

Studies

on the

T A ' R I K H - I - J A H A N - G U S H A

of

J U V A Y N I



ProQuest Number: 10731222

All rights reserved

INFORMATION TO ALL USERS

The quality of this reproduction is dependent upon the quality of the copy submitted.

In the unlikely event that the author did not send a complete manuscript and there are missing pages, these will be noted. Also, if material had to be removed, a note will indicate the deletion.



ProQuest 10731222

Published by ProQuest LLC (2017). Copyright of the Dissertation is held by the Author.

All rights reserved.

This work is protected against unauthorized copying under Title 17, United States Code
Microform Edition © ProQuest LLC.

ProQuest LLC.
789 East Eisenhower Parkway
P.O. Box 1346
Ann Arbor, MI 48106 – 1346

Abstract of a Thesis

entitled

Studies on the Ta'rikh-i-Jahan-Gusha of Juvayni.

1. The attitude of Juvayni towards the Mongols.

I. Introduction.

II. Anti-Mongol feelings evident in

(a) his candid recital of the atrocities and acts of sacrilege committed at the time of the invasion, as also his references to the devastated condition of Khorasan;

(b) his lament on the decline of learning under the Mongols and his bitter attacks on the new generation of officials which had sprung up as a consequence of the invasion;

(c) isolated instances of abuse of the Mongols and perhaps also his references to their drunkenness;

(d) the strong language which he employs in speaking of Buddhist and Christian nations, language which, it is to be presumed, he would have applied in other circumstances to the heathen Mongols also;

(e) his sympathetic attitude towards the Mongols' defeated opponents, Muhammad Khwarazmshah and his son Jalal ad-Din, particularly the latter;

(f) his identification of Chingiz Khan with Afrasiyab, the legendary enemy of Iran, and of Jalal ad-Din with Rustam, the Iranian national hero.

III. Admiration of the Mongols evident in his remarks on

(a) their military genius;

(b) the discipline and efficiency of their armies;

(c) the spirit of harmony that prevailed among them;

- (d) their avoidance of pomp and ceremony;
- (e) their religious toleration;
- (f) their protection and patronage of the Moslems.

IV. Justification of the Mongol Invasion as an act of divine grace, in support of which argument Juvayni adduces

- (a) certain of the Traditions of Mohammed;
- (b) Chingiz Khan's own words in a speech to the people of Bokhara;
- (c) the Mongols' destruction of Kuchluk the Nayman, a persecutor of Islam, and their extirpation of the heretic Isma'ilis of Alamut;
- (d) the spread of Islam towards the East as a result of their conquests;
- (e) the glory of martyrdom that was vouchsafed to so many thousands.

V. Conclusion. The seeming contradictions in Juvayni's attitude explained by the fact that while his sympathies lay with the Moslem past it was necessary to find a modus vivendi with the Mongol present.

2. Juvayni's sources.

A list of sources specifically referred to in the "Ta'rikh-i-Jahan-Gusha" and consisting of

- (a) previous historical works;
- (b) official and other documents;
- (c) oral information.

3. The unfinished state of the text.

Evidence that the "Ta'rikh-i-Jahan-Gusha" was never finally revised afforded by

- (a) blanks in the MSS.;

- (b) references to non-existent chapters;
- (c) inconsistencies in the narration;
- (d) the division of the text into two uneven volumes;
- (e) the absence of any reference to events subsequent to the destruction of the Assassins.

4. Grammar.

Notes on certain grammatical peculiarities of the text, being a supplement to Muhammad Qazvini's remarks on this subject in his introductions to Vols. I and II.

I. Orthography.

II. Accidence.

III. Syntax.

5. Glossary.

A list of the rare and unusual words in the "Ta'rikh-i-Jahan-Gusha."

6. Translation of Vol. I.

7. Notes on Vol. I.

A translation of footnotes by Muhammad Qazvini together with some additions.

J. A. Boyle

London, 28. iv. 1947

1. The attitude of Juvayni towards the Mongols

The attitude of Juvayni towards
the Mongols

I. Introduction

The effect of the Mongol invasion upon a contemporary observer is best described in the words of that "sober and careful historian," Ibn al-Athir:

"For some years I continued averse from mentioning this event, deeming it so horrible that I shrank from recording it, and ever withdrawing one foot as I advanced the other. To whom, indeed, can it be easy to write the announcement of the death-blow of Islam and the Muslims, or who is he on whom the remembrance thereof can rest lightly? O would that I had died and become a forgotten thing ere this befell!... I say, therefore, that this thing involves the description of the greatest catastrophe and the most dire calamity... which befell all men generally, and the Muslims in particular; so that, should one say that the world, since God Almighty created Adam until now, hath not been afflicted with the like thereof, he would but speak the truth... Nay, it is unlikely that mankind will see the like of this calamity, until the world comes to an end and perishes, except the final outbreak of Gog and Magog. For even Antichrist will spare such as follow him, though he destroy those that oppose him; but these (Tartars) spared none, slaying women and men and children, ripping open pregnant women and killing unborn babes. Verily, to God do we belong, and unto him do we return, and there is no strength and no power save in God, the High, the Almighty, in face of this catastrophe, whereof the sparks flew far and wide, and the hurt was universal; and which passed over the lands like clouds driven by the wind..." (Translated by Browne, Literary History of Persia, II 427-8.)

Such was the language of a typical Moslem at a time when the Mongols were only a distant though terrible menace; Juvayni, who was actually in their service, could hardly venture to express himself so openly. Nevertheless, he was unquestionably a devout and orthodox Mohammedan, and it is difficult to believe that his reactions to "the death-blow of Islam and the Muslims" were materially different from those of Ibn al-Athir. Moreover, in the case

of Juvayni, there were traditional ties with the house of the Khwarazmshahs -- his grandfather had accompanied Muhammad in his flight from Balkh to Nishapur and after his death had attached himself to his son Jalal ad-Din -- and he could not but look back with regret upon the extinction of that dynasty. And in fact Juvayni, though denied the freedom of speech enjoyed by Ibn al-Athir, is at no great pains to conceal his preference of the Moslem past to the Mongol present; as may be plainly seen from an examination of the relevant passages in his Ta'rikh-i-Jahan-Gusha.

II. Anti-Mongol feelings

(a) It is to be noted in the first instance that he makes no attempt to extenuate the horrors of the invasion. The wholesale massacres to which so many of the captured cities were subjected are always faithfully recorded, together with all the accompanying atrocities.

Thus, of the inhabitants of Tirmāⁱd it is related that

"all the people, both men and women, were driven out on to the plain and divided among the soldiers to be counted 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 me that I may 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 pulled out several pearls. On this account Chingiz Khan commanded that they should rip open the bellies of all the slain." (I 102.)

In the case of Bamiyan, a "favourite grandson" of Chingiz Khan having been killed in the fighting,

"the Mongols made greater haste to capture the town, and when it was taken Chingiz Khan gave orders that every living creature, from mankind down to 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 Mau Baligh, which means 'Bad Town.' And to this very day no living creature has taken up abode therein." (I 105.)

Similar details are given with respect to Balkh and Nishapur; while as for the massacre carried out at Merv it is recorded that the sayyid 'Izz ad-Din Nassaba

"together with certain other persons passed thirteen days and nights in counting the people slain in the town. Taking into account those only that were plain to see and leaving aside those who had been killed in holes and cavities and in the villages and deserts, they arrived at a figure of one million three hundred thousand." (I 128.)

Ibn al-Athir, who could speak his mind freely, estimates the number of the slain to have been only 700,000 (see Browne, Literary History of Persia, II 439); an enormous and almost incredible figure and yet far below that given by Juvayni.

Massacres had, however, been carried out by Moslem conquerors also; those of the Mongols differed only in being more thorough and more coldblooded. Far greater horror must have been evoked by their desecration of holy places. The acts of sacrilege committed by the Mongols in Bokhara are recounted by Juvayni without the omission of a detail:

"He (Chingiz Khan) rode into the cathedral mosque and pulled up before the maqsura; whereupon his son Tuli dismounted and ascended the pulpit. Chingiz Khan asked those present whether this was the Sultan's palace; 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 exclaimed: 'The countryside is empty of fodder; fill our horses' bellies.' At this the Mongols opened all the magazines in the town and began to carry the grain thither; and they bore the cases in which the Korans were kept out on to the terrace 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 they themselves raised their voices to the tunes of their own songs. Meanwhile the imams, shaykhs, sayyids, doctors and scholars of the age tended their horses in the stable

under the equerries and obeyed 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." (I 80-81.)

All this, the carnage and the sacrilege, is related without a word of condemnation; but in the first place, comment was unnecessary, since the facts speak for themselves; and in the second place, an apologist of the Mongols would have toned down some details and suppressed others, and would certainly not have painted a picture which could not fail to arouse feelings of horror and disgust in the breast of every Mohammedan reader.

When dealing not with the actual invasion but with the consequences thereof, Juvayni expresses himself at times with the utmost frankness. Thus he refers on several occasions and in the strongest terms to the condition of hopeless devastation to which the conquerors had reduced the erstwhile flourishing province of Khorasan.

In his chapter on the conquest of Transoxiana he remarks how in Bokhara and Samarqand the Mongol conqueror

"had contented himself with slaughtering and looting once only and did not go to the extreme of a general massacre;"

and how in that area the Mongols had subsequently

"shown a desire to pacify the survivors and to proceed with 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 the original level and in others have closely approached it." (I 75.)

"It is otherwise," he continues, "with Khorasan and 'Iraq, which countries are affected with a hectic fever and a chronic ague: every town and every village has been several times subjected to pillage and massacre and has endured this confusion for years, so that even though there be generation and increase until the Resurrection the population will not attain to the tenth part of what it was before." (Ibid.)

He reverts to this subject in his chapter on Sharaf ad-Din Khwarazmi:

"And the affairs of Khorasan were in a state of turmoil and commotion and the fires of insurrection and disturbances ablaze; but although the land was trampled underfoot by the passage of the armies, yet the population was not entirely annihilated, because when a district or a village submitted 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 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 annoy with questioning and torture. For at first the Mongols paid no attention to gold and jewels, but when Chintemür was established in office this noble, in order to make a show of efficiency, made money sweet in their hearts, like Iblis who cast the love of the flowers of this world into men's hearts and made this love the cause 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 tormented 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 Fate." (II 269.)

(b) Of the effect of the Mongol invasion upon the pursuit of learning he speaks in the introduction:

"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 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.' " (I 3.)

"But to-day the surface of the world in general and the land of Khorasan in particular... 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 left of whom indeed it can be said: 'But others have come after them in their place, who have neglected prayer and gone after their own lusts.' " (I 4.)

And here Juvayni launches a bitter attack upon the new generation of officials, the product of a great social upheaval:

"They regard lying and deception as exhortation and admonishment and call profligacy and slander bravery and courage... They consider the Uyghur language and script to be the height of knowledge and learning. Every market loungee 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 ... an auditor and every spendthrift an inspector; every rogue a vice-chancellor and every boor a chancellor; 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..." (I 4-5.)

To one member of this class, Sharaf ad-Din Khwarazmi, he devotes a whole chapter (II 262-82), in which he paints him in the blackest of colours and assails him with the coarsest of abuse. This man, whose very name Juvayni pretends to be a corruption of sharr fid-Din ("evil in the faith," II 263), was the son of a porter and accompanied Chintemür from Khwarazm to Khorasan at a time when "no reputable scribe" was willing to undertake this journey because "it was intended to lay waste a Moslem country." (II 268.)

Of Sharaf ad-Din it is said, inter alia, that

"he learnt the Turkish language, and Chintemür employed no other interpreter." (II 268.)

This accomplishment was, as we have seen already, a characteristic of the new age. In another passage it is related that Husam ad-Din Amir Husayn was appointed to succeed his father Khwaja Fakhr ad-Din Bihishti although younger than the latter's other sons,

"because he could write the Mongol language in the Uyghur script, and this, in the present age, is the essence of learning and proficiency." (II 260.)

The champion of the old order could not express himself more clearly.

In yet another passage Juvayni characterizes the age in which he lives as one in which

"loyalty and generosity ... are as non-existent ... as the simurgh or the philosopher's stone." (I 198.)

(c) It was however one thing to criticize the Mongols' protégés and the conditions which the Mongols had created, and quite another thing to criticize the Mongols themselves. And yet criticism of the conquerors is not entirely absent.

In his fath-nama on the capture of Alamut, which he has incorporated in the third volume of his History, Juvayni gloats over the discomfiture of the hated Isma'ilis and observes that

"their Mawlana ... has become the slave of bastards (mawlā-yi-mūlān)."
(III 141.)

Muhammad Qazvini takes these words as an abusive reference to the Mongol soldiers -- and indeed to whom else can they refer?

Another such reference is to be found in the chapter on Jalal ad-Din Khwarazmshah. Commenting on the defeat and capture of Aq Sultan and Uzlaq Sultan, Jalal ad-Din's brothers, Juvayni remarks that

"the Sultans of the age became prisoners in the hands of the Tartar devils (salātin-i-rūzgār dar dast-i-shayātīn-i-tatār giriftār gashtand)."
(II 133.)

In another passage mention is made of clerics who had been exempted from the payment of occasional taxes by the "strangers to religion" (II 275.) -- surely a term of opprobrium when used by a Moslem, even though the Mongols

were, in fact, "the adherents of no religion and the followers of no creed." (See I 18.)

Finally, there is perhaps an undertone of irony, and therefore of disapproval, in the various references to the Mongol princes' addiction to drink.

Thus in the chapter "on the actions of Qa'an" it is related of Ögedey that

"in opposition to the words of advisers and censors, rejecting their saying that

'When the king spends his mornings engaged in amusement, condemn his kingdom to woe and destruction'

he was ever spreading the carpet of merriment and treading the path of excess in constant application to wine and to the company of peri-faced ones of beautiful form." (I 139.)

In the chapter on Tuluy and his wife Soyurquqtani he is made to deliver the following apology for his inebriety:

"And whenever in his morning and evening cups wine had gained the upper hand in his veins and drunkenness had planted its foot thereon, Qa'an would weep and would say: 'The reason for my application to wine is the overcoming of the sorrow which arises from grievous separation and I therefore choose drunkenness in order that perchance for a while I may find relief in my heart from the agitation thereof.' " (III 4.)

The "grievous separation" to which Ögedey refers was the death of his brother Tuluy, of whom it is related that

"on account of his excess in, and complete abandonment to, the quaffing of cups of wine from morn till eve, a malady overtook him such that two or three days did not pass before he died." (Ibid.)

(d) These are the only suggestions of direct criticism; but some idea of Juvayni's attitude to the "strangers to religion" may be deduced from the terms in which he speaks of the Buddhists and Christians.

Of the Buddhist Uyghurs he says that

"there are none more bigoted than the idolaters of the East, and none more hostile to Islam." (I 44.)

Their legends are "lies" and his

"purpose in recording them was to expose the ignorance and folly of this people." (I 45.)

Kuchluk the Nayman, a Buddhist converted to Christianity, is referred to as "that prideful Guebre, that lewd unbeliever, that unclean wretch." (I 54.)

The Buddhist Qara-Khitayans are termed successively, in two or three lines of the text, "these wretches," "the people of sin" and "the party of error;" while their leader Tayangu is referred to as "that devil." (II 78.)

Finally, the Christian Georgians receive the epithets of "the lewd infidels of Georgia," "those fornicators," "those scoundrels," "the sects of Iblis" and "those wretches." (II 158, 162, 164 and 184.)

Such are the terms he applies to non-Moslem peoples whom it was safe to attack: he would surely -- had he dared -- have employed still stronger language to describe the heathen authors of "the death-blow of Islam and the Muslims."

(e) But the real state of his feelings is most clearly revealed in the attitude he adopts towards the defeated Khwarazmshahs.

Muhammad, indeed, is frequently criticized. His conquests are shown to have paved the way for the Mongol invasion:

"As for the Sultan, during the time that he cleansed the world of dreadful foes, he might have been called Chingiz Khan's vanguard that swept away everything in front of him. For though he did not achieve the complete destruction of the Gur 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." (I 52.)

His campaigns against Qara Khitay, in particular, were undertaken without regard to a warning attributed (no doubt apocryphically) to Sultan Takish (II 89.) and one Sayyid Murtada b. Sayyid Sadr ad-Din of Shadyakh (II 79.) to the effect that this people were a "great wall" between the Moslems and "fierce enemies" and ought therefore to be left in peace.

Having thus removed every obstacle in the way of the Mongol invasion he renders that invasion inevitable by commanding the execution of Chingiz Khan's ambassadors:

"Without pausing to reflect the Sultan sanctioned the shedding of their blood and deemed the seizure of their property to be lawful, not knowing that his own life would become unlawful, nay a crime, and that the bird of his prosperity would be lopped of feather and wing... 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 was as though a hundred thousand heads rolled in the dust at every crossroad; and in exchange for every dinar a thousand qintars were exacted." (I 61.)

When the storm breaks Muhammad is seized with panic.

"Satan the Tempter had caused fear and dread to gain such a hold on his (i.e. Jalal ad-Din's) father Sultan Muhammad that he was seeking a hole in the earth or a ladder to the skies in order to escape from that boundless army." (II 126.)

He decides to disperse his armies and seek safety in flight. His son Jalal ad-Din protests against a course of action so "remote from the target of rectitude and the highway of righteousness" and is represented as expressing himself in the following energetic terms:

"To scatter the armies throughout the lands and to flee from a foe that has not yet been encountered, nay that has not yet started from his own territory, would be the mark of a craven wretch, not the path of a mighty and noble lord. But if the Sultan will not decide to advance, and fight, and attack, and do battle, but persists in his intention to flee, let him entrust the valiant armies to my care that we may set about averting the calamities and warding off

the dangers of frivolous Destiny, before the opportunity has been lost, and our feet are caught in the claws of consternation and terror and in the midst of all mankind we are chewed like gum in the mouth of reprehension and drowned in the whirlpool of regret." (II 127.)

Such are the criticisms, direct and indirect, of Sultan Muhammad; partly, indeed, for his needless provocation of the Mongol invasion, but chiefly for his abject failure to repel that invasion: in other words Juvayni's attitude is that of the disappointed partisan not that of the impartial or even hostile judge; which is the attitude one would have expected from an official in the service of his victorious opponents.

Lastly, only a partisan could write of Muhammad's death that

"by reason of this event Islam was heartbroken and enchained and because of this occurrence, which caused blood to flow from the eyes of hard stones, the hearts of believers were sad and weary." (II 117.)

Towards Muhammad's son, Jalal ad-Din, Juvayni's attitude is one of unreserved admiration. As we have already seen, he puts into his mouth a speech in which he indignantly rejects the pusillanimous course of action advocated by his father and volunteers to lead the armies in person against the Mongol invader. And it is as a figure of great physical courage that he is presented throughout Juvayni's work.

In the clash that took place between the forces of Muhammad and Juchi, before actual hostilities had commenced, the Mongols

"attacked the centre where the Sultan was stationed in person; and he was nearly taken prisoner, when Jalal ad-Din repelled the attackers and bore him out of that strait." (I 51-2.)

And Juvayni vents his feelings of admiration in a quotation from the

Shahnama:

Chi nikūtar az narra shīr-i-zhiyān
bi-pīsh-i-pidar bar kamar bar miyān?

"What is finer than a furious male lion, girded (for battle) before his father?" (I 52; Vullers III 1632, 1.2408.)

In another passage the words of admiration are made to proceed from the lips of Chingiz Khan himself. With the Indus behind him Jalal ad-Din makes a final charge at the oncoming Mongols, then flings himself into the river and swims towards the farther shore.

"When the Mongol army saw him cast himself into 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 sons should a father have.' " (I 107.)

And here again Juvayni quotes from the Shahnama, comparing Jalal ad-Din with Rustam, the Iranian national hero:

"When Isfandiyar gazed behind him he descried him on the dry land on the far side of the stream.
 He said: 'Call not this being a man; he is a raging elephant with (mighty) arms and hands.'
 So he spake and gazed thitherward where Rustam went seeking his way."

(I 107; for the first two lines see Vullers III 1698, 11.3575-6.)

(f) This comparison with Rustam is particularly interesting in view of two passages in which Chingiz Khan is compared with Afrasiyab, the legendary enemy of Iran.

In the chapter on Jalal ad-Din Khwarazmshah, describing how Chingiz Khan received the news of the defeat of the Mongols at Valiyan and of Jalal ad-Din's subsequent retirement to Parvan, Juvayni makes use of the following verses from the Shahnama:

"Tidings came to Afrasiyab that Suhrab had cast a boat upon the water.
 From the army were chosen many horsemen, all veterans in battle."

(II 136; for the first line see Vullers I 445, 1.208.)

And farther on in the same chapter he quotes two more verses in description of the Mongol conqueror as he pursues Jalal ad-Din to the Indus:

"For that king is a male dragon in battle, hot-breathing,
 vengeful, a cloud of calamity.
 The stony mountain becomes like a sea of water, if it hears
 the name of Afrasiyab."
 (II 139; for the first line see Vullers I 301, 1.35.)

In another passage Temür Malik, the defender of Khojend, a Jalal ad-Din in miniature, when after many vicissitudes he finally falls into the hands of the Mongols, is made to answer the questioning of his captors with the following lines from the national epic:

"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." (I 73; Vullers I 488 11.902-3.)

Thus the Mongols are identified with Turan and the Khwarazmshahs with Iran; and when the case is stated thus clearly, there can be no doubt as to where Juvayni's sympathies lay.

III. Admiration of the Mongols

So far we have been concerned with criticism, either overt or covert, of the Mongol invaders. There are however passages in which Juvayni speaks of them in terms of high praise; nor is there any reason for regarding these passages as dictated by mere adulation and sycophancy.

(a) A genuine admiration of Mongol military genius is evident in the two following extracts.

The first refers to Chingiz Khan himself:

"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 Khusraws 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 without the toil of perusing records nor 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 all the talismans for the taking of strongholds he could have found none better than blindly to follow in his footsteps: whereof there can be no clearer proof or more certain evidence than that having such numerous and powerful foes and such mighty and well-accountred enemies, each of whom was the Faghfur of the time and the Khusraw 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 whosoever 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, partisans, armies, lands and territories." (I 16-17.)

The second passage relates to Tuluy's campaign in Khorasan and Khwarazm:

"To be brief, then, in two or three months Tuli subjugated cities with such populations that every borough thereof is a city, and from the surging 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... And Khwarazm, 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." (I 118-9.)

(b) In his chapter "On the laws which Chingiz Khan framed and the yasas which he promulgated after his rise to power" he speaks with enthusiasm of the efficiency of the Mongol army, its power of endurance and its excellent discipline:

"With regard to the organization of the 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 hardships, so 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... What army in the whole world can equal the Mongol army? In time of action they are like hounds, attacking and overcoming wild beasts, and in the days of peace and security they are like sheep, yielding milk, and wool, and other useful things... Their obedience and submissiveness are such that if there be a commander of a hundred thousand between whom and the Khan there is the 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." (I 21-3.)

And he contrasts them in these respects with the Moslems very much to the latter's disadvantage:

"How different it is with other kings, who must speak with caution 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 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 expenses 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 depleted, and none presents himself on the battle-field." (I 23.)

(c) Another point that he singles out for praise is the spirit of harmony that prevailed amongst them:

"Although power and empire are apparently vested in one man, namely him who is nominated Khan, yet in reality all the children, grandchildren and uncles have their share of power and property; a proof whereof is that the World-Emperor Mangu Qa'an in the second quriltay, apportioned and divided all his kingdoms amongst his kinsmen, sons and daughters, and brothers and sisters." (I 30-1.)

And here again he contrasts their behaviour with that of the Moslems:

"To record them all (i.e. the descendants of Chingiz Khan) is impossible: my purpose in relating this much was to show the harmony which reigns amongst them as compared with what is related concerning other kings, how brother falls upon brother and son meditates the overthrow of father, till of necessity they are vanquished and

conquered and their authority is downfallen and overthrown... 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." (I 32.)

Juvayni reverts to this subject in the chapter on the accession of Mōngke Qa'an, where he attributes the defeat of the Moslems to their neglect of this virtue:

"And if the Sultans of Islam had laid the same foundations in the protection of kinsmen and the joining of alliances with strangers and had consolidated this basis and given asylum to refugees in their sanctuaries and accounted an attack upon relatives 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." (III 68.)

(d) He praises them also for their informality and avoidance of ceremonial:

"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 his other sons and brothers are addressed 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 titles and formulas." (I 19.)

(e) Despite his own Mohammedan fanaticism he speaks with apparent approval of their tolerance in matters of religion:

"Being the adherent of no religion and the follower of no creed, he (i.e. Chingiz Khan) 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 the 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

they
 canon of their fathers and forefathers and inclining in no direction; but these are now a minority. But though they have adopted some religion, 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 one another." (I 18-19.)

(f) Finally, he has much to say of their protection and patronage of the Moslems.

With reference to Ögedey's practice in this respect, we may cite the following anecdotes from the chapter "On the deeds and actions of Qa'an":

"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 gate securely and slaughtered the animal after the Moslem fashion, not knowing that he was being watched by a Qipchaq, who, awaiting his opportunity, had followed him from the market. When he drew the knife across the sheep's throat, the Qipchaq 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 said: 'This poor man has observed the commandment of our yasa and this Turk has infringed it.' The Moslem was saved and was treated with favour, while the ill-natured Qipchaq was handed over to the executioners of Fate." (I 163.)

"A troupe of players had come from Khitay and acted wondrous Khitayan plays such as 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 whom this was meant to represent. They replied that it represented a rebellious Moslem, for that the armies were dragging them out of the lands in this fashion. 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 Khitay; 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 Khitay have not one Moslem captive. And the reason for this is perhaps 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 of a Moslem is forty balishes and of 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 even that as a total gain; depart from my presence forthwith and never return again." (I 163-4.)

"A Moslem had borrowed four balishes from the Uyghur emirs and was unable to pay the money back. They therefore seized him and took him to task saying that he must renounce the faith of Mohammed (upon whom be peace and prayers!) and embrace the creed of idolatry, or else he should be disgraced in open market and receive a hundred blows of the bastinado. The Moslem, bewildered by their 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 learned of the poor man's case 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 an Uyghur wife and house. And Qa'an commanded that the Uyghurs should receive a hundred blows of the bastinado in open market and that the Moslem should be given a hundred balishes." (I 179.)

Of Ögedey's nephew, Möngke Qa'an, during whose reign the Ta'rikh-i-Jahan-Gusha was composed, it is said 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 he speaks of him at times in terms hardly distinguishable from those applied to Moslem rulers:

"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!" (I 195.)

"May God Almighty adorn the spaces of the world with the continuance of the Just King's being and the brilliance of Islam and the Hanafite faith!" (I 85.)

And in one passage he confers upon him the exclusively Mohammedan title of ghāzi. Commenting on the Uyghur conspirators who had plotted, amongst other things, to massacre the Moslem inhabitants of Besh Baligh he remarks:

"And this punishment and chastisement was the cause of the blessing and reward of the victorious (ghāzi) Emperor Mangu Qa'an." (III 61.)

His mother also, Princess Soyurquqtani, is praised not only for her probity and administrative ability but also for her patronage of Islam:

"And her hand was ever open in munificence and benefaction, and though she was a follower and devotee of the religion of Jesus she would bestow alms and presents upon imams and shaykhs and strove also to keep alive the rites of the laws of the faith of Mohammed (may God bless him and give him peace!). And the proof of this statement is that she gave a thousand balishes of silver that a college might be built in Bokhara, whereof the Shaykh al-Islam Sayf ad-Din al-Bakharzi should be administrator and superintendent, and commanded that villages should be bought, and made an endowment of them, and settled teachers and students in them. And she was ever sending alms to all parts to be distributed among the poor and needy of the Moslems." (III 8-9.)

IV. Justification of the Mongol Invasion

It was not however sufficient to record the good qualities of the Mongol invaders; as an official in their service it was necessary for Juvayni to justify the invasion itself. This he has done by representing the Mongols as the instrument of the divine will, speaking in the very doxology of

"God the Avenger, the executioner of Whose severity was the glittering sword of the Tartar." (I 1.)

(a) In the introductory chapter he compares the Mongol invasion with the punishments visited on earlier peoples for their disobedience to God, instancing the deluge in the time of Noah and the plague sent down on the people of 'Ad. And in support of this analogy he quotes the following hadith from the Kashshaf of Zamakhshari:

"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." (I 12.)

In the chapter on the yasas of Chingiz Khan he quotes another hadith to the same effect:

"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." (I 17.)

(b) In another passage Chingiz Khan is made to describe himself with his own lips as the flagellum Dei. In a speech addressed to the people of Bokhara he expresses himself in the following terms:

"O people, know that ye have committed great sins, and that the great ones among you have committed these sins. If ye ask me what proof I have of these words, I say it is because I am the punishment of God. Had ye not committed great sins, God would not have sent a punishment like me upon you." (I 81.)

(c) The divine mission of the Mongols is particularly manifest in their destruction of the foes of Islam.

Thus of Kuchluk the Nayman it is said that

"God Almighty, in order to remove the evilness of Kuchluk, in a short space dispatched the Mongol army against him; and already in this world he tasted the punishment of his foul and wicked deeds; and in the hereafter the torment of hellfire." (I 55.)

And the following words are put into the mouths of the people of Kashghar:

"When they (i.e. the Mongols) arrived, they had not yet joined battle, when he turned his back, and set his face towards flight, and fled away. And each troop of Mongols, arriving one after another, sought nothing of us save Kuchluk, and permitted the recitation of the takbir and the adhan, and the repeating of prayers, 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." (I 50.)

Similar comments are made upon the fate of the Ismai'ilis. Of Hulagu's capture of Alamut Juvayni says that

"by this victory, which is on a par with the conquest of Khaybar, there was revealed the truth of the divine secret in the rise of Chingiz Khan."

And of their final extirpation:

"And of a surety this deed was the balm of the wounds of the Moslems and the remedy of the disorders of the Faith." (III 138.)

(d) But their mission was not merely negative; their conquests actually had the effect of extending the boundaries of Islam:

"For this reason the banner of Islam is raised higher and the candle of the Faith lit brighter; for the faith of Mohammed casts its shadow over countries whose nostrils had never been perfumed by the scent of Islam, whose ears had never been charmed by the sound of the takbir and the adhan and whose soil had never been trodden save by the unclean feet of the worshippers of al-Lat and al-'Uzza; 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 were driven thither in the levy as craftsmen and keepers of animals; and many are those who, from the farthest West, from the two Iraqs, from Syria and from 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 the staff of repose in those parts, and decided to abide there; and have settled down, and built mansions and castles, and reared up the cells of Islam over against the houses of idols; and have 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." (I 9.)

The furtherance of the cause of Islam was also evident in the conversion of the infidel:

"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 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' (Koran ii, 69) 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."
(I.9-10.)

(e) Even the wholesale massacres were a blessing from God:

"As for those who have attained to the degree of martyrdom, which after the degree 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 have 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.' " (I 10; Koran iii, 163.)

And as for the survivors, if they were "men of insight," they "received a warning and an admonishment," and no course was left to them but to surrender unconditionally, obeying the commandment of God: "And throw not yourselves with your own hands into ruin" (Koran ii, 191.) and following the advice of the Prophet in the well-known hadith: "Let the Turks be so long as they let you be, for they are men of terrible prowess." (I 10.)

V. Conclusion

How are we 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 defeated 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 only apparent. Juvayni's sympathies did indeed lie with the defeated dynasty; he had been brought up in the tradition of the Persi-Arabic civilization which the Mongols had all but destroyed; and in these circumstances he could hardly 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, Juvayni 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 heathen Qara Khitayans and the heretic Ismailis -- as we have seen, he even goes so far as to compare Hulagu's capture of Alamut with Mohammed's conquest of Khaybar. He stresses the favourable attitude adopted by certain of the Mongols (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 Koran and the Traditions and that it was in consequence a manifestation of the divine will. Whether his arguments on the latter subject are altogether ingenuous is perhaps subject to some doubt -- the reference to martyrdom by massacre is a case in point -- but his object is clearly to reconcile himself and his readers to the inevitable. In short Juvayni 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.

2. Juvayni's sources

Juvayni's sources

Apart from those instances in which Juvayni was himself an eye-witness of the events he records the *Ta'rikh-i-Jahan-Gusha* is based upon the following sources:

1. Previous historical works.
2. Official and other documents.
3. Oral information.

Juvayni refers to all three types of source, but by no means frequently: the following is a list of these references.

1. Previous historical works

(a) The earliest authority of whom Juvayni makes mention is Abul-Husayn 'Ali b. Ahmad as-Sallami, who flourished about the middle of the tenth century. Speaking of the Isma'ili stronghold at Alamut he says that

"in the History of Sallami it is stated that in the days of the Daylamites' domination of Iraq the governor of that place was called So-and-So Siyah-Chashm, who was one of those converted by the propaganda of the Isma'ilis of Egypt." (III 271. See Barthold, Turkestan down to the Mongol Invasion, p.10.)

(b) Immediately preceding this reference to Sallami is a quotation from an anonymous "History of Gilan and Daylam" (Ta'rikh-i-Jil va Daylam), which Juvayni discovered in the Isma'ilis' library at Alamut. This work was "written for Fakhr ad-Dawla the Buwayhid", i.e. it was composed in the last quarter of the tenth century.

"In the chapter on Alamut it is stated that one of the kings of Daylam (whom they called Al-i-Justan) began to construct a building on this mountain in the year 246/860-61. It was the pride of Daylam and a source of encouragement to the sect of the Isma'ilis." (III 270-1.)

(c) In the chapter " On the destruction of the Sultan of Sultans and the cause thereof" there is a reference to Abu Nasr Muhammad b. 'Abd al-Jabbar 'Utbi, the historian of Mahmud of Ghazna.

"His (i.e. Sultan 'Uthman's) genealogy," says Juvayni, "is traced back to Ilek and Bughra Khan, who were the khans of Transoxiana and the history of whose rise and ascendancy is recorded in the Yamini of 'Utbi." (II 122. See Barthold, op. cit., p.19.)

(d) A reference to the Isma'ili fortress of Arslan-Gushay (captured by Sultan Takish) leads Juvayni to quote a description of that fortress from the Zubdat at-Tawarikh of Sadr ad-Din Abul-Hasan 'Ali b. Nasir al-Husayni, a work composed at the end of the twelfth century.

"Sayyid Sadr ad-Din in the Zubdat at-Tawarikh, wishing to magnify the exploits of the Sultan (i.e. Arslan b. Toghrul the Saljuq) describes it (i.e. the castle of Arslan-Gushay) as follows: 'It was a strong fortress built of solid rock upon a lofty mountain-top, which seized the heavens by the forelock and butted Orion; and it was crammed with men that counted the giving of their lives as a gain and were supported by every manner of arms.' " (II 44. See Barthold, op.cit., p.28.)

(e) In commenting on this bombast he quotes the work of Abul-Fadl Muhammad b. Husayn Bayhaqi, the historian of the Ghaznavids, who died in 470/1077-8. The whole passage reads as follows:

"Now if Sadr ad-Din had witnessed the conquest of their (the Assassins) strong castles that were taken in the present age by the illustrious monarch (i.e. Hulagu) within a short space of time (as shall be mentioned in its proper place) he would have been ashamed to mention this conquest and would have considered the following bayt of 'Unsurī appropriate to the occasion:

'So do the great ones when they are called upon to act; such are the traces left by the swords of the Khusraws.'

And if any man has not seen these castles and it enters his mind that this is nought but rhetorical language bearing the brand of flattery, after the manner of him that described the castle of Arslan-Gushay, he may be answered with the jest of Abul-Fadl Bayhaqi, who in the Ta'rikh-i-Nasiri relates as follows: 'When the Sultan was returning from Somnat one of his falconers slew a great serpent (azhdahā). They skinned it and the hide was thirty ells long and four ells

broad.' Now the point of this is that Abul-Fadl goes on to say: 'If anyone doubts this statement let him go to Ghazna and see that hide for himself where it hangs from the gate like a curtain (shādurvān).' The compiler of these histories for his part remarks that of that hide nothing now remains but a story; but [as for anyone that questions his own statement] let him rise up and from Tarum in the West to the frontier of Sistan, which is a distance of nearly three hundred parasangs, let him survey the mountains and castles that shall stand firm until the time when it shall come to pass that 'the mountains shall be like flocks of carded wool'; and let him with his reason compare that one puny fortress with the hundred stout castles, each of them a hundred times as strong as Arslan-Gushay, which were conquered in this present age by the grace of God the Avenger and the fortune of the absolute monarch Hulagu; and from thence let him deduce the prowess and mightiness of each of their armies and warriors." (II 44-45. See Barthold, op.cit., p.22.)

(f) Reference has already been made to the discovery of an historical work in the library of Alamut; it was in this same library that Juvayni came across the Sargudhasht-i-Sayyidna, a biography of Hasan-i-Sabbah, from which he quotes long extracts. The discovery of this work is described in the following terms:

"After God Almighty through the resolve and action of the Prince of the World Hulagu 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 Royal acceptance. Now the point of this is that I was examining the library which they had collected together over a period of many years, and from amongst the multitude of lying treatises and false teachings touching their religion and belief (which they had mingled with noble tomes and all manner of choice books, interweaving good and evil) was extracting whatever I found in the way of rare and precious volumes; when I came upon a book containing the life and adventures of Hasan-i-Sabbah, which they call Sargudhasht-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." (III 186-7.)

(g) For the early history of the Khwarazmshahs Juvayni names two authorities, the first being the Masharib at-Tajarib wa-Ghawarib al-Ghara'ib of Abul-Hasan 'Ali b. Zayd Bayhaqi, "which is the continuation of the Tajarib

al-Umam" of Miskawayh. (II 1. See Barthold, op.cit., p.31.)

(h) The other authority is the Jawami' al-'Ulum of Fakhr ad-Din Abu 'Abdallah Muhammad b. 'Umar ar-Razi, "which was written for Sultan Takish." (Ibid. See Barthold, op.cit., p.32.)

(i) Yaqut is the only contemporary author to whom Juvayni specifically refers. In the chapter on the conquest of Transoxiana he quotes from the Mu'jam al-Buldan a hadith on Bukhara and Samargand. (I 74.)

(j) There is only one certain reference to non-Moslem books. In the chapter "On the origin of the Idi-qut and the origin of the Uyghurs according to their own belief" Juvayni speaks of having

"recorded something of what is found in their books regarding their beliefs and religion." (I 39.)

These books were presumably interpreted to him by that same friend to whom he was indebted for the rationalized version of the myth of Buqu Khan.

(I 45.)

(k) In the chapter "On Chingiz Khan's rise to power" there are two references to what may be literary works in the Uyghur or Mongol language. After describing Chingiz Khan's withdrawal before the treacherous night-attack of Wang Khan and his followers, Juvayni adds that

"though the accounts (riwayāt) differ here as to whether they then returned or whether they at once took up the pursuit, the truth is that Ung Khan set off in search of him with a large force of men..." (I 27.)

And speaking of the battle in which Chingiz Khan inflicted a decisive defeat on Wang Khan he says that

"the names of all that took part therein are recorded, whether base or noble, from princes down to slaves, tent-pitchers, grooms, Turks, Taziks and Indians." (Ibid.)

But in the first of these instances we probably have to do with purely oral traditions, and the second is perhaps a reference to a yarligh similar to that

"which Chingiz Khan wrote to Rukn ad-Din Kart; in which yarligh mention is made of all the leaders of armies and countries whom he crushed and destroyed." (I 95.)

2. *Official*
Historical and other documents

(a) In enumerating the documentary sources we ought perhaps to ignore the mahdar on the origin of the Fatimids (III 174-7.), since the text of this, as Muhammad Qazvini points out in a footnote, is to be found in Abul-Fida, Maqrizi and Ibn Taghri Berdi; and therefore, presumably, in the unnamed authority or authorities whom Juvayni utilized for his account of the Fatimids.

(b) Similarly an Arabic letter of the poet Rashid ad-Din Watwat, which is inserted in the chapter on the rise of the Khwarazmshahs (II 6-7.), is probably excerpted from the same unspecified work from which Juvayni derived the other details concerning the life of this poet.

(c) The earliest documents to which Juvayni had direct access were certain firmans (manāshīr) of ~~the~~ Sultan Sanjar, which he discovered in the Isma'ilis' library at Alamut. These were conciliatory and even flattering in tone and gave Juvayni an idea

"of the extent to which he connived at their actions and sought to be on peaceful terms with them." (III 214-5.)

(d) In his account of the reign of Jalal ad-Din, the Naw-Musalman, Juvayni speaks of a letter which he had seen

"in the hands of the notables and qadis 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 fathers and forefathers. And Jalal ad-Din had written a few lines in his own handwriting upon the front of that letter and in mentioning his deliverance from their religion, when he came to the names of his father and ancestors, he added the curse: 'May God fill their graves with fire!' " (III 244.)

(e) These are only brief references; but there are two documents which have been incorporated in the Ta'rikh-i-Jahan-Gusha in their entirety. The first of these is a fath-nama composed by Nur ad-Din Munshi on the taking of Akhlat by Jalal ad-Din Khwarazmshah. (II 177-180.) This Nur ad-Din (better known as Nasawi) was the author of the celebrated Arabic biography of Jalal ad-Din.

(f) The second of these documents is also a fath-nama -- on the capture of Alamut by Hulagu -- and was composed by Juvayni himself. (III 114-142.)

(g) But the documents to which he refers most frequently are the yarlighs of the Mongols themselves. As the secretary first of Arghun and afterwards of Hulagu he must have seen many of these documents at the time of their issue; and he probably had access to the archives in which they were preserved. (See III 75.)

One such yarligh has already been mentioned. The following is "a copy of a yarligh of Chingiz Khan" which the Mongol general Jebe gave to the people of Nishapur. It is interesting as being the only case in which the actual text is given.

"The commanders and great ones and many of the 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." (I 114.)

(h) Finally, in compiling his chapter "On the laws which Chingiz Khan framed and the yasas which he promulgated after his rise to power" Juvayni may have made use of the Great Book of Yasas. This book, he tells us, consists of yasas and ordinances written down on rolls,

"which are kept in the treasury of the chief princes. Whenever a khan 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 armies and cities in the manner therein prescribed." (I 17-18.)

3. Oral information

(a) Much of Juvayni's information about the Khwarazmshah dynasty is probably derived from family traditions handed down from generation to generation, though there is nowhere any direct reference to these traditions, of which we have an example in the account of the meeting of Juvayni's great-grandfather with Sultan Takish (II 28.); and perhaps also in the story of Rashid ad-Din Watwat and Sultan Sanjar (II 8-10), in which a part was played by Muntajab ad-Din, the maternal uncle of the said great-grandfather; but if, as has been suggested above, we are to link this anecdote with the Arabic letter of Watwat, it is more likely that it was derived from a literary source.

(b) An anecdote in the chapter on Muhammad's conquest of Transoxiana is recounted on the authority and in the words of Juvayni's cousin, "the late Sadr-i-Imam, the most excellent of the moderns, Shams ad-Din 'Ali b. Muhammad," who relates how tidings came to Shadyakh of Sultan Muhammad's victory over the Qara-Khitayans; how, in the midst of all the rejoicing

at this news, he (Shams ad-Din) came upon the Sayyid Murtada b. Sayyid Sadr ad-Din sitting sad and silent in a corner; and how, when asked to account for his unseasonable grief, the sayyid answered as follows:

"O men of little heed, beyond these Turks are a people hasty in their vengeance and their fury and exceeding Gog and Magog in the multitude of their numbers. And the people of Khitay were in truth the wall of Dhul-Qarnayn between us and them. And it is not likely, now that this wall has been removed, that there will be peace within this realm or that any man shall repose in comfort and enjoyment. To-day I am mourning for Islam." (II 79-80.)

(c) Much of Juvayni's information regarding Sultan Muhammad and his son Jalal ad-Din is undoubtedly due to his father and, through his father, to his grandfather, who was one of Muhammad's ministers. The following, however, is the only explicit reference to this source:

"My father has related as follows: In the midst of the flight, whilst proceeding from Balkh, the Sultan halted one day upon a hilltop to take his rest. For a time he gazed down at his beard marvelling at [the tricks of] Destiny. Then turning to thy grandfather Shams ad-Din Sahib ad-Diwan 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 who will unravel this knot which the revolving heavens have tied?' " (I 134.)

(d) With respect to Jalal ad-Din there are references to other oral sources.

Thus of his flight across the Indus:

"Some who were eye-witnesses have related that as many were killed in the water as there were arrows discharged at them, and the river was red with their blood." (II 142.)

And of his death:

"Some say that when he came to the mountains of Amid 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 knowing what deed they had done nor what game they had caught... Now how this came to be discovered was that those Kurds entered the town clad in his garments and certain members 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 the murdered man, i.e. the Sultan, to be buried in it.

But some say that these were other clothes that 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," (II 190-1.)

(e) For the history of Khorasan under Chintemür and Kürküz Juvayni must again have been indebted to the reminiscences of his father. The following passage can be derived from no other source:

"One day, at this juncture [Kürküz had been recalled to Garaqoram but Nusal and Kalbulat were unwilling that he should go] he (Kürküz) sent for my father the Sahib-Divan and said: 'Fortune is like a bird: no one knows on what branch it will alight. I shall make the attempt and see how fate shall be fulfilled and what the revolution of the heavens shall require.' " (II 228.)

(f) His account of the Uyghurs, is, as we have already seen, based upon their own writings; but these must have been interpreted to him orally, and probably, as has been suggested above, by the same "friend" who "said that he had read in a book" a rationalistic explanation of the miraculous birth of Buqu Khan and his brothers. This "friend" must have been an Uyghur and may have been either Kürküz or Arghun, though it is perhaps open to question whether he would have designated either of these by so familiar title. Perhaps, too, it was this same "friend" who related to Juvayni a story about Ogedey in the hunting field. (See § 21.)

(g) Much of his information about the Mongols seems to have been derived from his own inquiries. Thus his account of Teb Tangri is based on what he has "heard from trustworthy Mongols." (I 28.) And again in his description of the qams or shamans he quotes the statement of "certain persons" whom he had "questioned concerning these qams." (I 43.)

(h) So too the account given by the people of Kashghar of the defeat of Kuchluk by the Mongols was probably related to Juvayni in person. (I 50.)

(i) Again, for his account of K rk z Juvayni obtained much of his information from the inhabitants of Y rligh, the birthplace of K rk z, a village some four parasangs from Besh Baligh, through which the author passed in his return journey from Qaraqoram in the year 650/1252-3.

(II 225-6.)

(j) In his chapter on the rising of Mahmud of Tarab Juvayni records a conversation on this subject with certain natives of Bokhara:

"In Bokhara I heard from several respectable and creditable persons how in their actual presence he had blown a medicine prepared of dog's excrement into the eyes of two blind persons, and how they had recovered their sight. I replied: 'The seeing are 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." As for me, if I should see such things with my own eyes, I should concern myself with the treatment of my eyesight.' " (I 86.)

(k) Finally, one of the anecdotes in illustration of  gedey Qa'an's generosity and munificence is recounted on the authority of a "friend of pleasing speech", who had been in Rum during the reign of Sultan 'Ala ad-Din Kayqubad (1219-36). (I 185.)

3. The unfinished state of the text

The unfinished state of
the text

There are certain indications that the Ta'rikh-i-Jahan-Gusha did not receive a final revision and even that it was left in a state of incom-
pletion. The evidence in favour of such an hypothesis may be summarized
under the following headings:

1. Blanks in the MSS.
2. References to non-existent chapters.
3. Inconsistencies in the narration.
4. The division of the text into two uneven volumes.
5. The absence of any reference to events subsequent to the
destruction of Alamut.

1. Blanks in the MSS

In many places dates (and more rarely place-names) have been omitted,
and in some MSS. (especially) a blank space has been left in such
passages. These blanks were presumably copied from the original: the
author, at the time of writing, either did not know or did not remember
the relevant details and accordingly left room for their subsequent in-
sertion. The retention of these blanks in the MSS. shows that in fact
they never were filled in.

Such omissions are consistent with what we know of the conditions under
which the history was composed. Commenting on the Mongol conquest of
Khorasan Juvayni expresses himself as follows:

"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 inclination thereto, has not a single moment for study save when in the course of distant journeys he snatches an hour or so when the caravan halts and writes down these histories!" (I 118.)

Under these circumstances it was clearly impossible to consult authorities and verify dates; but Juvayni would surely have done so if he had revised his work.

Nor is it only dates and place-names that have been omitted. In one early MS. () there is a blank equivalent to 7 or 8 lines of the text at the end of the chapter on Arghun (II 262.); and a much larger blank (over a page) at the end of the chapter on Mongke Qa'an's ministers (III 89). These blanks, as Muhammad Qazvini suggests, were probably left by the author for later additions to the chapters in question. But here again Juvayni has failed to return to his task; and in this instance the blanks, provided they occurred in the original, can be accounted for only by assuming that the Ta'rikh-i-Jahan-Gusha was never completed.

2. References to non-existent chapters

Even clearer evidence of the unfinished state of the text is to be found in the reference to chapters not included in the text, which the author either intended to incorporate later or imagined he had already incorporated in his work.

(a) In the chapter on the conquest of Khorasan by Tuluy Juvayni, after referring to the administrative division of that province into the four

cities of Balkh, Merv, Herat and Nishapur, proceeds as follows:

"Chingiz Khan himself destroyed Balkh, as has been separately mentioned; and with respect to the three other cities i.e. Merv, Herat and Nishapur, inasmuch as other events fell out in those countries both before and after the arrival of the Mongols, the account of their several fates shall be given hereafter in detail." (I 118 11.5-8.)

The destruction of Balkh is in fact described in a previous chapter (I103-105.), and there follow two lengthy chapters on Merv (I 119-132) and Nishapur (133-140); but of a chapter on Herat there is not the slightest trace.

(b) In the chapter on the accession of Möngke Qa'an, referring to Chinqay, one of the ministers of Ögedey and afterwards of his son Güyük, Juvayni remarks that

"an account of his life has been given separately in a special chapter." (III 58.)

"The author," says Muhammad Qazvini in a footnote, "has perhaps forgotten to keep this promise, for there is no separate chapter on Chinqay in any of the extant MSS."

(c) Again, in the chapter on the accession of Möngke Qa'an, referring to the fate of Ilchiktey, a Mongol noble who had been implicated in the conspiracy against the new Khan, he remarks that

"the precise circumstances of this matter may be ascertained from the chapter devoted to that person." (III 62.)

But there is no such chapter.

(d) At the end of the same chapter, speaking of the various missions to Möngke Qa'an he says that

"a separate chapter will be written upon each of them." (III 82.)

These would be interesting chapters if we possessed them -- they would

include one on the Franks -- but in fact, they were never written.

(e) Finally, in the fath-nama-yi-Alamut he speaks of a yarligh sent by Hulagu to Rukn ad-Din, the last of the Isma'ilis,

"the text of which together with other texts not suitable for inclusion in this place has been placed on record in Juvayni's Ta'rikh-i-Jahan-Gusha." (III 129.)

Nothing could be more explicit, but as Muhammad Qazvini remarks in a footnote: "The text of the yarligh is not to be found in the extant MSS.: perhaps Juvayni forgot to keep his promise."

3. Inconsistencies in the narration

Several instances occur in which Juvayni makes statements which are inconsistent not only with the historical facts but also with his own previous or subsequent remarks. Such inconsistencies would surely have been removed if the work had received a final revision.

(a) In the chapter "On Kuchluk and Toqtaghan" the former is referred to as the son of Wang Khan, the ruler of the Kereyt (I 46); further on in the same chapter Toqtaghan is described as being "also a chief of the Merkit" (I 47). In a later chapter ("On the further history of the Beatified Sultan Muhammad and the ruin of his affairs") he is referred to quite correctly as the pisar-i-Nayman (II 100), i.e. the son of the ruler of the Nayman. In other words one and the same man is made out to be a member of three distinct Mongol tribes.

(b) With respect to the chapter "On the advance of Ulush Idi against Jand and the conquest of that region" it is sufficient to quote Muhammad Qazvini's note: "Juvayni has said above (p.64) that Chingiz Khan had en-

trusted his eldest son (i.e. Juchi) with the conquest of Jand and Barjligh Kant, and below (p.97) he says that Juchi sent troops from Jand to assist in the conquest of Khwarazm; whereas in this present chapter he does not even mention Juchi by name but speaks only of Ulush Idi. In the Jami' at-Tawarikh (ed. Berezin, Vol. III, pp. 68-72) Juchi and Ulush Idi are everywhere mentioned together; and that is the correct version, viz. that the subjugation of this region was effected by Juchi and Ulush Idi jointly." (I 66.)

(c) In the chapter on Chaghatay Juvayni relates how Qara Hulagu, the grandson of that prince, was returning from the Court of Mongke Qa'an, when "the inevitable hour prevented him from reaching his ordu." (I 250.) And yet a few lines further on he speaks of his returning home and delivering up Baha ad-Din Marghinani to Habash 'Amid. (Ibid.)

(d) Barthold, in his Turkestan down to the Mongol Invasion, has discussed in considerable detail (pp. 355-9) the two discrepant versions of Muhammad Khwarazmshah's struggle against the Qara-Khitayans, the first in the chapters "On the conquest of Transoxiana" (II 74-82) and "On the second return of the Sultan to make war on the Gur Khan" (II 82-4) and the second in the chapter "On the Khans of Qara-Khitay and the circumstances of their rise and their extirpation" (II 86-93). It may be of course that Juvayni was unable to decide between these two versions and therefore incorporated them both in his history; but it seems more probable that one or the other of the versions would have been omitted if he had been able to give the final touches to his work.

(e) No mention has been made of the chronological errors which occur

so frequently throughout the whole work; these like the blanks already referred to must be largely due to the conditions under which the history was composed; but the following example is interesting as being another instance of Juvayni's inconsistency. At the beginning of the account of Kiya Buzurg Umid, the successor of Hasan-i-Sabbah, it is stated that his reign lasted twenty years. (III 217-8.) This, as Muhammad Qazvini points out in a footnote, is "a gross mistake and a manifest error, since the reign of Buzurg Umid by common consent of the historians, including Juvayni himself, lasted a little more than fourteen years, not twenty years; since, on the one hand, according to the author's explicit statement, several pages before, the death of Hasan-i-Sabbah took place on the 6th of Rabi' I, 518 (23rd of April, 1124), and on the other hand, again according to his own explicit statement on page 221, the death of Buzurg Umid took place on the 26th of Jumada I, 532 (1st of November, 1137). Now the interval between these two dates is clearly fourteen years, two months and twenty days, not twenty years." Muhammad Qazvini concludes his note with the suggestion that Juvayni may have copied this mistake from the books of the Isma'ilis; but even if we assume this to be the case, the inconsistency still remains and is most readily accounted for, as in the previous instances, by assuming that the Ta'rikh-i-Jahan-Gusha was never finally revised.

4. Division of the text into two volumes

The text of the Ta'rikh-i-Jahan-Gusha, as edited by Muhammad Qazvini and as found in most MSS., is divided into three volumes; but that the work as it left the author's hand consisted of two volumes only is made abundantly

clear by the facts enumerated by Muhammad Qazvini in a footnote to his preface (pp. cv-lvii).

These facts are as follows:

(1) Juvayni's own statement in his preface to Vol.III:

"Whereas in the previous volume (mujallad-i-pīshīna) we have recorded the circumstances of the rise of Chingiz Khan and his conquest of the climes, the accession of Qa'an and Guyuk 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 Khwarazm and the other lords of the marches (taraf-nishīnān), 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 second volume (in mujallad-i-dīgar) describe the accession of the World-Emperor Mangu Qa'an and the events and circumstances which have occurred and are occurring during his Khanate, the advance of the Prince of the World Hulagu 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." (III 2.)

I.e. the contents of "the previous volume" embrace everything in Vols. I and II of the text as we know it.

(2) Vol. II, unlike Vols. I and III, plunges at once in medias res without the usual doxology or, indeed, any kind of preface; a circumstance which is readily accounted for only by assuming that this is not in fact an independent volume but simply the conclusion of Vol. I.

(3) This arrangement, i.e. the division into two volumes only, is observed in three of the MSS., 5, 8 and 9, one of which (8) is based on an MS. contemporary with the author.

The fact that in most MSS. the text is divided into three volumes is attributed by Muhammad Qazvini to the copyists, who for their own convenience and the better arrangement of the history made two volumes out of the original Vol. I, which was more than twice the size of the original Vol. II

and dealt with two distinct subjects, the Mongol Invasion and the history of the Khwarazmshahs.

But why did Juvayni himself make so unpractical a division of his work? The simplest explanation is that it was never completed; and that the original Vol. II, when completed, would have equalled in size the original Vol. I.

5. No reference to events subsequent to the
destruction of Alamut

Vol. III of the present text (corresponding to Vol. II of the original) concludes with an account of the Ismailis of Persia and their final destruction by Hulagu in 1257.

Juvayni, as Muhammad Qazvini has pointed out, survived this event by some 27 years; he was present in person at the capture and sacking of Baghdad and also witnessed the important events of the reigns of Hulagu, Abaqa and Teküder; and yet has "left no record of this eventful quarter of a century." (Persian Introduction lxxxiii; English Introduction lxiii-lxiv.)

Muhammad Qazvini accounts for this astonishing but incontrovertible fact by assuming "that the exacting duties of the governorship of Baghdad, which was conferred on him immediately after the city fell into the hands of the Mongols, and which he continued to hold until his death, allowed him no leisure for the continuance of his great history." (Ibid.)

Whether or not this is the true explanation, the fact that the history breaks off where it does is an almost certain indication that it was never completed; and on this assumption we can understand why the original Vol. II is so much smaller than the original Vol. I and why it contains references

to at least five chapters (one on Chinqay, one on Ilchiktey and one on each of the missions to Mōngke Qa'an) that were never actually written.

4. Grammar

Grammar

The following notes are intended as a supplement to Muhammad Qazvini's remarks on the grammatical peculiarities of the text in his Introduction to Vol. II.

I. Orthography

Beside the spelling کی (for the modern که) Juvayni consistently makes use of a form با (quite distinct from با "with") corresponding to به the separate form of ب "to."

با همدان رسید ،

"he arrived in Hamadan" (II 33, 1.16)

غیاث الدین با هرات شد ،

"Ghiyath ad-Din went to Herat" (II 49, 11.9-10.)

با خراسان معاودت نمود ،

"he returned to Khorasan" (II 26, 1.11.)

So also بادید = به دید = بدید or پدید .

II. Accidence

(a) There are three instances of a form استی equivalent to the normal بودی , i.e. the third person singular conditional of بودن :

اگر سیاست واجب نبودى و پادشاهان کامگار
و شهبازان جبار را از آن گزيرستى آيت حديد
و سيف منزل نگشتى ،

"If punishment were not necessary and powerful kings and haughty monarchs could dispense therewith, the verse of iron and the sword would not have been sent down." (III 49, 11.15-16.)

گر زفان تو رازدارستى * تيخ را باسرت چه کارستى

"If thy tongue had been discreet, what business would the sword have with thy head?" (III 52, 1.10.)

(b) In one passage we find the local Khorasani form *کردتى* instead of the usual *کرديدى* for the second person plural conditional of *کردن* :

اگر شما گناههاى بزرگ نکردتى خداى چون من
عذاب را بسر شما نفرستادى ،

"If you had not committed great sins God would not have sent a punishment like me upon you." (I 81, 11.18-19.)

III. Syntax

(a) In reported speech Juvayni sometimes makes use of a curious combination of oratio recta and oratio obliqua, in which pronouns and

verbs in the first person are retained in that person whilst those in the second person are changed into the third.

E.g.:

با شکارکنان قرار داده اند که آن جماعت کوچک
و اشیاع او اند که از ما جسته اند چون کوچک را
بگیرند و بدست ما دهند با ایشان کاری نیست،

"They came to an agreement with the hunters. 'These men,' they said, 'are Kuchluk and his followers, who have escaped from our grasp. If you (lit. they) capture Kuchluk and deliver him up to us, we shall ask nothing more of you (lit. them).'" (I 50, 11.16-18.)

مسرعان در مقدمه فرستادیم تا دست از پای
نقار کشیده کنند و خود را در غمار بوار و تنور دمار
نیفکنند،

hands

"We have sent forward runners so that you (lit. they) may withdraw your ~~feet~~ from reproach and may not cast yourselves into the whirl-pool of destruction and the oven of perdition." (I 123, 11.10-11.)

Sometimes the second person is retained for a while and then changed to the third:

پیغام آنکه اگر شما را درین کنگاج و اندیشه با آن
جماعت مشارکت نبوده است و با ایشان موافقت
و مساعدت، سعادت شما بدان منوط است که

بجانب حضرت مبارک نمایند و مسارعت بتقدیم رسانند،

"The message was to this effect: 'If you had no part with them in this plot and conspiracy and neither agreed with them nor assisted them, your happiness is dependent on this circumstance and the sign of this will be that you (lit. they) proceed to Court and do so with haste.' " (II 54, 1.5 - 55, 1.1.)

اگر با شما درین مخالفت آن قوم را موافقتی نبودست
بی موجبی چندین اہمال در حرکت بجانب ما از چہ
تواند بود... اگر آن اندیشہ در ضمیر ایشان نبودست
بی اہمال حرکت باید نمود،

"If you were not in agreement with them in this conspiracy, why without reason do you delay so much in setting out for our presence?... If there was no such idea in your (lit. their) minds, you should set out without delay." (III 56, 11.6-7.)

In one case we have an instance of a transition from the first person to the third:

قبول کرد کہ پسر را بفرستم و سیصد نفر مرد را
بر سبیل حشر با او روان کند و تمامت قلعا حراب،

"He agreed saying, 'I will send my son and I (lit. he) will dispatch three hundred men with him by way of a levy and destroy all the castles.' " (III 109, 11.9-11.)

(b) There are several examples of what may be called relative asyndeta, i.e. relative sentences unconnected by any formal link with the main

sentence.

E.g.:

آنک با بخت بیدار حلم و قاریار داشت و با
 دولت روز افزون مزیت عقل رهنمون (با رای
 جهان آرای او آفتاب را روائی نیست و با وجود جود
 او سحاب را نوائی نه خانان چین و ماچین کجا اند
 تا آیین شاهی آموزند، سلاطین پیشین چونند تا
 قدرت الهی بینند، قیصره روم بشرف ادراک
 خدمتش اگر مستعد گشتندی از تربیت او ترتیب
 جهانداری آموختندی، و اکاسره فرس و فراعنه
 مصر اسباب جهانگیری از آراء و عزیمات او
 اندوختندی) پادشاه روی زمین مگو تا آن ...

"He who with vigilant fortune loved meekness and modesty and with daily increasing felicity made excellency of understanding his guide (compared with his world-adorning counsel the sun has no beauty and in 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 condition are the Sultans of yore that they may see the might of divinity? If the Caesars of Rum had been blessed with the honour of attaining to his service, from his instruction they would have learnt the method of world-sovereignty. And the

Khusraws of Persia and the Pharaohs of Egypt would have gathered from his opinions and resolutions the means of world-conquest) the Monarch of the Face of the Earth Mangu Qa'an... " (III 89, 1.9 - 90, 1.5.)

و قلب را ببردان کار دیده و حلو و ستر روزگار
چشیده را روز مصاف را شب زفاف پندارند
حدود بیض را خدود بیض مصاف کنند زخم
ریاح را لثم ملاح شناسند) مزین گردانید،

"And he adorned the centre with experienced men that had tasted the sweet and the bitter of life (they 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 prick of lances to be the kiss of beautiful maidens)." (III 118, 11.2-5.)

جماعتی از مغولان را (مقدم ایشان بوجرای)
جهت محافظت و ملازمت او نامزد فرمود،

"He appointed a group of Mongols (their leader Bujray) to guard him and wait on him." (III 275, 11.8-9.)

(c) There is one example of the pluperfect of **بودن**, a tense not found in classical Persian though, as Muhammad Qazvini points out, it occurs in earlier writers and particularly in the Tadhkirat al-Awliya of Farid ad-Din:

7
چنانکه در روزگار آل بویه بوده بود ،

"as had been the case in the time of the Buwayhids." (III 217, 1.7.)

(d) There are three examples of the use of بودن in the sense of شدن :

عین محضر ... در ذکر حاکم ... ثبت خواهد بود ،

"The text of this attestation will be reproduced in the chapter on Hakim." (III 160, 11.1-2.)

گفتند مسموم بود ،

"They said he had been poisoned." (III 147, 1.10 and 148, 11.2-3.)

(e) The particle را is frequently used to express relations other than the accusative or dative:

روز سیم را ،

"on the third day." (I 113, 11.19-20.)

و سنه اثنین و ستین را تمام شد ،

"And it (Fustat) was completed in the year 602." (III 161, 1.14 - 162, 1.1.)

تقدیم سجدہ ایزد را از اسب پیارہ شد،⁸

"He dismounted from his horse in order to prostrate himself in thanks to God." (II 32, 11.2-3.)

(f) This ^ا is sometimes omitted:

انتہاز این فرصت (را) گوش داست،

"He watched (in order to) seize this opportunity." (II 91, 1.19.)

خاص خان را بالشکری تاختنی (را) بر نہروالہ فرستاد،

"He sent Khass Khan with an army (to make) an attack on the region of Nahrwala." (II 148, 11.9-10.)

(g) The perfect is sometimes used instead of the preterite, apparently in order to indicate that the facts are reported from hearsay and are not vouched for by the writer (cf. the similar use of the Turkish "dubitative" perfect in-mish):

و حسن صباح در تعظیم و توقیر او تأکیدا کرده است و مبالغتھا فرودہ پسرزادہ را از آن نزار کہ از جملہ ائمہ ایشان بود در زی اختفا و لباس توریدہ بالموت آورده است و آن سر جز

9

باحسن صباح باغیری نگفته و اظهاری نرفته
 واورا بدیہی در پایان الموت منوطن کرده اند،

"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. He brought to Alamut, in the garb of disguise and the dress of concealment, a grandson of Nizar, who was one of their imams; and 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." (III 231, pp.9-13.)

The perfect with می is similarly employed in place of the imperfect:

پدر ازو حذر می کرده است و اندیشه
 می داشته و در زیر لباس زر می پوشیده،

"His father used to be on his guard against him and mistrust him, and used to wear armour under his clothes." (III 242, 6-7.)

(h) In the two following passages the negative particle نه is used expletively in much the same way as the French ne in je crains qu'il ne vienne:

پیش از آنک دست تلافی در گردن مراد
 نرسد،

"Before the arm of attainment reaches the neck of the goal." (III 42, 1.5.)

و ملحدانی را که اهل اعتماد او بودند... جهت
حفظ او از قصدی که پسر نپیوندد حاضر
می داشتند ،

"And certain Heretics, who were persons on whom he could rely, he kept ever in attendance on him to protect him from any plot that his son might hatch." (III 242, 11.7-9.)

5. Glossary

Glossary

Words taken from the list of "lexicographical peculiarities" which Muhammad Qazvini has included in his introduction to Vol. II are indicated by the letters M.Q. In the case of such words (and of such other words as are of frequent occurrence in the text) no references are given to volume, page and line.

آب

(M.Q.)

برآب
چو آب

"swiftly, hastily"

"fluently, without

hesitation"

آب راه

(M.Q.)

"conduit"

آذین

(M.Q.)

For the normal

آیین

آقا aga

"elder brother"

(I 220, 1.11; III 16,
11.4 and 6.)

Usually in conjunction with

آینی (q.v.).

آماج

(III 126, 1.6.)

"the twenty-fourth part of a parasang"

آموز

(II 131, 1.5.)

"learning"

اتشاج یا ایشاج

(M.Q.)

"intermingling by marriage"

This form is not found in any reputable dictionary.

احتضان

(M.Q.)

"taking refuge in a fortress"

Not found in this sense in any reputable dictionary.

اخراجات

(I 23, 1.8 and 24, 1.9.;

II 248, 1.15.)

"expenditure"

See Minorsky, A Soyurghal of Qasim b.

Jahangir Aq-qoyunlu, BSOS Vol. IX, p.946.

اراج

(III 15, 1.8 and 40, 1.6.)

Used as the pl. of رُج "roll"

According to M.Q. this form is used only as the plural of رُج "casket" or

رُج "road" but not of رُج

"roll". It is however given as a plural of the latter by Belot.

اراق

(M.Q.)

"urination"

ارتاق ortaq

"merchant associate"

See Minorsky, Nasir al-Din Tusi on

Finance, BSOAS Vol. X, p.788.

اردو ordu

"residence of a Mongol prince"

Coupled with (I 195, 1.16.)

ارزیز

(III 140, 1.1.)

"lead"

ارکون ärkä'un

(III 77, 1.9.)

"Christian, Christian priest"

See Minorsky, Tusi, p.785.

ازدر

(III 141, 1.5.)

"worthy"

ازنور aznaur

(M.Q.)

"Georgian noble"

This Georgian word appears to be derived from an hypothetical Armenian ^{*} *aznawor* (from azn "nation" "people" and the suffix awor) and may, like the analogous *thagawor*, (from thag "crown"), be of Iranian origin.

استخلاص

"conquest, subjugation"

اغروغ oghrugh

(II 231, 1.10.)

"encampment"

اقتلاع

(III 102, 1.3 and 217, 1.3.)

"act of uprooting"

An incorrect use of this form.

التما al-tamgha

"red seal affixed to a yarligh"

التياذ

(III 133, 1.4.)

"taking refuge"

Not found in any reputable dictionary.

Presumably invented by Juvayni.

انصهار

(III 118, 1.6.)

"rising"

This too seems to have been invented by
Juvayni.

اوام

(III 85, 1.6.)

"debt"

اوروغ urugh

"family"

اوزان uzan

(I 137, 1.5 and III 292, 1.2.)

"artisan(s)"

See Minorsky, Tusi, p.789.

اولاغ ulagh

"post-service, relay horses"

See Minorsky, Soyurghal, p.948.

ایقاق ayqaq

(II 235, 1.8 and III

60, 1.10.)

"informer"

ایل el

"pacified, subject"

Also used as a noun = "subject territory."

ایل گرجستان

"the part of Georgia that had submitted."

اینی ini

(I 220, 1.11 and III

16, 1.4.)

"younger brother"

Usually in conjunction with

آقا (q.v.).

بارید

(M.Q.)

i.e. پدید or پدید.

باز

(M.Q.)

باشقاق basqaq

Used instead of ^{با} before a vowel in the expressions ^{باز آنکه} and ^{بازین همه}.

"official"

This word is sometimes used as a synonym of ^{شینه} (q.v.). Thus the first Mongol shihna of Bokhara was Tusha Basqaq, i.e. Tusha the basqaq (I 83-4). This same man is described in the chapter "On the rising of the Tarabi" as "the senior of the shihnas" (I 87, 1.1) and these shihnas are previously referred to as "emirs and basqaqs." (I 86, 1.17). Again in the chapter "On the conquest of Transoxiana" there is a reference to the appointment of one Burtana as shihna of Samarqand (II 81, 1.8); and in the following chapter "On the return of the Sultan to fight against the Gur Khan" this same man is referred to as "the basqaq of Samarqand" (II 83, 1.16).

باقی

(M.Q.)

در باقی کردن "to reject, to renounce"

برزیدن

(M.Q.)

For the normal ^{ورزیدن}.

بعدا آنکه

(M.Q.)

For the usual ^{بعدا از آنکه}

بختاغ boghtagh

(I 217, 1.6.)

"head-dress worn by Mongol women"

The botta of Rubruck. See Komroff, Contemporaries of Marco Polo, pp. 89-90 and 155.

بقور

(M.Q.)

Used as pl. of بقرة or بقرة.

Not found in any reliable dictionary.

So M.Q. The word is however given in

Freytag as a plural of بقرة .

بنات الماء

(I 193, 1.15.)

"water-fowl"

بنوی

(M.Q.)

M.Q. takes this to be a rare word, not found in the dictionaries, signifying "the base or foundation of a wall."

Professor Minorsky has suggested an alternative interpretation: ba-navi, "anew, again." This gives much better sense in the two passages in which this expression occurs.

چون بنوی دین نبوی قوی شد،

"when the religion of the prophet again became strong"

(Note the jingle banavi - nabavi which is destroyed if we read بنوی with M.Q.)

و باین نوائی کار بنوی راه نوا
را آهنگ کشیدند،

"And despite the forlornness of their
condition they again entered upon the
road of song."

بیتکچی bitikchi

"scribe, secretary"

پای
(M.Q.)

پای داشتن "to wait"
پای برداشتن "to flee"

پایزه payiza

"A tablet of gold, silver or wood, about
half a cubit in length and a span in width,
inscribed with the names of God and of the
Mongol sovereign, and specifying the rank
conferred upon him to whom it was granted."

(English introduction to Vol. I xxii n.)

پایکاری

"condition of a پایکار (labourer)"

(M.Q.)

پرپرا

"gold coin"

(III 245, 1.12.)

The Byzantine hyperperon.

پسر

"prince"

(M.Q.)

پسرینه

"boys as a class"

(M.Q.)

Cf. پسرینه and عورتینه.

پنداشت

(I 134, 1.23 and II 77, 1.10.)

پنداشتی

(II 49, 1.17.)

بیچ

(III 120, 1.10.)

تاب

(III 120, 1.10.)

ترخان tarkhan

(I 27, 1.18.)

ترغو targhu

تصنیف

(M.Q.)

تغار

(II 249, 1.4.)

"conceit"

I.q. پنداشت .

"envy"

"twisting" (adj.)

"exempt from taxes"

See Minorsky, Tusi, p.789.

"offerings of food to a traveller"

ترغو is coupled with نزل in two places (I 113, 1.11 and III 94, 1.4)

and in one passage is explicitly identified with the latter word (I 170, 1.7). نزل

in turn is described (I 115, 1.18.) as consisting of "food, victims and drink."

"invention"

"a tax in kind (on grain)"

See Minorsky, Soyurghal, p.949.

تکشمیشی tekishmishi

(I 213, 1.19 and II

253, 1.2.)

"presentation of an offering"

Abstract nouns in -mishi (common under Timur) are still rare in Juvayni.

تتاج

(II 242, 1.6.)

"a kind of vermicelli cut in squares"

تنکسوق tangsug

(II 233, 1.7.)

"rarity, present"

تومان tüman

"(a division of) ten thousand (men)"

توین toin

(I 44, 1.4.)

"Buddhist priest"

تیزی

(M.Q.)

" a note in music"

جانب

(M.Q.)

از جانب " as for "

جریدہ

(II 152, 1.10. and

156, 1.5.)

"travelling light"

جلخوزہ

(I 40, 1.15.)

"the pignon of the Pinus Gherardiana"

See N.I.Vavilov, Agricultural Afghanistan, p.465.

جلہ

(M.Q.)

از جلہ کسی بودن "to be

one of somebody's followers"

جنیبت

(II 141, 1.13.)

"led - horse"

جوڑا

(II 56, 1.17.)

For the normal جوجه .

(چوک) جوک

(II 210, 1.10.)

جوک زدن "to kneel"

جیحون

(M.Q.)

"any large river"

Applied to the Indus, the Kurr in the
Caucasus and the Jaxartes.

چالش

(II 77, 1.19.)

"single combat"

حالت

(M.Q.)

"death"

حالیا

(M.Q.)

"then, immediately"

حشر

(M.Q.)

"a levy raised by the Mongols in
conquered territory"

حضرت

(M.Q.)

"royal court or residence"

خرجی

(M.Q.)

"usual, general"

خرک

(I 69, 1.4.)

"battering-ram"

خیم

(I 62, 1.11.)

"disposition, nature"

دار بک

امیر دار

سیر دار

(M.Q.)

"holder of an office corresponding to that of chief qadi or something like the modern Minister of Justice"

دار

(II 247, 1.12.)

"tree"

دجله

(M.Q.)

"any large river"

Applied to the Oxus.

دراز دنبال

(II 142, 1.15.)

"ox"

As M.Q. points out in a footnote, this meaning is confirmed by the corresponding passage in the Jami' at-Tawarikh which has گا.

در بایستن

(M.Q.)

"to be lacking"

دروغینه

(III 111, 1.5.)

"false, spurious"

دست

(I 141, 1.2; II 131,
1.3 and 214, 1.15.)

"power, control, administration"

دست جنبانیدن

(M.Q.)

"to flee"

دوچار زدن

(M.Q.)

"to meet, encounter"

دوشیدن

In the following passage this verb is
used in an intransitive sense:

از پستان شب شیر تبا سیر
صبح بدوشید،

"from the breast of night the milk of the
break of dawn gushed forth" (III 125, 1.9.)

دینه

(III 18, 1.14.)

"yesterday"

دیه

(M.Q.)

The spelling may indicate an older pro-
nunciation (dēh) or perhaps is only a
scriptio plena to distinguish this word
from ^د "ten".

دکوریت

(III 256, 1.12.)

"virility"

M.Q. remarks in a footnote that this word
is not to be found in any reputable dict-
ionary with the exception of Dozy.

راضحات

(M.Q.)

Used in the sense of "nurses" --
apparently in error.

رباعی

(M.Q.)

Applied to two bayts or even a single
bayt of a رباعی .

رزق

(I 165, 1.13.)

"wineskin"

رکاب گران کردن

(M.Q.)

"to hasten, to ride hard"

رکنی

(I 16, 1.10; II 65, 1.20,
238, 1.11 and 256, 1.13.)

"struck by Rukn ad-Din"

Applied to dinars.

رگ

(II 187, 1.2.)

"string of a musical instrument"

روز بازار

(III 15, 1.7.)

"affairs, business"

زرادخانه

(M.Q.)

"arsenal"

زخان

(M.Q.)

For the normal

زبان .

زندنیچی

(M.Q.)

"a kind of cloth"

Manufactured in the village of Zandana
near Bokhara.

ساختگی

(II 151, 1.12
and 249, 1.2.)

سبیل

(M.Q.)

سرایا

(M.Q.)

د
سرو

(I 179, 1.2; II 116, 1.8.)

سولوق suluq

(I 186, 11.5 and 8.)

سورغامیشی soyurghamishi

سورمیشی soyurmishi

(I 162, 1.8.)

"arranging, equipment"

"a caravan of pilgrims"

"nobles"

Apparently a mistake for *سراة*.

"horn"

"vessel (for holding water)"

"kindness, favour"

Coupled with *عاطفت* (I 157, 1.11;

II 216, 11.5-6 and 217, 1.16) and *شفقت*

(II 216, 1.3). *سورغامیشی کردن*

"to show favour to" (I 58, 1.7); "to

grant, bestow" (I 34, 1.1.)

See

تکشمیشی

"largesse"

The alternative reading is *سورمیشی*

sürmishi "rejoicing, celebrating".

شارروان

(M.Q.)

"something like a carpet that is
suspended from a high place"

شارمان

(III 116, 1.4.)

A hapax legomenon.

Professor Minorsky suggests that we should ^{read}

*شارمان (with one MS.) = سادبان,

an older form of سايان.

شارستان

(M.Q.)

"district"

شان

(III 141, 1.3.)

A hapax legomenon.

The meaning is apparently "net" or "snare."

شکنده

"representative of the conqueror left
with a conquered people"

Juvayni sometimes uses the word

باستاق

(q.v.) in the same sense.

شکنیده

(III 267, 1.3.)

Apparently from a form *شکنیدن =

شکستن.

صلال

(III 135, 1.12.)

Unusual pl. of صل , "snake"

ضرب الخشب

(M.Q.)

"striking with a stick"

An un-Arabic expression probably of
Persian coinage.

طبطاب

(II 269, 1.1.)

"confusion, turmoil"

Professor Minorsky suggests that this word may be simply a disguise of the phrase **تب و تاب**.

طرقاق turqaq

(I 182, 1.8.)

"day-guard"

See Minorsky, A Civil and Military Review in Fars in 881/1476, BSOAS Vol. X, p.163.

طوی

(III 40, 1.13.)

"feast, celebration"

عَرَص

(M.Q.)

"side"

عَلَف خَوَار

(M.Q.)

"pasturage"

عنان

(M.Q.)

عنان سبک کردن "to hasten"
عنان بر تاختن "to flee"

عورتینه

(M.Q.)

"women as a class"

Cf. پسرینه and مردینه.

غرق کردن

(M.Q.)

"to shoot (an arrow) with great force"

فراخ شاخ

(III 38, 1.3.)

"ox"

فرا نمودن

"to pretend"

(III 229, 1.5 and 264, 1.9.)

فرفت

(II 119, 1.17.)

فرزین بند

(I 91, 1.12 and 93, 1.12.)

فرویات

(III 88, 1.9.)

قام qam

قوچچور

قراقچی qaraqchi

قرن

(M.Q.)

فسوق or قسوق

or فستوق

(I 40, 1.14 and

15, 1.12.)

قسیر quniz

(I 165, 1.13 and

207, 1.13; III 36, 1.3.)

Perhaps فرفت* = فریب "deceit".
فرفت "fumitory" gives no sense.

"a check to the king by the queen at chess"

So Redhouse of the variant فرزبند.

"furs"

From فرو. This form, as M.Q. points out in a footnote is not to be found in the dictionaries.

"sorcerer, shaman"

See قوچچور

"guard, sentinal"

"a period of thirty years"

Tentatively identified by Prof. Minorsky as the Siberian cedar.

"fermented mare's milk"

قوچچور qopchur
(قوچچور)

Originally equivalent to راعی "pasturage levy" (III 79, 1.5) the term was afterwards applied to irregular levies in general. See Minorsky, Tusi, pp.783-4.

قورچی qorchi
(I 175, 1.13.)

"archer"
Apparently a sort of bodyguard. The spelling قورچی occurs I 228, 1.9.

قوریح qorigh
(III 93, 1.6.)

"royal preserves"

قوریلتای quriltay

"assembly of the Mongol princes"

قووقو ququ
(II 111, 11.2 and 4.)

"swan"
Hence the modern qū (< qu'u < qughu).

کبتؤل kebte'ül
(I 228, 1.9.)

"night-guard"
See Minorsky, Review, p.163.

کت
(III 133, 1.16.)

"throne"
Cf. the modern نیمکت "sofa".

کتاره
(III 124, 1.4.)

"dagger"
Cf. Hindustani

کمر
(II 162, 1.9.)

"rocks"

کنگاج

"consultation, deliberation"

Coupled with مشورت (I 220, 1.12).

کوشی

"provisions"

(M.Q.)

کول kul

"pool of water" (I 193, 1.15);

"large ditch" (I 227, 1.1).

کیا (1)

"lord, master, petty king (in Gilan)"

(III 141, 1.4.)-

کیا (2)

"honour"

(Ibid.)

See M.Q.'s footnote.

گورد

"advantage, profit"

(M.Q.)

گزارد

"thrust, blow"

(M.Q.)

گستاخ

"intimate, on familiar terms"

(III 256, 1.10.)

گما ریدن

"to bloom"

(M.Q.)

گمان برد

"conjecture"

(III 42, 1.10.)

گوشتی

"animal whose flesh is eaten"

(III 32, 1.1.)

See M.Q.'s footnote.

مادراندر

(M.Q.)

"step-mother"

ماندن

(M.Q.)

Used transitively in the sense of "to leave."

متبادل

(II 234, 1.10.)

"different, divergent"

This, as M.Q. remarks in a footnote, is a strange use of the word.

مد

(II 232, 1.20 and
245, 1.17.)

"gift, present"

See M.Q.'s footnote, II 232.

مردینه

(M.Q.)

"men as a class"

Cf. *پسرینه* and *عورتینه*.

مرغزی

(I 127, 1.6.)

"native of Merv"

مسار

(II 227, 1.12.)

"joy"

Apparently invented by Juvayni.

مستخر

(M.Q.)

Used transitively in the sense of

"lighting, kindling."

مسی

(M.Q.)

Apparently "a list of the names of persons, lands etc."

مصافات

(I 220, 1.9.)

مطلع

(M.Q.)

مخافصة

(M.Q.)

مفرد

(M.Q.)

مقدمه

(M.Q.)

ملك

(M.Q.)

ملواح

(M.Q.)

مواجب

(M.Q.)

مواضعه

(M.Q.)

موافقه

(M.Q.)

مول

(III 141, 1.1.)

"benevolent attitude"

"on the verge"

"suddenly"

"attendant; valiant man"

The root meaning is "singled out".

"the foregoing"

More or less synonymous with

"governor."

حاكم

"decoy"

"salaries"

"tribute paid by subject kings"

More or less synonymous with

مواضعه .

"bastard"

ميلان

(M.Q.)

"inclination"

ناياك

(M.Q.)

"fearless"

نابيوس }
نابيوسيد }

(M.Q.)

"suddenly, unexpectedly"

ناز

"pine-tree"

(I 40, 1.14 and III

131, 1.7.)

ناگرفتي

"suddenly"

(II 176, 1.12.)

نبايد

Used in the sense of مبادا .

(M.Q.)

نبيير

"grandson"

(III 144, 1.11.)

نرگ nerge

"ring of hunters"

(I 20, 11.4 and 15;

III 53, 1.6.)

نحل بها

"a tax exacted by kings from the rulers

(M.Q.)

of places through which they passed"

نوکار naukar

(II 243, 1.10)

"partner, subaltern"

An alternative form نوکار also occurs (II 250, 1.5). In both passages the words are coupled with شریک.

For a later use of this word see Minorsky, Review, p.164.

In the modern language نوکار noukar is simply "servant."

نویر

(II 101, 1.12.)

Apparently a string of a musical instrument other than the زیر "treble string" and the بم "bass string."

نویں noyon,
noin

"commander, chief"

Seems to be the Mongol equivalent of امیر.

نهنین

(III 126, 1.8.)

"lid"

See also Browne, Description of an old Persian Commentary, p.491.

نیرنگ زدن

(II 47, 1.15.)

"to sketch"

نیک

(I 196, 1.9 and 214, 1.2;
III 57, 1.1 and 88, 1.1.)

Used in the sense of سخت (in the modern language بسیار or خیلی) "very, much."

واقعه

(M.Q.)

"death"

واهی

(M.Q.)

Used transitively in the sense of
"weakening."

و شاق vushaq

(II 185, 1.11.)

"henchman"

وشکرده

(II 92, 1.21 and

III 107, 1.6.)

"ready, prepared"

هم تنگ

(M.Q.)

"equal"

هم شاخ

(M.Q.)

"wife's sister(?)"

یاسا yasa

"command, order, decree; custom, law;
punishment"

Coupled with حکم (I 162, 1.22) and
(in the pl.) with احکام (I 149, 11.20-21);
with فرمان (I 157, 1.20); with آذین
(I 161, 1.19) and آیین (III 3, 1.1);
with عادت (I 203, 1.22 - 204, 1.1);
with قانون (I 199, 1.8); and with
سیاست (I 227, 1.6).

بیاسا رساندن "to put to death"

ياغی	<u>yaghi</u>	"hostile, enemy"
يام	<u>yam</u>	"post-house"
ياى	<u>yay</u>	"use of the rain-stone"
(I 152,1.4 and 153,1.2.)		
يايچى	<u>yaychi</u>	"rain-maker"
(I 153, 1.2.)		
يرغو	<u>yarghu</u>	"court of criminal investigation"
يرغوچى	<u>yarghuchi</u>	"prosecutor, judge"
يك تيغ		"allied in war"
(M.Q.)		
يلدا		"long"
(III 129, 1.9.)		
		<u>shab-i-yildā</u> "night of the Nativity,"
		then simply "long night"
يرليغ	<u>yarligh</u>	"rescript"
يورت	<u>yurt</u>	"territory of a Mongol prince"

6. Translation of Vol. I

The First Volume of Juvayni's
History of the World - Conqueror

[Introduction]

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

Thanksgiving and praise unto Him that men worship, Who is necessarily existent; unto Him before Whom men prostrate themselves, Whose existence bestoweth the lights of understanding and bounteousness: He is the Maker, and the proof of His oneness lieth in every one 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 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 one drop in the sea of His bounty; 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 executioner 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 idolatrous libertines --

"Infidelity and Islam walking His 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 and the light of the pupil of men of insight, the seal of the prophets -- 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.

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, Mangu 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; and this was in conformity with the commandment of the Lord --
 "Look to the effects of God's mercy, how He maketh the earth to live after
 its death." 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 justice were hidden thereby and the traditions
 of Faridun's wisdom appeared effaced. The breezes 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 bruise the lips and seareth the brows of illustrious
 kings, some of my faithful friends and pure - hearted brethen, 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 record the
 chronicles and annals of his reign I should compile a miscellany which
 should abrogate the verses of the Caesars and obliterate the traditions of
 the Chosroes.

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 freshness 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 lamenting his brother."

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 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 me" --

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

5

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."

"And when a hero encounters death, methinks that but for eulogy
he had never been born."

[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 compositions 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 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."

"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."

My father the Sahib-Divan Baha ad-Din Muhammad b. Muhammad al-Juvayni -- 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 are being effaced
and the foundation of noble deeds is about to collapse.

We have been beset by successors who have adopted blindness towards
their successors as a comb and as a towel for their comb."

They regard lying and deception as exhortation and admonishment and call
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."

They consider the Uyghur language and script to be the height of knowledge
and learning. Every market loungee 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... [5] an auditor and every spendthrift an
inspector; every rogue a vice-chancellor and every boor a chancellor; 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.

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

"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!"

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," 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 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 captives 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 steps and explore the lowest rungs. And in accordance with the saying "People are liker to their time than to their parents," in the flower of my youth, 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 worked as scribe and accountant, 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 and Turkestan
 to the confines of Machin [7] and farthest China, which is the site of
 the throne of the kingdom and the abode of the race of the grandchildren
 of Chingiz Khan 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 Juvayni's History of the World-
Conqueror.

"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."

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 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 and 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;" for the
 purpose of recounting these tales and declaring and delineating the shape
 of events compriseth two objects, viz. the achievement of both spiritual
 and temporal advantage.

As for the spiritual advantage, if a keen-sighted man of pure nature,
 who is fair and moderate, do not look 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 sack-
 cloth for brocade --

"The eye of contentment is blind to every defect, but the eye
 of anger giveth rise to faults" -- ;
 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 reflect upon these discourses and seances, which are announced in various styles [?]; then the veil of doubt and 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 or 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 whatever events occur such as the devastation of countries and the scattering of peoples through the adversity of the good and the triumph of the evil have wise saws rolled up inside them. God Almighty hath said: "Haply ye love a thing though it be bad for you." And Master Sana'i 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 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.' "

Whatever is secret is a sea into which no man has the knowledge or the information to plunge: what people can fly in that region 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."

12

[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 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; and that the abundance of the lights of the sunbeams should not seem strange any more than dampness from water or heat from fire, whereas every light that shineth because of the darkness is very marvellous and wonderful.

"We did not die as long as through jugglery we did not see the dawn of midnights."

For this reason the Banner of Islam is raised higher and the candle of the faith lit brighter; and the sun of the faith 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 adhan and whose soil had not been trodden save by the unclean feet of the worshippers of al-Lat and al-'Uzza; 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 were driven thither in

the levy as craftsmen and keepers of animals; and many are those who -- from the farthest West, from the two Iraqs, 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 the staff of repose in those parts and decided to abide there; and have settled down, and built mansions and castles, and reared the 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," 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 toin) that before the settlement of the Moslems and the perpetuation of the takbir and the iqamat of "God abode and perpetuated it" the idols used to converse with them -- "the Satans will indeed suggest to their votaries to wrangle with you" -- and 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 hearts." And indeed so it must be, for "truth is come and falsehood is vanished: verily, falsehood is a thing that vanisheth." 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."

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."

"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 seances 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 likeness 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." 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 of occasional tax and from the inconvenience of subventions; 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 Mangu Qa'an, when there are several princes of the family 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 have been decorated and adorned with the jewel of the glory of the faith that their numbers are beyond calculation. In view of the foregoing it is necessary on the

grounds of reason, now that the Piebald Horse of the Days 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;" and yield and submit; and desist from rebellion and forwardness 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."

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" -- 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 of Thamud, 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 Qiyas. And when the time came round 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 Jarullah 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 you a punishment from above you," 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 the Sultan," would have their hands freed; the nobles would remain in the corner of calamity and the nook of tribulation; and some of the advantages of "And we have sent down iron, wherein resideth dire evil, as well as advantage, to men" 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," 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." 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." 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 ones 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."

"And how many crimes have been committed by fools and the punishment has fallen on the innocent!"

"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 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 dominion, and audacity, and oppression, and revenge, 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."

[I]

Of the condition of the Mongols
before the time of Chingiz Khan's rise to power

When the phoenix of prosperity wishes to make the nest of one 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. "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 no clearer proof nor plainer evidence than the instance of the Mongol people, 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; in what number of ways 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."

"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, 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 with the land of Khitay, in the west with

the country of the Uyghurs, in the north with the Qirgiz and the river Selengey and in the south with the Tanguts and 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 as deeds of manliness and excellence. The Khan of Khitay used to demand and seize property 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 fistuq and besides which no other fruit-bearing tree will grow 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 the palace of delight and from abiding torment into reposeful pleasancess; 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," and their drink "(pure wine) sealed; the seal whereof shall be musk." 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 carroway-seeds to Kerman, or of first-fruits to the Sea of Oman. 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.

In the nimbus of the daily increasing fortune and in 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 was unable to make himself a cotton bed will trade with them for fifty thousand or thirty thousand gold or silver balish at a time. Now the balish is worthy fifty mithqals of gold or silver, round about seventy-five rukni dinars, the standard of which is four dangs.

May God Almighty grant his posterity, and in particular Mangu Qa'an, who is a very 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
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 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 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" -- ; and when through pride of wealth, and power, and station the greater part of the cities and countries of the world 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 Uyghurs; 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. Whenever 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." 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 as for him that putteth his trust in Him God will be all-sufficient" -- 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 his other sons and brothers are addressed by the name they were given at birth, both in their presence and in their absence; and this applies both to commoners and 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 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. Now 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, but 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 (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 and the concubines, as well as provisions of food and drink. For a month, or two, or three they form a 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 messengers 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" 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 then, in due order, the noyons, 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, to whom they address their supplications, interceding for the lives of the remaining animals and asking that they be suffered to depart to a place nearer to water and fodder. 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.

[21] A friend has related how during the reign of Qa'an 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 toward 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 Khitay 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 and Quyash Chaghatay 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 hardships, so grateful for comforts, so obedient to its commanders both in prosperity and adversity; and this not in hopes 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 they are like hounds, attacking and overcoming wild beasts, 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 subventions and rendering without complaint whatever is enjoined upon it, whether qopchur, occasional taxes, the maintenance of travellers or the upkeep of post stations (yams) with the provision of mounts and fodder 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 corvée which they used to perform when present devolves upon their wives and those of them that remain behind. Thus if work be afoot in which a man has his share of forced labour, 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 has been so arranged that

[23]

they have abolished the registry of inspection 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." In accordance with this arrangement, if in an emergency any man or thing be required, they apply to the commanders of tümens; 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." 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 the 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 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 of thousands, but on the day of combat their ranks are everywhere depleted, and none presents himself on the battle-field. 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 mens' 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.

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," and upon the others, "Put them away with kindness." 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.

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 post-houses (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 tümens, each two tümens 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.

Since all countries and peoples have come under their domination, they

have established a census after their accustomed fashion 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 qopchur 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 little or much, 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 procedure as inauspicious.

When Hulagu 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 Shustar and Bayat.

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 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 precedence over the

others is the tribe of the Qiyat, 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 Temüchin, until the time when, in accordance with the decree of "Be, and it is," he became master of all the kingdoms of the habitable world. In those days Ung Khan, the ruler of the Kereyt and the Saqiz, surpassed the other tribes in strength and dignity and was stronger than they in gear and equipment and the number 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 scrimmage like a trenchant sword; in the subjugation of foes his rigour and severity had the taste of poison, and in the humbling of the pride of each lord of fortune his obduracy and terribleness had the efficacy of fate. Upon every occasion, by reason of the nearness of their confines and the proximity of their territories, he used to visit Ung Khan and there was a feeling of friendship between them. When Ung Khan beheld his counsel and discernment, his valour, majesty and grandeur, 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 Ung Khan's troops and retinue controlled by his discipline and justice. The sons and brothers of Ung Khan and his courtiers and favourites became envious of the rank and favour he enjoyed; they accordingly cast the nets of guile across the pass of bidding their time and set the traps of treachery upon 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 Ung 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 annointed with the collyrium of sleep and mankind was rendered negligent by repose, Ung Khan's men should make a surprise attack upon Chingiz Khan and his followers and thus free themselves from preoccupation with him. They made every preparation for the deed and were about to put their intention into action; but since his fortune was vigilant and his luck kind, two youths from amongst Ung Khan's [servants], one of them named Kishlik 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. When at the appointed time, in the dawn, the conspirators charged down upon the tents they found them empty. Though the accounts differ here as to whether they then returned or whether they at once took up the pursuit, the truth is that Ung 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: here they joined battle and fierce fighting ensued. In the end Chingiz Khan with his small army routed Ung Khan with his great

host and won much booty. This event occurred in the year 599/1202-3, and the names of all who took part therein 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 tarkhans. Tarkhans are those who are 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 Ung Khan from rallying, he dispatched troops to pursue him. Several times they joined battle, and on each occasion he was victorious and Ung 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 Oyrat and the Qonqurat, were admitted to the number of his commanders and household troops (hasham) 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 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 Temüchin and his children and named him Chingiz Khan. Bid him administer justice in such and such a fashion.'" They called this person Teb Tengri, 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; who, 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 Khitay, and afterwards went there in person, and slew Altun Khan, the Emperor of Khitay, and subjugated the country. And gradually he conquered other

kingdoms also, as shall be hereinafter separately mentioned.

[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 Yasunchin Biki. 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 proportionate preference and precedence. By this wife Chingiz Khan had four sons who by undertaking great affairs and glorious actions had exposed themselves to danger 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, 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 Chaghatay, 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. Ögedey he selected for all that called for understanding and counsel and for the administration of the kingdom; and Tuli he promoted to the command and organization of troops and the equipment of armies. When the matter of Ung Khan had been disposed of [30] and the tribes of the Mongols had some by 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 Nayman, 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 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 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 Mangu Qa'an in the second quriltay apportioned and divided all his kingdoms among his kinsfolk, sons and daughters, and brothers and sisters.

When during the reign of Chingiz Khan the extent of his kingdom became ample he assigned to everyone his place of abode, which they call yurt. Thus to Ötegin Noyon, his brother, and to some of his grandchildren he apportioned territory in the regions of Khitay. To his eldest son, Tushi, he gave the territory stretching from the regions of Qayaligh and Khwarazm to the remotest parts of Saqsin and Bulghar and as far in that direction as the hoof of Tartar horse had penetrated. Chaghatay received the territory extending from the land of the Uyghurs to Samarqand and Bokhara, and his place of residence was in Quyash in the neighbourhood of Almaligh. The capital of Ögedey, the heir-apparent, during his father's reign was his yurt in the region of the Emil and Qonaq; but when he ascended the throne of the Khanate he removed it to their original homeland, between Khitay and the land of the Uyghurs, and gave that other fief to his own son Guyuk: an account of his various dwelling places has been recorded separately. Tuli's territory, likewise, lay [32] adjacent thereto, and indeed this spot is the middle of their empire as is the centre to the

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 office, 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 overthrow 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." 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 without the pain of experience and be edified by the study of these discourses.

[v]

Of the conquest of the land of the Uyghurs

and the submission of the Idi-qut

The Uyghur Turks call their ruler Idi-qut, which means lord of fortune. At that time the Idi-qut was a certain Barchuq. During the spring when the Emperor of Qara Khitay subjugated Transoxiana and Turkestan, he too entered the noose of allegiance and acceptance of the payment of tribute; and the Emperor sent him a protector (shihneh) named Shavkam. This

Shavkam, once he was 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 Khitay and the fame and report of his victory had been noised abroad, the Idi-qut gave orders that Shavkam should be encompassed in a house in the village which they call Qara Khwaja and that the house should be pulled down upon his head. Then, in order to announce his rebellion [33] against Qara Khitay and his allegiance to the world-conquering Emperor Chingiz Khan, he dispatched to the latter Qatalmish-qaya, 'Umar Oghul and Tarbay. 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; when he came to Chingiz Khan he witnessed the fulfilment of all the promises that had been made to him and returned from thence loaded with honours. When the army set out against Kuchluk, the Idi-qut received orders to present himself with warriors from the Uyghur 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 Chaghatay and Ogedey proceeded to their posts to lay siege to Otrar, he too accompanied them. After the capture of Otrar, Tarbay, Baysur and Ghadaq led an army to the Vakhsh 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 Tanguts, he also, in fulfilment of orders, set out from Besh Baligh 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] Biki upon him; but he had not yet arrived at Court when she died. After some time Qa'an betrothed Alachi Biki to him, but before she was delivered up to him the Idi-qut was no more. His son Kashmayin then presented himself at court, became Idi-qut and married Alachi Biki. After a short space the Idi-qut Kashmayin likewise passed away; and at the command of Queen Turakina his brother Salandi 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 Uyghurs

Although this chapter ought to be placed after that on the accession of Mangu 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 Mangu Qa'an, there arose dissension because of the treachery which certain people were meditating. These persons dispatched to the Idi-qut a certain Bala Bitikchi, an Uyghur and an idolater, and one of the ministers of the kingdom ("like being ever attracted unto like"). Bala Bitikchi sought by means of many promises and countless inducements to obtain the Idi-qut's support; he suggested among other things that the Uyghurs 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 Uyghur nobles that were privy [35] to this conspiracy were Bilgä-¹qatti, Tükmiş Buqa, Saqun and Idgäj. It was agreed that they should spring from ambush in the precincts of the cathedral 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 Ghaymish, Khwaja and Naqu, the Idi-qut pitched his camp upon the plain; and the troops of the Uyghurs were assembled. Now one of the slaves of Bilgä-qatti, Tekmiş by name, had one night been eavesdropping and had overheard their plans and schemes. He concealed what he had heard until a week later, when being engaged 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

Sayf 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 Tekmish and questioned him concerning the riddle which he had spoken in the midst of the altercation. Tekmish 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. Sayf ad-Din sent a messenger to fetch him back; and when he and his followers returned and came into the presence of Sayf ad-Din, they were confronted with Tekmish, 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 Tekmish in support of his own statement. Written undertakings were also taken from the other Uyghurs of note to the effect that should anyone 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 Tekmish 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."

Tekmish, 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. Tekmish 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 Mangu Qa'an, just as it had been declared by Tekmish. He was then dismissed but detained; and Tekmish was sent back with the envoy Mangfulad in order to fetch the Idi-qut. When the latter heard of the messenger's approach, before their arrival he set off for Court by a different road. After Tekmish had made indictments in Besh Baligh, where [37] each of the Uyghurs (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.

Mangsar Noyon 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 seven stout blows upon the posterior. The Idi-qut still persisted in his denial and would make no confession. They then confronted him with Tekmish Buqa, 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?" 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. Bilgä-qatti 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.' "

When confessions had been obtained from them all [38] and 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. Ögünj, the brother of the Idi-qut, with his own hand severed his head; and his two accomplices Bilgä-qatti and Idgäj were sawn in half. And thus was the 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!" The faithful were exalted and the idolaters downtrodden by the grace of God

Almighty. "The truth shineth forth and the swords are bared: beware of the lions of the thicket, beware!"

Now Bala Bitikchi was one of the officers of Ghaymish. 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 Biki 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.

"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 Tekmish, 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 Ogunj 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 Uyghurs according to their own belief

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.

It is the opinion of the Uyghurs that the beginning of their generation and increase was on the banks of the river Orqon, whose source flows from a mountain which they call Qaraqoram; 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 Uyghurs 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. Now it is said that Buqu Khan was Afrasiyab; and there are the ruins of a well, and also a great stone, on

the hillside near Qaraqoram, and this well is said to be that of Bizhan.

There are also the ruins of a town and a palace on the banks of this river, of which the name is Ordu Baligh though it is now called Mavu Baligh. 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. The order was given that everyone should present himself in order to decypher the writing; but no one was able to read it. Then people were brought from Khitay who are called [qam]: it was their writing that was engraved on the stone [and this is what was written:]

In that age two of the rivers of Qaraqoran, one called the Toghla and the other the Selenge, flowed together in a place called Qalanju; and close together between these two rivers there stood two trees; the one they called fistuq, which is a tree shaped like a firtree, whose leaves in winter resemble those of a cypress and whose fruit is like a jalghuza both in shape and taste; the other they call tuz (birch). Between the two trees there arose a great mound, and a light descended on it from the sky; and day by day the mound grew greater. On seeing this strange thing, the Uyghur 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, 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 enquired 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!" 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 Sunqur-tegin, the second Qotur-tegin, the third Tükäl-tegin, the fourth Or-tegin and the fifth Buqu-tegin.

After considering these strange matters the people agreed that they must make one of these 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 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 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 the flue and awakened him; but in his fear he feigned to be still sleeping. 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, 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 Sunqur-tegin against the Mongols and the Qirqiz; a hundred thousand men, similarly equipped, under Qotur-tegin against the Tanguts; and the like number of men under Tükäl-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 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, 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 fodder and water. He himself settled here and founded the town of Balasaqun, which is now called Gho Baligh; 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, who brought presents for Buqu Khan. He received each of them with the honour befitting his station; except the 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 of the Uyghurs is that in those days they knew the science of magic, the experts in which art they called qams. Now there are still this day among the Mongols people that are overcome with morbid effeminary (abna), 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 qams, and they say: "We have heard that devils descend into their tents by the flue 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 unnatural lust." In a word, these people we have mentioned are called qams; and when the Mongols had no knowledge or science, they had from ancient times yielded obedience to the words of these qams; 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. And in a similar manner they heal their sick.

Now the religion of Khitay was idolatry. Buqu dispatched a messenger to the Khan [of that country] and summoned the toins to him. When they arrived he confronted the two parties so that they might choose the religion of whichever party defeated the other. The toins began to read from their holy book, which they call nom. Now the nom contains their metaphysics and theology 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 re-incarnation. 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, libertinism, murder, slander and injury of their fellow-creatures descended into vermin, beasts of prey and other animals; and so

they are punished for their deeds. But this is an excess of ignorance: "they say that which they do not."

When they had read a little of the nom, the qams were completely dumb-founded. For this reason the Uyghurs 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.

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

The tribes and peoples of the Uyghurs, when they listened to the neighing of horses, the screaming of camels, the barking and howling of dogs and beasts of prey, the twittering of birds and the whimpering of children, in all this heard the cry of "köch, köch!" 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: 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, is fastened upon the wall in their houses.

VIII

[46]

Of Kuchluk and Toghtaghan

When Chingiz Khan had defeated Ung Khan, the latter's son succeeded in escaping together with some others that had 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. Now some say that a detachment of the Gur Khan's soldiers took him prisoner and bore him to their master; but according to one report he went of his own free will. In any case, he remained for some time in the Gur Khan's service.

When the Sultan began his revolt against the Gur 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 Gur Khan's evil; then said Kuchluk to the Gur 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 Gur 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 Gur Khan into the well of vainglory. And when the latter had presented him with numerous gifts

and bestowed upon him the title of Kuchluk 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 Khitay that had some connection with him, came to join forces with him; and so he penetrated to the region of the Emil and Qayaligh. Toqtaghan, who was also a chief of the Mekrit and had fled before the fame of Chingiz Khan's onslaught had likewise allied himself with Kuchluk. 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 Gur Khan, he ravaged and plundered his territory, now attacking and now retreating. And hearing of the Sultan's might he sent a succession of ambassadors to him urging him to attack the Gur Khan from the west whilst 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 Gur Khan's kingdom to Almaligh and Kashghar should be surrendered to him; while if Kuchluk took the lead and bore off Qara Khitay, then all the territory to the river at Fanakat should be his. Being thus agreed and having formed a compact on these terms, they sent their armies [48] against Qara Khitay from either side. Kuchluk won the lead; the troops of the Gur Khan, who were some distance away, were routed and he plundered the Gur Khan's treasures in Uzgand and passed from thence to Balasaqun. Here the Gur Khan was encamped; they joined battle on the banks of the and Kuchluk was defeated and the greater part of his army taken prisoner. He returned to his own country and set about re-organizing his forces. Then, hearing that the Gur Khan had returned from

his war with the Sultan and had committed irregularities against the population, whilst his army had dispersed to their homes; he fell upon him like lightning from a cloud, and taking him by surprise he made him prisoner and seized his kingdom and his army. He took one of their maidens to wife. Now the Nayman are for the most part Christian; but this maiden persuaded him to turn idolater like herself and to abjure his Christianity.

"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 Khitay he marched several times against Uzar Khan 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 Gur Khan. Kuchluk 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 Kuchluk, 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. 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 Kuchluk 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, and not in transgression -- verily, thy Lord is indulgent, merciful." The muezzin's 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 'Ala 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. Thus was the Moslem cause brought to a sorry pass, nay rather it was entirely wiped out, and endless oppression and wickedness was 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 were 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."

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 he despatched a group of noyons to remove the corruption of Kuchluk. [50] Kuchluk 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 troop of Mongols, arriving one after another, sought nothing of us save Kuchluk, and permitted the recitation of the takbir and the adhan, and the offering up of prayers, 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 Kuchluk 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 Kuchluk; and wherever he halted, they would come up with him; and so they chased him like a mad dog until he came to the region of Badakhshan and entered the valley which is called Darra-yi-Vararni. When he came to the banks of the Surkh Juyan, he mistook the road (as it was right that he should do) and entered a valley which had no egress. Some Badakhshani huntsmen were hunting in the neighbouring mountains. They caught sight of Kuchluk 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 Kuchluk and his followers, who have escaped from our grasp. If you capture Kuchluk and deliver him up to us, we shall ask nothing more of you." These men, accordingly, surrounded Kuchluk 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 he 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 whiskers."

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."

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.

As for Toqtaghan he had seceded from Kuchluk during the latter's ascendancy and had gone to the region of Qam Kapchik. 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 their 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?"

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."

Then they sheathed the sword of combat, and each army rested in its own quarters. The Mongol army then withdrew. 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 marched 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 that swept away everything in front of him. For though he did not achieve the complete destruction of the Gur 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 Kuchluk 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 head-dress 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 oppression, violence, rashness, and domination 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."

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 any one 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 shaykh, the imam in very deed, Ala ad-Din Muhammad of Khotan (may God illuminate his tomb and increase his reward!); who approached Kuchluk, 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 Kuchluk's presence and existence was but nonentity; truth prevailed over falsehood and the wise over the ignorant, and the beatified imam confuted the accursed Kuchluk. "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, such as befitted not the representative of a 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 be in thy mouth, thou enemy of the faith, thou accursed Kuchluk!"

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!"

"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 among the people of Thamud, as overcome with grief as was Jacob and tried with the tortures

of Jirjis. 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 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, confirm-

ation 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 mansion! Will ye not then comprehend?"

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 Kuchluk, in a short space dispatched the Mongol army against him; and already in this world he 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 Blasphemy hath learnt, since the True Guidance hath conquered,

that the Hanifite faith cannot be destroyed."

God Almighty hath said: "But they that treat them unjustly shall find out what a lot awaiteth them."



[X]

[56]

Of the conquest of
the regions of Almaligh, Qayaligh and Fulad;
together with an account of the rulers thereof

During the reign of the Gur Khan the governor of this area was one Arslan Khan of Qayaligh, who was assisted in the government thereof by the Gur Khan's agent (shihna). When the Gur Khan's fortunes began to decline and neighbouring princes were breathing the breath of rebellion, the Sultan of Khotan also revolted against him. The Gur 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 Gur Khan's commanders, Shamur Tayangu by name, who had long been on terms of friendship and intimacy with him, informed him of the Gur 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 Gur Khan dismissed him with honour, sending an agent (shihna) 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 Gur 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 Qarluqs of Quyash, a man of great valour, whose name was Uzar 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 Kuchluk marched against him, and was defeated every time; whereupon he sent a messenger to Chingiz Khan to report on Kuchluk's activities and to announce his own accession to 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 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 Kuchluk, 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.

Uzar, 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 this, that our treasuries are become somewhat depleted. Now therefore let Uzar give aid by means of a loan and not hold it lawful to refuse." Hereupon Uzar 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 thy Master after thou hast communicated to Him my duty." Whereupon the Sufi took the gold and departed.

After Uzar'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, he was sent back to Qayaligh and he 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, Mangu Qa'an gave him the fief of Uzgand 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 farthest 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, the son of Amir Husayn and Ahmad Balchikh decided to journey together to the countries of the East, and having assembled an immeasurable quantity of merchandise -- gold-embroidered garments, cottons, zandanichi and whatever else they 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 upon the highways patrolsmen (whom they call qaraqchis) 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 balishes 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 he should be shown the fabrics from the stores of former khans that were deposited in his treasury; and that his wares should be listed 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 gold-embroidered garment they should be paid a balish of gold and for every two pieces of cotton or zandanichi a balish of silver. Their companion 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 the deterioration of their morals they have rendered themselves thus abject and ragged.

At the time of these merchants' return Chingiz Khan ordered his sons, noyons and commanders to equip, each of them, two or three persons from their dependents and give them a 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 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 corruption and perverseness removed."

When the party arrived at Otrar, the governor of that town was one Inaljuq, who was a kinsman of the Sultan's mother, Tärkän Khatun, and had received the title of Ghayir Khan. Now amongst the merchants was an Indian who had been acquainted with the governor in former times. He now addressed the latter simply as Inaljuq; 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 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 cross-road; 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 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, and having come to the Khan 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 Kuchluk and Toghtaghan, 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 Kuchluk and Toghtaghan had settled and the thought of them had been dismissed from his mind, he equipped and disposed his sons, the great emirs, the noyons and the thousands, hundreds and tens, established the two wings and the vanguard, proclaimed a new yasa, and in the year 615/1218-9 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, by nightfall for very indigence he would not have had the wherewithal of a meal."

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 held the pricks of lances for 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 in order to exact vengeance for the slaying of the merchants. For "he that warneth hath an excuse."

When he came to the region of Qayaligh, Arslan Khan, one of the princes of that country, (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 Signaq-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 in front of the citadel. Now the Sultan had given Ghayir Khan fifty thousand men from his external army and had sent his chamberlain, Qaraja Khass, to his aid with another ten thousand; moreover, the citadel, the outer fortifications, and the town wall had been well 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."

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 he sent to Jand and Barjligh Kant with several tümens of brave and active soldiers; while a number of his commanders were sent to Khojend and Fanakat. He himself proceeded against Bokhara, leaving Ögedey and Chaghatay 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, Qaraja questioned Ghayir about surrendering and 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 loop-hole 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?" Qaraja, 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"

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 Qaraja 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 the claims which he has 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; 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 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."

"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 roasted their bodies upon spears and swords.

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

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 or to practise their trade. And when Chingiz Khan had come from Bokhara to Samarqand they proceeded thither also. As for Ghayir, they caused him in the Kòk Saray 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."

[XIII]

Of the advance of Ulush Idi 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 weapon can repel. First of all, upon approaching the town of Signaq, which lies on the banks of the river near Jand, he sent on Hasan Haji in advance as his envoy. This Hasan Haji, 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 Signaq he communicated his message but before he came to the advice, the rogues, scamps and ruffians of the town raised an uproar, and shouting "Allah akbar!" they 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 Signaq, and, enflamed with the fire of anger, he ordered his troops to fight in relays from morn to 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 Haji that he might gather together the survivors that still remained in odd corners; and advancing from thence the Mongols took Urkand and Barjligh Kant, where since [68] the people made no great resistance there was no general slaughter. They next proceeded against Ashnas, the garrison of which town consisted mainly of rogues and ruffians, 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, turned his back in the night-time, set his face to the road, and fording the river made across the desert towards Khwarazm. When the Mongols received tidings of his departure and of the evacuation of Jand by his forces, they sent Chintemür 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 Chintemür -- like Hasan -- an unpalatable potion. Chintemür, perceiving their intention, in a speech fraught with shrewdness, ingenuity, kindness and conciliation allayed their passions by recalling the affair of Siqnaq and the fate of those who had murdered Hasan Haji; and he concluded a treaty with them saying that he would not allow a 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 intended [69] to rest at Qaraqum and not to molest 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.

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 Chintemür were put to death. For nine days and nights they kept the inhabitants upon the plain, while they looted the town. They then appointed Ali Khwaja to the government and administration of Jand and entrusted the welfare of that district to his care. This Ali Kwaja was a native of Qizhduvan 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 ever occupied that post.

To the town of Kant there proceeded a commander with one tümen of troops. He captured the town [70] and left a governor (shihna) there.

As for Ulush Idi he proceeded to Qaraqum.

A band of Turcoman nomads, some ten thousand in number, were commanded to march against Khwarazm with Taynal Noyon at their head. After a few days' march their unlucky ascendant caused and instigated them to slay the Mongol whom Taynal had set over them in his stead and to break into rebellion. Taynal, 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, 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 Temur Malik

Olaq Noyon, Süketü and Tuqay with an army of five thousand men were dispatched to Fanakat. The commander of this place was Iletgü Malik. With an army of Qanqlis 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 civilians (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 were drafted into hundreds and tens. The craftsmen, artisans and labourers [71] were assigned [to appropriate employment] ; and the young men amongst those remaining were pressed into the levy.

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 if Rustam had 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 immed-

ately since it could be reached neither by bowshot nor by catapult. They therefore drove the young men of Khojend thither in a forced levy 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 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 push it all downstream; and by night he used to make surprise attacks on them. They tried to put a stop to this harassing, but to no avail, though both arrows and catapults 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 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 with 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 thither 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 struck 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 Kant, 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. When 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 Khwarazm and again prepared for battle.

With a group of men he proceeded to the town of Kant, slew the Mongol governor (shihna) and retreated. When [73] he considered it inadvisable to remain any longer in Khwarazm, 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 Aras, 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 entrusted his father's goods and possessions. Temur approached him and said: "If thou 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 Temur'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 came to Qadaqan, who ordered him to be put in bonds; and all manner of words having passed between them he questioned him concerning his fighting with the Mongol army.

"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."

The Mongol whom he had struck with the broken arrow, now recognized
him; and Qadaqan having questioned him more closely, in replying he neg-
lected 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 evil."

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."

[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 it is stated on the authority of Hudhayfa b. al-Yaman of Merv

that the Apostle of God (God be gracious to him and grant him prosperity!) 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 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 Qatawan, 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 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. 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 in the levies and irregular forces as also the burdens and superfluities of occasional imposts. 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. Its environs are adorned with the brightness of the light of doctors and jurists and its 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 Uyghur and Khitayan idolaters, who call their places of worship, which are idol-temples, bukhar. But at the time of its foundation the name of the town was Bumijkath.

Chingiz Khan, having completed the organization and equipment of his armies, arrived in the countries of the Sultan. He dispatched his elder sons and the noyons in every direction at the head of large forces, while he himself marched first upon Bokhara, being accompanied by Tuli 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, 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 accordance 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," 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 whirlpool 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 here. 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 pressing of their feet.

And so they held it proper to choose peace and advantageous to accept advice. But by way of precaution and security they obtained from him a covenant that if, after the people had gone forth to meet the Khan, 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 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 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. 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 Mangu Qa'an in

the company of the Emir Arghun we passed along this very road.

Tayir Bahadur was proceeding in advance of the main forces. When he and his men drew near to the town of Nur 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. 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 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 a present 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 present. 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 present, he commanded that Subutay should proceed to Nur with the vanguard and that they should surrender the town to him. When Subutay arrived they complied with this command and 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 the agreement and did no harm to any of them. As had been stipulated previously, the people of Nur then selected sixty men and dispatched them, together with Il Khwaja, the son of the Emir of Nur, to Dabus to render assistance to the Mongols. When Chingiz Khan arrived, they went forth to meet him bearing suitable gifts and offerings. Chingiz Khan distinguished them with royal favour and asked them

what fixed taxes 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 and prosperity.

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

"And then they pitched the king's pavilion on the plain
in front of the stronghold."

[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 external army issued forth from the citadel together with most of the inhabitants; being commanded by Kök Khan and other officers such as Khamid Bur, Sevinj Khan and Keshli Khan. 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."

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 cathedral mosque and pulled up before the magura, whereupon his son Tuli dismounted and ascended the pulpit. Chingiz Khan asked those present whether this was the palace 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 on to the terrace 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, shaykhs, 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 Zaydi, 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: "Mawlana, what state is this? That which I see, do I see it in wakefulness or in sleep, O Lord?" Mawlana 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, viz. ninety merchants from neighbouring districts) 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 treasurers and trustees; and each man indicated his own people. To each of them he assigned a Mongol or Turk as basqaq in order that the soldiers might not molest them nor in any way subject them to disgrace or humiliation. Then they began to exact money from the trustees; and when the latter delivered it up they did not torment them by increasing the amount or imposing 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 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 cathedral 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, catapults 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 through the shafts, while from the belly of the furnace sparks shot into the air. For days they fought in this manner; the garrison made sallies against the besiegers, and Kok Khan in particular, who in bravery would have borne away the ball 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 organic and inorganic and raised up with levies and Bokharians; the outworks 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 maize.

Fate is a hunter, and man is naught but a lark."

Of the Qanqlis no male was spared who stood higher than the butt of a whip, and more than thirty thousand were counted 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 youths and full-grown men that were fit for such service were pressed into a levy 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."

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, sapped, burnt, slew, plundered and departed." Men of intelli-

gence 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 Samarcand Chingiz Khan appointed Tusha Basqaq to the command and governorship (shihnagi) 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, 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 great pains 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, and the common people rallied to his standard; so that 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 freshness 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. And to-day no town in the countries of Islam will bear comparison with Bokhara in the thronging of its creatures, the multitude of riches and property, 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 Soyurquqtani [85] and the Madrasa-yi-Mas'udiyya, in each of 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 such two buildings with their lofty pillars and trim squares 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

In the year 636/1238-9 there was a conjunction of the two malignant planets 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.

Mahmud's sister instructed him in all the absurdities of the magicians (parī dārān) [86] that he might spread them abroad, for 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."

In Bokhara I heard from several respectable and creditable persons how in their actual presence he had blown a medicament 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.' 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 mad-man 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 that turmoil and dispatched a messenger 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 the bridge-head of 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 the bridge-head, [87] he turned to Tamsha, who was the senior shihna, 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 upon them the water from his mouth. 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 the Mongols' 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 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 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, because he had no defect in reason or virtue; and in his stead he appointed Shams Mahbubi to the office of sadr. 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 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, 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 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 ass-loads 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, yurtas, carpets and cushions. And everywhere the people formed themselves into bands, and the rogues and ruffians 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 were applying ourselves to what was wrong."

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 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 "Flight," assembled in Karminiya, 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 izar. 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 paralyzed; 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 became their followers and at once, the reins being loosened, set their hands to plunder and rapine. At the end of one week Ildiz Noyon and Chekin Qorchi arrived with a large army of 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 upon 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 mouth 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 mercy rendered the end of this disturbance praiseworthy and the ascendant of the town once more auspicious. 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.

[X [XVIII]]

Of the conquest of Samargand

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 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?"

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.

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

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 (quwwād) and allies (ansār). Thus to Samarqand he had 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 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 valiant Taziks, each of whom was in himself the Rustam of the age and among the leaders of 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,"

to be a protection (farzīn-band) 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 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 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 Chingiz Khan's encampment in Kök Saray. 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 Subutay, who belonged to the great noyons and enjoyed his special trust, in pursuit of the Sultan together with thirty thousand men; and sent Ghadaq Noyon and Yasur to the Vakhsh and Talagan.

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 Khan, Shaykh 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, 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 catapults 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 [bāzīhā] 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 Queen-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. At length, when the Emperor of Khotan 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 making war. Finally, on the next day

"When the shining sun spread its glory, and the black raven
of the firmament shed its feathers,"

the Mongol troops being bold and fearless and the people of Samarqand irresolute in mind and counsel, the latter put the idea of war out of their

heads and ceased to resist. The qadi and the shaykh 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 rebellion. 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 qadi and the shaykh 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, 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 sergeants 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. [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 cathedral 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 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 Qanqlis and

Turks, commanded by Barishmas Khan, Tughay Khan, Sarsigh Khan and Ulagh 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; in which yarligh full mention is made of 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 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 (ba-rūz-i-digarān nā-nishastand) 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 Thiqaṭ al-Mulk and 'Amid Buzurg, who belonged to the chief officials of Samarqand. He then appointed several persons to be shihnas of the town and took some of the levies with him to Khorasan while others he sent to Khwarazm 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 Rabi' I, 618 [April-May, 1221] .

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 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 what befell in Khwarazm

This is the [present] name of the region; its original name was Jurjaniyya, while the inhabitants called it Urganj. Before the vicissitudes of fortune it stood in the category of "Goodly is the country and gracious is the Lord!" 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 shaykhs 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.

"Khwarazm 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!"

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 side the districts of Jand and Barjligh Kant were secured; so that Khwarazm 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 eldest sons, Chaghatay and Ögedey, against Khwarazm 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. 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 Khwarazm was deserted by [both] the Sultans, but Khumar-tegin, one of the leaders of the army and a kinsman of Tarkan Khatun, was still present; and certain of the chief emirs had likewise remained behind, viz. Moghul Hajib, Er-buqa Pahlavan, the sipahsalar 'Ali Durughini 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 the 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 Nawruz king.

And they were heedless of the unrest and disorder prevailing 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 busying 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 torrents. 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 upon the townsmen 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.

Chaghatay and Ögedey 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, catapults and missiles therefor. And since there were no stones in the neighbourhood of Khwarazm 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 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 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 with the wine of adversity, [100] (as God Almighty hath said: "As thou livest, O Mohammed, they were bewildered in the drunkenness of their lust") 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. The Mongols meanwhile were setting fire to their houses and quarters and sewing the people to one another with arrows and catapults. 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 time 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 benefitting by their riches and 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 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 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." The army then busied themselves with plunder and rapine and destroyed what remained of the quarters and houses.

Khwarazm, which was the centre of battling men and the 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" had been revealed concerning their condition. Upon its parks and pleasancess 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."

To be brief, when the Mongols had ended the battle of Khwarazm 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 Khwarazm.

The princes Chaghatay and Ögedey returned by way of Kalif, which they annexed to Khwarazm 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 and Tirmid

When Samarqand had been taken and he had dispatched his sons Chaghatay and Ogedey against Khwarazm, [102] he passed 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 Tirmid. 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. Catapults 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 among the soldiers to be counted 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 Kungrat and Shuman, 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 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 Tirmid
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 times it was in the Eastern lands as Mecca in the West. As Firdawsi says:

"He departed that springtime unto fair Balkh, for at that
time the worshippers of God

Held that place in as much honour as the Arabs now hold Mecca."

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 offerings 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, surrender

availed them not neither could they rely on submission and abasement; while to rebel was a deadly poison and an irremediable pain. [104]

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."

And they cast fire into the garden of the city but contented themselves with destroying the outworks and walls, the 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."

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." 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."

After Chingiz Khan had thus disposed of Balkh, he dispatched his son Tuli with a large army to conquer the countries of Khorasan, whilst he himself turned against Talaqan. 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 Tuli 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 Bakajuk and the army under his command. Chingiz Khan hastened to meet him. The road lay through Gurzuvan, 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 Chaghatay who was the favourite grandchild of Chingiz Khan. The Mongols made 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 Mavu Baligh, which means in Persian Bad Town. And to this very day no living creature has taken up abode therein.

This event fell out in the year 618/ 1221-22.

 [X [XXII]]

[106] Of Chingiz Khan's turning to do battle
 with the Sultan

From Talaqan Chingiz Khan dispatched Bakajuk and a group of commanders to put an end to Jalal ad-Din. But the Sultan had been strengthened by the advent of Ighraq and other warriors from every side; and he utterly defeated the army which had been detailed to destroy him, owing to 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 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. 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 Chaghatay and Ogedey also had arrived from Khwarazm. 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."

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.

He said: 'Call not this being a man -- he is a raging elephant
with mighty arms and hands (ba shākh u bard).'

So he spoke and gazed thitherwards where Rustam went seeking
his way."

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, 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 619 [August - September, 1222] . [108] And there is a
proverb which says, "Live in Rajab and thou shalt see wondAnd there is a

Chingiz Khan proceeded along the banks of the river but sent Ogedey back
to Ghazna, the people of which made voluntary submission. Ogedey 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 Qanqu Noyon in charge of the captives and craftsmen, who were to pass the winter in that place, whilst he himself proceeded to winter quarters at Herat.

Chingiz Khan, meanwhile, had arrived at Karman and Siquran. Here he received tidings that Jalal ad-Din had recrossed the Indus and buried his dead. Leaving Chaghatay in Karman he advanced against the Sultan and not finding him where he expected still continued the pursuit. During that winter he took up quarters in the neighbourhood of Buya Katar, which is a town of Ashtaqar. The governor of that place, Salar Ahmad, bound the girdle of submission about his loins and did all in his power to provide the army with victuals.

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.

All the neighbouring peoples sent envoys and tendered their submission.

Chingiz Khan dispatched an ambassador to Rana 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 Tanguts. He advanced several stages, but as there was no road, he turned back, and came to Peshawar, 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 globe, 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 the turtles and ring doves; in memory of the striplings who every year in gardens and pleasancess 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"; 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 that "stateliness"; in harmony with the cypress the willow from grief laid its head upon the 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 Tanguts, profiting by his absence, had grown restive and wavered between submission and insurrection.

By way of the mountains of Bamiyan he rejoined his heavy luggage which he had left in the region of Baghlan. 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 Turbay Baqshi 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 Qipchaq [111] driving the game in front of him (which for the most part was wild asses).

Chaghatay and Ögedey, for their part, went to Qara Kul 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, and they proceeded from thence until they came to Qalan Tashi, 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 Qipchaq 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, 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 Qalan Tashi; and hither were brought a number of Uyghur nobles whom they executed for a crime they had committed. Then Chingiz Khan departed from thence and in the springtime

arrived in his own ordu.

[XXIV]

[112] Of the expedition of Turbay Baqshi in search of
Sultan Jalal ad-Din

When Chaghatay returned without having found the Sultan, Chingiz Khan deputed Turbay Baqshi, together with two tümens of Mongol troops, to cross the Indus in his pursuit.

Turbay Baqshi advanced to the region of Biya, a province of India which had previously been held by Qamar ad-Din Kirmani but of which one of the Sultan's commanders had now made himself master.

Turbay Baqshi took the fortress of Biya and wrought 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 catapults 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.

[XXV]

of [the expedition of] Yeme and Subutay
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 had crossed the river at Tirmid 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 chiefs of his commanders Yeme and Subutay to pursue the Sultan; and from the troops that were with him he selected proportionately 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.

They forded the river at Panjab; 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 offerings of food. The Mongols, in consequence, did them no harm and gave them a shihna. Then taking a guide from amongst them, they sent forward Taysi by way of vanguard.

When they came to Zava, they asked for provisions; 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 chessboard 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.

At the beginning of Rabi' I, 618 [June, 1221] , Yeme and Subutay arrived before Nishapur and dispatched an envoy to Mujir a Yeme and Subutay Rukhkhi and Farid ad-Din and Diya al-Mulk Zuzani, who were the ministers and sadrs of Khorasan, calling upon them to submit and surrender and demanding provisions and presents. 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 secret intrigue 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 in the Uyghur script and a copy of a yarligh of Chingiz Khan, whereof the gist was as follows: "The commanders and great ones and many of the 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 Juvayn and Subutay proceeding to Tus by way of Jam. Wherever the people came forward to tender submission, [115] they were spared; but those that offered resistance were utterly destroyed.

The eastern villages of Tus, viz. Nuqan and all that district 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 pushed slaughter to its limit both in the town and in the neighbouring villages.

When Subutay 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 shihna there. When he came to Khabushan, on account of the lack of attention shown by that people, the Mongols wrought great slaughter. From thence he came to Isfarayin; and in Isfarayin and Adkan also the Mongols carried

out a great massacre.

By way of Juvayn Yeme then turned his reins towards Mazandaran, while Subutay hastened on by way of Qumish.

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 taken.

Meanwhile Subutay had arrived before Damghan. The notables of the town sought refuge in Girdkuh, but a band of ruffians 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 Simnan, and here they slew many people, as in Khuvar of Ray also. And when they came to Ray, the Qadi [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 Subutay proceeded towards Qazvin and that region.

When Yeme came to Hamadan, 'Ala ad-Dawla of Hamadan tendered submission, sent presents of mounts and clothing and offerings of food, victims and drink and accepted a Mongol shihna.

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, [116] headed by Beg-tegin Silahdar and Kuch Bugha Khan, he advanced against them and utterly destroyed them.

The Mongols then plundered and massacred throughout the greater part of Iraq 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 and passed the winter there; and that year the roads were blocked up with the great quantities of snow.

Jamal ad-Din Ayba and some others again began to stir up sedition and unrest in Iraq and started a revolt. They slew the shihna who had been placed over Hamadan, and seizing 'Ala ad-Dawla because of his having tendered submission they imprisoned him in the Qa'la-yi-Girit.

When spring came, Yeme arrived in Iraq to avenge the slaying of the shihna. Jamal ad-Din Ayba 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 massacring the people in all these countries. The atabeg Khamush came forward to tender submission and was given a letter and an al-tamgha.

From thence they went to Arran, and took Baylaqan, and went on by way of Shirvan. And when they came to Darband and none remembered that any army had ever passed through or gone to war by this route, they had resort to a stratagem and so passed through.

The army of Tushi were stationed on the Plain of the Qipchaq and that region; they linked up with them and departed from thence to rejoin Chingiz Khan.

From the telling of this tale their might and prowess become manifest, nay the power of "And He is the Supreme over His servants" 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.

[XXVI]

[117]

A brief account of Tuli's conquest of
Khorasan

When Sultan Muhammad passed through Khorasan Yeme and Subutay 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 shihna 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 whirl-

wind 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 Noyon to invade Khorasan; Ulugh Noyon, 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 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 Tuli; 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 Tuli 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 Maruchaq, Bagh and Baghshur.

Now Khorasan was divided into four cities: Balkh, Merv, Herat and Nishapur. Chingiz 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. As for the rest of that region, he dispatched armies to the right and to the left and to the East and the West and subjugated it all, including Abivard, Nasa, Yazir, Tus, Jajarm, Juvayn, Bayhaq, Khwaf, Sanjan, Sarakhs and Zurabad; and

by way of Herat they came to the country of Sijistan, 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 lands 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 inclination thereto, has not a single moment for study, save when in the course of distant journeyings he snatches an hour or so when the caravan halts and writes down these histories!

To be brief, then, in two or three months Tuli 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, 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 Khwarazm, 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.

Of what befell at Merv

Merv was the residence of Sultan Sanjar and the rendezvous of great and small. In extent of territory it excelled amongst 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."

When Sultan Muhammad (God illuminate his proof!) 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, known as Baha al-Mulk, Mujir al-Mulk remained in attendance on the Sultan until the time when he fled from Tirmid; [120] when Kushtegin Pahlavan 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 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 shihna 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 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 Shaykh al-Islam Shams ad-Din Harithi favoured this idea but the qadi and the chief of the sayyids dissented and stood aloof. When it was confirmed that the army of Yeme and Subutay had reached Maruchaq, 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, who had fled from the levy and had turned towards Merv attracted by the abundance of its wealth, arrived at this time and sought refuge with him; and so he acquired a large following.

Meanwhile, the Sultan having found his rest at Abaskun, Mujir al-Mulk, now riding on a donkey, now walking on foot, turned his reins and passed by the fortress of Su'luq. 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 (sarhangān) 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 (pūshish) 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 [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 shihna and submitted; and the Shaykh al-Islam, who still had a leaning towards the Tartars, wrote whisperings to the qadi of 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 Shaykh 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."

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 Shaykh 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 qadi 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 a page of Mutalamnis, saying, " 'Read what thou hast written.' " As for the Shaykh 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 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 Shahrastana, 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 Nasa and Bavard 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 withdraw your feet from reproach 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 person 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 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 qadi Shams ad-Din, at the time of Yeme Noyon's arrival, had gone out to meet him with offerings (targhu) [124] and had handed over Sarakhs to the Mongols, becoming malik and governor of the town and receiving a wooden payiza 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-Naw 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; but Shaykh Khan and Oghul Hajib arriving from Kwarazm 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. Shaykh Khan and Oghul Hajib established themselves in Dastajird.

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 launch 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 Tuli 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.

"Upon a jet-black night whose face was washed with pitch, when neither Mars was visible, nor Saturn, nor Mercury," 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, Tuli, 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."

Tuli 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 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,"

the armies gathered together and halted before the Shahrستان Gate. They joined battle, some two hundred men issuing from the gate and attacking. Tuli dismounted in person --

"He uttered a roar like a furious elephant, raised his shield
above his head and showed his hand"

-- 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 moon-like 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 Tuli [in person]. Tuli 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 Tuli 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" and of the digging up of their buried possessions, both money and goods, that "the Earth cast forth her burdens."

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 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 to four hundred persons. The people of Sarakhs in avenging their qadi 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, 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 Tuli's command, the outworks were destroyed, the citadel levelled with the ground and the maqura of the mosque belonging to the sect of the greatest imam Abu Hanifa (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 Takish; who caused a cathedral mosque to be built for the followers of the imam Shafi'i, which fanatics set fire to by night.

When the Mongols had finished plundering and leading captive and massacring, Diya 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 had reassembled out of nooks and crannies. The Mongols also left Birmas as shihna.

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 Taysi, who had

turned back from Yeme's army, arrived in Merv; he too laid balm on their wounds, 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."

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 who had been killed in holes and cavities and in the villages and deserts, they arrived at a figure of more than one million three hundred thousand. 'Izz ad-Din quoted a quatrain of 'Umar-i-Khayyam which was a 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?"

The Emir Diya ad-Din and Birmas 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 Diya ad-Din set out with a few men to suppress the rebellion; and Birmas, 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 shihna 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 Ramadan, 618 [7th of November, 1221]. Birmas 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 Khwaja Muhadhdhib ad-Din Dashtabadi, who followed him as far as Bokhara. In Bokhara the shihna died, and there the people from Merv remained.

When Diya 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 round 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 Kushtegin 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. Diya ad-Din, realizing that his affairs could not prosper with such a conflict of interests, set out for the fortress of Maragha together with the party of Mongols that were in attendance on him; and Kushtegin 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 Diya ad-Din urging

him to return to the town. When he came back and halted at the gates of the town, [130] one of his followers entered the town and told some person of his arrival. The news at once reached the ears of Kushtegin and Diya ad-Din's enemies. Kushtegin dispatched a party of men and had him seized. Then he demanded his money of him. Diya ad-Din said that he had given it to prostitutes. Kushtegin asked who they were. "They are," he said, "persons of quality (mufradān) and men of trust who to-day are lined up before you just as formerly they were lined 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 Diya ad-Din had no money and there was nothing to be got from him, Kushtegin deemed his death to be his own life and considered his destruction the survival of the realm.

After the death of Diya 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 his destiny had burst the dam of his life and his "water of life" had confined him in the wells of perdition.

While thus negligent [of events] he received tidings of the arrival of Qaracha Noyon in Sarakhs. He retreated by night by way of Sangbast together with a hundred picked (mufrad) 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.

Three or four days afterwards some two hundred horsemen, who were going to join Qutuqu Noyon, 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 Turbay [?] and Qabar [?] 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 Turbay 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 person that might have exercised prudence and escaped from the beak of the sword-crow 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 rallied to his side.

When news of what had happened at Merv reached Nasa, a Turcoman 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 Marw ar-Rudh, Panj-Dih and Talaqan to strike by stealth at the Mongols' baggage and carry off their cattle and horses.

At the same time, desiring to take Nasa, the Turcoman proceeded thither with the greater part of his force [132] and laid siege to the town, the governor of which was Nusrat. He continued the siege until Pahlavan, coming from the direction of Yazir, suddenly fell upon him, and he took to flight. Half way back to Merv he was attacked and slain by the governor of

Meanwhile Qaracha Noyon 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 Noyon 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 and our reunion! God hath given 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 annointed with the collyrium of sleep.

Now the vicissitudes of Fate have awakened and renewed their intention, and have scattered them like rain through the land."

[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?"

"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"

-- 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 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, 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 (ban) ?

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."

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 galia there had
welled up a fountain of camphor, and from the heat of the bowels and the
agitation of the bile fluid there had broken out upon the skin of his members
scabs like unto bubbles in a hookah.

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-Diwan 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, 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 fortress-
es which he had ordered in the days of his prosperity thinking 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"; 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"; 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 though 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 not be in a 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 Subutay had forded

the river and were close at hand. Jalal ad-Din returned; and the Sultan, in order 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 Diya al-Mulk 'Arid Zuzani together with Mujir al-Mulk Kafi 'Umar Rukhki to administer the affairs of Nishapur in common.

When the Sultan departed Sharaf ad-Din, the Emir of the Assembly, who was a courtier and a trusted minister of the Sultan and had been appointed malik of Nishapur, was proceeding from Khwarazm 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 Subutay under Noyon Taysi 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, at the end of Rabi' II [beginning of July] Yeme Noyon arrived in person. He summoned the Shaykh al-Islam, the qadi and the vizier; and they sent under their names three persons from amongst the common people to make arrangements about the provision of fodder and the rendering of other small services. Yeme gave them a letter in the Uyghur 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 shihna.

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 shihna whom the Mongols had left at Tus sent messages to Shadyakh 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 shihna 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 Ustava unbeknown to the citizens and bullies (fattānān) of Tus and told Qush-temur (who had been left with three hundred horsemen in charge of the animals) of the murder of the shihna and the consequent disorders. Qush-temur sent a man to report the position to the noyons and himself left Ustava 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 and until the arrival of the main army occupied himself with destroying the fortresses of Tus.

When Toghuchar Gurgan (who was the son-in-law of Chingiz Khan) arrived with the great emirs and ten thousand men as Tuli's vanguard and rode up to the gates of Nishapur in the middle of Ramadan, 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 Qaraqush [138] and discharged quarrels and arrows from the walls and ramparts. By an evil chance which was to be the bane of all that people an arrow was let fly whereby Toghuchar 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 ye shall surely know his message."

When the army withdrew, Börkey Noyon, who was Toghuchar's successor, 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-temur and took the remainder of the fortresses which Qush-temur's army had been unable to capture. And although the people of Nuqan and Qar [?] 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 Ramadan: 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 (runūd) 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 Tuli 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 escaped the sword. He also sent a large army in advance to Shadyakh with the catapults 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 catapults 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 qadi (qadi-yi-mamalik) Rukn ad-Din 'Ali b. Ibrahim al-Mughithi to Tuli. He reached him at Darna, and asked for quarter for the people of Nishapur, and agreed to pay taxes, It was of no avail, nor was he himself allowed to return.

At dawn on Wednesday the 12th of Safar [7th of April, 1221] they filled the cup of the morning draught of war and fought fiercely until mid-day 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 Qaraqush and there were more warriors engaged in these parts, the Mongols raised their standard on the Wall of Khusraw-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 by then Tuli himself had arrived within three parasangs of Changarak. 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 Toghuchar 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.

A daughter of Chingiz Khan, who was the chief wife of Toghuchar, now entered the town with her escort, and they slew all the survivors save only four hundred persons who were selected for their craftmanship and carried off to Turkestan, where the descendants of some of them are to be found to this day.

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 Tuli 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, were now in their abasement grown as humble as 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."

"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."

[141]

[XXIX]

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" 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"

-- 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 perpetuation of these ideas and the composition of these edifices is based on the tale of the transfer of empire to the Lords of the World Ogedey Qa'an and Mangu 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 Mangu Qa'an shored up the building of justice after its collapse and raised and strength-

ened 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 Ögedey. 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 binding and loosening 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 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 Tanguts. And after that 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. He called to him his sons Chaghatay, Ögedey, Ulugh Noyon, Külgän, Jurjitay and Urjan, and addressed them as follows: "The 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 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.'

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)?"

When he had finished speaking these words and admonitions, 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.' "

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 Ögedey 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 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 where- with 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 Ögedey 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."

All Ögedey'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 Ramadan, 624 [18th of August, 1227] .

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 quriltay. They all returned to their ordus and made preparations for this quriltay.

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, an assembly must be held and the question of the Khanate decided. Upon this each man left his ordu and set out for the quriltay. From the lands of the Qipchaq came the sons of Tushi, Hordo, Batu, Shibaqan, Tangut, Berke, Berkechär and [145] Tughatemür; from Quyash, Chaghatay; from the Berkechär and, Ogedey; from the East, their uncle Ötegin, Bilgätäy Noyon, Ilchitäy Noyon, Tukut [?] and Rikay [?]; and from the other parts, the emirs and noyons that were stationed on every side. As for Ulugh Noyon and his younger brothers, they were already in the ordu of Chingiz Khan.

All the above-mentioned persons gathered together in the district of the Kelüren; 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 --

"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"

-- , all the princes, noyons 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 Ögedey. This counsel they adopted, and all the princes with an unanimity unmingled with evil or strife said to Ögedey: "In accordance with the command of Chingiz Khan it behoves thee with divine assistance to lay 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 and servitude and incline their eyes and ears to obeying thy command."

Ögedey replied as follows: "Although Chingiz Khan's commandment 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 Noyon 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 and quaffed cups of wine, at the same time discussing the affairs of the kingdom. And every day Ogedey in a different way and in a manner at once precise and noble 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"

-- 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 Ögedey 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 loosening, 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 both the astrologers and the 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 Ögedey, 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 Chaghatay took his right hand and Ötegin his left and by the resolution of aged counsel and the support of youthful fortune established him upon the throne. Ulugh Noyon 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 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 censor-

ious 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."

And when he had done with feasting and bestowing gifts and presents, in accordance with the custom of "Verily, we found our fathers with religion" 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", they should select forty maidens of the race of the emirs and noyons to be decked out with jewels, ornaments and fine robes, clad in precious garments and dispatched together with choice horses to join his spirit.

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 should be maintained and secured and protected against the evils of change, and alteration, and confusion. Now, from all sides there had 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. Hither he dispatched Jurmaghun with a number of emirs and thirty thousand warriors.

[150] To the lands of the Qipchaq, the Saqsin and the Bulghar he sent Köktäy and Suntay Bahadur with a like army.

Likewise to Tibet, Solanga etc. he dispatched greater or lesser forces: to Khitay he decided to proceed in person accompanied by his brothers.

All of these campaigns shall be hereinafter described so that 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 Khitay and the conquest
 of that country

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 Khitay, whither he was accompanied by his brothers Chaghatay and Ulugh Noyon 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 troops of horsemen by whom the atmosphere was choked and the mountain tops crushed."

First of all they came to a town called Khujatbunsaqin and beleaguered it all round from the banks of the river Qara-mürän. [151] By the encircling disposition of their ranks they 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 (dirafsh) 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, Ogedey sent on Ulugh Noyon and Guyuk in advance with ten thousand men, whilst he himself slowly brought up the rear. When Altun Khan, 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, Qaday Rengü and Qamar Niküder, 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. [152]

Ulugh Noyon 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 yay, that is the use of the rain-stone. Ulugh Noyon 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 yay 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 Khitay like a flock of sheep -- "the head of one at the tail of another" -- huddled together 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 people laid low, as though they had been the trunks of hollow palms." The yaychi now ceased his yay, 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."

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 sent them down stream and set them upon black land; and as for those two demon-like wretches, who were in the van with a hundred thousand men, though they crossed the water like the wind, yet soldiers who had crossed beforehand cast the fire of perdition on those 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.

"Hold back and beware of the lance points which are a thicket through which the serpent passed and returned throttled."

They made a mound with the ears of the slain 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 Namking. 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. "He lost both this world and the next. This same is the clear ruin."

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."

And they plundered and pillaged exceedingly, and wrought incalculable slaughter, and took immeasurable booty. They also captured several other towns and captured 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.

Ögedey left 'Aziz Yalavach in Khitay and, victorious and triumphant, turned his reins towards his own ordu, dispatching armies against Manzi and to Solanga and other regions such as the lands of the Tanguts, Tibetans and

Su-Moghul; as you shall hereinafter read.

[XXXI]

Of the second quriltay

When the Emperor, who was a Hatim in bounty and a Khusraw in affability, his mind set at rest regarding the conquest of Khitay, 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 [632/1234-5], at the time when the world was a garden of Iram, 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 its mansion a dress of brocade from
the essence of the flowers prepared with dew.

The heavens shed thereon the fine rain of their tears, which
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 robe"

--, the princes reached his Court, and the meeting was adorned and beauti-
fied 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 their loved one green with herbs."

And there came also crowds of noyons and emirs, officials and fiefholders.

The World-Emperor welcomed those of his kinsmen that were his elder bro-
thers 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 kinsmen and with the assistance of relatives
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 pas-
times. And all present at the assembly and 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 Qaraqoram:

"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 quriltay, 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 fiefs 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, Mangu 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 noyons 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 Qipchaq and the Kilar had not yet been completely crushed, the chief attention was paid to the conquest and extirpation of these peoples. Of the princes Batu, Mangu 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 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 the plain of the world, and the report of his justice and bounty travelled to every horizon [158] and soared up like the Eagle.

"When thou sojournest in a country, thy fame journeys on:

it hates the siesta and loathes the bivouac."

And by reason of the beautiful tales that were related 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."

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."

[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, not waiting for month and year. 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 Tay was abolished during his lifetime, and the clemency of Ahnaf was as nothing compared with his clemency. During his reign the affairs of the world were at 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, trotted smartly under the saddle of obedience to him."

And on the hope of his bounty and mercy every person staked his life. 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 runagates (shawārid), and the report of his bounty occasioned the capture of wild beasts. 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 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 their saying that

"When the king spends his mornings engaged in amusement, condemn his kingdom to woe and destruction,"

[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 or inspector. And he drew the line of cancellation through the sum of the tales of former kings, since it appeared a mere trifle compared with the expenditure of his own actions, and marked as paid the balance of the traditions of the past, 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.

"Thou dost not in answering cut the wings of desires and thereby resemble the scissors."

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."

Upon those that came from distant and rebellious lands he bestowed presents in the same way as upon those that came from near and subject 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.' "

And whenever the kings of olden times 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 Khusraws, the first mighty ones? They stored up treasures, and the treasures endured not, neither did they endure.'

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 there exists the 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 calumny and metaphore 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 seasons 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 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," and the flashing of the lightning is such that "the lightning almost snatcheth away their eyes"; and it has been observed that when it lightnings and thunders they become "as mute as fishes." 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 at the end of the month, as in the case of their periods of mourning, they hold a celebration.

One day Qa'an was returning from his hunting ground together with Chaghatay when at noon they beheld a Moslem sitting in midstream washing himself. Now Chaghatay 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, 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 some one 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 balishes 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."

[ii] When they first came 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 Qipchaq, who, awaiting his opportunity, had followed him from the market. When he drew the knife across the sheep's throat, the Qipchaq 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 treated with favour, while the ill-natured Qipchaq 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 Khitay 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 Khitay, 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 Khitay have not one Moslem captive. And the reason for this is perhaps 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 balishes 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 sent a messenger to him and 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 barleycorn, 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 gumiz 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 balishes 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 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 a shroud, rotten and decayed.'

He shall not give up the ghost without accomplishing his desire." The man

had not yet received all the balishes 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 balishes. 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."

[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." [167]

[ix] An ortaq came to him and received a capital of five hundred balishes. He went away for a while and then returned 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 balishes. When he returned the third time the

bitikchis were afraid to communicate his message. Instead they denounced his wastefulness and extravagance saying, "He wastes and devours this money in such-and-such a country" "How," asked Qa'an, "can one devour balishes?" They replied that he gave them to worthless persons and spent them on food and drink. "Since the balishes 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 and 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."

[x] There is a town in the clime of Khitay called the people of which presented a petition saying, "We have incurred a debt of eight hundred balishes, 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 balishes; and there were many who had no debts and pretended to be creditor and debtor and so received balishes; and so they received double the sum they had mentioned.

"And when his generosity flowed, the rain was put to shame,

and the Euphrates fell -- 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 balishes or garments available, but Mükä 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 balishes 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 them and be not stingy when a beggar approaches, for

I have an attachment thereto, and there are no longer

any excuses.' "

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 that time Mükä 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 said that the sea and the rain were the two things most resembling each other named thee and so praised 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 balishes and that is the reason for the confusion of my affairs. If it is commanded that I be given this quantity of balishes, I will deliver ten thousand arrows every year." Said the Hatim of the age: "As long as this poor fellow's affairs are not entirely distraught and while he is still not desperate, he will not accept so contemptible an amount of balishes in return for so many arrows. Let him be given a hundred balishes so that he can mend his affairs." When they brought the balishes 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 balishes on it and went his way.

"And thou didst load him with wealth, wherewith the stages are lightened to him that crosseth the desert."

[xiii] At the time when he ordered the building of Qaraqoram and the royal mind was busied with this scheme, he one day entered the treasury where he found one or two tümens of balishes. "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 balishes 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 share, left his presence uttering their thanks and offering up prayers for his wellbeing.

"When our dirhems were gathered together one day, they were continually hastening along the roads of the good and lawful."

[xiv] There had been no agriculture in the neighbourhood of Qaraqoram 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 balishes.

"If heart and hand are sea and mine, it is the heart and hand of the king."

[xv] Two parasangs to the east of Qaraqoram 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 targhu) might be brought him from the town. And on this account they called the place Targhu-baligh. 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 cloud when shedding its water was constantly telling him that if he were generous of mien he would rain gold."

[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 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 take themselves off; 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% 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 10% 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 of a truth these people have expenses to pay to you 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?"

[xvii] Some people from India brought him two tusks of ivory. He

asked what they wanted and was told "Five hundred balishes." 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 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 balishes. 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 balishes. There the matter rested; and every day he added a hundred balishes 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.

The rebellion of the reproachful among them is like it and both of them and a ripe date."

[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 balishes, 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." 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."

[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 balishes 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 balishes.

[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 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 jujube-tree (tabarkhūn) 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."

[174] [xxiv] A person brought him three of these same sticks and he gave him half of that amount, i.e. a hundred balishes.

[xxv] When Qaraqoram 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 was very annoyed with

him and said: "When has this man ever had a customer like us? Make up the price to ten balishes and give him them all."

"And name his benefits, which are not benefits but necklaces about the necks of men."

[xxvi] He was going hunting and the house of the Minister Yalavach happened to lie on his way. Targhu was brought forth and Yalavach told him the story of Solomon, the ant and the locust's leg. It was a pleasant spot; Qa'an had the joy of wine in his head; and Muka 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 embroidered silk (nasich) and brocade (zarbaft) and strew the inside with the bubbles of pearl necklaces. And when they were all 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."

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 there were added four hundred balishes.

"His bounty extended to the flock and to the shepherds."

[xxvii] He commanded a hundred balishes to be given to a poor man. The Ministers of the Court said to one another: "Does he regard so many balishes as one dirhem?" They took the hundred balishes and scattered where he would pass by. And when he passed by he asked, "What is this?" They replied that it was the hundred balishes 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."

[xxviii] A certain person had made a deal for a hundred balishes 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. 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 balishes 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 went to the treasury to fetch the balishes. Putting a hundred balishes in the hems of their gowns they brought them to the poor man. "What are these balishes?" he asked, and they replied, "They are the balishes to be given in payment for your wares." When they realized that he was someone else, they took the balishes 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."

[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 balishes. [176]

He took them to her at once, but put one in the pocket of his cloak and gave her only four. The 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."

[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 ortags and take balishes in order to give interest,' and those others that bring wares, and those others again of every sort that come to us -- I know that they have all fashioned a net in a different way,

nor is it hidden to 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 balishes should be given to the falconer. [177]

[xxxii] A certain person was a bow-maker and made bad bows. He was so well known in Qaraqoram that no one would pay a single barleycorn for his wares; and he had no other trade. The bow-maker became poor and embarrassed in his affairs. 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 balishes.

[xxxiii] 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 balishes 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 was apologetic, and only he forgave that was strong."

[xxxiii] Someone brought him an Aleppo 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 [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 balishes." 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 balishes. 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 balishes 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 near Bakharz, 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 he came into the presence of Qa'an 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 and now you must go back." And he gave orders that 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?"

[179] [xxxv] There was a person in Qaraqoram 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 balishes. One of the scribes repeated the number of balishes 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 balishes made the 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."

[xxxvi] A Moslem had borrowed four balishes from the Uyghur emirs and was unable to pay the money back. They 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 and receive a hundred blows of the bastinado. The Moslem, bewildered by their 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 an Uyghur wife and house. And Qa'an commanded that the Uyghurs should receive a hundred blows of the bastinado in the middle of the market-place and that the Moslem should be given a hundred balishes.

"When wayfarers alight upon the seashore, the night-watchers
amongst them do not prevent them from drinking a second
time."

[xxxvii] There was a certain sayyid from Chargh near Bokhara who was called [180] the Alid of Chargh. He had received some balishes 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 wert 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 goes 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 balishes," replied the sayyid, "and with that I shall be satisfied." He gave him a hundred balishes.

[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 eight hundred 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."

[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."

[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.

[xli] A Moslem from the Tangut region, from a place called Qara-tash, brought him a wagon-load of victuals in the hope that he would receive permission to return [182] to his own country. Qa'an gave him a wagon-load of balishes 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 turqaqs). 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 seeing that they did not burst under such circumstances." And Qa'an gave him five hundred balishes with many horses and garments, and made him the commander of several thousand soldiers, and sent him to Khitay.

[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 Qaraqoram 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 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 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.

[xlv] He was fond of watching wrestling and at first had a number of Mongols, Qipchaqs and Khitayans in his service. When Khorasan was subjugated he was told about the wrestlers of Khorasan and Iraq. He sent a messenger to Jurmaghun and ordered him to send one of these wrestlers. There was a man from Hamadan called Pahlavan Fila. 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 balishes; and after a while he bestowed on him a beautiful, 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 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 foramine et pannum tollere de capite?"

"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 balishes. At that moment seven hundred balishes 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."

And that which he bestowed upon them in pay, etc., in the way of clothes, furs and balishes, 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:

During the reign of Sultan 'Ala ad-Din Kayqubad 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 cupbearers. 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 him 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 face to the road with a hundred thousand privations in order that the glance of the Emperor, who was the Lord of the Conjunction, might fall upon my wretched self and my condition might be reversed and my horoscope rendered auspicious.

[186] 'My father -- may his soul be filled with light for my sake! -- 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. He perceived that his attendants inwardly objected to his action, and turning towards them he 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 his house. The next day, when Qa'an had taken his seat, he saw a wagon-load of balishes being brought into the treasury from the conquest of a town in Manzi. The number of balishes was seven hundred. Qa'an said to Danishmand Hajib: 'Call that person.' When I appeared he gave them to me and encouraged me with other promises. And so I received all those balishes 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." [187]

[xlvi] A Mongol called Sunquli Bükä 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 balishes," said Qa'an. And to the owner of the sheep he said: "Thou wilt derive no advantage 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 relatives 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 punished for the death of 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 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-Husayn and 'Ali b. 'Isa b. Mahan to Baghdad to make war on his brother Muhammad Amin, [188] at the same time Muhammad Amin was saying to Hammad Rawiya, who was one of his boon companions: "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 boon companions, 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.' " "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.' "

[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 balishes of silver. His courtiers suggested that a draft should be made on the land of Khitay, but Qa'an

ordered him to be paid in cash from the treasury. When they brought the balishes from the treasury and set them before the old man, he said: "How shall I carry all these balishes 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 balishes with him. But the old man said: "I cannot reach my own country safely with so many balishes, 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 country and should bring him and the balishes safely through. When the Mongols departed with him 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 balishes to Baghdad," said Qa'an, "enter his house and give them to his daughters. And say, 'The Emperor has sent these balishes 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 sent his brother Tahamtan to Qa'an and among
 [190] the presents he brought were two flagons 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] ." 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.

"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."

Among the tribe of ..., 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 relations within the tribe and some they actually delivered up to their husbands. 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 should be taken back from them. Four thousand star-like 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, 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 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 set his mind at rest regarding the campaign against Khitay, he proceeded in triumph to the great Ordu of his father [192] and bestowed his own place of residence, which was in the region of the Emil, upon his son Guyuk, choosing for his [new] residence and the capital of the kingdom a place in the region of [new]r Orqon and the Qaraqoram 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 Uyghurs.) The Mongols named it Mavu Baligh, and Qa'an caused a town to be built on it, which they called Ordu-baligh, though it is better known as Qaraqoram. Hither artisans of every kind were brought

from Khitay, 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 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 turqaqs, [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, was smiling and resplendent through the mouths of the flowers, he would feast for a month in this residence like the Sun and Venus; 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 despise 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 kul), wherein many water fowls used to gather. And he would watch the hunting of these birds and afterwards 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:

"Enjoy this world, for its seasons are transitory, and the life of a young man (may thou have thy 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."

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 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 resi-
dence. 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 of gold-embroidered cloth, and it was
covered all over with white felt: this place is called Sir-ordu. 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 pleasancess. 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 there 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."

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, Mangu 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 Tūrākinā Khatun

When the decree of God Almighty had been executed and the Monarch of the World, the Hatim of the Age, Qa'an, had passed away, Güyük, his eldest son, had not returned from the campaign against the Qipchaq, 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, Mükä Khatun, who, in accordance with the Mongol custom, had come to him from his father, Chingiz Khan. But since Tūrākinā Khatun was the mother of his eldest sons

[196] and was moreover shrewder and more sagacious than Mūka 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.

Chaghatay and the other princes sent representatives to say that Tūrākinā Khatun was the mother of the princes who had a right to the Khanate; therefore, until a quriltay 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 Tūrākinā Khatun was a very shrewd and capable woman, and her position was greatly strengthened by this unity and concord. And when Mūkā 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 kinds of favours and kindnesses and by the sending of gifts and presents. And for the most part strangers and 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 Chingay 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," to seek relief from her pain by avenging herself on each of these persons. She accordingly sent messengers to Khitay to fetch Sahib Yalavach and also tried to lay hands on the Emir Chinqay. Chinqay, 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 Kütän, 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, he put the messengers to sleep and departed to Kütän together with a few horsemen, and so escaped from their hands.

"And I returned to Fahm though I had not intended to return --
and how many a one like her have I left though she whistled
after me!"

And when both notables reached Kütän, and sought refuge with him, and made his threshold their asylum, they were embraced with his favour. Türaķinā Khatun sent a messenger to demand their return, and Kütän replied: "The kite that takes refuge in a thicket from the talons of the falcon is safe from its fury. 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 quriltay 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 Kütän 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 quriltay. But since loyalty and generosity, which belong to the essential and the beautiful of the manners of the great and are as non-existent in this present age as the simurgh or the philosopher's 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 en-

joyed 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 and the wives of Chaghatay sent Qorbughay Elchi together with the Emir [199] Arghun to seize Kürküz.

And at that time there was a woman called Fatima, who had acquired great influence in the service of Tūrākinä Khatun and to whose counsel and capability were entrusted all affairs of state. She exalted 'Abd ar-Rahman and sent him to Khitay in place of Mahmud. An account of this woman will be given separately in a subsequent chapter.

And when the Emir Arghun brought Kürküz to Tūrākinä 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 Soyurquqtani Biki and her sons, who did not swerve one hair's breadth from the yasa and law of their ordinances.

As for Tūrākinä 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 quriltay.

Meanwhile Gүйük 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," Ötegin 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, Mangli-oghul, 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 the disaster that had befallen them and excused himself in this manner. In the meantime there came tidings of the arrival [200] of Gūyūk at his ordu, which lies on the bank of the Emil; whereupon his repentance increased.

And when Gūyūk came to his mother, he took no part in affairs of state, and Tūrākina 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 Tūrākinä passed away.

[XXXV]

Of Fatima Khatun

At the time of the capture of the place in which there lies the Holy Shrine of 'Ali ar-Rida (upon whom be the most excellent of blessings and benedictions!), she was carried off into captivity. It so chanced that she came to Qaraqoram, where she was a 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 Tūrākinä Khatun; and when times changed and Chinqay 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 grantees sought her protection, especially the grantees 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 Guyuk succeeded to the Khanate, a certain native of Samarqand, who was said to be an 'Alid, one Shira, the cupbearer of Qadaq, hinted that Fatima had bewitched Kütän, [201] which was why he was so indisposed. When Kütän 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 Kütän's death. Chinqay, 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 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, 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."

And everyone that was connected with her perished also. And messengers were sent to fetch certain persons who had come from Meshed 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 Khwaja of the Emil accused Shira of the same crime, namely of having bewitched Khwaja. 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," 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."

When in that same year, in an happy and auspicious hour, the Khanate had been settled upon Mangu Qa'an, he set Berengütäy over the region of Besh Baligh. And when Khwaja was brought to the Qa'an, a messenger was sent to 'Ali Khwaja, who was one of his courtiers. Some other person brought the same accusation against him, and Mangu 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 be a load of thorns, thou hast sown them thyself."

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."

God preserve us from the like positions and from trespassing into the region of deliberate offences!

[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 distance of separation was to have been expelled by nearness 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 the limpiā water of reunion and for father and son to annoint 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 Ötegin, 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, Turakina 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 noyons 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 the 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 hosts 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.

Soyurquqtani Biki and her sons arrived first with such gear and equipage as "eye hath not seen nor ear heard." And from the East there came Kütän with his sons; Ötegin and his children; Ilchitey; and the other uncles and nephews that reside in that region. From the ordu of Chaghatay came Qara, Yisu, [205] Būri, Baydar, Yesenbuqa and the other grandsons and great-grandsons. From the country of the Saqsin and the Bulghar, since Batu did

not come in person, he sent his elder brother Hordo and his younger brothers Shiban, Berke, Berkechär and Toqatemür. And distinguished noyons and leading emirs who had connections with one or other party, came in attendance on the princes. From Khitay 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 the celebrities and notables of Khorasan, Iraq, Lur, Azerbaijan and Sharvan. From Rum came Sultan Rukn ad-Din and the Sultan of Takavor; from Georgia, the two Davids; from Aleppo, the brother of the Lord of Aleppo; from Mosul, the envoy of Sultan Badr ad-Din Lu'lu'; and from the City of Peace, Baghdad, the chief Qadi, Fakhr ad-Din. There came also the Sultan of Erzerum, envoys from the Franks, and from Kerman and Fars also; and from Ala ad-Din of Alamut, his clients (muhtashimān) 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, was gathered together, the broad plain was straitened and in the neighbourhood 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."

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 agreed as to committing the affairs of the Khanate and entrusting the keys of the Empire to one of the sons of Qa'an. Kütän aspired to this honour because his grandfather had once made a reference to him. Others were of the opinion that Shiramun, 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 strength, ruthlessness, recklessness and fortitude; 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. Kütän, on the other hand, was somewhat sickly, and Shiramun was but a child. Moreover, Tūrākinä Khatun favoured Güyük, and Biki and her sons were at one with her in this, and most of the noyons 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 qams all [207] the princes gathered together and took off their hats and loosened their belts. And [Yisu] taking one hand and Hordo the 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 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 galia 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."

"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 bubble dances in their [? jāfa] thou seest
the pearl in the redness of the hookahs."

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 griefstricken and sat in the midst of ashes. And the minstrels, Barbad-like, 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

"To the tune of the strings and the melody of the flute,
with jessamine-checked beauties at the feet of the
Chosroes,

Drank wine till midnight, and the minstrels opened their
lips in song."

When they had got 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, noyons and common people

"Came strutting to the King's court, open-hearted and well-
wishing they came."

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"

and with the arrogance of greatness and the haughtiness of pride

"Came strutting from the pavilion, a shining banner standing
behind him"

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!' "

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 were 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 Soyurquqtani Biki, who had the greatest authority in that quriltay. 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 noyons, the commanders of tümens, thousands, hundreds and tens, according to the census, the sultans, kings, 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 Ötegin, 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, Mangu and Hordo 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 Chaghatay also died. He was succeeded by his grandson, Qara-oghul, and Yisu, 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 Chaghatay had designated Qara-oghul as the successor to Chaghatay's kingdom; but Güyük settled it upon Yisu [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 payizas. Güyük ordered these to be called in. And since what they had done was outside their yasa and custom, they were ashamed and hung their heads in confusion. And the payizas and yarlighs

of everyone of them were called in and laid before the author with the words: "Read what thou hast written." But Biki 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 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 Khitay Manzi, which is the farthermost part thereof, had freed itself from its allegiance and set aside its submission, he dispatched Subutay Bahadur and Jaghan Noyon to that region with a mighty host and a numerous army; and the like to Tangut and Solanga; while to the West he dispatched Ilchiktey and a large army. And he commanded that from [212] every prince two men out of every ten should join Ilchiktey, 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. And it was agreed that he himself should follow after. And although he had placed all the armies and conquered peoples under the command of Ilchiktey, he especially entrusted to him the affairs of Rum, Georgia, Aleppo, Mosul and Diyar Bekr 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 taxes. And he bestowed the countries of Khitay 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, Sharvan, 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 payizas: he confided important business to them and distinguished them with lion-headed payizas 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. And David, the son of Qiz Malik, he made subject to the other David. And yarlighs were given to the Sultans of Takavor and Aleppo and to the envoys. As 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 Shiramun, the son of Jurmaghun, 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."

"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? perchance he will fall lifeless."

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 offering on the first day and then depart without even going inside.

Now Qadaq 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 the picture on the stone." To this was added [the influence of] Chingay. 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 and the Rus; and for the most part, too, it was Christian physicians that were attached to his service. And because of the attendance of

Qadaq and Chingay 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 Chingay 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 balishes, 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 Khitay to Rum, together with the wares of every clime and people, were piled up in heaps, each 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 Qaraqoram." "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 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 (hawā) was like the love (hawā) of a sweet mistress, and the gardens became radiant like the cheeks of princesses, and the 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 make love 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. And wherever he came where there was a sown field or where he saw people, he would command his attendants to give them balishes and clothes, so that they were freed from the humiliat-

ion 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 Samargand, a week's journey from Besh Baligh, the predestined hour [216] arrived 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 strange 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.

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 Ghaymish and her sons

When the inevitable fate of all mortals had overtaken Guyuk 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 she sent messengers to Soyurquqtani Biki 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 Qonaq 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 Soyurquqtani Biki, as is their usual custom, sent her clothing and a boghtagh together with messages of 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 Ghaymish, 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 Alaqmaq; 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. Khwaja and Naqu also should come, and Qadaq should not fail to accompany them. [218] Khwaja 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 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 messages were sent several times again he did not give way, nor would Oghul Ghaymish and her sons consent to his going. They therefore took their leave of him immediately.

And when Khwaja and Naqu arrived in Alamaq 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 Noyon 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 Mangu 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 quriltay; and they sent a messenger to them to say that since Chingay 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 Alamaq the princes all departed to their own ordus in order to make ready for the quriltay. As for Temür he went back to Khwaja and Naqu and told them how the princes had agreed to the auspicious accession of Mangu 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

Mangu 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 these 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 Ghaymish was closeted with the qams carrying out their phantasies and absurdities. As for Khwaja 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 Ghaymish 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 Chinqay 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 Ghaymish pleased herself in hindering men of good will.

"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."

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 Yisu's encouragement and with his consent and support. And again and again their loving kinsfolk Begi and Batu sent them words of advice, saying, "At anyrate you should come to the quriltay, and take counsel, and deliberate together a second time when all the aqqa and ini are assembled together." And from Batu there would come messages saying that [221] if the Khanate was settled on Mangu 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 quriltay, they persisted in their lassitude and procrastination, planning schemes behind the curtain of opposition and casting the dice of counsel on the checker-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 Batu] . Accordingly Naqu set out to join them, and was followed by

Khwaja, and afterwards by Ghaymish, as shall be related in the chapter on the accession of the World-Emperor Mangu, 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

in his stead

When Tushi, who was the eldest son, had gone to Qalan Tashi to join Chingiz Khan and had returned from thence, the predestined hour arrived. And of his sons, Bukhal, Hordo, Batu, Shibaqan, Tangut, Berke and [222] Berkechär, these seven, 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 Qipchaq, the Alan, the As and the Rus, and other lands also such as those of the Bulghar, the Moks, etc.

And Batu abode in his own encampment, which he had set up in the region of the Etil; and he built a town there, which is called Saray; 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 Mongols and all that were present, and heeded not whether it was much or little. And merchants from every side brought him all manner of wares, and he took everything and doubled the price of it several times over. And he wrote bills and yarlighs on the Sultans of Rum and Syria; [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 Alaqmaq 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 Mangu Qa'an, the account whereof will be given in the chapter on Mangu Qa'an. And 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 of his relations, kinsfolk and commanders. When, in the year 653/1255-6, Mangu Qa'an held another quriltay, 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 came to pass in the year ... And when Sartaq arrived, Mangu 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. Mangu Qa'an sent his emirs to console his wives and brothers; and he commanded that Baraqchin Khatun, who was Batu's chief wife, should issue orders and educate Ulaghchi, 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 and the territory
of the As and the Rus

When Qa'an held the great quriltay for the second time, they deliberated together concerning the extirpation and subjugation 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. Mangu Qa'an and his brother Böček; Qadaghan, the son of Güyük Khan; of the other princes, Kükän, Büri and Baydar; Batu's brothers, Hordo and Tangut; and several other princes as well as Subutay Bahadur from amongst the chief commanders. The princes departed each to his own 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 as far as the city [225] of Moks, 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 catapults opposite the walls, and after a space of several days left nothing of the city but its name, and took great booty. And they gave orders to cut off the right ears of the people, and two thousand seven hundred ears were counted. And from thence the princes turned homewards.

[XL]

Of the horsemen (khayl) of the Kilar and the
Bashghird

When the Rus, the Qipchaq and the Alan had been annihilated, Batu resolved to proceed to the destruction of the Kilar and the 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 armies; 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 Shibaqan on in advance with ten thousand men to spy out their numbers and send word of the extent of their strength and might. Shibaqan 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; and for one

day and night he spoke to no one but prayed and lamented; and he bade the Moslems also to assemble together and offer up prayers. The next day they made ready for battle. A large river 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 Shibaqan attacked at the same time with all his forces; and they bore down on their royal pavilions and cut the ropes with their swords. And when the Mongols had overturned their pavilions the army of the Kilar 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 Chaghatay

Chaghatay 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 Quyash, which in those seasons resembled the Garden of Iram. He constructed large pools (which they call kul) in that region for the flocking of the waterfowl. He also built a town called Qutlugh. The autumn and winter he spent in [? Marauzik] on the Ili. And at every stage, from beginning to end he had laid up stores of food and drink. And he was ever engaged in amusement 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 Chaghatay'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 Chaghatay's disease and showed great kindness and solicitude. 228 However, when Chaghatay died, Yisulun, his senior wife, ordered them both to be killed together with their children.

The Emir Habash 'Amid, who had been attached to Chaghatay's service ever since the conquest of Transoxiana and had attained to the rank of vizier, still remained in the service of Chaghatay's widow. There was a poet called Sadid-i-A'war 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 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."

Chaghatay had many sons and grandsons; but his eldest son, Matikan, having been killed at Bamiyan and Qara having been born at that time, Chingiz Khan, and after him Qa'an and Chaghatay, had made him Chaghatay's heir and successor. [229] In accordance with this ruling, after Chaghatay's death, his wife Yisulun, Habash 'Amid al-Mulk and the Pillars of the State favoured his claim. But when Guyuk Khan was raised to the Khanate, having a friendship for Yisu, who was Chaghatay's own son, he said: "Why should the grandson succeed when there is a son?" Accordingly he set up Yisu in his father's kingdom and entrusted him with the direction of affairs of state. Now Yisu 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 Chaghatay and allotted each of them to one of the princes. Chaghatay, however, used to confront them with Baha ad-Din Marghinani on account of the latter's accomplishments and learning; and he appointed him to wait on Yisu. Because

of the length of his service Baha ad-Din also rose to power; he was entrusted with the office of vizier to Yisu, and Habash 'Amid was discarded. The imam Baha ad-Din performed all the ceremonies and courtesies of respect and several times restrained Yisu from 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 heart thereof.

Yisu continued to reign until Mangu Qa'an ascended the throne of the Khanate. Yisu opposed his accession, whereupon Mangu 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 Mangu 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 Urqina, Qara's widow. When she returned to her ordu, Yisu also, by Batu's leave, shortly afterwards arrived home. To him also Fate gave no quarter.

The Emir Habash 'Amid and his son Nasir ad-Din returned to power in the service of Urqina. And when Qara returned he delivered up Baha ad-Din Marghinani to Habash 'Amid together with his property and children [231] in order that he might wreak his vengeance 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."

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 'Amid:

"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,
 and then departed."

Habash 'Amid ordered his men to roll him up in a piece of felt and to crush his limbs and members by beating the felt.

In the year 649/1251-2, when we were returning from the ordu of Ghaymish, I went to the Court of Yisu 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 Shaykh al-Islam of Farghana, while on his mother's side he was related to Tughan Khan, 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 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 sprouts 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?"

The Emir Baha ad-Din was survived by sons and small infants, and Habash 'Amid wished to send all his male children after their father.

End of Vol. I

7. Notes on Vol. I

Notes on Vol. I

Muhammad Qazvini's notes are indicated by the initials M.Q.: they have for the most part been somewhat abridged.

Introduction

P.2, 1.21. Mangu. This is the form preferred by Juvayni to the correct Mōngke (as found in Rashid ad-Din and occasionally in Juvayni himself). For the spelling and transliteration of such Mongol and Turkish names I have consulted my teacher Professor V. Minorsky.

P.5, 1.3. "for memory ... second life." From Mutanabbi. (M.Q.)

11.19-20. "But others ... their own lusts." Koran xix, 60. Quotations from the Koran are given in Rodwell's version with such modifications as are sometimes necessitated by the context.

11.21-22. "Those are departed ... a scabby man." From Labid b. Rabi'a al-'Amiri. (M.Q.)

P.6, 11.20-21. "The pedigrees of people ... with the grass." From 'Amr b. al-Hudhayl al-'Abdi, one of the poets of the Hamasa. (M.Q.)

P.7, 1.4. "God hath sealed up their hearts." Koran xlvii, 18.

P.9, 11.16-17. "The land was emptied ... in my leadership." From one of the poets of the Hamasa. The author's name is unknown. (M.Q.)

P.10, 11.9-10. "And when they pass ... with dignity." Koran xxv, 72.

11.21-22. "The eye of contentment ... giveth rise to faults." One of the verses of 'Abdallah b. Mu'awiya b. 'Abdallah b. Ja'far b. Abu Talib in which he reproaches his friend Husayn b. 'Abdallah b. 'Ubaydallah b. 'Abbas. (M.Q.)

- P.11, 1.13. Haply ye love ... bad for you." Koran ii, 213.
- 11.19-20. 'for the earth ... as a heritage.' Koran vii, 125.
- P.13, 11.14-15. "They are like rocks or harder still." Koran ii, 69.
- 11.24-25. "the Satans ... to wrangle with you." Koran vi, 121.
- P.14, 11.1-2. "God hath sealed up their hearts" For hearts read mouths.
- 11.2-3. "truth is come ... a thing that vanisheth." Koran xvii, 83.
- 11.16-17. "and repute not ... alive with their Lord." Koran iii, 163.
- P.15, 11.2-3. "Perchance ... amongst the wise." Shahnama ed. Vullers III 1646, 1.2636.
- P.15, 11.8-9. "And throw not ... into ruin." Koran ii, 191.
- 1.23. their horsemen and... The original is خيل وحيل .
- P.16, 1.1. The Piebald Horse of the Days, i.e. the world.
- 11.3-4. "And if they lean to peace lean thou also to it." Koran viii, 63.
- 1.8. "for God guideth ... into the straight path." Koran ii, 209.
- 1.13. "verily, man is insolent ... possessed of riches." Koran xcvi, 6-7.
- 1.22. Qiyas, i.e. Qiyas al-Anbiya
- P.17, 1.5. The learned Jarullah, i.e. az-Zamakhshari.
- 11.7-8. "Say ... from above you." Koran vi, 65.
- 11.16-17. "What is restrained by the Sultan." A reference to the well-known hadith: "Those who are restrained by the Sultan are more than those who are restrained by the Koran." (M.Q.)
- 11.19-20. "And we have sent down ... to men." Koran lvii, 25.
- 1.22. "And we have sent down ... the balance." Koran lvii, 25.

P.18, 11.4-5. "verily, God will not change ... in themselves." Koran xcvi, 6-7.

11.6-7. "And thy Lord ... righteous." Koran xi, 119.

11.15-16. "except those who believe ... few indeed are they." Koran xxxviii, 23.

11.17-18. "And how many crimes ... on the innocent." From a qasida of Mutanabbi. (M.Q.)

P.19, 11.11-12. "Verily, God knoweth and understandeth." Koran xxxv, 28.

Chapter I

P.19, 11.21-22. "Whoever ... Fortune seeketh him." Ascribed by 'Awfi in his Jawami' al-Hikayat wa-Lawami' ar-Riwayat to a scribe in the service of Malikshah called Muzaffar Khamaj (?). (M.Q.)

P.20, 1.19. "And that was easy unto God." Koran iv, 34 and 167; xxxiii, 19 and 30.

P.21, 1.11. fistuq. See قسوق in the Glossary.

11.20-22. The flesh of birds ... they shall choose." Koran lvi, 21 and 20. (In that order.)

11.22-23. Koran lxxxiii, 25 and 26.

P.22, 1.17. rukni. See the Glossary.

Chapter II

P.22, 1.24. yasas. See the Glossary.

P.24, 1.7. "Verily, the might of the Lord is great indeed." Koran lxxx, 12.

P.25, 11.19-20. "And as for him ... all-sufficient." Koran lxxv, 3.

P.28, 11.10-11. "And when the wild beasts shall be gathered together." Koran lxxxii, 5.

1.16. noyons. See the Glossary.

1.25. Qa'an, i.e. Ögedey Qa'an, son of Chingiz Khan; to whom this appellation always refers when standing alone. (M.Q.)

P.30, 1.7. qopchur. See the Glossary.

P.31, 11.15-16. "They shall not retard it ... advance it." Koran vii, 32.

P.33, 1.5. "Keep them honourably." Koran ii, 229.

1.6. "Put them away with kindness." Ibid.

Chapter III

P.35, 1.5. "Be, and it is." Koran ii, 111.

1.6. Ung Khan, i.e. Wang Khan.

P.36, 1.15. Kishlik. Rashid ad-Din has the form Qishliq. Our text has K.l.k, which is undoubtedly a copyist's corruption of an original K.sl.k or rather K.shl.k. (M.Q.)

1.18. had the tents moved away, i.e. moved a short distance away, because it is clear from the context that they did not take the tents with them.

P.38, 1.24. Altun Khan, i.e. the Kin Emperor, altun like kin signifying "gold."

P.41, 11.23-24. recorded separately, in Chapter XXXIII.

P.42, 11.9-10. "And dispute not ... go from you." Koran viii, 48.

Chapter V

P.42, 1.24. shihneh. Read shihna. See the Glossary.

Chapter VI

P.47, 1.1. yarghu. See the Glossary.

P.48, 1.1. "Art thou Bala?" There is a play on words, bala in Arabic signifying "calamity."

11.10-12. "They said ... ye would not believe." Koran xlvi, 33.

11.23-24. "And the uttermost part ... Lord of the Worlds." Koran vi, 45.

P.49, 11.1-2. "The truth shineth ... beware!" The opening line of a qasida of Abu Tammam in praise of Mu'tasim the Abbasid. (M.Q.)

Chapter VII

P.51, 1.16. jalghuza. See the Glossary.

P.56, 1.2. "they say that which they do not." Koran xxvi, 226.

1.20. "köch, köch!" i.e. "move, move!"

P.57, 11.1-2. an accursed tree. See Koran xvii, 62.

Chapter VIII

P.57, 1.5. the latter's son, i.e. Kuchluk Khan. Juvayni has committed a gross mistake: it is clear from numerous passages in the Jami' at-Tawarikh

that Kuchluk Khan was the son of Tayang, the ruler of the Nayman, and was in no way connected with Wang Khan, the ruler of the Kereyt. (M.Q.)

P.60, 11.8-10. "But who shall be ... indulgent, merciful." Koran vi, 146.

P.60, 1.20 - p.61, 1.4. From a poem of Ahmad b. Abu Bakr Katib in which he satirizes Abu 'Abdallah al-Jayhani, the vizier of Nasr b. Ahmad the Samanid. (M.Q.)

P.62, 11.15-19. "How many generations ... to succeed them." Koran vi, 6.

P.63, 11.10-11. "What is finer ... before his father?" Vullers III 1632, 1.2408.

Chapter IX

P.65, 11.8-9. "And when thou hopest ... upon a crumbling slope." From a qasida of the well-known poet Abul-Hasan 'Ali b. Muhammad at-Tihami, an elegy on his son. (M.Q.)

P.66, 1.18. "Away, away with his predictions!" Koran xxiii, 38.

P.68, 11.9-11. "Life in this world ... comprehend?" Koran vi, 32.

P.69, 11.1-2. "But they ... awaiteth them." Koran xxvi, 228.

Chapter X

P.71, 1.26. Arslan Khan, i.e. the son of the Arslan Khan previously mentioned in this chapter; who poisoned himself during the reign of the Gur Khan. It may be, of course, that "Arslan Khan" was the generic title of the governors of Qayaligh, just as "Gur Khan" was the generic title of

the kings of Qara Khitay and "Kuchluk Khan" that of the rulers of the Nayman. (M.Q.)

Chapter XI

P.72, 1.23. zandanichi. See the Glossary.

Chapter XII.

P.77, 11.18-22. "With youthful Turkish warriors ... the wherewithal of a meal." From a famous qasida of Abu Ishaq Ibrahim b. Muhammad al-Ghazzi in praise of the Turks. (M.Q.)

P.79, 11.6-9. "The air became blue ... there was no end." Vullers I 473, 11.633 and 642. For the sea boiled Vullers has the plain was set in motion.

P.80, 11.4-5. "When the sun ... over the day." Vullers I 474, 1.653.

11.22-23. "The taste of death ... a great cause." From a qasida of Mutanabbi.

P.82, 11.1-2. "Such is the way ... a noose." Vullers I 512, 1.1324.

Chapter XIII

P.82, 1.4. Ulush Idi. Juvayni has said above, p.64, that Chingiz Khan had entrusted his eldest son (i.e. Tushi) with the conquest of Jand and Barjligh Kant; and below, p.97, he says that Tushi sent troops from Jand to aid in the conquest of Khwarazm; whereas in the present chapter he does not even mention Tushi by name and speaks only of Ulush Idi. In the Jami'

at-Tawarikh (ed. Berezin, Vol.III, pp.68-72, "On the conquest of Jand, Barjligh and that whole region") Tushi and Ulush Idi are everywhere mentioned together; and that is the correct version, viz. that the subjugation of this region was effected by Tushi and Ulush Idi jointly. (M.Q.)

P.84, 1.2. like Hasan, i.e. both like Hasan Hāji and like Hasan the son of 'Ali, who was poisoned by one of his wives.

Chapter XIV

P.89, 1.22. Qadaqan, a son of Ögedey Qa'an. (M.Q.)

P.90, 11.1-4. "Sea and mountain ... beneath my feet." Vullers I 488, 11.902-3.

11.11-12. "He writhed ... good or evil." Vullers I 503, 1.1155.

11.16-17. "O world ... that mendest." Vullers I 489, 1.924.

Chapter XVI

P.93, 1.4. the City of Peace, i.e. Baghdad.

P.94, 1.10. "Satan hath gotten mastery over them." Koran lviii, 20.

P.98, 11.6-7. splendour, lit. light (nur): a pun on the name of the town.

11.10-11. "And then they pitched ... the stronghold." Vullers I 474, 1.651.

11.23-24. "When it is ... wisest course." From a qasida of Abu Firas al-Hamdani. (M.Q.)

P.100, 1.22. basqaq. See the Glossary.

P.102, 1.22. "a level plain." Koran xx, 106.

P.103, 1.18. the people of rags, i.e. the Sufis.

P.104, 1.2. Mahmud and the pearl of that sea, namely Mas'ud, i.e. the Great Minister Mahmud Yalavach and his son, Mas'ud Beg. Mahmud Yalavach was appointed by Ögedey to the Governorship of Khitay, i.e. Northern China, and Mas'ud to that of Uyghuristan, Khotan, Kashghar and Transoxiana to the banks of the Oxus. See Jami' at-Tawarikh ed. Blochet, pp.85-86. (M.Q.)

1.8. Soyurquqtani. Soyurquqtani Biki (the printed text has a form Srqwty) was the daughter of Chäkämbü, brother of Wang Khan, the king of the Kereyt. Chingiz Khan during his lifetime had bestowed her on his fourth son Tuluy. She was Tuluy's favourite wife and the mother of his four chief sons, Möngke Qa'an, Qubilay Qa'an, Hulagu Khan and Ariq Bökä. See Jami' at-Tawarikh ed. Berezin I, p.127; ed. Blochet, pp.199-205. (M.Q.)

Chapter XVII

P.104, 11.20-21. the two malignant planets, i.e. Saturn and Mars.

P.105, 1.17. "save them ... a sound heart." Koran xxvi, 89.

11.22-23. 'Thou didst heal the blind and the leper.' Koran v, 110.

P.108, 1.7. Burhan ad-Din, i.e. Burhan ad-Din Muhammad b. Ahmad b. 'Abdal-'Aziz, surnamed Sadr Jahan. See Barthold, Turkestan down to the Mongol Invasion, p.354.

P.109, 11.10-11. "When she left me ... what was wrong." From a qasida of Mutanabbi. (M.Q.)

P.112, 11.3-6. "If it is said ... to one another." These two verses are attributed by Yaqut -- in the Mu'jam al-Buldan under "Samarqand" -- to Busti,

i.e. apparently Abul-Fath. (M.Q.)

11.10-11. "A country ... strong wine." From a qasida of Abu Sa'id ar-Rustami in praise of Sahib b. 'Abbad: in these and the preceding verses the poet is describing Isfahan. (M.Q.)

P.113, 1.3. farzīn-band. For this chess term see the Glossary. The whole passage is an example of the figure called tanāsub: the mention of fīl ("elephant", in chess the "bishop") involves the introduction of the other chessmen: asb, "knight," piyāda, "pawn," shāh, "king," farzīn, "queen" and rukḥ, "castle."

P.115, 11.22-23. "When the shining sun ... its feathers." Vullers I 497, l.1049.

Chapter XIX

P.119, 11.14-15. "Goodly is the country and gracious is the Lord." Koran xxxiv, 14.

P.120, 11.1-4. "Khwarazm to me ... its striplings!" These two verses are attributed by Yaqut -- under "Khwarazm" -- to Muhammad b. Nasr b. 'Unayn ad-Dimishqi, the well-known poet. (M.Q.)

P.121, 1.4. a Nawruz king, i.e. king for a day.

P.123, 11.5-6. "As thou livest ... their lust." Koran xv, 72.

P.124, 11.17-19. "So we made them a table ... patient, grateful." Koran xxxiv, 18.

P.125, 1.1. "We changed them their gardens into two gardens." Koran xxxiv, 15. "Two gardens", to complete the quotation, "of bitter fruit and tamarisk and some few jujube trees."

11.4-7. "How many horsemen ... time and again." Verses of 'Adi b. Zayd al-'Ibadi quoted in a long story in the Kitab al-Aghani. (M.Q.)

1.13. Kalif. For the Kasf of the text. See Barthold, Turkestan, p.437n.

Chapter XX

P.127, 1.2. 617/1220-21. The correct date is not 617 but 618. Juvayni places the capture of Samargand in the latter year and states at the beginning of this present chapter that the conquest of Nakhshab and Tirmid was subsequent to that event. Furthermore, Rashid ad-Din in his Jami' at-Tawarikh (ed. Berezin, Vol. III, pp.111 and 173) places the conquest of these places in the early autumn of the Moghay 11, i.e. the Year of the Snake, which began on the first of Dhul-Hijja, 617 and ended on the first of Muharram, 619. (M.Q.)

11.10-12. "He departed ... Mecca." Shahnama ed. Vullers III 1496, 11.15-16.

Chapter XXI

P.127, 1.15. offerings, i.e. targhu, for which see the Glossary.

P.128, 11.10-11, "Eat and rend ... this day." From Nabigha Ja'di. (M.Q.)

11.14-16. "There is no city ... in the Book." Koran xvii, 60.

11.20-21. "Twice will we chastise them." Koran ix, 102.

11.23-26. "And their mansions ... in astonishment." These verses are

attributed by Tha'alibi in the Tatimmat al-Yatima to Abu Bakr 'Abdallah b. Muhammad b. Ja'far al-Lasiki, who flourished under the later Samanids.

(M.Q.)

P.130, 1.10. 618/1221-22. A mistake for 619, as given in the Jami' at-Tawarikh. (M.Q.)

Chapter XXII

P.131, 11.15-16. "Whithersoever ... with blood." Vullers III 1557, 1.1074.

P.132, 11.3-8. "When Isfandiyar ... his way." For the first two lines see Vullers, III 1698, 11.3575-6. The third line is not in Vullers.

1.13. Ibn Daya, i.e. the crow. The word-play with dāya "nurse" is lost in the translation.

1.21. 619. The text has 618, which is chronologically impossible.
(M.Q.)

Chapter XXV

P.138, 1.2. Yeme. In the Jami' at-Tawarikh his name is everywhere given as Jebe. (M.Q.)

P.139, 1.18. 618. The text has 617, which is incorrect. (M.Q.)

P.142, 1.25. "And He is the Supreme over His servants." Koran vi, 18.

Chapter XXVI

P.143, 1.16. al-tamgha. See the Glossary.

P.144, l.4. Ulugh Noyon, i.e. Tuli (or rather Tuluy), the fourth son of Chingiz Khan. (M.Q.)

P.145, ll.23-24. nor has the like been recorded in any book. In the margin of one of the MSS. someone has written in this place: Kāshki tu nīz na-nivishta būdī -- "Would that thou too hadst not recorded it!" (M.Q.)

Chapter XXVII

P.146, ll.10-13. "A fair land ... to depart." Attributed by Tha'alibi in the Tatimmat al-Yatima to Abu 'Ali as-Saji. (M.Q.)

ll.12-13. "by its very name it forbids him to depart," i.e. Merv -- in the Arabic character MRW -- māy also be read ma-raw, "go not."

P.149, ll.13-14. "The matter is decreed concerning which ye enquire." Koran xii, 41.

l.24. "'Read what thou hast written.'" Koran xvii, 15, where the meaning is: "Read thy book."

P.153, ll.6-7. "Upon a jet-black night ... Mercury." Vullers III 1065, l.1.

P.154, ll.12-13. "He uttered a roar ... showed his hand." Vullers I 476, l.700.

P.155, l.4. "the Earth quaked with her quaking." Koran xcix, 1.

l.6. "the Earth cast forth her burdens." Koran xcix, 2.

ll.23-24. "the mountains became hillocks," i.e. they seemed no more than hillocks when surrounded by the huge piles of dead. For kūlhā, "mountains," M.Q. suggests the reading gawhā, "ditches;" but the

emendation seems unnecessary.

P.156, ll.1-3. "We have grown old ... the breasts of striplings." These two lines are attributed by Tha'alibi in the Yatimat ad-Dahr to Abul-Hasan Muhammad b. Muhammad known as Ibn Lankak al-Basri, the well-known poet.

(M.Q.)

P.157, ll.16-19. "The form of a cup ... in hate?" One of the earliest quotations of Khayyam.

Chapter XXVIII

P.162, ll.21-22. "what the pupil is in the man," i.e. insan al-'ayn.

P.163, ll.10-11. "There have befallen me ... nights." This verse is attributed to Fatima, the daughter of the Prophet. (M.Q.)

P.163, l.21. Shrine, i.e. mashhad, the modern Meshed.

P.164, ll.1-7. These three lines are probably from Abul-Shis al-Khuza'i. The first line is introduced by Minuchihri into one of his qasidas, where it is attributed to this poet. (M.Q.)

l.9. galia, i.e. galia moschata, a perfume composed of musk, ambergris, etc. and black in colour.

P.165, ll.13-14. "And were it not ... chastised them." Koran lix, 3.

l.16. "and He is closer to us than our neck-vein." Cf. Koran l, 15: "and we are closer to him than his neck-vein."

P.168, l.14. Gurgan, i.e. "son-in-law." (M.Q.)

P.169, l.3. "after a time ye shall surely know his message." Koran xxxviii, 8.

1.10. Qar. Professor Minorsky suggests that for the قار of the text we should read قاز or قاز, i.e. باز, the native place of Firdawsi.

P.172, 1.4. "a level plain." Koran lv, 106.

Chapter XXIX

P.172, 11.14-15. "With somewhat of fear ... will we prove you." Koran ii, 50.

P.174, 1.17. Ulugh Noyon, i.e. Tuli (Tuluy).

11.22-24. 'It is sufficient ... be mentioned.' From Bashama b. Haz an-Nahshali. (M.Q.)

P.175, 11.2-3. whereof mention has been made at the beginning of this book. See pp. 40-41 of the Translation.

11.6-7. "Our father ... counsel." Vullers III 1639, 1.2352.

P.177, 1.4. Shibaqan. In the Jami' at-Tawarikh (ed. Blochet, p.92 and pp.114-120) he is everywhere called Shiban. He was the founder of the Shibani dynasty in Central Asia. (M.Q.)

1.11. Kelüren. So always in Juvayni for the correct Kerülen.

11.19-22. "Now we must drink ... to drink." Vullers, III 1630, 11.2372-3.

P.182, 11.6-7. "For the lion ... for a year." This verse is 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 Lutfullah b. al-Mu'afi. (M.Q.)

1.9. "Verily, we found our fathers with religion." Koran xliii, 22.

11.13-14. "God hath promised to them that fear him." Koran xiii, 33.

P.183, 1.11. Suntay. Probably a corruption of Subutay. (M.Q.)

Chapter XXX

P.184, 1.10. Khujatbunsagin. In Spruner Menke's Historical Atlas (plate No.87) the name of this town is spelt Koguigangui. (M.Q.)

1.11. Qara-mürän, i.e. the Black River, the Mongol name of the famous Chinese river, the Hoang Ho, i.e. the Yellow River, which now flows into the Gulf of Pechili but formerly disembogued a long way south of its present mouth. (M.Q.)

P.185, 1.7. Altun Khan, i.e. the Kin Emperor, altun like kin signifying "gold."

1.18-19. yay, that is the use of the rain-stone. The rain-stone according to the belief of the Mongol and Turkish tribes was a sort of stone possessed of extraordinary properties. By rubbing these stones together rain and snow could be produced in the heavens. The stone itself they called jada, jada-tash or yada, and the art of bringing down rain by the use of these stones yay, jadamishi or jadachigari, or yadachi. This superstition had been widely current amongst the Turkish and Mongol tribes since the earliest times and is mentioned in most historical and geographical works such as the Jami' at-Tawarikh of Rashid ad-Din; the Mujmal at-Tawarikh and the 'Aja'ib al-Makhlukat of Qazvini; the Raudat as-Safa; the Habib as-Siyar; the Matla' as-Sa'dayn of 'Abd ar-Razzaq of Samarqand; the Zafar-Nama of Sharaf ad-Din 'Ali of Yezd; the Tuzuk-i-Timuri; the Babur-Nama; the Prolegomena of Ibn Khaldun; and the Mu'jam al-Buldan of Yaqut under

Turkestan, etc. etc. Quatremère in his edition of part of the Jami' at-Tawarikh (pp.428-455) has given a most useful account of this practice and has also collected together most of the passages in which it is mentioned. (M.Q.)

P.186, 11.8-10. "and thou mightest have seen ... hollow palms." Koran lxix, 7.

11.18-19. "And the bodies ... the solid-hearted spear." From a qasida of Abu Ishaq Ibrahim b. 'Uthman al-Ghazzi, the well-known poet, in praise of Mukram b. al-'Ala, the ruler of Kerman. (M.Q.)

11.23-24. a hundred thousand men. This seems to be inconsistent with the five thousand men mentioned just before. The whole army numbered a hundred thousand men.

P.187, 11.3-5. "Hold back ... throttled." This too is from a qasida of Ibrahim b. 'Uthman al-Ghazzi, two bayts of which have already been quoted on p.63 (p.77 of the Translation). (M.Q.)

P.188, 1.1. Su-Moghul. Carpini calls them "Sumongol, that is, the Water-Mongols" (Komroff, Contemporaries of Marco Polo, p.34), and Rubruck speaks of "people called Su-Moal, that is, 'Moals of the waters,' for su in Tartar language means 'water' (ibid., p.164)."

Chapter XXXI

P.191, 1.19. the Kilar. Apparently the Poles are meant, Kilar being a corruption of the Polish król, "king,"

P192, 11.11-12. "When thou sojournest ... the bivouac." The opening line of a "hunting Mathnavi" by Abu Firas al-Hamdani, the famous poet. (M.Q.)

P.193, 11.5-6. "Such is ever the wont ... his decline." This bayt is also quoted in Vol. III 6, 1.4.

Chapter XXXII

P.195, 11.7-8. "When the king ... destruction." From Abul-Fath Busti. (M.Q.)

P.196, 11.1-2. "For the voice of the petitioner ... the melodies of music." From a qasida of Abu Tammam. (M.Q.)

11.20-23. "Come ... death." See Vullers I 61, 1.528 for the first line. The second line is not in Vullers.

P.197, 11.8-10. 'Where are the Khusraws? ... neither did they endure.' From Mutanabbi. (M.Q.)

P.199, 11.20-22. "And from his fair sword ... the careworn liberated." From a qasida by Ibrahim b. 'Uthman al-Ghazzi, the famous poet, in which he praises Abu 'Abdallah Mukram al-'Ala, the ruler of Kerman. (M.Q.)

P.202, 11.20-24. 'O caviller! ... rotten and decayed.' Attributed to Hatim Ta'i (Hamasa). (M.Q.)

P.203, 1.11. "These acts of generosity are not two cups of milk." From the well-known verses by Ummaya b. Abis-Salt ath-Thaqafi in praise of Sayf b. Dhi Yazan mentioned in a long story in the Kitab al-Aghani. (M.Q.)

P.204, 11.9-10. "And I tried him ... in the beginning." From a qasida by Ibn al-'Amid, the famous minister of the Buvayhids. (M.Q.)

P.205, 11.14-16. "Give then ... any excuses." Sharh al-Hamasa, Bulaq edition Vol. IV p.67. (M.Q.)

P.206, 11.1-3. "And thou didst load him ... the desert." From a qasida

by Ibrahim b. 'Uthman al-Ghazzi, the well-known poet. (M.Q.)

P.207, 11.4-6. "When our dirhems ... the good and lawful." From the Hamasa. (M.Q.)

11.13-14. "If heart and hand ... the king." The opening line of the famous qasida of Anvari in praise of Sultan Sanjar.

P.210, 11.3-6. "Others than I ... a ripe date." The second of these two bayts is ascribed to Dumyat al-Qasr to Abu Bakr 'Ali b. al-Hasan al-Quhistani. (M.Q.)

11.24-25. "When the petitioner ... impoverished himself." From a qasida by Ibrahim b. 'Uthman al-Ghazzi, a bayt of which has been quoted on p.169 (p.206, 11.17-18, of the Translation). (M.Q.)

P.212, 11.10-14. "And seekers after boons ... in his wonted way." From a qasida by Abu 'Ali al-Fadl b. Muhammad at-Tarasti. (M.Q.)

P.213, 11.3-4. "And name his benefits ... the necks of men." From Qadi Abul-Hasan Mu'ammal b. Khalil b. Ahmad al-Busti, a contemporary of the Ghaznavids.

11.14-15. "And had I bestowed ... the heavens." From Abul-Fath Busti. (M.Q.)

P.214, 11.3-4. "Kiss his fingers ... provisions." From Ibn Durayd. (M.Q.)

1.7. Qarshi, the name of one of his palaces.

1.12. qorchis. See qorchi in the Glossary.

11.20-22. "The claims of chivalry ... the generous." From Ibn Durayd. (M.Q.)

P.215, 11.10-11. "Thou art a guardian ... orphans." From a qasida of

Abu Tammam in praise of Ma'mun. (M.Q.)

1.23. ortags. See ortaq in the Glossary.

P.217, 11.6-7. "Only he gave ... that was strong." From Abul-Ghawth al-Manjibi. (M.Q.)

P.218, 11.13-15. "And what are the clouds ... a blameworthy person?" From Abu Dufafa al-Misri. (M.Q.)

P.219, 11.1-4. "O king of the age ... poverty." From Abul-Wafa ad-Damiyati. (M.Q.)

P.220, 1.24 - p.221, 1.2. "The son of Armak ... lunar mansion." From a qasida of Abu Salih Sahl b. Ahmad of Nishapur in praise of Abu Sa'd b. Armak.

P.221, 11.6-7. "On this account ... a pomegranate." From a qasida of al-Ghazzi, one bayt of which has already been quoted on p.163 (p.199 of the Translation). (M.Q.)

P.222, 1.25. xliiv. This story is recounted word for word in the Marzuban-Nama of Sa'd ad-Din Varavini, which was written nearly fifty years before the Jahan-Gushay. It is there told with reference to Dahak. See my edition of the Marzuban-Nama, pp.16-17. (M.Q.)

P.224, 11.1-3. "Vae tibi ... de capite." From Abus-Simt of Ra's-'Ayn.

11.21-22. "Riches know ... in a lasting abode." From Abul-Hasan 'Ali b. Muhammad of Tihama, the celebrated poet. (M.Q.)

p.226, 1.17. suluq See the Glossary.

P.227, 11.16-19. "And when there came ... Sadir." From a qasida of Abu Bakr Khwarazmi in praise of Abu 'Ali b. Simjur. (M.Q.)

Chapter XXXIII

P.235, 1.18. Quhistani, i.e. Abu Bakr 'Ali b. al-Hasan al-Quhistani, one of the notables of Ghazna and a contemporary of Sultan Mahmud. (M.Q.)

P.237, 11.4-7. "Between us and the rose ... in white eggs." From Abu Mansur Qasim b. Ibrahim al-Qa'ini, whose laqab was Buzurjmihir, one of the poets of Sultan Mahmud. (M.Q.)

Chapter XXXIV

P.237, 1.19. had not returned, reading nuzūl na-karda with The corresponding passage in the Jami' at-Tawarikh (ed. Blochet, p.232, 1.1) has farū na-y-āmada.

P.239, 1.20. he put the messengers to sleep, by making them drunk. The story is told in greater detail in the Jami' at-Tawarikh (ed. Blochet, pp.233-4).

11.21-25. "And I returned ... after me!" From Ta'abbata Sharran. (M.Q.)

P.241, 1.5. Qara-oghul. This is the same person as the Qara Hulagu of the Jami' at-Tawarikh (ed. Blochet, pp.173 and 184-5). He was the son of Matikan, the son of Chaghatay. (M.Q.)

Chapter XXXV

P.242, 11.15-16. the Holy Shrine, i.e. the present-day Meshed.

P.243, 1.7. Qadaq. Qadaq Noyon belonged to the Nayman tribe and was a Christian. He was Güyük's atabeg and tutor when he was a child; and when he succeeded to the Khanate he became his minister. (M.Q.)

P.244, 11.3-4. "One thou raisest up ... to the fishes." Vullers II 1003, 1.734.

1.10. Khawaja. Khawaja or Khwaja Oghul was the son of Guyuk Khan and his mother was Oghul Ghaymish Khatun. (M.Q.)

1.14. "Here is our money ... returned to us." Koran xii , 65.

11.18-19. "He slew his grandfather ... his proclamation." Vullers III 1277, 1.99.

P.245, 11.5-6. See the Majma' al-Amthal under the letter ya. (M.Q.)

11.7-8. "If it be silk ... thyself." Vullers I 122, 1.1042, where the two hemistichs are reversed.

11.21-23. From a qasida by Abu Ishaq al-Ghazzi. (M.Q.)

Chapter XXXVI

P.247, 1.22. Ilchitey. See p.145 (p.177 of the Translation). (M.Q.)

1.23. Qara. The afore-mentioned Qara-oghul.

1.24. Yisu. The fifth son of Chaghatay. In Vol. III he is called Yisu Mangu and in the Jami' at-Tawarikh (ed. Blochet, p.175) Yisu Möngke. Büri. A son of Mätikän, brother to the aforementioned Qara-oghul. Baydar. The sixth son of Chaghatay (Jami' at-Tawarikh ed. Blochet, pp.176-7).

Yesenbuga. The other son of Mätikän. (M.Q.)

P.248, 1.8. the Sultan of Takavor, i.e. the Armenian king of Cilicia. Juvayni mistakes his title (thagawor, "king") for the name of his territory. M.Q. has a long note on this subject at the end of Vol. III (pp.484-490).

11.23-24. "Because of the many tents ... on the plain." Vullers I 474, 1.652.

P.249, 1.4. Kütän. The second son of Ögedey Qa'an. (Jami' at-Tawarikh ed. Blochet, pp.5-6.) (M.Q.)

1.5. Shiramun. The son of Küchü, who was the third son of Ögedey and his heir-apparent. Küchü dying during his father's lifetime the latter made Shiramun his heir. (Jami' at-Tawarikh ed. Blochet, pp.6, 134 and 136). (M.Q.)

1.19. Hordo. A son of Chuchi.

P.250, 11.21-25. "To the tune of the strings ... opened their lips in song." Vullers I 472, 11.623-4.

P.251, 11.9-10. "Came strutting ... they came." Vullers I 465, 1.504.

11.13-14. "Donned imperial brocade ... the crown of greatness." Vullers III 1648, 1.2669.

11.16-17. "Came strutting ... behind him." Vullers III 1648, 1.2670.

11.21-24. "Began to praise the hero ... upon the throne!" " Vullers I 470, 11.571-2.

P.254, 1.2. "Read what thou hast written." Koran xvii, 15.

P.256, 11.5-6. "sought out an opening into the earth or a ladder into heaven." An adaptation of Koran xxxv, 6.

11.7-10. "I see no foeman ... lifeless." Vullers III 1637, 11.2492-3.

Chapter XXXVII

P.260, 1.13. boghtagh. See the Glossary.

P.262, 1.24 - p.263, 1.2. "Two things ... with loose bridle." From Husayn b. 'Ali al-Marwarudhi, who flourished under the Samanids. (M.Q.)

P.263, 11.12-13. "the aga and ini." See the Glossary.

Chapter XXXVIII

P.264, 1.6. Tushi. For Chuchi, as always in Juvayni.

1.15. Moks. Professor Minorsky thinks this is Moksh, i.e. the Moksha-Mordvans, the ancient Burtas.

1.17. the Etil, i.e. the Volga.

P.265, 1.10. the chapter on Mangu Qa'an. Vol. III 12-82.

1.15. Sartaq. A son of Batu. (M.Q.)

11.16-17. the inevitable state, i.e. Batu's death.

Chapter XXXIX

P.266, 1.2. Bulghar. Bulghar seems to be used for both the town and the people. In the latter case I omit the article.

1.22. the city of Moks. "D'Ohsson identifies Mocoss with Moscow. He may be right. I would, however, observe that Moscow at the time spoken of was not a large and populous city." (Bretschneider, Mediaeval Researches from Eastern Asiatic Sources, I 314n.) It may well be, of course, that Juvayni means the city of the Moksh, i.e. the Moksha-Mordvans. See the note on Moks, p.264, 1.15.

Chapter XL

P.267, 11.8-9. the Kilar and the Bashghird, i.e. the Poles and the Hungarians.

1.23. Batu went up on to a hilltop. Cf. p.76, 11.11-15.

P.268, 1.3. A large river. "Apparently the Sayo." (Bretschneider, op.cit., I 329.)

P.270, 1.4. qorchis and kebte'üls. See qorchi and kebte'ül in the Glossary.

11.9-10. his eldest son ... having been killed at Bamiyan. See p.105 (p.130 of the Translation). (M.Q.)

1.10. Qara, i.e. Qara Hulagu. (M.Q.)

P.271, 1.16. To him also Fate gave no quarter. According to the more detailed account of Rashid al-Din, Urqina, the wife of Qara Hulagu, after her husband had died on the homeward journey, put Yisu to death by order of Mōngke Qa'an and for ten years ruled the ulus of Chaghatay in her husband's stead. (M.Q.)

1.18. And when Qara returned. This is inconsistent not only with the facts but with the author's own statement a few lines before. (M.Q.)

P.272, 1.13. her pill, i.e. hab-ash, which can also be read Habash.

P.273, 11.14-18. "O Time ... one noble man?" From Abul-Faraj b. Abi Hasan, the qadi of Aleppo. (M.Q.)
