

Jalāl al-Dīn Khwārazmshāh in West Asia

By KŌZŌ ITANI

Introduction

Khwārazmshāh Jalāl al-Dīn MNKBRNY¹⁾ was no doubt the most illustrious warrior against the Mongols who invaded Muslim Central and West Asia. After he was defeated by Jinkiz Khān in a battle on the river Indus, he disappeared from sight by jumping into the Indus on horseback. But soon Jalāl al-Dīn rallied his troops and challenged the native rulers in India. He left India in 621 A.H. (1224/5 A.D.) and arrived in Kirmān after a forced march through Balūchistān full of hardships.

Henceforth, his field of activity extended from Rūm (Anatolia) in the west to Kirmān in the east and from Abkhāz or Georgia in the north to Khūzistān in the south. Until he was murdered by a Kurd in Diyār Bakr in 628 (1231), Jalāl al-Dīn Khwārazmshāh remained one of the most powerful lords in West Asia.

A. C. M. D'Ohsson²⁾ gave a detailed description of his life, including his activities in West Asia, using the contemporary historical sources available more than a century and a half ago. But D'Ohsson barely touched on the relation between Khwārazmshāh and the Saljuqid Sultanate of Rūm and, in particular, the Battle of Yāsī Chaman (Yassı Çimen) which was the decisive cause of the decline of Jalāl al-Dīn. In the last forty years, V. Minorsky³⁾, J. A. Boyle⁴⁾, C. Cahen⁵⁾, O. Turan⁶⁾, H. L. Gottschalk⁷⁾, and R. S. Humphreys⁸⁾ have mentioned this battle from the viewpoints of Caucasian history, history of the Il-khāns, history of Anatolia prior to the Ottomans, and history of the Ayyubids. Their contributions were quite useful, but they were not sufficient to make clear the role of Khwārazmshāh in the history of West Asia and Anatolia.

In this article I will reexamine Jalāl al-Dīn's relations with the Ayyubids in Shām (Syria) and the Saljuqids in Rūm which lead to the Battle of Yāsī Chaman by using the contemporary historical sources available at present and will point out some peculiarities concerning his activities in West Asia.

I. Historical Sources on Khwārazmshāh Jalāl al-Dīn

D'Ohsson chiefly made use of three historical manuscripts when he described Jalāl al-Dīn's activities in West Asia: *al-Kāmil fī al-Ta'rikh* by 'Izz al-Dīn Abū al-Ḥasan 'Alī b. Abī al-Karam Muḥammad... ibn al-Athīr al-Shaybānī⁹⁾ and *Sīra al-Sultān Jalāl al-Dīn MNKBRNY* by Shihāb al-Dīn

Muḥammad b. Aḥmad (Khurandizī Zaydarī) al-Nasawī¹⁰), both in Arabic; and *Tārikh-i Jahāngushāy* by 'Alā' al-Dīn 'Aṭā Malik b. Bahā' al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Juwaynī¹¹), in Persian. I will discuss the relations of these three authors to Khwārazmshāh Jalāl al-Dīn separately.

First, Ibn al-Athīr, who wrote the very extensive chronicle *al-Kāmil*, was never personally associated with Khwārazmshāh in any way. Nevertheless, *al-Kāmil* contains a number of details which enable the reader to know the exact dates of various activities of Jalāl al-Dīn: for example—

- 17 Rajab 622 (1225.7.25)—Jalāl al-Dīn's entry into the capital of Adharbayjān, Tabrīz (*K.T.*, p. 433)
- 8 Rabī' I 623 (1226.3.9)—Conquest of the capital of Georgia, Tiflīs (*op. cit.*, p. 450)
- 15 Dhū al-Qa'da 623 (1226.11.7)—First siege of Akhlāt¹²) (*op. cit.*, p. 461)
- 23 Dhū al-Ḥijja 623 (1226.12.15)—Withdrawal from Akhlāt (*ibid.*)
- 28 Jumādā I 627 (1230.4.14)—Conquest of Akhlāt (*op. cit.*, p. 488)
- 28 Ramaḍān 627 (1230.8.10)—Battle of Yāsī Chaman (*op. cit.*, pp. 489–490)

Almost at the end of *al-Kāmil* Ibn al-Athīr writes, "As for Jalāl al-Dīn there appeared no news about him till the end of 628 and likewise we knew nothing about him till the end of Ṣafar 629."¹³) From this and other detailed descriptions it is possible to say that as a contemporary historian Ibn al-Athīr, who dwelt in al-Mawṣil (Mosul) and died in 630 (1233), was very interested in Jalāl al-Dīn's activities in West Asia.

Second, al-Nasawī, author of *Sira al-Sultān Jalāl al-Dīn (Biography of Khwārazmshāh)*, was an intimate secretary (*munshī*) of Jalāl al-Dīn to the end of the latter's life. According to his own statement, he entered the service of Jalāl al-Dīn when he arrived at Marāgha in 622. al-Nasawī's *Biography of Khwārazmshāh* is without a doubt an incomparable historical source, because the author was one of the best observers of the Sultān's activities. Moreover, it is very interesting that al-Nasawī tells in the preface of his work that he had already read Ibn al-Athīr's *al-Kāmil* before he began to write the biography. al-Nasawī says, "I think, upon my life, that naming his work *al-Kāmil* (perfect) is quite proper. And I don't regard as unlikely that his work is superior to any of the other histories written in their language." (*Sira*, p. 34) From this high estimation it becomes obvious that al-Nasawī was strongly influenced by Ibn al-Athīr's *al-Kāmil* when he wrote the biography of Jalāl al-Dīn in 639 (1241/2).

Third, Juwaynī's *Jahāngushāy*, completed in 658 (1260), contains a section relating to the history of Khwārazmshāhs. 'Alā' al-Dīn 'Aṭā Malik Juwaynī himself had nothing to do with Jalāl al-Dīn, but Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad, grandfather of 'Aṭā Malik, was *ṣāhib al-dīwān* (a high ranking financial official)

of Khwārazmshāh. During the second siege of Akhlāt by Jalāl al-Dīn, Shams al-Dīn died, and according to al-Nasawī, "Shams al-Dīn made me a guardian of his children and left me a will that his coffin should be sent to Juwayn, his native country in Khurāsān, and I did so. The Sultān never touched what he left behind and I dispatched it to his inheritors in company with my trustworthy fellows and his own." (*Sira*, p. 315) From this passage it is evident that Shams al-Dīn Juwaynī was an intimate colleague of al-Nasawī and a notable official of finance under Jalāl al-Dīn. It is likely that 'Aṭā Malik Juwaynī, grandson of Shams al-Dīn, felt some sympathy for Jalāl al-Dīn through his grandfather.

To these three well-known historians of whom D'Ohsson made use I would like to add three more historical sources, one in Persian and two in Arabic, relevant to Jalāl al-Dīn's activities in West Asia. One of them is the Persian work by al-Husayn b. Muḥammad b. 'Alī al-Ja'farī al-Rughadī (generally known as Ibn Bībī al-Munajjima) entitled *al-Awāmīr al-'Alā'īya fī al-Umūr al-'Alā'īya. al-Awāmīr*¹⁴). It is the only historical source which deals with the history of the Saljuqīd Sultanate of Rūm from the end of the reign of Qīlich Arslān II (d. in 1192) to 680 (1281). In one of its accounts (*dhikr*), the relation of the parents of the author to Jalāl al-Dīn is indicated as follows:

My mother Bībī Munajjima—may Allāh have mercy upon her—was a daughter of Kamāl al-Dīn Simnānī, a chief of the adherents of the great *imām* Shāfi'ī—may Allāh be pleased with him—in Nishāpūr and she was, from her mother's lineage a granddaughter of Muḥammad Yaḥyā¹⁵)—may Allāh be pleased with him. She was an expert in the science of stars (i.e. astrology) and her divinations were accordant with fate and divine decree, because her invisible arrow was in rising. She became a trustworthy astrologer. When Kamāl al-Dīn Kāmyār¹⁶) was sent to Sultān Jalāl al-Dīn—may Allāh have mercy upon him—who was in front of Akhlāt, Kāmyār found my mother close to the Sultān as a confidential astrologer. He was very surprised, for a female astrologer was unusual and rare. When he returned to the presence of the Sultān [of Rūm], he told the Sultān of her as a rarity. Then Sultān Jalāl al-Dīn was defeated by the Mongol troop in front of Āmid (Diyar Bakr), and my parents fled to Dimashq (Damascus). Sultān 'Alā' al-Dīn commanded to inquire about their situation, and when he knew that they went to Dimashq, he sent a messenger to Malik Ashraf, asked for their delivery, and brought them to the countries of Rūm in courtesy. (*A.A.*, pp. 442–443)

From this quotation it becomes clear that the parents of Ibn Bībī were in the service of Jalāl al-Dīn Khwārazmshāh. Ibn Bībī's unique history, which also recorded the close connection under Khwārazmshāh between Majd al-Dīn

Muḥammad¹⁷), father of the author, and Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad, grandfather of 'Aṭā Malik Juwaynī, was in fact dedicated to 'Alā' al-Dīn 'Aṭā Malik Juwaynī himself.¹⁸) This indicates that Ibn Bibī's parents, 'Aṭā Malik Juwaynī's grandfather, and al-Nasawī were all colleagues in the service of Khwārazmshāh Jalāl al-Dīn. As a matter of fact, in the history of Ibn Bibī al-Nasawī also appears three times but under the name of Shihāb al-Dīn Zaydarī¹⁹). But it is not my purpose here to point out the interdependency between the historical works of al-Nasawī, Juwaynī, and Ibn Bibī. They are, of course, independent from each other and manifest the distinct circumstances in which each author is writing. When Juwaynī and Ibn Bibī wrote their histories, the former was a high civil official under the Mongols, the consistent adversaries of Jalāl al-Dīn, and the latter was a secretary in the service of the Saljuqid Sultanate of Rūm under Mongol suzerainty.

Two Arabic sources relating to Jalāl al-Dīn are Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. Naẓīf al-Ḥamawī's *al-Ta'riḫ al-Manṣūrī* (*Talkhīṣ al-Kaṣḥ wa al-Bayān fī Ḥawādith al-Zamān*)²⁰) and Shams al-Dīn Abū al-Muẓaffar Yūsuf b. Quzūghlī (Sibṭ ibn al-Jawzī's *Mir'āt al-Zamān fī Ta'riḫ al-A'yān*. al-Ḥamawī was a secretary (*kātib*) of al-Malik al-Ḥāfiẓ, brother of al-Malik al-Kāmil who was the ruler of Ayyubid Egypt. According to al-Ḥamawī's own statement, on 20 Dhū al-Ḥijja 627 (1230.10.30) he was suddenly arrested by his master al-Ḥāfiẓ and sent to Qal'a Ja'bar²¹). The next year al-Ḥamawī was set free by the mediation of al-Malik al-Ashraf and entered the service of al-Malik al-Manṣūr, son of al-Malik al-Mujāhid, the ruler of Ḥimṣ. al-Ḥamawī's Arabic chronicle, *al-Ta'riḫ al-Manṣūrī*, is entitled after his new patron al-Manṣūr. This chronicle contains the history of the Islamic era from its first year to 631, the part dealing with events from 600 to 631 being the most detailed. al-Ḥamawī himself took part in the Battle of Yāsī Chaman as a secretary of al-Ḥāfiẓ and left precious information about Jalāl al-Dīn. Among the authors here mentioned al-Ḥamawī was the only witness to the Battle of Yāsī Chaman.

Sibṭ ibn al-Jawzī was a famous historian who lived in Dimashq until he died on 21 Dhū al-Ḥijja 654 (1257.1.9). *Mir'āt al-Zamān*, like *al-Kāmil* by Ibn al-Athīr, is a very extensive Arabic chronicle which ends in 654. His maternal uncle, Muḥyī al-Dīn Abū Muḥammad Yūsuf²²), a son of the famous historian and Ḥanbalite theologian Ibn al-Jawzī, met Jalāl al-Dīn in front of Akhlāṭ as an envoy from the 'Abbasid Khalīfa and held a conversation with Khwārazmshāh. Sibṭ ibn al-Jawzī himself heard some informations about Jalāl al-Dīn directly from al-Malik al-Mu'azzam, Ayyubid ruler of Dimashq. The Arabic works of Ibn al-Athīr, al-Ḥamawī, and Sibṭ ibn al-Jawzī are more objective than the Persian historians, for these three authors had no personal relations with Khwārazmshāh Jalāl al-Dīn.

In this article I will describe Khwārazmshāh Jalāl al-Dīn's activities in West Asia relying chiefly on the works of the above-mentioned six historians, four of them in Arabic and two in Persian.

II. Akhlāt and Jalāl al-Dīn Khwārazmshāh

When he appeared in West Asia, Jalāl al-Dīn made his first march on Tustar in Khūzistān, then Ba'qūbā near Baghdād, and Daqūqā in northern 'Irāq. The purposes of these marches were to supply his soldiers with horses and to take revenge on the 'Abbasid Khalīfa who had been hostile to his father Muḥammad Khwārazmshāh²³). After causing some panic and disorder among the population of 'Irāq, Jalāl al-Dīn turned his march northward into the territory of Atabeg Uzbek (Uzbek) in Adharbayjān. This region was then exposed to the menace of the Georgians: al-Nasawī called the area the "fishing ground (*maşyada*)" of the Georgians on account of Uzbek's negligence and lack of ability²⁴). Jalāl al-Dīn made a triumphant entry into Tabrīz on 17 Rajab 622 A.H. following Uzbek's flight and negotiations with the inhabitants. Next Khwārazmshāh concentrated his efforts on combating the Georgians. He captured their capital Tiflīs (Tbilisi) on 8 Rabī' I 623. Ibn al-Athīr called Jalāl al-Dīn's capture of Tiflīs a "feat (*afā'il*)" contrasting his achievement with the failures of Saljuqid Sulṭān Maḥmūd and Atabeg Ildigiz (Uzbek's grandfather) to recapture that city after it was taken from the Muslims in 515 (1121/2)²⁵).

In Jumādā II 623 (1226.5.30-6.27), Jalāl al-Dīn advanced against Akhlāt, situated on the northern coast of Lake Van. It was then under the rule of the Ayyubid prince al-Malik al-Ashraf. This advance was the origin of hostilities that continued for more than four years between Khwārazmshāh and the Ayyubids.

Jalāl al-Dīn's first march against Akhlāt was due to internal strife among the Ayyubid princes. According to Ibn al-Athīr, al-Malik al-Mu'azzam of Dimashq set himself in opposition to his brother, al-Ashraf of Jazīra and Akhlāt. The two brothers sought allies: al-Mu'azzam formed alliances with Muẓaffar al-Dīn Kökböri (Kükbürī) of Irbil, the Artuqid princes of Āmid and Mārdīn, and Jalāl al-Dīn Khwārazmshāh; al-Ashraf allied himself with his other brother, al-Malik al-Kāmil of Egypt, Atabeg of al-Mawṣil, and the Saljuqid Sulṭān of Rūm.²⁶). al-Ḥamawī writes that al-Mu'azzam welcomed Khwārazmshāh's envoy in 623 but, in the same year, paid no attention to the envoy of the Sulṭān of Rūm, 'Alā' al-Dīn Kayqubādh, despite numerous presents²⁷). The internal hostility between al-Mu'azzam and al-Ashraf was openly reflected in these external relations with Khwārazmshāh and the Sulṭān of Rūm.

Jalāl al-Dīn, as an ally of al-Mu'azzam advanced against Akhlāt which was under al-Ashraf's rule. But Jalāl al-Dīn's first march against Akhlāt was interrupted by the news that Barāq Ḥājib, ruler of Kirmān²⁸), had revolted in his territory. On hearing this news, Jalāl al-Dīn hurried to Kirmān leaving his *wazīr*, Sharaf al-Mulk, in Tiflīs. During the absence of Jalāl al-Dīn, Khwarazmian soldiers raided and plundered Arzan al-Rūm (Erzurum).

On their way back to Tiflis, they encountered Ayyubid troops under the command of *hājib* Ḥusām al-Dīn 'Alī, the deputy of al-Ashraf in Akhlāt. The Khwarazmians were plundered in their turn and the spoils taken back²⁹).

This event brought about the second march and the first siege of Akhlāt by Jalāl al-Dīn. On 15 Dhū al-Qa'da 623 (1226.11.7), Khwārazmshāh appeared in front of Akhlāt. The Khwarazmians fought with severity and once even succeeded in entering the city, but they were repelled in the end. On 23 Dhū al-Hijja 623 (1226.12.15), Jalāl al-Dīn gave up the siege of Akhlāt and returned to Adharbayjān because of the coldness of the weather and the Yivä (Yiwa) Turkmān's revolt in that region³⁰).

According to al-Ḥamawī, hostility between al-Ashraf and al-Mu'azzam soon began to turn into reconciliation. They met near Ḥimş and after hunting together entered Dimashq on 12 Ramaḍān 623 (1226.9.6)³¹). Ibn al-'Adīm says in his history of Ḥalab (Aleppo) that al-Ashraf became a virtual captive in the hands of his brother al-Mu'azzam³²). Finally, in Jumādā II 624 (1227.5.19-6.16), al-Ashraf departed Dimashq after coming to terms with al-Mu'azzam. Reconciliation between al-Ashraf and al-Mu'azzam meant the end of the hostility that first led Jalāl al-Dīn to march on Akhlāt. Henceforth, every military operation against Akhlāt was to be regarded as a threat and challenge to all the Ayyubids³³).

In 624, Jalāl al-Dīn was obliged to make eastward expeditions against both the Ismā'īliya in Alamūt and the Mongols who invaded Khurāsān. During his absence, in Shawwāl, *hājib* Ḥusām al-Dīn 'Alī of Akhlāt invaded Adharbayjān and temporarily occupied Khūy, Marand, Urmīya, and Naqjawān (Nakhichevan)³⁴). On his way back to Akhlāt, *hājib* 'Alī was accompanied by the wife of Jalāl al-Dīn, a daughter of the last Saljuqid Sulṭān in 'Ajam, Ṭughril b. Arslān. She had first married Atabeg Uzbek, but when Jalāl al-Dīn occupied Tabrīz, she made her former husband divorce her and remarried Khwārazmshāh. According to Ibn al-Athīr, this woman was quite discontented with her later husband's treatment, and it was she herself who invited *hājib* 'Alī into Adharbayjān³⁵). But this interpretation of her role in history seems exaggerated. It is more likely that *hājib* 'Alī primarily intended to secure the eastern boundary of Akhlāt against Khwārazmshāh by his invasion of Adharbayjān. For Jalāl al-Dīn, *hājib* 'Alī's activity in Adharbayjān meant the appearance of a new threat from the west.

It was during this period that al-Mu'azzam died of illness in Dimashq, on the last day of Dhū al-Qa'da 624 (1227.11.11)³⁶). Reorganization of the Ayyubid state started soon after al-Mu'azzam's death. al-Ashraf assumed power in Dimashq in exchange for the transfer of Jazīra between Akhlāt and Shām to al-Kāmil on 2 Sha'bān 626 (1229.6.26)³⁷). This agreement intensified the hostility between Khwārazmshāh and the Ayyubids because al-Kāmil, who consistently supported his brother al-Ashraf as the greatest lord of their house, was now found in Jazīra, directly on the route between Akhlāt and Shām.

For the time being, no conflict arose between Khwārazmshāh and the Ayyubids: both had to deal with their own separate adversaries. Outside Iṣfahān, Jalāl al-Dīn waged war against the Mongol detachment who invaded Iran on 23 Ramaḍān 625 (1228.8.26)³⁸). In Shām, there appeared the new Crusaders under the command of Emperor (al-imbarātūr) Friedrich II in 624. al-Kāmil negotiated with Friedrich, agreeing to terms which included the surrender of al-Bayt al-Muqaddas (Jerusalem). The Holy House was handed over to the Emperor on the first day of Rabī' II 626 (1229.2.27) without the shedding of blood³⁹).

An important event also took place inside the city of Akhlāt. According to Ibn al-Athīr and al-Ḥamawī, al-Ashraf sent his *mamlūk*, 'Izz al-Dīn Aybeg (Aybak), to Akhlāt and made him arrest *hājib* 'Alī who was responsible for the hostilities against Jalāl al-Dīn. On this event Ibn al-Athīr writes, "We know of no reason requiring the arrest of *hājib* 'Alī. He worried about al-Ashraf, advised him, protected his territory, and behaved justly to the populace (*ḥasan al-sīra*). For a long time, *hājib* 'Alī offered resistance against Jalāl al-Dīn and defended Akhlāt in such a way as no one else could ever have done." (K.T., p. 485) Among the series of events concerning Akhlāt the arrest of *hājib* 'Alī seems to have been one of the most incomprehensible to Ibn al-Athīr: *hājib* 'Alī contributed much to the protection of the Ayyubids' northern territory as a *mutawallī ḥākīm* (entrusted governor). By forsaking *hājib* 'Alī, al-Ashraf might have been attempting some compromise with Jalāl al-Dīn⁴⁰). If so, it bore no fruit: Jalāl al-Dīn once again besieged Akhlāt early in Shawwāl 626. This time nothing could disturb Jalāl al-Dīn's vigorous attack. The siege continued for eight months, even in the coldest season, until the next spring.

At last there occurred such a thorough shortage of provisions in the city that some of the garrison betrayed it and handed it over to Khwārazmshāh on 28 Jumādā I 627 (1230.4.14)⁴¹). During this second siege, neither al-Ashraf in Dimashq nor al-Kāmil in Jazīra dispatched reinforcements to Akhlāt. In other words, the Ayyubids abandoned Akhlāt reconciling themselves to this loss of territory during that period. But, in fact, four months after the fall of Akhlāt the Ayyubids, together with the Saljuqīd Sulṭān of Rūm, collided against Khwārazmshāh in Yāsī Chaman. Behind this change of attitude toward Khwārazmshāh were ardent proposals by the Saljuqīd Sulṭān of Rūm for the foundation of a united front against Jalāl al-Dīn. In the following pages I will inquire about the relations between the Saljuqīd Sultanate of Rūm, the Ayyubids, and Khwārazmshāh.

III. Relations between the Saljuqīd Sultanate of Rūm, the Ayyubids, and Khwārazmshāh

When Jalāl al-Dīn Khwārazmshāh entered Adharbayjān in 622, he sent

an envoy to Rūm from Marāgha. al-Nasawī agrees with Ibn Bibī on the point that the envoy was a *qāḍī* whose *laqab* was Mujīr al-Dīn. Ibn Bibī inserts in his work the full text of a letter sent by Jalāl al-Dīn to Sulṭān 'Alā' al-Dīn Kayqubādh of Rūm⁴²). In his letter, Jalāl al-Dīn proposed to Kayqubādh the establishment of friendly relations between the two Sulṭāns. The Khwārazmian envoy met Kayqubādh in Qayṣariya (Kayseri) and was received with much hospitality. Kayqubādh heard about Jalāl al-Dīn's adventures in the east from this envoy and agreed to the marriage of his son Ghiyāth al-Dīn Kaykhusraw to one of Jalāl al-Dīn's daughters⁴³). When Mujīr al-Dīn left Qayṣariya, Kayqubādh rewarded him with a number of gifts and gave him a letter in reply to his patron. In that reply Kayqubādh consented to the establishment of friendly relations as proposed by Jalāl al-Dīn. So, the first contact initiated by Khwārazmshah with the Sulṭān of Rūm showed no marks of hostility between the two.

But soon Kayqubādh and Jalāl al-Dīn either became drawn into or willingly took part in the above-mentioned internal strife between the Ayyubids. Jalāl al-Dīn marched against Akhlāṭ as an ally of al-Mu'azzam, while in Sha'bān 623 (1226.7.28–8.25) Kayqubādh, on the side of al-Ashraf, attacked the Artuqid prince al-Malik al-Mas'ūd of Āmid, one of al-Mu'azzam's allies. When the troops of the Sultanate of Rūm succeeded in occupying Hiṣn Manṣūr (Adiyaman), Kākhta, and Chamishkazāk, al-Mas'ūd asked for al-Ashraf's intervention. al-Ashraf requested Kayqubādh to return the conquered countries, but Kayqubādh rejected al-Ashraf's request saying, "I am not an agent (*nā'ib*) whom al-Ashraf may bid or forbid to do anything at all."⁴⁴) al-Ashraf had to use force to protect the remaining territory of the Artuqid prince. This event became a basis of discontent and distrust for the Sultanate of Rūm in its dealings with the Ayyubids. Moreover, there was a problem between al-Ashraf and Kayqubādh regarding Arzan al-Rūm. Rukn al-Dīn Jahānshāh b. Ṭughrilshāh, ruler of Arzan al-Rūm and a cousin of Kayqubādh, did not obey him and recognized instead the suzerainty of the Ayyubids, making the Friday sermon (*khutba*) be recited in the name of al-Ashraf⁴⁵). It is no exaggeration to say that Kayqubādh's policies toward both Khwārazmshāh and the Ayyubids were entirely dominated by his hostility toward Jahānshāh.

In spite of his discontent and distrust toward the Ayyubids during the preceding year, in 624 Kayqubādh chose reconciliation with them by taking as wife a sister of al-Mu'azzam and al-Ashraf. Ibn Bibī gives a detailed description of the negotiations for this marriage and reports on the grand ceremony held in Malaṭīya (Malatya)⁴⁶). The emergence of friendly relations by means of this marriage indicates that the Sulṭān of Rūm deemed the Ayyubids to be the more powerful partners in the complicated political climate of those days in West Asia.

But once again, this relationship turned into hostility in 625 because of Kayqubādh's conquest of Arzinjān (Erzincan). By taking advantage of discord

between its Mengüjikid ruler, 'Alā' al-Dīn Dāwudshāh, and his vassals, he succeeded in conquering the area without shedding any blood. According to Ibn Bībī, Dāwudshāh asked in vain for help from Jahānshāh of Arzan al-Rūm, al-Ashraf, Jalāl al-Dīn Khwārazmshāh and even 'Alā' al-Dīn Naw-musalmān⁴⁷) of Alamūt, leader of the Ismā'īliya sect. Only after the conquest of Arzinjān did al-Ashraf send *hājib* 'Alī to Arzan al-Rūm from Akhlāt in response to Jahānshāh's plea for help in preventing Kayqubādh from advancing further toward the east. *Hājib* 'Alī's arrival at Arzan al-Rūm hardened Kayqubādh's attitude toward the Ayyubids.

According to al-Nasawī, Kayqubādh promised support to Jalāl al-Dīn who was then in Tuḡṭāb⁴⁸) after marching against Akhlāt. In one of his letters to Jalāl al-Dīn Kayqubādh said, "Now there is nothing to do but direct our attention to these oppressors and tyrants. . . . We have returned to the major *jihād* from the minor one." (*Sira*, p. 278) There is no doubt that "these oppressors and tyrants" indicated the Ayyubids, and that the term major *jihād* (holy war) was used as a form of strong appeal to Khwārazmshāh for help in fighting against them.

Kayqubādh's hostility against the Ayyubids did not end until the second siege of Akhlāt by Jalāl al-Dīn. During this siege, Kayqubādh came to face a new set of political realities when Jahānshāh of Arzan al-Rūm forsook al-Ashraf and definitely took Jalāl al-Dīn's side. The first siege of Akhlāt by Jalāl al-Dīn was partly due, in fact, to Jahānshāh who had supported *hājib* 'Alī against the Khwarazmians during the absence of Khwārazmshāh. al-Nasawī reports that Jahānshāh hindered merchants from reaching Jalāl al-Dīn's encampment and killed his envoy who was on his way back from Rūm⁴⁹). In spite of these former hostilities, Jahānshāh, who believed that the conquest of Akhlāt by Jalāl al-Dīn was near, dared take his side on account of fear of his power and enmity against Kayqubādh. Jahānshāh supplied the Khwarazmians with provisions and weapons, like the "*qarā bughrā* (black camel)", a large ballista, to support Jalāl al-Dīn's conquest. According to Ibn Bībī, Jahānshāh also encouraged Jalāl al-Dīn to attack the countries of Rūm⁵⁰).

Jalāl al-Dīn did in fact send three messengers to Rūm. They met Kayqubādh in his winter residence in 'Alā'iya (Alanya) on the Mediterranean Sea. Kayqubādh's speech to them was an ultimatum to Jalāl al-Dīn. Kayqubādh demanded that Jalāl al-Dīn withdraw from Akhlāt and make peace with the Mongols for the benefit of all Muslims⁵¹). Both demands were absolutely unacceptable to Jalāl al-Dīn. al-Ḥamawī quotes the last letter that Kayqubādh sent to Jalāl al-Dīn whose contents give a vivid description of the relations between the Sultanate of Rūm, the Ayyubids, and Khwārazmshāh as follows:

You are of a great family. Your conditions were never damaged until your father changed his intention (*nīya*) and neglected his life. He suf-

ferred his due punishment. Now I prefer the Ayyubids and feel sympathy for them. They are a great family full of felicity, and their origin is old. They possess much property, territory, and strength; retain many members and leading personalities; and treat their soldiers, subjects, and neighbors with kindness; while you have neither property nor strength. Your territory has been laid waste. We know your condition better than yourself. Don't take me for their enemy at all. By Allāh, I am not their enemy. On the contrary, I am their friend and kinsman on the basis of my relation by marriage to them. My uncle Mu'izz al-Dīn⁵²⁾ has children of their descent and so do I. Certainly, there once occurred just such a situation as you blamed them for, but now we have been reconciled. Don't believe otherwise. I should advise you to make peace with them and regard them as friends. We know that at your rear there exist powerful adversaries with whom you have to confront. And agreement is ready. You may do what you wish concerning the Georgians and others. This is my advice for you: don't be deceived by the one who is in correspondence with you and swears obedience to you. All is falsehood and time gaining. By Allāh, I have told everything that is necessary for rationality and the canonical law of Islām. (*T.M.*, pp. 197-198)

"The one who is in correspondence with you and swears obedience to you" clearly indicates Jahānshāh who took the side of Jalāl al-Dīn and had become more hostile to Kayqubādh than ever before. From the letter quoted above, it becomes obvious that Kayqubādh, who must have felt great danger as a result of Jahānshāh's activities in favor of Jalāl al-Dīn, gave up his enmity against the Ayyubids and once again revived their alliance on the basis of his relation to them by marriage. After the conquest of Akhlāt, Kayqubādh entered into negotiations with al-Kāmil and zealously persuaded him to form an alliance with his family against Khwārazmshāh. At that moment, Kayqubādh apparently felt more of a direct threat from Jalāl al-Dīn than from al-Kāmil. Ibn al-Athīr reports that in one day five messengers from Rūm arrived at Ḥarrān where al-Kāmil and al-Ashraf were staying together⁵³⁾. In the end, the Ayyubids decided to enter into an alliance with Kayqubādh.

The relationship between the Sultanate of Rūm and Khwārazmshāh began rather cordially but turned into uncompromising enmity because of Jahānshāh's hostile activities against Kayqubādh. After the conquest of Akhlāt, Jalāl al-Dīn never tried to conceal his intentions of conquering the countries of Rūm and Shām. Thus became inevitable the clash of Khwārazmshāh against the allied forces of the Sultanate of Rūm and the Ayyubids.

IV. The Battle of Yāsi Chaman

When he decided to wage war against Khwārazmshāh, Kayqubādh dis-

patched ten thousand horsemen to Arzinjān under the command of *amīr* Mubārīz al-Dīn Chāwlī and three other commanders⁵⁴). Among the Ayyubids, al-Kāmil left for Egypt and did not take part in the Battle of Yāsī Chaman. The true reason is unknown. Only al-Ḥamawī writes that al-Kāmil left al-Ashraf in Ḥarrān and set out for Egypt on hearing the news that his son, al-Malik al-Mas'ūd Aqsīs, had died in al-Yaman (Yemen) and Ibn Rasūl, one of his *aṣḥāb* (adherents) had come to power⁵⁵). It is probable that al-Kāmil intended to avoid the frontal clash with Khwārazmshāh on the pretext of the situation in al-Yaman.

From Rūm Kamāl al-Dīn Kāmyār came to al-Ashraf and urged him to start for Sīwās (Sivas). In Sha'bān 627 (1230.6.15–7.13), al-Ashraf left al-Raqqā and arrived at Sīwās where Kayqubādh was waiting. According to Ibn Bībī, al-Ashraf was accompanied by his brothers, al-Muẓaffar Ghāzī, lord of Mayyāfāriqīn (Silvan), al-Jawād, al-Mughīth, and al-'Azīz; while al-Ḥamawī adds the names of his old and new patrons, al-Ḥāfīz and al-Manṣūr. The Ayyubid force consisted of five thousand horsemen⁵⁶). al-Ashraf and the other Ayyubid princes were welcomed by Kayqubādh with hospitality in Sīwās, and they met their sister who had married Kayqubādh three years previously. After resting a week in Sīwās, the allied forces set out for the plain of Aqshahr (Akşehir) and from there advanced to the mountain of Yāsī Chaman⁵⁷), near Arzinjān. Kayqubādh's troops consisted of Turk, Farang (Franks), Gurjī (Georgians), Ūjī (Uj-Turcomans)⁵⁸), Rūmī (Greeks), Rūs (Russians), and 'Arab—twenty thousand in all.

As for Jalāl al-Dīn, after the conquest of Akhlāt he placed Malāzgird under siege and from there advanced to Khartabirt (Harput) where he got so seriously ill that recovery appeared hopeless. His strategy to attack either Kayqubādh or the Ayyubids separately before they could form an allied force entirely failed because of his serious illness. This illness is mentioned by al-Nasawī, al-Ḥamawī, and Juwaynī; the last attributes Jalāl al-Dīn's defeat in the Battle of Yāsī Chaman to it⁵⁹). After his narrow recovery, the news came to him that the allied forces had arrived at the plain of Aqshahr. The Khwārazmian troops, joined by Jahānshāh of Arzan al-Rūm, started for Yāsī Chaman with an overnight march.

On the Battle of Yāsī Chaman Ibn al-Athīr, al-Nasawī, Ibn Bībī, al-Ḥamawī, and Sibṭ ibn al-Jawzī each give their own descriptions. al-Nasawī was then sent to Persian 'Irāq as an envoy of Jalāl al-Dīn, and according to his own statement, on the day when the decisive battle took place (28 Ramaḍān 627) he arrived at Iṣfahān. His description of the battle is based on secondhand information heard from al-Muẓaffar Ghāzī of Mayyāfāriqīn who took part in the battle⁶⁰). Ibn Bībī describes the battle in a *mathnawī* poem of 279 *bayts* composed by himself in the *mutaqārib* meter. The fact that this poem is the longest one in his work and the fact that the author used the same meter as was used in Firdawsī's *Shāh-nāma*, the greatest epic in Persian literature,

show how much Ibn Bībī took pains with literary embellishments to describe the battle⁶¹). As mentioned before, al-Ḥamawī was an eyewitness to the battle in the service of his old patron al-Ḥāfiẓ⁶²). Sibṭ ibn al-Jawzī heard of the battle directly from *amīr* ‘Imād al-Dīn b. Mūsak who had been one of the late al-Mu‘azzam’s *ghulāms* and took part in the battle as an Ayyubid commander⁶³). Ibn al-Athīr’s description is rather brief, though it is quite trustworthy with regard to the date⁶⁴).

By piecing together their descriptions, the Battle of Yāsī Chaman can be reconstructed as follows: on 24 Ramaḍān 627 (1230.8.6), *amīr* Chāwli, who was then in Arzinjān, dispatched three thousand horsemen⁶⁵) as an advanced guard for Kayqubādh. This advanced guard of Rūm got lost that night and encountered the Khwarazmians who annihilated them after a fierce battle the next morning. On hearing the news of this first defeat, Kayqubādh was so disappointed that he lost his composure and almost withdrew from the battlefield: the advanced guard in Arzinjān had been composed of the best members of his force. He took heart only because of al-Ashraf’s encouragement. The advanced guards of both sides skirmished on 25–26 Ramaḍān, repeatedly advancing and retreating. The main bodies began to collide on 27 Ramaḍān, and the final, decisive battle took place on the next day. The Ayyubid troops distinguished themselves in that battle, while the Khwarazmians suffered a complete defeat and were routed.

Behind the distinctive performance of the Ayyubid troops lay an exceptionally huge reward bestowed by Kayqubādh. al-Ḥamawī writes that before and after the battle, in Sīwās and Arzan al-Rūm, Kayqubādh gave al-Ashraf four hundred thousand *sulṭānī dirhams*, twenty thousand cups (*makkūk*) of grain, and ten thousand sheep. To every one of Ashraf’s brothers Kayqubādh gave a hundred thousand *dirhams* and many horses and garments. al-Ḥamawī says that this enumeration of rewards was a great thing⁶⁶). The eve of the battle, 27 Ramaḍān, fell on *layla al-qadr* when, according to *sūra* XCVII, the *Qur’ān* was revealed to Muḥammad the Prophet of Islām for the first time. On that night, Kayqubādh ordered that the doors of prisons be opened and money be given to beggars; he himself fasted and performed all-night prayers and worship⁶⁷). Kayqubādh’s efforts, both physically and spiritually, later bore fruit in a great victory over his formidable enemy, Jalāl al-Dīn.

After the defeat, Khwārazmshāh fled from the battlefield to Akhlāṭ via Khartabirt and Malāzgird. From there, he carried away as much treasure as he could and arrived at Khūy in Adharbayjān. The Khwarazmians took flight into the mountains and valleys near the battlefield. Some of them reached Durābzūn (Trebizond)⁶⁸). The allied forces chased after them and captured many, including Jahānshāh of Arzan al-Rūm. Two days after the battle, the Feast of Breaking the Ramaḍān Fast was celebrated, and Kayqubādh departed for Arzan al-Rūm together with the Ayyubid princes, taking Jahānshāh with them as captive. At first, Arzan al-Rūm closed its doors against Kayqubādh

but afterward opened them in exchange for the security of its ruler Jahānshāh through the mediation of al-Ashraf⁶⁹). In Arzan al-Rūm, Kayqubādh distributed rewards among the Ayyubid princes. Then he ordered *amīr* Shams al-Dīn Altūn-apa and five thousand horsemen to accompany them to Akhlāt as reinforcements. When al-Ashraf entered Akhlāt and made peace with Jalāl al-Dīn, then in Adharbayjān, the dispute over Akhlāt, which was the origin of hostilities between Khwārazmshāh and the Ayyubids, came to a final settlement.

Almost at the same time as Jalāl al-Dīn's defeat in the Battle of Yāsī Chaman, Mongol troops drew near behind him. Ögedäi Qā'ān, the successor of Jinkiz Khān, sent them under the command of Jurmāghūn Nūyan to put an end to Jalāl al-Dīn's activities in West Asia. Henceforth, the last Khwārazmshāh could only continue flying from the pursuit of those Mongol troops. At last, he was murdered by a Kurd in Diyār Bakr on 15 Shawwāl 628 (1231. 8.16)⁷⁰). To borrow Juwaynī's expression, Jalāl al-Dīn's defeat at Yāsī Chaman was "a blow struck on his cheek of destiny" from which he could never recover⁷¹). In this sense the Battle of Yāsī Chaman may have been the most crucial failure of his life.

Conclusion

In this article I have reexamined the hostilities between Khwārazmshāh and the Ayyubids concerning Akhlāt; the relations between the Sultanate of Rūm, the Ayyubids, and Khwārazmshāh; and the Battle of Yāsī Chaman on the basis of the descriptions of six historical sources: Ibn al-Athīr, al-Nasawī, Juwaynī, Ibn Bibī, al-Ḥamawī, and Sibṭ ibn al-Jawzī. Of these six historians I think that the most serious attention should be paid to Ibn al-Athīr because he had no personal ties at all with Khwārazmshāh, the Ayyubids, or the Saljuqid Sultanate of Rūm. As a conclusion, I will throw light on two questions: How were Jalāl al-Dīn's activities in West Asia regarded in the eyes of this contemporary historian who dwelt in al-Mawṣil?; and What impact did Jalāl al-Dīn's activities have on the political environment of West Asia, then divided into many separate territories under the control of local lords (including the Ayyubids and the Sultanate of Rūm)?

When he expresses ignorance as to whether Jalāl al-Dīn was living or dead in 628, Ibn al-Athīr writes in *al-Kāmil* as follows:

Jalāl al-Dīn behaved unjustly (*sayyi' al-sīra*) and his management of his dominion was infamous. There existed no neighboring ruler who did not feel enmity toward him, contend about dominion, or reject good neighborliness with him. After he appeared in Iṣfahān and rallied his troops, he aimed at Khūzistān; besieged Tustar, in the possession of the 'Abbasid Khalifa; and then advanced to Daqūqā, also in the posses-

sion of the Khalifa, plundering and killing many people. After that, he captured Adharbayjān, a domain of Uzbek; aimed at the Georgians; and defeated them too. Next, he acted hostilely toward al-Malik al-Ashraf, ruler of Akhlāt, and 'Alā' al-Dīn, ruler of Rūm. He also became the enemy of al-Ismā'īliya, plundered their territory, and killed many of them. He imposed upon them a payment of tax (*māl*) every year. The same duty was imposed on the others. Thus the rulers were all disappointed with him and no one supported him. (*K.T.*, pp. 495-496)

Ibn al-Athīr's estimation of Jalāl al-Dīn obviously dropped after his first siege of Akhlāt. After praising his conquest of Tiflīs in 623 as a feat, he changed his attitude toward Jalāl al-Dīn criticizing his bad behavior and those of the Khwarazmians. This bad behavior is termed *sū' sīra*, *sīra jā'ira*, *sū' ṣanī'*, and *qabīḥ fi'l*. These terms are used six times in the descriptions of events from the second half of 623 to the end of *al-Kāmil*⁽⁷²⁾. Ibn al-Athīr uses the Arabic word *N-H-B* (to plunder) twenty five times, both as a noun and a verb, in regard to the activities of Jalāl al-Dīn and the Khwarazmians. The word *N-H-B* is a key word. According to Ibn al-Athīr, it seems as if wherever they advanced Jalāl al-Dīn and his Khwarazmian troops always plundered the inhabitants. He derives this impression from the fact that they were fundamentally hated as notorious plunderers throughout West Asia.

In this connection, it is noteworthy that the word *yāwagī* is used three times by Ibn Bībī to describe the activity of Jalāl al-Dīn and the Khwarazmians in West Asia⁽⁷³⁾. The Persian word *yāwagī*, the original meaning of which is "to get lost" or "to disappear"⁽⁷⁴⁾, is used in this case to mean "to wander from place to place, having no one to turn to for help." After the Mongol invasion of their native country, the Khwarazmians, headed by Jalāl al-Dīn, were obliged to leave home and become *yāwagīyān* without wealth or land. As they had no one to turn to for help, they inevitably had to be hostile to all the neighboring rulers in order to survive and were forced to plunder wherever they went. This was nothing but bad behavior in the eyes of the inhabitants of West Asia. Although Jalāl al-Dīn Khwārazmshāh did propose friendly relations and requested alliances with the neighboring rulers, the plundering of the Khwarazmians made it impossible for the Ayyubids and Kayqubādh to accept his proposals. In Adharbayjān, the base of Jalāl al-Dīn's activities in West Asia, discontent with the Khwarazmians increased so much that after his defeat in Yāsī Chaman its inhabitants never cooperated in his resistance against the Mongol troops.

Nevertheless there were three reasons, in my opinion, why the other rulers in West Asia dared not remove Jalāl al-Dīn and the Khwarazmians until the Battle of Yāsī Chaman. First, the Ayyubids and Kayqubādh feared Jalāl al-Dīn's military power which had been great enough to conquer Tiflīs, the capital of Georgia. Second, some of them—for example al-Mu'azzam and

Kayqubādh—temporarily attempted to make use of Jalāl al-Dīn's power either to protect their own interests or to expand their territories. This was the major cause of hostilities between the Ayyubids and Khwārazmshāh. Third, the Ayyubids and Kayqubādh expected Jalāl al-Dīn to play the role of a bulwark against the Mongol invasion of West Asia. According to Juwaynī, Jalāl al-Dīn called himself the "rampart of Alexander (*sadd-i Iskandar*)" in one of his letters to Khalifa and the rulers of Shām and Rūm⁷⁵). Sibṭ ibn al-Jawzī writes that al-Ashraf called Jalāl al-Dīn the most ideal rampart between the Muslims and Yājūj and Mājūj (or Gog and Magog in the Old Testament)⁷⁶). The word *sadd-i Iskandar* is derived from *āya* 94 of *sūra* XVIII in the *Qur'ān*. The *sadd* means the rampart which legendary hero Dhū al-Qarnayn (Alexander) built to confine Yājūj and Mājūj who did evil to the people⁷⁷). Jalāl al-Dīn compared his opposition to the infidel Mongols with the rampart of Alexander and demanded the support of the other Muslims who benefited from it. When it became clear that the substance of this rampart was nothing but the injustice (*jawr*), oppression (*ẓulm*), tyranny (*jabarūt*) and haughtiness (*'aẓama*)⁷⁸) of plunderers, the Ayyubids and Kayqubādh had to join together to destroy it themselves.

In addition to their reputation as tyrannical plunderers, historical comments on the rivalry between Kayqubādh and Jalāl al-Dīn also provide evidence about contemporary political attitudes toward the Khwarazmians. On this rivalry, al-Ḥamawī writes in his chronicle as follows:

al-Khwārazmī (Jalāl al-Dīn) sent an envoy to al-Rūmī (Kayqubādh) with one hundred and twenty horses. When al-Rūmī made the envoy present himself, al-Rūmī did not stand up for him and no one received him. After a few days, when he was to return, al-Rūmī never stood up or gave hands to be kissed or uttered kind words to him. The practice of al-Rūmī was to address himself to no one. But then al-Rūmī said to the envoy "If your patron criticizes the manner of your reception and the lack of attention paid to you, say to him that this is the practice which my father followed with your father and my grandfather with your grandfather" and let him go. (*T.M.*, pp. 185–186)

According to Ibn Bībī, Kayqubādh called the ancestors of Jalāl al-Dīn "those who were always seen with affection and sympathy by the uncles (*a'mām*) of Kayqubādh, like Sulṭān Malikshāh, Sulṭān Mu'izz al-Dīn Sanjar, and other great Saljuqid Sulṭāns"⁷⁹). Malikshāh and Sanjar were not actually the uncles of Kayqubādh: Kayqubādh was a descendant of Isrā'il b. Saljūq, while Malikshāh and Sanjar were descendants of Mikā'il b. Saljūq. But the Sulṭāns of the Saljuqids in Iran are often called "uncles" of the Sulṭāns of the Saljuqids in Rūm by Ibn Bībī.

Behind these two examples of Kayqubādh making reference to his

ancestry lay pride and a sense of superiority over Khwārazmshāh whose ancestors were *mamlūks* of the Saljuqid Sultanate in Iran and 'Irāq. In Adharbayjān, Jalāl al-Dīn married a daughter of Ṭughril, the last Saljuqid Sulṭān in 'Ajam, but it was Khwārazmshāh Tekish, a grandfather of Jalāl al-Dīn, who killed Ṭughril and overthrew the lineage of the Saljuqid Sultanate in 'Ajam on 24 Rabī' I 590 (1194.3.19)⁸⁰. For Kayqubādh, who was not a descendant of Ṭughril but did belong to the Saljuquids of Rūm, the collision with Jalāl al-Dīn was regarded as an opportunity to take revenge on Khwārazmshāh for the sake of the Saljuquids' reputation in history.

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ABBREVIATIONS

- K.T.** Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil fī al-Ta'rikkh*, al-Mujallad al-Thānī 'Ashar, C. J. Tornberg (edidit), (reprint) Bayrūt, 1982–1402.
- Sira** al-Nasawī, *Sira al-Sulṭān Jalāl al-Dīn MNKBRNY*, Ḥāfiz Aḥmad Ḥamdī (nashr wa taḥqīq), al-Qāhira, 1958.
- T.J.** 'Alā' al-Dīn 'Aṭā Malik Juwaynī, *Tārikkh-i Jahāngushāy*, Jild-i Thānī, Muḥammad Qazwīnī (sa'y wa ihtimām wa taḥḥīḥ), Leiden, 1916–1334.
- A.A.** Ibn Bībī, *al-Awāmir al-'Alā'īya fī al-Umūr al-'Alā'īya*, I. Tıpkı-basım, A. S. Erzi (önsöz ve fihristi hazırlayan), Ankara, 1956.
- T.M.** al-Ḥamawī, *al-Ta'rikkh al-Manşūrī (Talkhīş al-Kashf wa al-Bayān fī Ḥawādith al-Zamān)*, Abū al-'Īd Dawdaw ('uniya bi-nashrihi wa taḥqīqihī), Dimashq, 1981–1401.
- M.Z.** Sibṭ ibn al-Jawzī, *Mir'āt al-Zamān fī Ta'rikkh al-A'yān*, al-Qism al-Thānī min al-Juz' al-Thāmin, Ḥaydarābād al-Dakan, 1952–1371.

NOTES

- 1) The word MNKBRNY has been read as "Mengübirti" since D'Ohsson. But Muḥammad Qazwīnī, the editor of Juwaynī's *Jahāngushāy*, fixed the spelling of the last Khwārazmshāh's name as MNKBRNY from the contemporary historical sources, though both its reading and meaning are unknown. *T.J.*, *ḥawāshī wa idāfāt*, pp. 284–292.
- 2) *Histoire des Mongols, depuis Tchinguiz-Khan jusqu'à Timour Bey ou Tamerlan*, tome III, Amsterdam, 1852, pp. 1–66.
- 3) "The eastern expansion of the Ayyubids", *Studies in Caucasian History*, London, 1953. Annex B. pp. 146–156.
- 4) "Dynastic and Political History of the Īl-Khāns", *The Cambridge History of Iran*, Vol. 5, 1968, pp. 322–335.
- 5) *La turquie pré-ottomane*, Istanbul-Paris, 1988, pp. 74–89. The date of the Battle of Yāsī Chamān in Cahen's work (p. 83) —25 Ramaḍān 628 (1231.7.29)— is apparently wrong.

- 6) *Selçuklular Zamanında Türkiye*, İstanbul, 1971, pp. 363–374.
- 7) *Al-Malik al-Kāmil von Egypten und seine Zeit*, Wiesbaden, 1958, pp. 176–192.
- 8) *From Saladin to the Mongols —The Ayyubids of Damascus, 1193–1260—*, Albany, 1977, pp. 170–185, 214–221.
- 9) The critical edition of *al-Kāmil* was published by C. J. Tornberg between 1851–1876. I made use of the Bayrūt reprint of this edition.
- 10) The text of al-Nasawī's *Biography of Jalāl al-Dīn* was published by O. Houdas with a French translation in 1891 & 1895. But this edition was a defective one; nowadays the edition by Ḥ. A. Ḥamdī is more often used. I used this Cairo edition in the present article. On Houdas's translation, cf. J. A. Boyle, "Minorsky's Marginal Commentary on Houdas's Translation of Nasavi's Life of Sultan Jalal-ad-Din Khwarazm-shah", *Yād-nāme-ye Irāni-ye Minorsky*, Tehran, 1969, pp. 30–36. al-Nasawī's *Biography* was already translated into Persian in the seventh century of the Hijra calendar; the Persian text was published by Muḥtabā Mīnuwī in Tehrān in 1965. Twenty chapters were omitted and the name of the translator of that Persian version is unknown; but its text is very useful for the understanding of the Arabic original with its elaborate commentaries by Mīnuwī. Turkish and Russian translations of al-Nasawī's *Biography* in Arabic were published by N. Asım and З. М. Бунятов: *Celdüttin Harzemşah*, İstanbul, 1934; and *Жизнеописание Султана Джалал ад-Дина Манкбурны*, Баку, 1973.
- 11) The Persian text was published in three parts by Muḥammad Qazwīnī in 1912, 1916 & 1937 ("E. J. W. Gibb Memorial" series, Vol. XVI). Part II contains the history of the Khwārazmshāh dynasty. English translation of this work was published by J. A. Boyle, *The History of the World-Conqueror*, Manchester University Press, 2 Vols., 1958.
- 12) The name of this city is Khilāt in Arabic sources and Akhlāt in Persian sources. In this article I will use Akhlāt, even in quotations from historical sources.
- 13) *K.T.*, p. 504.
- 14) The unique manuscript of this work exists at present in Süleymaniye Library in Istanbul (Aya Sofya 2985). The abridged text of this work was published by M. Th. Houtsma. *Histoire des Seldjucides d'Asie Mineure d'après l'abrégé du Seldjouknāmeḥ d'Ibn-Bībī*, Leide, 1902. Turkish and German translations were published by M. N. Gencosman and H. W. Duda from this abridged text: *Anadolu Selçukî Devleti Tarihi-İbni Bibi'nin Farsça Muhtasar Selçuknāmesinden*, Ankara, 1941; *Die Seltchukengeschichte des Ibn Bibi*, Kopenhagen, 1959. The complete original text was published by A. S. Erzi in facsimile in 1956. (Türk Tarih Kurumu yayınlarından I. seri No. 4^ü). The first third of the original text was published in critical edition by Erzi and N. Lugal, *El-Evāmīrül-'Alā'iyye fī'l-Umūri'l-'Alā'iyye*, I. Cild, Ankara, 1957. A partial version in Turkish was published also by Houtsma as Vol. III of *Recueil de textes relatifs à l'histoire des Seldjucides*, Leide, 1902.
- 15) He was a *faqīh* (jurisprudent) of Shāfi'ī school in *Sharī'a* or Islamic law. According to Ibn al-Athīr, he was killed by the Ghuzzs who occupied Nīshāpūr in 550 (1155/6). Cf. *K.T.*, Vol. XI, p. 201.
- 16) Kāmyār was one of the most confidential *amīrs* of Sulṭān 'Alā' al-Dīn Kayqubādh of Rūm. He was often dispatched as an important diplomatic envoy to many countries by Kayqubādh. His activities were recorded in *A.A.*, pp. 271–479, by Ibn Bībī.
- 17) According to Ibn Bībī, his father was a *sayyid* of Gūr-i Surkh in Gurgān, the tomb of Muḥammad, son of Ja'far al-Şādiq, who was the sixth *imām* of the Shī'ites. He became *tarjūmān* (interpreter) of the Sultanate of Rūm and was often sent to many countries, including the rulers of Mongols, as a diplomatic envoy. (*A.A.*, p. 443.) I think that Majd al-Dīn became one of the most important sources of information about the Saljuqid Sultanate of Rūm in his son's history.
- 18) *A.A.*, pp. 742–743.
- 19) *A.A.*, pp. 368, 489, 490. Z. V. Togan claims that Shihāb al-Dīn Zaydarī, whom he reads as "al-Rindarī (Zindarī)", cannot be identified with al-Nasawī. (*Tarihte Usul*, (2nci

- baskı), İstanbul, 1969, p. 191.) But, in my opinion, Shihāb al-Dīn Zaydarī is identical with al-Nasawī. As was already mentioned by M. Minuwī, Zaydar was the name of a town situated near Khurandiz, the residence of al-Nasawī's family in the district of Nasā. Cf. *ta'liqāt wa tawdīhāt* in the Persian version of *Sīra*, pp. 289–293.
- 20) The unique manuscript of this work exists in Leningrad; the text was published in facsimile by П. А. Грязневич, *ат-Та'рīх а-л-Мансурī* [(Мансурова Хроника), Москва, 1960 (Памятники Литературы Народов Востока, Тексты, Большая Серия XI). In 1981, Abū al-'Īd Dawdaw published a partial edition of this work. In this article, I used Dawdaw's edition with reference to the Russian facsimile text.
 - 21) *T.M.*, p. 223, al-Malik al-Ḥāfiẓ was ruler of Qal'a Ja'bar, situated on the river Euphrates.
 - 22) On Muḥyī al-Dīn Ibn al-Jawzī, cf. *T.J.*, Vol. III, *ḥawāshī wa idāfāt*, pp. 463–466. Muḥyī al-Dīn Ibn al-Jawzī was a famous diplomat of the 'Abbasid Khalifa and he visited Kayqubādī and the Ayyubid princes. (*A.A.*, pp. 256–261. *T.M.*, pp. 117, 197, 236, 242, 251, 255, 258, 260.)
 - 23) *K.T.*, pp. 426–427, *Sīra*, p. 192, *M.Z.*, p. 634.
 - 24) *K.T.*, p. 435, *Sīra*, p. 197.
 - 25) *K.T.*, pp. 452–453.
 - 26) *K.T.*, pp. 453–454, 463–464. According to Ibn al-Athīr, the origin of the internal strife between the Ayyubid princes was the hostility of the 'Abbasid Khalifa al-Nāṣir li-Dīn Allāh against al-Ashraf and al-Kāmil. al-Nāṣir chose al-Mu'azzam as his ally; eventually, al-Mu'azzam came to oppose his brothers, al-Ashraf and al-Kāmil. "Cold war" between the Ayyubid princes is discussed in detail by R. S. Humphreys, *From Saladin to the Mongols*, pp. 170–184.
 - 27) *T.M.*, pp. 120–121.
 - 28) Barāq Ḥājiḅ was formerly a *ḥājiḅ* (chamberlain) of the Qara Khitāy ruler in Mā warā' al-Nahr, Kūrkhān and was sent to Khwārazmshāh Muḥammad who did not permit his return to his patron. He was the founder of the Qara Khitāy dynasty (the Qutlugh Khānid) in Kirmān.
 - 29) *K.T.*, pp. 455–456.
 - 30) *K.T.*, p. 462. The center of the Yivā Turkmān's activities was in Kurdistān and their leader Sulaymānshāh became one of the notables of the 'Abbasid Khalifa. On their leader Sulaymānshāh cf. *T.J.*, Vol. III, *ḥawāshī wa idāfāt*, pp. 453–463.
 - 31) *T.M.*, p. 127.
 - 32) Kamāl al-Dīn Abū al-Qāsim 'Umar b. Aḥmad ibn al-'Adīm, *Zubda al-Ḥalab min Ta'riḥ Ḥalab*, al-Juz' al-Thāliḥ, Sāmī al-Dahhān ('uniya bi-nashrihi wa-taḥqīqihi wa-waḍ'i fahārisihi), Damas, 1965–1387. p. 199. Ibn al-'Adīm was an 'Arab historian who lived in Ḥalab and wrote a huge biographical dictionary of the city. *Zubda al-Ḥalab* is a brief history of that city.
 - 33) *T.M.*, pp. 140–141, *K.T.*, p. 464. Ibn al-Athīr's description of the reconciliation between al-Ashraf and al-Mu'azzam is too short to determine how long it took to occur.
 - 34) *K.T.*, p. 471, *T.M.*, pp. 152–155, *Sīra*, pp. 267–276.
 - 35) *K.T.*, *ibid.* According to Juwaynī, Malika, the wife of Jalāl al-Dīn had gone from Khūy in Adharbayjān to Akhlāṭ and gave access to *ḥājiḅ* 'Alī. For this reason, Jalāl al-dīn got revenge on al-Ashraf by passing a night in the company of his wife after the conquest of Akhlāṭ (*T.J.*, pp. 176–177).
 - 36) *K.T.*, *ibid.*, *T.M.*, p. 153, *M.Z.*, p. 644.
 - 37) *K.T.*, p. 484.
 - 38) *Sīra*, pp. 232–238, *K.T.*, pp. 476–477, *T.J.*, pp. 168–170.
 - 39) *K.T.*, pp. 477–480, 482–483, *T.M.*, pp. 138–140, 149, 151, 156, 160, 176.
 - 40) *T.M.*, p. 216. According to al-Ḥamawī, after the Battle of Yāsī Chaman al-Ashraf sent a letter to Jalāl al-Dīn. In this letter al-Ashraf says to Jalāl al-Dīn "The one who aimed at your territory (i.e. *ḥājiḅ* 'Alī) suffered his due punishment for his own deeds." Here al-Ashraf acknowledges that he attempted some compromise with Jalāl al-Dīn by sending

- his *mamlūk* to Akhlāt and making him arrest *hājib* 'Alī.
- 41) *K.T.*, pp. 487-488, *T.M.*, pp. 183-186, *Sīra*, pp. 299-324, *T.J.*, pp. 174-177.
- 42) *A.A.*, pp. 368-370. Also cf. O. Turan, *Türkiye Selçukluları Hakkında Resmî Vesikalar*, Ankara, 1958. pp. 97-101.
- 43) *A.A.*, p. 371. According to Ibn Bībī, she was a daughter born between Jalāl al-Dīn and the sister of Atabeg Abū Bakr b. Sa'd of Fārs.
- 44) *K.T.*, pp. 458-459, *T.M.*, pp. 130-131, *A.A.*, pp. 274-289.
- 45) *T.M.*, p. 112, *Sīra*, p. 301. The father of Jahānshāh, Mughīth al-Dīn Ṭuğhrilshāh, was an elder brother of Kayqubādh's father, Ghiyāth al-Dīn Kaykhusraw.
- 46) *A.A.*, pp. 293-300.
- 47) 'Alā' al-Dīn Muḥammad, called Naw-musalman, was the seventh leader of the Ismā'īliya or the Assassins of Alamūt.
- 48) The name of this place is mentioned in *A.A.*, pp. 432, 433 and *Sīra*, pp. 278, 279, 345. According to Ibn Bībī, Ṭuğhtāb is the name of a plain between Akhlāt and Arzan al-Rūm. Cf. H. Hübschmann, "Die altarmenischen Ortsnamen", *Indogermanischen Forschungen*, Band XVI, 1904, p. 476.
- 49) *Sīra*, p. 301.
- 50) *A.A.*, p. 384.
- 51) *A.A.*, pp. 376-380.
- 52) Mu'izz al-Dīn Qaysarshāh, ruler of Malaṭīya and one of Kayqubādh's uncles, married a daughter of al-Ādil, the father of al-Ashraf and al-Kāmil. (*K.T.*, pp. 76, 90, 201)
- 53) *K.T.*, p. 489.
- 54) *A.A.*, pp. 384-385, *T.M.*, pp. 195-196. According to al-Ḥamawī, Kayqubādh also dispatched ten thousand horsemen to Malaṭīya.
- 55) *T.M.*, pp. 200-202. Ibn Rasūl is al-Malik al-Manşūr Nūr al-Dīn 'Umar I, who founded the Rasulid dynasty in al-Yaman.
- 56) *K.T.*, p. 490, *A.A.*, p. 385, *T.M.*, pp. 207, 209.
- 57) Arabic spellings of the name of this place are YASY ĆMN (*A.A.*, pp. 391, 392) YAŞ JMN (*T.M.*, p. 206), YASJMAN (*Sīra*, p. 330) and BASY ḤMAR (*K.T.*, p. 490). The spelling of Ibn al-Athīr seems very doubtful. From these spellings the name of the battlefield can be reconstructed "Yassi Chaman". "Yassi" is a Turkish word, which means "flat and wide" and "Chaman" (modern Turkish pronunciation is "chimen") is a word of Persian origin, whose meaning is "meadow" or "grassland". Ibn Bībī explains that there exist water and grass in the mountain of Yāsī Chaman. Ṭürsün Beg, who wrote *Tāriḫ-i Abū al-Faṭḥ* or the history of the Ottoman Sulṭān Meḥmed the Conqueror, describes Yassi Chaman as follows:
- Fāṭḥ-i Qūylū Ḥiṣār wā gūsmāl-i Uzūn Ḥasan
 çün Qūylū Ḥiṣār ki sārḥadd-i māmlākāt tir muḥayyam-i dāwlat oldi qal'a mănā'atina
 i'timād edüp tāslimden baş çeküp imtinā' etti. bāndāgān-i dāwlat üç güne qomayup
 çarb-i dāst-ylā fāṭḥ ettilār. bundan güçüp māmlākāt-i Ārzinjān üzerine yürüdi. çün
 Ārzinjān owasına müşrif Yaşsi Çaman nām yaylaqda ki ertesi Ārzinjān owası pāymāl-i
 huyül-i iqbāl olsa gerek tir qonuldı Uzūn Ḥasan anası göndärüp bir niçe mu'tämädlār-
 ylā gece içinde mārḥūm Maḥmūd Paşaya buluşup istişfa' edüp eline ayağına
 düştülār.... (H. Inalcik & R. Murphey, *The History of Mehmed the Conqueror by
 Tursun Beg*, Minneapolis & Chicago, 1978. 90b-91a).
- From this record it is evident that Yassi Chaman was a *yaylāq* or summer-quarter which overlooked the plain of Arzinjān and Sulṭān Meḥmed encamped there to attack Uzūn Ḥasan Āq-Quyūnlū in 865 (1461). In modern maps Çimen Dağ lies to the north-west of Arzinjān. This Çimen Dağ may be identical with Yassi Chaman of Ibn Bībī and Tursun Beg.
- 58) "üj" (AWJ) is a Turkish term which was used to call the boundary region between the territories of the Saljuqid Sultanate of Rūm and the Byzantine Empire in Western Anatolia. Turks or Turkmāns who were stationed there are called "Turkān-i üj" or

- simply "ūji" by Ibn Bibī.
- 59) *Sīra*, p. 330, *T.M.*, p. 206, *T.J.*, p. 181. Juwaynī, however, does not mention the name of the battlefield. He tells that the advanced guards of Rūm were annihilated in the desert of Mūsh.
 - 60) *Sīra*, pp. 331, 337.
 - 61) *A.A.*, pp. 392-406.
 - 62) *T.M.*, pp. 206-209. al-Ḥamawī's description of the Battle of Yāsī Chaman was translated into German by H. L. Gottschalk with the assistance of Abū al-ʿĪd Dawdaw. Cf. "Der Bericht des Ibn Naẓīf al-Ḥamawī über die Schlacht von Jasyčimen", *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*, 56. Band, 1960. pp. 55-67.
 - 63) *M.Z.*, pp. 660-661.
 - 64) *K.T.*, pp. 489-490. On the Battle of Yāsī Chaman some mentionings are found in C. Cahen's "ʿAbdallaṭīf al-Baghdādī et les Khwarizmiens", *Iran and Islam in memory of the late Vladimir Minorsky*, Edinburgh, 1971. pp. 149-166.
 - 65) *T.M.*, p. 206. According to Ibn Bibī, the number of the advanced guard was one thousand. Juwaynī records six thousand, Sibṭ ibn al-Jawzī gives seven thousand, and the latter's source of information, *amīr* ʿImād al-Dīn, tells twelve thousand. I think that the number given by al-Ḥamawī is reasonable.
 - 66) *T.M.*, pp. 204-205. According to Sibṭ ibn al-Jawzī, the reward amounted to two million *dīnārs*. (*M.Z.*, p. 661.)
 - 67) *A.A.*, p. 400.
 - 68) *T.M.*, p. 210.
 - 69) *T.M.*, p. 212, *A.A.*, pp. 406-410.
 - 70) *Sīra*, p. 385.
 - 71) *T.J.*, p. 182.
 - 72) *K.T.*, pp. 461, 469, 471, 487, 495, 498.
 - 73) *A.A.*, pp. 379, 430, 485.
 - 74) Cf. "yāwagī" and "yāwagīyān" in *Lughat Nāma-yi Dihkhudā*.
 - 75) *T.J.*, p. 183.
 - 76) *M.Z.*, p. 671. According to al-Nasawī, al-Ashraf also called Jalāl al-Dīn the "curtain (*hijāb*) and rampart between the Muslims and al-Tātār". (*Sīra*, p. 334.)
 - 77) The hearsay description of *sadd Yājūj wa Mājūj* is given by Ibn Khurdādhbih, *al-Masālik wa al-Mamālik*, M.J. de Goeje (edidit), Leiden, (reprint) 1967, pp. 162-170.
 - 78) *T.M.*, p. 132.
 - 79) *A.A.*, p. 379.
 - 80) *K.T.*, pp. 106-108.