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Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies, Vol. 17, No. 3/4. (Dec., 1954), pp. 403-410.

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Wed Mar 8 16:59:26 2006

IRU AND *MARU* IN THE *SECRET HISTORY OF THE MONGOLS*

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Professor Erich HAENISCH, the eminent Mongolist, has had the merit of producing not only the first critical text of the *Mongγol-un niuča* [= *ni'uča*] *to*[*b*]*ča'an*, the *Secret History of the Mongols*, but also the first complete translation into a West-European language.[1] Before the appearance of his version this important work, the only [2] native source on the rise of the Mongolian Empire, was available to Western scholars only in Palladius' Russian translation [3] of the much abridged Chinese paraphrase of the Mongolian original in Chinese transcription. This original it is now possible to compare with the Moslem sources; and one turns with particular interest to the account of Čingiz Xan's campaign in the West.

Here the Mongolian narrative is disappointingly confused and inaccurate and it is clear that we must continue, as in the past, to rely upon the Western and in particular the Persian authorities.

[1] HAENISCH's text appeared in Leipzig in 1937 and the translation (*Die geheime Geschichte der Mongolen*) in 1941. Use has been made here of the second edition (1948). Simultaneously with HAENISCH's translation appeared S. A. KOZIN's text and Russian translation (Leningrad, 1941). Paul PELLIOT's edition, planned many years ago (the introduction was written *circa* 1920), was published posthumously in 1949 together with a translation of chapters I-VI only. M. Louis HAMBIS, the editor of PELLIOT's work, has undertaken to complete the translation. An English translation by Professor Francis W. CLEAVES is in the press.

[2] The *Altan debter* or *Golden Book*, the official history of the Imperial family and a source both of Rašīd ad-Dīn and the *Sheng-wu ch'in-cheng lu*, has not survived.

[3] The account of the campaign in the West has been summarized from this version by BRETSCHNEIDER, *Mediaeval Researches from Eastern Asiatic Sources*, I, 289-291. BLOCHET, *Introduction à l'Histoire des Mongols de Fadl Allah Rashid ed-Din*, pp. 272-298, was also able to utilize POZDNEEV's edition of Chapter I of the Mongolian original, but only in a copy made in Russian characters by IVANOV and ROSENBERG, the actual printed work being even in his time extremely rare and quite unobtainable.

In one instance, however, the *Secret History* is more in agreement with the Moslem sources than at first sight appears.

The town of Iru, which HAENISCH identifies with Herat, is mentioned in the two following passages:

Tolui sandte er [d.h. Tschingis Chan] mit dem Auftrag: "Lagert vor den verschiedenen Städten Iru, Isebur und den anderen." [4]

Tolui hatte die Städte Iru und Isebur genommen, die Stadt Sisten zerstört und war gerade bei der Zerstörung der Stadt Tschuchtscheren. Als der Bote die Botschaft brachte, führte Tolui erst die Zerstörung der Stadt Tschuchtscheren durch, kehrte dann um zum Lagern und stiess zu Tschingis Chan.[5]

Now the actual chronology of these events [6] is that Merv fell in February, 1221, and Nishapur in April and that Tolui was laying siege to Herat when he received the summons from his father. "The last of all to suffer was Herat, and when he had joined her to her sisters he returned to wait upon his father." [7]

Iru must therefore be Merv—for the loss of the initial sound compare Isebur—and Čuγčeren, which HAENISCH fails to identify, Herat. This latter identification can be proved.

In a note on the corresponding passage in the *Yüan-ch'ao pi-shih* BRETSCHNEIDER [8] suggests the identification of *Chukhchelien* with a river called Shuo-shuo-lan which in the *Yüan shih* [9] Tolui

[4] § 258.

[5] § 259.

[6] See BARTHOLD, *Turkestan down to the Mongol Invasion*, p. 447.

[7] Juvaini I, 119.

[8] *Op. cit.* I, 290.

[9] I am indebted to the kindness of M. HAMBIS for a translation of this passage:

"Au printemps de la 17ème année qui etait *jen-wou* (1222), le prince Tolui s'empara des villes de Tus, Niča'ur et autres; et à son retour il passa par le pays des Mulahi[d] et le pilla entièrement; traversant le fleuve 搠搠闌 Chouo-chouo-lan (Jo[q]-joran), il s'empara de Äri et d'autres villes; rejoignant ensuite à l'Empereur, il prit d'assaut la forteresse de Taliqan." (*Yüan shih*, I, 21a.)

M. HAMBIS has also been good enough to supply me with a version of the corresponding passage (61) in the *Sheng-wu ch'in-cheng lu*:

"Au printemps de l'année *jen-wou* (1222), il soumit les villes de Tus, de Niča'ur et autres; comme la chaleur l'incommodait beaucoup, l'Empereur envoya un messager inviter son quatrième fils à venir rapidement; c'est pour cette raison que celui-ci passa par le pays des Mulahi[d] et le pilla complètement, puis franchissant le fleuve Jo[q]joran, il soumit Äri et d'autres villes."

In Rašīd's version BEREZIN's text (XV, 115) has قومجران, but this, as PELLIOT has pointed out (*Notes sur l'histoire de la Horde d'Or*, 15n), must be corrected to

is stated to have crossed in order to take Herat (Yeh-li). This river in turn he identifies [10] with the Djokdjaran of the *Ẓafar-nāma* [11] and adds that perhaps the Herirud is meant. It was a brilliant guess, for as appears from the work of the 15th century geographer Ḥāfiz Abrū [12] چخچران i. e., Čoxčarān was in his day the normal name of a river " which is also called the Herirud " (*ānrā nīz harīrūd xvānand*).

" Die Stadt Tschuchtscheren " is then either " the town of Čoxčarān " having received by mistake the name of the river on which it stood or else " the Čoxčarān town " i. e., the town on the Čoxčarān or Herirud.

If, however, Iru is not Herat but Merv, what are we to make of Maru, identified by HAENISCH with Merv, which occurs in the following mysterious passage?

> Weiter schickte er Dorbai dochschin von den Dorbet gegen die Stadt Abtu bei den Völkern Aru, Maru und Madasari zwischen den beiden Völkern Hindus und Bachtat.[13]

This is not the first mention in the *Secret History* of Dörbei Doγšin, " Dörbei the Brutal," of the Dörbed tribe. He had previously taken part in a campaign [14] against the Qori Tumad or Tumad.[15] Rašīd ad-Dīn [16] also gives an account of this campaign,

چوقچران, and in fact in the new Russian translation (Moscow, 1952, Vol. I, p. 219) O. I. SMIRNOVA has made the requisite correction.

[10] *Op. cit.*, I, 286.

[11] چغچران, Calcutta edition, II, 592. Timur setting out from Jam meets Shahrukh on the banks of the river.

[12] British Museum Or. 1577, 32*a*. See also LESTRANGE, *Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, p. 408, where the name appears as Khajacharân, the spelling, as he rightly says, being uncertain on account of " the shifting position of the diacritical points."

[13] § 261.

[14] There is a very brief reference to this campaign in the *Yüan shih*. Cf. F. E. A. KRAUSE, *Cingis Han* (Heidelberg, 1922), p. 35:

" In diesem Jahre [d. i. 1217] rebellierte das Volk vom Stamme T'uman. (Der „Kaiser") befahl dem Po-lu-wan To-lu-po, sie zu bestrafen und zu unterwerfen."

For " dem Po-lu-wan To-lu-po " should be substituted " dem Po-lu-wan *und* dem To-lu-po," i. e., Boroqul and Dörbei. For Po-lu-wan as a transcription of Boroqul cf. PELLIOT and HAMBIS, *Histoire des campagnes de Gengis Khan*, Tome I (Leiden, 1951), p. 373.

[15] § 240. On the Qori see MINORSKY, *Marvazi*, pp. 106 and 161, and PELLIOT and

but the details differ greatly. According to the *Secret History* Čingiz Xan first sends Boroγul Noyan against the Tumad. He is ambushed and killed. Furious at the news of his death, Čingiz Xan wishes to take the field in person but is finally dissuaded and sends Dörbei Doγšin instead. Dörbei subjects his forces to rigid discipline (whence, no doubt, his nickname), cuts a pathway through the forest and overwhelms the enemy in a surprise attack. In Rašīd ad-Dīn on the other hand all the glory goes to Boroγul. In the year of the ox (1217) the campaign against the Tumad is entrusted to Nayā Noyan [17] of the Ba'arin tribe and Dörbei Noyan. Nayā excuses himself on the ground of illness and Čingiz Xan appoints Boroγul Noyan in his stead. Boroγul confides his family to the care of the Xan and sallies forth against the Tumad. He defeats and destroys the enemy but is himself slain in battle. Čingiz Xan is grieved at his death and heaps honours upon his children. Of the part played in the campaign by Dörbei Doγšin there is no mention whatsoever; indeed, it appears only from the shorter account of the expedition that he actually accompanied Boroγul at all.

According to J̌uvainī and J̌uzǰānī it was this same Dörbei Doγšin whom Čingiz Xan sent across the Indus in pursuit of J̌alāl ad-Dīn Xvārazmšāh. His name appears in a Turkish form: Törbei Toqšin in J̌uvainī,[18] Törbei Noyan in J̌uzǰānī.[19] The following [20] is J̌uvainī's account of the episode:

> Of the Expedition of Törbei Toqšin in Search of Sultan J̌alāl ad-Dīn.
>
> When Čaγatai returned without having found the Sultan, Čingiz Xan deputed Törbei Toqšin, together with two *tümen* of Mongolian troops, to cross the Indus in his pursuit.

HAMBIS, *Histoire des Campagnes de Gengis Khan*, p. 63. Alan Γo'a, the legendary ancestress of Čingiz Xan, belonged to the Qori Tumad. The Tumad are also mentioned by Carpini in his list of peoples subjugated by the Mongols. Cf. BEAZLEY, *The Texts and Versions of John de Plano Carpini and William de Rubruquis*, p. 68, and VAN DEN WYNGAERT, *Sinica Franciscana I*, p. 88, where however the text has *Cumae*.

[16] BEREZIN, XV, 51-52 and 171.

[17] On Nayā cf. the *Secret History*, §§ 149 and 197.

[18] The text has تقشی تربای and تقشی توربای but in II, 144 two MSS. have توقسین for the second element.

[19] Initial *d* was foreign to Old Turkish.

[20] I, 112.

Törbei Toqšin advanced to the region of BYH,[21] a district of India which had previously been held by Qamar ad-Dīn Karmānī [22] but of which one of the Sultan's commanders had made himself master.

Törbei Toqšin took the fortress of BYH and wrought great slaughter. Then he turned against Multan.

There were no stones in Multan, so he ordered levies to be driven from thence to build rafts of wood: these were loaded with catapult missiles and launched upon the river. When he arrived before Multan the catapults were set in motion; a large part of the wall was demolished and the town was on the point of surrendering. However, the great heat of the climate prevented his remaining longer, so having plundered and massacred throughout the province of Multan and Lahore he returned from thence and recrossed the Indus; and arriving in Ghazna followed in the wake of Čingiz Xan.

There is a briefer and somewhat different account of this expedition in the chapter on J̌alāl ad-Dīn's adventures in India: [23]

News of the size of his forces having reached the World-Conquering Emperor Čingiz Xan, who at that time was in Ghazna, he dispatched an army to put an end to him. When the Mongolian force which was led by Törbei Toqšin, had crossed the river, the Sultan, not being strong enough to oppose him, set out for Delhi. The Mongols, for their part, upon hearing the news of his flight, turned back and laid waste the district of Malikfur.[24]

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[21] بیه. For the name of the fortress one of the MSS. used by Qazvini has نندہ and the Bodleian MS. Fraser 154 (I am indebted to the Keeper of Oriental Books, Dr. A. F. L. Beeston, and the Printer to the University, Oxford, for a photograph of the passage) ینده, both of which forms may be presumed to go back to an original نندہ, a corruption of the نندنه of J̌uzǰānī. In the case of the district also بیه is probably to be regarded as a corruption of نندہ i.e., نندنه. On Nandana cf. the long footnote in Raverty's translation of the *Ṭabaqāt-i Nāṣirī*, pp. 534-539. Cf. also the *Imperial Gazetteer of India* (1908 edition) in which Nandana is described as a "place of historical interest in the Pind Dādan Khān *tahsil* of Jhelum District, Punjab, situated 32° 43′ N. and 73° 17′ E., 14 miles west of Chao Saidān Shāh, in a remarkable dip in the outer Salt Range. Of the fort, two bastions of large, well-cut sandstone blocks still remain." (Vol. XVIII, p. 349.)

[22] So Raverty, *op. cit.*, p. 536n, I do not know on what authority, but in fact the man is more likely to have hailed from the adjacent province of Kaṛmān (the present-day Kurram Agency) than from distant Kirmān. O. I. Smirnova, *op. cit.*, p. 224n, identifies him with Qamar ad-Dīn Tamar Xan Qīrān, the future governor of Bengal (1244-1246), but according to the *Ṭabaqāt-i Nāsirī* (Raverty, p. 743, Calcutta ed. p. 247) this latter person, a Qipčaq Turk purchased by Iltutmiš, held no fief until the reign of Raziyya (1236-1239), when he became feudatory of Qinnauǰ. The Qamar ad-Dīn who held the area around Nandana at some time previously to 1221 can hardly have been the same person.

[23] II, 143-153.

[24] *Ibid.*, 144. According to Raverty, *op. cit.*, 537n, there is in the Rawalpindi

J̌uzǰānī's version [25] is as follows:

After the capture of Nandana by the army of the Mongolian infidels, Törbei Noyan the Mongol arrived before the town of Multan with large forces and laid siege to that powerful stronghold for a period of forty days.

In the *Secret History*, on the other hand, it is Bala or Balai who crosses the Indus in pursuit of the Sultan:

An die Flüsse Eke Chorochan und Ge'un Chorochan [26] gelangt lagerte er [d.h. Tschingis Chan] auf der Ebene Baru'an [27] und sandte Balai von den Dschalair aus zur Verfolgung der beiden Dschalalding und Chan Melik.[28]

Während er dort auf den Bala von den Dschalair wartete, hatte Bala den Fluss Schin überschritten und beide Dschalalding und Chan Melik bis in das Land der Hindus verfolgt. Dort verlor er sie und ging auf der Suche bis mitten ins Hindusland hinein. Als er keinen Erfolg hatte, machte er Kehrt, raubte das Volk an der Grenze von Hindus aus und kam hernach unter Mitführung von vielen Kamelen und vielen Schafen zurück.[29]

Rašīd ad-Dīn,[30] who is evidently trying to reconcile the Mongolian account with J̌uvainī's, says that the expedition was undertaken jointly by "Bala Noyan of the J̌alayir tribe and Dörbei of the . . . tribe." [31] Otherwise he simply copies and abridges J̌uvainī: the only addition is the inclusion of the district of

district "a Malik-pūr, in ancient times, the residence of the provincial governors, which lies in the direct line or route from the NANDANAH district on the Jhilam to the locality in which Chingiz Khān had pitched his camp." It is not, however, mentioned in the *Imperial Gazetteer*.

[25] Calcutta ed., p. 143. There is a violent anacoluthon in the original which reads:
لشکر کفار مغل بعد از فتح نندنه تری (تولی) مغل با لشکر گران بپای شهر ملتان آمد و چهل روز آن حصن حصین را دربندان داد.

[26] In PELLIOT's text Äkä-qoroqan and Gä'ün-qoroqan, i.e., "Mother Stream" and "Mare Stream."

[27] I.e., Parvān, the scene of J̌alāl ad-Dīn's victory over the Mongols.

[28] § 264. Xan Malik, also known as Amīn Malik, Amīn ad-Dīn Malik and Yamīn Malik, was a chief of the Qanqli Turks and father-in-law to J̌alāl ad-Dīn. Muḥammad Xvārazmsāh made him governor of Herat and he afterwards entered the service of his son. Contrary to the statement in the *Secret History* he did not cross the Indus with J̌alāl ad-Dīn but was killed by the Mongols whilst fleeing in the direction of Peshawar. (See Qazvini's note, J̌uvainī II, 192.)

[29] § 264.

[30] BEREZIN, XV, 128-129.

[31] The blank is interesting and perhaps explains the absence of all reference to Dörbei in the chapter on the Dörbed (BEREZIN, V, 258-259). Bala is duly mentioned in the chapter on the J̌alayir (*ibid.*, 52).

Pasrur [32] in the area devastated by the Mongols before recrossing the Indus.

What is the truth of the matter? Was the expedition headed by Dörbei alone as stated by J̌uvainī and J̌uzǰānī, by Bala alone in accordance with the *Secret History* and the Chinese sources or by Bala and Dörbei together as Rašīd ad-Dīn would have us believe?

J̌uvainī and J̌uzǰānī are not only our oldest authorities, but are also completely independent of each other. When, therefore, they agree in stating that Dörbei crossed the Indus and laid siege to Multan, there is every reason for accepting their statement as a fact. In this case it would appear at first sight that "the town of Abtu" and "the Aru, Maru and Madasari peoples" are to be sought in India; and there is no resemblance at all between these names and those of Nandana, Multan, Lahore, Pasrur and Malikfur.

There is, however, another possibility. BARTHOLD in his *Turkestan* [33] had already suggested the identification of توربای‌تقشی i. e., Törbei Toqšin with the Mongolian general تربای stationed at Nakhshab with another general قبان Qaban.[34] These generals

[32] BEREZIN's text has بی شاور, i. e., Peshawar, but this must stand for J̌uvaini's بس راور (II, 147) i. e., Pasrur on the road from Sialkot to Amritsar.

[33] P. 449. QAZVĪNĪ in his index to J̌uvainī I suggests also the identity with Törbei Toqšin of the Törbei (تربای in the text but تورتای, i. e., توربای, in one MS), who, after the capture of Otrar, was dispatched together with Yasa'ur and Ṭadaq on an expedition into the region of the upper Oxus (*op. cit.*, p. 33). In a second reference to this expedition (p. 92) no mention is made of Törbei but only of Ṭadaq (here called Ṭadaq Noyan) and Yasa'ur. In the corresponding passage in Rašīd ad-Dīn (BEREZIN, XV, 86) there is likewise no mention of Törbei and for Ṭadaq is substituted Alaq. This has led BARTHOLD (*Turkestan*, p. 417) to suppose that Alaq Noyan, who commanded the force dispatched against Banakat (J̌uvainī, I, 70), also took part in this expedition. In fact, if the reading of QAZVĪNĪ's text is correct (and the alternate reading علاق would seem to be a corruption of غداق rather than of الاق), we have here to do with an entirely different person, perhaps Qadaq Ba'atur of the J̌irgin (*Secret History*, §§ 170 and 185).

[34] J̌uvainī I, 130. The printed text has قبار and BARTHOLD reads "Qabāy or Qatāy" but the reading of ھ seems preferable, viz. قبان, *qaban* in Turkish meaning "wild boar." Cf. the قبان who accompanied the Emir Aryun on a mission

were summoned to quell a rising in Merv. They took the town within an hour and then returned to their post at Nakhshab. If this Dörbei is the same man, then it may well be that Aru and Maru [35] are in fact not names of people but the towns of Herat and Merv (Iru and Maru being in this case identical) and that the mysterious city of Abtu and the Madasari people are likewise to be sought in Khorasan, which, unlike the Punjab, may certainly be said to lie *Hindus irgen Bayтad irgen qoyar-un ǰa'ura*, " between the Hindu and Baghdad peoples."

There is one further, almost certainly apocryphal, reference to Dörbei. In his account of J̌alāl ad-Dīn Xvārazmšāh J̌uzǰānī, after mentioning his victories over the armies of Rūm and Shām, adds that " Törbei the Mongol, who had laid siege to Multan, came to him from Čingiz Xan and professed Islam." [36] It is, however, difficult to believe that the fierce Dörbei warrior, Dörbei the Brutal, after serving his master so faithfully in the forests of Siberia and on the plains of India, should then have gone over to his enemy and ended his days, a pious Moslem, far away in the West!

to China (J̌uvainī II, 243). قبان was also the name of a great grandson of Čayatai, the Ciban of Marco Polo. Cf. HAMBIS, *Le chapitre cvii du Yuan che*, p. 92.

[35] Maru, so Professor MINORSKY informs me, is what the Turcomans call Merv to this day. The Russians themselves call it Marï. In an article entitled " Chingghis Khans Erobring af Persien " in „*Øst og Vest*" *Afhandlinger Tilegnede Prof. Dr. Phil. Arthur Christensen*, 1945, pp. 94-104, Professor Kaare GRØNBECH had already identified Iru with Merv. Cf. p. 99 of his article where, in a footnote, he also explains the loss of the initial letters of Merv and Nishapur.

[36] Cf. RAVERTY, *op. cit.*, p. 297. This part of J̌uzǰānī's work is not included in the Calcutta edition and I have translated the passage from the B.M. MS. Add. 25, 785, where it runs as follows:

وتربی مغل که ملتان را حصار داده بود بنزریک او دفت از بش جنکز خان و اسلام آورد.