

THE HISTORY  
OF THE  
WORLD-CONQUEROR

by

'Ala-ad-Din 'Ata-Malik

JUVAINI

*Joveyni 'Ala al-Din 'Ata Malek*

Translated  
from the text of

Mirza Muhammad

QAZVINI

by

JOHN ANDREW BOYLE, Ph.D.

VOL. I

HARVARD UNIVERSITY PRESS  
CAMBRIDGE, MASSACHUSETTS

1958

## THE WORLD-CONQUEROR

too received a royal maiden in marriage. And when Chingiz-Khan marched against the Sultan's empire, he joined him with his men and rendered him great assistance. One of Arslan-Khan's children is still alive. Mengü Qa'an gave him the fief of Özkend<sup>6</sup> 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,<sup>1</sup> the son of the Emir Husain and Ahmad Balchikh,<sup>2</sup> decided to journey together to the countries of the East, and having assembled an immeasurable quantity of merchandise—gold-embroidered fabrics, cottons, *zandanichi*<sup>3</sup> and whatever else they

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

<sup>6</sup> Apparently Özkend on the Syr Darya. See above, p. 64, n. 9.

<sup>1</sup> Now Leninabad in Tajikistan.

<sup>2</sup> The spelling is uncertain. The text has BALHYH.

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

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

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

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

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

When the party arrived at Orar, the governor of that town was one Inalchug,<sup>4</sup> who was a kinsman of the Sultan's mother, Terken Khatur,<sup>5</sup> and had received the title of Chayir-Khan.<sup>6</sup> Now amongst the merchants was an Indian who had been acquainted with the governor in former times. He now addressed the latter simply as Inalchug; 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 Chayir-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

<sup>4</sup> The text has AYNAL J̄Q, B AYNAL J̄WQ and E AYNAL ĆWQ. It is the diminutive form of the Turkish word *inal*. 'On remarquera que *inal* signifie 'prince' en jaghatai (à peu près comme *inal*) et pourrait donc être en soi un titre aussi bien qu'un nom.' (Pelliot, *Notes sur le "Turkestan"* de M. Barthold, 52-3.)

<sup>5</sup> I.e. Princess Terken (or Tergen, spelt TRKAN). On this Turkish name or title see Pelliot-Hambs, *Campagnes*, 89-91.

<sup>6</sup> I.e. 'the Mighty Khan', *ghayir* or rather *qayir* being the Turkmen (Turkoman) equivalent of the Eastern *qadir*.

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

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

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

*Our property was plunder, and our hopes in vain; our affairs  
in a state of anarchy, and our counsels but the advice of  
one another.*

*And they drove away our beasts of burden and led off our  
chargers beneath loads that crushed their saddles,  
Loads of furniture, clothing, money and goods; what had  
been acquired by purchase and stored up in treasures.  
To this bath Fate condemned some of her people; the  
calamities of some appear a feast to others.*

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

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

Now it is a fully established fact that whoever sows a dry root never reaps any harvest therefrom, while whoever plants the sapling of opposition by common consent gathers the fruit thereof, namely repentance and regret. And so the bearded 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 Kuchlüg and Tog-Toghan had settled and the thought of them had been dismissed from his mind, he equipped and instructed his sons, the great emirs, the *noyans* and the thousands, hundreds and tens, disposed the two wings and the vanguard, proclaimed a new *yasa*, and in the year 615/1218-19 commenced the march—

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

### THE WORLD-CONQUEROR

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.<sup>8</sup>

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

He writhed in agony and then heaved a sigh ; he  
ceased to think of good or ill.<sup>9</sup>

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.<sup>10</sup>

### [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*<sup>1</sup> it is stated on the  
authority of Huzaifa b. al-Yaman of Merv that the Apostle of  
God (*God be gracious to him and grant him peace !*) said : ' There  
shall be conquered a city in Khorasan beyond a river which is called  
the Oxus ; which city is named Bokhara. It is encompassed with

<sup>8</sup> *Shahnama* ed. Vullers, 488, ll. 502-3. See also the Introduction, pp. xxix  
and xxxii.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, 503, l. 1155.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, 489, l. 924.

<sup>1</sup> The work of the celebrated Arab geographer, Yaqut, a contemporary of  
Juvaini.

God's mercy and surrounded by His angels; its people are Heaven-aided; and whoso shall sleep upon a bed therein shall be like him that draweth his sword in the way of God. And beyond it lieth a city which is called Samargand, wherein is a fountain of the fountains of Paradise, and a tomb of the tombs of the prophets, and a garden of the gardens of Paradise; its dead, upon the Resurrection Day, shall be assembled with the martyrs. And beyond this city there lieth holy ground, which is called Qatavan,<sup>2</sup> wherefrom there shall be sent seventy thousand martyrs, each of whom shall intercede for seventy of his family and kinsfolk.<sup>3</sup> 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 Samargand, 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

<sup>2</sup> The reference is to the disastrous defeat of Sultan Sanjar the Seljuq by the Qara-Khitai in 1141 on the Qatavan steppe to the east of Samargand. See Barthold, *Turkistan*, 326. It was the news of this victory over the Moslems that gave rise in Europe to the legend of Prester John.

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

In accordance with the general expectation the ruins of those countries were placed in the competent hands of the Great Minister Yalavach and his dutiful son the Emir Mas'ud Beg.<sup>3</sup> 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 (*mūdān*) in the levies (*hasbar*) and the *cherig*<sup>4</sup> as also the burdens and superfluities of occasional imposts (*awārizān*). 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.

## [XVII]

## 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.<sup>1</sup> Its environs are adorned with the brightness of the light of doctors and jurists and its

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

<sup>4</sup> The Turco-Mongol word *cherig* 'soldier', 'army' (it forms the second element of *jānisary*, in Ottoman Turkish *yeni cheri*, 'the new army') is used by Juwaini in the sense of irregular forces collaborating with the Mongols.

<sup>1</sup> I.e. Baghdad.