

sovereign, and our Author also received approbation and reward for his services in this matter.

At the beginning of the month of Dhu'l-Hijja, A. H. 680 (= March 13, 1282) our Author set out for the Royal Camp (then located at Hamadán) in the company of the envoys who had been sent to Baghdád to bring him thither. On crossing the pass of Asadábád, near Hamadán on the 20th of the above-mentioned month (= April 1, 1282), he was met by some of Abáqá's courtiers, who informed him that on the previous day that sovereign, convinced of the falseness of the charges brought against him by his detractors, and moved by the representations of his friends at court, had bestowed upon him gifts and estates, and had released his dependents from the bondage to which they had been consigned. But ere he reached the walls of Hamadán he saw King's messengers hastening hither and thither, none knowing what this portended, until, on entering the city, he learned that Abáqá had died on the very day when the courtiers met him with good news near Asadábád. Two days later the chief nobles, with the Princes and ladies of the Court, set out for Marágha to choose a successor to the throne. Some of the nobles, influenced by back-biters and mischief-makers, decided that in these changed circumstances it was inexpedient to release our Author, or to allow him to proceed to Marágha, so he was again detained at Hamadán.

In a short while, however, messengers arrived to announce the accession to the throne of Sulţán Aĥmad Takúdar¹⁾

1) The editor, Mírzá Muĥammad, in a long note on pp. Lii—Liii of the Persian Introduction, shows on the evidence of several contemporary historians, notably the Armenian Hayton (who wrote about A. H. 705) and the Arabian chroniclers an-Nuwayrî (d. A. H. 732) and Shihábu'd-Dîn Aĥmad ad-Dimashbí (d. A. H. 749), that Takúdar, not Nikúdar (a form in which the name occurs in many Persian histories) is the correct pronunciation. He is generally stated to have received the name of Aĥmad when he embraced Islám, but Ibn Tagĥrî-bardî assigns another reason. His short reign lasted only from Muĥarram 26, A. H. 681 to Jumáda i, 26, A. H. 683 (= May 6, 1282 to August 10, 1284).

the results of such an enquiry to themselves, strove to secure his detention at Baghdád, and, if possible, to compass his death, since he had no longer any possessions left for them to plunder. Thus they kept him for about a month in Baghdád, putting off Abáqá's messengers on various pretexts, while they endeavoured to concoct a case against him and to suborn false witnesses to support it. In particular they secured certain Arab couriers whom 'Alá'u'd-Dín had employed for communicating with the desert tribes, and, partly by bribery, partly by threats, induced them to give evidence in support of their accusations.

The actual facts were as follows. In the beginning of this year (A. H. 680 = April 1281), on the death of Bunduqdár (*i. e.* al-Malik az-Záhir Baybars), dissensions had broken out amongst the Egyptian *Amirs*, one party being headed by Sunqur-i-Ashqar and a number of the Turkish *Bahri Amirs*, together with 'Isá b. Muhanná, *Amir* of the Arabs of Syria and Beyrout, while the other party was led by al-Malik al-Manşúr Sayfu'd-Dín Qalá'un aš-Şálihi, known as al-Alfi, who was actually ruling over those lands at the time when our Author compiled this treatise. At this juncture news came that a regiment of Bahri Turks, a remnant of the Egyptian army left near the Euphrates, had reached 'Ana, and 'Alá'u'd-Dín, as a precautionary measure, and with a view to ascertaining their intentions, sent an ambassador to them, inviting Sunqur-i-Ashqar and Amír 'Isá to give their allegiance to Abáqá. As this messenger happened to arrive just after they had sustained a severe defeat at the hands of al-Alfi and his followers, they received this proposal not merely favourably but enthusiastically, and Amír 'Isá sent his brother with the ambassador to Baghdád, whence he was sent on to Abáqá in the company of certain trustworthy retainers of 'Alá'u'd-Dín. Favours and honours were conferred on the Turkish envoy and on Sunqur-i-Ashqar by the Mongol

treasure-hunters pursued their quest, torturing his confidential servants and digging up even the graves of his children and kinsfolk who were buried in a collége which he had built in Baghdád. Finding nowhere any trace of buried treasure, they seized the carpets and other fabrics placed over the tombs, and all such furniture and vessels as they found in the college, and even such clothes, food and drink as they found in 'Alá'u'd-Dín's house, from which they transferred him to the Qaşr-i-Musanná, subjecting him throughout to every species of indignity. Finally, seeing that nothing more was to be squeezed out of him, they returned to Abáqá Khán to report their proceedings. At this juncture a number of the Mongol princes and princesses, especially Abáqá's brother Qúnqurátáy, and the Princess Búlúghún Khátún (Abáqá's favourite wife), came forward on our Author's behalf and begged on their bended knees that he might be spared from further punishment and vexation; and on Thursday, Ramađán 4, A. H. 680 (= A. D. Dec. 17, 1281), Abáqá was persuaded to set him free from prison and bonds.

Here ends the narrative contained in the *Tasliyatul-Ikhwán*. It is continued as follows in the other untitled treatise mentioned above.

Majdu'l-Mulk and his co-adjutors, having failed to discover any evidence in support of the baseless charges brought by them against 'Alá'u'd-Dín 'Atá Malik, and being afraid that their unsupported calumnies might presently recoil on their own heads, began to renew their former accusations against him as to his alleged intrigues and correspondence with the Sultáns of Egypt and Syria. To this end they suborned certain unprincipled Christians, and, having instructed them as to what they should say, followed Abáqá Khán to Khániqín to lay their trumped-up charge before him. He ordered 'Alá'u'd-Dín to be brought to the Royal Camp, so that he might be confronted with his accusers, who, however, fearing

brief, I accompanied the commissioners from Takrít to Baghdád, where I handed over to them everything that was in my house and treasury, gold and silver, precious stones and plate, clothes, and in short everything that I had either inherited or acquired, down to utensils of copper and earthenware, together with my estates, houses, baths, slaves, cattle, and in short everything to which could be applied the name of property... Thereafter I gave a declaration in writing that if hereafter so much as a single *dirham* should be found in my possession I should be held to account and punished.

“My brother, who was in attendance on the King, was so moved by compassion and sympathy that he could not continue his attendance, but sought leave of absence and followed me to Baghdád. On his arrival there he showed greater zeal than any one else in raising more money; so that the King might be pleased, and this troublesome knot might be unravelled. First of all he brought forth all the vessels of gold and silver and all the jewels and precious stones which were in his house and in the houses of his children, and presented them to Abáqá Khán; then he approached certain nobles and persons of consequence, and endeavoured to raise from them as large a loan as possible. When he had borrowed all that was possible, and Abáqá Khán's cavalcade had reached Dujayl, he loaded up all the jewels, clothing, stuffs and vessels of gold and silver which he deemed worthy of the King's acceptance and went out with them to meet him.” Yet since all these things did not amount to one tenth part of the sums which our Author was accused of having embezzled, his brother's efforts had at most a merely palliative effect, and Abáqá Khán ordered that Taghájár *Yárghúchtí* and Majdu'l-Mulk should proceed with other fiscal officers to Baghdád in order to look for the treasures which 'Alá'u'd-Din 'Atá-Malik was supposed to have buried. 'Alá'u'd-Din was subjected to solitary confinement in his house while the

to examine his accounts had found that he owed 250 *tumans* of gold (*i. e.* two and a half millions of *dinárs*) to the Treasury. For this deficit, greatly exaggerated by the malice of his foes, the Author declares that he was not responsible. The whole matter had been investigated before Abáqá at the time, and 'Alá'u'd-Dín completely exculpated, so that he received a reward from the King and was sent back to his government, nor had there been any further insinuation against him in this respect until the present revival of this old and baseless charge. Now, however, Abáqá had been firmly persuaded that 'Alá'u'd-Dín had actually embezzled cash to the amount of this deficit and buried it in his house. About this time Abáqá sent a large army against Syria under the command of his brother Mangú Tímúr, while he himself set out on a hunting-expedition towards the winter-quarters of Baghdád, visiting Irbil, Moşul, and thence towards Raḥba in Syria. On the way he halted for a while by the village of Dayr Asír, whence he turned back towards Baghdád, sending the bulk of his followers to join his brother's army, while our Author preceded him to make the necessary arrangements for accomodation and commissariat. This was at the beginning of the month of Rajab, A. H. 680 (= October 16, 1281).

On the very day of 'Alá'u'd-Dín's departure from the Royal Camp Majdu'l-Mulk revived the old charge, and Abáqá at once ordered a number of his *amírs* to follow 'Alá'u'd-Dín and investigate the matter. They overtook him at Takrít and informed him of Abáqá's orders. "I realized", says 'Alá'u'd-Dín, "that the matter was serious, that the statements of prejudiced persons had produced a deep impression on the King's mind, and that the demand for these 'residues' was merely an excuse for obtaining the money they purposed to take from me, with which money, as they vainly imagined, the water-tanks in my house were filled. To be

The first was composed in A. H. 680 (= A. D. 1281—2), the second in the following year, which was the last of our Author's life, and the two together furnish us with the most authentic materials for this portion of his biography. Both were freely used by the authors of the *Ta'rikh-i-Wassâf* and the *Rawdatu's-Safâ*, but not by Quatremère in his biography of our Author published in the *Mines d'Orient*, for when he wrote (in A. D. 1809) the two MSS. in question had not yet been acquired by the Bibliothèque Nationale. An abridged account of their contents may, therefore, with propriety be given in this place.

In the *Tasliyatul-Ikhwân* the Author says that his enemies (*i. e.* Majdu'l-Mulk and his confederates) declared that though the receipts of the province of Baghdâd exceeded the expenditure by a yearly sum of twenty *timans* of gold (*i. e.* 200,000 *dinars*), no part of this was paid into the Imperial Treasury, and that during the ten years of 'Ala'u'd-Din's administration he had amassed a sum of two hundred *timans* (two million *dinars*) which was really the property of his Royal master. "Although it was known to all", says the Author, "that these charges were baseless, and that the existence of the above-mentioned balance was entirely false and fictitious, I nevertheless agreed to pay this sum, simply in order to save myself and many of my friends from shameful and degrading squabbles with these wretches." At this time, according to our Author's statement, a sum of money approximately equal to that demanded of him was actually due to him from the Treasury, and he proposed to set one against the other, abandoning his claim on the Treasury in consideration of its alleged claim on him being abandoned. His enemies, fearing that by this means he might escape the ruin they designed for him, at once formulated a fresh claim against him, declaring that in A. H. 669 (= A. D. 1270—1), that is twelve years previously, a commission sent to Baghdâd

To this the *Şâhib-Diwân* sent the following reply:

*"Since to the King complaints we may not bear
Much anguish to consume shall be our share.
Through this design on which thou hast embarked
Thy face and neck alike shall crimson wear."*

When Majdu'l-Mulk saw that his intrigues failed to affect the *Şâhib-Diwân's* position, he turned his attention to his brother 'Alâ'u'd-Din 'Aṭâ Malik, and began to try by every means to compass his ruin.

About this time, namely in Rabi' i, A. H. 680 (= June-July, A. D. 1281), 'Alâ'u'd-Din 'Aṭâ Malik came from Baghdâd to Abâqâ's court at Tabrîz, bringing with him two chests of gold. He found himself at once in a world of intrigue and back-biting. Even his former friends and *protégés* had for the most part succumbed to the influence of Majdu'l-Mulk and his creatures, and had turned against him, accepting and repeating all sorts of calumnies concerning him. Thus Majdu'd-Din ibnu'l-Athîr, who, as we have seen, was one of 'Alâ'u'd-Din's special friends and confidential advisers, began openly to ask of him in public, "How much do you get from such-and-such a place?" or "from So-and-so?" So Shamsu'd-Din, seeing how critical was the state of affairs, sent to his brother, saying: "Do not deny what they say, lest worse trouble ensue, for, as one of the Arab poets has said, 'May God not bless wealth which is retained after honour is lost.'"

Towards the end of his life 'Alâ'u'd-Din composed two remarkable tracts describing the misfortunes which had befallen him, one named *Tasliyatul-Ikhwân* ("the Consolation of the Brethren"), and the other, which is complementary to it, without any special title. Both these tracts are fortunately preserved in manuscript in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, the first at the end of one MS. of the *Jahângushây* (Supplément persan 1556, ff. 220b—231a), the second at the beginning of another (Supplément persan 206, ff. 1b—41b).

His Majesty will place me under the protection of one of his nobles who will protect me from his malice, or else order me to leave the kingdom". Abáqá declared in reply: "Although I have rewarded the *Şáhib-Diwán*, I am not displeased with Majdu'l-Mulk. Let him remain in attendance on the Royal camp, and attach himself to Taghájár and Urdú-Qayá". This Majdu'l-Mulk accordingly did, and, in conjunction with Şadru 'd-Dín Zanjání, continued to watch for some opportunity to pursue his malicious schemes, till, in the spring of A. H. 679 (= A. D. 1280—1) it was ordered by Abáqá that he should superintend the administration of the Empire from the Oxus to the Egyptian frontier and share the government with the *Şáhib-Diwán*. This order was publicly read in the idol-temple of Marágha in the presence of all the princes, ladies of the court, and Mongol nobles, all of whom exclaimed that never before had a Mongol sovereign given such authority to a "Tájik" (*i. e.* a Persian). Abáqá Khán then bade Majdu'l-Mulk to be prudent and well informed in all affairs appertaining to the domains and revenues of the kingdom, to encourage his agents to acquaint themselves with everything that went on, to walk warily and on no account oppose the wishes of the Court, and to trust in him (Abáqá) to protect him against all enemies. Seeing Majdu'l-Mulk thus honoured and exalted by Abáqá, all men began to do him homage and seek his favour, and the prestige of the *Şáhib-Diwán* underwent a corresponding eclipse. Majdu'l-Mulk now felt himself in a position to offer open defiance to his rival, to whom he sent the following quatrain:

*"Into the Ocean of thy grief I'll dive,
And either drown, or pearls to gather strive;
'Tis hard to fight with thee, yet fight I will,
And die red-throated, or red-cheeked survive."* ¹⁾

1) *i. e.* either lose his head or survive with honour. "Red-checked" or "red-faced" (*sarkh-rúy*) means honourable, the opposite of "black-faced" (*siyáh-rúy*).

privately communicated the statement to his father Abaqa, who commanded the informer to keep silence until measures should be adopted to meet the case.

Abáqá, on reaching Tabríz, proceeded to Arrán (Qaribágh) to spend the winter, and came in the following spring (A. H. 678 = A. D. 1279—80) to Sharwiyáz¹). There he had a secret interview with Majdu'l-Mulk, with the aid of Amír Taghájár and his confidential adviser Şadru'd-Dín Zanjání, in the bath at Ribát-i-Muslim, and repeated, with amplifications, what he had already communicated through Arghún. Abáqá was greatly incensed against the *Şáhib-Diwán*, and sent messengers throughout the kingdom to bring in his agents and their registers for examination in the Royal presence. The *Şáhib-Diwán* appealed for protection to 'Uljay Khátún (the wife of Hülágú and mother of Mangú-Tímúr, and afterwards, according to the odious practice of the Mongols, the wife of Hülágú's son Abáqá), and wrote a declaration that all the estates and goods which he had bought during this period were the King's property. Provided with this document, 'Uljay Khátún succeeded in removing Abáqá's suspicions and appeasing his wrath, so that the *Şáhib-Diwán* was for the time being delivered from danger, and his agents suffered to return unmolested to their posts.

Majdu'l-Mulk was greatly disconcerted at the failure of his intrigues, and wrote a representation in which he said: "Since the King has conferred gifts upon the *Şáhib-Diwán*, he will not spare me for a moment; therefore I hope that

1) This place, of which the vocalization of the name is uncertain, was situated not far from Zanján, in or near the plain of Sulţániyya, which the Mongols called Qunqúr Ulang, a name also applied to Sulţániyya itself. The editor quotes numerous passages in which mention is made of Sharwiyáz from the *Ráhatu'l-Şudur* of ar-Ráwandi (*Suppl. Persian*, 1314), *Jámi'u'l-Tawárikh*, 'Abdu'láhi Káshání's History of Uljaytú (*Suppl. Persian*, 1419), the *Niháyatu'l-Irab fi Funún'l-Adab* of Ahmad b. 'Abdu'l-Wahháb al-Qurashí an-Nuwayzí, Ibn Taghri-bardi's *al-Manhálu'l-Şáfi*, and the *Tá'rikh-i-Waqqáf*. Quatremère (*Mémoires d'Orient*, p. 229) has substituted "Tabríz" for "Sharwiyáz".

he is in league with the Sultans of Egypt, and that it was at his instigation that Mu'īnu'd-Dīn Parwāna ¹⁾ aided Bunduqdār ²⁾ (who raided Asia Minor and defeated the Mongols in A. H. 675 = A. D. 1276—7) to compass the destruction of the Mongol generals Tūqū ³⁾, Tūdān Bahādur and Arqatū. His brother 'Alā'u'd-Dīn 'Atā Malik has taken possession of the kingdom of Baghdād, has caused to be made for himself a jewelled crown worthy of a king, and has amassed treasures exceeding computation. If the King (Abāqā) will protect and befriend me, I will establish the fact that the *Ṣāhib-Dīwān* has obtained possession of four hundred *tūmāns* (*i. e.* four million *dinārs*) worth of the King's estates, and has also amassed two thousand *tūmāns* (*i. e.* twenty million *dinārs*) in cash, flocks and herds; while may I be accounted a sinner and die if all the treasures of the King, with what has been brought to him from Baghdād and the Castles of the Assassins, exceeds one thousand *tūmāns* (*i. e.* ten million *dinārs*). And because I am aware of these facts he has given me the government of Sīwās, a large sum of money in cash, and an order on the treasury for ten thousand *dinārs* to pay for my silence." Of the latter portion of his statement Majdu'l-Mulk was able to produce proofs to Arghūn, who

1) Mu'īnu'd-Dīn Sulaymān b. 'Alī b. Muḥammad, called Parwāna, was originally a school-master, but by his energy raised himself to the position of Minister to the Seljūqs of Rūm. He subsequently possessed himself of their domains and made peace with the Mongols, but in A. H. 675 (A. D. 1276—7), when al-Maliku'z-Zāhir Baybars or Bunduqdār raided Asia Minor and killed many of the Mongol governors, he was suspected of complicity with the Egyptians, and was put to death by Abāqā with many others in A. H. 676. He was hacked limb from limb and his flesh, boiled in a cauldron, was eaten by the enraged Mongols. His biography is given in Ibn Taghri-hardī's *al-Manḥatū'z-Ṣāfi* (Bibl. Nat., Fonds Arabe 2070, vol. iii, f. 100).

2) *i. e.* Al-Malik az-Zāhir Ruknu'd-Dīn Baybars, one of the Bahri Mamelukes, who ruled Egypt from A. H. 658—676 (= A. D. 1260—78).

3) Tūqū or Tūqūn was the son of 'Ilkā Nūyān; Tūdān was the son of Sudūn Nūyān of the Saldūs tribe, and the grandfather of the celebrated Amīr Chūpān.

Juwaynī family were secretly partisans of the Sultan of Egypt, and were conspiring to bring him against the Mongols and put him in possession of Baghdād. Yisū Būqa in turn transmitted this report to Abāqā, who ordered Majdu 'd-Dīn ibnu'l-Athīr to be arrested and put to the question, but five hundred blows with the sticks failed to elicit any admission of guilt, and he was finally handed over to Shamsu 'd-Dīn the *Ṣāhib-Diwān*.

Anxious by all possible means to propitiate so malicious and dangerous an enemy as Majdu'l-Mulk, the *Ṣāhib-Diwān* appointed him governor of Sīwās in Asia Minor, and, knowing his resources to be slender, further bestowed upon him a considerable sum in cash, an order on the local exchequer for 10,000 *dinārs*, and a ruby of great value. Yet, notwithstanding this, Majdu'l-Mulk, animated alike by hatred of his patron and fear of the consequences of his treachery, attached himself to Yisū Būqā, and continued his endeavours to vex and annoy Shamsu'd-Dīn and 'Alā'u'd-Dīn, while awaiting some opportunity of compassing their destruction.

About the beginning of Dhu'l-Qa'da, A. H. 678 (= March 4, 1280) Abāqā Khān set out from Tabrīz for Khurāsān. When he reached Qazwin his son Arghūn came out to meet him. To that prince, by means of one of his courtiers named Abājī, Majdu'l-Mulk obtained access, and stated that for more than a year he had been anxious to communicate certain matters to the sovereign, but that, whenever he had attempted to do so by means of the nobles and courtiers, the *Ṣāhib-Diwān* had discovered his intention, and, by means of bribes, had frustrated it. "I thought," he continued, "that if the nobles were willing to sell the King's interest for a bribe, the Prince would not do so, therefore am I come to declare that the income derived by the *Ṣāhib-Diwān* from the king's realms is equal to that which the king himself receives, and that so far does his ingratitude extend that

and who was bold enough to write a letter to Abāqā Khān suggesting the dismissal of 'Alā'u'd-Dīn 'Aṭā Malik. The latter, however, determined to get rid of his antagonist, and caused him to be assassinated. The murderers then took refuge in a place agreed upon between them and 'Alā'u'd-Dīn 'Aṭā Malik, who, however, instead of affording them protection, caused them all to be put to death, and then confiscated the goods, estates and property of Ibnu'ṭ-Ṭiḡṭaqī¹). To these circumstances was due the enmity of the author of the *Kitābu'l-Fakhrī* towards 'Alā'u'd-Dīn, whom he never mentions save to criticize or condemn²).

Another and much more serious attempt to discredit and ruin our Author was made by his rival Majdu'l-Mulk of Yazd, of which the details are as follows:

Majdu'l-Mulk, son of Ṣafīyyu'l-Mulk of Yazd, was for some time *wazīr* to the Atābeks of that city, and was in the service of Khwāja Bahā'u'd-Dīn Muḥammad the son of Shamsu'd-Dīn Juwaynī at Iṣfahān. He eventually succeeded in entering the service of the latter, who promoted him and employed him in several important capacities, such as the superintendence of the census of Georgia. After a while Majdu'l-Mulk, thinking himself slighted, returned to Yazd, and again took service with Bahā'u'd-Dīn, by whose influence he was appointed for a while to some post in Asia Minor. On his return thence he again entered the service of Shamsu'd-Dīn. It chanced one day that Majdu'd-Dīn Ibnu'l-Athīr, the confidential adviser and adjutant of 'Alā'u'd-Dīn 'Aṭā Malik, being in his company, spoke to him of the greatness of the Sulṭān of Egypt and the efficiency and excellent discipline of his army. Majdu'i-Mulk at once seized upon these remarks and reported them to Yisú Būqā Gūrgān, declaring that the

1) These events are recorded in the *Umdatul-Jalīb fi Ansābi 'Alī b. Abī Jalīb* of Jamālu'd-Dīn Aḥmad b. 'Alī, who died in A. H. 828 (= A. D. 1425).

2) See pp. 22—3, 75, 148, 239—241 of Derenbourg's edition.

year longer during the brief reign of Sulṭān Aḥmad Takūdar. During this period his enemies and envious strove on several occasions to compass his downfall, but vainly, on account of the high degree of confidence which he enjoyed with the Mongol rulers.

One such attempt was made by a Mongol magistrate of Baghdād named Qarábúqa and his confidential adviser Ishāq the Armenian, who suborned one of the Bedouin Arabs to spread the report that 'Alá'u'd-Dín had summoned him from the desert to guide him to Syria, whither he intended to flee with his family, dependents and possessions. On account of the mutual enmity and suspicion existing at this period between the Mongols and the Mameluke rulers of Egypt and Syria, no more dangerous accusation could be levelled against a subject of either state than that of being in correspondence with the other. Qarábúqa and Ishāq, therefore, being assured that the Arab had satisfactorily acquitted himself of his task, surrounded the house of 'Aṭá Malik, arrested him, and brought him with the Arab to Abáqá's camp. There, however, the Arab, being subjected to torture, confessed that his statements were pure calumny and invention, and that he had been prompted to make them by the aforesaid Ishāq, who was accordingly put to death, together with the Arab ¹).

Another attempt to ruin our Author was made by the Sharíf and Naqibu'n-Nuqabá Táju'd-Dín 'Alí b. Muḥammad b. Ramaḍán al-Ḥasaní al-'Alawí, better known as Ibnu't-Ṭiḡṭaḡí (father of Ṣafíyyu'd-Dín Muḥammad ibnu't-Ṭiḡṭaḡí, author of the *Kitábu'l-Fakhrí* ²), an influential and wealthy notable of 'Iráq, who had grown rich on farming the crown lands,

¹) See pp. 497—8 of the *Mukhtaṣaru'd-Diwál* (Beyrout edition) an abridged Arabic version made by Barhebraeus (Abu'l-Faraj b. al-'Ibrí) of his larger Syriac chronicle.

²) See p. xx *supra*.

students and theologians at Mashhad ('Alī¹) in Najaf, and in short, thanks to his enlightened and generous administration, these lands, laid waste by the Mongol irruption, speedily began to return to their former prosperity, and even, according to the historian adh-Dhahabī, to surpass it. Agriculture was eagerly pursued and the revenues of 'Irāq-i-'Arab were doubled.

While 'Alā'u'd-Dīn 'Aṭā Malik was governor of Baghdād, one Dinḥā, the Catholicus of the Nestorian Christians of that city, arrested a certain Christian who had been converted to Islām, and wished to have him drowned in the Tigris. A riot was threatened, and 'Alā'u'd-Dīn sent the leading citizens several times to wait on the Catholicus and ask him to surrender to them this convert to Islām, but he obstinately refused to do so. Finally the people attacked his house and set fire to the doors with the object of capturing him and cutting him in pieces, but he was rescued by 'Alā'u'd-Dīn, who sent some of his officers to rescue the Catholicus and bring him by a door overlooking the Tigris to his own palace²).

Two or three years after this event 'Alā'u'd-Dīn was suddenly attacked by several of the Assassins while he was out riding. The wounds which they inflicted on him, however, were not serious and were soon healed, while the assailants were at once seized and put to death.

'Alā'u'd-Dīn acted as governor of Baghdād for about twenty-four years, six years in the reign of Hūlāgū (A. H. 657—63 = A. D. 1259—65), seventeen years (A. H. 663—80 = A. D. 1265—81) during the reign of Abāqā, and about a

1) M. Ch. Schefer in the French portion of vol. ii of his *Chrestomathie persane*, p. 139, ll. 23—27, has fallen into the error of supposing that the reference is to Mashhad in Khurāsān.

2) This incident, reported by Barhebræus in his Syriac Chronicle, is cited by Quatremère in the *Mines d'Orient*, pp. 225—6.

and concerns of that kingdom to the writer of these occurrences, giving him a free hand in the control of affairs and the direction of public policy."

This explicit statement of our Author shows that Rashidu 'd-Din and other historians are in error when they state that Húlágú conferred the government of Baghdád on him in A. H. 661 (= A. D. 1262—3), in the same year in which his brother Shamsu'd-Din Muḥammad Juwayní was made Prime Minister after the execution of his predecessor Sayfu 'd-Din Bitikjí.

Húlágú died on the 19th of Rabi' ii, A. H. 663 (= Feb. 8, 1265), and was succeeded on the 3rd of Ramaḍán following (June 19) by his son Abáqá, who retained Shamsu'd-Din Muḥammad Juwayní as Prime Minister, and appointed Súnjác (or Súghúnjác) Aqá, one of the great Mongol nobles, governor of Baghdád and Fárs, with our Author as his lieutenant, and Shamsu'd-Din's son Bahá'u'd-Din Muḥammad as governor of Ispahán and most of 'Iráq-i-'Ajam. During the seventeen years of Abáqá's reign (A. H. 663—80 = A. D. 1264—81) 'Alá'u'd-Din 'Aḩá Malik retained this position, being nominally deputy-governor for Súnjác and actually governor of Baghdád and 'Iráq-i-'Arab. His efforts were constantly directed to furthering the prosperity of the lands over which he held sway and the well-being of their inhabitants. He lightened the taxes by which the peasants and villagers were oppressed, and exerted himself to bring barren land under cultivation and to create new villages and watercourses. From the Euphrates he cut a canal from Anbar (ten parasangs west of Baghdád) to Kúfa and Najaf, and on this work alone expended more than 100,000 *dinárs* of red gold, founding one hundred and fifty villages on the banks of this canal, and converting the hitherto desert land lying between these two places into verdant and smiling groves and pastures. He also constructed a hostel (*ribát*) for

In A. H. 655 (= A. D. 1257) Húlágú, having completed the destruction of the Assassins, set out to conquer Baghdád and overthrow the 'Abbásid Caliphate, then represented by al-Mušta'šim bi'lláh. On this occasion also he was accompanied by our Author, as is clearly stated by Rashidu'd-Din Faḡlu'lláh in his *Jámī'ū't-Tawárikh*, where he says ¹⁾:

"Early in Muḡarram in the year 655 (= January, 1257) Húlágú set out by way of Kirmánsháhan and Ḥulwán [with the object of subduing Baghdád] with the centre of the army, which the Mongols call *qol*. He was accompanied by the great captains Kúká Ilká, Arqatú and Arghún Aghá; and of the scribes (*bitikji*) by Qaratáy, Sayfu'd-Din Bitikchi, the counsellor of the Empire, Khwája Naširu'd-Din Ṭúsi, and the beatified 'Alá'u'd-Din 'Aṭá Malik, together with all the kings, lords and scribes of Persia."

In A. H. 657 (= A. D. 1259), a year after the conquest of Baghdád, Húlágú conferred on our author (as he explicitly states in his tract entitled *Tasliyatul-Ikhwán*, of which mention will presently be made) the government of that city, for five centuries the metropolis of Islam. Our Author's actual words on this are as follows: — ²⁾

"When the Ruler of the Empire of 'Thou givest dominion to whom Thou wilt and wrestest dominion from whom Thou wilt' had wrested the provinces of 'Iráq, Baghdád and Klú-zistán from the grasp of the control and possession of the 'Abbásid Caliphs, and had transferred and consigned them from their hands to the hands of Húlágú, the lord of the world, in the year A. H. 657, one year after the date of that great event, he entrusted the management of the affairs

1) Quatremère's edition, p. 264.

2) The MS. containing the *Tasliyatul-Ikhwán* in the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris bears the class-mark *Supplément persan 1556*, and the passage in question is cited on pp. xxix—xxx (كتاب-ج) of the Persian Introduction to this volume.

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Throughout the campaign against the Assassins our Author accompanied Húlágú, and at the conclusion of the siege of Maymún-Diz, the strongest of the castles of Alamút and the abode of the chief of the sect, he was entrusted with the task of drawing up in writing the terms of surrender and of conveying them in person to Ruknu'd-Din Khúrsháh, the last ruler or Grand-Master of the order. After the surrender of the castle and the extirpation of the Assassins, he exerted himself to save from plunder and destruction at least that portion of the celebrated library contained in it which was not tainted by the heresies of the sect, and, by order of Húlágú, entered the castle, examined the contents of the library and treasury which had been gradually collected there since the time of Ḥasan-i-Šabbáh, that is during a period of some 170 years, set apart for his Royal Master such books and astronomical instruments as he deemed worthy of his acceptance, and burned those books which he deemed heretical¹⁾. Amongst these latter, however, was one entitled *Sar-guzasht-i-Sayyidi-ná* ("the Adventures of our Master, *i. e.* Ḥasan-i-Šabbáh) which he happily spared, and of which he incorporated a portion, amounting to four large sized leaves (8 pages) in the third volume of this present work. A still larger portion (24 leaves) was incorporated in the second volume of the *Jámi'u't-Tawárikh* (Suppl. persan, 1364, ff. 65a—89a) by Rashídu'd-Din Faḍlu'lláh, and these extracts from this precious biography supply us with many important and interesting facts about the founder of the Assassins, or Persian branch of the Isma'iliyya, which are nowhere else to be found.

1) 'Alá'u'd-Dín 'Aṭá Malik refers to his examination of the library and destruction of the heretical books in two passages of the third volume of this book, the *Jahán Gusháy*. The original text of both of these passages is cited at the foot of p. xxviii (۲۵۳) of the Persian Introduction by the Editor. I have not, however, thought it necessary to translate them here.

out from the plains of Shafúrqn near Balkh, appointed his own son Kiráy Malik, Amír Aḥmad Bitikchí ("the secretary" or "scribe"), and the Author of this work, 'Alá'u'd-Dín Aṭá Malik-i-Juwayní, to serve Húlágú, and to manage the affairs of 'Irâq, Khurásân and Mázandarân. Thenceforth our Author continued in Húlágú's service, in which he was steadily promoted, until towards the end of his life he fell a victim to the intrigues of Majdu'l-Mulk of Yazd, as will be set forth in its proper place.

Soon after Húlágú's arrival in Persia one of Arghún's enemies named Jamálu'd-Dín, the Privy Chamberlain, who had been entrusted with the surveillance of the "Western lands", drew up a list of all the nobles, *amirs* and chiefs of Persia who were under Arghún's orders, and sent it to Khurásân to Húlágú, saying, "I have dealings with every one, and I must go to Mangú Qá'ân to obtain a settlement of this question". Amongst the names on this list was that of 'Aṭá Malik. As soon as Húlágú saw it he said, "If you have anything against him, lay it before me, so that the matter may be investigated here and now, and a decision arrived at". Thereupon Jamalu'd-Dín at once expressed regret for his action. This incident alone suffices to show the high esteem in which our Author was held by Húlágú.

In A. H. 654 (= A. D. 1256), while marching against the Assassins, Húlágú passed by the little town of Khabúshân (the modern Qúchân), which had lain in ruins since the beginning of the Mongol irruption, its aqueducts stopped up and dry, and its inhabitants scattered, and only the walls of the mosque standing. Our author, "knowing", as he says, "the King's inclination for restoring what had been laid waste", approached Húlágú on this subject, and he at once ordered that the town should be rebuilt at his own charges, and the inhabitants brought back.

Arghún's fourth journey to Qaráqorúm in A. H. 649 (= A. D. 1251—2) took place immediately after that last mentioned, and was undertaken with the object of attending the great *Qúritáy*, or Council of Mongol princes and chieftains, at which Mangú was elected and crowned Emperor; but he only arrived after the ceremonies were over and the concourse had dispersed, *viz.* on Şafar 20, A. H. 650 (= May 2, 1252), and left to return to Persia in Rajab, A. H. 651 (= September, 1253). It was during this stay of a year and five months at the Mongol capital that it was suggested to our Author by some of his friends (pp. 2—3 of the text, *infra*) that he should compose this history to immortalize the great deeds and conquests of the Mongol sovereigns. A certain diffidence as to his capacity for this task at first prompted him to refuse, but he was ultimately convinced that he possessed certain almost unique qualifications for it. To wit his extensive acquaintance with the Mongol Empire and its most notable administrators, the free access to the most authentic sources of information permitted to him by the high official position which he held, and his first-hand knowledge of many important political events. He therefore finally agreed to undertake the task, which he began in A. H. 650 and concluded in A. H. 658 (A. D. 1252—60). During this sojourn at Qaráqorúm he examined and described the ruins and inscriptions of Urdú-báligh, the ancient capital of Uyghúristán, on which, by command of Ogotáy, the latest Mongol city had been raised¹).

On his return from this, his last journey to Qaráqorúm, in A. H. 651, the Author resumed his former position as one of Arghún's secretaries, until Húlágú's arrival in Persia early in the year A. H. 654 (February, 1256) and Arghun's departure to the court of Mangú Qá'án. The latter, before setting

1) See *infra*, pp. 40, 43 and 192 of the text.

version to Islám of Gházán, was the son of this Arghún.

During the period of his government Arghún was obliged to make five or six journeys to the Mongol capital, generally located at Qaráqorum, either to render account of his stewardship, or to defend himself against false accusations, and on most of these occasions he was accompanied by our author, who was his private secretary, and who spent some ten years of his life in these journeyings to and fro, a fact to which he himself refers in the Preface to this book (p. 7 of the text *infra*) as an excuse for any shortcomings which may be detected in his work. Since the *Jahán-gushá'y* (as will presently be shown) was begun about A. H. 650 (= A. D. 1252—3), and its Author (as already mentioned) was born in A. H. 623 (= A. D. 1226), it follows that he must have entered the service of Arghún at the age of seventeen or eighteen.

It would appear that it was on the occasion of Arghún's second journey to Mongolia in A. H. 644 or 645 (= A. D. 1246—7) that our Author first bore him company, together with his father Bahá'u'l-Dín Muḥammad. On reaching Tíraz they were met with the news of Kuyúk's death, and, after halting there for a time, returned to Persia.

Again in A. H. 647 (= A. D. 1249—50) our Author accompanied Arghún on his third journey to the Mongol capital. On this occasion Arghún made a somewhat prolonged stay there in order to vindicate himself against certain charges made against him, and only returned to Persia when he had succeeded in completely clearing himself. This journey took place during the four years' interregnum (A. H. 645—9 = A. D. 1247—51) which intervened between the death of Kuyúk and the coronation of Mangú, while Kuyúk's widow Ughúl Gháymish Khátún was acting as regent. On his return journey our Author was presented to Yísú the son of Chaghatáy the son of Chingíz, king of the Chaghatáy tribes.

journey thither in A. H. 647 (A. D. 1249—50) he again deputed him, in conjunction with a certain Amír Ḥusayn, to take charge of his government. When in A. H. 651 (A. D. 1253—4) Arghún returned from a fourth journey to the Mongol court to Khurásán, he appointed Bahá'u'd-Din and a Mongol named Náymtáy to the government of 'Iráq and Yazd. Bahá'u'd-Din was now in his sixtieth year, and was anxious to retire from government service and enjoy some leisure during his declining days, but, since the nobles vehemently opposed this design, he was compelled to set out for 'Iráq, but died on reaching Iṣfahán in that same year. He was reckoned a notable scholar and poet, and wrote good verses both in Arabic and Persian. Some of these are quoted in this book and in the *Ta'rikh-i-Waṣṣáf*, while others are given in a book entitled *Shurafu Ayywán'l-Bayán fi Sharafi Bayti Şáhibi'd-Diwán* ("Pinnacles of the Palace of Expression, on the glory of the House of the Şáhib-Diwán"), by the Qādī Nizámu'd-Din of Iṣfahán; a work of which further mention will be made presently.

We come now to the author of this work, 'Alá'u'd-Din 'Atá Malik-i-Juwayni, who was born, according to adh-Dhababi, in A. H. 623 (A. D. 1226), and who, as he himself tells us, was, ere he had reached his twentieth year, employed in the service of the Mongol government, and was included amongst the private secretaries of Amír Arghún, who for nearly thirteen years (A. H. 641—654 = A. D. 1243—56), that is until Hülágú's arrival in Persia, was governor for the Mongol sovereigns of all the lands subdued by them West of the Oxus, namely Khurásán, Mázandarán, part of India, 'Iráq, Fárs, Kirmán, Luristán, Arrán, Adharbáyján, Georgia, Mosul and Aleppo. On the advent of Hülágú, Arghún became one of his generals, until he finally died in the Plain of Rádakán near Ṭús on Dhu'l-Hijja 25, A. H. 673 (= June 21, A. D. 1275). Amír Nawrúz, to whom in later years was due the con-

who were continually raiding that district and killing the Mongol officials who had been sent to administer it. Bahá'u'd-Dín Muḥammad fled with other notables of Nishápúr to Tús, and took refuge with Táju'd-Dín Farízání, the Warden of the Citadel. Kalblát, after defeating Qarája, entered Tús, and demanded of Táju'd-Dín that these persons should be sent to him. He then conveyed them with all respect and honour to Jintimúr, who received them graciously, and shortly afterwards appointed Bahá'u'd-Dín *Ṣáhib-Diwán* of Khurásán and Mázarán, and a year or two later, in A. H. 633 (= A. D. 1235—6), sent him in company with Gurgúz the 'Uyghúr Turk on a mission to Ogotáy Khán, from whom also he met with a very favourable reception, and obtained in due course a *pa'iza* and red-sealed *yarligh*¹⁾ confirming his appointment as *Ṣáhib-Diwán*.

Four years later, in A. H. 637 (A. D. 1239—40) Gurgúz, the new governor of Khurásán, Mázarán and the other "Western lands", was compelled to travel to Ogotáy's capital to defend himself against certain charges levelled against him, and in his absence Bahá'u'd-Dín was deputed to take his place.

In A. H. 643 (A. D. 1245—6) when Arghún, who succeeded Gurgúz in his governments, went to Mongolia to wait on Kuyúk Khán, he left Bahá'u'd-Dín to act as his deputy in Adharbáyján, Georgia and Asia Minor. On the occasion of a second journey to Mongolia, a year or two later, he took Bahá'u'd-Dín with him; and on the occasion of a third

1) The *pa'iza* was 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. The *yarligh* was a *farmán* or Imperial rescript. In some cases it was sealed with a red seal (*ál-tamghá*), in others with a black seal (*qará-tamghá*), and in others with a gold seal (*áltún-tamghá*), generally square in shape. Specimens, addressed by Arghún and 'Uljáytú to Philippe le Bel, are preserved in the *Archives Nationales* at Paris. See Pauthier's *Voyages de Marco Polo*, pp. 775—781, and Blochet's edition of the *Jámí'ú't-Tawárikh* (Successors de Tchinkiz Khághán), in this series, p. 247.

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to Sanjar, head of the *Diwān-i-Inshā*, and a notable writer. His biography is given by 'Awfi in the *Lubābu'l-Albāb* (vol. i, pp. 78—80 of my edition). Amongst his works are there mentioned the *Ruqyatu'l-Qalam* and the *'Ataba-i-Kataba*, while a fine collection of his writings is contained in the Institut des Langues Orientales at St. Petersburg, and is described by Baron V. Rosen in his *Collections Scientifiques: Manuscrits persans*, pp. 147—159. This Muntajabu'd-Dīn was the same who successfully interceded for the poet Rashīdu'd-Dīn Waṭwāṭ with Sulṭān Sanjar the Seljūq after the capture of the fortress of Hazārasp from Atsiz the Khwārazmshāh in A. H. 542 (= A. D. 1147—8). The story is well known, being given in vol. ii of the *Fahān-Gushāy*; in the *Ta'rikh-i-Guzida* (pp. 487—9 of the *fac-simile* published in this series); in Dawlatshāh's *Memoirs of the Poets* (pp. 90—91 of my edition); and in my *Literary History of Persia* (vol. ii, pp. 309—310). There is, therefore, no necessity to repeat it here.

Our author's grandfather, Shamsu'd-Dīn Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. 'Ali, was one of the courtiers and State accountants of Sulṭān Muḥammad Khwārazmshāh; accompanied him in his flight before the Mongols from Balkh to Nishāpūr in A. H. 617 (= A. D. 1220—1); and after his death served his son Jalālu'd-Dīn Mankubirni in the same capacity.

Bahā'u'd-Dīn Muḥammad b. Muḥammad *Ṣāhib-Diwan*, the father of our author, passed his life in the service of the Mongol governors and magistrates to whom, during the period (some thirty-five years) which elapsed between Chingiz Khān's first conquests in Persiā and the invasion of Hūlāgū Khān, the administration of Persia and the "Western Lands" was entrusted. In A. H. 630 (= A. D. 1232—3) Jintimūr, the Mongol governor of Khurāsān and Māzandarān appointed by Ogotāy, sent one of his generals named Kalblāt with an army to Nishāpūr to expel or destroy Qarāja and Ṭughān Sunqūr, two of the adherents of Jalālu'd-Dīn Khwārazmshāh

this imputation is especially emphasized by Ibnu't-Ṭiqṭāqī in his well-known manual of the history of the Caliphate known as the *Kitābu'l-Fakhrī*¹⁾, in consequence of a grudge which he bore against 'Alā'u'd-Dīn 'Aṭā-Malik-i-Juwaynī, and to which fuller reference will be made presently. The Arabic text of this passage will be found on pp. xiv—xv (بد—به) of the Persian Introduction.

To return to our Author's ancestors. When, in A. H. 588 (= A. D. 1192) Sulṭān Tukush b. 'Il-Arslān b. Atsiz Khwārazmshāh marched on Ray to attack Sulṭān Ṭughril, the last of the Seljūqs of Persia, our Author's great-grandfather, Bahā'u'd-Dīn Muḥammad b. 'Alī, waited on him when he passed through the village of Āzādwar in the district of Juwayn, and a discussion took place between him and his namesake Bahā'u'd-Dīn Muḥammad b. al-Mu'ayyad al-Kātib al-Baghdādī, the well-known secretary of Sulṭān Tukush, in the course of which Bahā'u'd-Dīn Juwaynī recited the laudatory quatrain which stands at the bottom of p. xv (lines 20—21) of the Persian Introduction. So delighted was Sulṭān Tukush at this quatrain that he caused it to be sung to him as he sat drinking wine until evening.

Another distinguished member of our Author's family was the maternal uncle of the above-mentioned Bahā'u'd-Dīn, Muntajabu'd-Dīn Badī' al-Kātib al-Juwaynī, who was secretary

1) Mīrzā Muḥammad (p. xiv of the Persian Introduction, *ad calc.*) says that the correct title of this excellent little history of the Caliphate is *Munyatū'l-Fuḍalā fī Tawārīkhī'l-Khulafā wa'l-Wuzarā*, and that the *Tajāribu's-Salaf* of Hindūshāh b. Sanjar b. 'Abdu'llāh al-Kīrānī an-Nakhjuwānī, who flourished in the reign of the Atābek Nuṣratu'd-Dīn Ahmad b. Yūsufshāh b. Alp Arghūn b. Hazārasp of Laristān (A. H. 696—733 = A. D. 1296—1333), which is a somewhat amplified Persian version of it, gives its title in this form. Of the *Tajāribu's-Salaf* a poor manuscript exists in the *Bibliothèque Nationale* at Paris, and Mīrzā Muḥammad has seen four or five excellent copies in Persia. The existence of this Persian version, almost contemporary with the Arabic original, was apparently unknown to the two European editors of the latter, Ahlwardt and Derenbourg.

I. BIOGRAPHY OF THE AUTHOR, THE ŞAĤIB-DIWAN ‘ALA’U’D-DIN ‘ATA MALIK-I-JUWAYNI.

The family to which our Author belonged was one of the oldest, noblest and most famous in Persia, and held high offices of state under the Seljûq and Khwârazmshâh dynasties, especially that of *Şâhib-Diwân*, or Minister of Finance, by which title many of them, though holding other offices as well, were known. Thus the brother of our Author, Shamsu’-Din Muĥammad Juwayni, was Prime Minister to Abâqâ, yet was habitually called by the title of the less important post of *Şâhib-Diwân* which he also held; while he himself, though Governor-General of ‘Irâq-i-‘Arab, was generally known by the same title.

The family traced their pedigree to Faĥl b. ar-Rabîf, the well-known chamberlain of the ‘Abbâsîd Caliphs, but were not, as stated by the authors of the *Majâlisu’l-Mûminîn* and the *Majma‘u’l-Fuṣṣḩâ*, connected in any way with the Imâmu’l-Haramayn ‘Abdu’l-Malik al-Juwayni. The most authentic pedigree is that given by adh-Dhahabî in his *Ta’rikhu’l-Islâm* on the authority of Abu’l-Faĥl ‘Abdu’r-Razzâq al-Ghúfî, the biographer of our Author. This is given in full on pp. XII—XIII of the Persian Introduction, and it is sufficient here to state that he was the twelfth in descent from Faĥl b. ar-Rabîf, whose great-great-great-grandfather was Kaysân, called Abú Farwa, the client or freed man of ‘Uthmân b. ‘Affân the third caliph. Both the father Rabîf and the son Faĥl were famous in history as ministers and chamberlains to the ‘Abbâsîd Caliphs al-Manşûr, al-Mahdî, al-Hâdî, Hârûnu’r-Rashîd and al-Amîn, and historians record many of their sayings and doings which it is unnecessary to repeat here. It is, however, worth noting that some doubts prevailed as to the ancestry of Rabîf, who was even taunted by some of his contemporaries with illegitimacy; and that

precursor, derived his information either from his own observations, or from original sources. His history, like the *Jahán-Gusháy*, deals principally with the history of the Mongols of Persia, and only incidentally with other contemporary dynasties. It is, indeed, a continuation down to A. H. 728 (= A. D. 1327—8) of that history, which ends with the year A. H. 655 (= A. D. 1257), and covers the period between the conquest and sack of Baghdád by Húlágú and the middle of the reign of Abú Sa'íd, the last effective Mongol sovereign of Persia. The extremely florid, bombastic and artificial style of this book is the more exasperating because of the unquestionable value of its contents, and certainly disposes those who attach more importance to sense than form to rate it lower than the *Jahán-Gusháy* or the *Jámi'u't-Tawárikh*.

Of these three important histories only the last mentioned (the *Ta'rikh-i-Waṣṣáf*) has been published in its entirety in a good lithographed edition printed at Bombay in A. H. 1269 (= A. D. 1852—3), for the edition with German translation begun by Hammer-Purgstall includes only the first volume. Of the two other histories portions only have been published. Thus the late M. Charles Schefer included in the second volume of his *Chrestomathie Persane* a portion of the *Jahán-Gusháy* corresponding with p. 58, l. 15 to p. 140, l. 19 of the text in this volume; while Quatremere (in 1836) and Berezine (in 1861—88) have published portions of the first volume of the *Jámi'u't-Tawárikh* dealing with Mongol history, and M. E. Blochet is engaged on a complete edition of this portion of the work, whereof one volume has already appeared in this series.

The remainder of this Introduction will be divided into three parts, of which the *first* will deal with the biography of the Author; the *second* with his work the *Jahán-Gusháy*; and the *third* with certain biographical details concerning the Author furnished by sundry Arabian writers

the Mongol rulers of Persia, singularly well placed for obtaining correct and detailed information concerning the events which he recorded. For nearly fifteen years he was private secretary to Amír Arghún Aqá the Mongol governor of Persia, Georgia and Asia Minor. When Húlágú was sent to Persia to extirpate the Assassins and overthrow the Caliphate of Baghdád, he was attached to him in the same capacity, and was subsequently appointed governor of Baghdád and 'Irâq-i-'Arab, which position he held for some twenty-four years under Húlágú and his sons Abâqá and Aḥmad Takúdár. Of most of the events recorded in his history he was either actually an eye-witness, or had direct and trustworthy information.

The author of the *Jâmi'u't-Tawârikh*, Rashídu'd-Dín Faḍlu'lláh, of Hamadán, was in the first instance court physician to Abâqá, and was afterwards for nearly twenty years Prime Minister to Gházán and his brother Uljáyту, during which period the administration of their realms was almost entirely in his hands. He undertook the compilation of his history at the command of Gházán and completed it at the wish of Uljáyту, and his chief sources of information were either his own experience and observation, or what he learned orally from the learned men of all nations, Mongols, 'Uyghúrs, Chinese, Tibetans, Indians, Turks, Arabs, Jews, Christians, etc., who frequented the Mongol court, or from their books, which they interpreted to him. Hence his history, being based on original materials now for the most part no longer accessible, has an unique value; while, as its name implies, it comprises not only the history of the Mongols, but of all the other peoples and religions concerning which information was accessible to the author.

Shihábu'd-Dín 'Abdu'lláh of Shíráz, known as *Waṣṣáf-i-Haḍrat* ("the Court Panegyrist"), was the contemporary and intimate of the above-mentioned Rashídu'd-Dín and his son Ghiyáthu'd-Dín Muḥammad, and he too, like his patron and

hardly any period since the Arab Invasion and the conversion to Islám of the Persians were so many excellent histories written as in the century succeeding the Mongol Invasion. First of all stands this work, the *Ta'rikh-i-Jahán-Gusháy*, composed by 'Alá'u'd-Dín 'Aṭá Malik-i-Juwayní in A. H. 658 (= A. D. 1260). Next comes that great and admirable work the *Jámi'u't-Tawárikh* of Rashidu'd-Dín Faḍlu'lláh, the Minister of Gházán Khán and Uljáytú Khán, completed about A. H. 710 (= A. D. 1310—11). Third, and, in spite of its florid and inflated style, hardly inferior to these two, is the *Tajziyatu'l-Amşár wa Tajziyatu'l-A'sár*, better known as the *Ta'rikh-i-Waşşáf*, written by 'Abdu'lláh b. Faḍlu'lláh of Shiráz about A. H. 728 (= A. D. 1328). Less important and original than these three great histories, yet of considerable merit, is the *Ta'rikh-i-Guzida* of Ḥamdu'llah b. Abí Bakr b. Aḥmad b. Naşr al-Mustawfi of Qazwín; which is in the main a compilation from the *Jámi'u't-Tawárikh*, concluded in A. H. 730 (= A. D. 1329—1330); the very rare *Zafar-náma* of the same writer, a continuation of the *Sháhnáma* of Firdawsí setting forth, in verse of the same metre, the history of Persia from the Arab conquest in the seventh century of the Christian era down to the author's own time, A. H. 735 (= A. D. 1334—5). Then there is the history compiled in A. H. 717 (= A. D. 1317—1318) by Abú Sulaymán Dá'ud al-Banákití; the *Nizámu't-Tawárikh* of the celebrated commentator of the *Qur'án*, al-Bayḍáwí, written in A. H. 674 (= A. D. 1275—6); and lastly the *Majma'u'l-Ansáb*, composed in A. H. 733 (= A. D. 1332—3) by Muḥammad b. 'Alí of Shabánkára.

Of these eight important historical works composed during the period of Mongol ascendancy the *Jahán-gusháy* is the oldest and perhaps the most valuable and original. The author, 'Alá'u'd-Dín 'Aṭá Malik-i-Juwayní, was, by reason of the high and confidential position which he held under

better than recapitulate here, in a somewhat abridged and simplified form, and omitting some of the references and notes given by the learned and indefatigable editor, the substance of his conclusions. In what follows, then, unless otherwise specified, I am merely acting as Mírzá Muḥammad's interpreter.

Since the foundation of Islám until the present day few if any events have had a greater effect on Asia, especially Western Asia, than the terrible Mongol Invasion of the early thirteenth century of the Christian era (seventh of the *hijra*). Within a space of thirty or forty years their hordes had spread, leaving behind them a trail of devastation, from the China Sea to the Mediterranean, and from Southern Russia, Poland and Hungary to the Persian Gulf and the Sea of 'Umán, and had founded, on the ruins of many states, including the Caliphate of Baghdád, which succumbed to their attack in A. H. 656 (= A. D. 1258), what was for a short time the greatest Empire in extent that the world has ever seen.

Of the countries affected by this terrible invasion few suffered more than Persia, where scores of towns and villages were devastated, and in some cases almost obliterated, and hundreds of thousands of their inhabitants slain. Mosques, colleges, libraries and other centres of religion, science and art were destroyed; men of learning were killed like sheep or driven into exile; and science and literature in Peṛsia received a set-back from which they have never wholly recovered, so that few of those who are conversant with Muḥammadan literature can have failed to be struck by the inferiority of the books composed after the Mongol Invasion to those written before it.

Of one branch of learning, however, an exception must be made, namely history; for, strange as it appears, at

scripts of this work, especially those belonging to the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris. At that time I still hoped myself to undertake an edition of this work, but fresh obstacles continually arose to defeat this ambition. Meanwhile the *E. J. W. Gibb Memorial Trust*, established by the generosity of the late Mrs. Jane Gibb in memory of her son and for the encouragement of those studies to which his too short life was devoted, had come into existence, and had already facilitated the publication of important works relating to the Near East which would otherwise never have seen the light. In these circumstances the *Fahán-Gushá* was not forgotten, and on January 19, 1906, the question was raised at a meeting of the Trustees of publishing a *fac-simile* of the oldest and best of the Paris MSS. At a meeting held two months later it appeared that the proposed *fac-simile* would cost much more than was anticipated, and it was decided to ask Mírzá Muḥammad, who was then living in London, whether he would be disposed to undertake it. He consented, and went to Paris, where he has since resided, in May, 1906. Within a fortnight of his arrival he had examined and reported on the manuscripts, and had begun the transcription of Vol. I (the portion now published), which was completed by the end of the year. Various causes, however, most of which it is unnecessary to specify, have delayed its publication until now. One of them was the learned editor's desire to prefix to the first volume an adequate and critical Introduction, based on a study at first hand of all the available materials, and dealing fully not only with the MSS. on which this edition is based, but with the life and times of the author, the scope and character of the work, and other kindred matters. Although the Persian original of this valuable Introduction is prefixed to the text contained in this volume, I feel that, for the benefit of those who read Persian with less ease than English, I cannot do

INTRODUCTION

BY

EDWARD G. BROWNE.

For a good many years it has been my earnest desire to see a critical edition of this important historical work, of which the first third is now issued, rendered available to students. It is an extraordinary thing that, although the importance of the *Ta'rikh-i-Jahán-gushá* has long been recognized, and although its contents have been admirably utilized by Baron C. d'Ohsson in his excellent *Histoire des Mongols depuis Tchinguiz-Khan jusqu'à Timour Bey ou Tamerlan*, of which the publication was begun in 1824, no edition of the complete text has, so far as I know, ever been attempted hitherto, though it is unquestionably the best and most authoritative account of one of the most important events in the world's history, namely the sudden rise and expansion of the Mongol power in the thirteenth century of our era. Nor are materials for an edition lacking, even in Europe; for though manuscripts of the work are relatively rare, there are at least fourteen or fifteen scattered amongst the public libraries of this continent. Of these manuscripts and of the scope and contents of the work I gave some account in an article contributed to the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* for January, 1904, entitled *Note on the Contents of the Ta'rikh-i-Jahán-Gushá, or History of the World-Conqueror, Chingiz Khán, by 'Alá-Malik-i-Fuwayní; with an appreciation and comparison of some of the manu-*

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*and to promote those researches into the History, Literature, Philo-
sophy and Religion of the Turks, Persians and Arabs, to which, from
his Youth upwards, until his premature and deeply lamented Death
in his forty-fifth year on December 5, 1901, his life was devoted.*

تِلْكَ آثَارُنَا تَدُلُّ عَلَيْنَا • فَانظُرُوا بَعْدَنَا إِلَى الْآثَارِ

*"The worker pays his debt to Death;
His work lives on, nay, quickeneth."*

*The following memorial verse is contributed by 'Abdu'l-Haqq Hamid
Bey of the Imperial Ottoman Embassy in London, one of the Founders
of the New School of Turkish Literature, and for many years an
intimate friend of the deceased.*

جمله یارانی وفاسیله ایدرکن تطیب
کندی عمرنه وفا گورمدی اول ذات ادیب
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TARĪKH-I-JAHĀN-GUSHĀ

OF

'ALĀ'U 'D-DĪN 'ATĀ MALIK-I-
JUWAYNĪ

(COMPOSED IN A. H. 658 = A. D. 1260)

PART I,

CONTAINING THE HISTORY OF CHINGĪZ KHĀN
AND HIS SUCCESSORS,

EDITED WITH AN INTRODUCTION, NOTES AND
INDICES FROM SEVERAL OLD MSS.

BY

MĪRZĀ MUḤAMMAD
IBN 'ABDU'L-WAHHĀB-I-QAZWĪNĪ,

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(Translations of the three inscriptions
on the Cover.)

1. *Arabic.*

“These are our works which prove
what we have done;
Look, therefore, at our works
when we are gone.”

2. *Turkish.*

“His genius cast its shadow o'er the world,
And in brief time he much achieved and
wrought:
The Age's Sun was he, and ageing suns
Cast lengthy shadows, though their time be
short.”

(*Kemál Páshá-zádé.*)

3. *Persian.*

“When we are dead, seek for our
resting-place
Not in the earth, but in the
hearts of men.”

(*Jalálu 'd-Dín Rúmí.*)