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Edited by J.B. Bury

Excerpt

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THE HISTORY
OF THE
DECLINE AND FALL OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE.
CHAPTER LXIV

*Conquests of Zingis Khan and the Moguls from China to Poland—
Escape of Constantinople and the Greeks—Origin of the Ottoman
Turks in Bithynia—Reigns and Victories of Othman,
Orchan, Amurath the First, and Bajazet the First—Foundation
and Progress of the Turkish Monarchy in Asia and Europe—
Danger of Constantinople and the Greek Empire*

FROM the petty quarrels of a city and her suburbs, from the cowardice and discord of the falling Greeks, I shall now ascend to the victorious Turks, whose domestic slavery was ennobled by martial discipline, religious enthusiasm, and the energy of the national character. The rise and progress of the Ottomans, the present sovereigns of Constantinople, are connected with the most important scenes of modern history; but they are founded on a previous knowledge of the great eruption of the Moguls and Tartars, whose rapid conquests may be compared with the primitive convulsions of nature, which have agitated and altered the surface of the globe. I have long since asserted my claim to introduce the nations, the immediate or remote authors of the fall of the Roman empire; nor can I refuse myself to those events which, from their uncommon magnitude, will interest a philosophic mind in the history of blood.¹

From the spacious highlands between China, Siberia, and the Caspian Sea, the tide of emigration and war has repeatedly been poured. These ancient seats of the Huns and Turks were occupied in the twelfth century by many pastoral tribes of the same descent and similar manners, which were united and led to conquest by the formidable Zingis. In his ascent to greatness, that barbarian (whose private appellation was Temugin) had trampled on the necks of his equals. His birth was noble;

Zingis
[Chingiz]
Khan, first
emperor of
the Moguls
and Tartars,
A.D. 1206-
1227

[Temugin]

¹ The reader is invited to review the chapters of the third and fourth volumes; the manners of pastoral nations, the conquests of Attila and the Huns, which were composed at a time when I entertained the wish, rather than the hope, of concluding my history.

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but it was in the pride of victory that the prince or people deduced his seventh ancestor from the immaculate conception of a virgin.² His father had reigned over thirteen hordes, which composed about thirty or forty thousand families; above two-thirds refused to pay tithes or obedience to his infant son; and, at the age of thirteen, Temugin fought a battle against his rebellious subjects. The future conqueror of Asia was reduced to fly and to obey; but he rose superior to his fortune; and, in his fortieth year, he had established his fame and dominion over the circumjacent tribes. In a state of society in which policy is rude and valour is universal, the ascendant of one man must be founded on his power and resolution to punish his enemies and recompense his friends. His first military league was ratified by the simple rites of sacrificing an horse and tasting of a running stream: Temugin pledged himself to divide with his followers the sweets and the bitters of life; and, when he had shared among them his horses and apparel, he was rich in their gratitude and his own hopes. After his first victory, he placed seventy caldrons on the fire, and seventy of the most guilty rebels were cast headlong into the boiling water. The sphere of his attraction was continually enlarged by the ruin of the proud and the submission of the prudent; and the boldest chieftains might tremble, when they beheld, encased in silver, the skull of the khan of the Keraites,³ who under the name of Prester John had corresponded with the Roman pontiff and the princes of Europe.

²[The miraculous origin of the race of Chingiz Khan appears in Turkish and Chinese as well as in Mongol legend. The family to which he belonged was called the Borjigen; it seems to have been of Turkish origin on the female side, but Mongol on the male (Cahun, *Intr. à l'histoire de l'Asie*, p. 203). It possessed lands and high prestige among the Mongol tribes to the north of China between the river Selinga and Orchon. It is important to realise that the Mongols were not very numerous. In the Mongol empire, as it is called, which Chingiz Khan created, the Mongolian element was small. What he did was to create a great Turkish empire under Mongol domination.]

³The Khans of the Keraites [Karaites] were most probably incapable of reading the pompous epistles composed in their name by the Nestorian missionaries, who endowed them with the fabulous wonders of an Indian kingdom. Perhaps these Tartars (the Presbyter or Priest John) had submitted to the rites of baptism and ordination (Asseman, *Bibliot. Orient. tom. iii. p. ii. p. 487-503*). [Sir. H. Howorth has shown very clearly (*Hist. of the Mongols*, i. p. 696 *sqq.*) that the Karaites were Turks, not Mongols. Their territory was near the Upper Orchon, between the rivers Selinga and Kernlen. They were Christians. Their chief Tughri received the title of Wang ("king") from the (Manchu) Emperor of Northern China for his services in 1193 against the Naiman Turks of the regions of the Altai and Upper Irtish. Chingiz also took part in this war, and his services were recognised by the title of Dai Ming, "high Brightness". For an account of Prester John—the name by which the Karait khans were known in the west—and the legends attached to him, see Howorth, i. cap. x. p. 534 *sqq.*]

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The ambition of Temugin condescended to employ the arts of superstition; and it was from a naked prophet, who could ascend to heaven on a white horse, that he accepted the title of Zingis,⁴ the *Most Great*; and a divine right to the conquest and dominion of the earth. In a general *couroultai*, or diet, he was seated on a felt, which was long afterwards revered as a relic, and solemnly proclaimed Great Khan or emperor of the Moguls⁵ and Tartars.⁶ Of these kindred though rival names, the former had given birth to the Imperial race; and the latter has been extended, by accident or error, over the spacious wilderness of the north.

The code of laws which Zingis dictated to his subjects was adapted to the preservation of domestic peace and the exercise of foreign hostility. The punishment of death was inflicted on the crimes of adultery, murder, perjury, and the capital thefts of an horse or ox; and the fiercest of men were mild and just in their intercourse with each other. The future election of the great khan was vested in the princes of his family and the heads of the tribes; and the regulations of the chase were essential to the pleasures and plenty of a Tartar camp. The victorious nation was held sacred from all servile labours, which were abandoned to slaves and strangers; and every labour was servile except the profession of arms. The service and discipline of the troops, who were armed with bows, scymetars, and iron maces, and divided by hundreds, thousands, and ten thousands, were the institutions of a veteran commander. Each officer and soldier was made responsible, under pain of death, for the safety and honour of his companions; and the spirit of

⁴ Since the history and tragedy of Voltaire, *Gengis*, at least in French, seems to be the more fashionable spelling; but Abulghazi Khan must have known the true name of his ancestor. His etymology appears just; *Zin*, in the Mogul tongue, signifies *great*, and *gis* is the superlative termination (Hist. Généalogique des Tartars, part iii. p. 194, 195). From the same idea of magnitude the appellation of *Zingis* is bestowed on the ocean. [Chingiz (= very great, or autocrat) represents the true spelling. He also bore the title *Sutu Bodgo*, "son of Heaven".]

⁵ The name of Moguls has prevailed among the Orientals, and still adheres to the titular sovereign, the Great Mogul of Hindostan. [Mongol, Mogul and (Arabic) Mughal are all attempts to represent a name which among the true Mongols is pronounced something between *Moghöl* (or *Mool*) and *Mongol*, but never with the *z* sound. See *Tarikh-i-Rashidi*, tr. Elias and Ross, p. 73 note.]

⁶ The Tartars (more properly Tatars) were descended from Tatar Khan, the brother of Mogul Khan (see Abulghazi, part i. and ii.), and once formed a horde of 70,000 families on the borders of *Kitay* (p. 103-112). In the great invasion of Europe (A.D. 1238), they seem to have led the vanguard; and the similitude of the name of *Tartares* recommended that of Tartars to the Latins (Matth. Paris, p. 398, &c.). [The Tatars seem to have been a mixture of Manchus and Turks. On one of the old Turkish inscriptions of A.D. 733 (see above vol. iv. p. 540) Tatars are mentioned.]

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conquest breathed in the law that peace should never be granted unless to a vanquished and suppliant enemy.⁷ But it is the religion of Zingis that best deserves our wonder and applause. The Catholic inquisitors of Europe, who defended nonsense by cruelty, might have been confounded by the example of a barbarian, who anticipated the lessons of philosophy⁸ and established by his laws a system of pure theism and perfect toleration. His first and only article of faith was the existence of one God, the author of all good, who fills, by his presence, the heavens and earth, which he has created by his power. The Tartars and Moguls were addicted to the idols of their peculiar tribes; and many of them had been converted by the foreign missionaries to the religions of Moses, of Mahomet, and of Christ. These various systems in freedom and concord were taught and practised within the precincts of the same camp; and the Bonze, the Imam, the Rabbi, the Nestorian, and the Latin priest enjoyed the same honourable exemption from service and tribute. In the mosque of Bochara, the insolent victor might trample the Koran under his horse's feet, but the calm legislator respected the prophets and pontiffs of the most hostile sects. The reason of Zingis was not informed by books; the khan could neither read nor write; and, except the tribe of the Igours, the greatest part of the Moguls and Tartars were as illiterate as their sovereign.⁹ The memory of their exploits was preserved by tradition; sixty-eight years after the death of Zingis, these traditions were collected and transcribed;¹⁰ the

⁷ [The code drawn up by Chingiz was called *Yāsāk* or Law. (On it, see Sir H. Howorth's paper in the *Indian Antiquary*, July, 1882.) The cruelties of Chingiz were always the simple execution of the laws: he was never capricious.]

⁸ A singular conformity may be found between the religious laws of Zingis Khan and of Mr. Locke (Constitutions of Carolina, in his works, vol. iv. p. 535, 4to edition, 1777).

⁹ [When Chingiz conquered the Naiman Turks of the Altai regions, c. 1203-4, the vizir of the Naiman king passed into his service and became his chancellor. This minister was an Uigur and had Uigur successors. Through these Uigurs, the Uigur alphabet (derived from the Syriac) was adopted by the Mongols, and the old Turkish script (of the Orchon inscriptions, see above vol. iv. p. 540) became obsolete.] On the Uigurs see Vámbéry's *Uigurische Sprachmonumente und das Kudatku Bilik*, 1870.

¹⁰ In the year 1294, by the command of [Mahmūd Ghāzān] Cazan, khan of Persia, the fourth [fifth] in descent from Zingis. From these traditions, his vizir, Fadlallah [Rashid ad-Din], composed a Mogul history in the Persian language, which has been used by Petit de la Croix (*Hist. de Genghizcan*, p. 537-539) [see D'Ohsson, *Hist. des Mongols*, i. 627 sqq. For Rashid's *Jāmi al-Tawārikh* see Appendix 1.] The *Histoire Généalogique des Tatars* (à Leyde, 1726, in 12mo, 2 tomes) was translated by the Swedish prisoners in Siberia, from the Mogul Ms. of Abulgasi Bahadur Khan, a descendant of Zingis, who reigned over the Usbeks

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brevity of their domestic annals may be supplied by the Chinese,¹¹ Persians,¹² Armenians,¹³ Syrians,¹⁴ Arabians,¹⁵ Greeks,¹⁶

of Charasm, or Carizme (A.D. 1644-1663). He is of most value and credit for the names, pedigrees, and manners of his nation. Of his nine parts, the 1st descends from Adam to Mogul Khan; the 2d, from Mogul to Zingis; the 3d, is the life of Zingis; the 4th, 5th, 6th and 7th, the general history of his four sons and their posterity; the 8th and 9th, the particular history of the descendants of Sheibani Khan, who reigned in Maurenahar and Charasm. [The work of Abulghazi has been edited and translated by Des Maisons (St. Petersburg, 1870). For Jüzjāni and Juvaini see Appendix 1.]

¹¹ Histoire de Gentchiscan, et de toute la Dinastie des Mongous ses Successeurs, Conquérens de la Chine; tirée de l'Histoire de la Chine, par le R. P. Gaubil, de la Société de Jésus, Missionnaire à Pekin; à Paris, 1739, in 4to. This translation is stamped with the Chinese character of domestic accuracy and foreign ignorance. [It has been superseded by the Russian work of the Père Hyacinth, on the first four Khans of the house of Chingiz, 1829. A contemporary Chinese work by Men-Hun has been translated by Vasiliev in the 14th vol. of the Transactions of the Russian Arch. Soc., Oriental Sect.]

¹² See the Histoire du Grand Genghizcan, premier Empereur des Mogols et Tartares, par M. Petit de la Croix, à Paris, 1710, in 12mo [it has been translated into English]: a work of ten years' labour, chiefly drawn from the Persian writers, among whom Nisavi, the secretary of sultan Gelaeddin, has the merit and prejudices of a contemporary. A slight air of romance is the fault of the originals, or the compiler. See likewise the articles of *Genghizcan*, *Mohammed*, *Gelaeddin*, &c., in the Bibliothèque Orientale of d'Herbelot. [Several histories of the Mongols have appeared in this century: D'Ohsson, Histoire des Mongols, 1852; Wolf, Geschichte der Mongolen oder Tataren, 1872; Quatremère, Histoire des Mongoles de la Perse, 1836; Howorth, History of the Mongols, Part 1, 1876, Part 2 (in 2 vols.), 1880 (on the "Tartars" of Russia and Central Asia); Part 3, 1888 (on Mongols of Persia); Cahun, Introduction à l'Histoire de l'Asie, 1896. For later Mongols of Central Asia, see the Tarikh-i-Rashidi of Mirzā Muhammad Haidar Dughlāt, transl. by E. D. Ross, ed. by N. Elias, 1893; for which, and for Schmidt, Geschichte der Ost-Mongolen, cp. App. 1. For Chingiz Khan: Erdmann, Temudschin der Unerschütterliche, 1862; R. K. Douglas, Life of Jinghiz Khān, 1877; Howorth, *op. cit.* Pt. 1. Gibbon does not mention; Pallas, Sammlungen historischer Nachrichten über die Mongolischen Völkerschaften, which appeared at St. Petersburg in 1776, 2 vols.]

¹³ Haithonus, or Aithonus, an Armenian prince, and afterwards a monk of Remontré (Fabric. Biblioth. Lat. medii Ævi, tom. i. p. 34), dictated, in the French language, his book *De Tartaris*, his old fellow-soldiers. It was immediately translated into Latin, and is inserted in the *Novus Orbis* of Simon Grynæus (Basil, 1555, in folio). [See above vol. vi. p. 530. For Haithon I. see Appendix 1.]

¹⁴ Zingis Khan, and his first successors, occupy the conclusion of the 10th Dynasty of Abulpharagius (vers. Pocock, Oxon. 1663, in 4to); and his 11th Dynasty is that of the Moguls of Persia. Assemannus (Biblioth. Orient. tom. ii.) has extracted some facts from his Syriac writings, and the lives of the Jacobite maphrians or primates of the East.

¹⁵ Among the Arabians, in language and religion, we may distinguish Abulfeda, sultan of Hamah in Syria, who fought in person, under the Mamaluke standard, against the Moguls.

¹⁶ Nicephorus Gregoras (l. ii. c. 5, 6) has felt the necessity of connecting the Scythian and Byzantine histories. He describes, with truth and elegance, the settlement and manners of the Moguls of Persia, but he is ignorant of their origin, and corrupts the names of Zingis and his sons.

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Russians,¹⁷ Poles,¹⁸ Hungarians¹⁹ and Latins;²⁰ and each nation will deserve credit in the relation of their own disasters and defeats.²¹

His invasion
of China, A.D.
1210-1214

The arms of Zingis and his lieutenants successively reduced the hordes of the desert, who pitched their tents between the wall of China and the Volga; and the Mogul emperor became the monarch of the pastoral world, the lord of many millions of shepherds and soldiers, who felt their united strength, and were impatient to rush on the mild and wealthy climates of the south. His ancestors had been the tributaries of the

¹⁷ M. Levesque (*Histoire de Russie*, tom. ii.) has described the conquest of Russia by the Tartars, from the patriarch Nicon and the old chronicles. [See Soloviev, *Istoriia Rossii*, vol. iii. cap. ii. p. 820 *sqq.*]

¹⁸ For Poland, I am content with the *Sarmatia Asiatica et Europaea* of Matthew à Michou, or de Michovià, a canon and physician of Cracow (A.D. 1506), inserted in the *Novus Orbis of Grynæus*. Fabric. *Bibliot. Latin. mediæ et infimæ Ætatis*, tom. v. p. 56. [The most important Polish source is the *Historia Polonica* of Johannes Dlugossius (who lived in the 15th century and died 1480). His works have been edited in 14 vols. by Alexander Przewdziecki (1867-87) and the *Hist. Pol.* occupies vols. x.-xiv. Roepell's *Geschichte Polens*, vol. i. (1840). Only one contemporary Polish chronicle has survived: the *Annals of the Cracow Chapter*, *Mon. Germ.* xix. 582 *sqq.*]

¹⁹ I should quote Thuroczius, the oldest general historian (*pars* ii. c. 74, p. 150), in the first volume of the *Scriptores Rerum Hungaricarum*, did not the same volume contain the original narrative of a contemporary, an eye-witness, and a sufferer (M. Rogerii, Hungari, Varadiensis Capituli Canonici, *Carmen miserabile, seu Historia super Destructione Regni Hungariæ, Temporibus Belæ IV. Regis per Tartaros factâ*, p. 292-321) [it will be found in *Endlicher, Rer. Hung. Monum. Arpadiana*, p. 255 *sqq.*]; the best picture that I have ever seen of all the circumstances of a barbaric invasion. [Gibbon omits to mention another contemporary account (of great importance) of the invasion of Hungary, by Thomas Archdeacon of Spalato, in his *Historia Salonitana*, published in *Schwandtr'er's Scriptores Hung.*, vol. iii.]

²⁰ Matthew Paris has represented, from authentic documents, the danger and distress of Europe (consult the word *Tartari* in his copious Index). [It has been conjectured that among the documents used by Matthew were anti-Semitic fly-leaves, accusing the Jews of inviting and helping the Mongols, Strakosch-Grassmann, *Der Einfall der Mongolen*, p. 116.] From motives of zeal and curiosity, the court of the great Khan, in the xiiith century, was visited by two friars, John de Plano Carpini and William Rubruquis, and by Marco Polo, a Venetian gentleman. The Latin relations of the two former are inserted in the first volume of *Hackluyt*: the Italian original, or version, of the third (Fabric. *Bibliot. Latin. mediæ Ævi*, tom. ii. p. 198; tom. v. p. 25) may be found in the second tome of *Ramusio*. [Colonel H. Yule's English translation, *The Book of Ser Marco Polo the Venetian*, in 2 vols., 1875, with plans and illustrations, and most valuable elucidations and bibliography, is indispensable to the study of the traveller. A new edition of Rubruquis is wanted. The account of a journey among the Mongols by another traveller, Ascellinus, is printed in *Fejér, Codex diplomaticus Hungariæ*, iv. 1, 428 *sqq.*]

²¹ In his great *History of the Huns*, M. de Guignes has most amply treated of Zingis Khan and his successors. See tom. iii. l. xv.-xix., and in the collateral articles of the Seljukians of Roum, tom. ii. l. xi., the Carizmians, l. xiv., and the Mamelukes, tom. iv. l. xxi.; consult likewise the tables of the 1st volume. He is ever learned and accurate; yet I am only indebted to him for a general view, and some passages of *Abulfeda*, which are still latent in the Arabic text,

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Chinese emperors ; and Temugin himself had been disgraced by a title of honour and servitude.²² The court of Pekin was astonished by an embassy from its former vassal, who in the tone of the king of nations exacted the tribute and obedience which he had paid, and who affected to treat the *Son of Heaven* as the most contemptible of mankind. An haughty answer disguised their secret apprehensions ; and their fears were soon justified by the march of innumerable squadrons, who pierced on all sides the feeble rampart of the great wall. Ninety cities were stormed, or starved, by the Moguls ; ten only escaped ; and Zingis, from a knowledge of the filial pity of the Chinese, covered his vanguard with their captive parents ; an unworthy and, by degrees, a fruitless abuse of the virtues of his enemies. His invasion was supported by the revolt of an hundred thousand Khitans, who guarded the frontier ; yet he listened to a treaty ; and a princess of China, three thousand horses, five hundred youths, and as many virgins, and a tribute of gold and silk, were the price of his retreat. In his second expedition, he compelled the Chinese emperor to retire beyond the yellow river to a more southern residence. The siege of Pekin²³ was long and laborious : the inhabitants were reduced by famine to decimate and devour their fellow-citizens ; when their ammunition was spent, they discharged ingots of gold and silver from their engines ; but the Moguls introduced a mine to the centre of the capital ; and the conflagration of the palace burnt above

[Treaty A.D. 1215]

[Kai-fong = Pian-King]

[A.D. 1216]

²²[The people who ruled over Northern China at this time were the Niu-Chi or Man-Chu. (They called themselves Aisin, "golden," which the Chinese translated by Kin, and hence they are generally called the Kin dynasty). They had conquered Northern China in 1120 from the Kara-Khitay Turks who had held it since 1004. Chingiz, who was always punctilious in matters of form, chose his moment when the Emperor Chang-Tsong, to whom he had taken a feudal oath, was dead (1208) ; then he openly refused allegiance to the successor. He had prepared the way for the overthrow of the Niu-Chi by the conquest of the land of the Hia (north of Tibet, and west of the great bend of the Hoang Ho : the country of the Tanguts), which was then a republic of brigands, who (with their capital at Ning-Hia on the Hoang Ho), commanding the routes to the west, were a pest both to the southern and the northern Chinese empires. Cahun, *Intr. à l'histoire de l'Asie*, p. 248. Chingiz in conquering the Hia thus appeared as a public benefactor, but really seized a key position both in regard to China and in regard to the routes to the west through Dzungaria and through Cashgaria. On the Kin empire see the *Histoire de l'empire de Kin ou empire d'or*, Aisin Gurun-i Suduri Bithe, transl. by C. de Harlez, 1887.]

²³More properly *Yen-king*, an ancient city, whose ruins still appear some furlongs to the south-east of the modern *Pekin*, which was built by Cublai Khan (Gaubel, p. 146). Pe-king and Nan-king are vague titles, the courts of the north and of the south. The identity and change of names perplex the most skilful readers of the Chinese geography (p. 177). [When the Kara-Khitay Turks (under their chiefs the Ye-Lu family) conquered Northern China in 1004, they took Yen as their capital ; it is now called Pe-king, "capital of the north". "Khitans" is the Chinese form of Khitay.]

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thirty days. China was desolated by Tartar war and domestic faction; and the five northern provinces were added to the empire of Zingis.

of Carizme,
Transoxiana,
and Persia,
A.D. 1218-
1224

In the West, he touched the dominions of Mohammed, sultan of Carizme, who reigned from the Persian Gulf to the borders of India and Turkestan; and who, in the proud imitation of Alexander the Great, forgot the servitude and ingratitude of his fathers to the house of Seljuk.²⁴ It was the wish of Zingis to establish a friendly and commercial intercourse with the most powerful of the Moslem princes; nor could he be tempted by the secret solicitations of the caliph of Bagdad, who sacrificed to his personal wrongs the safety of the church and state. A rash and inhuman deed provoked and justified the Tartar arms in the invasion of the southern Asia. A caravan of three ambassadors and one hundred and fifty merchants was arrested and murdered at Otrar,²⁵ by the command of Mohammed; nor was it till after a demand and denial of justice, till he had prayed and fasted three nights on a mountain, that the Mogul emperor appealed to the judgment of God and his sword. Our European battles, says a philosophic writer,²⁶ are petty skirmishes, if compared to the numbers that have fought and fallen in the fields of Asia. Seven hundred thousand Moguls and Tartars are said to have marched under the standard of Zingis and his four sons. In the vast plains that extend to the north of the Sihon or Jaxartes, they were encountered by four hundred thousand soldiers of the Sultan; and in the first battle, which was suspended by the night, one hundred and sixty thousand Carizmians were slain. Mohammed was astonished by the multitude and valour of his enemies:²⁷ he withdrew from the scene of danger, and distri-

²⁴[In the last quarter of the 11th cent., Anushtigin a Turkish slave was appointed governor of Carizme (Khwarizm) by the Sultan Malik Shāh. His son took the title of Carizme Shāh, and his grandson Atsiz made himself independent of the Seljuk sultans in the second quarter of the 12th cent. Alā ad-Din Mohammad (A.D. 1199-1220) made this principality of Carizme (which Atsiz and Tukush (1172-1199) had already extended as far as Jand in the north and Ispahan in the west), into a great realm, subduing Persia and Transoxiana, overthrowing the Ghōrid dynasty of Afghanistan, and invaded Eastern Turkestan (the kingdom of the Karā-Khitay).]

²⁵[On the middle Jaxartes. It was the capital of the Gūr-Khans of the Turkish kingdom of Karā-Khitay. Gibbon omits to mention the conquest of this kingdom (the south-western provinces of the modern empire of China) by Chingiz, before he came face to face with the Carizman empire.]

²⁶M. de Voltaire. *Essai sur l'Histoire Générale*, tom. iii, c. 60, p. 8. His account of Zingis and the Moguls contains, as usual, much general sense and truth, with some particular errors.

²⁷[The strategical ability displayed in the campaigns of Chingiz and his successors has been well brought out by Cahun. It is wholly an error to regard the

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buted his troops in the frontier towns, trusting that the barbarians, invincible in the field, would be repulsed by the length and difficulty of so many regular sieges. But the prudence of Zingis had formed a body of Chinese engineers, skilled in the mechanic arts, informed, perhaps, of the secret of gunpowder, and capable, under his discipline, of attacking a foreign country with more vigour and success than they had defended their own. The Persian historians will relate the sieges and reduction of Otrar, Cogende, Bochara, Samarcand, Carizme, Herat, Merou, Nisabour, Balch, and Candahar; and the conquest of the rich and populous countries of Transoxiana, Carizme, and Chorasán. The destructive hostilities of Attila and the Huns have long since been elucidated by the example of Zingis and the Moguls; and in this more proper place I shall be content to observe that, from the Caspian to the Indus, they ruined a tract of many hundred miles, which was adorned with the habitations and labours of mankind, and that five centuries have not been sufficient to repair the ravages of four years. The Mogul emperor encouraged or indulged the fury of his troops; the hope of future possession was lost in the ardour of rapine and slaughter; and the cause of the war exasperated their native fierceness by the pretence of justice and revenge. The downfall and death of the sultan Mohammed, who expired unpitied and alone in a desert island of the Caspian Sea, is a poor atonement for the calamities of which he was the author. Could the Carizmian empire have been saved by a single hero, it would have been saved by his son Gelaleddin, whose active valour repeatedly checked the Moguls in the career of victory. Retreating, as he fought, to the banks of the Indus, he was oppressed by their innumerable host, till, in the last moment of despair, Gelaleddin spurred his horse into the waves, swam one of the broadest and most rapid rivers of Asia, and extorted the admiration and applause of Zingis himself. It was in this camp that the Mogul emperor yielded with reluctance

[A.D. 1220]

[Jalal ad-Din]

Mongol conquests as achieved merely by numbers and intrepid physical bravery. The campaigns were carefully planned out—not by Chingiz himself, he only considered, and approved or rejected, the plans submitted to him by his military advisers. He knew how to choose able generals (Samuka and Subutai were two of the most illustrious), but he did not interfere with them in their work. The invasion of the Carizmian empire was carried out thus: a Mongol army which had just conquered the land of Cashgar advanced over the great southern pass into Fergana and descended upon Khojend. The main army advanced by the great northern gate, through Dzungaria and the Ili regions, to Otrâr on the Jaxartes. Half the army spread up the river to take or mask the Carizmian fortresses and join hands at Khojend with the corps from Cashgar. The other half, under Chingiz himself, marched straight across the Red Sand Desert upon Bochara. Cahun, *op. cit.*, p. 285. Success was rendered easy by the strategical mistakes of Mohammed.]

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Excerpt

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10 THE DECLINE AND FALL

to the murmurs of his weary and wealthy troops, who sighed for the enjoyment of their native land. Incumbered with the spoils of Asia, he slowly measured back his footsteps, betrayed some pity for the misery of the vanquished, and declared his intention of rebuilding the cities which had been swept away by the tempest of his arms. After he had repassed the Oxus and Jaxartes, he was joined by two generals, whom he had detached with thirty thousand horse, to subdue the western provinces of Persia. They had trampled on the nations which opposed their passage, penetrated through the gates of Derbend, traversed the Volga and the desert, and accomplished the circuit of the Caspian Sea, by an expedition which had never been attempted and has never been repeated. The return of Zingis was signalled by the overthrow of the rebellious or independent kingdoms of Tartary; and he died in the fulness of years and glory, with his last breath exhorting and instructing his sons to achieve the conquest of the Chinese empire.

His death,
A.D. 1227

Conquests of
the Moguls
under the
successors of
Zingis, A.D.
1227-1285

[Ogotay]

[Kuyuk A.D.
1241-1281]

The harem of Zingis was composed of five hundred wives and concubines; and of his numerous progeny, four sons, illustrious by their birth and merit, exercised under their father the principal offices of peace and war. Toushi²⁸ was his great huntsman, Zagatai²⁹ his judge, Octai his minister, and Tuli his general; and their names and actions are often conspicuous in the history of his conquests. Firmly united for their own and the public interest, the three brothers and their families were content with dependent sceptres; and Octai, by general consent, was proclaimed Great Khan, or emperor of the Moguls and Tartars. He was succeeded by his son Gayuk, after whose death the empire devolved to his cousins, Mangou and Cublai, the sons of Tuli, and the grandsons of Zingis.³⁰ In the sixty-eight years of his four first successors, the Moguls subdued almost all Asia and a large portion of Europe. Without confining

²⁸ [Jūji received the realm of Karā-Khitay, and his son Bātū obtained possession of the Khanate of Kipchak, see below p. 14.]

²⁹ Zagatai [Chagatāy] gave his name to his dominions of Maurenahar [Mā-warā-l-nahr], or Transoxiana [along with part of Kashgar, Balkh, and Ghazna]; and the Moguls of Hindostan, who emigrated from that country, are styled Zagatais by the Persians. This certain etymology, and the similar example of Uzbek, Nogai, &c. may warn us not absolutely to reject the derivations of a national, from a personal, name. [The succession of the Chagatāy Khans of Transoxiana is very uncertain. On this branch see Mr. Oliver's monograph, "The Chagatai Mughals," in Journ. R. As. Soc., vol. xx. Cp. the list in Lane-Poole's *Mohammedan Dynasties*, p. 242.]

³⁰ [Mangū (1251-1257) appointed his brother Khubilāy governor of the southern provinces. On Mangū's death, Khubilāy defeated the attempts of the line of Jūji to recover the chief Khanate, and reigned till 1294. He transferred the royal residence from Karakorum to Peking.]