament, and deceit, and frivolity; whoever out of ignorance chooseth Him not ruin overtaketh him: the existence of all that beareth the name of existence pertaineth unto Him; good and evil, profit and loss issue from Him.

[2] To the world Thou art loftiness and lowliness; I know not what Thou art, all that is Thou art.[1]

And blessings upon the last prophet, the leader of the former prophets; the loosener of every bond and the dispenser of every counsel; who showed the way to the lost and abhorred not the sinners amongst his own; who was sent unto man and peri and taught on behalf of justice; whose name hath been praised by every tongue, and whose voice hath been heard by every ear!

[1] *Shahnama* ed. Vullers, 1003, l. 736.

And blessings likewise upon his chosen friends and laudable kinsmen, as long as wind, and water, and fire, and earth are active in creation, and the rose upon fresh, green branches is the bedfellow of the thorn ![2]

[INTRODUCTION]

WHEREAS in the previous volume[1] we have recorded the circumstances of the rise of Chingiz-Khan and his conquest of the climes, the accession of Qa'an and Güyük Khan and the particulars of the events that occurred during their reigns, in accordance with our knowledge thereof, and have likewise recounted the history of the Sultans of Khorazm and other lords of the marches, to the extent of the information at our disposal, from the first beginnings of each of them until the end of their days; we shall now in this further volume[2] describe the accession of the World-Emperor Mengü Qa'an and the events and circumstances, both past and present, of his Khanate, the advance of the World-Prince Hülegü against the lands of the West and the particular circumstances of the kings of the age and the monarchs of the time, in allegiance and rebellion, from the beginning to the end. And in all cases we seek the pardon of the All Highest for our actions and words, and beg to be excused for slips of the pen and faults of style, and look for forgiveness from the abundance of [God's] unstinting grace, than which the sinner has not other protection.

[2] This passage, in the original, is written in rhyming prose (which I have imitated in one instance !) and the language is pure Persian, i.e. words of Arabic origin have been deliberately excluded. One such word however, *havas* 'frivolity', has been admitted, probably because of the exigencies of the rhyme.

[1] *mujallad-i-pīshīna.*

[2] *mujallad-i-dīgar.* On Juvaini's original division of his work into two volumes see the Introduction, pp. xxvi–xxvii.

[I]

[3] OF ULUGH-NOYAN [1] AND SORQOTANI [2] BEKI

BY the *yasa* and custom of the Mongols the father's place passes to the youngest son by the chief wife. Such was Ulugh-Noyan, but it was Chingiz-Khan's *yasa* that Ögetei should be Khan and in obedience to his father's command Ulugh-Noyan went to great pains in order to set Qa'an upon the throne of the Khanate and was most assiduous in his exertions to establish him firmly upon the seat of kingship. For between the brothers, and especially between Qa'an and himself, there was affection beyond the degree of brotherhood.

> *The love between us surpassed that of kinship, and what kinsmen rate (high) became mean [by comparison].*[3]

He accompanied Qa'an on the campaign against Khitai and, as has already been recorded,[4] accomplished that mission with determination, energy, competence and valour, on which account those eastern provinces were reduced and subjugated.

Upon his return with his will and desire achieved, [4] the world his thrall and the heavens subservient to his wishes, he became excessively addicted to the circulating of cups of wine from morn till eve, and a malady over took him such that two or three days did not pass before he died.[5]

> Such is ever the wont of the Blue Circle; when it sees contentment it swiftly brings about its decline.

Qa'an was greatly distressed on this account and much agitated

[1] I.e. Toli (Tolui). See above, i, 150, n. 1.

[2] On the spelling of her name see above, i, 108, n. 31.

[3] Quoted above, II, 260 [ii, 524]. (M.Q.)

[4] See above, i, 191–5.

[5] Such was no doubt the truth of the matter, for the Mongols were great drunkards. The facts have however been curiously idealized in the Mongol version of Tolui's end. Ögedei had fallen sick during the Chinese campaign, and his illness was ascribed by the shamans to his being possessed by the local water spirits. Tolui offered himself as an expiatory victim, drank a bowl of water over which the shamans had pronounced their incantations and shortly afterwards died. See the *Secret History*, § 272, also Rashid-ad-Din ed. Blochet, 220–1.

and disturbed. And as long as he lived he passed his time in recalling and lamenting his companionship and association with him.

> *And when we parted it was as though Malik and I, for all the length of our union, had not passed a single night together.*[6]

And whenever in his morning and evening cups wine had gained the upper hand in his veins and drunkenness firmly planted its foot, Qa'an would weep and would say: 'The reason for my constant application to wine is the onslaught of sorrow which arises from grievous separation, and I therefore choose to be drunk in order that perchance for a while I may find relief in my heart from the agitation of that sorrow.'

> Drunkenness is sweet because it separates the *I* from the *I*,
> otherwise how should sense countenance senselessness?

After [5] Ulugh-Noyan's death Qa'an commanded that as long as he lived affairs of state should be administered in accordance with the counsel of his wife Sorqotani Beki, the niece of Ong-Khan, by whom he had his eldest sons, Mengü Qa'an, Qubilai, Hülegü and Arigh Böke, and that the above-mentioned sons, the army and the people, great and small, should be under the control of her command and prohibition, her loosening and binding, and should not turn their heads from her commandment. Now in the management and education of all her sons, in the administration of affairs of state, in the maintenance of dignity and prestige and in the execution of business, Beki, by the nicety of her judgement and discrimination, constructed such a basis and for the strengthening of these edifices laid such a foundation that no turban-wearer[7] *(kulāh-dār)* would have been capable of the like or could have dealt with these matters with the like brilliance. In any business which Qa'an undertook, whether with regard to the weal of the Empire or the disposal

[6] From the famous elegy of Mutammim b. Nuwaira on his brother Mālik. (M.Q.)

[7] I.e. *man*. Cf. above, i, 84, ('both wearers of the veil and those that donned *kulah* and turban') and i, 100, ('both such as donned *kulah* and turban and such as wore kerchief and veil'.)

of the army, he used first to consult and confer with her and would suffer no change or alteration of whatever she recommended. The ambassadors and *elchis* too held her in great honour and respect; [6] and the dependents and subjects of her Court in nearest and farthest East and West were distinguished from those of all the other princes by the dignity and protection they enjoyed, and [8] because of her zealous concern for each of them individually their lives were contented and carefree. And the tax-gatherers, the *shahnas* and the army, for fear of her punishment and discipline, were fain to deal equitably with the people. And whenever there was a *quriltai* or assembly of the princes, and there was great elegance, and decoration, and adornment, and embellishment on the part of everybody, she was distinguished above them all with respect both to her retinue and to her troops. And her protection was such that when during the reign of Qa'an certain *maliks* were involved in a dispute with some of her dependents regarding the tax and *qupchur* to be levied on her subjects [9] and had committed excesses, she sent messengers to have the *maliks* brought to her presence and after the establishment of evidence had them put to death.

As for her control and management of her sons, though each of them is a khan and a personality in the mould of his intellect, and superior to all [other] princes in shrewdness and sagacity, [7] nevertheless, whenever by reason of the occurrence of a death they awaited the accession of a new khan, she would allow no change or alteration of the ancient ordinances or *yasas,* although, in fact, they had the licence of authority and of command and prohibition. So it was that when Güyük Khan was raised to the Khanate and there was search and inquiry as to which of the princes had deviated from the *yasa* and established custom and had issued *paizas* and *yarlighs,* he commanded that every order and *paiza* that had been issued since the death of Qa'an should be withdrawn. And in the *quriltai,* in the presence of all, most of the decrees which they had issued with regard to the assignment of taxes and the appointment and dismissal of tax-gatherers

[8] Omitting *dar sharq va gharb* 'in the East and the West' with G.

[9] *ra'īyatān-i-khāṣṣa,* i.e. her private subjects, the dependents of her Private Purse.

were laid before the princes [responsible for them]. All were put to shame save only Beki and her sons, who had not swerved a hair's breadth from the law, and this because of her great wisdom, self-discipline and consideration of the latter end of things, whereof even wise and experienced *men* are negligent.

> *And if women were like unto her, then would women be superior to men.*[10]

And at the time of the accession of Mengü Qa'an to the throne of the Khanate the same thing happened again, because after Güyük Khan's death everyone had issued his own decrees.

As for Beki, from the time [8] when Ulugh-Noyan passed away, she had won favour on all sides by the bestowing of gifts and presents upon her family and kindred and dispensing largesse to troops and strangers and so rendered all subject to her will and planted love and affection in everyone's heart and soul, so that when the death of Güyük Khan occurred most men were agreed and of one mind as to the entrusting of the keys of the Khanate to her son Mengü Qa'an. For the report of her wisdom and prudence and the fame of her counsel and sagacity had spread to all parts, and none would gainsay her word.

Furthermore, in the management of her household and in the ceremonial of her court she laid for kinsmen and stranger such a foundation as the khans of the world had not been capable of.

And so she continued until the time when God Almighty through the mediation of her experience laid the bride of kingship in the bosom of Mengü Qa'an's distinction. And her hand was ever open in munificence and benefaction, and although she was a follower and devotee of the religion of Jesus she would bestow alms and presents upon *imams* and *shaikhs* and strove also to revive the sacred observances of the faith of Mohammed *(may God bless him and give him peace!)*. And the token [9] and proof of this statement is that she gave 1000 silver *balish* that a college *(madrasa)* might be built in Bokhara, of which pious foundation the *shaikh-al-Islam* Saif-ad-Din of Bakharz should be admin-

[10] Mutanabbi. (M.Q.)

istrator and superintendent; and she commanded that villages should be bought, an endowment made and teachers and students accommodated [in the college]. And always she would send alms to all parts to be distributed among the poor and needy of the Moslems; and so she continued until in Zul-Hijja of the year 649 [February–March, 1252], when the Destroyer of Delights sounded the note of departure.

[II]

OF BACHMAN[1] AND HIS DESTRUCTION

WHEN Qa'an dispatched Mengü Qa'an, Batu and the other princes to conquer the countries of the Bulghar, As[2] and Rus and the Qifchaq, Alan[2] and other tribes, all those regions were cleared of mischief-makers and such as had escaped the sword bowed their heads in submission. However, one of the discomfited Qifchaq chieftains [10], a man called Bachman, had evaded pursuit together with a band of Qifchaq warriors, and he had been joined by other fugitives. Having no lair or hiding-place to serve as base he betook himself every day and every night to a different spot. And because of his dog-like nature he would strike wolf-like on every side and make off with something. Gradually his evil grew worse and he wrought greater mischief; and wherever the army sought him they could not find him since he had departed elsewhere and hidden his tracks.

Most of his refuges and hiding-places were on the banks of the Etil.[3] Here he would lie concealed in the forests, from which he would spring out like a jackal, seize hold of something and hide himself once again. Prince Mengü Qa'an ordered 200

[1] BǰMN. The Pa-ch'ih-man, i.e. Bachman, of the *Yüan shih*. See Pelliot, *À propos des Comans*, 166.

[2] This separate mention of the As and the Alan makes one wonder whether Juvaini did not realize that they were one and the same people, the ancestors of the present-day Ossetes. On the other hand it may be that the As formed the western part of the federation, particularly in the territory later occupied by the Bulghar Turks. (V.M.)

[3] I.e. the Volga. See above, i, 267, n. 4.

boats to be constructed and 100 fully armed Mongols to be set in each. Then he and his brother Böchek [4] formed a *nerge* [5] on either side of the river. Coming to one of the forests along the Etil they found the traces of an encampment that had been vacated that very morning: broken waggons and [11] the dung of men and beasts lying around. Amidst all this rubbish they caught sight of a sick old woman. They asked her what had happened, who the horsemen were, and where, and of what manner. They discovered that Bachman had decamped that very moment and taken refuge on an island in the middle of the river and that all the animals and wares he had stolen in the course of his depredations were likewise on that island. They had no boats with them, and the river was billowing like a sea so that it was impossible to swim in it, let alone ride a horse. Suddenly a wind sprang up and blew away the water from the approach to the island so that the bottom appeared. Mengü Qa'an ordered the troops to ride in without delay. Bachman was seized before he was aware, and his army was destroyed within an hour, some being flung into the river and others killed outright. The Mongols bore off their wives and children as prisoners, and they likewise carried off much valuable booty. Then they returned. The water began to move and when the troops had crossed it was back again without one soldier's having suffered harm.

When Bachman was brought before Mengü Qa'an he begged to be put to death by the latter's own hand. Instead he ordered his younger brother Böchek to cut him in half.[6]

These indications provide a reason for the transfer of power and the key of empire to the World-Emperor Mengü Qa'an such as requires no further demonstration.

[4] He was actually Möngke's half-brother. See above, i, 269, n. 3.

[5] An encircling movement as in the *battue*. See above, i, 28.

[6] This operation against Bachman was carried out in the winter of 1236–7. See Pelliot, *op. cit.*, 167. Pelliot, *ibid.*, 166, quotes the account in the *Yüan shih*. For Rashid-ad-Din's version see Minorsky, *Caucasica III*, 225.

[12] [III]

OF THE ACCESSION OF THE LORD OF THE SEVEN CLIMES, THE JUST EMPEROR, MENGÜ QA'AN, TO THE THRONE OF THE KHANATE, AND OF HIS SPREADING THE CARPET OF NUSHIRVANIAN JUSTICE, AND REVIVING THE PRACTICES OF SOVEREIGNTY, AND LAYING DOWN THE PRINCIPLES OF MONARCHY

WHEN God the Glorious and the Exalted wishes to make one of His servants a leader and to place the crown of kingship and the diadem of sovereignty upon his head, so that by his justice and equity the desolate world may bloom again and the lot of the denizens of the habitable quarter benefit from the flow of His bounteous compassion; in the first place, the nature of '*He created souls before bodies*' adorns that man's being with the embroidery of bliss and illumines his soul with the lights of sound judgement; and then, when he comes from the highest world to the lowest halting-place, God rears his nature in the cradle of wisdom and sagacity, and puts the breast of the nurse that is all gentleness and gravity to the mouth of his inner knowledge, and inspires him to righteous deeds and actions and straightforward speech, and curbs him in his comings and goings [13] with the bridle of understanding, so that gradually, day by day, he ascends the steps of greatness and, hour by hour, receives instruction from Fortune and Prosperity.

> When Fortune wishes to rear a rose, she produces it and then wishes for a man.
> First Prosperity stitches a *kulah*, then she places it on the head of a king.
> A diver raises pearls from the sea, in a short time they find a place of honour upon crowns.[1]

And so, when the time comes for the manifestation of wisdom and might, there appears in the rising-place of the sun of honour and glory the first signs of the dawn-break of Fortune, and as a preliminary thereto, because

things are made plain by their opposites,[2]

[1] From the *Khusrau u Shirin* of Nizami. [2] Mutanabbi. (M.Q.)

by inflexible Destiny the world is filled with the darkness of injustice and iniquity, and the sweetness of life and the pleasure of existence produce the bitterness of myrrh upon the palate of the soul, so that the servants of God, when that Fortune has passed from potentiality into actuality and from non-existence into existence, may know the value of that immense boon and give thanks for that mighty blessing.

Now the proof of this statement is that after the death of Qa'an the affairs of the world had been diverted from the path of rectitude and the reins of commerce and fair dealing turned aside from the highway of righteousness. The darkness of tyranny, i.e. *'darkness upon darkness'*,[3] piled up, and the waves of the seas of events clashed together. The people were crushed and trodden underfoot by the mighty and from the frequency of oppression were left without money or [14] property; and the cup of the world was filled to the brim with the drink of iniquity. *Elchis* poured down upon the lands like drops of rain; taxgatherers *(muḥaṣṣilān)* sped like arrows from a bow to collect unlawful taxes;[4] and the people, dragged now this way, now that, were at their wits' end, for they had neither the endurance to stay nor did they know of a place to which they might flee.

> The cruelty of the revolving cupola has reached such a degree that a higher degree is unimaginable.

But when violence and injustice had reached their culmination and iniquity and wickedness developed to their extreme, the tradition: *'When it is most severe it will be relieved'* was verified and the verse: *'Verily along with trouble cometh ease'*[5] confirmed; and the gates of *'The mercy which God layeth open for man, no one can keep back'*[6] were flung open and the provisions of

> *When a situation is desperate it is nearest to relief*

got ready.

[3] Koran, xxiv, 40.
[4] Or perhaps 'taxes not yet due'.
[5] Koran, xciv, 5 or 6.
[6] *Ibid.*, xxxv, 2.

Mirth has come after grief, just as in the autumn time the breeze from the train of the grace of early spring has come.

The cry of the lute, the sound of song and the plaint of the harp have risen from the feast to the green heavens of the world.

[15] The pattern that emerges from all this can be [only] that the grace of the Creator has come to aid us.

That is to say, the keys of the kingdom of *'For the earth is God's: to such of His servants as He pleaseth doth He give it as a heritage'* [7] were laid in the powerful hand of the Supreme Monarch, the Lord of all mankind, the Khan of all Khans, Arab and non-Arab, Mengü Qa'an (may he live till the end of the world!); and the surface of the face of the earth was again decked out and adorned because of his all-embracing justice, and the affairs of mankind in general and the concerns of the Moslems in particular took on a new freshness and brilliance. Of this the circumstances are made plain in the events which shall be described and the truth hereof expounded in the chapters that shall be written. *'And our trust is in the grace of our Lord. Verily, it is He to Whom we turn for aid!'*

Batu had set out from his *ordu* in the Bulghar and Saqsin country to proceed to the Court of Güyük Khan and had arrived in Ala-Qamaq,[8] which is a week's distance from the town of Qayaligh, when he heard the report of [16] Güyük Khan's death. He halted where he was and sent messenger after messenger to his kinsmen on every side to announce his arrival: he bade them present themselves [before him there]. Mengü Qa'an set out from the region of Qara-Qorum. As for Siremün and the other grandsons and wives of Qa'an who were in that region, they sent Qonqurtaqai[9] Noyan, the emir of Qara-Qorum, as their agent and gave a written undertaking to the following effect: 'Batu is *aqa*[10] to all the princes. Whatever he commands

[7] Koran, vii, 125.

[8] See above, i, 263, n. 3.

[9] Reading QNQWRTQAY for the QNQWRBQAY of the text. See Pelliot, *Horde d'Or*, 91*n*.

[10] I.e. 'elder brother', 'senior'.

his word is law. We consent thereto nor shall we refuse whatever he prescribes and sees fit.' As for the other princes, [viz.] the sons of Güyük Khan, being already in that neighbourhood, they came to Batu in advance [of the rest]. They remained a day or two and then, without seeking permission, turned back towards their own *ordu* on the pretext that the practitioners of the science of the *qam* had not sanctioned a longer stay. They left Temür Noyan as their agent with Batu with instructions that when the necklaces of the assembly were strung together, in any deliberation in which agreement was reached between *aqa* and *ini*[11] he too should give his consent.

The princes now presented themselves from every side. Of the sons of Qa'an there came Qadaghan Oghul and of the sons and grandsons of [17] Chaghatai, Qara-Hülegü and Mochi.[12] [There came also] Mengü Qa'an with his brothers Möge and Arigh Böke and of the emirs Uhatai[13] and Yesü-Buqa;[14] and from other directions came the emirs and *noyans* and the other princes and nephews of Batu. They held a great assembly and after feasting for some days deliberated together about the entrusting of the Khanate to a person who was fitted thereto and had experienced the good and ill, the weal and woe of action, and tasted the sweet and bitter of life, and led armies far and near, and won renown in banquets and victory in battles. For days and nights they weighed and pondered this matter, that is which prince there was of the sons and grandsons of the race and lineage *(urugh)* of Chingiz-Khan who by his sound judgement and

[11] I.e. *all*, lit. 'elder brother and younger brother'.

[12] Qara-Hülegü was a grandson (son of Metiken). Rashid-ad-Din mentions two Mochis—a son (Mochi-Yebe) and a grandson (son of Baiju). See Blochet, 156 and 177. Presumably the elder Mochi is meant here. He appears to be identical with the Mauci or Maucy of Carpini. It was Mauci, whose territory lay along the eastern banks of the Dnieper, who detained the members of Carpini's party sent back from Batu's camp with a message for the Pope. See Rockhill, 8, 11 and 31. His name means 'carpenter'. See Grousset, *L'Empire Mongol*, 483.

[13] AWHTAY. 'The man of the Uhaz.' On the Uhaz-Merkit or Uwas-Merkit see Pelliot–Hambis, *Campagnes*, 275.

[14] YYSW BWQA. This name was borne by a son of Belgütei, Chingiz-Khan's half-brother. See Hambis, *Le chapitre CVII*, 48 and 49, n. 1.

penetrating counsel might control the lands and guard the roads; for if the affairs of the Empire were to remain neglected as they were the very basis of the commonweal would be overturned and the knots of administration loosened, so that the ordering thereof by the hand of wisdom and policy would be impossible and the mending [18] thereof by deliberation inconceivable.

> *And no lord shall be lost to us ever but we shall rear amongst us a lad to be our lord.*[15]

Finally after much thought and reflection all present in that assembly, whether princes or emirs and *noyans,* arrived at the decision that since Batu was the eldest of the princes and the leader amongst them he was best conversant with the good and ill in the affairs of the realm and dynasty *(daulat).* It was for him to decide whether he should become Khan himself or suggest another as Khan. All being agreed on this decision they gave written undertakings that they would in no way go back on their word or contravene Batu's command. And having thus concluded and wound up their discussion that day they began to drink and make merry.

The next day when the banner of the light of day was unfurled and the veil of darkness removed—

> A day such that [even] the world-illuminating lantern became bright of eye from [contemplating] it;
> Its dawn having risen out of Paradise, its wind experienced the breath of the Messiah—

the necklace of the princes' assembly was as on the previous day strung in the manner of the Pleiades. Batu took up the speeches of that day and none having anything to add thereto he continued as follows: 'The administration of so great a realm and the advancement of so delicate a matter [19] can be effected by such a person, and only such a person can extricate himself from the straits of entrance and egress, as has known and experienced the *yasa* of Chingiz-Khan and the customs of Qa'an,

[15] From verses by Bashāma b. Ḥazm an-Nahshalī, one of which has already been quoted above, I, 143 [i, 181]. (M.Q.)

and in the race-course of wisdom and the hippodrome of manliness has borne off the reed [16] of excellence from all his peers and equals, and has in person supervised important affairs and been in charge of weighty matters, and in the overcoming of difficulties and the crushing of rebels has provided unanswerable proofs. Now of the lineage *(urugh)* of Chingiz-Khan is Mengü Qa'an, who is famous for his shrewdness and bravery and celebrated for his sagacity and valour. The affairs of the Khanate should be ordered and regulated by the excellence of his world-adorning counsel and the welfare of land and people assured by the good fortune of his knot-loosening resolution and forethought.

> In this world there always appears the affair for every man
> and the man for every affair.

" *There are men for every action and everything is possible to such as are created for it.*" I shall place the reins of this affair in the hands of his proficiency and put the signet of the Empire upon the finger of his resolve and experience, for that unbroken horse, the world, will be tamed beneath the thighs of his severity and valour and the sword that protects the commonweal and guards the frontiers will be unsheathed from the scabbard of his resolve and intrepidity.'

Hearing these words with the ear of intelligence and understanding all present knew of a certainty that the profits and advantages hereof would accrue to all mankind and to themselves in particular and that whatever was beyond this would be redundant—' when thou dost pass beyond the straight it is crooked '. They exclaimed as one man: ' " *Thou hast given the bow to him that shaped it and hast settled in the house* [20] *him that built it.*" [17] Beyond this stage there is no thoroughfare. " *There is no village beyond 'Abbadan.*[18] "' And each said truthfully in allegory:

[16] A reference to the Arab custom of planting a reed in the ground to serve as a kind of winning-post: it would be snatched up and flung in front of him by the leading horseman.

[17] From the *Maqāmāt* of Hariri. (M.Q.)

[18] 'Abbādān is the original Arabic spelling of Abadan, which in the Middle Ages was situated on the sea-coast. See le Strange, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, 48–9.

'If I tear my heart away from thee and take my love from thee, upon whom shall I cast that love, whither shall I take that heart?' [19]

And every jewel comes to rest when it finds its proper setting.

However Mengü Qa'an would not consent and for days he continued to refuse and would not undertake this immense charge nor accept this mighty obligation. When this persistence had exceeded all bounds his brother Möge [20] Oghul, who was adorned with the jewel of wisdom and authority, rose to his feet and said: 'In this assembly we have all given written undertakings and in this meeting we have all promised to abide by Batu Qa'an's [21] commands, and suffer no change or alteration thereof, and desire no addition to his words. But since now Mengü Qa'an seeks to deviate from the advice of the *aqa* and his own statement, if hereafter *aqa* and *ini* should disagree on some matter, let it not give rise to censure or be the subject of reproach.'

He spoke in this fashion and with the diamond of his tongue pierced the pearl of this affair. It was a clear proof and a decisive demonstration, and Batu praised these words and applauded Möge. And Mengü Qa'an was convinced.[22]

And since the rare and wonderful works of God had made the sapling of kingship firm of root and lofty of branch beside the stream of '*And We made you kings*',[23] Batu, as is the custom of the Mongols, rose up and all the princes and *noyans* knelt down with him. He then seized a goblet and set the Khanate in its proper place. All the preachers and novices [24] approved his action.

[19] This line occurs in a *ghazal* of Kamal-ad-Din Isma'il († 1237) but must be a quotation from an earlier poem for it appears in the *Kalīla u Dimna* of Nasrallah written nearly 100 years earlier. See M.Q.'s additional note at the end of his introduction to III, xxix–xxx.

[20] See above, p. 518, n. 10.

[21] It is very strange that Juvaini should here give Batu the title of *qa'an*, i.e. Great Khan. Some of the MSS. have Batu Qa'an Aqa and M.Q. suggests that the original text may have had simply Batu Aqa, i.e. Batu the Senior Prince.

[22] Reading *mulzam* with B.

[23] Apparently a misquotation of Koran, v, 23: '*He* [God] *made you kings.*'

[24] Apparently 'old and young', with perhaps a reference to Buddhist priests.

The leadership has come to thee submissively, trailing its skirts towards thee.
It was fit only for him and he was fit only for it.
Had another than he desired it, the earth would have quaked with quakes.[25]

Everyone who was present in that assembly acclaimed [Mengü Qa'an] as sovereign, and they arranged to hold the great *quriltai* in Onan-Kelüren [26] in the new year. And with this intention each returned to his own encampment.

Tidings hereof spread throughout the world and penetrated to the farthest corners of the earth. And Sorqotani Beki began to cultivate strangers with all kinds of attentions and favour and to win over kinsmen and relations with all means of courtesy and diplomacy.

As for those who spoke evasively [22] and postponed [a decision] on this matter, fabricating tales and inventing stories, on the pretext that the Khanate ought to remain in the family *(urugh)* of Qa'an or Güyük Khan, they forgot the subtlety of *'Thou givest power to whom thou wilt'* [27] and therefore dispatched messenger after messenger in all directions and also sent messages to Batu to say that they dissented from that agreement and did not acquiesce in that covenant.

Batu would reply: 'With the agreement of the *aqa* and *ini* we have settled this matter and the discussion is over—*"the matter is decreed concerning which ye inquire"*.[28] It is impossible to abrogate it, and if we did not proceed in the matter in this fashion and if another than Mengü Qa'an were to be nominated, the order of affairs would be upset and the laws of the realm and the concerns of the people thrown into confusion to such an extent that it would be impossible to set matters to rights. And if you ponder this business well with the eye of reflection and farsightedness, it will be clear to you that the interests of Qa'an's

[25] Slightly adapted from a *qasida* by Abul-'Atahiya in praise of the Caliph al-Mahdi. (M.Q.)

[26] I.e. the territory between the Onon and the Kerulen. Cf. Rubruck: '. . . Onankerule which is as it were their original home, and in which is the *ordu* of Chingis chan.' (Rockhill, 165.)

[27] Koran, iii, 25.

[28] *Ibid.*, xii, 41.

sons and grandsons have been respected, for the administration of so great an empire, which stretches from the farthermost East to the uttermost West, is beyond the strength and knowledge of mere children.'

Amidst such exchanges the appointed year came to an end and the next year was half over, and still there was no sign of the conclusion of that matter. Meanwhile with each year that passed the affairs of the world became more desperate, and with every month the garment of the people's livelihood more ragged.

Batu sent his brothers Berke and Toqa-Temür as his representatives. [23] Qadaghan set out too, as did also Qara-Hülegü. And the other princes who were of one mind began to journey [thither]. From Ulugh-Ef, which is the *ordu* of Chingiz-Khan,[29] came other princes.

Meanwhile Mengü Qa'an and Sorqotani Beki sent to those who were not constant and sincere of heart and trod the pathway of consideration, friendliness and helpful advice—'*you must pet the camel before you can milk it*'. Since their exhortations and admonishments produced no effect upon them and [24] there was no sign of any change in their attitude, they dispatched messenger after messenger to them, now cajoling them, now making use of threats and menaces; and so they reinforced their argument hoping that they might be restrained by kindness and conciliation and aroused from the slumber of pride and negligence. But far-sighted Wisdom would say:

> *O thou who rebukest lovers, let be a band that God has led astray as He will lead them aright.*
> *Reproach produces no effect upon endeavours whereof the nearest to thee are the farthest from thee.*[30]
>
> The unlucky man never does anything at the bidding of the wise man; never by any device can the unlucky man become lucky.

[29] Ulugh-Ef (see above, p. 504, n. 10) was the *ordu*, not of Chingiz-Khan, but of his son Chaghatai. However the name means simply 'Great House' and may have been applied to some other *ordu* also. In any case Chaghatai's *ordu* cannot be meant here since his successor Qara-Hülegü has already been mentioned, presumably coming from elsewhere.

[30] Mutanabbi. (M.Q.)

When that year drew to an end and there reached men's hearts the gladness of the following spring, the Lord of the Planets began to proceed gradually from the places of his fall and detriment to his apogee in mansions of honour and glory and to direct his course towards the house of his exaltation. Like the victorious Khusrau Parviz [31] he set his world-illuminating face towards the residence of power. And when he placed the burden of royalty upon the litter of Aries, the fertile winds began to blow and move in a gentle manner like the Northern zephyr, which blowing from the bedchamber of the rose stirs the base of the sweet herbs. And the straitened [32] ponds that had been shackled by the cold of Dai [33] [25] and like Bahman [34] imprisoned in the bonds of snow and ice *(bahman),* by the efforts of the gentle breeze now became open-hearted and loose of rein.

> Through the effort of the breeze there appeared on the surface of the water a thousand ripples (*chīn*), and upon every ripple a thousand Chinese (*Chīn*) musk-bags.

And the soil of the earth waxed joyous and merry from the heat of the fiery exhalations. The natural powers [of living organisms] came into action with their growth and development, and birds burst into song in the meadows.

> Now we must drink sweet-tasting wine, for the scent of musk arises from the stream.
> Every garden is covered with the petals of flowers; every mountain is full of tulips and hyacinths.[35]

The lustre of verdure and freshness came to the face of the world. The branches [of the trees] stretched their necks and thrust out green heads. The gardens, like sprightly, well-shaped ladies, grew daily *(rūz-afzūn āmadand)* nearer to their heart's desire. The fruit blossom and the water-lily were splendid and glorious in a hundred thousand ways. The judas-tree stole the colour of the cheek. The camomile borrowed the sparkle and purity

[31] The last of the great Sassanians, Chosroes II (590–628), the antagonist of Heraclius.
[32] *dast-tang,* i.e. frozen.
[33] December–January.
[34] January–February.
[35] *Shahnama* ed. Vullers, 1630, ll. 2372 and 2376.

of the loved one's teeth. The violet was sweet-scented from the locks of its *ghaliya* [36] hair and turned inwards *(tūi bar tūi)* like the faces of lovers. The flowers still in bud were like coquettish sweethearts or pleasures without pain. The jessamine drew all eyes upon it in the meadow, and the jonquil *(nasrīn)* adorned the earth like the two Eagles *(nasrain)* [37] in the heavens. The narcissus, like quiver-bearing Turks, illumined the garden with head held high. And the mouth of the tulip, like the mouth of a cup, was merry with rose-coloured wine. [26] From the scattering of flowers upon them thou wouldst have thought the channels of water to be Indian swords of enchased steel. The melodious nightingale, like the ten-tongued lily, sang a thousand songs in praise of garden and meadow, and the minstrels accompanied the tune of the lark. And the following bilingual *(mulamma')* *qit'a* of the *sahib-divan* of the Lands [38] *(may God lengthen his life!)* which, in the flower of his youth, he had composed and put together like puffs of the Eastern zephyr, became the morning and evening refrain of the treble and bass of harp and organ *(arghanūn)*:

The turtle-doves have lamented upon the tree, and the
garden has spread perfume like Comorin aloes.
The air has become scented: since thou hast musk it is
fitting that thou shouldst keep vigil all night
alone [with her].
Pass round the cup, O friend, let us be merry like the
wild stock (khuzāma) *and the spice* (bahār).
The lips of the bud have opened in a smile because of the
spring cloud.
The gardens have smiled because of the camomile, just as
the twinkling stars have appeared on the horizon.
Since the preparations have been made for merrymaking thou
wilt consent to unite with me this one night.

Like the days of union with the damsel with the mole, the state of the weather was as temperate as could be wished and the sickness of the year was changed to health. The world was a rose-garden and the season resplendent.

[36] See above, i, 170, n. 5. [37] The constellations Aquila and Lyra.
[38] I.e. Juvaini's father. See above, p. 488.

This spring and these lights of it—excellent are its nights and excellent its days.[39]

Most of the princes now assembled on the Kelüren. They sent Shilemün [40] Bitikchi [27] to Oghul-Ghaimish and her sons Khoja and Naqu and 'Alam-Dar [41] Bitikchi to Yesü-Mengü with the following message: 'Most of the family of Chingiz-Khan have gathered together and the business of the *quriltai* has been delayed until now because of you. There is no more time for excuses and procrastination. If you have a mind to concord and unity you should present yourselves as soon as possible at the *quriltai* in order that the affairs of the realm may be dealt with in unanimity and the foul veil of estrangement *(vaḥshat)* and duplicity removed from the countenance of harmony.'

Previously Siremün also had sent messengers to Khoja and Naqu, for a feeling of friendship and amity had sprung up between them since

in times of stress ill feelings disappear.[42]

When they realized that no good would come of deferment Naqu Oghul set out. Qadaq Noyan and some of the emirs of the Court of Güyük Khan likewise set out. And [28] Yesün-Toqa [43] Oghul, the brother of Qara-Hülegü, [setting out] from his place of abode came with them to join Siremün, so that all these were assembled in one spot; and it was rumoured that they were hatching some plot against the Moslems.

Thereafter Khoja also gradually began to move, saying now 'to-day,' now 'to-morrow' and causing time to pass with 'perhaps' and 'peradventure.' And they all still imagined that the business of the *quriltai* could not progress or be successful without their presence and that the question [of the accession]

[39] From the verses of Abul-Ghanā'im al-Mausili quoted by Tha'alibi in the *Tatimmat-al-Yatima.* (M.Q.) See Eghbal's ed., I, 47.

[40] Shilemün, like Siremün, appears to be a Turco-Mongolian form of Solomon. See above, i, 251, n. 14.

[41] A Mongol with the Persian name of 'Alam-Dār ('Standard-Bearer') appears in Rashid-ad-Din ed. Blochet, 383 *et seq.*

[42] The second half of a *bait* by 'Uwaif al-Qawāfī, a poet of the *Hamasa.* (M.Q.)

[43] See above, i, 249, n. 4.

could not be settled. Siremün and Naqu being the nearest, the princes, emirs and *noyans* in attendance on Mengü Qa'an sent a joint message to them to this effect: 'If you intend to be listless and laggardly in proceeding to the assembly, we [by ourselves] shall raise Mengü Qa'an to the Khanate.' Realizing that delay and deferment would not conduce to the attainment of their aims and desires they gave their promise to reach the assembly at such-and-such a time. And they set out with the speed of the fixed stars, travelling slowly with horses, horsemen and troops, [29] with heavily loaded camels and countless wagons.

> *How slow is the camels' gait whether they carry stone or iron,*
> *Or men sitting crouched!* [44]

When the appointed time had passed and they still showed no haste to appear and their delay and deferment had exceeded all bounds a group of wise men and astrologers who were present at that assembly selected the 9th of Rabi' II of the year 649 [1st of July, 1251] because of a horoscope such that the fortunate planets might glean after its fortune, and Jupiter seek to purchase its effects, and Venus light herself with its lights. And one of the indications of daily-increasing fortune was that in those few days the clouds had piled up, and the rains poured down, and the face of the sun was enclosed behind a veil of vapour and a screen of mist; and at the selected hour the astrologers were writing but the dark clouds kept off the radiation and they were unable to take the altitude. Suddenly the fair countenance of the sun, like a bride displayed to the bridegroom after being guarded, and kept from him, and denied to him, cast aside its veil at the chosen hour, and the sky was uncovered enough to reveal the globe of the sun and was cleared of the turbidity of the fog; and [30] the astrologers began to take the altitude. The world was adorned with light and brightness, and the face of the earth emptied of shadow and darkness. The rising

[44] Attributed to az-Zabbā, Queen of Mesopotamia, in a story related in the *Kitab-al-Aghani*. (M.Q.) On az-Zabbā see Nicholson, *A Literary History of the Arabs*, 35–7.

of the house of the Greater Benefic [45] was ascertained from the movement of the heavens and the strength of the angle of the Ascendant determined: the maleficent planets and the Dark Degrees [46] were cadent from the fortunate Ascendant, the Greater Luminary [47] was erect in its apogee in the Tenth House and the Anaretae *(qavāṭi')*[48] resident in the Twelfth.

All those present—the princes such as Berke Oghul and his brother Toqa-Temür, their uncle [49] Elchitei the elder, the sons of Otegin, Köten and Kölgen, and the emirs, *noyans* and great officials of the *ordu* of Chingiz-Khan as well as such other leaders as were in that neighbourhood, together with troops beyond number or computation—[of all these] the princes took off their hats inside the *ordu,* slung their belts over their shoulders and raising up Mengü set him upon the throne of sovereignty and kingship. They named him Mengü Qa'an, and from the ringing of the heavens there came this cry as augury to the ear of the innermost soul:

[31] 'O king, remain a thousand years in thy kingdom, and then
for a thousand years take pride in thy glory,
Every year a thousand months, every month a hundred days,
every day a thousand hours and every hour a thousand years.'

As for the emirs and troops they drew up outside the *ordu*—more than a thousand men of action, famous warriors, who in truth were lions of battle at the moment of revenge or when in desperate straits—

A band of men like gloomy Night and broadswords which shone
like the dawn of a dark night—

and, at the same time as the princes inside the *ordu,* knelt three times.[50]

And when the World-Emperor had auspiciously seated him-

[45] I.e. Jupiter.

[46] On the Dark Degrees see Biruni, *The Book of Instruction in the Elements of Astrology,* 270. It may be however that the Dark Signs—Leo, Scorpio and Sagittarius—are meant here. (*Ibid.,* 214.)

[47] I.e. the Sun. [48] See above, p. 362, n. 1.

[49] Rather their cousin, for he was the son of Chingiz-Khan's brother Qachi'un.

[50] Or 'nine times' as in several MSS. So also above, i, 252.

self upon the couch of the Empire, like the sun in the zenith of power, his magnanimity so required it that some ease and comfort should at once be enjoyed by every kind of living creature and every variety of inorganic matter. He therefore made a *yasa* that on that lucky day no man should tread the path of strife and contention; people should not engage in acts of hostility and enmity towards one another but should enjoy themselves and make merry. And since the human species was receiving its due of life in all manner of enjoyment and self-indulgence, so too all the other animals should not go without their share, and therefore those domesticated animals used for riding or as beasts of burden should not be subjected to the discomfort of loads, chains, hobbles, shackles and straps [32], while as for those which are slaughtered for their flesh [51] in accordance with the just Shari'at, their blood should remain unshed in the asylum of security, so that for one day, like the doves in a sanctuary, they might pass their time in ease and tranquillity. And as for the wild creatures that fly or graze, on land and in the water, they should have a respite from the attack of attackers; [52] and beat their wings to their heart's content in the gardens of safety.

The air is clear for thee, so lay thy eggs, and whistle,
and peck as long as thou wishest to peck.
The hunter has departed from thee, so rejoice.[53]

And since all living creatures had had their full benefit from his daily-increasing fortune, the inorganic bodies also, which are likewise the work of the Creator *(glorious is His name!)*—and every one of the atoms of His creation has in it its own particular secret meaning: *'O our Lord! thou hast not created this in vain'* [54] —should not be deprived of that mercy since *'there is nought which doth not celebrate His praise.'* [55] Therefore the brain of the earth should not be given a headache through the pain caused by tent-pegs and digging; and the soul of the water should not be polluted by the discharge of impurities. Praise God for a

[51] *gūshtī*. See above, p. 450, n. 4.
[52] Reading *qāṣidān* with E.
[53] Tarafa b. al-'Abd at-Taghlabi. (M.Q.)
[54] Koran, iii, 188.
[55] *Ibid.*, xvii, 46.

being whom the Almighty makes the source of [33] compassion and the meeting-place of equity to such an extent that He causes his acts of charity to be dispensed upon whatever bears a name, even brute animals and lifeless stones ! Now if a man of insight considers these subtleties deductively, and draws the conclusion therefrom, and ponders and reflects upon the inner meaning of these circumstances, whereof with the passing of months and years the picture will remain engraved upon the face of Life, so will be ascertained and determined the extent and degree of the benevolent attention of his august mind to improving the lot of the weak and poor and his extreme concern for spreading his all-embracing justice and mercy among great and small. May God *(great is His glory !)* grant him the enjoyment and pleasure of empire and sovereignty for endless years to come !

In this manner they passed that day until nightfall and when night came each departed to his quarters. On the next day when the black-garbed army of Night turned their backs in flight before the vanguard of Daybreak and the Khusrau of the planets rose, victorious and triumphant, above the horizon, the princes began to rejoice, and make merry, and spread the carpet of gaiety, making, as it were, the following words their refrain :

> The locks of Night are thrown back from the cheek of Day :
> it is time for the drunk to make merry again.
> The cupbearers are busy bringing in the rose-coloured wine, the
> aroma of which is taken from the pleasant breath of the censer.[56]

And that day the feasting took place in the tent which the Supreme Minister *(ṣāḥib-i-aʿẓam)* Yalavach *(God strengthen the foundations of* [34] *his power !)* had constructed of cloths of splendid texture resembling the green cupola and a model of the highest vault, whereof the designs *(ashkāl)* from the abundance of the embroidery and the beauty of the colouring appeared as a sky with the lights of the stars shining as lanterns, or as a garden wherein flowers and blossom were scattered like pearls. The floor of the tent, covered with carpets of all kinds in all varieties

[56] From a *qasida* by Sayyid Hasan b. Nāsir Ghaznavi, from which three other *baits* have been quoted below, III, 36 [ii, 572.] (M.Q.)

of colour, seemed to be a meadow full of every sort of fragrant herb, such as violets, Judas-flowers and jonquils. None had ere this erected a tent in that shape and style or fashioned a pavilion in so ingenious a form. The interior was like the Garden of Iram and the exterior fair and pleasant. When the revelling was resumed and their joviality had passed all bounds, this song arose from every side:

> Ha! O picture of Mansuriya,[57] thou art a garden and a palace,
> or a paradise which God has sent into the world.
> Nay, I will not call thee of the world, [thou art] not
> of the world, because the world decreases life and thou,
> unlike the world, dost increase life.[58]

And the Emperor of the Clime, like the Khusrau who walks alone [59] in the house of his exaltation, was now firmly seated on the throne of fortune and the couch of sovereignty, leaning on the cushion of power, standing upon the ladder of splendour and majesty, his feet planted on the centre of happiness and success and mounted on [35] the steed of might and eminence. And the princes, like the Pleiades, were gathered on his right; and his seven brothers, each of whom was a full moon in the heaven of kingship, Qubilai, Hülegü, Arigh Böke, Möge, Böchek, * Sögetü [60] and Sübetei, stood there like the Seven Thrones.[61] And on his left the princesses like [36] gardens, each of them in fairness and beauty far superior [62] to the sun and the moon, were seated '*on inwrought couches reclining on them face to face*'.[63] And houri-like, sweet-faced cupbearers, on whose countenances was written the *sura* of Beauty, from ewers and jugs poured out cup after cup of *qumiz* and wine, and the field of all hearts was cleared of the thorns of grief and fear.

[57] In Tus. See below, p. 616. [58] Anvari. (M.Q.) [59] I.e. the Sun.

[60] Reading SKTW for the SKTR of O. (The text has SYKR.) On the spelling of the name in the Chinese sources (Sögedü) and Rashid-ad-Din see Hambis, *op. cit.*, 88 and 89, nn. 8 and 9. The forms in Rashid-ad-Din and the *Mu'izz-al-Ansāb* are perhaps corruptions of an original SWKTY or SWKTAY, i.e. Sögetei. According to Rashid-ad-Din (Blochet, 202 and 211) this prince was the ninth son of Tolui.

[61] I.e. the constellation of the Great Bear.

[62] This appears to be the meaning of the Persian (*du rukh dāda*).

[63] Koran, lvi, 15–16.

What shall I say of such cupbearers and how, O Lord, who take
the rose-coloured moon out of the amber-scented snare?
Mars becomes a drop of blood from their dagger on the day
of victory when they blithely seize the hilt of the dagger.
Venus dances in their cup like a bubble at revelling time when
with their hands they seize the edge of the cup.[64]

And contrary Fate, having set a foot in the right direction, must needs strike up a tune. And the Venus of prosperity chose a poem to suit her mood and having with the tongue of fortune put speech into the mouth of the world thus began her overture:

Glad tidings! Fortune hath kept her promise, and Destiny is repentant of her cruelty and oppression.

And in time with the following *ghazal,* which was in keeping with the occasion, the circling heavens, looking on with the eye of contentment and approval, began to dance:

[37] O Khusrau, may the kingdom be pleasant to thee! May the
whole world be subject to thee!
By thee were the flourishing lands of tyranny laid waste;
by thee may the foundation of justice be firmly laid!

And they gave voice to the following melody which was appropriate to the times now that they were safe from being struck with the plectrum of Destiny's harp:

Thy grandsire [65] washed tyranny off the page of the world.
Thy uncle's [66] generosity repaired what was broken.
O thou whom the cloak of the Khanate exactly fits,
Do good, for 'tis thy turn to reign.[67]

And the *noyans* and emirs, together with their chief and leader Mengeser Noyan [68] were stationed rank behind rank in the place of the sword-bearers, whilst the *bitikchis,* viziers and chamberlains, of whom the principal and leader was Bulghai [69] Aqa, took

[64] See above, p. 570, n. 56. [65] I.e. Chingiz-Khan. [66] I.e. Ögedei's.

[67] For the original lines by Rashid-ad-Din Vatvat from which these verses are adapted see II, 16. (M.Q.)

[68] On Mengeser, the 'great *yarghuchi*' or Grand Judge, see below, p. 578 *et seq.* He belonged to the Jalayir tribe. For a full account of his history see Pelliot–Hambis, *Campagnes,* 368–9.

[69] BLΓAY. This is Rubruck's Bulgai, 'magnus scriptor qui erat christianus nestorinus'. (Wyngaert, 245 and n. 2.)

their stand in their proper station and the remainder of the emirs and retinue were seated outside the pavilion in more than a hundred ranks *(rasta)* with their weapons fastened.

> *A people who, if you meet them, are angels in beauty and, if you fight them, are devils.*[70]
>
> The Turks are wise and clever angels;
> They are jet-tressed houris and iron-clad *divs*.
> They are *divs* when in time of battle they wear iron;
> They are houris when in banquets they drink wine.

In this style and manner with every kind of joy and pleasure they feasted and revelled for a whole week with care and malice banished far from the courtyard of their breasts. And every day in accordance with the dress of the World-Emperor they would don garments of a different colour [71] [38] and quaff cups and goblets. And the daily ration of drink and food was 2,000 waggon-loads of *qumiz* and wine, 300 horses or oxen and 3,000 sheep. And since Berke was present there was performed upon these the commandment: *'Eat of that over which the name of God hath been pronounced.'* [72]

During all this feasting there arrived Qadaghan Oghul, his nephew [73] Melik Oghul, and Qara-Hülegü. They performed the ceremonies of congratulation and observed the etiquette of obeisance, and in return Mengü Qa'an held it his duty to exceed himself in showing them every manner of honour, courtesy and kindness. With their arrival the assembly still awaited the other princes who were to follow them; and they continued to be excessive in their joy and revelry and defective in caution and alertness. And since none of them [39] dreamt that the *yasa* of the World-Emperor Chingiz-Khan could be changed or altered, and there had been no disagreement amongst them, nor was such a thing in accordance with the customs of the Mongols,

[70] From a *qasida* by al-Ghazzi in praise of the Turks. See I, 63 [i, 81–2]. (M.Q.)

[71] See above, i, 186 and n. 25.

[72] Koran, vi, 118. I.e. they were slaughtered in accordance with the Mohammedan ritual for Berke's benefit, Berke being a convert to Islam.

[73] *Brother,* rather, for both Qadaghan (Qadan) and Melik (Mengli) were sons of Ögedei.

it never crossed their minds nor was it painted in the picture-gallery of their imagination [that any such occurrence was possible]; and they therefore neglected to take any precautions.

Suddenly, by a happy chance, nay as an indication of fortune and the continued favour of the Most Glorious, a falconer [74] called Keshik [75] lost a camel which was comparable with the she-camel of the Prophet Salih [76] *(upon whom be peace!)*, being the cause of the salvation of the true believers and the reason for the destruction of the unrighteous.[77] The falconer spared no effort in his search for the animal. He rode from left to right in that region and traversed a distance of two or three days' journey. All of a sudden he stumbled into the middle of Siremün's and Naqu's forces. He beheld a great host of men, heavily loaded waggons and food and drink by the *kharvar*—all this allegedly

[74] *jānvar-dār*. According to Rashid-ad-Din (Blochet, 288) he was one of Möngke Qa'an's falconers (*qushchī*). He belonged to the Qanqlī 'bone' (*ibid.*), i.e. apparently not to the tribe of the Qanqlī Turks but to a Mongol clan bearing the same name. On the type of clan known as a 'bone' or *yasun* see Vladimirtsov, *Le régime social des Mongols*, 56–7.

[75] KŠK with the variants KSK, KSL and KŠL. I take this name to be identical with the Mongol word *keshik* (*keshig*) 'guard'. On the other hand it may, conceivably, like the KLK of I, 27 (on which see above, i, 37, n. 7), be a corruption of the name Kishlik = Qīshlīq. Cf. Pelliot, *Les Mongols et la Papauté* [201]: '. . . ce récit rappelle d'assez près, *jusque dans le nom du peuple qui révéla le complot*, un épisode de l'histoire de Gengis-khan.'

[76] On Ṣāliḥ see above, i, 17, n. 40. The story here referred to will be found in Koran, vii, 71–7: '*And to Themoud* we sent *their brother Saleh. He said, O my people! worship God: ye have no other God than Him: now hath a clear proof* of my mission *come to you from your Lord, this she-camel of God being a sign to you: therefore let her go at large to pasture on God's earth: and touch her not to harm her, lest a grievous chastisement* seize you. . . .' However the chief men of Thamud rejected the preaching of Salih. '*And they ham-strung the she-camel, and rebelled against their Lord's command, and said: "O Saleh, let thy menaces be accomplished upon us if thou art one of the Sent Ones." Then the earthquake surprised them; and in the morning they were found* dead *on their faces in their dwellings.*'

[77] It is interesting to compare the account given by Rubruck: 'Keu [Güyük] had a brother called Siremon, who on the advice of the wife of Keu and her vassals, went in great state toward Mangu as if to do him homage. In truth, however, he intended to kill him, and to exterminate all his *ordu*. And when he had already got to within a day or two of Mangu, he had to leave on the road one of his carts which broke down; and while the carter was fixing it, there came along one of Mangu's men who helped him; and he asked so much about the journey that the carter revealed to him what Siremon proposed doing. Then

for the purpose of offering congratulations and making [40] obeisance. However, Keshik failed to perceive the purpose thereof and continued to ask everybody about his loss. Suddenly, in the midst of all his searching, he came upon a broken waggon with a young lad seated beside it. The lad, thinking this horseman was one of their companions, asked Keshik to help mend the waggon. Keshik got down from the horse and began to assist in the repairing. His glance fell upon the weapons and warlike equipment arranged in bundles. 'What are all these arms?' he asked. 'The same as in the other waggons,' the lad replied. Clever Keshik at once affected indifference, but when he had finished the job joined another person and somehow struck up an acquaintance with him. Bit by bit he discovered how matters lay and when he had deduced the nature of their secret all doubt was removed, for *'the clear appears from the scum'*. He realized that those people were meditating treason and duplicity, and treachery and discord, intending in the midst of the feast that would be given to welcome them, when the hobbling rope of their minds had snapped and old and young were manacled with drunkenness, to step outside the sanctuary of decency and all of a sudden [41] to put their plot into execution. *'But the plotting of evil shall only enmesh those who make use of it.'* [78] Keshik let go the reins of free will and reciting the proverb: *'Thy rope on thy withers!'* over his camel he travelled a three days' journey in one and reached the *ordu* close on the time of evening prayer. He entered without leave and without fear or hesitation or embarrassment and with a stout heart spoke boldly

the other, leaving him as if he did not care about it, went to a herd of horses and taking the strongest horse he could pick in it, rode day and night in great haste till he came to Mangu's *ordu,* and told him what he had heard. Then Mangu promptly called all his men, and caused to be made three circles of men-at-arms around his *ordu,* so that no one could come in. The rest he sent against this Siremon, and they captured him, for he did not suspect that his designs had become known, and led him with all his men to the *ordu.* When Mangu charged him with the crime he at once confessed. Then he was put to death, he and the elder son of Keu chan, and with them three hundred of the greatest men among the Tartars. And they sent also for their ladies, that they might be whipped with burning brands to make them confess.' (Rockhill, 163–4.)

[78] Koran, xxv, 41.

as follows: 'You have spread the carpet of merrymaking and in pleasure and gaiety have bid farewell to the sorrows of the world, whilst in their ambushes your enemies have sharpened the teeth of their lances, biding their time, preparing and girding themselves for action.

And if thou dost not enter its door speedily, thy enemy will come upon thee through its door.' [79]

The gist of all this he declared to them by word of mouth, urging them to set to and look to their interest and bidding them make haste. But since the like ideas had never been entertained in the customs and practices of the Mongols, especially in the age of the seed *(urugh)* of Chingiz-Khan, they were quite unable to believe that such a state of affairs existed and they made him repeat himself over and over again. And each time he recounted what he had expressed in the first place speaking of the nature of their [80] character.

His words took no root in the Khan's ear and he paid no attention to them. Keshik continued his urgent pleading, and his distress and anxiety [42] were plain to see, but the Khan remained unshaken in his calm. The princes and chief *noyans* cried out against this firmness. 'Heaven forbid,' they said, 'that it lead to some misfortune and be the occasion of regret and repentance.

Beware of the matter whereto the entrance is broad and wherefrom the egress is narrow.[81]

Before the hand of retribution is laid upon the neck of desire, and the road [82] of policy is blocked, and the way of expedience obscured, and the case has become as subtle as a hair, and the bright eye of wisdom dazzled, and the following of a petty foe triumphant, it is incumbent upon a man of intelligence to neglect no measure of prudence or precaution and not to despise his enemy however feeble his condition. If then his surmise be

[79] From a *qasida* of Ibn-al-Mu'tazz. (M.Q.)

[80] I.e. Siremün's and Naqu's.

[81] Quoted in the *Hamasa,* where the author's name is not given. See Tabrizi, *Sharḥ-al-Ḥamāsa,* III, 89. (M.Q.)

[82] Reading *rāh* with O.

true he will be secure from the annoyance and vexation thereof, and if it be without foundation no harm or mischief can be imagined and no one will suffer thereby.

And despise not the determination of the humble man, for
the tree-trunk is set on fire with chips of wood.

To act with shrewdness and sagacity it is necessary to enter upon this affair with gentle and conciliatory means so that perchance the fire of this disaffection may be quenched before it flares up, and the side wind of adversity die down before it can blow away the soil of peace and security from the surface of the earth, and the water of shame, which [43] is the life of all creation, remain in the eyes of Destiny and on the face of their affair.

Roughness and violence are of no avail; only gentleness
will bring the snake out of the hole.

If nothing can be achieved by such methods and these people cannot be reduced to submission by fair words and courteous actions, we can then put into practice [the proverb which says:] "*The final remedy is cautery*" and bend low the back of their resistance.

There is girded before thee an army sharp-pointed like
the lance and the spear-head in time of service and
at the moment of revenge;
Like Khusrau with his cup each of them in wisdom; like
Rustam mounted on Rakhsh is each of them on the saddle.'

Their plans and counsels being thus decided each of the princes wished to set foot in this road and go in person to investigate and inquire into these circumstances and achieve that object by persuasion or force as the occasion might demand. However, by the inspiration of good fortune—

Counsel came as the key to victory: it is plain that iron
counsel is the golden key.
One piece of good counsel is better than a hundred swordsmen;
a king's crown is better than a hundred moulds.
With counsel an army's back may be broken; with a sword [only]
one to a hundred men can be slain—[83]

[83] From the *Khusrau u Shirin* of Nizami. (M.Q.)

[44] the princes were spared the endurance of that toil and it was agreed that Mengeser, who was the leader of the emirs of Court and the most senior of the Pillars of the State, should go and investigate the matter, and take action to forestall the plot; and in so doing should say whatever he thought expedient. Following his instructions he mounted horse with some two or three thousand horsemen, Turkish warriors and unclean Turks, who were in truth

Jinns upon jinns and if they are human, it is as though they had been stitched on with needles.[84]

At the break of day, when the vanguard of the Jamshid of the heavens had launched a surprise attack upon the host of Night, the great *noyan* Mengeser approached the tents of those forces. With more than a hundred horsemen he rode up to the thresholds of the tents, [45] troops having meanwhile come up from before and behind, and right and left, and taken their stand like the circumference of a circle. Mounted as he was the *noyan* called out and spoke as follows: 'A tale has been told concerning you and it has reached the Khan's ear. If those words dripped from the vessel of mendacity and deceit and are false, then the mark of truth and the sign of sincerity will be for you unhesitatingly and with complete confidence to come and do obeisance, and not have recourse to hollow excuses, but with the water of speed and alacrity wash the dust of this lassitude from the cheeks of fidelity and the countenance of unity.'

Hearing these sensible words they came out of their tents, and as far as their sight could reach they could see nothing but troops without number or limit with themselves like the centre of the circle, whilst their friends and following, their horse and foot *(khail u rajil)*, were far away in their hiding places. The reins of self-mastery slipped from the hands of their power and thought and the shackles of confusion, fear and perplexity tightened

[84] Quoted by Ibn-al-Athir as a *bait* from an *urjūza* by Abu-Nuwas in praise of polo. (M.Q.) The reference is of course to Turks on horseback. Cf. Ammianus Marcellinus' description of the Huns: 'They are almost glued to their horses.' (The whole passage is quoted in Vernadsky, *Ancient Russia*, 128.)

around the feet of their cogitation and resolve. They became exceedingly depressed and bewildered; and the tongue of excuse having turned mute and the leg of advance and withdrawal lame, they saw no hope of departing and no prospect of remaining behind. There was no support on which to lean their backs; they had not the arm of such strength as would enable them to resist nor had they the liver [46] and gall to rebel. No shore was visible from the midst [of that sea] so that they might recite [the proverb;] *'He that escapes with his life has gained,'* and make their way out, and avoid the consequences of their action. In the end they put their necks through the collar of Destiny and thrust their feet down the smoke-vent [85] of Discretion.

And the yearling camel colt, when it is fastened to a rope,
cannot attack six-year old camels that have cut their teeth.[86]

Under duress, not by choice they departed together with the *noyan*, accompanied by only a few horsemen, to wait upon the Emperor of the Face of the Earth. As they drew near to the *ordu* the greater part of their companions were detained and their arms taken from them. And it was commanded that some of the wicked and sinful emirs, without quiver or bow-case, should together with the princes make *tikishmishi* [87] where they were, nine at a time, and then enter the *ordu*.

For two days they were not questioned at all and the letter of examination and investigation remained sealed. On the third day when the sun auspiciously rose from the East, the day of the rebels' fortune reached the West of frustration, and the spring of the hypocrites' life approached its autumn. Another assembly was held and [47] all gathered together. Mengü Qa'an spoke as follows: 'This is what has been related concerning you. It

[85] A curious expression apparently intended to convey the idea of moderation. See below, p. 599, n. 161.

[86] From a *qasida* by Jarir. (M.Q.)

[87] The meaning of this word is 'making obeisance'—either by the offering of presents or by standing to attention. It appears to be used in the former sense above, p. 515, and below, p. 724. Cf. also Rashid-ad-Din ed. Berezin, VII, 278, where it is related how Jebe brought back from the campaign against Küchlüg a thousand chestnut horses with white muzzles which he presented to the Khan (*tikishmishī karda*).

is incredible and inconceivable and cannot be heard by the ear of intelligence nor accepted by the soul of wisdom. Nevertheless since the like imaginings, once they have become implanted in men's brains are no matter for jest, and rumours of such speeches, once they come to people's lips, are no longer merely figurative, therefore the goodness of [our] nature and the purity of [our] faith require and demand that this matter be examined and investigated in order that the countenance of certainty may be cleansed of the dust of doubt and the veil of uncertainty removed from the face of the sun of truth and right, so that if this be nought but calumniation and slander the liar and slanderer may behold his punishment upon the pages of events and mankind receive a lesson and a warning.'

It was commanded therefore that none should enter or leave the *ordu,* and he gave orders for the detention of a number of emirs and *noyans* such as Elchitei Noyan, Taunal, * Qata-Kürin, Jangi, * Qan-Khitai, Sorghan, Taunal the Younger, Toghan and Yasa'ur,[88] each of whom regarded himself [48] as

[88] Nearly all these names occur in the corresponding passage in the *Yüan shih*—3 (*ts'e* 2), 3a9–3b1. The following is a translation of that passage kindly supplied me by Professor Cleaves in a letter dated 4th February, 1955: 'Yeh-sun T'o (Yesün Tö), An-chih-tai (Aljidai), Ch'ang-chi (Čanggi), Chao/Chua-nan (? Junal/? Jonal), Ho-ta Ch'ü-lin (Qada Kürin), A-li-ch'u (? Alču) as well as Kang Ch'i-tan (? Tang Kidan), A-san (Asan), Hu-tu-lu (Quduluγ) and others bent on duplicity (lit., "devoted themselves to holding two ends/sides") were charged with having enticed the princes [of the blood] into sedition (lit., "to make disorder") and were all [3b] executed.' Aljidai (Alchidai) corresponds to the Elchitei (AYLČTAY) of Juvaini. On the tendency to confuse the names Alchidai, Elchidei and Eljigidei see Hambis, *op. cit.,* 29–30, n. 1. Elchitei, if he is identical with the Elchidei of Rashid-ad-Din (Khetagurov, 95–6), belonged to the Jalayir tribe. The following name (Changgi) corresponds exactly to the ČNKY of M.Q.'s text. This is however based on Blochet's reading in the corresponding passage in his edition of Rashid-ad-Din (293). I have restored the JNKY of E and G. On the name Janggi, which occurs in the *Secret History* (§ 277), see Pelliot–Hambis, *op. cit.,* 278. Jaunal is clearly preferable to Jonal as the spelling of the next name in view of Juvaini's TAWNAL (III, 50) alongside the TWNAL of the present passage. The form Qada-Kürin represented by the Chinese transcription Ho-ta Ch'ü-lin indicates QATAKRYN (Qata-Kürin) as an obvious emendation of the TATAKRYN in the printed text of Juvaini. (Blochet, *loc. cit.,* actually has QATAKRYN, but the reading seems to be based, not on his MSS., but on this same passage from the *Yüan shih,* which he quotes in a footnote.) The

of such rank and station that the highest heaven had no power over him and the pearls of his necklace, which had been strung together by the revolution of days and nights, could not be scattered. Perhaps they did not know [the verses]:

> To what cypress has He not given loftiness which He has not bowed again with affliction.
> Not every lump of sugar can be swallowed; now one must drink the clear [liquid] and now the dregs.

Some other commanders of *tümens* from amongst the rebel leaders [were likewise detained] whom it would take too long to name individually; and the investigation and examination began.

With Mengeser Noyan as the chief *yarghuchi* certain of the other emirs and chief men inquired for several days into the subtleties and obscurities of the case proceeding with circumspection. The prisoners contradicting one another, no doubt remained as to their guilt. In their shame and contrition they exclaimed in dumb show: *'Oh! would I were dust!'*[89] They confessed also and acknowledged and admitted their crime. Mengü Qa'an, following his laudable custom, wished to turn a blind eye to what had passed, for *'to forgive when one has power is one of the essentials of generosity.'* However, the princes and emirs said: 'Carelessness and [49] over-confidence in the case of an enemy are remote from the highway of rectitude and wisdom.

second element of Qada-Kürin occurs as the name of a Kereit chieftain, the Kürin Bādu[r] of the *Shêng-wu ch'in-chêng lu* and the Ubchiqtai Gürin Ba'atur of the *Secret History* (§ 160). See Pelliot–Hambis, *op. cit.*, 295 and 328–9. Finally, for the Ghang-Kidan or the like on which the Chinese transcription Kang Ch'i-tan is based, M.Q.'s text has QLČQAY (based on the QLǰQAY of B), which would appear to be a corruption of an original QNXTAY, i.e. *Qan-Khitai. The second element of this compound is of course the name (Khitai or Qitan) of the Manchurian people who founded the Liao Dynasty in Northern China. Of the names not mentioned in the *Yüan shih* SRΓAN is presumably the Mongol Sorghan or Sorqan, on which see Pelliot–Hambis, *op. cit.*, 157–8, and ṬΓAN is the Turkish Toghan' Falcon'. On Yasa'ur (reading YS'WR for the YSWR of the text) see above, i, 46, n. 13.

[89] Koran, lxxviii, 41.

And the application of a salve in place of the sword
in high matters is as harmful as to apply
the sword in place of an unguent.[90]

Wherever thou oughtest to make a scar, when thou puttest
a salve thereon, it availeth not.[91]

And when a man of counsel has got the advantage over a malignant foe, if he delays taking vengeance on him, that is far indeed removed from perfect prudence and farsightedness and in the end will be the occasion of regret [92] and repentance.

If thou get a chance at thy enemy, begin no other concern.

Kindness has no influence over the wicked; it is like seed scattered on a saline swamp: it yields no fruit, and though cloud after cloud rain down upon it, they produce no effect and nothing will grow.

A tree whose nature is bitter, if thou plantest it in
the Garden of Paradise;
And if at the time of watering thou pourest honey and
pure musk over its roots from the stream of Paradise:
In the end it displays its nature and bears that same
bitter fruit.[93]

And if punishment were not necessary and mighty kings and powerful monarchs could dispense therewith, the verse of "Iron and the Sword" would not have been sent down and there would have been no commandment regarding retaliation, which is the cause of survival and of generation and increase: "*in this law of retaliation is your* [*security for*] *life, O men of understanding!*"[94]

[50] A tree produces blossom only when it bursts the end
of every branch.
O king thou must store up vengeance for the enemy of thy kingdom,
And thou must learn this rule from the sun,
For until he struck his sword [95] victoriously out of his station (*martaba*),
The world was not lit up by his light.'

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[90] Mutanabbi. (M.Q.) [91] From the *Ḥadīqa* of Sana'i. (M.Q.)
[92] Reading *ḥasrat* with H.
[93] From Firdausi's satire on Sultan Mahmud (Mohl, I, xci).
[94] Koran, ii, 175. [95] I.e. until the first rays appeared on the horizon.

Mengü Qa'an realized that such words as these are spoken out of sincerity and not from motives of self-interest or hypocrisy. And with respect to the wicked emirs aforementioned who had kept the princes to these paths and involved them in these abysses and crimes he gave orders that they should be put to the sword in anger in accordance with the commandment of God *(mighty is His name!)*: *'They were drowned and made go into the fire.'* [96] The first was Elchitei: his head and feet were cut off. Then Taunal was trampled underfoot. *Qata-Kürin chose [to comply with] the proverb: *'By my hand, not by 'Amr's:'* he ran his belly on to a sword and was so killed. And as for the rest they departed this life in turn in the same manner: *'they shall bear their burdens on* [51] *their backs! Will that not be evil with which they shall be burdened?'* [97]

These tidings reaching Yesün-Toqa, the grandson of Chaghatai, he left all his army and taking 30 horsemen set out of his own accord.[98] He was sent to the *nerge* [99] around Naqu and Siremün, and they remained in one place.

In a word, if anyone had been meditating rebellion in his heart, Heavenly Predestination was now fixing a rope about the neck of his plans and pulling them along at a run, whilst the propitious horoscope and daily-increasing splendour [of Mengü Qa'an] was rendering these haughty tyrants and devils docile and submissive in the grasp of obedience and command, so that each of them would say in dumb show:

> 'Thou hast asked for my head. It cannot be given to anyone.
> I will come and bring it on my neck.' [100]

And *elchis* went after some of them and fetched them.

As for Qadaq Noyan he had not yet arrived. He realized that to him was due the origin of this estrangement, that from him had arisen the source of this alienation, that it was he who had stirred up the dust of this disaffection and cast the fire of

[96] Koran, lxxi, 25. [97] *Ibid.*, vi, 31.

[98] *bi-pā-yi-khwīsh.* Lit. 'with his own feet'.

[99] The meaning is presumably that he was imprisoned inside the *nerge* along with Naqu and Siremün.

[100] The second half of a quatrain by Nusrat-ad-Din of Kabud-Jama. (M.Q.)

turmoil into the world and that all this might not be righted by his hand.

[52] *How many a squadron did I embroil with another, and when they were embroiled I shook my hand off it!* [101]

When therefore Siremün and Naqu set out, he wished to draw back his foot from the affair *'after the destruction of Basra'*,[102] and lay his hand in the bosom of retirement and seclusion, and rest his back against the mountain of comfort, and hide his face, hoping safely to keep his head upon his neck and his soul in his body. And this desire he kept boiling in the pot of his brain upon the fire of greed, singing to himself:

'Strive to reach a place of refuge safely, for the road
is exceeding frightful and a station very far away.'

And day and night he thus pondered and reflected, trying to think of some opening through which he might achieve security and escape. And all the while Destiny laughed at his grief and anguish, his weeping and crying, and said in figurative language:

'If thy tongue were discreet, what business would the
sword have with thy head?'

Suddenly the agents of the Court arrived like so many Angels of Death and said:

'All thy friends have gone; now 'tis thy turn.

Come tent-man, strike thy tents, for the leader [of the
caravan] has left the stage.' [103]

They took him out of his tent and brought him on a wagon as far as Qara-Qorum. Though he pretended to be very ill they saw fit to remove him from thence and took him away. Upon arriving at Court he was tried by the *yarghuchis* and though his

[101] By al-Farrār as-Sulami, a poet of the *Hamasa*. He is excusing himself for fleeing from battle. (M.Q.) 'I shook my hand off it,' i.e. 'I broke off the engagement.'

[102] I.e. when it was too late.

[103] Manuchihri. (M.Q.) The whole poem is translated in Browne, *A Literary History of Persia*, II, 30–4.

guilt was more notorious than the infidelity of Iblis yet it was [only] after confessing and admitting [his crimes] that he departed in the wake of his friends and companions, [53] and drank his fill in the watering-place of *'and cause them to descend into the fire; and wretched the descent by which they shall descend!'* [104]

And since some who were in other places had not yet arrived [the princes] did not yet feel secure from their wicked tenets and evil machinations. They therefore sent *Bürilgitei [105] Noyan with an army consisting of ten *tümens* of valiant youths and spirited Turks to the region of Ulugh-Taq,[106] *Qanghai [107] and *Qum-Sengir,[108] which lies between Besh-Baligh and Qara-Qorum, so that a *nerge* might stretch from thence to the *nerge* of Qonghuran [109] Oghul, [54] who was in the neighbourhood of Qayaligh and had extended his *nerge* to the region of Otrar. And Yeke Noyan was sent to the country of the Qirqiz and the Kemchihüd [110] with two *tümens* of men.

Meanwhile, neither Oghul-Ghaimish nor her son Khoja having yet arrived, *elchis* went to both mother and son with a message to the following effect: 'If you had no share with these men in this conspiracy and did not agree with or assist them, it is essential for your happiness and will be the sign [of your

[104] Koran, xi, 100.

[105] See above, i, 246, n. 9.

[106] ALΓ TAQ. Lit. 'the Great Mountain', apparently in the region of the present-day Kobdo.

[107] Reading QNΓAY or QANΓAY for the MWTΓAY of the text. (Several of the MSS. have Q as the first lette of the word.) On Qanghai, i.e. the Khangai mountain range in Mongolia, see below, p. 609, n. 9.

[108] Reading QWM SNKR for the YWRYLYK of the text. Such a reading had already been tentatively suggested by Pelliot, *op. cit.*, [197]*n*. On Qum-Sengir see above, i, 261, n. 42.

[109] QNΓWRAN. The Qongqïran (QWNK QYRAN) of Rashid-ad-Din (Blochet, 103), the fourth son of Orda (Hordu). His name, like that of the Onggiran of the *Secret History* (§ 202), appears to be the singular form of the name of the tribe (see above, i, 38, n. 15); and in fact, according to Rashid-ad-Din (Blochet, 92 and 93) both his mother and his paternal grandmother belonged to the Qonqïrat.

[110] KM ǰHWD. I.e. Kem-Kemchi'üt, the country (strictly speaking, the *people*) between the Kem (i.e. the Upper Yenisei) and its left-bank affluent the Kemchik. See Pelliot–Hambis, *op. cit.*, 317. On an alternative form, Qam-Kemchik, see above, i. 69 and n. 21.

innocence] that you proceed to Court and [55] do so with all speed.'

When Shilemün Bitikchi, who was the *elchi* sent to Khoja, had finished delivering his message, Khoja paid little heed to his words and was about to make an attack upon him and commit an abominable act. But one of his wives, lower in rank than the rest but superior in wisdom and intelligence, prevented his intention and said: 'It is the messenger's duty to deliver his message, and in no age have men molested the messenger even of rebels. How then, when an *elchi* comes from Mengü Qa'an, can one make an attempt upon his life? And by the killing of one man how can his kingdom be possibly harmed or weakened? Such an action will generate many evils; oceans of trouble will rage; the world will be set in confusion; the flame of calamities will fire up; and when the matter is beyond thy control, contrition and repentance will be of no avail. Mengü Qa'an is the *aqa* and in the position of a father: thou must go to him and submit thyself to his command, whatever it be.'

Since Fortune favoured Khoja he reflected upon these words and considered how the event would be dangerous and the subject of regret. He therefore hearkened to her words with the ear of consent and showed honour and respect to Shilemün. Thereupon he and his wife set out from where they were and hastened to Court.

As for Tekshi [111] Oghul, who had come with his *aqa* Qara-Hülegü, [56] he went to Büri. And Türkmen Bitikchi was sent to Yesü-Mengü and Toqashi [112] his wife and the emirs and *noyans* of Ulugh-Ef. After making known the fate of those people,[113] whose feet had been caught in the snare of their own

[111] Tekshi, as M.Q. points out, was the son of Mochi and therefore not the younger brother but the cousin of Qara-Hülegü; but *aqa* is probably used loosely.

[112] Here TQAŠY, but below (III, 57) ṬTAŠY: Rashid-ad-Din (Blochet, 297) has ṬWQAŠY. In a letter dated the 20th April, 1955, Professor Cleaves suggested the possible identity of this name with the Mongol *toghasi* (*toghashi*) 'calculable', perhaps used here in the sense of 'estimable'.

[113] I.e. the conspirators.

action, [Türkmen Bitikchi spoke as follows]: 'If you did not support these men in their rebellion, why are you needlessly so slow in coming to join us and what is the reason for this delay, and procrastination, and remissness? If that thought had no place in your minds, you should set out forthwith. Otherwise you must fix your place of battle and make ready your weapons of war. *"And he that warneth is excused."*'

Hearing these words they were overcome with fear and dread of the Emperor. [57] They repudiated those ideas and entirely disassociated themselves from them. After delivering their message the *elchis* [114] returned immediately not even stopping to take food. Büri, Yesü and Toghashi [115] also set out.

As for such of those people as had set out from the region of Emil and Qayaligh, as each of them came to the army of Bürilgitei, he sent them on without their arms together with the greater emirs: as for the rest of them he dealt with them and disposed of them as he saw fit.

As soon as Khoja reached Court he was sent to join [58] Siremün and the other princes. As for the emirs who accompanied him, men such as * Bughatai [116] Qorchi, Arghasun [117] the son of Eljigitei and others, they were all of them tried and then dispatched along the road that their likes had trodden.

Chinqai too arrived. He was dealt with by Danishmand

[114] I.e. Türkmen Bitikchi and his colleagues. (M.Q.)

[115] See above, p. 586, n. 112.

[116] The text, following A, has QWRBΓAY, i.e. apparently Qurbaghai (i.e. Qurbagha, 'the Frog', on which see above, i, 243, n. 11), but all the other MSS. have a different word, which in O is quite clearly BΓTAY, perhaps identical with the Buqatai of the *Secret History* (§ 168).

[117] ARΓASWN. The Harqasun of the *Secret History* and Rashid-ad-Din. The form of the name in Juvaini corresponds exactly to the spelling of the word *arghasun* in Chaghatai Turkish, 'où il est sûrement emprunté au mongol et où il désigne la fiente sèche servant de combustible'. See Pelliot, *Mots à h initiale dans le mongol*, 205. The oddness of the name is accounted for by the Mongol custom of calling children after the first object to catch the mother's eye after her confinement. See Grousset, *op. cit.*, 541. Harqasun, according to the *Secret History* (§ 275), had been associated with Güyük and Büri in their quarrel with Batu (on which see below, p. 588, n. 124); and this circumstance was probably remembered against him on the present occasion. Cf. Grousset, *op. cit.*, 302 and 310.

Hajib in Ramazan of the year 650 [November–December, 1252]. There is an account of him in a separate chapter.[118]

After all these came Ghaimish Khatun: she was sent together with Qadaqach,[119] the mother of Siremün, to the *ordu* of Beki. [59] Thither went Mengeser Noyan, and the sons of these women having admitted being the originators of the conspiracy, they paid the penalty for their action after having been tried and confessed their guilt.[120]

Yesü, his wife Toqashi and Büri likewise arrived, and a number of emirs and *bitikchis* of high standing, men such as Miran[121] Bitikchi, Suman[122] Qorchi, Abachi[123] and other *noyans* commanding *tümens*. Such as were emirs met their ends [immediately]. Yesü and Büri were sent to the Court of Batu.[124] As for Toqashi Khatun, she was tried by Qara-Hülegü in the presence of Yesü: he ordered her limbs to be

[118] There is in fact, as M.Q. points out, no such chapter in any MS.

[119] QDAQAǰ. The Qataqash of Rashid-ad-Din (Khetagurov, 163). (On the spelling of her name see Pelliot, *Les Mongols et la Papauté* [203], n. 3.) She was the wife of Ögedei's third son Köchü (whose name is mis-spelt Kerju by Khetagurov) and belonged to the Qonqīrat tribe. Her grandfather was Alchi Noyan, the brother of Chingiz-Khan's chief wife, Börte Fujin, who was in consequence her great-aunt.

[120] On the trial and execution of Oghul-Ghaimish herself, see Rashid-ad-Din ed. Blochet, 304, Grousset, *op. cit.*, 310.

[121] MYRAN. [122] SWMAN.

[123] ABAǰY. This name ('the Hunter') was borne by a grandson of Orda (Hordu) and a great-grandson of Batu. See Rashid-ad-Din ed. Blochet, 102 and 111, Hambis, *op. cit.*, 54.

[124] Batu had an old score to settle with Büri. Accounts differ as to the details. According to the *Secret History* (§ 278, cf. Grousset, *op. cit.*, 301–2) Büri, together with Güyük and Harqasun, had used insulting language towards Batu at a banquet held by the princes after the capture of Magas, the Ossete capital, i.e. some time in 1240. Rubruck's version (Rockhill, 136–7) refers only to Büri, and the scene appears to be set in a later period, when the Mongols were in peaceful possession of their grazing-lands along the Volga. Rashid-ad-Din (Blochet, 164) speaks of an insult uttered during the reign of Möngke: it was on this account that Büri was handed over to Batu, by whom he was put to death. Rubruck too mentions his execution by Batu. See Pelliot, *op. cit.* [204] and n. 1. Büri had brought back from the campaign in Eastern Europe a number of German slaves, who appear to have formed the subject of a pontifical letter to their master: it was largely on account of these men, says Rubruck, that he had undertaken his journey to the Mongols. See Rockhill, *loc. cit.*, 225 and 238, Pelliot, *op. cit.* [216]–[218].

kicked to pulp and so assuaged an ancient grudge which he had cherished in his heart.

[60] Meanwhile, in Besh-Baligh the *idi-qut,* who was the leader of the polytheists and idolaters,[125] had come to an understanding with a band of rebels and had arranged with them that to the congregation of the Moslems in the Friday mosque they should cause to appear black night in broad daylight so that in the morning they might behold midnight; and thus they were to cover the light of Islam with the darkness of unbelief and so to scatter the assembled believers that there might be hope of gathering them together again on the Judgement Day. *'Fain would they put out God's light with their mouths: but God only desireth to perfect His light, albeit the Infidels abhor it.'*[126] The miracle of the faith of Mohammed revealed the secret of the enigma *(muṣaḥḥaf)* and the light of the law of Ahmad showed up the design upon the dark page. A slave from amongst them becoming acquainted with the ins and outs of their plotting, he confessed Islam and became *aiqaq* against them, pinning that crime to them. The *idi-qut* with a number of others was brought to the *ordu* and tried. And the charges having been accepted [61] he was ordered to be taken to Besh-Baligh, where all classes of the populace, Moslems and idolaters, were gathered together on the plain and in the presence of the people he was handed over to the demons of hell. And for this victory, whereby they gained fresh life, the Moslems rendered thanks unto God.

> *A victory to which the gates of the heavens open up, and the earth appears in new striped clothes.*[127]

And this punishment and requital caused the victorious[128] Emperor Mengü Qa'an to be blessed even more and to acquire even greater merit. May God Almighty make this just retribution the cause of the endurance of his Empire and the continuance

[125] *mushrikān va but-parastān.* Presumably Buddhists are meant. See above, i, 59, n. 22, and ii, 505, n. 13.

[126] Koran, ix, 32.

[127] From the famous *qasida* by Abu-Tammam in praise of the Caliph al-Mu'tasim billah and celebrating the victory of 'Ammuriya. (M.Q.)

[128] *ghāzī* 'victorious against the infidel', a specifically Islamic title almost incredible in this context.

of his Khanate ! (This subject has been dealt with exhaustively in the chapter on the *idi-qut.*)[129]

At this time Eljigitei was in Iraq. Ghadaqan Qorchi set out and went to wait on Batu and then proceeded from thence accompanied by *nökers* to arrest him. Upon their arrival in Iraq Eljigitei made off travelling light and went to Badghis. Here he was seized by the *elchis*, who bore him off to Batu with some [62] of his followers. He met the same end [as the rest].

> He counted a few moments and then became nothing. Jeeringly
> the world said: 'He too is gone.'

The details of the case may be ascertained from the chapter devoted to Eljigitei.[130]

All that now remained of the rebels [were concealed] in nooks and crannies and had retired into the corner of seclusion; and it took some time to produce every one of them. Bala the *yarghuchi* was sent together with *nökers* to the armies of Yesü to examine and question their mates and fellows; and all who had taken part in the conspiracy were put to death. Another emir was sent to Khitai charged with the same task.

These disturbances, which by the excitement of evil had all but set the world on fire, were now over and all care was dismissed from men's minds. Now the aforementioned princes had been puffed up with pride and had strayed far from the path of discretion and the acceptance of advice because of the promptings of wicked teachers and the suggestions of impious emirs, and *'an evil companion is like fire: if its heat harm thee not thou shalt not escape* [63] *its smoke'*.[131] Moreover the goodness of the blessed Emperor's nature and the purity of his heart required him to regard it as his first duty to respect the claims of kinship and consanguinity by the passing over of faults; he was bound also in the moment of his pomp and glory to consider it an

[129] See above, i, 48–53.

[130] There is again, as M.Q. points out, no such chapter. It is a pity, for it might have contained some account of his relations with Louis IX. See above, i, 256, n. 27. Cf. also Pelliot, *op. cit.* [202]–[203].

[131] See the *Majma'-al-Amthāl*, I, 115, and II, 146, for two proverbs to more or less the same purpose with some slight variations. (M.Q.)

obligation in the code of magnanimity to comply with the proverb: *'If thou be king be kind.'* [132]

Pay the tithe on thy glory and know that like the tithe on property [133] *it must be paid in full.*

He therefore, *huma*-like, spread the wing of mercy and compassion over their heads and covered the slips and errors of each of them with the skirt of pardon and forgiveness.

And he does not nurse his ancient grudge against them, for he is not a leader of the people who nurses a grudge.[134]

And wishing to chasten but not to torture them he gave command that in conformity with the tradition: *'Travel that ye may gain'* [135] they should for a while set foot upon the road of exile—

The moon endures the fatigue of travel in order to become full—

[64] and in the toil of combats and battles should display the resourcefulness of men and the competence of masters—

The glory of dangers lies in the dangers [themselves] [136]

in order to wash off the dirt and filth of their crimes with the sweat of undergoing and enduring dangers and so to cleanse and purify their veins from the taint of treachery and the defect of sinfulness.

Verily, fire maketh pure the standard of gold.

And every child that is not trained and trimmed into shape by the instruction of loving kinsfolk will without doubt be tested and chastened by the teaching of unkind, quarrelsome Fate.

Whoever is not taught by his parents will be taught by Night and Day.

He gave orders therefore that Siremün, Naqu and Yesün-Toqa should proceed to various provinces of [65] Manzi, Siremün

[132] *Ibid.*, II, 158. (M.Q.)
[133] *zakāt-al-māl.*
[134] Slightly adapted from al-Muqanna' al-Kindi. See Tabrizi, *Sharḥ-al-Ḥamāsa*, III, 100–1. (M.Q.)
[135] A well-known *hadith*. (M.Q.)
[136] From a famous *qasida* by at-Tihami. (M.Q.)

accompanying Qubilai Oghul and Naqu Jagha Noyan,[137] whilst Yesün-Toqa went elsewhere.

As for Khoja, out of gratitude to his wife the Emperor exempted him from taking part in a campaign and fixed his place of residence in the region of Solangai,[138] which is near to Qara-Qorum. *'And of God was this act which decorated the preface of generosity and cast dust upon the endeavours of the rulers of the nations.'*

> *God's are His acts, which are fair to behold and good to publish.*
> *They have deposited in all souls love, which they offer to Him secretly and openly.*

And the pearl-raining words of the Prophet are to this effect: *'Maintain the bonds of kinship'* and *'Close ties of kinship prolong life'*.[139] And this commandment is not directed to one nation exclusively, for [66] all nations have their share herein and its meaning is fixed by the intellect intuitively, for to maintain the ties of kinship is to blend and intertwine. Now if this tradition is followed in the literal sense of the words it is inconsistent with the verse: *'When their time is come, they shall not retard it an hour; and they shall not advance it.'*[140] But since traditions confirm verses and sound *hadiths* agree with the Word of God and the Holy Koran, it has been established as an irrefutable fact that the prolongation of life by maintaining the ties of kinship takes place in two ways. First, by marriage and matrimony, whereby the begetting of children is rendered possible and generation after generation of descendants and successors come from the world of non-existence on to the courtyard of existence and from the sanctum of concealment on to the plain of manifestation. And the remembrance of forebears and ancestors remains as a

[137] Or Jaghan Noyan. See above, i, 256, n. 26.

[138] SWLNKAY. Solanga, i.e. Northern Korea, seems out of the question. Perhaps, in spite of the spelling in the text (which is based on A) and most of the MSS., we should read SLNKAY, i.e. the Selenga. Juvaini's narrative is much more detailed than the *Yüan shih*, according to which Siremün, Yesü and Büri (see above, n. 124) were exiled, whilst Qocha (Khoja), Naqu and Yesün-To'a became 'prisoners with the armies'. See Pelliot, *op. cit.* [203]–[204].

[139] Two *hadiths*. (M.Q.)

[140] Koran, vii, 32.

monument on the face of the world by the children's cleaving to the ways of their fathers. And by life the wise man understands fame and fair renown such as is spread and diffused throughout the world and remains and endures for ever after he is gone. And the existence of a noble successor who is not a base lout is the life of all that preceded him. And in the second place, [the maintenance of such ties is] by harmony and concord amongst kindred and family and friendship and kindness towards the more distant and strangers so that by assisting one another, though they be weak, they may vanquish several strong enemies, [67] just as sinews and hairs, which when they support one another cannot be broken by an elephant.

> A thread, when it is single, may be snapped by the strength of an old woman (*zāl*):
> When it is doubled it cannot be broken by Zal-i-Zar.[141]

And by the blessings of concord and mutual assistance they are saved from perils and dangers, from which hope of relief is cut off, and none may look on them with the glance of scorn and contempt, and they pass their lives among mankind in easy circumstances, respected, powerful and honoured; and the road is closed to foes to gain the mastery over them. And to the man of lofty ambition one such day of life in a position of veneration is better indeed than a whole year spent in frustration and abjectness.

> *Truly death is better for a young man than sitting in penury and [it is better] than a master whose scorpions creep.*[142]

In this way Chingiz-Khan and his posterity have conquered the greater part of the world; and the rest of mankind breathe the breath of submission and accept the payment of taxes *(māl)* and tribute *(kharāj)*. One day, at the time of his first rising to power he was giving them this advice and instructing them each

[141] *Zāl-i-zar*, i.e. Zāl the Aged, Rustam's father. E, G, and O have *pūr-i-Zāl* the son of Zāl', i.e. Rustam himself.

[142] Abun-Nashnāsh. See *Sharḥ-al-Ḥamāsa*, I, 167, *Kitāb-al-Aghāni*, XI, 45. (M. Q.)

individually. [68] To serve as an example he drew an arrow from his quiver and gave it to them. Clearly it required no great strength to break it. He made the number two and so continued till there were fourteen, and even athletes were unable to break them. 'So it is,' he said, 'with my sons also. So long as they tread the path of regard one for another they shall be secure from the evils of events and shall be free to enjoy the fruits of their kingdom. And if they act otherwise they shall fare otherwise.' [143]

Now had the Sultans of Islam laid the same foundations in the protection of kinsmen and strangers, and had they consolidated this basis, and given asylum to refugees in their sanctuaries, and accounted an attack upon relations as repudiated in the code of liberality and humanity and forbidden in the canon of compassion and pity, it would then have been impossible to destroy them.

Of the issue of the race and lineage *(urugh)* of Chingiz-Khan there are now living in the comfort of wealth and affluence more than 20,000. More than this I will not say but shall rather avoid [the subject] lest the readers of this history should accuse the writer of these lines of exaggeration and hyperbole [69] and ask how from the loins of one man there could spring in so short a time so great a progeny.

The august mind of Mengü was now relieved of all business and the assembly of princes resolved to retire and return. They were gladdened and made happy with every kind of favour and bounty and every sort of kindness and benevolence, and each individually was distinguished and gratified in a different way. And since Berke Oghul and Togha-Temür, who came from Batu, had the greatest distance to go and had been the longest absent he dismissed them the first and [bestowed upon them] favours and gifts of every kind and all manner of gratifications such that the belt of narration would be tightened by the description thereof. And he sent with them for Batu presents such as are sent from a world-king to a king-maker; for the sun sheds light worthy of himself upon the planets and fixed stars, and the

[143] See above, i, 41 and n. 7.

fresh-water stream according to the desires of the scooper and the diver scatters pearls and water.

As for Qadaghan Oghul and Melik [144] [70] Oghul, he gave each of them an *ordu* from the *ordus* and residences of Qa'an and bestowed the ladies of the *ordus* upon them. He likewise gave them about a *tümen* of Qa'an's emirs and troops and valuable presents such as Fate herself is sparing of and appointed a *yurt* for each of them in which he might cast away the staff of travel and raise up the tent of residence.

After them he dismissed Qara-Hülegü with great honour and bestowed upon him the place of his father which had been seized by his uncle. He returned in exultation and triumph and had reached the Altai, his desires not yet fully gratified, when he was unable to advance another step before the decree of God was fulfilled.

> Not having obtained his food from the ruby of thy lips,
> not having reaped his ear of corn from the field of Desire.

As for the rest of the princes and the *noyans* and emirs, he dismissed each of them in accordance with the dignity of his rank and station and as his own magnanimity dictated.

> *They returned and praised him as he deserved, and if they had been silent their saddle-bags would have praised him.*[145]

And as for Keshik he made him a *tarkhan* [146] and gave him so much wealth that he became a man of means, [71] lofty of rank and inaccessible of approach.

And the princes having departed and their business being dispatched he turned his attention to the administration of the realm, and the straightening of the crooked, and the righting of the wrong, and the chiding of the wicked, and the suppression of the seditious. And when his royal resolve was directed

[144] Or Mengli. See above, i, 244, n. 15.

[145] Nuṣaib b. Rabāḥ in praise of Sulaiman b. 'Abd-al-Malik [the Umayyad Caliph, 715–17]. (M.Q.) The meaning is that even if the recipients themselves had remained silent about the Caliph's gifts the clatter of their bulging saddle-bags would have borne witness to his generosity.

[146] See above, i, 37–8.

towards crushing the obstinacy of rebels and softening the necks of traitors and his lofty mind was intent upon alleviating the toils of mankind and lightening the labours [147] of the people, his perfect intellect preferred earnest to jest, and abandoned the constant quaffing of ancient wine and with the snares and corn [148] of overflowing justice and beneficence captured the love of men's inmost hearts.

First he appointed armies for the East and the West, for the lands of the Arabs and the non-Arabs. The Eastern countries and the provinces of [72] Khitai, Manzi, Solangai [149] and Tangut he entrusted to Qubilai Oghul, who is distinguished by his wisdom and sagacity, his intelligence and shrewdness. He nominated *noyans* of high standing to accompany him and placed under his command all the emirs of the right and the left [150] who were resident in those regions. The Western countries he allotted to his other brother Hülegü Oghul, who is renowned for his firmness and dignity, his vigilance and caution, his powerful protection and his jealous sense of honour; and he appointed double the number of troops to accompany him. And Ked-Buqa [151] Bavurchi [152] set out in advance in the middle of Jumada I, 650 [July, 1252], in order to begin dealing with the Heretics.

> By thy command which has gone forth let them travel night and day, now from Chin towards Rum, and now from Rum towards Chin.

And in order to assess the taxes and register the names of the people he appointed governors, and *shahnas,* and scribes. [73]

[147] *mu'an* seems to be used here in the sense of *corvées.*

[148] I.e. corn used as bait.

[149] SLNKAY. Here of course only Northern Korea can be meant. See above, p. 592, n. 138.

[150] I.e. of the West and the East.

[151] KYD BWQA. 'Fine Bull.' This was Hülegü's famous Christian general, the conqueror of Damascus. See Grousset, *L'Empire des Steppes,* 435–9, Spuler, *Die Mongolen in Iran,* 57.

[152] I.e. Ked-Buqa the Steward. On the office of *bavurchi* (*bawurchi*), 'overseer of food and drink', see the *Secret History,* § 192, Barthold, *Turkestan,* 382, Spuler, *op. cit.,* 273.

The Eastern countries from the beginning of the Fifth Clime [153] on the banks of the Oxus to the farthest limits of Khitai, which are the First Clime,[154] he settled as previously upon the Great Minister *(ṣāḥib-i-muʿaẓẓam)* Mahmud Yalavach and his worthy heir Masʿud Beg, giving to Mahmud Yalavach, whose former services had been rewarded with marks of favour and who had arrived before his auspicious accession, the region of Khitai, whilst to Masʿud Beg, who had come in fear and trembling and had experienced terror and danger because of his devotion and adherence to the Emperor, until in the end after escaping that peril he became all-powerful and enjoyed great honour, there fell the whole of Transoxiana, Turkestan, Otrar, the land of the Uighur, Khotan, Kashghar, Jand, Khorazm and Farghana. And since their arrival at Court had preceded the *quriltai,* he dismissed them the sooner and [74] all who had accompanied them were distinguished with all manner of favours.

After their departure the Great Emir Arghun, who had travelled an immense distance [along a route] fraught with terrors and menaces arrived in Court on the 20th of Safar, 650 [2nd of May, 1252], after the *quriltai* had dispersed and each of the princes had departed to his home. And since perpetual favour and eternal ability had ever been in attendance on him and he had previously distinguished himself in devoted fidelity to the dynasty and sincere devotion to the royal house by the adoption of firm measures and the employment of perspicacious methods (and *'in the morning men praise the evening'*), he was singled out by the granting of his wishes and the attainment of his aims; and there was laid in his hands authority over the countries of Khorasan, Mazandaran, India, Iraq, Fars, Kerman, Lur, Arran, Azerbaijan, Georgia, Mosul and Aleppo. And all the *maliks,* emirs and *bitikchis* who accompanied him were at

[153] 'The FIFTH CLIME begins in the East in the lands of Gog and Magog and runs through the northern part of Khorasan, Transoxiana and Khwārazm, then through Ādharbāyjān, Armenia and the lands of Rūm, then through the shores of the Syrian Sea in their northern part, then through the lands of Spain, to end in the Sea of Maghrib.' (Marvazi, 14.)

[154] 'The FIRST CLIME begins in the East at the farthest limits of the Chinese lands and stretches over the latter in their southern extension. . . .' (*Ibid.,* 13.)

his suggestion and by his favour distinguished and honoured; and on the 20th of Ramazan of the same year [155] they set out [on the return journey]. Some of their number [156] still had all kinds of business to attend to; these remained behind for a few days and then departed joyfully after him.

The Emperor appointed *nökers* to accompany these [75] governors just mentioned and he commanded them to hold a census of the provinces and assess the taxes; and when they had finished, to turn back and proceed in haste to Court. And each of them had instructions to the effect that the conditions previously prevailing should be properly investigated and examined and that none of them should shirk the difficulties of the task. However *'God hath forgiven what is past'* and the Emperor was concerned with alleviating the lot of the people, not increasing the wealth in the treasury. And he issued a *yarligh* reducing the contributions [157] *(mu'an)* on the people, the text of which is preserved in the archives [158] and from which it is clear how great are his concern and solicitude for the affairs of mankind and the maintenance of their interests.

After the death of Güyük Khan the princes [76] had issued an excessive number of *yarlighs;* they had engaged in commercial ventures and dispatched *elchis* to all parts of the world. Moreover persons noble and base had sought the protection afforded by being an *ortaq* and the subjects had fled from the greatness of the burden.[159] The Emperor now gave orders that any *yarlighs* or *paizas* from the time of Chingiz-Khan, Qa'an, Güyük Khan and the other princes that were held by any one of them in the province belonging to him should be returned and that henceforth the princes should not give or write instructions

[155] The same date is given by Rashid-ad-Din (Blochet, 309–10): it corresponds to the 24th November, 1252. This is inconsistent with Juvaini's earlier statement (see above, p. 519) that he and Siraj-ad-Din Shuja'i, who remained behind for a few days after the departure of the main party, left Qara-Qorum in August–September, 1253.

[156] Juvaini and Siraj-ad-Din Shuja'i. See preceding note.

[157] See above, p. 596, n. 147. [158] *khazāyin-i-adrāj va aurāq.*

[159] Reading *az bisyārī-yi-bār, zīr-dastān jasta* for the *az bisyārī bā zīr-dastān jasta* of the text. But, as M.Q. says, the sense is obscure, and Rashid-ad-Din, who follows this passage very closely, has omitted this sentence.

regarding any matter relating to the financial administration *(maṣāliḥ)* of the provinces without first consulting the agents of the Court. As for the more important *elchis* they should not make use of more than fourteen *ulaghs;* they should proceed from *yam* to *yam* and should enter no village or town in which they had no specific business; and they should take no more provisions *(ʿulūfa)* than the amount allotted [77] for each man. Furthermore the practice of tyranny and oppression having exceeded all bounds [160] and the peasants in particular being crushed and ground underfoot by the collection of casual levies *(ʿavāriẓ)* to such an extent that the produce of their crops did not amount to the half of the contributions *(mu'ūnāt)* from them, he gave orders that all *ortaqs* and financial and administrative agents *(aṣḥāb-i-ʿamal va shughl)* should behave with self-control [161] in their dealings with the people. Each should pay in proportion to his circumstances and ability the amount due from him according to the assessment *(bar vajh-i-muʿāmalat)* except such as were exempt from the inconvenience of contributions *(mu'an)* by the ordinance of Chingiz-Khan and Qa'an, i.e. of the Moslems the great *sayyids* and the excellent *imams,* of the Christians, whom they call *erke'ün,*[162] the monks and scholars *(aḥbār)* and of the idolaters the priests whom they call *toyin* [163] [78], the famous *toyins;* and of all these classes of people, those who are advanced in years and no longer capable of earning a living. The Jews heard of this ordinance and not being included in that category they became exceedingly vexed and annoyed; they were perplexed and bewildered and thrust the hand of discomfiture into their beards. As Zahir [164] says in his description of a preacher:

> A red-bearded fellow was present. He put his hand to his beard when he heard that.
> He said: 'We are not of that number. We amount to nothing in either world.'

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[160] Lit. 'risen to the sky'.

[161] *pāi bi-rauzan furū kunand,* lit. 'thrust their feet down the smoke-vent'. See above, p. 579, n. 85.

[162] On *erke'ün* 'Christian', 'Christian priest', see Minovi and Minorsky, *Naṣīr al-Dīn Ṭūsī on Finance,* 785.

[163] See above, i, 14, n. 31.

[164] I.e. Ẓahīr-i-Fāryābī.

And in order that every agent *(ṣāḥib-shughl)* might not distribute *(qismat)* [the revenue at his own discretion] he instituted an annual scheme *(muvāẓa'a)* [79] whereby in the countries of Khitai a man of great wealth was taxed eleven dinars and so in proportion down to the poor man who paid but one; and so it was in Transoxiana also; in Khorasan a rich man paid ten dinars and a poor man one. He further ordered that the governors and scribes should not show favour or partiality; that they should not accept bribes; and that they should not falsify the truth or display the false for the true. As for the levy on animals *(marā'i-yi-chahār-pāi)*, which they call *qupchur*, if a person had a hundred head of a particular kind of beast he was to give one, and if he had less, none. And wherever there were arrears *(baqāyā)* of taxes and whoever of the peasants owed them, they were not to pay [such arrears] nor were they to be exacted from them. As for the merchants and *ortaqs* who had made extensive deals with Güyük Khan, his wife and their children he ordered them to be paid from fresh revenue *(az māl-i-nau)*.[165]

And of all the peoples and religious communities he showed most honour and respect to the Moslems. It was upon them that he bestowed the largest amounts of gifts and alms and it was they who enjoyed the greatest rights. A proof of this is the following. On the occasion of the *'id-i-fitr*[166] in the year 650 [5th of December, 1252] the Moslems assembled before the Emperor[167] at the gate of the *ordu* together with the chief cadi Jamal-al-Milla vad-Din, the exemplar of [80] the *ulema*, Mahmud of Khojend *(may God perpetuate his excellence!)*. The chief cadi led the prayers and delivered the sermon, decorating and adorning the *khutba* with the mention of the Orthodox Caliphs[168] and the Commander of the Faithful. And when they had finished the prayer of the festival, which according to a tradition of the Prophet is more excellent than 2,000 prostrations

[165] On this whole passage see Minovi and Minorsky, *op. cit.*, 783–5.

[166] *'id-i-fiṭr*, in Arabic, *'id-al-fiṭr*, is the name of the festival held at the end of the fasting month of Ramazan.

[167] *dar ḥaẓrat-i-a'lā.*

[168] The first successors of Mohammed: Abū-Bakr (632–4), 'Umar (634–44), 'Uthmān (644–56) and 'Alī (656–61).

performed in the Ka'ba, the chief cadi entered the *ordu* and acting as *imam* prayed [for the Emperor] to the following effect:

'May the rising of the star of the Festival be lucky for thee,
for thy horoscope is lucky for all mankind.
Thy enemy is waning like the full moon from an eclipse; but
thy fortune, like the crescent moon, waxes day by day.'

He was viewed with the glance of favour and indulgence and several times commanded to repeat the prayer. And as a gift for the festival the Emperor presented [169] waggon-loads of gold and silver *balish* and all kinds of costly clothing, and the greater part of mankind had their share thereof; although at other times than festivals also his generosity towards the Moslems is great and boundless.

[81] *Because of thy gifts every day is a festival to us: how then shall the festival be distinguished on the day it returns?* [170]

And throughout his realm, wherever there was a criminal or a prisoner in the abasement of captivity, he ordered his release and liberation [171] and so gave him quarter from the trials and indignities of this world. And here I have inserted the following verses, which, although this is not the appropriate place for them, will yet have some appeal to men of taste and discernment:

Who am I to God that when I sin He should not forgive my sin?
Forgiveness is expected of the sons of Adam: how then
shall it not be expected of God?

In how many hearts did hope revive when necks were left upon bodies and dirhems and dinars in purses and wallets! And on this errand *elchis* and messengers sped to every corner of his realm.

Let the kings who bestow gold and silver learn the custom
of bestowing life [172] from our Sultan Bahram-Shah.[173]

Like the sun in mid-heaven whose light covereth the lands
in East and West.[174]

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[169] Reading *īṣār* with the majority of the MSS. for the *ishārat* of the text.
[170] Abivardi. (M.Q.)
[171] Reading *khalāṣ va iṭlāq* with E and O.
[172] Or 'sparing lives'.
[173] Presumably the Ghaznavid (1118–52).
[174] Mutanabbi. (M.Q.)

Now were one to begin describing the deeds which spring daily from his being and to commence recounting the charitable acts which thus manifest themselves, whole volumes would be filled to overflowing. A little out of much, a drop from the ocean, an atom from the sun has been and will be conveyed with the tongue of the pen to the ear of those interested. *'A little of it is a guide to the greater part.'*

And since the fame of his justice and equity has spread throughout the world, [82] all people, far and near, with a sincere desire seek refuge in allegiance to him and so obtain quarter from his might. Others who are exceedingly far distant cherish the same wish, and ambassadors and *elchis* come from the land of the Franks, and farthest Syria, and the Abode of Peace;[175] and sultans bring and send to his Court numberless gifts and presents of heavily laden horses.

> From these cities they send tribute, for they have not the strength and might to make war on him.[176]

And they return having satisfied their wants and attained their desires. They will each be mentioned in a separate chapter.[177] Here we will say no more but will limit ourselves to uttering a prayer for the [Emperor's] daily-increasing fortune:

> O Khusrau, may thy kingdom and thy life be increased,
> may the face of thy fortune be rosy!
> Thy fortune is the centre of the sun: may it be outside
> the orbit of decline!

[IV]

OF AN INSTANCE OF THE VIRTUOUS DEEDS OF HIS AUGUST MAJESTY THE WORLD-EMPEROR MENGU QA'AN AFTER HIS ACCESSION TO THE THRONE OF THE EMPIRE

IN the introduction to this book there was some brief mention of his noble character and actions, and in the chapter on his accession there were included some more detailed references

[175] I.e. Baghdad. [176] *Shahnama* ed. Vullers, 1646, l. 3640.
[177] These chapters were never written.

thereto. In order to corroborate what has been said we have recorded a story, which is the meeting-place of justice and generosity, in order that mankind may know of a certainty that this narration is unmarked with the brand of extravagance and innocent of the sin of aberration.

Merchants had hastened to the presence of Güyük Khan from all parts of the world and having concluded very large deals had been paid by drafts *(barāt)* on the lands of the East and the West. But since he did not tarry long in his kingdom, the greater part of that money remained unpaid and did not reach those merchants. And after his death, his wives, sons and [84] nephews concluded deals on a still greater scale than during his lifetime and wrote drafts in the same way. And crowds of other merchants came one after the other and carried out transactions with them. When the position of those people [1] changed and their cause was lost, there were some merchants who from former transfers *(ḥavāla)* had not obtained even a tenth of their due; some had not yet reached the stage of a transfer; some had delivered their wares but a price had not yet been fixed, and others had not yet received a draft *(barāt)*. When the World-Emperor Mengü Qa'an took auspicious repose upon the throne of success and the necklaces of justice and equity had been strung, certain of these dealers approached him by way of a test partly hoping [to enjoy the benefit of] his justice and partly despairing of [achieving anything by] their petition for the money involved in this transaction; and they brought their case to his auspicious attention. All the functionaries of Court and Pillars of State were of opinion that there was no obligation to pay the amount due on this transaction out of the Emperor's treasury and that no mortal would have cause to object or cavil [if payment was refused]. But on the principle of the verses:

> What will become of our realm, which is the basis of good fortune, if desolation should flourish ?
> The generosity of the clouds has conquered the world because it gives milk to the infants of the grass,

[1] I.e. Güyük's family and supporters. (M.Q.)

he spread the wing of compassion over them all and gave orders for the whole sum [85] to be met from the finances of his Empire. It amounted to 500,000 silver *balish,* and had he withheld it none would have had cause to object.

With such bounty he stole away the glory of Hatim-like kings and with such justice he cast dust into the eyes of Nushirvan-like emperors. And from what book of history has it been read or heard from reciters that a king paid the debt of another king ? And no mortal ever discharged the obligations of his enemies. This is an instance of habits and practices from which one can deduce his behaviour in other matters, for *' all game is in the belly of the wild ass '.*[2]

> Before his might the nine-tiered heavens are like one
> four-walled ruin.[3]

An emperor like this, by the effect of his commands and prohibitions, cannot but be powerful and long-lived in accordance with the Divine Word: *'As to what is useful to man, it remaineth on the earth.'* [4] God Almighty grant him in sovereignty an unending life !

[V]

OF THE PILLARS OF STATE

WHEN the affairs of the world had been reduced to order by means of his justice, and the pus that irritated men's minds had been excised, and the disorders that had arisen had been allayed by his auspicious accession, and [86] the hands of oppression and iniquity bound, armies set out for all the four corners of the world, and rebels bowed their heads in submission, and from every land petitioners and office-holders bent their steps towards his presence and from far and near turned their faces towards his Court, which is the refuge of mankind and the

[2] A well-known proverb.
[3] Ẓahīr-i-Fāryābī. (M.Q.)
[4] Koran, xiii, 18.

asylum of the fearful. Their numbers were great and the needs of each of them beyond measure and their requirements various. They remained a long time at Court. As for the scribes and functionaries they fared variously, some becoming happy and fortunate and others disappointed and wretched.

And since the extreme solicitude and compassion of the gracious Emperor require that all his subjects should each of them have his share in accordance with the amount allotted to him, he gave orders that everything relating to the investigation of the affairs and claims of the people should be undertaken by the Emir Mengeser Noyan together with a body of other experienced emirs, who should thus consolidate the foundations of justice. And Bulghai Aqa,[1] who had acquired rights by reason of his past services, was commanded to be chief and leader of the scribes and to be their vizier. Like a chamberlain he was to announce the petition of each applicant [2] and to attend to it; and it was he who had to write *(nivīsad va savād kunad)* the decrees *(amṣila)* and [87] mandates. And to act in association with the Emir Bulghai the Emperor appointed, of the Moslem *bitikchis,* the Emir 'Imad-al-Mulk, who had occupied this position at the courts of Qa'an and Güyük Khan also, and the Emir Fakhr-al-Mulk, who had precedence over the other officials of his Court on account of the length of his service, together with some others that were Mongols. And to each of them he assigned a separate task, on which after consulting and obtaining the permission of the Emir Bulghai they were to refer their reports to the knot-resolving counsel of the World-Emperor. As for affairs of the Divan, such as the assessment of taxes and the conferment of appointments, these are the concern of the Emir Bulghai in conjunction with one or two other persons.

Others are concerned with the affairs of merchants and traders. There are several classes of merchants. There are those who have received *balish* from the treasury and engaged to deliver a certain amount every year and there are those who have recently become *ortaqs.*

In former times before the Emperor's auspicious accession

[1] See above, p. 572, n. 69.

[2] Reading *multamisān.*

important *ortaqs* had had *yarlighs* and *paizas* and no class of men enjoyed greater respect and authority. Some had *ulaghs* and were exempt from casual levies *('avāriẓāt)*. But when he became Khan and the key of Empire was placed in the hand of his severity and justice, the order was given that *paizas* should not be given to merchants so that a distinction might be made between them and those engaged in affairs of the Divan. [88] That merchants should make use of *ulaghs* was inequitable in the extreme, and for that reason the people were not to be inconvenienced in this way. And since the merchants were constantly employed in their own gain, each of them should, in the place where he had been numbered in the census, undertake his share of the contributions *(mu'an)* on a footing of equality with the [rest of the Emperor's] subjects and not lay claim to a superior status.

Others are those who have brought goods to sell to the Emperor's treasury. Of these too there are several classes. Some value [3] jewels, others clothing, some animals and so on.

Others [4] collect and keep charge of the clothing assigned upon the various provinces; others do likewise with furs, and two or three with gold and silver cash.

Then there are separate persons to affix *al-tamghas,* issue *paizas* and supervise the arsenal.

There are many persons [89] in charge of the hunting birds and beasts and their keepers.

[Finally] there are one or two persons to deal with the affairs of *imams, sayyids,* dervishes, Christians and the holy men *(aḥbār)* of every religious community.

All these officials were commanded to be on their guard against the stain of usury [5] and covetousness. They were to arrest no one and were to bring each man's case promptly to the Emperor's attention.

[3] *qīmat kunand.* Perhaps 'sell', which seems to be the meaning required by the context.

[4] Here Juvaini appears to have ended the digression on merchants and to be speaking again of the Court functionaries.

[5] *ribā,* which M.Q. suggests may perhaps be used here in the sense of 'bribery'.

They are attended by scribes of every kind for Persian, Uighur, Khitayan, Tibetan, Tangut, etc., so that to whatever place a decree has to be written it may be issued in the language and script of that people.

[VI]

OF THE ADVANCE OF THE PRINCE OF THE WORLD HÜLEGÜ TO THE COUNTRIES OF THE WEST

HE who to vigilant fortune has united meekness and modesty and to daily increasing felicity the virtue of guiding wisdom (Confronted with his world-adorning counsel the sun has no beauty and in [90] the presence of his generosity the clouds have no sustenance. Where are the khans of Chin and Machin that they may learn the rites of kingship ? In what case are the sultans of yore that they may witness the might of divinity ? Had the Caesars of Rum been blessed with the honour of entering his service, from his instruction they would have learnt the methods of world-dominion. And the Chosroes of Persia and the Pharaohs of Egypt would have gathered from his counsels and decisions the means of world-conquest.), the Lord of the Face of the Earth, Mengü Qa'an, had seen in the character of his brother Hülegü the indications of sovereignty and had detected in his enterprises the practices of conquest. Accordingly in the great *quriltai*, after he had been firmly seated on the throne of the Khanate and his attention was no longer concerned with the case of the self-seeking and the envious, he turned his mind towards the subjugation of the farthest East and West of the world. And first he dispatched Qubilai to the Eastern parts consisting of Khitai and then in the year 650/1252–3 proceeded to arrange and organize the affairs of his other brother Hülegü and charged him with the conquest of the Western parts. And as in the case of Qubilai's mission he allotted to him two persons out of every ten in the Eastern and Western armies and appointed one of the princes, his younger brother Sübetei Oghul, to accompany [91] him. He likewise dispatched as representatives

of Batu, Balaghai [1] son of Sibaqan, Tutar [2] Oghul and Quli [3] with troops belonging to Batu; as representative of Chaghatai, Tegüder [4] Oghul son of Mochi Oghul; from [92] Checheken Beki, Buqa-Temür [5] with an army of Oirat tribesmen; and from the sons-in-law, emirs and great *noyans* on every side a body of chiefs such as it would take too long to enumerate in detail. And he sent to Khitai to fetch mangonel experts and naphtha-throwers; and they brought from Khitai [93] 1,000 households *(khāna)* [6] of Khitayan mangonel-men, who with a stone missile would convert the eye of a needle into a passage for a camel, having fastened the poles of the mangonels so firmly with sinews *(pai)* and glue that when they aimed from the nadir to the zenith the missile did not return.

And *elchis* were sent on in advance to reserve [7] all pasturage

[1] BLΓAY. The Balakhay, Balaghay, etc., of Grigor and Kirakos (see Cleaves, *The Mongolian Names*, 413–14). He was the fourth son of Siban. See Rashid-ad-Din ed. Blochet, 115, 117 and 137, where his name appears in the form Balaqan (BALAQAN). This spelling, in conjunction with the forms of the name in the Armenian historians, precludes the possibility of its identity (as suggested by Cleaves, *loc. cit.*, with respect to the Armenian forms) with Bulghai, although both names appear as BLΓAY in Juvaini's text.

[2] TWTAR. The Tut'ar of Grigor and the Tuthar of Kirakos. (Cleaves, *op. cit.*, 431.) He was the son of Mingqadur, the son of Bo'al. See Rashid-ad-Din ed. Blochet, 123 and 137, where his name appears in the corrupt form QWTAR. (On the various mis-spellings of the name in European authors see Pelliot, *Horde d'Or*, 186.)

[3] QWLY. The Khul of Grigor and the Ghul or Ghuli of Kirakos. (Cleaves, *op. cit.*, 432.) He was the second son of Orda (Hordu). (Blochet, 99 and 137.)

[4] TKWDAR. The T'agudar of Grigor. 'Tegüder means "The Perfect".' (Cleaves, *op. cit.*, 427–8.) On his revolt against Hülegü's successor Abaqa see Spuler, *Die Mongolen in Iran*, 69. (Spuler adopts the spelling Nikūdār.) Tegüder is not to be confused with his namesake, the brother and successor (1282–4) of Abaqa, better known by his Mohammedan name of Ahmad.

[5] The son of Chingiz-Khan's daughter Checheken and the Oirat Törelchi according to Rashid-ad-Din (Khetagurov, 119), but see above, p. 506, n. 2.

[6] Perhaps 'teams'.

[7] Lit. 'make *qorïgh*'. Cf. Vladimirtsov, *Le régime social des Mongols*, 146: 'D'autre part, le seigneur nomade pouvait de son plein gré "interdire" certains emplacements de son *nutuq*, en faire des "lieux interdits" (*qoriq*), réservés à la sépulture des membres du clan royal, ou aux chasses seigneuriales. L'accès de ces "lieux interdits" était, comme leur nom indique, absolument défendu aux personnes étrangères.'

and meadowland wherever the World-King's [8] troops might be expected to pass, from the * Qanghai [9] mountains between Qara-Qorum and Besh-Baligh; and all animals were forbidden to graze there lest the pastures might be harmed or the meadows injured. And all the garden-like mountains and plains were banned and prohibited and the teeth of cattle were prevented from browsing thereon. And in all the countries from Turkestan to Khorasan and uttermost Rum and Georgia grass fell into the category of *'but to this tree come not nigh'*,[10] so much so that whoever fed a blade of it to his beasts was obliged to forfeit them; until, in truth, grass *(giyāh)* became sin *(gunāh)* and of verdure *(sabzī)* there was satiety *(sīrī)*.[11] The *elchis* then departed in order to remove themselves, consisting as they did of a whole army, from the meadows and pastures to places through which the King's troops would not pass. As for Baichu and [94] the armies of Chormaghun [they were ordered] to proceed to Rum.

As for the provisioning of the troops orders were given that all the lands should provide one *taghar*,[12] i.e. 100 maunds, of flour and 50 maunds, i.e. one skin, of wine for each man. And the emirs and local rulers, whoever they were, began to prepare provisions *('ulūfa)* and get together *tuzghu* or offerings of food; and they set down their offerings at every stage [of the army's advance]. At the same time the Mongol and Moslem

[8] *pādshāh-i-jahān*, which I translate 'World-Emperor' when it refers to the Great Khan. Here Hülegü is meant.

[9] I.e. the Khangai range (Qangqai in the *Secret History*, § 194). I read QNΓAY for the TY'AB of the text. The same form occurs below, III, 277 (ii, 724), where D, the MS. used by d'Ohsson, has TN'AT: d'Ohsson reads *Toungat* in both cases. On these '*Tungat* mountains' Bretschneider, I, 114, n. 282, comments as follows: 'The name has some resemblance to *Tangnu*, which is the name of a mountain chain in North-Western Mongolia, stretching parallel with the *Khangai* range, and north and north-east of it. It would seem, however, that here by Tungat the Khangai itself is meant.'

[10] Koran, ii, 33. God is speaking to Adam and Eve.

[11] In the Arabic script *giyāh* and *gunāh*, *sabzī* and *sīrī* are identical in appearance except for the diacritical points. Juvaini is much addicted to this kind of *visual* pun.

[12] A well-known dry measure equivalent to 675 pounds avoirdupois. See Minorsky, *A Soyūrghāl of Qāsim b. Jahāngīr Aq-qoyunlu*, 948.

emirs brought herds of mares [13] and each in turn manufactured *qumiz* until the troops passed on to another emir. And the route along which it was calculated that the World-King would pass was cleared, parasang by parasang, of thorns and boulders; and bridges were built over the rivers and streams and boats held in readiness at the ferries.

And at the report of his departure quiet and tranquillity took leave of the world: the rebellious slumbered not for fear of his might and fury while such as were *il* [14] reposed not from the preparation of troops, arms and provisions.

When the princes and *noyans* had been appointed and the troops selected from the thousands and hundreds, Ked-Buqa, who held the office of *bavurchi*,[15] set off in advance. [95] And now the spring of the year 650/1252–3 [16] had burst from the bud of winter. The face of the earth from the multitudinous colours of the herbs was like a peacock's feather; the world in pleasantness became a rose-bed; the gardens were fresh and smiling from exceeding moisture and verdancy; the ponds after being frozen and dry were brimful and freely flowing; the flowers shone brightly and the clouds scattered pearls; the nightingales sang paeans at the table of the rose-garden; and old men became young again from sniffing the scents and perfumes of the blooms.

Hülegü prepared feasts to celebrate his leave-taking and betook himself to the *ordu* of the World-Emperor. Arigh Böke arrived from the opposite direction, and all the princes and relatives who were in that vicinity were gathered together like the Pleiades at the Court of Qara-Qorum. Each in turn gave a feast, and they cast the die of desire upon the board of revelry, draining goblets

[13] Or perhaps 'mares from their herds'.

[14] The Mongol word *il* occurs frequently in the phrase *il shudan* 'to become *il*', which I have usually translated by 'to surrender' or 'to tender submission'. *il* means 'obedient', 'submissive', 'at peace', and stands in opposition to *bulgha* 'rebellious', 'at war'. See Pelliot, *Les Mongols et la Papauté* [126]–[127], Mostaert and Cleaves, *Trois documents mongols des Archives secrètes vaticanes*, 454 and 492–3.

[15] See above, p. 596, n. 152.

[16] 650 A.H. ended on the 2nd March, 1253, and it is presumably the spring of this latter year that is meant.

(jāmhā) and donning garments *(jāmahā)* of one colour, at the same time not neglecting important affairs.

At the end of a week, when he decided to return to his own *ordu,* the World-ruling Emperor, in accordance with his Heaven-like magnanimity, commanded that the stores of jewels, coin and clothing should be spread [on the ground] and choice [17] mounts and beasts of burden withdrawn from the herds; and sent separately to Hülegü, [96] his wives and sons each his share, so that the earth was weighted down by supporting it all and the world made light.[18] And the Emperor likewise honoured with presents the emirs and *noyans* that accompanied him as also all the troops that were in attendance. And on Saturday the 2nd of Rabiʿ I, 651 [2nd [19] of May, 1253], Hülegü mounted the steed of honour and power and turned the reins of homecoming.

Upon alighting at his own *ordu* he remained there for a while arranging his affairs and seeing to the concerns of his men until the heat of the air had abated somewhat. During this time the princes came to bid him farewell and brought offerings of food. Prince Hülegü dismissed each of them with gifts and presents proportionate to his rank. Finally on the 24th of Shaʿban, 658 [19th of October, 1253], with an ascendant which was the East of felicity he set out from the seat of fortune, his own *ordu,* Triumph in front of him crying '*Make way!*', Victory running on the right and left and Conquest following behind.

Jumghar [20] Oghul, who [97] because of his mother,[21] who was senior to the other wives, [was of superior rank,] he appointed his deputy and placed over the *ordu* and army. And of his

[17] Reading *guzīda* with O for the *guzīn* KLHA of the text.

[18] *sabuksār.* Perhaps 'light of heart'.

[19] The 2nd May, 1253, was actually a Friday.

[20] JWMΓAR. In Rashid-ad-Din Jumqur (JWMQWR, Quatremère, 97) and Jumghur (JWMΓWR, Blochet, 413). He was Hülegü's second son. In the struggle between Qubilai and Arïgh Böke he sided with the latter. He died *circa* 662/1263–4. (Quatremère, 96–100, Blochet, *loc. cit.*)

[21] According to Rashid-ad-Din (Quatremère, 96) her name was Köpek Khatun and she was the daughter of Princess Checheken and the Oirat Törelchi. However, elsewhere, in his chapter on the Oirat (Khetagurov, 119) Rashid-ad-Din mentions only two daughters of this marriage, a wife of Arïgh Böke and Orqïna, the wife of Qara-Hülegü.

elder sons he chose Abaqa [22] and Yashmut [23] to accompany him. The armies now set out from wherever they were stationed. And from dread of the report thereof the mountains began to quake and the hearts of kings to tremble. The King proceeded very slowly, Balaghai and Tutar going on in advance and the others hastening forward on the right and left. They travelled alternately by the summer and winter routes.[24] When they came to the region of Almaligh the ladies of Ulugh-Ef and Orqina [25] Khatun came out to welcome them and gave feasts [in their honour].

When the Royal banners had passed through that region the Supreme Minister *(ṣāḥib-i-aʿẓam)* Masʿud Beg and the emirs of Transoxiana joined his train. The summer of 652/1254 they passed in mountain pastures *(yailagh)*, setting out again when the violence of the sun's heat [98] had abated, and in Shaʿban, 653 [September–October, 1255] they encamped in the meadows of Kan-i-Gul [26] at the gates of Samarqand. The Minister Masʿud Beg erected a tent of *nasij*,[27] of which the covering was of white felt, and for nearly forty days they remained in that neighbourhood with constant revelry and merrymaking. In the midst of all this, such being the wont of the unkind Heavens, his brother Sübetei Oghul passed away and there came news from beyond of his other brother's [28] death. Because of these two calamities he was sorely grieved and became extremely pensive.

When that month, which was Ramazan [October–November], was over, on the 1st of Shavval [3rd of November] they made *süyürmishi* [29] according to their custom and began to rejoice and revel once again. At this juncture Muhammad son of

[22] Hülegü's eldest son and first successor (1265–82). See Spuler, *op. cit.*, 67–77.

[23] YŠMT. His name is of Persian origin (Jamshīd). See Pelliot–Hambis, *Campagnes*, 92.

[24] *va dar rāh-i-tābistān va zamistān bi-tadrij ḥarakat mī kardand.*

[25] See above, i, 274, n. 7.

[26] 'The Rose-Mine.'

[27] See above, i, 218, n. 34.

[28] Which brother? It could be either Böchek or Sögetü.

[29] Apparently 'feasting and revelry'.

* Miqdat [30] came forward to welcome the King in advance of [99] all his peers and equals and was distinguished amongst mankind by many marks of favour and honour.

Upon leaving that spot they did not draw rein till they came to Kish. At this stage the Emir Arghun and most of the chief men of Khorasan reached them and offered their presents. Here they remained a month and then beat the drum of departure and set out again with the intention of crossing [the Oxus]. Now at the time when the royal train set out from the summer pastures *(yailagh)* orders had been given that all the boats should be seized together with the boatmen and bridges built with the boats, so that when the King's train arrived the forces *(ḥasham)* crossed without any difficulty. The King took pity on them and abolished the toll that used to be exacted from boats in crossing, and when that toll was removed a load was taken off the hearts of all who crossed the river. [100]

When the army had crossed the King went for a ride along the banks. It happened that there were many tigers [31] in the woods there. He ordered the troops to station themselves in a circle and form a *nerge*. The horses being frightened of the tigers they mounted Bactrian camels in rut [32] and ten tigers of the meadow were bagged by the tigers of the battle-field, who

[30] MQDAT. As M.Q. points out, the parallel passage in Rashid-ad-Din (Quatremère, 148) makes it quite clear that by Muhammad must be meant Shams-ad-Dīn Muhammad, the founder (1245–78) of the Kart dynasty of Herat, on which see above, i, 121 and n. 20, also Spuler, *op. cit.*, 155–7. As for *Miqdāt, M.Q. was unable to identify the name of which it is a corruption. The authorities either do not mention Shams-ad-Dīn's father at all, stating simply that he succeeded his maternal grandfather, Rukn-ad-Dīn Abū-Bakr b. Tāj-ad-Dīn 'Uṣmān Marghānī; or else they state that this latter person was in fact his father. Unfortunately Rukn-ad-Din's personal name, as distinct from his *laqab* or title (Rukn-ad-Din) and his patronymic (Abu-Bakr), is nowhere recorded, so that even if he was Shams-ad-Din's father (as in the opinion of Spuler, *loc. cit.*, he was) we cannot ascertain whether his name bore any resemblance to Miqdat.

[31] Even in the nineteenth century the Russians found tigers along the Oxus. (V.M.) On the ambiguity of the word *shīr* (*shēr*), which means both 'lion' and 'tiger', see above, i, 257, n. 30.

[32] *mast*, the Anglo-Indian *must*. The basic meaning of the word is 'drunk', and this has misled d'Ohsson, III, 140, to speak of 'des chameaux qu'on avait eu soin d'enivrer'!

made the story of Sultan Mas'ud,[33] the son of Mahmud, a mere fable, where the poet says:

Whoever bags eight lions in one charge, mere humans are nothing to him.[34]

The next day they departed from thence and encamped in the meadows of Shafurqan [35] not intending to remain there long. However in the day of the *'id-i-azha* [36] it began to snow and for seven days and nights the clouds did not disperse from that region. And that winter was long-drawn-out and the chill of the air and the violence of the cold were such that all of the climes were like *' the lands of snow '*,[37] and from the violence of the cold many of the animals perished. Two or three lines which I had written to my father *(may he rest in peace !)* from the great *ordu* in Qara-Qorum were appropriate to the situation:

And the wind has pitched over our heads tents of snow without ropes or poles.
Its arrows penetrate our clothes like an arrow shot by a person of great bulk.
[101] *And if her secret lover embraced a damsel with a mole upon her face it would show them both as one from the severity of the cold.*
And the saliva would have frozen in their mouths but for the heat of the fire of desire in their livers.

And in this halting-place the Emir Arghun set up a large tent of fine linen embroidered with delicate embroideries,[38] with gold and silver plate in keeping with it; and he performed many services. Then, at the King's command he set out for the Court of Mengü Qa'an after appointing his son Kerei [39] Malik with

[33] The Ghaznavid (1030–40).

[34] Abu-Sahl in a poem in praise of Sultan Mas'ud of Ghazna in which he describes how the latter killed eight lions in one day. (M.Q.) Here too tigers are probably meant.

[35] Shafūrqān or Shabūrqān is the modern Shibarkhan in Northern Afghanistan (53 miles west of Balkh).

[36] The *'id-i-azḥā* (in Arabic *'īd-al-aḍḥā*) or Festival of Sacrifice is celebrated on the 10th Zul-Hijja, which in this case would have fallen on the 10th January, 1256.

[37] Presumably the Arctic regions. [38] Or ' pictures '. [39] KRAY.

Ahmad Bitikchi and the writer of these histories to administer the affairs of Khorasan and Iraq in the King's service.

And when the dawn of the day of spring appeared out of the long night of winter, and the verdure of blooms *(bahār)* and flowers frothed at the lips of the grassy plain, and the vernal season decked out the lands, and the world donned seven-coloured brocade, and the garden sucked the breast of the clouds, and this quatrain, composed in the springtime of life, became apposite:

Since Spring has prepared the feast of beauty,
And the nightingale in joyfulness has taken the road to its mate,
[102] Appear, O sunrise, and give gladly to-day
Under the shadow of the willow the sun of wine,[40]

and the animals had recovered their strength, orders were then given for the fastening of banners and standards [to lances] and the massing of the troops for the purpose of making holy war and uprooting the castles of the Heresy. And all the forces in that region, whether Turks or Taziks, put themselves in readiness.

Since the town of Tun [41] had apparently not yet been humbled and still persisted in its former benightedness Hülegü first of all proceeded thither, and at the beginning of Rabi' I [the end of March to the beginning of April, 1256] under a fortunate ascendant he loaded the steeds of Victory and Triumph with the burden of his desire. Upon his reaching the district of Zava and Khaf the heavy cloud of an incident cast its shadow. He deputed Köke-Ilgei,[42] Ked-Buqa and the other emirs [to deal with the matter]. When they arrived the rabble *(runūd)* of that place put up some resistance until on the seventh day the army penetrated the inner town *(ḥiṣār)* and razed its walls to the ground. They drove all the men and women out into the open country

[40] The second two lines are translated according to the text of G.

[41] Tūn (now known as Firdaus) is the first element of Marco Polo's Tunocain. See above, i, 314, n. 97.

[42] KWKA AYLKAY. So in A. B, D and H have KWKA AYLKA, i.e. Köke-Ilge, as has also Rashid-ad-Din ed. Quatremère. *kōke* in Mongol means 'blue': on the second element of the name see Pelliot–Hambis, *op. cit.*, 331–2.

and spared no one over ten years of age [103] except the younger women. And returning from thence in triumph to the World-King they then proceeded towards Tus.

In Rabi' II [April–May] they pitched a tent of *nasij* in Jinh-al-Fuqara near Tus at the gate of a garden that had been laid out by the Emir Arghun, and Jinh-al-Fuqara became the rendezvous of emirs.[43] That tent was one which the World-Emperor Mengü Qa'an had ordered the Emir Arghun to prepare for his brother. In obedience to the Emperor's command the master craftsmen had been called together and consulted, and in the end it had been decided that the tent should be made of a single sheet of cloth with two surfaces. And in executing the weaving and dyeing [44] of it they had surpassed the art of the craftsmen of San'a: [104] the back and front were uniform *(hama-rūi)* and the inside and outside in the exact correspondence of the colours and designs complemented one another like the simple-hearted. The teeth of the scissors had been blunted with the cutting of it. That gilded cupola and heaven-like tent, the disc of the sun, lost its brightness out of jealousy of the truck of this tent, and the resplendent full moon wore a sulky expression because of its roundness. For a few days they feasted and revelled here, and the access of mirth and joy to their breasts was unrestricted. Then the King took his departure and wishing to rest his horses [encamped] in the garden of Mansuriya, which after falling into ruin had been restored by the Emir Arghun and was now such that its extreme beauty made it the envy of all the gardens of the world. Of this spot Anvari says:

> Ha! O picture of Mansuriya, thou art a garden and a palace,
> or a paradise which God has sent into the world.

That day the wives of the Emir Arghun and the Minister 'Izz-ad-Din Tahir offered *tuzghu* and gave a feast. The next day they departed from thence and remained some time in the meadows of Radkan also. And from all the provinces, far and near, from Merv, [105] Yazir and Dihistan wine was drawn

[43] Jinḥ-al-Fuqarā means 'the Quarter of the Poor'.
[44] Reading *nasj u ṣibghat*, as M.Q. suggests.

like water and unlimited provisions *('ulūfāt)* transported and deposited at every stage [along the route].

And departing from thence they came to Khabushan,[45] a town which had been derelict and in ruins from the first incursion of the Mongol army until that year, its buildings desolate and the *qanats* without water and no walls still standing save those of the Friday mosque. Now I had previously purchased a quarter of the town from the inhabitants. Having observed the King's interest and pleasure in restoring ruins I brought the case of Khabushan to his attention. He listened to my words and issued a *yarligh* for the repairing of the *qanats,* the erection of buildings, the establishment of a bazaar, the alleviation of the people's lot and their re-assembly in the town. All the expense of re-building he met with cash from the treasury so that no charge fell upon the people. All the *qanats* flowed once again after a [long] interruption and the inhabitants returned after years of exile bringing peasants and *qanat*-diggers from Quhistan whom they settled there. They built workshops and laid out a garden adjoining the Friday mosque. The mosque and the graveyard had been destroyed. The Supreme Minister *(ṣāḥib-i-a'ẓam)* Saif-ad-Din Aqa gave 3,000 gold dinars so that the work of rebuilding and restoration might begin.

Hülegü remained a month in [106] Ustu [46] and then departed after mountain and plain had become denuded of grass.

Meanwhile Rukn-ad-Din Khur-Shah sent his brother Shahan-shah and the ministers of his kingdom to announce his submission and allegiance and his loyalty and devotion to the Court. When these words reached the royal ear, the King ordered them to be treated with honour and appointed *elchis* to go to Rukn-ad-Din. He also sent one of their people with the *elchis* and strongly urged that Rukn-ad-Din should present himself in person and that the castles should be destroyed. When that command reached Rukn-ad-Din, out of madness and youthfulness he sent a reply full of lies and slanders. It became clear to the King that his fortune was reversed and that civility and kindness

[45] The modern Quchan.

[46] Ustū is another form of Ustuvā, on which see above, i, 173, n. 10.

would effect nothing; and he set out from Khurqan [47] to make war upon him.

[VII]

OF THE ADVANCE OF THE WORLD-KING HÜLEGÜ TO CAPTURE THE CASTLES OF THE HERETICS

RUKN-AD-DIN took no warning from the coming and going of ambassadors and *elchis*. To meet the King's wishes he merely evacuated some five castles [107] which had no stores and were of no great strength and from the other castles wrenched out the gates and demolished the battlements *(sar-dīvār)*,[1] thinking he would avert his destined lot by trickery and deceit through foolish falsehoods and deceptions. '*Away, away with his predictions!*'[2]

[Setting out] therefore from Khurqan in the middle of Sha'ban [September, 1256] the King made his preparations to attack the castles and destroy the dwelling-places of Rukn-ad-Din; and he sent instructions to the armies in Iraq and elsewhere to hold themselves in readiness. The right wing under Buqa-Temür and Köke-Ilgei then proceeded by way of Mazandaran and the left wing under Tegüder Oghul and Ked-Buqa by way of Khuvar and Samnan. The princes Balaghai and Tutar and the armies of Iraq set out from the direction of Alamut and the King himself advanced [3] with men such as consider hardship a pleasant drink and take no heed of pain.

> They departed and the face of the world grew dark: the heavens were dazzled at [the sight of] Suhrab.[4]

And he again sent *elchis* in advance to say that he had put into effect his intention [108] to move forward against Rukn-ad-Din. The latter had added to his former crimes hollow excuses and

[47] Khurqān was situated 4 leagues from Bistam (Bustam) on the road to Astarabad. See le Strange, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, 366.

[1] Reading the emendation in B (*va sar-dīvārhā bi-y-andākht*) for the *sar-dīvār pāidār* of the text. Cf. below, p. 714 and n. 7.

[2] Koran, xxiii, 38.

[3] *Sc.* in the centre, with the main body. (M.Q.)

[4] *Shahnama* ed. Vullers, 492, l. 966, with *havā* 'air' instead of *jahān* 'world'.

feeble evasions but if he would make his heart sincere again and come forward to meet the King, he would read the lesson: *What is past is past'* over his crimes, and cast the glance of forgiveness and condonation upon his offences, and show the teeth of assent in the face of his requests.

When the King's heaven-residing world-conquering parasol had triumphantly passed by Firuzkuh they sent back the *elchis* and set about demolishing the ramparts and walls. With the *elchis* there came the false-hearted vizier and luckless minister Kai-Qubad with all manner of lies and subterfuges. He undertook to demolish their castles and dwelling-places and asked that Rukn-ad-Din might be exempted from coming out for the space of one year and that the castles of Alamut, Lammasar [5] and Lal,[6] which were their ancient home, might be saved from destruction. Rukn-ad-Din would surrender the other castles and would carry out any order that was issued. He had sent a warrant *(parvāna)* for the governor *(muḥtasham)* of Girdkuh and the governor *(muḥtasham)* of the castles in Quhistan [109] to present themselves before the King. By the like blandishments Rukn-ad-Din thought that he could avert his destiny and that by such deceptions the vizier might reverse the inflexible will of Fate.

When the King's forces had reached the district of Qasran,[7] the castle of Shahdiz, which lay across their path, was invested by [troops under the command of] Ked-Buqa. They encompassed it on every side and captured that stronghold by storm after a day or two. They also took two or three other castles in that vicinity.

The King now sent *elchis* for the second time and ordered him to carry out his undertaking to come down. Again he sent them back with excuses, wishing to secure postponement [of any action] and awaiting the fall of the autumn snows. He

[5] On Lammasar see below, p. 679, n. 49.

[6] Lāl. G has Alān. There is no mention of this castle in the corresponding passage of Rashid-ad-Din (Quatremère, 198).

[7] Qaṣrān was a district near Ray. See le Strange, *op. cit.*, 216, Hamdallah tr. le Strange, 59.

asked for a guarantee that his castles would not be invested by the army and that there would be no fighting or plundering. He agreed to send his son together with 300 men to serve as a levy *(ḥashar)* and to destroy all his castles.

The King granted his request and halted at ʿAbbasabad near Ray to await the fulfilment of his pledge; and the troops investing the castles raised the siege. At the appointed time Rukn-ad-Din sent a child of seven or eight, [110] who he said was his son, together with a number of his chief officials. Being a man of great discernment and sagacity the King perceived that this was a spurious son and that the establishment of his paternity required the production of proof. He questioned Shahanshah and Rukn-ad-Din's ministers whom he had sent previously. Some whose hearts were tainted with the darkness of the Heresy did not tell the truth, but the King shrewdly guessed what the state of affairs was. However, he feigned ignorance and having treated the child with honour and kindness gave him leave to return. Then departing from ʿAbbasabad he encamped in Pishkil-Dara.[8]

Day after day Rukn-ad-Din [111] continued to intercede for the return of his brother, the vizier and the others, and his followers, being evil companions, kept [leading him astray] from the true path of submission and casting him into the wilderness of error. When the false son returned to his luckless father the latter sent another brother, Shiran-Shah, with 300 men to serve as a levy, at the time it had been agreed that they should be sent after the return of that accursed wretch, his spurious son. He hoped that this pretence would induce the King's army to turn back. And he kept asking for the return of his brother and the ministers whom he had sent previously and begging to be excused from coming out in person until the winter had changed into spring and fear and dread had been dismissed from his heart.

The King sent back his brother Shahanshah and bade him

[8] I have adopted the emendation in B in preference to the BYSKLH DZ (? Pishkila-Diz) of the text. On the district of Pishkil-Dara (Pushkil-Dara) to the south-west of Talaqan and east of Qazvin, see M.Q., III, 428–9.

strengthen his castles and prepare for war, unless he presented himself within five days. When the *elchi* returned he brought the same threadbare excuse, and the King realized that there was evil in Rukn-ad-Din's head and guile in his faith. He determined to put an end to him, and the armies stationed all round Rukn-ad-Din were ordered to advance each from its *nerge* in a parallel line. And on the 10th of Shavval, 654 [31st of October, 1256] he set out from Pishkil-Dara, [112] having first given orders that all those accursed wretches, the officials and soldiers [9] of Rukn-ad-Din, who had been detained in Jamalabad near Qazvin, should be secretly dispatched to hell. Ever since that time it has been a proverbial saying in Qazvin, when someone has been killed, that he has been ' sent to Jamalabad '.

Elchis now departed to all the lands to procure and dispatch *taghars* of flour for the provisioning of the army and also a great number of animals both for slaughter and for use as mounts. The provisions had to be transported [over an area stretching] from Armenia to Yezd and from the land of the Kurds to Jurjan and the beasts belonging to the Divan being insufficient for the purpose the order was given that the animals of any person whatsoever, whether noble or base, Turk and Tazik, should be seized as *ulaghs* and the *taghars* thus dispatched.

On the 18th of that month [8th of November, 1256] the heaven-residing parasol was opened out on a hilltop facing Maimun-Diz [10] from the North, and the next day the King rode all round it in order to survey and examine the points most suitable for making an attack. Now Maimun-Diz was a castle such as perhaps Abul-'Ala was describing when he says:

[113] *Men cannot reach its highest peaks, nor can the birds,*
not even the vulture and the eagle.
And the wishes of a seeker have not desired it, and its
dogs have barked only at the stars.[11]

[9] Presumably the 300 men sent with Shiran-Shah.

[10] On the castle of Maimūn-Diz see below, p. 627.

[11] In fact these verses are not by any Abul-'Alā but by the Umayyad poet Ka'b b. Ma'dan al-Ashqari. They describe the capture of the castle of Nīzak in Badghis by Yazid b. Muhallab in the year 84/703–4. (M.Q.)

The King therefore consulted with the princes, *noyans* and pillars of state as to whether they should lay siege to the castle or turn back and wait till the coming year. Since it was winter and it was difficult to obtain provisions *('ulūfa)* and impossible to procure fodder and their animals in consequence were lean, most of the emirs were in favour of turning back. Of the kinsmen Buqa-Temür, of the ministers the Emir Saif-ad-Din, who was the strongest pillar, and of the emirs Ked-Buqa and Tayir would hear only of a siege.[12] And since they spoke after the King's own heart he too would hear of no other counsel and sent instructions to all the armies to prepare for a siege and make ready for battle. And when Rukn-ad-Din saw this he came to offer submission and descended from the height. Had it been otherwise, the provinces of the kingdom would have been exhausted by the transport of *taghars* and food and drink. And since the further history of Rukn-ad-Din has been given in the *fath-nama* appended to this chapter, it would be redundant to repeat it here, and we shall say no more on that subject.

[114] Copy of the *fath-nama* of Alamut

Praise be to God, Who keepeth His promise, and aideth His servant and strengtheneth His host, and routeth the sects, He alone! And blessings and peace upon the Prophet after whom there shall be no prophet!

From the time when the precedent established by the firm command of '*"Be", and it is*'[13] first placed the keys of the lands of the Habitable Quarter in due order in the hands of the might of the Sultans of the age and powerful Khaqans, and in each era, in accordance with its command and desire, produced from the unseen world a leader of men, and, in East and West, embroidered the garment of each such leader's life with victories, whereof the scent perfumed the nostrils of all creation, as hath been written down in the bellies of books and proclaimed from the backs of pulpits; until this present day when the surface of the earth has been adorned by the all-embracing justice and perfect wisdom of the Khan of Khans, the source of the blessings

[12] Lit. 'restricted their speech to a siege'. [13] Koran, ii, 111.

of peace and security, the Commander of the Earth and the Age, the one raised up by the wondrous might of the Merciful, Mengü Qa'an, and the lights of clemency and benignity have become visible on the horizon of equity and righteousness: there has reached no ear and has been beheld by no eye so manifest a victory. It is indeed the preamble to *' Verily, We have won for thee an undoubted victory '*,[14] for God *(great is His glory and universal His bounty!)* made it possible through the action and resolve, and caused the knot of it to be untied by the perspicacious counsel, of the Blessed King and Just Monarch—

> He whose sword is kept strong by religion has the pomp and manner of an Emperor—

Hülegü, the Buraq of whose lofty ambition touches the head of the Pleiades while the lightning of his considered intention tramples on the face of the earth. [115] And because God Almighty hath said: *' Recollect God's favour upon you,'* [15] the meanest slave of his daily-increasing fortune, 'Ata-Malik b. Muhammad al-Juvaini, the *mustaufi,* wishes to send these good tidings to all the climes of the world, far and near, and to utter the cry which the tongue of the Faith has caused to reach the souls of all orthodox Believers:

> *The Truth has appeared with firm pillars, with a rising star and a lofty structure,*
> *While the wrongdoers and the wicked, the aberrant and the rebellious, have stretched out their hands after evil.*

Of the details of these events, which will remain for ever on the face of the years, he will give some brief description and reduce a line or two to writing, causing it to reach the ears of high and low, the great and the noble, from the farthermost East to uttermost Syria *(may God let them hear the glad tidings!)* that ever since that *huma,* the heaven-residing parasol of the World-Conquering King, Hülegü, had cast its auspicious shadow over these regions and the pennants of the victory-proclaiming standards had been unfurled over these lands and countries, [116] he had followed the divine law which says: *' We never punished until we had first*

[14] Koran, xlviii, 1. [15] *Ibid.,* v, 14.

sent an apostle' [16] and had dispatched messenger after messenger to Rukn-ad-Din both to encourage and to warn him, hoping that by politeness and civility he might [be induced to] come forward and make obedience and submission a shelter from the vicissitudes of Fortune. However, on each occasion because of his youthfulness he sent a reply which was wide of the mark of truth and remote from the direction of righteousness, its apparent differing from its real meaning and his words being inconsistent with his deeds. It was therefore decided by the King's judgement, which radiates like the sun and is the mirror of the essence of things and the elixir of wisdom, to overthrow the castles of Rukn-ad-Din, which rubbed horns with the Horn of the Bull,[17] whose crags *(kamar)* from their great elevation placed their hands on the girdle *(kamar)* of Orion and which vied for glory with the palaces of Saturn; [to overthrow these castles] with men who in strife and battle were like Anaretae [18] (if the Sun seeks their company like the Moon he begins to travel by night; and if Mars encounters their arrows like Venus he purchases peace); [19] to break these people's backs [117] which in their carelessness they had leant against mountains; to make the zenith of Rukn-ad-Din's glory the nadir of abasement and the degree of exaltation the limit of depression; and to cause his ancestral home, i.e. Maimun-Diz, in which he had ignorantly imagined his strength to lie, to be his bane and ruin.

At the prompting of Prosperity and Good Fortune, in the middle of Shavval of the year 654 [November, 1256], he dispatched *elchis* to the emirs and *noyans* who were stationed round the castles at a distance, like a belt round the waist of a wasp; and he ordered each to advance from his station. Suqunchaq [20]

[16] Koran, xvii, 16.

[17] The star ξ or the star ν Tauri.

[18] *akhtarān-i-qāṭi'*. See above, p. 362, n. 1.

[19] A good example of *tanāsub*. The mention of Saturn is the occasion for the introduction of the remaining six planets. Of these only the Sun, the Moon, Mars and Venus appear in the Translation, but *tīr* ('arrows') is Mercury and *mushtarī* ('purchases') Jupiter.

[20] SQNǰQ. Suqunchaq, Sughunchaq or Sunchaq, the future governor of Mesopotamia and Fars, belonged to the Süldüs tribe. He was a great-grandson of the Sorqan Shira who befriended Chingiz-Khan at the time of his captivity

Noyan and Tamgha [21] he sent on in advance to reconnoitre with an army of Turks who had bidden farewell to sleep and rest and made a meal of the flashing sword. Behind them the Monarch himself, blessed in action and in counsel, the God-aided King of Kings, moved forward with an army in full array, of such great numbers that Gog and Magog themselves would have been destroyed by the waves of its battalions.[22] The wings were filled with warlike youths, who in dark nights with a thrust of the spear make Simak [23] the food of the fish of the sea and the Crab the fish of the Lion of the heavens—

Those who said, when they emerged with al-Qana from the vortex of death: 'Go back into the thick of it.' [24]

—[118] archers each of whose arrows make Sagittarius the bane of Mercury and turn the sons of the saddle and Rakhsh into 'Daughters of the Bier.' [25] And the centre he adorned with men of experience who had tasted the sweet and bitter of life, men who consider the day of battle the wedding-night, and connect the blades of flashing swords with the cheeks of white-skinned women, and deem the pricks of lances to be the kisses of beautiful maidens.[26]

They set out [27] by way of Talaqan with the speed of the wind, like a flood in their onrush and like a flame of fire in their ascent; and their horses' hooves kicked dust into the eyes of Time. And on the very day of departure they came midway upon a mountain ram. Some of the young men, eager for fame, at once filled it with their arrows. The King took this as an omen and knew that the butting ram would be a victim in the

amongst the Tayichi'üt. See M.Q., III, 303–4. The same name was borne by a grandson of Muqali. See Pelliot–Hambis, *Campagnes*, 371.

[21] ΤΜΓΑ. Perhaps Tamagha.

[22] Reading *mauj-i-fauj* with O.

[23] Either α Virginis (*Spica*) or α Boötis (*Arcturus*).

[24] 'Amr al-Qanā, a Kharijite poet quoted in the *Hamasa*. (M.Q.)

[25] I.e. scattered like the *banāt-an-na'sh*, the constellation of the Bear. Cf. our Benetnasch (η Ursae Majoris). In this passage the *tanāsub* is concerned with constellations, zodiacal and other.

[26] Cf. above, i, 82, for which this passage may have served as a model.

[27] Reading *ravān shudand* with O.

oven of calamity and the faith of Hasan-i-Sabbah would be without followers.[28]

That day [119] the World-King's forces encamped in the district of Talaqan and he ordered the armies of Kerman and Yezd to besiege the local castles such as Aluh-Nishin, Mansuriya and several others; and he strengthened the hand of these troops with a force of Mongols who were their mainstay *(mu'avval)*.[29]

The next day when the bright-faced Sun thrust his head out of the collar of the horizon they beat the drum of departure and [advanced] by way of Hazar-Cham,[30] which was as twisted as the curls of a sweetheart, nay as narrow as the *sirat-i-qiyamat* [31] and as dark as the road to Hell. There was no room to place one's feet, how then could one go forward? And the chamois could not easily keep their footing, what then could men do? To tread on the level parts was no simple matter; on the rugged parts what could one do but come to grief? [120] [Yet] the King passed over and chose toil and pain rather than the road of ease. And the tongue of Destiny sang this song:

> Give ear to thyself, because the self is the soul of a world
> bound up in that dear soul which thou hast.

The next day the troops and squadrons arrived at the foot of the castle and at noon

> That parasol to which the heavens are inferior, [which]
> is a cloud shading the sun

was opened up on a hilltop opposite the castle.[32]

And from the direction of Ustundar,[33] which lay on the right, there came Buqa-Temür and Köke-Ilgei with armies all fire and

[28] In the original there are word-plays on *kīsh* 'faith' or 'quiver' and *qurbān* 'followers' or 'bow-case'.

[29] Introduced for the sake of the visual pun with *mughūl* (*moghol*) 'Mongols'.

[30] Hazār-Cham is a well-known pass in the Elburz some 80–90 miles north-west of Tehran between the district of Talaqan on the west, Kalar Dasht and Kujur on the east and Tunakabun on the north. (M.Q.)

[31] The bridge from this world into Paradise, more slender than a hair and sharper than a sword.

[32] I.e. Maimūn-Diz.

[33] I.e. Rustamdār in Mazandaran. See above, p. 385, n. 73.

fury along steep roads as crooked as the covenant of the wicked [121], with hilltops twisted around them, full of defiles. And from Alamut, which lay on the left, came the princes Balaghai and Tutar with a great body of men, all clamouring for vengeance. And behind them came Ked-Buqa Noyan with a host like a mountain of iron. The valleys and mountains billowed with the great masses of men. The hills which had held their heads so high and had such strong hearts [122] now lay trampled with broken necks under the hooves of horses and camels. And from the din of the braying of those camels and the noise of pipe and kettle-drum the ears of the world were deafened, and from the neighing of the horses and the flashing of the lances the hearts [34] and eyes of the foe were blinded. *'For God's behest is a fixed decree.'* [35]

Thus in one day so many immeasurable armies were joined together to form around the said castle and town of heresy and iniquity a *nerge* whereof the blessing embraced both small and great. Now the history of that castle is as follows. At the time when that people were at the height of their power, his [36] father 'Ala-ad-Din, in accordance with [the words of Pharaoh:] *'"O Haman, build for me a tower that I may reach the avenues, the avenues of the heavens,"'* [37] had instructed his officials and ministers to survey the heights and summits of those mountains for the space of 12 years [123] until they chose that lofty peak which confided secrets to the star Capella; and on its summit, which had a spring of water on its top *(dahān)* [38] and three others on its side, they began to build the castle of Maimun-Diz making the ramparts out of plaster and gravel *(? sang-i-rīkhta)*. And from a parasang away they brought a stream like the Juy-i-Arziz [39] and caused the water to flow into the castle. And because of the extreme cold it was impossible for beasts to find a home or live in that place from the beginning of autumn till the middle

[34] I.e. they became *kūr-dil* 'blind-hearted', 'senseless', here perhaps 'panic-stricken'.

[35] Koran, xxxiii, 38.

[36] I.e. Rukn-ad-Din's.

[37] Koran, xl, 38–9.

[38] Lit. 'mouth'. Perhaps a reference to its crater-like shape?

[39] See above, i, 121, n. 15.

of spring. On this account Rukn-ad-Din thought it impossible for human beings to penetrate to the castle and lay siege to it, since the mountains intertwined and the very eagles shrank back from the passes whilst the game animals at the foot sought some other way around. Nay, because of its great elevation that lofty place applied to itself the words [of ʿAli]: *' The flood rusheth down from me, and the birds rise not up to me.'*

And now the inmates of the castle saw how a people numerous as ants had, snake-like, formed seven coils around it [124] and quickly contrived to make their abode upon hard rock. As in the *panja* [40] they had joined rank to rank and laid hand in hand. In the day-time as far as their sight could reach the people of Maimun-Diz could see nothing but men and standards, and at night, because of the great quantity of fires, they thought the earth a sky full of stars [and] a world full of swords and daggers, whereof neither middle nor edge was visible. For excess of grief each of them on the towers and walls mourned in his heart at the time of feasting. *' They shall say, " 'Tis what the God of Mercy promised; and the Apostles spake the truth." '* [41]

However, the prudent King, though confident of his strength and power, wished to draw them into the net by the fairest of means without his army's having to suffer pain. He therefore dispatched an *elchi* to Rukn-ad-Din to announce the arrival of his standards; and he still sought to win him and his people over, saying that heretofore Rukn-ad-Din's best interests had been obscured to him by the evil suggestions of a group of *nasnas*,[42] and on account of the fewness of his years the eye of wisdom had not yet awakened from the slumber of neglect. If, however, before his ant-like people, thoughtless and improvident as they were, should be trampled underfoot—*' lest Solomon and his army crush you '*—he was, in accordance with the exigencies of the time, to substitute for the words *' enter your dwellings '* [43] the words *' come out of your abodes,'* and convert the injunction of

[40] A kind of dance. [41] Koran, xxxvi, 52. (Somewhat abridged.)

[42] See above, p. 529, n. 11.

[43] *' Till they reached the Valley of Ants. Said an ant, " O ye ants,* enter your dwellings, lest Solomon and his army crush you *and know it not." '* (Koran, xxvii, 18.)

Hasan-i-Sabbah: *'See to your castles!'* into *'See* [125] *that ye be parted therefrom!"*, and come down from the castle, and not expose himself to danger because of the schemes of a band of wretches and their futile lies, but at the suggestion of Fortune speed from the whirlpools of calamities to the shore of salvation, the promises to spare him and his people were as valid as ever, nay they were more so. The King's magnanimity desired in all cases the pleasure of forgiveness and condonation.

From the castle he [44] sent a reply saying: 'As the saying is, the hyena is not in his hole, and he [44] can do nothing that might entail their destruction until he has news,' [45] that is to say: 'Rukn-ad-Din is absent and we cannot come out without his leave and permission.'

The *elchi* returned and the next day, when from the breast of night the milk of the dawn-break gushed forth and the world was in turmoil from the roaring of the thunder-voiced men and lions,[46] the King proceeded by the road on the left to the highest summit and having surveyed all the possibilities of entrance and egress and examined the various approaches returned to his encampment by the other route. On the next day, when the heralds of the heavenly Jamshid drew their glittering swords from the scabbard of the horizon and routed the black host of Night, with their morning draught [the Mongol army] struck the harp of war, [126] and with intent to rend the veil of their adversaries they prepared to do battle with mangonels and stones. And they cut down and trimmed for these mangonels trees which those people had tended and watered for many years past, not realizing what purpose they would serve or what fruit they would ultimately bear.

I teach him to shoot every day, and when his aim is sure
he will shoot me.[47]

[44] Apparently the commander of the castle.

[45] Of the hyena, i.e. Rukn-ad-Din.

[46] Reading *mardān u shīrān-i-ra'd-āvāz* with O.

[47] Attributed variously to Ma'n b. Aus, Mālik b. Fahm al-Azdi and 'Aqīl b. 'Ullafa. (M.Q.) Quoted in the *Gulistan* in the story of the wrestler and his pupil. See Arberry, *Kings and Beggars*, 62–3.

And during these days they placed a group of athletes at every *amaj* [48] to transport the heavy poles and pillars of the mangonels to the top of the hill.

The next day, when the lid of night was lifted from the oven of the earth and the loaf-like disc of the sun was pulled out of the paunch of the darkness, the King ordered his bodyguard to climb to the top of the highest peak and pitch the royal encampment there.

[127] *We ascended Daushan* [49] *with one who was stronger than it and more steadfast when the lances were intertwined,*
With an army billowing with horsemen until thou didst think the dry land a sea of arms.[50]

Meanwhile, the garrison of the castle, having prepared by night for battle and entrusted the towers of their heaven-reposing castle to fellow ruffians, began the engagement; they set up the poles of their mangonels and in the middle of Shavval [November, 1256] commenced a brisk discharge of stones.

Thou hast tied the rope and dost play boldly: 'tis well
if in the end it do not miss.

And on this side also the young men were splitting hairs with lance-like arrows and themselves flinching before neither stone nor arrow. Arrows, which were the shaft of Doom discharged by the Angel of Death, were let fly against those wretches, passing like hail through the sieve-like clouds.

[128] The arrow passed through coats of mail as the wind of early dawn through the petals of flowers.

When the sun drew the shield of shadow in front of him they ceased fighting, but on the fourth day, which was the crisis of their disease and the proof of the testimony of truth, when dawn began to break, cries and shouts rose up, and on both sides they set foot upon the road of battle. From the towers bows sent

[48] *āmāj:* the 24th part of a parasang, i.e. about a sixth of a mile.

[49] According to Manini in his commentary on 'Utbi, Daushan or Dūshan is the name of a mountain. In the *Yatimat-ad-Dahr* the name appears in the form Jaushan or Jūshan. (M.Q.)

[50] Abu-Firas Hamdani. Quoted in the *Yatimat-ad-Dahr.* (M.Q.)

up swift-feathered shafts, and a *kaman-i-gav,*[51] which had been constructed by Khitayan craftsmen and had a range of 2,500 paces, was brought to bear on those fools, when no other remedy remained; and of the devil-like Heretics many soldiers were burnt by those meteoric shafts. From the castle also stones poured down like leaves, but no more than one person was hurt thereby.

Having that day experienced the force of the Mongols' arms they ceased fighting, and the garrison of the castle after the heat of war knocked [52] at the door of peace. And Rukn-ad-Din sent a messenger with a message to this effect: 'I had concealed myself hitherto because I was not certain of Your Majesty's arrival. The army will now cease fighting and to-day or to-morrow I will come out.' With such trickery did that idle babbler cast water upon the fire so that that day they lifted their skirts from battle. On the following day he sent another messenger and asked for a *yarligh* granting him safe-conduct. In compliance with their request the bearer of these good tidings [53] wrote a *yarligh,* the text of which together with other matters not suitable for inclusion here has been incorporated in *Juvaini's History of the World-Conqueror.*[54] This *yarligh* was sent to them and read out in public. Those who were not wanting in intelligence and valued their property and their lives rejoiced and exulted. And when the day drew to its close and light changed into darkness they promised he would come down the next day. When the morrow was born of dark Night and Rukn-ad-Din prepared to descend, some of the more fanatical *fida'is* went to every extreme in their opposition and would not allow him to go down. They even plotted to do away with those who had encouraged him to take that decision. Rukn-ad-Din again sent someone with the following message: 'Before hastening to present myself I had prepared gifts [for your acceptance], [130]

[51] *kamān-i-gāv,* lit. 'ox's bow'. Apparently a ballista, i.e. a magnified cross-bow which propelled, not stones like the mangonel, but javelins. See Oman, *A History of the Art of War in the Middle Ages,* I, 137–8.

[52] Reading *kūftand,* as M.Q. suggests, for the *giriftand* of the text.

[53] I.e. Juvaini himself, who must have taken part in the negotiations.

[54] See above, i, 10, n. 19.

but most of my followers were angry and agreed together to make away with me before this plan was carried out. On this account my intention was frustrated.'

When these words reached the august ear of the Il-Khan [55] he gave no sign [56] at all of his inner displeasure. He said that it was best for Rukn-ad-Din to guard his own person; and dismissed the messenger.

During the coming and going of messengers suitable sites had been found for the erection of mangonels and the parts [57] had been easily fitted together. On the next day,

> When the sun rent that pitch-coloured veil and came out
> from behind it,[58]

[131] orders were given that all round the castle every man should engage [the enemy] in front of him and that every one, whoever he was, should advance and join battle with his opponents. And from the whole circumference of the castle, a distance of a parasang or more, the battle-cry was blended with its echo; and from the rolling of boulders hurled from above a trembling fell upon the limbs and members of the mountains. From the clashing together of the rocks the level ground between [59] with its core of hard stone became mere dust, and from the frequent assaults the collar [60] of the ninth sphere was rent open.

As for the mangonels that had been erected it was as though their poles were made of pine-trees a hundred years old (as for their fruit, '*their fruit is as it were the heads of Satans*[61]'); and with the first stone that sprang up from them the enemy's mangonel was broken and many were crushed under it. And great fear

[55] AYLXAN. Only in A. Interesting as the first mention of the title borne by Hülegü as the Mongol ruler of Persia. On this title of *il-khan* or *il-qan*, 'qan soumis', see Mostaert and Cleaves, *Trois documents mongols des Archives secrètes vaticanes*, 454. An alternative form, El-Khan, is represented by the Byzantine *Ἐλχάνης* and the Ēlghan of Vardan (149).

[56] Reading *ẓāhir na-shud* with B, D and E.

[57] *jarr-i-ālāt.* The meaning is not quite clear.

[58] *Shahnama* ed. Vullers, 472, l. 627.

[59] I take *ṣaḥarāt* to be a wrongly formed plural of *ṣaḥrā* 'plain'.

[60] *jaib*, which also means 'sine'.

[61] Koran, xxxvii, 3.

of the quarrels from the crossbows overcame them so that they were utterly distraught and everyone in the corner of a stone made a shield out of a veil,[62] whilst some who were standing on a tower crept in their fright like mice into a hole or fled like lizards into [132] crannies in the rocks. Some were left wounded and some lifeless and all that day they struggled but feebly and bestirred themselves like mere women. And when the heavens doffed the cap of the sun and the earth raised the curtain of night from the soil up to the Pleiades, they withdrew from battle.

On the next day, when the Light-King thrust his head through the collar of the East, the mighty warriors of the King's army set to once again, drawing their hands through the sleeve of Holy War and leaning the back of firmness against the mountain of resistance.

Rukn-ad-Din now saw that he would be left with nothing but regret. He had been seeking to gain time with 'perhaps' and 'peradventure' and sending back messengers with unacceptable excuses, and was still procrastinating in the same manner in the hope that the cotton-dressers of winter might make cotton of the King's army. But now he saw that it was an illusion to look for winter and snow. By the grace of God Almighty and the blessings of the King's daily-increasing fortune no day bore a surly expression; the screen of the chamberlain clouds did not preclude the sun; throughout the month of Dai[63] 'yesterday' was cold in comparison with 'to-day'; and 'to-morrow' finer than 'to-day'; any snow that had fallen at [133] the beginning of autumn before the arrival of so many rivals had not settled; and yet old men of a hundred could not remember that it had ever been possible to enter or leave those parts from the time the sun entered the first point of Libra on account of the coldness of the air, the falling of the dew and the great quantities of snow. In these circumstances Rukn-ad-Din saw no refuge save in surrendering and seeking shelter under

[62] I.e. they availed themselves of such inadequate cover as there was.

[63] Introduced for the sake of the word-play with *dī* 'yesterday'. Actually the solar month of Dai would be somewhat later—the 22nd December to the 21st January.

the shadow of the King's mercy; and in great fear and dread he resorted [64] to supplication and intercession.

> If thy fury leads its vanguard into the sea, the pearl
> becomes a pomegranate pip in the throat of the shell.

He dispatched a messenger and begged forgiveness for his past crimes. Accordingly the King's universal beneficence and utter compassion with the pen of power inscribed upon the pages of his and his people's actions the verse: *'Forgive with kindly forgiveness.'* [65]

Rukn-ad-Din first sent out the greater part of his notables and ministers together with his son, and the next day, after being distinguished with the promised attentions, he came down himself. And this auspicious day was the last of Shavval of that year [19th of November, 1256], the last of the prosperity of the People of the Mountains, nay rather the first of the glad tidings of the Glorious Lord.

Rukn-ad-Din descended from that high summit and elevated seat, whereon he had thought himself in a position to say:

> On this steep mountain of Jalnabad [66] I am, as it were,
> like the *faghfur* on his throne or Porus [67] on his,[68]

in an attitude of perplexity and stupor, stumbling along *'like some bewildered man whom the Satans have spell-bound in* [134] *the desert'*.[69] And to that familiar abode and well-known dwelling he bade farewell with a thousand pains and pangs, such a farewell that another meeting was unimaginable. Against the decree of Eternity Past of what avail the numbers of castles and the strength of fortifications? And when dynasties break up

[64] Reading *dād*, which M.Q. suggests and O actually has.

[65] Koran, xv, 85.

[66] Jalnābād—the spelling is uncertain—was a village at the foot of a mountain to which the author of the poem had retired. It was a dependency of the larger village of Kūbān (? Gūbān) in the Merv region. See M.Q., I, 235 and n. 3.

[67] The text has Būr, i.e. Pūr, for which 'Aufi's text (M.Q., I, 236) has Fūr. The reference is of course to the Indian opponent of Alexander the Great.

[68] One line of the poem has already been quoted. See above, i, 19 and n. 2.

[69] Koran, vi, 70.

how can thought and constancy of mind assist them ? One sign from Destiny annuls a hundred thousand misrepresentations by human planning, and half a nod from Fate brings to nought a million impostures by human deceit.

Fate playeth with mankind the game of the sticks with the ball,
Or the game of the wind blowing (know thou !) a handful of millet.
Fate is a hunter, and man is nought but a lark.[70]

Having then hastened down with his family and followers Rukn-ad-Din sought refuge in the honour of kissing the threshold of the World-King's audience-place and, in an attitude of shame and contrition, confessed to the crimes and sins that he had committed in former days and in the preceding months. And since the King united in his person all the graces of kingly beneficence and all the wonders of royal kindness, he changed Rukn-ad-Din's feelings of loneliness and foreboding into a mood of ease and happiness and conveyed to his soul the glad tidings that he and his family who had been dead were alive again.

The next day, Rukn-ad-Din took his brothers, children, domestics and dependents and the inmates of the castle down on to the plain, [135] and every one of the soldiers came out with his goods and belongings. Then the Mongol army entered and began to destroy the buildings, brushing away the dust thereof with the broom of annihilation.[71]

Some of the more fanatical *fida'is,* sacrificing their lives in the cause of Error and Ignorance, leapt up again and seeking death with their hearts opened their wings like ants and flew up on to the dome of the stout palace, which was the seat of the rulers of the kingdom, nay of those who were ill-fated both spiritually and temporally. (*' And had not God willed the ant well He would not have caused wings to grow on it.'*)[72] And here they stretched their arms to battle. On the part of the victorious army mangonels were directed against those purblind, crooked-hearted

[70] These lines have already been quoted. See above, i, 106 and n. 25.

[71] Adding *fanā* with C.

[72] Attributed to 'Abd-al-Hamid b. Yahya, the famous secretary, in a letter he wrote to Abu-Muslim regarding the Umayyad Caliph, Marwan II. (M.Q.)

unbelievers, and there was a brisk discharge of swiftly flying stones and arrows, like curses raining down upon Iblis.

For three days and nights they resisted in this manner, but on the fourth day the snake-like warriors and valiant stalwarts of the army scaled that lofty and majestic peak and utterly crushed those serpent-like miscreants and hacked the limbs of those wretches to pieces.

Apart from what was in the treasuries of Maimun-Diz Rukn-ad-Din had nothing of any value to offer as a present (*tikish-mishī*)[73] to the King [136] because at the time of the passing to and fro of the armies all his possessions had been distributed.[74] [The King] scattered it all as largesse and offered it to the Pillars of State and the troops of the kingdom.

And to the other castles in that valley (*rūd-khāna*) he sent his messengers and officers together with the *elchis* of the Il-Khan with orders for their destruction. And the King turned back, victorious and triumphant.

An *elchi* proceeded to the commander of Alamut to call on him to comply also and join his master in submission and allegiance. He hesitated to come down immediately and Prince Balaghai was despatched with a large force of men to lay siege to the castle. Balaghai led his army to the foot of Alamut and invested it on every side. The garrison, having cast a glance at the consequences of the matter and the vagaries of Fate, sent a messenger to sue for quarter and beg for favourable treatment. Rukn-ad-Din intervened on their behalf and the King was pleased to pass over their crimes. And at the end of Zul-Qa'da of that year [beginning of December, 1256] all the inmates of that seminary of iniquity [75] and nest of Satan came down with all their goods and belongings. Three days later the army climbed up to the castle and seized whatever those people had been unable to carry off. They quickly set fire to the various

[73] See above, p. 579, n. 87. [74] *pā-yi-tafriqa uftāda būd.*

[75] *bid'at*, strictly '(objectionable) innovation', 'heresy'. Cf. Lewis, *Some observations on the significance of Heresy in the History of Islam*, 52–3. Here it is chiefly intended as a term of abuse, although of course *bid'at* was specifically applied to the Nizari reform of Isma'ilism, the 'New Propaganda' of Hasan-i-Sabbah. See below, pp. 671 and 674, also Ivanow, *Kalami Pir*, xxviii and n. 1.

buildings and with the broom of destruction cast the dust thereof to the winds, levelling them with their foundations.

[137] To beware of death is not allowable on two days:
The day whereon is thy doom and the day whereon thy doom is not.
On the day whereon is thy doom to struggle is of no avail;
On the day whereon thy doom is not to fear it is not allowable.

On the night of their doom the decree [of God in the words:] *'We turned those cities upside down'* [76] became as clear as broad daylight to those people. And yet when the time was not yet ripe, during the reign of Hasan-i-Sabbah, that same castle of Alamut, whose garrison and resources were then but small, had during a period of 11 years been several times besieged by Muhammad, son of Malik-Shah, son of Alp-Arslan, (as may be read in books of history), and all to no avail.

Now to the wise man it is clear and certain that every beginning has an end and every perfection a falling-off, which, when the time comes, there is no power which can prevent. *The Apostle of God (God bless him and give him peace!) hath said: 'It is the right of God not to raise something without setting it down.'*

During this week Shams-ad-Din, the governor *(muḥtasham)* of the castles of Quhistan, arrived and asked for a *yarligh*. He then set out with Rukn-ad-Din's officials in order that, beginning with Girdkuh, they might demolish all the castles, more than 50 of them, still remaining in the region of Quhistan, castles which raised their hands against the heavenly spheres and assaulted the constellations; and in demolishing them turn the wine of their imaginings [138] into a mirage.

And from Dailaman,[77] Ashkavar,[78] Tarum and Kharkam [79]

[76] Koran, xi, 84.

[77] Dailam or Dailamān, the home of the Dailamites, the Buyid dynasty in Western Persia (932–1055), was situated in what is now Eastern Gilan and Western Mazandaran. See Minorsky, *Ḥudūd*, 385 and 387–8.

[78] A district of Lahijan in Eastern Gilan.

[79] Rabino, *Mázandarán and Astarábád*, 124, mentions a village called Kharkām in the district of Hazar-Jarib.

came the governors *(kūtvālān)*. They were enrolled in the number of the King's obedient servants and having received *yarlighs* destroyed their castles.

And on the 1st of Zul-Hijja of that year [21st of December, 1256] the King (may he endure like the shining Sun !) turned back in the direction of the *ordu*. All the spoil that had been collected he distributed amongst great and small and the Turkish and Tazik troops. Rukn-ad-Din and all his relations, male and female, he sent to Qazvin, which he appointed as their place of residence. Meanwhile the King himself, victorious and triumphant (may he survive till the Last Trump !), arrived at the *ordu* at the end of the afore-mentioned month [middle of January, 1257] and, like the Sun, entered the house of exaltation.

> Into the heaven of his Court there came, victorious and triumphant from the hunting of a king, that sun of kings.

Whose eye has seen how with one movement the whole world has come to rest and what wise man's ear has heard how with one action Fortune, that unruly steed, has been broken to the rein *' like the lofty camel '* ? By this victory which is on a par with the conquest of Khaibar,[80]—and the obvious requires no exposition and seeing dispenses with hearing—the truth of God's secret intent by the rise of Chingiz-Khan has become clear and the benefit afforded by the passing of dominion and sovereignty to the World-Emperor Mengü Qa'an [139] plain to see. By this famous victory the keys to the lands of the world are placed ready for use in the hands of the [Mongols'] power, and the bolts of the remaining countries of the climes, which because of Fate's malevolence still hesitated, are now undone. The good call it the key to victories and the wicked the lantern for the morning draught.[81] With these glad tidings the zephyr has begun to blow and the birds of the air to fly. And saints

[80] To the north-east of Medina, the site of a Jewish settlement conquered by Mohammed in the 7th year of the Flight.

[81] I.e. everyone interprets the victory according to his disposition; but the sentence is probably a proverbial saying and ' it ' is the sun. (V.M.)

felicitate the souls of the prophets and the living send congratulations to the dead.

A victory whereto the gates of the heavens open up,
and the earth appears in new striped clothes.[82]

What cure is this which has appeared in this world of growth and decay ? What joy and merriment is this which has shown itself in this vale of sorrows ?

That which I see, is it in wakefulness or sleep, O Lord ? [83]

In that breeding-ground of heresy in the Rudbar [84] of Alamut the home of the wicked adherents of Hasan-i-Sabbah and the evil followers of the practice of *ibaha,*[85] there remains not one stone of the foundations upon another. And in that flourishing abode of innovations *(bidʿat)*[86] the Artist of Eternity Past wrote with the pen of violence upon the portico of each one['s dwelling] the verse: *' These their houses are empty ruins. '* [87] And in the market-place of those wretches' kingdom the muezzin Destiny has uttered the cry of *' Away then with the wicked people ! '* [88] Their luckless womenfolk *(ḥaram u ḥarīm),* like their empty religion, have been utterly destroyed. And the gold of those crazy, double-dealing counterfeiters which [140] appeared to be unalloyed has proved to be base lead.

To-day, thanks to the glorious fortune of the World-Illuminating King, if an assassin *(kārd-zan)* still lingers in a corner he plies a woman's trade; wherever there is a *daʿi* [89] there is an announcer of death; and every *rafiq* [90] has become a thrall. The propagators of Ismaʿilism have fallen victims to the swordsmen

[82] See above, p. 589 and n. 127. [83] See above, i, 104 and n. 22.

[84] By Rūdbār was meant at this time the whole area of which the eastern part now forms the district of Alamut and the western that of Rudbar (known also as the Rudbar of Qazvin to distinguish it from the Rudbar of Gilan). See M.Q., III, 387 and 390.

[85] *ibāḥa,* i.e. ' deeming the unlawful lawful ', ' libertinism '—the usual charge against the Ismaʿilis.

[86] See above, p. 636, n. 75. [87] Koran, xxvii, 53.

[88] *Ibid.,* xxiii, 43. [89] *dāʿī,* i.e. Ismaʿili propagandist or missionary.

[90] ' There seems little reason to suppose that the fidâ'is . . . formed a bottom rank in the Nizârî hierarchy below the *rafiqs* or *comrades,* as the bulk of the Nizârîs called themselves . . .' (Hodgson, *The Order of Assassins,* 82.)

of Islam. Their *maulana,* to whom they addressed the words: *'O God, our Protector (maulānā),'*[91]*—dust in their mouths!*—[141] (and yet *'the infidels have no protector*[92]*'*) has become the serf of bastards. Their wise Imam, nay their lord of this world, of whom they believed that *'every day doth some new work employ him'*,[93] is fallen like game into the net of Predestination. Their governors *(muḥtasham)* have lost their power and their rulers *(kiyā)* their honour. The greatest among them have become as vile as dogs. Every commander of a fortress has been deemed fit for the gallows and every warden of a castle has forfeited his head and his mace.[94] They have been degraded amongst mankind like the Jews and like the highways [142] are level with the dust. *God Almighty hath said: 'Vileness and poverty were stamped upon them.'*[95] *'These, a curse awaiteth them.'*[96]

The kings of the Greeks and Franks, who turned pale for fear of these accursed ones, and paid them tribute, and were not ashamed of that ignominy, now enjoy sweet slumber. And all the inhabitants of the world, and in particular the Faithful, have been relieved of their evil machinations and unclean beliefs. Nay, the whole of mankind, high and low, noble and base, share in this rejoicing. And compared with these histories that of Rustam the son of Dastan has become but an ancient fable. The perception of all ideas is through this manifest victory, and the light of the world-illuminating day is adorned thereby. *'And the uttermost part of that impious people was cut off. All praise be to God, the Lord of the Worlds!'*[97]

[91] *maulānā* 'our Lord' was the usual Isma'ili mode of addressing the Imam. The prefixing of the phrase 'O God' would appear to be a malicious addition on the part of Juvaini, even though 'the exalted imâm and the ineffable God seem confused to a greater extent even than their technical identity of name (to the degree that God has a name, it is the imâm's) ought to permit'. See Hodgson, *op. cit.*, 290.

[92] Koran, xlvii, 12.

[93] *Ibid.*, lv, 29.

[94] Presumably his badge of office.

[95] Koran, ii, 58.

[96] *Ibid.*, xiii, 25.

[97] *Ibid.*, vi, 45.

[VIII]

AN ACCOUNT OF THE TENETS OF THE ISMA'ILIS OR BATINIS AS ALSO A HISTORY OF THAT SECT

IN the early days of Islam, after the times of the Orthodox Caliphs [1] *(God's blessing upon them all!)*, there appeared amongst the Moslems a sect of people whose minds had no sympathy with Islam and in whose hearts there was rooted a fellow-feeling with the Magians [143]. In order to spread doubt and confusion they put about amongst the people a saying to the effect that in addition to the apparent *(ẓāhir)* meaning the Shari'at bears also an inner *(bāṭin)* meaning which is concealed from the majority of mankind. And in support of these lies they adduced propositions that had come down to them from the Greek philosophers and in which they also incorporated several points from the tenets of the Magians. In order that the Moslems might not hold them in loathing but rather might take their part they disavowed those sects of the Believers who did not support the family of the Prophet *(God's blessings upon them!)*, especially at the time when Yazid [2] and his following *(upon whom be what they deserve!)* behaved with such open tyranny towards them [3] and none of the emirs and men of authority avenged them but acquiesced in the Caliphate of Yazid's family.

When the Kaisanis [4] seceded from the rest of the Shi'a and gave their allegiance to Muhammad, son of the Hanafiya, these people also attached themselves to the Kaisanis and in expounding their esoteric *(bāṭin)* doctrines cited Muhammad as their authority. When Zaid, the son of 'Ali,[5] rose in rebellion, the party of Muhammad,[6] the son of 'Ali, the son of Husain *(God's*

[1] See above, p. 600, n. 168.

[2] The second of the Umayyad Caliphs (680–3).

[3] A reference to the death of Husain at Kerbela.

[4] These were the followers of Kaisān or Mukhtār, who rose in revolt in 685 preaching that Muhammad b. al-Hanafiya (a son of 'Ali by a Hanafi woman and therefore the half-brother of Hasan and Husain, his sons by Fatima, the Prophet's daughter) was the Messiah. See Lewis, *The Origins of Ismā'ilism*, 25–7.

[5] I.e. 'Ali Zain-al-'Ābidīn, the Fourth Imam. The party of Zaid, the Zaidi Shiites, have maintained themselves to the present day in the Yemen.

[6] I.e. Zaid's brother, Muhammad-al-Bāqir, the Fifth Imam.

blessings upon them all!), deserted him. It was said of them: *rafadu Zaidan,* ' *They have abandoned Zaid,*' and from that time the name Rafidi clung to them. The Kaisanis now being weak in numbers these people [7] attached themselves to the Rafidis.

Now amongst their number was a descendant of [144] Ja'far Tayyar [8] called 'Abdallah [9] son of Mu'awiya. He accepted the call of the Rafidis and made a close study of that sect, establishing certain principles in support thereof. Among other things he worked out an astronomical table *(jadwal)* for the ascertaining of the beginnings of the Arabic months. There was, he said, no need to see the crescent moon. And he attributed the invention of that table, which was an ocean of error, to the Imams of the Prophet's Family *(may God be pleased with them!)* A one-night old moon could, he said, be seen by an Imam only; it was not perceptible to anyone else, because the beginnings of the months occurred before the new moon could be seen. The Rafidi party amongst the Shi'a disavowed him and a schism took place between them. The Jadwalis called themselves ' the people of esoteric knowledge ' and the rest of the Shi'a ' the exoterics '.

[Such was the position] until the days of Ja'far Sadiq [10] *(may God be pleased with him!).* Ja'far had four sons, of whom the eldest, Isma'il, was through his mother the grandson of Hasan; the second, Musa, was the son of a slave girl; [145] the third, Muhammad Dibaj, is buried outside Jurjan near the grave of Da'i;[11] and the fourth, 'Abdallah, is known as Aftah (' the Flat-Headed '). The Shi'a say *(guftand)* that Ja'far was the sinless *(ma'ṣūm)* Imam. He designated [12] as his successor his son Isma'il. Afterwards Isma'il took to strong drink and

[7] I.e. the crypto-Magians.

[8] A son of Mohammed's uncle, Abū-Tālib, and consequently a brother of 'Ali.

[9] Ja'far's great-grandson. Rising in rebellion against the Umayyads he made himself master of Fars, Isfahan and Kerman but was then defeated in battle and fled to Khorasan. Here he was seized and imprisoned by Abu-Muslim, by whom he was ultimately (*circa* 103/721–2) put to death. See M.Q., III, 305–6, also Lewis, *op. cit.,* 28.

[10] Ja'far as-Sādiq, the Sixth Imam.

[11] Hasan b. Zaid, one of the 'Alid *sayyids* of Tabaristan (Mazandaran). See M.Q., III, 306–7.

[12] I.e. he transmitted the *naṣṣ* or heritage. See Lewis, *op. cit.,* 37–8.

Ja'far Sadiq expressed his disapproval thereof. There is a tradition that he said: 'Isma'il is not my son; he is a devil that has appeared in his shape.'[13] And according to another tradition he said: '*God had second thoughts about him*' and he therefore designated his second son, Musa, as his successor.

The afore-mentioned people who had transferred from the Kaisanis to the Rafidis now attached themselves to Isma'il and seceded from the Rafidis. The real designation, they said, was the first one and God cannot have second thoughts. Whoever had learnt the inner meaning of the Shari'at would suffer no ill consequences if he showed some neglect of the outer form. Whatever an Imam said or did was right: Isma'il suffered no hurt or loss from drinking wine. [146] They were called Isma'ilis and by that name were distinguished from the rest of the Shi'a.

Now Isma'il died before Ja'far Sadiq *(may God be pleased with him!)* in the year 145/762–3.[14] Ja'far summoned the governor of Medina on behalf of the 'Abbasid Caliphs *(God be pleased with them!)* and a great number of the notables and elders of Medina and showed them Isma'il['s body] which had been brought to the town upon men's backs after his death in the village of 'Uraid four parasangs away. He then drew up a document attesting his death and caused it to be signed by all that assembly, after which he buried Isma'il in Baqi'.[15]

Those who had attached themselves to Isma'il said that Isma'il was not dead and that his death had been feigned in order to deceive the people and protect him and his followers from attack. The rest of the Shi'a said that Ja'far Sadiq's purpose was to expose the falsehood of the doctrine of the people

[13] Lewis, *op. cit.*, 39, quotes a passage from a Shiite source to show that Isma'il had been involved 'in some seditious enterprise of which Ja'far strongly disapproved'. He thus accounts for the present passage, 'in which Juvainī attributes to Ja'far a phrase which, it must be admitted, is very much out of proportion if Ismā'īl's sole offence was his lack of sobriety'.

[14] On the date of Isma'il's death see M.Q., III, 309, Lewis, *op. cit.*, 38.

[15] 'The Cemetery of Medina, called Baqī', lies to the westward of the town, and here is seen the grave of Ibrāhīm the Prophet's (only) son, also the graves of his daughters.' (Hamdallah tr. le Strange, 15.)

who had attached themselves to him. It would appear that both statements [147] were equally false, both parties attributing their own motives to this action, whereas Ja'far's purpose was to prove his innocence of the charge of claiming to be Imam by designating his sons as his successors, on which account the Caliphs had regarded him and his followers with disapproval.

When Ja'far *(may God be pleased with him!)* died[16] the generality of the Shi'a followed Musa. Some few who are called . . .[17] recognized Muhammad Dibaj as Imam. And a tiny minority, who are called Fathi, recognized 'Abdallah Aftah.

After a while the Caliphs sent to Medina and had Musa brought to Baghdad in order to intimidate *(ishkhāṣ)* him. There they imprisoned him and he died in prison. The Shi'a said that he had been poisoned. They brought him down to the bridge and showed him to the people of Baghdad that they might see that there was no sign of a wound on his body. And they buried him in the Graveyard [of Quraish.]

[148] His son, 'Ali, son of Musa, ar-Rida remained in Medina until Ma'mun carried him off to Khorasan (his story is well known) and he died in Tus. They said that he had been poisoned and buried him there.[18]

And since the Caliphs persecuted them because of their claim to the Imamate the sons of Isma'il went into hiding, and leaving Medina some of them betook themselves to Iraq and Khorasan and some to Maghrib.[19]

The Isma'ilis say *(guftand)* that Isma'il was still alive five years after Ja'far's death when he was seen in the market-place in Basra. A paralytic begged alms of him. Isma'il took him by the hand and he was healed; and rising to his feet he departed in his company. Isma'il also prayed for a blind person and he recovered his sight.

[16] In 148/765.

[17] There is a blank in A. D and G have Dībājī and Rashid-ad-Din Dībājīya, i.e. the Dibajis, but M.Q. regards this as an emendation due to the copyists, since the followers of Muhammad Dibaj are nowhere else referred to by such a name.

[18] His shrine (*mashhad*) gave its name to Meshed.

[19] I.e. Morocco and Western Algeria (lit. 'the West').

When Isma'il died his son Muhammad, who was already grown up during the life-time of Ja'far and was older than [Ja'far's son] Musa, made his way to Jibal [20] and came to Ray and from thence to * Shalanba [21] in Damavand. Muhammadabad in Ray is called after him. He had sons who went into hiding in Khorasan and making their way to Qandahar,[22] which is in the province of Sind, settled down in that country.

The *da'is* or missionaries of the Isma'ilis now poured into every land and called on the people to embrace their tenets; and many answered their call.

And from that direction 'Ali son of Isma'il, having recited the proverb: *'He that escapes with his head . . .'*,[23] set out for Syria and Maghrib. And since he did not lay claim to the Imamate and had no following he showed himself openly. Sons were born to him and he has descendants there to this day.

Leaders now arose amongst the Isma'ilis who expounded their beliefs. The world, they said, had never been without an Imam and never would be. And if a man was Imam his father had been Imam before him, and his father's father before him, and so on back to Adam *(on whom be peace!)*, or, as some say, back to Eternity Past, for they believe in the eternal existence of the world. And in the same way an Imam's son would be Imam and his son's son, and so on until Eternity to come. And it was impossible for an Imam to die until his son who was to be Imam after him had been born or begotten. And they say that this is the meaning of the verses *'the one the posterity of the other'* [24] and *'this he established as a doctrine that should abide among his posterity'*.[25]

And when the Shi'a advanced against them the argument

[20] Jibāl, 'the Mountains', was the older name for Persian Iraq, i.e. Central Persia.

[21] Adopting the emendation suggested by M.Q. The text has SMLH, G and H SLMH and the corresponding passage in Rashid-ad-Din ŠMLH. Shalamba or Shalanba was a town in the Damavand area.

[22] Not of course Qandahar in Afghanistan but the Indian kingdom of Gandhāra, of which the capital, Vaihind, lay between the Indus and the Kabul river. See Minorsky, *Ḥudūd*, 253–4.

[23] *Sc.* '. . . *hath gained thereby*'.

[24] Koran, iii, 30.

[25] *Ibid.*, xliii, 27.

that Hasan son of ʿAli was universally recognized as an Imam by all the Shiʿa and yet his son was not Imam, they replied that the latter's Imamate was in trust *(mustauḍaʿ)*, i.e. not permanent, he had it on loan, whereas Husain's Imamate was permanent *(mustaqarr)*, and this was referred to in the verse: *'an abode and a resting-place.'* [26]

They say too that an Imam is not always visible. Sometimes he is visible and sometimes hidden like day and night following each other. When the Imam is visible his propaganda *(daʿvat)* may be hidden, [150] but when the Imam is hidden his propaganda may well be open and his *daʿis* specified, as long as mankind has no proof of God.[27]

And the Prophets are the people of revelation *(tanzil)* and the Imams the people of interpretation *(ta'vil)*.[28] And no age and the age of no Prophet was devoid of an Imam. After Abraham there was a person who is mentioned in the Torah, where it is said that at that time there was a king who is called in the Torah in the Syriac and Hebrew languages Melchizedec [29] Melech Sholem, that is in the Arabic tongue Malik-as-Sidq and Malik-as-Salam. And it is said that when Abraham *(God's blessing upon him!)* came to him he gave him the tenth part of his flocks. And Khidr [30] who wished to teach Moses the knowledge of God was an Imam or designated as an Imam.[31]

[26] Koran, vi, 98. In the original *mustauḍaʿ wa-mustaqarr*, i.e. identical in form though not in meaning with the Isma'ili terms, on which see Lewis, *op. cit.*, 49–54.

[27] *tā khalq rā bar Khudāi ḥujjat na-bāshad.* Perhaps 'as long as mankind has no Imam'. The *ḥujjat* ('Proof') was a person in the Isma'ili hierarchy appointed by the Imam; but the term was in early Shiite usage applied to the Imam himself. See Ivanow, *Studies in Early Persian Ismailism*, 42–4; *Kalami Pir*, xlv–xlvi.

[28] On 'Le "Ta'wil" ou exégèse symbolique' see Corbin, *Kitâb-e Jâmiʿ al-Hikmatain*, 65–74.

[29] Genesis, xiv, 18. On the rôle of Melchizedec in Isma'ili mythology see Hodgson, *The Order of Assassins*, 169–72 and 292–3.

[30] Identified with the Dhul-Qarnain of the Koran, who in other contexts represents Alexander the Great. (See above, i, 347, n. 21.) 'Dhú l-Qarnayn-Khiḍr as we know goes back even in the name to the Sumerian: Khiḍr is derived from an alternative name of the ever-living Utnapishtim himself.' (Hodgson, *op. cit.*, 292.)

[31] Reading *yā nām-zad-i-imām* as M.Q. suggests.

[151] Before the rise of Islam there was a period of occultation *(satr)* but in the lifetime of ʿAli *(may God be pleased with him!)* the Imam, that is ʿAli himself, became visible, and from thence onward until the time of Ismaʿil and his son Muhammad, who was the seventh Imam, all the Imams were visible. The period of occultation began with Ismaʿil and Muhammad. Muhammad was the last Imam to be visible. He became invisible and after him all the Imams will be invisible until they become visible again.

And they say *(guftand)* that Musa, son of Jaʿfar, laid down his life for Ismaʿil and that ʿAli, son of Musa, ar-Rida laid down his life for Muhammad, son of Ismaʿil. And the story of Abraham and the sacrifice—*'and we ransomed his son* [152] *with a costly victim'* [32]—was a reference to the like of this. In short, they relate many [such] absurdities.

Daʿis arose among them, of whom were Maimun Qaddah, his son ʿAbdallah,[33] who is considered one of the great scholars of that sect, and Hasan Shaikh ʿAbdan.[34] Another, during the lifetime of Jaʿfar Sadiq *(may God be pleased with him!)*, was Abul-Khattab,[35] who claimed that Jaʿfar was God, as the Hululis or Ittihadis [36] also say. Of him Jaʿfar said: *'Accursed is he and his followers!'* And there were many others like him, each of whom has been mentioned in historical works and in treatises on religious sects.

Such were the tenets and beliefs that were spread abroad. In most of the countries of Islam, from West to East, persons

[32] Koran, xxxvii, 107. This son, according to the Moslem tradition, was not Isaac but Ishmael.

[33] On these two men see Lewis, *op. cit.*, 54–67. In summarizing 'a mass of conflicting evidence' Lewis has also made use of the material collected by M.Q., III, 312–43.

[34] Or perhaps 'Ḥasan *son of* Shaikh 'Abdān'. M.Q., however, concludes (III, 343–4) that both Ḥasan and the title of *shaikh* are mistaken additions on the part of Juvaini or his copyists. 'Abdān was related to Ḥamdān Qarmaṭ, the eponymous founder of the Carmathian sect, in the sense that each was married to the other's sister.

[35] On Abul-Khaṭṭāb see Lewis, *op. cit.*, 32–7.

[36] Those who believe respectively in *ḥulūl*, the incarnation of the Creator in the creature, and in *ittiḥād*, the mystical union by which the creature becomes one with the Creator.

appeared, some secretly and some openly, but all agreed that the world was never without an Imam, that through him it was possible to know God and that knowledge of God was impossible without him. The prophets of every age had referred to him. As for the Shari'at it bore an inner and an outer meaning. The inner meaning was the real one, and when men had ascertained this inner meaning of the law [153] they would come to no harm from disregarding the outer meaning. On this account their beliefs are considered to stand outside those of all other sects, i.e. of Islam itself *(millat)*. And some of them went so far as to authorize *(ibāḥat)* [37] the commission of unlawful acts.

In 278/891–2, during the reign of the Caliph Mu'tamid,[38] the Carmathians (Qarmatis) [39] made their appearance, as is described in works of history, the first of them being Hamdan Qarmat. A group of people having gathered around him in the environs of Kufa he rose in rebellion. They began to murder Moslems, pillage their goods and carry off their children. They would fall [40] upon the cities of Syria and Iraq and then disappear into the desert. Their rebellion grew in size and the Caliphs were powerless to deal with them. They seized Bahrain [41] and then proceeded to Mecca. Here they slaughtered the pilgrims, filling the well Zamzam with their bodies, and broke the Black Stone to pieces. They kept it for a period of 25 years,[42] and although [154] the kings of Islam offered to buy it back for 100,000 dinars they refused to sell it. At the end of 25 years they took it to Kufa and threw it into the Friday mosque leaving with it a note in which they had written: 'By command we took this stone and by command we have brought it back.' The Moslems took the stone to Mecca and set it up again.

During the rebellion of the Carmathians one of the *da'is* of

[37] On *ibāḥat* (*ibāḥa*) see above, p. 639, n. 85. [38] 870–92.

[39] On the Carmathians and the problem of their relationship with the Fatimids see Lewis, *op. cit.*, 76–89.

[40] Reading *mī uftād* with D.

[41] Not of course the islands in the Persian Gulf but the mainland opposite, the present-day Hasa.

[42] Actually 22 years.

the Isma'ilis, a descendant *(az farzandān)* of 'Abdallah b. Maimun Qaddah, came to the region of Kufa and Iraq accompanied by a son [43] and said: 'I am the *da'i* of the Imam and the Imam is about to appear.' And he sent Bul-Qasim, the son of Haushab,[44] to the Yemen to conduct propaganda there; and he charged him to send *da'is* to all sides. This Bul-Qasim had great success in the Yemen and a number of people [155] answered his call. One of these, a man called Bu-'Abdallah Sufi Muhtasib,[45] of the Katama tribe in Maghrib,[46] he sent thither to carry out propaganda; and some people accepted his words. He corresponded with the person who was a descendant of 'Abdallah b. Maimun and sent letters to him on the grounds that he was closer than Bul-Qasim, the son of Haushab, to the Imam. [156] That person encouraged him in his propaganda, and when his cause prospered and he seized the countries of Maghrib and the area round Qairawan and Sijilmasa,[47] this person who was a descendant of 'Abdallah b. Maimun proceeded thither with his son.[48] Upon their arrival in Sijilmasa Bu-'Abdallah Katami [49] came to welcome him,[50] saying, 'I governed on behalf of thy lieutenant. Now that thou art come thyself thou art superior.' He replied: 'Hitherto I said that I was the *da'i* of the Imam. This I did from expediency because

[43] *pisarī*, which can also be translated 'a boy', a point not without interest in view of the theory advanced by Lewis, *op. cit.*, 51, that Muhammad al-Qā'im was not the son of 'Ubaidallah al-Mahdī, 'but the Imām *Mustaqarr* for whom he worked'.

[44] Abul-Qāsim Rustam b. al-Ḥusain b. Faraj b. Ḥaushab b. Zādhan an-Najjār al-Kūfī, known by the *laqab* of Manṣūr. See M.Q., III, 348–9, for an account of this famous Isma'ili missionary in the Yemen.

[45] On Abū-'Abdallah as-Ṣufī al-Muḥtasib, known also as Abū-'Abdullah ash-Shī'i, see M.Q., 349–50. He was the virtual founder of the Fatimid state.

[46] Abū-'Abdallah was not a Maghribi at all, though accounts differ as to his birth-place, which is variously given as Kufa, Rām-Hurmuz and Ṣan'ā in the Yemen.

[47] The ruins of Sijilmāsa lie some 200 miles to the south of Fez on the edge of the Sahara.

[48] Or 'the boy'. See above, n. 43.

[49] I.e. of the Katāma tribe, but see above, n. 46.

[50] In actual fact it was 'Ubaidallah who was in Sijilmāsa, where he was imprisoned together with his son (or master); and it was Abū-'Abdallah who approached the town, for the purpose of liberating them.

the time had not yet come for the manifestation of the Imam. Now that time has come and I declare that I am the Imam and [157] a descendant of Isma'il, the son of Ja'far.' And he called himself 'Abdallah al-Mahdi [51] and his son al-Qa'im bi-Amr-Allah Muhammad and set himself up as Imam and Caliph; and the people of Maghrib, and in particular the Katamis, recognized his claims.

In the year 258 [52] he built the town of Mahdiya in the region of Qairawan. [158] His affairs prospered and he sought to demolish the palace of the Shari'at and began to make light of its ordinances.

Bu-'Abdallah Sufi Muhtasib began to entertain doubts about him and to slacken in [the service of] his cause. His brother Yusuf [53] decided to rebel and cause Bu-'Abdallah also to rise against Mahdi. For this reason Bu-'Abdallah and his brother were both put to death by Mahdi.

The appearance of Mahdi in Sijilmasa, which is in the countries of Maghrib, and his conquest thereof took place in the year 296/908–9. And in the year 302/914–15 he conquered and destroyed the Aghlabid rulers representing the 'Abbasid Caliphs and became master of all the lands of Maghrib, Africa [54] and Sicily. And they recounted a tradition of the Prophet *(God bless him and give him peace!)*: *'At the beginning of the 300's the sun shall rise from the West'*; and they said that this tradition was to be interpreted as referring to the appearance of Mahdi. They said too that between Muhammad, the son of Isma'il, and Mahdi there were three hidden Imams [159], whose names were Muhammad, his father Ahmad and his father . . .[55] and their

[51] He is usually known as 'Ubaidallah but M.Q. quotes an Isma'ili work, the *Dustūr-al-Munajjimīn*, as calling him 'Abdallah and adding that his name had been 'Ubaidallah before his manifestation.

[52] So in all the MSS. for 308/920–1.

[53] This name is recorded in no other source, Abu-'Abdallah's brother being referred to either as Abul-'Abbās Muhammad or as Abul-'Abbās Ahmad. (M.Q.)

[54] *Ifrīqīya*, i.e. the present-day Tripolitania and Tunisia together with Eastern Algeria.

[55] For the sake of clarity I have substituted 'his father' in both instances for the 'son of' of the original. The third name is missing in the *Dustūr-al-Munaj-*

aqabs Radi, Wafi, and Taqi, Mahdi being the son of Taqi.[56] However the Moslems of Maghrib said that Mahdi was a descendant *(az aulād)* of 'Abdallah b. Salim of Basra,[57] one of the *da'is* of that sect, while the people of Baghdad and Iraq said that he was a descendant of 'Abdallah b. Maimun. In short, they denied and refused to admit his descent from Isma'il, the son of Ja'far. During the reign of al-Qadir billah [58] a declaration *(maḥẓar)* was drawn up in Baghdad, which was signed by persons in authority, *sayyids,* cadis and *ulema,* to the effect that the pedigree [59] of Mahdi's descendants was subject to dispute and that in tracing back their ancestry to Ja'far Sadiq [160] *(may God be pleased with him!)* they were guilty of falsehood. (The text of this declaration will be given in the section on Hakim, the fifth in descent from Mahdi.)[60] Mahdi reigned supreme for 26 years and his death occurred in the year 322/934–5.

He was succeeded by his son [61] Qa'im. During the latter's reign a person called Abu-Yazid, a Maghribi, rose in rebellion. He was a God-fearing Moslem, a Sunni and a holy man:[62] he enumerated the heresies *(bid'at)* of Mahdi and Qa'im to the people and numbers followed him. He joined battle with Qa'im, defeated his army and besieged him in Mahdiya. Qa'im's followers called him Dajjal because in the fighting *(malāḥim)* it had been said that Dajjal was rising against Mahdi or Qa'im.[63]

jimīn also. In the opinion of M.Q. (III, 355–7) Juvaini almost certainly used this work as his source of much of his information on the Isma'ilis; and M.Q. suggests that the manuscript preserved in the Bibliothèque Nationale may be the actual copy he extracted from the library at Alamut.

[56] According to Lewis, *op. cit.,* 73, Taqī would be the father, not of 'Ubaidallah, but of Muhammad al-Qā'im.

[57] The same genealogy is given in 'Arib's supplement to Tabari. See M.Q., III, 358.

[58] 991–1031.

[59] All the MSS. have *maẕhab* 'belief' but Rashid-ad-Din in the corresponding passage has *nasab* 'genealogy', and this must be the meaning intended.

[60] See below, pp. 659–60.

[61] *pisar-i-ū.* Here there is no ambiguity.

[62] He was actually a Kharijite. See M.Q., III, 358–9.

[63] On Dajjāl see above, p. 530, n. 15. The Mahdī is a Messianic Imam, as is also the Qā'im, who appears at the beginning of the last millennium in a cycle of 7,000 years. See Ivanow, *Kalami Pir,* xxxv.

Qa'im died in the midst of these hostilities in Shavval of the year 334 [May–June, 946], and his death was kept secret.

He was succeeded by his son al-Mansur Isma'il, who adopted measures to oppose Abu-Yazid. He was a shrewd and courageous man. Having defeated and routed Abu-Yazid [161] he continued for some time to pursue him and give him battle until in the end he seized and slew him, causing his body to be sent around throughout the lands of Maghrib. He then ascended his father's throne and revealed the news of his death. In the year 341/952–3 he too died.

He was succeeded by his son, al-Mu'izz Abu-Tamim Ma'add, a shrewd, able, courageous and fortunate man. He took full and proper measures for the administration of the state, and his kingdom waxed greater than that of his fathers.

All his ambition was centred on gaining the kingdom of Egypt, which at that time was in the hands of Kafur [64] the Ikhshidi. Mu'izz sent his slave Abul-Hasan Jauhar to Egypt in the year 358/968–9 to conduct propaganda on his behalf. Many responded to his call and he then approached Kafur himself and addressed his propaganda to him also. He received his approaches favourably and in defiance of the 'Abbasid Caliphs the *khutba* was recited in the name of Mu'izz.[65]

Kafur died during that same year, viz. 358/968–9, and Jauhar became the sole ruler of Egypt on behalf of Mu'izz. And that year he founded the city of Cairo near Fustat, which was completed in 362/972–3 [162] and called Qahira Mu'izziya.

Mu'izz arrived in Egypt in Ramazan of the year 362 [June–July, 973] with troops without number and limitless riches and luxuries. He made Cairo his capital, and Egypt and the Hejaz passed from the control of the 'Abbasids and came into the hands of Mu'izz. And in such a fashion did he spread justice and equity that wondrous tales are still recounted of the effects

[64] On Kāfūr ('Camphor'), a black eunuch, see Lane-Poole, *A History of Egypt in the Middle Ages*, 88–9.

[65] In fact Kafur had died at least a year, if not longer, before Jauhar's arrival in Egypt.

and consequences thereof. He died in Rabi' II, 365 [December, 975–January, 976].

He was succeeded by his son al-'Aziz Abu-Mansur Nizar, who took possession of Maghrib, Egypt and the Hejaz. The story of his wars and battles and his victory over Alp-Tegin Mu'izzi, the governor of Syria on behalf of at-Ta'i' billah,[66] and Hasan b. Ahmad Qarmati, who came to Alp-Tegin's assistance, has been told in the history of the Maghrib countries. His death occurred in Ramazan, 386 [September–October, 996].

'Aziz was a mild good-natured man—so much so that Hasan b. Bashar [163] of Damascus satirized him, his vizier Ibn-Killis [67] and his secretary * Abu-Nasr * Qairawani [68] in the following *qit'a*:

Say to Abu-Nasr, the Secretary of the Palace, who is prepared to break up the realm:
'Loosen the knots of the kingdom for the Vizier, thou shalt win his best thanks and praise.
[164] *And give and deny not, and fear no one, for the Lord of the Palace is not in the Palace,*
And knoweth not what is desired of him, and if he knew he would not wish to know.'

Ibn-Killis having complained of the poet and recited the *qit'a*, 'Aziz said in reply: *'This is a matter in which we have shared the satire. Do thou then share the forgiveness of it with me.'*

The poet then composed another satire in which he included Fadl, the commander of 'Aziz's army:

Become a Christian, for Christianity is the true religion, as these times of ours prove.
And say of the Three: 'They are Mighty, Glorious',[69] *and neglect all else, for it is negligible.*
For Ya'qub the Vizier is the Father, and this 'Aziz the Son, and Fadl is the Holy Ghost.

Again the vizier brought the poem to 'Aziz's notice. He was

[66] 974–91.

[67] Ya'qūb b. Killis, a Jew, like so many of the Fatimid officials. See Lewis, *op. cit.*, 68.

[68] The text has Abū-Mansūr Darwānī. Ibn-al-Athir gives the secretary's name as Abu-Nasr 'Abdallah b. al-Husain al-Qairawānī. (M.Q.)

[69] The plural of a phrase applied to Allah.

angry but said nevertheless: *' Forgive him.'* And he forgave him a second time.

Finally the vizier approached 'Aziz for the third time [165] and said: ' Forgiveness is no longer possible for the King's prestige has suffered loss. This time he has abused both thee, who art the 'Aziz,[70] me who am the vizier, and thy companion Ibn-Zabarij in this *qit'a:*

Zabariji is a courtier and Killisi a vizier—yes, the collar
is in keeping with the value of the dog.

'Aziz was enraged and authorized the vizier to arrest the poet. Then repenting he gave instructions for his release. Learning of this before the warrant had actually arrived the vizier hastened to put him to death. At this 'Aziz was filled with grief and regret.

'Aziz had given Syria to a Jew, whose name was Menesha,[71] and Egypt to a Christian called 'Isa b. Nestorius, and following the dictates of their creeds they behaved with tyranny and injustice towards the Moslems. Hereupon a woman wrote a note to 'Aziz in which she said: *' O Commander of the Faithful,* [166] *who hast exalted the Jews in Menesha b. * Abram*[72] *and the Christians in 'Isa b. Nestorius and wilt humble the Moslems in thyself unless thou look to my case.'* 'Aziz was much affected by this note. He dismissed them both and exacted 300,000 Maghribi dinars from the Christians in order to redress the wrongs he had done. And on several occasions he imposed upon the Jews and Christians the contributions *(mu'an)*[73] due from the Moslems.

His son, Hakim Abu-'Ali Mansur, succeeded him at the age of 11. He was as light-headed and insane as his father had been mild and gentle; his tyranny and cruelty towards the people of Egypt were boundless. It was one of his customs that when he was seated and charges of oppression were laid before him he would listen to the charges and in no way disavow the

[70] A pun, since *'azīz* was also a title meaning ' ruler of Egypt '.

[71] I.e. Menasseh.

[72] Reading ABRAM for the LBSAM. Several sources give his father's name as Ibrāhīm.

[73] See above, p. 596, n. 147.

wrongs therein described. When letters were delivered to him they often consisted of foul abuse of himself and his ancestors and attacks on the authenticity of his pedigree.

The limit was reached when a woman was fashioned out of paper [167] and dressed in a *chadur;* and a sealed note having been placed in the dummy's hand it was set up in a place where Hakim would pass by. When the note was taken from the dummy's hand and given to the tyrannous Hakim, [he discovered that] it was nothing but obscene abuse of himself and his forebears with a detailed account of their shameful and abominable actions. He fell into a rage and commanded the woman to be brought to him. But when the attendants hastened towards her they found it was only an image. In his annoyance at this Hakim ordered his slaves and troops to set fire to Cairo and slaughter the population. The people of the town massed together to prevent them and to protect the honour of their womenfolk; but wherever they were unable to halt them Hakim's men burnt and pillaged and slaughtered. Hakim came every day in person to watch and used to pretend that these acts were committed without his leave or permission. On the third day the *shaikhs* and leading citizens of Cairo took refuge in the Friday mosque; and holding up Korans on the end of sticks they proclaimed their wrongs, saying: 'If this evil is done without thy leave or permission, allow us, thy servants and subjects, to repel the evil-doers' [168]. He replied: 'I did not order this evil, do you then drive them off.' And to the soldiers he said: 'Keep on with your work.' When the fighting began the massed townsmen drove the troops back to the gates of Cairo, where Hakim's own quarters were. He took fright and ordered the soldiers to stop. In the course of this catastrophe a quarter of Cairo was burnt down and half of it plundered, and Hakim's slaves committed so many shameful acts against the womenfolk of the town that the wearers of the veil [74] killed themselves for fear of disgrace.

[74] I adopt the emendation suggested by M.Q. and read *arbāb-i-sitr* for the *arbāb-i-shahr* 'people of the town' of the text, in which it is followed by the unintelligible word MRWAT, conceivably a wrongly formed plural of *mar'a* 'woman'.

Hakim used to walk about at night in the bazaars and investigate the affairs of his subjects. He had also appointed old women to pry into the concerns of their own sex: they would go in and out of the people's houses and report to him truly and falsely on wearers of the veil. On this pretext he put a number of women to death and issued a proclamation forbidding women to leave their houses or go on the rooftops and shoemakers to make women's boots.

He forbade the people to drink wine, and since they did not desist he ordered most of the vines to be uprooted.

Another custom of his was to write notes in his own hand, some saying, ' Give the bearer of this note 1,000 dinars, or such-and-such a town, [169] or such-and-such a costly robe of honour,' and some ' Kill the bearer of this note, or take such-and-such a sum from him, or cut off this or that limb of his, and torture and mutilate him.' And he would seal the notes with wax, ambergris or sealed earth, and on audience days he would scatter them about and everybody according to his luck would avidly snatch up one of these notes and bear it off to the local administrators *(mutaṣarrifān-i-aʿmāl),* and whatever the contents of the note might be they were put into effect immediately.

Hakim issued an edict forbidding Christians and Jews to ride horses or mules or to have iron stirrups; and each of them had to wear a necklace with several bells on it in order to distinguish them from the Moslems.

Because of such blameworthy actions the whole population, Moslem and non-Moslem, became disgusted with the evil of his unseemly deeds and edicts; and his very womenfolk as well as his intimates and courtiers grew weary of him.

He made accusations against his sister, Sitt-al-Mulk, to Ibn-Dawwas,[75] one of his emirs, who was the commander of his armies and the administrator of his affairs. Because of this his sister sent to Ibn-Dawwas and they agreed to kill Hakim and set up his son ʿAli in his stead; and made a covenant to put him to death. They gave 1,000 dinars to two of Ibn-Dawwas'

[75] Ibn-Dawwās was a chieftain of the Maghribi tribe of the Katāma. See M.Q., III, 360.

slaves to lie in ambush on the Muqattam hills near Cairo and, when [170] Hakim went there as usual with his young equerry *(kūdak-i-rikābī)*, to kill them both. Now Hakim professed to understand astrology and he had calculated that that night would be decisive for him and that if he came safely through it he would live to be over eighty. He told this to his mother and she begged and implored him [to stay quietly at home] saying that it would be better if he did not stir. He allowed himself to be persuaded by her words. However at dawn he was overcome with a feeling of uneasiness: he was unable to keep still and could not sleep or rest. His mother wept and clutched at the hem of his garment, but it was no use. 'Unless I bestir myself this very moment,' he said, 'my soul will fly from my body.' And he set out for the Muqattam hills with his attendant. The slaves sprang out from their ambush and killed both Hakim and the attendant. They carried his body to his sister secretly and she buried it in her own palace. No one learnt of this secret except the vizier, whom they acquainted therewith after pledging him to silence. Upon learning the truth he agreed to work with them and to help to allay the fears of the people. They accounted for Hakim's absence by saying that he had gone away for a week, and every day they would produce a different person to report that he was now in such-and-such a place.

[171] Finally they acquainted the leading men and chief officials [with his disappearance] and after the conclusion of agreements and the assignment of presents they swore allegiance to his son, Abul-Hasan 'Ali, who received the title of az-Zahir billah,[76] and set him upon the throne. The news of Hakim's death was then revealed, and Ibn-Dawwas was presented with magnificent robes of honour and was given complete control of affairs of state.

[Sitt-al-Mulk] now sent for Nasim Khadim, who was steward *(qahramān)* of the palaces and supervisor of the slaves and was always accompanied by 100 slaves armed with swords to protect the Caliph; and she reached an agreement with him about killing Ibn-Dawwas. She guilefully made those 100 slaves the

[76] His *laqab* was actually aẓ-Ẓāhir li-i'zāz Dīn-Allāh. (M.Q.)

attendants of Ibn-Dawwas, and then one day, on her instructions, Nasim closed the gates of the palace, seized Ibn-Dawwas and said to the slaves: 'Our master, Zahir, says: "Ibn-Dawwas is my father's murderer. Kill him."' They ran their swords through him and put him to death.

After Ibn-Dawwas [172] Sitt-al-Mulk got rid of all the persons who were implicated with her in the murder of Hakim or had knowledge thereof. And so she ruled the state and administered the realm alone and without a rival; and fear of her was firmly planted in the hearts of all the high officials and functionaries.

Now the death of Hakim and God's delivery of the people of those lands from his tyranny and oppression, his wicked deeds and evil morals took place in Shavval of the year 411 [January–February, 1021].[77]

From the Angel of Death unto Malik.[78]

And Zahir was Caliph for 15 years [173] and died in 427/1035–6.[79]

[IX]

OF THE DECLARATION REGARDING THE FALSE MAHDI

IN the year 309,[1] during the reign of al-Qadir billah,[2] Hakim entered into correspondence with Mu'tamid-ad-Daula Abu-Mani' Qirwash b. Muqallad the 'Uqailid,[3] the ruler of Mosul on behalf of the 'Abbasid Caliphs. [174] He sent him a stream of presents from Egypt and invited him to swear allegiance to himself. Mu'tamid-ad-Daula agreed. He induced the people of Mosul to submit to Hakim and rebel against al-Qadir billah. He recited the *khutba* in Hakim's name and departing to Kufa did likewise there. At that time Baha-ad-Daula, son of 'Azud-

[77] On the 27th or 28th Shavval—24th or 25th February, 1021. (M.Q.)
[78] Abul-Fath Busti. Mālik is the name of the keeper of Hell. (M.Q.)
[79] On the 15th Sha'ban—13th July, 1036. (M.Q.)
[1] A gross mistake for 401/1010–11. (M.Q.) [2] 991–1031.
[3] On the 'Uqailids or Banū-'Uqail, a branch of the Arab tribe of the Banū-Ka'b, see Lane-Poole, *The Mohammadan Dynasties*, 116–17.

ad-Daula,[4] was absent in Fars. Receiving news of this he sent some one to Muʿtamid-ad-Daula to reprimand him in strong terms. Muʿtamid-ad-Daula repented of his action and withdrew his head from the noose of allegiance to Hakim. In those countries the *khutba* was again recited in the name of al-Qadir billah, and Muʿtamid-ad-Daula was distinguished by the Seat of the Caliphate with costly robes of honour. The details and circumstances are recorded in books of history. Here we have trodden the path of concision, our purpose being to introduce the declaration *(maḥẓar)* which was drawn up regarding the falseness of their genealogy, the text of which is as follows:

' In the name of God the Merciful, the compassionate!

This it is whereto the witnesses bear witness, namely that Maʿadd, the son of [175] *Ismaʿil, who seized Egypt was Maʿadd, the son of ʿAbd-ar-Rahman, the son of Saʿid, and that they are descended from Daisan, the son of Saʿid, from whom spring the Daisanis ;*[5] *that the aforesaid Saʿid betook himself to Maghrib, where he was called ʿAbdallah and received the* laqab *of al-Mahdi; that this upstart in Egypt is Mansur with the* laqab *of al-Hakim (may God condemn him to destruction and perdition!), the son of Nizar, the son of Maʿadd, the son of Ismaʿil, the son of ʿAbd-ar-Rahman, the son of Saʿid; that* [176] *his foul and unclean ancestors (the curse of God upon them and the curse of all cursers!) were false and alien claimants standing in no relationship to the descendants of ʿAli, the son of Abu-Talib, and being in no way connected with him; that their claim to be descendants of his is false and untrue and no member of any of the Talibi families has ever ceased describing them as alien claimants; that this repudiation of their lies was current in the Sacred Territories and was published far and wide when they first appeared in Maghrib; and that this upstart in*

[4] On the Būyid (Buwaihid) dynasty to which these rulers belonged see Lane-Poole, *op. cit.*, 139–42. These Dailamite princes ' were upstarts who, with a crowd of other adventurers from Gīlān and Daylam, appeared on the stage towards 308/920. By 323/935 the sons of the Daylamite Būya were masters of Isfahan and Rayy. On 17 January Baghdad was theirs, and for a century the orthodox caliphs became puppets in the hands of these heterodox usurpers.' (Minorsky, *Studies in Caucasian History*, 112.)

[5] I.e. the Bardesanians, the followers of Bar Daisan, a Syrian converted from paganism to Christianity who died *circa* 222.

Egypt, he and his ancestors, are unbelievers,[6] *libertines,*[7] *atheists,*[8] *materialists,*[9] *heretics,*[10] *denying Islam, holding the creed of Dualism and Magism, having broken all bounds, sanctioned whoredom,* [177] *legalized wine-drinking, shed blood, insulted the prophets and laid claim to divinity.*

This was written in Rabi' II of the year 402 [November, 1011] *and there bore witness thereto, of the 'Alid* sharifs, *al-Murtada and ar-Radi of the family of Musa*[11] *and others of their number as also the eminent jurists Shaikh Abu-Hamid al-Isfarayini, Abul-Hasan*[12] *al-Quduri, the Chief Cadi Abu-Muhammad b. al-Afkani and Abu-'Abdallah al-Baidawi.'*[13]

This declaration was read from the pulpit in Baghdad and in the other lands.

[X]

OF THE ACCESSION OF MUSTANSIR, THE SON OF ZAHIR

WHEN Zahir died his son, Abu-Tamim Ma'add was seven years old. [178] He was set on the throne of the Caliphate and given the title of Mustansir. He was noted for his extreme

[6] *kāfir.* On *kāfir* 'unbeliever' and *kufr* 'unbelief' ('. . . with these terrible and unequivocal words we perhaps come nearest to an Islamic equivalent of heresy') see Lewis, *Some observations on the significance of Heresy in the History of Islam,* 58–60.

[7] *fāsiq.*

[8] *zindiq.* 'This word is of uncertain origin—possibly Syriac, more probably Persian. In Sasanid times it seems to have been applied to Manichaeans, and more generally to followers of ascetic and unorthodox forms of Iranian religion. In Islamic times too the word was at first applied to Manichaeans and related groups, more especially to those who held dualist doctrines while making nominal profession of Islam. Later it was generalized to cover all holders of unorthodox, unpopular and suspect beliefs, particularly those considered dangerous by the social order and the state. At the same time it was applied loosely to materialists, atheists, agnostics, and the like, and came to have the general meaning of free-thinker and libertine.' (Lewis, *op. cit.,* 54–5.)

[9] *mu'aṭṭil,* 'he who deprives God of His attributes'.

[10] *mulḥid* 'deviator', a term afterwards applied specifically to the Isma'ilis of Alamut. See above, i, 256, n. 28, also Lewis, *op. cit.,* 56.

[11] I.e. Mūsā the son of Ja'far, the Seventh Imam of the Imami Shi'a.

[12] A mistake for Abul-Husain. (M.Q.)

[13] On these four doctors of the Moslem Canon Law see M.Q., III, 361–2.

insanity and his small understanding; and because of the capriciousness of his actions and the incongruity of his behaviour —misplaced extravagance and parsimony in cases where he should have been liberal—he became known as Mustansir the Mad. Strange tales, remote from the manners and customs of caliphs and sultans, have been written about him in books and recorded in works of history. Here we shall cite only one or two instances from which it is possible to appreciate the nature of other like actions on his part.

An example of his extravagance was that he used to ask the treasury for precious stones with a good lustre, and he would then pound them like collyrium and cast the powder into a stream. And his parsimony was such that he would reduce his troops to great straits by withholding their normal rations and retaining their usual pay: and as a result they would riot and mutiny. One day they besieged him in his palace and demanded their dues. He wrote in his own hand a note excusing his retaining and withholding [their pay]:

> *'I have become such that I fear and honour none but my God, from Whom is grace.*
> *My grandsire is my prophet, and my father my Imam, and my speech the assertion of God's oneness and justice.*

[179] *Wealth is God's wealth, and servants His servants, and to give is better than to refuse. And those who behave unjustly shall know what a reverse they will suffer.'*

The remainder of his actions were in keeping with these, from which they may be deduced.

> *They are instances of diabolic suggestions: he gives or refuses not out of parsimony or generosity.*[1]

Amd Mustansir lived his life in this fashion and held the Caliphate for a space of 60 years. *God Almighty hath said: 'We only give them length of days that they may increase their sins.'* [2]

He had two sons, one of whom was called Abu-Mansur

[1] The Baghdad poet Mu'āwiya b. Sufyān in a satire on Hasan b. Sahl, the vizier of the Caliph Ma'mun. (M.Q.)

[2] Koran, iii, 172.

Nizar. He first of all made this son his heir and gave him the title of al-Mustafa li-Din-Allah. Then he repented having taken this step, disinherited him and made his other son, Abul-Qasim Ahmad, his heir with the title of al-Musta'li billah.[3]

After Mustansir's death the emirs and *da'is* [4] of the Heresy divided into two parties, and some supported the Imamate of Nizar on the ground that [only] the first designation was valid. The Isma'ilis, i.e. the Heretics, of Iraq, Syria, Qumish [5] and Khorasan, were of this party and are called the Nizaris. The other party upheld the Imamate of Musta'li. [180] These are the Isma'ilis of Egypt and those parts and they are called Musta'lawis.

During the reign of Mustansir Hasan-i-Sabbah had been engaged in open propaganda [6] in the regions of Dailam, as shall be hereinafter described. Now to the party of Nizar there was applied the term of Heresy *(ilḥād)* [7] *par excellence* because in the propaganda of Hasan-i-Sabbah the ordinances of Muhammad *(upon whom be peace!)* were abolished and forbidden things made lawful. *God Almighty hath said: 'And whoso will not judge by what God hath sent down—such are the perverse.'* [8] The Musta'lawis on the other hand did not rebel against the outward form of the Shari'at but conformed with the customs of their ancestors.

In Cairo the troops and people supported Musta'li and set him upon the throne of the Caliphate. Nizar fled from Musta'li with his two sons [9] and went to Alexandria, where the people swore fealty to him. Musta'li sent troops which besieged him for a while in Alexandria until finally the town surrendered

[3] This is incorrect. It was Mustansir's vizier, after the Caliph's death, who set Musta'li upon the throne in preference to his eldest brother, the heir-apparent. See Lane-Poole, *A History of Egypt in the Middle Ages,* 161–2.

[4] Reading *dā'iyān* with all the MSS. except one, which has *a'yān* 'notables', the reading of the text.

[5] See above, i, 146, n. 16.

[6] *Sc.* on behalf of Nizār.

[7] See above, i, 256, n. 28, and 282, n. 15.

[8] Koran, v, 51.

[9] The circumstance of Nizar's being accompanied by two sons is not mentioned by the usual authorities and M.Q., III, 364–5, is inclined to think that Juvaini found this detail in some Isma'ili work. That Nizar was in fact the father of two sons is attested by the *Dustūr-al-Munajjimīn,* which gives their names as the Emir Abu-'Abdallah Husain and the Emir Abu-'Ali Hasan.

and they carried Nizar and his sons off to Cairo. All three remained imprisoned there until their death. The Nizaris claim that one son of Nizar, who according to their vain beliefs was designated Imam, left a son in Alexandria on whom no one [181] had laid hands, not having recognized him. And to-day the leader of the Heretics of Alamut traces his descent from this son, as shall be mentioned in [the chapter on] the New Propaganda.[10]

As for Musta'li he retained the Caliphate until his death.

He was succeeded by his son Abu-'Ali Mansur,[11] who on the 4th of Zul-Qa'da, 524 [10th of October, 1130] was assassinated by some Nizari extremists.

Having no son he had designated his cousin Abul-Maimun 'Abd-al-Majid the son of Muhammad [12] as his heir-apparent,[13] who now succeeded him as Caliph receiving the title of al-Hafiz li-Din-Allah. He reigned for 20 years.

He was succeeded by Abu-Mansur Isma'il,[14] who was given the title of az-Zafir.[15] He was murdered by his vizier 'Abbas b. Tamim.[16]

[182] His son, Abul-Qasim 'Isa, who was five years old, was set on the throne in his stead and given the title of al-Fayiz billah. He died after a reign of six years.

After his death his cousin Abu-Muhammad 'Abdallah b. Yusuf was set up as Caliph and given the title of al-'Adid li-Din-Allah. He was still reigning when the Ayyubids made themselves masters of Egypt.

[10] See below, pp. 691–4.

[11] His *laqab* was Āmir.

[12] Muhammad was a son of Mustansir.

[13] This is incorrect. Hafiz succeeded Āmir, in the first place, as regent, pending the birth of a posthumous child, which turned out to be a daughter. See Lane-Poole, *op. cit.*, 166–7.

[14] His son.

[15] His full title was az-Ẓāfir bi-Amr-Allah.

[16] As M.Q. points out it was actually 'Abbas's son who committed the murder. See Lane-Poole, *op. cit.*, 171–2.

[XI]

AN ACCOUNT OF THESE EVENTS [1] AND THE REASON THEREFOR

IN the beginning of the year 554 [2] a great army of Franks invaded Egypt and began to massacre and pillage. [183] They laid siege to Cairo and the Caliph, the vizier and the whole population of Egypt and Cairo were in despair, whereupon Shabur,[3] ʿAdid's vizier, in whose hands the government of the country lay, made peace with the leader [4] of the Franks by offering 1,000,000 Egyptian dinars partly in credit and partly in cash. The Franks then raised the siege of Cairo but remained in Egypt awaiting the payment of the remainder of the sum agreed upon.

At that time Nur-ad-Din Mahmud b. Zangi b. Aq-Sonqur was lord of Syria. ʿAdid, the vizier and the people of Cairo appealed to him for help against the invasion of the Franks and sought his aid and support with such instancy that [184] they even sent him their womenfolk's hair. Nur-ad-Din sent Shirkuh, the Lord of Hims, with a numerous army to defend Egypt, and Salah-ad-Din Yusuf,[5] the nephew of Shirkuh, accompanied his uncle. When the Frankish army got tidings of the army of Syria, they turned back towards their homes and Shirkuh made for Cairo, which he reached on the 7th of Rabiʿ II, 564 [16th of January, 1169].

ʿAdid and Shabur, to show him honour, came out to meet him. Shirkuh asked Shabur for some money for the troops but he chose to postpone payment. Love and amity turned to hatred and emnity, and Shabur laid his plans to make away with Shirkuh under the pretext of entertaining him. But ʿAdid, being weak and powerless in the hands of Shabur, informed

[1] I.e. the overthrow of the Fatimid Caliphate.

[2] A gross mistake for 564/1168–9. (M.Q.)

[3] For the usual Shāwar. M.Q. discusses this name at some length (III, 371–8) and concludes that it may (as Juvaini's Shābūr would seem to indicate) be derived from the Persian Shāpūr.

[4] Amalric I.

[5] The Saladin of the Crusaders. On the origins of this Kurdish family see Minorsky, *Studies in Caucasian History*, 124–32.

Shirkuh of his treachery and so was the cause of his death. One day Shabur came to Shirkuh to pay a friendly call. The latter's nephew Salah-ad-Din Yusuf came out, as though to greet him in his usual manner, with a body of armed men. He seized him and, as ʿAdid had commanded, sent him his head. This occurred on the 17th of Rabiʿ II, 564 [26th of January, 1169].

ʿAdid [185] conferred the viziership on Shirkuh and gave him the title of Malik Mansur. Before three months [6] were out he had died. ʿAdid then gave the viziership to his nephew Salah-ad-Din Yusuf. Salah-ad-Din reduced affairs to order; he gained the mastery over ʿAdid and Egypt and ʿAdid was completely subservient to him.

Nur-ad-Din Mahmud, the lord of Syria, wrote to Salah-ad-Din Yusuf that, order having been re-established in those countries, the truth should triumph over the false and be restored to its rightful place, [that is,] the outward signs of Islam revealed again by the mention in public prayers of the ʿAbbasid Caliphs. Salah-ad-Din agreed, and on the first Friday of Muharram, 566,[7] he pronounced the *khutba* in the pulpits of Egypt and struck coin in the name of an-Nasir li-Din-Allah.[8]

ʿAdid died on ʿAshura [9] and Salah-ad-Din imprisoned his children [186] and kinsmen and finally caused them all to drink the draught of annihilation and utterly extinguished their race. Salah-ad-Din now became supreme: his achievements were praiseworthy and the circumstances of his life are well-known.

[6] Shirkuh's vizierate actually lasted two (lunar) months and five days. He died on 22nd Jumada II, 564 [24th March, 1169]. (M.Q.)

[7] A mistake for 567. (M.Q.) The 10th September, 1171.

[8] Evidently a mistake for Nāsir's predecessor, Mustaḍī (1170–80).

[9] The 10th Muharram, i.e. the 14th September, 1171.

[XII]

OF HASAN-I-SABBAH AND HIS INNOVATIONS (*TAJDĪD*) AND THE PROPAGANDA OF THE HERETICS WHICH THEY CALL 'THE NEW PROPAGANDA' *(MAY GOD NOT RENEW IT!)*

AFTER God Almighty through the resolve and action of the World-Prince Hülegü had uprooted the castles and dwelling-places of those accursed ones and had put an end to their wickedness, at the time of the conquest of Alamut the author of this book received and executed the command to examine what was deposited in their treasury and collected together in their library, in order to extract therefrom whatever was worthy of the Private Treasury *(khāṣṣ)*. Now I was examining the library which they had gathered together over a period of many years, and from amongst the multitude of lying treatises [1] and false teachings touching their religion and belief (which they had mingled with copies of the noble Koran and all manner of choice books, interweaving good and evil) was extracting whatever I found in the way of rare and precious volumes after the manner of '*He bringeth forth the living out of the dead*',[2] when I came upon a book containing [187] the life and adventures of Hasan-i-Sabbah, which they call *Sar-Guzasht-i-Sayyidna*. From this work I have copied whatever was to the point and suitable for insertion in this history, adducing whatever was confirmed and verified.[3]

[1] Reading *fuṣūl* for the *fuẓūl* of the text. [2] Koran, xxx, 18.

[3] On the relationship between Juvaini's quotations from this work and the much fuller quotations in Rashid-ad-Din see Bowen, *The* sar-gudhasht-i sayyidnā, *the* '*Tale of the Three Schoolfellows*' *and the* wasaya *of the Niẓām al-Mulk*. Bowen's conclusions are summarized as follows by Hodgson, *The Order of Assassins*, 73, n. 34: 'Very often Rashîd ad-Dîn has more facts than Juwaynî, where Juwaynî has more opinions than Rashîd ad-Dîn. Where they coincide, the wording is almost identical—one would suppose, therefore, that Juwaynî was excerpting the originals which Rashîd ad-Dîn copied. Yet in beginning his story Rashîd ad-Dîn seems to quote the introductory phrase of Juwaynî, who had written a generation earlier; so that Bowen suggests that the common original was a first and fuller draft by Juwaynî, which Juwaynî pruned of the more objectionable parts, including the obviously legendary and the less interesting; and of which he redressed the language to make it less offensive to Sunnî ears.'

He traced his descent to the Himyar tribe. His father came from the Yemen to Kufa, then from Kufa to Qum and from Qum to Ray. Here he settled down and here Hasan-i-Sabbah was born.

> By origin thou art from Qayin and thy abode is in Kushkak.
> O foolish cuckold, what dost thou in Khutlan ? [4]

[188] His name was Hasan, son of ʿAli, son of Muhammad, son of Jaʿfar, son of Husain, son of Muhammad, [son of] Sabbah the Himyari—*upon him be the curse of God, and the angels, and all mankind!*

It is related in the *Sar-Guzasht* that some of his followers wrote an account of his forefathers and brought it to him ; but from a desire to deceive and misrepresent he would not sanction it and washed the pages in water.

This accursed Hasan relates as follows: ' I followed the religion of my fathers, that is Twelver Shiʿism.[5] There was a person in Ray called Amira Zarrab [6] who held the beliefs of the Batinis of Egypt. We constantly disputed with each other and he tried to destroy my beliefs. I did not give in to him but his words took root in my heart. Meanwhile I was overcome with a very dreadful illness and I thought to myself: " That is the true religion and because of my fanaticism I would not admit it. If, which Heaven forfend, my appointed hour should come, I shall have perished without attaining the truth." It so happened that I recovered from that illness. Now there was

[4] Kushkakī of Qāyin (Qā'in), a poet of the age of Sanjar. The poet is addressing himself. (M.Q.) The text has Jīlān, i.e. Gīlān, for which I have substituted the Khutlān of M and the *Majmaʿ-al-Fuṣaḥā,* which fits in better with the context of the original poem. Khutlān (Khuttalān) was the name of the mountainous region between the Vakhsh and the Panj in what is now the Soviet Socialist Republic of Tajikistan.

[5] Or Imami Shiʿism, the state religion of present-day Persia. The Twelvers, as their name applies, believe in twelve Imams, of whom the first was the Prophet's cousin and son-in-law ʿAli and the twelfth, the Mahdi, is still alive in some secret place from which he will one day emerge in order to fill the world with justice. Of these twelve Imams the Seveners, i.e. the Isma'ilis, recognize only the first six, to whom they add as the seventh Imam either Ismaʿil, the son of Jaʿfar as-Sadiq, or his grandson Muhammad.

[6] Ẓarrāb ' the Coiner '.

another Batini called Bu-Najm Sarraj.[7] I questioned him about their religion. He expounded it to me in detail so that I became conversant with its hidden secrets *(ghavāmiẓ)*. There was another called Mu'min, who had been authorized by 'Abd-al-Malik,[8] son of 'Attash, to carry out propaganda. [189] I asked him to administer the oath of allegiance. He replied: "Thy rank, since thou art Hasan,[9] is higher than mine since I am but Mu'min.[10] How then shall I administer the oath to thee? That is, how shall I ask thee to swear fealty to the Imam?" However, after much insistence on my part, he administered the oath to me.

'In the year 464/1071–2 'Abd-al-Malik, the son of 'Attash, who at that time was the *da'i* in Iraq, came to Ray. I met with his approval, and he made me a deputy *da'i* and indicated that I should go to His Majesty in Egypt, who at the time was Mustansir.

'In the year 469/1076–7 I went to Isfahan on my way to Egypt. (From thence he proceeded to Syria by way of Azerbaijan after experiencing the dangers which are recorded in detail in that history.)

'I finally arrived in Egypt in the year 471/1078–9. I stayed there nearly a year and a half, and during [190] my stay, though I was not admitted before Mustansir, he knew of me and several times spoke in praise of me. Now Amir-al-Juyush,[11] his Commander-in-Chief, who was an absolute and all-powerful ruler, was the father-in-law of his younger son, Musta'li, whom by a second designation he had made his heir.[12] Now I, in accordance with the principles of my religion, [191] conducted propaganda on behalf of Nizar. (This has been previously mentioned.)[13] On this account Amir-al-Juyush was ill-disposed

[7] Sarrāj 'the Saddler'.

[8] He was the father of the Ahmad who seized the fortress of Shāhdiz at Isfahan. See Hodgson, *op. cit.*, 85–6 and 95–6.

[9] I.e. Hasan, the son of 'Ali, and *ḥasan* 'good'.

[10] *mu'min* is the Arabic for 'believer'.

[11] Amīr-al-Juyūsh itself means 'Commander-in-Chief'. This was the title of the famous vizier Badr al-Jamālī, originally an Armenian slave, on whom see Lane-Poole, *A History of Egypt in the Middle Ages*, 150–3.

[12] See above, p. 662 and n. 3.

[13] See above, p. 662.

towards me and girded himself to attack me so that they were compelled to send me by ship to Maghrib with a party of Franks.

'The sea was rough and drove the ship towards Syria, where a miracle *(vāqi'a)*[14] happened to me. From thence I went to Aleppo, from whence, by way of Baghdad and Khuzistan, I arrived in Isfahan in Zul-Hijja of the year 473 [May–June, 1081]. From thence I proceeded to Kerman and Yezd and conducted propaganda there for a while. Then I returned to Isfahan and went to Khuzistan for the second time and from thence, by way of the desert, to Firrim[15] and Shahryar-Kuh.[16]

[192] 'I remained three years in Damghan, from whence I sent *da'is* to Andij-Rud[17] and the other districts of Alamut to convert the people. And I went to Jurjan, Tarz,[18] Sarhadd[19] and Chinashk[20] and returned from thence.

[193] 'Nizam-al-Mulk had charged Bu-Muslim Razi to lay lands on me and he was making great efforts to find me. I could not therefore go to Ray although I wished to proceed to Dailaman, whither I had sent *da'is*. Accordingly I went to Sari from whence I reached Qazvin by way of Dunbavand[21] and Khuvar of Ray; and so avoided Ray itself.

'From Qazvin I again sent a *da'i* to the castle of Alamut, which was held by an 'Alid called Mahdi as a fief from Malik-Shah.[22] Now Alamut is *aluh-amut*, i.e. "the eagle's nest", and

[14] This miracle according to the fuller version in Rashid-ad-Din was his prophesying that the ship would not sink. (M.Q.)

[15] Firrīm, the ancient capital of the Bāvand dynasty, was situated in the mountains of Eastern Mazandaran, to the south of Sari on the banks of a tributary of the Tejen. A district of the same name (Farīm) still exists in that area, i.e. in the Du-Danga division of Hazar-Jarib. (M.Q.) See also Minorsky, *Ḥudūd*, 387.

[16] The present-day Hazar-Jarib mountain-range. (M.Q.)

[17] Andīj-Rūd is to-day one of the four sub-districts of Alamut. See M.Q., III, 388 and 389.

[18] M.Q., III, 398–9, suggests that this may be identical with the Isma'ili village in the Baihaq area mentioned by Ibn-al-Athir *sub anno* 520/1126–7.

[19] Rabino, *Mázandarán and Astarábád*, 21, mentions a sub-district of this name in Tunakabun, the most westerly district of Mazandaran, but in the present context one would rather expect some locality in the Astarabad area.

[20] On Chināshk, a sub-district of Kuhsar in Eastern Astarabad see M.Q., III, 399–400, Rabino, *op. cit.*, 83–4.

[21] Dunbāvand is the older form of Damāvand.

[22] The famous Seljuq ruler (1072–92).

an eagle had its nest there. Some of the people in Alamut were converted by the *da'i* and they sought to convert the 'Alid also. He pretended to be won over but afterwards contrived to send down all the converts and then closed the gates of the castle saying that it belonged to the Sultan. After much discussion he re-admitted them and after that they refused to go down at his bidding.

'From Qazvin I went to Dailaman, then to the district of Ashkavar and then to Andij-Rud, which is adjacent to Alamut; and here I remained for some time.'

Because of his extreme asceticism many people fell victims to him and were converted by him. And on the eve of Wednesday the 6th of Rajab, 483 [4th of September, 1090]—and by a strange coincidence the letters of Aluh-Amut, if added together according to their *abjad* values,[23] give the date of the year in which he ascended Alamut—he was brought up by stealth into the castle. He remained there for a time in disguise calling himself Dihkhuda. When the 'Alid learnt of his presence he was powerless to do anything. He was given permission to leave, and Hasan wrote a draft on the governor of Girdkuh and Damghan, the *ra'is* [24] Muzaffar Mustaufi, a secret convert of his, for the sum of 3,000 gold dinars as the price of the castle. [195] Now Hasan because of his great asceticism used to express himself with extreme terseness in his correspondence, as in the case of this draft, of which the text is as follows: 'The *ra'is* MZ *(may God preserve him!)* is to pay 3,000 dinars, the price of Alamut, to the 'Alid Mahdi. *Blessings upon the Elect Prophet and his family! "Our sufficiency is God, and He is an excellent protector."*' [25]

The 'Alid took this draft and thought to himself: 'The *ra'is* Muzaffar is a great man and deputy to Amirdad Habashi,[26]

[23] The *abjad* is the Arabic alphabet arranged in its ancient order as still used for numeration. The values of the letters of Aluh-Amūt (ALH AMWT) —not, it is to be noted, of Alamūt (ALMWT), the usual form of the name— are 1 + 30 + 5 + 1 + 40 + 6 + 400 = 483.

[24] On the office of *ra'is* see above, i, 112, n. 8, also Lambton, *Islamic Society in Persia*, 10.

[25] Koran, iii, 167.

[26] One of the Seljuq emirs. See above, i, 278, also Hodgson, *op. cit.*, 86–7.

the son of Altun-Taq. How should he give me something in exchange for a note?' Some time afterwards he happened to be in Damghan and being in needy circumstances he put the matter to the test and took the note to the *ra'is* Muzaffar. He at once kissed the writing and paid him the gold.

Once Hasan-i-Sabbah *(may God confound him!)* was firmly established in Alamut and had gained full control there he dispatched *da'is* in all directions and devoted the whole of his time to spreading his propaganda and perverting the short-sighted. Now his reform of their heresy *(bid'at)*,[27] which after his death they called the New Propaganda, was after this fashion.[28] His predecessors had based their tenets upon the symbolic interpretation *(ta'vīl)*[29] of revelations, especially the ambiguous verses of the Koran and upon strange deductions *(istikhrāj-i-ma'ānī)* from the traditions *(akhbār va āṣār)* and the like thereof; and they used to say that there was a symbolic interpretation of every revelation and that every [196] outward form bore an inner meaning. But Hasan-i-Sabbah would admit nothing but teaching and learning *(ta'līm va ta'allum)*.[30] The knowledge of God, he said, was not to be attained through the reason and by reflection *(naẓar)* but through the teaching of the Imam, for most of mankind were possessed of reason and everyone had views *(naẓar)* on the ways of religion. If the use of reason *(naẓar-i-'aql)* were sufficient for the knowledge of God, the members of no sect could raise objections against other sects and all would be equal, assuming that *(chi)* everyone was possessed of religion through the use of reason. But since it was open [for men] to object and repudiate and some felt the need to imitate others, this was nothing else but *(khud)* the doctrine *(maẓhab)* of instruction *(ta'līm)* namely that reason was not sufficient and there had to be an Imam in order that in every age the people

[27] See above, p. 636, n. 75.

[28] For a translation of the corresponding passage of Rashid-ad-Din see Levy, *The account of the Isma'ili doctrines in the* Jami' al-Tawarikh *of Rashid al-Din Fadlallah*, 534–6.

[29] See above, p. 646, n. 28.

[30] Lit. 'closed tight the door of teaching and learning'. On the doctrine of *ta'līm* see Hodgson, *op. cit.*, 51–61.

might be instructed and possessed of religion through his teaching.

And he fashioned several concise sentences which he used as the decoy for the snares of his deceit; and these he called *ilzam.*[31] The foolish and the vulgar thought these terse expressions were full of meaning. One of the most subtle of them was to ask his opponents whether reason was enough or not enough; because if [the reply was given that] reason sufficed for the knowledge of God, [this implied that] everyone being possessed of reason no one could object to anyone; and if his opponent said that reason was not sufficient and that in addition to the use of reason *(naẓar-i-ʿaql)* one also needed a teacher, this was simply his own doctrine.

Now in putting that question, *viz.* whether reason was enough or not enough, he implied that his own doctrine, which he was trying to affirm, was that instruction was necessary in conjunction with reason, and that the doctrine of his opponents was that instruction was not necessary in conjunction with reason. Now if instruction is not necessary it may be permissive *(jāyiz)* and assist the function of reason *(khirad rā muʿīn bāshad bar naẓar),* or else it may not be permissive and reason have to be used alone [197], otherwise the knowledge of God cannot be attained. Now these are the two horns of a dilemma, and Hasan set himself to refute the second and then said that he had refuted their belief *(maẓhab).* But it is not so, for the belief of the generality of mankind is that the existence of reason alone is not enough but reason must be employed in a special way, and instruction and guidance are of assistance to some of those possessed of reason, while others have no need thereof, though if instruction and guidance are available, there is no objection thereto. It is clear then that he has done nothing towards refuting the belief of the majority.

As for his statement that instruction is restricted to one specified person it requires proof and the only proof he provides are his words when he says: ' I have proved [the necessity for] instruction and since there is no other than I who speaks for instruction,

[31] Lit. ' compulsion '.

therefore the determination of the instruction is by my words.' Now this is palpably false: it is as though someone were to say: 'I say that such-and-such a person is Imam, and the proof thereof is that I say so.' If he says: 'The consensus of Moslem opinion *(ijmāʿ)* is right; therefore, if my words be not true and I have refuted the words of others, then the Moslems are agreed upon what is false'—the reply to this argument is that the consensus of opinion in the case of the majority is right because of [its dependence upon] the Koran and the Traditions, and that in his case this is not so. Therefore for him to base his doctrine upon the consensus of opinion is to base it upon the words of his opponents and is of no profit to him. And apart from this he adduces no evidence for the designation of the Imam.

Again, he has said [198] that when the Prophet *(upon whom be peace!)* said: *'I was commanded to fight the people until they said: "There is no god but God,"'* he meant that they had to learn from him to say: *'There is no god but God'*—which is [the doctrine of] instruction. The reply to this is that it is inconsistent with the story of the old woman who, when they asked her about God, pointed to the sky. And the Prophet *(upon whom be peace!)* said: *'Let her be, for she is a believer.'* And he said also: *'Do ye adopt the religion of old women.'* He did not say to the old woman: 'Thou didst not learn the knowledge of God from me; thou art not a believer.' And again a Bedouin said: *'Is not Time God?'* And the Prophet *(upon whom be peace!)* said: *'Let him be, for he has said well.'* And there are further similar instances that could be adduced. However this book is not the place to refute false doctrines and uphold the True Faith; I therefore thought it best to restrict myself to the above. Such then was the nonsense which he expounded; whereof the outward form were snares of deceit and the inner meaning the wiles of [199] Iblis and the purpose of which was to prevent the use of reason and the acquisition of knowledge. *'Their hearts and their ears hath God sealed up; and over their eyes is a covering. For them, a severe chastisement!'* [32]

Hasan exerted every effort to capture the places adjacent to

[32] Koran, ii, 6.

Alamut or in that vicinity. Where possible he won them over by the tricks of his propaganda while such places as were unaffected by his blandishments he seized with slaughter, ravishment, pillage, bloodshed and war. He took such castles as he could and wherever he found a suitable rock he built a castle upon it.

Amongst the officers of Sultan Malik-Shah was an emir called Yürün-Tash,[33] [200] who held the district of Alamut as fief *(iqṭāʿ)*. He used constantly to attack [the country at] the foot of Alamut and massacre and lay waste wherever the people were Hasan's converts and subjects. Since as yet no stores had been laid up in Alamut the occupants were reduced to great distress and impotence and decided to hand over the castle to a few unencumbered *(jarīda)* men and themselves depart elsewhere. Hereupon Hasan-i-Sabbah claimed to have received a message from his Imam, i.e. Mustansir, to the effect that they should not quit that place because good fortune awaited them there. By means of this imposture he prevailed upon his followers to resign themselves to the endurance of hardships and remain on Alamut, which, on account of those words, they named *baladat-al-iqbal*.[34]

In the year 484/1091–2 he sent Husain of Qa'in, one of his *daʿis*, to Quhistan to conduct propaganda there. A number of people were converted by him and they established themselves in one part of that country. A deputy [35] was then appointed to govern them on behalf of Hasan-i-Sabbah; and just as Hasan had proceeded in Alamut, so they too in Quhistan began to spread their propaganda and conquer the country around them by the fabrication of lies and the capture of castles.

[201] When the tale of his new heresy *(bidʿat)* spread about and the injuries inflicted by his followers upon the Moslems became widely known, Sultan Malik-Shah, in the beginning of the year 485/1092, dispatched an emir called Arslan-Tash [36] to

[33] 'White Stone.' [34] 'The Town of Good Fortune.'

[35] *nāʾib*. Used perhaps here for the usual *muḥtaṣḥam* 'governor'. Cf. Hodgson, *op. cit.*, 118, n. 50.

[36] 'Lion-Stone'.

expel and extirpate Hasan-i-Sabbah and all his followers. This emir sat down before Alamut in Jumada I of the said year [June–July, 1092]. At that time Hasan-i-Sabbah had with him on Alamut no more than 60 or 70 men; and they had but few stores. They lived on the little they had, a bare subsistence, and kept up the battle with the besiegers. Now one of Hasan's *da'is,* a man called Dihdar Bu-'Ali, who came from Zuvara [37] and Ardistan, had his residence in Qazvin, some of the inhabitants of which were his converts; as likewise in the district of Talaqan and Kuh-i-Bara [38] and the district of Ray many people believed in the Sabbahian propaganda; [202] and they all resorted to the man who had settled in Qazvin. Hasan-i-Sabbah now appealed to Bu-'Ali Dihdar for help, and he stirred up a host of people from Kuh-i-Bara and Talaqan and likewise sent arms and implements of war from Qazvin. Some 300 of these men came to the aid of Hasan-i-Sabbah. They threw themselves into Alamut and then with the assistance of the garrison and the support of some of the people of Rudbar, who were in league with them outside the castle, one night at the end of Sha'ban of that year [September–October, 1092], they made a surprise attack upon the army of Arslan-Tash. By divine preordination the army was put to flight and leaving Alamut returned to Malik-Shah.

Sultan Malik-Shah was much concerned at this defeat but persisted in the idea of extirpating that sect. However his life had drawn to its close and with his death the plans to exterminate those wretches were deferred and they were strengthened in their rebellion.

At the beginning of 485/1092 the Sultan had also sent another of his chief emirs called Ghizil-Sarigh [39] to expel the Heretics of Quhistan; and he had ordered the armies of Khorasan to follow and assist him. Ghizil-Sarigh besieged them in the

[37] Zuvāra was situated to the north-east of Ardistān in Central Persia.

[38] Identified by M.Q. with the Bara of Hamdallah (tr. le Strange, 209 and 210), i.e. the present-day Manjil at the confluence of the Shah-Rud and the Safid-Rud (Qizil-Uzan).

[39] 'Red-Yellow', from the Turkish *qïzïl* 'red' and *sarïgh* 'yellow'.

castle *(ḥiṣār)* of [203] Dara,[40] which is adjacent to Sistan and is one of the dependencies of Mu'minabad,[41] and joined battle with them. Before he could take the place, however, he received the news of Malik-Shah's death, whereupon he raised the siege and his army dispersed. Like the people of Alamut these people too stretched out the hand of tyranny and extended the foot of oppression. As has been said:

> *O what a happy lark on cultivated land! The air is clear*
> *for thee, so lay thy eggs and whistle!* [42]

Now at the time when Hasan first rose in rebellion Nizam-al-Mulk Hasan b. 'Ali b. Ishaq of Tus *(may God have mercy on him!)* was Malik-Shah's vizier. With his penetrating glance he beheld on the features of the actions wrought by Hasan-i-Sabbah [204] and his followers the signs of troubles in Islam and perceived therein the indications of disturbances; and he strove his hardest to excise the pus of the Sabbahian rebellion and exerted every effort in equipping and dispatching troops to suppress and subdue them.

Hasan-i-Sabbah spread the snare of artifices in order at the first opportunity to catch some splendid game, such as Nizam-al-Mulk, in the net of destruction and increase thereby his own reputation. With the juggling of deceit and the trickery of falsehood, with absurd preparations and spurious deceptions,[43] he laid the basis of the *fida'is*. A person called Bu-Tahir, Arrani by name and by origin, was afflicted *'with the loss both of this world and of the next'*,[44] and in his misguided striving after bliss in the world to come on the night of Friday the 12th of Ramazan, 485 [16th of October, 1092] he went up to Nizam-al-Mulk's

[40] The village of Dara lies to the south of Tabas and the south-east of Birjand; and there is still an old castle in the neighbouring hills. (M.Q.) Hamdallah tr. le Strange, 144, describes Dara Castle as 'a very strong fortress; and on the summit of the hill within the castle is a spring of water'.

[41] The district of Mu'minābād lies a day's journey to the east of Birjand.

[42] From a poem also quoted above, p. 569.

[43] Perhaps a reference to the 'Paradise' described by Marco Polo. See Benedetto, 49–51.

[44] Koran, xxii, 11.

litter at a stage called Sahna [45] in the region of Nihavand. Nizam-al-Mulk, having broken the fast, was being borne in the litter from the Sultan's audience-place to the tent of his harem. Bu-Tahir who was disguised as a Sufi, stabbed him with a dagger and by that blow Nizam-al-Mulk was martyred. He was the first person to be killed by the *fida'is*.

Now when Hasan-i-Sabbah returned from Egypt he had gone to Isfahan. The report of his teachings, [205] his connection with the Batinis and the propaganda he conducted on their behalf had been spread abroad and those who were concerned for the griefs of Islam and religion sought to lay hands on him, and he therefore went into hiding. In Isfahan he entered the house of the *ra'is* Abul-Fazl, a secret convert of his, where he remained for some time; and whenever this *ra'is* came in to him they would talk together and discuss their troubles. One day, whilst bemoaning his lot and speaking of the fanatical attitude of the Sultan and his ministers, Hasan-i-Sabbah heaved a sigh and said: 'Alas! had I but two men of one mind with me I should turn this realm upside down.' The *ra'is* Abul-Fazl concluded that from much thought and fear and the undertaking of dangerous journeys Hasan had been attacked with melancholia, otherwise how could he imagine that with two persons of one mind he could turn upside down the realm of a monarch, in whose name the *khutba* was recited and coin struck from Egypt to Kashghar and under whose banner so many thousands of horse and foot could at one sign from him break up a whole world? He pondered over this and said to himself: 'He is not a man to boast or use extravagant language: there is no doubt that he is affected with a disease of the brain.' Acting on his belief he adopted the treatment for melancholia without telling Hasan. He prepared perfumed drinks and foods to fortify the constitution and moisten the brain such as are suitable for the sufferers from such a malady; and at the usual mealtime he laid this food and drink before him. As soon as Hasan saw it he knew what was in the *ra'is* Abul-Fazl's mind, and he

[45] The present-day village of Sahna on the road between Bisutun in the West and Kangavar in the East and almost equidistant from both places. (M.Q.)

immediately prepared to depart. The *ra'is* begged and [206] pleaded with him but he refused to stay. It is said that he went to Kerman. Upon his return from thence he established himself in Alamut and caused Nizam-al-Mulk to be slain by his *fida'is*. 40 days later Sultan Malik-Shah himself died also, and the affairs of the realm were thrown into confusion and there was chaos in the provinces. Hasan seized his opportunity and his cause waxed strong: and those who had some reason for fear took refuge with him. The aforesaid *ra'is* Abul-Fazl sought an opportunity and went to Alamut, where he was enrolled amongst his followers. One day Hasan-i-Sabbah turned to him and said: 'Does it seem now that I had melancholia or thou? Thou hast seen that when I found two friends to help me I kept my word and proved my claim.' The *ra'is* Abul-Fazl fell at his feet and begged for forgiveness.[46]

Some time after the death of Nizam-al-Mulk two of his sons were also stabbed, one, whose name was Ahmad, in Baghdad —he became paralysed—[207] and Fakhr-al-Mulk in Nishapur. And from then onwards he used to cause the emirs, commanders and notables to be assassinated by his *fida'is* one after the other; and any one who opposed him in any way he would get rid of with this trick. To record the names of all these persons would take too long.

On this account the local rulers *(aṣḥāb-i-aṭrāf)*, near and far, were exposed to danger, whether their friends or their foes, and would fall into the whirlpool of destruction—their friends, because the kings of Islam would subdue and destroy them and they would suffer *'the loss of this world and the next;'*[47] while their foes for fear of his guile and treachery would flee into the cage of defence and precaution and [even so] were mostly killed.

When a quarrel broke out between Berk-Yaruq[48] and his brother Muhammad, the sons of Malik-Shah, and there was

[46] In Rashid-ad-Din's version Hasan-i-Sabbah's prophecy to Abul-Fazl had been made before his visit to Egypt. Juvaini's placing the story, 'where it fits in comfortably, after his return', is cited by Bowen, *op. cit.*, 775, as an example of his 'editing' of the *Sar-Guzasht*.

[47] Koran, xxii, 11.

[48] See above, i, 278, n. 9.

turmoil and confusion in the kingdom, the *ra'is* Muzaffar, the governor of Damghan, persuaded his superior, Amirdad Habashi, to ask Sultan Berk-Yaruq for the castle of Girdkuh; [208] and the Sultan granted his request. The *ra'is* Muzaffar then ascended Girdkuh as Habashi's lieutenant and expended large sums on repairing and fortifying the castle; after which he transported all his superior's treasuries thither. Being thus strengthened with stores and treasure he revealed the secret of his conversion to the propaganda of the New Heretic *(ṣāḥib-bid'at)* and of his following the path of unbelief and infidelity; and for 40 years he lived there holding the castle for Hasan-i-Sabbah. He dug a well in the solid rock on the ramparts of Girdkuh; but having gone down 300 ells *(gaz)* without reaching water he abandoned it. Years after his death there was an earthquake, and a spring gushed out in that well.

With the assistance of the *ra'is* Muzaffar, who was an impregnable wall and a mighty evil, the cause of Hasan and his propaganda flourished. The occupants of the castle of Lammasar,[49] which is also in the Rudbar of Alamut, having refused to be converted he dispatched one of his companions *(rafiq)*,[50] a man called Kiya Buzurg-Umid with a band of Heretics; they climbed up by stealth in the night of the 24th of Zul-Qa'da, 495 [10th of September, 1102] and slew the inhabitants. Buzurg-Umid resided in that castle for 20 years and did not come down until he was summoned by Hasan.

Hasan-i-Sabbah had two sons, one of whom was called Ustad Husain. Now in the castle of Alamut there was an 'Alid called Zaid Hasani, who was secretly conducting propaganda on his own behalf and was on the point of putting an end to Hasan-i-Sabbah. And first he caused Husain of Qa'in, the *da'i* in Quhistan, to be slain by the hand of *Ahmad of Dunbavand. The murder of Husain of Qa'in was attributed to Hasan's son Ustad Husain, and Hasan ordered the execution both of his son

[49] The ruins of Lammasar (Lanbasar is another spelling) were visited by Miss Freya Stark in 1931. See Chapter IV ('The Assassins' Castle of Lamiasar') of *The Valleys of the Assassins*.

[50] See above, p. 639, n. 90.

and of Ahmad [210] of Dunbavand. A year later, having learnt the true state of affairs, he put the 'Alid to death together with a son that he had.

Now Hasan-i-Sabbah had founded his cause and his law *(nāmūs)* upon asceticism, continence and *' the enjoying of righteousness and the forbidding of unrighteousness '*, and during the 35 years that he dwelt in Alamut nobody drank wine openly nor put it in jars. Indeed such was his austerity that a certain person having played the flute in the castle he expelled him therefrom and would not re-admit him. Now his other son, whose name was Muhammad, was accused of drinking wine and he ordered him to be put to death. And he used to point to the execution of both his sons as a reason against any one's imagining that he had conducted propaganda on their behalf and had had that object in mind.

In conformity with this law *(nāmūs)* it happened on another occasion, at the time of the siege,[51] that he sent his wife and two daughters [211] to Girdkuh and wrote to the *ra'is* Muzaffar: ' Since these women work the spindle on behalf of our propaganda, give them their needs as wages therefor.' And from that time onwards their governors *(muḥtasham)*, so long as they held that office, would have no women with them.

And since the power of Hasan-i-Sabbah was continually on the increase, Sultan Muhammad, the son of Malik-Shah, got together armies to put an end to him and set Nizam-al-Mulk Ahmad, the son of Nizam-al-Mulk, at the head of them. He encompassed Alamut and Ustavand,[52] which is near to it on the banks of the Andij;[53] and they waged war for some time and destroyed the crops. Then [212], being unable to accomplish more, the army departed from Rudbar. In their castles there was a great famine and the people lived on grass; and it was for this reason that they sent their wives and children elsewhere and he too sent his wife and daughters to Girdkuh.

[51] The eight years' siege referred to below.

[52] Ustāvand is completely unknown.

[53] A tributary of the Alamut river (whence Andīij-Rūd, the name of the sub-district).

For eight consecutive years the troops came to Rudbar and destroyed the crops, and the two sides were engaged in battle. When it was known that Hasan and his men were left without strength or food, [Sultan Muhammad], at the beginning of the year 511/1117–18, appointed the *atabeg* Nush-Tegin Shir-Gir as commander of the troops and ordered him to lay siege to the castles from then onwards. On the 1st of Safar [4th of June, 1117] they invested Lammasar and on the 11th of Rabi' I [13th of July] Alamut. Setting up their mangonels they fought strenuously and by Zul-Hijja of that year [March–April, 1118] were on the point of taking the castles and freeing mankind from their machinations, when they received news that Sultan Muhammad had died in Isfahan. The troops then dispersed, and the Heretics were left alive and dragged up into their castles all the stores, arms and implements of war assembled by the Sultan's army.

Now to every fortune there is a limit and to every cause a term, which has been fixed by God Almighty in His perfect knowledge and power [213] at the beginning of time, and until the appointed hour is come abundant strength and gear and equipment will accomplish nothing. And the proof of this is that the conquest of these castles and the destruction thereof was dependent on the rising of the fortune of the World-Emperor Mengü Qa'an and was executed by the power, majesty and action of his brother, the World-King Hülegü, who in one week utterly and finally overthrew the whole of their abodes and dwelling places, and they became like [those cities which] *'We turned upside down'*,[54] as shall be hereinafter described.

Because of his nephew's enmity Sultan Sanjar was unable to deal with the Heretics and they recovered their strength; but when he had restored the kingdom to order he sought to put an end to them and began by sending an army into Quhistan. Hostilities continued for years; Hasan-i-Sabbah would send ambassadors to seek peace but his offers were not accepted. He then by all manner of wiles bribed certain of the Sultan's courtiers [214] to defend him before the Sultan; and he suborned one

[54] Koran, xi, 84.

of his eunuchs *(khādim)* with a large sum of money and sent him a dagger, which was stuck in the ground beside the Sultan's bed one night when he lay in drunken sleep. When the Sultan awoke and saw the dagger he was filled with alarm but not knowing whom to suspect he ordered the matter to be kept secret. Hasan-i-Sabbah then sent a messenger with the following message: ' Did I not wish the Sultan well that dagger which was struck into the hard ground would have been planted in his soft breast.' The Sultan took fright and from then on inclined towards peace with them. In short, because of this imposture the Sultan refrained from attacking them and during his reign their cause prospered. He allowed them a pension *(idrār)* of 3,000 dinars from the taxes on the lands belonging to them in the region of Qumish and also permitted them to levy a small toll on travellers passing beneath Girdkuh, a custom which has survived to this day. I saw several of Sanjar's firmans *(manshūr)* which had been preserved in their library and in which he conciliated and flattered them; and from these I was able to deduce the extent to which the Sultan connived at their actions [215] and sought to be on peaceful terms with them. In short, during his reign they enjoyed ease and tranquillity.

It was during the Sultan's reign, in the month of Rabi' II, 518 [May–June, 1124], that Hasan-i-Sabbah fell ill. He sent someone to Lammasar to fetch Buzurg-Umid and appointed him his successor. And he made Dihdar Abu-'Ali of Ardistan [sit] on his right and entrusted him in particular with the propaganda chancery (? *da'vat-dīvān)*; [55] Hasan son of Adam of Qasran he made [sit] on his left and Kiya Ba-Ja'far, who was the commander of his forces, in front of him. And he charged them, until such time as the Imam came to take possession of his kingdom, to act all four in concert and agreement. And in the night of Wednesday the 6th [56] of Rabi' II, 518 [Friday,

[55] The passage is obscure. Hodgson, *op. cit.*, 118–19, takes it to mean that Abu-'Ali was put in charge of finance.

[56] An alternative reading is the 26th Rabi' II, i.e. the 12th June, a Thursday, only one day out. This seems more likely. Isma'ili dates, so Professor Bernard Lewis informs me, were often one day out since they used an astronomical calendar.

23rd of May, 1124], he hastened off *'to the fire of God and His hell'*.

As has been previously mentioned, from the day Hasan first went up into the castle of Alamut until he departed this world, that is to say, for a period of 35 years, he never descended therefrom and he only twice came out of the house *(sarāi)* in which he lived. On these two occasions he went up on the roof.

[216] The rest of his time he passed inside his house, fasting and praying, reading books, committing the doctrines of his Heresy to writing and administering the affairs of his kingdom. It is related of Sabi [57] that at the time when he was compiling the *Ta'rikh-i-Taji*, a friend inquired as to what he was engaged in, and he replied: *'Stringing together lies and embellishing vanities.'*

An idle tale, O mother of 'Amr! [58]

Succeeding Hasan-i-Sabbah together with his companions Buzurg-Umid for a space of 20 years pursued those same [217] customs and practices of his master and strengthened that edifice which was built *'on the brink of an undermined bank.'* [59] And it being still the reign of Sanjar there was no one who strove to uproot their castles and demolish their dwelling-places.

Now at that time there was a quarrel between the Commander of the Faithful al-Mustarshid billah [60] and Sultan Mas'ud the Seljuq, who governed Iraq, Arran and Azerbaijan as viceroy to his uncle Sultan Sanjar. In those days in reading the *khutba* in Baghdad it was customary, as in the times of the Buyids, to mention after the name of the Caliph that of the paramount Sultan; and there had been no mention from the pulpits of the name of Sultan Mas'ud. It was therefore his firm intention to make an attack on Baghdad. Wishing to forestall him al-Mustarshid billah [advanced against him] at the head of [218] a large army. He had approached Hamadan when Sultan

[57] On this historian, Abū-Ishāq Ibrāhīm b. Hilāl as-Sābi' († 994), and his work (a history of the Buyids), see Barthold, *Turkestan*, 8.

[58] The second half of a *bait* by 'Abdallah b. az-Ziba'rā, a famous poet contemporary with the Prophet. (M.Q.)

[59] Koran, ix, 110.

[60] 1118–35.

Mas'ud came up from the other side with an army of his own. Some of the troops from Baghdad deserted and joined the Sultan's army, with the result that the Caliph's army was weakened whilst the Sultan's doubled its size. Their opponents were defeated; al-Mustarshid billah fell into the Sultan's hands; and his vizier and all his ministers were likewise captured. Sultan Mas'ud ordered his troops to harm no one but to content themselves with booty and pillage. And in this encounter not more than five persons perished on either side.

Although he imprisoned his ministers in a castle Sultan Mas'ud treated the Caliph himself with respect. He accompanied him to Maragha and sent a messenger to his uncle, Sultan Sanjar, to report the news. It so happened that in those days there was a constant succession of earthquakes and thunderbolts, and violent winds threw the world in turmoil; and everyone attributed all this to that same event. Sultan Sanjar sent messengers and wrote a letter to Sultan Mas'ud to the following effect: 'When my child Mas'ud Ghiyas-ad-Din has seen this edict let him at once proceed to the Commander of the Faithful and after kissing the dust of the audience-hall, [219] which is the asylum of all the world, let him crave fair pardon for the crimes and misdemeanours which are the result of desertion [by God] and seek forgiveness for the faults he has committed; and let him know that the falling of so many thunderbolts and the blowing of violent winds such as no one has experienced the like in this age and which have now continued for 20 days—these things I consider to have been caused by that event and I fear lest from this disturbance the armies and the people be thrown into confusion. By God! let him see fit to make amends, let him regard it as his bounden duty!'

From this incident one can form an idea of Sultan Sanjar's piety and the orthodoxy of his beliefs.

In obedience to this command Sultan Mas'ud went to the Commander of the Faithful and after tendering his excuses and apologies and confessing his sins and crimes he begged forgiveness. And in order to acquire merit he picked up the Caliph's saddle-cloth and walked in front of his horse to the pavilion he

had prepared for him. The Commander of the Faithful seated himself on the throne and Sultan Mas'ud took his stand amongst the chamberlains *(ḥujjāb)* and deputies *(nuvvāb)*.

Sultan Sanjar now sent another messenger to say that the Commander of the Faithful was perhaps thinking of returning to the Abode of Peace and in that case Sultan Mas'ud should make such preparations as were worthy of so great a Majesty. And to make this announcement Sultan Sanjar sent as his messenger to Sultan Mas'ud a trustworthy person who was one of his closest favourites. [220] Sultan Mas'ud mounted horse to go and meet the messenger, and a band of accursed *fida'is* and Heretics having bided their time till the pavilion was empty of troops suddenly entered and stabbed the Commander of the Faithful, it being the 17th of Zul-Qa'da, 529 [29th of August, 1135]. Sultan Mas'ud was greatly distressed. He held a great ceremony of mourning such as was worthy of either party, and the Caliph was buried inside Maragha.

Some of the more short-sighted and ill-wishers to the House of Sanjar accused them of responsibility for this act. But *' the astrologers lied, by the Lord of the Ka'ba! '* The goodness of Sultan Sanjar's character and the purity of his nature as instanced in his following and strengthening the Hanafite faith and the Shari'at, his respect for all that related to the Caliphate as also his mercy and compassion are [221] too plain and evident for the like false and slanderous charges to be laid against his person, which was the source of clemency and the fountain-head of pity. However, *' one thing leads to other '* and we have finished what we had to say.

Buzurg-Umid remained seated on the throne of Ignorance ruling over Error until the 26th of Jumada I, 532 [9th of February, 1138], when he was crushed under the heel of Perdition and Hell was heated with the fuel of his carcase.

His son, Muhammad, whom he had made his heir only three days before his death, followed in his footsteps by virtue of the words: *' Verily, we found our fathers with a religion.'*[61] As the last baneful act of the father was to kill Mustarshid so was his own

[61] Koran, xliii, 22.

first iniquitous act to kill Mustarshid's son, ar-Rashid billah.[62] And the reason for this was as follows.

When Rashid succeeded to the Caliphate some wished to depose him while others persisted in their allegiance to him. After several times going to war with Sultan Mas'ud he set out from Baghdad to attack the Heretics and avenge his father's blood. He fell sick upon the way and in that enfeebled state arrived in Isfahan. Suddenly some vile *fida'is* entered his audience-chamber and stabbed him to death. He was buried on the spot. From that time onwards the 'Abbasid Caliphs went into hiding and concealed themselves from the people.

Muhammad, son of Buzurg-Umid, following the doctrines of Hasan-i-Sabbah and his father, strove to strengthen the foundations thereof and continued to comply with the customs of Islam and observe the law of God in the manner they had declared [222] until the 3rd of Rabi' I, 557 [20th of February, 1162] when he passed away and joined those *' that have lost their labour most, whose aim in the present life hath been mistaken, and who deem that what they do is right '*.[63]

[XIII]

OF THE BIRTH OF HASAN, THE SON OF MUHAMMAD, THE SON OF BUZURG-UMID

HASAN was born in the year 520/1126–7. When he had nearly approached the age of discretion he conceived the desire to study and examine the teachings of Hasan-i-Sabbah and his own forefathers; and he closely scrutinized the text *(sukhan)* of the Propaganda in the Sabbahian manner and making use of the same *ilzamat*.[1] And so he came to excel in the exposition of their creed. And having mingled such sayings with Sufistic homilies *(mavā'iẓ)* and subtleties *(nikat)* and poured his own

[62] 1135–6. He had been deposed in favour of his uncle, Muqtafī (1136–60), two years before his assassination.

[63] Koran, xviii, 103–4.

[1] I.e. ' compelling arguments '. See above, p. 672 and n. 31.

interpretations, lavishly or sparingly, into the same mould, he was constantly, during the life-time of his father Muhammad, uttering moral sentences and the like such as the vulgar and immature would marvel at upon the first hearing (which is called *'the stupid hearing'*) [223] and so commending that propaganda; and with the courtesy of his manner and the eloquence of his words he won over the greater part of that people. Now his father being altogether lacking in that art, his son, with all these adornments and embellishments, appeared a great scholar beside him, and therefore the benightedness of the people of ignorance waxed greater still and the vulgar sought to follow his lead. [224] And not having heard the like discourses *(maqālāt)* from his father they began to think that here was the Imam that had been promised by Hasan-i-Sabbah. The people's attachment to him increased and they made haste to follow him as their leader.

His father, Muhammad, learnt of this state of affairs and became aware of what the people were thinking. He was rigid in his observance of the principles laid down by his father and Hasan with regard to the conduct of propaganda on behalf of the Imam and the outward observance of Moslem practices; and he considered his son's behaviour to be inconsistent with those principles. He therefore denounced him roundly and having assembled the people spoke as follows: 'This Hasan is my son, and I am not the Imam but one of his *da'is*. Whoever listens to these words and believes them is an infidel *(kāfir)* and atheist *(bī-dīn)*.' And on these grounds he punished some who had believed in his son's Imamate with all manner of tortures and torments, and on one occasion put 250 persons to death on Alamut and then binding their corpses on the backs of 250 others condemned on the same charge he expelled these latter from the castle. And in this way they were discouraged and suppressed.

Hasan himself became apprehensive of the consequences and being in dread of his father he compiled treatises in which he asserted his innocence of such a charge *(ḥavālat)*, denied his holding of those tenets, [225] and chid and cursed the people

who professed such beliefs. And he went to great pains to refute these doctrines and to uphold and confirm the beliefs of his father and to this end compiled tracts of which the words are well-known to this very day amongst that people.

Hasan used secretly to drink wine. His father had some inkling of this and went to great pains to discover the truth. Hasan made use of all sorts of devices to free himself from the charge; and in the end his father's suspicions were dispelled.

Now their irreligious and shameless followers, who had almost discarded the practice of the Shari'at, regarded the committing of sins and the drinking of wine as a sign of the appearance of the promised Imam. When therefore Hasan succeeded his father his followers and supporters went to every extreme to show him honour because of their beliefs regarding him, whom they considered to be the Imam. He for his part, his authority now being absolute, did not rebuke or punish them for uttering such nonsense, nay in the first days after his accession he began to abolish or modify lawful practices and Islamic usages which had been observed from the times of Hasan-i-Sabbah. [226] And in Ramazan of the year 559 [July–August, 1164] he ordered a pulpit to be constructed on an open space at the foot of Alamut in such a way that the *qibla* should be in the opposite direction to what is the custom of Islam. And when the 17th of Ramazan [8th of August] came round he commanded the inhabitants of his provinces, whom he had summoned to Alamut, to assemble on that open space. Four great standards with the four colours, white, red, green and yellow, which had been procured for that purpose, were attached to the four pillars of the pulpit. Then mounting the pulpit he indicated to those bewildered wretches, who under his misguidance were proceeding in the direction of perdition and destruction, that from their reprobate leader, that is the imaginary Imam, who was non-existent, someone had come to him in secret bringing, to use their language, a *khutba* and a scroll *(sijill)* regarding the observance of their corrupt faith. And standing on that wrongly placed pulpit he delivered a discourse on the subject of his own false and distorted beliefs. Their Imam, he said, had opened the door of mercy and the

gates of his compassion to the Moslems and to them also and had sent them [a token of his] pity; he had summoned his special chosen servants and had relieved them of the duties, burdens and charges [277] of the Shari'at and brought them to the Resurrection. He then read out a *khutba* in the Arabic tongue in which not only were the contents nothing but lies and falsehoods and a patchwork of absurdities but the language itself, for the most part, broken, corrupt and full of gross mistakes and confused expressions; and these, he claimed, were the unknown words of their non-existent Imam.

One of his ignorant, misguided followers, a wretch who had some knowledge of Arabic,[2] had been placed by Hasan on the steps of the pulpit to translate this wicked nonsense and these iniquitous words and expound them in Persian to those present. The purport of the *khutba* was as follows: 'Hasan, son of Muhammad, son of Buzurg-Umid, is our Caliph, *hujjat* and *da'i*.[3] And our sect *(shī'a)* must obey and follow him in all spiritual and temporal matters, and regard his command as binding, and deem his word our word, and know that Maulana, *(dust in their mouths!)*,[4] has had pity on them, and called them to his mercy, and brought them to God.'[5]

And he read out such deceitful vanities, and fraudulent subtleties, and lying infamies and godless obscenities as were both unknown to the law of God and unacceptable to reason.

[228] His frigid delivery and unconvincing declamation of the *khutba* completed Hasan descended from the pulpit, performed two of the prostrations of the festival[6] prayer and, a table having been laid, invited the people to break the fast, which they did

[2] This was the jurist (*faqīh*) Muhammad Busti. See Ivanow, *Kalami Pir*, 117.

[3] 'In the declaration at Alamût he is dâ'î (like Buzurg'ummîd and his son), ḥujja (like Ḥasan-i Ṣabbâḥ), and Caliph, or representative of the imâm who is sending him the message.' (Hodgson, *The Order of Assassins*, 151.) On *ḥujjat* see above, p. 646, n. 27.

[4] An ejaculation on the part of Juvaini. I.e. 'curse them for their blasphemy!' Cf. above, p. 640.

[5] On the proclamation of the Qiyāma or Resurrection see Ivanow, *op. cit.*, 60 and 116–17, Corbin, *Kitâb-e Jâmi' al-Hikmatain*, 22–3, Hodgson, *op. cit.*, 148–51.

[6] I.e. the *'īd-al-fiṭr* prayer. See above, p. 600, n. 166.

surrounded by the ministers to sport and the instruments of forbidden pleasures, giving vent to their joy and mirth as on the occasion of festivals. And Hasan said: 'To-day is a feast-day.' And ever since that time the Heretics *(may what are left of them receive their deserts!)* used to call the 17th of Ramazan 'the Festival of the Resurrection', and most of them would drink wine avidly on that day and openly indulge in sport and pleasure; and by the like shamelessness and by even more disgraceful acts those ignorant wretches would seek to disgust and annoy the Moslems who had the misfortune to dwell in their midst.

And I am not one of them though I live in their midst,
but the soil is a gold-mine.[7]

Now the ugly-natured Hasan, the witless seducer of men, had declared in the midst of the aforementioned discourse and *khutba* that he was *hujjat* and *da'i* on behalf of the Imam, i.e. his sole viceregent and deputy,[8] whereas in actual fact he was the son of Muhammad, the son of Buzurg-Umid, because on the gates of their castles and fortresses, in the inscriptions on the walls and in the titles of his writings [229] he everywhere used to write: 'Hasan, son of Muhammad, son of Buzurg-Umid.' But afterwards it was as in the case of the other words and deeds of those misguided fools, which are nought but lies and fabrications—as the proverb has it: *'He secretly sips [the milk] while drinking the froth.'* In the baseless treatises that he wrote and in his exposition of his clumsy creed he would sometimes insinuate and sometimes explicitly assert that though in appearance he had been considered to be the son of Muhammad, the son of Buzurg-Umid, he was in fact an Imam and the son of an Imam, a descendant of Nizar, the son of Mustansir.

Thus, when he sent word of the Propaganda with the sign[9] which they call 'the Propaganda of the Resurrection', to Quhistan and asked for that abomination to be propagated there also, this claim was explicitly made. It happened as follows.

[7] Mutanabbi. (M.Q.)
[8] See above, p. 689, n. 3.
[9] Perhaps the four standards mentioned above, p. 688. (M.Q.)

The governor of Quhistan, who was his deputy in that country, was called the *ra'is* Muzaffar. The *khutba,* scroll and discourse previously mentioned were sent to him by Hasan by the hand of a person called Muhammad, the son of Khaqan, to be read out to the people there. And through the mouth of [230] that person he gave a message to the inhabitants of Quhistan in keeping with the above-mentioned lies.

On the 28th of Zul-Qa'da, 559 [18th of October, 1164], in the castle that was the fountain-head of their infidelity and heresy and which was called Mu'minabad,[10] the *ra'is* Muzaffar set up a pulpit directed away from the direction of righteousness and towards the quarter of iniquity, just as his disgraceful Imam had done in Alamut. Then mounting this pulpit he read out the *khutba,* scroll and discourse that had been sent to him, after which Muhammad, the son of Khaqan, ascended on to the second step of the pulpit and delivered Hasan's oral message, which was to this effect: 'Mustansir formerly sent a message to Alamut that God Almighty always had a vicar *(khalifa)* amongst men and this vicar had his own vicar. He, Mustansir, was then vicar and Hasan-i-Sabbah was his vicar. If the people would obey Hasan and follow him, they would have obeyed him, Mustansir. And now to-day I, Hasan, say that I am vicar of God on the face of the earth and this *ra'is* Muzaffar is my vicar. You must obey his command and consider whatever he says to be your duty.'

And that day on which these ignominies were divulged and these evils proclaimed in that nest of heretics, Mu'minabad,[10] that assembly played harp and rebeck and openly drank wine upon the very steps of that pulpit and within its precincts.

Now these inglorious fools [231] and false wretches have two traditions, nay they are in error in two ways regarding the worthless birth and empty genealogy of the reprobate Hasan, who was in truth an accursed idol and whose descent they trace back to a supposititious Imam sprung, as they seek to show with a faulty pedigree, from the race of Nizar. *'What is founded on absurdity must be absurd.'* However, the better known tradition and the

[10] See above, p. 676, n. 41. Lit. 'the Abode of True Believers'.

one more widely believed amongst them is the following, according to which they have not shrunk from branding him a bastard and agree in saying that there was a person from Egypt called the Cadi Abul-Hasan Sa'idi, a close kinsman and confidant of Mustansir, who, in the year 488/1095, i.e. a year after Mustansir's death, came to Hasan-i-Sabbah in Alamut, remained there for 6 months and in Rajab of the same year [July–August, 1095] returned to Egypt. And Hasan-i-Sabbah gave strict charges that he should be treated with honour and respect and went to great pains so to treat him. And he brought to Alamut, in the garb of disguise and the dress of concealment, a grandson of Nizar, who was one of their Imams; but he told that secret to none but Hasan-i-Sabbah and it was not divulged. And they caused him to dwell in a village at the foot of Alamut. By reason of [232] a dispensation made in Eternity Past, whereby the abode of the Imamate was to be transferred from Egypt to the land of Dailam and the revelation of that shame which they call 'the Propaganda of the Resurrection', was to take place in Alamut, that same person from Egypt [11] or else his son who was born in the neighbourhood of Alamut—for they are not informed of the truth of the matter—committed adultery with the wife of Muhammad, the son of Buzurg-Umid, and she became pregnant with Hasan by the Imam. And when his ill-omened birth occurred in the house of Muhammad, the son of Buzurg-Umid, both Muhammad himself and his followers thought him to be Muhammad's son, whereas he was actually an Imam and the son of an Imam.

This is the better known tradition and the one more generally accepted amongst them as the more correct and authentic version; [233] and yet it is based upon all manner of shame and ignominy. In the first place the young man whose Imamate they admitted was a bastard and the offspring of an adulterous union. As the poet says:

When the eye rests with pleasure on bastards and the qualities of base churls are good . . .

[11] I.e. the grandson of Nizar. (M.Q.)

In the second place the false genealogy which they have established for him runs counter to the tradition of the Elect Prophet *(God bless him and give him peace!): 'The child to the blanket and stones upon the adulterer!' God's Apostle spoke truly,*

for the words were what Hadham spake.[12]

And thirdly—and this is the supreme catastrophe and the occasion of misery and ruin in the life to come—wishing to patch up this faulty tradition they drew an analogy with the prophets sent by God and imputed this same spurious condition to those holy men, claiming that Hasan's lineage was as the lineage of Zabih-Allah Ishmael, the son of Khalil-Allah Abraham [13] *(God's blessing on them both!),* who was really son of that Malik-as-Salam who is mentioned in the Torah under the name of Melchizedec, as has already been stated in these pages;[14] Ishmael, according to the belief of this misguided sect, being one of their Imams and only apparently the son of Abraham *(on whom God's blessings!).* And according to this claim of theirs Ishmael was an Imam but not Abraham.

The other tradition, [234] that accepted by the descendants and kinsfolk of Buzurg-Umid, i.e. the leading men of the region of Alamut, is that Muhammad, the son of Buzurg-Umid, had a son in the castle of Alamut and on the same day this Hasan was born of his mother to that unknown Imam, who did not exist, in a village at the foot of Alamut. Three days later a woman went up to the castle of Alamut and entered the house *(sarāi)* of Muhammad, the son of Buzurg-Umid. Several persons noticed that she had something under her *chadur.* She sat down in the place where Muhammad's child had been laid to sleep and by divine predestination there was no one else about. She put this Hasan, the Imam's son, in the other child's place

[12] The second half of a famous *bait* by Juyan b. Ṣa'b or Wasīm b. Ṭāriq, of which the first half runs as follows:

'If Ḥadhām spake they believed her . . .' (M.Q.)

[13] Khalīl-Allāh ('the Friend of God') and Ẕabīḥ-Allāh or Dhabīḥ-Allāh ('the Victim of God') are the Moslem titles of Abraham and Ishmael respectively. Cf. above, p. 647, n. 32.

[14] See above, p. 646 and n. 29.

and then taking the other child, i.e. Muhammad's son, under her *chadur* she carried it away.

This version of the tradition is even more discreditable than the first—that a strange woman should enter a king's palace, where there was no one about the king's child, substitute a strange child for the young prince and carry the latter off without anyone's noticing; and that the parents, nurses, servants and attendants should not perceive the difference between the strange child and their own! This version is without doubt the result of the pride of reason, the denial of feeling and the defiance of custom and habit. In support of it it is related of Muhammad, the son of this Hasan, that he said: 'The filial relationship of Hasan to Muhammad, the son of Buzurg-Umid, is like that of Ishmael to Abraham *(peace on them both!)*. The only difference is that Abraham knew that Ishmael was the son of the Imam, and not his own, because [235] the exchange of sons took place with his knowledge and consent, and that secret was not hidden from him; whereas Muhammad, the son of Buzurg-Umid, did not know this secret and thought Hasan, who was the Imam, to be his own son.'

Those who held the other belief and the former tradition said that after the birth of the child, Muhammad, the son of Buzurg-Umid, realized that it was not his and that the person whom this misguided sect supposed to be the Imam had committed adultery with his wife; and he secretly put that person to death. On this supposition Muhammad, the son of Buzurg-Umid, killed the Imam.

As we have previously mentioned Muhammad had tightened the belt of rigour and severity in enforcing the customs of Islam and applying the principles of the Shari'at to the creed of Hasan-i-Sabbah, which is the essence of ignominy.

[On this account] they were ill disposed towards him and most of them cursed him; and they would allow [15] no pilgrimage to his grave, which lay next to those of Hasan-i-Sabbah, Buzurg-Umid and Bu-'Ali of Ardistan. [236] And again [16] the

[15] I substitute the past tense for the present, as the sense seems to require.

[16] I.e. as in the case of the Musta'lawis and the Nizaris. See above, p. 662.

Heretics in general *(may God abandon them!)* divided into two parties, this time as to the number of generations between this Hasan and Nizar. Some said that there were three generations between them, and they had to call them by their titles as Imams, because, as they said, their names were unknown, whereas in fact they were, as the saying is, names without substance. His lineage was, then, according to this party as follows: Hasan, the son of al-Qahir bi-Quwwat-Allah, the son of al-Muhtadi, the son of al-Hadi, the son of al-Mustafa Nizar, the son of al-Mustansir. The other party said there were but two generations between them because al-Qahir bi-Quwwat-Allah was Hasan's own title and they gave the line of descent as follows: Hasan, the son of al-Muhtadi, [237] the son of al-Hadi, the son of Nizar.

In the ordinary speech of the Heretics Hasan was known as ʿAla Zikrihi 's-Salam,[17] and originally, and as first applied to him, this title was an invocation which in his days they used to say to one another, and afterwards it became a well-known title of his and he was called nothing else.

Now the essence of this futile creed and the secret of this wholly evil propaganda was that following the Philosophers they spoke of the world as being uncreated *(qadīm)* and Time as unlimited and the Resurrection as spiritual. And they explained paradise and hell *'and all that is therein'* in such a way as to give a spiritual meaning to these concepts *(vujūh)*. And then on the basis of this they said that the Resurrection is when men shall come to God and the mysteries and truths of all Creation be revealed, and acts of obedience abolished, for in this world all is action and there is no reckoning, but in the world to come all is reckoning and there is no action. And this is the spiritual [Resurrection] and the Resurrection promised and awaited in all religions and [238] creeds is this, which was revealed by Hasan. And as a consequence hereof men have been relieved of the duties imposed by the Shariʿat because in this period of the Resurrection they must turn in every sense towards God and abandon the rites of religious law and established habits of

[17] *ʿalā dhikrihi 's-salām* 'peace be on his mention'.

worship. It was laid down in the Shari'at that men must worship God five times a day and be with Him. That charge was only formal *(ẓāhir)*, but now in [the days of] the Resurrection they must always be with God in their hearts and keep the faces of their souls constantly turned in the direction of the Divine Presence, for such is true prayer.

In the like manner they interpreted all the principles of the Shari'at and all the practices of Islam and held the former observance thereof as abrogated; and for the most part they abolished [the concept of] lawful and unlawful. Hasan had said on several occasions, sometimes implicitly and sometimes explicitly, that just as in the period of the Shari'at, if a man did not obey and worship but complied with the ordinance of the Resurrection to consider obedience and worship as spiritual, he was chastised, and punished, and stoned; so likewise, if in the period of the Resurrection a man complied with the ordinance of the Shari'at and was assiduous in the practice of material worship and other such rites, it was even more necessary that he should be punished, and put to death, and stoned and chastised.[18] And he uttered further nonsense and absurdities in the same strain.

And following this road of seduction, and incitement, and negation, and temptation those miserable wretches were plunged in the sea of Error and astray in the desert of Perplexity. And *'having lost this world and the next'* [19] they came finally to practise libertinism *(ibāḥat)*, and some of the extremists among them adopted it as their creed, and some of them (dust in their mouths !) accorded divinity to their misguided Imams, who were lower in degree than brute beasts or vermin.

When they saw fit to reveal this new heresy *(bid'at va ilḥād)* some [239] of the inhabitants of that region, who had some share of reason and on whose minds there still fell some rays of the light of discernment, recited [the proverb:] *'Whoever escapes*

[18] The translation of these chapters on the Isma'ilis which Defrémery incorporated in two articles in the *Journal Asiatique*—for details see the Bibliography—breaks off at this point.

[19] Koran, xxii, 11.

with his head has gained thereby.' And they gave up dwelling among those misguided people and secretly and openly began to pour into the lands of the Moslems, especially from Quhistan, from which country great quantities of people emigrated and settled down in Khorasan. *'Thus is it binding on Us to deliver the faithful.'* [20] Others who were unable or unwilling to quit their ancient dwelling-places remained in possession of their homes, and lands, and property and in their wretchedness were fain to bear the name and infamy of Heresy, but yet in their hearts were Moslems and, wherever they could, secretly obeyed the commands and prohibitions of the Shari'at. And thus the general condition of the people in the countries of the Heretics *(may God abandon them!)* was as in the following verse of the Glorious Koran: *'Some of them We guided aright; but many were evildoers.'* [21]

Because of this false compact and counterfeit coin Hasan, the son of Muhammad, the son of Buzurg-Umid, whom they called 'Ala Zikrihi 's-Salam, was called Lord *(qā'im)* of the Resurrection and his propaganda the Resurrection.

Now amongst those to the nostrils of whose hearts there still came some scent of piety and religion was a brother-in-law of Hasan's called Hasan, the son of Namavar, one of the last survivors of the Buyids, whose original home was in the district of Dailaman, as is recorded in works of history.[22] This man was unable to endure the propagation of those shameful errors. *God have mercy on him and reward him for the goodness of his intention!* On Sunday the 6th of Rabi' I, 561 [9th of January, 1166], he stabbed the seducer Hasan in the castle of Lammasar, and he departed from this world *'unto God's burning fire'*.

[240] His son, Muhammad by name, whom the departed wretch had placed in charge of their Error and, according to their belief, had designated Imam, was 19 years old when he succeeded his father. *'Darkness upon darkness.'* [23] He put to death by torture Hasan, the son of Namavar, and all his kinsfolk,

[20] *Ibid.*, x, 103.
[21] *Ibid.*, lvii, 26.
[22] See above, p. 659, n. 4.
[23] Koran, xxiv, 40.

men, women and children, all that was left of the Buyids in that country, and wiped out the race of Buya.[24]

This man, Muhammad, i.e. *praiseworthy*,[25] in name but blameworthy in deed, was more extreme than his father in proclaiming the heresy *(bid'at)* which they called the Propaganda of the Resurrection, of which libertinism *(ibāḥat)* was a necessary consequence, and more explicit in laying claim to the Imamate. He also professed a knowledge of philosophy although completely ignorant of that and all other sciences. He would insert expressions taken from the philosophers in the inelegant treatises that he wrote and the incoherent principles to which he gave utterance and by the introduction of subtle points in their manner would seek to parade his learning. *The Prophet (blessings and peace upon him!) hath said: 'He that adorneth himself with what* [241] *is not his own is like one who weareth false garments.'* His expressions and language in his remarks on Arabic style, philosophy, exegesis, Traditions, proverbs and poetry—for he pretended to a knowledge of all these things—were full of corruptions, absurdities, mistakes and mis-spellings.

In accordance with the text of God's revelation: *'He will leave them distraught in their wanderings,'* [26] he was granted a respite of 46 years as ruler. During his reign the Heretics shed much innocent blood. They stirred up troubles, committed iniquities, and perpetrated acts of robbery and brigandage; and persisted in the evil of heresy and strengthened the foundations of infidelity.

Muhammad had two sons, of whom the elder, Hasan, was called by the title of Jalal-ad-Din. He was born in the year 562/1166–7. During his childhood [242] his father had designated him as his successor. When he grew up and showed signs of intelligence, he rejected his father's creed and felt disgusted with the customs of heresy and libertinism *(ibāḥat)*. His father having guessed what his feelings were, a sort of hostility sprang up between them and they were apprehensive and mistrustful of one another. Whenever there was a levee or general assembly and Jalal-ad-Din wished to enter the audience-chamber,

[24] The eponymous ancestor of the Buyids.
[25] The literal meaning of Muhammad.
[26] Koran, vii, 185.

his father used to be on his guard against him and uneasy about him, and used to wear armour under his clothes. And certain Heretics, who were persons on whom he could rely as being extremists in their interpretation of the propaganda of error, he kept ever in attendance upon him to protect him from any plot that his son might hatch.

Now Jalal-ad-Din Hasan, whether because of the orthodoxy of his beliefs or because of his hostility towards his father (*'and God knows best what is in men's minds, for men themselves judge from externals, but God hath charge of the inmost heart; therefore let him be praised or blamed according to his deserts'*), conspired against Muhammad and sent secretly to the Caliph of Baghdad and the sultans and rulers of other lands to claim that, unlike his father, he was by faith a Moslem and that when his turn came to reign he would abolish the Heresy and re-introduce the observance of Islam. And in this fashion he paved the way and made preparations [for the future].

The unpraiseworthy [27] Muhammad and reprobate leader died on the 10th of Rabi' I, 607 [1st of September, 1210]; and some say that he was poisoned.

[243] He was succeeded by his son Jalal-ad-Din Hasan, the heir-apparent. From the very moment of his accession Jalal-ad-Din professed Islam, and severely rebuked his people and party for their adherence to the Heresy, and strictly forbade them continuing therein, urging them to adopt Islam and follow the rites of the Shari'at. He sent messengers to the Caliph of Baghdad, Muhammad Khorazm-Shah and the *maliks* and emirs of Iraq and elsewhere to notify them of these changes; and because of his having prepared the way during his father's life-time by announcing his position to them all, they now believed his word, especially in Baghdad, where a decree (*ḥukm*) was issued confirming his conversion to Islam, and all manner of favours were shown to him: a correspondence was opened with him and he was addressed with titles of honour. And because of this happy turn of events *fatwas* were written in all the countries of Islam concerning his and his people's conversion to Islam

[27] See above, p. 698, n. 25.

and sanctioning intercourse and marriage with him. He became known as Jalal-ad-Din the Neo-Moslem and during his reign his followers were called Neo-Moslems.

He gave orders for the building of mosques in his territories and sent for doctors of the canon law from Khorasan and Iraq, whom he treated with honour and respect and who were then engaged as cadis, preachers and other religious officials throughout his kingdom.

The people of Qazvin at first refused to accept Jalal-ad-Din and his followers as Moslems. This was because of their piety and the strictness of their faith and also because, owing to their proximity to the Heretics, they were only too well aware of their fabrications and frauds; they had suffered pain and hurt at their hands, there had been battles between the two sides and the hostility between them was deep-rooted. Consequently their cadis and imams [244] made investigations, and held deliberations, and demanded proofs and evidence of the truth of that claim. However, after their conversion had been acknowledged in the *fatwas* issued in Baghdad and by the *imams* in other Moslem countries, Jalal-ad-Din went to great lengths to win over [the people of Qazvin]. He sought the favour of the leading men [of the town] and prevailed on them to send several notables to Alamut to inspect the libraries of Hasan-i-Sabbah and Jalal-ad-Din's own ancestors and extract therefrom great quantities of treatises written by his father and grandfather and Hasan-i-Sabbah as also other books dealing with the creed of heresy and atheism and contrary to the beliefs of the Moslems. Jalal-ad-Din ordered these works to be burnt in the very presence of those Qazvinis and at their prompting; and he uttered curses and maledictions against his forefathers and the authors of that propaganda. I have seen a letter in the hands of the notables and cadis of Qazvin, which had been dictated by Jalal-ad-Din Hasan and in which he spoke of his adoption of Islam, and acceptance of the rites of the Shari'at, and deliverance from the heresy and belief of his forefathers and ancestors. And Jalal-ad-Din had written a few words in his own handwriting upon the front of that letter and in mentioning his deliverance from

their religion *(mazhab)*, when he came to the names of his father and ancestors, he added the curse: *'May God fill their graves with fire!'*

In this manner, then, was the conversion of Jalal-ad-Din and his followers made known, and the Moslems came to be on fairly friendly terms with them, and the Caliph of the time and the sultans of the age forbade their subjects to attack or kill them.

Jalal-ad-Din's mother, who was a Moslem woman, went on the Pilgrimage in the year 609/1212–13, and Jalal-ad-Din sent a *sabil* with her. In Baghdad she was treated with honour and respect and on the Pilgrimage route her *sabil* was placed in front of those of [other] rulers *(mulūk-i-aṭrāf)*.[28]

[245] Jalal-ad-Din became extremely friendly with the *atabeg* Muzaffar-ad-Din Öz-Beg, who was king of Arran and Azerbaijan; and what he did for other rulers he did even more for him. Nasir-ad-Din Mengli,[29] the ruler *(mutamallik)* of Iraq, was on hostile terms with the *atabeg*, and his troops were planning an attack on the lands of Jalal-ad-Din. The *atabeg* and Jalal-ad-Din concluded an alliance and in 610/1213–14 Jalal-ad-Din entered Azerbaijan to render aid to the *atabeg* and make war on Mengli. During the year and a half that Jalal-ad-Din was in his kingdom the *atabeg* treated him with great consideration and there was a brotherly feeling between them. The *atabeg* used to send him abundant supplies of provisions and excessive quantities of money, so much so that after meeting the requirements of Jalal-ad-Din in the way of rations *(anzāl u 'ulūfāt)* of every kind and after dispensing the gifts and robes of honour which he showered not only upon his great officers but also upon the generality of his troops he would still every day send 1,000 *parpara*[30] gold dinars to his treasury for [246] current expenses *(ḥavā'ij-bahā)*.

Jalal-ad-Din remained for some time in Bailaqan with the

[28] See above, p. 364.

[29] On Nāsir-ad-Dīn Mengli, one of the 'Slave Kings' who ruled Persian Iraq in the period between the collapse of the Seljuqs and the coming of the Mongols, see M.Q., III, 407–8.

[30] The Byzantine *hyperperon*, the *yperpera* of Carpini and Rubruck. See Rockhill, 90, n. 1.

atabeg Öz-Beg, and they sent joint ambassadors to Baghdad, Syria and the other lands to seek assistance in expelling Mengli from Iraq. From Baghdad there was sent Muzaffar-ad-Din Wajh-as-Sabu'[31] with a large army to their aid, and orders were given that Muzaffar-ad-Din Kök-Böri,[32] the son of Zain-ad-Din 'Ali Küchük,[33] should join them with an army from Irbil on the understanding that on the day of battle they should act in accordance with his counsel and plan and submit themselves to his command and disposition. An army was likewise sent to their assistance from Syria.

In the year 611/1214–15 they defeated Nasir-ad-Din Mengli. The account of this is well-known and to introduce it here would not conform to the arrangement of this history. Saif-ad-Din Ighlamish[34] was set over Iraq in place of Mengli [247] and Abhar and Zanjan were given to Jalal-ad-Din as a reward for his trouble; and for some years these two towns and districts were held by his commissioners *(gumāshtagān)*.

After residing for a year and a half in Iraq, Arran and Azerbaijan Jalal-ad-Din now returned to Alamut. During these journeyings and in the course of his residence in those countries his claim to be a Moslem had been more widely accepted and Moslems now mixed with him more freely. He asked the emirs of Gilan for the hands of their women in marriage. They held back and refused to agree without the sanction of Baghdad. Thereupon Jalal-ad-Din sent a messenger thither, and the Commander of the Faithful an-Nasir li-Din-Allah granted his request and gave permission for the emirs of Gilan to ally themselves in marriage with him in accordance with the laws of Islam. By virtue of this sentence Jalal-ad-Din took four wives from the

[31] See above, p. 469, n. 8.

[32] See above, p. 422, n. 4, also the following note.

[33] *küchük* in Turkish means 'young dog'. (Houtsma, *Glossar*, 96.) Cf. the name of his son—Kök-Böri, i.e. 'Blue Wolf'.

[34] Ighlamish, originally a slave of the *atabegs* of Azerbaijan, afterwards entered the service of Sultan Muhammad Khorazm-Shah. His death at the hands of the Assassins (see above, p. 391) must, as M.Q. has shown, III, 415–17, have occurred in the beginning of 614 A.H., i.e. in the spring or summer of 1217. On the meaning of his name see above, p. 391, n. 6.

daughters of the emirs of Gilan, the first of whom was the sister of Kai-Ka'us, who is still alive and ruler *(mutamallik)* of the district of Kutum.[35] Jalal-ad-Din's son, 'Ala-ad-Din Muhammad, was born of this [248] wife.

They [36] said that when the World-Emperor Chingiz-Khan set out from Turkestan, before he came to the countries of Islam, Jalal-ad-Din had in secret sent couriers to him and written letters tendering his submission and allegiance. This was alleged by the Heretics and the truth is not clear, but this much is evident, that when the armies of the World-Conquering Emperor Chingiz-Khan entered the countries of Islam, the first ruler on this side of the Oxus to send ambassadors, and present his duty, and accept allegiance was Jalal-ad-Din.

He adopted the course of rectitude and laid the foundation of righteousness, but after his death his ignorant son and bemused followers in their wretchedness and stupidity did not set about strengthening and completing that foundation, but by their evil counsel, nay, by irresistible ill fortune they proceeded to undo that project, until they saw that which they saw. *' The plotting of evil shall only enmesh those who make use of it.'* [37]

The Commander of the Faithful 'Ali, the son of Abu-Talib, *(upon whom be peace!)* once spoke in a sermon of certain rebels who had suffered the ill consequences of their wicked plans. A word or two of what he said are applicable to the above-mentioned people and to what has just been recorded regarding them: *' They sowed iniquity and watered it with pride, and they have reaped perdition.'*

[249] 'Ala-ad-Din was 9 years old when he succeeded Jalal-ad-Din, who died in the middle of Ramazan, 618 [beginning of November, 1221]. He had only the one son, the aforesaid 'Ala-ad-Din.

The disease of which Jalal-ad-Din died was dysentery and it

[35] Kūtum is the present-day Kuhdum, a district of Gilan lying to the west of the Safid-Rud, between Manjil on the south and Resht on the north. See M.Q., III, 418–25, Minorsky, *Ḥudūd*, 390.

[36] Evidently the Isma'ilis are meant.

[37] Koran, xxxv, 41.

was suspected that he had been poisoned by his wives in connivance with his sister and some of his kinsmen. The vizier, who by virtue of his will was administrator of the kingdom and tutor of his son ʿAla-ad-Din, put to death a great number of his relations, his sister, wives and intimates and confidants on this suspicion; and some he burnt.

Now ʿAla-ad-Din was but a child and had received no education, for according to their false creed and counterfeit belief their Imam is basically the same, whether an infant, a youth or an old man, and whatever he says or does, in whatever condition he may be, must be right, and to obey his command is the religion of that people without religion. Accordingly, whatever course ʿAla-ad-Din might take no mortal could express disapproval thereof, and because of their wicked beliefs they would not allow him to be chastised, advised or guided aright. As a consequence they neglected their spiritual and temporal duties, the observance of the laws which they had adopted with Islam and the conduct of affairs of state; and the ignorant child whom they had placed in charge of spiritual and temporal matters and constituted the guardian of their interests—

Whoso takes the crow for a guide, the burial-ground of the Magians is his place of siesta—[38]

used to play and sport with a group of other children and keep camels and breed sheep, whilst the administration of affairs fell to the decision of women, and the foundations his father had laid were overthrown, [250] and his plans, which were on the way to fulfilment, frustrated. And first of all, those who for fear of his father had adopted the Shariʿat and Islam but in their foul hearts and murky minds still believed in the wicked creed of his grandfather—'*and they were made to drink down the calf into their hearts*'[39]—seeing now no one to prevent and deter them from the commission of forbidden sins and abominations and to urge and impel them to follow the laws and practices [of the True Faith] and comply with the traditions of righteousness and orthodoxy, returned once more to their heresy and irreligion and

[38] See above, p. 382 and n. 62.

[39] Koran, ii, 87.

when a little time had elapsed had recovered their power and strength. And the rest, who had accepted Islam from conviction and wished to continue in that faith, took fright lest they should be attacked and overwhelmed by the Heretics and for fear of their lives again concealed the fact that they were Moslems; and the Heresy *(may God never suffer it to return again!)* prevailed for the second time amongst that accursed people and luckless crew. And on this account the interests of religion and state and the concerns of this world and the next were neglected and faced complete ruin.

After this child had reigned for some five or six years a physician whom they employed, acting contrary to instructions and advice and without the child's being ill or there being any other reason, opened a vein and took away an excessive quantity of blood. His brain was affected, apparitions appeared in front of him and in a short while he was overcome with the disease of melancholia. No one had the courage to suggest that he should follow a regimen or undergo some kind of treatment, and the physicians there and those who had some sense and knowledge did not dare to say that he was suffering from melancholia or some such malady, otherwise the vulgar of that sect would have sought their blood, for such a disease, connected as it was with deficiency of sense and decline of intelligence, [251] might not be attributed to the Imam, otherwise some of his commands and actions might be ascribed to disturbance of the mind or corruption of the constitution and brain. Consequently the disease grew daily worse until it completely overpowered him. During the last few years of his reign the effects of this malady, in addition to his natural lack of intelligence and the want of education in his youth, turned the witless ʿAla-ad-Din into a madman fit only to be kept in bonds and chains. (Since this occurred in the present age and everyone knows about his evil habits, his depraved imagination, his indifference and derangement, his utter madness and his obnoxious customs, there is no need to mention these matters here: to recount them in detail would take too long, indeed the account of but a hundredth part of them could not be written down in [many] volumes.) [To

these things] were added the pride of kingship and the arrogance of a man whose followers and supporters had from his childhood till the end of his life been but ignorant wretches, who because of their vain imaginings and foolish fancies had fixed it in his brain and firmly implanted it in his murky heart and blundering mind that everything that he thought he had read from the inscriptions on the 'Preserved Tablet',[40] that everything that he said he said through divine inspiration and that any mistake or error in his thought or speech was not possible. And finally he too was deceived thereby, being already in error, and used to relate about past events [252] lies which appeared [to them] marvels and also to give mysterious reports about the future, all of which was hitting in the dark, and talking at random, and downright lying, and utter shamelessness; and in uttering these ravings he recked not how the intelligent might give him the lie.

Because of his lack of breeding and experience he was so ill-natured and short-tempered that no one dared contradict him or mention in his presence some point in the administration of his kingdom that he was a little annoyed about: without any doubt the reply to such a person would have been immediate execution with torture consisting of shameful mutilation and the amputation of his limbs. As a result all reports on affairs inside and outside his realm and on the doings of friend or foe were kept hidden from him—so much so that the ambassadors whom he sent to the courts of kings, when they returned, would never repeat to him the reply which the kings had given to his request and speech because it was not to his liking. Although he realized this he kept it to himself; and no adviser ever dared breathe a word of it to him. Now all such messages to the kings were nothing but a pack of lies and a tissue of falsehoods; but he thought that these fabrications which his own foolish followers either from ignorance or from fear affected to believe would find acceptance at the courts of kings and that intelligent persons would be taken in by them.

Theft, highway robbery and assault were daily occurrences in his kingdom with and without his connivance; and he thought

[40] *Sc.* of God's decrees to the end of time.

he could excuse such conduct with false words and the bestowal of money. And when these things had passed all bounds his life, wives, children, home, kingdom and wealth were forfeited to that madness and insanity. This is a matter on which there is no need to expatiate it being so [253] clear and evident.

Rukn-ad-Din Khur-Shah was the eldest son of ʿAla-ad-Din and when he was a child ʿAla-ad-Din himself was but a youth, for in age there were only 18 years between them. While Rukn-ad-Din was still a child ʿAla-ad-Din used to say to himself that he would be Imam and was his heir-apparent. When he grew older their wretched followers made no difference between him and his father in rank or in the respect accorded to them; and his word was law in the same way as his father's. ʿAla-ad-Din became hostile to him and now used to say that another son would be his heir. Their followers, in accordance with their tenets, refused to accept this and said that only the first designation was valid.

ʿAla-ad-Din was always annoying Rukn-ad-Din. In his insanity and melancholy madness he would constantly torment, and persecute, and punish him without cause. He always had to stay with the womenfolk in a room adjoining his father's and did not dare to come out in the daytime. Whenever his father was drunk, or had gone, as was his custom, to his flock of sheep, or was employed in some other way and so was unaware [of his son's activities], Rukn-ad-Din would leave his room to drink wine or to go wherever he wished.

In the year 653/1255–56 ʿAla-ad-Din's insanity grew worse and, because of celestial causes and conjunctions to mention which would lead to prolixity and which are not suitable for inclusion in this history, his displeasure with Rukn-ad-Din increased, he scolded and tormented him continuously; and his attacks and threats were more frequent than ever. Rukn-ad-Din felt that his life was not safe with him and indeed used to say: 'My life is not safe with my father.' And on this account he was planning to flee from him, go to the castles in Syria and gain possession of them; or else to seize Alamut, Maimun-Diz and some of the [other] castles of Rudbar, which were full

of treasure and stores, and seceding from his father rise in rebellion.

It so happened that in that year most of the ministers and chief men in 'Ala-ad-Din's kingdom had become apprehensive of him, for none was sure of his life. Some of them had been accused by him of following Rukn-ad-Din and he was angry with them on this account; against others, with his crooked mind and disordered brain, he had made other charges, and he was constantly annoying and tormenting them. And although in their fear they said nothing to one another and overtly continued in their former hypocrisy, high and low were all weary of him and perceived that the measures he had adopted when the symptoms of adversity appeared upon his affairs would not preserve the kingdom.

Rukn-ad-Din used the following argument as a decoy. 'Because,' he said, 'of my father's evil behaviour the Mongol army intends to attack this kingdom, and my father is concerned about nothing. I shall secede from him and send messengers to the Emperor of the Face of the Earth and to the servants of his Court and accept submission and allegiance. And henceforth I shall allow no one in my kingdom to commit an evil act [and so ensure] that land and people may survive.'

For these reasons most of the leading men, the ministers and the soldiers swore allegiance to him and allied themselves with him on the understanding that wherever he went they should accompany him and defend him against his father's troops and followers, giving their lives for him; except that if his father [himself] came against him they would not strike a blow at him or raise a hand against him.

A month having passed since this consultation Rukn-ad-Din fell ill and took to his bed and so was unable to take any action. [255] One day his father drank wine and fell into a drunken sleep in the very place where he had been drinking, a hut made of wood and reeds adjoining his sheep-fold. Several *ghulams,* shepherds, camel-drivers and other like scum and rabble lay down to sleep all round him. At midnight he was found murdered, his head having been severed with a single blow of

an axe.[41] An Indian and a Turcoman who lay asleep beside him had also been wounded: the Turcoman afterwards died but the Indian recovered. This event occurred on the last day of Shavval, 653 [1st of December, 1255], in a place which they call Shirkuh [42] and which 'Ala-ad-Din often frequented.

'Ala-ad-Din's sons and family accused several persons of the murder and acting on that suspicion they put to death several of his courtiers and retainers who had been seen in the night standing guard near the place of the murder. Indeed they had opened the road of suspicion and fantasy to far and near, so much so that some said that two or three unknown persons had come from Qazvin, made their way to 'Ala-ad-Din's bedside, killed him, with the agreement and connivance of his favourites and chief officials and under their guidance, and then returned from whence they had come, likewise under the protection and with the consent of those favourites. And in their suspicions and surmises they accused everyone of so conniving with them and acting as guides to them. However, after a week had passed the clarity of the signs and indications caused it to be decided on the evidence of events and unanimously agreed that Hasan of Mazandaran, who was 'Ala-ad-Din's chief favourite and [256] his inseparable companion night and day and the repository of all his secrets, was the person who had killed him. It was said too that Hasan's wife, who was 'Ala-ad-Din's mistress and from whom Hasan had not concealed the facts of the murder, had revealed that secret to Rukn-ad-Din. Be that as it may, after a week had passed, Hasan was put to death, his body burnt and several of his children, two daughters and a son, likewise burnt; and Rukn-ad-Din reigned in his father's stead.

[41] Lit. 'an axe having been struck at his neck, and with that one blow his affair had been settled'. Cf. the phrase *gardan zadan* 'to behead', lit. 'to strike the neck'. This is how d'Ohsson, III, 188, understood the passage: '. . . sa tête était séparée du tronc . . .'

[42] Shīrkūh or Shīra-Kūh is the name of a mountain and valley in the western part of the district of Alamut. It is in this valley that the Alamut river flows together with the Talaqan river to form the Shah-Rud proper. Shirkuh is also the name of a village in the valley. (M.Q.)

Hasan of Mazandaran had been carried off from that province in his childhood by the Mongol army; he had escaped from them in Iraq and gone to the kingdom of ʿAla-ad-Din. He was a handsome lad and ʿAla-ad-Din, when he saw him, took a liking to him and attached him to his person. He enjoyed the complete confidence of ʿAla-ad-Din, who held him in extreme honour and allowed him great freedom of speech; and yet in his madness and evil nature was constantly imagining pretexts to torment him and used to deal him cruel blows. Most of his teeth had been broken and a piece had been cut off the instrument of his virility. When his beard had grown and to the very end, when there were some signs of grey in his hair, ʿAla-ad-Din still had eyes for no one else and preferred him to beardless boys and such loves. He had given a maidservant of his, who was his mistress, to Hasan as wife, and though Hasan had several children by her he did not dare enter his own house or sleep with his wife without ʿAla-ad-Din's leave. And while ʿAla-ad-Din had commerce with Hasan's wife he did not avoid Hasan. Now when craving boons or reporting events, as also in the case of other matters, nay even [257] affairs of state *(maṣāliḥ)* the viziers and chief officials of ʿAla-ad-Din and all his subjects used to seek to gain Hasan's ear, for no other could speak as freely to ʿAla-ad-Din and no affair was so promoted by another's words as it was advanced by his. And often in reply to a request Hasan would himself issue a warrant *(parvāna)* and give orders without consulting ʿAla-ad-Din; and all such instructions would be put into effect. From the perquisites he thus obtained [43] he had amassed a large fortune which he was unable to enjoy and which he kept concealed from ʿAla-ad-Din. His clothes were made of wool and coarse linen and were generally old and tattered like those of his evil master, ʿAla-ad-Din; for he had always to live like ʿAla-ad-Din in food, clothing and everything and used constantly to follow the flocks of sheep with him on foot, and only rarely enjoyed the luxury of riding a donkey. If he had worn better clothes or if ʿAla-ad-Din

[43] *madākhil.* On the subject of such indirect earnings (which he calls *mudakhil*) see Curzon, *Persia and the Persian Question,* I, 440–5.

had had any suspicion of his wealth, he would have been subjected to cruel blows, and violent tortures, and shameful mutilations.

For these reasons he bore many a grudge against ʿAla-ad-Din and one cause of anger had been joined to another. Moreover he was a Moslem and although he had lived for years with Ala-ad-Din, the love of Islam and the hatred of heresy were firmly implanted in his mind and faith. There were certain Moslems in the service of ʿAla-ad-Din who were obliged to remain as prisoners in his kingdom; and with these, as fellow-exiles and co-religionists, Hasan was on terms of intimacy and friendship: whenever he had the chance of conversing with them he would do nothing but expectorate a recital of the woes and hardships of his life together with an account of the vices and a propagation of the crimes and enormities of ʿAla-ad-Din. For these reasons Success was his constant companion until he became a *ghazi* by slaying ʿAla-ad-Din and in that holy war imperilled life and soul—*God reward him for his good intent!*

[258] There were some who said that Rukn-ad-Din Khur-Shah had killed his father, but this was contrary to the facts, for on that night he was in a fever and confined to his bed and had been unable to stir for some days past. However, for the reasons previously mentioned and in view of the circumstances of the case it can be assumed that his father's death was not distasteful or unwelcome to him and that Hasan did what he did with his consent. That Hasan had a prior arrangement with Rukn-ad-Din and committed that act in consultation and agreement with him is possible, because when it was reported that he had killed ʿAla-ad-Din Rukn-ad-Din did not arrest him or institute inquiries as to who had been his accomplice in the deed and from whence the instigation had come. Instead he had recourse to the pretext of sending him to see to the Royal flock of sheep left behind by ʿAla-ad-Din, with orders to examine the sheep and see to their wants. He then sent a trusty follower after him, who catching Hasan unawares struck off his head with an axe and killed him in such a way that he did not know that he was being attacked [259] and was unable to utter a word.

Because of such indications people said that Rukn-ad-Din had been in a conspiracy with Hasan to murder his father and had been afraid lest, if an investigation was held, Hasan might speak of his knowledge and sanction of the deed or even of his having commanded and requested it. And Rukn-ad-Din's mother and brothers during the one year that he reigned as his father's successor, whenever they were annoyed with him or took him to task, used to accuse him of the murder of 'Ala-ad-Din and count that as one of his faults. And they implicated with him such as had been considered his friends and favourites during 'Ala-ad-Din's lifetime and whom Rukn-ad-Din, upon his accession, had honoured and made his personal attendants *(khāṣṣān)*; nay, they said that Rukn-ad-Din had either sanctioned or commanded his father's death and that he had done so at their suggestion and instigation. *'And God knows best what is hidden and secret.'*

[XIV]

OF THE HISTORY OF RUKN-AD-DIN KHUR-SHAH AFTER HIS FATHER'S DEATH

THREE days later, having completed the mourning ceremonies and succeeded his father, he dispatched the army which the latter had ordered to attack Shal-Rud [1] in the district of Khalkhal: [260] they took the castle and looted and massacred. He then sent messengers to Gilan and the other neighbouring countries to announce his father's death; and acting contrary to his father's disposition he began to lay the foundations of friendship with those people. He likewise sent messengers to all his provinces ordering the people to behave as Moslems and keep the roads secure.

And he sent an *elchi* to Yasa'ur [2] Noyan in Hamadan to say

[1] Perhaps identical with Shāl, one of the 'boroughs' of Gilan. See Minorsky, *Hudūd*, 391.

[2] On the spelling of the name see above, i. 46, n. 13.

that now that it was his turn to reign he would tread the path of submission and scrape the dust of disaffection from the countenance of loyalty. Yasa'ur Noyan sent a reply to say that the retinue of Prince Hülegü was on the point of arriving and that it was advisable for him to come out in person; and he strongly urged him to take this course. After [further] exchange of messengers Rukn-ad-Din sent a message agreeing to send his brother Shahanshah on in advance to set out together with Yasa'ur Noyan. He accordingly dispatched Shahanshah with a number of court officials on the 1st of Jumada I.[3] Shahanshah reached Yasa'ur Noyan near Qazvin and Yasa'ur sent his son Moraqa[4] to accompany him to the King.

On the 10th of that month [5th of June, 1256] Yasa'ur entered the Rudbar of Alamut at the head of Mongol and Tazik troops. [261] Rukn-ad-Din's soldiers and *fida'is* assembled on Siyalan-Kuh[5] above Alamut. The Mongol army ascended from beneath and engaged in a great battle, but since the hilltop was strongly fortified and the garrison large, they withdrew, destroying the crops and laying the district waste. Meanwhile the *elchis* who had been sent from the World-King at Ustu[6] after the arrival of Shahanshah reached Rukn-ad-Din at the end of Jumada II [second half of June, 1256] and delivered a *yarligh* full of encouragement and [262] benevolence to the effect that since Rukn-ad-Din had sent his brother and had demonstrated his submission and loyalty and still did so, the King had forgiven the crimes committed by his father and by their people during his father's reign. As for Rukn-ad-Din himself he had committed no crime in the period since he had succeeded his father. He should destroy his castles and come to do homage, and the armies would then not lay waste his territories. Rukn-ad-Din declared his allegiance and destroyed some castles, but in the case of Alamut, Maimun-Diz and Lammasar he simply removed

[3] *Sc.* 654. (M.Q.) I.e. the 27th May, 1256.

[4] MWRAQA. Cf. the Moroqa of the *Secret History* (§ 202).

[5] Reading SYALAN, as M.Q. suggests, for the SYALAN of the text (which is based on O.) This mountain, which Miss Stark in *The Valleys of the Assassins* calls Syalan, lies to the north-east of Alamut.

[6] Ustü, i.e. Ustuvā, on which see above, i. 173, n. 10.

the gates and demolished some of the battlements *(sar-dīvār)* and turrets *(kungra)*.[7]

In obedience to the King's decree just mentioned Yasa'ur Noyan and the armies withdrew from the region. And a member of the King's retinue accompanied by Sadr-ad-Din proceeded to the King to announce this state of affairs and ask for a *basqaq*: they also asked for a year's grace before Rukn-ad-Din presented himself. And some *elchis* remained there for the purpose of destroying the remainder of the castles. In the beginning of Sha'ban [end of August to beginning of September] the King's *elchi* and Sadr-ad-Din, having reached the King at Shuqan,[8] [263] returned from the *ordu* and delivered a *yarligh* intended [at once] to encourage and intimidate. They were accompanied by Tükel[9] Bahadur and their instructions were that if Rukn-ad-Din accepted allegiance he should, in accordance with the decree, present himself [before the King] and Tükel would then protect the country in his absence as *basqaq*.

However, since Rukn-ad-Din in his shortsightedness was delaying his departure somewhat and was rather afraid, he hesitated a little, and the dust of procrastination arose. He sent his vizier Shams-ad-Din Gilaki and his second cousin[10] Saif-ad-Din Sultan Malik, the son of Kiya Bu-Mansur, to accompany the *elchis* to the King on the 17th of Sha'ban [9th of September]; and he again repeated his excuses and asked for a period of grace. He likewise sent two mandates *(miṣāl)* to the effect that his lieutenants in Girdkuh and Quhistan should present themselves before the King and give expression to their loyalty and submission. The two aforesaid persons reached the King near Ray, and since the royal standards had been borne into the

[7] Cf. above, p. 618, also Rubruck's description of Darband: 'It has very strong walls without moats and towers of great dressed (*politis*) stones: but the Tartars have destroyed the tops of the towers and the parapets of the walls, making the towers even with the walls.' (Rockhill, 262.)

[8] As M.Q. has shown, III, 425–8, the YYQAQ of the text must be a corruption of an original ŠQAN, i.e. Shuqān, now Shughān or Shūghān, the name of a village (formerly a medium-sized town) between Bujnurd and Jajarm.

[9] Reading TWKAL for the TWLAK of the text. The corresponding passage in Rashid-ad-Din (ed. Quatremère, 148) has TWKL.

[10] Son of his father's paternal uncle.

district of Lar and Damavand Shams-ad-Din Gilaki was dispatched from thence [264] to Girdkuh to bring the governor before the King; another companion of the vizier was sent to Quhistan to fetch the governor of that region. As for Saif-ad-Din Sultan Malik himself he was sent back to Rukn-ad-Din with the message that the World-King had halted at Damavand and Rukn-ad-Din should present himself before him there: should he be delayed up to five days by his preparations he should send on his son in advance. They[11] arrived at the foot of Maimun-Diz on the 1st of Ramazan [22nd of September]. With the news of the approach of the world-conquering banners to that region and of the Royal command that had been delivered Rukn-ad-Din and his people were thrown into confusion, and fear and dread overcame him. He said he would send his son. This he did at the suggestion of his advisers and counsellors,[12] and they began to make the preparations. However, in secret, on the advice of women and shortsighted persons he was resorting to fraud and misrepresentation. There was a child of the same age as his own son, born of a Kurdish woman who had been a servant in his father's household, and who, when her pregnancy became noticeable, had been sent back by 'Ala-ad-Din to her father's house. When the child was born none had dared to say that it was 'Ala-ad-Din's and no attention had been paid to it. Rukn-ad-Din now used this child as a decoy. Deceiving and misleading his ministers and advisers he pretended that he was sending his own son and actually dispatched this child in the company of the *elchis* on the 17th of Ramazan [8th of October].

The King's banners having reached the borders of Rukn-ad-Din's country, how could the truth be hidden? It was clear that he had sent a spurious son, but nothing was said on behalf of the King[13] when the fraud was discovered; it was ignored

[11] I.e. Hülegü's envoys. (M.Q.)

[12] One of these was the celebrated philosopher Naṣīr-ad-Dīn Ṭūsī, who according to Ibn-Isfandiyar (tr. Browne, 259) had been forcibly detained by 'Ala-ad-Din in Alamut and made to serve as his vizier.

[13] *az ḥazrat-i-pādshāh . . . na-farmūdand.*

and concealed.[14] Two days later the false son was sent back with a message to the effect that he was still but a child: if Rukn-ad-Din [265] could not come till later he should first send another brother; and Shahanshah, who had for some time been in attendance at the *ordu*, would be sent back to Rukn-ad-Din, as he had requested. The false son reached Rukn-ad-Din on the 22nd of Ramazan [13th of October].

Meanwhile the distance between the Rudbar of Alamut and the King's *ordu* being but slight, *elchis* were constantly passing to and fro bearing messages from the King, promises and threats, encouragement and admonition. On the 5th of Shavval [26th of October] Rukn-ad-Din sent another brother, Shiran-Shah by name, to the King, before whom he arrived on the 7th of Shavval [28th of October] in a district called Fiskir,[15] one of the dependencies of Ray. At the same time the vizier Gilaki had returned from Girdkuh and brought the governor of Girdkuh, the Cadi Taj-ad-Din Mardan-Shah, before the World-King. On the 9th of Shavval [30th of October] Rukn-ad-Din's brother was sent back with the message that if Rukn-ad-Din destroyed the castle of Maimun-Diz and came to present himself in person before the King, he would, in accordance with His Majesty's gracious custom, be received with kindness and honour; but that if he failed to consider the consequences of his actions, God alone knew [what would then befall him].[16]

Whilst [266] these discussions were proceeding and *elchis* had been passing to and fro it was nearly a month since Buqa-Temür and Köke-Ilgei had set out from the direction of Ustundar with large forces, and from the sea-coast, which lay to the rear of Rukn-ad-Din's kingdom, and in particular Maimun-Diz, his fortress and stronghold, they were drawing near and surrounding their castles and dwelling-places.

[14] Cf. above, p. 620. 'Evidently Hûlâgû privately suspected that this was not his real son—an opinion which Juwaynî adopted, writing in Hûlâgû's lifetime, in spite of unanimous Ismâ'îlî testimony; but which Rashîd ad-Dîn rejected.' (Hodgson, *The Order of Assassins*, 267.)

[15] M.Q., III, 428–9, identifies Fiskir (FSKR) or Piskir (PSKR) with the previously mentioned BYSKLH DZ, i.e. Pishkil-Dara. See above, p. 620, n. 8.

[16] The usual formula. See above, i. 26 and n. 4.

In the middle of Shavval [beginning of November] the World-King set out from Piskir [17] for Rukn-ad-Din's country by way of Talaqan and on the 17th of the month [7th of November] encamped at the foot of Maimun-Diz; the other armies converged from every side and surrounded the castle.

Since Rukn-ad-Din delayed and procrastinated following his star and entering the road of his own good, he refused to come down from the castle, and for two or three days some of the King's forces who were near to the castle, skirmished and fought with the mountain-dwellers; and those mountain-dwellers and soldiers of Rukn-ad-Din gained some victories and for a time [18] were immune from the dread and fury of [267] the Royal might. On the 25th of Shavval [15th of November] there was a battle with a Sultan, than whom there can be no greater nor more dreadful. Rukn-ad-Din now saw what he had to expect and realized that he could not resist. The next day he sent out his son, his only one, and another brother called Iran-Shah with a delegation of notables, officials and leaders of his people; while on Sunday the 29th of Shavval [19th of November] he came in person before the World-King and had the good fortune of waiting upon him. He brought all his family and dependents *(muttaṣilān)* out of Maimun-Diz and offered his treasures as a token of his allegiance. These were not so splendid as fame had reported them but, such as they were, they were brought out of the castle. The greater part thereof was distributed by the King among his troops. The castle was taken and Rukn-ad-Din's other castles likewise. The destruction of these castles and the subjugation of the country will be more clearly explained in the sequel.

The murder of 'Ala-ad-Din, the father of Rukn-ad-Din Khur-Shah, occurred on the last of Shavval, 653 [1st of December, 1255], and he himself began to hold sway over that people, who are their followers and adherents, on the last of Shavval; and it was on the last of Shavval, 654 [19th of November, 1256] that he came out of Maimun-Diz and stood obediently in the presence of the King. He had reigned in succession to his father for one full year.

[17] See above, p. 716, n. 15. [18] Reading *muddatī* with most of the MSS.

[XV]

[268] OF RUKN-AD-DIN'S CASTLES AFTER HIS COMING DOWN

SINCE Fortune still smiled on Rukn-ad-Din he came down from the castle, and of the emirs Tamgha,[1] who was one of the emirs of Court, accompanied him as protector with some others. Meanwhile Rukn-ad-Din had sent his trusted men together with *elchis* to demolish and destroy the castles. They razed some 40 castles and the inmates, dogs of the Heresy that they were, came down upon command, except in the castles of Alamut and Lammasar, where they prevaricated and asked [to be allowed] to come down when the King's army approached Alamut.

Two or three days later the King set out; and passing again through the Shahrak [2] of Rudbar they encamped there. In the Days of Ignorance before Islam and also under Islam before the rise of the Heresy this Shahrak had been the residence of the kings of Dailam, and during the reign of 'Ala-ad-Din a garden and a villa *(kūshk)* had been built there, which were their place of recreation. Here the Mongols feasted for nine days in celebration of their victory and then made their way to the foot of Alamut, where they halted for one day, sending Rukn-ad-Din to the foot of the castle [269] to speak with the garrison and call on them [to surrender]. The commander of the castle, one Muqaddim,[3] was refractory and refused to come down. The King left Prince Balaghai with a large force to encompass and besiege the castle, while he himself set out for Lammasar.

The people of Alamut now entered by the gate of discretion and closed the road of rebellion: they sent messenger after messenger to Rukn-ad-Din, [who was now] at the foot of Lammasar,

[1] See above, p. 625, n. 21.

[2] The present-day village of Shahrak in the Andij-Rud sub-district of the district of Alamut. According to Muqaddasi and the author of the *Ta'rīkh-i-Sālihī* the residence of the Justānids (see below, p. 720, n. 12) was called Shahristān, and this, M.Q. suggests, was the official, whilst Shahrak was the popular, name of their capital. See M.Q., III, 430–1 and 434–8.

[3] In the corresponding passage of Rashid-ad-Din he is called Muqaddim-ad-Din. (M.Q.)

until he interceded with the King and obtained pardon for their offences. He received a *yarligh* of safe-conduct and proceeded thither. Muqaddim came down from the castle, and a party of Mongols went up, Rukn-ad-Din also receiving permission to go up to the castle. The Mongols broke up the mangonels and removed the gates. The inmates asked for three days' grace and set about removing such goods and chattels as were [still there]. On the fourth day the whole force of soldiers and levies went up and plundered such scraps as were left.

Alamut is a mountain which resembles a kneeling camel with its neck resting on the ground. (Now when I was at the foot of Lammasar, being desirous of inspecting the library, the fame of which had spread throughout the world, [270] I suggested to the King that the valuable books in Alamut ought not to be destroyed. He approved my words and gave the necessary orders; and I went to examine the library, from which I extracted whatever I found in the way of copies of the Koran and [other] choice books after the manner of '*He brought forth the living from the dead*'.[4] I likewise picked out the astronomical instruments such as *kursis*,[5] armillary spheres,[6] complete and partial astrolabes [7] and other [8] . . . that were there. As for the remaining books, which related to their heresy and error and were neither founded on tradition nor supported by reason, I burnt them all. And although the treasuries were copious and gold and silver goods without limit I recited over them the words: '*O yellow, be yellow and O white, be white!*' [9] and

[4] Koran, xxx, 18.

[5] The *kursī* is a part of the astrolabe. See Biruni, *The Book of Instruction in the Elements of the Art of Astrology*, 194 and 195a. On the other hand, Professor Willy Hartner in a letter dated the 8th October, 1956, suggests that, in this context, *kursī*, lit. 'throne' or 'chair', may have some such general meaning as 'stand' or 'support'.

[6] *ẕāt-al-ḥalaq*.

[7] See Biruni, *op. cit.*, 197.

[8] The text has *ash-shu'ā'*, which does not make sense. Some such word as 'instruments' seems indicated, and such is in fact the reading of two inferior MSS., D *(ālāt)* and I *(ālathā-yi)*.

[9] An exclamation said to have been made by the Caliph 'Ali upon beholding the riches of the public treasury at Basra. See Mas'udi, *Les Prairies d'Or*, IV, 236. (M.Q.)

magnanimously shook my sleeve upon them. Now whilst examining this library I found the history of Jil [10] and Dailam that was written for Fakhr-ad-Daula [271] the Buyid.[11] In the section on Alamut it is stated that one of the kings of Dailam, whom they called * Al-i-Justan,[12] began to construct a castle on this mountain in the year 246/860–1. It was the pride of the kings of Dailam and a source of encouragement to the sect of the Isma'ilis. In the history of Sallami [13] it is stated that at the time of the Dailamis' domination of Iraq the governor *(kutvāl)* of that place was called So-and-So Siyah-Chashm,[14] a convert of the Isma'ilis of Egypt. How Hasan-i-Sabbah [15] came to occupy the castle has been described in the relevant chapter.) [272] In truth it was a castle whereof the entries and exits, the ascents and approaches had been so strengthened by plastered walls and lead-covered ramparts *(bunyān)* that when it was being demolished it was as though the iron struck its head on a stone, and it had nothing in its hand and yet still resisted. And in the cavities of these rocks they had constructed several long, wide and tall galleries *(sābāṭ)* and deep tanks, dispensing with the use of stone and mortar, as in the verse: *'And hew out houses in the hills.'* [16] So too they had dug magazines and tanks for wine, vinegar, honey and all sorts of liquids and solids. [And the art of] *'the Satans, every builder and diver'*,[17] which is explained and expounded in the *Qisas*,[18] was seen in this structure as the handiwork of men. When the stores therein were being pillaged

[10] I.e. Gilan. Cf. Barthold, *Turkestan*, 8. [11] 976–97.

[12] Reading ĀL JSTAN for the ARJSTAN of the text, as M.Q. suggests. On the Āl-i-Justān or Justānids, who reigned in Dailam from the beginning of the ninth till the middle of the tenth century, see M.Q., III, 432–45.

[13] On Abū-'Alī al-Ḥusain b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad as-Sallāmī, whose 'book undoubtedly served as the main source for those authors in whose works we find the most detailed accounts of the history of Khurāsān and Transoxiana, namely Gardīzī and Ibn al-Athīr', see Barthold, *Turkestan*, 10–11, M.Q., III, 446–9.

[14] The son of Mālik, according to Ibn-al-Athir *sub anno* 316/928–9; and he was called Siyāh-Chashm ('Black Eye') because he had a black spot in one of his eyes. (M.Q.)

[15] Following M.Q.'s suggestion. The text has simply *ū* 'he'.

[16] Koran, vii, 72. [17] *Ibid.*, xxxviii, 36.

[18] I.e. the *Qiṣaṣ-al-Anbiyā*. See above, i. 17, n. 41.

and removed a man waded in the honey tank without realizing how deep it was and before he was aware he was immersed in the honey like Jonah—*'had not favour from his Lord reached him, cast forth would he have been on the naked shore, overwhelmed with shame'*.[19] And from the river * Bahru [20] they had brought a conduit to the foot of the castle and from thence a conduit was cut in the rock half way round *(bar madār-i-nīma)* the castle [273] and ocean-like tanks, also of rock, constructed beneath so that the water would be stored in them by its own impetus [21] and was continually flowing on. Most of these stores of liquids and solids, which they had been laying down from the time of Hasan-i-Sabbah, that is over a period of more than 170 years, showed no sign of deterioration and this they regarded as a result of Hasan's sanctity.[22] The remainder of the description of the implements of war and stores is more than can be inserted in a book without tedium.[23]

The King appointed an emir with a large force of soldiers and levies to demolish the castle. Picks were of no use: they set fire to the buildings and then broke them up, and this occupied them for a long time.

The King took up his abode in Lammasar,[24] which was the winter quarters of that region. He gave the Satans of the place some days' grace in case they might abandon their error and that serpent [25]-like people might by a charm be induced to come out of their holes. It was of no avail. He left Tayir-Buqa to besiege it with an army of Mongols and Taziks [274] and

[19] Koran, lxviii, 49. I quote the whole verse with some MSS.

[20] BAHRW, which M.Q. thinks may be a corruption of ŠAHRWD, i.e. Shāh-Rūd. Perhaps the name was erroneously applied to a tributary of the Shah-Rud.

[21] Lit. 'on its own feet'.

[22] In view of Hasan's strict teetotalism and his treatment of his son (see above, p. 680) it is to be presumed that the stores of wine were laid down at some later date!

[23] On the water-supply arrangements in Lammasar see Freya Stark, *The Valleys of the Assassins*, 247–8.

[24] Not of course in the castle, which was still holding out—and continued to hold out for another year.

[25] *ṣill*: a kind of snake that cannot be charmed.

auspiciously returned in triumph on the 16th of Zul-Hijja, 654 [2nd of January, 1257].

Rukn-ad-Din's personal belongings *(buna)* with his domestics and animals were placed in Qazvin, his army was divided up amongst the emirs and Rukn-ad-Din himself accompanied the King to his *ordu*, which was in the region of Hamadan. He sent two or three trusted men to the castles in Syria together with the King's *elchis* in order to fetch the commanders,[26] take an inventory of the treasuries and guard those castles as subjects of the King until, when the Heaven-residing parasol of the King should reach those regions, a command should be issued as to their fate.

As for Rukn-ad-Din he was viewed with attention and kindness by the King. In the midst of all these events he became enamoured of one of the daughters of the vilest Turks [27] and Majnun-like offered his kingdom in exchange for her love; and in the end, at the King's command, she was bestowed upon him. One day at a wine party he called upon the minstrel to sing the following quatrain:

> O king, I am come to thy door seeking protection.
> And I am come filled with shame at my deeds.
> Thy fortune dragged me hither by the hair—
> Otherwise to what court am I come and on what errand?

And in the cauldron of his fancy he cooked a mania for stallion Bactrian camels and was always discussing them with any one who had any knowledge about them. One day accordingly, the King gave him a hundred head of female camels. He refused to accept them saying, 'How can I wait for them to breed?' And he asked for 30 stallions because of his mania for watching camels fighting. [275]

After the consummation of his marriage he asked the King

[26] *kūtvālān*. So several MSS. The text has *kūtvāl-i-ān* 'the commander thereof'.

[27] I.e. a Mongol girl, as is clear from the corresponding passage in Rashid-ad-Din. See Hodgson, *The Order of Assassins*, 269 and n. 8. The two authorities are not, as Hodgson implies, in disagreement, since the term *Atrāk* 'Turks' embraces both the Turks proper and the Mongols.

to send him to the Court of Mengü Qa'an. The King approved his request and on the 1st of Rabi' I, 655 [9th of March, 1257] he set out for Court with nine companions accompanied by *elchis* led by [Bujrai].[28]

[XVI]

OF RUKN-AD-DIN'S FATE AND THE END OF THAT PEOPLE

WHEN, at his request, the King was about to send him on his way to the Court of the World-Emperor Mengü Qa'an, he undertook to serve the King, when he came to Girdkuh, by bringing down those wretches from the summit. When he set out the King appointed a party of Mongols led by Bujrai [1] to guard and attend upon him. When they came to the foot of Girdkuh he overtly ordered the garrison to come down but secretly told them not to do so. Departing from thence they came to Bokhara, where, following his whim, he fell out with the *elchis* and they came to blows.

Now it had been laid down in the original *yasa* of Chingiz-Khan and also in the decree of Mengü Qa'an that none of that people should be spared, not even the babe in its cradle. And all his followers in their thousands and hundreds had been guarded by shrewd supervisors *(muvakkal)* and they had spoken words and committed deeds such as [276] called for haste and occasioned the shedding of their blood. The command was therefore issued for *elchis* to depart to all the armies with orders for each unit to put to death the men entrusted to it. And Qaraqai [2] Bitikchi went to Qazvin with the order that Rukn-ad-Din's sons and daughters, brothers and sisters and all of his seed and family should be laid on the fire of annihilation. Two

[28] There is a blank in the text. On Bujrai see below.

[1] BWJRAY.

[2] QRAQAY. Cf. the Caragai of Carpini (Wyngaert, 67). On the other hand, it may be a corrupt form of QRATAY, i.e. Qaratai, as the name is spelt in Rashid-ad-Din ed. Quatremère, 264. See also the English Introduction to Vol. I of the text, xxviii.

or three of them were handed over to Bulaghan [3] to be slain in vengeance for his father Chaghatai [4] who had been stabbed to death by the *fida'is*; and none of their race was spared.

Orders were also sent to Ötegü-China,[5] the commander of the army of Khorasan [277], who was dealing with Quhistan, that he too should drive out such of those people as were obstinately attached to the Heresy on the pretext of raising a levy; and in this way 12,000 persons were put to death. And so they destroyed them wherever they were.

As for Rukn-ad-Din, upon his arrival in Qara-Qorum, the World-Emperor Mengü Qa'an said: 'It was unnecessary to bring him on so long a journey. Our ancient *yasa* is well known.' He would not allow him to offer presents but issued the following command to him: 'Seeing that thou claimest to be *il*,[6] why hast thou not destroyed certain castles such as Girdkuh and Lammasar? Thou must go back and when thou hast dismantled those castles thou shalt again have the honour of *tikishmishi*.' [7]

With this hope he was dismissed. When they came to the edge of the * Qanghai [8] the *elchis* led him away from the road on the pretext of a feast they had prepared for him, and then caused him to taste the punishment for all that his forefathers had done to the people of God. He and his followers were kicked to a pulp and then put to the sword; and of him and

[3] BLΓAN 'Sable'. The Qara-Bulaghan (QRA BWLΓAN), 'Black Sable', of Rashid-ad-Din (Khetagurov, 100).

[4] On Chaghatai, a commander of a thousand in the army of Chormaghun, see Khetagurov, *loc. cit.* He belonged to the Arulat or Arlat tribe and was a kinsman of Borji, the early friend of Chingiz-Khan. Rashid-ad-Din calls him Chaghatai 'the Great', presumably to distinguish him from Chaghatai 'the Little' or Sönitei, on whom see Khetagurov, *loc. cit.*, Grigor, 303, also my article, *On the Titles Given in J̌uvainī to Certain Mongolian Princes*, 153–4, n. 39. He must be identical with the 'Č'aγatay, who was surnamed Khan (Grigor, *loc. cit.*), whom Cleaves, *The Mongolian Names*, 417, takes to be the second son of Chingiz-Khan.

[5] AWTAKWǰYNA. In Mongol 'Old Wolf'. On *ötegü* see Pelliot–Hambis, *Campagnes*, 85.

[6] See above, p. 610, n. 14.

[7] See above, p. 579, n. 87.

[8] I.e. the Khangai range. See above, p. 609, n. 9.

his stock no trace was left, and he and his kindred became but a tale on men's lips and a tradition in the world.

[278] So was the world cleansed which had been polluted by their evil. Wayfarers now ply to and fro without fear or dread or the inconvenience of paying a toll [9] and pray for the [continued] fortune of the happy King who uprooted their foundations and left no trace of any one of them. And in truth that act was the balm of Moslem wounds and the cure to the disorders of the Faith. Let those who shall come after this age and era know the extent of the mischief they wrought and the confusion they cast into the hearts of men. Such as were on terms of agreement with them, whether kings of former times or contemporary rulers, went in fear and trembling [for their lives] and [such as were] hostile to them were day and night in the straits of prison for dread of their scoundrelly minions. It was a cup that had been filled to overflowing; it seemed as a wind that had died. *'This is a warning for those who reflect,'* [10] *and may God do likewise unto all tyrants!*

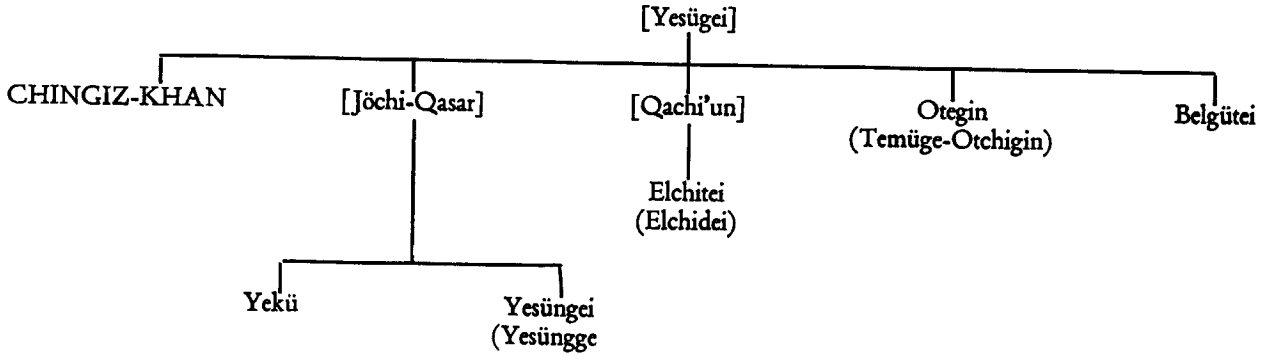
[9] See above, p. 682.

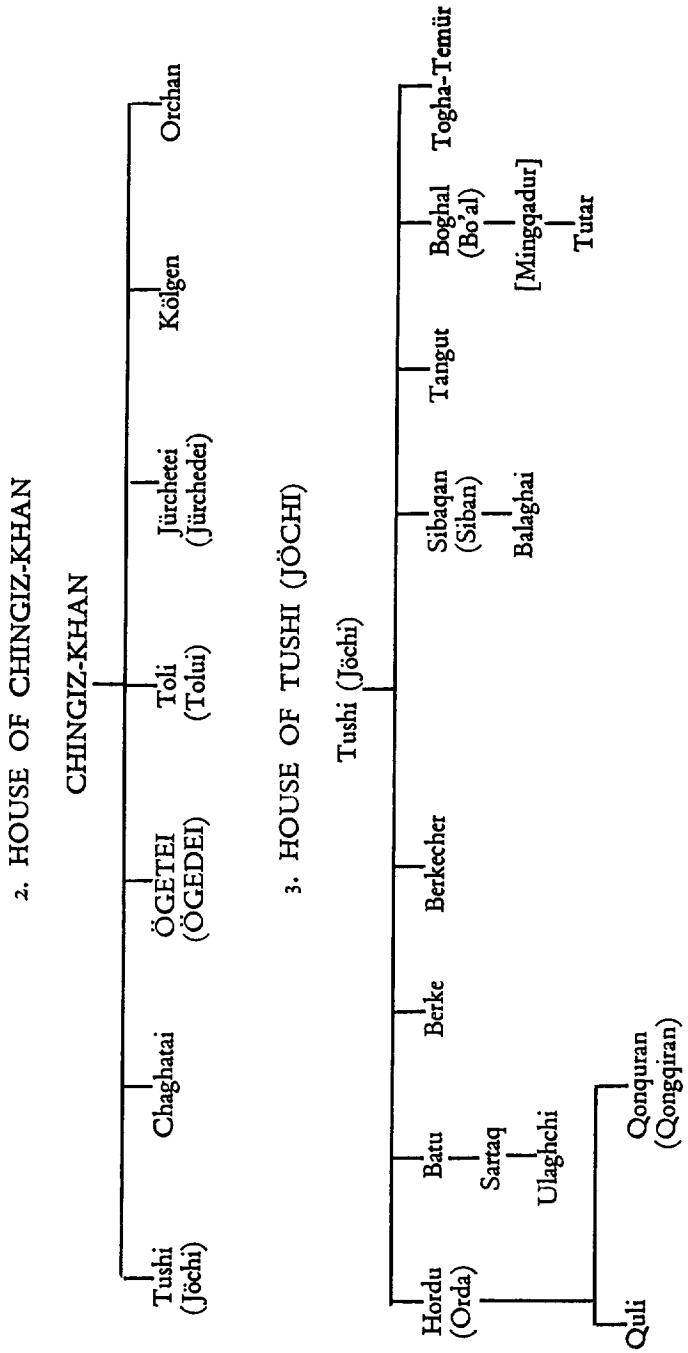
[10] Koran, vi, 116.

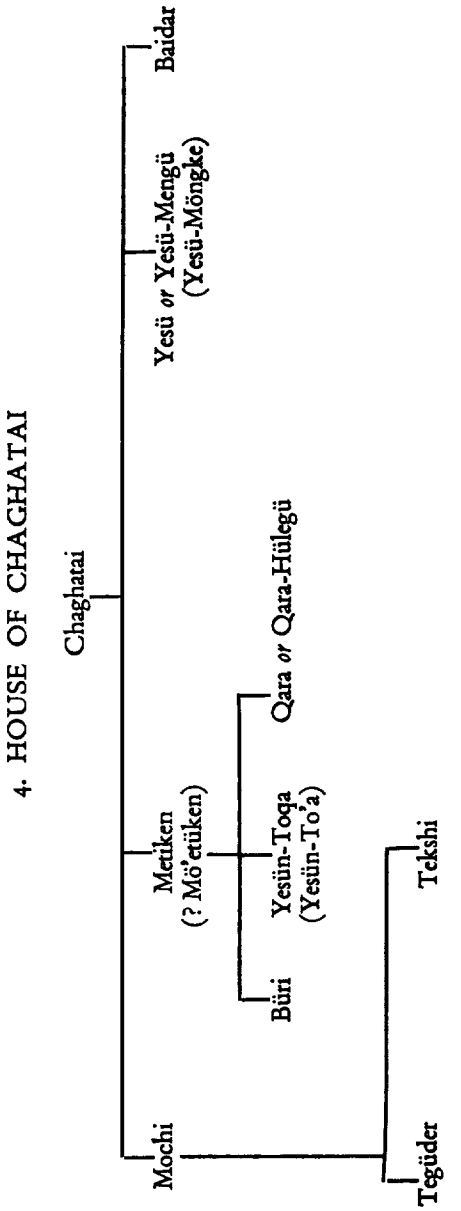
GENEALOGICAL TABLES
OF THE
MONGOL PRINCES

N.B.—These tables are intended simply to illustrate the *History of the World-Conqueror.* They therefore include only a few names not mentioned by Juvaini: these have been enclosed in square brackets. Where Juvaini's forms differ from those recorded in Rashid-ad-Din or the Far Eastern sources these latter forms have been added in round brackets. For detailed information on the genealogies of the Mongol princes, based on both the Chinese and the Mohammedan authorities, see Hambis, *Le chapitre CVII du Yuan che.*

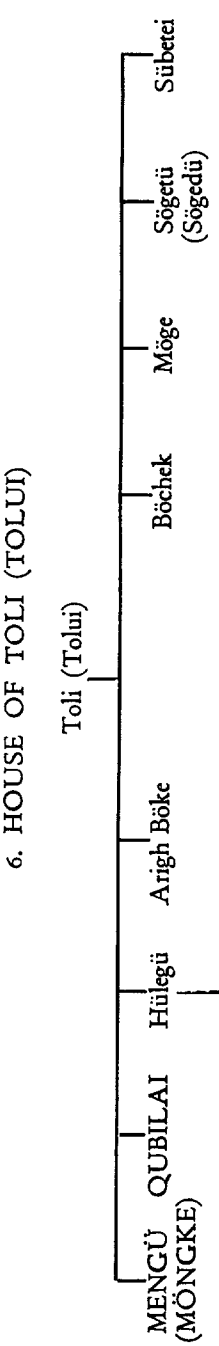
1. HOUSE OF YESÜGEI



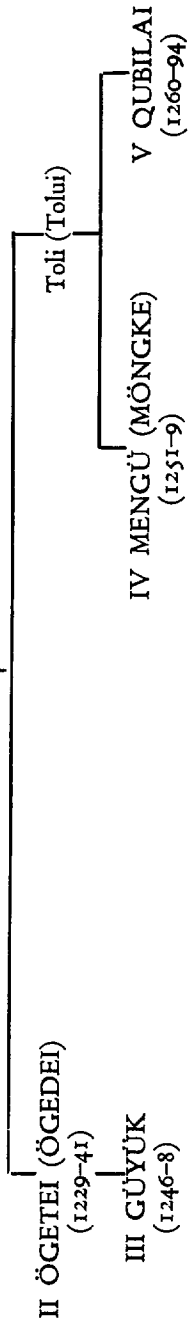

2. HOUSE OF CHINGIZ-KHAN
CHINGIZ-KHAN
Tushi (Jöchi)
Chaghatai
ÖGETEI (ÖGEDEI)
Töli (Tolui)
Jürchetei (Jürchedei)
Kölgen
Orchan
3. HOUSE OF TUSHI (JÖCHI)
Tushi (Jöchi)
Hordu (Orda)
Batu
Sartaq
Ulaghchi
Berke
Berkecher
Quli
Qonquran (Qongqiran)
Sibaqan (Siban)
Balaghai
Tangut
Boghal (Bo'al)
[Mingqadur]
Tutar
Togha-Temür


4. HOUSE OF CHAGHATAI
Chaghatai
Baidar
Yesü or Yesü-Mengü (Yesü-Möngke)
Metüken (? Mö'etüken)
Qara or Qara-Hülegü
Büri
Yesün-Toqa (Yesün-To'a)
Tekshi
Mochi
Tegüder
5. HOUSE OF ÖGETEI (ÖGEDEI)
ÖGETEI (ÖGEDEI)
Melik or Mengli
Qadaghan (Qadan)
[Köchü]
Siremün
Köten
GÜYÜK
Naqu
Khoja (Qocha)

6. HOUSE OF TOLI (TOLUI)



7. THE GREAT KHANS



GENERAL INDEX

aba, 148*n*., 343*n*.
Abachi, ii, 588.
Abadan, ii, 560*n*.
Abarqūh, ii, 472*n*.
Abaqa, xxiii–xxiv, 40*n*.; ii, 612.
Ābaskūn, 155; ii, 385, 399, 469.
ʿAbbādān, ii, 560.
ʿAbbās b. Tamīm, ii, 663.
ʿAbbāsābād, ii, 620.
ʿAbbāsī, ii, 477.
ʿAbdallāh, son of Maimūn Qaddāḥ, ii, 647, 649, 651.
ʿAbdallāh, son of Muʿāwiya, ii, 642.
ʿAbdallāh Afṭaḥ, ii, 642–4.
ʿAbdallāh b. Sālim of Basra, ii, 651.
ʿAbdallāh al-Mahdī. *See* Mahdī.
ʿAbd-al-Malik, son of ʿAṭṭāsh, ii, 668.
ʿAbd-ar-Raḥmān, 243.
Abhar, ii, 702.
Āb-i-Vakhān, 67*n*.
Abīvard, 151, 159, 319, 325; ii, 503, 543.
Abkhaz, ii, 432, 439.
Abraha, 323*n*., 332.
Abraham, ii, 646, 647, 693, 894.
Abscissor, ii, 362*n*.
Abū-ʿAbdallāh al-Baidāwī, ii, 660.
Abū-Bakr, *atabeg* of Shiraz, 234*n*.; ii, 366, 419.
Abū-Bakr, the first Caliph, ii, 428.
Abū-Bakr (Pahlavān), 158.
Abū-Ḥafṣ, 112.
Abū-Ḥanīfa, 162.
Abū-Ḥamīd al-Isfarāyinī, ii, 660.
Abū-Lahab, ii, 536.
Abul-ʿAlā, ii, 621.
Abul-Faẓl (the *raʾis*), ii, 677–8.
Abul-Faẓl Baihaqī, 313.
Abul-Ḥasan Jauhar, ii, 652.
Abul-Ḥasan al-Qudūrī, ii, 660.
Abul-Ḥasan Saʿīdī (the Cadi), ii, 692.
Abul-Khaṭṭāb, ii, 647.
Abul-Maʿālī Naḥḥās of Ray, 278.
Abū-Muḥammad b. al-Afkānī, ii, 660.
Abū-Muslim, ii, 635*n*., 642*n*.
Abū-Naṣr Qairawānī, ii, 653.
Abū-Turāb, 173.
Abū-Yazīd, ii, 651–2.
Acomat Soldan, xxiv.
ʿĀd, 17; ii, 427, 528.
Adam, 29, 152; ii, 529, 530, 645.
Adīb Ṣābir, 282.
ʿĀdid, the Fatimid Caliph, ii, 663–5.
Ādkān, 146.
Aesop, 41*n*.
Afghans, 168.
Afrāsiyāb, xxxii*n*., 54, 81, 209, 355; ii, 406, 409, 454.
Africa (Ifrīqīya), ii, 650.
Aghlabids, ii, 650.
Āhangarān, 64*n*.
Ahar, ii, 453*n*.
Aḥmad, i.e. the Prophet Mohammed, ii, 589.
Aḥmad, i.e. Tegüder the Il-Khan, xxiv.
Aḥmad (the Emir), ii, 522.
Aḥmad of Dunbāvand, ii, 679–80.
Aḥmad of Jām, 296*n*.
Aḥmad of Khojend, 72.
Aḥmad, son of the vizier Niẓām-al-Mulk, ii, 678.
Aḥmad Bitikchi, ii, 615.
Aḥmad-i-Badīlī, 295–6.
Aḥnaf, 201.
Ai tengride qut bulmīsh alp bilge, 54*n*.
ʿAin-al-Mulk, ii, 413–14.
aiqaq, ii, 499, 589.
Ai-tsung, 192*n*.
Aʿjamī, 305; ii, 465.

Akar, ii, 414.
Akhash Malik, ii, 410.
Akhlāṭ, xxi; ii, 435–6, 443–9, 451.
Ala Kul, 43*n*.
ʿAlā-ad-Dīn, Muḥammad III of Alamūt, 250; ii, 471, 627, 703–12, 715.
ʿAlā-ad-Dīn (Sayyid), the ʿAlid, 337.
ʿAlā-ad-Dīn Kai-Qubād, 229; ii, 450.
ʿAlā-ad-Dīn Khorazm-Shāh. *See* Muḥammad Khorazm-Shāh.
ʿAlā-ad-Dīn Muḥammad of Khotan, 66, 70–3.
ʿAlā-ad-Daula, the *atabeg* of Yezd, ii, 481.
ʿAlā-ad-Daula of Hamadan, 147, 148.
ʿAlā-al-Mulk of Qunduz, ii, 464.
ʿAlā-al-Mulk of Tirmiẕ, ii, 365.
Alajin Beki, 47–8.
Al-Altun, 47*n*.
ʿAlam-Dār Bitikchi, ii, 566.
Alamūt, xxi, 250, 258, 312; ii, 471–2, 618, 619, 627, 636–7, 666, 669–70, 674–5, 678, 679, 680–1, 683, 688, 692, 700, 707, 713, 718–21.
Alan(s), 259*n*., 267; ii, 438, 553.
Alan Qo'a, 41*n*.
Alaodin, 250*n*.
Alaq, 46*n*., 91.
Ala-Qamaq, 263–4, 267; ii, 557.
Ala-Taq, xxiv.
Ala-Tau mountains, 263*n*.
A-la-ʿo-hu-la-wu, 263*n*.
Alau, xxi, 34*n*.
ʿAlā Ẕikrihi 's-Salām, ii, 697.
Albania, 148*n*.
Al-Buiruq, 45*n*.
Alchi, 268*n*.
Alchi Güregen, 175*n*.
Alchidai, 184*n*., 580*n*.
Alchu, 175*n*.
Aleppo, 221, 250, 257; ii, 450, 597, 669.
Alexander, 24.
Alexandria, ii, 662–3.
Alexandropol, ii, 429*n*.
ʿAlī, brother of Mahmūd Tārābī, 114.
ʿAlī, the Caliph, ii, 527, 537, 628, 647, 659, 703, 719*n*.
ʿAlī, son of Ismāʿīl, ii, 645.
ʿAlī ar-Riẓā, 244; ii, 644, 647.
ʿAlī b. ʿĪsā b. Māhān, 232.
ʿAlī Durūghīnī, 124.
ʿAlī Khoja of Emil, 246–7.
ʿAlī Khoja of Qizhduvan, 90.
ʿAlīābād (castle of), ii, 431.
ʿAlid, descendant of the Caliph ʿAlī, *passim*.
Āl-i-Justān, ii, 720.
Alinja, ii, 425.
ʿAllāma of Kerman, 331–2.
Alghīn-Temür, 45*n*.
Almalīgh, xviii, xix, 29, 43, 64, 65, 74–7, 82, 271; ii, 481, 513, 612.
Alp Khan, 121.
Alp-Arslan, ii, 450*n*.
Alp-Direk, 309.
Alp-Er Khan, 118.
Alp-Ghāzī, 320–1.
Alp-Tegin, 277.
Alp-Tegin Muʿizzī, ii, 653.
Altai, ii, 595.
al-tamgha, 145, 148, 150, 215, 256; ii, 487, 488, 511, 606.
Altan Beki, 47*n*.
Altī-Bars, 343*n*.
Altun Beki, 47.
Altun-Khan, 39, 192, 195.
aluh-amūt, ii, 669.
Aluh-Nishīn, ii, 626.
Amalric I, ii, 664.
Āmid, ii, 459.
ʿAmīd Buzurg, 122.
ʿAmīd Ḥājib, ii, 468.
ʿAmīd-al-Mulk Sharaf-ad-Dīn of Bistām, ii, 497.
Amīn, the ʿAbbasid Caliph, 232.
Amīn Malik, 136*n*; ii, 404–5, 406–7, 409–10, 460–3.
Amīn-ad-Dīn. *See* Amīn Malik.
Amīn-ad-Dīn of Dihistān, 341.
Āmir, the Fatimid Caliph, ii, 663*n*.
Amīr Khan, ii, 415.
Amīra Ẕarrāb, ii, 667.
Amīr-al-Juyūsh, ii, 668–9.

Amīrdād Ḥabashī. *See* Dādbeg Ḥabashī.
amīr-i-majlis, 172; ii, 474.
Āmul, xviii, 146; ii, 511, 542.
Amūya, 90, 158, 286, 289, 294; ii, 499*n*.
Anareta, ii, 362, 568, 624.
Anbar, xxii.
Andīj, ii, 680.
Andīj-Rūd, ii, 669, 670.
Andkhūd, 324, 357.
Angren, 64*n*.
Anhalwāra, ii, 416*n*.
Anvarī, 282; ii, 616.
apa, 148*n*., 343*n*.
Aparnoi, 291*n*.
aqa, 266; ii, 557, 561, 586.
Aqash, ii, 410*n*.
Aq-Malik, 166–7.
Aqsam (the Emir), ii, 448.
Aq-Sulṭān, ii, 401, 402–3.
Aq-Tagh, 57.
Aquila, ii, 565*n*.
Arabuccha, ii, 518*n*.
Arachan, 174*n*.
ʿArafāt, ii, 391.
Arajen, 174*n*.
Ardahn, ii, 387.
Ardistān, ii, 675.
Arghasun, ii, 587.
Arghiyān, ii, 487.
Arghun, son of Abaqa, xxii, xxv.
Arghun (the Emir), xviii–xx, 100, 243, 249, 257; ii, 494, 503, 505–25, 538, 540, 543, 544, 614, 616.
Arīgh, ii, 518*n*.
Arīgh Böke, 231*n*.; ii, 518, 519, 550, 558, 571, 610, 611*n*.
Arīs, 46*n*.
Armak, 225.
Armalec, 29*n*.
Armenia, xxiv; ii, 438, 446, 621.
Armenians, ii, 438.
Arrān, xxv, 148; ii, 424, 434, 501, 518, 521, 597, 683, 701–2.
Arslan, 167.
Arslan, son of Toghril I, 312.
Arslan-Gushāi, 312–13.
Arslan-Khan, 74–5, 76, 82.
Arslan-Khan Maḥmūd, 284.
Arslan-Khan Muḥammad b. Sulaimān, 279*n*.
Arslan-Shāh, 305.
Arslan-Tash, ii, 674–5.
Arulat, ii, 724*n*.
Arzan (ruler of), ii, 448.
Arzanqābād, ii, 510.
Arzinjān, ii, 551*n*.
As, 259, 267, 268–70; ii, 553.
Asadābād, xxiv, 304.
Asan, 87*n*.
Asanas, 87*n*.
Ashes (Tower of), in Herat, 335.
Ashkabad, 151*n*.
Ashkabūs, ii, 442.
Ashkanavān, ii, 366.
Ashkavār, ii, 637, 671.
Ashnās, 87.
Ashtaqār, 136.
Aṣīl of Rūghad, ii, 502–5.
Āsiyā-yi-Ḥafṣ, 293.
Askanābād, ii, 366*n*.
Astarābād, ii, 487, 495, 542.
atabeg, the guardian of a Seljuq prince, also the title of the rulers of Azerbaijan and Fars, *passim*.
At-Kiraq, 45*n*.
Atlīgh, 280.
Atsīz, the Khorazm-Shah, 278–87, 356.
aubāsh, 87, 113, 114, 155, 334; ii, 483.
Aulie-Ata, 322*n*.
ʿauz, ii, 496.
ʿavāmm, 112, 113, 114, 167.
ʿavāriẓ, ii, 599.
ʿavāriẓāt, 16, 30, 97; ii, 539, 606.
ʿAyyār Beg, 289.
Ayyūbids, ii, 663–5.
Āzādvār, xv, 299.
Aʿẓam Malik, 462–4.
aẕān, the muezzin's call to prayer, *passim*.
Azerbaijan, 250, 257, 308; ii, 366, 424, 455, 501, 507, 508, 511, 518, 521, 597, 683, 701–2.
ʿAzīz, the Fatimid Caliph, ii, 653–4.

ʿAzīz Yalavach, i.e. Mahmud Yalavach, 195.
ʿAzīz-ad-Dīn Ṭughrā'ī, 286.
aznaur, ii, 441–2.
ʿAẕrā, 345.
Aẓud-ad-Daula, ii, 658–9.

Ba'arin, 84*n*., 91*n*.
Bachʿaw, ii, 508*n*.
Bachman, ii, 553–4.
Bachʿu, ii, 507*n*.
Bada, 37.
Badakhshān, 67–8, 129–30, 207*n*.
Bādghīs, 321; ii, 485, 512, 590, 621.
Badīʿ-az-Zamān, 12.
Badr-ad-Dīn Chaghīr, 301, 325, 331.
Badr-ad-Dīn Luʾluʾ, 250; ii, 468*n*.
Bagh, 151.
Baghdad, xxi–xxii, xxiii–xxiv, xxv, xxviii, 34, 233, 258, 305, 307, 311; ii, 366, 441, 644, 669, 683.
Bāgh-i-Khurram, 125.
Baghlān, 139.
Baghshūr, 151.
Bahā-ad-Daula, the Buyid, ii, 658–9.
Bahā-ad-Dīn of Baghdad, the Scribe, 294, 299.
Bahā-ad-Dīn of Ṣuʿlūk, ii, 486–7, 488, 492.
Bahā-ad-Dīn Marghīnānī, 273–6.
Bahā-ad-Dīn Muḥammad b. ʿAlī, Juvaini's great-grandfather, xv, xvi, 299–300.
Bahā-ad-Dīn Muḥammad b. Muḥammad, Juvaini's father, xvi–xx, 7, 9, 170; ii, 484, 487–8, 493, 512, 519, 520–1.
Bahā-al-Mulk, 153–4, 157–8.
bahadur, 143*n*., 335.
Bahman, ii, 564.
Baḥrain, ii, 648.
Bahrām Gūr, 231*n*.
Bahrām-Shāh, 279.
*Bāhrū, ii, 721.
Baichu, 26*n*.; ii, 507, 609.
Baidar, 249, 269.
Baihaq, 151.
Baiju, ii, 507–8*n*.
Bailaqān, 148; ii, 701.
Bakar, ii, 414.
Bākharz, 222, 298.
Bala of the Jalayir, 142*n*.
Bala Bitikchi, 48, 50–3.
Bala Khan, 118.
Bālā Murghāb, 167.
Bala the *yargbuchī*, ii, 590.
Balaghai, ii, 608, 612, 618, 627, 636, 718.
Balaghay, ii, 608*n*.
Balakhay, ii, 608*n*.
Balāla, ii, 412, 414, 415.
Balaqan, ii, 608*n*.
balaqasun, 191*n*.
Balasaqun, 58, 64*n*., 355, 360.
Balchikh (Aḥmad), 77–8.
Bālis, ii, 462*n*.
bālish, 23, 206–33, 259; ii, 480, 552, 601, 605.
Baljuan, 129*n*.
Baljuna, 37.
Balkh, 13*n*., 130–1, 144, 151, 169, 170, 329–31; ii, 376, 377, 518.
Bāmiyān, 132–3, 139, 273, 327, 330; ii, 463.
Banākat, 46*n*, 64*n*.
Banask, 340.
banāt-an-naʿsh, ii, 458, 625*n*.
Band-i-Panba pass, ii, 430.
Baqī, ii, 643.
baraq, ii, 417*n*.
Baraq Ḥājib, 103*n*.; ii, 417–18, 431, 469, 472–3, 476–80.
Bārbad, 252.
bārband, ii, 441.
Barca, 184*n*.
Barchin, 83*n*.
Barchuq, 44, 47*n*., 52*n*.
Bardasīr, ii, 417*n*.
Bardesanians, ii, 659*n*.
Bardūya, ii, 404.
Barhebraeus, xxviii.
Barīshmas Khan, 121.
bāriz, 32*n*., 202.
Barjlīgh, 93.
Barjlīgh-Kent, 83, 87, 93, 124.

Barlīgh, ii, 489.
Bārlugh, ii, 489*n*.
Barmas, 163–4.
Barskhan, 29*n*., 356.
Baruan, 139*n*.
Bashghird, 270.
Basmīl, 44*n*.
basqaq, 44*n*., 105, 110, 351; ii, 481, 482, 483, 484, 506, 508, 511, 714.
Basra, ii, 644.
*Basta, ii, 407.
Bāṭinīs. *See* Ismāʿīlīs.
bātor, 335*n*.
Batu, 94, 183, 199, 243, 249, 261*n*., 262–6, 266–8, 269, 270–1, 274; ii, 483, 488, 491, 494, 498–9, 507, 513, 521, 523, 534, 538, 553, 557–63, 588, 590, 594, 608.
Bāvard, 151*n*., 157.
bavurchī, ii, 596*n*., 610.
Bayāt, 34.
Baya'ut, ii, 465*n*.
Bayezid, the Ottoman Sultan, 285*n*.
Bāzh, 176*n*.
Bechac, 269*n*.
Beeston (Professor A. F. L.), 141*n*.
Beg-Tegin Silāḥdār, 147.
Beki, i.e. Sorqotani Beki, 52, 251, 255; ii, 513, 519, 588.
Bekrin, 211*n*.
Belgrade, 269*n*.
Belgütei, 184.
Benal, 90*n*.
Benetnasch, ii, 625*n*.
Berca, 184*n*.
Berke, 184, 249, 266; ii, 563, 568, 573, 594.
Berkecher, 184, 249, 266.
Berk-Yaruq, 278; ii, 678–9.
Besh-Baligh, xix, xxxiii, 47, 48, 50, 51, 52, 61, 62, 63, 82, 246, 261, 271, 356; ii, 396, 489, 515, 585, 589, 609.
Besh-Qulach, ii, 491.
Besüt, 142*n*.
Bezobdal Pass, ii, 429*n*.
Bichac, 269*n*.
bidʿat, ii, 636*n*., 639, 651, 671, 674, 696, 698.
Bīghu Khan, 288.
Bīghu Sipahsālār-i-Sāmānī, 308.
Bilge, 44*n*.
Bilge Qut, 48*n*.
Bilge Qutī, 48, 49, 51.
Bilge-Tegin, 277.
Birjand, 314*n*.
Bishkīn, ii, 453.
Bisṭām, 293, 316.
Bīsutūn (Mount), 137; ii, 441.
bitikchi, in Turkish 'secretary', *passim*.
Bīzhan, 54, 81, 303.
Bo'al, 266*n*., 608*n*.
bocca, 262*n*.
Böchek, 269; ii, 554, 571, 612*n*.
böge, ii, 518*n*.
Boghal, 266.
boghtagh, 63*n*., 262.
Boghra-Khan, ii, 392.
Bohtan, ii, 446*n*.
böke (*bökō*), ii, 518*n*.
Bokhara, xxx, xxxiii, 43, 95–6, 97–115, 164, 207, 288, 341–2; ii, 369, 378, 495–6, 552, 723.
bolad, 50*n*.
Bolat, 74*n*.
Bolmïsh, 49*n*.
Bolmïsh-Buqa, 48, 49*n*., 51.
Bolnisi, ii, 439*n*.
Boniface VIII, 190*n*.
Bo'ol, 266*n*.
Bo'orchu, 143*n*.
Boqal, 143*n*.
Boraqchin, 268.
Borchala, ii, 429*n*.
Borji, 143*n*.; ii, 724*n*.
Borjigin, 35*n*.
Börke, 175*n*.
Börkei Noyan, 175.
boro, 268*n*.
Boro-Tal, 74*n*.
Börte, 38*n*., 40*n*., 136*n*., 272*n*.; ii, 588*n*.
Bū-ʿAbdallāh Ṣūfī Muḥtasib, ii, 649–650.
Bū-ʿAlī of Dihistān. *See* Dihdār Bū-ʿAlī.
*Buchi Pahlavān, ii, 401.

Buchier (William), 269*n.*; ii, 496*n.*, 518*n.*
*Bughatai Qorchi, ii, 587.
Bügü, 54*n.*, 56*n.*
Bügüsh-Ish Aighuchī, 45*n.*
Buiruq, 62*n.*
Büjek, 269*n.*
Bujrai, ii, 723.
bukhār, 98.
Bulaghan, ii, 724.
Bulgai, ii, 572*n.*
Bulgan, 261*n.*
bulgha, ii, 610*n.*
Bulghai, ii, 515, 572, 605, 608.
Bulghar, 42, 190, 249, 267, 268–70; ii, 553, 557.
Bulmïsh, 49*n.*
Bul-Qāsim, the son of Ḥaushab, ii, 649.
Būmijkath, 98.
Bū-Muslim Rāzī, ii, 669.
Bū-Najm Sarrāj, ii, 668.
Buqa, the Mongol emir, ii, 481, 508.
Buqa, the Turcoman, 154.
Buqatai, ii, 587*n.*
Buqa-Temür, 274*n.*; ii, 608, 618, 622, 626, 716.
buqu, 305*n.*
Buqu Khan, the first king of the Uighur, 54, 56–61, 236.
Buqu Khan, a follower of Sultan Jalāl-ad-Dīn, ii, 454–5.
Burāq, ii, 417*n.*, 433, 434, 623.
Burhān-ad-Dīn, 112.
Burhān-ad-Dīn Abu-Saʿīd, 295, 297.
Büri, 247*n.*, 249, 269; ii, 586, 587, 588.
Büri Bökö, ii, 518*n.*
Bürilgidei, 246–7*n.*
*Bürilgitei, 246; ii, 585, 587.
Bū-Riẓā, 340.
Burke, 175*n.*
Burtana, 343*n.*
Bust, 136*n.*; ii, 462.
but, 59*n.*
Bū-Ṭāhir Arrānī, ii, 676–7.
but-parastī, 59*n.*; ii, 505*n.*
Būya, ii, 698.
Būya Katūr, 136.
Būyids, ii, 391, 659*n.*, 698.
Buzar, 65*n.*
Buzurg-Umīd, ii, 679, 682–5.
Bznunikʿ, ii, 435*n.*

Caesars, 5, 23; ii, 607.
Cailac, 42*n.*
Cairo, ii, 652, 655, 664.
Camadi, ii, 477*n.*
Camel-Drivers (Gate of the), Nishapur, 177.
Camul, ii, 371*n.*
Camus, 262*n.*
Cangitae, 91*n.*
Cangle, 91*n.*
Carachoco, 45*n.*
Caragai, ii, 723.
Caramoran, 191*n.*
Carmathians, ii, 648.
Carpini (John de Plano), 250*n.*
Cathay, 21*n.*
Catholicos, ii, 426.
Cha'adai, 40*n.*
chādur, a veil or mantle worn by women to cover their whole person and dress, *passim*.
Chaghan, 256*n.*
Chaghatai, father of Bulaghan, ii, 724.
Chaghatai 'the Little', 190*n.*; ii, 724*n.*
Chaghatai, son of Chingiz-Khan, 40, 46, 83, 124–8, 134, 136, 140, 141, 180, 181*n.*, 184, 187, 191, 205, 211*n.*, 255, 271–3; ii, 468, 483, 608.
Chaghrī-Khan, 288*n.*
Chāh-i-ʿArab, 315.
cham, 23*n.*
Chʿan, ii, 439*n.*
Chanet, ii, 439.
Changarak, 177.
Changgi, ii, 580*n.*
chaqīr, 301*n.*
Chargh, 224.
Charjui, 90*n.*
Chatīsar, ii, 416.
Chʿawrmaghan, 181*n.*
Chʿawrman, 181*n.*

Chechegeyin, ii, 506*n*.
Checheken, 274*n*.; ii, 506, 608, 611*n*.
cherig, 97; ii, 465.
Cherikov, 148*n*.
Chiaaday, 40*n*.
chiang-chün, 192*n*.
chien-kuo, 44*n*.
Chigin Qorchi, 114.
Chih-lu-ku, 357*n*., 361*n*.
Chilger Bökö, ii, 518*n*.
chilgbūza, 21*n*., 55.
Chimkent, ii, 396*n*.
Chin dynasty, 35*n*., 39*n*., 191–5.
Chīn, 201; ii, 387, 607.
chīn, 88*n*.
China. *See* Chīn, Khitai *and* Manzi.
Chinanch-Kath, 45*n*.
Chināshk, ii, 669.
Chingay, 241*n*.
Chinggis, 10*n*.
Chingis, 10*n*.
Chingiz-Khan, xxx, xxxii, xxxiii, 10, 16, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23–47, 63, 66, 68–70, 75–81, 96, 98–107, 115–23, 123–4, 128–41, 180–3, 189, 225; ii, 368, 406, 409–11, 413, 461, 463, 467–8, 593–4, 638, 703.
Chinqai, xxvi, 241, 245, 259, 265; ii, 479, 498, 500, 504, 535, 587–8.
Chīn-Temür, xvi–xvii, 88–9; ii, 460, 491, 492–8, 532–4.
Chinuch, 64.
Chirpodan, 190*n*.
Chorasmia, 42*n*.
Chormaghun, 190, 227; ii, 452, 454, 456, 468, 482–4, 485, 507, 532, 609.
Chorman, 190*n*.
Chormaqan, 190*n*.
Chosroes, 5, 20, 23, 24; ii, 607.
Chu, 58*n*., 74*n*.
Chuguchak, 43*n*.
Ciban, 166*n*.
Cielstan, ii, 383*n*.
Cleaves (Professor F. W.), 47*n*., 48*n*., 52*n*., 62*n*., 191*n*., 192*n*., 196*n*., 246–247*n*; ii, 371*n*., 373*n*., 580*n*., 586*n*.
Coirchan, 62*n*.
Comans, 91*n*., 183*n*.
cosmos, 208*n*.
Crimea (Khans of the), 184*n*.
Cuyuc, 43*n*.
Cyngis, 10*n*.
Cyrpodan, 190*n*.

Dābūs, 102.
Dābūsīya, 102*n*., 107, 117.
Dābūyē, ii, 385.
Dādbeg Ḥabashī, 278; ii, 670, 679.
Dahae, 291*n*.
Dai, ii, 366, 564, 633.
dāʿī, Ismaʿili missionary, *passim*.
Dāʿī, ii, 642.
Dailam, Dailamān, ii, 637, 662, 669, 670, 697, 718, 720.
Daisān, 11, 659.
Dajjāl, ii, 530, 532, 651.
Dalan-Turqaq, 174*n*.
Damascus, ii, 435, 443, 450, 569*n*.
Damāvand, ii, 645, 715.
Dāmghān, 146; ii, 365, 542, 669, 670–1, 679.
Damrīla, ii, 416.
Damyak, 326*n*.
Dāna, 340.
Dānishmand Ḥājib, 99, 205–6, 217, 230; ii, 493.
Daqūq, ii, 422.
Dara, ii, 676.
Darázukhán, 67*n*.
Darbai, 45*n*.
Darband, 149; ii, 521, 714*n*.
Dargham, ii, 369.
Daritai, 272*n*.
Darke, 175*n*.
*Darra-yi-*Dirāzī*, 67.
darugha, darughachi(n), 44*n*., 105*n*.
Dastagird, 159*n*.
Dastajird, 159.
Dastān, i.e. Zāl, the father of Rustam, ii, 431, 640.
daʿvat-dīvān, ii, 682.
David the Elder, i.e. David V of Georgia, 250*n*., 257; ii, 525.
David Malik, i.e. David IV of Georgia, 250*n*., 257; ii, 524.
Davids (the two), 250, 257.

Dayir, 100*n*.
Dayirkei Küregen, 175*n*.
Dayir-Üsün, 180*n*., 240*n*.
Debdeba-Ousâqoun, 141*n*.
Debeda ii, 429*n*., 431*n*.
Dēbul, ii, 416*n*.
Dei Sechen, 272*n*.
Delhi, 138*n*., 328; ii, 413–14.
Delilah, 245.
Dēval, ii, 416, 417.
Dhahabī, xv, xxv.
dharma, 60*n*.
Dhul-Qarnain. *See* Ẕul-Qarnain.
Dickson (H. R. P.), ii, 453*n*.
dīh, 45*n*., 271*n*.
Dihdār Bū-ʿAlī, ii, 675, 682, 694.
Dihistān, 291; ii, 466, 507, 538, 616.
Dihkhudā, ii, 670.
dihqān, landed proprietor, *passim*.
Dīna, ii, 469.
Dīnavar, 304.
Dinkot, 134*n*.
dirāz-dunbāl, ii, 412, 543.
direk, 309.
dīv, demon, devil, *passim*.
Dīvān, government department, *passim*.
Diyar-Bekr, ii, 446, 454.
Dizmār, ii, 451.
Dokhan, ii, 383.
Dörbei Doqshin, 141*n*.
Döregene, 239*n*.
Dörmegei, 180*n*.
Dunbāvand, ii, 669.
Durbai, 45*n*.
Durun, 151*n*.
Dushambe, 129*n*.
duvīn, ii, 495*n*.
Duvīn, ii, 428.
Dvin, ii, 428*n*., 495*n*.

Edgü-Temür, 88*n*.; ii, 494–500.
Egrigaia, 225*n*.
Egypt, ii, 446, 652–63, 668.
Ekinchi, son of Qochqar, 278.
Ektag, 57*n*.
El-Aldun, 47*n*.
Elcheltay, 256*n*.
elchi, envoy, ambassador, *passim*.
Elchi Pahlavān, ii, 421, 437.
Elchidei, ii, 580*n*.
Elchitei, nephew of Chingiz-Khan, 184, 249; ii, 568.
Elchitei, one of the conspirators against Möngke, ii, 580, 583.
Ēlghan, ii, 632.
Eljigidei, 184*n*.
Eljigitei, xviii, xxvi, 256–7; ii, 512, 590.
El-Qadun, 47*n*.
Emil, 43, 63, 184, 246, 261*n*., 262; ii, 396, 587.
Equius, 29*n*.
Erāk, ii, 382*n*.
Er-Buqa Pahlavān, 124.
Erbüz, 356.
Erbüz Khan, 308, 311.
Erevan, ii, 427*n*.
Eriqaya, 225*n*.
erkeʾün, ii, 599.
Ervüz, 308*n*.
Erzerum (Sultan of), 250; ii, 450.
Erzincan, ii, 451*n*.
Etil, 267; ii, 553–4.
Etilia, 267*n*.
Euphrates, ii, 446.

Facfur, 24*n*.
Faḍl, the commander of the Fatimid ʿAzīz's army, ii, 653.
Faḍl, the son of ar-Rabīʿ, xv.
faghfūr, 24; ii, 634.
Fakhr-ad-Daula the Buyid, ii, 720.
Fakhr-ad-Dīn, chief cadi of Baghdad, 250.
Fakhr-ad-Dīn ʿAbd-al-ʿAzīz of Kufa, 295, 297.
Fakhr-ad-Dīn Bihishtī, ii, 507, 509, 512, 513, 515, 519, 522, 523.
Fakhr-ad-Dīn Sālārī, ii, 416.
Fakhr-al-Mulk, son of Niẓām-al-Mulk, ii, 678.
Fakhr-al-Mulk (the Emir), ii, 605.
Fakhr-al-Mulk Niẓām-ad-Dīn Abul-Maʿālī Kātib Jāmī, 172.
Fakhr-al-Mulk Niẓām-ad-Dīn Farīd of Jām, 349.

Fanākat, 64, 83, 91–2, 140, 343, 351, 352; ii, 396.
Fārāb, 46*n*.
Farghāna, 94, 356; ii, 396, 597.
Farīd-ad-Dīn, 145.
Farīd-ad-Dīn of Baihaq, ii, 472.
Farīdūn, 4.
Farīdūn Ghūrī, 125.
farr, ii, 389.
farrāsh, carpet-spreader, tent-pitcher, *passim*.
Farrazīn, ii, 382.
Fārs, 250, 257; ii, 383, 507, 597.
Farshāvar, 138*n*.
Farvardīn, the first month of the Persian solar year, commencing at the vernal equinox, 248.
Fasā, ii, 418*n*.
Faṭḥī, ii, 644.
Fāṭima Khatun, 243, 244–7; ii, 504.
Fāṭimids, ii, 648–65.
fatwā, a ruling on a disputed point of Islamic law, *passim*.
fidā'ī, the term applied to the emissaries of the Isma'ilis, the Assassins, *passim*.
Firdaus, 314*n*.; ii, 615*n*.
Firdaus of Samarqand, 323.
Firdausī, 130; ii, 472.
Firrīm, ii, 669.
Fīrūzkūh, the capital of the Ghurids, 293, 328, 332, 352–3.
Fīrūzkūh, the castle in Damāvand, 311; ii, 475–6, 619.
Fīrūzkūh, the present-day name of Gharchistān, 277*n*.
Fiskir, ii, 716.
Franks, 250, 270; ii, 602, 640, 664, 669.
Frederick II, 20*n*.
Fūlād, 74, 75.
fu-ma, 290*n*.
Fuma, 290, 292.
Fusṭāṭ, ii, 652.

Garmsīr, 136; ii, 461.
Garni, ii, 427.
gāv-māhī, ii, 447*n*.
Genghis Khan, 10*n*. *See* Chingiz-Khan.
Georgia, 257; ii, 428–32, 438–43, 507, 508, 521, 524–5, 597, 609.
Georgians, ii, 426–32, 435, 438–443, 449.
ghaḍā, ii, 453.
Ghadaq, 46, 118.
Ghadaqan Qorchi, ii, 590.
Ghaimish, 49, 275; ii, 588. *See also* Oghul-Ghaimish.
ghāliya, 170; ii, 565.
Ghang-Kidan, ii, 581*n*.
Gharchistān, 277, 354.
Ghayīr-Khan, 79–80, 82–6; ii, 367.
ghazal, a kind of ode, *passim*.
ghāzī, xxxiii; ii, 589*n*., 711.
Ghazna, Ghaznīn, 133–4, 135, 142, 313, 328, 353; ii, 403, 404–5, 408, 413, 461–3.
Ghiyāṣ-ad-Dīn, brother of Sultan Jalal-ad-Din Khorazm-Shah, ii, 417, 420, 436–7, 468–73.
Ghiyāṣ-ad-Dīn Muḥammad, the Ghurid, 291*n*., 292, 294, 315–19.
Ghīzīl-Sarīgh, ii, 675.
Ghul, ii, 608*n*.
ghulām, 289, 293, 353; ii, 412*n*., 708.
Ghumsghur, 261*n*.
Ghūr, 291, 352–4; ii, 405.
Ghūr (Sultans of), 291, 298, 315–18.
Ghūrīs, ii, 461–5.
Ghuz-Baligh, 355.
Ghuzz, 90*n*., 285, 286, 292–3, 294.
Gībarī, 136*n*., 138*n*.
Gīlān, ii, 385, 712.
Gīlān (the emirs of), ii, 385, 702–3.
Gīrān, ii, 452, 454.
Girdkūh, 146; ii, 481, 542, 619, 637, 670, 679, 680, 714, 716, 723, 724.
Gīrī, 136*n*., 138*n*.
Girīt (Castle of), 148.
Gog, 347; ii, 625.
Greeks, ii, 640.
Guchen, xix, 47*n*.
Gumri, ii, 429*n*.
Gūnābād, 316*n*.
gūr, 62*n*.
Gürbesü, 62*n*.
Gurganj, 123*n*.

Gurgīn, ii, 454.
gür-khan, 62–4, 74–5, 322, 342–3, 351, 354–61; ii, 393–6.
Gür-Khan, 62*n*., 103*n*.
Gurzivān, 132.
Gurzuvān, 331*n*.
Gushtāsp, 116*n*.
gūshtī, ii, 450*n*., 569*n*.
Guvāshīr, ii, 475.
guyang, 356*n*.
Güyük, xviii, 43, 192, 199, 236, 240, 243, 248–62, 269; ii, 504, 509, 511, 512, 551–2, 587*n*.

Ḥabash ʿAmīd, 272–5; ii, 468.
al-Hādī, ii, 695.
ḥadīth, tradition of the Prophet Mohammed, *passim*.
Ḥāfiẓ, the Fatimid Caliph, ii, 663.
ḥājib, chamberlain, *passim*.
Ḥājib ʿAlī, ii, 435.
Ḥajjāj, ii, 543.
Hājjīlar, 351*n*.
Ḥākim, the Fatimid Caliph, ii, 651, 654–60.
Hamadān, xxiv, 147, 304, 305, 307, 308; ii, 366, 542, 683, 712, 722.
Ḥamdān Qarmaṭ, ii, 647*n*., 648.
Hami, ii, 371*n*.
Ḥamīd-ad ʿDīn ʿĀriz of Zūzan, 314.
Ḥammād Rāwiya, 232.
Ḥanafite, Orthodox (Mohammedan), *passim*.
Han-chiang, 247*n*.
Harda, xv.
Ḥarq, ii, 477.
Harqasun, ii, 587*n*.
Hartner (Professor Willy), ii, 719*n*.
Hārūn ar-Rashīd, xv, 232*n*.
Ḥasan, the Ismaʿili ruler of Alamut, ii, 686–97.
Ḥasan of Māzandarān, ii, 709–12.
Ḥasan, son of Ādam of Qaṣrān, ii, 682.
Ḥasan, son of the Caliph ʿAlī, 88; ii, 646.
Ḥasan, son of Nāmāvar, ii, 697.
Ḥasan b. Aḥmad Qarmaṭī, ii, 653.
Ḥasan b. Bashar, ii, 653–4.
Ḥasan Ḥajjī, 87, 88.
Ḥasan Qaṭṭān, 280.
Ḥasan-i-Ṣabbāḥ, xxi; ii, 626, 629, 637, 662, 666–83, 694, 720, 721.
ḥasham, 285, 289; ii, 382, 454, 613.
ḥashar, 85, 92, 97, 107; ii, 517, 524, 620.
ḥashv, 32*n*., 202.
Ḥātim of Ṭayyi', 107, 201; ii, 604.
Hazār-Asf (Hazār-Asp), 282–3, 323.
Hazār-Asf (the *malik*). *See* Nusrat-ad-Dīn Hazār-Asf.
Hazār-Cham, ii, 626.
Hejaz, ii, 652, 653.
Hêng-sêng-yi-êrh, 261*n*.
Henning (Professor W. B.), 21*n*.
Henry III of England, 20*n*.
Herat, xxvi, 13*n*., 151, 152, 294, 316, 317, 318, 320–1, 328–9, 331, 333–6, 354; ii, 518.
Heretics, i.e. the Ismaʿilis of Alamut, xxi, 256, 312, 313–14, 316; ii, 481, 542, 596, 617–40, 662–3, 666–725.
Hetʿum I, 250*n*., 261*n*.
Ḥimyar, ii, 667.
Hindū-Khan, 317.
Hindū-Shāh, 309.
ḥisār, ii, 417, 477, 478, 503.
Höbögetür, 192*n*.
Ho-chung fu, 190*n*.
Hö'elün, 136*n*.
Holawu, 34*n*.
Holy Shrine (the), i.e. Meshed, 244–5.
Ho-mi chʿêng, ii, 371*n*.
Hordu, 183, 249, 251, 266, 269.
Horghīna, 274*n*.
Howarth, (Dr. W. O.), 21*n*.
Hsiao pʿu-ku-chih, 356*n*.
Hsieh-chʿe, ii, 371*n*.
Huang Ho, 191*n*.
huang-hou, 62*n*.
Hūd, 17.
hu-fu, 257*n*.
Hui-li River, 370*n*., 373*n*.
Hujīr, 272; ii, 441.
ḥujjat, ii, 646*n*., 689, 690.
Hulawu, 34*n*.

Hülegü, xx–xxii, 34, 189*n.*, 312–13; ii, 468, 482, 518, 521–2, 524, 525, 576, 596, 607–40, 666, 681, 713–23.
Hüle'ü, 34*n.*
Ḥulūlīs, ii, 647.
humā, 19; ii, 389, 591.
Hūmān, 303.
Humāyūn Sipahsālār, 166.
Hungary, 59*n.*, 270–1.
Ḥusain, the son of the Caliph ʿAlī, ii, 641.
Ḥusain (the Emir), secretary of the Emir Arghun, ii, 507, 512.
Ḥusain (the son of the Emir), the merchant, 77.
Ḥusain of Qā'in, ii, 674, 679.
Ḥusām-ad-Dīn Amīr Ḥusain, ii, 523.
Ḥusām-ad-Dīn Qaimarī, ii, 451.
Ḥuẕaifa b. al-Yamān, 95.
hyperperon, ii, 701*n.*

iam, 30*n.*
Iankint, 90*n.*
iascot, 23*n.*
ibāḥa, *ibāḥat*, ii, 639, 648, 696, 698.
Ibn-al-Athīr, xvi, xxix–xxx.
Ibn-Dawwās, ii, 656–8.
Ibn-Dāya, 135.
Ibn-Funduq al-Baihaqī, 277.
Ibn-Killis, ii, 653–4.
Ibn-aṭ-Ṭiqṭaqā, ii, 456*n.*
Ibn-Zabārij, ii, 654.
idi, 44*n.*
ʿid-i-aẓḥā, ii, 614.
ʿid-i-fiṭr, ii, 600.
īdī-qut, 44–53, 82, 86*n.*; ii, 490, 589–590.
Idkech, 49.
Idu'ut, 44*n.*
Ïghlamïsh, ii, 391, 702.
Ïghnaq, 350.
Ïghraq, 131, 137; ii, 405, 406–8, 462–4.
ikhrājāt, 30; ii, 512, 517, 524.
Ikhtiyār-ad-Dīn, the *malik* of Amūya, 158–9.
Ikhtiyār-ad-Dīn of Abīvard, ii, 497, 503, 510, 543.
Iki-Ögüz, 29*n.*, 55*n.*
il, 203; ii, 610, 724.
Ïla, 272.
Ïlāl, ii, 466–7.
Ïlamïsh, 344.
Ïl-Arslan, Khorazm-Shah, 285, 286, 287–9.
Ildegiz, 299.
Il-Direk, ii, 403–4.
Ildiz Noyan, 114.
Iletgü Malik, 91.
ilḥād, 282*n.*; ii, 662, 696.
Ili, 29*n.*, 272*n.*
Ilig, ii, 392.
*ilig *türkmen*, 355.
Ilig Türkmen, 288–9.
Il-Khan, ii, 632, 636.
Il-Tutmïsh, 138*n.*, 328; ii, 413–14.
ilzām, ii, 672, 686.
ʿImād-ad-Dīn, governor of Balkh, 329–330; ii, 462.
ʿImād-ad-Dīn Aḥmad b. Abū-Bakr Qamaj, 286.
ʿImād-al-Mulk (the Emir), ii, 605.
ʿImād-al-Mulk of Sāva, ii, 376, 377, 383, 474–5.
ʿImād-al-Mulk Muḥammad of Khotan, 242.
ʿImādī of Zūzan, 298.
imām, the leader in public prayer, *passim*.
Imām, the *imam* of the whole community, whether the Caliph or one of the seven or twelve Imams of the Shiites, *passim*.
ïnal, 79*n.*
Inalchi, ii, 506*n.*
Ïnalchuq, 79.
Ïnanch-Khan, 158*n.*
India, 59, 214, 325–6, 328; ii, 411–17, 597.
Indian(s), 37, 79, 137, 168, 219, 326; ii, 709.
Indus, 133–4, 141–2, 326*n.*; ii, 409–411, 414.
ini, 266; ii, 561.
Innocent IV, 26*n.*
iqāmat, the second call of the muezzin, *passim*.

Iram (Garden of), 197, 248, 271; ii, 571.
Iraq, i.e. Arab ʿIrāq, ii, 648, 649.
Iraq, i.e. Persian ʿIrāq, 96, 147, 190, 310–11; ii, 365, 366, 376, 436, 455, 501, 507, 520–1, 522, 590, 597, 618, 644, 662, 683, 701–2.
Iraqs (the two), 13, 207.
Irbīl, ii, 422.
Irghiz, ii, 371*n*.
ʿĪsā b. Nestorius, ii, 654.
Isbijāb, ii, 396*n*.
Iṣfahān, 304, 308, 311, 313; ii, 420, 433, 436–8, 471, 475, 518, 542, 668, 669, 677.
iṣfahbad, 338, 351; ii, 486–7.
Isfandiyār, 116, 134.
Isfarāyin, 146; ii, 381, 486, 542–3.
Isfijāb, ii, 396*n*.
Ishmael, ii, 647, 693.
Ismāʿīl, son of Jaʿfar, ii, 642–5.
Ismaʿīlīs, ii, 641–725.
Iṣṭakhr, ii, 365–6.
Istemi, 57*n*.
Ittiḥādīs, ii, 647.
Ivane, the comrade of Shalva, ii, 427–9.
Ivane, i.e. Ivane Mkhargrdzeli, ii, 440, 445.
ʿIzz-ad-Dīn of Qazvīn, ii, 445.
ʿIzz-ad-Dīn Ai-Beg, ii, 444–5, 448, 451.
ʿIzz-ad-Dīn Ḥusain, son of Kharmīl, 328–9, 332, 333–4.
ʿIzz-ad-Dīn Marghazī, 318.
ʿIzz-ad-Dīnd Nassāba, 163–4.
ʿIzz-ad-Dīn Sökmez, ii, 419.
ʿIzz-ad-Dīn Ṭāhir, ii, 519–20, 523–4, 616.

Jabala, son of Aiham, ii, 408.
Jacob, 72.
jada, 193*n*.
Jadwalīs, ii, 642.
Jaʿfar Ṣādiq, ii, 642–5, 647, 651.
Jaʿfar Ṭayyār, ii, 642.
Ja-Gambu, 108*n*.
Jagha, 256*n*.; ii, 592.
Jaghan, 256.
Jaghatai, xv, 145*n*.
Jaiḥūn, 326*n*.; ii, 432*n*.
Jājarm, 151, 293; ii, 487, 542.
Jalalabad, ii, 464*n*.
Jalāl-ad-Dīn, Khorazm-Shah, xvi, xxix–xxx, 69, 130, 132, 133–5, 136, 171–2, 190, 354; ii, 372, 376–7, 387, 396–460, 470–1, 478–9.
Jalāl-ad-Dīn ʿAlī b. al-Ḥasan Zaidī, 104.
Jalāl-ad-Dīn ʿAlī b. al-Husain, Khan of Samarqand, 288.
Jalāl-ad-Dīn Ḥasan, the Ismaʿili ruler of Alamut, ii, 364, 391, 698–703.
Jalayirtai, 190*n*., 196*n*.
Jalnābād, ii, 634.
Jām, 145, 222, 298.
Jamālābād, ii, 621.
Jamāl al-Qarshī, 65*n*.
Jamāl-ad-Dīn, one of the *imams* of Merv, 161.
Jamāl-ad-Dīn Khāṣṣ-Ḥājib, xx; ii, 521–3.
Jamāl-ad-Dīn Ai-Aba, 148.
Jamāl-ad-Dīn ʿAlī of Tafrish, ii, 545.
Jamāl-al-Milla vad-Dīn al-Jīlī, ii, 541.
Jamāl-al-Milla vad-Dīn Maḥmūd of Khojend, ii, 600–1.
Jambul, xviii, 322*n*.
Jamshīd, 122; ii, 578, 612*n*., 629.
Jamuqa, 34*n*., 62*n*., 84*n*., 91*n*., 103*n*.
Jand, 83, 86–90, 93, 124, 154, 284–5, 288, 289, 305, 308, 350; ii, 370, 597.
Jandab, 234.
Janggi, ii, 580*n*.
Jangi, ii, 580.
Jārallāh, i.e. Zamakhsharī, 17.
Jarīr, 156*n*.
Jarīstān, ii, 483.
Jaunal, ii, 580*n*.
Jawāmiʿ-al-ʿUlūm, 277.
Jaxartes, 344.
Jebe, 101*n*., 142*n*., 373*n*. *See* Yeme.
Jedei Noyan, 86*n*.
Jesus, 110; ii, 517.
Jews, ii, 599, 640.
Jhelum, 326.

Jibāl, ii, 645.
Jīl, i.e. Gīlān, ii, 720.
Jinḥ-al-Fuqarā, ii, 616.
Jira, ii, 469*n*.
jirg, 126.
Jirgin, 35*n*.
Jirjīs, 72.
Jirqo'adai, 142*n*.
Jīruft, ii, 477.
Job, 72.
Jöchi, xxxi, 40*n*., 83*n*., 86*n*.; ii, 370–1*n*. *See* Tushi.
Jöchi-Qasar, 184*n*.
Joinville, 262*n*.
Joseph, 72, 252; ii, 393.
Jūd (the Mountains of), ii, 414, 415.
Jūdī (Mount), ii, 446.
Jumghar, ii, 611.
Jumghur, Jumqur, 611*n*.
Junābid, 316.
Ju-nan, 195*n*.
Jūrbad, ii, 487, 542.
Jürchedei, 180*n*., 181*n*.
Jürchen, 39*n*., 44*n*.
Jürchetei, 180, 181*n*.
Jurjān, 316, 340; ii, 621, 642, 669.
Jurjānīya, 123.
Jurzuvān, 331.
Justānids, ii, 718*n*.
Juvain, xv, xvi, 145, 151, 299; ii, 487, 542.
Juvainī, the historian, xv–xxxv, 4–5, 8–11, 54, 59, 100, 110, 275; ii, 481, 489–90, 512, 513, 519, 522, 598*n*., 614, 615, 617, 623, 631, 666, 700, 719–20.
Juvainī's History of the World-Conqueror, 10; ii, 631.
Juvāshīr, ii, 417–18, 469, 477.
Jūy-i-Arzīz, 121; ii, 627.

Kaakha, 151*n*.
Kabūd-Jāma, 338*n*., 351; ii, 486, 487, 542.
Kābul, ii, 462.
Kafan, ii, 453*n*.
kāfir, ii, 660*n*.
Kāfūr, ii, 652.
K'ai-fêng, 195*n*.
Kai-Kā'ūs, one of the emirs of Gilan, 703.
Kai-Qubād, ii, 619.
Kaisānīs, ii, 641–2, 643.
Kalār Dasht, ii, 626*n*.
Kalāt, ii, 378.
Kalāt-i-Nādirī, 158*n*.
Kālīf, 128.
Kalka, 101*n*.
Kamādī, ii, 477.
Kamāl-ad-Dīn, ruler of Jand, 284–5.
Kamāl-ad-Dīn Ismā'īl, the poet, 303, 308*n*.; ii, 420–1, 434.
kamān-i-gāv, ii, 631.
Kangurt, 129.
Kān-i-Gul, ii, 612.
Kapan, ii, 453*n*.
Kara Kum, 89*n*.
Karakitai, 44*n*.
Karakul, 140*n*.
Kara-Tau, 87*n*.
Karmān, 136; ii, 408, 519.
Karmīnīya, 114.
Kars, ii, 429.
Karshi, 129*n*.
Kāshān, ii, 437*n*., 518, 542.
Kashghar, 64–8, 70, 350; ii, 597, 677.
Kashshāf, 17.
Katāma tribe, ii, 649–50.
Katta-Kurgan, 111*n*.
Kā'ūs, i.e. Kai-Kā'ūs, the legendary king of Persia, ii, 374.
Kāva, 349.
kavak, 263*n*.
Kazalinsk, 90*n*.
Kazan (Khans of), 184*n*.
kebte'ül, 226*n*., 273.
Ked-Buqa, ii, 596, 610, 615, 618, 619, 622, 627.
Keiken (the Greater and the Lesser) 29*n*.
Keler, 199, 270–1.
Kelüren, 184; ii, 566.
Kem, 69*n*.; ii, 585*n*.
Kemchihüd, ii, 585.
Kemchik, 69*n*.; ii, 585*n*.
Kem-Kemchik, 69*n*.

Kem-Kemchi'üt, ii, 585*n*.
Kenchek, ii, 512.
Kennedy (Professor E. S.), ii, 362*n*.
Kent, i.e. Yangī-Kent, 90, 94.
Kerei Malik, xx; ii, 522, 614.
Kereit, 35.
Kerel, 199*n*.
Kerkha, 34*n*.
Kerman, 22, 250, 257, 294, 337; ii, 417, 433, 468–9, 475, 476–92, 597, 626, 669, 678.
Kermine, 114.
Kerulen, 37*n*., 184*n*.
Keshik, ii, 574–6, 595.
Keshli-Khan, 103.
Kesmes, 47, 48.
Keuchan, 43*n*.
Khābarān, ii, 378, 522.
Khabūshān, xxi, 145; ii, 617.
Khāf (Khwāf), 151; ii, 615.
Khaibar, xxxiv; ii, 638.
Khail-i-Buzurg, ii, 365.
Khalaj Turks, 133*n*., 168; ii, 462–5.
Khalkhāl, ii, 712.
Khamid-Bur, 103; ii, 476.
Khāmūsh, 148; ii, 511.
Khangai, 35*n*., 41*n*.; ii, 585*n*., 609*n*.
Khan-Sulṭān, ii, 395, 396.
Khāqānī, 308.
Khar (Plain of), 147*n*.
Khara-Davan, 186*n*.
Kharang. *See* Muḥammad Kharang.
Kharkām, ii, 637.
Kharmīl. *See* ʿIzz-ad-Dīn Ḥusain, son of Kharmīl.
Khar-Pūst, ii, 461.
kharvār, a dry measure equivalent to 100 maunds, 113; ii, 574.
Khāṣṣ-Khan, ii, 416.
Khavīṣ, ii, 480.
Khawarnaq, 231.
Khiḍr, ii, 404, 646.
Khifchākh, 183*n*.
Khitai, i.e. Northern China, 21, 29, 39, 42, 43, 55, 59, 190, 191–6, 207; ii, 506, 523, 549, 590, 596, 600, 607, 608.
Khitai, i.e. Qara-Khitai, 280, 289, 292–3, 324.
Khitai-Khan, 286.
Khitan, 39*n*., 44*n*.
Khitayans, 57, 139.
Khitayans, i.e. Qara-Khitayans, 65.
Khiva, 42*n*., 322*n*.
Khīvaq, 322.
Khiwchʿakh, 183*n*.
Khlatʿ, ii, 435*n*.
Khōi, ii, 425, 428, 435, 451.
Khoja, son of Güyük, 246, 263–6; ii, 566, 585–6, 587, 592.
*Khojanfu Balaqasun, 191.
Khojend, 72, 83, 92, 94, 111.
Khokars, 326*n*.; ii, 414*n*.
Khorasan, xxx, 6, 13, 96, 144, 150–2, 190, 207, 294, 309; ii, 482–8, 491–493, 507, 519, 522, 523–4, 532–3, 597, 600, 609, 644, 645, 662, 697.
Khorazm (Khwārazm), often synonymous with Gurganj, 42, 90, 94, 123–128, 278, 280, 292, 294, 300, 321–2, 356; ii, 401–2, 482, 597.
Khorazm (*malik* of), ii, 531–2.
Khorazm-Shāhs, 277–354, 356–60; ii, 362–460.
Khotan, 65–6, 68, 70, 73, 74, 119, 350; ii, 597.
Khuchʿakh, 183*n*.
Khul, ii, 608*n*.
Khumar-Tegin, 124, 126.
Khurqān, ii, 618.
Khurramābād, ii, 421*n*.
Khusrau Parvīz, ii, 564.
Khusrau-Kūshk, 177.
Khushūfaghn, 111*n*.
Khutlān, ii, 667.
Khuvār of Ray, 147; ii, 618, 669.
Khuzdar, ii, 462*n*.
Khuzistān, xxii, 34*n*., 278; ii, 469, 471, 472, 669.
Khwārazm, 42*n*. *See* Khorazm.
Khwchʿagh, 183*n*.
Kimach, ii, 371*n*.
Kimek, ii, 465*n*.
Kinchat, ii, 512*n*.
Kinda, 295.
király, 199*n*.

Kirghiz, 21*n*.
Kish, xx; ii, 521.
Kishlik, 37.
Kishliq, 37*n*.
kiyā, 640.
Kiyā Bā-Ja'far, ii, 682.
Kiyā Bū-Manṣūr, ii, 714.
Kiyat, 35*n*.
Kobdo, ii, 585*n*.
kōbe'ün, 26*n*.
Köchü, 251*n*.; ii, 588*n*.
Köde'e-Aral, 184*n*.
Ködön, 241*n*.
Koh-pāyah, 136*n*.
Kökchü, 39*n*., 91*n*.
Kökedei, 190*n*.
Köke-Ilgei, ii, 615, 618, 626, 716.
Köketei, 190.
Kök-Khan, 103, 106.
Kököchü, 84*n*.
Kök-Saghïr, 288.
Kök-Sarāi, 86, 117.
kōl, 237, 271.
Kölgen, 180, 269; ii, 568.
Kolomna, 180*n*.
Kopal, 42*n*.
Köpek Khatun, ii, 611*n*.
Korah, 82*n*.
Körgüz, xvii–xviii, 243; ii, 483, 487–8, 489–505, 506–7, 534–9.
Kotayk', ii, 432*n*.
Köten, 241–2, 245, 249, 251; ii, 568.
Köyiten, 142*n*.
Közli, 335, 336–9.
közlü, 335*n*.
Kūbān, ii, 634*n*.
küch, 153*n*.
Kucha, 62.
Küch-Ai Tegin, ii, 401.
Küch-Bugha Khan, 147.
Küchlüg, xxxiii–xxxiv, 45, 61–8, 70–4, 81, 350, 351, 359–61,; ii, 368, 396.
Küchlüg-Khan, 63, 359.
Küch-Tegin Pahlavān, 153*n*.
Kuei-tê, 195*n*.
Kūfa, xxii, 295; ii, 648, 667.
kufr, ii, 660*n*.
Kuhdum, ii, 703*n*.
Kūh-i-Bara, ii, 675.
Kūh-i-Dīnā, ii, 469*n*.
Kuhna-Urganch, 123*n*.
Kujūr, ii, 626*n*.
Kujūrān, ii, 462.
Kükrükh, ii, 483.
kül, 62*n*.
Kül Chor, 62*n*.
Kül Tigin, 62*n*.
kulāh, a kind of conical hat, *passim*.
kulah-band, ii, 497.
kulāh-dār, ii, 550.
Kül-Bolat, xvii, 88*n*.; ii, 483, 486 487, 489, 492–3, 484–6.
Kulja, xix, 29*n*.
Kūmish, 146*n*.
kün, 310*n*.
al-Kunās, 295.
Kün-Er-Direk, 310, 311.
Kunkurat, 38*n*.
Kunya-Urgench, 123*n*.
kuo-wang, 356*n*.
Kur, ii, 428.
kür, 62*n*.
Kurds, 304; ii, 423, 459, 621.
küregen, 174–5*n*.
Küregen Küregen, 174*n*.
Kürin Bādu[r], ii, 581*n*.
kür-khan, 62*n*.
Kurram Agency, 136*n*.
kursī, ii, 719.
küsh, 153*n*.
kūshī, ii, 450*n*.
Kūshkak, ii, 667.
Küshlü, 103*n*.
Küshlüg, 62*n*.
Küsh-Tegin Pahlavān, 153, 164–6.
Kūtum, ii, 703.
kūtvāl, 318; ii, 638, 722*n*.
Kuyang, 356.
Küyük, 43*n*.
Kuznetsk, 22*n*.
Kzyl Orda, 83*n*.

Lachïn Beg, 288.
Lachïn the Khitayan, ii, 416.
Lahore, 142, 328.

Lailā, 345; ii, 390.
Lakz, ii, 438.
Lāl, ii, 619.
Lammasar, ii, 619, 679, 681, 682, 697, 713, 718, 719, 721, 724.
Lār, ii, 715.
Larījān, ii, 466.
al-Lāt, 13.
laqab, honorific epithet, title or nickname, *passim*.
Latham (Dr. J. D.), ii, 453*n*.
Laz, ii, 439*n*.
Leninabad, 72*n*.
Leninakan, ii, 429*n*., 430*n*.
Lewis (Professor Bernard), ii, 682*n*.
Lezghians, ii, 438*n*.
Liao, 39*n*.
Liegnitz (Battle of), 195*n*.
Logar, ii, 405*n*.
Lori, ii, 429*n*., 430.
Lot, 194.
Loudon, 21*n*.
Louis IX, xxvi, 256*n*., 262*n*.
Lur, 250, 257; ii, 382, 422, 423, 597.
Luristān, ii, 383, 437, 481.
Lyra, ii, 565*n*.

Maʿadd, i.e. the Fatimid Caliph Muʿizz, ii, 659.
Mābīzhanābād, ii, 404.
Māchīn, 10, 201; ii, 607.
Madrasa-yi-Khānī, 108.
Madrasa-yi-Masʿūdīya, 108.
Magas, 267, 269–70.
Maghrib, ii, 644, 645, 649–50, 652, 653, 669.
Magians, ii, 641.
Magog, 347; ii, 625.
Mahdī, the ʿAlid, ii, 669–71.
Mahdī, the Fatimid Caliph, ii, 648–651.
Mahdīya, ii, 650, 651.
Māhīābād (Garden of), 155.
Maḥmūd (the Emir), governor of Karmān and Sanqūrān, ii, 519.
Maḥmūd (the Emir or Sultan), son of Shihāb-ad-Dīn the Ghurid, 328, 331–2, 333, 352.
Maḥmūd (Sultan), the Ghaznavid, 354; ii, 387*n*.
Maḥmūd Khan. *See* Rukn-ad-Din Maḥmūd Khan.
Maḥmūd Shāh of Sabzavār, ii, 488, 537, 542.
Maḥmūd Tai, 357–8, 360.
Maḥmūd Tārābī, 109–14.
Maḥmūd Yalavach, 97, 107–8, 111, 115, 215, 218, 241–2, 257; ii, 480, 504, 509, 517, 544, 570, 597.
Maidān-i-Sabz, ii, 405.
Maimūn Qaddāḥ, ii, 647.
Maimūn-Diz, ii, 621, 624, 627–8, 707, 713, 716, 717.
Majd-ad-Dīn, 272.
Majd-ad-Dīn of Tabrīz, ii, 521.
Majd-al-Mulk, xxii–xxiv.
majlis-khāna, ii, 500.
Majnūn, 345; ii, 722.
malāḥida, 256*n*.
Malāzjird, ii, 450.
malik, title of the hereditary governor of a territory, *passim*.
Malik Ashraf, ii, 435, 444, 450.
Malik the Basin-Holder, ii, 428–9.
Malik Dīnār, 292–3, 294.
Malik Ṣāliḥ, ii, 468.
Malik Shīr, ii, 462–3.
Malika, daughter of the *atabeg* Saʿd, ii, 419*n*., 459*n*.
Malika, wife of the *atabeg* Öz-Beg, ii, 424–5, 428, 435, 445.
Malik-as-Salām, ii, 646, 693.
Malik-aṣ-Ṣidq, ii, 646.
Malikfūr, ii, 413.
Malik-Shāh, the Seljuq, ii, 669, 674–6, 677–8.
Malik-Shāh, son of Tekish. *See* Nāṣir-ad-Dīn Malik-Shāh.
Mālin, 222.
Mama Yalavach, 133.
Maʾmūn, the ʿAbbasid Caliph, 232; ii, 644.
Manazkert, ii, 450*n*.
Manīʿī mosques, 339.
Mangu, 4*n*.
Manji, 10*n*.

al-Manṣūr Ismāʿīl, ii, 652.
Manṣūrīya, castle in the Ṭālaqān area, ii, 626.
Manṣūrīya, palace in Ṭūs, ii, 510, 571, 616.
Manqut, 86*n*.
Manzī, 10*n*., 256; ii, 596.
maqṣūra, the part of a mosque appropriated to the *imam*, 103.
Marāgha, 148; ii, 684, 685.
Marand, ii, 428.
Marauzik, 272.
Margha, 154, 165, 319.
Marī, 13*n*.
Markab (valley of), ii, 429.
Maruchaq, 151*n*.
Maruchuq, 151, 154.
Marv-ar-Rūd, 167, 298, 318, 325.
Marwān II, ii, 635*n*.
Mary, 110.
Masalsky (Prince), 140*n*.
Masbārib-at-Tajārib, 277.
mast, ii, 613*n*.
Masʿūd (Sultan), the Ghaznavid, ii, 614.
Masʿūd (Sultan), the nephew of Sanjar, ii, 683–5, 686.
Masʿūd Beg (the Emir), 97, 108, 243, 249, 257; ii, 515, 597, 612.
Matthew of Paris, 20*n*.
maʾu, 54*n*.
Maʾu-Baligh, 54, 133, 236.
Mauci, 558*n*.
maulānā, ii, 640.
Mayanchuq, 304, 307, 310–11.
Māzandarān, 146, 297, 310, 340–1; ii, 385, 466–7, 482, 485, 486, 493, 507, 511, 519, 522, 533, 597, 618.
Māzandarānīs, ii, 497.
Mazdaqān, 307*n*.
Mecca, 6; ii, 648.
Mecca (ruler of), ii, 391.
Medina, ii, 643, 644.
Meget, 267*n*.
Mekrit, 63.
Mēla, 144*n*.
Melchizedec Melech Sholem, ii, 646, 693.
Melik, son of Ögedei, 244*n*.; ii, 573, 595.
Menander Protector, 57*n*.
Meneshā, ii, 654.
Meng-Burnī, ii, 434.
Menges (Dr. K. H.), 354*n*.
Mengeser Noyan, 51; ii, 572, 578–81, 588, 605.
Mengli (Melik), son of Ögedei, 244.
Mengli (Nāṣir-ad-Dīn), 340; ii, 701–2.
Mengli Beg, 294–5, 296–7.
Mengu, 4*n*.
mengü, 4*n*.
Mengü Qa'an, 4, 16, 23, 42, 48, 50, 77, 100, 198–9, 239, 246–7, 255, 264, 266, 268, 269, 274; ii, 468, 480, 481, 513, 514–19, 523, 550, 552, 553–607, 610–11, 622–3, 638, 681, 723, 724. *See also* Möngke.
Mengü-Bolad, 50, 88*n*.; ii, 511, 513.
Merkit, 34*n*., 63*n*.
Merv, 13*n*., 90, 151, 153–68, 280, 293, 294, 301, 304, 308, 316, 317, 318, 319; ii, 510, 514, 616.
Meshed, 170*n*., 319; ii, 644*n*. *See also under* Holy Shrine *and* Ṭūs (Shrine of).
Metiken, 132*n*., 273.
Mexico, 89*n*.
Mihrān, ii, 448*n*.
Mīl-i-Bailaqān, 148*n*.
milse, 62*n*.
Mindor, ii, 439.
Mingqadur, ii, 608*n*.
Minquli Böke, 231.
Miran Bitikchi, ii, 588.
Mishkīn, ii, 453*n*.
Mlhedkʿ, 257*n*.
Moal, ii, 404*n*.
Mochi, ii, 558, 608.
Mö'etüken, 133*n*.
Möge, son of Tolui, ii, 518, 558, 561, 571.
Möge Khatun, 211, 212, 218, 240.
Moghal, ii, 404*n*.
Moghan Steppe, 147*n*.
Moghol, ii, 404*n*.
Moghol Ḥājib, 124.

Mohammed, the Prophet, 17, 208; ii, 673.
Mohi, 271*n*.
Molar, ii, 405*n*.
Molghor, ii, 405.
Monggbol, ii, 404*n*.
möngke, 4*n*.
Möngke, xix, xxxiii, 4*n*. *See* Mengü Qa'an.
Mönglik, 91*n*.
Mongolia, 20–3.
Mongols, 15, 19–23, 25–44, 53, 59, 77, 204–5; ii, 490, 533.
Moraqa, ii, 713.
Moroqa, ii, 713*n*.
Moses, ii, 646.
Mosul, 250, 257; ii, 507, 597, 658–659.
mu'an, 16, 30, 97; ii, 539, 596, 598, 599, 606, 654.
mu'aṭṭil, ii, 660*n*.
Mu'ayyid Ai-Aba, 289, 290–1.
Mu'ayyid-ad-Dīn Ibn-al-Qaṣṣāb, 304.
mufrad, 117, 165, 297; ii, 412, 445, 456, 469, 470.
Mūghān, xxv, 147; ii, 453.
Muhaẕẕib-ad-Dīn Dashtābādī, 164.
Muḥammad, brother of Maḥmūd Tārābī, 114.
Muḥammad, brother of Zaid, ii, 641.
Muḥammad, son of Ḥasan-i-Ṣabbāh, ii, 680.
Muḥammad, son of Khāqān, ii, 691.
Muḥammad, son of Malik-Shāh, ii, 637, 678, 680–1.
Muḥammad, son of the Ḥanafīya, ii, 641.
Muḥammad, son of Ismā'īl, ii, 645, 647.
Muḥammad, son of *Miqdāt, ii, 612–613.
Muḥammad I of Alamūt, ii, 685–8, 692, 693–4.
Muḥammad II of Alamūt, ii, 697–9.
Muḥammad Bustī, ii, 689.
Muḥammad Dībāj, ii, 642, 644.
Muḥammad Jahān-Pahlavān, 299.
Muḥammad Kharang, 316, 319–20.
Muḥammad Khorazm-Shāh, xvi, xxxi, 46, 63–4, 69–70, 116, 118, 142–3, 147, 153–4, 169–72, 304, 315–54, 357–60; ii, 362–99, 465–6, 699.
Muḥammadābād, ii, 645.
Muḥammad-i-Bashīr, 353.
Muḥammad-Shāh, 228.
al-Muhtadī, ii, 695.
muḥtasham, 250, 337; ii, 619, 640, 680.
Mu'izz, the Fatimid Caliph, 652–3.
Mujīr-ad-Dīn, ii, 444, 448, 451.
Mujīr-al-Mulk Kāfī Rukhkhī, 145, 172, 176; ii, 379–80.
Mujīr-al-Mulk Sharaf-ad-Dīn Muẓaffar, 153, 155, 661.
Mujtabā (Sayyid), ii, 540.
Mular, ii, 405*n*.
Mulhedk', 257*n*.
mulḥid, 3, 256*n*.; ii, 660*n*.
Mulidet, 257*n*.
Multan, 142, 328; ii, 415.
Mu'min, ii, 668.
Mu'minābād, ii, 676, 691.
Muntajab-ad-Dīn Badī' al-Kātib, xvi, 283.
Munkar, ii, 440.
Muqaddim, ii, 718, 719.
Muqali, ii, 625*n*.
Muqanna', ii, 520.
Muqtafī, the 'Abbasid Caliph, ii, 686*n*.
al-Murtaḍā, ii, 660.
Murtaẓā (Sayyid), 347.
Mūsā, son of Ja'far, ii, 642–4, 647.
muṣallā, place for public prayer outside a town, 107.
musammā, ii, 539, 540.
Mūsh, ii, 450.
must, ii, 613*n*.
Mustaḍī, the 'Abbasid Caliph, ii, 665*n*.
Musta'lawīs, ii, 662–3.
Musta'lī, ii, 662–3, 668.
Mustanṣir, the Fatimid Caliph, ii, 660–2, 668, 674, 691, 692.
al-Mustanṣir billāh, the 'Abbasid Caliph, ii, 443, 451.

Mustarshid, the ʿAbbasid Caliph, ii, 391, 683–5.
mustaufī, state accountant, *passim*.
Mutalammis, 156.
Muʿtamid, the ʿAbbasid Caliph, ii, 648.
Muʿtamid-ad-Daula Abū-Manīʿ Qirwash, ii, 658–9.
mutaṣarrif, local administrator, *passim*.
Mutawakkil, the ʿAbbasid Caliph, ii, 455.
muʾūnāt, ii, 599.
muvāẓaʿa, ii, 600.
Muẓaffar (the *raʾīs*), ii, 691.
Muẓaffar Mustaufī (the *raʾīs*), ii, 670–1, 679, 680.
Muẓaffar-ad-Din Kök-Böri, ii, 422–4, 702.
Muẓaffar-ad-Din Wajh-as-Sabuʿ, ii, 469, 702.
Muzdaqān, 307.

Nahrwāla, ii, 416.
nāʾib, ii, 674.
Naiman, 34*n*., 35*n*., 41, 64, 193*n*.
Naimatai, xix; ii, 518, 520.
Najaf, xxii.
Najīb-ad-Dīn Qiṣṣa-Dār, 153.
Najm-ad-Dīn ʿAlī of Jīlābād, ii, 514, 521, 523.
Nakhchivān, 148; ii, 424, 425.
Nakhichevan, 148*n*.
Nakhshab, 129, 166; ii, 375.
naʿl-bahā, ii, 415*n*.
Namging, 195.
nāmūs, 680.
Nan-ching, 195*n*.
Nandana, 141.
naqīb, 154, 304.
Naqu, a kinsman of the Emir Arghun, ii, 514, 519.
Naqu, son of Güyük, 263–6; ii, 566–567, 574, 583, 591–2.
Nasā, 151*n*.
Nasawī, xvi. *See also* Nūr-ad-Dīn Munshī.
nasiʿ, 218*n*.
nasīch, 218*n*.
nasīj, 218; ii, 612, 616.
an-Nāṣir li-Dīn-Allāh, the ʿAbbasid Caliph, 303; ii, 364, 390–2, 422, 665, 699.
Nāṣir-ad-Dīn, the vizier of Muḥammad Khorazm-Shah and Terken Khatun, ii, 466–8.
Nāṣir-ad-Dīn ʿAlī Malik, ii, 513, 518.
Nāṣir-ad-Dīn Malik-Shāh, 297, 301–2, 304, 305, 308–9.
Naṣīr-ad-Dīn Ṭūsī, xxii; ii, 715*n*.
Nāṣir Ṣalāḥ-ad-Dīn Yūsuf, 250*n*.
nasnās, ii, 529, 628.
nau-babār, 130.
Naughān, 146*n*.
naukar, ii, 506*n*.
Naurūz, 124.
navīr, 370.
Naya'a, 84*n*., 91*n*.
Neküder, 192*n*.
nerge, 28; ii, 554, 585, 613, 627.
Neugebauer (Professor O.), ii, 362*n*.
Nihāvand, ii, 677.
Nikāla, ii, 412, 414, 415.
nikse, 62*n*.
Nikūdar, ii, 608*n*.
Nimrod, ii, 528.
Ning-hsia, 225*n*.
Ningrahār, ii, 464.
Nisā, 151, 175*n*., 286, 297, 348; ii, 402, 483.
Nishapur, 13*n*., 145, 146*n*., 151, 169–178, 287, 289, 291, 293, 301, 304, 306, 308, 316; ii, 369, 378, 379–81, 437, 483–4.
Nīzak, ii, 621*n*.
Niẓām-ad-Dīn, brother of Bahā-ad-Dīn of Suʿlūk, ii, 486, 487.
Niẓām-ad-Dīn, deputy to Bahā-ad-Dīn Juvainī, ii, 487.
Niẓām-ad-Dīn of Isfarāyin, ii, 497, 543.
Niẓām-ad-Dīn ʿAlī as-Sadīd of Baihaq, ii, 489.
Niẓām-ad-Dīn Shāh, ii, 497, 501, 507, 511, 512.
Niẓām-al-Mulk, the vizier of Malik-Shāh, ii, 669, 676–7, 678.

Niẓām-al-Mulk Aḥmad, son of the vizier Niẓām-al-Mulk, ii, 680.
Niẓām-al-Mulk Masʿūd, 303, 309, 313–14.
Nizār, ii, 661–3, 668, 690, 691, 692.
Nizārīs, ii, 662–3.
Noah, 16.
Nogai, 266*n*.
nöger, ii, 506*n*.
nöker, ii, 506, 518, 590, 598.
nökör, ii, 506*n*.
nom, 60.
Noqai, 266*n*.
Nosal, ii, 483, 488–9, 492–3, 534.
noyan, in Mongol 'military chief', *passim*.
Nūḥ Jāndār, ii, 464.
nuntuq, 86*n*.
Nūqān, 146, 176.
Nūr, 100–2.
Nūr-ad-Dīn Maḥmūd b. Zangī, ii, 664–5.
Nūr-ad-Dīn Munshī, ii, 420–1, 445. *See also* Nasawi.
Nurata, 100*n*.
Nurin, ii, 498*n*.
Nurke, 175*n*.
Nūshīrvān, 4; ii, 604.
Nush-Tegin Gharcha, 277–8.
Nush-Tegin Shīr-Gīr, ii, 681.
Nuṣrat, 167.
Nuṣrat (Malik), ii, 470–1.
Nuṣrat-ad-Dīn, the *isfahbad* of Kabūd-Jāma, ii, 486–7.
Nuṣrat-ad-Dīn (the *atabeg*), ii, 511.
Nuṣrat-ad-Dīn Hazār-Asf, ii, 382–4, 471.
Nuṣrat-Kūh, 132.
nuzl, 102, 145; ii, 502.
Nūzvār, 322.

Occoday, 40*n*.
Ögedei, xvii, xxxi, xxxii–xxxiii, 29*n*. *See* Ögetei *and* Qa'an.
Ögetei, 29*n*., 40, 43, 46, 83, 124–8, 134, 135, 140, 180; ii, 549. *See also* Qa'an.
oghul, 26*n*.
Oghul Ḥājib, 158, 159; ii, 401, 402*n*., 469.
Oghul Malik. *See* Oghul Ḥājib.
Oghul-Beg, 287.
Oghul-Ghaimish, xviii, 49*n*., 262–6; ii, 566, 585. *See also* Ghaimish.
Ögödei, 40*n*.
Ögünch, 52, 53.
d'Ohsson, xxviii, xxxiv.
Oirat, 38, 235; ii, 505–6, 608.
Öködei, 40*n*.
Oman, 22; ii, 434.
Oman (Sea of), 214.
Omar Khayyam, 164; ii, 467*n*.
Omyl, 43*n*., 246*n*.
Onan-Kelüren, ii, 562.
Onankerule, ii, 562*n*.
Onggiran, ii, 585*n*.
Onggirat, 38*n*.
Ong-Khan, 35–8, 40, 61; ii, 550.
Öngüt, 88*n*.
Onqon-Dalan-Quduq, 181*n*.
Oqul-Qaimish, 262*n*.
Or Tegin, 56, 57.
Oran, 305; ii, 379.
Orchan, 180, 256*n*.
Orchaqan, 181*n*., 256*n*.
Orda, 183*n*.
ordu, residence of a Mongol prince, *passim*.
Ordu, 183*n*.
Ördü, 183*n*.
Ordu-Baligh, 54, 58, 236.
Organum, 274*n*.
Orkhan, ii, 409, 416, 431, 456–7.
Orkhon, 35*n*., 54*n*., 55*n*.
Orqīna, 274; ii, 611*n*., 612.
Orqon, 54, 57, 236.
ortaq, 209, 220; ii, 598, 599, 600, 605, 606.
Osh, 94.
Ossetes, 259*n*.; ii, 553*n*.
Otegin, brother of Chingiz-Khan, 39*n*., 42, 184, 187, 244, 248, 249, 255; ii, 568.
Otegin, brother of Sultan ʿUsman, ii, 395.
Ötegü-China, ii, 724.

Otrar, 46, 79, 81–6, 347–8; ii, 597.
Oxus, 22, 67*n.*, 103, 139, 322; ii, 452, 460, 466, 499.
Ozar Khan, 65, 74*n.*, 75–6.
Öz-Beg, the *atabeg* of Azerbaijan, 148*n.*, 299*n.*, 308; ii, 366, 424–6, 701–2.
Öz-Beg Tai, ii, 414–15.
Özkend, 64, 77, 87.

Pahlavān, 167.
Pahlavān Fīla, 227–8.
p'ai tzŭ, 158*n.*
paiza, xvii, xix, 158, 255, 257; ii, 487, 488, 499, 500, 508–9, 519–20, 523, 551, 598, 606.
Pa-lu-wan, 139*n.*
Pambak Mountains, ii, 429*n.*
Pamir River, 67–8*n.*
panja, ii, 628.
Panja, 67*n.*
Panjāb, 144; ii, 378, 380.
Panj-Dih, 167, 298.
Panjshir, ii, 405*n.*
Parch'in, 83*n.*
parpara, ii, 701.
Parshāvar, 138*n.*
Parvān, 133*n.*; ii, 405–7, 463.
Pasā, ii, 418.
Parasrāvar, ii, 415.
Pasrur, ii, 415*n.*
Pātan, ii, 416*n.*
Payghū, 238*n.*
Perovsk, 83*n.*
Peshawar, 131, 133*n.*, 138, 139, 328 ii, 462, 463.
Pharaoh(s), 23; ii, 528, 607, 627.
Pīr-Shāh, ii, 468.
pisar, 26*n.*
Pishkil-Dara, ii, 620, 621, 716*n.*
Piskir, ii, 717.
Pi-yin, 181*n.*
Pococke, xxviii.
Polovtsī, 183*n.*
Porus, ii, 634.
Prester John, 35*n.*, 96*n.*
p'u, 62*n.*
P'u-chou, 191*n.*
Pūlād, 74*n.*
Pul-i-Āhangarān, 136*n.*
Purushapura, 138*n.*
pūshish, 155*n.*
Pushkil-Dara, ii, 620*n.*
P'u-su-wan, the Empress Ch'êng-t'ien, 290*n.*, 356*n.*

Qa'an, 29, 47, 54, 94, 107, 115, 178–239, 248; ii, 456, 468, 479–80, 482, 483, 485, 486–7, 491–2, 493, 496–500, 506, 535, 549–51, 553, 595. *See also* Ögetei.
Qaban, 166; ii, 506.
Qabān, ii, 453.
Qabīḥa, 232.
Qābīlān Gate, 125.
Qachi'un, 184*n.*
Qada, 192*n.*
Qadaghan, 269; ii, 558, 563, 573, 595. *See also* Qadaqan.
Qadai Rengü, 192.
Qada-Kürin, ii, 580*n.*
Qadan, 94*n.*, 181*n.*
Qadaq, 245, 259, 263–4, 266; ii, 511, 566, 583–5.
Qadaq Ba'atur, 46*n.*
Qadaqach, ii, 588.
Qadaqan, 94–5, 181*n.* *See also* Qadaghan.
qadīr, 79*n.*, 305*n.*
al-Qādir billāh, the 'Abbasid Caliph, ii, 651, 658–9.
Qadīr-Buqu, 309–10, 311, 349. *See also* Qayïr-Buqu.
al-Qāhir li-Quwwat-Allāh, ii, 695.
Qahqa, 151*n.*
Qailī, ii, 370.
Qā'im, the Fatimid Caliph, ii, 650, 651–2.
Qaimīch, ii, 370.
Qā'in, 314*n.*
Qairawān, ii, 649.
Qal'a Wālī, 331*n.*
Qal'a-yi-Āhangarān, 136*n.*
Qal'a-yi-Bist, 136*n.*; ii, 462.
Qal'a-yi-Dabūs, 102*n.*
Qal'a-yi-Kalāt, 158.
Qal'a-yi-Mor, 151*n.*

Qal'a-yi-Nau, 158.
Qal'a-yi-Qāhira, 312.
Qalqaljit-Elet, 37*n*.
qam, 55*n*., 59, 251, 265.
Qamar Neküder, 192.
Qamar-ad-Dīn Karmānī, 141.
Qamar-ad-Dīn Tamar Khan Qīrān, 141*n*.
Qamīl, ii, 371*n*.
Qam-Kemchik, 69.
Qamlanchu, 55.
qanāt, a subterranean channel for the supply of water, xxi, 617.
Qandahār, i.e. Ghandhāra, ii, 645.
*Qanghai, ii, 585, 609, 724.
Qanglī, 89*n*., 91, 107, 121, 193, 355, 356; ii, 370, 465, 574*n*.
Qangqai, ii, 609*n*.
*Qan-Khitai, ii, 580.
Qār, 176.
Qara, 243, 255, 273–4; ii, 505. *See also* Qara-Hülegü.
Qara-Alp Oran, 305*n*., 309*n*.
Qara-Balghasun, 54*n*., 55*n*.
Qara-Bulaghan, ii, 724*n*.
Qaracha, emir of Sultan Jalāl-ad-Dīn, ii, 483–5.
Qaracha Khāṣṣ-Ḥājib, 82–4.
Qaracha Noyan, 165–6, 168.
Qara-Hülegü, xviii, 243*n*.; ii, 558, 573, 586, 588–9, 595. *See also* Qara.
Qara-Khitai, 44–5, 65–7, 288, 290, 322, 341–7, 349–60. *See also under* Khitai.
Qara-Khoja, 45.
Qara-Köl, 140, 288.
Qara-Müren, 191.
Qaraqai Bitikchi, ii, 723.
qaraqchī, 78.
Qara-Qorum, xvii, xix, xxv, xxxiv, 54, 55, 89*n*., 198, 212, 213, 217, 223, 236, 244; ii, 468, 495, 557, 584, 585, 609, 610, 614, 724.
Qara-Qum, 89, 90; ii, 370.
Qara-Qush (the Emir), 293.
Qara-Qush (Tower of), 174, 177.
Qaratai, ii, 723*n*.
Qara-Tal, 356*n*.
Qara-Tash, 225.
qarīndash khan, ii, 418.
Qarlīgh, 355.
Qarlugh, Qarluq, 49*n*., 74*n*., 75, 288–9, 355.
Qarmaṭīs, ii, 648.
qarn, 361.
Qarshi, 219.
Qarshi-Suri, 219*n*., 237.
Qārūn, 82, 360.
Qārūn (castle of), ii, 382, 384, 469.
qaṣīda, a kind of panegyric poem, *passim*.
qasīs, ii, 428.
Qaṣr Musannā, xxiv.
Qaṣrān, ii, 619.
Qata Noyan, 272*n*.
*Qata-Kürin, ii, 580, 583.
Qataqash, ii, 588*n*.
Qatavān, 96.
qavaq, 263*n*.
qaya, 45*n*.
Qayalīgh, 42, 63, 74–7, 82; ii, 557, 585, 587.
qayīr, 79*n*., 305*n*.
Qayïr-Buqu, 305. *See also* Qadïr Buqu.
Qazvīn, 147, 311; ii, 540–2, 638, 669, 670, 675, 700, 709, 713, 722, 723.
Qazvīnī (Muḥammad), xiv, xxvi–xxviii.
Qïfchaq, 183, 190, 199, 206, 267; ii, 438, 440, 553.
Qïfchaq (Plain of the), 139, 140, 149.
Qïlïj, ii, 419–20.
Qimaq, ii, 371*n*.
Qïpchaq, 91*n*., 183*n*. *See also* Qïfchaq.
Qïrqïz, 21, 57, 355, 356; ii, 585.
Qiṣaṣ-al-Anbiyā, 17; ii, 720.
Qïshlïq, 37*n*.
qismat, ii, 517*n*., 600.
qiṣṣa-dār, 153*n*.
qiṭ'a, lit. 'fragment', a kind of poem, *passim*.
Qïyat, 35.

Qizhduvān, 90.
Qizil Arvat, 151*n*.
Qīzīl-Arslan, 299*n*.
Qīzīl-Buqa, ii, 483.
Qīz-Malik, 257; ii, 428.
Qobaq, 43, 184, 262.
Qocha, ii, 592*n*.
Qocho, 45*n*.
Qodon-Orchan, 180*n*.
Qodu, 61*n*., 69*n*., 240*n*.
Qodun-Orchang, 181*n*.
Qoja, 247*n*.
Qomul, ii, 371*n*.
Qonghuran, ii, 585.
Qongqīran, ii, 585*n*.
Qongqīyat, 35*n*.
Qongqotan, 91*n*.
Qonqīrat, 38*n*.; ii, 585*n*.
Qonqurat, 38.
Qonqurtaqai Noyan, ii, 557.
qorchi, 219, 273.
qorīgh, ii, 608*n*.
Qori-Tumat, 141*n*.
qoshighun, ii, 513*n*.
qoshqun, ii, 513, 514.
Qoton-Orchang, 181*n*.
Qotur Tegin, 56, 57.
Qubacha, 141*n*., 142*n*., 328; ii, 414–416, 470*n*.
Qubilai, general of Chingiz-Khan, 77*n*.
Qubilai, son of Tolui, ii, 518, 550, 571, 592, 596, 607.
Quchan, xxi, 146*n*.
Quhistān, 314, 316; ii, 617, 619, 637, 674, 675, 681, 691, 697, 714, 715, 724.
Quhistānī, 238.
Qulan (Princess), 180*n*.
Qulan-Bashī, 140, 266; ii, 514.
Quli, ii, 608.
Qul-Toghan, 61*n*., 69*n*.
Qum, ii, 518, 542, 667.
Qūmish, 146; ii, 662, 682.
qumīz, 208; ii, 571, 573.
Qum-Sengir, 261; ii, 585.
Qum-Shinggir, 261*n*.
Qunqu, 62*n*., 64*n*.
qupchur, 30, 34; ii, 517, 519, 521, 524, 551, 600.
Quraish (Graveyard of), ii, 644.
Qurbagha Elchi, Qurbaqa, 243; ii, 494, 503, 506, 507.
quriltai, assembly of the Mongol princes, *passim*.
Qurumshi, 97*n*.
Quṣdār, ii, 462.
qushchī, ii, 574*n*.
Qush-Temür, emir in the service of the Caliph an-Nāsir li-Dīn-Allāh, ii, 422.
Qush-Temür, officer in the service of the Mongols, 173, 175.
qusuq, 21, 55.
Qut-Almīsh-Qaya, 45.
Quṭb-ad-Dīn of Kerman, ii, 480–2.
Quṭb-ad-Dīn Ai-Beg, 328.
Quṭb-ad-Din Muḥammad, 278.
Quṭb-ad-Dīn Muḥammad, i.e. Muḥammad Khorazm-Shāh, 301, 309–310, 314–15.
Qutlugh, 271.
Qutlugh-Balīgh, 100.
Qutlugh-Īnanch, 299, 300, 302–3, 304, 307.
qutlugh-khan, ii, 414, 476.
Qutlugh-Khan, 88.
Qutlugh-Khatun, 300*n*.
qutlugh-sulṭān, ii, 479, 480.
Qutuqu Beki, ii, 506*n*.
Qutuqu Noyan, 135, 166. *See also* Shigi-Qutuqu.
Quyas, 29, 43, 75, 184, 271.
Quyash, 29*n*.
Quz-Balīgh, 58.
Quz-Ordu, 58*n*., 355*n*.
Quz-Ulush, 58*n*.

Rabī' Malik, 112.
Raḍī, the hidden Imam, ii, 651.
ar-Raḍī, of the family of Mūsā, the son of Ja'far, ii, 660.
Rādkān, 146, 298, 299, 318; ii, 510, 616.
rafaḍū Zaidan, ii, 642.
Rāfiḍīs, ii, 642, 643.

rafiq, ii, 639.
Rāi Kōkār Sankīn, ii, 414.
ra'īs, 112*n.*; ii, 670.
Rakhsh, Rustam's horse, ii, 625.
Rānā, 137.
Rāna *Shatra, 137*n.*
Rang, 132*n.*
ar-Rāshid billāh, the ʿAbbasid Caliph, ii, 686.
Rashīd Sūdagar, 221.
Rashīd-ad-Dīn, the historian, xxvii, xxviii.
Rashīd-ad-Dīn Vaṭvāṭ, 280, 281, 282–3, 284–5, 287, 290.
Ray, 147, 300, 302–3, 304, 307; ii, 365, 382, 384, 385, 420, 436, 469, 475, 542, 645, 667, 668, 669, 675, 713.
Rāzī, 277.
Raẓī-al-Mulk, ii, 462.
Resurrection (Propaganda of the), ii, 695–6, 698.
Rhages, 147*n.*
rikābī, ii, 491.
rubʿ, 146.
Rūdbār, on the Syr Darya, 284.
Rūdbār of Alamūt, 312; ii, 639, 675, 679, 680–1, 707.
rūd-khāna, ii, 636.
Rūghad, ii, 502.
Rukhkh, 145*n.*
Rukn-ad-Dīn, i.e. Qīlīj-Arslan IV, 250, 257.
Rukn-ad-Dīn ʿAlī b. Ibrāhīm al-Mughīṣī, 176, 337.
Rukn-ad-Dīn Ghūr-Sanjī, ii, 368, 376, 382, 474–6.
Rukn-ad-Dīn Imāmzāda, 104.
Rukn-ad-Dīn Jahānshāh, 250*n.*; ii, 450*n.*
Rukn-ad-Dīn Kart, 121; ii, 613*n.*
Rukn-ad-Dīn Khoja Mubārak, ii, 479–82.
Rukn-ad-Dīn Khur-Shāh, xxi; ii, 617–38, 707–25.
Rukn-ad-Dīn Maḥmūd Khan, 286–8, 289.
ruknī, 23; ii, 501, 519.
Rūm, i.e. Asia Minor, 229, 250, 257; ii, 438, 443, 507, 508, 609.
Rūmīs, ii, 439.
runūd, 87, 112, 113, 146; ii, 412, 483, 615.
Rus, 259, 267, 268–70; ii, 553.
Rustam, the hero of the National Epic, xxxii, 92, 116*n.*, 117, 135; ii, 640.
Rustamdār, ii, 385*n.*, 626*n.*
Rusudani, 257*n.* *See* Qīz-Malik.

Saba (people of), 345.
Sābī, ii, 683.
sabīl, ii, 364, 391, 701.
Sabzavār, 175–6, 295; ii, 503, 537.
Saʿd, the *atabeg* of Shiraz, ii, 365, 418, 469.
Sadīd-i-Aʿvar Shāʿir, 273.
Sadīr, 231.
ṣadr, title of a religious dignitary, *passim*.
Ṣadr-ad-Dīn, envoy of Rukn-ad-Dīn Khur-Shāh, ii, 714.
Ṣadr-ad-Dīn, the historian, 312.
Ṣadr-ad-Dīn (the *malik*), ii, 511, 515, 518.
Ṣadr-Jahān, 112.
Sādūsān, ii, 416.
saghīr, 288*n.*
Saghun, 49*n.*
ṣāḥib-dīvān, xv, xvi, xvii, xix, xxii, 7; ii, 487, 499.
Saḥna, ii, 677.
Saifābād, 323.
Saif-ad-Dīn (the Emir), 49–50; ii, 617, 622.
Saif-ad-Dīn of Bākharz, ii, 552.
Saif-ad-Dīn Mardān-Shīr the Table-Decker, 294.
Saif-ad-Dīn Sulṭān Malik, ii, 714, 715.
Sain-Malik-Shāh, ii, 495.
St. George, 72*n.*
Sairam, ii, 396*n.*
Sairam (Lake), 74*n.*
Saladin, ii, 664*n.*
Ṣalāḥ-ad-Dīn of Nisā, ii, 461–2.
Ṣalāḥ-ad-Dīn Yūsuf, ii, 664–5.
Salām, 334*n.*
Salāmī, 334*n.*

Sālār Aḥmad, 136, 137*n*.
Salghur-Shāh, ii, 418.
Ṣāliḥ, 17*n*., 72; ii, 574.
Salïndï, 48.
Saljuq-Shāh, ii, 418*n*.
Sallāmī, ii, 720.
Salmās, ii, 428.
Salūmak, 334*n*.
Salūmid, 334.
Sām, the grandfather of Rustam, ii, 431.
Samarqand, 43, 95–6, 107, 115–123, 271, 288–9, 342–3, 350; ii, 369–70, 373, 375, 378, 395–6, 505, 612.
Samnān, 146, 302; ii, 618.
Ṣanʿā, ii, 616.
Sanā'ī, 12.
Sangān, 152*n*.
Sangbast, 165.
sang-i-yaraqān, ii, 496*n*.
Sanjān, 152.
Sanjar (Sultan), 96*n*., 153, 278–88; ii, 681–2.
Sanjar-Malik, 111, 341.
Sanjar-Shāh, 294, 306–7.
Sanqūrān, 136; ii, 408, 519.
*Saqïyat, 35.
Saqïz, 35*n*.
Saqsïn, 42, 190, 249; ii, 557.
Saqun, 48, 49*n*., 53.
Sarāb, ii, 453.
Sarai, 267.
Sarakhs, 152, 155, 156, 158, 159, 162, 164, 165, 292–3, 299, 301, 317, 319, 335, 337; ii, 512.
Sarchāhān, ii, 385.
Sar-Guẕasht-i-Sayyidnā, ii, 666, 667.
Sarḥadd, ii, 669.
sarhang, 340; ii, 470.
Sárigh Chupán, 67*n*.
Sarïgh-Chopan, 67.
Sarïgh-Köl, 68*n*.
Sarikol, 67*n*.
Sar-i-Pul, 111, 117.
Sariq-Qol, 67*n*.
Sariq-Qun, 67*n*.
Sarïr, ii, 438.
Sarmājān Gate, 155.
Sarsïgh Khan, 121.
Sartaq, 268.
Sartaq-Küje'ür, ii, 502*n*.
satr, ii, 647.
Sayó, 271*n*.
sayyid, the title given to descendants of ʿAlī in the line of Ḥusain, *passim*.
Sebük-Tegin, 277.
Selenga, 21*n*., 55*n*.
Selenge, Selengei, 21, 55.
Seljuqs, ii, 391.
Sempad (the Constable), 250*n*.
senggüm, 192*n*.
Senggüm, 84*n*.
Seroctan, 108*n*.
Sevan (Lake), ii, 430.
Sevinch Khan, 103.
Shābūr, ii, 664–5.
Shābūr-Khāst (Khwāst), ii, 421.
Shaddād, 197*n*.
Shādyākh, 173, 176, 289, 291, 295, 297, 305, 309, 316, 317, 329, 335, 336–8, 347; ii, 402.
Shāfiʿī, 162.
Shafūrqān, ii, 614.
Shāhanshāh, ii, 617, 620, 713.
Shāh-Dād, 480*n*.
Shāhdiz, ii, 619.
Shāh-Ghāzī, 340.
shaḥna, 44, 74, 94, 111, 122, 144, 146, 150, 154, 155, 164, 173, 278, 316, 348, 357; ii, 393, 551, 596.
Shahrak, ii, 718.
Shahr-i-Bilqïs, 146*n*.
Shahr-i-Nau, 222*n*.
Shahristān, i.e. Shahrak, ii, 718*n*.
Shahristān, i.e. Shahristāna, 157*n*.
Shahristān Gate, in Merv, 161.
Shahristāna, 94, 157, 286; ii, 483, 500.
Shahryār-Kūh, ii, 669.
Shaiban, 184*n*.
shaikh, a religious dignitary, *passim*.
Shaikh-Khan, 118, 158–9.
shaikh-al-Islām, 'the *shaikh* of Islam', a high religious dignitary.
Shaknavān, ii, 366*n*.
Shalanba, ii, 645.
Shalōzān, 136*n*.
Shāl-Rūd, ii, 712.

Shalva, ii, 427–9.
Shamākhā, 149*n*.
Shams-ad-Dīn, cadi of Sarakhs, 158.
Shams-ad-Dīn, Ismāʿīlī governor in Quhistān, 250; ii, 637.
Shams-ad-Dīn, son of Pahlavān Abū-Bakr Divāna, 164.
Shams-ad-Dīn (Sultan). *See* Il-Tutmīsh.
Shams-ad-Dīn ʿAlī, son of Muḥammad, 347.
Shams-ad-Dīn ʿAlī (the Emir), 155.
Shams-ad-Dīn Gīlakī, ii, 714, 715, 716.
Shams-ad-Dīn Ḥārisī, 154.
Shams-ad-Dīn Juvainī, the brother of the historian, xv–xvi, xxii–xxiii, xxv.
Shams-ad-Dīn Kamargar, ii, 494, 506.
Shams-ad-Dīn Maḥbūbī, 110, 112.
Shams-ad-Dīn Masʿūd of Herat, 162.
Shams-ad-Dīn Muḥammad Kart, ii, 518–19.
Shams-ad-Dīn Ṣāḥib-ad-Dīvān, grandfather of Juvainī, xvi, 170.
Shams-al-Mulk Shihāb-ad-Dīn of Sarakhs, ii, 461–3.
Shamur Tayangu, 75.
Shankavān, ii, 366*n*.
shao-chien, 44*n*., 48*n*.
Sharaf-ad-Dīn, the Emir of the Assembly, 172; ii, 474.
Sharaf-ad-Dīn of Khorazm, xxx; ii, 487, 494, 495, 497, 499–500, 502–4, 507–8, 525–46.
Sharaf-ad-Dīn ʿAlī of Tabrish, ii, 459.
Sharaf-al-Mulk. *See* Yulduzchī.
Sharaf-al-Mulk, the vizier of Nishapur, 337, 338; ii, 379.
Sharīʿat, the Moslem Canon Law, *passim*.
sharīf, the title given to descendants of ʿAlī in the line of Ḥasan, *passim*.
Shaukem, 44.
Shāwar, ii, 664*n*.
Shāyaqān (Hill of), ii, 402.
Shehrizur, 153*n*.
shēr, 257*n*.; ii, 613*n*.
Shere Khan, 257*n*.
Shiban, 184*n*.
Shibarkhan, ii, 614*n*.
Shiʿb-i-Bavvān, ii, 383*n*.
Shiʿb-i-Salmān, ii, 469*n*.
Shigi-Qutuqu, 135*n*.; ii, 406.
Shihāb-ad-Dīn, Ismaʿīli governor in Quhistān, 250; ii, 637.
Shihāb-ad-Dīn, i.e. Sultan Muḥammad Ghūr, 291*n*., 315–26, 353, 357; ii, 390.
Shihāb-ad-Dīn the Grand Chamberlain, 294, 314.
Shihāb-ad-Dīn of Khīvaq, 322.
Shihābī college, Merv, 167.
Shilemün Bitikchi, ii, 566, 586.
Shinggü Küregen, 175*n*.
shīr, 257*n*.; ii, 613*n*.
Shīra, 245.
Shira-Ordu, 239.
Shīrān-Shāh, ii, 620, 716.
Shīrāz, 215, 234; ii, 418.
Shiremün, 251*n*.
Shīrkūh, the uncle of Saladin, ii, 664–5.
Shīrkūh, a valley in the Alamūt district, ii, 709.
Shirvān, 149, 250, 257.
Shrine (the), i.e. Meshed, ii, 543.
Shui Ta-ta, 196*n*.
Shujāʿ-ad-Dīn Abul-Qāsim, ii, 469, 477.
Shūlistān, ii, 383.
Shumān, 129.
Shūmān, 129*n*.
Shuqān, ii, 714.
Shūsha, 148*n*.
Shustar, 34*n*. *See* Tustar.
Siban, 181*n*., 184*n*., 249.
Sibaqan, 181*n*., 184, 266, 270–1; ii, 608.
Sibi, ii, 462*n*.
Sibijāb, ii, 396.
Si-ching, 181*n*.
Sicily, ii, 650.
Sijilmāsa, ii, 649.
Sijistān, 152.
Simāk, 225; ii, 625.
sīmurgh, 243.

Sind, ii, 645.
sipahsālār, commander-in-chief, 124.
Ṣiqat-al-Mulk, 122.
Sīqnaq, 86*n*.
Sīqnaq Tegin, 76, 77, 82.
Sirāj-ad-Dīn of Ṭūs, 173.
Sirāj-ad-Dīn Shujā'ī, ii, 513, 519, 598*n*.
Siramun, 251*n*.
Sira-Orda, 239*n*.
Sira-Ordu, 239*n*.
Siraqchin Elchi, ii, 507.
sirāt-i-qiyāmat, ii, 626.
Siremün, grandson of Ögedei, 251; ii, 557, 566–7, 574, 583, 587, 591–2.
Siremün, son of Chormaghun, 258.
Sir-i-kol, 68*n*.
Sīstān, i.e. Zaranj, ii, 479, 485, 518.
Sitt-al-Mulk, ii, 656–8.
Sīvistān, ii, 462.
Siyāh-Chashm, ii, 720.
Siyālān-Kūh, ii, 713.
Sodom, 234.
Sögetü, general of Chingiz-Khan, 91; ii, 477*n*.
Sögetü, son of Tolui, ii, 571, 612*n*.
Sögedü, ii, 571*n*.
Solanga, 190*n*.
Solangai, 190, 196, 256; ii, 592, 596.
Solangi, 190*n*.
Solangqas, 190*n*.
Solomon, 308.
Sōmnāt, 313.
Sönidei, 190*n*.
Sönitei, 190*n*.; ii, 724*n*.
Sonqur Tegin, 56, 57.
Sorghan, ii, 580.
sorqan, 108*n*.
Sorqan Shira, 242*n*.; ii, 624*n*.
sorqaq, 108*n*.
Sorqaqtani, 108*n*.
Sorqatu, 108*n*.
sorqoq, 108*n*.
Sorqoqtani Beki (Princess Sorqoqtani), xxxiii, 52*n*., 108*n*. *See* Sorqotani Beki *and* Beki.
Sorqoqtu, 108*n*.
Sorqotani Beki, 108, 244, 249, 254, 260*n*., 262; ii, 483, 550–3, 563. *See also* Beki.
soyurghamishī, 94, 207; ii, 492, 500.
Stalinabad, 129*n*.
Stepanavan, ii, 430*n*.
Stican, 184*n*.
Sübe'etei, 101*n*.
Sübetei, the famous general, 101, 118, 142–9, 190, 256, 269; ii, 370*n*., 373*n*., 380, 467.
Sübetei, son of Tolui, ii, 571, 607, 612.
Suburni, 291.
Ṣūfī-Khāna Gate, in Otrar, 84.
Sughd River, 288.
Sughnaq, 86*n*.
Sughunchaq, xxii; ii, 624*n*.
Suhrāb, ii, 406, 452.
Sujās, 147.
Sulaimān b. Muḥammad, nephew of Sanjar, 280.
Sulaimān-Shāh, ruler of the Ive Turcomans, ii, 421.
Sulaimān-Shāh, younger brother of Il-Arslan, 287.
Süldüs, 91*n*.; ii, 624*n*.
Sulṭānābād, ii, 382*n*.
Sulṭān-Duvīn, ii, 495.
Sulṭān-Shāh, 289–301.
Ṣu'lūk, one of the emirs of Gīlān, ii, 385.
Ṣu'lūk (castle of), 155.
suluq, 230.
Suman Qorchi, ii, 588.
Su-Moal, 196*n*.
Su-Moghol, 196.
Sumongol, 196*n*.
Sunak-Kurgan, 86*n*.
Sunchaq, ii, 624*n*.
Suolstan, ii, 383*n*.
Suqnaq, 64*n*., 86–7, 284, 305.
Suqunchaq, ii, 624.
sūra, chapter of the Koran, *passim*.
Sūra, ii, 461.
Süyiketü Cherbi, 91*n*.
süyürmishī, 205; ii, 612.
Svan, ii, 438.
Syban, 184*n*.

Syr Darya, 46*n.*, 64*n.*, 87*n.*
Syra-Orda, 239*n.*
Syria, 13, 25, 94, 201; ii, 438, 446, 508, 525, 602, 645, 648, 662, 668, 669, 702, 723.
Syrians, ii, 439, 450.

Ṭabarak (castle of), 300, 302.
Ṭabarān, 145*n.*
tabarkhūn, 217.
tabarruz, ii, 529*n.*
Ṭabas, 337.
Tabghach, 279*n.*
Tabrīz, xviii, xxv, 148, 207, 424–5, 426, 428, 435, 436, 507–8, 511–12, 513, 525, 538–40.
tafriqa, 113; ii, 436.
t'agawor, 250*n.*
Taghai Khan, 121.
taghār, ii, 512, 609, 621, 622.
T'agudar, ii, 608*n.*
Tahamtan, brother of the *atabeg* Abū-Bakr of Shiraz, 234.
Ṭāhir b. al-Ḥusain, 232.
tai, 357*n.*
aṭ-Ṭā'i' billāh. *See* Ṭāyi'.
Taianfu, 210*n.*
Tai-Buqa, 62*n.*
Taican, 118*n.*
Taichu, ii, 505.
Taimas, ii, 436, 454, 456.
*Tainal, ii, 497.
Tainal Noyan, 90; ii, 436, 471.
Taisī, 144, 163, 172.
t'ai-tsŭ, 144*n.*
Taiwara, 328*n.*
T'ai-yüan fu, 210*n.*
Tāj-ad-Dīn 'Alī-Shāh, 313, 316, 324, 352–3.
Tāj-ad-Dīn Farīzanī, xvii; ii, 484.
Tāj-ad-Dīn Ïlduz, 328, 353.
Tāj-ad-Dīn Karīm-ash-Sharq, ii, 469.
Tāj-ad-Dīn Khalaj, 319; ii, 414.
Tāj-ad-Dīn Mardān-Shāh, ii, 716.
Tāj-ad-Dīn Toghan, ii, 382.
Tāj-ad-Dīn Zangī, 325.
Tajārib-al-Umam, 277.
Tajik, 116*n.*
Takavor, 250, 257.
takbīr, recitation of the formula *Allāh akbar* ('God is greatest'), *passim*.
Takht-i-Khātūn, 331*n.*
Ṭālaqān, between Balkh and Marv-ar-Rūd, 118*n.*, 132, 152, 167, 168, 318, 325; ii, 408, 461, 463.
Ṭālaqān, district near Qazvīn, 118*n.*; ii, 625, 626, 675.
Ṭālaqān, the present-day Talikhan, 118.
Talas, xviii, xix, 322*n.* *See* Ṭarāz.
Talikhan, 118*n.*
ta'līm, ii, 671–3.
Tamagha, ii, 625*n.*
Tamerlane, 46*n.*, 137*n.*
Tamgha, ii, 625, 718.
Tamghach, 279*n.*
Tamghach (the Emir), 300, 302.
Tamghach-Khan, 279.
Tamsha, 111.
T'amt'a, ii, 431*n.*, 445*n.*
tanāsub, 116*n.*, 117*n.*, 119*n.*, 269*n.*; ii, 624*n.*, 625*n.*
Tang-i-*Balū, ii, 383.
Tangqut, 184*n.*
tangsuq, ii, 497.
Tangut, the country and people, 21, 46, 57, 137, 138*n.*, 139, 180, 196, 225, 256; ii, 596.
Tangut, son of Tushi (Jöchi), 184, 266, 269; ii, 500.
Tanūra, 125.
tao-jên, 14*n.*
T'a-pu-yen, the Empress Kan-t'ien, 356*n.*
Ṭāq, 151*n.*
Taqai, 91.
Taqī, the hidden Imam, ii, 651.
Ṭāq-i-Yāzir, 154, 157.
Taqī-ad-Dīn, ii, 448, 451.
Tārāb, 108–11.
Ṭarāz, 322, 343, 356, 360; ii, 514.
Tarbai, 45.
Ta'rīkh-i-Nāṣirī, 313.
Ta'rīkh-i-Tājī, ii, 683.
tarkhan, 37; ii, 595.
Ṭarq, 319.
Tartar, synonym of Mongol, 20*n.*

Ṭārum, 313; ii, 637.
Ṭarz, ii, 669.
Ta-shih, 116*n*.
Tashir, ii, 430*n*.
Tashkent, ii, 296*n*.
ṭasht-dār, 278.
Tatar, 20*n*., 34*n*.
Ta-ᶜung, 181*n*.
Tauk, ii, 422*n*.
Taunal, ii, 580, 583.
Taunal the Younger, ii, 580.
Tausha Basqaq, 107.
Tavghach, 279*n*.
ta'vīl, ii, 646, 671.
Tayanfu, 210.
Tayang-Khan, 62*n*.
tayangu, 75*n*., 322*n*.
Tayangu of Ṭarāz, 322, 343–5, 349, 360.
Ṭāyaqān, 118*n*.
Ṭāyiᶜ, the ᶜAbbasid Caliph, ii, 391, 653.
Tayichi'üt, 84*n*.
Tayir Bahadur, 100, 101; ii, 479, 485–6.
Tayir-Buqa, ii, 721.
tāzī, 116*n*.
Tāzīk(s), 37, 92, 116, 121, 178, 199, 227–8, 256, 272, 318, 337; ii, 477, 615, 621, 638, 713, 721.
Teb-Tengri, 39, 91*n*.
tegin, 56*n*., 277*n*.
Teginābād, 136*n*.; ii, 462.
Tegish, 49*n*.
Tegmish, 49–51, 53.
Tegüder, brother of Abaqa, xxiv; ii, 608*n*.
Tegüder, son of Mochi, ii, 608, 618.
Tekechük, 132, 133; ii, 405, 464.
Tekish, Khorazm-Shah, xv, 49*n*., 162, 277, 289–315, 339, 357; ii, 390.
Tekshi, ii, 586.
Temüge-Otchigin, 39*n*., 42*n*.
Temüjin, 10*n*., 35, 39.
Temüjin-Üke, 35*n*., 40*n*.
Temür Elchi, ii, 494–5, 502.
Temür Malik, 91–5; ii, 401.
Temür Noyan, 264; ii, 558.
Temürjin, 35*n*.
Tᶜenal Nuin, 90*n*.
Teng-chou, 247*n*.
Tengiz-Khan, 10*n*.
Tergen, 79*n*.
Terken, daughter of Sultan Jalāl-ad-Dīn, ii, 468.
Terken, mother of Sulṭān-Shāh, 289.
Terken Khatun, mother of Sultan Muḥammad Khorazm-Shah, 79, 124, 339, 349, 358; ii, 394, 465–8.
Termez, 129*n*. *See* Tirmiẕ.
Tᶜetᶜris-tsikhe, ii, 429*n*.
Teval, 266*n*.
Thaᶜlabī, 17*n*.
Thamūd, 17, 72; ii, 528.
Thuatemur, 184*n*.
Tibet, 190.
Tibetans, 21, 57, 196.
Tᶜien Shan, 57*n*.
Tiflis, ii, 429, 431, 432, 433, 434, 435, 524.
tigin, 56*n*., 114*n*.
tihū, 345*n*.
tikishmishī, ii, 515, 579, 636, 724.
Tīrāh, ii, 407.
tirek, 309.
Tirmiẕ, 129, 143, 153, 286, 330–1; ii, 378, 462.
Tiumen (Tsars of), 184*n*.
togha, 249*n*.
Toghachar Küregen, 174–5, 177.
toghan, 61*n*.
Toghan, ii, 580.
Toghan Khan, 275.
Toghan-Shāh, 291, 293–4.
Toghan-Toghdī, 308.
Toghashi, ii, 587.
Togha-Temür, 184; ii, 594. *See also* Toqa-Temür.
toghra, monogram, royal signature, 154, 329.
toghraq, 263*n*.
Toghril, i.e. Wang-Khan, 35*n*.
Toghril II, the Seljuq, xv, 299, 302–3; ii, 424*n*.
Tokmak, 58*n*.
Tolan Cherbi, 82*n*.; ii, 476.

toli, 40*n*.
Toli, 40, 43, 98, 103, 131–2, 150–2, 160–2, 176–8. *See also* Ulugh-Noyan.
Tolui, xxxi, 40*n*. *See* Toli *and* Ulugh-Noyan.
Tonquz, ii, 494, 500.
To'oril, 35*n*.
T'o-pa, 279*n*.
toq, 61*n*.
Toqashi, ii, 586, 588.
Toqa-Temür, 249; ii, 563, 568. *See also* Togha-Temür.
Toq-Buqa, 61*n*.
Toqochar, 174–5*n*.
Toqta, 61*n*.
Toqtamïsh, 61*n*.
Toq-Temür, 61*n*.
Toqto'a Beki, 61*n*., 62*n*., 69*n*.
Toq-Toghan, 61, 69, 81; ii, 370.
Toquchar, 174*n*.
Toquz-Temür, 343*n*.
Torah, ii, 646.
Törbei, 46, 166.
Törbei Toqshin, 46*n*., 139, 141–2; ii, 413.
Töregene, xviii, 48, 239–44, 245, 248, 251; ii, 504, 507, 538.
Törelchi, ii, 506*n*., 608*n*., 611*n*.
Tört-Aba, 343, 349, 351.
Tossuc, 40*n*.
Tosuccan, 40*n*.
toyïn, 14, 59–60, 225; ii, 599.
toz, 55.
Transoxiana, 9, 13, 44, 95–7, 109, 341–9, 356; ii, 375–6, 597, 600.
Ts'ai-chou, 195*n*.
Tuatemur, 184*n*.
Tübe'üt, ii, 488*n*.
T'u-chüeh (Western), 57*n*.
Tughla, 55.
Tuini, 14*n*.
Tükel Bahadur, ii, 714.
Tükel Tegin, 56.
Tula, 35*n*., 55*n*.
Tülak, 317.
Tümelün, 174–5*n*., 177*n*.
tümen, 31, 33, 192, 254; ii, 511, 518, 585, 595.
Tümen, ii, 498, 500.
Tumen-Aryk, 86*n*.
Tün, 314*n*.; ii, 615.
Tunakābun, ii, 626*n*.
Tungat, ii, 609*n*.
Tunocain, 314; ii, 615*n*.
Türän, xxxii, 54*n*.
Turbat-i-Ḥaidarī, 144*n*.
Turbat-i-Shaikh Jām, 145*n*., 222*n*., 296*n*.
Turcoman(s), 90, 154, 158–60; ii, 446, 462–5, 709.
Turfan, 45*n*.
Turghai, ii, 371*n*.
Turkestan, 'the land of the Turks', 10, 25, 44, 58, 109; ii, 597, 609, 703.
Türkmen Bitikchi, ii, 586–7.
turqaq, 226.
Turshïz, 314–15, 337.
turumtai, 242*n*.; ii, 518*n*.
Turumtai, ii, 518, 521.
Ṭūs, 145, 151, 173–4, 175–6, 293, 304, 316, 319; ii, 484, 501, 508, 518, 523, 536–7, 542, 616, 644.
Ṭūs (Shrine of), i.e. Meshed, 170, 337.
Tushi (Jöchi), 40, 42, 69, 76, 83, 86*n*., 124, 139, 140, 266; ii, 482, 491. *See also* Ulush-Idi.
*Tushi, envoy of Qara-Khitai, 342.
Tustar, 34; ii, 421, 471.
T'u-su-hu ch'êng, 213*n*.
Tutar, ii, 608, 612, 618, 627.
Tut'ar, ii, 608*n*.
Tuthar, ii, 608*n*.
tutmach, ii, 505.
tuzghu, 102, 130, 144, 158, 213, 218; ii, 500, 609, 616.
Tuzghu-Balïgh, 213.
tzghu, 102*n*.

'Ubaidallāh al-Mahdī. *See* Mahdī.
Ubchiqtai Gürin Ba'atur, ii, 581*n*.
ubna, 59.
uch, 64*n*.
Ucha, 328; ii, 414, 415.
Uchagan, 256*n*.
Uduyit-Merkit, 240*n*.
Ügürünchi, 52*n*.

Uhatai, ii, 558.
Uhaz-Merkit, 239*n.*; ii, 558*n.*
Uighur, 7, 21, 25, 43, 44–61, 223–4; ii, 490, 597.
Üke, 40*n.*
ulagh, 30; ii, 524, 599, 606, 621.
Ulagh Khan, 121.
Ulaghchi, 268.
Ulan Bator, 335*n.*
ʿulūfa, 144, 145, 173; ii, 502, 599, 609, 622.
ʿulūfāt, 30; ii, 617.
ulugh-bitikchi, ii, 507, 509, 523.
Ulugh-Ef, ii, 504, 507, 536, 538, 563, 586, 612.
Ulugh-Noyan, 150, 180, 184, 186, 187, 191–3; ii, 549–50. *See also* Toli (Tolui).
ulugh-sulṭān, ii, 421.
Ulugh-Taq, ii, 585.
ulus, 44*n.*, 86*n.*
Ulus-Idi, 86*n.*
ulush, 58*n.*
Ulush-Idi, 44*n.*, 86–90, 93. *See also* Tushi (Jöchi).
ʿUmar of Fīrūzkūh, 293.
ʿUmar Oghul, 45.
ʿUmar-i-Khayyām. *See* Omar Khayyam.
ʿUmdat-al-Mulk, ii, 462.
Unc, 35*n.*
Unc Kan, 35*n.*
ʿUnṣurī, 312.
ʿUraiḍ, ii, 643.
Urga, 335*n.*
Urganch, 123; ii, 491.
Uriangqat, 101*n.*
Urmīya, ii, 428, 455.
urugh, 16; ii, 558, 560, 562, 577, 594.
Urungu, 261*n.*
Ushnū, ii, 428, 455.
Ushturān-Kūh, ii, 383.
Uṣmān, Sultan of Samarqand, 324, 342–3, 348–9, 350, 358, 359; ii, 392–6.
Ustād Ḥusain, ii, 679–80.
Ustāvand, ii, 680.
Ustū, ii, 617, 713. *See also* Ustuvā.
ustukhān-khār (*ustukhwān-khwār*), ii, 389.
Ustūnāvand, ii, 475*n.*
Ustundār, ii, 385, 460, 626, 716.
Ustuvā, 173; ii, 402, 543. *See also* Ustū.
ʿUtbī, ii, 393.
ʿUthmān, the third Caliph, xv.
Utuqa, 140.
Uzbeg Khans, 184*n.*
Uzkend, 64*n.*
Uzlaq-Sultān, ii, 401, 402–3.
al-ʿUzza, 13.

Vaihind, ii, 645*n.*
Vakhsh, 46, 118.
Vālishtān, ii, 462*n.*
Vāliyān, ii, 405.
Vāmiq, 345.
Varkūh, ii, 472.
Vaṣṣāf, xxix.
Vazīdān, 111.
vakīl-kharj, ii, 502.
Victoria (Lake), 67–8*n.*
Victory (Gate of), in Merv, 160.
vihāra, 98*n.*, 130*n.*
Volga, 42*n.*, 267*n.* *See* Etil.
Voltaire, 10*n.*

Wafī, the hidden Imam, ii, 651.
Walian Kotal, ii, 405*n.*
wang, 35*n.*

yabghu, 288*n.*
Yafinch, 356.
Yaghan-Sonqur, ii, 483.
yai, 193.
yaichī, 194.
Yakubovsky (A.), 109*n.*
Yalavach. *See* Maḥmud Yalavach.
yam, 30, 33, 34; ii, 501, 524, 599.
Yama, 122*n.*
Yamīn Malik. *See* Amīn Malik.
Yamīnī, i.e. *Ta'rīkh-al-Yamīnī*, ii, 393.
yanb, 30*n.*
Yangï-Kent, 83*n.*, 90.
Yao-li, 371*n.*
Yāqūt, xv, 95*n.*

yargbu, 50; ii, 497, 498, 499, 504, 513, 523.
yargbuchī, ii, 581, 584.
yarlīgh, xvii, xix, xxi, 121, 145, 255, 264; ii, 482, 485, 487, 488, 491.
yasa, (Mongol) custom, law, ordinance, *passim*.
Yasa'ur, one of Chingiz-Khan's commanders, 46, 118.
Yasa'ur, one of the conspirators against Möngke, ii, 580.
Yasa'ur, one of Hülegü's commanders, ii, 712–13.
Yashmut, ii, 612.
yastuq, 23*n*.
yasun, ii, 574*n*.
Yatmas, ii, 436*n*.
Yazdajird, 340.
Yazīd I, the Umayyad Caliph, ii, 528, 641.
Yāzir, 151, 168, 338; ii, 483, 616.
Yegü, 184*n*.
Yeh-lü Liu-ku, ii, 370–1*n*.
Yeh-lü Ta-shih, 290*n*., 354*n*., 355*n*.
Yeke, ii, 483, 585.
Yeke-Noyan, 150*n*.
Yekü, 184.
Yeme, 101*n*., 118, 142–9, 158, 173; ii, 380, 385. *See also* Jebe.
Yemek, ii, 465*n*.
Yemen, ii, 649, 667.
Yenisei, 21*n*., 69*n*.
Yesü, 249, 251, 255, 265, 273–4; ii. 587, 588, 590. *See also* Yesü-Mengü.
Yesü-Buqa, ii, 558.
Yesü-Mengü, 249*n*.; ii, 566, 586. *See also* Yesü.
Yesü Möngke, 247*n*., 249*n*.
Yesülün, 272.
yesün, 249*n*.
Yesüngei, 184.
Yesüngge, 184*n*.
Yesünjin, 40.
Yesün-To'a, 249*n*.
Yesüntö'e, 249*n*.
Yesün-Toqa, 249; ii, 566, 583, 591–2.
Yesünte'e, 249*n*.
Yezd, ii, 520, 621, 626, 669.
Yīghnaq, 350*n*.
Yi-lieh (the Emperor), 290*n*., 357*n*.
Yima, 122*n*.
yperpera, ii, 701*n*.
Yūghank, 350*n*.
Yulduzchī, ii, 435, 439, 454.
Yūnis Khan, 304, 305, 307.
yurt, i.e. apanage of Mongol prince, 42–3.
yurt, i.e. felt tent, 113.
Yürün-Tash, ii, 674.
Yūsuf, brother of Bū-ʿAbdallāh Ṣūfī Muḥtasib, ii, 650.

Zābulistān, 328*n*.
Ẓāfir, the Fatimid Caliph, ii, 663.
Ẓaḥḥāk, 4*n*., 122*n*., 349*n*.
Zāhid-i-Āhū-Pūsh, 283–4.
Ẓāhir, the Fatimid Caliph, ii, 657–8.
Ẓahīr-i-Fāryābī, ii, 599.
Zaid, the son of ʿAlī, ii, 641.
Zaid Ḥasanī, ii, 679–80.
Zain-ad-Dīn ʿAlī Küchük, ii, 702.
Zāl, the father of Rustam, 243*n*.; ii, 402, 411, 593.
Zamakhsharī, 17*n*.
zambarīr, 366.
Zandān, 77*n*.
Zandana, 77*n*.
zandanīchī, 77.
Zangī (the *atabeg*), ii, 365.
Zanjān, ii, 702.
az-Zaqqūm, 61*n*.
Zarnūq, 98–100.
Zarqā of Yamāma, 100–1.
Zāva, 144; ii, 615.
Zāvulistān, 328.
Zemarchus, 57*n*.
Zhukovsky (V. A.), 46*n*.
Ziaddin, 102*n*.
zindīq, ii, 660*n*.
Zīr-i-Pul, 298.
Ẓiyā-ad-Dīn, official of the Ghurids, 316.
Ẓiyā-ad-Dīn ʿAlī, 163–5.
Ẓiyā-ad-Dīn Fārsī, 346.
Ẓiyā-al-Mulk Zūzanī, 145, 172.

Zoroaster, 54*n.*, 116*n.*
Zubdat-at-Tawārīkh, 312.
Zuhrābād, 152*n.*
Zujājī, ii, 545.
Zulaikhā, 252*n.*; ii, 393.
Ẕul-Fiqār, ii, 427.
Ẕul-Qarnain, 347; ii, 646.
Zūrābad, 152.
Zūrābād, 152*n.*
Zuṙnukh, 98*n.*
Zuvāra, ii, 675.
Zūzan, ii, 404.
Zūzan (the *malik* of), 335; ii, 365, 469, 475.