

"A hundred prisoners must be pardoned." By this means they obtained release. After that he told the emperor that he should send a decree through the realm. The qa'an did *yalbarmishi* for seven days in a temple and then came out. All the members of the group were reinstated to their posts, and their followers and adherents rejoiced. However, 300,000 bars, the amount overcharged on the jewels, were taken back. ~

## SECTION TWELVE

### THE HISTORY OF HÜLÄGÜ KHAN, IN THREE PARTS.

**P**art One is on his offspring, his wives, and his sons and grandsons who have branched off, and the names of his sons-in-law; a portrait of him and a genealogical table of his sons' branches.

Part Two is on events leading to his enthronement, a picture of him and his wives, sons, grandsons, and commanders at his enthronement; stories of events that oc-

curred during his imperial reign; some of the battles he fought and the conquests he achieved.

Part Three is on his conduct and character; the pronouncements and orders he gave; incidents that occurred during his reign that were not included in the previous two sections and were culled from various books and persons. [A6]

**Part One, on his offspring, his wives, and his sons and grandsons who have branched off, and the names of his sons-in-law; a portrait of him and a genealogical table of his sons' branches.**

Hülägü Khan was the fourth son of Tolui Khan, Genghis Khan's fourth son. Hülägü Khan's mother was Sorqaghtani Beki, the daughter of Jagambu, the brother of Ong Khan, the ruler of the Kerayit tribes. Jagambu's name was Kerayidai, but when he fell into Tangqut territory and attained status there, the rulers of Tangqut gave him the title Jagambu, which means magnificent and great commander of a realm. Since Genghis Khan and Ong Khan were friendly and had a father-son relationship, he proposed marriage between his sons and Ong Khan's brother's daughters, Begtutmish for Jochi Khan and Sorqaghtani Beki for Tolui Khan. Tolui Khan had five sons and one daughter by Sorqaghtani Beki, as has already been mentioned in the section on him.<sup>1</sup> Genghis Khan took for himself another of Jagam-

bu's daughters, [678] Ibaqa Beki by name. One night he had a dream, and that very night he gave her to Kähätäi Noyan.<sup>2</sup>

#### A detailed account of his wives.

Hülägü Khan had many wives and concubines. The names of those who are known, both those he inherited by custom from his father and those he married of his own accord, are as follows.

His chief wife was Doquz<sup>3</sup> Khatun of the great "bone" of the Kerayit, the daughter of Ong Khan's son [Abaqu].<sup>4</sup> [A7] Since she had been his father's wife, she was greater than the other wives, even though he had married some of them before her. He mar-

<sup>2</sup>See text pp. 148 and 226 above.

<sup>3</sup>Doquz Khatun's name varies throughout as Doquz ~ Toquz. We will opt for Doquz.

<sup>4</sup>Reading ابقو (Abaqu, as on text p. 91 above) for the text's ايقو, which Arends (p. 16) reads as Уйку.

<sup>1</sup>See text p. 552.

ried her after crossing the Oxus River. Tolui Khan had not yet touched her. She had influence and was extremely domineering. Since the Kerayit tribes were originally Christian, she constantly favored Christians, and during her time that group became strong. For her sake Hülägü Khan also favored them and held them in honor, so much so that they built churches throughout the realm. A church was always made at the gate to Doquz Khatun's *ordu*, and the *naqus* was sounded.<sup>1</sup> Her death occurred after Hülägü Khan's, four months and eleven days before Abaqa Khan's enthronement. The date will be mentioned in the proper place. Abaqa Khan awarded her *ordu* to her brother's daughter Tuqitani Khatun,<sup>2</sup> who had been Hülägü Khan's concubine and was attached to that *ordu*. She maintained the same customs, as will be told in the section on Abaqa Khan. She died on Thursday the 2nd of Ikindi Ay in Luy Yil corresponding to the last day of Safar 691 [February 21, 1292], and the *ordu* was given to Kökächi Khatun, who had been brought from the qa'an's court on account of the kinship she had with the senior Bulughan Khatun, the Padishah of Islam's wife. She died in Sha'ban 695 [June 1296], and the *ordu* was given to Kärämün Khatun, daughter of Abatai Noyan's son Qutluğ Temür Noyan and the junior Bulughan Khatun's cousin.<sup>3</sup> She too died quite suddenly in the summer pastures at Hula'an Mürän in the vicinity of Sarai Juma

<sup>1</sup>The *naqus* is the clapper used instead of bells in eastern Christian churches to summon for worship.

<sup>2</sup>See text p. 91 above.

<sup>3</sup>There are two Bulughan Khatuns. The name is variously spelled بولوغان ~ بولغان. The senior Bulughan Khatun was a Baya'ut (see text p. 138 above), and she was later married to Abaqa Khan (see text p. 740 below). The junior Bulughan Khatun was a Qunqirat (see text p. 122 above). Both Bulughans were married to Arghun Khan (see text p. 806 below).

on Tuesday the 12th of Jumada II 703 [January 21, 1304], and now the Sultan of Islam has married, in her stead, Qutluğshah Khatun, [A8] the daughter of Sarucha's son Irinjin, the nephew of Doquz Khatun, and installed her there. At present the *ordu* is still maintained. [679]

Another wife was Güyük Khatun of the "bone" of the rulers of the Oyirat tribes. She was the daughter of Törälchi Gürägän by Genghis Khan's daughter Chächäyigän. (Öljäi Khatun was also Törälchi Gürägän's daughter, but by a different mother.) He married her in Mongolia before he married any of the other wives.

Another wife was Qutui Khatun, daughter of \_\_\_ of the "bone" of the rulers of the Qunqirat tribes. When Güyük Kha[tu]n died in Mongolia, he married [Qutui Khatun] and gave [Güyük Khatun's] *ordu* to her.

Another wife was Öljäi Khatun, daughter of Törälchi Gürägän of the "bone" of the rulers of the Oyirat tribes. He married her in Mongolia too.

Another wife was Yesünjin Khatun of the Suldus clan. He also married her in Mongolia. She was from Güyük Khatun's *ordu*. She and Qutuqui remained together in Mongolia, and later she came here.

#### His sons and grandsons.

Hülägü Khan had fourteen sons and seven daughters. Following are their names and a summary account of them and their offspring. [A9]

#### (1) Abaqa Khan.

Hülägü Khan's first son was Abaqa Khan by Yesünjin Khatun. He was born in Mongolia. He and his father came to Iran together. He was the eldest and best of the brothers and, as his father's designated heir and successor, he inherited the throne and rule of the *ulus* and the army. An account of his wives and children will come in the

section on him.<sup>1</sup>

#### (2) Jumghur.

Hülägü Khan's second son was Jumghur,<sup>2</sup> who was born of Güyük Khatun in Mongolia one month after Abaqa. When Hülägü Khan set out for Iran, he left him and his *ordus* with Mänggü Qa'an. The other *agh-ruqs* he took with him he left in the vicinity of Almalyk in Turkistan. [680] At the time of Ariq Bökä's dispute with Qubilai Qa'an, since Jumghur was in Mänggü Qa'an's *ordus* and Ariq Bökä was there and Qubilai was far away, Jumghur was forced to take Ariq Bökä's part, and that is the reason he fought on Ariq Bökä's behalf against Qubilai's soldiers. After Ariq Bökä did battle with Alghu and was defeated, Jumghur separated himself from Ariq Bökä in the vicinity of Samarqand on the pretext of being ill because Hülägü Khan was not pleased by his rebelliousness against Qubilai Qa'an and sent him a message to stand down. From there he joined Qutui and set out to join his father, but he died en route, an account of which will be given in the proper place.<sup>3</sup>

Jumghur had two wives. The elder was Tolun Khatun, daughter of the Buqa Temür who was Güyük Khatun's brother. The other was Cha'urchi Khatun, the senior Bulughan Khatun's elder sister.

He had two sons. (1) One was Jüshkäb, who was born of a concubine. After his father's death he took Cha'urchi Khatun in accordance with the Yasa. (2) The other was Kingshü,<sup>4</sup> born of a concubine. [A10] He had a son named Shirämün who is still alive.

Jumghur also had two daughters. The elder was Orghutaq, who was born of Tolun Khatun. She was married to Su'un-

<sup>1</sup>See text pp. 739ff. below.

<sup>2</sup>The spelling varies, Jumghur ~ Jumqur.

<sup>3</sup>See text p. 745f. below.

<sup>4</sup>Here spelled كينكشو (Kingshü). Later in the text it is generally spelled كينشو (Kinshü).

chaq's son Shadai Gürägän. By her he had children, a son named Habash and two daughters,<sup>5</sup> Gunjishkäb, who is the Padishah of Islam Ghazan Khan's first wife,<sup>6</sup> and Toghachaq,<sup>7</sup> who was born of a concubine named El Qutluğ,<sup>8</sup> who was married to Ahmad during his reign. She put a *boqtaq* on her head.<sup>9</sup> And the younger...<sup>10</sup>

<sup>5</sup>The name occurs thus in the text (حبش), but it is very doubtful.

<sup>6</sup>She is not included in the list of Ghazan Khan's wives on text p. 849 below.

<sup>7</sup>Reading, with JT<sub>AZ</sub>'s variant, the diminutive Toghachaq for JT<sub>K</sub>'s Toghan. See text p. 783 below.

<sup>8</sup>El Qutluğ appears in the list of Ahmad Tägü-där's wives (text p. 783 below) as the "daughter of Kingshü and mother of Toghachaq." That El Qutluğ "put a *boqtaq* on her head" would seem to imply that she was not born a princess but assumed the position of a lady. The name of the second daughter is missing. Perhaps there were two El Qutluğs.

<sup>9</sup>The *boqtaq* (*boghtaq*) was the Mongolian lady's headdress. See p. 740 below. Ruy González de Clavijo, the ambassador from Don Henry III of Castile and Leon who was present at Amir Temür's court at Samarkand in 1404, has left the following description of the *boghtaq* worn by Saray Malik Khanim: "The rest of her head-dress was very like the crest of a helmet, such as we men wear in jousting in the tilt yard: but this crest of hers was of red stuff and its border hung down in part over her shoulders. In the back part this crest was very lofty and it was ornamented with many great round pearls all of good orient, also with precious stones such as balas rubies and turquoises, the same very finely set. The hem of this head covering showed gold thread embroidery, and set round it she wore a very beautiful garland of pure gold ornamented with great pearls and gems. Further the summit of this crest just described was erected upon a framework which displayed three large balas rubies each about two finger breadths across, and these were clear in colour and glittered in the light, while over all rose a long white plume to the height of an ell, the feathers thereof hanging down so that some almost hid the face coming to below the eyes. This plume was braced together by gold wire, while at the summit appeared a white knot of feathers garnished with pearls and precious stones. As she came forward this mighty head-gear waved backwards and

**(3) Yoshmut.**

Hülägü Khan's third son was Yoshmut. His mother was a concubine from Qutui Khatun's *ordu* named Noqachin Egächi of Cathaian "bone."

He had three sons, Sögäi, Qara Noqai, and Zambu. Zambu died in Jaghatu one month before Toqiyatai Khatun.<sup>1</sup> Sögäi and Qara Noqai were executed for rebelling.

**(4) Täkshin.**

Hülägü Khan's fourth son was Täkshin, born of Qutui Khatun. He suffered from flaccidity of the bladder, and expert physicians treated him for a long time but without success. In the end he died. He had married Tolun Khatun after Jumghur's death and had a son by her named Saqi. He also had a daughter by Tolun Khatun named Esän Bur. When Orghutaq died they gave her to Shadai Gürägän, and after him his son Arab took her. She died before him, and she had a son named \_\_\_\_\_. [681, A11]

**(5) Taraghai.**

Hülägü Khan's fifth son was Taraghai, born of a concubine named Boraqchin from Qutui Khatun's *ordu* in Mongolia. While en route to Iran he was struck by lightning and died. His *ordu* came here with Qutui.

He had a son named Baidu who disputed the rule for a few months after Gaikhatu Khan. His story will come in the proper

forwards, and the Princess was wearing her hair all loose, hanging down over her shoulders.... To keep this crest and the other adornments steady on her head the Princess was attended by many dames who walked beside her" (González de Clavijo, *Narrative*, 258).

<sup>10</sup>Text missing. Jumghur's younger daughter seems to be implied, but the entire section is highly problematic, particularly the identity of El Qutlugh and her daughter Toghchaq.

<sup>1</sup>He died on Sunday the 28th of Muharram 691 [December 31, 1291]. See text p. 832 below.

place. [Baidu] had a son named Qipchaq, who was killed along with his father. He had two other sons. One was by Shah-i-Alam and was named Qipchaq. The other was by Doladai Idächi's daughter and was named Muhammad. Baidu's mother was named Qaraqchin.

Taraghai also had a daughter named Eshil. She was married to Abdullah Aqa's son Tuq Temür, and after his death to his brother. She is still alive.

**(6) Tübshin.**

Hülägü Khan's sixth son was Tübshin, born of Noqachin, the mother of Yoshmut. He had a son named Sati.

**(7) Tägüdär Ahmad.**

Hülägü Khan's seventh son was Tägüdär Ahmad, born of Qutui Khatun. His name was originally Tägüdär, and he became padishah after Abaqa Khan. His sons will be mentioned in the section on him.<sup>2</sup>

**(8) Ajai.**

Hülägü Khan's eighth son was Ajai. His mother was a concubine named Arighan Egächi, daughter of Tänggiz Gürägän. She was in Qutui Khatun's *ordu*. When Hülägü Khan came to the land of Iran he assigned him as head of Qutui Khatun's *ordu*. He died ten days after Hülägü Khan. [A12] He had a son named Ildär, who was executed in Anatolia during the first part of the Padishah of Islam Ghazan Khan's reign.<sup>3</sup>

**(9) Qonqurtai.**

Hülägü Khan's ninth son was Qonqurtai.<sup>4</sup> His mother was a Cathaian concubine named Ajuja Egächi from Doquz Khatun's *ordu*. After a time she put a *boqtaq* on her

<sup>2</sup>See text pp. 783-800 below.

<sup>3</sup>See text p. 919.

<sup>4</sup>His name is variously spelled, Qonqurtai ~ Qongqurtai ~ Qongghurtai.

head. She lived to be very old and died only recently.

Qonqurtai had six sons: (1) Esän Temür, who had a son named Pulad; (2) Ildär, who had a son named Aq Temür; (3) Chärig Temür, (4) Gäräi, (5) Tash Temür, and (6) Ashigh Temür. Esän Temür was called Kharbanda, and he and Ildär were born during a single month. He and his brother Ildär were executed during the Padishah of Islam Ghazan Khan's reign for rebelliousness they harbored in their hearts.<sup>1</sup> The other sons, Gäräi, Chärig Temür, and the others, died in infancy.

**(10) Yesüdär.**

Hülägü Khan's tenth son was Yesüdär. His mother was a concubine from Qutui Khatun's *ordu* [682] named Yeshichin, the sister of Qara Yangi (?) of the "bone" of the Kürlü'üt.<sup>2</sup> He had a daughter who was married to Esän Buqa Gürägän, son of Noqai Yarghuchi.<sup>3</sup> One year and two months after his death [his wife] produced a son who was named Habash, and the child was attributed to Yesüdär.

**(11) Mänggü Temür.**

Hülägü Khan's eleventh son was Mänggü Temür, born of Öljäi Khatun. He was born on the eve of Sunday the 2nd of Shawwal 654 [October 23, 1256], corresponding to the 24th of Onunch Ay of Luy Yil, in \_\_\_\_\_, with Gemini in the ascendant. He died on Sunday the 16th of Muharram 681 [April 26, 1282]. His life span was twenty-six years and two months.

He had three sons: (1) Anbarchi, who had two sons, Esän Temür and Qonchi, each by a different mother, (2) Taichu, who had a son named Pulad and rebelled during Gha-

<sup>1</sup>See text p. 920 and 924.

<sup>2</sup>There is a Qara Yurtchi of the Kürlü'üt mentioned on text p. 75; it may be the same person.

<sup>3</sup>For Noqai Yarghuchi, see text p. 138 above.

zan Khan's reign and was executed, (3) Gäräi, who had a son named \_\_\_\_\_ that died in childhood; he himself died during Gai-khatu's reign. The mother of these sons was Alinaq Egächi.

Mänggü Temür had three wives. [A14] First was Öljäi Khatun, daughter of Buqa Temür and "sister" of Öljäi Khatun.<sup>4</sup> Second was Abish Tärkän, daughter of Sa'd the Atabeg of Fars and mother of Kürdüchin. Third was Nojin Khatun, daughter of Dorbai Noyan.

As for Mänggü Temür's daughters, they were many. One, the eldest, was the Princess Kürdüchin who was first the wife of Jalaluddin Soyurghatmish the sultan of Kirman; when he died she was given to Amir Buralghi's son Satalmish and then after him to his cousin. He had another daughter named Buyan Agha, who was given to Amir Sutai Akhtachi. Another was named Ara Qutlugh, and she was given to Taraqai Gürägän; when he died she was given to Doladai Idächi. Mänggü Temür's chief wife was Öljäi. After her was Abish Khatun, daughter of Atabeg Sa'd, son of Atabeg Abubakr of Fars, and granddaughter of Mahmudshah of Yazd.

**(12) Hulachu.**

Hülägü Khan's twelfth son was Hulachu. His mother was a concubine in Doquz Khatun's *ordu* named El Egächi of Qunqirat "bone." In the end a *boqtaq* was placed on her head.

He had four sons and three daughters as follows: (1) Sulayman, who was killed after his father; (2) Köchik, who died of a chronic illness; (3) Khwaja, who passed away; and (4) Qutlugh Buqa, who also died.

**(13) Shiba'uchi.**

<sup>4</sup>I.e. a second Öljäi Khatun, daughter of the elder Öljäi Khatun's brother Buqa Temür. "Sister" is used here, as often, in the sense of niece.

Hülägü Khan's thirteenth son was Shiba'uchi. He was born of Hulachu's mother, El Egächi. He died the same winter as Abaqa Khan, but before him.

#### (14) Taghai Temür.

Hülägü Khan's fourteenth son was Taghai Temür. His mother was a concubine from Qutui Khatun's *ordu* from the "bone" of the \_\_\_\_\_. He had two sons, Qurumshi and Hajji.

Now that the names and lineages of Hülägü Khan's sons and grandsons have been given, insofar as they are known, [683] we will begin the section on his daughters and sons-in-law.

#### Hülägü Khan's daughters and sons-in-law.

Hülägü Khan had seven daughters as follows.

The first was Buluqan Aqa, born of Güyük Khatun. She was married to Joma Gürägän, son of Jochi of the Tatar nation, who was the brother of Nuqdan Khatun,<sup>1</sup> the mother of Gaikhatu Khan and chief wife of Abaqa Khan. Jochi had come here with Hülägü, and he too was a *gürägän*, for he was married to Genghis Khan's brother Otchi Noyan's daughter Chechägän, and she was Joma Gürägän's mother.

The second daughter was Jamai (?), born of Öljäi Khatun. After her sister Buluqan Aqa died she was given to Joma Gürägän in her stead.

The third daughter was Mänggügän, born of Öljäi Khatun. She was married to Buqa Temür's son Jaqir Gürägän of the Oyirat nation. This Buqa Temür had come with Hülägü, and he was Öljäi Khatun's brother [born] of Güyük Khatun's mother, Chächäyigän, [A16] [Genghis Khan's] daughter. Jaqir Gürägän's son was Taraqai Gürägän,

and he was Mänggü Temür's son-in-law who fled to Syria.<sup>2</sup>

The fourth daughter was Tödögäch. Her mother was a concubine from Doquz Khatun's *ordu* named \_\_\_\_\_. She was married to the Tänggiz Gürägän of the Oyirat tribe who had formerly been married to Güyük Khan's daughter, \_\_\_\_ by name, but she died.<sup>3</sup> [When] Tänggiz Gürägän died, his son Sülämish married her, and at present Tänggiz's grandson Chechäk has married her.

The fifth daughter was Taraqai, born of Irqan Egächi. She was married to Musa Gürägän of the Qunqirat tribe, Genghis Khan's grandson, the son of \_\_\_\_.<sup>4</sup> His name was Taghai Temür, but a learned man who was his tutor named him Musa. He was the brother of Martai Khatun.<sup>5</sup>

The sixth daughter was Qutluqqan, born of Mängligäch Egächi. She was married to Yesü Buqa Gürägän, the son of Urughtu Noyan of the Dörbän tribe. When he died his son Tükäl took her. [684]

The seventh daughter was Baba, born of Öljäi Khatun. She was given to Lagzi Gürägän, son of Amir Arghun Aqa of the Oyirat tribe. Arghun Aqa came here in the capacity of a *bitigchi* with Hülägü Khan by order of Mänggü Qa'an.

The histories of some of these wives, sons, daughters, and sons-in-law who have been mentioned may have to be given again in certain other sections in more detail; however, in general they are as has been

<sup>2</sup>The son-in-law who fled was Taraqai (see text p. 79 above). He was first married to Mänggü Temür's daughter Qutluq and, after her death, to this Mänggügän.

<sup>3</sup>Reading, with *JT*<sub>AZ</sub>'s MS A, Güyük Khan for the text's Güyük Khatun. See text p. 78 above.

<sup>4</sup>He should be the son of Genghis Khan's daughter Tümlün, who was married to "Gürägän" of the Qunqirat. See text p. 225 above.

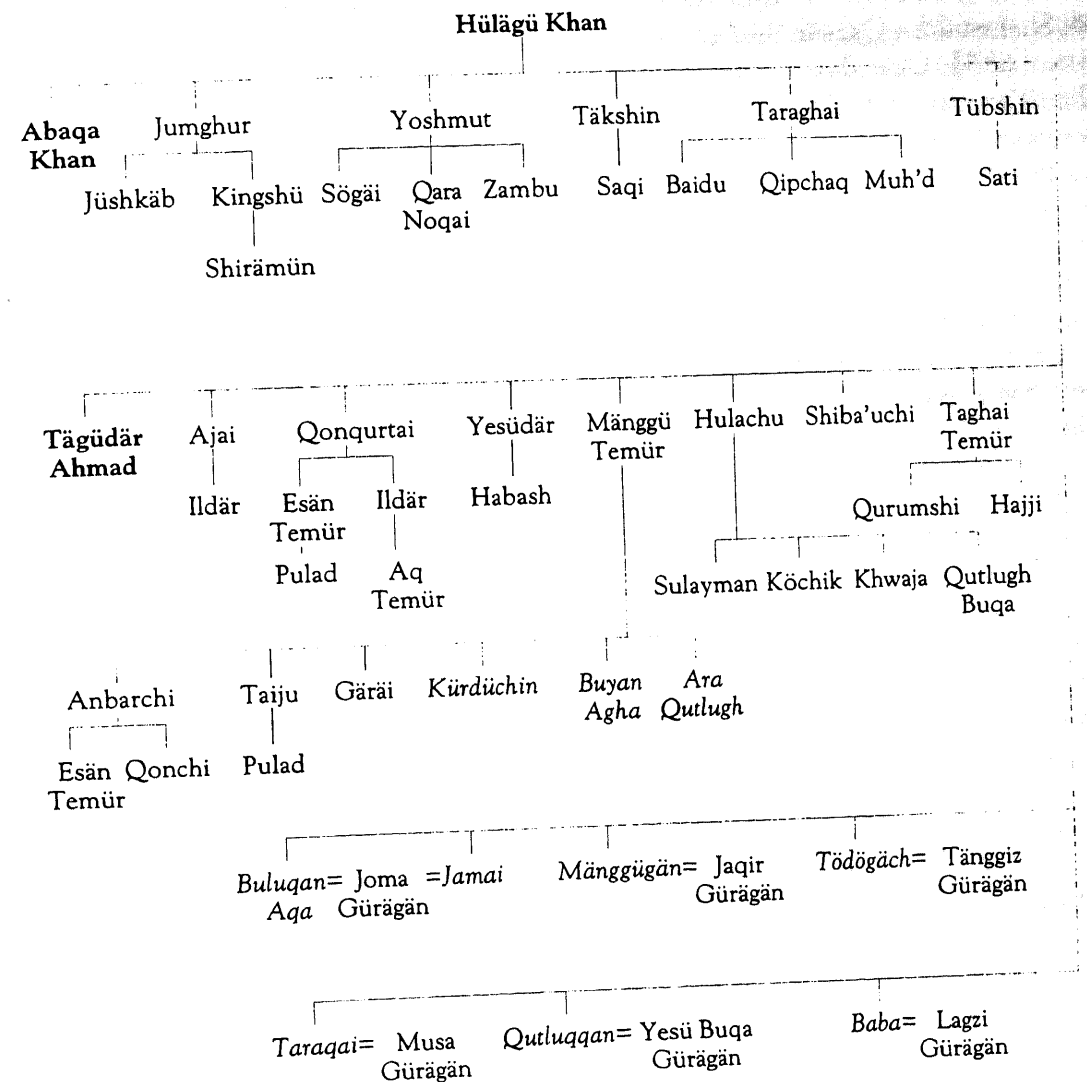
<sup>5</sup>Martai Khatun was one of Abagha Khan's wives. See text p. 740 below.

<sup>1</sup>For Joma Gürägän and Nuqdan Khatun, see text p. 67 above.

reported.

The genealogical chart of the sons, other

than those who became rulers, who will be treated separately, is as follows: [A20]



#### Part Two, on events leading to his enthronement, a picture of him and his wives, sons, grandsons, and commanders at his enthronement; stories of events that occurred during his imperial reign; some of the battles he fought and the conquests he achieved.

When Mänggü Qa'an mounted the throne with the agreement of all the *aqä*-inis and the commanders in Qaraqorum and Kerulen, the original *yurt* and capital of Genghis Khan, and after his mind was at ease concerning weighty matters of *yarghu* [investigation], he turned his attention to regulating and arranging affairs of state. He dispatched

soldiers to the borders in all directions, and he gave leave to depart to those in need and those who tended to the affairs of Turk and Tajik who had gathered from far and near, after granting their wishes and requests, as will be mentioned in his history.

He sent Baiju Noyan of Besüt "bone" with a large force to protect the realm of



Iran, and after he arrived here he sent a messenger to complain of the Heretics and the Caliph of Baghdad. At that time the late chief *cadi* Shamsuddin Qazwini had gone to the court. [685] One day he appeared before the qa'an clad in chain mail and said, "I always have to wear this chain mail beneath my clothing in fear of the Heretics."<sup>1</sup> He then reported something of their hegemony and domination.

Inasmuch as the qa'an had perceived signs of world domination in his brother Hülägü's character, [A21] it occurred to him that since some realms had been conquered during Genghis Khan's time while others remained unconquered still, and the expanse of the world was vast without limit, he would assign each of his brothers to one part of the kingdom for them to bring into submission while he dwelt in ease in the midst of the territory of the ancient *yurts*, passing his time in comfort and dispensing justice—and even conquering some nearby rebellious provinces with the help of the soldiers that were around the throne.

After formulating this idea, he assigned his brother Qubilai to the eastern realms of Cathay, Machin, Qarajang, Tangqut, Tibet, Jürcha, Solanqa and Kauli [Korea], and the part of India that was adjacent to Cathay and Machin. To Hülägü were assigned the western lands of Iran, Syria, Egypt, Anatolia, and Armenia, for him to hold each of them with the soldiers he commanded in his right and left wings. After a large *quriltai* Qubilai was dispatched to Cathay and the territories mentioned above, and forces were assigned to him. He assigned Hülägü to the land of Iran and the countries mentioned with the agreement in council of all the *aqa-inis*. He ordered that the soldiers

he had previously dispatched with Baiju and Chormaqan as *tamma* [garrisons] should remain in Iran, and the forces he had sent with Dayir Bahadur to Kashmir and India should all be under Hülägü's command. (The soldiers Dayir Noyan held [A22] were commanded after his death by \_\_\_\_, and after him by \_\_\_\_, and then they were given to Sali Noyan of the Tatar nation. It was he who took Kashmir and brought out several thousand captives. All the soldiers who were with Sali Noyan, wherever they are, have gone at present by inheritance as *enchü* to the Padishah of Islam Ghazan Khan.) After assigning these forces, he ordered that of all Genghis Khan's troops that had been divided among the brothers and nephews, two of every ten individuals who had not entered the count should be taken out and given as *enchü* to Hülägü in order that they might come with him and attend him here. Therefore, they all assigned some of their sons, relatives, and liege men and sent them off with their troops in Hülägü's service. For this reason there have been and are amirs in this land from the offspring and kin of every one of Genghis Khan's commanders, [686] each one following his hereditary rank and post.

When this assignment had been made, he sent messengers to Cathay to bring a thousand households of Cathaian catapult men, naphtha throwers, and crossbow men. In advance of the army envoys were sent to reserve all the meadows and grasslands from Qaraqorum to the banks of the Oxus that had been calculated as lying in the path of Hülägü's army and to build strong bridges across deep canals and rivers.

An order was given for Baiju Noyan and the troops that had come previously with Chormaqan to go to Anatolia. From all lands for every individual one *taghar* of flour and one skin of wine as troop provisions were to be made ready. After the princes and *noyans* who were appointed set

<sup>1</sup>Rashiduddin's "Heretics" are the Ismailis of Alamut, whose tactics for eliminating their enemies have given the world the word assassin, generally thought to be derived from the Arabic *hashshāshin*, 'users of hasheesh.'

out with their units of thousand and hundred, in the vanguard was dispatched Ket Buqa Noyan of the Naiman, who held the post of *ba'urchi*, as a *yäzäk* [advance troop] with twelve thousand men [A23] to come as an attack force. When he reached Khurasan, while waiting for the arrival of the imperial banners, he set about conquering the province of Quhistan. When Hülägü's travel preparations had been completed, as was customary he gave valedictory banquets in his *ordus*. Accompanied by his younger brother Ariq Bökä and the other princes, similar banquets were held in Qaraqorum during the spring, and they made merry and indulged in various pleasures.

Out of fraternal affection Mänggü Qa'an gave advice to Hülägü, saying, "You are to go with a large army and innumerable force from the borders of Turan to the country of Iran.

*From Turan pass strutting into Iran and raise your name to the shining sun.*

Observe Genghis Khan's customs and *yosun* and *yasa* in all matters large and small. From the River Oxus to the farthest reaches of the land of Egypt, treat kindly and affectionately and reward sufficiently whoever obeys and submits to your orders. Grind beneath the feet of your wrath those who resist, along with their wives, children, and kith and kin. Begin with Quhistan and Khurasan, and destroy the fortresses and castles. [687]

*Rip up Gird Koh and Lambasar fortress and turn them upside down. / Neither let any bastion remain in the world nor leave a pile of dust standing.*

When you are finished there, head for Persia and eliminate the Lurs and Kurds who constantly practice brigandage along the highways. If the Caliph of Baghdad comes out to pay homage, harass him in no way whatsoever. If he is prideful and his heart and tongue are not one, let him join the

others. In all cases make your clear-sighted intelligence and golden mind your guide and leader, and be awake and sober in all situations. [A24] Let the subjects be free of excessive taxes and impositions. Return devastated lands to a flourishing state. Conquer the realm of the rebellious through the might of the great god so that your summer and winter pastures may be many. Consult Doquz Khatun on all matters."

Now, although Mänggü Qa'an imagined that Hülägü would always remain in the realm of Iran as a mighty monarch with the soldiers he had given him and that this kingdom would be his and his descendants' as it is now, nonetheless he apparently said, "When you have accomplished these tasks, return to your original camp site." After these pieces of advice and instructions he sent Hülägü and his wives and children, each and every one separately, much gold, clothing, and herds, and he rewarded all the *noyans* and amirs who were going with him. Among the princes he sent his younger brother Sö[gä]täi Oghul with him.

Hülägü arrived at his own *ordu* toward the end of the Hükär Yil that began in Dhu'l-Hijja 650 [February 1253]. In the autumn of Bars Yil, the Year of the Leopard that began in Dhu'l-Hijja 651 [January 1254], in accordance with his brother's command, after leaving his *aghruqs* there, he set out for this land with an enormous army. The commanders of various frontiers had arranged *tuzghus* [provisions] and placed them station by station, and to the width that the passage of his army had been calculated, they cleared the road of debris and had boats ready at crossings of rivers and large canals. [688] The princes and commanders that had been assigned from all directions to accompany Hülägü to Iran got busy making preparations for their forces. Their names are as follows: \_\_\_\_.

Hülägü set out with his chief wives, Doquz Khatun and Öljäi Khatun, [A25] and

his elder sons Abaqa, Yoshmut, and \_\_\_\_.<sup>1</sup> After traversing the distances, when they arrived in the vicinity of Almalyk, Orghina Khatun came out to greet them and hosted a round of banquets and presented suitable gifts. Then, when the imperial banners were hoisted and passed from there, the lord of Turkistan and Transoxiana, Amir Mas'ud Beg, and the amirs of that territory came to pay homage. In the year 652 they spent the summer in that area, and in Sha'ban 653 [September 1255] they camped in the Kan-i-Gil meadow at the gates of Samarkand. There Mas'ud Beg had erected a tent of gold-spun brocade, and for nearly forty days they were there, indulging in constant drinking. During that time, due to the workings of spiteful fate, Prince Sö[gä]tāi passed away. It was also at this point that Malik Shamsuddin Kurt was the first of the rulers of Iran to attain the felicity of coming to greet the entourage, and he was received favorably and given all sorts of rewards.

From there they decamped and moved on, not drawing their reins until they reached the edge of Kish.<sup>2</sup> There Amir Arghun Aqa arrived with the grandees and nobles of Khurasan to pay homage. For one month they remained there, issuing decrees to the monarchs and sultans of Iran, saying, "We are on campaign to eradicate the strongholds of the Heretics by command of the Qa'an. If you come yourselves and assist us with soldiers, weapons, and provisions, your territories, troops, and homes will remain yours and your efforts will be appreciated. If you allow any negligence of this command to take place, when by God's grace we are finished with them, we will head straight for you—and no excuse will be accepted—and the same thing will hap-

pen to your territories and homes that will have happened to them."

Swift-traveling messengers were dispatched on this mission, and when the news of the arrival of the world-conquering banners was spread abroad, the sultans and maliks of every part of Iran set out for court. From Anatolia went the sultans Iz-zuddin and Ruknuddin; [A26] from Fars went Atabeg Sa'd son of Atabeg Muzafaruddin; from Persia, Khurasan, Azerbaijan, Arran, Shirvan, and Georgia went maliks, *sadrs*, and grandees, all bearing suitable gifts. [689]

After all boatmen's ships and barques had been commandeered and a bridge had been fashioned, they set out to cross the Oxus. The crossing was effected on the first of Dhu'l-Hijja 653 [January 1, 1256] with the invincible army. The boatmen were rewarded, and the toll that had been taken from boats was abolished. After crossing the river Hülägü took a sight-seeing tour along the river bank. From the forests appeared ferocious lions, and an order was given for the horsemen to form a circle around the perimeter. Since the horses were shy of the lions, they mounted Bactrians in rut and hunted down ten lions.

The next day they decamped from there and camped in the meadow of Sheberghan, not intending to remain long. It was the day of the Adha Feast [January 10, 1256]. Without warning it began to snow and hail, and it continued without let-up for seven days and nights. It was so cold that many animals perished. Hülägü Khan remained there the whole of that winter, constantly engaged in pleasure and enjoyment.

When spring came Arghun Aqa erected a thousand-pegged tent of gold-on-gold stuff equipped with all the accoutrements of such a monarch's court. Easily moveable and transportable, it had an appropriate assembly hall with vessels of gold and silver studded with precious gems. It was erected one

particularly auspicious day, and an assembly with all luxuries was held. Hülägü was pleased and mounted the throne of good fortune under favorable auspices. All the assembled princes, commanders, and all the ministers of state, [A27] court dignitaries, and rulers of the surrounding regions performed the customary rituals. After the banquets were finished, Amir Arghun Aqa set out as ordered for the qa'an's court, appointing his son Gäräi Malik, Ahmad Bitigchi, and Sahib Ala'uddin Ata-Malik Juwayni to administer Iran and leaving them to attend Hülägü until he returned.

**Ket Buqa Noyan goes to the fortresses of the Heretics in advance of Hülägü Khan and conquers them; Ala'uddin is killed, and Khwarshah takes over his father's position.**

In Jumada II 650 [August 1252] Ket Buqa Noyan set out from Mänggü Qa'an's court in advance of Hülägü to attack the lands of the Heretics. [690] Around the beginning of Muharram 651 [March 1253] he crossed the river and began to attack the province of Quhistan, conquering some of the region. From there he and five thousand cavalry and infantry arrived at the foot of Gird Koh in Rabi' I 651 [May 1253]. He ordered a ditch dug around the fortress and around that a strong wall erected, stationing his soldiers behind the wall in a *järgä* circle. Around the camp another very high wall and another extremely deep ditch were made so that the soldiers would be safe between the two and so that there would be no skirmishes between the two sides. He stationed Büri there.

Then he went to the foot of Mihrin Fortress, laid siege, and placed his catapults. Then, on the 8th of Jumada II [August 5, 1253] he came to Shah Diz, where he killed a number of people, and withdrew. Märkitäi went with a troop to the province of Tarum [A28] and Rodbar and wrought much

destruction. From there they came to the foot of Mansuriyya and Aluhnishin, where they killed for eighteen days. On the 9th of Shawwal 651 [December 2, 1253] they made a surprise attack on Gird Koh. The [defenders] broke the *järgä* and killed a hundred Mongols, the leader Amir Büri being among those slain. Ket Buqa Noyan attacked Quhistan again, driving everyone from Tun, Turshez, and Zerkoh, and massacring, pillaging, and taking captives. On the 10th of Jumada I of the [next] year [June 28, 1254] they took Tun and Turshez. Around the beginning of Sha'ban [mid-September 1254] they took Mihrin fortress. On the 27th of Ramadan [November 20, 1253] they took Kamali Fortress.

From Gird Koh, Ala'uddin Muhammad, the ruler of the Heretics, was informed that pestilence had broken out in the citadel, most of the fighting men had died, and they were about to lose the stronghold. Mubarizuddin Ali Turan and Shuja'uddin Hasan Astarabadi were dispatched with a hundred ten renowned warriors to reinforce the inhabitants of Gird Koh. With each was two maunds of henna and three maunds of salt, for there was no salt left in the fortress. (It has never been recorded in books that henna is a deterrent for the pestilence. Nonetheless, an amir's daughter was being married there, and her hands and feet had been hennaed and then washed. Since water was scarce, some people had drunk it, and none of them had died. They took this as proof and asked for henna.) In short, those hundred ten men threw themselves against the beleaguers and got through without suffering a single wound—save only one person who fell in the ditch and sprained his ankle, and he was picked up and carried into the fortress. With this, things were looking up for Gird Koh.

On Wednesday eve the last day of Dhu'l-Qa'da 653 [December 31, 1255], in Gird Koh, Hasan Mazandarani, [691] Ala'ud-

<sup>1</sup>Name missing in the text. It should be Taraghāi; see text p. 681 above.

<sup>2</sup>Kish (~ Kash), the modern Shahrīsabz in Uzbekistan.

din's chamberlain, with the connivance of Ala'uddin's own son Khwarshah, [A29] struck Ala'uddin with a battle axe during the night while he was in a drunken stupor and killed him. Khwarshah was then elevated to the throne in his father's place. Several persons were accused of killing Ala'uddin. Khwarshah could not trust Hasan Mazandarani, albeit he had killed his father in connivance with him. He wrote him a letter and gave it to a devotee to take to him. While he was reading it the devotee struck him down and killed him. Khwarshah then announced, "I had him killed because he killed my father." He also ordered Hasan's sons to be burned in the playing field.

Battle was engaged on Sunday the 26th of Dhu'l-Hijja [January 26, 1256], and after three days of fighting [the Mongols] took it.

**Nasiruddin, the Muhtasham of Quhistan, comes to Hülägü Khan's court accompanied by Malik Shamsuddin Kurt, who had also gone before him on a mission.**

Hülägü sent Malik Shamsuddin Kurt on a mission to the pinnacle of Sartakht to Nasiruddin Muhtasham, who was then very old and weak. He obeyed the command and came to court on the 17th of Jumada I [June 12, 1256], accompanied by Malik Shamsuddin and bearing all sorts of gifts and presents and prostrating himself before the throne. The gifts were received with regal acceptance, and Hülägü said, "Since you have had mercy on your wife and children by coming, why do you not have the defenders of the citadel come down?"

"Khwarshah is the ruler," he replied, "and they listen only to him."

Hülägü gave him a *yarligh* and a *paiza* and sent him off as governor of Tun. He died in Safar 655 [February 1257].

From there, Hülägü proceeded, stage by stage. When he came to the vicinity of Zawa and Khwaf, he came down with a slight ill-

ness. He assigned Kökä Elgäi, Ket Buqa Noyan, and other commanders to conquer the remaining provinces. When they reached the borders of Quhistan, some rabble staged a little resistance, but within a week they had seized them all and pulled down their defensive walls. [A30] They killed, pillaged, and took captives. On the 7th of Rabi' II [May 4, 1256] they came to the gates of Tun, set up catapults, and started fighting. On the 19th of the month they took the town and killed everyone other than the craftsmen. Returning triumphant and victorious to Hülägü's court, they set out for Tus. [692]

**Hülägü arrives in Tus and the vicinity of Quchan; he orders rebuilding; he sets out for Damghan and destroys Alamut and Lammasar; Khwarshah surrenders.**

When Hülägü reached Tus, a tent of brocade was pitched for him by order of the qa'an in a garden Arghun Aqa had made, and there he camped. From there they went to the garden of Mansuriyya, which Arghun Aqa had ordered after the razing of the buildings there. Amir Arghun's wives and Khwaja Izzuddin Tahir presented *tuzghu* there. The next day they moved to the Radkan meadow, where he stayed for a while in order to enjoy the scenery. Wine was brought from Merv, Yazir, Dehistan, and other places, and abundant fodder was brought in.

After that, they went to Khabushan, which the Mongols call Quchan, a town that had lain in neglect and ruin since the initial advent of the Mongols. Hülägü ordered it rebuilt and appropriated an amount for it from the treasury so that no imposition would have to be made on the peasants. The canals began to flow again, and workshops were built. Next to the congregational mosque a garden was made. Sayfuddin Aqa, a vizier and administrator, gave money for restoring the congregational

mosque. [A31] An order was given for the amirs and dignitaries of court to build houses there, each in accordance with his rank and ability. Then he decamped from there.

Beg Temür Qorchi, Zahiruddin Sipahsalar Bitigchi, and Shah Amir, whom he had dispatched on a mission to Khwarshah, the ruler of the Heretics, had delivered the edict and returned on the 29th of Jumada II [July 24, 1256]. That very day the army reached the Heretics' fortresses and began their attack. On the 10th of Sha'ban 654 [September 2, 1256] he reached Kharraqan and Bistam, and he sent the *shahna* of Herat, Märkitäi, with Beglämish on a mission to deliver threats of violence to Ruknuddin Khwarshah. At that time Mawlana Sa'id Khwaja Nasiruddin Tusi, the most learned and most intelligent man in the world, and a group of great physicians like Ra'isuddawla, Muwaffaquddawla, and their sons, who were trapped involuntarily in that land, when they saw how erratic Khwarshah's behavior was and that aggression and tyranny were part of the very fibre of his being and his madness was quite apparent, not only had wearied of but actually began to detest serving the Heretics and were desirous of helping Hülägü Khan. Prior to this they had been supportive of such an action, and they had discussed in secret amongst themselves how easy it would be for the kingdom to fall to him. [693] Many poor people and Muslims had joined them, and they were all in full agreement in making efforts to encourage Khwarshah to surrender or to make him fear the consequences if he did not. He gave in, honored the leader of the emissaries, and sent his younger brother Shahanshah and Khwaja Asiluddin Zozani to Hülägü's court with a group of dignitaries of the realm. To encourage them to submit [A32] Hülägü ordered them shown honor and favor. Once again he assigned emissaries to go to Khwarshah with

Sadrudin, Zahiruddin, Tüläk Bahadur Bakhshi, and Mazuq to say that if he was really in obedience, he should destroy his fortresses and come to court himself. In reply Khwarshah said, "If my father rebelled, I will be obedient," and he had parts of several strongholds like Maymun Diz, Alamut, and Lammasar destroyed, their battlements thrown down, their gates taken away, and the rampart walls razed. For coming out, however, he requested a one-year respite.

Since Hülägü knew that the time for Khwarshah's downfall had come and that exchanges of emissaries would not serve to threaten him further, he mounted in Bistam on the 10th of Sha'ban 654 [September 2, 1256] and set out for their lands and castles. He also gave an order for the troops in Persia and other parts to ready themselves. In the right wing went Buqa Temür and Kökä Elgäi via Mazanderan, and in the left went Tägüdär Oghul and Ket Buqa Noyan via Khwar and Simnan. Hülägü Khan was in the center, which the Mongols call *qol*, with ten thousand renowned warriors.

*They set forth, and the face of the earth turned dark. By the dust of horsemen the celestial sphere was blinded.*

Once again emissaries were sent in advance to announce that the expedition was in motion. If Khwarshah would come out, his offenses notwithstanding, he would be pardoned.

When the imperial banners passed by Firozkoh, the emissaries returned accompanied by the vizier Kayqubad, who accepted to have the fortresses destroyed and begged that Khwarshah be given a year's respite to come out [A33] and that Alamut and Lammasar, which were ancient seats, be spared destruction. All other fortresses would be surrendered, and anything that was commanded would be obeyed. [694] He sent a missive for the governor of Gird Koh and Quhistan to come to court, think-

ing that by that means he could stave off the inevitable.

When the imperial forces arrived in Lar and Damavand, Shamsuddin Gilaki was sent to Gird Koh to bring the commandant to court. Proceeding to Qasran, they besieged Shah Diz, which lay on the way, and conquered it in two days. Once again emissaries were dispatched for Khwarshah to come out. He sent the emissaries back, having accepted to send his son with three hundred levies and to allow all the fortresses to be destroyed.

Hülägü Khan stopped in Abbasabad in Ray and waited. A boy seven or eight years old who had been born of a concubine was sent in the company of the emissaries and a group of dignitaries and grandees, arriving on the 17th of Ramadan 654 [October 8, 1256]. Hülägü received him honorably and gave him permission to return because he was so young. [Now a message was sent saying that] if Ruknuddin could delay coming out, he would send another brother provided that Shahanshah, who had been at court for several years, be allowed to return home. Ruknuddin did send another brother, Sheranshah, along with Khwaja Asiluddin Zozani and three men, on the 5th of Shawwal [October 26, 1256], and they arrived at court in the vicinity of Ray. On the 9th of Shawwal he withdrew with a writ that said, "On account of your display of submission and obedience, we have pardoned the offenses of your father and those attached to him. During this period no offense on the part of Ruknuddin himself, who is seated in his father's place, has been committed. Let him raze the fortresses, and on all counts he will be safe from our might." It was ordered that the soldiers who were stationed on the perimeter proceed in a *järgä* circle. Suddenly they were attacked from all sides. Buqa Temür and Kökä Elgäi arrived from Aspedar. Khwarshah sent them a message [A34] saying,

"Now that we are in submission and busy razing the installations, what has caused you to come?"

"Since on both sides the path of unity is trod, we have come to graze our horses," they replied.

[Maymun Diz is taken.]

On the 10th of Shawwal 654 [October 31, 1256], Hülägü Khan set out from Pishkila via Talaqan and started attacking the border. Had it not rained so much that night, Khwarshah would have been taken at the foot of the fortress. On the 18th of Shawwal [November 8, 1256], the "sky-scraping" imperial parasol was opened on the northern side, in a place opposite Maymun Diz. The next day he made a circumference of the stronghold to observe and study it from a strategic point of view, marking the entrances and exits. The next day soldiers poured down on the fortress from all directions in an indescribable onslaught. They encircled the fortress, [695] which was nearly six leagues around, and since it was too strong to be breached, he held council with the princes and commanders on the advisability of continuing the siege or withdrawing and waiting until the next year.

"It is winter," they said, "and the horses are lean. Fodder has to be transported from Armenia to Kirman. It would be better to withdraw." Buqa Temür, Sayfuddin Bitigchi, and Amir Ket Buqa insisted on continuing the siege. Hülägü Khan sent more emissaries with messages couched in mixed terms of coaxing and threats of violence. "If he comes out," he had said, "it will mean the lives of all the weak and helpless. If he does not come within five days, let him raise his fortifications and get ready for battle!"

Khwarshah consulted his commanders and ministers. Every one had something different to say, and he was left perplexed. Since he realized that he did not have the

capability to resist, he sent out first another of his brothers, Iranshah, and his son Tarkiya accompanied by Khwaja Nasiruddin [A35] and Khwaja Asiluddin Zozani and a group of viziers, dignitaries, grandees, and army commanders bearing innumerable gifts. They arrived at the court on Friday the 27th of Shawwal [November 17]. They were settled in widely scattered places and questioned. On Sunday the 1st of Dhu'l-Qa'da [November 20], upon the advice of the ministers Khwarshah himself came down from the fortress accompanied by Khwaja Nasiruddin Tusi, Khwaja Asiluddin Zozani, the vizier Mu'ayyiduddin, and the sons of Ra'isuddawla and Muwaffaquddawla. He thus bade farewell to a two-hundred-year-old home and kissed the ground before His Majesty. Khwaja Nasiruddin composed a chronogram for the event:

*When the Arabian year was six hundred fifty and four, at dawn on Sunday the first of the month of Dhu'l-Qa'da, / Khwarshah, the Padishah of the Ismailis, arose from his throne and stood before the throne of Hülägü.*

When Hülägü saw Khwarshah and realized what a child he was, how inexperienced and unwise he was, he soothed him and promised him good things. He sent Sadrudin to supervise the handing over of all the strongholds and fortifications his fathers and forefathers had acquired over time in Quhistan, Rodbar, and Qumis, and which were filled to the brim with vessels and treasures. The number came to a hundred. The castellans were made to come out, and all the fortresses were razed except for Gird Koh and Lammasar. His kinsmen and adherents held Lammasar for a year. After that, pestilence broke out and many died. Those who were left came out and joined the others. [A36] They held Gird Koh for nearly twenty years, but in the end, during Abaqa Khan's reign, they came out and were killed, and it too was taken over.

[696]

In short, Khwarshah had all his adherents come out of Maymun Diz, and he presented all the hoards of buried treasure he had inherited and acquired, although they did not measure up to their reputation. The padishah distributed them among the commanders and soldiers.

Then the imperial banners proceeded from there to the foot of Alamut. Ruknuddin was sent to the foot of the fortress to get them out. The commandant resisted at first. Hülägü Khan stationed Balagha at the perimeter, and there were skirmishes for two or three days. After that, a writ of amnesty was sent, and on Saturday the 26th of Dhu'l-Qa'da [December 15] the commandant came down and surrendered the fortress. The Mongols went up, broke the catapults, and removed the gates. The inhabitants requested a three-day respite in order to remove their belongings. On the fourth day the soldiers went in and pillaged. Hülägü Khan went up on top to study Alamut, and he was amazed by the enormity of the mountain. After looking at it, he came down and decamped.

He settled in for the winter in the vicinity of Lammasar. Several days later he assigned Dayir Buqa and a troop to lay siege. On the 16th of Dhu'l-Hijja 654 [January 4, 1257], he withdrew. On Monday the 25th [January 13] he dismounted in the great *ordu* seven leagues from Qazwin to celebrate the new year (*künyanglamishi*). Banquets were held for a week, and the princes and commanders were rewarded.

Since the allegiance of Khwaja Nasiruddin Tusi and the sons of Ra'isuddawla and Muwaffaquddawla, who were great and influential physicians originally from Hamadan, was patent and tested, he rewarded them all and gave them pack horses [A37] so that they could get all their family, dependents, relatives, and retinue, along with all their servants and followers, and



move them to the court. Until now they and their offspring have always been and still are attendants and confidants at the court of Hülägü Khan and his illustrious offspring.

On Thursday the 10th of Muharram 655 [January 28, 1257] he gave Khwarshah a *yarligh* and *paiza* and honored him by giving him a Mongol girl and settling his retinue and herds in Qazwin. He and two or three of his men were sent with emissaries to the fortresses in Syria so that they would surrender when the imperial banners arrived there.

After the wedding was over, Hülägü Khan, having pledged his word and given Khwarshah amnesty, did not want to break his oath and assassinate him, [697] so he maintained him in honor for a while because the many strongholds the [Ismailis] held in Syria would capitulate at a word from him—otherwise it would take many years to conquer them. Thereafter he sent him to the qa'an's court. There are many versions of how he died, but the truth is that when the news reached the qa'an that Khwarshah was coming, he said, "Why are they bringing him and tiring a horse uselessly?" With that, he dispatched envoys to do away with him along the way.

Back on this front, as soon as Khwarshah was set on the road, his kith and kin, including men and women down to babes in cradles, were all put to death between Abhar and Qazwin, with no trace remaining.

The Ismailis ruled in these areas for one hundred seventy-seven years, beginning in 477 [1084], for which the word Alamut is a chronogram,<sup>1</sup> and ending on the first of Dhu'l-Qa'da 654 [November 20, 1256]. [A38] The number of their rulers was seven, as follows: (1) Hasan b. Ali b. Muhammad al-Sabbah al-Himyari, (2) Kiya

Buzurg-Ummid (he and Hasan were both *da'is*), (3) Muhammad Buzurg-Ummid, who is known as 'Ala Dhikrihi's-salam,<sup>2</sup> (4) Hasan b. Muhammad Buzurg-Ummid, (5) Jalaluddin Hasan b. Muhammad, who was also called Hasan Nawmusalman, (6) Ala'uddin Muhammad b. al-Hasan b. Muhammad, (7) Ruknuddin Khwarshah b. Ala'uddin, with whom the dynasty became extinct.<sup>3</sup>

The victory over those fortresses and installations is irrefutable proof of the felicity and fortune of Mänggü Qa'an and his brother Hülägü Khan, who easily accomplished such a great task in a short period of time. Had it not been for such good fortune, the territories in submission would have been totally ruined by transport of food and drink. Here ends the section on the conquest of the Heretics.

**Hülägü Khan proceeds to Quhistan after conquering the Heretics' strongholds; Baiju Noyan arrives from Anatolia; Hülägü Khan calls him on the carpet and sends him back to Anatolia to complete the conquest.**

When Hülägü Khan had completed his conquest of the lands and fortresses of the Heretics, [A39] he set out from the vicinity of Qazwin in Rabi' I 655 [March 1257] and headed for Hamadan.

Baiju Noyan arrived from Azerbaijan. Hülägü, angry with him, shouted, "Since Chormaqan Noyan died, what have you done in Iran in his place? What battle line have you broken? What rebel have you brought into submission? Other than frightening the Mongol army with tales of

<sup>2</sup>The epithet 'Ala Dhikrihi's-salam belongs to the next ruler, Hasan II, not Muhammad I.

<sup>3</sup>The reigns of these are as follows: Hasan al-Sabbah, 1090-1124; Kiya Buzurg-Ummid, 1124-1138; Muhammad I, 1138-1162; Hasan II, 1162-1166; Nuruddin Muhammad II, 1166-1210; Jalaluddin Hasan III, 1210-1221; Ala'uddin Muhammad III, 1221-1255; Ruknuddin Khwarshah, 1255-1256.

the Caliph's might and grandeur, what have you done?"

He knelt and said, "It isn't my fault. I did what I could. [698] I have taken from the gates of Ray to the border of Anatolia and Syria. The only thing I haven't done is to take Baghdad because there are too many people and soldiers with too many arms, and the roads are too difficult to get the army there. It is the padishah's to command, whatever he orders I will obey."

With these words Hülägü's wrath subsided and he said, "You must go and take the lands from the edge of the western sea from the hands of the sons of the Roi de France and the infidels."<sup>1</sup>

Baiju Noyan immediately returned and led his army to Anatolia. At that time the sultan of Anatolia was Ghiyasuddin Kaykhusraw, the son of Ala'uddin. He did battle with Baiju Noyan at Kösä Dagh and was defeated. Baiju took all of Anatolia, massacring and pillaging.

Hülägü Khan and the princes Quli, Balagha, and Tutar and the great amirs Buqa Temür, Qutusun, Qata, Su'unchaq, and Kökä Elgäi camped in the plains of Hamadan near Jatmabad, a meadow in Kurdistan, where they began outfitting the army. [A40]

**Unrest breaks out in Baghdad; a dispute between Dawatdar and the vizier; the beginning of the Caliph's demise.**

Toward the end of the summer of 654 [1256], a huge flood came and so inundated the city of Baghdad that the lower part of the inhabited section disappeared under water. For fifty days the flood increased, and then it began to subside. Half the outlying districts of Iraq were destroyed. The "Musta'simid flood" is still proverbial in

<sup>1</sup>For the garbled version of *roi de France*, see text p. 607 (trs. p. 418, note 7). "Infidels" is a guess at the reading of a practically indecipherable word.

the mouths of the people of Baghdad.

During the catastrophe, rabble took over, and every day they killed people. Mujahiduddin Aybak the Dawatdar<sup>2</sup> called the rabble to himself, and in a short time he had become very powerful. When he was strong, and since he knew the Caliph Musta'sim to be indecisive and simple-hearted, he conspired with a group of his henchmen to depose the caliph and put another of the Abbasids in his place.

The vizier Mu'ayyiduddin Ibn Alqami learned of the plot and informed Musta'sim in secret, saying, "It is imperative that they be dealt with." The caliph immediately summoned the Dawatdar and repeated to him the vizier's report, saying, "Because of the trust I have in you I did not listen to the vizier's calumny of you and have told it to you. You should not be beguiled in any way, and you must not swerve from the path of obedience."

When Aybak perceived the caliph's kindness and affection, [699] he replied, "If a crime is proven against me, here is my head and here is a sword. What then of the Caliph's forgiveness and clemency? The deceitful vizier has been led astray by a demon: he has it in his dark mind to support Hülägü and the Mongol army, and his calumny of me is to divert suspicion from himself. [A41] He is against the caliph, and spies are constantly being exchanged between him and Hülägü."

The caliph pardoned him and said, "Henceforth be awake and aware." Mujahiduddin Aybak left the caliph and gathered a large force of rabble around himself with which to attack the caliph. They were with him day and night. The caliph became apprehensive and gathered his army to repulse him. There was much unrest in Baghdad, and the inhabitants, sick and tired of the

<sup>2</sup>The *dawatdar*, the inkpot holder, was a high court office under the late Abbasids.

<sup>1</sup>الموت (Alamut) yields 477 by numerical value of the letters.



Abbasids, considered this a sign of the end of their reign as varying allegiances appeared among them.

The caliph became fearful and told Fakhruddin Damghani, his divan chief, to quell the disturbance. In his own handwriting he gave him a letter saying, "What has been said concerning the Dawatdar is calumny and slander. We have complete faith in him, and he is under our protection." This letter he sent by Ibn Durnus. The Dawatdar appeared before the caliph and was placated and withdrew with honor. Heralds were sent throughout the city to proclaim that what had been said about the Dawatdar was false, and in the *khutba*, after the mention of the caliph, the Dawatdar's name was mentioned. With this, the unrest subsided.

**Hülägü Khan heads for Baghdad; emissaries are exchanged between him and the caliph; what happened in the end.**

On the 9th of Rabi' II 655 [April 26, 1257] Hülägü Khan arrived in Dinawar on his way to Baghdad. From there he withdrew and went to Tabriz. On the 12th of Rajab of that year [July 26] and also on the 19th of Ramadan [September 21] he went to Hamadan.

An emissary was sent to the caliph bearing threats and promises, saying, "When the Heretics' fortresses were conquered we sent emissaries to request assistance from you. [A42] In reply you said that you were in submission, but you did not send troops. Now, a token of submissiveness and allegiance is that you assist us with troops when we ride against foes. You have not done so, and you send excuses. No matter how ancient and grand your family may be, and no matter how fortunate your dynasty has been, [700] 'is the brightness of the moon such that it can eclipse the brilliance of the sun?' Talk of what the Mongol army has done to the world and those in it from

the time of Genghis Khan until today may have reached your hearing from common and elite, and you may have heard how, through God's strength, they have brought low the dynasties of the Khwarazmians, the Seljuqs, the Daylamite kings, the Atabegs, and others, all of whom were families of might and majesty. The gates of Baghdad were not closed to any of those groups, and they kept thrones there. With the might and power we possess, how shall they be closed to us?

"Previously we have given you advice, but now we say you should avoid our wrath and vengeance. Do not try to overreach yourself or accomplish the impossible, for you will only succeed in harming yourself. The past is over. Destroy your ramparts, fill in your moats, turn the kingdom over to your son, and come to us. If you do not wish to come, send all three, the vizier, Sulaymanshah, and the Dawatdar, that they may convey our message word for word. If our command is obeyed, it will not be necessary for us to wreak vengeance, and you may retain your lands, army, and subjects. If you do not heed our advice and dispute with us, line up your soldiers and get ready for the field of battle, for we have our loins girded for battle with you and are standing at the ready. When I lead my troops in wrath against Baghdad, even if you hide in the sky or in the earth, [A43] 'I shall bring you down from the turning celestial sphere; I shall pull you up like a lion. / I shall not leave one person alive in your realm, and I shall put your city and country to the torch.'

"If you desire to have mercy on your ancient family's heads, heed my advice. If you do not, let us see what God's will is."

When the emissaries arrived in Baghdad and delivered this message, the caliph sent back Sharafuddin Ibn al-Jawzi, an eloquent man, and Badruddin Muhammad Dizbaki Nakhjiwani in the company of the emis-

saries. In reply the caliph said, "Young man, you have just come of age and have expectations of living forever. You have seen your 'ten days' pass prosperously and auspiciously in dominating the whole world. You think your command is absolute. [701] Since you are not going to get anything from me, why do you seek? 'You come with strategy, troops, and lasso, but how are you going to capture a star?' Does the prince not know that from the east to the west, from king to beggar, from old to young, all who are God-fearing and God-worshipping are servants of this court and soldiers in my army? When I motion for all those who are dispersed to come together, I will deal first with Iran and then turn my attention to Turan, and I will put every one in his proper place. Of course, the face of the earth will be full of tumult, but I do not seek vengeance or to harm anyone. I do not desire that the tongues of my subjects should either congratulate or curse me because of the movement of armies, especially since I am of one heart and one tongue with the Qa'an and Hülägü. If, like me, you were to sow seeds of friendship, do you think you would have to deal with my moats and ramparts and those of my servants? Adopt the path of friendship and go back to Khurasan. If you are intent upon war and battle, [A44]

*Tarry not, hasten away, and abide not. If you have a moment's thought of war, / I have thousands and thousands of cavalry and infantry worthy of the battlefield, and when they wreak vengeance they can stir up dust from the water of the sea."*

Giving them a message like this, he sent the emissaries off with a few gifts and presents. When they got outside the city, the entire plain was filled with common people, who cursed the envoys and then attacked them, tearing their clothing and throwing mud at them, hoping to provoke them into saying something that would allow them to

injure them. The vizier was informed, and he immediately dispatched several military slaves to get the emissaries away.

When the envoys reached Hülägü Khan's court and reported what they had seen, the padishah said angrily, "The caliph is a total incompetent. He is as crooked as a bow; but if God the eternal assists me, [702] I will make him straight as an arrow through chastisement."

Then the caliph's envoys, Ibn al-Jawzi and Badruddin Dizbaki, entered and delivered their message. Hearing the caliph's ill-considered words, Hülägü Khan flew into a rage and said, "God's will for these people is other than the thoughts He puts in their minds." And in the month of \_\_\_ in Luy Yil, corresponding to the year 655 [1256], at Panj Angusht in Hamadan, where his *ordu* was, he gave the caliph's envoys leave to withdraw and sent a message saying, "God the eternal elevated Genghis Khan and his progeny and gave us all the face of the earth, from east to west. Anyone whose heart and tongue are straight with us in submission retains his kingdom, property, women, children, and life. [A45] He who contemplates otherwise will not live to enjoy them." Chastising the caliph severely, he said, "Love of status and property, conceit, and pride in transitory fortune have so seduced you that even the words of your well-wishers have no effect on you. Your ear cannot hear the advice of the compassionate, and you have deviated from the path of your fathers and forebears. You must get ready for battle, for I am coming to Baghdad with an army as numerous as ants and locusts. Be the turning of the celestial sphere how it may, the power to command is God's."

After arriving, the envoys reported the world-conquering padishah's message to the vizier, and he relayed it to the caliph, who asked, "What is your idea to repel this omnipotent and wrathful foe?"

"We should trip the foe up by spending money," he replied, "for accumulated treasure is to be spent on protecting one's honor and life. A thousand loads of precious items, a thousand choice camels, and a thousand Arabian horses with accoutrements must be made ready, and gifts and presents must be sent by envoys to the princes and amirs according to their ranks. An apology must be made, and it must be accepted that the *khutba* and coinage be in his name."

The caliph approved of the vizier's plan and gave an order for it to be carried out.

Mujahiduddin Aybak, who was called the "Little" Dawatdar, and who bore an implacable hatred for the vizier, sent a message, in league with other amirs and the rabble of Baghdad, to the caliph, saying, "The vizier has thought up this plan in his own interests in order to ingratiate himself with Hülägü Khan and to undo us and the soldiers. We will block the roads, and we will seize the envoys carrying the tribute and bring calamity down on them."

After receiving this message, the caliph changed his mind about sending tribute and audaciously sent word to the vizier saying, [703] "Do not fear the future, and do not talk fables, for there is friendship and unity, not enmity and hostility, between me and Hülägü and Mänggü Qa'an. [A46] Since I am their friend, they are of course friendly and benevolent toward me. The envoys' message is false. Even if these brothers contemplate opposition to or treachery against me, what has the Abbasid dynasty to fear, when the monarchs of the face of the earth stand as our army and obey our every command? If I request an army from every country and mount to repulse the foe, I can incite Iran and Turan against these brothers. Be of stout heart, and do not fear the threats of the Mongols, for although they are powerful upstarts, they pose nothing but an empty threat to the House of Ab-

bas."

Hearing such rambling, the vizier knew that the Abbasids' fortune was about to end, and since it was going to end during his term of office, he writhed like a snake and tried in every way possible to think up a strategy.

The amirs and grandees of Baghdad like Sulaymanshah Ibn Barjam, Fathuddin Ibn Kurd, and Mujahiduddin Aybak the "Little" Dawatdar assembled in the presence of the vizier and loosed their tongues in revilement of the caliph. "He is a friend of jesters and singers," they said, "and an enemy of soldiers. We commanders of the army have had to sell during his time what we accumulated during his father's."

"If the caliph does not undertake to repulse this powerful foe," said Sulaymanshah, "soon the Mongol army will overrun Baghdad, and they will have compassion on no one. Just as they have done to every other country, they will leave neither nomad nor city dweller, neither strong nor weak, and they will ravish those they take captive. Had the Mongols not taken the surroundings in all directions, it would have been easy to gather forces, and I could have made a surprise attack and scattered them. If things turn out not as expected, it is better for a cavalier to be killed in the field of battle with a good name." [A47]

When these words were reported to the caliph, they met with his approval. "Sulaymanshah's words are like balm to my wounded soul," he said to the vizier. "Muster the army as he says, and I will make them rich with dirhems and dinars. Turn the army over to Sulaymanshah, and let him put his words into action."

The vizier knew the caliph would not give any money, but he did not show his opposition to his enemies right away and told the officer of the muster to assemble the army little by little so that the news of the gathering of the army at the caliph's court would

reach everyone far and near and thus the foe would be slow to attack. [704]

Five months later the officer of the muster informed the vizier that a large number of soldiers had been assembled and it was time for the caliph's promised gold to be given. When the vizier reported this, the caliph excused himself. The vizier despaired of his promises totally and, giving in to fate, sat waiting patiently to see what turn fortune would bring.

Since the Dawatdar was on hostile terms with the vizier at that time and the city rabble was under the Dawatdar's command, rumors spread among the people that the vizier was at one with Hülägü and that he was hoping for Hülägü's victory and the caliph's demise.

The caliph, once again, sent a few gifts by Badruddin Dizbaki and Qazi Bandinjan with a message saying, "Although the padishah may not be aware of it, you can ask those who know history. Until now every monarch who has attacked the Abbasid dynasty and Baghdad has met a sad doom. Despite all the mighty and powerful kings and princes who have attacked us, the foundation of this palace is extremely strong and will last until Doomsday. In times past Ya'qub Layth the Saffarid attacked the caliph of the age and set out for Baghdad with a huge army; before reaching his goal he died of a pain in his belly. So also did his brother Amr set forth, but Isma'il ibn Ahmad the Samanid seized him, threw him into chains, and sent him to Baghdad for the caliph to fulfill his destiny. Basasiri came to Baghdad from Egypt with a large army. [A48] He seized the caliph, imprisoning him in Haditha, and for two years he put the *khutba* and coinage in Baghdad in the name of Mustansir, the Ismailis' caliph in Egypt. In the end Toghril Beg the Seljuq was informed and came from Khurasan. He attacked Basasiri with a well-equipped army, seized and killed him,

released the caliph from prison, and restored him to the throne in Baghdad. Sultan Muhammad the Seljuq also attacked Baghdad, but he retraced his steps in rout and died along the way. Muhammad Khwarazmshah brought a large army to exterminate this dynasty, but he was trapped by God's wrath in the form of snow and hail in a pass in Asadabad, most of his army perished, and he turned back the worse for his attempt and got from your grandfather Genghis Khan what he got on an island in the Caspian. It is not politic for the padishah to think of attacking the Abbasid dynasty. You should worry about the evil eye of adverse fortune." [705]

These words served only to increase Hülägü Khan's anger, and he sent the envoys back, saying, "Go build a city and ramparts of iron; raise towers and walls of steel. / Assemble an army of demons and fairies, and then come before vengeful me. / If you are above the celestial sphere, I shall bring you down miserably into the jaws of a lion."

#### Hülägü Khan arrays and equips his army to conquer Baghdad, and the surrounding areas are taken.

When Hülägü sent the envoys back, he contemplated the numerousness of the Baghdad army and began to array his troops. Since he wanted to take first the environs of Baghdad, [A49] which are high, forbidding mountains, he sent a messenger with a summons to Husamuddin Akka, who was governor of Dartang and that area on behalf of the caliph and who had been humiliatingly demoted by Musta'sim. Without hesitation Husamuddin turned Dartang over to his son, Amir Sa'd, and immediately went to Hülägü, who showed him much favor, rewarded him amply, and gave him permission to withdraw. Husamuddin handed over the fortresses of Dizh Zar, Dizh Marj, and several others and then

withdrew. Hülägü sent a troop to every fortress, and they all surrendered.

When Husamuddin got what he had long been wishing for and Sulaymanshah's troops were gathered near him, he became overbearing and proud and sent a messenger to the governor of Arbela, Ibn Salaya Alavi, to make peace between him and the caliphal divan, saying, "I have weighed Hülägü in the scales of competence and intelligence and, his violence and terror notwithstanding, have found him wanting. If the caliph encourages me and sends a mounted troop, I will assemble a force of nearly a hundred thousand Kurds and Turcomans and take the road against Hülägü Khan. I will not allow a single soldier of his to enter the province of Baghdad."

Ibn Salaya informed the vizier of the situation, and he reported it to the caliph, who paid little attention, attributing it to rumors. When this reached Hülägü's hearing he flew into a rage and sent Ket Buqa Noyan with thirty thousand horsemen to repulse them. [706] When he was near he summoned Husamuddin and said, "The campaign against Baghdad is under way, and there is need of your consultation." Oblivious, Husamuddin came, and Ket Buqa put him under guard, saying, "If you want to be released and remain the governor of these installations, get your women and children and all your retainers and soldiers out of the fortresses so that I can make a count [A50] and impose a tribute and *qubjur* tax." There was nothing Husamuddin could do. He summoned them all, and Ket Buqa said, "If your heart is right with the Padishah, order all the fortresses destroyed as proof." Realizing that his ill-guarded words had reached them, he despaired of his life and had all the fortresses destroyed. After that, he and all his followers were killed except for the inhabitants of the one fortress where his son Amir Sa'd was. He was summoned with threats, but he did not

comply and said, "Your word is not to be trusted, and I cannot rely on it." He wandered around the mountains for a while in disguise, and in the end he went to Baghdad and was rewarded by the caliphal divan. He was killed in the Battle of Baghdad.

Ket Buqa Noyan came back to court victorious and triumphant from those areas, and Hülägü consulted with his ministers and advisers on the expedition. Every one had something different to say according to his own beliefs. He summoned Husamuddin the astrologer, who had accompanied him at the qa'an's order to choose auspicious times for mounting and dismounting, and said, "Tell me, without dissimulation, everything that appears in the stars."

Since the astrologer held an intimate enough position to be bold, he said in absolute terms to the padishah, "Neither to attack the house of the caliphate nor to lead an army to Baghdad is auspicious, for until now no ruler who has attacked Baghdad and the Abbasids has enjoyed either kingdom or life. If the padishah does not heed my words and goes there, six catastrophes will befall—first, all the horses will die and the soldiers will fall ill; second, the sun will not rise; third, rain will not fall; fourth, a cold, destructive wind will arise, and the world will be destroyed by earthquake; fifth, the plants will not grow from the ground; sixth, a great ruler will die within the year." [A51]

Hülägü asked him for proof of his claims and got a *möchälgä* [written pledge] from him.

The bakhshis and commanders, however, were unanimous in saying that going to Baghdad was the very best policy.

Then he summoned Khwaja Nasiruddin Tusi and consulted with him. The khwaja was apprehensive and thought that it was some sort of test. "None of these things will happen," he said.

"Then what will happen?" Hülägü asked.

"Hülägü Khan will take the caliph's place," he replied.

After that, Hülägü summoned Husamuddin and had him debate with Khwaja Nasiruddin. [707]

"All Islamic peoples are agreed that some of the great companions of the Prophet were martyred," the khwaja said, "and no catastrophe appeared. If it is claimed that this is some special characteristic of the Abbasids, Tahir came from Khurasan by order of Ma'mun and killed his brother Amin, the amirs conspired and killed one of Mutawakkil's sons, and Muntasir and Mu'tazz were killed by amirs and slaves. Several other caliphs were also killed by various persons, and no catastrophe befell."

*From the wise man's speech the prince's heart lit up like a tulip in spring.*

**Hülägü Khan rides against Baghdad and leads his armies from all directions to the City of Peace; the city is taken, and the rule of the Abbasid caliphs comes to an end.**

Having set out on the march to Baghdad, Hülägü said, "Let Chormaqan's and Baiju Noyan's soldiers, whose *yurt* is in Anatolia, enter Mosul in the right wing from the direction of Arbela, cross the bridge at Mosul, and camp west of Baghdad [A52] so when our banners arrive from the east they can enter from that direction." To enter in the right wing under Sönitai Noyan on Hülägü Khan's side were Prince Balagha,<sup>1</sup> the son of Jochi's son Shibani; Prince Tutar, the son of Jochi's son [Boqal's son Minqadur];<sup>2</sup> and Prince Quli, the son of Jochi's son Orda, together with Buqa Temür and Su'unchaq Noyan. Ket Buqa Noyan, Qudusun, and Elgäi were to enter in the left wing

<sup>1</sup>Balagha ~ Balaqan. See text p. 516 above.

<sup>2</sup>Reading Minqadur (see text p. 518 above) for the text's سنقور, and inserting Boqal, whose name is omitted.

from Luristan, —, <sup>3</sup>Khuzistan, and Bayat as far as the shore of the gulf. Hülägü stationed his *aghruqs* at Zaki meadow near Hamadan and assigned Qiyas Noyan to head them.

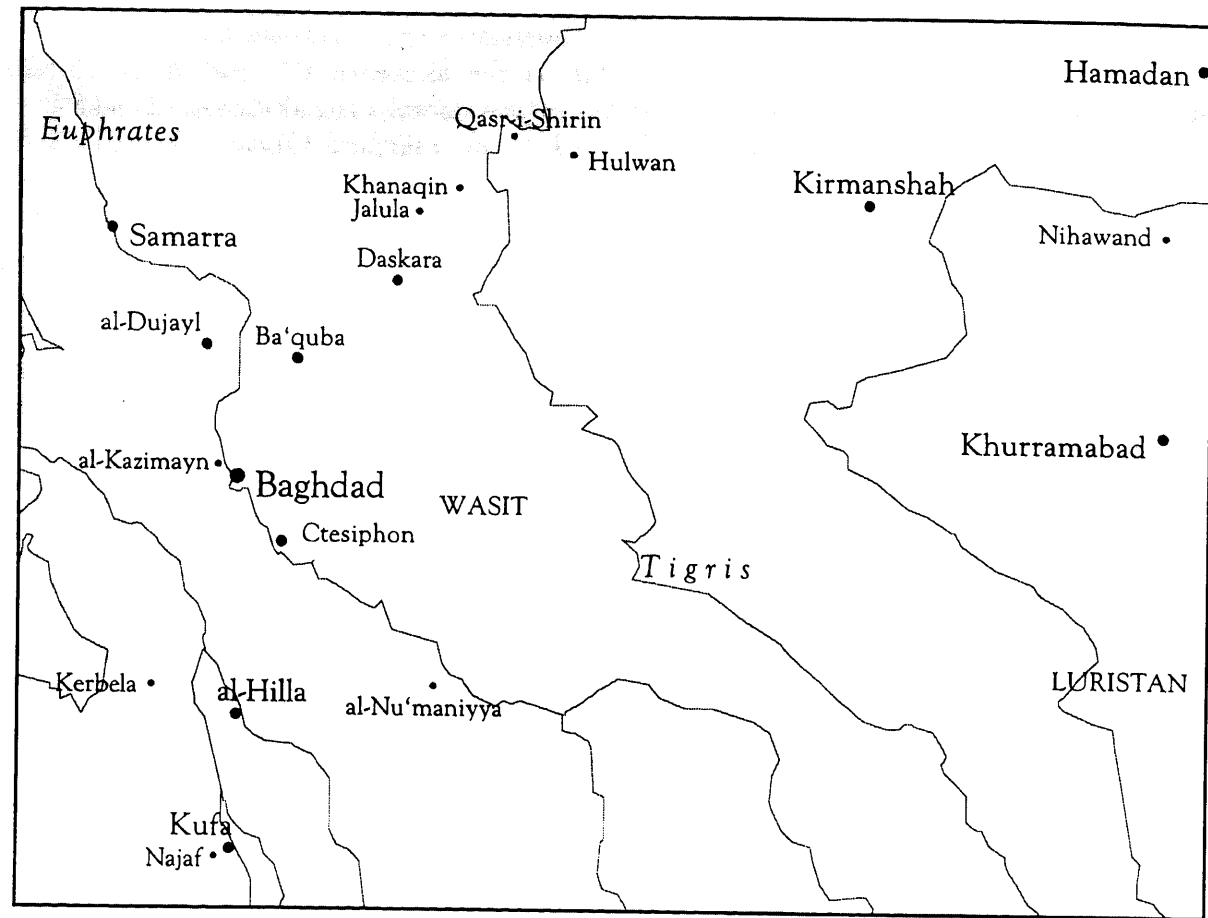
Around the beginning of [Dhu'l-Qa'da] 655,<sup>4</sup> he and his soldiers set forth in the center, which the Mongols call the *qol*, via Kirmanshahan and Hulwan. The great commanders Kökä Elgäi, Uruqtu, and Arghun Aqa, the *bitigchis* Qaraqai, Sayfuddin Bitigchi, who was the administrator of the kingdom, Mawlana Khwaja Nasiruddin Tusi, and Sahib Sa'id Ala'uddin Ata-Malik with all the sultans, maliks, and atabegs of Iran were at court. When they arrived under favorable auspices in Asadabad, once again he sent a messenger to summon the caliph, but the caliph refused. At Dinawar, Ibn al-Jawzi arrived again from Baghdad bearing a message filled with entreaties for Hülägü to turn back, in exchange for which the caliph would remit whatever would be agreed upon to the treasury annually. [708]

Hülägü Khan thought the caliph wanted the troops to turn back and thus incite them to disobedience. "Since we have come all this way," he said, "how can we turn back without having seen the caliph? After we have had an audience with him and seen and spoken with him, we will withdraw with his permission." [A53]

From there they went to the mountains of the Kurds. On the 27th of the month [December 6, 1257] he camped in Kirmanshahan, where they massacred and pillaged. A messenger was dispatched for the

<sup>3</sup>JT<sub>AZ</sub> has كريت, unknown. JT<sub>K</sub> has تكريت (Tikrit), but that can scarcely be correct, for Tikrit lies far to the north of Baghdad and certainly does not belong here. Whatever the name is, coming as it does between Luristan and Khuzistan, it should indicate the area around Dizful.

<sup>4</sup>Text has Muharram 655 (January 1257), which cannot be correct. It must be a mistake for Dhu'l-Qa'da 655, which began on November 10, 1257.



princes, Su'unchaq, Baiju Noyan, and Sönitai to come quickly. They joined the padishah at Ctesiphon. Aybak Halabi and Sayfuddin Qilich, who were advance scouts in that area, were captured and taken to court. Hülägü spared Aybak's life, in return for which he undertook to convey his words verbatim. Hülägü made them liege men to the Mongol *yäzäk* and sent them back well rewarded to cross the Tigris and head for the area west of Baghdad. They burned sheep shanks as was their custom, turned back, crossed the Tigris, and headed for Baghdad's western frontier.

The Baghdad advance guard was commanded by a Qipchaq named Qara Sonqor. In the Mongol *yäzäk* was Sultanchuq, a descendant of the Khwarazmians, and he sent a letter to Qara Sonqor, saying, "You and I are of one race. After running from

pillar to post in despair and poverty, I succeeded in joining His Majesty's court and surrendering, and he maintains me well. You too have mercy on your own soul, be kind to your children, and surrender so that your life, family, and property may be spared by these people."

In reply Qara Sonqor wrote, "How dare the Mongols attack the House of Abbas, for that family has seen as much good fortune as Genghis Khan's, and their foundations are too firm to quake with every passing breeze. They have been ruling for more than five hundred years, and no creature who has attacked them has been spared by fate. It is far from perspicacious of you to invite me to join the young sapling of Mongol fortune. If he were in amity and friendship, when Hülägü Khan finished conquering the Heretics' lands and fort-

resses, he should not have gone past Ray but should have returned to Khurasan and Turkistan. The caliph's feelings have been hurt by his onslaught. This being so, if Hülägü Khan regrets what he has done [A54] and turns back to Hamadan with his troops, we will have the Dawatdar intercede and plead with the caliph on his behalf. Perhaps he may overlook the offense and accept a truce so that the gates of fighting and contention may be closed."

When Sultanchuq reported the contents of the letter to Hülägü Khan, he laughed and said, "My reliance is on the Creator, not on dirhems and dinars. [709] If God the eternal befriends me, what do I have to worry from the caliph and his troops?"

*To me what are ants, mosquitoes, elephants? What is a spring, a canal, the river Nile? / If God commands a thing, who other than Him knows what the outcome will be?*

Another emissary was sent to say, "If the caliph is in submission, let him come out. Otherwise, this means war. Let the vizier, Sulaymanshah, and the Dawatdar come first to hear our words."

Decamping the next day, he stopped by the banks of the river in Hulwan, where he remained from the 9th of Dhu'l-Hijja 655 until the 22nd [December 18–31, 1257]. During that time Ket Buqa Noyan took much territory in Luristan both by truce and by force. On the 11th of Chaqshapat Ay of Moghai Yil, corresponding to the 9th of Muharram 656 [January 16, 1258] Baiju Noyan, Buqa Temür, and Su'unchaq crossed the Tigris at the agreed-upon place on the Dujayl<sup>1</sup> road and arrived in the vicinity of Nahr Isa. Su'unchaq Noyan begged Baiju for the vanguard to be west of Baghdad, and, receiving permission, he set off

<sup>1</sup>The district of Dujayl (mod. Dijeyl and other various spellings) lies west of the Tigris between Baghdad and Samarra. See Mehmet Hürsüd, *Seyâhat-nâma*, 147, where it is transcribed as Diceyl Mukâ-ta'ası.

and went to Harbiyya.<sup>2</sup>

Mujahiduddin Aybak the Dawatdar, who was head of the caliph's army, and Ibn Kurd had first made camp between Ba'quba and Bajisra. [A55] When they heard that the Mongols were coming to the west and had crossed the Tigris in the vicinity of Anbar, they did battle with Su'unchaq and Buqa Temür at the gate to Mansur's kiosk above Midrafa, nine leagues from Baghdad. The Mongol troops fell back and went to Bashiriyya in the Dujayl district. When Baiju joined them, they turned back. In that vicinity was a large lake. The Mongols opened the dykes and flooded the entire plain behind the backs of the Baghdad army. At sunrise on Thursday morning, the day of Ashura [January 17], Baiju and Buqa Temür attacked the Dawatdar and Ibn Kurd, defeating them and throwing the Baghdad army into rout. Fathuddin Ibn Kurd and Qara Sonqor, the leaders of the army, and twelve thousand Baghdadis were killed—aside from those who were drowned or got stuck in the mud. The Dawatdar and a few escaped to Baghdad. Others fled to Hilla and Kufa.

The eve of Saturday the 15th of Muharram [January 22] Buqa Temür, Baiju Noyan, and Su'unchaq Noyan came to Baghdad and took control of the western side. They camped in the city quarters alongside the Tigris. Ket Buqa Noyan and the others arrived from the direction of Nahasiyya [710] and Sarsar with an enormous army. Hülägü Khan left his *aghruq* in Khanaqin and set out, camping on the eastern side on the 17th of Chaqshapat Ay of Moghai Yil, corresponding to the 15th of Muharram [January 22].

The Mongol army swarmed in like ants and locusts from all directions, forming a

<sup>2</sup>The al-Harbiyya Quarter lay just north and northwest of the Round City of Baghdad on the west bank of the river.



circle around the ramparts of Baghdad and setting up a wall. On Tuesday the 22nd [January 29], with Aries in the ascendant, they began to fight. From the direction of the Khurasan road the Padishah of the World was in the center to the left of the city, opposite the Ajami Tower; Elgäi Noyan and Quya were at the Kalwadha Gate; Quli, Balagha, Tutar, Shirämün, and Uruqtu [A56] were at the city gates at the Suq Uthman Gate; Buqa Temür came from the direction of the citadel toward the *qibla* in Dolab Baql; Baiju and Su'unchaq came from the west, where the Azudi Hospital is. They prosecuted the battle in unison, set up catapults opposite the Ajami Tower, and breached it. The caliph sent out the vizier and the catholicos, saying, "The Padishah said I should send the vizier out. I have kept my promise and am sending him. Let the Padishah also keep his word."

Hülägü Khan said, "We made that stipulation at the gates of Hamadan. Now that we have come to Baghdad and an ocean of tumult and strife has been stirred up, how can we be content with only one? All three must be sent" (by which he meant that the Dawatdar and Sulaymanshah would also have to be sent).

Envoys went to the city, and the next day the vizier, the divan chief, and a group of well-known citizens came out, but they were sent back. Fierce battle was fought for six days and nights. Hülägü Khan ordered six decrees written, saying, "The lives of cadis, scholars, shaykhs, Alids, and Nestorian priests, and persons who do not combat against us are safe from us." The proclamations were fastened to arrows and shot into the city from six sides. Since there was no stone in the Baghdad vicinity, they brought rocks from Jalula and Jabal Khamrin, and date palms were cut down and hurled instead of stones.

On Friday the 25th of Muharram [February 1] the Ajami Tower was de-

stroyed. On Monday the 27th [February 3] the Mongol soldiers proceeded overwhelmingly against the ramparts opposite the Ajami Tower in the direction the padishah was. They emptied the tops of the walls of people, but they still had not gone on the walls in the direction of Suq Sultan, where Balagha and Tutar were. Hülägü Khan chastised them. Their liege men went up, and by evening they had secured the whole of the tops of the eastern walls. [A57, 711]

When bridges were being made, Hülägü had ordered bridges built above and below Baghdad, boats made ready, catapults installed, and guards stationed. Buqa Temür and a *tümän* of soldiers were patrolling the routes to Madayin and Basra to prevent anyone from escaping by boat.

When the battle of Baghdad became intense, and the people were being pressed, the Dawatdar got in a boat to escape down river. When he passed the village of al-'Uqab, Buqa Temür let loose a barrage of catapult stones, arrows, and vials of naphtha. Three boats were taken, and the people were killed. The Dawatdar turned back in rout.

When the caliph was apprised of the situation he despaired totally of his rule of Baghdad. Seeing no escape route, he said, "I will surrender." He sent Fakhruddin Damghani and Ibn Durnus out with a few gifts, thinking that if he sent too much it would indicate how afraid he was and the foe would be further emboldened. Hülägü Khan paid no attention to the embassy, and they returned in failure.

On Tuesday the 29th of Muharram [February 5] the caliph's middle son, Abu'l-Fadl Abdul-Rahman, came out, and the vizier went into the city. The Sahib-Divan and a group of dignitaries were with Abu'l-Fadl, and they had brought a large tribute, but it was not accepted either. The next day, the last of Muharram [February 6], the caliph's eldest son, the vizier, and a group of

courtiers came out to intercede. It was to no avail, and they returned to the city. In their company Hülägü Khan sent Khwaja Nasîruddin Tusi and Ay Temür on an embassy to the caliph.

On the first of Safar [February 7] they came out. The padishah sent Fakhruddin Damghani, who was the Sahib-Divan, Ibn al-Jawzi, and Ibn Durnus into the city to bring Sulaymanshah and the Dawatdar out. In order to win them over he sent a decree and a *paiza* and said, "The caliph can do what he wants. If he wants, let him come out; if not, let him not come out. But the Mongol troops will remain on the walls where they are until they come out." [A58]

On Thursday the first of Safar they both came out. They were sent back into the city to get their retainers out to ride on an expedition to Egypt and Syria. With them, the army of Baghdad decided to come out, as did an innumerable host, hoping to find safety, but they were divided into units of thousands, hundreds, and tens and killed to the last. Those who remained in the city fled into nooks and crannies.

A group of dignitaries came out and asked for amnesty, saying, "Many people are surrendering. Let them have a respite, for the caliph will send his sons and will come out himself." During this an arrow hit Hindu Bitigchi, one of the great commanders, in the eye. [712] Hülägü Khan flew into a rage and ordered all haste to be made in taking Baghdad. He commanded Khwaja Nasîruddin to take up residence at the Halaba Gate for the purpose of granting amnesty to the people, and they began to get them out of the city.

On Friday the 2nd of Safar [February 8] the Dawatdar and his followers were killed. Sulaymanshah and seven hundred of his relatives were brought in, hands bound, and questioned.

"Since you are a star-gazer and astrologer and know about good and ill portents in

the heavens, how is it you didn't see your own day of doom and didn't advise your lord to come before us in peace?" he was asked.

"The caliph was headstrong and ill-starred," he replied. "He did not listen to the advice of his well-wishers." An order was given for him and all his followers to be martyred. Amir Hajjuddin, the son of the "Big" Dawatdar, was also killed. The heads of all three were sent to Mosul by Malik Salih, Badruddin Lu'lu's son. Badruddin, having been a friend of Sulaymanshah's, wept, but in fear for his own life he hung the heads on the gibbet.

After that, when the Caliph Musta'sim saw that it was all over, he summoned the vizier and asked, "What's to be done?" [A59]

In reply he quoted this line of poetry: "They think the matter is simple, but it is a sword whose edges have been sharpened for meeting."

After Basra was destroyed, the caliph and his three sons, Abu'l-Fadl Abdul-Rahman, Abu'l-Abbas Ahmad, and Abu'l-Manaqib Mubarak, came out on Sunday the 4th of Safar 656 [February 10, 1258]. With him were three thousand sayyids, imams, cadis, grandees and dignitaries of the city. He approached Hülägü Khan, and the padishah did not exhibit any anger but asked after his health kindly and pleasantly. After that he said to the caliph, "Tell the people of the city to throw down their weapons and come out so that we may make a count." The caliph sent word into the city for it to be heralded that the people should throw down their weapons and come out. The people disarmed themselves and came out in droves, and the Mongols killed them. It was then ordered that the caliph and his sons and followers should pitch tents at the Kalwadha Gate at Ket Buqa Noyan's camp. Several Mongols were set over them as guards. The caliph wept over his imminent



doom and regretted having abandoned the battlefield and having rejected good advice.

*In his heart he said, "My enemy has succeeded: I have fallen into a snare like a clever little bird."*

[713] On Wednesday the 7th of Safar [February 13] the pillage and general massacre began. In one fell swoop the army went into the city and burned everything except a few houses belonging to Nestorians and some foreigners.

On Friday the 9th of Safar [February 15] Hülägü Khan went into the city to see the caliph's palace. He settled into the Octagon Palace and gave a banquet for the commanders. Summoning the caliph, he said, "You are the host, and we are the guests. Bring whatever you have that is suitable for us." The caliph, thinking he was speaking seriously, trembled in fear. [A60] He was so frenzied that he couldn't tell the keys to the treasuries one from another and had to have several locks broken. He brought two thousand suits of clothing, ten thousand dinars, precious items, jewel-encrusted vessels, and several gems. Hülägü Khan paid no attention and gave it all away to the commanders and others present.

"The possessions you have on the face of the earth are apparent," he said to the caliph. "Tell my servants what and where your buried treasures are." The caliph confessed that there was a pool full of gold in the middle of the palace. They dug it up, and it was full of gold, all in hundred-mithcal ingots.

An order was given for the caliph's harem to be counted. There were seven hundred women and concubines and a thousand servants. When the caliph was apprised of the count of the harem, he begged and pleaded, saying, "Let me have the women of the harem, upon whom neither the sun nor the moon has ever shone."

"Of these seven hundred, choose a hundred," he was told, "and leave the rest." The

caliph selected a hundred women from among his favorites and close relatives and took them away.

That night Hülägü Khan went to the *ordu*. The next morning he ordered Su'unchaq to go into the city, confiscate the caliph's possessions, and send them out. The items that had been accumulated over six hundred years were all stacked in mountainous piles around the *kiryäs*. Most of the holy places like the caliph's mosque, the Musa-Jawad shrine, and the tombs in Rusafa were burned.

The people of the city sent Sharafuddin Maragha'i, Shihabuddin Zanjani, and Malik Dilrast to request amnesty. An order was given, saying, "Henceforth the killing and pillaging will cease, for the kingdom of Baghdad is ours. Let them dwell as they were, and let everyone get on with his business. Sheathe your swords, for they are granted quarter."

Hülägü Khan decamped from Baghdad on Wednesday the 14th of Safar [February 20] on account of the foul air and camped in the village of Waqaf-u-Jalabiyya. [A61] Amir Abdul-Rahman was dispatched to conquer Khuzistan.

The caliph was summoned. Having been subjected to such bad commands before, he was extremely afraid and said to the vizier, "What are we to do?"

"*Lihyatunā tawīla* [our beard is too long]," he replied, [714] by which he meant that at first, when the plan was to send a lot of tribute to ward off the threat, the Dawatdar had said, "The vizier's beard is too long,"<sup>1</sup> and prevented it from happening. The caliph had listened to him and put the vizier's plan aside.

In short, the caliph despaired of his life

<sup>1</sup>The Arabic idiom means to be deficient in mental acumen. Cf. the Arabic proverb, *man tālat lihyatuhu qaşarat fitnatuhu* 'whose beard is long, his comprehension is short' (Sa'id al-Khuri al-Shar-tuni, *Aqrab al-Mawarid* 2:1135).

and requested permission to go into the bath to renew his ablutions. Hülägü Khan said he could go in with five Mongols.

"I don't want the companionship of five myrmidons of hell," he said as he recited two or three lines of an ode, the first line of which is as follows:

*We woke up in the morning in a palace like paradise, but we went to bed without a palace with which we could not dispense yesterday.*

At the end of the day on Wednesday the 14th of Safar 656 [February 20, 1258], the caliph, his eldest son, and five of his attendants were executed in the village of Waqaf. The next day the others who had camped with him at the Kalwadha Gate were also martyred, and no Abbasid who could be found was left alive, save only a few who did not count and Mubarak Shah, the caliph's youngest son, who was given to Öljäi Khatun, who sent him to Khwaja Nasiruddin in Maragha. He was married to a Mongol woman who bore him two sons.

On Friday the 16th of Safar [February 22] the caliph's middle son was dispatched after his father and brother, and the reign of the House of Abbas, which had mounted the throne after the Umayyads, came to an end. Their caliphate lasted five hundred twenty-five years, and there were thirty-seven of them, as follows: (1) Saffah, (2) Mansur, (3) Mahdi, (4) Hadi, (5) Rashid, (6) Amin, (7) Ma'mun, (8) Mu'tasim, (9) Wathiq, (10) Mutawakkil, (11) Muntasir, (12) Musta'in, [A62] (13) Mu'tazz, (14) Muhtadi, (15) Mu'tamid, (16) Mu'tadid, (17) Muktafi, (18) Muqtadir, (19) Qahir, (20) Radi, (21) Muttaqi, (22) Mustakfi, (23) Muti', (24) Tayi', (25) Qadir, (26) Qayim, (27) Muqtadi, (28) Mustazhir, (29) Mustarshid, (30) Rashid, (31) Muqtafi, (32) Mustanjid, (33) Mustadi, (34) Nasir, (35) Zahir, (36) Mustansir, and (37) Musta'sim, who reigned for seventeen years.

The very day the caliph was martyred, his

vizier, Mu'ayyiduddin Ibn Alqami, and Fakhruddin Damghani were sent into the city as vizier and chief of administration respectively. Ali Bahadur was made *shahna* and head of the corps of *ortaqs* [merchants] and *uzes* [artisans]. Imaduddin Umar Qazwini was appointed as Amir Qaraqai's deputy, and he restored the caliph's mosque and the Musa-Jawad shrine. Najmuddin Abu-Ja'far Ahmad Imran, who was called Malik Rastdil,<sup>1</sup> was appointed to the districts of East Baghdad, viz. the Khurasan Road, Khalis, and Bandinjin. Nizamuddin Abdul-Mu'min Bandinjin [was made] chief *cadi*. Elgäi Noyan and Qara Buqa were sent into Baghdad with three thousand Mongol cavalry to undertake reconstruction. [715] Everyone buried his dead, the dead animals were cleared from the roads, and the markets were restored.

On Thursday the 29th of Safar [March 7] the vizier's son Sharafuddin and the Sahib-Divan came to court to inquire after certain matters and then returned.

On Friday the 23rd [March 1] Hülägü Khan left and camped at Shaykh Makarim's Dome. From there he proceeded stage by stage to his *ordus* at Khanaqin.

When Baghdad was besieged, several learned Alids had come from Hilla to request a *shahna*. Hülägü Khan sent Tükäl and Amir Nahli Nakhjiwani there, [A63] and on their heels he dispatched Öljäi Khatun's brother Buqa Temür to test the people of Hilla, Kufa, and Wasit. The inhabitants of Hilla came out to greet the army, made bridges over the Euphrates, and rejoiced at the army's arrival. Buqa Temür saw that they were committed [in their support]. On the 10th of Safar [February 16, 1258] he decamped and set out for Wasit, arriving on the 17th [February 23]. The

<sup>1</sup>Rastdil ~ Dilrast. See text p. 713 above. He is known as Ibn Imran. See Khwandamir, *Habibu's-siyar* 3:96f.

people did not surrender, so he camped and took the city, massacring and plundering. Nearly forty thousand people were put to death.

From there he went to Khuzistan, taking Sharafuddin Ibn al-Jawzi with him to get the city of Shushtar to surrender. Some of the caliph's soldiers and Turks fled and others were killed. Basra and that area also surrendered. Amir Sayfuddin Bitigchi pleaded with the court to send a hundred Mongols to Najaf to guard the shrine of the Commander of the Faithful Ali and the inhabitants there.

On the 12th of Rabi' I [March 19] Buqa Temür arrived at the camp, and on the 19th [March 26] the emissaries from Aleppo who had come to Baghdad were sent home carrying a letter Khwaja Nasiruddin Tusi had written in Arabic at Hülägü Khan's order. A copy of that letter follows: "We stopped in Baghdad in the year 656, and **an evil morning it was unto those who were warned in vain.**<sup>1</sup> We called upon its lord, but he refused, so he suffered what the text says: **We chastised him with a heavy chastisement.**<sup>2</sup> Now we call upon you to obey us. If you come, well and good; if you refuse, woe betide you. Do not be like one who digs his own grave or bloodies his own nose lest you be one of **those whose works are vain, whose endeavor in the present life hath been wrongly directed, and who think they do the work which is right.**<sup>3</sup> **Neither will this be difficult with God.**<sup>4</sup> And peace be with him who follows the right path." [A64]

On Wednesday the 11th of Rabi' II [April 17] Hülägü Khan reached his *aghruq* in the vicinity of Hamadan and Siyah Koh and dismounted from the expedition. He had been unwell, but he recovered.

<sup>1</sup>Kor. 37:177.

<sup>2</sup>Kor. 73:16.

<sup>3</sup>Kor. 18:103f.

<sup>4</sup>Kor. 14:20.

On the 16th of Rabi' II [April 22] Kökä Bitigchi died. [716] On Wednesday the 20th of Rabi' II [April 26] Elgäi Noyan and some commanders arrived at court. On Thursday the 2nd of Jumada II [June 6] Mu'ayyiduddin the vizier of Baghdad died, and his son Sharafuddin was appointed in his stead.

**The city of Arbela is conquered by Uruqtu Noyan, and he lays siege to the citadel there.**

When Hülägü Khan set out to conquer Baghdad, he assigned the Arbela fortress to Uruqtu Noyan. It is a bastion set firmly upon a glacis and has no like in the inhabited quarter of the globe. When Uruqtu Noyan laid siege, the Kurds began to fight from the citadel, and Tajuddin Ibn Salaya, the lord of Arbela, came to surrender and performed good services. Uruqtu said, "The sign of your true surrender will be the turning over of the citadel." Tajuddin went to the citadel gate, but the Kurdish soldiers would not let him in. After much insistence he gave up and came away, returning to Uruqtu, who sent him to Hülägü Khan. He was found guilty at a trial and executed.

Uruqtu besieged the citadel for a time, but the defenders refused to give in. Then he requested reinforcements from Sultan Badruddin Lu'lu'. He sent a few soldiers. One night the defenders of the citadel came down and launched a surprise attack on the Mongols, killing all they could find, setting their catapults ablaze, and retreating into the citadel. Uruqtu was stunned and summoned Badruddin Lu'lu' for consultation. Badruddin Lu'lu' said, "The best plan is to postpone this until summer, when the Kurds will flee from the heat and go into the mountains, for now the weather is nice and they have plenty of supplies. [A65] The citadel is highly impregnable and impossible to take except by stealth." Uruqtu stationed Sultan Badruddin there and went to his

summer pastures in Tabriz. When the weather turned hot, the Kurds came down, turned the citadel over to Sultan Badruddin, and went to Syria. Sultan Badruddin destroyed the ramparts, and thus the citadel was also conquered.

**The riches of Baghdad and the Heretics' fortresses are taken to Azerbaijan and deposited in the mountain stronghold by Lake Salmas; Badruddin Lu'lu' and the sultan of Anatolia come to the padishah's court.**

Hülägü Khan sent the abundant treasures he had obtained in Baghdad to Azerbaijan with Amir Nasiruddin Ala'uddin, the lord of Ray. The riches he had garnered in the Heretics' fortresses, Anatolia, Georgia, Armenia, Luristan, and Kurdistan were likewise sent. He ordered Malik Majduddin of Tabriz to construct a lofty building of great strength on the mountain called Tala on the shore of Salmas and Urmia Lake. [717] All the cash was melted down and turned into bars and deposited there. Some of the rare objects he sent to Mänggü Qa'an to announce his victory and triumph. He also informed him of his conquest of Iran and his intention to go to Egypt and Syria. On this mission went Amir Hulachu. The qa'an was jubilant over the news.

That same year Sultan Badruddin Lu'lu' set out in haste for court by order of the qa'an, arriving at Maragha on the 29th of Rajab 656 [August 1, 1258]. He was more than ninety years old. Hülägü Khan showed him great honor and sent him home on the 6th of Sha'ban [August 8].

On the 7th of Sha'ban [August 9] [A66] Atabeg Sa'd, the son of Atabeg Abubakr of Fars, came to court to offer congratulations on the conquest of Baghdad. He was rewarded and allowed to depart.

On the 4th of Sha'ban [August 6] Sultan Izzuddin of Anatolia arrived at court in Mu...q in the environs of Tabriz. On

Wednesday the 8th of the month [August 10] Sultan Ruknuddin arrived on his heels. Hülägü Khan had been offended by Sultan Izzuddin's inattention to Baiju Noyan and his having done battle with him, and after the conquest of Baghdad Sultan Izzuddin became very apprehensive and tried to save himself by ruse from the brink of the disaster occasioned by his offense. He ordered a pair of very fine, regal boots made, and on the soles he had his portrait painted. During his *tägishmishi* he gave them to the padishah, and when his gaze fell upon the portrait, the sultan kissed the ground and said, "Your slave hopes the padishah will elevate this slave's head with his royal foot." Hülägü Khan had mercy on him. Doquz Khatun undertook to patronize him and asked that he be pardoned. Hülägü Khan forgave him.

Just then Khwaja Nasiruddin Tusi reported that when Sultan Jalaluddin Khwarazmshah had been defeated by a superior Mongol force and arrived in Tabriz, his soldiers were aggressive toward the peasantry. The khwaja's opinion was asked. "We are at present conquerors, not potentates," he said. "In times of conquest maintenance of the peasantry is not obligatory. When we become potentates we will dispense justice to those who ask for it."

"We, thank God, are both conquerors and potentates," said Hülägü. "With foes we are conquerors, and with our subjects we are potentates. We are not afflicted with weakness and inability like Jalaluddin." [718]

**Mawlana Nasiruddin builds an observatory in Maragha at Hülägü Khan's order.**

On the above-mentioned date an order was given [A67] for Khwaja Nasiruddin Tusi to construct an observatory in any place he considered appropriate. He chose the city of Maragha and had a very fine observatory built there. The reason for this is as follows.

Mānggü Qa'an was distinguished among Mongol rulers for his intelligence, perspicacity, sharp wit and mind, and he even solved some problems left by Euclid. In his regal highmindedness he had thought that a star catalogue should be made during his reign and that it should be undertaken by Jamaluddin Muhammad Tahir b. Muhammad al-Zaydi of Bukhara, but some of his observations were faulty. Since Khwaja Nasiruddin's reputation for excellence had spread throughout the world, when Mānggü Qa'an was bidding his brother farewell, he said, "When the Heretics' fortresses are conquered, send Khwaja Nasiruddin here." However, since he was occupied with the conquest of Manzi at the time and was far from his capital, Hülägü Khan ordered the khwaja to construct an observatory here since he was aware of his good character and wanted him in attendance. Seven years after Hülägü Khan mounted the khan's throne the Ilkhanid catalogue was completed with the collaboration of four scholars, Mu'ayyiduddin Urzi, Fakhruddin Maraghi, Fakhruddin of Akhlat, and Najmuddin Dabiran Qazwini.<sup>1</sup>

#### Hülägü Khan goes to Syria and conquers Aleppo and the realm of Damascus.

The sultan of Aleppo had sent his vizier, Sahib Zaynuddin Hafizi with regal gifts and presents to the qa'an's court, and he had acquired a great reputation there and was awarded a *yarligh* and *paiza*. When Hülägü arrived in Iran, [A68] he secretly pledged his allegiance to him, and he was accused of this before the sultan of Syria and an attempt was made on his life. He fled and took refuge with Hülägü Khan, and no sooner had he arrived than the padishah's desire for an expedition to Aleppo in-

creased. In advance he sent emissaries to Badruddin Lu'lu', saying, "Since you are over ninety years old, I exempt you from participating militarily, but you must send your son Malik Salih to ride with the imperial banners to conquer Syria and Egypt." [719] In accordance with this command he sent his son, and when he arrived at Hülägü Khan's court he was given one of Sultan Jalaluddin's daughters in marriage.

In the vanguard was dispatched Ket Buqa Noyan with a large army. In the right wing was Shiktür and Baiju, and in the left wing were Su'unchaq and other commanders. Hülägü himself set out for Syria in the *qol* [center] on Friday the 22nd of Ramadan 657 [September 12, 1259] with Scorpio in the ascendant.

When he reached Bala Tagh, he liked the meadow there and named it Labna Saghut. Then he entered Akhlat and the mountains of Hakkari, which were nests of outlaw Kurds, and they killed all they found.

When he reached Diyarbekir, first he conquered Jazira<sup>2</sup> and assigned his son Yoshmut in the company of Sönitai Noyan to lay siege to the fortress at Mayyafariqin. He sent Malik Salih with a contingent to conquer Amid, and he himself set out for Ruha,<sup>3</sup> which he conquered. From there he went to Dunaysir, Nasibin, and Harran, all of which he took in battle and then massacred and plundered. Crossing the Euphrates, he surrounded Aleppo without warning. The inhabitants, trusting in the impregnability of their citadel, refused to surrender [A69] and continued to do battle.

At the Jews' Gate was Uruqtu Noyan, at the Anatolia Gate was Ket Buqa Noyan, at the Damascus Gate was Su'unchaq, and Hülägü Khan camped at the Antioch Gate.

<sup>1</sup>This is the famous *Zij-i Ilkhani*, the star catalogue that was revised and enhanced in the fifteenth century by Mirza Ulughbeg at Samarkand.

<sup>2</sup>Jazira, the modern Cizre in Turkey.

<sup>3</sup>Ruha (~ Urhay) is Edessa, the modern Urfa (Şanlıurfa) in Turkey.

A *chapar* [stockade] was assembled around the city, and catapults were installed. For a full week the battle was fought hard by both sides, but in the end, in Dhu'l-Hijja 657 [November 19–December 17, 1259], it was taken from the Iraq Gate and a full week of massacre and pillage ensued, during which many people were killed. For forty days and nights they battled against the defenders in the citadel, and catapult stones and arrows rained from both sides. Amir Qorchan, Achu Sükürchi, and Sadun Gurji were wounded several times in the face, for which the padishah gave them large rewards, saying, "Just as rouge is an adornment to women's faces, red blood is a cosmetic adornment to the faces and beards of men."

In the end the citadel was also conquered. Many artisans were made prisoner, and untold *olja* [booty] was taken. For a long time they were occupied with a siege of the Harim Fortress,<sup>1</sup> but in the end the defenders asked for quarter. When Fakhruddin, known as "Saqi," swore an oath, they came down under amnesty, but Hülägü Khan was extremely angry with them and ordered them killed at once along with their wives and children. [720] Only an Armenian goldsmith was spared.

When the Aleppo citadel was taken, Hülägü Khan turned it over to Fakhruddin Saqi and installed Tükäl Bakhshi as *shahna*.

After he departed from Aleppo, the people complained of Fakhruddin and an order was given for him to be executed, and the governance of Aleppo was transferred to Zaynuddin Hafizi.

The people of Damascus were apprehensive over attack by the Mongol army, and since they knew that everything surrounding Syria [A70] was entirely under Hülägü Khan's control, the dignitaries and grandees

came to court bearing all sorts of gifts and the keys to the city gates as a show of surrender. Hülägü Khan ordered Ket Buqa Noyan to go to Damascus and test them. The inhabitants turned out to greet him and asked for amnesty. Ket Buqa sent the nobles and dignitaries to Hülägü Khan, who had mercy on them and granted their requests. The Mongols entered the city without having to lay siege or do battle. A Mongol *shahna* and three Tajik liege men were assigned. Ala'uddin Hashi, Jamaluddin Qaraqai Qazwini, and Qazi Shamsuddin Qummi were appointed to consolidate Damascus. In brief, in a short time Baghdad, Diyarbekir, Diyar Rabi'a,<sup>2</sup> and Syria were completely conquered and brought under the control of Hülägü Khan's deputies.

He also took over the realms of Anatolia, and while he was engaged there emissaries arrived from the east with Shiktür Noyan at their head. He had set out from here in all haste to announce Mānggü Qa'an's death. Hülägü Khan was sorely grieved, but he did not show it. Stationing Ket Buqa Noyan to protect Syria, he withdrew from Aleppo and arrived in Akhlat on Sunday the 24th of Jumada II 658 [June 6, 1260].

When Hülägü Khan had arrived in Aleppo, Malik Nasir, the sultan of Aleppo and Syria, had fled to the fortress at Karak. Ket Buqa wanted to lay siege, but he asked for quarter and came down. Ket Buqa sent him to court, and the padishah promised that when he took Egypt he would give him the governorship of Syria.

In the Bechin Yil that corresponds to 658 [1260] a number of great commanders passed away. [A71] Among them were Torji Gürägän, Buqa Temür, Qubai Noyan, ...l...na Noyan, Borungtai Noyan, and Salji'udai Noyan.

Hülägü Khan was distressed by Mānggü Qa'an's death and Ariq Bökä's rebellion.

<sup>1</sup>Harim, a small town two stages west of Aleppo and one stage from Antioch (Abu'l-Fida, *Taqwim*, 258f.).

<sup>2</sup>Diyar Rabi'a, the upper Tigris region.



[721]

**Ket Buqa Noyan goes to Egypt, does battle with the Egyptian army, and is killed.**

When Hülägü Khan departed from Syria, he sent a Mongol emissary with forty liege men on a mission to Egypt, saying, "God the great has elevated Genghis Khan and his progeny and given us the realms of the face of the earth altogether. Everyone who has been recalcitrant in obeying us has been annihilated along with his women, children, kith and kin, towns, and servants, as has surely reached the hearing of all. The reputation of our innumerable army is as well known as the stories of Rustam and Isfandiar. If you are in submission to our court, send tribute, come yourself, and request a *shahna*; otherwise be prepared for battle."

At that time there was no one left of Kamilite lineage worthy of ruling, and a Turcoman had become ruler. When he died he left an infant child named Muhammad, who was elevated to his father's position with Quduz as his *atabeg*. Muhammad died suddenly, and Quduz became ruler. He carried favor with the people through largesse. Most of the soldiers of Syria and Egypt were the defeated troops of Sultan Jalaluddin who had fled from the gates of Akhlat and gone to Syria. Their leaders and commanders were Barakat Khan and Malik Ikhtiyaruddin Khan son of ...,<sup>1</sup> and Malik Sayfuddin Sadiq [A72] Khan son of Mingbuqa, Malik Nasiruddin Gūshlü<sup>2</sup> Khan son of Beg Arslan, Atlas Khan, and Nasiruddin Muhammad Qaymari. When Hülägü Khan set out for Syria, they went into hiding in the surrounding areas, and after he pulled out, they reassembled and headed for Cairo in Egypt, where they told their sad story to Quduz. He showed them favor, sympathized with them, and gave them much

money. They all became wholehearted supporters of Quduz' rule.

When the emissaries arrived, Quduz summoned them and consulted with them on what to do, saying, "Hülägü Khan has proceeded from Turan with a huge army into Iran, and no one, caliph, sultan, or malik, has the ability to withstand his onslaught. Having conquered all lands, he has come to Damascus, and were it not for the news of his brother's death he would have added Egypt to his conquests too. In addition, he has stationed in this area Ket Buqa Noyan, who is like a raging lion and fire-breathing dragon lying in ambush. If he attacks Egypt, no one will be able to contend with him. Before we lose all power of self-determination, we must come up with a strategy."

"In addition to being Genghis Khan's grandson, [722] Tolui Khan's son, and Mānggü Qa'an's brother," said Nasiruddin Qaymari, "Hülägü Khan has power and might beyond description. At present he holds from the gates of Egypt to the borders of China in his mighty grasp, and he has been singled out for heavenly assistance. If we go before him under amnesty, it will not be blameworthy. However, willingly to drink poison and to go out to greet one's own death are far from the path of wisdom. A human being is not a grape vine that doesn't mind having its head cut off. He does not keep his word, for with no warning he killed Khwarshah, Musta'sim, Husamuddin Akka, and the lord of Arbela after having made promises to them. If we go to him he will do the same to us." [A73]

"At the present time," said Quduz, "everywhere in Diyarbekir, Diyar Rabi'a, and Greater Syria is filled with lamentation. The land from Baghdad to Anatolia lies in ruins, devoid of farmers and seed. If we don't make a pre-emptive strike and try to repulse them, soon Egypt will be destroyed like the others. Given the multitudes with

which he is proceeding in our direction, one of three things must be done: we must make a truce, offer resistance, or go into exile. Exile is impossible, for there is nowhere we can go other than North Africa, and a bloodthirsty desert and vast distances lie between us and there."

"A truce is also imprudent," said Nasiruddin Qaymari, "for their word is not to be trusted."

The other commanders said, "We do not have the power to resist either. You must say what you think the best plan is."

"My opinion," said Quduz, "is that we go out to battle together. If we win, fine; otherwise, we will not suffer blame from the people."

After that, the amirs agreed, and Quduz consulted with Bunduqdar, his chief amir, in private. "My opinion," said Bunduqdar, "is that we should kill the emissaries and ride as one to attack Ket Buqa. Win or die, in either case we will not be blamed, and we will have people's gratitude."

Quduz approved this plan, and by night he had the emissaries crucified. The next morning they perforce committed themselves to battle and mounted. Amir Baidar, who was the leader of the Mongol *yāzāk* [advance troop], sent a man named Aghlabak to Ket Buqa Noyan to inform him of the movement of the Egyptian troops. Ket Buqa sent in reply, "Stay where you are and wait for me." [A74]

Before Ket Buqa arrived, Quduz attacked Baidar and drove him to the banks of the Orontes. Ket Buqa Noyan, his zeal stirred, flared up like fire with all confidence in his own strength and might. Quduz stationed his troops in ambush and, himself mounted with a few others, stood waiting. He clashed with Ket Buqa and his several thousand cavalry, all experienced warriors, at Ayn Jalut. [723] The Mongols attacked, raining down arrows, and Quduz pulled a feint and started to withdraw. Emboldened, the

Mongols lit out after him, killing many of the Egyptians, but when they came to the ambush spot, the trap was sprung from three sides. A bloody battle ensued, lasting from dawn till midday. The Mongols were powerless to resist, and in the end they were put to flight.

Ket Buqa Noyan kept attacking left and right with all zeal. Some encouraged him to flee, but he refused to listen and said, "Death is inevitable. It is better to die with a good name than to flee in disgrace. In the end, someone from this army, old or young, will reach the court and report that Ket Buqa, not wanting to return in shame, gave his life in battle. The padishah should not grieve over lost Mongol soldiers. Let him imagine that his soldiers' wives have not been pregnant for a year and the mares of their herds have not folded. May felicity be upon the padishah. When his noble being is well, every loss is compensated. The life or death of servants like us is irrelevant." Although the soldiers left him, he continued to struggle in battle like a thousand men. In the end his horse faltered, and he was captured. [A75]

Near the battlefield was a reed bed in which a troop of Mongol cavalrymen was hiding. Quduz ordered fire thrown into it, and they were all burned alive. After that, Ket Buqa was taken before Quduz with his hands bound.

"Despicable man," said Quduz, "you have shed so much blood wrongfully, ended the lives of champions and dignitaries with false assurances, and overthrown ancient dynasties with broken promises. Now you have finally fallen into a snare yourself."

*When the one whose hands were bound heard these words, he reared up like a mad elephant / And replied, saying, "O proud one, do not pride yourself on this day of victory."*

"If I am killed by your hand," said Ket Buqa, "I consider it to be God's act, not

<sup>1</sup>JT<sub>AZ</sub>: ^LTRK; JT<sub>K</sub>: MKRL.

<sup>2</sup>Reading, with JT<sub>K</sub>, كشلو (Gūshlü) for JT<sub>AZ</sub>'s كشلو.

yours. Be not deceived by this event for one moment, for when the news of my death reaches Hülägü Khan, the ocean of his wrath will boil over, [724] and from Azerbaijan to the gates of Egypt will quake with the hooves of Mongol horses. They will take the sands of Egypt from there in their horses' nose bags. Hülägü Khan has three hundred thousand renowned horsemen like Ket Buqa. You may take one of them away."

Quduz said, "Speak not so proudly of the horsemen of Turan, for they perform deeds with trickery and artifice, not with manliness like Rustam."

"As long as I have lived," replied Ket Buqa, "I have been the padishah's servant, not a mutineer and regicide like you!

*Let the malevolent retain neither head nor body, for he deprives his prince of life.* Finish me off as quickly as possible." Quduz ordered his head severed from his body.

They then attacked throughout Syria as far as the banks of the Euphrates, overthrowing everyone they found, [A76] plundering Ket Buqa's camp, taking captive his wife, child, and retainers, and killing the tax collectors and *shahnas* of the provinces. Those who were warned escaped, and when the news of Ket Buqa Noyan's death and his last words reached Hülägü Khan, he displayed his grief over his death and the fire of his zeal flared up. "Where will I find another servant who will show such devotion and allegiance in the face of death?" he said as he showered those left behind by Ket Buqa with favor.

One day prior to that, he had rewarded Malik Nasir of Aleppo. Then he gave him the governorship of Damascus and sent him off with three hundred Syrian cavalymen. After the news of Ket Buqa arrived, a Syrian said, "Malik Nasir of Aleppo is not with you wholeheartedly. He wanted to flee to Syria and assist Quduz, and it was his

plan to attack Ket Buqa."

Hülägü Khan dispatched three hundred Mongol horsemen after him. The lead men caught up with him and got him to dismount by saying, "We are ordered to give you a banquet so that you may receive a full reward." As was the Mongol custom, they got him dead drunk. Suddenly the rest of the three hundred horsemen arrived, and they killed Malik Nasir and his three hundred Syrians. Of the entire troop only Muhyiddin Maghribi was left alive, and he escaped by claiming to be an astrologer.

Hülägü Khan sent Elgäi Noyan to Syria with a large army. When they arrived the soldiers began to plunder. Bunduqdar, who had become the ruler of Egypt in the meantime, learned of it and went out to repulse them. When Elgäi Noyan learned of his approach, he left for Anatolia with the Mongols who remained in Syria. [A77, 725] In Damascus the *khutba* and coinage were put in Bunduqdar's name.

Hülägü Khan wanted to lead his army back to Egypt and Syria in revenge for Ket Buqa, but on account of Mänggü Qa'an's death and the dispute that had sprung up between him and his relatives, time and circumstances would not allow it. Therefore he put it off.

At the same time Shiban's son and Jochi's grandson Prince Balagha died suddenly during a banquet, and after him Tutar Oghul was accused of sorcery and alienation. After proving his guilt, Hülägü Khan sent him escorted by Su'unchaq to Bärkä. When his crime was reported, Bärkä sent him back to Hülägü Khan, in accordance with Genghis Khan's Yasa, and he was executed on the 17th of Safar 658 [February 2, 1260]. Sadruddin Sawaji was also martyred on a charge of having written a charm for him. After that, Quli also died.

After the princes mentioned above died, their trains dispersed in flight to Qipchaq territory via Derbent and the Caspian Sea.

**Prince Yoshmut and the commanders Elgäi Noyan and Sönitai go to Diyarbekir, where they conquer Mayyafariqin and kill Malik Kamil.**

Prince Yoshmut and the great commanders Elgäi Noyan and Sönitai Noyan had set out at Hülägü Khan's command, and when they reached the vicinity of Mayyafariqin they sent an envoy to Malik Kamil calling upon him to submit and surrender. Malik Kamil replied, "The prince should not 'beat cold iron' and expect something that is not possible, [A78] for there is no reliance on your word, and neither am I going to be taken in by your sweet talk nor am I worried by the Mongol army. As long as I am alive I will wield the sword, for you are the son of that father who made promises and pacts with Khwarshah, the caliph, Husamuddin Akka, and Tajuddin of Arbela. In particular, Malik Nasir came under your promise of amnesty, but in the end he got what he got. I too will of course suffer what they did."

When the envoys delivered this message, the prince and commanders committed themselves to battle. Malik Kamil encouraged the people of the city, saying, "I will not withhold from you any of the silver, gold, or grain in the treasury and storehouses, and I will give it all away to those who need it. Thank God, I am not a slave to dirhems and dinars like Musta'sim, who lost his head and the kingdom of Baghdad through his stinginess and miserliness." The citizens all allied themselves with him, and the next day Malik Kamil went out with his retinue of horsemen, skirmishes were held, and a few on both sides were killed. [726] There were two brave riders with Malik Kamil. One was Sayfuddin Lukili, and the other was Ambar Habashi. They both killed several men and fought hard. After a time they went into the city and began to fight from the battlements.

On the second day the same two riders

came out and killed nearly ten brave horsemen. On the third and fourth days they performed likewise. From this side a Georgian *aznaur* [knight] went opposite them, attacked a unit by himself, fought for a moment, and was killed. When he was killed,

*The mounted Turks rose up, clapping their hands in vengeance.* [A79]

They went back into the city. There was someone there manning a catapult who was extremely accurate and had killed many with his projectiles. The commanders were helpless to do anything about him. Badruddin Lu'lu' also had an extremely good catapult engineer he summoned. He set up a catapult directly opposite the catapult in the city, and the two shot stones from the pan at the same time. The stones collided in midair and shattered. The people on both sides were astonished by the mastery of the two catapult engineers. In the end, the catapult outside was burned.

The defenders of the city fought hard. When Hülägü Khan was apprised of the situation, he sent Uruqtu and a troop to reinforce Elgäi Noyan and a message saying, "Stay where you are until the city runs out of money." Uruqtu arrived to deliver the message, and while he was speaking the same two riders came out and threw the Mongol troops into disarray. Uruqtu, who was drunk at the time, turned to do battle with them. They clashed, and suddenly Elgäi was set upon and unhorsed. Mongol horsemen rushed in from all directions and got Elgäi saddled again. Once again the riders broke some ranks and pulled back.

*The Turks were amazed by the champions, every warrior biting his lip in vengeance.*

Thereafter, the two riders came out every day, killing some and wounding others, and this continued for two years. There was neither food nor fodder left in the city, and the animals were dead. They began to eat carrion. They even ate dogs, cats, and mice.