

Historical Dictionary of the Mongol World Empire

Paul D. Buell

The Scarecrow Press

Historical Dictionaries of Ancient Civilizations and Historical Eras

Series editor: Jon Woronoff

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9. *Mesopotamia*, Gwendolyn Leick, 2003.

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*Historical Dictionaries of Ancient
Civilizations and Historical Eras, No. 8*



The Scarecrow Press, Inc.
Lanham, Maryland, and Oxford
2003

SCARECROW PRESS, INC.

Published in the United States of America
by Scarecrow Press, Inc.
A Member of the Rowman & Littlefield Publishing Group
4501 Forbes Boulevard, Lanham, Maryland 20706
www.scarecrowpress.com

PO Box 317
Oxford
OX2 9RU, UK

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British Library Cataloguing in Publication Information Available

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Buell, Paul D.

Historical dictionary of the Mongol world empire / Paul D. Buell.
p. cm. — (Historical dictionaries of ancient civilizations and
historical eras ; no. 8)


ISBN 0-8108-4571-7 (Cloth : alk. paper)

1. Mongols—History—To 1500—Dictionaries. 2. Mongols—History—To
1500. I. Title. II. Series.

DS19 .B84 2003

909'.0494201'03--dc21

2002152655

™ The paper used in this publication meets the minimum requirements of American National Standard for Information Sciences—Permanence of Paper for Printed Library Materials, ANSI/NISO Z39.48-1992. Manufactured in the United States of America.

I respectfully dedicate this book to the memory of Lynn White, who first opened my eyes to a wider perspective beyond Europe.

He also said: “My bowmen and warriors loom like thick forests: their wives, sweethearts and maidens shine like red flames. My task and intention is to sweeten their mouths with gifts of sweet sugar, to decorate their breasts, backs and shoulders with garments of brocade, to seat them on good geldings, give them to drink from pure and sweet rivers, provide their beasts with good and abundant pastures, and to order that the great roads and highways that serve as ways for the people be cleared of garbage, tree-stumps and all bad things; and not to allow dirt and thorns in the tents.”

The Maxims of Cinggis-qan as quoted by Valentine A. Riasanovsky, *Fundamental Principles of Mongol Law*, Bloomington: Indiana University (Uralic and Altaic Series, Vol. 43), 1965, 89

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Editor's Foreword

By all criteria the Mongol World Empire was one of the most extraordinary empires that ever existed. It was certainly one of the most extensive, stretching far into China, across Central Asia and deep into the Middle East, covering much of Russia and skirting Eastern Europe. It was put together in record time, indeed, so fast that contemporary observers could barely keep up with it. It also declined and fell apart in an unusually short period. Probably what was most exceptional was that this empire was put together, and then ruled, by a Mongolian people who were surprisingly few, albeit led by remarkable chiefs some of whose names still resonate. Yet, for all this, little is known about the Mongol Empire and there is not even a healthy curiosity to know more outside of the countries it once embraced. That, certainly regrettable, gap is filled somewhat by this *Historical Dictionary of the Mongol World Empire*.

This volume is similar to others in the series on ancient civilizations and historical eras in most ways. It has a chronology which shows the compressed time scale. It has several useful maps. It has a dictionary which provides brief entries on important persons, places and events (many of them battles) as well as the components of the empire and even something about the form of warfare and economic, social and demographic conditions. The bibliography presents the, once again regrettably small literature on the subject not only in English but other languages. But the real innovation is an introduction far larger than usual, nearly a hundred pages, which is necessary to follow the endless and extremely complicated cycle of warfare, expansion, consolidation, disruption and decline.

This volume was written not by a specialist but a generalist. In fact, it almost had to be, or it would not have been able to cover the myriad facets of the Mongol Empire. Paul D. Buell, however, is not just any author, he has a comprehensive knowledge of the region, past and present. He is familiar with most of the essential languages needed for research. And he is keenly aware of much of the research that has been done. More than

that, he is very good at extracting conclusions from limited evidence, interpreting the facts as they are currently know, and then drawing a picture that is amazingly realistic and arouses one's interest and curiosity. While this is only one of many books written by Dr. Buell, it is certainly a welcome contribution for general readers who want to know something about this most extraordinary empire and even specialists who want to see further.

Jon Woronoff
Series Editor

Preface

Mongolia today is a small, poverty-stricken country, but Mongols once created the greatest empire that has ever been seen, before or since, and inaugurated an era of intense international interchange. It, in many ways, persists to the present, since the explorers whose voyages gave rise to our modern era originally went looking for the realm of the “Great Khan” (q.v.) of the Mongols. Doing full justice to such a vast empire in a few hundred pages is, of course, impossible. This is true even if the existing scholarship would allow such a full treatment, which it certainly does not.

I have thus not attempted to provide anything even moderately comprehensive, but have instead tried to offer a maximum amount of useful information for the nonspecialist, one needing to know about the Mongols. To this end, and because even the most knowledgeable reader cannot reasonably be expected to have a basic understanding of the history of the Mongol conquests and their aftermath, due to a highly technical secondary literature in too many languages, I have departed somewhat from the usual exclusively dictionary format of this series. The dictionary entries are there, but I have also provided major narratives as well to integrate the dictionary as a whole. I have done so not only because of problems of access to the specialist literature, but also because no such narratives exist in an accurate and up-to-date form in one place elsewhere.

A number of scholars have written general books about the Mongols. Some are quite good, but none covers the history of the Mongolian Empire as a whole and of its various successor states in sufficient detail and balance to provide a true overview. There is also the problem that most of the general accounts are now out of date. Many also contain numerous inaccuracies, since nearly all of their authors come from specialties outside Mongolian studies. Another problem is created by overly popular presentations that provide at best a distorted image of the Mongols and their states. A new overview with the latest scholarship in mind is thus urgently required. I have attempted to provide it.

The overview below is divided into an introduction and six essays. Essay One narrates the rise of Cinggis-qan (q.v.) down to his formal establishment as universal steppe ruler in 1206. Since there is much dispute about the events of his early life and career, and much is pure hagiography, or political propaganda, I have kept this section short. It is focused upon what we do know, with reasonable certainty.

The next essay covers the real history of the Mongol Empire, from 1206 down to the death of Möngke (q.v.), the grandson, and the last ruler of a unified state, in 1259. The focus is on institutions rather than events, since I feel that such a focus tells us more about the Mongols than a simple chronicle, but major events are narrated too.

There follow four essays devoted to each of the four successor qanates. The first is on China (q.v.), mostly because Qubilai (q.v.), its founder, maintained, until his death, the fiction that he was *qan* Möngke's true successor. This claim was recognized by Mongol Iran, more briefly by the Central Asian Ca'adai *ulus* (q.v.), the "Patrimony of Ca'adai." The pretense was even maintained by Qubilai's successors, with less and less effect as the Mongol world changed and as once close relatives became more distant from one another.

Next is the history of the Golden Horde (q.v.), Mongol Russia (q.v.) and nearby areas. The Golden Horde was not only the longest lasting of the four successor qanates, but it was the first to establish its independence, effectively even before the breakdown of unified empire. This was because of its relative remoteness geographically, and the poor integration of what was a recently conquered area with the rest of the Mongolian world before 1259.

There follows the history of the Ca'adai *ulus*, with that of Qaidu (q.v.), who tried to advance the cause of the House of Ögödei after its loss of the throne to the House of Tolui (q.v.) in 1251, as a connected essay. Qaidu controlled the Ca'adai *ulus* for much of his period of influence and rule (1263–1301), and many of Qaidu's supporters came under the control of the Ca'adai *ulus* after his death. Last is a history of Mongol Iran (q.v.), the Ilqanate, whose history is of particular interest because of its numerous contacts with the West.

The time span focused on in these essays, and by the entries of the dictionary as a whole, is roughly 1100–1500. I have not treated in detail the histories of any Central Asian or other empires preceding the Mongols except in so far as to provide

background for understanding their rise. I have not dealt with Tamerlane (q.v.), who was not a Mongol. He was only indirectly connected with the Mongol ruling house (through a princess); his career is clearly a part of Turkic rather than Mongolian history. The same is true, except in passing, for the Mongol successor states in the Russian steppe after 1502 (the end date for the Golden Horde as a single, unified structure). Their history is complex and following it adds little to our understanding of the Mongols of the age of empire. Like Tamerlane's, this was largely Turkish history. More Mongolian is the era of Northern Yuan (q.v.), the Mongol state in East Asia after 1368, but its history is more properly that of the post-empire history of Mongolia than of the Mongol Empire and its successor states, despite the continuity of a ruling house.

If I have given preference to things Chinese in what follows this is perhaps understandable in view of my own background. Another reason is that the sources for Mongol China (q.v.), even allowing for a far stronger bias than is found in Iranian sources, are far fuller than for other parts of the Mongolian world. The Ca'adai *ulus* is, by contrast, particularly poorly documented, as is the Golden Horde for much of its history. North China was also the first sedentary area to be brought effectively under Mongol control and was the longest held (circa 1234–1368). Even former Song (q.v.) domains were held nearly as long (from 1279 to the late 1350s) as the Mongols held Iran. The rulers of the Mongol qanate of China also claimed hegemony over the rest of the Mongolian world, and at times even enforced it, at least morally.

Nonetheless, in making Mongol China the centerpiece of what follows I have endeavored to avoid the usual clichés regarding the almost “instant” Sinicization (q.v.) and Confucianization (q.v.) of the conquerors. To the contrary, more than a third of a century of research on Mongol China has convinced me that there was as much cultural assimilation going the one way as the other, and that the Mongols were in no way absorbed by their subjects. They used Confucian and other Chinese symbols to perpetrate their rule, but at no point did they fall captive to them. In China, as throughout the rest of the Mongolian world, the real assimilation that was going on was Turkicization (q.v.), not Sinicization, although this was probably less obvious in Mongol China where native Mongolian tradition remained strong.

In the dictionary entries, I have tried to expand on details and facts already presented in the narrative essays. The reader will also find topics of a more general interest. In all cases, I have tried to make these entries stand alone, even when this has led to the repetition of material in the narrative sections. This is because some readers may not want to read all the pages below and may come to this book solely looking for specific information. I have tried to meet their needs as completely and as authoritatively as possible. Cross-references, including to the narrative sections, should make it clear what single pieces of information need be taken in context.

Following the dictionary entries are three appendices. Appendix A provides examples of documents in the scripts in use during the era of Mongolian Empire and after to write Mongolian. Reproduced are an imperial seal in the Uighur Script, a sample of the Mongolian of the era in Chinese transcription, and a coin from the 14th century inscribed using the aPhags-pa Script, in this case to write Chinese. All the texts are translated. Appendix B lists all of the Mongolian words and terms mentioned anywhere in the text, with brief definitions. It is intended for independent reference. Finally, Appendix C provides representative court recipes from Mongol China as a cultural sampling of an age.

In preparing the bibliographical section that follows the appendices, I wrestled with the problem of how to provide a comprehensive selection of the vast literature on the Mongol empire and its successor states without including too much written in languages that few users are likely to read. Unfortunately, the problem is virtually insoluble. Most of the important literature is not in English. Thus, while focusing on English-language materials, I have also included a large selection in German and French and a few sample publications in Chinese, Japanese, Mongolian, and even Turkish, to alert the reader as to how much there is available in most of the latter languages.

Mongolian scholarship is, for obvious reasons, of particular importance and cogency, and the flow of relevant new publications from both the Mongolian People's Republic and Inner Mongolia continues to gain ground. I would be remiss not to refer to it and thereby note to the reader the importance of Modern Mongolian for the study of Mongolian history. The simple truth is that no matter how wise outsiders become in a particular field of Mongolian history, their knowledge will never entirely equal that of the natives. Their insight comes

from growing up in a culture, not just studying it in an abstract sense.

In the bibliography, those works, books and articles, used in writing the narrative sections and the dictionary entries are marked with an asterisk. While a full scholarly apparatus is not possible in a popular book such as this Dictionary, I want to give the many colleagues whose works I have used in writing it at least some acknowledgment. Several sources were particularly important. For the entire book, probably the most important source has been my unpublished doctoral dissertation: "Tribe, *Qan* and *Ulus* in Early Mongol China: Some Prolegomena to Yüan History" (University of Washington, 1977). In writing the sections on the Ca'adai *ulus* and Qaidu, I have drawn extensively on what is now the definitive work for much of the topic, Michal Biran's *Qaidu and the Rise of the Independent Mongol State in Central Asia* (Richmond, Surrey: Curzon, 1997), and for Mongol Iran I have relied heavily on J. A. Boyle, editor, *The Cambridge History of Iran*, vol. 5, *The Saljuq and Mongol Periods* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1968). This remains the best general discussion of the topic and its historical context. For Mongol China, a most useful work has been Herbert Franke and Denis Twitchett, editors, *The Cambridge History of China*, vol. 6, *Alien Regimes and Border States, 907-1368* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994).

Those wanting a fuller examination of most of the topics discussed in this *Historical Dictionary*, with full apparatus, should wait until my forthcoming general history, with the late Angelo Anastasio, and Eugene N. Anderson, *Mongols and the Outside World*. This will include recent Mongolian history, as well as that of the period of empire, all looked at from a unified, Mongolian perspective.

Let me say in concluding that some will be critical of my approach to Mongolian history, with its free combination of history, philology, and anthropology, all from a highly comparative perspective, rather than the traditional approach emphasizing a careful exegesis of detail. In fact, I find the latter approach to be one in which the forest is often not seen for the trees. I seek not only to see the Mongolian forest, but also how it is structured, not only in its own terms, but also from the perspective of other cultures, and other societies. The time, in my view, has come for such an approach.

Acknowledgments

Many provided encouragement as I planned and wrote this book. Special thanks go to the two specialized readers of an earlier draft, Eugene N. Anderson and Timothy May, to my wife, Sally, who volunteered to proof the final manuscript, to Henry Schwarz for his continued willingness to discuss the bibliography, and point me in the right direction, and to Igor de Rachewiltz for his willingness to share his research on the *Secret History of the Mongols*. Providing useful suggestions and warm encouragement, as always, was Philippa Ferraria (MKA Philippa Alderton), a 6th century Goth, who helped proof the manuscript and also indirectly suggested to me the idea of including recipes in Appendix C. I would also like to thank Buu Huynh and Vy Pham for listening to me go on about the dictionary and serving as guinea pigs for choice nuggets. Buu Huynh also made useful editorial suggestions.

Reader's Notes

There is no universally accepted system for spelling the Mongolian words and terms of the age of empire and after and, in some cases, there is even a lack of agreement upon the proper forms themselves. A large part of the problem is due to the fact that we have so few documents in Mongolian from the period in question and must rely on reconstructions made from spellings of the words in Islamic or other foreign sources. They often have long manuscript traditions resulting in many erroneous forms transmitted to the present day. These reconstructions are particularly problematic when Chinese transcriptions are our only source since, although, thanks to early Chinese use of printing, the evidence is more reliable, Chinese (*q.v.*) is too simple phonologically to represent the sounds of many Mongolian, Turkic, and other foreign words found in the sources of the time. Most Mongolian and, particularly, Turkic finals simply do not exist in Chinese and representing the complex diphthongs characteristic of most Central Asian Turkic languages of the past and of the present is quite beyond Chinese. There is the added problem of having to take into consideration the specific Chinese pronunciation of the era (so-called Old Mandarin) and possible dialectal variants (the speech of Peking, barely in the Old Mandarin zone in the 13th century, for example) that we may not understand today.

Thus, recovering Mongolian words and terms from Chinese sources is an uncertain enterprise at best, and only possible at all due to our ability to make comparison between various versions of what is apparently the same word, the drafting of modern forms to understand the past, and the existence of a few texts in Chinese intended for the serious study of the Mongolian by Ming Dynasty (*q.v.*) translators, for example, and utilizing a more scientific transcription system with a better representation of finals and diphthongs. The longest and most complete of these reproduces the entire text of the *Secret History of the Mongols* (*q.v.*), which has been largely reconstructed from this Ming version. Yet even this text has many problems due in large part to the fact that it is possible to misread forms in

Uighur-script Mongolian (*see* Mongolian Script) because of the ambiguity of the script itself, and the Chinese transcribers of the *Secret History*, who had a now-lost Uighur-script version of the text before them, have done just this.

In any case, the existence of such fairly reliable texts is the exception rather than the rule. They are also exceptional in that they seem to represent a reasonably standard usage of the form of Mongolian considered the most important standard language of the time, Middle Mongolian (q.v.). This is the language in which Ming Dynasty informants recited the Uighur-script original text, which reflects other linguistic values entirely. More typical are forms that do not appear to reflect any rules or even standard usage. Some are outright strange. While much of this may reflect transmission problems or a simple mishearing of native Mongolian words by nonnatives, there is also the issue of other dialects than standard Middle Mongolian. There is also the possibility that the Mongolian spoken environment of the time may have been heavily Turkicized and the forms that have come down to us are mixed, linguistically, as a consequence.

All of this is to say that while some reconstructed forms are more reliable than others, and many are even likely to be entirely accurate, the potential for error and misunderstanding is great, all the more so because the detailed linguistic studies of the various court and other environments of the Mongol era are largely lacking, particularly for China. Users of this dictionary are thus warned about overly exact reconstructions where the available evidence simply does not allow it. Many are highly artificial and arbitrary, even if widely quoted in the literature out of lack of anything better in most cases.

My own approach is probably artificial and arbitrary too, but I have at least striven to be consistent in using a single authority in most cases. This is Igor de Rachewiltz's *Index to the Secret History of the Mongols*, Bloomington, Indiana: Indiana University (Indiana University Publications, Uralic and Altaic Series, 121), 1972. The *Secret History of the Mongols* is not only our single largest treasury of Mongolian words and phrases from the era of Mongolian empire and its successor states, but the de Rachewiltz text is highly reliable in part because it has been computer-checked for consistency. In his *Index* he employs a modification of the transcription system originally employed by Paul Pelliot in his reconstruction of the text of the *Secret History of the Mongols*, but with fewer dia-

critics, making his spellings easily reproducible with even a minimal character set. Mongolian words occurring in the *Index* and used in this *Historical Dictionary*, with a few exceptions, mostly where another form has become established in the literature, are spelled as they occur there except that I have made a choice between alternative forms in some cases (using the form more common in the text). Other Mongolian words and terms of the period, those found in the texts but not existing in the *Secret History of the Mongols*, I have endeavored to spell in the same way, but not to the extent of making possibly arbitrary reconstructions. Note too that some Mongolian forms given below are Classical Mongolian forms, as they are spelled in the Uighur script, e.g., *qayan*, not *qa'an*, or are the current standard Khalkha forms, e.g., *khaan*. For the convenience of the more specialized reader, Appendix B provides an index of all Middle Mongolian words and expressions used in the text as well as a few other forms.

All Chinese terms used below are transliterated in accordance with the Pinyin system, except that I have not changed bibliographical entries using the old Wade-Giles system. Chinese characters are universally provided for the first occurrence of a Chinese word, term, or name in a given entry or section, except for the names of dynasties for which see the table below on page xxvii. No attempt has been made to provide Old Mandarin forms, which are not that different from modern in any case. This is generally the convention in the field as well.

The Hepburn system is used for Japanese with macrons. Russian words are transliterated in accordance with the system employed in reports published by the Foreign Broadcast Information Service (except for a few names whose forms are well established in the literature), and the same practice is followed for any modern Turkic forms now written in the Cyrillic script. For older forms I follow G. Doerfer, *Türkische und mongolische Elemente im Neupersischen*, four volumes, Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1963-1975, or some other indicated authority, if there is good reason to do so. In each case these forms have full diacritics. Persian and Arabic forms are spelled as in the *Cambridge History of Iran* with full diacritics.

Exceptions to the above rules include many forms that are firmly a part of popular usage, or whose spelling is firmly a part of some source tradition. Thus I write Mongol, and not Mongqol, except in phrases (*yeke mongqol ulus*, "the Great Mongol Patrimony," i.e., the Mongol Empire), Bukhara instead

of Bukhārā, Baghdad instead of Baghdād (but Baghdād-qatun), Ghazan, instead of an unfamiliar Qasan, or Ghazan, although I have resisted Genghis Khan and Ulan Bator, writing, respectively, Cinggis-qan and Ulaanbaatar. When well-established forms exist in the text of Marco Polo I have at least cross-referenced those that are the most well known. In all of this I have firmly followed the maxim of using forms that will be usable by the nonspecialist but that will still be reasonably solid.

A-To-Z List of Dictionary Entries

Abaqa	aPhags-pa (1235–1280)
‘Abbāsīd Caliphate	aPhags-pa Script
‘Abd al-Raḥmān	<i>Aq Ordo</i>
aBri-kung	<i>Aqa</i>
aBri-kung Disturbance	Arabuccha
Abū Sa’īd	<i>Arajhi</i>
Acre	Aral Sea
Aḥmad (?–1282)	Architecture
<i>Airag</i>	Arghun
‘Ala’ al-Dīn Muḥammad II	Arigh Böke
Alan-qo’a	Arigh Buqa
Alans (Asut)	Ariq-bökö (?–1266)
Alaqa-beki	Armenia
Alaqaš-digit-quri	Armies
<i>Alba[n]</i>	Armies, organization
Alcoholic Beverages	Armies, Size
Alcoholism	Armor
Alexander Legend	Army
Alexander Nevsky (1220–1263)	Arqan-aqa (?–1278)
Alghu	<i>Arqi</i>
<i>Alginci</i>	Arrows
Almalīq	Art
<i>Altan</i>	Assassins
<i>Altan Debter</i>	Astrakhan, Khanate of
<i>Altan Uruq</i>	Asut
Ambakay Khan	<i>Ayil</i>
Ambaqan-qan	<i>Ayimaq</i>
Amu-darya River	‘Ayn Jālūt, Battle of (September 3, 1260)
<i>Amuci</i>	Ayyūbids
<i>Anda</i>	Azerbaijan
Andrew of Perugia	
Animal Cycle	<i>Ba’atur</i>
Annām	Bachman

- Bagatur*
 Baghdad
 Baghdād-qatun
Bahadur
 Baian Cingsan
 Baiju
 Baklavas
Bakshi
Balaqaci
Balaqasun
Baliq
 Baljuna Covenant
 Balkh
 Balkhash, Lake
 Banknotes
 Bar Hebraeus (1226–1286)
 Baraq
Bars
 Bashkir
 Bashqyrt
Basqaq
 Bat-qan (Batu)
 Bati
 Batu
 Baty
Ba'urci
 Bayan of the Ba'arin (1236–
 1294)
 Baybars
 Beijing 北京
 Bekter
 Béla IV
 Belgütei
 Benedict the Pole
 Berke
 Beşbalıq
 Beshbaligh
 Beshbaliq
Bicigci
Bilig
 Black Death
 Black Plague
- bLa-ma*
 Blood
 Blue Horde
 “Blue” Ordo (*Köke Ordo*)
 Bodoncar
 Bodyguard
 Bohemond VI of Antioch
 and Tripoli
Bökö
 Bolad Ching-sang
 Bombs
Bo'ol
 Booty
Boqta
 Börte
 Bows
 “Brief Account of the Black
 Tatar”
 Buddhism
 Buddho-Taoist Debates
 Bujir
 Bukhara
 Bulad
Bularquci
 Bulgar
 Bulgaria
 Bulgarians
 Bulghai
 Bulghar
Bulqa
 Bulqai
 Buqa-Temür
 Büri
 Burma
 Burqan
 Burqan-qaldun
 Buscarello de Gisolf
 Buyruq Qaya (1197–1265)
 Byzantine Empire
 Byzantium
 Ca'adai (1183–1242)

- Ca'adai *Ulus*
 Cabui-qatun (?–1281)
 Caliph
 Camel
 Campaign Rations
Can
 Cannon
 Capitals
Caqa'an
Caqa'an Teüke
 Caracaron
 Caraunas
Carmen Miserable
 Caspian Sea
 Catapults
 Cathay
 Cattle
 Census
Cerbi
Cerik
 Chabui-qatun
 Chaghan Temür
 Chaghatay, I
 Chaghatay II
 Champa
 Changchun 長春 (Qiu Chuji
 丘處機) (1148–1227)
Chao 鈔
 Chiefdom
 Chiliarchy
 China
 Chinese
Ching-sang
 Choban
 Chormaghun-Qorci
 Christianity
 Chu River
 Cila'un (Tas)
 Cingis
 Cinggis-qan (1162?–1227)
 Cinqai (?–1252)
- Cities
 Clan Affairs, Imperial
 Office of
 Clothing, Female
 Clothing, Male
 Cocten
 Coins
Cölge
 Comani
 Communications
 Compound Bow
 Confucianism
 Constantinople
 Constantinople, Latin
 Empire (1204–1261)
 Cormaqan-Qorci (?–
 1240/1241)
 Crimea
 Crimea, Qanate of
 Crusader States
 Crusades
 Cuisine
 Cuiuc
 Cuman
- Da Zongzheng fu* 大宗正府
 Dai-Sechen
 Daidu 大都
Dalai
Dalai-yin Qan
 Damascus
Darasun
Darkhan
Darqan
Daruqa
Daruqaci (Daruqa)
 Dating
 Dei-Secen
 Delhi
 Demography
 Diplomacy

- Dishi* 帝師
 Dobu-Mergen
 Dobun-mergen
 Döregene-Qatun
 Drama
 Drinking Ritual
 Du'a
 "Dual Government" (*qoyar*
 yos)

 Edigü
 Egypt
El
Elci
 Eljigidei
 Emir
 Epic
 Ergene-Qatun
 Erke'ün
 Eternal Heaven
 Etügen

 Family
 Fancheng 樊城
 Feasts
 Felt
 Fire
 Foods
 "Forest Peoples"
 Franciscans
 Franks
 Frater Benedictus
 Frater Johannes
 Frontier Fortifications

Gejige
Genghis Khan
 Genoa
 Geography
 Georgia
Ger
Gerege
- Gete'ülstün*
 Ghazan
 Gilan
 Giovanni de Plano Carpini
 Goat
 Gobi
 Gog and Magog
 "Golden Book"
 Golden Horde
 Government
 Gray Wolf and Beautiful
 Doe
 Great Horde
 Great Hungary
 "Great Khan"
 Great *Qan*
 Great Wall of China
 Grigor of Akanc' (or Akner)
Grut
 Guards
 Güčülük
 Guest Friendship
 Gunpowder.
 Guo Shoujing 郭守敬
 (1231–1316)
Gür-qan
Güre'en
Güregen
 Gurganj (Urganch)
 Güyük-qan (r. 1246–1248)

 Haiyun 海雲 (1201–1256)
 Hami
 Han 漢 Armies
 Hanguns
 Hangzhou 杭州
Hanren 漢人
 Headdress
 Heaven
Heida Shilue 黑韃事略
 Herāt
 Herring

- Het'um
 Het'um the Monk (?–1310)
 Hö'elün-eke (Hö'elün-üjin)
 Holy Land
 Hordes
Hordo
 Horse
 House of Ögödei
 House of Tolui
 Hu Sihui 忽思慧 (fl. 1330)
Huihui yaofang 回回藥方
 Huleghu
 Hüle'ü (?-1265)
 Hungary
 Hunting
 Hunting-Gathering

 Ibn al-Athīr (1160–1233)
 Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (1304–1368)
İdiqut
Il
 Īl-Khan Dynasty
Ilqan
 Ilqanate
 Ilqans
 Imperial Guard
 Indian Ocean
Inje
Iqta'
 Iran
 Iraq
Irgen
 Islam
 Ismā'ilīs
 Ivan III, "The Great"

 Ja'far hoja
 Jalāl al-Dīn
 Jalayir
Jam
 Jāmal al-Dīn

 Jamuqa
 Japan
Jarliq
Jarqu
Jarquci
Jasaq
 Java
 Jebe
Jerge
 Jerusalem
 Jin Dynasty (1125–1234)
 Jin Dynasty (1125–1234),
 Frontier Fortifications
 Joci (? – 1227)
 Johannes
 John de Plano Carpini
 John of Marignolli
 John of Mote Corvino
 John of Plano Carpini
 Julian of Hungary
 Jürched
 Jürchen
 Juvaynī, 'Alā-al-dīn 'Aṭā-
 Malik (1226–1283)
 Juvaynī, Bahā' al-Dīn (?–
 1253)
 Juvaynī, Šams al-Dīn (?–
 1284)
Jüyin Peoples
 Juyongguan 居庸關
 Jūzjānī, Minhāj al-Dīn
 (1193–1265)

 Kabul Khan
 Kaffa
 Kaifeng 開封.
 Kalka River, Battle of (May
 1222)
Kam
Kamikaze
Kara

- Kāshghar
 Kathay
 Kazan, Qanate of
 Kebek
Kebte'ül
Kelemeci
 Kereit
Kesikten (Kesig)
 Khan
 Khanbaligh
Khara
 Kharluk
Khatun
 Khaydu
 Kherlen River
 Khibitkha
 Khitan
 Khorasan
 Khotan
Khurāsān
 Khwārazm
 Khwarazm
Khwārazm-Shāh.
Khwārazm-Shāh
 Muḥammad II
 Khwarazmian Empire
 Khwarizm
 Kibca'ut
 Kiev
 Kin
 King David
 Kinsay
 Kinship
 Kipchaks
 Kipjaq
 Kipjaq Qanate
 Kipjaq Steppe
 Kirgisud
 Kit-Buqa
 Kitai
Kitai Negri
 Kitan
Köke Debter
Köke Ordu
 Köke Temür
 Köke Tenggeri
 Köke Tenggiri
 Korea
 Körgüz
 Köse Dagħ, Battle of (June 26, 1243)
 Köten (?–1252)
 Kucha
 Kulikove Pole, Battle of (September 8, 1380).
 Kumiss
Kuriltai
 Kuyuk Khan
 Kymiss
 Kytai

 Lama
 Lamaism
 Lances
 Land Warfare
 Languages
 Lasso
 Lesser Armenia
 Li Tan 李璿
 Liao 遼 Dynasty (906–1125)
 Liegnitz, Battle of (April 9, 1241)
 Lightning
 Lithuania
 Lithuania-Poland
 Littan Sangon
 Little Armenia
 Liu Bingzhong 劉秉忠 (1216–1274)
 Liu Bolin 劉伯林 (1148–1221)
 Livestock
Lu 路

- Maḥmūd Yalavach (?–1262?)
 Maimūn-Diz
 Mali
 Mamai
 Mamlūk
 Mangonels
 Mangu
 Manzi 蠻子
 Massacre
 Mas'ūd Beg (?–1280s)
 Matthew of Paris (c. 1200–1259)
 Mattias of Miechow
 Mecrit
 Medicine
 Men
Mengda beilu 蒙鞑備錄
 Mengeser-Noyon
 Menggu 蒙古
 Mengli Girai
 Mengu
Mergen
 Merkit
 Merv
 Middle Mongolian
 Ming 明 Dynasty (1368–1644)
Mingan
 Moal
 Mohi, Battle of
 Money
 Mongali
 Möngke *Qan*
 Möngke Temür
 Möngke Tenggiri
 Monggol
 Mongol
 Mongol China
 Mongol Iran
 Mongol Russia
 Mongolia
 Mongolia, Environment
 Mongolia, Geography
 Mongolian Barbecue
 Mongolian Language
 Mongolian Script
 Mongols
 Mongqol
 Mubārak-Shāh
 Muḥammad II *Khwārazm-Shāh*
 Mukhali
 Muqali (?–1223)
 Muskovy
 “Muslim Medicinal Recipes”
 Musta'şim
 Myriarchy

 Naian
 Naiman
Nanren 南人
Naryn Jam
 Nasawī, Nūr al-Dīn Muḥammad
 Naş'ir Al-Dīn Ṭūsī (1200–1273)
 Natigai
 Naurūz (?–1297)
 Naval Warfare
 Nayan
 Negodar
Nerge (or *Jerge*)
 Nestorianism
 New Sarai
 Nianhe Zhongshan 粘合重山
 Nicean Empire
 Nigüder
 Nishapur
 Nogai (?–1299)

- Nöker*
 Nomads
 Nomadism
 Nomuqan (?–c. 1292)
 Northern Yuan
Noyan
Nuntuq

Obogh
Obok
Obo'ο
Oboq
 Occoday
 Odoric of Podenone (1265–1331)
 “Official History of the Yuan Dynasty”
 Oghul-Ghaimish
 Ögödei
 Oirat
 Okodei
 Old Man of the Mountains
Olja
 Öljeitü
 Ong-qan
 Onggirad
Onggon
 Önggüd
 Onon River
 Oqol-Qaimish
 Oral Literature
 Orda
Ordo
Ordu
 Orghina
 Orkhon River
Oro[n]
 Orqina
Ortaq
 Osmanli (Ottomans)
Otcigin
 Otrar
 Otrar Incident (1218)
 Ottoman
 Oyirad
 Özbek

 Painting
Paiza (Gerege)
 Paleologus, Michael
 Paper Money
 Pasta
 Pastoral Nomadism
 Pastoralism
Pax Mongolica
 Pegolotti, Francesco
 Balducci
 Peking (Beijing 北京)
 Peng Daya 彭大雅
 “Personal Campaigns of the Sagely Militant”
 Pest
 Phags-pa
 Phags-pa Script
 Plano Carpini, John of
 Poland
 Poland-Lithuania
 Polo, Marco (1254–1324)
 Population, Chinese
 Population, Iranian
 Population, Mongolian
 Population, Russian
 Population, Turkistanian
 Porcelain
 Presbyter Johannes
 Prester John
 “Proper and Essential Things for the Emperor’s Food and Drink”
 Provinces
 Pu Shougeng 蒲壽晟(fl. 1245–1286)
 Pulad

- Qa'an
 Qabul-Qan
Qayan
Qaghan
Qahan
 Qaidu, I
 Qaidu, II (1236–1301)
Qalan
Qam
Qamug Mongol
Qan
 Qanbalıq
 Qanglin
Qara
 Qara-Hüle'ü
 Qara-Khitān Empire (1124–1211)
 Qarajang
 Qarakumiss
 Qaraqorum (Caracorum)
Qara'ul
 Qaraunas
Qaravul
Qari
 Qarla'ud
 Qarluq
Qatun
 Qayaliq
 Qaydu
 Qazvīnī, Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfi
 Qipchap
 Qipchaq
 Qitan
Qol
Qorci
 Qori-tumad
Qosi'ul
Qoyitul
 Quanzhen 全真
 Quanzhou 泉州
Qubciri
Qubi
 Qubilai-qan (1215–1294)
 Quman
 Quriltai
Qurut
 Qutula-Qan
 Rabban Ṣaumā (c. 1225–1294)
 Raids
 Rashīd al-Dīn Faḍl Allāh (1247–1318)
 Rations
 “Record of a Journey to the West”
 “Record of the Mongols and Tatars”
 “Record of the Personal Campaigns of the Sagely Warrior”
 Religion
 Roger of Hungary
 Roger of Varadin
 Rubruc
 Rubruck
 Russia
 Russian Steppe
 Ruthenia
 Ruysbroeck
 Ryazan
 Sa-sKya
 Sa-sKya Pandita, Kun-dGarGyal-mTshan (1182–1252)
 Sa'd al-Daulat of Abhar
 Sajó, Battle of (April 11, 1241)
 Samarqand
 Samuqa-Ba'atur

- Sarai
 Satellite Administration
Saugat
Sauqa
Sayin
 Sayyid Ajall, Šams al-Dīn
 ‘Umar (1211–1279)
Sciang
 Science and Technology
 Seals
Secret History of the
 Mongols
 Seljuq
 Seljuq, of Rūm
 Semirechye
Semu 色目
 Senge
 Sex
 Shamans
 Shamanism
 Shangdu 上都
 Shayban
 Sheep
Sheng 省
Shengwu Qinzheng Lu 聖武
 親征錄
 Shimo Mingan 石抹明安
 Shiremūn
Shumi yuan 樞密院
 Siberia
 Sigi-Qutuqu (c. 1180–1262)
 Siege warfare
 Silesia
 Simon de Saint-Quentin
 Sinicization
 Sira-Ordu
Si’ūsūn
 Social Organization
 Social Structure
 Sögetü
 Solangqa
 Song 宋
 Song, Dynasty
 Song, Loyalism
 Song, Mongol Conquest of
 Sorqoqtani-Beki
 Southern Song 宋 Dynasty
 Sovereignty
Soyurgal
Soyurqal
Speculum Historiale
 Steppes
 Steppe Zone
 Strategy
Su
 Sübe’etei-Ba’adur (1176–
 1248)
 Sudaq
Sülde
Šülen
 Sulṭāniyya
 Supplies
Sutan
 Suzdal
 Swords
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 Tabriz
 Tabu Names
 Tabus
 Tactics
 Taimas
 Tāj al-Dīn ‘Alīšāh
 Talas Covenant (1269)
 Talas River
 Tamerlane (1336–1405)
Tamgha
 Tangut
Tanma
Tanmaci
 Taoism
Tarbaqan
 Tarim Basin
Tarkhan

- Tarmashirin
 Tartar
 “Tartar Relation”
 Tatar
 “Tatar Yoke”
 Taxation
 Tayici’ut
 Teb-Tenggiri (Kököchü)
 Temüchin
 Temüge-Otcigin
 Temüjin
 Temür Öljeitü
 Tenduc
 Tenggiri
 Terek River, Battle of
 (April 14, 1395)
 Territory
 Territory, Administration of
 Teutonic Knights
 Textiles
 Thousand
 Thomas of Spalato (c. 1200-
 1268)
 Tibet
 Timür-i Leng
 Titles
 Töde Möngke
 Toghon Temür
 Toghto (1314–1355)
Toin
 Toktamish
 Toktu
 Toleration
 Tolui-Noyon (1193–1233)
 To’oril-Qan
 Toqta
 Toqtamysh
 Toqto’a-Beki
 Töregene-Qatun
 Torzhok
 Toshi
- Tossuc
 To’ucar
Touxia 頭下
Toyin
 Trade
 Transhumance
 Transoxania
 Trebizond
 Trebuchet
 Tribes
Tugh
 Tügh Temür, I
 Tügh Temür, II
Tuin
Tuman
Tümen (Myriarchy)
Tuq
 Turfan
 Turfan Uighurs
 Turkicization
 Turkish Culture
 Turkish Language
 Turkistan
 Turks
Tutqa’ul
Tuyin
- Uighur Script
 Uighurs
 Uihur
Ulus
 Umarī, Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-
 (1301–1349)
 Uriangqadai (1201–1272)
Uruq
- Vaş şāf-i Hāḍrat (1264–
 1334)
 Vengeance
 Venice
 Vincent of Beauvais (c.

- 1190–1264)
Vinland Map
 Volga Bulgars
 Volga River
- Wahlstadt
 Wang Ji 王楫
 War
 Warrior
 Water
 Weapons
 White
 White Horde
 White *Ordo* (*Aq ordo*)
 William of Rubruck
 Women
- Xi youji* 西游記
 Xiangyang 襄陽
Xingsheng 行省
 Xixia 西夏
 Xu Ting 徐霆
- Yaballāhā III (1245–1317)
 Yaishan 崖山, Battle of
 (March 19, 1279)
Yam
Yarlik
Yasaq (*Yāsā*)
Yasun
- Yeke Mongol Ulus*
 Yelü Ahai 耶律阿海
 Yelü Chucai 耶律楚材
 (1189–1243)
 Yelü Liuge 耶律留哥
 Yelü Tuhua 耶律禿花
Yinshan Zhengyao 飲膳正
 要, “Proper and
 Essential things for the
 Emperor’s Food and
 Drink”
 Yisügei
Ystoria Mongalorum
 Yuan Dynasty (1260–1368)
Yuanshi 元史
 Yunnan 雲南
 Yurt
- Zaiton
 Zhao Hong 趙珙
 Zhao Mengfu (1254–1322)
 Zhenjin 真金 (1243–1285)
 Zhongdu 中都
Zhongshu ling 中書令
Zhongshu sheng 中書省
 Zhu Siben 朱思本(1273–
 1337)
 Zhu Yuanzhang 朱元璋

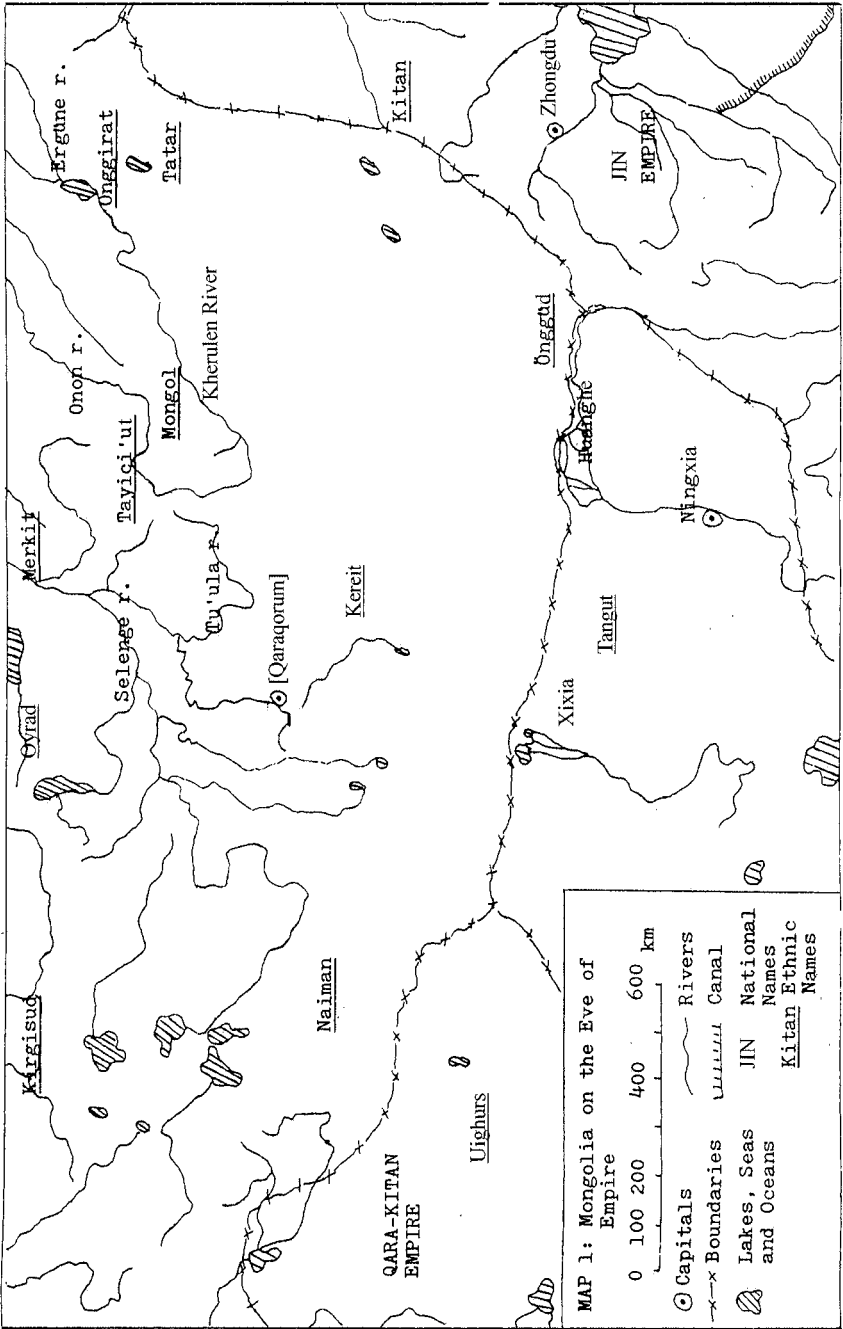
Maps

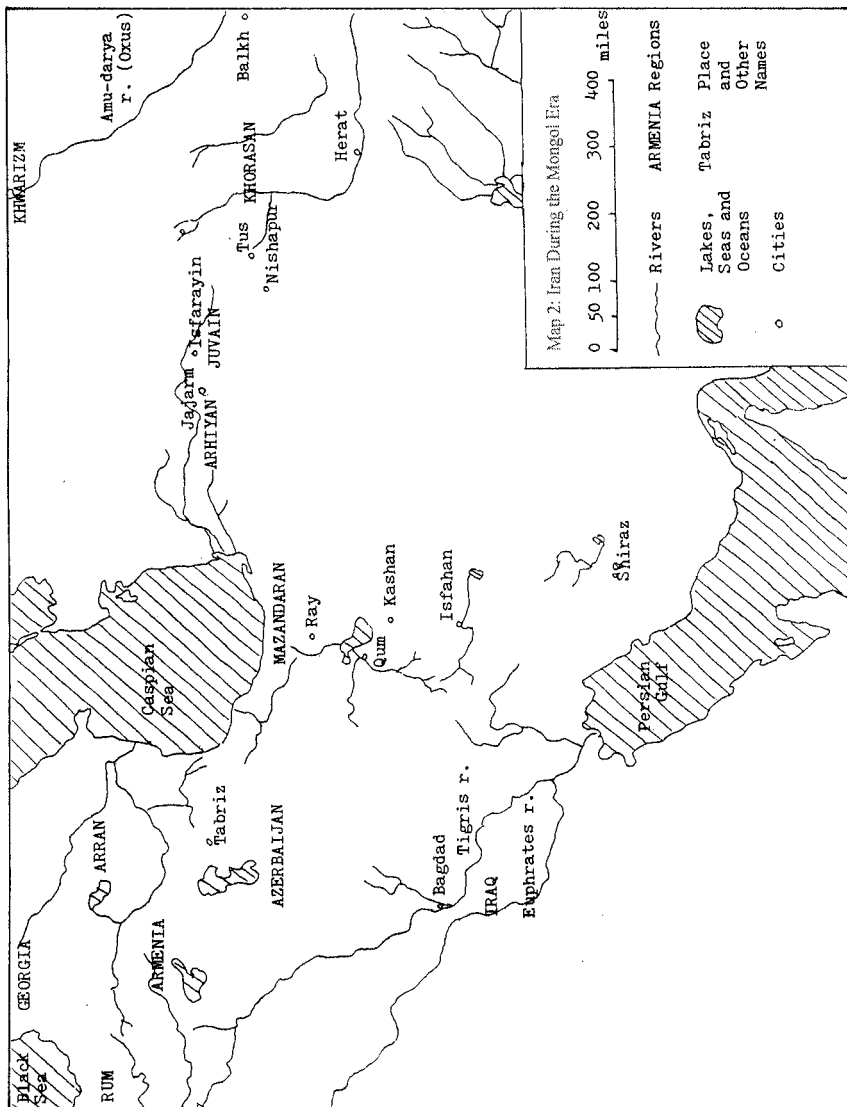
Map 1: Mongolia on the Eve of Empire

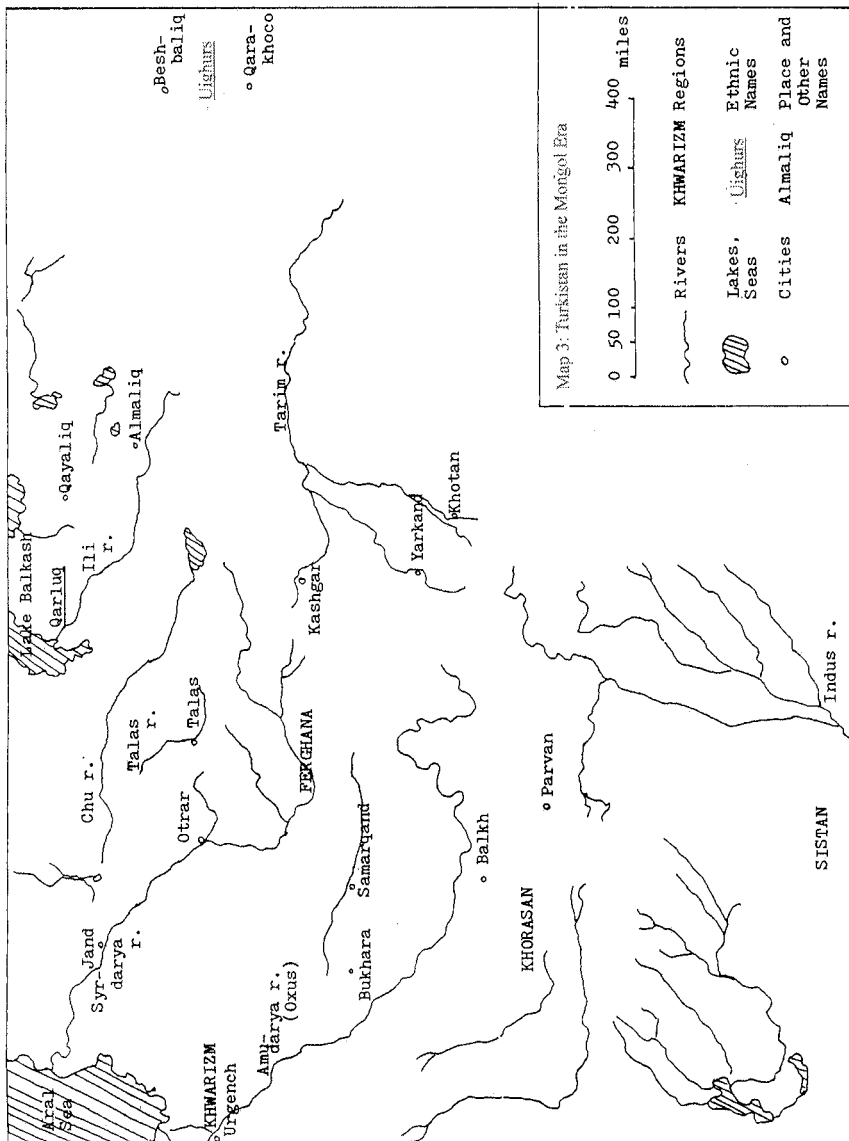
Map 2: Iran during the Mongol Era

Map 3: Turkistan in the Mongol Era

Note: These maps are reproduced, with minor changes, from my unpublished doctoral dissertation: “Tribe, Qan, and Ulus: Some Prolegomena to Yüan History,” University of Washington, 1977. Place, ethnic, and political names are without diacritics and some forms are slightly different than in this *Historical Dictionary*. Khwarizm = Khwarazm; Khorasan = Khurāsān.







Map 3: Turkistan in the Mongol Era

0 50 100 200 300 400 miles

Rivers KHWARIZM Regions

Lakes, Seas Uighurs Ethnic Names

○ Cities Almaliq Place and Other Names

Dates of Chinese Dynasties and States Mentioned in the Dictionary

Han 漢 (206 BC–220 AD)
Sui 隋 (586–618)
Tang 唐 (618–906)
Song 宋 (960–1279)
 Northern Song (960–1125)
 Southern Song (1125–1279)
Liao 遼 (907–1125)
 Western Liao (1125–1212)
Jin 金 (1125–1234)
Xixia 西夏 (*circa* 982–1227)
Yuan 元 (1260–1368)
Ming 明 (1368–1644)
Qing 清 (1644–1911)

Chronology

- 1125** Liao Dynasty overturned by Jürched invaders who establish their own, Jin Dynasty (to 1234).
- 1141** Loyalist Western Liao regime, or Qara-Kitan Empire, defeats Seljuq sultan Sanjar and gains control of Turkistan.
- 1162** Probable birth date of Temüjin, the future Cinggis-qan.
- 1179** Birth of Joci (died 1227), Temüjin's oldest son.
- 1183** Birth of Ca'adai (died 1242), Temüjin's second son.
- 1186** Birth of Ögödei (died 1241), Temüjin's third son.
- 1189** First election of Temüjin as *qan*, according to the *Secret History of the Mongols*.
- 1193** Birth of Tolui-noyon (died 1233), Temüjin's youngest son.
- 1200** Accession of Muḥammad II *Khwārazm-shāh*.
- 1204** Uighur scribe Tatatonga 塔塔統阿 captured by the Mongols who begin using the Uighur Script.
- 1205** First Mongol raid on Tangut Xixia.
- 1206** Unification of the Mongols complete. Temüjin becomes Cinggis-qan and supreme ruler of the Mongolian world.
- 1207** Revolt of the *jüyin* peoples of the Sino-Mongolian borderlands.
- 1209** Beshbaligh Uighurs submit to Mongols; Collision with the *Khwārazm-shāh*.
- 1210** Naiman Güčülük seizes Qara-Kitan Empire.
- 1211** Mongols launch general raids on Jin Dynasty domains.
- 1214** Mongols lay siege to the Jin capital of Zhongdu 中都.
- 1215** Zhongdu falls to the Mongols and their local allies.
- 1218** Mongols complete conquest of the former Qara-Kitan Empire and kill Güčülük; Merchants under Mongol protection and ambassadors killed by the Khwarazmian governor of Otrar.
- 1219** Mongols invade Khwarazmian Empire.

- 1221** Mongols capture Samarqand; Death of Muḥammad II *Khwārazm-shāh*; Mongols enter the Caucasus.
- 1223** Battle on the Kalka between Mongol forces led by Jebe and Sübe'edei, and a combined Russian and Kibca'ut force; Completion of first Mongol campaign in the west.
- 1225** Cinggis-qan, again in Mongolia, prepares final campaign against Xixia.
- 1227** Death of Cinggis-qan, destruction of Xixia.
- 1229** *Quriltai* elects Ögödei as second *qan* of unified empire.
- 1231** First Mongol invasion of Korea.
- 1234** Jin Dynasty extinguished.
- 1235** A freshly walled Qaraqorum becomes Mongol capital; Probable date of birth of Qaidu.
- 1236** Mongol campaign into the Qipchaq steppe and Russia begins.
- 1237** Russian city of Ryazan falls to the Mongols (December 21).
- 1240** Kiev falls (December 6).
- 1241** Mongols invade Eastern Europe; Battles of Liegnitz and on the Sajó; *Qan* Ögödei dies; Regency of his empress, Döregene-qatun.
- 1242** Mongols withdraw from Hungary.
- 1245** John of Plano Carpini travels to Mongolia.
- 1246** Güyük elected *qan*, over the opposition of Bat-qan of the Golden Horde.
- 1248** Death of Güyük, possibly by poisoning, during first stages of a campaign against Bat-qan; Empress Qoql-Qaimish becomes regent.
- 1250** Mamlük Dynasty begins in Egypt.
- 1251** Möngke, son of Tolui-noyon, elected *qan* with support of Bat-qan; Begins purge of his opponents.
- 1252** Möngke begins campaign in China to destroy Southern Song Dynasty.
- 1253** Möngke's younger brother Hüle'ü advances west to complete the Mongol conquest of Iran; William of Rubruck begins journey to Mongolia.
- 1255** Death of Bat-qan.
- 1256** Hüle'ü destroys Assassin fortresses.
- 1257** Mongols invade Annam.
- 1258** Hüle'ü takes Baghdad.
- 1259** Death of *qan* Möngke.

- 1260** Qubilai and Ariq-bökö both elected *qan*; Civil war begins; Battle of ‘Ayn-Jälüt.
- 1261** Berke of the Golden Horde attacks Hüle’ü.
- 1262** Li Tan 李璿 uprising in Mongol China.
- 1264** Ariq-bökö surrenders to Qubilai.
- 1266** Death of Ariq-bökö; Qubilai begins building Daidu 大都.
- 1267** Qubilai begins final advance on Song.
- 1269** Talas *quriltai* decides division of power in Ca’adai *ulus*; APhags-pa Script introduced.
- 1271** Marco Polo leaves for China.
- 1272** Qubilai takes dynastic title Yuan 元, “origin.”
- 1274** Qubilai invades Japan.
- 1276** Song capital of Hangzhou 杭州 falls to Mongols; General revolt of local princes against Qubilai in Mongolia.
- 1277** Mongols invade Burma; Qaraqorum taken by rebels.
- 1279** Battle of Yaishan 崖山; Last Song resistance crushed.
- 1281** Qubilai invades Japan for second time.
- 1282** Peace reestablished in Mongolia by Qubilai.
- 1285** ABri-Kung incident in Tibet.
- 1287** Rabban Şaumā sent to Europe by *Ilqan* Arghun; Revolt of Nayan against Qubilai.
- 1294** Death of Qubilai.
- 1295** Accession of Ghazan begins Ilqanate golden age; Conversion of Mongol ruling house in Iran to Islam.
- 1299** Ilqanate launches major invasion of Syria, but unable to hold it.
- 1301** Death of Qaidu.
- 1304** Temür *qan* of China makes peace with the interested parties in Central Asia; Last attempt to restore Mongol unity.
- 1326** Tarmashirin, last ruler of a united Ca’adai *ulus*, accepts Islam.
- 1335** Line of Hüle’ü dies out in Iran, ending Ilqanate.
- 1336** Birth of Tamerlane
- 1346** Black Death.
- 1368** Ming forces oust Mongols from China.
- 1370** Toghon Temür, last Mongol emperor of China, dies.
- 1380** Battle of Kulikovo; Emir Mamaı defeated by Dimitrii Donskoi.
- 1395** Battle of Terek River (April 14) effectively ends power of a unified Golden Horde.

- 1405** Death of Tamerlane.
- 1502** Great Horde destroyed by Crimea.
- 1505** Last Great Horde *qan* murdered.
- 1552** Kazan taken by Ivan the Terrible.
- 1783** Qanate of Crimea conquered by Russians, last Mongol state.

Heaven and Earth
Have Taken Counsel Together,
[Saying:] Temüjin Must Become
Lord of the [Mongol] Patrimony

Secret History of the Mongols (121)

Introduction

One of the most important events in the history of the European Middle Ages was the sudden emergence of an unprecedented threat from the interior of Asia, the Mongols. In less than two decades, the armies of Temüjin, the later Cinggis-qan (q.v.), had gone from raiding the areas immediately around Mongolia (q.v.) to mounting major expeditions, one of which got as far as southern Russia (1223), and achieving major conquests. While steppe peoples had threatened Europe before, and some had even maintained a semipermanent presence there, usually on the fringes of Europe proper, no steppe threat had emerged as quickly and decisively as that of the Mongols. Scarcely a decade and a half after their first sudden appearance, Mongol armies began destroying Russia systematically, and in 1241 mounted a frightening invasion of Eastern Europe that took them as far as the present borders of Germany and the outskirts of Vienna, before retreating the next year, never to return.

Less than two decades later the Mongol Empire, the first truly world empire in history, uniting much of the territory of Eurasia and a substantial part of the Old World's population under its control, was gone, replaced by four successor qanates based respectively in China (q.v.), western Turkistan (*see* Turkistan), Russia (q.v.), and Iran (q.v.): the Yuan Dynasty (q.v.) or Qanate China, the Patrimony of Ca'adai or Ca'adai *ulus* (q.v.), The Golden Horde (q.v.), and the Ilqanate (q.v.). To which may be added the empire of Qaidu (q.v.), who waged a long war against Mongol China and other enemies. Within less than a century these too were gone, although various Golden Horde successor states persisted into the 16th century, and, in one case, into the 18th.

Despite the comparative rapid disappearance of the political order associated with Mongol expansion, the rise of the

Mongols had a profound impact upon world history. By the 1240s, at latest, it was possible to travel virtually unimpeded anywhere in Mongol domains, from the borders of Poland to the interior of north China, from Novgorod to southern Iran or even Tibet (q.v.), just then coming under Mongol control. Not only did merchants take advantage of the opportunities that these expanded vistas offered, but explorers of every complexion soon followed, from the West in particular. Between 1220 and 1250 the narrow European worldview, with its rudimentary maps and a cultural boundary that ended with Jerusalem, and knew little enough about that, gave way before a flood of new information.

William of Rubruck (q.v.) never got to China, but he heard a lot about it, and came back with his reports. Not long after, European merchants were actually going there, and towards the end of the Mongol era the account of his travels of Marco Polo (q.v.) appeared. It was a sensation, and no book, with the possible exception of the Bible or other major religious texts, has ever been so influential. Columbus took it with him, and we still live in its shadow, or at least in the shadow of the world it gave rise to.

Others went the opposite way. They included Rabban Ṣaumā (q.v.), born in what is now Inner Mongolia, but later a traveler as far as France, where he met the kings of France and England. From the Muslim side, we have the account of the greatest explorer of them all, Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (q.v.). His writings dwarf those of Marco Polo in size and include unprecedented information about the farthest reaches of the world. Much of his travels took place in Mongol-controlled areas and he was richly patronized by Mongol princes.

Other, more subtle influences were at work as well. A now-lost Italian church painting shows Saint Jerome reading a book in a Phags-Pa Script (q.v.) from the China of Qubilai-qan (q.v.). Italian merchants gave their children “Tartar” names and brought back exotic pottery, textiles, and even art in East Asian styles. The backgrounds of Persian miniature painting became Chinese, an acupuncture manual was translated into Persian by a translation agency headed by Rashīd al-Dīn (q.v.). He also wrote the first truly world history using European and East Asian sources. Throughout Eurasia new foodways emerged, based on imitation of Mongolian court foods. One food of the time, baklava (q.v.), the word is derived from Mongolian, is

still with us. In Europe, even ladies' hats followed Mongol fashion, while in many societies, including Mongol China and in Portugal, the Mongol word for a bribe became important loan words.

Just by its size, the Mongol Empire deserves a special place in world history. When we also consider its cultural impact, as one of the most multicultural structures in human history, its importance becomes even more manifest. Truly, Heaven and Earth, in the words of the *Secret History* (q.v.), must have taken counsel together in creating it since its achievement seems beyond mere human abilities.

Essay 1. Mongolia before Empire (To 1206)

Mongolia's history stretches back to the Old Stone Age, but the key event making Mongolia what it is today was the appearance of the type of pastoral nomadism (q.v.), with all its attendant cultural paraphernalia, that is still practiced. It is focused primarily upon two animals, the sheep (q.v.) and the goat (q.v.), but also requires the horse (q.v.), since only the horse makes the extensive herding of sheep and goats practiced by the Mongols possible. In some areas today, Mongols also herd cattle (q.v.) and the camel (q.v.), and occasionally the yak and what is today called *khaynag*, a cross between cattle and yaks, but the herding of such animals has never been common. They require special conditions not generally found throughout Mongolia.

In recent times Mongolian pastoralism has been carried out in accordance with what is known among Turkic-speakers as the *yailaq-kishlaq*, "summer and winter pastures," system. This involves seasonal movement of people and herds between low-lying winter pastures and mountain summer pastures in a carefully staged series of treks. Depending upon geography, variations of this pattern include movement along rivers, upstream during the summer, downstream again in the winter, and in particularly flat, and usually very dry areas in a broadly circular pattern. This was designed to minimize pressures on easily exhausted local water and fodder resources (*see* Mongolia, Environment).

The first people known to have practiced pastoralism in this way were the ancient Scythians, whose way of life was well described by Herodotus in the fifth century BC. By his time, not only the typical Central Asian pastoralism, but most of the material and intellectual culture associated with it had appeared. This includes the round tent made of a lattice framework of wood and covered primarily with felt, called *ger* (q.v.) in Mongolian, and yurt elsewhere. Without it the highly mobile Mongolian life would be impossible. Equally important were

mobile carts for moving heavy gear. *Ger* and other light structures were sometimes mounted permanently on them in which case they could assume quite large proportions, as they often did during the era of Mongol Empire, according to eyewitnesses (*see* *Khibitkha*). Also key early inventions, perhaps not made directly on the steppe, were the vital horse bridles, saddles, and other trappings still in use. Likewise important were the typical clothing of the steppe, based on pants instead of impractical robes. Playing a major role within the early intellectual culture of the Scythians, and subsequently among steppe peoples, was a rich artistic tradition showing leaping and gyrating animals, and sometimes heroes, probably also the focus of an epic (q.v.) tradition well known from later times. The Scythians are also associated with typical forms of steppe warfare based upon the horse, rapid maneuver, and the use of the compound bow (q.v.) to fight enemies at long range.

Exactly when steppe culture of this type came to Mongolia is unclear, but it is fairly certain that there was no culture of this type in Mongolia prior to second half of the First Millennium. At that time, Chinese records begin to notice the Hu 胡, a steppe group highly similar to the Scythians in their culture and way of life. Later many other steppe nomadic groups lived in Mongolia, including the Xiongnu 匈奴, who ruled a vast steppe empire based on Mongolia paralleling the Chinese Han Dynasty (206 BC–220 AD), the Xianbei 鮮卑, considered proto-Mongols by some, and various groups of Turks (q.v.). Although not the immediate precursors of the Mongols in Mongolia, the Turks were particularly important for them. Mongolian culture shows many Turkic borrowings and Turkic groups continued to exist in close proximity to the Mongols and continued to interact with them. The Mongolian Script (q.v.), also called the Uighur Script, is one product of this interaction. Later, the Mongols drew heavily upon Turkic-speaking peoples for personnel to govern their empire and even based much of their court foods upon Turkic prototypes (*see* *Turkish Culture; Turkicization*).

Mongols first appear under that name, *e.g.*, in Chinese transcription, Menggu 蒙古, in the Chinese sources of the Tang Dynasty (618–906). By the Song Dynasty (*see* *Song, Dynasty*), which came to power in 960, the name becomes a fairly common referent. These early sources seem to suggest that the Menggu of the Tang and Song were located somewhat to the

north of the present Mongols. This fact accords well with the suggestions of some Mongolian ethnographers that there are substantial Siberian cultural elements present among them, including some borrowed from the reindeer herders of the Siberian Tundra (*see* Siberia).

During much of the period of these first Chinese references, Mongolia was ruled by the Kitan (q.v.), founders of the Liao Dynasty (907–1125). Highly similar in their culture to the Mongols, with whom they interacted freely, the Kitan were particularly important for them on account of the many fortified administrative centers that they established in Mongolia. These proved instrumental in the transmission of sedentary governmental and organizational patterns to the Mongols, something that they were later to put to good use in founding their own empire.

By the time of the immediate ancestors of Temüjin (?–1227), the later Cinggis-qan (q.v.), Kitan influence had long given way before that of the Mongols themselves, and that of the Tungus-speaking Jürched (q.v.), whose Jin Dynasty (1125–1234) had conquered and expanded upon what was once Liao, except that the Jin never controlled the deep steppe directly as the Liao had done before them. Instead of direct rule, the Jin sought to control the Mongols and others indirectly through the use of a divide-and-conquer strategy (*yi yi zhi yi* 以夷治夷, “using the barbarians to control the barbarians”), and a well-constructed system of steppe alliances. Temüjin himself may have been involved in them, although the Mongolian sources leave the matter, perhaps intentionally, obscure.

Prior to the 12th century, nearly everything we know about the Mongols, except for rare archaeological finds, is from Chinese sources. This situation changes dramatically because of the native Mongolian records created in the 13th century that look back upon earlier periods and provide considerable historical information. Most important of these records is the highly composite history known as the *Secret History of the Mongols* (q.v.), a work that took shape over many decades between the early 13th century and the early 14th, although additions were possibly being made even later. It is very uneven in its presentation and even lacks dates for most of its earliest entries. Its chronology is often faulty and the text contains numerous anachronisms. Nonetheless, the *Secret History* remains our most important source for most of the events described in it.

Another important source for early Mongolian events is the “Record of the Personal Campaigns of the Sagely Militant” (*Shengwu qinzheng lu* 聖武親征錄) (q.v.). It is a direct adaptation, or translation, of one or more Mongolian originals, perhaps including a lost source named by the Persian historian Rashīd al-Dīn (1247–1318) (q.v.), the *Altan Debter* (q.v.), “Golden Book.”

According to these sources, the Mongols were divided up among a great variety of economic and political groupings at various stages of social evolution in the 13th century. Most were small herding groups loosely associated with other such groups through the use of common resources belonging to those using them and not to individuals, and kinship links that bound leading families to one another. Such groups are called by various names in the *Secret History of the Mongols*, mostly commonly *ayil* (q.v.), “nomadic village.” Also used is descriptive term: *bölök irgen*, “a small isolated group of people.”

In some cases such groups were more hierarchically organized, with common herdsmen forming retainers of a ruling family which told them where to pasture their livestock even though pastures continued to be a group rather than an individual asset in theory. Also existing, although uncommon and usually the result of contact with the outside world, were chiefdoms with even more subordination of group to individual will. Special resources were assigned to their ruler, sometimes including a bodyguard of personal retainers and even a simple administrative structure possibly in support of a simple tax system. Where chiefdoms existed they were usually supported by booty from the sedentary world or by subsidies paid allies by sedentary governments. Access to imported food was vital in this case, since only stocks of imported food allowed concentrations of military power and administrative resources about the chief of a chiefdom.

Except under such circumstances, dispersal was the rule rather than the exception in early Mongolian society. On occasion herding units did combine forces and form larger units, but mostly these were impractical, since maximum dispersal was required in most areas for efficient herding. Only during the very late autumn, and during the winter, when stored foods (principally dairy) were in abundance and herds were being culled for the winter, and thus meat was available in abundance, could such groups conveniently come together. This was when

marriages were celebrated and the ritual feasts (*see* feasts) or *qurim* so important for group solidarity, were held, usually on set campgrounds. According to one interpretation, the name of the later Mongolian imperial capital, Qaraqorum (q.v.), recalls just this practice since it was built on a site where common, *i.e.*, *qara* (q.v.), “black,” or “common,” Mongols came together for their winter feasts.

Under such conditions, higher level social organization came from three sources. First and most important was kinship. As the *Secret History of the Mongols* witnesses, the Mongols of the 12th century recognized a complex network of kinship systems by which the members of one group were tied to another and organized, in theory at least, as part of larger social units. Two systems were key: the *uruq* (q.v.) and the *oboq* (q.v.). The former was a patrilineal descent group from a well-known, real, common ancestor. By contrast, the *oboq* was a maximal descent group traced from a common ancestor who might be largely or entirely mythical. This was true, for example, in the case of Bodoncar (q.v.), founder of Temüjin’s own *oboq*, the Borjigin. He was born after his father’s death from a divine light.

A well-developed system of fictive kinship extended the system. Unrelated retainers, although recognized as belonging to a different kinship layer, that is *yasun* (q.v.), “bone,” than their masters, were still considered as belonging to the same *oboq* or *uruq*. Under this system, a herding unit ruled by individuals claiming descent from a given *oboq* or *uruq* was thus assigned, as a group, to that *oboq* or *uruq*.

Division into *yasun* was important in that it allowed a distinction to be made between the real and fictive members of a kinship group. While intermarriage among the extremely exogamous Mongols was impossible within the elite group ruling a tribe or herding unit, whose real relationships to one another were known, it was possible between *yasun*. Thus the Mongol elite, who would otherwise have had great difficulty finding suitable mates given the close kinship links in theory connecting nearly all of its members, were able to do so within their own communities.

In addition to connections through *oboq* and *uruq* (carefully traced in the *Secret History of the Mongols*), Mongols could also claim a common descent from still earlier ancestors. These were perhaps invented to make an identification as Mongols as a whole possible. In the *Secret History of the Mongols*,

for example, all Mongols are descended from Gray Wolf and Beautiful Doe (q.v.), whose story is the first related in the Mongol history.

The primary advantage of this lineage system for the Mongols was its infinite adaptability and expandability. More and more groups and more and more individuals could be added as time went on, including populations captured and redistributed as booty, while maintaining Mongolian identity as expressed through Mongolian social hierarchy. Even though the elite of the system, those actually related to one another, remained few and isolated, with retainers who might not even speak the same language, a system existed for relating all existing groups to one another and to Mongolian society as a whole through subordination to ever diluted *oboq* and *uruq*.

A second source of higher level social organization involved the subordination of *oboq* within traditional regional associations. These usually had recognized rulers. They were most often elected, frequently from within a single lineage (*uruq*), and enjoyed various degrees of authority. Association names commonly occurring in our sources include the following: the Naiman (q.v.), spread over southwestern Mongolia and whose name recalls some early alliance of "eight" (*naiman*) other groups; the Merkit (q.v.), located to the east of Lake Baikal; the Kereit (q.v.), found in south central Mongolia; and the Tatar (q.v.), in the northeast. Their name probably recalls the great Khibitkha (q.v.) or tent carts used by some Mongolian groups of the time. Although the primary links within these groups were through carefully construed kinship systems (changed as circumstances changed), cultural and linguistic determinants may have played a role as well. Turkic influences, for example, remained strong in Mongolia in the 13th century and the Naiman at least are considered by some to have been primarily Turkic-speaking, possibly making them quite distinct. Some groups, e.g., the Tatar, also had relatively sophisticated political systems, a fact contributing considerably to social cohesion. Most did not.

Another of the early regional associations was the *Qamuq Mongqol* (q.v.), "Mongol Totality," located in the Onon-Kherlen region of northeastern Mongolia and later considered ancestral to the Mongol Empire of the 13th century. They had their own *qan*, although they had very limited real power. Among them was Qabul-qan (q.v.), Temüjin's grandfather. He

took the lead in resisting the power of the rising Jin Dynasty in the steppe in the early part of the 13th century. These efforts were continued by his successor Ambaqai-qan (q.v.), who died a victim of the Jin, and by Ambaqai-qan's successor, Qabul-qan's son, Qutula-qan (q.v.). Qutula-qan was the most famous of all. His power, and the power of the groups supporting him, was effectively destroyed by the Jin in a battle taking place near Lake Buyir some time in the 1160s. Henceforth the Mongols, unable to assert themselves, went into political decline.

A third source of Mongol solidarity were the strong arms of chieftains and other leading figures. Temüjin became one of these chieftains. Others included To'oril-qan (*see* Ong-qan), his principal supporter. Also a powerful chieftain was Jamuqa, Temüjin's great rival. Characteristic of all of them was that their power was based not just on traditional herding, and herdsman retainers, but also upon regular warfare.

At the time of the defeat of Qutula-qan by the Jin, Temüjin, who was to become the savior of the *Qamuq Mongqol*, was at most a small child. He may not even have been born yet, depending upon whose chronology one accepts. Temüjin was the son of the minor Mongolian chieftain Yisügei-ba'atur (q.v.), and his wife Hö'elün (q.v.), whom Yisügei had stolen from the Merkit. Since Temüjin was born just as his father returned from a war with the Tatar, along with a captive, one Temüjin-üge, Yisügei gave him that name. He was said to be clutching a large blood clot when he was born.

His early life is the subject of myth, but much of the myth probably has some basis in fact. It accords well with known facts about life on the Mongolian steppe during the second half of the 12th century. According to the *Secret History of the Mongols*, Temüjin, like other Mongolian children, learned to ride and shoot at an early age. He also began to form the relationships that were to be important for the rest of his life at a young age. For example, he became the blood brother or *anda* (q.v.) of Jamuqa (q.v.), later as much rival as friend, while still a child. Temüjin was also a child, and afraid of dogs, the *Secret History of the Mongols* records, when betrothed to Börte (q.v.), his later primary wife, and daughter of the powerful chieftain Dei-secen (q.v.). It was on the return journey from this betrothal that Temüjin's father, Yisügei, encountered some Tatar and was poisoned by them. Left without effective leadership, Yisügei's herdsmen (*see* Tayici'ut) abandoned Hö'elün and her

children, sans Temüjin, who had been left behind to serve his future father-in-law, on the steppe to die.

Soon summoned home to help his mother, Temüjin, perhaps nine years old, began one of the most difficult periods of his life. Although the degree to which Hö'elün was isolated is probably overstated in the *Secret History of the Mongols*, clearly she had a great deal of responsibility on her shoulders. In the *Secret History of the Mongols* she, among other things done solely to survive, is described as doing the unthinkable, from the perspective of a Mongolian society based upon sheep-herding and its products: gathering plant foods to feed her brood. Her sons themselves had to catch small, "misshapen" fish and shoot small birds, under their mother's close supervision. That such things were far more common among the early Mongols than the *Secret History of the Mongols* allows is immaterial. The image is very much the traditional one of hero and his family down on their luck but surviving because of divine favor.

It was during such hunting that Temüjin shot and killed his half brother Bekter (q.v.), an event perhaps signaling a power struggle among lines sired by Yisügei from at least two wives. Despite the fact that Bekter was not her son, Hö'elün chided her ill-controlled young son violently, calling him "a [randy] camel bull biting at the heels of its foal," but the deed, repressed in some later sources, was done. Soon afterwards, perhaps in connection with the murder of Bekter, Temüjin was taken captive by his father's former people, the Tayici'ut (q.v.), whose leader may have considered Temüjin as a potential rival. Ultimately, he escaped, and after a series of harrowing experiences rejoined his family, who continued to live in straitened circumstances. By this time Temüjin was perhaps in his middle teens.

As Temüjin grew older, he not only was increasingly able to look after himself, but also began to draw upon old connections once made by his father with others, and new alliances forged by himself. Among the new allies were Sorqan-sira, who aided Temüjin when he was escaping from the Tayici'ut, at great risk to himself, and Bo'orcu, who saved the young warrior's life when he was wounded in an encounter with some horse rustlers. Both later became trusted associates as Temüjin rose to power.

Most important among the relationships coming to him through his father was his betrothal to Börte and thus association with Dei-secen. Shortly after his escape from Tayici'ut captivity and encounter with the rustlers, Temüjin went to fetch Börte. She and Temüjin became wife and husband in fact as well as in theory. As a wedding gift, Temüjin and Börte took back to Hö'elün a black sable coat, something of great value on the steppe at the time. Temüjin then used the coat as a present to the leader of the Kereit, known for its Nestorian Christianity (q.v.). This leader was To'oril-qan, better known by his mixed-language title, the *ong-qan* (q.v.), or "prince (*wang* 王) *qan*."

To'oril had had a connection with Yisügei. It was now renewed by his son. To'oril now became Temüjin's adopted father and, like Dei-secen, became a primary supporter of the young Mongol warrior. One of To'oril's first acts of patronage was to present a retainer to Temüjin. This was Jelme, who later became an important general.

Not long afterwards Temüjin had good cause to rejoice in his new alliances as he and his followers were attacked by the Merkit, from whom Yisügei had once stolen Hö'elün. According to the *Secret History of the Mongols*, whose account at this point may be partly fictional, Temüjin, his mother, his brothers, and their closest supporters escaped, but Börte, who was then pregnant with Temüjin's oldest son, Joci (q.v.), according to some sources (others make it uncertain that Joci was even Temüjin's) was captured. To get her back, Temüjin went to To'oril, who mobilized his people. Also mobilizing to support Temüjin was his *anda* Jamuqa. Ultimately, the coalition defeated the Merkit and Temüjin regained Börte. She seems to have been married off in the meantime to the younger brother of the now deceased individual who once was to marry Hö'elün.

Although the exact chronology of these events remains uncertain, Temüjin's war against the Merkit probably took place in the 1180s. It possibly extended over several years, *i.e.*, a much longer period than the *Secret History of the Mongols* suggests. A few years after the campaign, he was elected *qan*, the first of two elections mentioned in the *Secret History of the Mongols*, by his followers. This event symbolized his status as a chieftain and competitor for power. Perhaps because of his new importance, friction developed between Temüjin and his *anda* Jamuqa, leading to open conflict between them. At first, Temüjin was defeated by Jamuqa, whose power seems to have

been much better established, but later, according to the *Secret History of the Mongols*, Temüjin rebuilt his power and counter-attacked.

So says the Mongolian source. Unfortunately, its account is often contradicted by other sources, by the Persian historian Rashīd al-Dīn, for example. The chronology of the *Secret History of the Mongols* appears seriously at fault here, as in other places. The Battle of Dalan-baljut, for example, that ends the initial conflict with Jamuqa, appears to have taken place not just a few years after the beginning of conflict between Temüjin and Jamuqa, but as much as a decade later. This leaves a long period of Temüjin's life a virtual blank.

While this blank may be more apparent than real because of problems with our sources, it is also possible that events have been intentionally suppressed. One reason for this may have been a close alliance between Temüjin and the Chinese Jin Dynasty (see Jürched), an alliance that the *Secret History of the Mongols*, largely imperial hagiography, felt it convenient to suppress.

During the second half of the 12th century, the Jin Dynasty, which at that time encompassed all of north China, except the extreme northwest, as well as Manchuria and points beyond, maintained a three-layered frontier organization. Innermost were regular Jürched and Chinese forces manning various fortresses and other military points situated within areas of largely Chinese settlement, and within the Jürched homeland in Manchuria. Beyond this, between regular forces and outer frontiers loosely marked by various defense walls, some positioned deep into the steppe, were various close tribal allies of the Jin. The *Secret History of the Mongols* calls these groups *jüyin* peoples (q.v.), after the military units into which they were organized. The term is possibly Kitan, but while the *jüyin* groups did include large numbers of Kitan, many of which had thrown in their lot with the Jin after the collapse of the native Liao Dynasty, they also included Tangut (q.v.) the ruling group of the Xixia (q.v.) state occupying the Chinese northwest, Merkit, and Tatar.

The most distant layer was comprised of other groups allied with Jin but less controlled by the Jin and only loosely associated with the *jüyin* system. Among these groups were apparently tribesmen controlled by the young Temüjin, at least by the 1190s and possibly much earlier. In part the association

grew out of Temüjin's alliance with To'oril-qan, whose mixed-language title, Ong-qan, was a gift from a grateful Jin regime for services rendered. Later, in 1196, Temüjin too received a title from the Jin, one otherwise associated with the *jüyin* peoples, that of *ja'ut-quri*. At the same time he seems to have requested, but not to have received the apparently equivalent Chinese title of *zhaotaoshi* 招討使, "military commissioner."

What impact this association with the Jin may have had on Temüjin is unclear, but quite possibly official recognition by the Jin government may have helped consolidate what must have been an amorphous following. It may also have made Temüjin a Jin dupe in the eyes of many Mongols, perhaps a primary reason why this period of Temüjin's life is largely left blank by the *Secret History of the Mongols*. It has even been suggested that the Battle of Dalan-baljut, fought shortly before Temüjin's campaign against the Tatar, was not Temüjin's but Jamuqa's victory, and that Temüjin actually had to flee to the Jin to survive.

Be that as it may, Temüjin's struggles with Jamuqa, who commanded considerable support in Mongolia, went badly. To'oril, Temüjin's principal supporter and the primary ally of the Jin in the deep steppe, had to flee Mongolia and seek the protection of the *gür-qan* (q.v.), "universal *qan*," of the Qara-Kïtan Empire (q.v.). This was a Liao successor state founded in the early 12th century by Yelü Dashi 耶律大石. It then controlled Chinese Turkistan (*see* Turkistan) and adjacent parts of western Turkistan where it had established hegemony over the Khwarazmian Empire (q.v.). To'oril was apparently only able to return to Mongolia after Temüjin's victory over the Tatar in 1196 with the active help of Jin forces, after which To'oril was restored to power by Temüjin.

Subsequent to that date, information becomes abundant again and the train of events a great deal clearer. During the next approximately five years, Temüjin fought and eliminated a series of rivals of varying power. Among those subdued by Temüjin were Saca-beki of the Jurkin, a relative of Temüjin who had refused to participate in Temüjin's attack on the Tatar, momentarily the Merkit, and Buyuruq-qan of the Naiman. As Temüjin's power grew, his relationship with To'oril, the *ong-qan*, deteriorated, while many of the remaining power groupings in Mongolian society now considered Temüjin as a distinct threat.

In 1201, a great coalition formed against him led by former *anda* Jamuqa, who was elected *gür-qan* by his followers. The battles that resulted are interesting among other things because they reveal the degree to which Mongolian society was becoming divided into carefully delineated chiefdoms, tribal bodies that were quite unlike the small, more or less independent units and loose associations that had hitherto characterized Mongolian society.

The key institution reflecting the changes that were taking place was the *güre'en* (q.v.), originally a term used to designate a traditional mode of encampment. This was an enclosure of *ger*, or yurts, with vehicles and livestock in the center, for security. Later, reflecting new times, the term acquired the additional meaning of a camp fortified temporarily, and the social and political group making up the fortified camp. By Rashīd al-Dīn's time, it had become synonymous with the *mingan* (q.v.), or "thousand," the principal military and social unit of the time of Empire. Such units also camped in a circle with the yurts of the chieftain of the group, along with those of his immediate household, in the exact center.

This process we see clearly in the way that Temüjin and his great competitor, Jamuqa, went about organizing their forces before the final series of battles leading to the latter's destruction. Both armies were, at that time, based upon units organized as *güre'en*. Temüjin's 13 of 1201 later became the core component of some 98 such groupings recognized or organized formally in 1206, at the time of Temüjin's second election as *qan* and the formal establishment of a Mongol Empire.

The final war with Jamuqa was thus the culmination of a process of steppe mobilization that had been underway for decades. It began with Jamuqa's election as *qan* (*gür-qan*) and ended with his death and the virtual universal power of Temüjin in the steppe. Among the supporters of Jamuqa were those groups in particular whom Temüjin had antagonized or threatened during his rise. They included Tatar, Tayici'ut, Naiman, and Merkit. Also involved were the Oyirad (q.v.), a Siberian group then considered barely Mongolian.

The sequence of events is not entirely clear, and the *Secret History of the Mongols* may both understate and overstate the degree of adversity encountered by Temüjin, depending upon the needs of the official hagiography that it incorporates. Nonetheless, is it clear from a comparison of the account of the *Se-*

cret History of the Mongols with other sources that Temüjin encountered great difficulty in defeating the coalition assembled against him. One source of weakness for Temüjin was tension with his ally and sponsor, To'oril-qan, with whom Temüjin ultimately broke and had to face in battle. Although Temüjin still had enemies, the death of To'oril after a battle with Temüjin marked the end of an era and the real transfer of primary power to Temüjin.

One by one, Temüjin destroyed his enemies or forced them to migrate out of Mongolia, sometimes after major battles. In 1205, Jamuqa, who had been abandoned by most of his supporters, was seized and delivered to Temüjin, who had him executed. The next year, Temüjin was formally elected ruler of the Mongolian world, taking the title Cinggis-qan, probably “universal *qan*,” by which he is best known. In conjunction with his election he proceeded to put his new empire on a proper organizational basis.

At one level this involved the reorganization of all Mongolian society for war and conquest through the extension of the *güre'en* system to all of Mongolian society, now organized universally into *mingan* or “thousands.” These were tribal units each capable of fielding approximately a thousand warriors. The *Secret History of the Mongols* lists each of them by name and sometimes provides details of their organization. There were at first 98 but later many others were added, including some organized in the sedentary world as the pace of conquest quickened. Since these groups not only included their core group of Mongols but also their families, various servants and retainers, and, as time went on, even large subject groups, they could assume quite large proportions while retaining their military character, at least during the Mongol imperial period.

The most important thing about them was that the *mingan* were political and social units, as well as military, and that, as military units, they were mobile. Since such units accompanied campaigns as the *qan* expanded his empire, they became the principal vehicles for the expansion of Mongolian population throughout the Mongol Empire, where they provided inner components of branch tribal federations under Mongolian control. Many existing groups trace their origins back to these *mingan*, including the Hazara of Afghanistan, whose name derives from a Persian word for “thousand” and who seem to have first appeared in the area in the aftermath of Mongol expansion.

Also part of Cinggis-qan's reorganization of the Mongolian world was an expansion of his court service establishment. This had several components. The most important was the imperial bodyguard, or *kesikten* (q.v.), which both guarded and served Cinggis. It included the *kebetē'ül*, "night guards," the *qorci*, "quiver-bearers," and the *turqa'ut*, "day guards," and had developed in stages over time. It grew out of the practice whereby powerful chieftains maintained a special group of dedicated warriors, *nöker* (q.v.), who choose to serve their chieftain without reservation in exchange for favor and patronage. Originally few in number, the bodyguard of the *qan* was formally set at 150 around 1202, then increased in number to a *mingan*, or "thousand" of 800 men, and finally to a full myriarchy in 1206.

In addition to the members of the bodyguard proper, specialized service personnel also appeared at a relatively early date. They included *ba'urci*, "cooks," "personal food servants," *aqtaci*, "squires," and *e'üdeci*, "gatemen." Later many more were added, even *darasunci*, "wine bearers." Most of these latter, specialized officials, while still members of the bodyguard, were also known as *emcü*, "servants," and the bodyguard establishment as a whole, including these service officers, as *emcü kesikten*.

Also a part of the imperial bodyguard were officers with purely administrative functions. From the beginning, judging from references in the *Secret History of the Mongols*, Cinggis called upon the members of his bodyguard to help him govern. This included being available at court to hear disputes, usually along with the *qan* himself, helping the *qan* govern on a day-to-day basis, and, as time went on, becoming imperial delegates to perform special activities. They could even represent the *qan* on a regular basis among subordinate peoples or, as expansion got underway, in occupied areas.

In later times such individuals often held dual appointments; one within the bodyguard itself, and this appointment might be quite low, and one outside that could confer substantial authority within a growing imperial administrative structure. Members of the bodyguard, for example, frequently appear as *daruqaci* (q.v.), "ones pressing down," the most important imperial supervising official during the early empire, sometimes over quite large administrative units. How far this practice went back we do not know, but the earliest evidence for it dates to the very beginnings of Mongol Empire.

Appearing virtually simultaneously with general imperial delegates were more specialized court officers who could also be sent out to take charge of local activities on the spot as needed, usually under *daruqaci*. The most important bore the title *bicigci* (q.v.), “secretaries,” and their appearance showed the growing importance of documents (*bicig*) as Mongolian administration expanded. Parts of the *Secret History of the Mongols* itself are comprised of such documents and a good many others survive in translation from the conquered regions, and even a few in Mongolian. All at first were written using the Uighur or Mongolian Script (q.v.), originally a Syrian script adapted to write Central Asian languages, including Uighur and then Mongolian. It had been borrowed from the Naiman, who were already employing written documents at the time of the rise of Cinggis-qan.

The bodyguard was the most important single base for early Mongolian administration, but was not the only one. Under the Mongolian system, the entire Mongol Empire was a joint patrimony, *ulus* (q.v.), of the imperial clan, and those associated with it. It and its fruits had to be shared.

This was the responsibility of the *qan*. He reserved a portion of what was conquered for the support of his central establishment, the *qol* (q.v.), “pivot.” The rest had to be redistributed as *qubi* (q.v.), “shares,” or *soyurqal* (q.v.), “boons.” The former were intended to become part of permanent apportionments, *inje* (q.v.), which could become new *ulus* within the context of the holder’s own kinship group. The latter were to be enjoyed in a recipient’s lifetime and returned afterwards.

To make sure that the *qan* performed this function as booty distributor fairly, a special institution existed, the *jarqu* (q.v.). This was a joint court of adjudication in which all interested parties, including the *qan* himself, and the imperial clan as a whole, were usually represented. Agents of *jarqu* were *jarquci* (q.v.), “adjudicators,” functioning at several levels. Most important was a senior *jarquci* for the clan as a whole, initially Belgütei (q.v.), the half brother of Cinggis. The *qan* himself also was represented by a chief *jarquci* for the central holdings. Other interested princes also appointed theirs, with varying authorities reflecting limited princely reaches, as well.

One of the most important functions of the *jarquci*, in addition to direct participation in *jarqu*, was taking censuses of booty, mostly populations, available for distribution. The pro-

vincial administrations of the later fully developed empire seem to have grown out of this increasingly semipermanent function. These administrations came to be comprised of permanent local *jarqu*, made up of *jarquci* reflecting various authorities, along with a plethora of other officials, also representing various individuals, including *bicigci*. All functioned as joint clan administrations.

As the Mongol Empire expanded it did so in part through the extension of the kind of structure described above to larger and larger areas. As this structure expanded in geographical scope it became more complex and also adopted many features of local administrations not originally associated with the Mongols. At the same time, the Mongol Empire also expanded through its tribal units, the thousands (*mingan*).

The pattern was one whereby thousands, individually or in groups, were assigned to members of the imperial clan as private holdings, or, when an area had been brought under Mongol control by a general assault, associated with others as nomadic garrison forces, *tamma* (q.v.). Once in place, other, locally raised forces were usually associated with the thousands coming from Mongolia to create a private *ulus*, or, in the case of garrison forces, a branch tribal confederation with the native Mongolian forces constituting the nucleus. In both cases, a private *ulus* or branch tribal federation could, in turn, become the basis for further expansion, progressively diluting the ethnic Mongolian kernel of a Mongol Empire. This process was perhaps already underway in the creation of the original thousands themselves, since many were highly heterogeneous and comprised of whatever elements were available, usually not Mongolian at all.

Essay 2. Mongol Empire (1206-1260)

Once Cinggis-qan (q.v.) had united the steppe under his banner, expansion was inevitable. The new empire required booty (q.v.) to continue to exist. The *qan* had now become the chief figure in a sophisticated system for enriching his family and rewarding an ever expanding number of followers through booty distribution. Any failure to do so in the expected quantity and quality meant the possible end of his rule, or at least a considerable weakening of his position.

Raiding (*see* Raid) and conquest were thus an entirely natural Mongolian activity given the circumstances, and once the steppe was united it became a nearly irresistible force for any sedentary empire. What was not natural was the conversion of the Mongolian steppe empire into one that embraced sedentary as well as steppe societies. Also new, perhaps, was the attempt to govern, not just exploit.

This evolution grew out of the realization by many Mongols that sedentary people ruled by conventional methods would continue to produce revenue, while raiding and mayhem tended to destroy this capacity. It also grew out of the competition of the central establishment (*qod*) of the *qan* with the blossoming private domains (*ulus*) of the princes of the blood and others. In response, the central establishment had to maximize its own revenues and build up its own power and become a center not just of expropriation, but of government.

Organized raiding against outside sedentary societies began even before Cinggis-qan had completed his consolidation of the steppe world. This was in part due to the diminishing sources of booty within the steppe itself as the wars of unification concluded and to the availability of certain types of booty only outside the steppe. Also beginning at an early date were pursuits of various groups of defeated refugees who had elected to flee Mongolia. Although not, strictly speaking, booty raids, the ensuing campaigns often had a great impact, including unintended conquests, as Mongolian armies pursued the enemies of the *qan* to extinction.

The sedentary world that Mongolian raiders (and pursuers) now entered in depth was divided up between hostile regimes, which the Mongols sought to play off against one another. Most immediate for the Mongols was China (q.v.). There power was shared between three competing regimes: the Jin Dynasty (*see* Jürched) in the north, the Xixia (q.v.) state in the northwest, and the Southern Song Dynasty (*see* Song, Dynasty) in the south, although the latter state was initially cut off from the Mongols by Jin and Xixia.

Also significant for the Mongols was eastern Turkistan (*see* Turkistan). In the early 13th century it was still ruled by the Qara-Kitan Empire (q.v.). Further west was the Khwarazmian Empire (q.v.), formerly under Qara-Kitan hegemony, but increasingly independent and aggressive. The Khwarazmians were direct competitors with the Mongols in the steppes of the present northern Kazakhstan. As Mongolian forces penetrated the area in pursuit of fleeing enemies, they quickly came into conflict with the Khwarazmians.

These were the three main Mongolian enemies and targets. Less significant for them were their northern neighbors. None proved able to mount a serious challenge to the authority of the *qan*, but the “Forest Peoples” (q.v.) of southern Siberia (q.v.) were later to play a significant role in Mongolian expansion. Many shared language as well as a way of life with the Mongols.

The Mongol relationship with the Jin was particularly significant because of past history, which also, coupled with geography, made the Jin a primary Mongol target. The Jin had once attempted to meddle in the steppe and had made itself a part of Mongolian politics. It was, as a consequence, familiar to the Mongols, who knew well its strengths and weaknesses. The borderlands between the steppe and Chinese sedentary culture, as mediated by the Jin, had also long been a theater of ecological conflict between an expanding agricultural pale and hard-pressed steppe groups whose champions the Mongols had now become.

The steppe areas adjacent to China were vast and little populated in the early 13th century. There were perhaps a million Mongols (*see* Mongolia, population), substantially fewer Kitan (q.v.) and others, spread over more than two million square kilometers (*see* Mongolia, geography). By contrast, China was densely populated by the standards of the time (*see* China, Population). In 1200, there were at least 100 to 120 mil-

lion people living in a geographical area much smaller than that of modern China, at least half of them in the north. In both the north and the south the population was still growing, creating land hunger in many areas.

In the north farming focused on wheat, millet, and a few other crops in unirrigated fields. Crops grown were stretched to genetic limits to produce under harsh and marginal conditions and were little amenable to improvement. Gains in productivity had to be achieved by bringing new lands into cultivation. By contrast, increased productivity could be achieved in south China through a more intensive cultivation of existing lands and most agriculture there was in irrigated fields. Highly productive rice was the primary crop, grown under favorable conditions.

South China could also achieve gains through new varieties of quick-growing rices, the so-called Champa rices. The Jürched (q.v.), on their side, had introduced a new type of extensive cultivation based upon large-scale use of animal power, but the gains in yields from these fields were offset by a decline in the productivity of small farms, where cultivation took place with tender, loving care.

Given these conditions, Jin farmers had no choice but to expand cultivated area, in response to a growing population. Since one of the areas where they chose to do so was the frontier zone with the steppe, this brought them into conflict with pastoral groups who needed to use some of the same areas sought for farming as grasslands. The area was also environmentally fragile (*see* Mongolia, Environment). While conditions in the frontier zone may have been somewhat more favorable (i.e., wetter) than they are now, the area remained semiarid. There is much potential farmland there, but its productivity is marginal at best, even in good years. In bad, little or nothing may grow, and if the ground cover has been destroyed, by deep plowing, for example, wind erosion can become a major problem. Once topsoil has blown away, an area once used for farming may also become useless for grazing as well.

While total numbers of pastoral nomads had remained more or less constant in the frontier zone, due to limitations of pasturage in a very dry area, available evidence suggests a rapid buildup of sedentary population there in the 12th and early 13th centuries. This build-up had reached unprecedented levels for such a marginal area by the time of Cinggis-qan. In fact, what is now Inner Mongolia was more populated circa 1200 than at

any later time down to the coming of the railways and the great migrations of farmers of late Qing and early Republican times.

According to the “Official History of the Jin Dynasty” (*Jin-shi* 金史), the registered population of those parts of Inner Mongolia controlled by the Jin exceeded 150,000 families at the beginning of the 13th century. Converting at the usual rate of 5.5 members per household (actual average household membership was probably higher), this could have been more than 825,000 persons. If we include other parts of Inner Mongolia controlled by Xixia, the figure approaches one million.

To this one million must be added other sedentary populations known to be present in the area, not reflected in the Jin statistics that do not seem to encompass most outlying areas. Among them were the largely sedentary Önggüd (q.v.), concentrated around the town of Tenduc (q.v.), just north of the bend of the Yellow River. Some of the area’s pastoral population may also have practiced some agriculture. We have little direct evidence indicating how many, but we do know that there were many Kitan associated with small sedentary centers.

Also supporting a picture of an extensive sedentary and agricultural presence in the area are archaeological remnants. Inner Mongolia is dotted with ruins from the period. Common among them are small settlements, town, and even moderate-sized city sites, usually associated with various lines of frontier barriers and fortifications intended to protect them. The presence of such settlements may have been one reason why the Jin court felt obligated to try to control the deep steppe, to forestall attacks. Typical is Tenduc. Its ruins suggest a high degree of sedentary sophistication. The locals even grew grapes and made wine.

Indirect evidence for ecological conflict between agricultural and nomadic users of the same resources in the area was its volatility. Uprisings were frequent, including a major one in 1207. The area fell to the Mongols with exceptional ease. Some groups even submitted prior to the actual appearance of the Mongols, suggesting local crisis. The frontier zone also later provided many enthusiastic supporters of further Mongol conquest. It became a major base for the conquerors down to the end of Mongol rule in China. So important were frontier zone allies in the Mongol conquest of China that it can almost be said that this conquest itself grew out of Mongol control over it. Events there in the late 12th and early 13th centuries thus had a profound impact upon later developments. Even the rise of

Cinggis-qan himself may have been connected with them since he was without question associated with Jin frontier organization and some sources stress his physical presence near the Jin frontier.

The situation along the Mongol border with Xixia was similar to that of the Jin frontier zone. Xixia itself was physically more a part of the frontier than of the Chinese heartland. Although the Tangut comprising the dominant ethnic group in Xixia were mostly pastoralists, Xixia was highly sedentary and dotted with major settlements. Many were located far out into the steppe. Some of the same issues were probably present in mixed-use areas. Certainly the character of continued Mongol concerns with Xixia, among the first sedentary states raided, do suggest this, as does their conscious effort to roll back settlement in the area by destruction of most Xixia cities.

Nothing comparable to the ecological pressures present in Inner Mongolia are discernable to Mongolia's south or west, but there does seem to have been some agricultural penetration of marginal grasslands there as well. Areas involved were distant, but if agriculture was expanding there it may have destabilized steppe-sedentary relationships and assisted later Mongol penetration.

As the Mongols began to move west, the Qara-Kitan Empire was well past its prime. Nonetheless, it still controlled the various strategic oases of eastern Turkistan. These were intensely cultivated patches of green in an otherwise inhospitable desert wilderness. Much of the region's economic life, including Silk Route commerce, took place there. Elsewhere, Qara-Kitan influence had declined.

Within eastern Turkistan, the most important Qara-Kitan subjects were local Turkic-speakers, primarily groups called Uighur (q.v.), a name also applied to Turkic minorities of China borderlands. It derived from a steppe group powerful during the Tang Dynasty, which it dominated for a time, but the oasis Turks of the 13th century did not directly derive from steppe Uighurs. They had little in common with them, other than a name.

By the 13th century, the Uighurs of Turkistan (*see* Turfan Uighurs) constituted a sophisticated civilization with a long history. They had a rich literature, and a rich religious tradition combining Buddhism, Manichaeism and even Christianity. The Mongols later borrowed extensively from them, including their

script. They were to be among the earliest external adherents to the Mongol cause.

Farther west, and in the Semirechye (q.v.), were other Turkic groups. Most were nomadic, including the Qarla'ud (q.v.), who also submitted to the Mongols at an early date, but many also lived in oases like the Turkistanian Uighur where they mixed freely with Iranians. The Kara-Kitan had claimed hegemony over many of them in the 12th century, but by the early 13th most had come under the control of the Khwarazmians as the latter built themselves a major empire. It extended from the steppes of what is now northern Kazakhstan, in the east, to the borders of the Kara-Kitan Empire, former hegemon and still a major opponent, throughout most of western Turkistan and on south into Iran. Many of the areas under its control were recent conquests little integrated into the overall Khwarazmian political structure.

As was the case in eastern Turkistan, the oases of western Turkistan were the focuses of old, sophisticated cultures. Unlike eastern Turkistan, the area also had its river-valley civilizations, including those of Khwarazm (q.v.) itself, the region that was the economic base of the Khwarazmian Empire.

The most important of the area's rivers were the Syr-darya and Amu-darya, feeding into the semi-saline Aral Sea, still a viable entity in the 13th century. Their valleys were irrigated and the sites of flourishing cities, some quite large. Also characteristic of western Turkistan were vast stretches of dry steppe. The Khwarazmians sought to control these to prevent raiding of their sedentary heartland, and to recruit soldiers.

In the south, Khūrāsān and Iran were similar in character to western Turkistan, except that there was more agriculture and many areas were irrigated by *qanat*. These are systems based upon deep tunnels leading into mountains to collect what would otherwise be minimal moisture for irrigation and other use. Iran, like Turkistan, also had its great cities and high culture.

The first formal Mongol raids outside of Mongolia were against Xixia, in 1205 and 1207. Several cities were taken and destroyed, possibly because they threatened pasture lands. Booty included cattle, camels, and slaves. In 1209–1210, raids were renewed, the Mongols advancing directly to the Xixia capital. They had little hope of taking it due to a lack of siege equipment or experience in siege warfare, but Xixia did come to terms and became a tributary state. *The Secret History of the Mongols* lumps raids under a single year, 1211. It records a

marriage alliance, substantial Xixia tribute, especially camels, cloth, and trained falcons, and a Xixia promise to look after tall pasture grass.

Even before this agreement with Xixia, the Mongols had begun to gain a foothold along the Jin frontier through the many tribal groups and individual nomads seeking their protection in the early 13th century. Many submitted simply to participate in the good fortune of the *qan*, but unsettled conditions seem to have played a role as well. The Mongols gained some of their most important allies in this way.

Later sedentary groups present in the frontier zone also began to go over to the Mongols, led by the strategic Tenduc Önggüd. Their leader, Alaquš-digit-quri (q.v.) established close connections with Cinggis-qan as early as 1203. He sent a Turkistanian intermediary to bring tribute during a time of low fortunes for the *qan*. Later that same year, Alaquš-digit-quri again showed his loyalty by rejecting an alliance with Tayang-qan of the Naiman (q.v.) and informing Cinggis of Tayang-qan's plans. In 1205, during the first Mongol raid on Xixia, the Önggüd prince, whose people were well positioned to support attacks on either Xixia or Jin, guided the Mongol raiders. As a reward, Alaquš-digit-quri was made head of a *mingan* (q.v.) or "thousand" of his people during the great military reorganization of 1206. His "thousand" was actually 5,000 Önggüd. This figure suggests a fairly large total Önggüd population, since Alaquš-digit-quri controlled no more than a portion of it from Tenduc.

Mongol penetration of borderlands, accompanied by raiding, might have continued in this way for many years but for a fortuitous event. This was a great uprising of Kitan and other tribesmen under Jin control in 1207. The immediate cause was mobilization of the units called *jüyin* (q.v.) in Mongol sources.

Two accounts of the events leading to the uprising have come down to us. They tell the story from very different perspectives. One, in the "National Record of Great Jin" (*Dajin guozhi* 大金國志), records mobilization of a host of some 30,000 *jüyin* and other groups for a campaign in the northwest. This may have been against Xixia or possibly the Mongols, although the only campaign mentioned was against the Song (see Song, Dynasty). It goes on to note that when these forces were demobilized, the troops were dissatisfied with their rewards and went over to the Mongols. The other source, the "Record of the Mongols and Tatars" (*Mengda beilu* 蒙鞑備錄) (q.v.), speaks instead of the construction of a new frontier wall

by the Jin, to be garrisoned by Tangut (q.v.) *jüyin*. These Tangut *jüyin* revolted, established connections with other *jüyin* forces, and went over to the Tatar, that is, the Mongols, after the Jin tried to put down the revolt.

Associated with these events is another record in the “National Record of Great Jin,” also dated to 1207. According to the account there, the younger brother of the Prince of Beiping 北平, “Prince of Northern Peace” (this was a title granted by the Jin) of a group called “White Tatar,” located near the Jin frontiers, succeeded his brother as ruler. This was contrary to the will of the Jin, who supported the son of the elder brother, the deceased former prince. To reestablish the claim of the son of the elder brother, the Jin had the younger brother killed in 1207 when he came to present tribute. They then established the son of the elder brother, called Bosipo 白廝波 in our source, but the latter, who had a grievance against the Jin over a failed marriage, went over to the “Black Tatar” or Mongols. As a result, the account goes on, they were able to subjugate various peoples, attack Xixia, and reduce it to tributary status.

The same story is told by Rashīd al-Dīn, who makes it clear that it was the Önggüd who were involved and that it was Alaquš-digit-quri who was killed. Bosipo is also in the story, but under a Chinese title, *Zhenguo* 鎮國, “fortifier of the Dynasty.” Rashīd also reports a dynastic marriage between Cinggis-qan’s family and the Tenduc Önggüd, something also mentioned in the *Secret History of the Mongols*.

The exact sequence and interconnection of events are not entirely clear, for example, what relationship the murder of Alaquš-digit-quri had to the revolt of the *jüyin*. But it is clear that the Jin suffered serious defections at the end of the first decade of the 13th century. It is also clear that the Mongols were the principal beneficiaries and that they became the masters of the Sino-Mongolian borderlands. They put their position there to practical use a few years later in a general invasion of Jin involving some of the same tribal groups and others that they had brought under their control before and after the events of 1207.

Not long after the first Mongol incursions into Xixia and against Jin, still more important movements were being made into Turkistan and towards the steppes north of the Khwarazm. These movements were valuable reconnaissance, as well as eliminating enemies that had fled Mongolia. They favorably positioned Mongolian armies for further advance.

Although the chronology and the sequence of events is confused, the advance west, like that east, grew out of gradual first steps that quickly assumed large proportions and became the basis for a more general assault. Two considerations were of primary concern in the advance. The first was the presence of groups of steppe war refugees in the west out of contact with the Mongols. One was a body of Naiman under Güčülük (q.v.), the son of Tayang-qan, a bitter enemy of Cinggis-qan. A second group of refugees was comprised of Merkit, under Toqto'a-beki (q.v.).

At first these two groups of refugees had attempted to regroup in Western Mongolia and continue the war against Cinggis-qan, but they were ultimately forced to move farther and farther west to escape pursuers sent to destroy them. By 1206 they were on the Irtysh, momentarily out of sight of the Mongols.

The second consideration was a growing Mongol concern with southern Siberia. Here the advance was under the control of Joci (q.v.), eldest son of the *qan*. He was by tradition recipient of the most distant pastures of his father, those in the west. *Circa* 1207-1208, Joci was encouraged to expand his holdings to the northwest, and he brought several of the "Forest Peoples" (q.v.) of Siberia, the Kirgisud and Oyirad (q.v.), under his control. In 1208, a surrendering Oyirad, Quduqa-beki, helped Joci further expand his holdings by putting him into contact with a number of other "Forest Peoples." Later that year he led him to the Naiman and Merkit refugees on the Irtysh, whom Joci defeated.

According to the "Personal Campaigns of the Sagely Militant," the *Shengwu Qinzheng lu* 聖武親征錄 (q.v.), which dates the event squarely to the year 1208-1209, the Merkit were largely destroyed and their chief Toqto'a-beki killed. Güčülük escaped with a few of his people and fled to the *gür-qan* (q.v.), ruler of the Qara-Kitan, *via* the Semirechye (q.v.) Qarla'ud (q.v.). Merkit survivors, under four sons of Toqto'a-beki, crossed the Irtysh in difficulty and fled to Uighur domains. Unable to recover his entire body, they took the head of their father with them.

Cinggis-qan sent an army to pursue them commanded by two of his most experienced generals, Jebe (q.v.) and Sübe'etei (q.v.), with orders to follow them to the ends of the earth if necessary, orders they were to take almost literally. It was perhaps due to their appearance that the Uighurs suddenly entered

into negotiations with the Mongols, exchanged envoys, and submitted. This was in the spring of 1209, and probably the battle on the Irtysh had taken place slightly before, in the very late winter.

The new alliance was quickly tested. The Merkit survivors sent an envoy to the Uighurs and, after their envoy was killed by the Uighurs, advanced to the Djem river. There they were apparently engaged by a joint Uighur and Mongol army, the Mongol portion led by Jebe and Sübe'etei. The Merkit were virtually destroyed except for Qudu, the surviving son of Toqto'a-beki, who fled into the land of the Qanglin (q.v.) and Kibca'ut (q.v.), in northern Kazakhstan. Following their orders, Jebe and Sübe'etei pressed on, leaving the *İdiqut* (q.v.), the king of the Turfan Uighurs, to report to Cinggis-qan on the victory on the Djem.

Jebe and Sübe'etei caught up with the refugees in the late autumn, or early winter, of 1209 and completed the destruction of Qudu, his surviving Merkit, and some Qanglin allies. Unfortunately, Jebe and Sübe'etei were not the only ones concerned with Qudu's flight. *Khwārazm-shāh* (q.v.) Muḥammad II (q.v.), hearing of the appearance of Mongol refugees in territories under his influence, gathered his army at Samarqand and hurried north. He came upon the Mongols the day after their battle with Qudu and fought with them. The battle was a draw, but the Mongols later retreated after kindling false fires to give their enemies the impression that they were going to resume the fight the next day. Although it was the Mongols, and not the Khwarazmians who retreated, the Khwarazmians may have suffered considerably in the fight, and the battle may have shaken Muḥammad's power. He subsequently lost Samarqand to the forces of a resurgent Qara-Kitan Empire led by the Naiman Güçülük in 1210.

Both sides chose to ignore this unintentioned collision, but the appearance of a Mongol army so far west must have shaken the Khwarazmians, particularly since the Mongols continued to make inroads into eastern Turkistan. This was in large part due to the seizure of power by Güçülük from the last Qara-Kitan *gür-qan* in order to form his own successor state. To counter this threat, and protect its new Uighur allies, the Mongol general To'ucar (q.v.) was sent west with 2,000 horsemen to go and scout the area. Possibly in connection with the appearance of his army in the area, the Mongols now secured another western ally in the form of the Turkic Qarla'ud who surrendered to

still another Mongolian general operating in the area, Qubilai. This surrender included the Qarla'ud ruler of Almalïq (q.v.).

Thus by 1211 the Mongols had established an impressive advanced position in the far west. That same year they undertook the first of a series of great raids on Jin China that were to culminate in the fall of the Jin capital of Zhongdu 中都 (q.v.), near modern Beijing 北京, in 1215. The attacks began in the early spring, not the usual Mongol campaigning season since the Mongols preferred to fight during the winter, when major rivers and streams were likely to be frozen and crossable and when there was a maximum of stored food and excess labor. The fact that Cinggis-qan chose spring for the campaign shows its seriousness and that there was much more involved than simple raiding.

In 1211 there were three simultaneous lines of advance. One, in the south, was mounted into the frontier regions to the immediate east of the Önggüd. Simultaneously, two parallel attacks were made into the waist of what is now southern Manchuria, led by Jebe and Sübe'etei, generally aimed at the gulf of Bohai 渤海, although this was not the target of either Mongol general. The southern advance, commanded by Joci and other Mongolian princes, was intended to complete the seizure of the strategic Önggüd territories as a base for further operations. This goal was successfully accomplished by early summer.

The Jin made no effort to counterattack the princes, probably because the Önggüd, and all those associated with them, were by then long lost. They simply occupied a blocking position to the south and east of the Mongol line of advance, approximately along the line of the present Great Wall, to protect their subordinate capital of Xijing 西京 ("Western Capital"). Their main force they sent to resist the main Mongol advances farther north.

The initial objective of the two northern thrusts seems to have been to secure areas in their immediate paths where there were concentrations of Kitan, potential allies of the Mongols. Once again, the Jin response was to dig in, concentrating relatively large forces along a fortified line to the southwest of Mongol armies. Whether the Mongols planned to advance farther into Jin domains at this point is uncertain, but clearly their advance was successful in achieving major defections of Kitan and others and this may have encouraged Cinggis to order a deeper attack.

In August, the advance began again and quickly destroyed the Jin position before efforts to fortify it were complete. Details are lacking, but almost certainly the completely mobile Mongols were well positioned to outflank and overrun Jin armies attempting to hold a fixed line. At this time, and later, the Jin seem to have lacked the horses necessary to make their armies as mobile as the Mongols. They sorely missed their nomadic allies. Most had, by then, gone over to the Mongols.

As the Mongols advanced inland, towards the west and southwest, and the next prepared Jin position, they encountered something new. Now Chinese, too, were beginning to defect. They included the former Jin deputy commander Liu Bolin 劉伯林 (q.v.), later to play a major role in early Mongol China. Unnerved by the speed of the Mongol advance, Jin forces now attempted to engage them in open battle but were seriously defeated. After a second defeat, the Jin front virtually collapsed.

Following a pause, the Mongols went over to deep raids. In December the southern army moved into what is now Shanxi 山西 Province, and then turned back to try and take the Jin subordinate capital of Xijing 西京 from the rear. This would have been a major blow for the Jin, but the city held out. Meanwhile, in the north, Cinggis-qan sent a raiding force under Jebe through the passes towards the main Jin capital of Zhongdu 中都 (q.v.), which, lacking siege equipment, he was unable to take. He then went inland and then up the coast in early 1212 towards another Jin subordinate capital, that of Dongjing 東京 (“Eastern Capital”). It was located just north-east of the Liaodong 遼東 peninsula.

Jebe was also unable to take Dongjing 東京, but the disturbances that had engulfed the frontier zone now spread to the Jin homeland. Soon even Jürched (q.v.) were defecting to the Mongols. The campaign had been suggested by Liu Bolin 劉伯林.

As the winter drew to an end, the Mongols, in a pattern that they were to replicate in subsequent years, withdrew, richly laden with booty. Most of the cities taken were given up again and reoccupied by the Jin, except for the strategic frontier areas, a few other advanced points, and a few places held by Chinese allies, such as Liu Bolin. Such Chinese allies later became a major influence in interesting the Mongols in a permanent occupation of Jin domains as well as raiding there.

There were no major campaigns for the rest of 1212, although the Mongols did establish contact with the important

Kitan rebel Yelü Liuge 耶律留哥 (q.v.), who seriously threatened Jin rule in Manchuria. Conditions were not good in China, including widespread famine. This may have been due in part to the general Mongol advance of the previous year, although the range of territories directly impacted was limited. The Mongols did try to take Jin strongholds behind their lines, but siege warfare remained an area of weakness, in spite of advice from Chinese allies. During one of the Mongol sieges, a costly one against the Jin subordinate capital of Xijing, Cinggis himself was severely wounded and temporarily led his army back to Mongolia.

Although the Mongols dominated Jin forces in almost every battle, they found it difficult to hold ground except in the tribal areas. This changed as the Mongols resumed their advance on a broad front in the late summer of 1213. Many of the points taken in 1211 and 1212 were retaken again, many permanently. Once again the Mongols defeated the Jin army in a major battle, although the Jin garrison at Juyongguan 居庸關 (q.v.) held out and prevented the Mongols from advancing on the main Jin capital by the direct route.

Not to be deflected, the Mongols simply found another line of advance, going around the Jin position. Zhongdu remained safe for the time being, but Mongol armies raided deeper than ever before, penetrating into what are now Hobei 河北 and Shandong 山東. Other forces went as far as the Yellow River, returning through Shanxi. As these advances took place, Zhongdu was kept under closer observation. In all of these actions, local as well as Mongol forces participated, including a growing number of Chinese defectors.

Cinggis-qan apparently intended to take Zhongdu but it was extremely well defended, and well fortified. His efforts to storm it proved unavailing. Winter turned to spring, and the Mongols found it difficult to maintain their position in the hot lowlands as both men and animals became sick. By this time, the old Jin emperor had been killed and a more energetic usurper had taken his place. Anxious to restore his domains, he was willing to consider a Mongol peace proposal that would turn Jin into a Mongol tributary just like Xixia (q.v.) had become.

After several failed attempts, peace was concluded in the late spring of 1214. The Mongols, far richer than after previous advances, thanks to Jin offerings, retreated. They returned most of the conquered areas to the Jin and retained control over most

of the frontier areas, including the strategic passes. There the situation might have remained except for an unexpected event, the Jin emperor's sudden abandonment of his capital to flee to greater safety south of the Yellow River.

The reasons are uncertain. One may have been the insecurity felt by emperor Xuanzong 宣宗 (r. 1213–1224), who had come to power in a coup. Zhongdu was the stronghold of his predecessor. Another may have been a realistic appraisal of the state of the Jin Empire and the feeling that its foundation now lay along the Yellow River with its rich tax bases. Still another may have been a perceived unreliability of many components of the Jin army, especially its surviving Kitan elements.

These last fears proved to be well founded. As Xuanzong was retreating from Zhongdu, he became suspicious of Kitan *jüyin* forces forming the rear guard of his army. He attempted to have them disarmed and disbanded, but the troops mutinied, killing their commander. Choosing three new commanders, the Kitan troops then fought their way back to Zhongdu, hoping to take the city on the run.

Unable to take it, they were quickly reinforced by Cinggis-qan, furious that Xuanzong had fled south, out of his immediate reach. Leading the reinforcements was the Mongol general Samuqa-ba'atur (q.v.). His army included major Kitan, as well as less numerous Mongol elements. The commander of the Kitan troops was another former *jüyin* soldier, the Kitan Shimo Mingan 石抹明安 (q.v.). Thus probably the single largest component of the force besieging Zhongdu this time was comprised of the Kitan allies of the Mongols, pointing up their importance. Beyond Zhongdu, other Mongol and local forces were dispatched to seize other Jin strongholds, including some just-evacuated by the Mongols. They included the other Jin subordinate capitals, the still-untaken Xijing and Dongjing, and Beijing, "Northern Capital," in Manchuria. This was in the summer and early autumn of 1214.

Zhongdu, abandoned by the court and blockaded beyond any hope of relief by Mongol armies, held out for six months. It surrendered in the spring of 1215. Xijing and Dongjing had passed into Mongol hands even before, and Beijing changed hands shortly thereafter. The larger part of the former Jin Empire was now in Mongol hands. It was above all their Kitan and Chinese allies, who fought actively also in the other campaigns of 1214 and 1215, that the Mongols had to thank for their success. Back at Zhongdu, the imperial or "great" *jarquci* (*yeke*

jarquci) Sigi-qutuqu (q.v.), and two officers of the imperial guard, went to survey the booty and formally take possession of it in his name, and in that of his clan. Among the captured goods and people was the Kitan Yelü Chusai 耶律楚才 (q.v.), later to become an important Mongol official.

In late 1215, Cinggis-qan, who seems to have remained near China after 1211, returned to Mongolia. His departure symbolized an end to the initial period of conquest. Although the Jin would have liked to recover its position in the north, including Zhongdu, it was now plagued by peasant rebellions, while renewed Mongol attacks put it on the defensive even south of the Yellow River (Huanghe 黃河). This area was raided by the Mongols during the winter of 1216-1217, after an advance through the Ordos, as far as the new Jin capital of Kaifeng 開封 (q.v.), their former Nanjing 南京, "Southern Capital." The Jin were also in difficulty because of the need to fight on two other fronts, against Xixia in the west, and against Song (*see* Song, Dynasty), anxious to take advantage of the Mongol advance to settle scores with its old enemy in the south.

Although hostilities between the Mongols and the Jin continued, and there may have been a Mongol campaign against Xixia to encourage a reluctant ally, Mongol attentions now turned to the west. In China, the *qan* organized his conquests by establishing a branch tribal federation there, a *tanma*, "nomadic garrison force (q.v.)." In late 1217, or early 1218, the Mongol general Muqali (q.v.), awarded the Chinese titles *taishi* 太師, "Great Teacher" (to the crown prince), and Guowang 國王, "Dynastic Prince," was put in charge of a myriarchy. It comprised 13,000 Mongols plus local allies. The Mongols, most identified by the names of *oboq* (q.v.) with which their elites were associated, comprised 4,000 Uru'ud, 2,000 Ikires, 1,000 Manqut, 3,000 Onggirad, 2,000 Jalayir, Muqali's own people, and 1,000 "assorted," probably a special levy. Allies included Önggüd (called "Uighur" in a parallel account, pointing up their Turkic culture), and various Kitan, Jürched, Tangut, and Chinese forces. Muqali received a document of hereditary appointment, a nine-tailed flag with a black moon in the center (*see* Tuq), and his own special drum.

The tribal elements of the Chinese *tanma* took up residence in Inner Mongolia, more familiar and more acceptable to the Mongols than China. The groups involved were not just military but also social groups and still had to lead a nomadic life even when it was much supplemented by booty. The only

Mongol forces actually positioned within the conquered domains were five small forces of *alginči* (q.v.), “scouts,” although there were armies of Chinese and other allies to support them. Such armies are called *cerik* (q.v.) in the Persian-language sources. Some were formally part of the China *tanma*, but others were more independent, although certainly under Mongol control. In our sources the term *touxia* 頭下 (q.v.), also *touxiang* 頭項, suggesting that it may be a transcription of some non-Chinese word, is used in reference to both Mongol tribes as social units, and to the major Chinese allies of the Mongols. Liu Bolin, for example, was one of 17 *touxiang* noticed in one source.

Appearing in growing numbers at about that time were many imperial representatives. Sigi Qutuqu was among the first when he made his trip to secure Zhongdu as *jarquci*. Later, various *daruqaci* (q.v.) appointed to represent the central establishment took charge of various centers and regions. Among them was the Kitan Shimo Yexian 石抹也先, first *daruqaci* of the former Jin northern capital of Beijing 北京, Shimo Mingan 石抹明安, for Zhongdu 中都, and the Muslim Ja’far Hoja (q.v.), for all Mongol territory south of Manchuria. He also had his headquarters in Zhongdu. Still more *daruqaci*, not all representing the central authority but other interested parties, appeared in the next decade. Also emerging, particularly during the 1220s, were the rudiments of an overall administration for Mongol China based upon a collegium of *daruqaci* and other officers.

Mongol attentions shifted from China to the west, allowing the Jin to survive a while longer. The reasons were twofold. One was the need to solve certain pressing problems, including continued opposition by Mongolian refugee groups, and the presence of the Naiman Güčülük in Turkistan. The other was opportunity. The Mongols were favorably positioned for further advances west once adequate forces were available.

The Mongols had gone over to the defensive in the west after the destruction of the various Merkit fragments, the submission of the Uighurs, and later the Qarla’ud, and the collision with the *Khwārazm-shāh*. The stalemate that resulted gradually broke down due to discontent within the former Qara-Kitan Empire, leading to defections to the Mongols and the gradual drift west of Joci and groups under his control.

Güčülük had usurped the Qara-Kitan throne in 1213 and was able to hold his own against the Khwarazmians for a while

at least. He also warred effectively against various Mongol allies, including the Qarla'ud ruler of Almalıq and the Uighur. Only local Mongolian forces under To'ucar were initially available to resist, but Güçülük's success against the Khwarazmians was short-lived. He soon had his hands full as the *Khwārazm-shāh* advanced to retake Samarqand. Güçülük's rule was also considered harsh by many of his subjects who became restive.

An important opportunity for the Mongols came in 1217 with a major local defection. During the winter of 1216–1217, Cinggis-qan, tired of attacks on Mongol allies, had ordered Jebe to lead an army into the area and deal with Güçülük. Jebe had taken up position to the northwest of the former Qara-Kitan capital of Balāsāghūn, where he received the surrender of Hosimaili 曷思麥里, a former Qara-Kitan *basqaq* (q.v.), equivalent to the Mongol *daruqaci*, and once retainer of the *gür-qan* (q.v.). Hosimaili surrendered Kasan and its province to the Mongols. He then led his troops towards Kashghar, where Güçülük had his headquarters. His rule crumbling, Güçülük fled south. In 1218, Hosimaili captured and killed Güçülük at Sarīgh-Çopan in Badakhsan, in what is now northern Afghanistan. Hosimaili then took Güçülük's head around to Kashghar, Yarkand, and Khotan, all of which surrendered. Meanwhile Jebe, who seems to have supported Hosimaili with reinforcements as he pursued Güçülük, had pacified the eastern part of the former Qara-Kitan Empire. He was then joined by Sübe'etei (q.v.) and To'ucar. They appear to have taken up position just to the east of Lake Balkhash, in the Semirechye. Major Mongol forces were now poised to advance on Samarqand, a recent acquisition of the Khwarazmians and probably, for that reason, insecure.

While Jebe and Hosimaili were dealing with Güçülük, and threatening the Khwarazmians in Samarqand, Joci continued his movement west in what may be considered the first stage of a Mongol advance against the *Khwārazm-shāh*. One sign of his passage was disquiet among "Forest Peoples" directly in his line of advance. In 1217-1218, one of them, the Qori-tumad (q.v.), revolted and this uprising was joined by the Kirgisud (q.v.). It required a major effort by Joci to restore order, probably during late 1218, at latest, early 1219. Prior to this, Joci had engaged in another important campaign against still another group of Merkit survivors, this one led by Qal-toqan, another

son of Toqto'a-beki. It had taken up position in a remote area of Southern Siberia after briefly uniting with Gūčūlūk.

The incident is obscure and confused with the earlier fight with Qudu, but Joci does seem to have successfully destroyed his enemy in the late summer or early autumn of 1218. During this period Joci's armies may have been distantly observed by Khwarazmian forces and collisions between the armies are even suggested by Persian historians, although there is considerable confusion of these collisions with the earlier battle of 1209.

Thus, during 1218, the Mongols were actively moving west and appeared positioned for an attack, creating considerable nervousness among the Khwarazmians. This fact may explain an otherwise incomprehensible event, the Otrar incident (q.v.), taking place perhaps in the late spring of 1218. A caravan and ambassadors under the protection of Cinggis-qan were suddenly massacred by the Khwarazmian governor, with or without the knowledge of the *Shāh*, the *casus belli* for a Mongol invasion. It is best understood as a belated response to a situation already out of control, namely an inexorable Mongolian drift toward Khwarazmian domains. That the threat was quite real is shown, among other things, by the ease with which the Mongols did attack the Khwarazmians, and the ease with which they were able to overrun Khwarazmian positions.

The Mongol invasion of western Turkistan of 1218-1220 was massive. Like other major Mongol uses of military force before and after, it was conducted by highly mobile armies acting more or less independently to create confusion and prevent unified opposition. The campaign began, probably in late 1218, with a thrust by Jebe into Ferghana. To counter him, the *Khwarazm-shāh* concentrated what forces he could from other parts of his domains, weakening his overall defense. The north seems to have suffered from this move in particular since Joci was able to take Jand on April 21, 1219, with comparatively little resistance.

Cinggis-qan himself marshaled the main Mongol force, including Qarla'ud and Uighur allies, and advanced towards Bukhara (q.v.) from the Irtish in the summer of 1219. He first stopped to besiege Otrar (q.v.). The siege took five months, but the outcome was successful since the Mongols had by then learned a lot about taking cities. Otrar city fell in February 1220.

Even before Otrar fell, Cinggis advanced on and took Bukhara city in March, after bitter resistance by a small Turkish

garrison in the citadel. The city was plundered and much of it was burned in an unintentional fire. The population had been driven out to serve the Mongols, some as cannon fodder in assaults on other cities. Because of the damage to Bukhara, Samarqand, taken by the Mongols on March 19 without fire or major dislocation of population, afterwards became the regional center.

As these events unfolded, the *Khwārazm-shāh* took refuge with his armies behind the Amu-darya. He had been overwhelmed by the speed of the Mongol advance and outflanked by Jebe's thrust into Ferghana. He was soon forced to flee farther south and ultimately took refuge on an island in the Caspian (q.v.). There he died of pneumonia in January 1221.

Khwarazmian resistance continued for another decade under Jalāl al-Dīn (q.v.), son of *Khwārazm-shāh* Muḥammad II, but Cinggis-qan had conquered a new empire. After lingering in Bukhara and Samarqand, where he met Taoist patriarch Changchun 長春 (q.v.), and then on the Afghan border, Cinggis-qan returned to Mongolia to face a rebellion in Xixia, which had failed to support the advance in the west. His armies pressed on.

The most impressive advance was under Jebe and Sübe'etei. They moved first into Iran and then through northern Iran into the Caucasus Mountains. From there, after Jebe's premature death, Sübe'etei continued on into the Russian steppe (q.v.), where he fought a battle with the Russians in 1223 on the Kalka (q.v.) River. At that time, or shortly before, Jebe died. Sübe'etei then moved past the Caspian to reunite his forces with those of Joci. Nothing like this expedition had ever been attempted before, and nothing like it has been done since.

Before leaving the former Khwarazmian Empire, Cinggis-qan sent representatives to organize his new conquests in much the same way that those in China were organized. Booty was counted and assembled. *Daruqaci* were appointed and the first regional administrations were created. One of these, for the region of Bukhara, was centered at Samarqand and staffed largely by Kitan. It was headed by Yelü Ahai 耶律阿海 (q.v.), whose brother Yelü Tuhua 耶律秃花 (q.v.) was an important commander in Mongol China under Muqali (q.v.).

Back in China, Cinggis-qan prepared for a final campaign against Xixia. In his absence, Muqali had, with limited forces, continued the war against Jin. He campaigned against holdouts within the areas conquered by the Mongols, raided Jin domains,

and launched a major invasion of the strategic Wei 渭 River Valley, in the southern part of the bend of the Yellow River. Muqali was assisted in his campaigns by numerous Chinese and other allies. They considerably augmented his small Mongol force and made his advances possible. Unfortunately for the Mongols, none was sufficient to give Jin the final blow and it persisted as a problem into the next reign.

Muqali died in November 1223 and was succeeded by his son Boro, and then by his son Taš (Turkic for stone), or Cila'un (Mongolian for stone). They continued to defend Mongol China against all comers. By this time hostilities were taking place with Southern Song as well as Jin, a foreshadowing of things to come.

At the time of Cinggis-qan's final campaign against Xixia, it was ruled by a new emperor, Li Dewang 李德旺 (r. 1223–1226), who had restored Xixia's alliance with Jin to fight off Mongol invaders. He also attempted to use the Sariq-ui'ur ("Yellow Uighurs") and other Turkistianian groups against them. To counter this, Cinggis-qan mobilized a large army and destroyed Xixia completely. As he had in 1205, he advanced from the west against them, through the Gansu 甘肅 corridor. City after city fell to the Mongols, most after determined resistance. Meanwhile Li Dewang died and was succeeded by his brother, Li Xian 李暉 (r. 1226–1227). Li Xian strove to defend his capital to the last but in the end, in the late summer of 1227, he was forced to surrender. The ruling Tangut of Xixia were practically extinct.

Shortly after the final collapse, Cinggis-qan died, at some place within the former Xixia kingdom, probably on August 26. He was probably in his early sixties, and he seems to have died due to the effects of a fall from a horse while hunting. His body was returned to Mongolia for a secret burial at a site whose location remains a mystery. Various legends surround the burial ceremony.

Cinggis-qan's death meant an era of potential crisis and retrenchment for the Mongol Empire, and enemies in China and elsewhere were quick to take advantage of it to recover territory from the preoccupied Mongols. During the interregnum, the youngest son of the *qan*, Tolui-noyan (q.v.), was regent. Middle son Ögödei (q.v.), born in 1186, was the designated successor of the *qan* and was dutifully elected as his father's successor in the *quriltai* (q.v) of 1229, ending the interregnum.

Ögödei (r. 1229-1241) came to the throne at a critical juncture. Most Mongol conquests were still new, and the very existence of a Mongol Empire was in danger not only from counterattacks by enemies, but due to internal pressures as well. In the end, Ögödei was able to respond successfully to the needs of the times. He laid down an institutional basis that served the unified empire well during the final two decades of its existence, and later became the foundation for the systems of the Mongolian successor states, and even for some of their successors. Much, in fact, of the great reorganization attributed to *qan* Möngke (r. 1251-1259) was due to the efforts of Ögödei and his ministers. Unfortunately, Ögödei had no one to praise his achievements quite like what the Persian historian Juvaynī (q.v.), a partisan of the house of Tolui-noyan, represented by Möngke, and by Mongol rulers in Iran, did for Möngke. Chinese historiography also plays down the role of Ögödei; their own Mongol house also branched from Tolui.

Ögödei's single biggest problem was an empty treasury. Cinggis-qan had made moves in the right direction, but never put his empire on a sound fiscal basis overall because enormous booty was still being generated by conquest. Conquest continued under Ögödei, some of it in Russia and Eastern Europe quite spectacular, but his rule is less noteworthy for its expansion of the frontiers of empire than it is for consolidation of what had already been conquered and for the creation of an effective organizational system.

As under Cinggis, power had three sources for Ögödei. One lay in the central establishment of the *qan* himself: in his administration, in his bodyguard, and in other parts of the central military establishment (*qol-un cerik*), and in territories and populations held or administered by the central authority by right of ownership, or of custodianship prior to further disbursement.

A second source lay in the tribal units of the Mongolian world, its thousands, each comprising their own little worlds, their own mini-empires with subject populations, the more so as time went on. Here horizontal relationships of kinship and fictive kinship were as important as the vertical hierarchy of imperial authority. Also at work was the traditional system of tribal federation and re-federation with tribal units and groups of tribal units providing cells for a larger development. Despite his control over large central forces, the *qol-un cerik*, "army of the pivot," primarily his bodyguard myriarchy, Ögödei was

dependent upon these tribes if his empire was to prosper and expand, since the forces he commanded directly were inadequate for this purpose. He could ignore the needs of the tribes only at his great peril.

The third source of power, never to be ignored, was the imperial clan. It claimed rights of joint control over empire as part of a common *ulus* (q.v.), a “joint patrimony.” It expected assignment of definite shares of all booty, including tribal groups, and rights of consultation in imperial governance. This found expression in the institution of the *quriltai*, in which all the members of the imperial clan participated, to elect new *qan* and make important decisions. It also found expression in the idea of government as permanent *jarqu* (q.v.), a legal inquiry into booty distribution in which all interested parties participated.

Ögödei’s task was to build up his own power and that of the center, while balancing this against the needs of the empire’s tribal sector and clan interests. This he did by strictly asserting the power and prerogatives of the center and subordinating other kinds of power to it, to the greatest degree possible.

The first requirement of the new *qan* was for revenue and there could be no revenue without a well-organized administrative structure. Thus the early years of Ögödei’s reign saw a proliferation of *daruqaci* in occupied China, for example, appointed at various levels. Most were appointed in connection with a new administrative unit, the *cölge* (q.v.). They were called *lu* 路 in Chinese, although the small Mongol units had little in common but the name with the relatively large administrative units previously called that in China. The early Mongol *cölge/lu* was basically a city and the territories immediately dependent on it.

Initially there were 10, around the cities of Xuande 宣德, located northwest of the former Jin capital of Zhongdu 中都, Yanjing 燕京, the renamed Zhongdu itself, Xijing, the former Jin “Western Capital” on the northern border of modern Shanxi, Taiyuan 太原, in central Shanxi, Pingyang 平陽, in southern Shanxi, Zhending 真定, in what is now Hebei 河北, Dongping 東平, in what is now western Shandong 山東, Jinan 濟南, in north-central Shandong, Pingzhou 平州, on the gulf of Bohai 渤海, some 200 miles east of Zhongdu, and Beijing 北京, the former Jin “Northern Capital” in south-central Manchuria. Later others were added, at first 20 or so, then many more. As far as can be determined, each *cölge/lu* was administered by a

senior *daruqaci*, who took charge of its capital and immediate district, with subordinate *daruqaci* administering other parts of the *cölgellu*. Such direct lines of authority were quite new to north China.

To levy taxes in these new administrative units, each was also to receive a tax office managed by two officials recruited from among traditional Chinese scholars. These officers are noticed in the *Secret History* where they are called *baluqaci* (q.v.), “storehouse managers,” and *amuci* (q.v.), “granary officers.” Some of the tax offices may have been in existence before Ögödei, but the main system was of his making.

To shore up the authority of these tax offices, Ögödei ruled that only his agents could collect taxes even when the taxes came from an area granted to some prince or other potentate as a fief. In that case, the *qan* shared revenues with the fief holder according to a set formula. Although the members of the imperial clan could claim shares of other revenue collected according to another formula, it was still the *qan* who distributed it.

The system worked perfectly and began producing substantial, regular revenue almost immediately. To administer at a higher level, Ögödei reorganized too. The bodyguard remained the center of imperial administration, but a specialized chancellery was created in association to administer the new system. Chinese sources call this chancellery Ögödei’s *Zhongshu sheng* 中書省 (q.v.), “Central Secretariat,” using a name later applied to the chief executive authority of the Mongol Yuan Dynasty (1260-1368) (q.v.), the Mongol successor state in China. Strictly speaking, the designation is a misnomer since Mongol government was not organized in a Chinese manner at the time. The Chinese term was for local consumption only. Likewise for local consumption were the titles reported for individuals in the chancellery. This was obvious even to Chinese commentators.

Four individuals dominated the chancellery. One, the Mongol Eljigidei (q.v.), was head of the *kebte’ül* (q.v.), “night guards.” The second, Cinqai (q.v.), was a bodyguard *cerbi* (q.v.), “chamberlain,” and a *yeke jarquci*. The other two chief officers were the Jürched Nianhe Zhongshan 粘合重山 (q.v.), a *bicigci* (q.v.), “secretary,” and Yelü Chucai 耶律楚材, the *Urtu-saqal*, “long beard,” of the Mongols, also a *bicigci*. Eljigidei would have been senior, but Cinqai controlled the imperial seal and held ultimate authority. He also had to add a superscript in Uighur characters to anything written by Yelü Chucai, whose power seems to have been confined to Mongol China,

before it was valid. Although Yelü Chucai's biography implies that it was he, and not Cinqai, who was actually chief minister of the *qan*, this was certainly not so. There were probably other officers of the chancellery. Individual members of the imperial bodyguard also participated in day-to-day decisions.

The central chancellery worked through the *daruqaci* that were the direct representatives of imperial authority, but these were responsible to the *qan* (or the princes appointing them), and not to it. Only the tax officers were directly responsible.

Another important manifestation of imperial authority were the many *jarquci* appearing in the conquered regions. Most seem to have been assigned on only a temporary basis and went where needed to conduct business. One example was the imperial or *yeke jarquci* Sigi-qutuqu (q.v.), active in the conquered regions during much of Ögödei's reign. Other mobile *jarquci* apparently included two mentioned in two surviving imperial edicts, but over time *jarquci*, like *daruqaci*, became associated with territories. One example, even before the reign of Ögödei, was the Chinese Wang Ji 王繼 (q.v.), who was appointed to "regulate" Zhongdu by Alaqa-beki (q.v.), daughter of Cinggis-qan and wife of the then-head of the Tenduc Önggüd (q.v.). The actual office held by Wang Ji is uncertain, but Zhongdu already had its *daruqaci* and even a tax office, and what we otherwise know of Wang Ji suggests that he was a *jarquci*. If so he probably represented the interests of Alaqa-beki and not the central authority directly, although clearly serving the latter.

Another regional *jarquci*, also representing a princely house, was the Uighur Buyruq Qaya (q.v.), who began his career as a member of Cinggis-qan's bodyguard. Circa 1228, he was sent to Zhongdu to take charge of its treasuries. Shortly thereafter he passed into the service of Sorqoqtani-beki (q.v.), wife of regent Tolui-noyan. Buyruq Qaya became *daruqaci* of her holdings in China. He later became *daruqaci* for the *cölge* of Zhending, an area where Sorqoqtani-beki had holdings. In 1231, Buyruq Qaya became an "investigations officer" for the *cölge* south of Zhongdu, probably as a *jarquci*, a post he certainly held later in the same area. He had a long career. In Zhongdu, he may have succeeded another regional *jarquci*, Sayyid Ajall (q.v.), a Bukharan who also had a long and distinguished career. He was regional *jarquci* probably from 1236 on, and went on to hold the position for more than 20 years.

The proliferation of authorities in Mongol China, from *daruqaci* and tax officers to *jarquci*, leaving aside problems of

competing imperial and princely power, must have created administrative headaches for the Mongols. This was probably one reason why the trend towards a hierarchy of authorities, already seen in the *daruqaci* of the various levels, soon found expression among the *jarquci* as well. As a consequence, a branch imperial administration (*see* Province) for China slowly emerged at the end of the reign of Ögödei staffed primarily by *jarquci* in overall charge of occupied China. It was naturally located in Zhongdu, which the Mongols had used as a headquarters for at least a large part of occupied China since soon after its conquest.

The final step was taken in 1241 when a permanent chief of the China administration was appointed, the Khwarazmian *jarquci* Maḥmūd Yalavaçh (q.v.). He headed what seems to have been the first administration of its kind in the Mongol empire in which a collegium of *jarquci* and other officials, including some not appointed by the *qan*, as *nöker* (q.v.), “associates,” held sway over an entire Mongol province, in this case occupied China. Under it were other *jarquci* taking charge of sub-provinces, usually comprising several *cölge*, with a direct line of authority reaching to Zhongdu.

The establishment of a province of occupied China meant the end of Mongol China as little more than a regional tribal federation. Tribal groupings once controlled by Muqali, along with many others added as conquest went on, remained an important power base for the Mongols, since they made conquest possible. What had changed was that the head of the *tanma*, at first Muqali, then his son Boru, and then Boru’s son, Taš, was no longer the head of Mongol China. There were now other channels of power.

As part of the changes taking place, the Mongol *tanma* became a component part of province China. To prevent conflicts with the sedentary population, and thus possible losses of revenue, the tribal forces of the *tanma* were assigned permanent territories, or *nuntuq* (q.v.). The Onggirad (q.v.) and the Ikires were positioned in Manchuria, along the Sira-mören, the Jalayir (q.v.) in and about what was later to become the Yuan Dynasty summer capital of Shangdu 上都, “Upper Capital,” and the Uru’ud and Mangqud to the west of them, in Önggüd territories.

To ease pressures on surrounding sedentary populations, the tribal groupings were given captives, mostly sedentary people, to serve them and to provide revenue, sometimes in settlements under direct tribal control. The tribal groupings also re-

ceived domains in occupied China from which they drew revenues, although these revenues were extracted by the agents of the *qan*.

The *alginçi* (q.v.) remained forward positioned in the sedentary areas, but they also received assigned territories and revenue sources. All of this was a far cry from the early days of Mongol China and represents a sincere effort to control potentially damaging tribal energies. The armies of local Mongol allies were also brought under control as much as possible. This was easier, since most were comprised of Chinese peasants.

The Mongols appear to have applied the same system to other parts of their empire. Hierarchical *daruqaci* administrations, for example, also existed in western Turkistan. Turkistan also had its independent tax system in this case drawing upon local Khwarazmian rather than Confucian talent.

When this tax system was established is uncertain, but it may already have been in existence under Cinggis-qan. Playing a role from the start were Maḥmūd Yalavach, and his son Mas'ūd Beg (q.v.). It was in reward for his success during these years, including defending imperial holdings from princely encroachments and countering a major local uprising, that Yalavach was reassigned to China. Mas'ūd Beg took over for him in Turkistan and continued to dominate the administration there, later under the Ca'adai *ulus*, for nearly half a century. By the time of Mas'ūd Beg's appointment, his administration was well on the way towards becoming a jointly administered satellite administration for Turkistan similar to that in China.

A third satellite administration was added for *Kḥurāsān* (q.v.) and Iran (q.v.). It was initially under an Uighur, Kōrgüz (q.v.), and then, shortly after the death of the *qan*, under Arqan-aqa (q.v.), an Oyirad (q.v.) *jarquci*. It developed out of a chief *daruqaci* administration established for the barely pacified area under the Qara-Kitan Chin-temür. His administration, like the provincial administration that followed it, had a joint character with representatives from almost all interested parties participating.

Also existing in the Mongol west were branch tribal federations of the type called *tanma* in our sources. That for *Kḥurāsān* and Iran was initially commanded by Cormaqan-qorci (q.v.). He claimed total authority, only to have the importance of the civil administration, that of the chief *daruqaci*, emphasized by the *qan*. Cormaqan-qorci's troops were centered in what is now

Azerbaijan, later a central focus of nomadic population in Mongol Iran.

One final touch to his new administration was the establishment of a permanent capital for Mongolia, although the court, which nomadized freely, was not always resident. This was Qaraqorum (q.v.), whose roots as a settlement date back to the later years of Cinggis-qan, but whose real foundation dates to *qan* Ögödei, who first walled the location in 1235. Qaraqorum, which observers stress was never a very large city, about as large as a village suburb of Paris, focused on Ögödei's palace and supporting facilities. This palace was primarily a ceremonial center, where ritual feasts and similar activities were held, since the *qan* preferred to live in a *ger* (q.v.), or yurt, whenever possible.

The most famous piece of equipment in the palace was the great silver beverage tree made for the *qan* by the goldsmith Mathew of Paris (q.v.). At its base were four lions, producing kumiss (q.v.), while further up were four gilded serpents which offered clarified kumiss, or *qarakumiss* (q.v.), wine, *boal*, or mead, and a rice beer. When the signal was given, a hidden servant blew into a trumpet and the lions and serpents then began to feed their beverages from a remote location through specially installed pipes. The beverages were collected by waiters for redistribution. About the dishes served we know little, but if later practice is a guide, elaborate banquet soups were probably the rule (see *Šülen*).

As *qan* Ögödei rebuilt his central structure and collected his revenues, it became possible to expand the empire again, or at least recover lost territory. Renewed expansion took place in three directions: into Iran, into what was left of Jin China, and towards the extreme west, namely, the Urals, Russia, and Eastern Europe. It was the latter campaigns that were the largest scale and seem the most remarkable to us today, but the advances into Iran and farther into China were important as well.

The first advances were into Iran, never effectively controlled by the Mongols. There Jalāl al-Dīn, son and successor of *Khwārazm-shāh* Muḥammad II, led the resistance from various bases on the fringes of the region distant from Mongol authority. He did more damage to the locals than to the Mongols. The campaigns there were sustained by the forces of the *tanma*, and such other additional resources as could be assigned to it. The gains were limited, although Jalāl al-Dīn's resistance did end with his death in 1231. The real conquest of Iran, and points

farther to the west, had to wait until the time of *qan* Möngke (*q.v.*).

The campaign to destroy Jin China was what most interested the *qan*. It was likely to generate the greatest amount of booty, and the bulk of available resources were devoted to it. By the time of the campaign, the Jin rump state was largely limited to territories south of the Yellow River and those territories north of it that Jin had been able to recover during the interregnum and during the early years of the new *qan* as he set his house in order.

When the advance began in late 1231, the principal thrust, under Tolui-noyon and Doqolqu-cerbi, with Sübe'etei taking the lead, developed due west. It went through mountains in Song domains, to outflank the Jin. Encountering well-led opposition under the Jin general Wanyan Heda 完顏合達, who was marching north to cover the capital, Sübe'etei was surrounded on snowy Mount Sanfeng 三峰. Despite this disadvantage, he attacked and overcame his enemy when a blizzard blew up. Heda escaped to a fortified town, but was captured shortly afterwards. The Jin position now collapsed entirely and the Mongols prepared for an assault on the Jin capital of Kaifeng 開封.

At this point, *qan* Ögödei fell ill and agreed to a truce. He marched north, leaving Sübe'etei in charge. Forces at his disposal, in addition to regular Mongol armies and *tanma* forces, included substantial numbers of Chinese troops, probably outnumbering the Mongols. Sübe'etei carefully nurtured these forces and expanded them substantially with addition locally raised troops. He also prepared a substantial siege train.

Once he was ready, Sübe'etei sabotaged the truce by preventing a relief convoy with food and other supplies from reaching Kaifeng. It was now completely isolated by Mongol and Southern Song advances, and soon reduced to extremities. The Jin emperor had no choice but to flee the doomed city to organize new resistance and a possible counterattack.

It was defeated decisively by Sübe'etei and the city surrendered soon afterwards. The Jin emperor fled farther to the south, to Caizhou 蔡州, where he was surrounded. Caizhou, virtually all that remained of Jin China, was taken in February 1234. The last Jin emperor committed suicide. The Mongols had exterminated a powerful northern dynasty and had advanced to the borders of Southern Song. Former Jin domains became part of Mongol-occupied China. As a follow-up, and to protect the new conquests, Sübe'etei led a preemptive attack on the Song city of

Luoyang 洛陽. It began almost five decades of Song-Mongol wars.

Once Jin had been destroyed and Song expansion discouraged, the Mongols turned to unfinished business in the far west. The Russian steppe had been briefly visited by Jebe and Sübe'etei in 1223-1224, when they fought several battles with opposing forces, including defeating a coalition of Kibca'ut and Caucasian rulers, and a Russian army led by Mstislav of Galicia on the Kalka River. The Mongol force also had sacked the trading settlement of Sudaq (q.v.) in the Crimea, and had tried to subdue the Volga Bulgars (q.v.), who repulsed them.

There was little Mongol activity in the area between 1224 and 1235, although a campaign was mounted against the Bulgars in 1229. The neglect ended in 1235, with the convening of a *quriltai* to discuss a general campaign in the west. It was to be led by Bat-qan (q.v.), son and successor of Joci, with armies from all parts of the Mongolian world led by representatives of each major princely house. Güyük (q.v.), the son and later successor of Ögödei, was to represent the central authority (*qol*), and Sübe'etei was, as senior commander, to have overall strategic control of the campaign. It was his masterpiece and one of the most impressive large-scale invasions in history.

The campaign began in the spring of 1236, as the invading army assembled on the lower Volga (q.v.). It initially marched against the Volga Bulgars, positioned upstream. They had become the dominant power in the area after the fall of the Khazars, around the beginning of the 11th century, and had grown rich on an abundant commerce passing through the area. This commerce was probably a large part of what attracted the Mongols.

Before, only relatively small forces had been employed against them, but now the large Mongol army led by Bat-qan took one Bulgar city after the other. The area later became the economic and cultural focus of the Golden Horde (q.v.).

Once the Bulgars had been subdued, the Mongols advanced on two fronts. They subdued potentially dangerous steppe peoples of the south Russian steppe, the Kibca'ut and Qanglin, and began an advance into Russia. Among the first Russian cities to fall was Ryazan, taken on December 21, 1237. It was followed by Vladimir, captured on February 7, 1238, and Torzhok (q.v.), which offered serious resistance and considerably slowed the Mongol advance, on March 23, 1238.

By then, spring was at hand and the frozen ground and rivers, which the Mongols found easy to cross, became swamps and mud. The Mongols had to retreat to the steppe again and concentrate their military activities there. Eventually, the Kibca'ut chieftain Bachman (q.v.) was chased onto an island in the Caspian and resistance ended. The Mongols then turned their attentions to the Burtas and Bashkirs, located along the Ural River. On December 26, 1238, Sudaq (q.v.) in the Crimea was sacked again.

Much of the next two years was spent in consolidation, but in the winter of 1240 Mongol armies moved into Russia again, and then west, in an invasion of Eastern Europe that in range, if not in scale, closely resembled that of the Soviet army in 1944–1945. On December 6, 1240, Kiev (q.v.) was taken, ending an era of Russian history. The Mongols then continued their advance west along five major axes, each directed at a major strategic goal. Two led into Poland, one towards Bohemia, and two into Hungary (q.v.). The purpose of a simultaneous advance on many fronts was to throw potential enemies off balance and prevent any unification of force against them. The Mongols also hoped to confuse their opponents as to their ultimate target, Hungary, with its steppe lands suitable for Mongol settlement.

The strategy worked perfectly. At no point were the Mongols countered by an effective and fully organized defense. A program of misinformation, including false mobilization orders for foes, helped as well.

Two major battles were fought. The first was against the Saxons and Poles at Liegnitz (q.v.) in Silesia, involving the two forces advancing into Poland. The second, drawing in all the Mongol forces, was fought in the Plain of Mohi, near the mouth of the Sajó River (*see* Sajó, Battle of). The Hungarians, led by King Béla IV (q.v.), who had been unable to mobilize fully but who still fielded a large and well-armed force, attempted to defend the river line and its single bridge against the Mongols. Although compelled to fall back, they inflicted considerable losses on their enemies, who were forced to mount a costly frontal assault, before doing so. The Mongols nearly lost the battle. Only the sudden appearance of Sübe'etei saved them. He had built a pontoon bridge on the lower Sajó to outflank the Hungarians. The Hungarian army, one of the most powerful in Europe, was slaughtered.

The Mongols went on to burn the Hungarian capital of Pest (q.v.) and remained in Hungary for the summer and autumn,

giving every indication that they intended to add the area to their empire. They resumed the advance again that winter and on Christmas day, 1241, destroyed Buda, Pest's sister city on the other side of the Danube. Scouts raided as far as the suburbs of Vienna, while Sübe'etei led an advance into Dalmatia and then through Rumania in pursuit of King Béla IV, who escaped. At that point news of the death of *qan* Ögödei arrived. The next spring the Mongols withdrew from Hungary and never returned. The advance towards the west was momentarily ended.

During the lengthy interregnum that followed, Döregene-qatun (q.v.), the widow of Ögödei, served as regent. An intense jockeying for power to see who was to become the next *qan* considerably weakened the central authority, undoing much of the progress that had been made under Ögödei. In addition, if we may believe somewhat partisan Chinese sources, the period saw a gouging of the occupied areas to meet voracious demands of various authorities, including Döregene-qatun herself. Meanwhile, Bat-qan (q.v.) used his senior position in the imperial house to put off a *quriltai* to elect a new *qan* for several years.

In the end, a *quriltai* was convened and Güyük (r. 1246-1248) was duly elected as *dalai-yin qan* (q.v.), "universal qan," according to his seal (see Appendix A). Bat-qan did not participate, initiating a major fissure in the Mongolian world.

Güyük, although ruling only briefly, about 18 months, attempted to continue with his father's policies. He resisted the encroachments of the princes on the holdings and prerogatives of the center and reestablished the provincial administrations created by Ögödei and reinforced their authority. To head that of China he reappointed Maḥmūd Yalavach, in Turkistan, Yalavach's son, Mas'ūd Beg, and in *Khurāsān*/Iran the Oyirad, Arqan-aqa (q.v.). Continuing to head the central authority in Qaraqorum was Cinqai (q.v.), who played an even greater role under Güyük than he had under his father. In China, the tax farmer 'Abd ar-Raḥmān (q.v.) was tried and executed, bringing to an end the excesses in that region of the Döregene-qatun era.

Güyük died, perhaps poisoned, early in 1248 and a new interregnum followed. At the time of his death, he was planning a campaign against Bat-qan to reduce that powerful prince to submission. The empress Oqul-qaimish (q.v.) became regent. Unlike the regency of Döregene-qatun, there is no evidence of an administrative breakdown under her rule, but the split with Bat-qan remained an outstanding issue.

The interregnum lasted until 1251 when Möngke, son of Tolui-noyon (q.v.) and candidate of Bat-qan, was elected. Although Mongolian imperial administration reached an apex of efficiency under his rule, Möngke's reign began with a blood-bath in which alleged conspirators and protagonists of the house of Ögödei were ruthlessly slaughtered. Möngke secured his position, but the ill will that remained ultimately found reflection in long-term resistance to his rule and to the rule of his successors from Qaidu (q.v.), who set up a rival regime in Siberia, and others.

Möngke continued and enhanced the Mongol provincial system. There was a reemphasis on the principles of synarchy, with all interested parties participating in governing key revenue-producing areas. An innovation was the institution of the *ilqan* (q.v.), “*qan* of a province.” Möngke brothers Qubilai (q.v.) and Hüle'ü were appointed to this post as imperial viceroys for occupied China and Iran respectively. Such appointments made good sense in terms of the controversy attending Möngke's election.

Möngke continued with the system of three satellite administrations or provinces plus a central authority. Appointed to the administration of China, in Zhongdu, were Bujir (q.v.), Maḥmūd Yalavach (q.v.), Wolubudu 斡魯不都, Taer 荅兒, Sayyid Ajall (q.v.), and Nizām al-Dīn. Bujir, the head of the administration, Yalavach, and Sayyid Ajall were *jarquci*. Wolubudu, if he is the Hulubu 訛魯不 mentioned in two 1238 edicts of Ögödei, was a *jarquci* as well. The others appear to have been *bicigci*.

In addition to the directly named parties, we know of at least two other *jarquci* and several other *bicigci* participating in the administration. A large part of this staff seems to have come from the establishment of *ilqan* Qubilai, the younger brother of Möngke and his viceroy for occupied north China.

In Turkistan, the satellite administration had its headquarters in Beshbaliq (q.v.) and was headed by Noqai, Taraqai, Mas'ūd Beg (q.v.), and assistants, Adulawuzu 暗都刺兀尊, 'Amīd, and Abisqa. In Khūrāsān\Iran, the administration was headed by Arqan-aqa (q.v.), Fakh̄r ad-Dīn, and Nizām ad-Dīn. Of them, Arqan-aqa was a *jarquci* and probably Mas'ūd Beg as well.

Arqan's two co-appointees were *bicigci* representing *qan* Möngke himself and Bat-qan. Arqan-aqa was also assisted by other officers sent out by the *qan* to arrange a census, a tradi-

tional *jarquci* function. Two of were Naimatai and Turumtai. The Persian historian Juvaynī (q.v.) notes that each of the brothers of the *qan* also nominated their representatives (*nökör*). In Qaraqorum, the central administration was headed by chief *jarquci*, Mengeser-noyan (q.v.), and the chief *bicigci* Bulghai, among others. Mengeser replaced the executed Cinqai.

In addition to reestablishing an effective central and regional administration, Möngke also resumed a broad Mongol advance along two major lines. One led into China, against the Southern Song (*see* Song, Mongol Conquest of). The *qan* himself took control, strongly supported by *ilqan* Qubilai. The other led into Iran, Iraq, and beyond, where there was considerable unfinished business for the Mongols. This advance west was to be led by the second *ilqan*, Hüle'ü, who was to carve out his own sub-empire in Iran and Iraq. The two advances went forward almost simultaneously.

In China, warfare between the Mongols and Southern Song had been continuing off and on almost from the beginning of the Mongol presence in the north. After 1234, the Song became the Mongols principal enemy in China, but Mongol preoccupations elsewhere, and their successive interregnums and struggles for power, postponed the final confrontation.

In the 1250s, a direct advance south into highly fortified areas was still perceived as too costly. Instead, the Mongols sought to outflank the Song defense line by moving around it in the far Chinese west. Between 1253 and 1254, Qubilai, seconded by Uriangqadai (q.v.), the highly capable son of Sübe'etei, led his army towards the plateaus of Yunnan 雲南 (q.v.) along the western border of Sichuan 四川. The Mongols had repeatedly tried to penetrate the area, but it was still putting up resistance a quarter of a century later. During this advance, Mongol forces first penetrated Tibet (q.v.) and brought the principal monastic groups there into the Mongol sphere of influence. Some had already been proselytizing among the invaders. There had been earlier expeditions into Tibet in Ögödei's time during a Mongol advance into Sichuan.

Once in Yunnan 雲南, Qubilai systematically subdued the region, taking the two capitals of the indigenous Dali 大理 kingdom in 1257, and began to organize it as part of the Mongol Empire. Yunnan, called Qarajang (q.v.) by the Mongols, their name both for the Dali 大理 kingdom and its capital, had areas suitable for a Mongol presence. It also controlled an important north-south trade route leading into Burma (q.v.) and

points beyond, and was also well positioned to penetrate the weakly defended underside of Song.

As Qubilai advanced into the far southwest, *qan* Möngke began operations in Sichuan, on Song China's western border. In 1258, after Qubilai had secured the south, an advance was ordered on four fronts. Three armies were to advance directly west, the one in the center led by *qan* Möngke himself. The two others were to flank it on both sides. A fourth army was to advance from Yunnan.

This campaign might have been successful against Song, which had hitherto fought off Mongolian attempts to penetrate its domains deeply, but it had barely gotten underway when Möngke died suddenly and unexpectedly on August 11, 1259, probably from disease. Shortly afterwards, the whole campaign was abandoned by Qubilai, now senior Mongolian leader in China. He then hurried north to secure his own position as Möngke's successor. It was well over a decade before the Mongols began a new effort against the south again. By that time it was Qubilai's qanate, and not a unified Mongol Empire, that led the advance. In the interim, most Mongol conquests in the west and southwest remained in Mongol hands, hemming in Song defenders.

Prior to Möngke's death substantial progress had been made in Iran as well. Before the appearance of Hüle'ü, Mongol control, while largely effective in *Khurāsān* (q.v.), was virtually nonexistent in Iran. Only in Azerbaijan was there any significant Mongol presence, for a long time under *tanma* commander Cormaqan-qorci, later under his successor Baiju (q.v.). This was an area well suited for a tribal presence.

When Möngke came to the throne in 1251, the principal Mongol adversaries in the southwest were the rump 'Abbāsīd Caliphate (q.v.) of Iraq, the Seljuq (q.v.) of Rūm, and the Ismā'ilīs (q.v.) in Iran and Afghanistan. The latter controlled numerous fortresses, many of them on inaccessible mountains. It was the latter, and not the Caliphate or the Seljuq, who were the primary Mongol aim, along with some Iranian tribal groups. More distant on the Mongol horizon were the Ayyūbids (q.v.) ruling states in Syria and, in Egypt (q.v.), the new and as events proved, very formidable Mamlūk (q.v.) regime. By this time, Crusader (*see* Crusades) presence had all but vanished from the Holy Land (q.v.), but Western powers remained potential allies of the Mongols. Another potential ally of the Mongols was Byzantium, or rather, in 1251, the Nicean Empire (q.v.), the

principal Byzantine successor state after Latin conquest (*see* Constantinople, Latin Empire).

Hüle'ü began preparations for his advance shortly after his brother's election as *qan*, but he did not actually set out until 1253. As he assembled his army, resources came from the entire Mongolian world, as did representatives of the major princely houses. Also advancing west with Hüle'ü's armies were siege specialists from China, including pyrotechnicians.

To prepare for his arrival, Mas'üd-beg, Arqan-aqa, and other Mongol officials situated along Hüle'ü's line of march were instructed to prepare. They repaired roads, bridged rivers, and established ferries where there were no bridges. They also had to find and reserve pasturage of the flocks following Hüle'ü's army.

Hüle'ü's army, as it slowly moved west, was a true migration of peoples. It finally reached the borders of Afghanistan and Iran, his destination in 1256. Arriving in advance was a vanguard force under Kökö-ilge and Kit-buqa (q.v.). They had already begun to reduce points held by the Ismā'ilīs and others.

Threatened with a full assault by Hüle'ü's main force, the Ismā'ilīs prepared to defend their castles, long considered impregnable. The Mongols took one after the other and in the Autumn of 1256 assembled before the castle of Maimün-Diz (q.v.), headquarters of Rukn al-Dīn Khur-Shāh, grand master of the Order of the Ismā'ilīs. At this point, the Ismā'ilīs, who had long been a thorn in the side of most other secular regimes in the area, decided to negotiate and surrendered. Ultimately, except for a few sect members in Syria, then beyond Mongol reach, and some Iranian survivors, whose lineage is now represented by the Aga Khan, the Ismā'ilīs were exterminated and their strong points demolished. Rukn al-Dīn, the grand master, and his family, were killed on the way to visit Möngke. These events constituted a major success in the consolidation of the Iranian east.

Next, Hüle'ü prepared to move against the Caliphate, although it was not originally a target, and took up position in northwestern Iran and Azerbaijan. During much of 1257, the Mongols conquered outlying areas and gained the allegiance of local powers. In the winter, the real advance began. In January, the Mongols defeated the Caliphate's army and by January 22, 1258, had advanced to the suburbs of Baghdad (q.v.).

After setting up siege lines, they began a final assault on January 29, making extensive use of mangonels (*see* Man-

gonels) and pyrotechnics (*see* Gunpowder). By February 4, they had breached the walls, a rapid progress clearly indicating how far Mongolian military technology had come since the time of Cinggis-qan. Six days later, Caliph Musta'sim (q.v.) surrendered. The formal sack of the city, following a slaughter of townsmen who had come outside on the orders of the Caliph, began on February 13. It went on for a week. Shortly thereafter, Hüle'ü withdrew, taking the Caliph with him. He was soon killed, marking the end of the 'Abbāsids.

After a period of consolidation lasting almost a year, Hüle'ü resumed the advance, this time towards the coast and Aleppo. Kit-buqa (q.v.) commanded the vanguard, followed by Hüle'ü himself commanding the center of three armies. On his way, Hüle'ü subdued upper Iraq, where there were still hold-outs. The Mongols reached Aleppo in January 1260 and took the city on January 24, although the town's citadel held out for another month. In the campaign, Hüle'ü was assisted by King Het'um of Lesser Armenia (q.v.), and the Crusader Bohemond VI (q.v.) of Antioch and Tripoli.

The Mongols extended their power south into Palestine and, for the moment, it appeared that the entire Mediterranean coast, as well as the interior, would be theirs. At this point, unexpected events ended the Mongol advance once and for all. One was the death of *qan* Möngke, the news reaching Hüle'ü during the summer of 1260. In the civil war that followed, Hüle'ü supported his brother Qubilai. A second event was an outbreak of open warfare between Hüle'ü's Mongols, and those of the house of Bat-qan, the Golden Horde, in Russia. This event, more than any other, marked the end of unified Mongol Empire. A third event was a decisive defeat of Kit-buqa, leading the Mongol vanguard, by Mamlūk (q.v.) under Qutuz on September 3, 1260.

This encounter, at 'Ayn Jālūt (q.v.) in Palestine, was one of the most decisive in history. Details are few, but the outcome is certain. Kit-buqa, with a highly weakened army since Hüle'ü's attentions had been distracted by the Golden Horde, and in unfamiliar, very dry terrain, was all but annihilated by the Egyptians. Most conquests in Syria were soon lost and although they continued to be fought over by Mongols and Mamlūk to the end of Mongol rule in Iran, the Mongols were never again in the dominant position they had been in during 1260 and before. Except for Mongol China, the era of Mongol expansion had come to an end.

Essay 3. Qanate China (1260-1368)

Qubilai (q.v.), born in 1215, the second of four sons of Tolui-
noyan (q.v.), received an apanage in Inner Mongolia which
brought him into contact with China (q.v.). With the accession
of his elder brother, Möngke (q.v.), in 1251, Qubilai became his
viceroys (*ilqan*) (q.v.) there. He used his position to build up an
independent power base, making alliances, assembling a coterie
of Chinese advisors and assistants, and constructing a palatial
residence. As *de facto* ruler of the richest portion of Mongol
domains, Qubilai, although not originally considered Möngke's
most likely successor, was well positioned to follow him.

Qubilai was at first hesitant to reveal his hand, but alarmed
by moves by his brother Ariq-bökö (q.v.), he rushed back to
north China from his armies in Yunnan 雲南 (q.v.), and con-
vened a hasty *quriltai* (q.v.) of supporters. Without waiting for
representatives from the other parts of the Mongol world, he
had himself elected *qan*. Only Hüle'ü (q.v.) and a few Ca'adai
princes (*see* Ca'adai *Ulus*) recognized him, the rest of the Mon-
golian world did not. Ariq-bökö convened his own *quriltai* and
also had himself elected *qan*. He was recognized in Mongolia,
in most of the Ca'adai *ulus*, and in the Golden Horde (q.v.).
The Mongolian world now had two *qan*. A clash was inevitable.

Ariq-bökö had been left behind in Mongolia (q.v.) by
Möngke to secure his central province and hold the capital of
Qaraqorum (q.v.). He enjoyed wide support because of his tra-
ditional values. By contrast, many Mongols distrusted Qubilai
as too Chinese.

The civil war lasted four years. Qubilai won, thanks to the
superior resources of China and the organizational abilities of
his advisors. Ariq-bökö surrendered in 1264 and died two years
later. Qubilai recovered Mongolia, but never reconciled with
the Golden Horde in Russia, and soon lost his remaining influ-
ence in the Ca'adai *ulus*. He henceforth remained *qan* of only
part of the Mongolian world, although he maintained that he
was legitimate successor to Möngke until his death.

Despite this pretension, which forced Qubilai to hold the
Mongolian homeland at all cost and invest in Mongolian impe-

rial trappings to maintain his status in the eyes of the rest of the Mongolian world, he was realistic enough to devote his primary energies to continue building up his base in China. To appeal to the Chinese he had to appear a Chinese emperor, even if he claimed to be a universal Mongolian *qan*.

To make himself more acceptable to his Chinese subjects, Qubilai indulged heavily in Chinese symbol. This included attempting to appear a “sage king” by surrounding himself with “Confucian” show ministers, although real power continued to be held by Mongols, foreigners, and a few powerful local warlords, most of whom were Chinese, but hardly “Confucian.”

Qubilai also established a government that was Chinese in appearance and nomenclature, although behind it was a parallel Mongolian structure inherited from the empire that held everything together and maintained the power of the traditional elite. Qubilai also adopted a dynastic calendar including Chinese-style year periods (*nianhao* 年號), and between 1267 and 1276 built himself a new winter capital of Daidu 大都, just north of the site of the old Mongol headquarters, Zhongdu 中都 (q.v.). His old princely residence of Kaiping fu 開平府, at first the only capital of the new qanate, became Shangdu 上都 (q.v.), “upper capital,” his summer headquarters.

In 1272, Qubilai took the final step and gave his Mongol dynasty a Chinese name, Yuan 元, “origin,” supposedly drawn from the Chinese “Book of Changes” (*Yijing* 易經). Although Chinese, the name also clearly expressed in its connotations the Mongolian concept of the government of the center, of the *qol* (q.v.)

Also a part of Qubilai’s efforts to appear Chinese, although he was being perfectly Mongol at the same time, was a striving to bring *Tianxia* 天下, “all under heaven,” under his command. This meant conquering the rest of China, a process completed in 1279. It also meant enforcing the influence of his dynasty over China’s traditional tributaries. Here he went Chinese symbol one better. Korea (q.v.), for example, was more completely under the control of a “Chinese” dynasty during Yuan, thanks to a thorough Mongol conquest, than at any other time in its history. Qubilai also invaded Japan (q.v.), never a close Chinese tributary, twice, in 1274, before unifying China, and then again in 1281. Other foreign expeditions were mounted to Champa (q.v.) in Vietnam, by land to Burma (q.v.) and then across the sea of Java (q.v.), in one of the largest expeditions ever sent by a Chinese state to a distant, overseas area. In addi-

tion to these movements, there were major campaigns in Mongolia, Turkistan (q.v.), and Manchuria. Mongol armies even intervened in distant Tibet in support of an attack by their ally, the Sa-sKya (q.v.), against a competing monastic group, the aBri-Kung (q.v.).

The shift of Qubilai's focus to China meant that the Song (*see* Song, Dynasty; Song, Mongol Conquest of) regime faced an adversary of a new sort. Although Qubilai's qanate of China had fewer total resources than the old Mongol Empire, especially steppe cavalry, always a critical commodity for the Mongols, it was still capable of concentrating far more resources than the Mongol Empire ever did on the south. Qubilai's armies were also now better equipped for fighting Chinese enemies since they enjoyed some of the same advanced technology and techniques as their adversaries. Only an occasional threat from Central Asia could prevent a war to the finish.

Qubilai's final war against the Song began in 1267, even before he had completed the consolidation of his power in the north. It continued until 1279, when the last vestiges of Song power were destroyed in the climatic naval battle of Yaishan 崖山 (q.v.) just off modern Macao. During much of this period, Song China was ruled by "bad last minister" Jia Sidao 賈似道 (1213–1275), at whose door Song's many problems have been laid by later historians. Most were not his doing and Jia Sidao was probably no worse an official than his predecessors, although he was personally involved in one of China's greatest military defeats at the hands of the Mongols.

Jia Sidao really had two sets of adversaries. One was his own Chinese elite, often more devoted to vested local interests than to a defense of the realm. The second were the Mongols. To deal with the one, he tried fiscal and agrarian reforms to gain more revenue from the richest members of Chinese society, limiting land holdings. These reforms, like most in Chinese history, were a limited success, but did generate more revenues. These Jia Sidao sought to apply to military problems, principally his need to mount an ever larger defense effort against Qubilai's armies, which grew more powerful almost with each passing day.

The Song's main military problem was the mobility of their opponents, particularly Mongol troops, and the immobility of their own forces. In the 13th century, mobility meant horses and Song supplies were restricted. Song lacked suitable pastures, and were almost completely dependent on imports that

came a great distance and rarely arrived in good condition, even when Tibetans and others supplying the Song sent high quality mounts to begin with. The Song, a society totally dominated by civil mandarins, also treated their military badly and discouraged originality and independence in their generals. Their mass armies were thus not only immobile, but often poorly used.

Song forces, probably numbering up to one million, were consequently no match for Qubilai's army. Only in technology were they ahead and the technological edge was lost as the Mongols learned from their enemies. Thus, during the final assault of the 1270s, both sides had rich pyrotechnical resources at their disposal. Cannon (*see* gunpowder), as we understand them, had not yet been invented, but simple handguns were available, along with flame throwers, thrown and hurled bombs, rockets, and other deadly weapons. Both the Song and Mongols also used a variety of powerful engines, some torsion, others fired by human strength, and by counterweights (*see* Mangonels; Trebuchet).

Song forces tried to compensate for their shortcomings through numbers and careful coordination of land and water-based troops. Generally, the latter were river forces, but Song also possessed a large coastal and oceangoing fleet, including some of the largest warships of the era, also armed with pyrotechnics. Mongol armies were never able to match Song naval superiority, but the north had its fleet too by the 1270s, soon supplemented by captured Song ships.

The final advance came after decades of stalemate. The Mongols had been unable to break through Song defenses positioned by preference along easily defended river lines.

The main Mongol attack was led by Marshall Bayan (1236–1294, q.v.), ably seconded by a variety of Mongolian and non-Mongolian generals, some descendents of early Chinese allies of the Mongols. It was to take place along the Han 漢 River, then through Hubei 湖北 and along the Yangtse, to the Song capital of Hangzhou 杭州 (q.v.), the final target. The key blocking positions were the dual fortresses of Fancheng 樊城 (q.v.) and Xiangyang 襄陽 (q.v.), facing each other across the Han River. They had to be reduced carefully in a siege lasting years. These sieges were part of a Mongol strategy. They not only intended to take two vital fortresses, but also destroy and isolate large parts of the Song army, and destroy Song morale. To help them defeat the defenders, the Mongols mobilized

experts in siege techniques as well as river forces to prevent cooperation between the two fortresses.

The siege began in 1268. Mongol armies finally reached the Yangtze in 1274. It took an additional year and a half to reach the Song capital. Most remaining Song forces were bypassed. To prevent final defeat, the Song fought a desperate river battle. Jia Sidao took charge personally. His army was divided due to tensions between military and civil authorities, and suffered a tremendous defeat on the river itself and along its banks. Jia Sidao fell from power, and was later killed; the way was open for the Mongol capture of Hangzhou.

Despite continued sporadic resistance, the Song had no choice but to capitulate. The Mongols entered Hangzhou on February 10, 1276, ending more than three centuries of Song history. Before the Mongols marched in, Song loyalists spirited two young princes out of the city to become a focus of further resistance. The Song Resistance Movement that resulted lasted three more years, primarily due to Mongol preoccupations with Central Asia (*see* Qaidu).

Even before the Central Asian threat had receded, the Mongols had begun closing in on the loyalists. They slowly moved down the coast to a final position in the Canton Delta. In this campaign, Qubilai's armies not only used land forces, but substantial naval forces as well, including some volunteered by many new allies in formerly Song China. Appropriately, the end came in a naval battle (*see* Yaishan 崖山, Battle of), as Mongol forces closed in on the loyalist fleet from all sides. With this battle, for the first time since the 9th century, China was entirely unified again under Mongol rule.

Qubilai-qan was now emperor of all China, and China part of a Mongol qanate of East Asia with wider pretensions. Qubilai had consolidated his rule. The political system that he had created to rule East Asia, much of it carried over from the unified Mongol Empire, now assumed a mature form. Like the imperial Mongolian administration for conquered China, it had three components: one tribal; one based in the imperial establishment; and another reflecting the interests of the imperial clan.

The tribal side of Qubilai's regime was a Mongolian military still organized into tribal thousands. Among them were groups once controlled by Muqali (q.v.). They formed self-governing tribal enclaves. Others existed wherever conditions were suitable for a pastoral life, e.g., in Yunnan.

Chinese armies once belonging to early Chinese allies of the Mongols, the so-called Han 漢 Armies (q.v.), also still existed. They participated in the final advance on the Song, but were no longer, strictly speaking, part of the tribal side of Mongol China. This was because the powerful warlord families that had once controlled them had been forced to give up their authorities over these armies as private domains in the aftermath of the 1262 revolt of Li Tan 李壇 (q.v.). He had threatened the regime itself as Qubilai was engaged in a life or death struggle with Ariq-bökö (q.v.).

This revolt was also the reason why Qubilai did not attempt to extend the tribal system into former Song domains, although Mongolian units were stationed there and some private domains did come into existence. One, involving naval forces and trade, was controlled by the Sino-Persian Pu Shougeng 蒲壽晟 (q.v.), who turned over control of the Province of Fujian 福建 to the Mongols as soon as they arrived. He subsequently provided a large part of the shipping used against Song resistance.

Controlling most of the tribal side of Qubilai's China was the *Shumi yuan* 樞密院 (q.v.), "Bureau of Military Affairs." Although theoretically part of the civil side of Yuan government, this agency functioned more or less independently of it, as did most of the units it controlled. It remained the most Mongolian of all the agencies of the Yuan central government.

Most important of the imperial components of Qubilai's qanate of China was the emperor's own establishment, and the Yuan central government. Not all of it was, strictly speaking, imperial since Yuan central government, like that of the Mongol administration for Province China before it, reflected strong principles of synarchy with representation by members of the imperial clan at almost all levels.

Within the central establishment, the imperial bodyguard dominated. Qubilai had inherited it upon the death of Möngke and continued to maintain it at full strength as a key imperial symbol thereafter. He even expanded its prerogatives.

The imperial bodyguard supplied cadres to all levels of Qubilai's administration, and to those of his successors. A system of dual appointments was pursued, with important officials holding both an internal bodyguard rank, perhaps a lowly one, and an external appointment within the Chinese side of Yuan government, including the highest ministerial appointments.

Also a key part of the Mongol central authority in China was an enhanced and expanded system of *daruqaci* (q.v.).

These personal representatives of the *qan* existed at virtually every level of Yuan government, although, as before, some *daruqaci* were appointed by interested parties other than the *qan*.

Another direct representative of the imperial authority, associated with the imperial postal or *jam* (q.v.) system, were the *tutqa'ul* (q.v.). They were a special police force to maintain order along the roads, escort caravans, and repress bandits. They also controlled traffic generally and even prevented illegal migrations. According to Rashīd al-Dīn (q.v.), there was a special office governing them, but no such office appears in the Chinese system of offices described in the “Monograph on Offices” (*boguanzhi* 百官志) in the “Official History of the Yuan Dynasty” (*Yuanshi* 元史) (q.v.). This may not have been the only such office pointing up a disparity between the theory of the Chinese structure of Yuan government and actual practice.

The third side to the administration of Mongol China was the system of imperial clan synarchy. It was the most pervasive and determined the overall nature of the Yuan imperial system itself.

Mongol China duplicated on a regional level what the empire had achieved on a “world” level. It was an *ulus* (q.v.), a joint patrimony of its ruling family. This was specifically Qubilai’s own lineage, but he also had to recognize the rights of the entire imperial lineage of Cinggis-qan (q.v.), since he claimed to be a legitimate successor of *qan* Möngke, and thus its head.

In practical terms, this meant that all of its members, not just Qubilai’s immediate family, had a share, even including princes of the Golden Horde of Russia, who later sent their envoys to get their due. This also meant that all interested parties had a right to be represented in government at all levels, and participate in it.

There were two distinct levels to this participation. One was through the “Office of Imperial Clan Administration” (*Da Zongzheng Fu* 大宗正府) (q.v.). At the end of Qubilai’s reign it had 46 subordinate *jarquci* (q.v.). “The Monograph on Offices” in the “Official History of the Yuan Dynasty” limits its authority to disputes within the imperial clan. This was far from the case. Its *jarquci* were responsible, for example, for general control throughout the upper and middle echelons of Yuan administration, including financial matters, and anywhere else where there were joint imperial and clan interests. They even led armies in the field. Through a system of dual appointments, *jar-*

quci of the “Office of Imperial Clan Administration” also served simultaneously elsewhere in Qubilai’s Chinese-style administration.

A second level of clan participation in Yuan government was through its province system (*see* Province) borrowed from the empire. Qanate China was divided into a central province, centered around Daidu, and ultimately 11 other provinces, including Mongolia and Korea. Each was ruled by a satellite administration, with delegated *jarquci* and other Mongol officers, including representatives of princes and other interested parties. These provinces were called *el* (q.v.), “subject people,” in Mongolian, and *xingsheng* 行省 (q.v.), “[office for] exercising supervision,” in Chinese, from whence the later *sheng* 省 (q.v.), “province.”

The term *xingsheng* was used under the Jin to designate regional branches of the chief government agencies set up for some special purpose. It was taken over by the Mongols to translate their own system into terms familiar to Chinese bureaucrats. Thereby the term acquired an entirely new connotation, no longer referring to temporary authorities, but to permanent provinces ruled from the center by delegated officials, a system that became the pattern under the Ming and Qing. It still persists today. Qubilai’s organization of China, based upon Mongol precedents, is thus the origin of the modern Chinese provincial system. Nothing like it had existed prior to the Mongols, pointing up their importance institutionally in Chinese history.

Qubilai-qan, emperor of a Chinese Yuan dynasty, thus continued to rule China largely in a Mongolian manner and his Mongol dynasty was never very Chinese. He also continued to live a more or less Mongolian life, making few accommodations in lifestyle to his Chinese role. His court regularly nomadized between Shangdu and Daidu, as did the courts of his successors. Along the way he hunted, drank kumiss (q.v.) when it was in season, and otherwise behaved as a Mongol. Even when resident in one of the permanent capitals, the Mongol emperors of China preferred the open air and sleeping in tents.

Visitors to court were more likely to be served kumiss with green onions as an entrée than any Chinese delicacy. Even in their religion (q.v.) the Mongols of China proved little assimilated to the Chinese norm. Native practices persisted to the end, playing an important role in court ritual. When the Qubilai did convert to a major religion he chose Lamaism (q.v.), whose

traditions may have seemed closer to Mongolian shamanism than to any form of Chinese Buddhism.

The dynasty's Mongolian ruling house, its Mongolian supporters, and the Mongolian structure of its institutions was not the only foreign element present. Within Daidu a plethora of non-Chinese cultures coexisted. They included those of the various guards of the *qan*, recruited from as far afield as Russia (q.v.) and the Caucasus.

Throughout his administration, Qubilai continued to employ west Asians by preference in its upper echelons, particularly in tax collection and finance. Although Chinese was the most important administrative language, a great many others were in active use as well. Most important were various Turkic languages and dialects. Witnessing this fact are not only the many Turkic expressions, including a Turkic nickname for a city, in Marco Polo (q.v.), but also a heavily Turkicized court food environment documented by the imperial dietary, *Yinshan Zhengyao* 飲膳正要 (q.v.), "Proper and Essential Things for the Emperor's Food and Drink" (see Appendix C). Also in wide use were Persian, Marco Polo's preferred language when in the East, Old French, the international diplomatic language in the west, and, of course, Mongolian (see Languages).

Qubilai died in 1294, aged 79, older than any other emperor of his dynasty. The 30 years that followed were the high-point of Mongol rule in China. During them, Yuan government remained largely effective, the Mongols had few internal or external enemies, and conflicts within the ruling class were still relatively under control. Qubilai had originally intended that his son Zhenjin (1243-1285) (q.v.) was to be his heir but since he predeceased his father, Temür Öljeitü (r. 1294-1307) (q.v.), one of Zhenjin's sons, came to the throne instead.

Temür Öljeitü's reign was peaceful and successful. He continued to rule along lines laid down under Qubilai, with many of the same advisors. Temür Öljeitü canceled further plans against Japan and Vietnam and made a concerted effort to make peace with the rest of the Mongolian world. He also tried to placate discontented tribesmen of the Mongolian homeland who felt that the benefits coming to others from the conquest of China had passed them by.

His successor was Khaishan (r. 1307-1311), the son of Temür Öljeitü's older brother Darmabala (1264-1293). Khaishan came to the throne as part of a reaction against policies of Temür Öljeitü and his ministers who were perceived as too

Chinese. Khaishan was expected to reassert Mongol warrior traditions, and reunite the Mongol world. Instead he proved a tyrannical and generally ineffective ruler and disappointed the hopes of his supporters. His reign was short and he died barely 30 years old, the first in a long line of short-lived Mongol rulers of China.

Khaishan's successor was his younger brother Ayurbarwada (r. 1311–1320). He was friendly to Chinese culture and was among the few Mongol emperors of China able to speak and read Chinese (q.v.). He was the first to have any knowledge of classical Chinese texts. It may have been because of this that Ayurbarwada ordered reestablishment of the Chinese civil service examinations in 1313. Neoconfucian (*see* Confucianism) interpretations of texts were required for the first time. Unfortunately, from the perspective of promoting Chinese bureaucratic culture, the examinations had little impact. Most officials continued to be recruited in the traditional way, through hereditary succession and recommendations. Mongols were given special preference in the examinations.

Like his immediate predecessors, Ayurbarwada died young. His son Shidebala (r. 1321–1323), 18 at the time of his father's death, followed him on the throne.

Although Shidebala strove to continue the pro-China policies of his father, a sharp struggle had broken out between pro-Mongol conservatives and liberal court factions. Shidebala himself became a victim when he was assassinated on the road between Shangdu and Daidu. He was barely 20. His death ushered in an era of civil wars between pro-China and nativist Mongol factions that drew Mongol attentions away from a growing opposition to their rule in south China.

Pro-Mongol factions gained control after Shidebala's assassination and put Yesün Temür (r. 1323–1328), a son of Kammala (1263–1302), Prince Zhenjin's oldest son, on the throne. Despite the basis of his power, Yesün Temür distanced himself from Shidebala's assassins. He had them arrested and killed. He also tried to show respect for his predecessor's policies and supporters, but remained caught up in the violence. He died, aged about 35, leaving behind a nine-year-old successor, Aragibag (r. 1328), who disappeared in the open civil war that followed.

After a palace coup, Shidebala's opponents placed Khosila (r. 1329), a son of Khaishan, on the throne. His reign lasted barely six months. He was murdered by his successor, Tügh

Temür (r. 1328–1329, 1329–1332), who became, retroactively, successor to Shidebala. Tügh Temür came to the throne by fratricide, but proved one of the more Sinicized Mongol emperors of China. He and his successors promoted Chinese culture to the degree that a “Confucianization” of Yuan culture has been claimed. This was far from the case. The real nature of politics and government in late Mongol China was altogether different, although less conservative forces did dominate.

Tügh Temür’s successor was Irinjibal (1332), the young son of Khoshila, and his successor Toghon Temür (r. 1333–1370) (q.v.). He had the longest reign of any Yuan ruler, but also witnessed the gradual collapse of Mongol authority throughout China. He had to flee back to the steppe to save his life. Toghon Temür thus became a “bad last emperor,” in Chinese eyes, although he had little control over events. A large part of traditional Chinese disdain for him seems to have been due to his dabbling in Tibetan sexual tantricism, unacceptable to more prudish Ming dynasty intellectuals, including those who wrote the “Official History of Yuan,” and thus were in a position to cast the final judgment.

The downfall of the Mongols had come unexpectedly and quickly, just 60 years after the Yuan highpoint under Temür Öljeitü (q.v.). In part it was due to their own neglect, but also due to the looseness of Mongol control in much of China.

After 1279 the Mongols no longer faced a military threat in China, although uprisings in the south and southeast continued for some years in support of those claiming to be loyalist generals or Song princes. By contrast, passive resistance to their rule (*see* Song, Loyalism) gained ground in the south, which never forgot its Song heritage, formed a bastion of Chinese cultural conservatism, and remained unreconciled to Mongol rule.

The Mongols mostly ignored the loyalist movement that resulted, in which a large part of the south China elite refused to serve or even acknowledge the existence of their Mongol rulers, continuing to observe Song conventions and symbols long after the dynasty had fallen. The Mongols preferred to rely on north Chinese and allied ethnic groups, west and Central Asians in particular, to staff their bureaucracy in any case. They even discriminated legally against southerners, called Manzi 蠻子 (q.v.), “southern barbarians.” This was the name the Chinese gave to primitive hill peoples and others living in the far south.

As long as the south, the economic center of qanate China, paid its taxes, the Mongols were not about to take action. The

kind of repression that later took place during the Qing Dynasty against Ming loyalists seems never to have occurred to those in power in the north. In addition, as events were to show, they lacked the capacity to enforce their will to that degree. The entire south was weakly held by a demographically stretched north, and the Mongol province system, with its emphasis on synarchy and local representation, often strengthened the periphery at the expense of the center. Only those areas most important for the food supply of the north, principally those situated along the Grand Canal that linked north and south, were closely linked with the north and with the Mongol central administration.

At first this relative neglect of the south by a court for which the Central Asian frontier was far more vital, particularly during wars with Qaidu (q.v.) and later struggles with Ca'adai *ulus* (q.v.) princes, constituted no great disadvantage for it. This changed as passive resistance turned to open rebellion in the former Song domains.

Initially rebellion was in the form of widespread "banditry." It arose for various reasons, including local opposition to specific Mongol policies, but also due to a generalized hostility to the Mongols. By the 1340s, "banditry" had become more serious. "Bandits" began to seize towns, often in collusion with local elites, form militias, and establish local administrations. South China became militarized, although this was not particularly directed at the Mongols. They became more and more irrelevant as their power weakened. Local and regional competition intensified to determine who was to establish the next dynasty.

At first there was a complicated free-for-all with local Yuan supporters battling opponents while the central government largely looked on. Among the former were the Turk Chaghan Temür (q.v.), and his half-Chinese nephew, adopted son, and successor Wang Baobao 王保保. He was best known by the name bestowed on him a grateful court, Kökö Temür. Chaghan Temür and Köke Temür were able to hold the area about Kaifeng 開封 (q.v.) and those adjoining to the east in the government's name. Other Yuan supporters were positioned in Fujian 福建 (Chen Youding 陳友定), and in Guangdong 廣東 (He Zhen 何真), in contact with the north by sea.

Among the more organized enemies of the court, the first with their own dynasty, the Zhou 周, were two former salt smugglers: Zhang Shicheng 張士誠, positioned along the lower

Yangtse, from where he refused to be dislodged, and Fang Guozhen 方國珍, positioned in the Yuan province of Jiangzhe 江浙, just south of Zhang Shicheng. Among the less organized were various leaders of popular religious movements and secret societies. These were mostly Taoist, but some were even rooted in the Manichaeism which flourished under the Mongols.

Most important of the sectarian enemies of the Mongols was the White Lotus Society, with beliefs focused on the coming of the savior Buddha Maitreya. It had branches scattered throughout central China. Thanks to the common ideological tradition uniting them, they were a more serious threat to Yuan survival than salt smugglers could ever be. The rebels arising out of the White Lotus Society were the Red Turban Movement, named after the red headbands worn by rebel troops.

The Red Turban rebels caused much damage but were unable, at first, to coalesce into a national movement capable of seriously competing with the Mongols, and with other rebels or government supporters. This changed as outsiders took over the leadership of the movement and began to direct it along lines of interest to their own leadership. One group of Red Turbans located in south central China was controlled in this way by Chen Youliang 陳友諒, who established his own dynasty, called Han 漢. A second, located farther down river, was controlled by Zhu Yuanzhang 朱元璋 (q.v.), Ming (q.v.) founder and Hungwu 洪武 Emperor (r. 1368–1398). Later other groups of Red Turbans emerged under other leaders.

By the late 1340s and 1350s, remaining government forces were concentrated around and just south of Daidu. The rest of China, except for isolated areas, including parts of the Yangtse valley and the interior southwest, was now divided up among competing centers of power. What government authority remained there was expressed through proxies, *e.g.*, the warlords Chaghan or Köke Temür. The powerful minister Toghto (q.v.), who dominated the court, did make repeated efforts to rectify the situation by building up the Yuan armies. He personally campaigned in the south on two occasions, in 1352 and 1354–1355. During the latter campaign he recovered control over the Grand Canal, but his efforts were ineffectual in the end. Competing court factions undercut his authority. He was recalled and cashiered in 1355. Yuan never again regained the initiative.

One reason for a growing military weakness of the Mongols was the complete impoverishment of Mongolia, thanks to a century of migration to support conquest and the destructive

wars of Qubilai's time. It had become a backwater in the 14th century. The court needed Mongols to sustain itself but the homeland was, by then, too severely depleted of human resources to provide many. Also a detriment to Mongolia was a linking of the Mongolian and Chinese economies with net loss to Mongolia. By the 14th century, Mongolia could not only not provide new armies to the Mongol rulers of China, but even required special protective measures from the Yuan court to prevent still more damage. For example, Mongols, technically the ruling ethnic group, were being sold as slaves to meet debts to Chinese moneylenders, a fact that greatly embarrassed the court in China.

As a result, Toghto's armies were largely Chinese or drawn from existing Mongol forces in China, themselves often depleted and isolated. Yuan was not only losing power in China, but it was becoming less and less Mongol. At the end, its most important defender was Köke Temür, only half Mongol.

The ultimate victor, Zhu Yuanzhang, was not the favorite at first to prosper and found a new dynasty, but prosper he did. He not only established himself but conquered one competitor after the other. As this was accomplished, he also turned on the remaining supporters of the Mongols and the Mongols themselves.

Ming armies took Daidu in 1368, and holdout Sichuan 四川 and Yunnan, where Mongol influence remained strong, in 1371 and 1382 respectively. Even before Ming armies had taken Daidu, Yuan emperor Toghon Temür had fled the city for Shangdu. It fell shortly thereafter, forcing Toghon Temür to flee to the steppe, but as Ming armies tried to penetrate Mongolia, resistance hardened. It went on actively for some years led by Köke Temür, a most irreconcilable opponent of the Ming.

According to tradition only 6 of some 40 *tümen* (q.v.) ("ten-thousands") of Mongols resident in China was able to make it back to the steppe. The rest were isolated and forced to surrender by the Ming, in spite of efforts by Toghon Temür to recall them. If this tradition is even remotely true, this was still another major demographic disaster for the rapidly diminishing Mongols.

Despite their ultimate inability to keep power in China, the Mongols had made major contributions to its development. They reunited it and its economy after centuries of disunity. Also important for China was participation in a greater Mongolian world order, one that persisted even after the collapse of a

unified Mongol empire. The Mongol Dynasty also developed China's canal system linking the north with the south and considerably expanded China's overseas connections, particularly with Iran and its Ilqanate (q.v.), Qubilai's ally in the struggle to restore Mongol unity, but also with many other areas including the remoter parts of insular Southeast Asia and even with east Africa. Under the Mongols, China maintained an aggressive sea power for the first time in its history, one able to intervene in as distant a point as Java. This was a truly remarkable achievement for China even though this intervention was ultimately unsuccessful.

It is not just the range of Yuan sea power that impresses us, but its magnitude. The Mongols had 5,000 ships and 70,000 sailors and marines available to use against the Song during the years 1268–1270. Later, in 1278, during the fight to suppress the Song resistance movement, the Mongols were able to mount a major sea lift into Fujian 福建 and points south. Thereby they defeated the Song in its own element, the sea, and prevented loyalists from using ships to stay out of the way of their enemies until better times. This tactic had been used by the Song during battles with Jürched (q.v.) invaders, a century and a half before.

During the overseas campaigns, fleets of 900 to 4,400 ships, some of them quite large, were employed. At the end of Qubilai's reign, as the Mongols planned further adventures, 15,000 were available. This was then the largest fleet in the world. Leading European naval powers of the time, such as Venice or Genoa, never maintained anything comparable. In addition, since most of the ships employed were converted commercial hulls, this meant that the large fleets maintained were not only expressive of military power, but also of commercial capacity. This commercial capacity was used not only to support the projection of power, and for long-distance trading, but also to support the domestic economy. For the first time in Chinese history, grain was moved by sea in large quantities from south to north China. The efficiency of this movement exceeded that of similar movements using the expanded Grand Canal system.

Although it is usually stated that the maritime commerce of the era was under the control of foreigners, making it atypical, this is not entirely true. Most of these "foreigners" came from families that had long been landed in China. Pu Shougeng, for example, the Sino-Persian director of maritime commerce at the end of the Song, later fulfilling much the same function for the

Mongols, came from a family with deep Chinese roots, despite its ultimate origins.

Nonetheless, if Pu and his family were more Chinese than Persian, real foreigners were significant in other areas of life in qanate China. Numerically most important were large numbers of recent Muslim immigrants, most from Central Asia and adjacent portions of Iran.

Under the Mongols, China was dotted with autonomous Muslim communities. They included the large one in Quanzhou (Zaiton) (q.v.) 泉州, Fujian, to which Pu Shougeng and his family belonged, but also smaller Muslim communities in most large Chinese cities. Some members of these communities held court and provincial posts and enjoyed particular clout because of their role as financial and taxation experts. Some were involved in a major internal colonization effort in Yunnan, where their presence was closely associated not only with the economic prosperity of the region, but also for its active integration with China under the Mongols. Thereafter Yunnan became a component part of China for the first time.

Others managed much of Mongol China's land commerce. This was through the merchant association, or *ortaq* (q.v.) system, in collaboration with the Mongol elite.

If Muslims were important for the economy, their cultural contributions were greater. Yuan was a golden age of science and technology, and Muslim scholars played a most important role. Areas of particular influence included astronomy, geography, and medicine. In all there existed a close relationship between Mongol China and Iran. Among Muslim astronomers coming to China was Jāmal al-Dīn (q.v.). He brought with him the latest Islamic instruments, including an astrolabe, terrestrial and celestial globes, and sundials, as well as plans for an armillary sphere, gifts for Qubilai. He also presented a new Muslim calendar. Chinese astronomer Guo Shoujing 郭守敬 (1231–1316) later devised his own calendar based upon Persian diagrams and data. It proved highly accurate.

Muslim contributions to Chinese geography were twofold. Muslim informants and scholars substantially widened the geographical knowledge of their Chinese colleagues. In addition, Muslim experiences in mapmaking were added to the already substantial Chinese accomplishments in this area.

One result of the collaboration was the "Extended Map of the Earth" (*Guang Yu Tu* 廣輿圖), an atlas compiled by Zhu Siben 朱思本 (1273–1337) (q.v.). It relied extensively on in-

formation from Islamic sources. It is not only remarkable in its detail for East Asia, but also for its extensive information about areas quite remote from East Asia, including Africa. It is shown by Zhu Siben in its correct shape something in which he was centuries ahead of European map-makers. Other Yuan sources contain still more detail about Africa, including extensive information about interior west Africa, medieval Mali (q.v.), then source of much of the world's gold.

The influence of Islamic medicine on China during the period was also substantial. The Mongols preferred Islamic medicine themselves, and also made it available to their subjects through public clinics. Part of their effort to promote Islamic medicine in China involved translation. One result was the great medical encyclopedia now called "Muslim Medicinal Recipes" (*Huihui yaofang* 回回藥方) (q.v.), parts of which survive.

Based upon Persian medical works, the "Muslim Medicinal Recipes" is unique in its Arabic-script entries for "Muslim" drugs, terms, and personages mentioned. Among the latter was the Roman anatomist Galen, whose work became the basis for the western medicine of the late Middle Ages and Renaissance. This is the only reference to Galen in Chinese medical literature. On top of their other qualities, surviving sections, dealing with such topics as wounds and various "winds" (strokes, etc.), display a highly analytical and scientific approach that was well ahead of medicine being practiced in the West at the time. It is unlike anything found in China until the late 19th century.

Another text expressive of Western, largely Muslim, influence is the 1330 imperial dietary, "Proper and Essential Things for the Emperor's Food and Drink" (*Yinshan Zhengyao* 飲膳正要) (q.v.). The work is in Chinese, and pays lip service to Chinese medicine in its general indications, and to Chinese culture, but its real kernel is a heavily Turkicized Mongolian court cuisine, although virtually every culture represented at court is expressed in some recipe or the other. They range from Chinese medicinal foods, to Turkic sausages, and even a Muslim *sharbat*, a sweet drink, called by that name (see Appendix C). Since west Asian recipes are also found in other sources as well, Muslims must have been preferred cooks as well as physicians and economists. It is noteworthy that virtually no pork recipes occur in this literature.

Also well represented among foreigners in Yuan China were western Christians and Tibetans. Among the many Chris-

tian merchants and travelers living and working in Mongol China, Marco Polo (q.v.) is the most famous. Qanate China also received numerous Western missionaries, some of whom have left accounts behind or are mentioned in Western sources.

The qanate's Tibetans came from the Tibetan monastic groups competing to convert the Mongols. One of them, the Sa-sKya (q.v.), became the Mongols' principal allies in Tibet, and also provided heads of Buddhism for the qanate.

Tibetan groups had proselytized among the Mongols almost from the beginning. The Sa-sKya were merely one of many, but became particularly important as time passed because of their willingness to cooperate with Mongol armies, and the personal influence of Sa-sKya leaders. These included the Sa-sKya Pandita (q.v.), Kun-dGa rGyal-mTshan (1182–1252, the most learned man of his time in Tibet and, because of his prestige, the chosen Tibetan envoy to the Mongols. After this death in 1252, his two nephews Phyag-na (1239–1267) and aPhags-pa (1235–1280) (q.v.), remained among the Mongols. APhags-pa later became Qubilai's spiritual advisor.

When Qubilai became *qan* in 1260, he and his lama formalized their association and established what the Tibetans call the *Yon-mChod* relationship (from Tibetan *Yon-bDag*, “giving lord,” and *mChod-gNas*, “sacrificer”). Through this relationship, Qubilai became a secular patron of Buddhism, one who “gave” alms to Buddhist monks and protected them and their religion. On his side, aPhags-pa was to serve as Qubilai's chaplain and with the understanding that he enjoyed powers in the religious realm similar to those of Qubilai in the secular world.

In practical terms, aPhags-pa recognized Qubilai as the supreme ruler of the Mongolian world, while aPhags-pa was given control over Buddhist religious affairs and also received Tibet as a fief, with Mongolian military power backing up his position. Later, the Mongols established a special political authority ranking high in the governmental structure of qanate China for aPhags-pa and his successors to inaugurate a system of *qoyar yos*, “dual government” (q.v), as it was called by the Mongols. Although it was Tibet and the Tibetans who benefited most from his system, a general patronage of Chinese Buddhism took place as well. Tibetans also introduced new artistic and architectural elements to China.

Essay 4. Golden Horde (1235-1502)

Longest lasting of the four Mongolian successor Qanates, the Golden Horde (q.v.) was also the least Mongolian. It never seems to have received large numbers of Mongols. To be sure, substantial forces were sent from Mongolia (q.v.) under Ögödei (q.v.), but most returned after his death and the Mongols of Russia (q.v.) and the Qipchaq Steppe (*see* Russian steppe) received few reinforcements after that. *Qan* Güyük (q.v.) was outright hostile to the House of Joci (q.v.) and Möngke (q.v.) preferred to position his assets for an invasion of China, led by himself, and of Iran, under his brother Hüle'ü (q.v.). The House of Joci had even to contribute to the latter advance. Some of the forces involved never returned.

The Golden Horde was also atypical in its organization compared to other parts of the Mongolian world. There never was a Mongol province (q.v.) of Russia in that same way that there were Mongol provinces of China (q.v.), Turkistan, and *Khurāsān* (q.v.)\Iran (q.v.). We know of no great *jarqu* (q.v.) during the period of initial conquest, nor any significant numbers of imperial *daruqaci* (q.v.), although the latter were certainly appointed.

The situation began to change under *qan* Möngke who, with Bat-qan's (q.v.) acquiescence, began to set up the rudiments of an imperial administration in Golden Horde holdings. This began with census taking, always a precondition when the Mongols actually took any area in hand. Unfortunately, Möngke's reign was far too short for such late measures to have had much impact.

Thus, almost from the beginning, the house of Joci was left to its own devices. Its demographic resources were largely confined to those groups going to it during the early years of conquest, plus reinforcements added as a serious advance was begun into the Russian steppe and Russia. Although many of the groups involved were Mongolian, most were not. They included Siberian tribes, some of them not even Altaic or nomadic, and masses of Turkic captives, principally Kibca'ut (q.v.) and Qanqlin (q.v.). Their culture quickly became the

dominant one in the Mongolian west. The House of Joci, through various branches, remained rulers to the end, but it was an increasingly Turkic house, in particular after its definitive conversion to Islam (q.v.) in the 14th century.

The name Golden Horde (*Zlataiya Ordo*) is Russian, and not Mongolian, although even Mongolian historians have now adopted the term. It was a popular nickname for the holdings of the House of Joci, technically the Joci *ulus* (q.v.), that may be of Turkic origin. The word *ordo* (q.v.) means “palace tent.” It may literally have been golden, but Mongolian *altan*, “golden,” also means “royal,” “imperial,” the more likely derivation.

Among its Turkic subjects, the Golden Horde was the Qanate of the Qipchap (*i.e.*, Kibca’ut). They also made a distinction between the Golden Horde proper, the “Blue” Horde or Köke Ordo (*see* “Blue” ordo), ruled by the line of Joci but through Bat-qan (q.v.), and the “White” Horde (*Aq Ordo*) (*see* “White” Ordo), ruled by the line of Joci but through Orda (q.v.). This was Joci’s eldest son. His line remained strictly subordinate to the line of Bat-qan until the 14th century. A third son of Joci, Shibān, controlled territories near the Ili River and the lower Amu-darya. His holdings are also called “White” Horde in some sources, and Orda’s “White” Horde, in turn, “Blue” Horde.

Although a unified Mongol empire continued to exist during his lifetime, the first *qan* of the Golden Horde was unquestionably Bat-qan by virtue of his independence and role as kingmaker, participating in a virtual condominium with *qan* Möngke. Bat-qan also undertook the difficult task of consolidating Mongol rule in his domains. He accepted the loss of Hungary (q.v.) and concentrated on firming Mongol control over Russia in alliance with Alexander Nevsky (q.v.), who hoped to use the Mongols against his enemies, the Teutonic Knights (q.v.) and other Baltic powers (*see* Lithuania; Poland). Bat-qan began the construction of a capital city on the Volga, Sarai (q.v.). It had a strategic position, allowing it to control trade, as well as proximity to the real concentrations of Golden Horde power. These were near Sarai itself and along the middle and upper Volga (q.v.), especially around what later became Kazan. Crimea (q.v.) was also a major center of nomadic presence.

From Sarai, the *qan* of the Golden Horde controlled the south Russian steppe, the Volga, and a large part of the northern Caucasus. Their rule stretched across the Caspian (q.v.) into

what is now northeastern Kazakhstan, and north and east far into Siberia (q.v.). Indirectly they controlled tribute territories extending throughout Russia to the Gulf of Finland, west into Poland, and southwest into what is now Moldova. Golden Horde neighbors were hunter-gatherer tribes in the north, imperial Mongol and later Ca'adai holdings (see Ca'adai *Ulus*) in Turkistan (q.v.) and in the north, the Ilqanate (q.v.) of Iran in the Caucasus, and various German, Baltic, and Slavic states and princes in the west. Through the Crimea, the Golden Horde came into contact with the Italian trading states and the various successor states of the Byzantine Empire (q.v.).

After Bat-qan's death in 1255, two short-lived successors held the throne: Sartaq (1256–1257) and his son, or perhaps brother, Ulagci (1257). After Ulagci, Berke (q.v.), Bat-qan's brother, took the throne and ruled until 1267. Berke took the throne with the acquiescence of *qan* Möngke, but, as the unified empire collapsed, Berke helped bury it by refusing to recognize Qubilai (q.v.). He also began a protracted series of wars with the Ilqanate. These were fought primarily for control of the lower Caucasus and northwestern Iran. These areas had been specifically assigned to Hüle'ü in part to weaken the Golden Horde and were highly suitable for nomadic use. They were thus a potential source of power for whoever could control them.

As part of his efforts against the Ilqanate, which continued for the last half of his reign, Berke sought allies. This quest naturally led him to establish connections with the Mamlūk (q.v.) in Egypt (q.v.), the major enemy of the Ilqanate after 1260 and for its entire period of existence.

Since the Golden Horde was physically separated from Mamlūk domains in Egypt and Syria by potentially hostile powers, the goodwill of the various states dominating the Aegean was important if communication by sea was to be maintained. This meant the Latin Empire of Constantinople (see Constantinople, Latin Empire), the Republics of Genoa (q.v.) and Venice (q.v.), which dominated the Aegean economically, and the Empire of Nicea (q.v.) and then, after 1260, the restored Byzantine Empire of Michael Paleologus (q.v.).

The latter at first favored the Ilqanate, since Ilqanate forces were potentially in a position to damage Byzantine holdings in Anatolia, whereas the Golden Horde had no common frontier with the Byzantines. Berke overcame this difficulty by acting on Byzantium through Bulgaria (q.v.), supporting the latter in

its wars with Byzantines. Once the connection had been established, the Golden Horde not only gained militarily by having a powerful ally in Egypt, but also economically and culturally. Egypt became its major trading partner and exported cultural as well as material goods to its northern ally.

Egyptian support of Golden Horde Islam was particularly important. It allowed a Turkicized elite to maintain the rudiments of a high culture that was their own, and not drawn from Russian subjects. This meant that the assimilation pattern in the Golden Horde was entirely different than in China, or Iran. For its part, the Golden Horde supplied slaves required by the Turkic slave (*mamlūk*) dynasty of Egypt to perpetuate itself.

Berke was the first ruler of his house to become a Muslim. This made him uncomfortable with what Hüle'ü had done in Baghdad (q.v.). By contrast, Qubilai turned to Buddhism (q.v.) and the Ilqans (q.v.) continued to honor native Mongolian religion, Nestorianism (q.v.), and even some Tibetan Buddhism. While Buddhism, or Nestorianism, did not prevent the other rulers of successor qanates from dealing with the Golden Horde, Islam was less forgiving towards infidels. The religious split within the Mongol Empire soon became a major impediment to its revival (*see* Islam).

Berke's successor, Möngke Temür (r. 1267–1280) (q.v.), a nephew, or perhaps grandnephew, continued efforts to maintain connections with Mamlūk Egypt. He also allied the Golden Horde with Qaidu (q.v.), attempting to challenge Qubilai in Central Asia. During Möngke Temür's reign, Byzantium played the role of a peacemaker, hoping to preserve itself between the Ilqanate and the Golden Horde.

The Golden Horde and the Ilqanate began fighting again, but Byzantium did survive. It also benefited by a rich transit trade between Crimea and Egypt. Also benefiting was Genoa, which took control of Theodosia (Kaffa) in the Crimea after 1266.

It was during Möngke Temür's reign that the emir Nogai (q.v.), grandson of Joci (q.v.), began to assume a dominant role, overshadowing that of the *qan* himself. Noqai was particularly involved in Eastern Europe and the Balkans. He was connected by marriage to both the Byzantines and with the Ilqanate, putting him into a relatively unique position within the Golden Horde.

Möngke Temür was not a Muslim, but his successor, his brother, Töde Möngke (r. 1280–1287) was. During Töde

Möngke's reign Turkic definitively replaced Mongolian on Golden Horde coins, pointing up the completion of a cultural transformation. Among his contributions was an intervention in Bulgaria in favor of Byzantium, upon which the Golden Horde was dependent for contacts with Egypt. He also campaigned actively in Eastern Europe, Poland and Hungary. The Mongols intervened there during the 1280s and 1290s. Noqai continued to be the dominant personality as before. The *qan*, whatever his theoretical power, took second place. Töde-Möngke abdicated after only a relatively few years in power as a result.

During this time, Mongol authority in Russian and elsewhere was represented by *daruqaci* (q.v.), or *basqaq* (q.v.), as they were called in a Turkic literal translation, by occasional delegations sent to collect tribute, and by Russian and other local princes. They were willing to do the Mongols' dirty work for them. Among them were the princes of Moscow, who grew wealthy as Mongol middlemen. Noqai was so successful in extracting everything that could be extracted from Russian and other dependent states that Russians confused him with the *qan* himself.

Töde-Möngke's successor was his nephew Telebogha (r. 1287–1291), although Nogai effectively remained co-ruler. Telebogha resumed the war against the Ilqanate to support the Mamlük, although without much success. Nogai, on the other hand, was more successful. He brought Bulgaria and Serbia into the Golden Horde orbit as client states, although the former ultimately recognized Noqai, not the *qan*, as suzerain.

Nogai tired of Telebogha and had him killed. His successor was Telebogha's son Toqta (r. 1291–1312) (q.v.), although Nogai remained the power behind the throne. Toqta was finally able to assert himself through a Byzantine alliance (he married the daughter of Andronikos II Paleologus) and by bringing Bulgaria under his own, rather than Nogai's influence.

After Nogai's death in 1299, Toqta made plans to recover lost ground from the Ilqanate. He made an alliance with Georgia (q.v.), but had to settle for negotiations, since Egypt was unwilling to intervene. He plundered and destroyed Kaffa in the Crimea (q.v.) in 1308. This important trading settlement belonged to the Genoese, Ilqanate allies. Its destruction was only a temporary setback. It was rebuilt and continued to exist as a Genoese enclave for nearly another two centuries.

Toqta's rule marked the high-water mark of Golden Horde power. Although it continued largely unabated into the late

14th century, no further gains were made. Vassals, particularly Russian princes, were becoming restive. His successor was his nephew Özbek (r. 1313–1341) (q.v.), who primarily concerned himself with internal politics. He had less to do with the rapidly declining Ilqanate with which he usually kept the peace.

By the 14th century the Russian principalities had recovered from Mongol conquest. The Golden Horde remained dominant, but their relative power vis-à-vis the Mongols had grown, and with it unwillingness to pay tribute without protest. Özbek responded with a careful management of Russian affairs, including a marriage alliance with Yurii Danilovich of Moscow. Özbek made him Grand Prince of Russia. He also used military force against the princes, as he did after Yurii was dethroned by his rival, the former grand prince Michail Jaroslavitch of Tver.

By playing one prince off against the other, Özbek did everything possible to prevent any unification against the Mongols. When the princes did try to resist, he put them down ruthlessly. Ultimately, by eliminating competitors, Özbek's actions had an unintended consequence, the rise of Moscow in a power vacuum created by the Golden Horde. Another significant event during Özbek's reign was the rise of two strong states in Eastern Europe, Lithuania (q.v.) and Poland (q.v.). In Anatolia and Thrace, the Osmanli (q.v.) sultanate grew at the expense of Byzantium, a Golden Horde client state. Farther south, the Mamlük lost interest in the Golden Horde as the Ilqanate began its final decline.

Despite these changes, the Golden Horde continued to collect its revenues in Russia and in Eastern Europe. By this time the Golden Horde as a whole, not just its rulers, had become more or less completely Islamic, as well as Turkic in culture.

Özbek's successor was his son Tinibek (r. 1341–1342) and then the usurper Jani Beg (1342–1357), his half-brother, followed by his sons, Berdi Beg, Qulpa, and Nevruz, between 1357–1360. After that, there was rarely a single Golden Horde ruler.

Under Jani Beg, the Golden Horde was caught up in the petty squabbles of Eastern European powers, including the Russian princes. It did not always choose the best side, weakening its influence. By this time, Lithuania had replaced the Golden Horde as the dominant power. In the south, the expanding Osmanli proved a competitor far more powerful than the Ilqanate had been. By the 1350s, internal divisions were also a

problem. Golden Horde troops frequently fought with other Golden Horde troops. Prolonged power struggle was now the rule.

As the situation deteriorated, Russian vassals began to resist the Mongols actively. On September 8, 1380, Dimitrii II Donskoi of Moscow decisively defeated the Golden Horde emir Mamai (q.v.) at Kulikovo Pole (q.v.) on the Don. Although this Pyrrhic victory did not mark the end of the “Tatar Yoke,” as claimed by some Russian historians, the myth of Golden Horde invincibility was gone. Nonetheless, the Golden Horde’s greatest defeat came not at the hands of Russian princes, but at those of another Turk, Tamerlane (q.v.), busy creating an empire to replace the last vestiges of Ca’adai influence in Turkistan.

By the late 14th century, the “White” Horde’s House of Orda had taken over leadership from the politically bankrupt main Golden Horde line. *Circa* 1374/75–1375/76 the ruler was Urus. A dispute broke out between Urus and Toqtamysh (q.v.), his nephew Tamerlane intervened on the latter’s behalf and Toqtamysh (r. 1376/77–1395) became Tamerlane’s puppet *qan*.

Although living in the shadow of Tamerlane, Toqtamysh proved an energetic ruler. He punished Moscow for its defeat of Mamai, and began restoring his empire. He expanded south and attempted to reestablish the alliance with Egypt, now practically cut off from the Golden Horde by Osmanli advances. Such actions brought him into conflict with Tamerlane. He defeated Toqtamysh in 1391 and installed another *qan* in his place.

Toqtamysh recovered his throne, but he knew that he would have to fight Tamerlane and that he would need allies. He sought them in Lithuania, then merged with Poland, and in Egypt. To prevent an Egyptian alliance, Tamerlane acted first. On April 14, 1395, he utterly destroyed the army of Toqtamysh in a battle on the Terek River (q.v.). The Golden Horde continued to exist until 1502, but it never fully recovered from this defeat and the devastation of Tamerlane’s subsequent invasion. Old and New Sarai was among places heavily damaged.

Tamerlane left behind Temür Qutluq (r. 1395–1400), a grandson of Urus, as his puppet *qan*. Toqtamysh survived his defeat and continued to claim the throne until his death in 1406/07, but was unable to recover it. After Temür Qutluq’s death, two of his brothers became *qan*, and then a son, at which point succession switched back to the line of Toqtamysh again. None of these rulers was very powerful. The struggle for power

intensified following the death of Tamerlane in 1405. During this period the Russian states were plagued by Mongol raids on the one side, and Lithuanian expansion on the other. Lithuania also became a kingmaker for the Golden Horde.

By this time, although Sarai was still in use as a capital, an important secondary center developed in Kazan (q.v.). It later became the capital of a successor qanate. A third center of power developed in the Crimea, which remained a nomadic stronghold until the end. During these years a divided Golden Horde continued to intervene in Eastern Europe and Russia. Its components also warred against each other. In 1502, the main center of Golden Horde power, the "Great Horde" (q.v.), was destroyed by Crimea.

After 1480, it was no longer the Golden Horde or its successor states that mattered, but Moscow. Real political power had passed to it, although a *qan* of the Crimea, usually a Moscow ally, took and destroyed the city as late as 1571.

Of the various successor qanates, Kazan was taken by Ivan the Terrible in 1552, but it was not until the time of Peter the Great that Moscow finally became free of the impositions of Crimea. The latter survived until the late 18th century, thanks to Osmanli protection, when it too was annexed by Russia.

Although much of Golden Horde history took place well beyond the range of Western European interests, in one respect it directly impacted all of Europe. This was through the Black Death (q.v.) that spread throughout Europe between 1347 and 1351, the first of many similar outbreaks. The Black Death, which probably arose within the southern territories of the Golden Horde, may have been a cause of its ultimate decline. The disease not only killed as much as a third of the population of Europe, but, in its wake, created a new society directly ancestral to our own.

Essay 5. Ca'adai *Ulus* and Qaidu (1260-1338)

The history of the Ca'adai *ulus* (*q.v.*) is intimately joined with that of the empire created by Qaidu (*q.v.*) to press the cause of the House of Ögödei (*q.v.*). It is poorly documented, and in the absence of written records we must rely more heavily on numismatic and growing archaeological evidence than for other parts of the Mongolian world.

The *ulus* (*q.v.*) is named after Ca'adai (*q.v.*), second eldest son of Cinggis-qan (*q.v.*) who died in 1242. He received pastures in the western Turkistan (*see* Turkistan) at an early date, but had to share it with the agents of the *qan* for whom the surviving urban populations of the area were major revenue sources. This was quite unlike the situation in the Golden Horde (*q.v.*), for example, where a Mongol province was never entirely set up, or Iran (*q.v.*), never effectively controlled before the appearance of Hüle'ü (*q.v.*). Only the situation in China was comparable. Two Mongol provinces impinged on western Turkistan: that centered in Beshbaliq (*q.v.*) under Mas'üd Beg (*q.v.*), whose jurisdiction extended as far as Transoxania, and that of Khurāsān (*q.v.*), headquartered in Ṭūs. Only with the former did the House of Ca'adai have direct dealings, although they later fought over Khurāsān with the Ilqanate (*q.v.*).

The first independent Ca'adai *qan* was a regent, Ergeneqatun (regent 1251-1260) (*q.v.*). She was the wife of Qara-Hüle'ü (*q.v.*), grandson of Ca'adai (*q.v.*). Originally chosen to succeed his grandfather, Qara-Hüle'ü (r. 1242-1246) was deposed by *qan* Güyük (*q.v.*). In his place, Yesü Möngke (r. 1246-1251), the eldest living son of Ca'adai, was appointed. Later, Yesü Möngke was executed by Bat-qan (*q.v.*) during the purges of his namesake, *qan* Möngke (*q.v.*). Qara-Hüle'ü was reappointed but he died shortly afterwards. *Qan* Möngke then appointed Ergene regent for her young son, Mubārak-Shāh (*q.v.*), to govern Ca'adai domains cooperatively with Mas'üd Beg (*q.v.*), the chief imperial authority.

It was thus Ergene who was in control when *qan* Möngke's death plunged the Mongol Empire into crisis, putting her into a most difficult position. Ergene was related to the House of

Ögödei, but also to that of Tolui (*see* Tolui-noyan), and it was due to *qan* Möngke that she enjoyed her position as regent. Thus she had a personal interest in the civil war that developed between two of its members, Ariq-bökö (*q.v.*) and Qubilai. She tried to avoid taking sides at first, but her neighbors did. The Golden Horde supported Ariq-bökö, and Hüle'ü supported Qubilai.

The crisis came in late 1260 as Ariq-bökö sought to establish his power in the domains controlled by Ergene and Mas'üd Beg. He appointed Ca'adai prince Alghu (r. 1260-1265/66) (*q.v.*), a grandson of Ca'adai, to head the *ulus*. The next year, he sent him west to secure grain from Turkistan for Mongolia, where Ariq-bökö had his headquarters, to replace interdicted Chinese imports.

Alghu did as he was bidden but worked in his own interests as well as those of Ariq-bökö. He brought Ca'adai domains under his control, but also expanded them at the expense of the Golden Horde and the former imperial province.

Ergene and Mas'üd Beg complained to Ariq-bökö. He led his army against Alghu, now considered a rebel, during 1262-1263, but was unable to reduce him to submission. Deprived of any effective support by Ariq-bökö, Ergene and Mas'üd Beg had no choice but to make peace with Alghu. Mas'üd Beg became his governor for Transoxania (*q.v.*) and Ergene Alghu's wife. By then, Alghu was actively courted by Qubilai, but the end of the civil war between Ariq-bökö and Qubilai in 1264 did not bring peace due to the appearance of Qaidu, a new Central Asian rival for Qubilai.

Qaidu was born around 1235–1236. He was the grandson of Ögödei through the latter's fifth son, Qashi, born from primary wife Döregene-qatun (*q.v.*). He was too young to be involved in the struggles that heralded the rise of the House of Tolui in 1251. Qaidu was, as a consequence, given an apanage in 1252 by the new *qan* as a loyal prince. This was in Qayaliq (*q.v.*). He also seems to have received troops once belonging to the House of Ögödei.

Qaidu carefully maintained his apanage as a power base. There may have been conflict with the *qan*, but Qaidu survived Möngke's reign. He was rewarded by Qubilai at the time of his election. Qubilai may have been trying to buy neutrality.

There is no evidence that Qaidu took a position against Qubilai until Alghu's rise in the Ca'adai *ulus*, his rapprochement with Qubilai, and a threat to Qaidu's own base area. Al-

ghu had made the first move, attacking Qaidu circa 1263, perhaps even before he had decided to support Ariq-böke.

When Ariq-böke surrendered, Qaidu established an alliance with Golden Horde *qan* Berke (*q.v.*). It was directed against their common enemy, Alghu of the Ca'adai *ulus*. Qaidu was promised control over the *ulus* if he could unseat Alghu and was given troops by Berke. Qaidu won the first battle, but lost the second against Alghu. He seemed at a disadvantage when Alghu died, sometime in the winter of 1265/66. The deaths of Hüle'ü in 1265 and Berke shortly thereafter, in 1266/67, coupled with Qubilai's preoccupations with China and Chinese politics, created an opportunity for Qaidu in Central Asia.

Initially, Qaidu expanded eastward, into Uighur (*see* Turfan Uighurs) domains under the nominal control of Qubilai. This provoked a reaction from Qubilai (1268). Qaidu then turned west, towards the Ca'adai *ulus*, emerging from the throes of a power struggle.

When Alghu died, Ergene wished to make her son, Mubārak Shāh (r. 1266), *qan*. The nomination was not approved by Qubilai, whom Ergene theoretically recognized as *qan*. Mubārak Shāh's nomination was also opposed within the *ulus* and Baraq (r. 1266–1271) (*q.v.*), a great-grandson of Ca'adai, seized power. This change of administration meant the end of any support for Qubilai in the Ca'adai *ulus*. Baraq came to the Ca'adai *ulus* from China, where he had been in exile, as Qubilai's appointee as a joint ruler for the *ulus*, but he quickly turned away from his supposed sponsor and went his own way. He invaded Chinese Turkistan, claimed by Qubilai. Baraq, although an enemy of Qaidu at first, was not mortally opposed to the House of Ögödei. His father had been among its supporters in 1251, the reason for Baraq's own exile to China.

Baraq attacked Qaidu to defend Transoxania (*q.v.*), principal revenue source for his *ulus*. It was ruled, as before, by Mas'ūd Beg, but for new masters. He won the first battle with Qaidu, but suffered defeat in a second after Qaidu received major reinforcements from the Golden Horde. Baraq fell back on Transoxania, which he exploited ruthlessly to rebuild his armies, thereby damaging the very basis of his power.

Qaidu, more interested in a war against Qubilai, now offered to negotiate. A *quriltai* was held on the Talas, probably in the spring of 1269. It was attended by Baraq and Qaidu, and by a representative of the other interested party, the Golden Horde.

The result is sometimes called the Talas Convenant (*q.v.*).

(*q.v.*). It required a division of the revenues of Transoxania between Baraq, Qaidu, and Möngke Temür (*q.v.*) of the Golden Horde. Two-thirds was to go to the former, and one-third each to Qaidu and Möngke Temür. The territories themselves were to remain undivided under Mas'ūd Beg. Specific pastures were set aside for Baraq and Qaidu. An understanding was reached that the nomadic population would not trespass in sedentary areas and damage them, and that demands for revenues should not be excessive. Qaidu set up a garrison in Bukhara (*q.v.*), from which Baraq was forbidden. This was a most remarkable agreement, and the result was not unlike what Ögödei had tried to achieve in China in his time. It persisted into the 14th century.

Once the agreement was in place, Qaidu was free to attack east. He became a major threat to Qubilai. Baraq by contrast, although anxious to recover direct control in Bukhara, decided to attack İlqan Abaqa (r. 1265-1282) (*q.v.*) in *Khurāsān* instead. He did so with the encouragement of Qaidu and probably that of the Golden Horde, already the habitual enemies of the İlqanate (*q.v.*).

A major conflict between supporters and opponents of Qubilai again divided the Mongolian world. The split was protracted. Only in the early 14th century, a generation later, did it become possible to speak again of Mongol unity. Achieving it in practice was by then no longer possible.

Qubilai's opponents may have presented themselves, like Ariq-bökö, as upholders of Mongolian tradition, in comparison to Qubilai the Sinicizer, but this is uncertain. They may have known that Qubilai was never that Chinese. Real Sinicization of his dynasty only came much later, and even then was superficial.

Also uncertain is whether or not Qaidu ever tried to present himself as an alternative to Qubilai as supreme ruler of the Mongolian world. Not recognizing Qubilai did not automatically mean the acceptance of Qaidu as *qan*. Be that as it may, an alliance had been made even if no new *qan* was established.

The various parties maneuvered for position with considerable straining of the new relationship during the next years, if not outright invalidation of some provisions of the Talas Covenant. Möngke Temür was blocked by Qaidu when he attempted to move troops into Bukhara, while Baraq took advantage of the dispute to reoccupy the area. Möngke Temür, as a consequence, never seems to have received the revenues promised

him in 1269. His dissatisfaction may be what was behind a possible contact with Qubilai, but an outright break between Möngke Temür and Qaidu was avoided. The parties did adhere to their promise not to plunder the sedentary territories covered by the agreement, although this was only thanks to the persuasion of Mas'üd Beg (*q.v.*), who prevented Baraq from doing just that.

To compensate for his inability to plunder Bukhara, Baraq went on the offensive against the Ilqanate. Theoretically he enjoyed the encouragement of Qaidu, happy to see his rival thus engaged, but Qaidu may also have sought to sabotage his chances. Baraq was at first successful, but the desertion of a force provided by Qaidu, and the need to pursue it, put him at a disadvantage. By then Qaidu was actively supporting Abaqa, who overwhelmingly defeated Baraq at Herat on July 22, 1270.

Baraq returned to Bukhara, his army in disorder. He requested aid from Qaidu, whose duplicity he may have been unaware of. Qaidu sent an army, but to unseat Baraq. Surrounded in his camp, according to one version of events, Baraq died suddenly. According to another, he was abandoned by his army and poisoned after taking refuge with Qaidu.

Most of Baraq's army went over to Qaidu, as did many important Ca'adai *noyan* (*q.v.*). Henceforth, the Ca'adai *ulus* was under the control of Qaidu. He became *qan* of an empire comprised of his own and the Ca'adai *ulus* in the late summer of 1271. Also entering the service of Qaidu was Mas'üd Beg, taking his administration with him. Mas'üd Beg began a currency reform that helped reestablish of the prosperity of the areas under his control. The sons of Alghu and Baraq fled to Iran. From there they mounted at times devastating raids against the former Ca'adai domains with the help of Abaqa. The sons later submitted to Qubilai.

Qaidu appointed his own puppet *qan* to take charge of what was left of the Ca'adai *ulus*. This was Negüdei (r. 1271–circa 1272), a grandson of Ca'adai through his son Sarban, but Negüdei soon rebelled against Qaidu. He was killed by Qaidu's troops.

Qaidu then appointed Buqa Temür (r. circa 1272–1282), a great-great-grandson of Ca'adai, finally returning to the legitimate, main line in 1282 when he made his peace with the sons of Baraq, and appointed one of them, Du'a (r. 1282–1307) (*q.v.*), as Ca'adai *qan*. Despite his family connections, Du'a

became a staunch supporter of Qaidu and took part in his wars actively.

Although hostilities with Iran continued, Qaidu's main attentions turned to Qubilai. He consolidated his power and began a serious assault on Qubilai. Qaidu at that time controlled Bukhara (*q.v.*), the area about Talas and eastward, in what is now northern Kazakhstan, much of the Tarim and eastern Mongolia, and Dzungaria. His base areas were centered about Qayaliq and Emil. He had lost Almaliq (*q.v.*) in 1268, but recovered it before 1280.

His struggle with Qubilai was for control of eastern Turkistan (*q.v.*), particularly the Uighur territories (*see* Turfan Uighurs), and Mongolia. The crisis came in 1276. After several years of raids and skirmishing, and a buildup by both sides, local Mongolian princes under the command of Nomuqan (*q.v.*), fourth son of Qubilai sent to resist Qaidu, rebelled and took Nomuqan captive.

Qaidu was busy dealing with an Ilqanate invasion of Bukhara. Perhaps concerned about their loyalty, he refused to accept the allegiance of the rebels. Nonetheless, Qubilai's authority in Mongolia all but collapsed. In 1277, the rebels were able to seize and plunder the old Mongolian capital of Qaraqorum (*q.v.*). Qubilai was forced to dispatch a large army to Mongolia and reinforce Turkistan, just at the time that his advance against the Southern Song was in its final phases. Song Resistance Movement (*see* Song, Mongol conquest of) forces were able to stage a major recovery in 1277 as a result. Qubilai's forces were seriously strained and his regime was vulnerable, although only briefly. Conflicts within the Ca'adai *ulus* seem to have prevented a major invasion, but Qaidu did undertake minor operations to take advantage of the chaos.

By 1282, Qubilai's armies had restored the situation. Some rebels were subdued and others had been forced to flee to Qaidu for protection. Some came with substantial reinforcements for Qaidu.

That same year Qaidu came to an understanding with the sons of Baraq. He made Du'a *qan* of the Ca'adai *ulus* and thus his ally. Qaidu could now concentrate on reducing Qubilai's reinforced and reduced positions. He had stopped trying to defend those most distant. What Qubilai did defend, he did so carefully, making a serious effort to deny resources to Qaidu whenever possible. Qubilai also considerably extended the Mongolian postal system, the *jam* (*q.v.*), to make sure that de-

fending forces were kept well informed. He established military colonies to supply food and other materials to his armies. As a part of this, the Uighur domains, in particular, became an integrated part of Qubilai's Yuan regime (*see* Yuan Dynasty). Similar measures were taken to secure areas of China proper bordering on Mongolia and Turkistan.

After several years of raiding that proved particularly damaging to the Uighurs, Qaidu and Du'a made a large-scale movement in 1286 towards the old Uighur capital of Beshbaliq (*q.v.*). It was now garrisoned by Qubilai's army. They were able to capture the city momentarily and exploit surrounding areas for their revenues, the very thing that Qubilai had been trying to prevent. His armies could only fall back and regroup and much of Uighuristan had to be abandoned.

Qubilai had to deal with enemies on other fronts as well. In 1287, Nayan (*q.v.*), descendent of Temüğe-otcigin (*q.v.*), younger brother of Cinggis-qan (*q.v.*), rebelled in Manchuria supported by a group of other princes. It involved a major, and very promptly mounted undertaking to defeat him, with Qubilai himself leading his army. Two years before this, in 1285, there had been a major confrontation in Tibet. The Sa-sKya (*q.v.*) monastery and its allies, including troops sent by Qubilai, attacked and destroyed a competing monastery, aBri-Kung (*q.v.*). They unexpectedly encountered aBri-Kung's Mongol allies, who may have been sent or led by Du'a and Qaidu themselves. Unfortunately, the entire incident is obscure in our sources and the Mongols may also have been from Iran since aBri-Kung is known to have proselytized there.

As part of efforts against Nayan, prince Kamala, the grandson of Qubilai, had been sent to Mongolia. He was ordered to recover western Mongolia and subdue Qaidu if possible. The result was near disaster. Kamala was nearly captured in an encounter with Qaidu in 1289. The old Mongolian capital of Qaraqorum fell to him. In response Qubilai took command in person and led his armies into Mongolia. Qaidu gave up Qaraqorum and retreated, but the war was not over. Qubilai went home, leaving his marshal Bayan (*q.v.*) behind to oversee operations.

Qaidu continued to hold large parts of western Mongolia for the next few years, and to hold his own against Qubilai's generals. In 1292, Qaidu, assisted by Melik Temür, a son of Ariq-bökö (*q.v.*), and general of Qubilai, began a serious invasion. Bayan was able to defeat Melik Temür decisively while

another army led by Tuq Tuqa raided across the Altay Mountains and took large numbers of Qaidu's soldiers captive.

Bayan fought a second battle with Qaidu and drove him back. Tuq Tuqa reconquered the Yenisei region, marking a major advance for Qubilai. A semblance of Yuan control was reestablished. For the moment at least, Mongolia was safe from Qaidu. This was an important consideration for Qubilai, who never abandoned his claims to Mongolian universality.

Qaidu outlived Qubilai and the war continued. Raids and counterraids continued with declining intensity. The Yuan government held the upper hand in part due to the abandonment of expensive overseas expeditions by Temür Öljeitü (*q.v.*), freeing up resources for use elsewhere. This included in Central Asia, against Qaidu, although Qaidu continued to gain ground, including in Turkistan, but some rebels did return to Yuan allegiance.

A positive sign for Temür Öljeitü were Qaidu's problems with the Ilqanate (*q.v.*) and the Golden Horde (*q.v.*), forcing him to divert his efforts. Taking advantage, Temür Öljeitü began a general counterattack in 1300-1301. It was led by princes Qaishan and Kamala. The decisive battles occurred in September 1301, south of the Altay Mountains. In the first, on September 3, Qaidu attempted to defend himself against Qaishan alone and was heavily defeated in a hard-fought battle lasting several days. A second battle two days later, after Qaidu had received reinforcements, ended largely in a draw. Yuan armies took greater losses but asserted themselves in the end thanks to Qaishan's leadership. In a final encounter, Yuan armies lost and had to retreat. But by burning steppe pastures as they went, they prevented an invasion of Mongolia by Qaidu. Qaidu did not pursue. Thus the campaign ended a Yuan strategic if not tactical victory.

There the matter lay. Qaidu died soon after the last battle. After his death, Temür Öljeitü succeeded in restoring at least a superficial peace between the various feuding powers in Central Asia, including between himself and Ca'adai *qan* Du'a. Relations also improved with the Golden Horde, but only briefly. Momentarily, Temür Öljeitü had no real competitors to his claim of being the *qan* of the entire Mongolian world, although his real power was much less.

With the death of Qaidu, Du'a and his qanate resumed an independent existence. Du'a was now kingmaker, since it was he who choose Qaidu's son Chapar as his successor. It proved a

poor choice. The former empire of Qaidu shrank, not only because of Du'a's willingness to negotiate with Temür Öljeitü, but because of the inability of Chapar to assert himself. He made peace, of which the price was the return of much of his father's conquests. On September 19, 1304, Temür Öljeitü made a general agreement with Du'a, with the House of Ögödei (*q.v.*), and with the sons of Ariq-bökö, a fact mentioned in a letter of *ilqan* Öljeitu (*q.v.*) to Philippe IV of France.

Despite the agreement, struggle between the Ca'adai *ulus* and the House of Ögödei continued, mostly to the benefit of the former. During 1306/1307, Chapar surrendered to Du'a. Many of his surviving troops passed to Temür Öljeitü, who had already received the surrender of various rebels. Later Chapar surrendered to Qaishan, Temür Öljeitü's successor. The House of Ögödei continued to exist, and even had a *qan*, but it had little real influence. The Ca'adai *ulus* was now completely dominant. The independent history of the House of Ögödei was at an end.

When Du'a died in 1307, his successor was his son Könchek (r. 1308). Könchek's reign was short and was followed by a succession struggle between an outsider and the other sons of Du'a. Kebek (r. 1309, later 1318–1326) (*q.v.*) drove out the outsider, Taliqu, only to fall victim to an attack by Chapar and other princes of the House of Ögödei, although the latter did not attempt to take advantage of their victory to reestablish an independent qanate.

In a *quriltai* (*q.v.*) of all interested parties in 1309, Kebek gave up power to his brother Esen Buqa (r. 1309–1318), although he reassumed it after the latter's death. During much of Esen Buqa's reign, the Ca'adai *ulus* fought a hard battle against a resurgent Yuan in Turkistan. It was now the Ca'adai *ulus*, and no longer an empire of Qaidu, bordering on the area. Kebek came under increasing pressure from the Golden Horde, which sought the Ca'adai *ulus* as an ally in its unending wars against the Ilqanate.

Kebek's successor, after a short succession dispute, was Tarmashirin (r. 1326–1334) (*q.v.*). He became the first Muslim ruler of the *ulus* (*see* Islam). This made the Ca'adai *ulus* the last qanate to accept one of the world religions. Sharing a religion with the Ilqanate did not prevent Tarmashirin from attacking it or other Muslim neighbors. Tarmashirin's acceptance of Islam made him anathema to conservative Mongols. The conversion isolated the ruling house from its roots and encouraged its as-

similation to the mixed Iranian and Turkic culture of western Turkistan.

After Tarmashirin, the Ca'adai *ulus* began a rapid decline. It lost southern portions of its domains to local Turkic emirs and became split between feuding factions. The *qan* of the *ulus* became less and less important. Tribal chieftains dominated, with the ruling class now more comfortable in cities than in the steppe. *Qan* Tugluk Temür tried to reestablish his house's power in the Semirechye (*q.v.*), but encountered the almost undivided opposition of the culturally mixed sedentary states of the area, once the center of *ulus* holdings. To them Tugluk was more bandit than the scion of a once-powerful house. Tamerlane (*q.v.*) put an end to these struggles. Although careful to claim a connection with the old ruling house by marriage, he was no Mongol and his reign marked the end of the Ca'adai era.

Essay 6. Ilqanate (1260-1356)

Khurāsān (q.v.), as well as large parts of Afghanistan, eastern Iran (q.v.), and Azerbaijan (q.v.), had been held by the Mongols prior to the coming of Hūle'ū (q.v.), but the effective conquest of these areas and points beyond had to await his arrival. Hūle'ū's advance brought the Mongols into contact with the Iranian and Iraqi worlds proper. It also made them a factor in Mediterranean history, and in the politics of the Holy Land (q.v.) in particular.

Dominating the latter were the surviving Crusader states (q.v.), the Egyptian Mamlūk (q.v.), protector of the Muslim position in Palestine, and the Italian city states (*see* Genoa; Venice). To the north were the Christian kingdom of Lesser Armenia (q.v.), and the Seljuq (q.v.) of Rūm, both dominated by the Mongols and the soon-to-be-reconstituted Byzantine Empire (q.v.).

Once Hūle'ū had decided not to contest the imperial throne with his brother Qubilai (q.v.), politics were simple. He had to defend conquered domains and allies, fight the enemies of his house, particularly the Golden Horde (q.v.), and try to expand. The successors of Hūle'ū had also to prevent communication between the two principal enemies of the house, the Golden Horde and the Mamlūk. This meant that Byzantium was strategically positioned for the Mongols in Iran. Under the early Paleologoi, Byzantium did everything possible to take advantage of its new importance and to rebuild its fortunes, thanks to a Mongol weakening of the power of the Seljuq, Byzantium's principal enemy.

The Ilqanate (q.v.) never built a fleet and moved out into the Mediterranean. It never controlled Syria or Palestine, the bases that it would have needed, to any significant degree. Nonetheless, it loomed large in Europe politically, economically, and culturally.

The Mongols were seen as a potential Christian ally since many members of the Ilqanate ruling house were Nestorians (*see* Nestorianism). They were felt to be able to end the threat of the infidels once and for all and reconquer Jerusalem (q.v.).

Here reality ran together with the legend of Prester John (q.v.) and a rich tradition connected with the Alexander legend (q.v.). Economically, the coming of the Mongols meant rich economic opportunities for Italians and others carrying on long-distance trade. Marco Polo (q.v.) and his family are merely the best-known examples.

Less tangible were cultural influences on Europe. One can discern eastern artistic influences in the European art of the era. Italians did give their children “Tatar” names. It has even been claimed that the high headdress worn by late medieval women was a derivative of the similar Mongolian *boqta* (q.v.). Marco Polo did not bring pasta back from East Asia, where durum wheat was rare, if not unknown, but the Mongols do seem to be responsible for the spread of various Central Asian Turkic foods. They included the stuffed noodle *tutamash* (see Appendix C), for example, known from both Chinese and Arabic cookbooks, and probably the first baklavas (q.v.). The name of the latter appears to be of Mongolian origin.

In Hüle’ü’s time most of this was still in the future, and his own qanate still in its infancy. He ruled until 1265, and did his best to put the new regime onto an even footing while fighting off Mamlūk and Golden Horde. Like the early Ca’adai rulers, who had Mas’ūd Beg (q.v.) to tell them how to rule their sedentary domains, the Ilqanate had Arqan-aqa (q.v.) to play a similar role. He had long been the imperial viceroy in Khurāsān and Iran. He survived the end of the united Mongol Empire for some years (he died in 1278) and was thus able to pass on imperial administrative practices to the Ilqanate and support its advance and consolidation.

When Hüle’ü heard of his brother’s death, he was caught up in Syria, trying to add it to his empire. He retreated to Tabriz (q.v.), later a major center of Ilqanate rule, and prepared to march to Mongolia to assert his own claim to the Mongolian throne, but halted when he received word of Qubilai’s election. He subsequently supported his brother’s power, even though Qubilai had no real legitimacy in Mongolian terms.

In the autumn of 1260, as Hüle’ü paused from his endeavors, enough to exhaust any ruler, he heard of the decisive defeat of Kit-buqa (q.v.) on September 3, 1260, at ‘Ayn Jālūt (q.v.) in Palestine. This was one of the most definitive defeats in Mongol history. It placed Hüle’ü’s conquests in Syria at first into great danger, and then resulted in their loss.

On December 10, 1260, the Mongols suffered a second defeat in Syria at Hims, also at the hands of the Mamlūk. This defeat definitively checked the Mongol advance west, and momentarily shook Mongol control in Iraq (q.v.), where a major rebellion drew Mongol attentions away from the coast at a critical time (1262). Also diverting Mongol attention was conflict with the Golden Horde over the Caucasus.

Two initiatives characterized the final years of Hüle'ü as a result. One was a concerted attempt to find allies. The Western powers were now potential allies against the Mamlūk, and were themselves eager to draw the Mongols into their fight to hold the Holy Land. Another initiative was organizational. In 1263, an Ilqanate *quriltai* (q.v.) reorganized the domains of the Ilqanate House.

Hüle'ü's successor was his eldest son Abaqa (r. 1265–1282) (q.v.). He functioned as ruler for several years before being formally elected at a *quriltai* on November 26, 1270. Like his father, he remained true to native Mongolian religion, but also favored Christianity, although less so than his father. He married Maria Paleologa, his Despina-qatun, a combined Greek and Mongolian title. It may have been due to her influence that Abaqa's coins had the cross on one side, and a Christian formula on the other.

As his marriage suggests, connections with the West were of great importance for Abaqa. It had long become apparent that the Mongols could no longer simply roll over opposition. It is from this period that a well-known correspondence with the Papacy dates, although Abaqa's initial letter was at first incomprehensible to Papal officials, since it was written in Mongolian not Latin. The intent was to encourage a crusade against the Mamlūk (q.v.). The Ilqanate was thus, politically, very much a part of Mediterranean politics even if physically distant from the Mediterranean.

Abaqa enjoyed some peace with the Golden Horde in Caucasus (a formal peace was made in 1268/69), but he still had to defend Khurāsān, the other exposed part of his domains, from Ca'adai (*see* Ca'adai *Ulus*) attacks. Hostilities continued until 1270 and the Ilqanate was forced to concentrate major forces in the area for another six years. Meanwhile, the Mamlūk had taken Antioch (May 17, 1268), forcing the Ilqanate to send troops in that direction too.

Because of his continued problems with the Mamlūk, Abaqa renewed his attempts to secure a Western alliance and a

new Crusade, with promised Mongol support. There was a Crusade, but it was directed against Tunis and not Palestine. Also important for Abaqa were Western commercial connections, including with Venice (q.v.). A trade agreement was signed in 1271. Venetian merchants had actually been active within the Ilqanate, at Tabriz, for some time. The agreement simply formalized an existing relationship. An active diplomacy continued on several sides and has left behind documents and a few first-hand accounts.

The Mamlūk tried to open a new front by stirring up the Seljuq (q.v.) against the Mongols and advancing into Lesser Armenia (q.v.), killing Christians as they went. Abaqa was at first unable to reply, but in June 1277 finally sent an army that defeated the invaders. Mamlūk Sultan Baybars (q.v.) had to flee for his life. This probably contributed to his death on July 1. This success had been achieved entirely without Western help, a fact that did not go unnoticed and this may have been a major reason why plans to baptize him as a Christian never came to fruition.

Most Mongol forces guarding Khurāsān had been withdrawn in 1276, but disturbances in the area and in southern Iran required new detachments after 1279. The disturbances were suppressed, but the Mongols were less successful in a renewed advance on the Mamlūk, suffering a heavy defeat on October 30, 1281. Abaqa himself did not long survive it, dying in April 1282.

Abaqa's successor was his brother Tegüder (r. 1282-1284). He was the first *ilqan* (q.v.) to become a Muslim (*see* Islam), which considerably eased his problems in relating to his almost entirely Muslim subjects. His conversion effectively ended Ilqanate efforts to establish a grand alliance with the Christian West. These had proven fruitless in any case and also unleashed a limited persecution of Christians, particularly Catholics (Franciscans).

The Mamlūk welcomed Tegüder's conversion, but did not open their arms to their Muslim brothers in the Ilqanate. Political differences and territorial disputes remained issues. Tegüder's conversion thus achieved little and inflamed conservative Mongol opinion against him. He was murdered on the night of August 16-17, 1284, before he could accomplish anything of substance, or perhaps undermine the position of the Mongols in Iran.

Abaqa's son Arghun (r. 1284–1291) (q.v.) was the new *ilqan*. He had the backing of conservative Mongols and apparently of Qubilai (q.v.), who was furthering his own Christian *politik* by appointing persons favorable to himself to Nestorian church positions, and encouraging close contacts between Nestorians in China and in the Ilqanate. This was the era of Rabban Šaumā (q.v.), who duplicated, from East Asia, the travels of Marco Polo.

Arghun formally took the throne on September 11, 1284, after the usual pro forma *quriltai* (q.v.). His reign began with a bloodbath. Many of the ministers of the previous regime were killed, including They Šams al-Dīn Juvaynī (q.v.), brother of the historian.

Sa'd al-Daulat (q.v.), a Jewish physician from Baghdad (q.v.), became the new chief minister. He had wormed his way into Arghun's confidence. Like the "bad" ministers of Qubilai's time, e.g., Aḥmad (q.v.) and Senge (q.v.), Sa'd al-Daulat was good at generating revenues, of which Mongol rulers were always in need, if not to conduct their governments, then to give away.

Arghun favored Christianity, because of the importance of Nestorianism (q.v.) to the Mongol aristocracy and the encouragement of Qubilai, but appears to have been a Buddhist (q.v.; see also Religion). Various Buddhist groups had had missions in Iran for some time, including Tibetan monasteries. Arghun seems to have patronized them, although not going so far as to have his Tibetan nickname written on his coins as his successor did. He also patronized the various Christian churches, extending to them the tax freedom that had been granted to religious groups since the time of Cinggis-qan. During his reign there was a major embassy to the Papacy. It included the representatives of Qubilai as well as his own. It was well received by the Vatican, as was Ilqanate encouragement of Catholic missionaries. Other embassies followed.

Arghun tried to promote an alliance between himself and major Western powers, including the king of England, whom Rabban Šaumā met. It was to be directed at the old enemies of the Ilqanate, the Mamlūk. By contrast, the Papacy, while willing to deal with the lingering issue of the Holy Land, wanted to use Arghun to send missionaries as far as China, which they were able to do. A fertile contact resulted persisting into the 14th century. Arghun himself was never baptized, even for show, but did allow his son Öljeitü (r. 1304–16) (q.v.) to be.

A part of Arghun's Western initiative was an agreement similar to that made with Venice in 1271 and signed with Genoa (q.v.) on December 23, 1288. A Genoese, Buscarello de Gisolf (q.v.), had already played a major role in reestablishing contacts with the Papacy, and the same man was later an important Ilqanate envoy to Europe. There he presented Arghun's letter to Edward I of England. He brought at least one Mongol with him, the first we know of to reach Italy, although Mongol slaves may have preceded him. The agreement with Genoa inaugurated one of the most long-standing of all extensions of Italian trading into the East. It persisted through much of the commercial dark age that followed the collapse of the Mongol states in the 14th century.

A joint crusade was again planned, but never came to fruition. The whole idea was dropped after Arghun's death on March 9, 1291. His reign had been relatively free of foreign invasion except from Qaidu (q.v.), who had been successfully repulsed.

Arghun had named no successor. His brother Geikhatu (r. 1291–1295) took the throne formally on June 29, 1292, without the usual confirmation document from Qubilai (q.v.). Like Arghun, he was a Buddhist, apparently a Lamaist, but was not intolerant towards other religions. Unfortunately, tolerance was one of his few virtues and Geikhatu quickly revealed his incompetence as a ruler. In good Mongol style he feasted, drank, and distributed his wealth to his followers. This quickly led to financial problems for the Ilqanate. He too had his "bad" minister to stir up more revenues, Şadr ad-Dīn. Arghun's chief taxman, Sa'd ad-Daulat, had been executed even before Arghun's death.

It was under Geikhatu that the Ilqanate experimented with a Chinese practice, paper money (*see Chao* 鈔). The result was financial disaster. The subjects of the Ilqanate, unlike the Chinese, were entirely unused to such money. The episode is interesting not only for the direct imitation of Qubilai's China involved, but also because this paper money was one of the first uses of printing (*see Science and Technology*) in the Islamic world other than to imprint textiles or produce charms.

Geikhatu's days were numbered after this fiasco. A revolution led by Baidu (1295), grandson of Hüle'ü, and a traditionalist, toppled him. Geikhatu was executed on March 24, 1295.

Before Baidu could consolidate power, a new candidate for the throne emerged in Arghun's eldest son, Ghazan (1295–1304)

(q.v.), governor of Khurāsān. Times had changed. Baidu's conservatism and anti-Islamic stance alienated most of his subjects, and even Muslim members of the Mongol aristocracy. Arghun declared Baidu a usurper and advanced his own claims, which were well received.

A major influence on Arghun was Naurūz (q.v.), general and official in Sīstān. The son of Arqan-aqa, longtime imperial administrator of Khurāsān, Naurūz began as an opponent of Arghun and his house, but had the good sense to change with the times and support Ghazan, whose star was on the ascendant. It was Naurūz who talked Ghazan into taking the politically weighty step of converting to Islam. He became the second *ilqan* to profess that religion. This move completely undermined the position of Baidu, since a legitimate member of the Mongol ruling house in the Ilqanate could now take the role of defender of Islam.

Baidu's power collapsed quickly. He was executed on October 5, 1295. On November 9, Ghazan ascended the throne.

Ghazan's reign was the cultural and economic, if not political, high point of the Ilqanate. Among the new ruler's achievements was a thorough financial reform. He issued a new, standard coinage (*see* Coins) whose production and distribution was centralized. Much of it bears multilingual inscriptions, including Chinese. Ghazan ruled in the name of Temūr Ōljeitū, whatever the actual degree of his independence, and actively sought to promote economic relationships with qanate China. Thus the need to inform the Chinese, and others using Chinese, that his coins were "real money" (as one bilingual label read).

Going hand-in-hand with new money was tax reform. It was urgently needed due to years of abuse of tax-paying subjects by rulers and other powerful persons. As part of efforts in this area, Ghazan tried to tie the Ilqanate military to cultivated domains, granted in exchange for services. This was an old Islamic practice, but was not unlike what Mongol rulers had sought to achieve in China, although Ghazan wanted a closer association of soldier and territory than was the case there. How far the reform actually went remains to be seen. Most of the Mongolian military continued to nomadize in Azerbaijan and other favored areas.

Ghazan also thoroughly Islamicized his realm, going far beyond what Geikhatu had tried to achieve in his short reign. One result was a general persecution of other religions. Although given no special rights at first, only Christians, a large

minority in Ilqanate domains with many adherents among the Mongols themselves, were protected in the end. A mitigating circumstance was the decline of the influence of Naurūz, a fanatical proponent of Islam. He was executed on September 10, 1297, for treason.

As before, the Islam of an *ilqan* had little influence on the Mamlūk. They remained hereditary enemies even if co-religionists. In 1298 they invaded Lesser Armenia and forced the surrender of the Mongol governor. Shortly thereafter they invaded Ilqanate domains proper. Ghazan had no choice but to prepare a counterstroke against them. Since some potential allies, such as the Georgians (*see* Georgia), were Christian, this was all the more reason for him to resist any further persecution of Christian groups, as was the fact that Ghazan did not wish to appear too antagonistic to the Western kings he was seeking as allies. Ghazan sought to show the world two faces at once, one as an Islamic king, the other as the traditional Mongol, open to all religious systems.

The counterattack began on November 22, 1299. Aleppo and Damascus were recaptured; this had been a long-term Mongol goal. Unfortunately for Ghazan, these conquests could not be held. The Mamlūk remained the military powerhouse of the area, not the Ilqanate, and the Crusading era was now over. The Ilqanate had to fight its enemy alone, despite continued and fervid contacts with the Papacy and other interested parties. A new Ilqanate counterattack in early 1302 had even less success than the first.

A third campaign, directed at the Holy Land, was planned for the summer of 1302. It had to be delayed because of a new Mamlūk advance into Lesser Armenia. It finally began on April 20, 1303, without any allies, certainly not a Crusade, and ended in utter defeat. While Ghazan was engaged in the west, attacks were mounted on the eastern parts of his domains from Turkestan. The invaders were repulsed this time.

Ghazan died on May 17, 1304, just 30 years old. His successor, his brother, Öljeitü (r. 1304–1316), mounted the throne on July 19, 1304. Öljeitü came to power at critical juncture in Ilqanate history. Domestic issues were becoming as important as foreign and the signs of decline were becoming obvious everywhere.

The age of Qaidu (q.v.) had come to an end. “Great Khan” (q.v.) Temür Öljeitü patched together an imperial peace. The Ilqanate was among the gainers from this. Öljeitü thus praised

the event in a famous letter of June, 1304, to Philip the Fair of France, part of a large correspondence between Öljeitü and European rulers. For the weakening Ilqanate to take advantage of the new circumstances was another thing entirely.

Much of Öljeitü's military activity focused on suppressing opposition and independence within his domains, not always successfully. Hostilities with the Mamlük continued, although their intensity declined. Despite peace in the Caucasus, and on the frontier with the Ca'adai *ulus*, which saw only a few raids after many years of more intense activity, the Ilqanate was unable to recover lost ground. As under previous reigns, contacts with the West proved of little use. The Mamlük remained in total control of the Holy Land and Syria. Persecutions of Christians also undermined Öljeitü's credibility with potential allies, although Öljeitü did make a dynastic marriage with the Byzantines (*see* Byzantine Empire).

Like his predecessors, Öljeitü continued relationships with his relatives, the rulers of qanate China. He continued to recognize them as leading the Mongolian world order, although the kinship connections with them were becoming more and more remote. In other respects as well, Öljeitü continued the policies of Ghazan. This included carrying out initiatives of Ghazan that were in the process of being carried out, or not yet carried out at the time of his premature death.

In cultural terms, Öljeitü is best known as the *ilqan* who largely completed construction of the new capital of Sulṭāniyya (q.v.). It was located just southwest of the Caspian in preferred summer pastures, and had been begun in 1290 by Arghun.

A relatively new problem for the now officially Muslim Ilqanate was dealing with the factions of Islam. Öljeitü was originally a Sunni but later became a Shiite ("Twelver Šī'a"). This change gave rise to a protracted struggle within the Ilqanate government between protagonists of the Sunna and Šī'a that lasted until the end of the Ilqanate. As other problems loomed, this struggle often lamed government activity.

Öljeitü died young, like his predecessor, on December 14, 1316. He was around 36. He was buried in his beautiful mausoleum in Sulṭāniyya. This practice represented Islamic rather than Mongol custom since few early Mongol princes were so interred. His successor was his son, Abū Sa'īd (r. 1316–1335) (q.v.), the last of Hüle'ü's line to rule in the lands of the Ilqanate. Since Abū Sa'īd was still quite young, having been born only in 1305, he was not the dominant personality at his

court at first. He found himself under the wing of a regent, the powerful general Choban (q.v.).

During Abū Sa'īd's reign, the Mongols had to defend themselves again both in the Caucasus and in Khurāsān. Choban was able to do so successfully. He was less successful in dealing with internal court struggles based in Islamic faction. One victim was the powerful first minister and historian Rashīd al-Dīn (q.v.). He was executed on July 15, 1318, after an extended struggle with the other first minister of the era, Tāj al-Dīn 'Alīšāh (q.v.).

The deed was done, but Choban had overreached himself. He was guilty of other arbitrary measures as well, and was deposed in 1319 by order of Abū Sa'īd. Although subsequently reinstated as the suggestion of minister Tāj al-Dīn 'Alīšāh, Abū Sa'īd, anxious to look out for his own interests, began ruling himself. He did so competently, although still not entirely in control of the situation. When Timurtash, a son of Choban, revolted in Anatolia, he had to be pardoned and sent back to his domains.

By contrast, a real accomplishment for Abū Sa'īd was final peace with the Mamlūk in 1323. With this event, contacts with the West permanently lost their meaning. All correspondence ended with the Papacy and other Western powers. Ilqanate history had lost its international character.

Despite this success, and Abū Sa'īd's other successes in holding his state together, competition with Choban continued. It led to Choban's execution in 1327 and the exile of most of his sons. The immediate cause was an affair of one of Choban's sons with Abū Sa'īd's concubine. This was not the first problem of the sort. Earlier, Abū Sa'īd had fallen in love with Choban's daughter Baghdād-qatun (q.v.). She was, unfortunately, married to someone else, making Choban's position a delicate one. After Choban's death, Abū Sa'īd was finally able to marry Baghdād-qatun, but she is said to have been the ultimate cause of his demise on November 30, 1335, supposedly by poison.

Whatever the cause of his death, Abū Sa'īd died leaving behind only a child in the womb. It turned out to be a girl. Abū Sa'īd's line was now not in a position to participate in the protracted struggle for succession that followed.

None of the would-be successors from other lines was able to assert himself. In 1356, celebrating a final victory, Jani Beg of the Golden Horde (q.v.) conquered Ajerbaijan and Khurāsān (q.v.), the heartlands of the now definitively defunct Ilqanate. A

Golden Horde prince took over the old Ilqanate capital of Tabriz. Although the prince, Berdi Beg, son of Jani Beg, quickly died after the conquest, there was now no possibility of recovery. By this time most Ilqanate Mongols, descendents of those who had come with Hüle'ü, had become Turkicized or Iranicized. The few remaining Mongols had lost much of their Mongol culture. Today only a few Mongol words and compounds surviving in living languages of the area, such as Hazara in Afghanistan, give any indication that there was ever a Mongol invasion or that Mongols ruled the area for more than a century.

The Dictionary

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ABAQA. Eldest son and successor (r. 1265–1282) of Hüle'ü (q.v.). Abaqa served as *qan* for some years before his formal election to that post on November 26, 1270. Although probably remaining true to native Mongolian religion (he was never baptized), Abaqa was regarded as favorable to Christianity (q.v.), and his coins had a cross on one side and a Christian formula on the other (*see also* Religion). He was married to Maria Paleologa, his Despina-qatun, a title combining Greek and Mongolian. Abaqa's public support of Christianity may have been due to her. Another influence may have been a desire to find political support in the west against a mutual enemy, the Mamlūk (q.v.).

Abaqa was ultimately unsuccessful in his fight against the Mamlūk, who recaptured Antioch (1268), and inflicted a major defeat on him in 1281. Nor was he able to find western allies for a Crusade, but he did sign an agreement with Venice (q.v.) in 1271. He kept a peace agreement (signed in 1268) with the Golden Horde (q.v.), but faced disturbances in *Khurāsān* (q.v.) due to Ca'adai *ulus* (q.v.) encroachment. *See also* "6. Ilqanate."

'ABBĀSID CALIPHATE. Chief religious authority in the orthodox Muslim world. The 'Abbāsid Caliphate was temporal ruler of southern Iraq (q.v.) and nearby areas. Its capital, Baghdad (q.v.), was destroyed by the Mongols in 1258. *See also* Musta'şim; Hüle'ü.

'ABD AL-RAĤMĀN. Tax farmer and finance minister. 'Abd al-Raĥmān was briefly head of the Mongol administration in China under Döregene-qatun (q.v.). He was the mortal enemy of Yelü Chucai (q.v.) and others seeking a less predatory approach to the conquered domains. *See also* Ögödei.

ABRI-KUNG. Tibetan monastic group. The aBri-Kung were rivals of the Sa-Skya (q.v.) and sent missionaries to Iran. *See also* aBri-Kung Disturbance; Qaidu.

ABRI-KUNG DISTURBANCE. A war between Sa-sKya (q.v.) and the aBri-Kung (q.v.) monastery, resulting in the destruction of the latter. This disturbance may have been associated with an invasion by Qaidu (q.v.).

ABŪ SA'ĪD. Ilqanate ruler (r. 1316–1335), last of the line of Hüle'ü (q.v.). Abū Sa'īd was a child when he took the throne, and was dominated by the powerful general Choban (q.v.). Later Abū Sa'īd asserted himself and in 1227 had Choban executed. He ruled competently, but failed to leave behind a male heir. He is noted for his involvement with femme fatale Baghdād-qatun (q.v.), Choban's daughter, who is said to have poisoned him. *See also* "6. Ilqanate."

ACRE. City in the Holy Land (q.v.) held as part of the Crusader States (q.v.). It was retaken by the Mamlūk (q.v.) in 1291, ending the Crusader presence in the area except for offshore Cyprus. *See also* Crusades.

AḤMAD (?-1282). Turkistianian finance minister of Qubilai-qan (q.v.), Marco Polo's Acmat Bailo. Aḥmad was considered a "bad" minister by the Chinese because of his exactions. He was assassinated by Chinese underlings apparently jealous of his power. His murder is also mentioned by Rashīd al-Dīn (q.v.). *See also* Senge.

AIRAG. Mongolian word for kumiss (q.v.). Usually fermented mare milk, it can also be made from camel milk and from the *tarag*, "milk sour," of sheep and goats, although mare and camel milks makes the best *airag*. It is churned in a large leather bag hung at the entryway of a yurt or *ger* (q.v.). *See also* Alcoholic Beverages; Qarakumiss.

'ALA' AL-DĪN MUḤAMMAD II. *Khwārazm-shāh* (r. 1200–1221). 'Ala' Al-Dīn Muḥammad was the main opponent of Cinggis-qan (q.v.) during the early advance west. Unable to mount an effective defense due to Mongol outflanking efforts and the speed of their march, he could do little but

flee before them, ultimately dying on an island in the Caspian (q.v.). *See also* Jalāl al-Dīn; “2. Mongol Empire.”

ALAN-QO’A. Progenitor of the Borjigin *oboq* (q.v.), that of Cinggis-qan (q.v.). She was the wife of Dobun-mergen, (q.v.), and gave birth to Bodoncar (q.v.) after her husband’s death thanks to a ray of light (or ray of light in the form of a dog) that penetrated her tent and her womb.

ALANS (ASUT). Indo-European Caucasian group conquered by the Mongols. Substantial numbers of Alans found their way to Mongol China (q.v.) where they constituted one of several imperial guards organized along ethnic lines.

ALAQA-BEKI. Daughter of Cinggis-qan (q.v.). Although given to Alaquš-digit-quri, the ruler of the Önggüd (q.v.), in marriage, it was the latter’s successor who actually married her. By the 1220s she was a major figure in Mongol China (q.v.) representing the Önggüd. She also had her own holdings there. *See also* Wang Ji 王楫.

ALAQUŠ-DIGIT-QURI. Ruler of the Önggüd (q.v.) and ally of Cinggis-qan (q.v.). He was assassinated by the Jin (*see* Jürched).

ALBA[N]. *Alba* usually occurs with *qubciri* (q.v.), and both are identified as taxes. Most likely *alba*, which means “obligatory,” is not a tax at all, but is an adjective modifying *qubciri*, i.e., “obligatory *qubciri*.” Possibly the usage was intended to distinguish between official, state exactions and the taxations of other powers. *See also* Taxation.

ALCOHOLIC BEVERAGES. Alcoholic beverages available to the early Mongols included various kinds of kumiss (q.v.) made from mare and camel milk, and a honey wine, called *boal* by William of Rubruck (q.v.). As their conquests continued, they also began drinking millet beer, grape wine, and a variety of distilled beverages. The latter, to which the general term *arqi* (q.v.) is applied, mostly came to them by way of the Turks, judging by their names. They included fruit-base brandies and grain vodkas, some quite potent. In addition to beverages made using conventional stills, the

Mongols also drank the products of freeze distillation. In freeze distillation, a liquor is started in the normal way and the product is stored in an ice cellar as a semi-frozen slush. To make the distillate, unfrozen portions are gradually ladled off, yielding a concentration of up to 60 proof.

ALCOHOLISM. Among the early Mongols alcoholism was almost *nil*, but became a major problem after the establishment of empire due to the increased availability of alcoholic beverages (q.v.) of every kind. They included potent distilled drinks.

ALEXANDER LEGEND. Popular traditions surrounding the historical Alexander the Great, associating him with various marvels and myths. They include the myth of Gog and Magog (q.v.), ferocious Central Asian peoples dammed up by Alexander to keep them from the civilized world. This myth was later associated with the Mongols.

ALEXANDER NEVSKY (1220–1263). Russian prince allied with the Mongols. In recent times, thanks to Eisenstein's film of the same name, with heroic music by Sergei Prokofiev, he has become a symbol of Russian resistance to the Germans. His real historical role was not so clear, and he seems to have been good at looking out for his own interests more than anything else. *See also* Teutonic Knights; "4. Golden Horde."

ALGHU. Ca'adai *ulus* (q.v.) ruler (r. 1260–1265/66). Alghu was the grandson of Ca'adai (q.v.) and was nominated by Ariq-bökö to replace Qara-Hüle'ü (q.v.), who had died. Qara-Hüle'ü's widow, the regent Ergene-qatun (q.v.), later married him for political reasons, but continued to work for the accession of her son, Mubārak Shāh (r. 1266) (q.v.). The son ruled briefly after Alghu's death. *See also* "5. Ca'adai *ulus* and Qaidu."

ALGINCI. Forward-based components of a *tanma* (q.v.), or nomadic garrison force. Their purpose was providing warning in the event of a major attack.

ALMALĪQ. Locality in northeastern Turkistan (q.v.). Almalīq became a major power base of Qaidu (q.v.). It had previously been a Qarla'ud (q.v.) center.

ALTAN. Mongolian word meaning “golden,” or “imperial.”

ALTAN DEBTER. Lost Mongolian chronicle used extensively by Rashīd al-Dīn (q.v.). It included some of the same material found in the *Secret History of the Mongols* (q.v.), and is one of a large number of now lost Mongolian historical works.

ALTAN URUQ. “Golden Lineage.” The *altan uruq* was the lineage of Cinggis-qan (q.v.) and his descendents. Membership in this lineage, or association with it, conferred rights to enjoy the profits of Mongol empire as a co-owner. The *Secret History of the Mongols* (q.v.) is a detailed history of the *altan uruq*.

AMBAKAY KHAN. *See* Ambaqai-qan.

AMBAQAI-QAN. Early Mongol ruler (mid-12th century), successor of Qabul-qan (q.v.). Ambaqai-qan was a distant relative of Cinggis-qan (q.v.) by a collateral line. He was killed by the Jin (*see* Jürched) after being ambushed and seized by the Tatar (q.v.).

AMU-DARYA RIVER. One of two major rivers running into the Aral Sea (q.v.). A substantial part of the irrigated agriculture and civilization of western Turkistan (q.v.) was located along them. *See also* Syr-darya River.

AMUCI. “Granary Officer.” The *amuci* was the junior of two tax officers established in each administrative *lu* 路 (*see* *cölge*) in Mongol China (q.v.) under Ögödei (q.v.). *See also* *Balaqaci*.

ANDA. A blood brother. The relationship was especially important during the period of the rise of Cinggis-qan (q.v.) but was later largely replaced by the institution of the *nöker* (q.v.), which was based more on total subordination and less on a theoretically equality. *See also* *Jamuqa*.

ANDREW OF PERUGIA. Franciscan bishop of Zaiton (q.v.) or Quanzhou 泉州, in Fujian 福建, in the early 14th century.

ANIMAL CYCLE. The Mongols, before they began using more sophisticated systems derived from China (q.v.) and the Islamic world (*see* *Dating*), dated in accordance with an animal cycle of

12 animals: mouse, ox, snow leopard, hare, dragon, snake, horse, sheep, ape, cock, dog, and pig. This is identical to a system used in China, but may be of common Eurasian rather than specifically Chinese origin.

ANNAM. Annam is an old name for what is essentially north Vietnam. It was for many years a tributary state of China (q.v.) and was among those parts of the Indochinese peninsula invaded by the Mongols (starting in 1257). Like most previous, and later invaders, they found it difficult to control the area.

APHAGS-PA (1235–1280). Tibetan prelate of the Sa-sKya sect (q.v.). APhags-Pa was later head of the Buddhist religion under Qubilai-qan (q.v.). He journeyed to the court of prince Kōten (q.v.), a son of Ögödei qan (q.v.), who had responsibility for Tibet (q.v.) and Mongol plans to subdue it, with his uncle, the learned Sa-sKya Pandita (q.v.), in 1251. After his uncle died in 1252, aPhags-Pa and his brother Phyag-Na remained behind, probably as hostages, and were later summoned by prince Qubilai who made aPhags-Pa his personal *bLa-Ma* (q.v.). When Qubilai became qan in 1260, aPhags-Pa continued in this role and was later appointed national preceptor, *guoshi* 國師, and made the head of Buddhism for Mongol China (q.v.) and its dependencies, including Tibet, which the *bLa-Ma* technically received as a fief. His title was later changed to imperial preceptor, *dishi* 帝師 (q.v.), but how much power aPhags-Pa actually had, with either title, is unclear. His most important contribution to Mongol China was his invention of the aPhags-Pa Script (q.v.). *See also* Religion; Buddhism; “3. Qanate China.”

APHAGS-PA SCRIPT. Vertical script based upon Tibetan. It was invented by the Tibetan *bLa-Ma* aPhags-Pa (q.v.) on linguistic principles to serve as a universal script for the Mongols. The script has 30 consonants and 8 vowels, with initial and medial forms for each vowel. The script was used briefly by the Mongols, although at least until 1371, but survived considerably longer as a seal script in Tibet (q.v.). At least one document written in this script made its way to Europe, since a aPhags-Pa script book was illustrated in a wall painting of the period in an Italian church (Upper Church of San Francesco, Assisi). The painting, now lost, shows Saint Jerome reading such a text. *See also* Appendix A.

AQ ORDO. See “White” Ordo.

AQA. An elder brother or a member of a lineage descended from an elder brother. *Aqa* can also be an honorific title (see Titles), as in Arqan-aqa (q.v.)

ARABUCCHA. See Ariq-bökö.

ARAJHI. Widespread Turkic term for distilled liquor. *Arajhi* derives from an Arabic word originally meaning “wine.” See also Alcoholic Beverages; *Arqi*.

ARAL SEA. Large semi-saline sea in western Turkistan (q.v.). The Aral is fed by the Amu-darya (q.v.) and Syr-darya (q.v.) Rivers. It is now largely defunct, but it and its rivers were once the center of a thriving ecosystem. Its waters maintained water table levels in a wide area, allowing extensive diversion of the Amu-darya and Syr-darya for irrigation.

ARCHITECTURE. Mongol contributions to the history of architecture in the countries ruled by them was largely as patrons of local architecture developed in their own interests. In this role they emerged as city planners, for example, for their capitals including Daidu 大都, the present Peking (q.v.), Sultānīyya (q.v.) in northwestern Iran (q.v.), and Shangdu 上都 (q.v.) in Inner Mongolia (Coleridge’s Xanadu), as well as patrons of monuments of various sorts. In this guise, in China (q.v.) and Iran, they encouraged the spread of Buddhist architecture, particularly in the former, since Tibetan monks had charge of much of the major Buddhist building and decoration there. Little about the buildings and structures that were created was particularly Mongolian with the exception of a few decorative elements and an important role of tent palaces and hunting parks in the assemblages of Mongol capitals.

ARGHUN. Ilqanate (q.v.) ruler (r. 1284–1291). Arghun was the son and successor of Abaqa (q.v.). He had the backing of the conservative Mongols of the Ilqanate and also of Qubilai (q.v.) and was elected on September 11, 1284. He immediately began a purge of many ministers of the previous regime, including Šams al-Dīn Juvaynī (q.v.), brother of the historian. In his place,

Arghun appointed Sa'd al-Daulat (q.v.), a Jewish physician from Baghdad (q.v.). The latter was noted for his ability to generate large amounts of revenue quickly, which Arghun, like other Mongol rulers, needed to run his government and to reward his cronies, especially those supporting his election as *qan*.

Arghun was noted for his patronage of Nestorianism (q.v.), and sent Rabban Šaumā (q.v.) to Europe, but he was probably a Buddhist (*see* Buddhism; *see also* Religion). Tibetan Buddhism reached a high-water mark of influence in Mongol Iran during his reign, and the reign of his successor, Geikhatu.

In addition to efforts to maintain contacts with the East, with Qubilai (q.v.), Arghun also, like his predecessor, made strenuous efforts to promote alliances with the West. An agreement was signed with Genoa (q.v.) on December 23, 1288, like that made with Venice (q.v.) in 1271. This agreement inaugurated one of the most long-standing of all extensions of Italian trading into the East, one that persisted even after the collapse of the Ilqanate and other Mongol states.

Even before this agreement, the Genoese Buscarello de Gisolf (q.v.) had played a major role as Ilqanate envoy to Europe. He helped reestablish contacts with the Pope, and later took Arghun's letter to Edward I of England. Unfortunately, a proposed joint crusade never came to fruition.

Arghun died on March 9, 1291. His reign was relatively free from foreign invasions except for one by Qaidu (q.v.). It was successfully repulsed. *See also* "6. Ilqanate."

ARIGH BÖKE. *See* Ariq-bökö.

ARIGH BUQA. *See* Ariq-bökö.

ARIQ-BÖKÖ (?-1266). Younger brother of Qubilai-qan (q.v.). Ariq-bökö was the latter's principal opponent during the 1260-1264 civil war to determine who would become supreme ruler of the Mongolian world. Ariq-bökö had been left behind to take charge of Qaraqorum (q.v.) and the Mongolian central establishment by Möngke (q.v.), giving his claim a certain legitimacy. He also enjoyed respect within the Mongolian world because of his conservatism, as compared to Qubilai's embracing of Chinese values, at least when it suited him. In the end, Qubilai's Chinese values, carefully nurtured, gained him the resources of China (q.v.) to use against his brother. Ariq-bökö

was forced to surrender after losing critical support in Central Asia where many Ca'adai princes (*see* Ca'adai *ulus*) favored Qubilai. *See also* "3. Qanate China."

ARMENIA. Christian kingdom in the Caucasus. Armenia was first subdued by Cormaqan-qorci (q.v.) during 1235-1236 and became a Mongol protectorate, along with Georgia (q.v.). Like Georgia, it became a bone of contention between the Ilqanate (q.v.) and the Golden Horde (q.v.). *See also* Lesser Armenia.

ARMIES. *See* Army.

ARMIES, ORGANIZATION. Large Mongolian armies in the field were usually organized into cooperating forces, principally into: "wings" (*qar*, "hands"); a central force (*qol*, "pivot") (q.v.); and a vanguard (*manglai*, "forehead"). These forces could be subdivided into divisions (*qosi'ul*) (q.v.), usually comprised of one or more *mingan* (q.v.). Also an important part of Mongolian armies were *a'uruq*, "base camps," that traveled with them in most cases. These, collectively, were also the *qoyitul* (q.v.), "those behind." Smaller forces usually had a simpler organization but were rarely sent into the field without the support of one or more follow-up units, *gejige* (q.v.). *See also* *Tanma*; *Alginci*; *Qara'ul*; Army; Strategy.

ARMIES, SIZE. There are few reliable resources for estimating the sizes of Mongol armies, but they were generally small. The Mongol advantage was due to the ability to concentrate forces at the critical juncture, and to mobility, not to numbers. The forces that Muqali (q.v.) was given to control Mongol China (q.v.) were barely more than ten thousand, and not all of these would have been immediately available for a campaign since they were scattered over a wide area in the China borderlands. The advanced troops or *alginci* (q.v.) actually stationed in China numbered only a few hundred. Later, large forces of local allies were available, but such forces were far less mobile. They could not be mobilized instantaneously and were dependent upon the ability of local warlords to supply them.

Even when Cinggis-qan (q.v.) himself led armies, they numbered in the tens of thousands, if not thousands. This includes probably the largest single army ever assembled by the Mongols, that used to invade the west in 1219.

Even when our sources refer to *tümen* (q.v.), myriarchies, we have no way of knowing if these myriarchies were up to strength, or fully mobilized. It was Mongolian practice to mobilize only a portion of tribal forces, two out of ten being typical.

When the Mongols invaded Eastern Europe they were probably outnumbered, although they did prevent their opponents from concentrating against them, nullifying superior numbers. This was particularly true for Hungary (q.v.).

One indication of the relatively small sizes of the Mongol armies involved there is the reservations they had about invading Hungary again due to what were apparently only a few hundred casualties. They were sustained when Bat-qan (q.v.) carried out a costly frontal assault on the Hungarian position on the Sajó (q.v.) across a well-defended bridge before the rest of his armies had assembled, or Sübe'etei (q.v.) had completed his envelopment farther to the south.

A total Mongolian population of around one million, our best estimate (*see* Mongolia, Population) would have meant a total of no more than 250,000 males of military age. This figure takes into consideration a high birth rate and low median age, meaning that large numbers of males would have been too young to go to war. Some would have been too old as well.

With a military population of this size, armies of thousands and tens of thousands seem quite reasonable, given commitments throughout a growing empire, and that someone had to stay home, produce the next generation, guard the captives, kill the wolves, and herd the sheep. Even for a major invasion such as that of Russia (q.v.), not everyone would be expected to go. A likely figure is two out of ten, a typical Mongolian mobilization for a major effort that would have yielded a maximum of 50,000. This figure accords well with what else is known about the campaign, such as the use of five armies to invade Eastern Europe, although these armies could not have been at full strength since some troops had to be left behind to guard conquests already made.

The *Secret History of the Mongols* (q.v.) provides a listing of nearly 100 *mingan* (q.v.) existing in 1206. This suggests an even smaller military manpower, a little more than 100,000, although the process of conquering Mongolia (q.v.) had not yet been completed. Rashīd al-Dīn (q.v.) assigns 129,000 men to Mongolia alone at the time of Cinggis-qan's death. This does not include *tamma* (q.v.) and other forces stationed abroad, and

those assigned to the princes. Total military manpower might have been 200,000, certainly no more than the suggested 250,000.

Later Mongolian armies were considerably larger as sedentary and other local forces were used more effectively. The estimate of Al-'Umarī (q.v.) of registered Ilqanate (q.v.) military manpower was in the range of 200,000 to 300,000. This seems entirely reasonable given the large Turkic population in the tribal base before the Mongols, and sedentary forces, and allowing for population growth since the original Mongol invasions of the 1250s. It also seems to have involved a levy of two in ten, not just from Mongolian tribal armies. In any case, by the time of Al-'Umarī's estimate, the Ilqanate had a military manpower greater than that of Mongolia in its heyday.

In the China of Qubilai (q.v.), armies also seem to have grown. Qubilai put nowhere as many troops into the field during his final advance of the Song (*see* Song, Mongol Conquest of) as his opponents, but his forces were still substantial. They probably numbered in the hundreds of thousands, of which a small fraction was Mongolian.

In the Ca'adai *ulus* (q.v.) tribally based armies continued to be the rule, but these could be quite large since the comparatively few Mongols present were substantially supplemented by local Turkic tribesmen. The latter, like the Mongols themselves, had strongly benefited from the intentional destruction of sedentary peoples and their cities in favor of an expansion of pastoral territories.

Turkic auxiliaries were also very important for the Golden Horde (q.v.), while Mongolian manpower was even more restricted due to distance from the homeland and what was apparently a relatively small Mongolian migration in that direction to begin with. Nonetheless, neither in the Golden Horde nor elsewhere did the sizes of Mongol armies attain the huge numbers (800,000 circa 1220) estimated by some writers. This was simply not in the realm of the possible, even with local Turkic levies.

Marco Polo (q.v.) speaks of an army of 100,000 as a *tuq* (q.v.), a "banner," but the available evidence suggests that it was the leader of a *timen* or myriarchy who had such banners, in addition to the *qan* himself. There was no Mongolian operational unit that large.

ARMOR. Two varieties of native armor were worn by the Mongols of imperial times. One was a thickened quilting (apparently *kejim*, although the term really only applies to such quilting used to protect horses), without metal or other reinforcement, designed to be light and permit free riding and other movement, but still provide some resistance to arrows, swords and thrusting weapons, and protection against blunt thrown objects. Leather outer coats were also worn, but might restrict movement. Headgear was usually the normal Mongolian headgear of a furred hat with flaps, but iron helmets appear to have been relatively common, even among those possessing no other form of hard armor.

A second type of armor had reinforcements (*jebe*, “coat of mail”). Usually the reinforcements were stitched onto a thick robe or leather coat. One of the most common thickenings was hardened leather. Such hardened leather was also used to thicken small shields (wicker shields are also known). Headgear to accompany such equipment was usually of metal, but could also be hardened leather, as was the case with most common Mongols. Only the elite could afford to replace the outer hardened leather with metal, usually iron plates, the plates varying in size depending upon which part of the body they were intended to protect. Also used for this purpose were bone attachments. When iron or other hardened armor was worn, headgear was usually of metal and might include lamellar neck guards.

Horse armor was similar to human and some horses were extensively covered by it, with plate armor to guard the horse’s head. Other than this usage, such plate armor was otherwise uncommon and even headgear might have a lamellar structure. What there was of it was usually captured.

Mongol armor was a great deal less effective than, for example, the European armor of the period but this was not a problem for the Mongols, since they usually won their battles long distance, and by tactics, not close encounter. Nonetheless, the better armored among them could be used for shock combat and the long lances carried by many were well-suited for that purpose. *See also* Arrows; Compound Bow; Lances; Swords.

ARMY. The main striking force of the Mongol army was the levy supported by the various tribal groups making up the pastoral-nomadic side of the Mongol Empire. It was supplemented, in the case of the *qan*, by the imperial bodyguard (*see Kesikten*), a

professional force, usually construed as a myriarchy (*see Tümen*), and, as time went on, by various other guard units. Some of these were organized by ethnic unit and drawn from the entire Mongolian world. In the occupied areas there were also forces, usually *cerik* (q.v.), “armies,” drawn from sedentary populations under Mongol control. In China (q.v.) these forces substantially outnumbered any Mongol troops from the beginning, and later in Iran as well. Princes and other powerful persons also had their own personal guards and local allies.

Each tribal group, *mingan* (q.v.), was in theory capable of raising a force of a thousand (*mingan*) warriors, but actual numbers raised varied. The *mingan* also had their base camps, or *a'uruq*, which could and did function as independent military units, even though usually composed of the old, the very young, and women.

Mingan were subdivided into hundreds and tens. Organizational units above the *mingan* included the myriarchy or *tümen*, but such units were rarely formed. More often than not they were set up to control pacified areas, usually from a nearby steppe area. In such a capacity they were known as a *tanma* (q.v.), “nomadic garrison force,” and were usually associated with smaller advanced forces or *alginci* (q.v.) These were actually resident in the conquered areas as a rule and had the role of warning in the event of a major mobilization against the Mongols.

The *cerik* organized in most of the conquered domains were principally the armies of local warlords. Although also organized into *mingan*, such *mingan* were often considerably larger than their steppe equivalents. This is probably because they were less mobile and thus less effective in the kind of warfare waged by the Mongols. Such local armies persisted almost to the end of Mongolian rule everywhere, but were largely suppressed in China under Qubilai (q.v.) after the rebellion of Li Tan 李壇 (q.v.). Qubilai instead organized professional armies in the Chinese style to further his conquests.

The basic equipment of the Mongol soldier was a horse (q.v.), a bow (*see* Compound Bow), perhaps a lance (q.v.) or sword (q.v.), and a limited amount of armor (q.v.), or padding. The emphasis was entirely on mobility. Most soldiers had more than one horse to serve as spare mounts and even as campaign rations (horse blood in an emergency; *see also* Campaign Rations). Soldiers on campaign were expected to live off the land,

but to go without food if the campaign required it. *See also* Strategy.

ARQAN-AQA (?–1278). Arqan-aqa was the long time imperial administrator of the Iranian west, later serving in a similar role for the House of Hüle'ü, although he rapidly lost influence after the emergence of an independent Ilqanate (q.v.). Arqan-aqa was actually a Mongol, an Oyirad (q.v.). This was unusual for the era, since most of the important administrators of the sedentary areas so important to the Mongols as revenue sources were drawn from those experienced in the local way of administering. These were usually Turkistanians, Iranians, or Chinese, almost never Mongols. *See also* Province; “2. Mongol Empire.”

ARQI. A strong, usually distilled liquor. The word is from Arabic *arajhi* (q.v.). *See also* Alcoholic Beverages.

ARROWS. Many varieties existed for special purposes, differing in length, weight, and the type of arrowhead affixed. Shorter arrows were used for hunting small animals, for example. Heavier arrows were employed for range and penetration, and lighter arrows where range and penetration were less important. Smaller points were employed to penetrate armor and other hard surfaces, and broader points, such as chisel heads, for wounding and sure killing.

Most arrowheads were of bone, but metal arrowheads have been found. One special type of arrowhead was the whistling point, known, when attached to an arrow, as a *qodali*. There was also the *boruqa* where the whole body of the arrow whistled in flight. Arrows of this kind were used for special purposes, including signaling, but also apparently to help track small game. Incendiary points have not been identified, but must have existed. Arrow shafts were of wood, or, for very accurate shooting, of reed. There were also combinations of reed and wood. *See also* Compound Bow.

ART. The art of the Mongol age comprised native Mongol art, largely for the decoration of everyday objects, and the local arts patronized by the Mongols in the conquered regions. The latter consequently had little about them that was Mongolian, other than a few Mongolian designs rendered in stone or metal that did become part of architectural complexes, or the look and feel

of the complexes themselves, and associated elements. The Mongols also favored certain styles over others.

Most of the patronized traditions were confined to the areas producing them, although the Mongols did promote long-range cultural interchange by the very scope of their empire. There were influences of Chinese painting in the Persian miniatures of the time, for example. These were later transmitted to the West. The converse is less true for China and the real Mongol contribution there was Chinese reunification. In painting it encouraged a blending of previously separate northern and southern styles. *See also* Architecture; Zhao Mengfu.

ASSASSINS. *See* Ismā'īlīs.

ASTRAKHAN, KHANATE OF. Golden Horde successor state. *See* "4. Golden Horde."

ASUT. *See* Alans.

AYIL. A nomadic village, the smallest herding in traditional society. *Ayil* ranged in size from a few families to perhaps a score, with size strongly dependent upon available pasture resources. When resources were abundant, large *ayil* were possible. As a rule, only during the winter, when there was adequate food from the previous year's husbandry, and herds were still being culled, did more than one *ayil* camp together. The *Secret History of the Mongols* (q.v.) calls such encampments "forests of *ayil*."

AYIMAQ. A group of *ayil* (q.v.) or herding units. An *ayimaq* was of indeterminate size and the term could apply to tribal groups, those of the Chinese *tanma* (q.v.), for example.

'AYN JĀLŪT, BATTLE OF (SEPTEMBER 3, 1260). A Battle ending Mongol expansion in the west. During the reign of *qan* Möngke (q.v.), Mongolian armies led by his younger brother Hūle'ū (q.v.) advanced west into *Khurāsān* (q.v.) and Iran (q.v.) and captured Baghdad (q.v.) in 1258. This brought the Mongols into direct contact with the European world, as represented by the remaining Crusader states (q.v.), and with the Egyptian Mamlūk (q.v.), who became a direct competitor with the

Mongols for control of Palestine and Syria.

At first, the Mongols, with the substantial resources available to Hüle'ü, including representatives and forces from nearly all the major princely houses, had the advantage, but the sudden death of Möngke forced Hüle'ü to redeploy his main armies back to Iran to safeguard his power base. He also had to resist incursions by forces of the antagonistic Golden Horde (q.v.).

Left behind in Syria, completely overrun by the Mongols in 1260, was a small vanguard force led by Nestorian general Kit-buqa (q.v.). It came into contact with Mamlūk forces led by Qutuz at 'Ayn Jālūt in Galilee on September 3, 1260. Details of the battle are sparse and the sources contradictory, but the result was total defeat of the Mongols, and the death of Kit-buqa. The Mamlūk reoccupied Syria and began a war for its control with the Ilqanate (q.v.) that was to last almost to the end of Mongol rule in Iran. The Mongols were never again in as strong a position in the extreme west as they were in 1260. 'Ayn Jālūt ended all possibility of a Mongol advance into Egypt. *See also* "6. Ilqanate."

AYYŪBIDS. Middle Eastern dynasty. The Ayyūbids ruled Egypt (q.v.) until 1250 when overthrown by the Mamlūk (q.v.), and Syria until 1260 when it was invaded by the Mongols. The dynasty was part of the older order on the Mediterranean coast, including the remaining Crusader states (q.v.), which were in the process of vanishing as the Mongols appeared.

AZERBAIJAN. An area comprised by the southeastern portion of the Caucasus and northwestern Iran (q.v.). Azerbaijan was highly favored pasture lands for the Mongols and was much fought over with the Golden Horde. It was the site of the single most important concentration of pastoral-nomadic tribal groups in the Ilqanate (q.v.).

— B —

BA'ATUR. Traditional Mongolian title meaning "hero," or "valiant." It was perhaps once a hereditary rank. *See also* Titles.

BACHMAN. Kibca'ut (q.v.) chieftain. Bachman fought resolutely against the Mongols during the second Mongol invasion of

Russia (q.v.). He was captured and killed by future *qan* Möngke (q.v.).

BAGATUR. *See Ba'atur.*

BAGHDAD. Capital of the surviving possessions of the 'Abbasid Caliphate (q.v.). Baghdad was taken by the Mongols in 1258 with terrible slaughter, 800,000 killed according to one Persian historian (Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī Qazwīnī) writing later, and 200,000 according to Hüle'ü (q.v.) himself. Baghdad lost much of its importance under the Ilqanate (q.v.) suggesting that the damage to the city was indeed great. It had already been in decline.

BAGHDĀD-QATUN. Daughter of the powerful emir Choban (q.v.), and femme fatale. Although married to someone else at the time, the *ilqan* Abū Sa'īd (r. 1316-1335) (q.v.) conceived a passion for her. After her father's death, he was finally able to marry her, but legend has it that she poisoned him.

BAHADUR. *See Ba'atur.*

BAIAN CINGSAN. *See Bayan.*

BAIJU. Commander of the nomadic garrison force or *tanma* (q.v.) in the west in the time of Hüle'ü (q.v.). Baiju was the successor of Cormaqan-qorci (q.v.), whom he replaced in 1241, with somewhat reduced authority. Demoted by Oqol-Qaimish (q.v.), he regained his authority under *qan* Möngke (q.v.). He was actively involved in the Mongol subjugation of the Seljuq (q.v.) in Turkey. *See also* Köse Dagħ, Battle of.

BAKLAVAS. One of the lasting legacies of the Mongol era and its foods, this pastry is made of alternating layers of crushed nuts, honey, and other ingredients. The word appears to derive from the Mongolian root *bakla-*, "pile up in layers." One of the earliest recipes for a baklava comes from a Mongol-era Chinese encyclopedia. *See also* Food.

BAKSHI. A shaman, or a Tibetan *bLa-Ma* (q.v.). *Bakshi* is said to be derived from Chinese *boshi* 博士, "highly learned."

BALAQACI. “Storehouse manager.” The *balaqaci* was the senior of two tax officers established in each of the *lu* 路 or *cölge* (q.v.) of Mongol China (q.v.) under *qan* Ögödei (q.v.).

BALAQASUN. Mongolian term for a city or town. *See also* *Baliq*.

BALĪQ. Turkic word meaning city or town. *Baliq* was widely used in Mongol China (q.v.) as a replacement for the native Mongolian *balaqasun*, showing the Turkicization (q.v.) of the ruling elite. Among the cities to which the term was applied was the winter capital of Daidu 大都, *Qanbaliq* (q.v.), “*Qan* City,” and Zhen-ding fu 真定府, *Aqbalıq*, “white city,” in north central China.

BALJUNA COVENANT. A covenant allegedly made between Cinggis-qan (q.v.) and some of his most trusted supporters during the nadir of his struggle with *Jamuqa* (q.v.). At the time, the *qan* had taken refuge in an isolated swamp, centering on Lake Baljuna. Later, being present at Baljuna became synonymous with being one of his most loyal followers.

BALKH. A city in *Kḥurāsān*. Balkh was thoroughly destroyed by the Mongols after a submission and then rebellion. Its fate was typical of most of the cities in the area.

BALKHASH, LAKE. A large, freshwater lake that is the geographical divide between Siberia (q.v.) and Turkistan (q.v.). The pastures nearby were later a center of nomadic presence within the *Ca’adai ulus* (q.v.). *See also* *Semirechye*.

BANKNOTES. *See* *Chao* 鈔.

BAR HEBRAEUS (1226–1286). Nestorian historian of the Mongol era in Iran (q.v.). Bar Hebraeus wrote in Syriac and Arabic.

BARAQ. Ruler (r.1266–1271) of the *Ca’adai ulus* (q.v.). Baraq was a great-grandson of *Ca’adai* (q.v.). He seized power from *Mubārak Shāh* (q.v.), son of the regent *Ergene-qatun* (q.v.). The accession of Baraq meant a definitive end to any support for *Qubilai* (q.v.) as supreme *qan* in the *Ca’adai ulus*, despite the

fact that Baraq began as Qubilai's nominee. It was Baraq who later entered into the Talas Covenant (q.v.) with Qaidu (q.v.), dividing up revenues in the sedentary center of the Ca'adai *ulus* between himself and Qaidu. *See also* "5. Ca'adai *Ulus* and Qaidu."

BARS. The snow leopard. It was used by the Mongols in hunting and could be trained to ride on horseback. The furs were greatly prized.

BASHKIR. The Inhabitants of Great Hungary (q.v.). The Bashkir were conquered by the Mongols during their second invasion of Russia (q.v.). The Bashkir of today speak a Turkic language of the northern group but those of Mongol times may have spoken one akin to Altaic Bulghar, which is related to Chuvash. In Arabic sources, the Hungarians of the Danube Basin are also Bashkir.

BASHQYRT. *See* Bashkir.

BASQAQ. Turkic term used in place of *daruqaci* (q.v.), and its alternative form *daruqa*. *Basqaq* is an exact linguistic equivalent of the latter. *Basqaq* was also used in reference to an equivalent official in the Qara-Kitan Empire (q.v.), suggesting that the Mongolian *daruqaci* system may be of Qara-Kitan origin.

BAT-QAN (BATU). Golden Horde (q.v.) ruler (r. 1227–1255). Bat-qan was the son and successor of Joci (q.v.). Until his death in 1255, he was the most powerful man in the Mongolian world. It was Bat-qan who engineered the coup that brought the House of Tolui to power and the House of Ögödei (q.v.) to near collapse in the brutal purge that followed. At one point Bat-qan was nearly attacked by the last *qan* of that house, Güyük (q.v.), who was marching against him, but died before the campaign began. Bat-qan's line continued to rule the Golden Horde into the 14th century. *See also* "4. Golden Horde."

BATI. *See* Bat-qan.

BATU. *See* Bat-qan.

BATY. *See* Bat-qan.

BA'URCI. A cook, or someone responsible for court food, especially meat. The word derives from Mongolian *ba'ur*, “liver,” a choice piece.

BAYAN OF THE BA'ARIN (1236–1294). Mongol general. Bayan was the conqueror of Song (*see* Song, Mongol Conquest of) and later an important figure in the battles of qanate China against Qaidu (q.v.). His greatest claim to fame was his success in coordinating and cooperating with all the different elements that he had to mobilize to achieve his purpose (*see* Strategy). He was remarkable for a Mongol in his understanding of the importance of traditional foot armies and other supporting forces, not just Mongol cavalry, and was also noteworthy for accomplishing his conquests with minimal loss of life. *See also* Army; Armies, Organization

BAYBARS. Mamlūk (q.v) sultan (r. 1260–1277). Baybars proved an effective opponent of the Ilqanate (q.v.) for two decades, although he ended his life in defeat. *See also* “6. Ilqanate.”

BEIJING 北京. *See* Peking.

BEKTER. Older half brother of Cinggis-qan (q.v.). Bekter was killed by him in a dispute over a fish that may have involved a larger issue of succession to Yisügei (q.v.)

BÉLA IV. King of Hungary (r. 1235–1270). Lost the battle of the Sajó River (q.v.) on April 11, 1241, to the Mongols, who outflanked him after a successful defense of a bridge, limiting the main line of Mongol advance. Pursued by the Mongols through Croatia and Dalmatia as far as Bulgaria (q.v.), but escaped and continued to rule. *See Carmen Miserable*; Hungary.

BELGÜTEL. Half brother of Cinggis-qan (q.v.). Unlike Bekter (q.v.), a full brother, he accepted his authority and lived to a ripe old age, dying in 1255 at age 110, according to Rashīd al-Dīn (q.v.). As a senior member of the ruling house, he became chief *jarquci* (q.v.) on behalf of the entire imperial clan.

BENEDICT THE POLE. Went to Mongolia at the time of the John of Plano Carpini (q.v.) expedition and left behind his own

short account of his trip. Benedict may have been an oral source for the “Tatar Relation” (q.v.), which includes substantial information not found in the main version of the account of John of Plano Carpini, but clearly comes from the same embassy.

BERKE. Golden Horde (q.v.) *qan* (1257–1267), brother and successor of Bat-qan (q.v.). In 1260, he began a war against the Ilqanate (q.v.) while refusing to recognize Qubilai (q.v.) as successor to Möngke (q.v.), thus splitting the Mongolian world into two warring camps and preventing the reestablishment of unity even after the surrender of Ariq-bökö (q.v.) to Qubilai in 1264.

BEŠBALĪQ. *See* Beshbaliq.

BESHBALIGH. *See* Beshbaliq.

BESHBALIQ. Uighur capital in eastern Turkistan at the time of the Uighur (*see* Uighurs) submission to the Mongols (1209). Beshbaliq was all but destroyed during wars between Qaidu (q.v.) and Mongol China (q.v.).

BICIGCI. Mongolian official concerned with written texts (*bicig*). Most came from the bodyguards of the *qan* (q.v.) or of some prince, and most dealt primarily with tax matters.

BILIG. A clever saying or maxim, particularly those of Cinggis-qan (q.v.). Contemporary sources contain many of them and they also currently circulate in book form among the Mongols.

BLACK DEATH. General term for a series of epidemics that struck Europe after 1347. Although usually equated with bubonic plague, transmitted by the flea *Yersinia pestis* of a rat vector (marmots in Mongolia; *see Tarbaqan*), recent scholarship has cast doubts on this explanation and suggests that a viral hemorrhagic fever may actually have been the culprit. This is because the recognized epidemiology of bubonic plague does not accommodate itself well with what is known about the outbreak of the 14th century. Also possible is a combination bubonic plague, viral hemorrhagic fever, and other diseases. Certainly bubonic plague was an element in later outbreaks, since it has been identified in the dental remains of victims. In any case, the results are clear: perhaps a quarter, or a third, or more in

some areas, of the population of Europe died in a relatively few years, changing the character of European civilization forever and marking the termination between the medieval and modern worlds.

The earliest incidence of the disease known as the Black Death seems to have been in Golden Horde (q.v.) territories, with some suggestion that an outbreak in the Semirechye (q.v.) may even have preceded that in Europe by almost a decade. From there it may have traveled south via the Black Sea. Nonetheless, the story of the first arrival of the disease in the West, in Sicily, seems to be legend, since the transmission as described is an epidemiological impossibility. Despite assertions by some Arabic observers of the time to the contrary, there is no evidence of any outbreak in China preceding that of Europe.

BLACK PLAGUE. *See* Black Death.

BLA-MA. A lama, Tibetan priest.

BLOOD. The blood of important personages was sacred and not to be shed on the ground. Therefore, when they were executed, special methods were used. They were, for example, dragged across the steppe, or were beaten or trampled by horses while rolled up in a rug. Similarly, the shaman Teb-Tenggiri (q.v.) was killed by having his neck broken. Such prohibitions did not apply to the less exalted, who could be killed in any way convenient. Special methods of killing were also used for certain powerful animals in the early steppe. Today the Kazakhs do not kill wolves directly, but catch them with ropes and, after tying them to their saddles, allow them to break their necks. This is probably a very old tradition.

BLUE HORDE. *See* “Blue” Ordo.

“BLUE” ORDO (KÖKE ORDO). The Golden Horde (q.v.) proper. The “Blue” Ordo was that part ruled by the line of Joci (q.v.), but through Bat-qan (q.v.), a younger son. This was in contrast to the “White” Ordo (q.v.), that part ruled through the line of Orda (q.v.), the eldest son, but not the successor of Joci.

BODONCAR. Founder of the Borjigin *oboq* (q.v.), or maximal lineage, of Cinggis-qan (q.v.). He was born after his father’s

death due to his mother's pregnancy from a ray of light (or ray of light in the form of a dog) that penetrated her tent and her womb. *See also* Alan-Qo'a.

BODYGUARD. *See Kesikten.*

BOHEMOND VI OF ANTIOCH AND TRIPOLI. Crusader ruler and ally of the Mongols. Bohemond provided the only Western troops ever to fight with the Mongols, during the attack on Baghdad (q.v.). He was the brother-in-law of Het'um (q.v.) of Lesser Armenia (q.v.). *See also* Crusader States.

BÖKÖ. "Wrestler, strong man," a traditional Mongolian title.

BOLAD CHING-SANG. *See* Pulad.

BOMBS. *See* gunpowder.

BO'OL. A slave.

BOOTY. Things captured by raiding, conquest, or extortion, or simply owned by others living in Mongol domains or visiting them. All booty had to be shared, usually in the form of gifts, or *sauqa* (q.v.), meaning "a share of booty," "a gift of a share of booty," or "a bribe." When it was the *qan* himself doing the sharing, in the form of formal apportionments provided on a hereditary basis, the term *qubi* (q.v.) was used. *Soyurqal* (q.v.), meaning "boons, grants," was used for those which were individual, not hereditary apportionments.

As a consequence of this view, much of the administrative structure and social structure of the empire was concerned with booty distribution, including income from sedentary territories through taxation as time went on. The provinces (q.v.) that the Mongols used to govern the sedentary world under their control, for example, grew out of the institution of the *jarqu* (q.v.). Its purpose was the canvassing of booty through a census, the ritual act of taking possession for the Mongols prior to its distribution, and the settlement of disputes once distribution had taken place. Canvassing was an on-going process as new conquests were continually made. This went so far that the administrative headquarters of these provinces included representa-

tives of virtually all interested parties to make sure that all got their due.

To make the system work, booty had to be generated continuously. There were always new individuals, some recently born, requiring shares. The successful ruler also had to reward followers if he expected them to follow him enthusiastically. Like the “gold-giving lords” of Germanic mythology, not just the power, but the very status of a ruler was dependent upon the gifts he gave. This was something that *qan* Ögödei (q.v.), for example, understood only too well, if we may judge by the detailed (and incredulous) account of his largess by Juvaynī (q.v.).

This approach governed not only the empire, but also the successor qanates. Mongolian and Chinese structures coexisted within qanate China (q.v.), for example, and the Mongolian structure was a direct lineal development of the system for booty administration of the empire, replicated in the provinces and other institutions of the qanate. So pervasive was the system that Mongolian *sauqa*, with the meaning “bribe,” became a popular Chinese expression. It was widely borrowed elsewhere as well, even beyond the borders of actual Mongolian control.

The Chinese did not quite understand the Mongolian system, although it embraced them as well. Not just Mongols were rewarded, but also Chinese allies, and through the Chinese allies, their supporters. Merit was determined by a position within a real or fictive kinship order, giving one access to booty distributions in a set way, without regard to a knowledge of Confucianism (q.v.), the passing of an exam, or anything else that the Chinese considered merit. To them, the Mongol system was corruption. The Mongols were equally suspicious of the Chinese system of elite virtue.

BOQTA. High headdress worn by upper class Mongolian women during the age of empire. It is often shown topped with a peacock feather.

BÖRTE. Principal wife of Cinggis-qan (q.v.). She was the daughter of Dei-secen (q.v.) of the Onggirad (q.v.). She gave birth to Joci (q.v.) after being abducted by the Merkit (q.v.), causing doubts to be raised later about his legitimacy. She predeceased her husband.

BOWS. See Compound Bow.

“BRIEF ACCOUNT OF THE BLACK TATAR.” See *Heida Shilue* 黑韃事略.

BUDDHISM. The Buddhism of the Mongol era was principally Tibetan Lamaism although some Mongol princes, including Cinggis-qan (q.v.) also patronized Chinese Buddhists, such as the Zen monk Haiyun 海雲 (q.v.). Almost from the beginning of Mongol conquest, various Tibetan groups proselytized among them. They included the mTshal-Pa, aBri-Kung (q.v.), the Kar-Ma-Pa, and the Sa-sKya (q.v.). In China (q.v.), the Sa-sKya became dominant and supplied the qanate’s imperial preceptors (*dishi* 帝師) (q.v.). These were theoretically both the heads of Buddhism and rulers of Tibet (q.v.). The aBri-Kung-Pa missionized in Mongol Iran (q.v.) (*see also* Religion).

Tibetan Lamaism differs from most other forms of Buddhism in its emphasis on esoteric traditions. It focuses on obtaining the services of a tutelary deity as a means of achieving religious power, and penetrating to the innermost mysteries. For this reason, and because of strongly developed traditions of magic, Tibetan Buddhism seems to have struck a favorable chord among the Mongols. They had similar traditions and a shamanic system with its own tutelaries and special forms of power which could be identified almost completely with Tibetan practices (*see* Shaman). Also working for the Tibetan side was a Mongolian tradition of having a chief shaman, replaced by the *dishi*. *See also* aPhags-Pa.

BUDDHO-TAOIST DEBATES. Series of debates between the Buddhists and representatives of the Quanzhen 全真 sect of Taoism (q.v.). The Taoists, armed in the late 1220s with an edict from Cinggis-qan (q.v.) giving them religious authority, had taken over many establishments from the Buddhists in north China (q.v.), and had tried to control ordination and the associated tax freedom promised by the *qan* to all religious men. They had also circulated a text, in various forms, one of which was illustrated called the “Canon of Transformation into Western Barbarians” (*Huahuijing* 化胡經). It detailed the “reincarnations” of Taoist sage Laozi 老子 (6th century BC) who had left China and gone west, where he became reincarnated as various religious figures, including Buddha who, by extension, was Taoist, as was his religion.

Whether Cinggis-qan ever understood the differences between the various groups, and thus the implications of his edict is unclear, but Taoist pretensions were clearly creating problems for the Mongols by the 1250s. The Buddhists found the *Huahuijing* 化胡經 tradition particularly insulting. They complained to the Mongol authorities who by then were leaning more and more towards Buddhism in any case.

After a first series of debates at Qaraqorum (q.v.) in 1255, in which the *Huahuijing* was ordered destroyed, Möngke (q.v.) turned the matter over to prince Qubilai (q.v.) for ultimate resolution. He convened a new series of debates, in 1258, to prove once and for all the truth of Taoism and Buddhism. Led by aPhags-Pa (q.v.), Qubilai's personal *bLa-Ma* (q.v.), the Buddhists triumphed. Not only was the offending text ordered destroyed, but the entire Taoist Canon (*Daozang* 道藏) as well.

How rigidly the decision was carried out is uncertain. The Taoist Canon survived, and there is no evidence that the Taoists, of which the Quanzhen 全真 was merely one of several sects, went into a total eclipse. They were certainly less favored at court.

BUJIR. *Jarquci* (q.v.) and chief of the Mongol imperial administrator for occupied China. He probably died some time in the 1260s and little is known about him. *See also* Province.

BUKHARA. City and region. The city was one of the old cultural centers of Turkistan (q.v.), its name coming from a Buddhist word for monastery, pointing up its pre-Islamic roots. It was seriously damaged by the Mongols, and did not become an important center again until the 14th century. Within the region of Bukhara, Samarqand (q.v.), another old Turkistanian cultural center, momentarily eclipsed it as the region's center. It was the seat, for most of the early Mongol imperial period, of an important regional administration. *See also* Yelü Ahai 耶律阿海; Mas'ud Beg.

BULAD. *See* Pulad.

BULARQUCI. Official responsible for what was left behind (*bularqi*) when camp is struck. In Mongol China, runaway slaves and the like also came under the purview of the *bularquci*. The

office points up the importance for the Mongols of having a master for everything in their society.

BULGAR. *See* Bulghar.

BULGARIA. Slavic state in the southern Balkans. Bulgaria began a new era of independence in the 12th century, and became a major enemy of the Latin Empire (*see* Constantinople, Latin Empire) and then of the restored Byzantine state of the Paleologoi (*see* Byzantine Empire). The Golden Horde (q.v.) could use Bulgaria to chastise Byzantium when it was necessary, or it could seek to control Bulgaria and thus please the Byzantines.

BULGARIANS. Slavic ethnic group living in the Bulgaria of Thrace, rival of Byzantium. The name came from Altaic Bulghar invaders who took land there in the early Middle ages, ruling over Slavs who assimilated them. (*See* Bulghar; Volga Bulghars.)

BULGHAI. Chief *bicigci* (q.v.) of *qan* Möngke (q.v.).

BULGHAR. 1. City located just south of Kazan. Bulghar was the center of the kingdom and economic life of the Volga Bulghars (q.v.) at the time of the Mongolian invasions. It was sacked by Sübe’etei (q.v.) during the second Mongolian advance towards Russia (q.v.). The city perhaps had a population of 50,000 during its heyday. 2. Altaic group living in Siberia (q.v.).

BULQA. “Rebels; those not pacified.” *Bulqa* was a term used by the Mongols to label those still resisting their rule and the orders of Heaven. *See also* *Il*.

BULQAI. *See* Bulghai.

BUQA TEMÜR. Ruler (r. circa 1272–1282) of the Ca’adai *ulus* (q.v.). Buqa-Temür was a great-great-grandson of Ca’adai (q.v.) and a puppet of Qaidu (q.v.), the dominant power in the area.

BÜRI. Grandson of Ca’adai (q.v.). He had a violent dispute with Bat-qan (q.v.) during the Eastern European campaign in which with the later *qan* Güyük (q.v.) became involved. This was one of the reasons for Bat-qan’s failure to support the House

of Ögödei (q.v.) in 1251. He later died at the hands of Bat-qan.

BURMA. Southwest Asian kingdom. Burma was invaded by the Mongols in 1277 and briefly dominated by them.

BURQAN. 1. Mongolian term for Buddha in later usage. 2. An idol. 3. Possibly a pre-Buddhist spirit, associated with the sky god Tenggiri (q.v.). It occurs in the place name Burqan-qaldun, “Burqan Springs,” a sacred mountain where the young Temüjin (see Cinggis-qan) once took refuge from his enemies.

BURQAN-QALDUN. Mongolian sacred mountain (see Burqan).

BUSCARELLO DE GISOLF. Genoese (see Genoa) merchant and Ilqanate (q.v.) envoy to Europe. He help reestablish contacts between the Papacy and the Ilqanate of Arghun (r. 1284–1291) and presented the latter’s letter to Edward I of England. His retinue included probably the first Mongol to reach Europe.

BUYRUQ QAYA (1197–1265). Uighur *jarquci* (q.v.). He began his career as a member of the bodyguard of Cinggis-qan (q.v.), and *circa* 1228 was sent to the former Jin capital of Zhongdu 中都 (q.v.) to take charge of treasuries there. Shortly thereafter, he passed into the service of Sorqoqtani-beki (q.v.), wife of regent Tolui-noyan (q.v.). In this capacity, Buyruq Qaya was placed in charge of her holdings in China (q.v.), apparently as her *daruqaci* (q.v.), later advancing to the position of *daruqaci* for the entire *cölge* (q.v.) of Zhending 真定, in what is now in Hebei 河北. Zhen-ding 真定 was one of the areas in which Sorqoqtani-beki had holdings.

In 1231, Buyruq Qaya became an “investigations officer” for the *cölge* south of Zhongdu, and a later reference suggests that at that time, or soon afterwards, he became a *jarquci*, for the same area. He went on to a long career in this latter role.

BYZANTINE EMPIRE. Subdued by the Latins in 1204 (see Constantinople, Latin Empire), the Byzantine Empire was renewed by the Paleologus Dynasty (1261) just as the Mongols became serious contenders for power in the eastern Mediterranean. Although Byzantium was relatively isolated from direct attack by either the Golden Horde (q.v.) or the Ilqanate (q.v.), its neighbors were not, to the benefit of the Byzantines. It played a

significant role in the politics of the time because Constantinople (q.v.) controlled the sea route between the Golden Horde and its Egyptian ally (*see* Mamlūk; Egypt). It was thus in the interests of the Golden Horde to pressure the Paleologoi to keep the route open to them, and in the interests of the Ilqanate to keep it closed. Since Ilqanate forces were closer, in Anatolia, the Ilqanate often prevailed. It also maintained marriage alliances with the Byzantines.

In addition to their political role, the Byzantines were also well positioned to participate in an active trade passing vertically through Constantinople, from the Black Sea ports adjacent to the Golden Horde on south, and horizontally through the Italian city states (*see* Genoa; Venice). They were actively involved both in the trade, and in the Byzantine Empire, and had contacts, for example, deep in the Ilqanate.

Byzantine sources for the period are comparatively abundant, but are largely unexploited. This is primarily due to the linguistic difficulty of many of them.

BYZANTIUM. *See* Byzantine Empire.

— C —

CA'ADAI (1183–1242). Second oldest son of Cinggis-qan (q.v.).

Ca'adai received an *ulus* (q.v.) in what is now northern Kazakhstan and western Turkistan (q.v.). He was noted for his conservatism, which apparently had an impact upon his successors.

CA'ADAI ULUS. Mongol successor state. It was based in western Turkistan (q.v.) and adjacent areas under the hereditary control of members of the house of Ca'adai (q.v.). In some ways the most primitive of the Mongol successor states economically, the Ca'adai *ulus* did enjoy a substantial sedentary economic base in the province of Bukhara (q.v.) and in nearby areas, although nomadic influences remained strong. The Ca'adai *ulus*, under Du'a (q.v.), came strongly under the influence of Qaidu (q.v.), but reasserted itself after his death and continued to exist for three more decades as a separate entity. The area later became the base for the empire of Tamerlane (q.v.). *See also* "5. Ca'adai Ulus and Qaidu."

CABUI-QATUN (?–1281). Primary wife of Qubilai-qan. Cabui was the mother of Nomuqan (q.v.), Zhenjin 真金 (q.v.), and Manqala. She is believed to have been a major influence on Qubilai in his acceptance of Buddhism (q.v.).

CALIPH. Spiritual leader of Sunni Islam, resident in Baghdad (q.v.) under the ‘Umayyads and Abbāsids (*see* Abbāsīd Caliphate). The Mongols ended the life of the last ‘Abbasid caliph (*see* Musta’sim) when they captured Baghdad in 1258 and therewith his office, although the Ottomans sought to revive the tradition later.

CAMEL. The camel replaced the horse as a mount in some dry areas and was also used for long-distance transport. Although not commonly used for meat, it did produce down and milk, which could be fermented into camel kumiss (*see* Kumiss).

CAMPAIGN RATIONS. Mongolian armies were expected to live off the land and go without for long periods of time, if needed. Individual riders could take dried foods with them on campaign and extra horses could be slaughtered for meat. Blood was also taken from live horses for use as food, and when other liquids were in short supply. Mentioned as campaign rations are dried meat (*si’üsün*) and dried curds, *qurut* (q.v.), or *grut*, which could be boiled or simply placed into water to produce a thin fermented milk drink. Mongols also kept the bones from any meat they ate. They could be boiled to provide a thin broth to which curds or even millet could be added, as well as other foods.

As foot armies were added by the Mongols, the problem of supply became more complicated. The early armies of allies were expected to support themselves, like Mongol troops, but in China (q.v.) a formal supply system had come into being by the time of Qubilai (q.v.). This was necessary not only because of fixed-position warfare and the lengthy sieges that were becoming commonplace, but also because of the increasing complexity of the military supplies themselves. They now included rounds of ammunition for a variety of machines. Naval forces also required a repair base, including wood and metal fittings, as did other heavy equipment.

How supplies for heavy equipment were handled during the earliest days of expansion is unclear, but certainly armies intent on taking fortified centers, such as that of Hüle'ü (q.v.), had to take a great deal with them and find sources of replenishment. Hüle'ü's advance was thus slow in comparison to those of the lightly equipped and highly mobile Mongol armies of the past. *See also* Army.

CAN. *See* Qan.

CANNON. *See* Gunpowder.

CAPITALS. Despite a preference for an active nomadic life, particularly during the summer, but also at other times of the year, when game was abundant, Mongol rulers and princes employed sedentary cities and residences as retreats and as administrative centers. The first was Qaraqorum (q.v.), but most enduring of the Mongol capitals was Daidu 大都, built on a site just north of Zhongdu 中都 (q.v.) according to a grandiose plan and surviving to this day as Peking (q.v.). The Forbidden City is essentially a Mongol creation, although much expanded under the Ming and Qing. *See also* Shangdu 上都; Sulṭāniyya.

CAQA'AN. 1. "White," "Royal." 2. Not common; elite. 3. From the perspective of *ego*, one or more lineages with which one is too closely related to intermarry. (*See also* Yasun.) 4. A compass direction, apparently east. A tabu word for "white" is "yellow."

CAQA'AN TEÜKE. "White History." The *Caqa'an Teüke* was a Mongolian history supposedly written during the time of Qubilai-qan (q.v.) and detailing the religious government of the Tibetan *dishi* 帝師 (q.v.). An extensively edited version from the 16th century still exists.

CARACARON. *See* Qaraqorum.

CARAUNAS. *See* Qaraunas.

CARMEN MISERABLE. "Unhappy Song." The *Carmen Miserable* was an account by Roger of Hungary (or of Vardin) of the Mongolian invasions of Hungary of 1241-1242 and their harmful effects. *See* Béla IV; Hungary; Sajó River, Battle of.

CASPIAN SEA. Large, semi-saline sea separating Turkistan (q.v.) from the Caucasus. In one of the most memorable campaigns in military history, the Mongolian generals Jebe (q.v.) and Sübe'etei (q.v.) moved around the sea between 1221 and 1223, living off the land and conquering as they went.

CATAPULTS. *See* Mangonels; Trebuchet.

CATHAY. Old name for China (q.v.) derived from Kitan (q.v.), the name of an Altaic tribal and linguistic grouping.

CATTLE. Although cattle were rare as Mongolian herd animals, they were important beasts of burden, particularly for drawing the large wagons upon which permanent housing was fixed. *See* Khibitkha.

CENSUS. The census was the act whereby the Mongols formally and ritually took possession of conquered peoples and territories by enumerating them prior to their redistribution. The census was usually carried out by *jarquci* (q.v.). Exactly who was counted seems to have varied by area. *See also* Booty.

CERBI. “Chamberlain.” *Cerbi* was an office in the imperial body-guard (*see Kesikten*) held by Cinqai (q.v.) among others.

CERIK. 1. “Army.” *Cerik* applied, among others, to the military forces assigned to the *qan* (q.v.) and his central establishment, or *qol-un cerik*, “army of the pivot.” 2. In Persian sources *cerik* is also a term for the local armies raised by the Mongols to subdue those still holding out. Because of the demographic limitation imposed by a small Mongolian native population, such armies were widely used. Successful commanders sometimes formed their own local dynasties with Mongol patronage.

CHABUI-QATUN. *See* Cabui-qatun.

CHAGHAN TEMÜR. Turkic general of late Yuan Dynasty (q.v.) and loyalist leader. He and his nephew and adopted son Wang Baobao 王保保, better known by his Mongol name, Kökö Temür (q.v.), defended the Kaifeng 開封 (q.v.) area (just south

of the Yellow River) for the Court in Daidu 大都 against a growing number of Chinese rebel warlords.

CHAGHATAY, I. *See* Ca'adai.

CHAGHATAY, II. Turkic literary language of western Turkistan (q.v.) that emerged under Tamerlane (q.v.) and his successors.

CHAMPA. Territory on the central coast of the present Vietnam. Champa was attacked by the Mongols unsuccessfully in 1281. It was predominantly Muslim and much involved with trade farther on. Thus the main Mongol interest in controlling it, although concerns about Champa as a possible bastion for Song resistance (*see* Song, Mongol Conquest of) played a role as well. *See also* Sögetü.

CHANGCHUN 長春 (**QIU CHUJI** 丘處機) (1148–1227). Head of the Neo-Taoist Quanzhen 全真 sect (*see* Taoism). Famed for his longevity and supposed possession of the secrets of immortality, Changchun was invited to visit Cinggis-qan (q.v.) in 1219, then in the west waging war in Turkistan (q.v.). He set out in 1221 on a journey lasting more than two years. The account of this journey, the “Record of a Journey to the West” (*Xi yuji* 西游記), written up by Changchun’s disciple Li Zhichang 李志常, is one the most important sources for the early Mongol period as eye witness testimony. During the years after his return, Changchun used his influence with the Mongols to attempt to set up his sect as the dominant religious force in the occupied north, resulting ultimately in a conflict that the Buddhists won. They were aided by Qubilai-qan (q.v.), a convert, or at least someone highly sympathetic to Buddhism (q.v.). *See also* Buddhho-Taoist Debates; aPhags-Pa.

CHAO 鈔. A printed banknote. Printing paper money had long been a practice in China (q.v.) prior to the Mongols, and the Mongols, lured by the convenience of such money, took to it readily, issuing paper money as early as 1227 and several times thereafter, although circulation was at first limited to local areas. Initially, they carefully put aside reserves to cover their issues, but towards the end of the qanate in China, less restraint was shown and considerable inflation resulted. Paper money was also introduced to Iran, but proved to be a complete fiasco since the

population of the area had had no experience with it and distrusted it entirely, nearly bringing commerce to an end before the experiment was abandoned. Nonetheless, the paper money of Iran represents the earliest known (late 13th century) use of block printing in the Islamic west. The Iranian notes, incidentally, included Chinese characters although, of course, also the Arabic formula "There is no God but Allah and Mohammad is his Prophet." *See also* Coins.

CHIEFDOM. *See* Tribe.

CHILIARCHY. *See* *Mingan*.

CHINA. The China of the Mongol period was the China of today, less the southwest, Manchuria, and some other outlying areas, principally the Ordos and what is now Ningxia 寧夏 Province. Interior Guangxi 廣西 and Yunnan 雲南 (q.v.) had only just been added by Mongol conquest, but were not yet fully assimilated. Manchuria, the Ordos, and the extreme northwest had long been "barbarian" turf, and would continue to be into the 19th century. On the eve of Mongol incursion, the total population was at least 120,000,000 and perhaps more, depending upon the size of the population in marginal areas that are poorly covered in our sources (*see* Population, Chinese). Both north and south were economically sophisticated and were probably, in fact, the most developed areas in the world of the time.

Mongol invasion and more than a quarter century of virtually continuous warfare after the first Mongol advance, seriously damaged the north, seat of the Jürched (q.v.) Jin Dynasty, but the south, except for a few areas in which resistance was intense, largely fell into Mongol hands intact (*see* Song, Mongol Conquest of). It thus became the real economic basis of qanate China once Qubilai-qan (q.v.) had added it to his domains (1276–1279).

Unlike Iran (q.v.), which lacked a clear sense of national being at the time of the Mongol invasions, China was very aware of itself and had definite conceptions of what was and what was not Chinese. Thus, while Mongols, Turks, and to a large extent, Iranians freely amalgamated in the west, for example, to create a new, post-Mongol society, China never entirely made its peace with its Mongol conquerors. The south, in particular, remained recalcitrant to the end (*see* Song, Loyal-

ism). In the end, as a result, the south was little touched by the world culture of the Mongol age which it chose to ignore. *See also* "3. Qanate China."

CHINESE. The principal language of China (q.v.) and of countries within the Chinese diplomatic orbit. At the time, the language used for writing documents had become divorced from the various spoken dialects, ancestral to the modern Chinese languages.

Chinese was not the dominant language of the Mongol court in China, which existed in an area that was little Sinicized and had been under non-Chinese rule for centuries. In addition to standard written Chinese used in literary documents, and spoken Chinese, the period saw the development of an official pidgin. It used Chinese words but was written in Mongolian word order and attempted to maintain linguistic distinctions that existed in Mongolian, but not in Chinese. In addition to such mixed language documents, there exists an extensive amount of Mongolian and other linguistic material transliterated into Chinese. Sometimes this is done quite competently, other times in a highly confused and inconsistent manner so that reconstructing the original forms is quite difficult. To date, no comparative study of this material has been undertaken. *See also* Languages.

CHING-SANG. Title, among others, of Pulad (q.v.), Ambassador of Qubilai (q.v.) to the Ilqanate (q.v.). It comes from the Chinese *chengxiang* 丞相, "minister." *See* Titles.

CHOBAN. Mongol general and the leading personality at the court of last *ilqan* Abū Sa'īd (r. 1316–1335) (q.v.). Choban was noted for his ability to defend the Ilqanate (q.v.) against both Golden Horde (q.v.) and Ca'adai *ulus* (q.v.) incursions, but was less successful in dealing with court factions based upon adherence to Islamic doctrinal orientations (*see* Islam). This resulted in the execution of the historian and minister Rashīd al-Dīn (q.v.), on July 15, 1318. For this and other arbitrary acts, Choban was deposed by the order of the *ilqan*, but was later reinstated. Later his son revolted in Anatolia, but Choban was forgiven for that as well. Choban, who had by now repeatedly overreached himself, was finally executed in 1327 by Abū Sa'īd, who had come to the throne as a child, but was now in his majority. A daughter

of Choban, Baghdād-qatun (q.v.), became the femme fatale of the dynasty. *See also* “6. Ilqanate.”

CHORMAGHUN-QORCI. *See* Cormaqan-qorci.

CHRISTIANITY. For the Mongols, two kinds of Christianity were important. One was the native Nestorian Christianity (*see* Nestorianism) found among the Mongols themselves. The other was the Christianity of the various western Christian missionaries seeking to convert the Mongols. Almost all were Catholic. They were from various orders, including Franciscans. In addition to these, the Mongols had to deal with local Christian groups in the conquered domains. This included Russian Orthodoxy in the areas controlled by the Golden Horde (q.v.), and local Nestorians and other minority Christian groups principally in Iraq.

Nestorianism is named after Nestorius, the patriarch of Constantinople (q.v.) between 428 and 431. He sought to stress the human qualities of Christ over the divine and taught that the Virgin Mary was not the mother of God, but of a man. Condemned in 431 at the Council of Ephesus, the followers of Nestorius took refuge beyond the reach of the orthodox Byzantine Emperor in Persian domains. There they continued to practice and propagate their beliefs, including to Central Asia, where they prospered. Nestorianism arrived in Mongolia no later than the 10th century.

Although Nestorianism was widely adhered to among the early Mongols, and continued to be important, it was never a majority religion among them. Their Nestorian belief system was anything but sophisticated. Nonetheless, the presence of Nestorian Christians among Mongol armies, and within the ruling groups of the empire and of the qanates, was a constant source of hope for the Crusader states (q.v.) and their European supporters. Europeans were particularly anxious to capitalize on any Mongolian Prester John (q.v.) to put Islam in its place once and for all. Although the Mongols played up to this legend out of their need for Western allies, at no time was Nestorianism of real political significance among the Mongols, even in the Ilqanate (q.v.). More Mongols there were loyal to traditional Mongolian beliefs, or even to Buddhism (q.v.), than to Nestorianism (*see* Religion).

Nonetheless there were repeated Christian embassies and formal missions were even set up in various parts of the Mongolian world. They even made a few converts, mostly locals, but no real progress was made among the ruling class.

CHU RIVER. South Siberian river to the southwest of Lake Balkhash (q.v.). The boundary between the Ca'adai *ulus* (q.v.) and the Golden Horde (q.v.) bisected it and its pastures were often fought over by the conflicting nomadic groups.

CILA'UN (TAS). Son and second successor of Muqali (q.v.), the commander of the Mongolian *tamma* (q.v.) in China.

CINGIS. *See* Cinggis-qan.

CINGGIS-QAN (1162?–1227). The most important figure in Mongolian history and founder of the Mongol Empire. Despite this, we know surprisingly little about him. His biography, both in Chinese and in Mongolian sources, reads more like hagiography than reliable history. It is full of miraculous, heavenly interventions and other unlikely happenings. What we do know is that he was born as Temüjin, named after a Tatar (q.v.) captive, sometime in the middle of the 12th century, probably in 1162. It could have been a few years earlier, or even later. He was the son of Yisügei-ba'adur (q.v.) a minor Mongolian chieftain who came to a bad end at the hands of Tatar enemies, and Hö'elün (*see* Hö'elün-eke), whom Yisügei is said to have stolen from the Merkit (q.v.), yet more enemies. We also know that he had a difficult childhood in which he nearly starved after the death of his father, had frequently to hide from his enemies, and killed a brother. Later he began his rise as a hanger-on of various powerful chieftains, and possibly as a steppe ally of the Jin (*see* Jürched), although this whole episode seems to be suppressed in the *Secret History of the Mongols* (q.v.)

By the end of the 12th century, he had become a serious contender for the position of steppe overlord, and in 1206 he was elected *qan* (q.v.) of almost the entire Mongolian world. Here we are on firm historical ground. During the remaining 22 years of his life, which are relatively well documented, he or his generals conquered a vast region, stretching from China (q.v.) into Turkistan (q.v.), Iran (q.v.), and even Russia (q.v.), site of a first Mongol appearance in 1223.

After his death, the *qan* continued to be recognized not only as the founder of a great empire and of the ruling lines of various successor states, but as a godlike figure who was worshipped. This veneration continues until the present, with official ceremonies in honor of his spirit recently resumed in Ulaanbaatar, the capital of modern Mongolia. He has remained the one universal symbol of Mongol nationhood. *See also* “1. Mongolia Before Empire”; “2. Mongol Empire.”

CINQAI (?–1252). Uighur (*see* Uighurs), or Önggüd (q.v.), chief minister of Ögödei (q.v.) and Güyük (q.v.). Cinqai apparently began his career as a merchant and spy for Cinggis-qan (q.v.), and then moved on to become a member of his bodyguard (*see Kesikten*) holding the rank of *cerbi* (q.v.), “chamberlain.” He also held the post of *jarquci* (q.v.). After a long and distinguished service, Cinqai apparently perished in the purges of Möngke (q.v.). *See also* “2. Mongol Empire.”

CITIES. The settled and urbanized portions of Eurasia were antagonistic to the Mongolian world of the undivided steppe and barrier-free movement. At the time of the Mongol invasions, the cities of Eurasia were in their late medieval heyday, although the wars of the Khwarazmians (*see* Khwarazmian Empire) had adversely impacted many of those of *Khurāsān* (q.v.) and Transoxania (q.v.). In China (q.v.), even areas as far afield as the Sino-Mongolian borderlands were highly urban *circa* 1200 with some of the cities, the Western Capital (Xijing 西京) of Jin (*see* Jürched) for example, approaching a population of 50,000. This was unprecedented for such a remote area. There were similar concentrations in another remote area, the Xixia (q.v.) kingdom. Elsewhere, the largest Chinese cities had populations in the hundreds of thousands and not far from a million in the case of the Southern Song capital of Hangzhou 杭州 (q.v.). Jin Kaifeng 開封 (q.v.) was not much smaller at its high point, just after Mongolian invasion when the city was swollen with refugees, and may even have been briefly larger than Hangzhou.

In Turkistan (q.v.), Transoxania, and *Khurāsān*, populations of 50,000 to 100,000 were more typical, but the area was still dotted with large and small settlements. Most were associated with oases, but some were also found in the large irrigated river valleys. Unlike Chinese cities, which tended to rely on a more

linear defense with mobile armies, most were highly fortified, often with separate citadels that could hold out for extended periods of time even after the main cities had fallen. This may have been one reason why the Mongols seemed so intent upon destroying them when they invaded western Turkistan. The large, highly fortified cities of the area could seriously limit their potential control and freedom of movement in a way that most Chinese cities could not. They also dominated local economic activity entirely, but not so in China.

The cities of Iran (q.v.) proper were similar to those of Turkistan, Transoxania, and Khurāsān in size and function. Most were located in the relatively fertile regions just south of the Caspian (q.v.) or in the mountains of the north, or juxtaposed to Iraq (q.v.). Iraq itself had some of the largest cities of all, including Baghdad (q.v.), long past its heyday in 1258, but still including hundreds of thousands within its walls.

Also highly fortified, thanks to years of warfare between Muslims and Christians, were the major centers of the Mediterranean coastline and Anatolia. Palestine and Syria included some of the most sophisticated castles in the world in support of local urban areas. It is no surprise that the military advance of the Ilqanate (q.v.) stalled in this area.

For the Mongols, cities, besides being potential sources of antagonism and opposition, were also objects of plunder. Later they realized that they could be sources of tax income as well, and the surviving shells of many cities conquered by them and heavily damaged in the process became administrative centers to support the new taxation systems.

Towns and small cities were few and far between in Mongolia itself and in other steppe areas preferred by the Mongols for their residences, but they existed there as well. Sometimes they were even created specially for the conquerors, although few of them took up permanent residence.

Qaraqorum (q.v.) was one such city, although the *qan*, during the warmer months, preferred the green grass of Sira Ordu (q.v.). It, nonetheless, did have important administrative functions. Other administrative cities created by the Mongols included Shangdu 上都 (q.v.), the princely headquarters of Qubilai (q.v.) in China, and Sarai (q.v.) and New Sarai (q.v.) in Golden Horde (q.v.) domains. The Mongols also created cities intended to be staffed by their captives, laboring for their con-

venience, including the Cinqai Balaqasun, “City of Cinqai,” mostly inhabited by artisans, in Mongolia.

CLAN AFFAIRS, IMPERIAL OFFICE OF. See *Da Zongzheng Fu* 大宗正府.

CLOTHING, FEMALE. Mongol female clothing was similar to male (*see* Clothing, Male) with the base *de’el*, under, and outer garments. The biggest differences were found in headdress, with that of females being far more elaborate than males, at least on formal occasions, when the high *boqta* (q.v.), with its feathers, pearls and other adornments, was worn. Female belts also appear to have had more decorative elements. Both males and females wore earrings. In some cases, as today, the hair was extensively decorated with pearls and other attachments.

CLOTHING, MALE. The typical Mongol male clothing of the era was more or less identical to the Mongolian *de’el* or robe of the present day. It was a one-piece garment open at the front that folded over and was buttoned (to the left), or simply closed over at the top, with a belt usually decorated with metal trappings with one or more pouches attached, holding the garment closed below. Most were lined for warmth, usually with fur, although some appear to be quilted, probably with an internal wadding. The internal lining was usually visible at the hands, at the bottom, or as an edging. Silk was the preferred outer covering but some elite robes appear also to have been covered with snow leopard (*see* Bars) and other furs. Snow leopard fur seems to have been popular for *de’el* lining as well.

Trousers were worn underneath the robe, and possibly an undershirt as well, although some illustrations appear to show what was an under robe. In some illustrations the robe buttons vertically, but what is illustrated may actually be a heavy overcoat and not the main *de’el*. When such overcoats were worn they were frequently of heavy felt, which could also serve as a lining in place of fur. Outercoats could also be entirely of fur.

Headgear varied, but was most commonly a fur-lined hat with earmuffs. Elite males, as well as females, wore peacock-feather head decorations. Boots (Modern Mongolian: *guta*) were generally of pressed felt with thick stockings worn underneath. Mongol males are usually shown with at least a goatee, sometimes a full, but still sparse beard, and a drooping mous-

tache. Some illustrations suggest a shaving of at least the crown of the head. *See also* Clothing, Female.

COCTEN. *See* Köten.

COINS. During the period of their empire, and under the qanates, the Mongols were responsible for a large output of coins. These are among our most important sources for reconstructing the economic and administrative history of the Mongolian world. The Mongols issued some coins intended for local consumption and others for international usage. Among the former were the standard copper cash of qanate China (q.v.). Their only peculiarity is that some had aPhags-Pa Script (q.v.; *see also* Appendix A) inscriptions. The standard issues of the Islamic side of the Mongol empire and its successor states were similar, conforming strictly to local standards like their Chinese equivalents

Among coins intended for international use were the bilingual coinages of Bukhara (inscribed Buhua 不化, “Bukhara,” in Chinese; *see* Bukhara) and of Ghazan (q.v.) in Iran (q.v.). Some of his had inscriptions in Chinese, Mongolian, Persian, and Arabic. These were intended for circulation in Central Asia, as well as in Ilqanate domains. Among Mongol era coins, those issued by the administrations of Mas’ūd Beg (q.v.) are particularly important since written records are lacking. Careful study of these coins allows us to elicit many details of Mas’ūd’s administration that would otherwise be obscure.

CÖLGE. Mongolian administrative unit. A *cölge* was essentially a city and its hinterland. The *cölge* was identified in China (q.v.) with the *lu* 路 (q.v.), once a much larger unit, but now became small.

COMANI. *See* Quman.

COMMUNICATIONS. Communications were extremely fast within the Mongolian world, even after the breakdown of the unified empire. This was due to the ability of individuals and groups to move across steppe areas rapidly on horseback, with little or no impedance, as long as at least some effort was made to keep the local powers interested in such rapid movement through gifts and shares of profits from long-distance trade. Secondly, the Mongolian postal rider and runner system (*see*

jam), along which goods and even merchants moved, as well as information, was quite fast in its heyday. The news of the death of *qan* Ögödei (q.v.) in Mongolia, for example, seems to have reached Bat-qan (q.v.) in Hungary within a few weeks.

Mongol communications functioned well between parts of the empire and between armies in the field. The 1241 invasion of Eastern Europe by Sübe'etei (q.v.) would not have been possible without the careful coordination of the armies involved before and during the invasion. Nonetheless, that such communication could and did break down may be seen from the recriminations between Sübe'etei (q.v.) and Bat-qan after the Battle of the Sajó (q.v.). Bat-qan had gone ahead and launched a frontal assault on the Hungarians, holding a strategic bridge, without regard to what his senior commander was doing. He may have chosen to make the attack for his own reasons, but it is equally possible that he and Sübe'etei were simply out of touch with one another due to the rapid movements involved in any Mongolian invasion, and the actions of hostile Hungarians.

Under Qubilai (q.v.), ships became an important part of the Mongolian communications system as well as horsemen and runners. Qubilai, for example, kept in good communication with his fleets pursuing the Song rebels (*see* Song, Mongol Conquest of), and later, long-range ships became the primary means of communication with Mongol Iran. It was cut off on the land side from China by a hostile Qaidu (q.v.) and then the Ca'adai *ulus* (q.v.). Marco Polo (q.v.) was one traveling on such ships.

COMPOUND BOW. The Mongolian bow, the preferred Mongol weapon, was comprised of multiple layers of wood carefully shaped and formed together into a single, flexible bow for strength. Naturally bending forward, it required a high pulling force, but had excellent penetrating power. It was easily manipulated while on horseback, and could remain strung for long periods of time without losing elasticity.

Arrowheads (*see* Arrows) were generally of bone and could have specialized functions, *e.g.*, whistling arrowheads. Metal arrowheads have also been found but were uncommon.

CONFUCIANISM. Dominant Chinese ideology, Confucianism was also the dark glass through which historical events were seen. Confucianism was originally a schoolman's tradition emphasizing textual criticism and exposition based in the teachings of Confucius (551–479 BC), as codified slowly over several centuries after his death. Later, during and just prior to the Han Dynasty, it fused with traditions characterized as Legalist, emphasizing practical political philosophy, and Confucianism was adapted with the realities of a new type of imperial state in mind. This included borrowing techniques for personnel management found in Legalism and elsewhere.

Buddhism (q.v.) seriously threatened Confucianism as the leading ideology. Confucianism coped by developing its own metaphysics, modeled upon those of Buddhism. It also developed new traditions of self-cultivation and creative insight based in both Buddhism and Taoism (q.v.). The "New" Confucianism that resulted, Neoconfucianism, was dominant in Song China at the time of the Mongol invasion of the north, and was beginning to spread there as well. This process accelerated after the reunification of China (q.v.).

Confucianism was important for the Mongols in China as the symbolic system of most meaning to its elite, including those members that they had to recruit to help them rule. They had to conform to it at least superficially; thus the stable of Confucian advisors of Qubilai (q.v.). They were competent in administering Chinese territories to be sure, a major reason why he recruited them in the first place, but were also window-dressing to make him more acceptable to the Chinese.

After Qubilai, the pendulum swung back and forth in the use to which Mongol rulers put Confucianism, and the degree to which they were willing to appear Chinese. What this meant in practice is seen in the revived imperial examination system of the early 14th century. It marked the total victory of Neoconfucianism, but was also carefully fostered to benefit the Mongol and non-Chinese elite of China. Its members were given special preferences in taking them, but these exams were no more than window dressing and were never a significant source of recruitment for Mongol China.

Another area in which Confucianism has proven important for the Mongols, in retrospect, was as a system of moral values for evaluating the Mongols themselves. It was not the Mongols

who wrote the history of Mongol China, but Confucians enlisted by the Ming Dynasty (q.v.) for their Confucian virtues. They did so in terms of a tradition of moralizing, with careful blaming and praising of individuals and historical acts from the standpoint of their ideology. This resulted in a serious distortion of the history of Qanate China that persists to this day. That the Confucians doing the blaming and praising were already well along the path towards doctrinal rigidity characteristic of Ming Confucianism did not help.

Confucianism was thus a useful mantle for Mongol rulers of China to wear in attempting to approach their subjects, but in the end has also imposed great rigidity on our historical view of them. Confucian ideological constraints have reinforced Chinese ethnic prejudices and chauvinisms, resulting in the myth of Mongol Sinicization (q.v.) at every turn. The Mongols did become assimilated into other cultures, but only over long periods of time and as a result of complex, multilateral processes. More often than not, these other cultures were not Chinese. Unfortunately, the Confucian bias of our sources makes studying what actually happened difficult.

CONSTANTINOPLE. City founded by Constantine as a new Rome in the East. Constantinople was capital of the Byzantine Empire (q.v.) until 1204, and after 1261, and of the Latin Empire of Constantinople (*see* Constantinople, Latin Empire) between 1204 and 1261. The city was past its prime in the 13th, but was still a major center, all the more so because it was dominated by the Italian trading republics with world wide connections (*see* Genoa; Venice). During the Mongol period the city was particularly important because it controlled the main trade and communications routes between the Golden Horde (q.v.) and its Egyptian ally (*see* Mamlūk). Constantinople was estimated to have had a population of 300,000 at the time of its 1204 conquest, down from perhaps half a million a few hundred years earlier. Its population had declined by 1261, but was still enormous by the standards of the time.

CONSTANTINOPLE, LATIN EMPIRE (1204–1261). Empire founded by the Fourth Crusade, which chose to conquer Constantinople (q.v.) instead of any Muslim centers. Greece was partitioned between various feudal lords with Constantinople the seat of the suzerain. At the time of the Byzantine reconquest,

the Latin emperor was Baldwin II of Flanders (r. 1228–1261). The Byzantines took refuge in northwestern and central coastal Anatolia, around a new capital at Nicea (*see* Nicean Empire), in Epiros, and at Trebizond (q.v.), where the Comnenoi, Byzantium's former dynasts, carved out their own state. It at first including Sinope, as well as Trebizond. Much of Thrace came under the control of a resurgent Bulgaria (q.v.) while the Italian city-states carved out their own minor holdings as depots at strategic points. *See also* Byzantine Empire.

CORMAQAN-QORCI (?–1240\41). *Tanma* (q.v.) commander in *Khurāsān* (q.v.) and Iran (q.v.), with forces centered in Azerbaijan (q.v.). Cormaqan-qorci conquered Georgia (q.v.) and Armenia (q.v.) for the Mongols. He was first sent west in 1230–1231 with a large army, perhaps 30,000, in pursuit of Jalāl al-Dīn (q.v.), but later lost authority as a civil administration was organized for the area to replace tribal authority. Cormaqan-qorci was initially succeeded by his wife, and then by Baiju (q.v.).

CRIMEA. Peninsula attached to the south of Russia. The Crimea was both a center of Italian city-state commercial interest, and of Golden Horde (q.v.) nomadic presence. *See also* Crimea, Qanate of; Sudaq.

CRIMEA, QANATE OF. Mongolian successor state focusing on the Crimea. The Qanate of Crimea was the last surviving state directly tracing its origins back to the era of Mongol conquest. Extinguished by the Russian (q.v.) in the late 18th century.

CRUSADER STATES. States formed in Palestine by western Crusaders. After the mid-13th century Jerusalem was no longer controlled by any of them, but they still included Antioch (captured in 1098, reconquered by the Mamlūk (q.v.) in 1268), Acre (captured in 1191, reconquered by the Mamlūk in 1291), and Cyprus (captured in 1191). *See also* Crusades.

CRUSADES. Popular European movements to recover the Holy Land (q.v.) and Jerusalem (q.v.) from the Muslims. In time, the Crusaders established states in the Holy Land (q.v.) under European leaders to safeguard conquests. Although Jerusalem, conquered in the 11th century, was definitively lost in the 13th, the states persisted and became potential Mongol allies against

the Mamlūk (q.v.). *See also* Bohemond VI of Antioch and Tripoli; Crusader States.

CUISINE. *See* Food.

CUIUC. *See* Güyük.

CUMAN. *See* Kibca'ut.

— D —

DA ZONGZHENG FU 大宗正府. “Imperial Office of Clan Affairs.” Although theoretically a relatively minor office for settling disputes between members of the imperial clan, this agency was the Yuan Dynasty equivalent of the office of the chief *jarquci* (q.v.), or *yeke jarquci*, of imperial times. By the end of the reign of Qubilai (q.v.), it had 46 subordinate *jarquci* operating throughout Mongol China (q.v.) and doing far more than settling disputes between clan members. This office is evidence of a divergence between the theory (as enunciated in Chinese sources) and practice of government in Mongol China.

DAI-SECHEN. *See* Dei-Secen.

DAIDU 大都. *See* Peking.

DALAI. 1. “That which is unlimited, or lacks bounds.” 2. An “Ocean, an expanse of water.” 3. In the Ilqanate (q.v.), the *dalai* was the estate of the central establishment, that is of the *qan*, e.g., the *yeke dalai*, “the great estate.”

DALAI-YIN QAN. “Ocean *Qan*.” Title of Güyük (q.v.) in a seal on a letter sent to the Pope. It is also applied to Ögödei (q.v.) in the *Secret History of the Mongols* (q.v.). *See also* *Qan*; Titles.

DAMASCUS. Syrian metropolis and important target of Mongolian expansion. Damascus changed hands several times during Ilqanate (q.v.) wars with the Mamlūk (q.v.).

DARASUN. Wine, usually rice wine.

DARKHAN. *See* Darqan.

DARQAN. 1. “Free man, man freed from tax imposition.” 2. An artisan. *See also* Titles.

DARUQA. Alternative form of *daruqaci* (q.v.). *See also* *Basqaq*.

DARUQACI (DARUQA). Mongolian official, sent to take overall charge of conquered areas and peoples. Two varieties existed: those sent by the emperor, representing the central authority, and those appointed by princes and other powerful personages, to represent theirs. The former were usually *yeke daruqaci*, “imperial” or “great,” *daruqaci*. The term is usually understood to mean “the one pressing down [the seal],” implying that the *daruqaci* held ultimate authority in that no document was valid without his seal’s imprint, but this interpretation is contradicted by the *Secret History of the Mongols* (q.v.). There an equivalent verbal form simply means “repress,” “keep under control,” “keep down,” and this is probably the original meaning. *Daruqaci* were usually appointed from within the imperial bodyguard (*see Kesikten*) in the case of the *qan*, or from princely bodyguards or household establishments in the cases of others. In Qanate China, the hierarchy of the various *daruqaci* constituted a parallel administration running throughout the entire imperial governmental structure. *See also* *Daruqa*; *Basqaq*.

DATING. Mongolian dating was at first according to the cycle of 12 animals (*see* Animal Cycle), which repeats every 12 years. Later the Mongols adopted the dating systems of the sedentary peoples they conquered, most notably the Muslim calendar, and Chinese practices of dating by a cycle of 60, or by year periods (begun under Qubilai, q.v.).

DEI-SECEN. Mongolian chieftain. Dei-Secen was an ally of Yisügei (q.v.), father of Cinggis-qan (q.v.), and the father of Börte (q.v.), who was betrothed to Cinggis-qan shortly before Yesügei’s poisoning by the Tatar (q.v.). His gift to the young couple when they set up their household was a black ermine robe. It was later used by the young Cinggis as a gift to To’oril-qan, the Ong-qan (q.v.), to gain that personage as an ally.

DELHI. Capital of a Turkic sultanate in India. Delhi was never conquered by the Mongols.

DEMOGRAPHY. *See* Population.

DIPLOMACY. The Mongols actively exchanged embassies within the Mongolian world order and outside, and considered such activities to be an important facet of their governmental activity. Mongolian diplomats could hold various other offices, but as diplomats were *elci* (q.v.), “envoys,” enjoying plenipotentiary powers exercised in the name of whoever they were representing. They were also sacrosanct; killing an envoy was an act of war. One of the most important functions of Mongolian envoys traveling abroad was to send letters demanding submission to various non-Mongolian states and powers. Most, in fact, of the surviving Mongolian diplomatic letters are in these terms, although the Ilqanate (q.v.), with its Italian advisors, ultimately became a little more careful in how it worded its letters.

One aspect of the Mongolian diplomatic system that was foreign to most of those the Mongols entered into connection with was the couching of the entire system in terms of kinship. To the Mongols, the entire world was divided into those they were related to by kinship, or fictive kinship, and outsiders, persons over whom Heaven had granted dominion, and who were to be made part of the Mongolian kinship system in the future. Thus diplomacy was very much communication between family members and, despite the hostilities that developed among the successor qanates from time to time, family members were expected to behave in a certain way. While those outside the system often found Mongol pretensions of universality outrageous, the Mongols found equally outrageous the unwillingness of outsiders to behave like good relatives or potential relatives. There were thus rules to Mongolian diplomacy that were not especially the same as the rules applied to diplomacy by outsiders, and there was much conflict as a result.

Note that like the Chinese tribute system, Mongolian diplomacy could have its economic side. Persons given status as *elci*, “envoys,” could and did trade, and embassies were often covers for trading expeditions, *e.g.*, the case with the caravan sent to Otrar in 1218, massacred by a local governor, and starting a war (*see* Otrar Incident). Nonetheless, despite the trans-

parent economic character of such missions, the Mongols still considered them embassies and thus governed by the rules that they felt ought to govern diplomacy. For this reason, when the Khwarazmians (*see* Khwarazmian Empire) killed merchants and envoys too, they set themselves outside of polite society, and it became the Heaven-sent mission of the Mongols to chastise them. When you have God on your side, things become very serious. The Khwarazmians might claim this, but the Mongols believed it. *See also* Tenggiri; Sovereignty.

DISHI 帝師. “Imperial preceptor.” *Dishi* was the Chinese title of the Tibetan *bLa-Ma* aPhags-Pa (q.v.) and his successors as heads of Buddhism (q.v.) in qanate China (q.v.), and of the secular administration of Tibet (q.v.). *See also* Religion.

DOBU-MERGEN. *See* Dobun-Mergen.

DOBUN-MERGEN. An ancestral figure of Cinggis-qan (q.v.). Dobun-mergen had only one eye, right in the center of his forehead, but could, nonetheless, see a substantial distance with it. *See also* Alan-qo’a.

DÖREGENE-QATUN. Naiman (q.v.) wife of Ögödei *qan*, regent following his death in 1241. Unlike her husband, she seems to have favored a more rapacious approach to taxing conquered sedentary areas. Because of this, she is an object of almost universal condemnation in our sources, written not by the Mongols, but by the sedentary societies subject to expropriation during her rule. The image of her may or may not be accurate, and a good deal of it may reflect Chinese prejudices against women rulers, although Juvaynī (q.v.) condemns her strongly too. Her regency ended with the election of her son Güyük (q.v.) as *qan*. She died shortly thereafter. *See also* “2. Mongol Empire.”

DRAMA. The period of Mongolian rule in China (q.v.) was a golden age of Chinese drama or opera, but its origins had little to do with the Mongols themselves, since Chinese drama was already well established in Northern Song and Jin times. The assertion that drama became popular as it appealed to the illiterate Mongols is myth. In fact, there is little evidence of any official sponsorship of dramatic performances by the Mongols, although those in China were certainly exposed to it.

DRINKING RITUAL. The Mongols engaged in ritual drinking at their great festivals, often to a beat provided by the *qan* in which everyone was, in theory, obligated to participate (although vomiting up drink was tabu). Both Marco Polo (q.v.) and Chinese writers seem to have been quite shocked by the practice.

DU'A. Ruler (r. 1282–1307) of the Ca'adai *ulus* (q.v.). Du'a was originally appointed to represent Qaidu (q.v.), who all but controlled the Ca'adai *ulus* at the time of his appointment. Later, having outlasted his patron, Du'a became the head of his own, revitalized *ulus*. See also "5. Ca'adai *Ulus* and Qaidu."

"DUAL GOVERNMENT" (QOYAR YOS). "Dual government" was a system established between the Tibetan bLa-Ma aPhags-Pa (q.v.) and his successors and Qubilai-qan (q.v.), and his successors. The former agreed to serve as the chief of the Buddhist religion while the latter became the secular protector and patron of Buddhism (q.v.). This system is developed in detail in the *Caqa'an Teüke* (q.v.) or "White History." See also Religion.

— E —

EDIGÜ. Last effective Golden Horde (q.v.) ruler (r. 1399–1419). His efforts to restore it were thwarted by Lithuania-Poland (q.v.), now the great power of Eastern Europe and Russia.

EGYPT. Primary seat of the Mamlūk (q.v.), enemy of the Ilqanate (q.v.) and ally of the Golden Horde (q.v.). Egypt was at the time well along on its way of becoming the economic powerhouse of the Mediterranean world, and trading connections with the Russian steppe and beyond were of great importance for this development.

EL. Also *il*, the proper Mongolian form (*el* is Turkic): 1. "subject" or "pacified population." 2. A province.

ELCI. "Envoy, delegate." An *elci* could be an envoy sent by the Mongols to other nations, or between qanates, or it could be an imperial delegate sent to a local area to see to the fulfillment of

some aim of the authority sending the *elci*. In China at least, such *elci* could have temporary, but still standing, authority.

ELJIGIDEI. Head of the *kebte'ül*, “night guards,” under Ögödei (q.v.). Eljigidei was also apparently senior official in charge of the chancellery of the *qan* for occupied China (q.v.). He was later appointed commander of the Middle Eastern *tanma* (q.v.) by *qan* Güyük (q.v.) in succession to Baiju (q.v.). Eljigidei was killed during the purges of Möngke (q.v.), and Baiju was restored.

EMIR. Any powerful person, usually with a military command. In Mongol-era usage, emir is synonymous with *noyan* (q.v.).

EPIC. Type of improvised oral literature relating, in whole or part, the adventures of one or more heroes or heroines. Epic is usually in the form of alliterating verse that makes frequent use of set formulas, and employs linguistic forms that may be archaic and often unique to the epic. Today Mongolian epics are sung, usually accompanied by the *morin khuur*, “horse-headed fiddle,” or other instrument, and this was certainly the practice in the past as well. In much of Central Asia, the language of the epic and epic content crosses over into written literature, which often includes verses closely similar to those of epics, and employs many of the same story-telling techniques. One prime example is the *Secret History of the Mongols* (q.v.), which does both and is our principal evidence that epic traditions as they exist today among the Mongols were alive and well in the 13th century. Travelers’ accounts also make it clear that epic traditions were important, including noticing the presence of instrument-playing bards at various Mongol courts.

ERGENE-QATUN. Regent (1251–1260) of the Ca’adai *ulus* (q.v.). She was the wife of Qara-Hüle’ü (r. 1242–1246) (q.v.), a grandson of Ca’adai (q.v.), who, although originally chosen to succeed Ca’adai, was deposed at the orders of *qan* Güyük (q.v.), and replaced by Yesü Möngke (r. 1246–1251), oldest living son of Ca’adai. Later, after Yesü Möngke had been executed by Bat-qan (q.v.), during the purges of *qan* Möngke (q.v.), Qara-Hüle’ü was reappointed, but soon died. The *qan* then appointed Ergene to be regent for her young son, Mubārak Shāh (q.v.). Since Ergene-qatun was the woman on the scene as the unified

Mongol Empire fell apart, she had to tread carefully between forces loyal to Ariq-bökö (q.v.) and later to Qaidu (q.v.). Ariq-bökö appointed the Ca'adai prince Alghu (r. 1260–1265/66) (q.v.), a grandson of Ca'adai, to head the Ca'adai *ulus*. Ergene later married Alghu for political reasons.

When Alghu died, Ergene sought to appoint her son, Mubārak Shāh (r. 1266), *qan*, but his nomination was not approved by Qubilai, whom Ergene theoretically recognized as *qan* following the surrender of Ariq-bökö. Later Baraq (r. 1266–1271) (q.v.), a great-grandson of Ca'adai, seized power, effectively ending her influence. In all her undertakings, Ergene proved a most capable ruler and political figure and she is one of the most interesting women of the Mongol era. Like her son, Mubārak Shāh, she was a Muslim (*see* Islam). *See also* “5. Ca'adai *Ulus* and Qaidu.”

ERKE'ÜN. Nestorian Christians (*see* Nestorianism). This Mongolian term is usually derived from Greek ἄρχων, “ruler,” but this may not be correct. It survives in the modern place name Irkutsk.

ETERNAL HEAVEN. Sworn by in the opening lines of Mongolian edicts, diplomatic, and other documents in the phrase: By the Power of Eternal Heaven (*Möngke Tenggiri-yin Kücün-dur*). The practice reflects the Mongol assertion that they ruled by virtue of Heaven, a deity, and that Heaven (and Earth, another deity) have given them the entire world to rule. *See also* Teng-giri; Sovereignty.

ETÜGEN. Mongolian earth goddess, associated with a sacred mountain of the same name. The tradition appears to be Turkic.

— F —

FAMILY. *See* *Oboq*; *Uruq*; Social Structure.

FANCHENG 樊城. Fortress city in Song 宋 China. *See also* Song, Mongol Conquest of; Xiangyang 襄陽.

FEASTS. Important focuses of ritual and social activity among the early Mongols. Feasts were held in the steppe when large num-

bers of Mongols camped together, not the case most of the year, and to celebrate important occasions including *quriltai* (q.v.), to elect *qan*, or decide important questions. Feasts were also held, in imperial times, to impress and reward foreign visitors, and as a solidarity ritual for members of the imperial bodyguard (*see Kesikten*). In the China (q.v.) of Qubilai (q.v.), the bodyguards wore special uniforms during such feasts, given to them largely for this purpose, according to Marco Polo (q.v.). Such uniforms were among the first general-issue uniforms in military history.

In foods provided for their feasts, the later Mongols made a concerted effort to provide something of interest to all possible participants. This is witnessed by the recipes of the Mongolian court dietary manual, *Yinshan zhengyao* 飲膳正要 (q.v.). *See also* Food; Drinking Ritual; Appendix C.

FELT. Thick sheets of wool produced through the natural ability of wool to cling (it has small scales, serving like hooks). A process of careful beating out of the wool is used. The Mongols used felt for many things including coverings for their *ger* (q.v.) or yurts, and for blankets and (outside) clothing (*see* Clothing, Female; Clothing, Male). Felt was particularly important for the Mongols since the wool produced by their sheep was not suitable for weaving.

FIRE. Residence of a spirit that could not be violated. Fire was also used by the Mongols to purify, *e.g.*, by passage between two fires. *See also* Lightning.

FOODS. Mongol foods were originally whatever the Mongols could obtain from their flocks, or by hunting and gathering. They were above all fermented milk products, more rarely meat, and that usually eaten boiled. In general the food was monotonous, and access was highly seasonal and uneven. Changes took place with the coming of empire, as the Mongols gained access to a far greater range of foodstuffs, including things that they did not have to catch or find themselves, but could have delivered to them. One change that resulted was a greater consumption of grain-based foods of every sort, including various breads, noodles, and alcoholic beverages (q.v.) fermented from grain. They also could employ cooks to create elaborate court dishes for them, fashioned with their particular tastes in mind, including their love of boiled foods (*see Sülen*).

“FOREST PEOPLES.” Mongolian term for various Siberian peoples (*see* Siberia). The “Forest Peoples,” including the Oyrad (q.v.) and Kirgisud (q.v.), were largely pastoral nomadic and thus relatively close to the Mongols culturally, but still less advanced than the Mongols themselves. Most of these peoples, after a series of campaigns, came under the control of Joci (q.v.) and his house, although not without resistance.

FRANCISCANS. Mendicant order, among those missionizing China (q.v.). The status of their mission was reported on by Odoric of Pordonone (q.v.) in the early 13th century.

FRANKS. In Mongolian and later Chinese usage, this meaning being borrowed from the Arabs, a Frank was any Western European. *See also* Crusades.

FRATER BENEDICTUS. *See* Benedict the Pole.

FRATER JOHANNES. *See* John of Plano Carpini.

FRONTIER FORTIFICATIONS. *See* Jin Dynasty, Frontier Fortifications.

— G —

GEJIGE. A follow up; also a rear guard or reserve force. *See also* Armies, Organization.

GENGHIS KHAN. *See* Cinggis-qan.

GENOA. Italian city-state. Genoa was among those actively trading with the Ilqanate (q.v.), and enjoyed a treaty with it. Genoa was also involved in the Crimea (q.v.) and the Byzantine Empire (q.v.). It probably had the widest connections of any of the Italian city-states of the time.

GEOGRAPHY. For the Mongols, the study of the strategic lay of the land. The Mongols were greatly interested in what was found beyond their world and made a serious effort to acquire intelligence through their own reconnaissance, as well as from the knowledge of others, including written sources. The result

was one of the most sophisticated sets of geographical knowledge existing since classical times. In connection with this, Chinese sources have a great deal to say not only about west Asia, but about points as far afield as Africa, including the Empire of Mali (q.v.). *See also* Zhu Siben.

GEORGIA. Christian kingdom in the Caucasus. Initially invaded by the Mongols under Jebe (q.v.) and Sübe'etei (q.v.) in 1220-1222, Georgia did not come definitively under Mongol control until a second, highly destructive invasion by *tanma* (q.v.) commander Cormaqan-qorci (q.v.) in 1235-1236. Subsequently, Georgia paid tribute to the Mongols and had to suffer considerable Mongol meddling in Georgian internal affairs. The first news of the appearance of the Mongols reached Europe from a Georgian source, in 1224. *See also* King David.

GER. A *ger* is a traditional Mongolian tent comprised of a set of wooden lattice-work walls, surmounted by a wooden top ring and covered with layers of felt (q.v.). It is water-proofed with such things as sheep's milk or fat for warmth and protection from the weather. There is usually a wooden door and door frame, and sometimes a wooden base. In imperial times, in addition to standing alone and being put up and taken down whenever necessary, *ger* were also mounted permanently on carts (*see* Khibitkha). Modern *ger* are as small as 5' by 5', but sizes could be much larger in early times, particularly those kept pitched most of the time and moved on the enormous carts pulled by multiple yokes of oxen known to have existed during the Mongol age. *Ger* are known as yurts in the modern West.

GEREGE. *See* Paiza.

GETE'ÜLSÜN. Spies. Secret police.

GHAZAN. *Qan* (1295-1304) of the Ilqanate (q.v.). Ghazan's reign represented the high point of its development. He was the eldest son of Arghun (q.v.) and came to the throne after declaring Baidu, his immediate predecessor, a usurper, and beginning a civil war against him. Once in power, and he came to power quickly since his cause was popular, Ghazan initiated major reforms in the Ilqanate. They included extensive changes in the monetary system. *See also* Coins; "6. Ilqanate."

GILAN. Province of Mongol Iran (q.v.) located along the Caspian (q.v.). It proved to be particularly difficult for the Mongols to control.

GIOVANNI DE PLANO CARPINI. *See* John of Plano Carpini.

GOAT. Second herd animal of the Mongols, after the sheep (q.v.). The goat was particularly useful because of its ability to survive on pasture resources other than grass. The downside of this was that the goat often destroyed small bushes and trees that the Mongols needed as sources of wood for construction, or as firewood. Products were similar to those of the sheep, although in greater quantity, except that the goat also produces a useful hair. Only a few somewhat delicate varieties produce wool.

GOBI. Desert Steppe. It now comprises about 40% of the southern part of Mongolia (q.v.). Pasture resources are limited, but the area still can support a relatively large population as long as careful rules of movement are observed to prevent exhaustion of fodder and water resources. Although the Gobi was a barrier for sedentary regimes, whose armies had to carry supplies with them and establish bases to attack Mongolia, it presented few difficulties to Mongols wishing to attack the south.

GOG AND MAGOG. Hordes, identified with the Mongols. They were restrained by a barrier erected by Alexander the Great, according to the Alexander Legend (q.v.). *See also* Prester John.

“GOLDEN BOOK.” *See Altan Debter.*

GOLDEN HORDE. Russian name for the Mongol domains of Russia and neighboring areas. The name derives from a nickname for the palace tent (Middle Mongolian *hordo*) of the Golden Horde ruler. *See also* “4. Golden Horde.”

GOVERNMENT. Mongol government came from two sources. The first was the imperial clan. It treated the entire Mongol Empire as an *ulus* (q.v.), a joint patrimony in whose ownership and government the members of the imperial clan had a right to participate, through their representatives, and over whose disposition they held an ultimate say, for example, through

the *quriltai* (q.v.), the assembly which elected the *qan*, and made other important decisions, and other institutions. Second was the imperial government, growing out of the governing functions of the imperial bodyguard (*see Kesikten*), both in residence with the *qan* and as his representatives in the conquered domains. Through the central authority at the court of the *qan*, and these representatives, imperial government blended with local authority. *See also* Province.

GRAY WOLF AND BEAUTIFUL DOE. The animal totems and ancestral figures of the Mongols of Cinggis-qan (q.v.). The *Secret History of the Mongols* (q.v.) begins with their story. Such figures are common in Central Asian lineages with the wolf particularly important throughout the area as an animal of special power.

GREAT HORDE. Main center of Golden Horde (q.v.) power in the 15th and 16th centuries. The Great Horde was destroyed by Crimea in 1502, marking the real end of Mongol Russia.

GREAT HUNGARY. Medieval name for an area in the southern Urals from which the ancestors of the Hungarians were believed to have come. Note that “great” in this case means “the old,” the “original.” It does not mean that Great Hungary was more important than Danubian Hungary (q.v.). *See also* Bashkir.

“GREAT KHAN.” This the name commonly used by Marco Polo and others in referring to Qubilai (q.v.) and his successors as heads of the Mongolian world. Possibly the term translates the Mongolian *yeke qan*, “great” or “imperial” *qan*, but there is a great deal of uncertainty regarding the precise title of the Mongol emperor, and the usage varied over time. *See also* Titles.

GREAT QAN. *See* Great Khan.

GREAT WALL OF CHINA. Connected frontier fortifications of the late Ming (q.v.) Empire, built along the then-ethnic fault line between Chinese culture and the non-Chinese cultures of the north. There was no such connected fortification at the time of the rise of the Mongols, nor was there a Great Wall in earlier times. The Qin and Han Dynasties did build extensive frontier fortifications, as did later dynasties, including the Jin (*see* Jin,

Frontier Fortifications), but at no time did these constitute a single connected line of fortifications reaching from Central Asia to the ocean, as was the case under the Ming.

GRIGOR OF AKANC' (OR AKNER). Armenian chronicler of the 13th century. Grigor was author of the "History of the Nation of Archers," on the Mongols, covering the period 1231 to 1275. Outside of his work, little or nothing is known about him.

GRUT. See *Qurut*.

GUARDS. See *Kesikten*.

GÜČÜLÜK. Son and a successor of the Naiman (q.v.) Dayang-qan, a rival of Cinggis-qan (q.v.). After escaping Mongolia, with the armies of the *qan* in pursuit, Güčülük moved into the domains of the Qara-Kitan *gür-qan* (q.v.), which he subverted, becoming *gür-qan* himself in 1210. He was later captured and killed by the Mongol governor Hosimaili 曷思麥里 at Sarıgh-Čopan in Badakhsan, in what is now Afghanistan.

GUEST FRIENDSHIP. Like the ancient Germans, the Mongols had rules about hospitality even towards enemies, under certain circumstances, although the latter were by no means inviolate. Among the institutions involved was that of the *sırolqa*, a portion of animals taken in a hunt due others upon demand, given to Dobun-mergen (q.v.), for example, in the *Secret History of the Mongols* (q.v.). Note also the Turkicized Mongolian term *şıqaldaş*, "joint participants in a festival," i.e., feast, that stresses a relationship between possibly antagonistic parties due to past joint celebration.

GUNPOWDER. Gunpowder had long been in use in China by the time of the Mongols for various weapons, including flame throwers and primitive handguns hurling arrows (q.v.), perhaps as early as the 12th century. The Chinese also perfected a ceramic catapult bomb with shrapnel, although exactly how the explosion was achieved is unclear, as well as catapult incendiaries of various kinds. Although the first surviving cannon date only from the early 14th century, they may have been in use well before that date. The Song navy, for example, had some kind of weapon in 1279 at Yaishan 崖山 (q.v.) that the Mon-

gols made strenuous efforts to avoid, suggesting that it had some range and was more than a Greek fire projector.

As they conquered China, the Mongols avidly took to this Chinese technology and made concerted efforts to use it elsewhere in the empire. Air explosions are shown in Japanese depictions of the Mongol invasions and actual bombs have been recovered. Hüle'ü (q.v.), who is known to have taken Chinese siege specialists with him, certainly used sophisticated incendiaries probably including gunpowder. This could be one explanation of why the virtually unassailable Ismā'īlī (q.v.) fortress of Maimūn-Diz (q.v.) was taken with such comparative ease. Gunpowder weapons were also freely used against the armies of Nayan (q.v.) in 1287, and one metal handgun has been found at the site of the battle. *See also* Science and Technology.

GUO SHOUJING 郭守敬 (1231-1316). Astronomer in Mongol China. Guo devised a calendar based upon Persian diagrams and data. It proved highly accurate and was used for centuries.

GÜR-QAN. "Universal Ruler." Title of the ruler of the Qara-Kitan Empire (q.v.) based in eastern Turkistan (q.v.). Long the most important figure in the area, the last *gür-qan* was deposed by the Naiman (q.v.) renegade Güčülük (q.v.) in 1210.

GÜRE'EN. "Enclosures." These were proto-tribal units of the era of civil war on the steppe. A *güre'en* was comprised of the followers (and their families) of a chieftain whose wagons (and tents) were organized in a circle protecting his own in the exact center. *See also* Tribe; *Mingan*.

GÜREGEN. "Imperial son-in-law." This was a title given by the Mongols to those receiving princesses of the imperial line. This was the link of Tamerlane (q.v.) to the Mongols, since he was not otherwise connected with the former Mongol imperial family. An inscription styles him Emir Temür *güregen*, "The Lord Temür, imperial [Mongolian] son-in-law."

GURGANJ (URGANCH). City and fortress in Khwarazm. Gurganj was besieged by the Mongols for a seven-month period, between October 1220 and April 1221, and utterly destroyed by them in response to the determined resistance of the city.

GÜYÜK-QAN (R. 1246–1248). Son of Ögödei (q.v.) and third *qan* of the unified Mongol Empire. He was elected after a considerable delay, reflecting politics. Güyük came to the throne over the protests of Bat-qan (q.v.) and was advancing to open warfare against that prince when the *qan* died, possibly by poison. Güyük largely continued with his father's policies, but was on the throne for too short of a time to have much of an impact. *See also* “2. Mongol Empire.”

— H —

HAIYUN 海雲 (1201–1256). Zen monk patronized by Cinggis-qan (q.v.) and other Mongol princes and potentates. He was among the first of the “speakers-to-Heaven” specially protected by the Mongols in the conquered realms.

HAMI. City in eastern Turkistan (q.v.). Hami was among those oases fought over by various Mongol groups after the breakdown of unified empire.

HAN 漢 ARMIES. North Chinese armies (*see* Army) led by warlords loyal to the Mongols. The Han armies played a major role in the Chinese conquest of the north, and in the initial wars against the Song (*see* Song, Mongol Conquest of). Many of the armies continued to exist under Qubilai (q.v.), but not under their old commanders, after the near disaster of the revolt of Li Tan 李壇 (q.v.), one of these warlords, in 1262. *See also* *Hanren* 漢人.

HANDGUNS. *See* Gunpowder.

HANGZHOU 杭州. “Temporary” capital (since the early 12th century) of the Southern Song Dynasty (*see* Song, Dynasty). Hangzhou was taken by the Mongols in 1276 and became a source of wonder for Marco Polo (q.v.), who had never seen a city as large and sophisticated.

HANREN 漢人. Literally, “Chinese.” In the China (q.v.) of Qubilai (q.v.) and subsequently, *hanren* was a class and the third-ranking legal group in society, after the Mongols themselves (*Menggu* 蒙古) and their Central Asian allies (*Semu* 色目), and

above the *Nanren* 南人 (q.v.), or South Chinese. The order essentially reflects the order of conquest of the given groups. The system is of uncertain origin, and is not Mongolian. It probably reflects the practices of the Jin Dynasty (*see* Jürched).

HEADDRESS. *See* Clothing, Female; Clothing, Male; *Boqta*.

HEAVEN. *See* Tenggiri.

HEIDA SHILUE 黑韃事略. “Brief Account of the Black Tatar.”

It is primarily a work by Peng Daya 彭大雅 (q.v.) describing his 1233-1234 embassy to the Mongols for the Song (*see* Song, Dynasty). Later, Xu Ting 徐霆 (q.v.), who went to Mongolia in another embassy in 1235-1236, added his own comments. Together with the 1221 “Record of the Mongols and Tatars” (*Mengda Beilu* 蒙韃備錄) (q.v.) by Zhao Hong 趙珙 (q.v.), and the 1229 “Record of a Pilgrimage to the West” (*Xi yuji* 西游記) (q.v.), written up by Li Zhichang 李志常, a disciple of Taoist Changchun 長春 (q.v.), the text is one the three most important Chinese eyewitness accounts of the early Mongols.

HERÁT. City in what is now western Afghanistan. Herát was among those urban centers severely impacted by the Mongol advance. It took part in an uprising against the Mongol occupiers in the autumn of 1221.

HERRING. The glut of herring on the English market in 1238 is a famous example of the long-distance impact of Mongol expansion. It was due to the failure of the threatened Russian city of Novgorod to send out its fishing fleet that year to compete with other Europeans.

HET'UM. King of Lesser Armenia (q.v.), that is, Cilicia, 1226–1269. Het'um was a Mongol ally. During his lifetime Lesser Armenia reached a high point in its power and influence, in no small part due to the ability of Het'um to mediate between the various influences being exerted upon him and his state, including that of the Mongols. He submitted to the Mongols in 1247, and in 1254 made a journey to court of *qan* Möngke (q.v.), recounted in some detail by the historian Kirakos Ganjakeçi. It is an important source for the period.

HET'UM THE MONK (?–1310). Historian and general, nephew of King Het'um (q.v.) of Little or Lesser Armenia (q.v.). Het'um wrote a history in Old French, “The Flower of Histories” (*La Flor des Estoires*), of which a Latin version also exists. His history was intended as a general history of the Orient for a French audience (Het'um lived in France for extended periods of time) and has a great deal to say about the Mongols.

HÖ'ELÜN-EKE (HÖ'ELÜN-ÜJIN). The mother of Cinggis-qan (q.v.). She was stolen from the Merkit (q.v.) by Yisügei (q.v.). The *Secret History of the Mongols* (q.v.) presents her as a woman of great strength of purpose and character shown, above all, in her ability to survive and prosper after the death of her husband. This was when she and her children and a few retainers had been abandoned on the pastures by the Tayici'ut (q.v.).

HOLY LAND. Palestine and adjacent areas, centering on Jerusalem, in Muslim hands when the Mongol invaded. European powers were greatly interested in liberating the area again, where Crusader holdings had been reduced to a few cities (*see* Crusader States), while the Muslims, in this case the Mamlūk (q.v.), were equally interested in preventing any Christian advance. The clash of wills was significant for the Mongols in that they could potentially enlist Western powers in their struggle against the Mamlūk by posing as a Christian savior. Once the Ilqanate (q.v.) had converted to Islam (q.v.), this pose was more difficult to maintain. The Mongols never were very effective in negotiating with the West, which, for the most part, had had enough of crusading by the second half of the 13th century.

HORDES. In the West, a horde was any major grouping of Mongols, including the Golden Horde (q.v.), with its various sub-hordes. Horde is from Middle Mongolian *hordo*, or *ordo* (q.v.), “palace tent.”

HORDO. *See Ordo.*

HORSE. Symbolically and practically, the horse was the centerpiece of Mongolian life. It made both Mongolian pastoralism and military activity possible, and was also a source of food. So important was the horse to them that wealth was thought of in terms of horse ownership (*bayan*, “rich in horses, rich”), and

heroes are often described in epics not in terms of their personal appearance, or clothing, or equipment, but in terms of what kind of horses they rode. In recent Mongolian folklore the horse is not only mentioned practically before the hero, but is often regarded as being a little smarter too.

Mongolian horses are small but sturdy and show remarkable stamina, being able to travel long distances with little food and water. The preferred mount was a gelding or stallion, but mares were also extremely important as sources of *airag* or kumiss (q.v.), the Mongolian prestige food. In battle the Mongol not only took his main battle horse, but also as many reserve horses (*kötöl*) as possible to give main mounts a break after hard use, and possibly to use as food if a campaign became pressing. The blood of horses was also consumed, without killing the horse, when there was a shortage of liquid. *See also* Nomadic Pastoralism; Army.

HOUSE OF ÖGÖDEI. *Qan* Ögödei (q.v.) and his descendents. *See also* Güyük; Qaidu.

HOUSE OF TOLUI. Tolui (q.v.) and his descendents. *See also* Möngke; Qubilai.

HU SIHUI 忽思慧 (fl. 1330). Author of the imperial dietary manual of Mongol China (q.v.), the *Yinshan Zhengyao* 飲膳正要 (q.v.). His name appears Chinese but he was quite likely a foreigner, possibly an Uighur (*see* Uighurs), or from one of the other Turkic groups present in or near China.

HUIHUI YAOFANG 回回藥方. “Muslim Medicinal Recipes.” This was a name given to an encyclopedia of Islamic medicine from Mongol China now surviving only in an incomplete manuscript. The work is unique in making reference to Galen and other Greek medical writers and in having Arabic script entries for the names of medicinals and personages, as well as Chinese transcriptions.

HULEGHU. *See* Hüle'ü.

HÜLE'Ü (?–1265). Younger brother of *qan* Möngke (q.v.). Hüle'ü was sent by him in the role of *el-qan*, or *ilqan* (q.v.), “*qan* of a conquered region” (q.v.), to control and expand the Mongolian

west. This he did with great success, becoming the founder of the Ilqanate (q.v.), as his successor qanate has been named, after him. See also “6. Ilqanate.”

HUNGARY. Hungary was a primary target of the Mongolian advance into Eastern Europe in 1241. It was prized by the Mongols because of the many areas there suitable for pastoralism, and thus as base areas for further expansion. Conquering it proved difficult, not only because of Hungary’s distance from the main Mongolian concentrations in Russia (q.v.), but also because of serious opposition mounted by the Hungarians. They were well-armed and had a large army. They nearly defeated Bat-qan (q.v.) at the battle of the River Sajó (q.v.) through an unexpectedly strenuous defense of a strategic bridge. *See also* Great Hungary.

HUNTING. For the Mongols hunting was not only a supplementary source of food, but also a major recreational activity and means of military training. Even Qubilai-qan (q.v.) in his dotage, if we may believe Marco Polo (q.v.), participated avidly in hunting as his court trekked between his various capitals and camping grounds. Among animals hunted by the Mongols regularly were the hare, various kinds of deer, wild boar, wild asses, the marmot, wild sheep, the dseiren antelope, wolves, foxes, bears, wild cattle, and a great variety of fowl, including cranes and swans. *See also* *Nerge*.

HUNTING-GATHERING. Practice supplementing Mongol pastoralism. Hunting-gathering was also the primary way of life of some groups in Siberia (q.v.) or for those new to the steppe. *See also* Foods; Pastoralism.

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IBN AL-ATHĪR (1160–1233). Arab historian. His work is extremely important for the early years of Mongol expansion (to 1231) and for the history of the Khwarazmian sultan Jalāl al-Dīn (q.v.).

IBN BAṬṬŪṬA (1304–1368). Arab world-traveler. Between 1325 and 1354, Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, born in what is now Morocco, visited

most of the then-known world, including the Mongol domains. Although his account of Mongol China (q.v.) (he apparently visited only the extreme south of China) is of little value, his information regarding the Mongol successor states is of great use. His account is particularly strong in information about daily life and institutions, including food (q.v.).

ĪDĪQUT. Title of the king of the Beshbaligh (q.v.) Uighur (q.v.). In 1209, the *Īdiqut* had the delegate of the Qara-Kitan ruler (*see* Qara-Kitan Empire) killed and submitted to the Mongols.

IL. “Pacified, not rebellious.” This was a term used by the Mongols to designate those who had submitted. *See also El.*

ĪL-KHAN DYNASTY. *See* Ilqanate.

ILQAN (EL-QAN). Qan (q.v.) of a pacified area. Princes Hüle’ü (q.v.) and probably Qubilai (q.v.) held this title. *See also El.*

ILQANATE. The Mongol successor state in Iran (q.v.). The name is from *ilqan* (q.v.), “*qan* of a pacified area,” the title of Hüle’ü (q.v.) under Möngke (q.v.). *See* “6. Ilqanate.”

ILQANS. Hüle’ü (q.v.) and his line.

IMPERIAL GUARD. In Mongol China (q.v.) this was the old bodyguard (*see Kesikten*) of the *qan* of empire plus many new units specifically recruited from various sources to provide a central army for the *qan*. Most guard units were recruited from the same ethnic group, and among those represented were various Turkic groups of the south Russian and Qipchaq steppe, and Russians themselves.

INDIAN OCEAN. For Mongol China (q.v.) and Iran (q.v.) the Indian Ocean was a major route for communications, used, among others, by Marco Polo (q.v.) to deliver a princess to the Ilqanate (q.v.). Long-range ocean travel became increasingly important after Qubilai (q.v.) conquered the Southern Song (*See* Song, Mongol Conquest of) and acquired its maritime and naval resources. Since much of Central Asia was hostile to Mongol China, it soon became the only route for communication with its important ally in Mongol Iran.

INJE. 1. A dowry. 2. An apportionment or apanage of people, territory, or revenues inherited by descendants.

IQTA'. A hereditary fief granted to an individual in exchange for military service in Iran (q.v.) and other parts of the Islamic world. The institution under the Ilqanate (q.v.) is very similar to that of the *touxia* 頭下 (q.v.) in China (q.v.).

IRAN. In Mongol times Iran was approximately the territory of the Iranian-speaking localities and cultures in what is now modern Iran plus adjacent areas in Iraq (q.v.), but not including *Khurāsān* (q.v.) which was politically and culturally distinct for most of the period. Strictly speaking, there was no Iran in Mongol times. The Mongols, in uniting the area under a single set of rulers, in fact, helped create Iran as the self-conscious entity we know it today, just as they did modern China.

IRAQ. In Mongol times Iraq was the Arabic-speaking areas of the Fertile Crescent centering on Baghdad (q.v.), the former center of the 'Abbasid Caliphate (q.v.), destroyed by the Mongols in 1258. For the most part, Iraq went into decline under the Mongols who preferred to base themselves in the mountains of Iran (q.v.) or Azerbaijan (q.v.).

IRGEN. 1. A people. 2. A subordinate or pacified population. Today, *irgen* is a colloquial term meaning "Chinese."

ISLAM. In early Mongol times, Islam was the primary religion of the conquered masses in Turkistan (q.v.), *Khurāsān* (q.v.), Afghanistan, Iran (q.v.), and Iraq (q.v.), and also in the border areas of China (q.v.). At first Islam did not attract the interests of the Mongol elite, who preferred their own native religious traditions, Nestorian Christianity (see Nestorianism; Christianity), or Buddhism (q.v.), but it became increasingly important after the breakdown of the unified empire in almost all areas, outside of China proper and Mongolia. This grew out of the need for successor princes to accommodate themselves to the locals, but there were also other considerations. In the Golden Horde (q.v.), for example, Islam was a minority religion among peoples conquered and controlled. It thus appealed to the Mongols there as a source of difference, rather than of accommodation. The

princes of the Golden Horde could become Muslims without having to worry about absorption by their subjects, or control by a local clergy. There, Islam paralleled the Tibetan Buddhism of the Mongols of China, where a Mongol conversion to any Chinese religion was potentially threatening.

In all areas, the process of conversion was slow. Even though the Golden Horde became the first successor state to be officially converted to Islam, native Mongolian and Turkic religious practices did not die out overnight and continued to co-exist with Islam for some time. The same was also true for the Ca'adai *ulus* (q.v.), which was also the last Mongolian regime to become officially Muslim, and for Mongol Iran, which became officially Islamic under Ghazan (q.v.) and attempted to act like an Islamic regime. Nonetheless, it simply was not politic to stamp out Nestorianism and native religious traditions within the tribal reservoir, which could become a king maker if the need arose. On the other hand, Buddhism, the least well established of the religions brought into Iran by the Mongols, was persecuted and disappeared.

In Mongol Iran, not only did Islam itself have a political role to play as the Mongols changed to accord better with their subjects upon whom they were reliant, but also its divisions. Iran was not yet, in the time of the Mongols, Shiite, but it was the Mongols, above all Öljeitü (q.v.), who converted to Shi'ism by preference, who set it along that path. *See also* Religion.

ISMĀ'ĪLĪS. Shiite sect. The Ismā'īlīs came into existence in the 8th century in a succession dispute, and existed in the 13th century in a number of branches, principally in Khuzistān, southern Iraq (q.v.), Syria, Egypt (q.v.) and Yemen. When the Mongols invaded, the Nizārīs, a branch of the Ismā'īlīs, who used assassination as a political weapon and had established a series of nearly impregnable mountain fortresses in southeastern Iran (q.v.) and Afghanistan, quickly became major opponents. These fortresses were finally reduced, one by one, by Hüle'ü (q.v.), who also suppressed the main Nizārī movement. The last grand master of the order, Rukn al-Dīn Khur-Shāh, was later killed at the orders of Möngke *qan* (q.v.). *See also* Maimūn-Diz.

IVAN III, "THE GREAT." Grand Duke of Moscow (r. 1462–1505). Ivan stood up to the Golden Horde (q.v.) in 1480 when a Golden Horde army threatened to attack Moscow. This event

marked the effective end of Golden Horde power in Russia, although the Golden Horde itself lasted for several more decades.

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JA'FAR HOJA. Ja'far Hoja was an early Muslim supporter of Cinggis-qan (q.v.). He was given special rights in conquered Zhongdu 中都 (q.v.) and *circa* 1215 became regional *daruqaci* (q.v.) for almost all of Mongol China (q.v.). He is said to have attained to a great age.

JALĀL AL-DĪN. Son and successor (r. 1221–1231) of *Khwārazm-shāh* Muḥammad II (q.v.). He led last ditch Khwarazmian resistance to the Mongols in the Indian borderlands, Afghanistan, Iran (q.v.), and Iraq (q.v.). Jalāl Al-Dīn proved surprisingly resilient and was highly respected by his opponents. He shared some of the same military virtues as the Mongols.

JALAYIR. Mongolian steppe association. Members of this group were close allies of Cinggis-qan (q.v.). Among them was Muqali (q.v.), chief of the China *tanma* (q.v.), which included some thousands of Jalayir under Muqali's personal control.

JAM. Mongolian postal system. In Mongol China (q.v.) there were at least two kinds: a general *jam* for everyday traffic, including the movement of trade goods for officially sponsored trade; and the *naryn jam*, or state *jam* that was used for urgent official business only. There is abundant information on the *jam* system in China, due to the survival of the relevant chapters from the Yuan Dynasty (q.v.) encyclopedia, "The Great Canon of Successive Generations" (*Jingshi Dadian* 經世大典), which was copied out verbatim into the Ming encyclopedia *Yongle Dadian* 永樂大典, but this material remains largely unexploited. While most communication along Mongolian *jam* routes was on horseback, runners (*güiyigci*) were also employed, where it was practical. The speed of movement varied. The news of the death of *qan* Ögödei (q.v.), for example, seems to have reached Hungary (q.v.) the same month that it occurred. By contrast, it took much longer for the news of the death of *qan* Möngke (q.v.) to reach Hüle'ü (q.v.) campaigning in Syria at a comparable distance, although Möngke, like Hüle'ü, was in the field when

he died, which may have slowed communications. When they had rights to *jam* transportation, encumbered merchants, of course, traveled much slower than swift envoys.

JĀMAL AL-DĪN. Muslim astronomer. He was sent to Qubilai (q.v.) from Iran (q.v.) with the latest instruments, including an astrolabe, terrestrial and celestial globes, and sundials, as well as plans for an armillary sphere. All were intended as gifts for Qubilai, to whom he also presented a new Muslim calendar. Later, the Chinese astronomer Guo Shoujing 郭守敬 (1231–1316) (q.v.) devised his own calendar based upon Persian diagrams and data. It proved highly accurate and was used for several centuries.

JAMUQA. Blood brother or *anda* (q.v.) of Cinggis-qan (q.v.). Jamuqa was later his mortal enemy. At first considerably stronger than Cinggis, Jamuqa was ultimately defeated and killed by his rival.

JAPAN. As a follow-up to the Mongolian conquest of Korea (q.v.), Japan became the target of their efforts at overseas expansion. It was invaded by Qubilai (q.v.) twice, in 1274, and again in 1281. In 1274, the initial invasion was a success at first. Mongol armies, once on land, began setting up an occupation government, and threatened to overwhelm Japanese defenders, who were completely outmatched by the invaders. A great storm forced the Mongols (and their largely Korean fleet) to re-embark as many of their troops as they could and move offshore to withstand the winds. There their fleet was destroyed, ending the invasion.

Qubilai tried again in 1281, with a much larger force, including surrendered Song ships that had fought his armies at Yaishan 崖山 (q.v.), and elsewhere. This time Japanese resistance was far more determined, but the Mongol fleet was again mostly destroyed by another great storm, the *kamikaze* (q.v.), “divine wind,” of Japanese mythology. The Mongols had consistently picked the wrong season to sail.

Despite these failures, Qubilai continued to harbor designs against Japan, and was planning still another expedition at the time of his death. Because of the interest in Japan at Qubilai’s court, Marco Polo (q.v.) heard about it and later became the first European to notice its existence.

JARLIQ. Imperial edict, imperial pronouncement. Such *jarliq* were a major source for the *Secret History of the Mongols* (q.v.) which preserves a number of them verbatim.

JARQU. A joint investigation of clan business, including booty (q.v.) distribution, and disputes about booty distribution. *Jarqu* were usually temporary, but could also be constituted as permanent administrative authorities, in the provinces of the Mongol Empire, for example. *See also Jarquci*; Province.

JARQUCI. A participant in a *jarqu* (q.v.), or joint investigation of clan business, above all booty (q.v.) distribution. This is the *duanshi guan* 斷事官, “official deciding cases,” of the Chinese sources. The *jarquci* was one of the most important officials in the conquered areas, carrying out censuses (*see* Census), supervising the distribution of booty, and serving as a regional coordinator and administrator. The office was continued after the collapse of the unified empire and in China (q.v.) a special office, the *Da Zongzheng Fu* 大宗正府 (q.v.), “Imperial Office of Clan affairs” was set up to coordinate and house the *jarquci*, although other agencies besides the *Da Zongzheng Fu* had *jarquci* as well. The office was, in fact, pervasive, like the *daruqaci* (q.v.) throughout the government of qanate China, forming a structure within a structure. *See also Jarqu*; Province.

JASAQ. 1. A collection of legal pronouncements (the *Yeke Yasaq*, “Great” or “Imperial *Yasaq*”), supposedly reproducing the words of Cinggis-qan (q.v.). Although it was widely held in the era following Mongol conquest that there was once a set body of law under this name, there is no evidence it ever existed, although later authors certainly quote pronouncements of Cinggis-qan as *yasaq*. 2. Any kind of a pronouncement or order of a *qan* intended as a precedent. Compare *jarliq* (q.v.), “edict.”

JAVA. Indonesian Island. It was the object of a Mongolian seaborne invasion in 1292. This marked the farthest reach of the navy of Mongol China (q.v.), although not of its commercial vessels, which regularly sailed to Iran (q.v.) and eastern Africa.

JEBE. Companion and apparently senior commander of Sübe’etei (q.v.). Jebe accompanied Sübe’etei during the first advance into

the south Russian steppe against Merkit (q.v.) survivors, then in an unexpected encounter with the forces of the *khwārazm-shāh*, and later in the pursuit of the latter into Iran (q.v.) until his death on an island in the Caspian (q.v.). Finally, Jebe accompanied Sübe'etei in his ride around the Caspian, dying prematurely shortly thereafter, before he could realize his full potential as a commander. In addition to the west, Jebe also fought in China (q.v.), including Manchuria, where he led a deep penetration of the type that became his trademark.

JERGE. *See Nerge.*

JERUSALEM. Holy center of the Christian world and of the Jews, shrine of Islam (q.v.). Jerusalem was a goal of the Crusaders but had been lost by them by the time of the Mongols. The Ilqans of Iran (q.v.) were never able to put together a large-scale alliance to recover the city for the Christians and, at the same time, advance against the Mamlūk (q.v.). *See also* Crusades; Crusading States.

JIN DYNASTY (1125–1234). *See* Jürched.

JIN DYNASTY (1125–1234), FRONTIER FORTIFICATIONS.

These were barrier lines constructed, or refurbished, by the Jürched (q.v.) to prevent incursion by steppe groups, and to protect an expanded agricultural pale. Never at any point were these lines a connected set of frontier fortifications or a Great Wall (q.v.). The most important of the Jin fortifications was the line of walls and moats stretching through central Manchuria nearly to Lake Dalai-nor, in what is now Inner Mongolia. There were other fortifications, not connecting, in central Inner Mongolia, and to the north of the bend in the Yellow River. None provided much of an obstacle to the Mongolians, who simply outflanked any serious resistance. In addition, most were intended to be garrisoned by the very peoples of the Inner frontier (*see* Jüyin Peoples) who fell away from the Jin in large numbers during the revolt of 1207. *See also* "1. Mongol Empire."

JOCI (?–1227). Eldest son of Cinggis-qan (q.v.). He received the most distant pastures of his father, those situated in the extreme west. These Joci subsequently expanded towards the Russian steppe and his son and successor, Bat-qan (q.v.), turned

them into the domains of the Golden Horde (q.v.). Joci was sometimes considered illegitimate, since he was born after his mother's captivity by the Merkit (q.v.), but the concept was probably irrelevant for the early Mongols. *See also* Börte; "4. Golden Horde."

JOHANNES. *See* John.

JOHN DE PLANO CARPINI. *See* John of Plano Carpini.

JOHN OF MARIGNOLLI. Papal envoy to China (q.v.) who reached Daidu 大都 (*see* Peking) in 1342. He brought with him powerful warhorses as a gift for the Mongol emperor (Toghon Temür, q.v.). John is unique in actually being mentioned in the Yuanshi (q.v.), "Official History of the Yuan Dynasty" He returned home in 1347 and reached Avignon in 1353.

JOHN OF MONTE CORVINO. Missionary to Mongol China (q.v.) and first archbishop of Qanbalıq (q.v.). John translated the Psalter into either Mongolian or Turkish, but the translation has not survived. He died around 1328 or 1329.

JOHN OF PLANO CARPINI. Franciscan Papal envoy to the Mongols, 1245–1247. He witnessed the election and coronation of Güyük *qan* (q.v.) and left behind a detailed account of his mission, the *Hystoria Mongolorum*, "History of the Mongols." It is one of the most important sources for the Mongol Empire.

JULIAN OF HUNGARY. Hungarian envoy to "Great Hungary" (q.v.) during 1235–1236. This was immediately prior to the area's conquest by the Mongols. *See also* Bashkir.

JÜRCHED. Manchu-Tungus ethnic group, founders and rulers of the Jin Dynasty (1125–1234). This dynasty was the principal adversary of the Mongols during the early part of the 13th century. Cinggis-qan (q.v.) may have been an ally of the Jürched during his earliest career.

During the time that they slowly merged into a state in the late 11th, and early 12th centuries, the Jürched were comprised of two distinct groups. One was the "raw" tribesmen living more or less the traditional life in Manchuria and the southern part of what is now the Russian Maritime Region near Vladiv-

lastok. The other were acculturated or “cooked” Jürched who lived in proximity to and had learned a great deal from the nomadic Kitan (q.v.), who ruled the area at the time, and Chinese controlled by the Kitan. In spite of the fact that they were not a steppe people themselves, since they were located well beyond the steppe and were sedentary, the Jürched went about organizing their state much the same way as Kitan and other Central Asian conquerors had before them. They did so by grafting outside elements onto a Jürched base to create their new Jin Dynasty.

Its founder was the Wanyan 完顏 chieftain Aguda 阿骨打 (1068–1123), a ruler primarily of the “raw” Jürched who, nonetheless, knew how to use cavalry effectively in warfare, pointing up the Jürched debt to the Kitan, since horseback riding was by no means part of Jürched national tradition. Almost from the beginning, the armies marshaled by the Jürched side were large, thanks in part to many Kitan turncoats, but also to the success of Aguda in mobilizing a large part of his tribal population effectively.

After initial raids against the Liao (q.v.), Aguda went over to a general attack, taking four out of five co-capitals of that dynasty between 1116 and 1122, although the last to be taken, the Southern Capital, the later Zhongdu (q.v.), was turned over to the Song, which was at the time an ally of the Jürched. Only the Western Capital remained to the Liao, and the Liao emperor fled there hoping to organize new resistance.

After Aguda’s death, his successor, the Jin emperor Taizong 太宗 (r. 1123–1135), completed the conquest of the Kitan Liao Dynasty and also began an invasion of Song China, the former Jin ally, in so doing ending the Northern Song Dynasty (960–1125), and nearly destroying its successor, the Southern Song (1125–1279) (*see* Song, Dynasty). Southern Song survived, but at a tremendous cost, most of the formerly Song territories in the north, including the previous capital at Kaifeng 開封 (q.v.) being lost, and the dynasty forced to fight a series of costly wars to assert itself. Wars between Song and Jin continued throughout much of the 12th century, and into the 13th, although by 1161 it was clear that the Jin would be unable to overrun Song, and a stalemate ensued.

While the wars with Song continued, an acute struggle broke out within the Jin ruling class over the issue of an on-going Sinicization, both of Jürched society and of the political

system of the dynasty. This struggle was still unresolved at the time of the Mongol invasions and was one reason for the relative ease of Mongol conquest, at least of the more traditional side of Jürched society that was increasingly at odds with a Sinicized court.

The Jürched emperor at the time of initial conflict with the Mognols, as the latter sought to penetrate the Sino-Mongolian frontier zone, was Zhangzong 章宗 (r. 1189–1208), a Sinicizer. In 1207, he began a war with the Song in which Jürched cavalry proved less capable than in the past, indicating an erosion of the Jin tribal base. Also eroding during this year was Kitan support for the Jin, due to the 1207 uprising of the *jüyin* peoples (q.v.), which essentially handed Inner Mongolia over to the Mongols.

The Jin response was to build frontier fortifications (*see* Jin Dynasty, Frontier Fortifications) on a large scale, an action which created additional unease in the borderlands and offered no real barrier to the highly mobile Mongols when they began a general assault in 1211. During the next 23 years they conquered the Jin Empire piecemeal, the north more or less completely by 1215, the south, finally in 1234. The relocated Jin court (it abandoned its main capital of Zhongdu in 1214 to move to Kaifeng 開封) put up strenuous resistance to the Mongols. But only Mongol preoccupations elsewhere, in the campaign in the west after 1218, in Xixia 西夏 from 1225–1227, followed by the death of Cinggis-qan (q.v.) and an interregnum saved them. Once *qan* Ögödei (q.v.) had the resources and will to end the life of the dynasty it was conquered quickly. *See also* “2. Mongol Empire.”

JÜRCHEN. *See* Jürched.

JUVAYNĪ, 'ALĀ-AL-DĪN 'AṬĀ-MALIK (1226–1283). Persian historian and Ilqanate official (governor of Baghdad) (q.v.) after its conquest). His “History of the World Conqueror” (*Tar'rikh-i Jahān-Gushā*) is our most important source for Mongol activities in the west down to the period after the establishment of the Ilqanate (q.v.)

JUVAYNĪ, BAHĀ' AL-DĪN (? –1253). Mongol official and father of the historian. He was among those Iranians helping the Mongols to organize their conquests in an administratively respect-

able way. *See also* Juvaynī, 'Alā-al-Dīn 'Aṭā-Malik.

JUVAYNĪ, ŠAMS AL-DĪN (?–1284). Ilqanate (q.v.) minister, brother of the historian (*see* Juvaynī, 'Alā-al-Dīn 'Aṭā-Malik). Šams al-Dīn Juvaynī was a representative of what was, at the time, one of the most powerful families in Mongol Iran (q.v.). Appointed vizier by his father, Bahā' al-Dīn Juvaynī (q.v.), he was reappointed to that position under Abaqa (1265-1282) (q.v.), and continued to hold his office until the reign of Arghun (r. 1284-1291) (q.v.), when he was executed (October 16, 1284), due to the intrigues of various former protégés. He had already been on thin ice in the previous reign due to an accusation of treasonable correspondence with the Mamlūk (q.v.) and embezzlement.

JÜYIN PEOPLES. The term *jüyin*, perhaps of ultimate Kitan (q.v.) origin, is used in Jin Dynasty (*see* Jürched) texts to refer to various groups of steppe allies, mostly Kitan, but also Tangut (q.v.), Tatar (q.v.), and apparently Mongolian. Forces under Cinggis-qan (q.v.) may have been among them. Other *jüyin* played a pivotal role in the rise of the Mongols by defecting at an important point, strengthening the Mongols, and weakening the Jin, whose border areas were, as a result, almost totally exposed. *See also* “2. Mongol Empire.”

JUYONGGUAN 居庸關. “Juyong Pass.” This was a critical mountain position northwest of the Jin (*see* Jürched) capital of Zhongdu 中都 (q.v.), guarding it from Mongolian or other steppe attack. When the garrison there held out in 1213, the Mongols were forced to attack from another direction, involving a considerable diversion of effort and delaying their eventual siege of Zhongdu.

JŪZJĀNĪ, MINHĀJ AL-DĪN (1193–1265). Persian historian. Jūzjānī was a refugee from the Mongol invasion of Khwarazm (q.v.), who wrote his account outside of Ilqanate-controlled areas, in the Sultanate of Delhi (q.v.), and presents a more critical view. Although less informed than Juvaynī (q.v.), for example, Jūzjānī never the less presents valuable information about the Mongols.

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KABUL KHAN. *See* Qabul-qan.

KAFFA. Crimean town held by Genoa. *See also* Sudaq.

KAIFENG 開封. City in the central part of north China (q.v.), just south of the Yellow River. Formerly the Jin Southern Capital (Nanjing 南京), Kaifeng became the primary capital after the Jin abandonment of Zhongdu 中都 (q.v.) in 1215. It surrendered to Mongols in 1233 after a lengthy siege. The city is also known as Bianjing 汴京 in Song sources. *See also* Jürched.

KALKA RIVER, BATTLE OF (MAY 1222). Battle between Mongol forces under Jebe (q.v.) and Sübe'etei (q.v.), and a combined Russian and local steppe force assembled by several Russian princes. The Russian side suffered a decisive defeat.

KAM. *See* Qam.

KAMIKAZE. “Divine wind.” This was a storm supposedly sent by the Japanese gods that destroyed the Mongolian invasion forces of 1281. *See also* Japan.

KARA. *See* Qara.

KĀSHGAR. City in central Turkistan (q.v.). Kāshgar was fought over the Ca'adai *ulus* (q.v.) and of Qaidu (q.v.).

KATHAY. Old name for China (q.v.), ultimately from Kitan (q.v.).

KAZAN, QANATE OF. Successor qanate to the Golden Horde (q.v.). It was based in the city of the same name and was finally extinguished by Ivan the Terrible in 1552.

KEBEK. Ca'adai *ulus* (q.v.) ruler (r. 1309, later 1318–1326). After the death of Du'a (q.v.) in 1307, a succession struggle developed, pitting the sons of Du'a against an outsider, Taliq (r. 1308–1309), from the line of Būri, the grandson of Ca'adai (q.v.) Although Kebek initially triumphed, he was deposed

again by princes from the House of Ögödei (q.v.) and ultimately gave up power in favor of his brother Esen Buqa (r. 1309–1318). He resumed it again, after the latter's death.

Much of Kebek's reign was characterized by a difficult struggle against a resurgent Mongol China in Turkistan (q.v.), which, with the demise of Qaidu (q.v.), bordered directly on the Ca'adai *ulus* (q.v.). He also had problems with the Golden Horde (q.v.), which wanted Kebek as an ally against the Ilqanate (q.v.). *See also* "5. Ca'adai Ulus and Qaidu."

KEBTE'ÜL. "Those lying around," the "night guard" of the *kesikten* (q.v.), or imperial bodyguard.

KELEMECI. Translator, spokesman.

KEREIT. Mongolian association. In the late 13th century it was centered in the upper Onon area. Its ruler, To'oril-qan (q.v.), also known by his mixed-language title Ong-qan (wang 王-qan), was at first an ally of Cinggis-qan (q.v.), and then an enemy. Nestorianism (q.v.) was well represented among the Kereit and had been, apparently, for several hundred years. The name also appears as a clan name among the Önggüd (q.v.), and there may or may not have been a connection.

KESIKTEN (KESIG). "Those with favor." This was a general term for members of the Mongol imperial bodyguard comprised of the *kebet'e'ül*, "night guards," the *qorci*, "quiver-bearers," and the *turqa'ut*, "day guards." At first set at about 150 members, around 1202, the bodyguard was gradually raised in strength to be a thousand, and then a myriarchy, in 1206. In addition to guarding the *qan*, the imperial bodyguard also provided cadres for staffing imperial government, both at court and as imperial representatives in the conquered domains.

After the collapse of the unified empire, Qubilai (q.v.) inherited the imperial bodyguard. It became one of his principal symbolic links with the Mongolian past. He added to it a number of guards (*see* Imperial Guard) organized along ethnic lines, largely from booty (q.v.) populations. They included Kibca'ut (q.v.), Qanglin (q.v.), Alans (q.v.) and even a few Russians. These foreign guards were a major source of the substantial non-Chinese population present at court and in the Mongol sedentary capitals of China. *See also* Government.

KHAN. *See Qan.*

KHANBALIGH. *See Qanbaliq.*

KHARA. *See Qara.*

KHARLUK. *See Qarla'ud.*

KHATUN. *See Qatun.*

KHAYDU. *See Qaidu, II.*

KHERLEN RIVER. River in northern Mongolia (q.v.). It ran through the area where the Mongols of Cinggis-qan (q.v.) had their central focus.

KHIBITKHA. Russian term for a steppe cart upon which housing was mounted permanently. These could be full-sized *ger* (q.v.), but also other structures designed with the particular shape of the cart in mind. During the Mongol era, khibitkhas were of enormous size, drawn by whole teams of oxen.

KHITAN. *See Kitan.*

KHORASAN. *See Khurāsān.*

KHOTAN. City in eastern Turkistan (q.v.).

KHURĀSĀN. Area in northeastern Iran (q.v.) and southern Turkistan (q.v.). It was devastated by the initial Mongol invasions. Later ruled from the city of Ṭūs, as one of the main Mongol administrations for the conquered areas. *See also* Arqan-aqa; Provinces.

KHWĀRAZM. *See Khwarazm.*

KHWARAZM. Turkic-speaking area situated along the major rivers flowing into the Aral. This was the heartland of the Khwarazmian Empire (q.v.).

KHWĀRAZM-SHĀH. Title of the rulers of the Khwarazmian Empire (q.v.). This empire ruled most of western Turkistan (q.v.) and Iran (q.v.) in the wake of the Seljuq (q.v.), and Seljuq successor states. The name comes from Khwarazm (q.v.), a Turkic-speaking area in central western Turkistan.

KHWĀRAZM-SHĀH MUḤAMMAD II. See Muḥammad II, *Khwārazm-shāh*.

KHWARAZMIAN EMPIRE. Empire founded in western Turkistan (q.v.) in the late 12th century. It expanded principally through the efforts of Muḥammad II, *khwārazm-shāh* (r. 1200–1221) (q.v.), initially under the overlordship of the Qara-Kitan Empire (q.v.), and then independently. The Khwarazmian Empire was the principal adversary of the Mongols in the west and, having been outflanked in a slow process of infiltration, it was overthrown in record time, although resistance under Jalāl al-Dīn (r. 1221–1231) (q.v.), the son and successor of Muḥammad II, continued for some years.

Khwarazm (q.v.) was originally under the control of the Seljuq (q.v.), and during the period of Seljuq rule (11th and 12th centuries) the area was subject to an increased penetration by Turkic-speakers, culminating in a thorough going Turkicization (q.v.) of the area by the mid-13th century, if not earlier. The earliest of the *khwārazm-shāh* (q.v.) were vassals of the Seljuq, but the link had become nominal by the time of *Khwārazm-Shāh* ‘Alā al-Dīn Atsīz (died 1156). He openly revolted at one point, and certainly took advantage of Seljuq problems with the new, Qara-Kitan Empire (q.v.), as Khwarazm slowly drifted towards complete independence with expanded boundaries.

This trend became established fact under the successor of Atsīz, Tāj al-Dunyā wa’l-Dīn Il-Arslan (r. 1156–1172). By his time Khwarazm had to deal with Qara-Kitan overlords in place of Seljuq, but this did not prevent the Khwarazmians from expanding their power, above all into *Khurāsān* (q.v.), and later into Transoxania (q.v.), where Qara-Kitan influence was strong.

After Il-Arslan’s death, the Khwarazmian Empire was divided into two, ruled by his feuding sons, but reunited again under Muḥammad II, *khwārazm-shāh*, who took advantage of the collapse of the Qara-Kitan Empire (in 1211) to greatly expand his empire. He was ruling at the time of the Mongolian in-

vasion. Despite his advances, many of the areas outside of Khwarizm and its immediate dependencies were only weakly held, one reason why Muḥammad found it hard to defend them in the face of a serious Mongol advance. *See also* “1. Mongolia before Empire;” “2. Mongol Empire.”

KHWARIZM. *See* Khwarazm.

KIBCA'UT. The Qipchaq. In Mongol usage the Kibca'ut were the Turkic peoples of the western Russian steppe (q.v.), the Polovetsi of the Russians and Quman of the Hungarians. First encountered by Sübe'etei (q.v.) *circa* 1209, later an object of attack by him during his first incursion into Russia (q.v.), they were finally subdued during the second Mongol invasion of Russia by Möngke (q.v.), the future *qan*, and by Berke (q.v.). Like the Qanglin (q.v.), Kibca'ut were distributed across the empire as booty (q.v.). The *qan* received some and formed a guard, inherited by Qubilai (q.v.). The Kibca'ut and Qanglin were important sources of Turkic population and culture in Mongol China (q.v.). The name also applied to Russians there.

KIEV. Capital of Kievan Russia (*see* Russia). Kiev was captured and destroyed by the Mongols on December 6, 1240, ending an era in Russian history. It later recovered, but Kiev never again obtained the dominant position that it had held before its capture by the Mongols. *See also* “4. Golden Horde.”

KIN. *See* Jin.

KING DAVID. David VI, King (r. 1250–1269) of Georgia (q.v.). He was a Mongol puppet appointed by them jointly with the Seljuq (q.v.) king, David V.

KINSAY. Name used by Marco Polo (q.v.) for the former Song capital of Hangzhou 杭州 (q.v.). It comes from the Chinese designation of the city as a “temporary capital” (*xingsuo* 行所在) following the loss of the Chinese north after the Jürched (q.v.) invasions of the 12th century. *See also* Song, Dynasty.

KINSHIP. *See* *Oboq*; *Uruq*.

KIPCHAKS. *See* Kibca'ut.

KIPJAQ. *See* Kibca'ut.

KIPJAQ QANATE. *See* Golden Horde.

KIPJAQ STEPPE. *See* Russian Steppe.

KIRGISUD. A "Forest People." The Kirgisud were among those revolting *circa* 1217 or 1218 and requiring the intervention of Joci (q.v.). *See also* Qori-tumad.

KIT-BUQA. Mongolian general and leader of the advance guard of Hüle'ü (q.v.). Kit-buqa was trapped and defeated at the Battle of 'Ayn Jälüt (q.v.) on September 3, 1260, by the Mamlük (q.v.), marking the real end of Ilqanate (q.v.) expansion west. Kit-buqa was a Nestorian Christian (*see* Nestorianism), one of many of that faith in the Ilqanate.

KITAI. *See* Kitan.

KITAI NEGRI. *See* Qara-kitan.

KITAN. Altaic ethnic group with a pastoral nomadic culture similar to that of the Mongols. The Kitan are first mentioned in Chinese sources in the fourth century AD, but first became important during the Tang Dynasty. By the end of that dynasty, they had acquired a substantial territorial base, primarily in what is now Manchuria, including control over a growing number of sedentary communities. These had been conquered during the chaos of late Tang times. The Kitan also held large numbers of Chinese captives carried off in raids and settled there.

Despite their growing sedentary base, the main Kitan striking force remained tribal, and not all of it Kitan, since like most steppe societies their federation was multiethnic. Like the Mongols, they proved good at mobilizing all their subjects, even the sedentary ones, for a common effort, although the core Kitan and other tribal groups continued to be pastoral nomads.

The founder of China's Kitan Dynasty, or the Liao (906–1125), was Abaoji (872–926), son of a chieftain. His accomplishments lay in two areas. One was in conquest. In a series of well-led campaigns he put most of his enemies on the defensive. The other was in the administrative organization of his new

empire. His court adopted Chinese (q.v.) as an administrative language, and began the use of Chinese political culture to legitimate his dynasty.

After Abaoji's death, a key conquest was that of the so-called "Sixteen Prefectures" of northeastern China (q.v.). This allowed the Liao to consolidate its power and become a dynasty, albeit a marginal one, in fact as well as name.

At its high-water mark in the 11th century, the Liao controlled a substantial part of northeast China, although this territory was not very Chinese in those days, and all of Mongolia. There the Liao established a major presence in the form of many small fortifications and administrative centers. The influence of these settlements on the Mongols, and of Kitan culture with its mixture of Chinese and native traditions, was immense.

Although the Liao Dynasty was ultimately conquered and absorbed by the Jürched (q.v.) Jin Dynasty (1125–1234), Kitan remained in some numbers in the new empire in the Sino-Mongolian borderlands and in Manchuria. Others fled to Central Asia where they set up a successor state, that of the Qara-Kitan (q.v.).

When the Mongols made plans to invade the Jin Empire, they targeted the Kitan as potential allies, and the Kitan responded in numbers. In fact, without Kitan allies, it is likely that the Mongols would not have been able to overcome Jin so rapidly. Kitan also provided administrative talent serving as far afield as Bukhara (q.v.) in western Turkistan (q.v.) and Khurāsān (q.v.). The prime examples of such Kitan administrative talent are Yelü Ahai 耶律阿海 (q.v.), who served as a senior *daruqaci* (q.v.) in the west, and Yelü Chucai 耶律楚材 (q.v.), a principal minister of *qan* Ögödei (q.v.). Other Kitan served to the end of the dynasty, although the elite were increasingly Sinicized while the tribal society seems to have been absorbed by the Mongols.

KÖKE DEBTER. "Blue Book." This is a Mongol chronicle cited by Rashīd al-Dīn (q.v.) but no longer extant. *See also Secret History of the Mongols.*

KÖKE ORDO. *See* "Blue" Ordo.

KÖKE TEMÜR. Late Yuan general and loyalist. Originally Wang Baobao 王保保, he was given a Mongolian name by the Yuan

court as a reward. Together with his uncle and father by adoption, Chaghan Temür (q.v.), he defended the Kaifeng 開封 (q.v.) area, just south of the Yellow River in central China (q.v.), from various Chinese warlords intending to establish the next dynasty. Later, he continued to be a defender of the Mongol dynasty even after its withdrawal from China. *See also* Northern Yuan.

KÖKE TENGGERI. *See* Tenggiri.

KÖKE TENGGIRI. *See* Tenggiri.

KOREA. East Asian kingdom. The Mongols first invaded Korea (Koryō) in 1218 as part of their conquest of Manchuria, forcing the Koreans to pay tribute. When the relationship lapsed due to the death of the principal Mongol representative in Korea, the Mongols re-invaded in 1231, and again forced the Koryō government to submit. After an uprising against Mongol impositions, the Mongols launched a whole series of invasions against an absentee Koryō court that had abandoned its capital of Kaegyōng to take up residence on Kanghwa Island, located just off shore. Hostilities continued until the end of the reign of *qan* Möngke (q.v.) when Koryō, its military in tatters, finally accepted Mongol occupation.

As a Mongol satellite and ally, Koryō was actively involved in the two campaigns of Qubilai (q.v.) against Japan (q.v.), during which Korean land and naval forces suffered substantial losses. On the balance side, Koreans, particularly Korean women, in the harems of the Mongol *qan*, gained a good deal of influence at court and were very much a favored group in Mongol China. The Province (q.v.) of Korea was staffed by the king and his ministers.

KÖRGÜZ. Mongolian official in *Khurāsān*. Körgüz was probably a *jarquci*, since he was actively involved in the Mongol census there, and was among those laying the foundations for the later regional administration in the area. He was executed by Döregene-qatun (q.v.) largely due to a dispute over administrative authority. He was an Uighur (*see* Uighurs).

KÖSE DAGH, BATTLE OF (JUNE 26, 1243). Mongol *tanma* (q.v.) commander Baiju (q.v.) defeated the Seljuq of Rūm (q.v.)

and forced them to submit, momentarily threatening their complete conquest.

KÖTEN (?–1252). Mongol prince, a son of Ögödei *qan* (q.v.). He held responsibility for Mongol operations in Tibet (q.v.) and was among the few members of the house of Ögödei to survive the purges of 1251. *See also* Sa-sKya; aPhags-pa.

KUCHA. City in Turkistan (q.v.). It was among those devastated by the Mongol wars of succession.

KULIKOVE POLE, BATTLE OF (SEPTEMBER 8, 1380). The Golden Horde (q.v.) Emir Mamai (q.v.) was decisively defeated by Dimitrii II Donskoi of Moscow. The battle is considered the end of the “Tatar Yoke” by Russian historians, but this Pyrrhic battle changed little.

KUMISS. Usually fermented mare’s milk, but it can also come from a camel. It is called *airag* (q.v.) in Mongolian. Kumiss is Turkic. Kumiss was the preferred Mongolian drink during the summer, and the Mongolian prestige food. It took about 60 mares to provide a Mongol with a steady supply of kumiss during the summer, when excess mare’s milk was available. Since herds with that many horses were unusual, this was very much a rich man’s beverage, although most common Mongols received some, at least. *See also* Food; Alcoholic Beverages.

KURILTAI. *See* *Quriltai*.

KUYUK KHAN. *See* *Gyüük*.

KYMISS. *See* *Kumiss*.

KYTAL. *See* *Kitan*.

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LAMA. *See* *bLa-Ma*.

LAMAISM. A form of Buddhism (q.v.) practiced in Tibet (q.v.), and in some surrounding areas, presently including Mongolia.

Lamaism makes extensive use of magical practices. It focuses on powerful deities that are controlled and propitiated by various rituals set forth in the appropriate magical texts or *tantra*. A special part of this involves the use of spells, *mantra*, whose repetition is intended to confer power on the spell-maker. The tantric practitioner has a great deal in common with the Mongolian shaman (q.v.), one reason why Lamaism became so popular among the Mongols. Lamaism largely replaced native practices at court, although the rituals involved in most cases also had the same purport from the perspective of Mongol patrons. *See also* aPhags-Pa; Sa-sKya; Religion.

LANCES. The lance was not a typical Mongol weapon, but was carried by some of the better armored for shock combat. Shafts were of wood with a compound point for slashing as well as penetrating directly, and usually a hook to unhorse opponents.

LAND WARFARE. For the Mongols, land warfare was above all the warfare of cavalry movements. Foot soldiers also played a role in land warfare in the successor states, particularly Mongol China (q.v.), as well as, in all areas, a sophisticated siege train. Even when the Mongols used slower-moving foot soldiers, their strategic sense remained unchanged. Campaigns continued to be planned on the broadest possible scale, and included coordinated movements carried out exactly to orders over considerable distances.

LANGUAGES. Various languages were used by the Mongolian elite in communication and administration. Mongolian (*see* Middle Mongolian) was, of course, the most important, but was comparatively underdeveloped as an administrative or literary language at the time, and was thus replaced by other idioms as a practical matter. These included various Turkic languages, primarily spoken, but also written, particularly in the Golden Horde (q.v.), where written Turkic early replaced Mongolian, and in the Ca'adai *ulus* (q.v.), which gave its name to the principal medieval and early modern Turkic literary language, Chaghatay (*see* Chaghatay, II).

Persian was also an important spoken and written idiom in the Mongolian world. It was the language of diplomacy during the period. Marco Polo (q.v.), for example, seems to have gotten along quite nicely with Persian, seconded probably by a

Turkic dialect and possibly Mongolian, but evidently no Chinese. Also in use was Old French, the standard Western commercial language, but was less widely used than Persian. Syriac was important within the Nestorian community (*see* Nestorianism), but its usage was restricted, as was that of Tibetan.

Chinese (q.v.) was most important, for obvious reasons, in the Qanate of China, but was used on coins and occasionally for other purposes as far afield as Iran (q.v.), and was a living language among the Qara-Kitan (q.v.) survivors of Bukhara (q.v.), and possibly among other Qara-Kitan groups as well. In China, literary Chinese was frequently used for documents, but also in use was a colloquial pidgin. Although Chinese and written in Chinese characters, it adheres to Mongolian word order, and attempts to render fine shades of meaning found in original Mongolian documents that are alien to a Chinese environment. Despite this usage, at court other languages seem to have predominated almost to the end of Mongol rule in China.

LASSO. Mongolian weapon, also used for herding.

LESSER ARMENIA. Independent Christian state in Anatolian Cilicia. Lesser Armenia was an important Mongol ally, because of its position, and because of the connections of the ruling house with the crusading states. *See also* Het'um; Armenia.

LI TAN 李壇. Chinese warlord controlling Shandong 山東 and adjacent areas. His revolt in 1262, during the civil war of Qubilai (q.v.) with Ariq-bökö (q.v.), seriously threatened the Mongol ruler's position. The revolt was resolutely suppressed, but evidence was clear of a wider collusion perhaps even among Qubilai's close Chinese allies. As a result, Qubilai ended the practice of associating his Chinese warlord allies with specific territories, instead giving them assignments at large.

LIAO DYNASTY (907–1125). *See* Kitan.

LIEGNITZ, BATTLE OF (APRIL 9, 1241). Battle in Silesia (q.v.), during the Mongol invasion of Eastern Europe and Hungary (q.v.). Mongol invaders met and defeated an army comprised of Poles, Germans, and Teutonic Knights under the command of Duke Henry of Silesia. He was killed in the battle.

Although the Mongol army was probably smaller than their 20,000 adversaries, it was better led and cut the less-mobile Germans and Poles to pieces. The battle may have witnessed the first aerial bombardment in history, with incendiaries dropped by a man flying in a large kite. This idea was apparently a Chinese invention.

LIGHTNING. Lightning was a source of great awe for the Mongols, and was associated with Tenggiri (q.v.) or Heaven. Any object or person coming in contact with lightning in any way had to be ritually purified between two fires. *See also* Fire; Tabus.

LITHUANIA. The principal antagonist of the Golden Horde (q.v.) during its wars to control Eastern Europe. Lithuania took advantage of the chaos engendered by the Mongol advance into Russia (q.v.), including the destruction of Kiev (q.v.) and subsequent campaigns, to considerably shore up its own position and ultimately absorb most of its adversaries. This included Poland (q.v.), whose young queen, Jadwiga, was married by Lithuanian Grand Prince Jogaila (r. 1386–1434) in 1386, making him king of Poland as well as Grand prince of Lithuania, and his state the largest in eastern Europe. *See also* “4. Golden Horde.”

LITHUANIA-POLAND. The combined Lithuanian and Polish monarchy after 1386. *See also* Lithuania; Poland.

LITTAN SANGON. “The Honorable Li Tan.” *See* Li Tan 李壇.

LITTLE ARMENIA. *See* Lesser Armenia.

LIU BINGZHONG 劉秉忠 (1216–1274). One of Qubilai’s (q.v.) coterie of Confucian advisors, originally a Buddhist and introduced by Haiyun 海雲 (q.v.). Said to have suggested the dynasty designation, Yuan 元, “origin,” based on a term in the *Yi-jing* 易經, “Book of Changes.” More likely the term translates Mongolian *qol* (q.v.), the “center, main focus, pivot,” a word that has much of the same connotation as Yuan and had great meaning in terms of Qubilai’s quest to be recognized as supreme *qan*, as ruler of the *qol-un ulus*, the “patrimony of the center.”

LIU BOLIN 劉伯林 (1148–1221). Early Chinese ally of the Mongols. He surrendering his city (1211) and gained the surrender of another commander as well. His descendents continued to play an important role in Mongol China (q.v.) and constituted one of the major Chinese warlord families there.

LIVESTOCK. *See* Sheep; Goat; Horse; Pastoral Nomadism.

LU 路. The lower level administrative unit in Mongol China. The first 10 of them were set up officially under Ögödei (q.v.). Note that these *lu* 路 had little or nothing to do with the much larger units that had existed under the Jin (*see* Jürched). *Lu* was, in this case, a convenient translation of a Mongolian administrative unit, the *cölge* (q.v.).

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MAḤMŪD YALAVACH (?–1262?). Khwarazmian official of the Mongols. He was among those “knowing the way of cities,” in the words of the *Secret History of the Mongols* (q.v.), and thus able to help the Mongols rule sedentary areas effectively. He may have been a former Qara-Kitan (*see* Qara-Kitan Empire) official, and started out as a regional administrator for the Mongols in western Turkistan (q.v.), during the era of Cinggis-qan (q.v.). He successfully resisted princely encroachments on imperial territories and people, but was later transferred to China (q.v.), perhaps to avoid the ill will of the House of Ca’adai (q.v.). There he ultimately came to head the overall administration as chief regional *jarquci* (q.v.) in Zhongdu 中都 (q.v.), the former Jin capital. He continued, with a break when he fell out of favor after the death of Ögödei (q.v.), in that role apparently until the beginning of the reign of Qubilai (q.v.), although theoretically under the control of Bujir (q.v.) during the reign of Möngke (q.v.). Yalavach’s son was Mas’ūd Beg (q.v.) who fulfilled much the same role in Turkistan that his father did in China, but in his case surviving the demise of the Mongol empire for decades in the service of the Ca’adai *ulus* (q.v.) and others. *See* also “2. Mongol Empire.”

MAIMŪN-DIZ. Ismā’īlī (*see* Ismā’īlīs) castle in the mountains in north of the Alamut Valley just south of the Caspian (q.v.). It

was the main stronghold of Ismā'īlī Grand Master Rukn al-Dīn Khur-Shāh. Perched on a steep cliff, it was considered impregnable but fell to the energetic assault of Hūle'ū (q.v.) in 1256 using the best of Eastern and Western siege technology.

MALI. West African center of gold production, the farthest reach of Mongol geographical interest. Judging from Mongol-era geographical lore preserved in Chinese sources and reproduced on maps from there, the Mongols had a clear interest in Mali, the land of Mansa (“king”) Musa (r. 1307–1332). He is said to have been so rich that when he went on pilgrimage to Mecca he put so much gold into circulation that its price collapsed in Egypt.

The Empire of Mali was created by Mansa Sundjata (*circa* 1215 to *circa* 1255). He overcame the most difficult conditions (he was a hunchback, and was rejected by his father as his successor) to finally become king, and to free Mali from foreign conquerors. He also began a period of expansion that ultimately gave rise to an empire nearly as large as Western Europe.

Under Mansa Musa, Mali reached its highpoint, maintaining contact with Europe, the Arabic world, points farther to the south in Africa, and even Central Asia, if we may judge from Mongol information about Mali. Mansa Musa not only put Mali on the map through his pilgrimage in style (from 1324), but also through lavish support of charities and cultural activities. This included Islamic learning focused on Timbuktu and other Mali settlements that rivaled the best, and was unprecedented in interior Africa during the period. Among learned men supported by Mansa Musa were various Andalusian (Spanish Arabic) poets and musicians. The influence is felt to the present day in the modern music of the Mali griots whose styles of playing and melodies strongly resembled those of medieval Spain. Later contacts with Spain played a role as well.

MAMAI. Golden Horde (q.v.) emir. He is best known for the defeat he suffered at Kulikovo Pole (q.v.) by Demitrii II of Moscow in 1380, considered, incorrectly, to mark the end of the “Tatar Yoke.” *See also* “4. Golden Horde.”

MAMLŪK. Turkic slaves of the Ayyūbids (1169–1250) (q.v.) who seized power for themselves and founded their own dynasty (1250–1517) in Egypt (q.v.). As the principal adversaries of the

Crusader states (q.v.), the Mamlūk quickly became involved against the new potential allies of the Christians, the Mongols. They won the decisive battle of ‘Ayn Jālūt (q.v.) on September 3, 1260, when the Mongol commander Kit-buqa (q.v.) was killed and most of his army destroyed. Subsequently, the Mamlūk waged a seesaw battle with the Ilqans for Syria, with most of the advantage falling to the former. The Mamlūk formed an alliance with the Golden Horde (q.v.) from which they not only received military aid against the Ilqanate (q.v.), but new slaves to sustain themselves in a foreign Egyptian environment. These included Mongols.

MANGONELS. Huge siege engines hurling enormous stones and later exploding bombs. They were called *huihui pao* 回回砲, “Muslim engines,” in China.

MANGU. *See* Möngke.

MANZI 蠻子. Pejorative term, “southern barbarians.” It was used during Mongol times to designate the south Chinese, that is, former subjects of the Southern Song.

MASSACRE. Massacre was used as a calculated weapon by the Mongols against recalcitrant urban opponents to make an example of them and also, to a more limited degree, to discourage settlements in areas of joint sedentary and pastoral use. In general, the Mongols killed populations only when they refused to surrender, when resistance was protracted, or when a surrendered group revolted again, possibly killing local Mongol administrators. Rarely was the entire population killed. Any massacre took place usually only after a selection had been made of those considered useful in some way, often a large number. Persian and other sources greatly exaggerate both effects and frequency but are, at the same time, witness to the value of massacre as a terror tactic. The practice probably grew out of the Mongol realization that, given the kinds of rapid growth rates apparently common on the steppe at the time, leaving a few enemies to nurse their wounds might give rise to a very big problem later.

MAS’ŪD BEG (?–1280s). Son of Maḥmūd Yalavach (q.v.), Mas’ūd Beg was the principal Mongol administrator in Turki-

stan (q.v.) during the empire and for some decades after under the Ca'adai *ulus* (q.v.), and Qaidu (q.v.). According to the *Secret History of the Mongols* (q.v.), if the reference is not anachronistic, Mas'ūd originally submitted along with his father during the time of Cinggis-qan (q.v.). In any case, he took over from his father when the latter was assigned to China under Ögödei (q.v.) and, with interruptions, continued to head the Mongolian province (*see* Province) of Turkistan from Beshbaliq (q.v.) until the end of empire. Under the Ca'adai *ulus*, he functioned in a diminished capacity over the region of Bukhara (q.v.). He became responsible for keeping the area intact from nomadic incursions and making it a productive revenue source of both the Ca'adai *ulus* and Qaidu, the master of the *ulus* at that time (*see* Talas Covenant). Mas'ūd is also known for his reform of the coinage (*see* Coins), and in lieu of written sources, much that we know about his administrations come from numismatics.

MATTHEW OF PARIS (CIRCA 1200–1259). English chronicler. He was unusually well-informed about the Mongols and made a concerted effort to not only report what he knew about them, but to assemble as much primary source material for himself as possible. He includes much of it in his *Chronica Majora*.

MATTIAS OF MIECHOW. Mattias wrote an account of the 1241 Mongol invasion of Poland.

MECRIT. *See* Merkit.

MEDICINE. For the Mongols, medicine had two roots. One lay in their poorly documented native traditions. The other lay in medical traditions borrowed from the sedentary peoples conquered by them, particularly Islamic. The best-documented part of native Mongolian medicine involved the intervention of the shaman (q.v.) to recover stolen or errant souls of patients. Indirect evidence in the court dietary *Yinshan zhengyao* 飲膳正要 (q.v.) suggests that the use of parts of animals, particularly animals with a great deal of spiritual potency, such as the wolf, but also more lowly animals such as the marmot (*see* *Tarbaqan*), as medicine was already an established fact during and after the Mongol Empire, as it is today. Also established fact was the Mongolian use of medicinal plants. Many of the plants called

for in early sources such as the *Secret History of the Mongols* (q.v.), do have a medicinal value today among the Mongols. They seem to have been singled out for that purpose in early days as well.

The Islamic medicine used by the Mongols is documented by the surviving chapters of the work now called “Muslim Medicinal Recipes” (*Huihui yaofang* 回回藥方) (q.v.), an encyclopedia prepared for the Mongol rulers of China (q.v.). It was practical in focus. It emphasized herbal treatments for general conditions, but also provided substantial information on specific treatment of various traumatic injuries, including bites and other wounds, breaks, and burns. In addition to herbal treatment, prescribed even in the case of traumatic injury, cauterization was also widely called for, in some cases as a nearly surgical intervention, and there is a section devoted to dietary medicine. Although the relevant sections of the “Muslim Medicinal Recipes” are lost, if they ever existed, we know from other sources that “miraculous” surgery was also a practice of Islamic doctors.

Also available for Mongolian use was Ayurvedic medicine as found among the Tibetans at court, and Chinese medicine. The Sa-sKya Paṇḍita (q.v.), for example, was noted as a medical expert and was called upon to treat Prince Köten (q.v.). When the Mongols began employing Chinese medicine is unclear, but it was being practiced among them at least as early as the time of *qan* Möngke (q.v.), and Chinese medicine seems to have been among those Chinese techniques taken to Iran by Hüle’ü (q.v.). Chinese dietary medicine must have been pervasive judging from the *Yinshan zhengyao*, but it is freely mixed with Islamic medicine there.

MEN. Sex roles were not rigidly separated among the early Mongols, and women (q.v.) could and did do almost anything that men could do, including ruling, although usually as regents rather than as *qan* in their own right. Nonetheless, certain activities were primarily the domain of men, including most of the warfare, although females certainly did fight. Apparently all-female units existed in China (q.v.), and probably elsewhere. Most often these were in connection with the *a’uruq* or “base camps” rather than with the military forces proper. In herding, on the other hand, roles were pretty much the same, although the women were largely responsible for making and breaking camp, driving the wagons, making butter and *qurut* (q.v.)

and preparing hides. The only real concession to distinctly different male and female realms was in the yurt or *ger* (q.v.), which had areas set aside for males and others for females, as today. There also seem to have been differences in ritual activity by sex. Among the Mongols descent is patrilineal, but systems of matrilineal descent may have existed as well, as we quite likely see in the story of Alan-qo'a (q.v.) and her miraculous brood. *See also* Women.

MENGDA BEILU 蒙韃備錄. “Record of the Mongols and Tatars.” This is a work by Zhao Hong 趙珙 (q.v.) describing the early Mongols in north China (q.v.) as seen during an embassy in which Zhao participated in 1221. Very little is known about Zhao, but his work, together with the “Brief Account of the Black Tatar” (*Heida shilue* 黑韃事略) (q.v.) by Peng Daya 彭大雅 (q.v.) and Xu Ting 徐霆 (q.v.), and the “Record of a Journey to the West” (*Xi yuji* 西游記) (q.v.) an eyewitness account of the 1221–1223 journey of the Taoist Changchun 長春 (q.v.) across Asia to meet Cinggis-qan (q.v.), by his disciple Li Zhichang 李志常, is one the three most important Chinese eyewitness accounts of the early Mongols.

MENGESER-NOYAN. Chief *jarquci* (q.v.) of Möngke (q.v.). He carried out the purges that characterized his early reign with ruthless efficiency.

MENGGU 蒙古. 1. “Stupid and Old,” the Chinese name for the Mongols. 2. The elite group in terms of the legal system of the Yuan empire of China (q.v.). *See also* Hanren 漢人; Nanren 南人; Semu 色目; Mongol.

MENGLI GIRAI. *Qan* (r. 1469–1475, 1478–1515) of the Crimea (q.v.). He submitted to the Ottomans to preserve his kingdom in the face of a resurgent Russia (q.v.). As a result the Crimean qanate survived until the 18th century.

MENGU. *See* Möngke.

MERGEN. Traditional Mongolian title meaning “sharpshooter,” or “wise man.” *See also* Titles.

MERKIT. Mongol association. During the rise of Cinggis-qan (q.v.) they were concentrated in the Selenge Basin. The bad blood between the Mongol of Cinggis-qan and the Merkit was of long standing, in part because Hö'elün (q.v.), his mother, had originally been stolen by Yisügei (q.v.) from a Merkit bridegroom, and the Merkit later returned the honor by stealing Cinggis-qan's own wife, Börte (q.v.). During the wars of unification, the Merkit were among the most recalcitrant opponents of Cinggis-qan and he even had to pursue remnant groups, still resisting, outside Mongolia under Toqto'a-beki (q.v.) for some years, formally until 1209, but some groups still existed after that date and had to be subdued as late as 1218. Like the Kereit (q.v.), there was some Nestorianism (q.v.) among the Merkit.

MERV. Oasis city in western Turkistan (q.v.). Merv was among those cities seriously damaged by Mongol conquest (February, 1221) and subsequent massacres (*see* Massacre). Merv took part in a revolt against the occupiers in the autumn of 1221.

MIDDLE MONGOLIAN. Language of the Chinese transcription of the *Secret History of the Mongols* (q.v.), and of the aPhags-Pa Script (q.v.) documents. Middle Mongolian was the most important form of spoken Mongolian in use in qanate China (q.v.) and elsewhere. It differs from the present standard Khalkha principally in its glottal stops to separate vowels that have now become a single long vowel for the most part, *e.g.*, *qa'an*, Khalkha *khān*, "emperor, supreme ruler"; *se'ül*, Khalkha *sūl*, "tail." In addition, it retains the initial "h" that now no longer exists in some words, *e.g.* *hordo*, instead of the modern *ordo*. It is also characterized by masculine and feminine endings attached to adjectives and verbs. Some of these forms survive today as alternative endings, but have long since lost their linguistic gender. It is also noted for a grammar that is more complex and more archaic than the grammar of Modern Mongolian. Nonetheless, the language, once one gets used to its peculiarities, is completely consistent with Modern Mongolian vernaculars to the extent that a knowledge of Modern Mongolian is highly useful in understanding Middle Mongolian documents. *See also* Languages.

MING 明 DYNASTY (1368–1644). Successor dynasty to the Mongol Yuan. The Ming began as a variant of the Red Turban

movement in central China under the leadership of Zhu Yuanzhang 朱元璋 (q.v.), the Hungwu 洪武 Emperor (r. 1368-1398). At first, Zhu was not the most likely founder of a new dynasty, but he maneuvered carefully, made the right alliances, and proved highly capable in waiting out opponents.

Ming continued most Yuan institutions, tending, without the balance provided by a powerful imperial clan, to autocracy. Among them was the Mongol province (q.v.) system, which has lasted down to the present. It is one of the most enduring Mongol innovations. The Ming Censorate, with its strong powers to remonstrate even against the emperor, was another Yuan legacy.

MINGAN. “Thousand,” a tribe or chieftainship. The *mingan* was the effective military and social unit of the era of empire. It grew out of makeshift units called *güre'en* (q.v.) “enclosures,” which appeared in the steppe no later than 1201, and quickly became the primary organizational unit of the armies of Temüjin (see Cinggis-qan) and Jamuqa (q.v.). The *güre'en*, according to one observer, camped in a circle of yurts with the chieftain of the group and his household in the center, pointing up his power. There were 98 *mingan* in 1206, and later many more, including in the sedentary world to which this organizational system of the Mongols was extended, although sedentary *mingan* were much larger. See also Social Structure; Army.

MOAL. See Mongol.

MOHI, BATTLE OF. See Sajó River, Battle of.

MONEY. See Coins; *Chao* 鈔.

MONGALI. The Mongols.

MÖNGKE QAN. Fourth and last *qan* of the Mongol unified empire (r. 1251–1259). He was son of Tolui-noyon (q.v.), youngest son of Cinggis-qan (q.v.). After a protracted power struggle, Möngke ascended to power with the support of Bat-qan (q.v.) representing the house of Joci (q.v.), eldest son of Cinggis-qan. This marked the eclipse of the previously ruling House of Ögödei (q.v.). Möngke's reign began with a terrible purge of house of Ögödei supporters and others, which created such serious animosities that they did not abate until the 14th century.

Möngke is said to have reformed imperial administration, and to have introduced a sophisticated administrative system that later became the basis for those of the various successor qanates, with the exception of the Golden Horde (q.v.). It was never organized as part of the imperial system to the same degree as the other qanates. How much of this is true remains uncertain, and many of Möngke's supposed reforms actually date back to the time of Ögödei (q.v.) or even Cinggis. *See also* "2. Mongol Empire"; Qaidu.

MÖNGKE TEMÜR. Golden Horde (q.v.) ruler (r. 1267–1280). His reign was noted for its strong connections with the Mamlük (q.v.) in Egypt (q.v.), and alliance with Qaidu (q.v.).

MÖNGKE TENGGIRI. *See* Tenggiri.

MONGGOL. *See* Mongol.

MONGOL. Adjective or noun. 1. Mongolian, belonging to the Mongol. 2. The nuclear peoples led by Cinggis-qan (q.v.) whose pastures focused on the Onon-Kherlen area. These were the *Qamuq Mongol*, "Totality of the Mongol," once ruled by Qabul-qan (q.v.) 3. All of the steppe peoples of Mongolia ruled by Cinggis-qan, part of the *yeke Mongol ulus* (q.v.), "Great Mongol Patrimony." This latter usage took some years to catch on. Muqali (q.v.) once identified himself as a "Tatar" to a Chinese envoy. The word also survives in Moghul, the name of an Indian dynasty from Transoxania (q.v.) and Afghanistan, but the Moghuls, like Tamerlane (q.v.), were Mongols in name only.

MONGOL CHINA. *See* China.

MONGOL IRAN. *See* Iran.

MONGOL RUSSIA. *See* Russia.

MONGOLIA. In the 13th century, Mongolia was ill-defined geographically since Mongolian- and Turkic-speaking peoples seem to have freely mixed over much of what is now considered Mongolia. Also, the process by which what is now Inner Mongolia has become Mongolian had barely begun. Basically, the Mongolia of the era was confined to the central part of terri-

tories of what is now the Mongolian People's Republic. The border areas to the east and the west were both heavily Turkicized, as were at least parts of the south. The Mongolia of the time centered on the domains of the Onon-Kherlen Mongol whose own Mongolness blended imperceptibly into the world of the hunter-gatherers of Siberia (q.v.).

MONGOLIA, ENVIRONMENT. Mongolia has an extremely cold, continental climate and except for a few particularly favored areas and highlands, little moisture reaches it as rain, most falling during the winter as snow. It is this winter snow that sustains the bulk of its pasture resources. Pastures tend to be dry and extremely sensitive to overgrazing, which can quickly destroy the potential of large areas for use by livestock and lead to desertification. On the other hand, while sustaining life in much of Mongolia where only seasonal rivers exist, these same snows can mean severe trials for herdsmen, since they may cover up pasture grass and other plants lying underneath and prevent Mongolian livestock from gaining sustenance. This is particularly true when there are repeated thaws and freezes, creating thick, impenetrable layers of ice under the snow. Such conditions are known today in Mongolia as *zud*. They are among the most feared of unfavorable environmental conditions, even more so than outright drought, since drought is rarely universal, whereas *zud* can affect an entire region, without exception.

Other important environmental problems in Mongolia are erosion and mineralization due to the actions of salt springs. The most serious form of erosion is wind. Once plant cover is weakened or destroyed, surface soil blows away quickly in great dust storms that today extend as far as China (q.v.), and complete the destruction of pastures begun by overgrazing.

Although the Mongolia of the 12th and 13th centuries may have been warmer and wetter than today, such relatively favorable conditions in no way altered the fundamental difficulties of pastoral life in Mongolia. More favorable conditions, in fact, may have promoted more joint agricultural and pastoral use, which may have increased, rather than decreased, pressures on the environment, since most of Mongolia is less suited to agricultural than it is to pastoral use. *See also* Mongolia, Geography.

MONGOLIA, GEOGRAPHY. The Mongolia of the 13th century (*see* Mongolia) was a land of grass and arid steppe bordered by

forest in the north, and sandy desert in the south. It was mostly flat, with many areas below sea level, but there were also respectable hills, many of them forested. These included Burqan-qaldun, so important in the spiritual life of Cinggis-qan (q.v.) in the north-central part of the region. Such hill areas were important as areas of refuge, provided rich grazing during the summer months, and had abundant hunting resources. Also important were the region's many rivers, although few of them were permanent rivers (Khalkha: *mören*). More typical were wadis (Khalkha: *gol*). Besides these rivers, a few springs, and other mostly seasonal sources of water, Mongolia had then, as now, few large open bodies of fresh water. The most important, both in the northern part of the country, are Lake Hobsegol and, beyond the present boundaries of the Mongolian People's Republic, Lake Baikal. In the south and west there were also a number of salt lakes and marshes. In the more arid areas, snow was the principal source of moisture, restricting their use for herding to a few times of the year when a snow cover or accumulations of liquid from snow melt were available. *See also* Mongolia, Environment.

MONGOLIAN BARBECUE. Mongolian barbecue is a modern invention of some Chinese chef loosely based on Korean *bulkogi*, and is not a Mongolian tradition at all. There is no evidence whatever that the Mongols ever prepared their food in this way. They preferred it boiled, as part of a banquet soup (*see* Food.)

MONGOLIAN LANGUAGE. *See* Middle Mongolian; Languages.

MONGOLIAN SCRIPT. The Mongolian Script is a vertical script of eventually 24 letters, most with distinct initial, medial, and final forms, representing vowel and consonant sounds based upon the Sogdian (Syriac) Script which came to Mongolia along with Nestorian Christianity (*see* Nestorianism). Used by the Uighurs (q.v.) and other Turkic-speakers prior to the Mongols, the Script is said to have been adapted for writing Mongolian by Tatatonga 塔塔統阿, an Uighur serving as a scribe to Tayang-qan of the Naiman (q.v.). Until the creation of the aPhags-Pa Script (q.v.), this was the only script available to the Mongols, and was that used to write down the original text of

the *Secret History of the Mongols* (q.v.), which now survives only in edited form as part of another text. The earliest monument in Mongolian using the Mongolian script is an inscription of 1224 or 1225 recording the arrow-shooting abilities of a grandson of Cinggis-qan (q.v.).

MONGOLS. 1. The Onon-Kherlen Mongol or Mongqol of Cinggis-qan (q.v.). 2 Mongolian-speaking inhabitants of Mongolia (q.v.). 3. All of the inhabitants of Mongolia participating in the empire of Cinggis-qan.

MONGQOL. *See* Mongol.

MUBĀRAK-SHĀH. *Qan* of the Ca'adai *ulus* (q.v.) (r. 1266). He was the son of Ergene-qatun (q.v.). His overturn marked the end of Qubilai's influence in the Ca'adai *ulus*. *See also* "5. Ca'adai *Ulus* and Qaidu."

MUḤAMMAD II, *KHWĀRAZM-SHĀH.* Ruler of the Khwarazmian Empire (q.v.) (r. 1200–1221). He was principally responsible for the expansion of that empire, initially under Qara-Kitan overlordship (*see* Qara-Kitan Empire), then on his own. Muḥammad lost his empire quickly once the Mongols mounted a serious attack, and lost his life on an island in the Caspian, where he had fled the conquerors.

MUKHALI. *See* Muqali.

MUQALI (?–1223). Mongol general and commander of the *tanma* (q.v.), "nomadic garrison force," of Mongol China. During the absence of Cinggis-qan (q.v.) in the west, Muqali commanded most of the forces present. His descendents continued to hold similar positions during subsequent reigns, and in Qubilai's China (q.v.). *See also* Cila'un.

MUSKOVY. Russian principality. Moscow was at first a tax collector for the Golden Horde (q.v.), then its rival, and finally its master.

"MUSLIM MEDICINAL RECIPES." *See* *Huihui yaofang* 回回藥方.

MUSTA'SIM. Caliph in Baghdad (q.v.) at the time of the Mongol siege and capture (1258). He was later killed by the Mongols. Musta'sim proved surprisingly inept in defending his caliphate.

MYRIARCHY. *See Tümen.*

— N —

NAIAN. *See Nayan.*

NAIMAN. Mongolian association. The Naiman were opponents of Cinggis-qan (q.v.) and his Mongol. Like the Merkit (q.v.), the Naiman, or some of them, continued the struggle outside of Mongolia, under Güčülük (q.v.), the son of Tayang-qan, one of the bitterest enemies of Cinggis-qan.

NANREN 南人. "Southerner," the south Chinese in the social classification scheme used by the Mongols in China (q.v.). *See also* Hanren 漢人; Menggu 蒙古; *Semu* 色目.

NARYN JAM. "Secret jam" (q.v.), that part of the Mongolian postal system reserved strictly for imperial business in China (q.v.).

NASAWĪ, NŪR AL-DĪN MUḤAMMAD. Secretary and biographer of *Khwārazm-shāh* Jalāl al-Dīn (q.v.). His "Expectorations of the Consumptive" (*Nafīhat al-maṣdūr*), written between 1234 and 1240, is an important primary source for the early Mongol invasions.

NAṢĪR AL-DĪN ṬŪSĪ (1200–1273). Shiite theologian, scientist, and Ilqanate (q.v.) advisor. He came to Hüle'ü (q.v.) as an Assassin (*see* Ismā'īlīs) envoy but retained by him as an advisor. Naṣīr Al-Dīn Ṭūsī was one of the great scientific polymaths of his time. He was particularly important for Ilqanate astronomy.

NATIGAI. *See* Etüken.

NAURŪZ (?–1297). Ilqanate (q.v.) general and official in Sīstān, Naurūz was the son of Arqan-aqa (q.v.), the longtime imperial administrator of *Khurāsān* (q.v.) and Iran (q.v.). Originally an opponent of Ilqan Arghun (r. 1284–1291) (q.v.), Naurūz had the

good sense to change with the times and ended up supporting his son Ghazan (r. 1295–1304) (q.v.), then competing for the throne. It was later Naurūz who talked Ghazan into converting to Islam (q.v.) and taking his house with him. This allowed the Ilqans, after Ghazan's formal accession, to pose as an Islamic power in dealing friends and enemies. Ultimately, Naurūz was too influential for Ghazan to stomach, and he was executed on September 10, 1297, for treason. *See also* "6. Ilqanate."

NAVAL WARFARE. Naval warfare was significant only for Mongol China (q.v.), which built its own naval forces, both for use on rivers, and on the ocean, and also acquired those of Korea (q.v.) and Song China. The culmination of Mongol naval warfare came during the final push against the Song (*see* Song, Mongol Conquest of) when the Mongols outmaneuvered the Chinese in their own element. They used their ocean-going fleets to position substantial forces in the rear of their enemies and considerably speeded up the pace of the final mop-up. The fleets were also used during the (less successful) great overseas invasions. *See also* Yaishan 崖山, Battle of.

NAYAN. Mongolian prince. Nayan was a descendent of Temüge Otcigin, younger brother of Cinggis-qan (q.v.). In 1287, he launched a major rebellion against Qubilai (q.v.). The by-then-aged *qan* suppressed it in person.

NEGODAR. *See* Nigüder.

NERGE (OR JERGE). A *nerge* is the battue line in a battue hunt, in which various groups, cooperating with one another, slowly closed on a territory, compressing most of the animals in a given area into a narrow enclosure. There they could be killed easily (although some were allowed to escape, as a conservation measure). This technique was also used as a military tactic.

NESTORIANISM. Christian sect. It was condemned for heresy in the Byzantine Empire (q.v.), and sought freedom in Persian domains and in points beyond, including Central Asia. Nestorianism used a variant of Syriac as its sacred language. This was the variant of Christianity (q.v.) most represented among the Mongols and the basis of the European legend regarding a great Christian monarch in Central Asia who would, some day, con-

quer the Muslims, and restore Jerusalem to the Christians. *See also* Religion; Rabban Šauma.

NEW SARAI. Golden Horde capital on the Volga. The city is said to have been built by Berke (r. 1257–66) (q.v.) to rival Batqan's Old Sarai, but this is now doubtful. It later became a major trading center.

NIANHE ZHONGSHAN 粘合重山. Jürched (q.v.) *bicigci* (q.v.), "secretary." Nianhe Zhongshan was one of the principals of that part of the Mongol imperial administrative apparatus dealing with China (q.v.) under Ögödei (q.v.) *qan*. *See also* Yelü Chucai 耶律楚才.

NICEAN EMPIRE. Byzantine successor empire focusing on Nicea in Anatolia after Constantinople was taken by the Latins in 1204 (*see* Constantinople, Latin Empire). The new Paleologoi Dynasty of Nicea retook Constantinople in 1261 and the Nicean Empire became the Byzantine Empire (q.v.) again.

NIGÜDER. Mongol general. Led a group of defeated Mongols, the later Nigüdarī, to the Ghazna region in Afghanistan where they became a thorn in the side of the Hüle'ü (q.v.) and his successors.

NISHAPUR. City in *Khurāsān* (q.v.). It was singled out by the Mongols for harsh treatment. Captured in April, 1221.

NOGAI (?–1299). Golden Horde (q.v.) emir, and kingmaker. Nogai was the grandson of Joci (q.v.) and virtually dominated the Golden Horde during the late 13th century. He was particularly concerned with the politics of Eastern Europe, where he intervened frequently and often with great success. *See also* "4. Golden Horde."

NÖKER. Personal retainer. The *nöker* of Cinggis-qan (q.v.) became the basis of his bodyguard. Later, the term was used for associate members of administrative units appointed by princes and other interested parties.

NOMADS. Someone involved in pastoral nomadism (q.v.). The word derives from Greek word νομάς (genitive νομάδος) desig-

nating a herdsman following a set pasturing route in his movement.

NOMADISM. *See* Pastoral Nomadism; Nomad.

NOMUQAN (?–C. 1292). Fourth son of Qubilai (q.v.) from Cabuiqatun (q.v.) He was sent to Mongolia in 1276 to protect the area against any advance by Qaidu (q.v.). There he was faced with a rebellion of much of his army led by princes hostile to Qubilai. As a result, Nomuqan was a captive for some years (until 1284). He continued to serve in the north after his return. *See also* “5. Ca’adai *Ulus* and Qaidu.”

NORTHERN YUAN. Mongolian successor state to qanate China (q.v.). It was established by Toghon Temür (q.v.) after his expulsion from China, and ruled by him until his death in 1370, and then by his heirs. Once the Mongol court had returned to the steppe it had much better success in resisting Ming (q.v.) armies but also found the Mongolian steppe of the late 14th century a poor basis for a Mongol revival. Northern Yuan rulers continued to exist into the 15th century, but only on the fringes of the steppe, with the deep steppe dominated by new groups, the Oyirad (q.v.) and others.

NOYAN. “Lord.” This was the title of any Mongolian aristocrat controlling a population. *See also* Social Structure; Emir.

NUNTUQ. A nomadic territory, often assigned by higher authority. Such territories belonged to kinship groups, and not to individuals by tradition. *See also* Territory; Territory, Administration of.

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OBOGH. *See* Oboq.

OBOK. *See* Oboq.

OBO'O. An *ovoo*. This was a heap of stones as an offering to some spirit. Its purpose was usually to mark some territory.

OBOQ. A patrilineal descent group from a maximal ancestor, who could be fictive. Compare *uruq* (q.v.), a descent group from a real, known, and relatively recent ancestor. In the case of the *altan uruq* (q.v.), “imperial *uruq*,” this was Cinggis-qan (q.v.) himself. The origins of Cinggis-qan’s *oboq*, the Borjigin, are traced in the *Secret History of the Mongols* (q.v.) back to Bodoncar (q.v.), born after his father’s death from a divine light. Bodoncar, in turn, has origins traceable back to “Gray Wolf and Beautiful Doe” (q.v.), the ultimate ancestors of all the Mongols.

OCCODAY. See Ögödei.

ODORIC OF PORDENONE (1265–1331). Odoric visited China (q.v.) between *circa* 1321 and *circa* 1328–1330 and left behind a short account. It reported on the status of the Franciscans (q.v.) there at the time of his visit.

“OFFICIAL HISTORY OF THE YUAN DYNASTY.” See *Yuanshi* 元史.

OGHUL-GHAIMISH. See Oqol-Qaimish.

ÖGÖDEI. Second of four *qan* of the Mongol Empire (r. 1229–1241). He was not his father’s first choice as successor, but was elected with reasonable unanimity at a 1229 *quriltai* (q.v.). Once in power, Ögödei faced two major problems. One was planning future Mongolian expansion. This was necessary to reward his followers and thus keep his power, but on hold since the death of Cinggis-qan (q.v.). The second was an empty treasury. The imperial establishment was growing rapidly and irregular injections of booty, from that share due the *qan* and his office, were no longer sufficient to keep it afloat. The chosen solution was a new approach to the conquered territories, a large part of which were still under imperial control, involving regular taxation rather than expropriation

History attributes this change to the initiative of Ögödei’s Kitan (q.v.) minister Yelü Chucai 耶律楚才 (q.v.), but the latter’s influence may be greatly overstated. To carry out his reforms, Ögödei drew upon members of his imperial bodyguard (see *Kesikten*) to serve as administrative cadres, not only at court, but also as *daruqaci* (q.v.) and other officials on the spot, in the conquered areas where they were needed. He also made a

strenuous effort to enlist the services of locals, with local experience, to serve as the actual tax collectors (*see Amuci; Balaqaci*). None of this was entirely new in and of itself. What was new was the degree to which the court was now represented throughout the Mongol Empire. In Mongol China (q.v.), and elsewhere in the Mongolian world, these imperial officials functioned alongside of representatives of the imperial clan, *jarquci* (q.v.), and other officials, in joint administrations representing all concerned.

Once provided with the substantial new revenues and resources yielded by his administrative reforms, Ögödei was able to resume Mongol expansion in style. The most famous campaigns were those against the remnants of the Jin Dynasty (*see Jürched*), leading to the conquest of the rest of north China, and the masterful Mongolian invasion of Eastern Europe from 1237 to 1241, led by senior military planner Sübe'tei (q.v.).

Ögödei died in late 1241, apparently from a stroke. In 12 years of rule, he laid down firm foundations upon which his son, Güyük (q.v.), and later *qan* Möngke (q.v.), were able to build. *See also* "2. Mongol Empire."

OIRAT. *See* Oyirad.

OKODEI. *See* Ögödei.

OLD MAN OF THE MOUNTAINS. Term in Marco Polo (q.v.) and other western sources for the head of the Nizārīs. They were a branch of Ismā'ilīs (q.v.). Much of the associated legend is pure fiction.

OLJA. *See* Booty.

ÖLJEITÜ. Ilqanate (q.v.) ruler (r. 1304–1316). Öljeitü was the brother of Ghazan (q.v.). He is known for his active correspondence with Western monarchs, including Philip the Fair of France, in a search for allies against the Mamlūk (q.v.). He completed construction on the new capital of Sulṭāniyya (q.v.). Anticipating future trends, Öljeitü became a Shiite. *See also* "6. Ilqanate."

ONG-QAN. Mixed language (wang 王 *-qan*, "prince *qan*") title held by To'oril-qan of the Kereit (q.v.). He was an important

ally, then enemy, of Temüjin, the later Cinggis-qan (q.v.). To'oril was a friend of Yisügei (q.v.), Temüjin's father, and the young Temüjin secured his support by presenting to him a valuable sable coat received from Dei-secen (q.v.) as the dowry of Börte (q.v.). Like Temüjin, the later Ong-qan was apparently among those Mongols serving the Jin Dynasty (*see* Jürched) as part of its system for securing frontiers, and it was from a grateful court that To'oril received his title.

ONGGIRAD. Mongolian association. Members, organized as *mingan* (q.v.), were among those assigned to the *tanma* (q.v.) for occupied China (q.v.) in 1217. These Onggirad took up position in Manchuria, along the Sira-mören, and remained there into the Ming Dynasty (q.v.). During the era of qanate China, the Onggirad not only constituted a major tribal resource for the Mongol rulers there, but Onggirad girls were preferred marriage partners.

ONGGON. A fetish or idol, usually of felt. It is said to represent the ancestors. *See* Religion.

ÖNGGÜD. A people of the inner Sino-Mongolian frontier. The Önggüd were comprised of various ethnic elements, apparently primarily Turkic, but also most likely Tangut (q.v.) as well. Most were Nestorian Christians (*see* Nestorianism), but there were apparently some Muslims in the area as well. The Önggüd prince Alaquš-digit-quri (q.v.), part of the Tenduc (q.v.) grouping, established good relations with Cinggis-qan (q.v.) as early as 1203 and in 1207, after the death of Alaquš-digit-quri, almost the entire group revolted and went over to the Mongols in the aftermath of the great uprising of *jüyin* (q.v.) peoples of that year. Later, Önggüd forces made important contributions to the Chinese *tanma* (q.v.), in connection with which they are alternatively called Önggüd and Uighur, a general term in Mongol China for Turkic groups (*see* Uighurs), including the Uighur proper of Turkistan (q.v.). According to the *Secret History of the Mongols* (q.v.), a dynastic marriage alliance was made between the Tenduc Önggüd and Cinggis-qan's family. This made the Önggüd in effect members of the imperial lineage.

The name is said in Persian sources to derive from *öngü*, a Mongol word reported with the meaning "frontier wall," but this is probably a folk-etymology from the name Önggüd itself

and their known association with guarding the Jin frontiers (*see* Jin Dynasty, Frontier Fortifications), since there is no other evidence of such a Mongolian word. A more likely derivation is from Chinese *wang* 王, “prince,” so that Önggüd would be “people of the prince.” Several Önggüd had the title *wang*.

ONON RIVER. River in northeastern Mongolia (q.v.). The Onon was one of two rivers, the other was the Kherulen, about which the Mongol of Cinggis-qan (q.v.) congregated.

OQOL-QAIMISH. Wife of Güyük (q.v.) and regent. She continued with her husband’s pattern of administration, as contrasted to the regency of Döregene-qatun (q.v.). Oqol-qaimish was killed by *qan* Möngke (q.v.) during the purges that began his reign.

ORAL LITERATURE. *See* Epic.

ORDA. Eldest son of Joci (q.v.). He did not become ruler of the Golden Horde (q.v.). The lineage of the “Blue” Ordo (q.v.) was traced through him, in contradistinction to the line of the “White” Ordo (q.v.), from the dominant branch of Bat-qan (q.v.).

ORDO. Tent palace, the residence of a major Mongol ruler or aristocrat. Through its Middle Mongolian (q.v.) form, *hordo*, the word is related to English horde (q.v.) since the tent palace of the Mongol rulers of Russia (q.v.) became synonymous with peoples ruled by them, and their territories.

ORDU. *See* Ordo.

ORGHINA. *See* Ergene-qatun.

ORKHON RIVER. A river in central Mongolia (q.v.). The Mongolian imperial capital of Qaraqorum (q.v.) was situated along its upper reaches.

ORO[N]. 1. Place or positioning, as in a *ger* (q.v.) or yurt, by sex or position within a lineage or family; also of a territory. 2. A bed. 3. A throne. The imperial throne was the *yeke oron*, “great” or “imperial place.”

ORQINA. *See* Ergene-qatun.

ORTAQ. Merchant associations formed with the participation of Mongolian aristocrats and others. *Ortaq* often enjoyed state protection, and used state resources, such as the *jam* (q.v.) system.

OSMANLI (OTTOMANS). Turkish state in Anatolia. The Osmanli began their rise as an Ilqanate (q.v.) client in the wake of the decline of the Seljuq (q.v.). By the early 14th century they were able to challenge Byzantium (*see* Byzantine Empire), which the Osmanli destroyed in 1453, finally severing the communications line of the Golden Horde (q.v.) with Egypt (q.v.) and its Mamlūk (q.v.) allies.

OTCIGIN. “Fire Guardian,” the youngest son. The *otcigin* inherited the *ger* (q.v.) or yurt of his father and the right to live in the nearest pasture lands controlled by his family. The oldest son, by contrast, inherited rights to the farthest pastures of his family.

OTRAR. City on the border of western Turkistan (q.v.). Otrar was besieged over a five-month period by the Mongols before falling in February 1220. *See also* Otrar Incident.

OTRAR INCIDENT (1218). *Casus belli* for the Mongol attack on Khwarazm (*see* Khwarazmian Empire). A caravan of 450 merchants and Mongol ambassadors under the protection of Cinggis-qan (q.v.) was suddenly massacred by a local Khwarazmian governor, with, or without, the knowledge of the *shāh*. The incident is best understood as a response to a situation already out of control, namely an inexorable Mongolian advance toward Khwarazmian domains that threatened to outflank any possible defense efforts. During the massive Mongolian invasion that followed, the city of Otrar (q.v.) was singled out for attack and suffered heavily. *See also* “2. Mongol Empire.”

OTTOMAN. *See* Osmanli.

OYIRAD. A Mongolian “Forest People” (q.v.). They lived a semi-nomadic life on the fringes of the steppe in Siberia (q.v.). They

were one of the more primitive groups pressing into the steppe proper during the 12th century and after to become full nomads.

ÖZBEK. Golden Horde (q.v.) *qan* (r. 1313–1341). His reign was largely taken up by internal concerns, including struggles with restive Russian princes. Özbek also had to deal with the growing influence of Lithuania (q.v.) and Poland (q.v.), and of a new regime, that of the Osmanli (q.v.) sultanate of Anatolia, which expanded at the expense of the Byzantine Empire (q.v.), a Golden Horde ally, and important for unhindered Golden Horde communication with the Mamlūk (q.v.). The importance of the Mamlūk for the Golden Horde declined as a consequence. *See also* “4. Golden Horde.”

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PAINTING. *See* Art.

PAIZA (GEREGE). Mongolian emblem of office. It usually consisted of a decorated plaque worn around the neck with an inscription, most often in Mongolian in the Uighur script (q.v.). Paiza is from the Chinese *paizi* 牌子, with the same meaning.

PALEOLOGUS, MICHAEL. Michael conquered Constantinople (q.v.) from the Latins and became emperor (r. 1261–1282) of a restored Byzantine Empire, and founder of its last dynasty.

PAPER MONEY. *See* Chao 鈔.

PASTA. A processed paste or fresh dough food, usually made with durum flour (*semolina*). Despite the late tradition (from a romantic novel) that Marco Polo (q.v.) brought it back to Italy from China (q.v.) with him, pasta is a Mediterranean food, as is the durum wheat used in producing it. The Chinese did make similar pastes and doughs, but they were nothing like the pasta of the west, and durum flour, if used at all, was a very rare import.

PASTORAL NOMADISM. Mongolian pastoral nomadism today is based upon the herding of sheep (q.v.), goats (*see* Goat), and occasionally cattle, from horseback. It usually involves move-

ment from low-laying winter pastures in the spring to high mountain pastures in the summer, in stages, and then the return. Variations include movement along rivers, usually from south to north, or in a circle in the open steppe, where the ground is universally flat. The pattern in the 12th and 13th centuries was more or less identical. *See also* Horse; Sheep; Goat.

PASTORALISM. *See* Pastoral Nomadism.

PAX MONGOLICA. “Mongolian Peace.” This term has been used to describe the freedom of travel and security occasioned by the Mongolian conquests, which brought much of Eurasia under a single political authority and fostered long-range commerce. Conditions continued to be favorable even after the breakdown of the Mongol Empire, and long-range contacts of every sort briefly flourished again after the end of the disturbances caused by the wars of Qaidu (q.v.) in the early 14th century.

PEGOLOTTI, FRANCESCO BALDUCCI. Factor of the Florential Bardi Company. Pegolotti wrote a merchants’ guide entitled *La Pratica dela Mercatura*, “The Practice of Commerce,” circa 1340, to aid Italian and other merchants then involved in the China (q.v.) trade.

PEKING (BEIJING 北京). Mongol China’s (q.v.) winter capital of Daidu 大都. The city received its present name during the Ming Dynasty. The Mongols had used the old Jin Dynasty (*see* Jürched) capital of Zhongdu 中都 (q.v.) as their headquarters for occupied north China, and when Qubilai (q.v.) came to power he built a new city (after 1265), Daidu 大都, on a site just north of the old city. It focused on imperial palace facilities, the origins of the present Forbidden City.

PENG DAYA 彭大雅. Primary author of the *Heida shilue* 黑韃事略 (q.v.), “Brief Account of the Black Tatar,” an early account of the Mongols. Peng came from Jiangsi 江西 and attained his *jinshi* 進士 degree in the 1214 imperial examinations. Holding a minor rank in the Song diplomatic service, Peng went to Qaraqorum (q.v.) in 1233, returning in 1234. Later he met Xu Ting 徐霆 (q.v.), who went to Mongolia in 1235–1236, and the two collaborated on the *Heida shilue*. Peng probably died in the late 1240s, in disgrace, but was rehabilitated posthumously.

“PERSONAL CAMPAIGNS OF THE SAGELY MILITANT.”

See Shengwu Qinzheng Lu 聖武親征錄

PEST. Capital of Hungary (q.v.), taken and burned by the Mongols. Pest was part of the double city of Buda and Pest, separated by the Danube. Buda was also taken by the Mongols, but during a later campaign taking place in the winter of 1241–1242.

PHAGS-PA. *See* aPhags-Pa.

PHAGS-PA SCRIPT. *See* aPhags-Pa Script.

PLANO CARPINI, JOHN OF. *See* John of Plano Carpini.

POLAND. Poland was the largest, but not the most powerful Eastern European kingdom at the time of the Mongol invasions (1241). It became a major opponent of the Golden Horde (q.v.) (q.v.), and was briefly invaded by Golden Horde armies again in 1259. Later (1386) it united with Lithuania (q.v.) to create an even larger, although decentralized, enemy of the Mongols.

POLAND-LITHUANIA. *See* Lithuania; Poland.

POLO, MARCO (1254–1324). Italian traveler. Member of a Venetian trading house with Eurasian connections, Marco went overland with family members to Mongol China (q.v.) and spent some 17 years there (1275–1292). While in China he probably held an official post, and traveled extensively on official business, finally returning to Italy in 1295, mostly by sea, delivering a princess to an Ilqanate (q.v.) prince on the way. Shortly thereafter, a prisoner of war, he dictated his memoirs to a fellow prisoner. He was a writer of romances and may have embellished Polo's words. There are several versions in various languages (the original was in Old French). They vary in detail and coverage. The memoirs were an immediate sensation. Fewer books have been translated into more languages or have had a greater impact upon the European imagination. Recent claims that Marco Polo never got to China are not credible.

POPULATION, CHINESE. China was the most populated and economically sophisticated area in the world when the Mongols

invaded. A third of the world's population, in all perhaps 120,000,000-130,000,000 people lived there, nearly half of them in the north, in Jin domains (*see* Jürched), or in densely populated Xixia (q.v.). In both areas there were large numbers of non-Chinese, also in the more outlying areas of the south.

The figure may actually have been larger, as many as 150,000,000, since available Chinese population statistics primarily enumerate tax-paying households rather than numbers of individuals, which usually must be estimated. They also tend to understate populations of poorly controlled areas.

The Chinese outnumbered the Mongols well over a hundred to one. Even when Kitan (q.v.) and other tribal allies of the Mongols in the north are added, several hundred thousand, the ratio remains overwhelmingly in favor of the Chinese.

All authorities are agreed that China's population declined after the Mongol invasions, most seriously in the north. This decline is usually attributed to the destruction and loss of life caused by these invasions, but how much of a decline there actually was is unclear.

In 1290, the registered population of Yuan China was 13,190,000 households, 58,834,711 individuals. This population was overwhelmingly concentrated in the just-conquered south. There is every reason to think that these figures, probably the most reliable from Mongol China, significantly understate the actual population, particularly in the north where large numbers formed part of apanages and military households. These were not enumerated. The ratio of individuals to households is also low by Chinese standards, and for the north, where households could include substantial numbers of retainers, they may be unrealistically low. In addition, some areas were not included in the 1290 census, nor were hard-to-reach people dwelling at a distance from local authorities, particularly in extreme south China. Thus the actual population was almost certainly substantially higher than the official registration, with a large undercount in the north. Nonetheless, there is every indication that the Mongol invasions did have a substantial demographic impact upon China, although not as great as claimed.

POPULATION, IRANIAN. There are no reliable population statistics for Iran (q.v.), before or after the Mongol invasions, or for any of the areas then under Iranian cultural influence, such as Iraq (q.v.) and the Iranian-speaking areas of Turkistan (q.v.).

It is clear that there was a demographic decline of sizable proportions as a consequence of these invasions, but how much is debatable. Two facts are clear. One is that claims in early Persian sources for literally millions killed when this or that city was taken (1,747,000 for Nīshāpūr, 1,600,000 for Herāt) cannot be taken at face value. Most of the settlements involved had populations in the tens, not the hundreds of thousands. Even if they were swollen with refugees, these figures could not have been attained given the limited areas covered by most of them. Even as totals for the hinterlands supporting the cities, these figures seem inflated.

Second, there appears to have been a rapid shift from sedentary to nomadic populations and a substantial buildup of the latter as a consequence of the Mongolian invasion. This fact is witnessed, among other things, by a clear decline in revenues from agricultural sources under the Ilqans, never more than temporarily reversed, and by descriptions of flourishing nomadic populations contrasted with former urban areas, e.g., Balkh and Marv (and its oasis), derelict and all but depopulated. *See also* Cities.

POPULATION, MONGOLIAN. No reliable figures exist, but judging from the number of military units (*mingan*, q.v., or thousands) mentioned, the sizes of migrations taking place in the early Mongolian age, and recent Mongolian population patterns, it is estimated that there were probably no less than one million Mongols and others living within the confines of the Mongolia of the early 13th century. There may even have been more. After that, the population seems to have declined rapidly and reached a low point in the 14th and 15th centuries.

At the beginning of the last century, both a high birth rate and a high death rate were characteristic of Mongolian nomadic populations. As conditions have improved, birth rates have remained high, while death rates have fallen drastically, resulting in rates of increase well above three percent for extended periods of time, even higher in some areas. We have every reason to assume that this pattern occurred in the past as well, meaning that, under optimum conditions, any Mongolian population could have increased in size very rapidly, doubling in less than a generation under ideal conditions. Even active campaigning would not have reduced this high growth rate since Mongolian military units were social as well as military units. Although

military losses would have reduced this rate, these do not appear to have been very significant for much of the Mongolian imperial period. Campaigning also generated booty (q.v.), which may have further improved conditions, affecting not only death rates but also infant and perhaps maternal mortality, further increasing the overall growth rate of the population.

It was this high growth rate, coupled with a high mobility and the ability of the Mongols to concentrate a large part of their population wherever they needed it, and wherever resources existed to support it, that caused the locals to complain of hordes of nomads. From the perspective of sedentary farmers tied to the land, perhaps isolated from one another in small communities and with low population growth rates, the Mongols did comprise hordes, apparently ever-growing ones.

Also, in addition to their own hordes, the Mongols also brought with them other nomadic groups, principally Turkic, whose demographic dynamics were similar to those of the Mongols. They also interacted with nomadic groups already present. Thus, Mongol migration to Azerbaijan (q.v.) in the mid-12th century, and perhaps before, coupled with Mongol alliances with new and local Turkic groups enjoying the same high birth and probably low death rates at that time, greatly changed the character of Iran (q.v.), all the more so because the nomads took the best pasture lands and forced hard-pressed sedentary farmers to meet their needs. The situation took centuries to right itself. In some areas it never did since the Mongols also destroyed irrigation systems and other bases of a competing, sedentary way of life.

POPULATION, RUSSIAN. There are no reliable population statistics for pre-conquest Russia (q.v.) (here including areas along the Volga and elsewhere, currently considered part of Russia) and the whole issue of calculating the demographic and other effects of Mongol invasions has been highly politicized. Nonetheless, it is clear that some areas, *e.g.*, the city of Kiev (q.v.), suffered severely, although others did not, or suffered relatively little. These included Novgorod, largely spared from invasion during the period, and also Moscow (q.v.), the tax collector, which actually achieved economic growth under the Golden Horde (q.v.). Also, in some areas, notably the Golden Horde economic heartland of the lower and middle Volga, there was a considerable increase in the sedentary population, judging from

travelers' accounts and archaeology. Elsewhere, there was a shift favoring nomadic over a sedentary population, but with the total population remaining more or less the same, towns declining as the number of nomads grew. *See also* Cities.

POPULATION, TURKISTANIAN. Like most other parts of the Mongolian world, outside of China (q.v.), we know very little about either the pre- or post-conquest populations of Turkistan (q.v.) except that many areas appear to have been relatively densely inhabited at the time of Mongolian invasion. Turkistan was an area of small, well-populated oases, and of rich, irrigated river valleys, particularly the Syr-darya (q.v.) and Amudarya (q.v.) Valleys so important to the Khwarazmians (*see* Khwarazmian Empire). It was also an area of vast deserts that were largely uninhabited, and, farther to the north, of extensive steppes. Most of these areas were flourishing when the Mongols first appeared, but most, with the exception of the purely steppe areas which, like most steppe areas in Eurasia, seem to have gained population, declined thereafter.

The oases suffered severely. Those in eastern Turkistan in particular, bones of contention between various pretenders for power, declined rapidly, particularly the holdings of the Turfan Uighurs (q.v.), who supported Qubilai (q.v.) in his wars with Qaidu (q.v.). To the west, the Mongols seem to have made a particular effort to punish Khwarazm (q.v.) whose prosperity was, in any case, dependent upon relatively fragile irrigation systems that were comparatively easy to destroy, intentionally or unintentionally. They also destroyed most of the large cities of Khurāsān (q.v.) and Transoxania (q.v.), although not all, and some seem to have recovered to at least some degree. Samarqand (q.v.), in particular, seems to have been relatively prosperous under the Mongols and the same was true for the region of Bukhara (q.v.) in general, one of the economic foundations of the Ca'adai *ulus* (q.v.). Nonetheless, despite the apparent demographic decline, which may actually have begun under the predatory Khwarazmians, the area flourished under Tamerlane (q.v.) and his successors.

PORCELAIN. Glazed pottery fired at a very high temperature to yield a hard body and highly brilliant surface. Porcelain was a major export of Mongol China (q.v.) to virtually the entire Old World. It was imitated with varying degrees of success in the

Islamic world; Islamic potters produced many interesting styles nonetheless. Mongol-era porcelain came in many colors, but the blue-and-white ware that became typical of Ming Dynasty (q.v.) trade was already being produced, although it was less standardized than was the case later. Although much of west Asia's porcelain came by sea, a substantial land trade existed as well.

PRESBYTER JOHANNES. *See* Prester John.

PRESTER JOHN. Legendary Christian king of the east who was to come and defeat the Muslims and restore the Holy Land (q.v.) to Christian control. In the 12th century the legend was alternatively applied to Yelü Dashi 耶律大石, founder of the Qara-Kitan empire (q.v.), who was actually a Buddhist, and to the Ong-qan (q.v.) of Mongolia, who was at least Christian. In later times, the Portuguese and others went looking for Prester John in Christian Ethiopia. *See also* Gog and Magog, Christianity.

“PROPER AND ESSENTIAL THINGS FOR THE EMPEROR’S FOOD AND DRINK.” *See* *Yinshan zhengyao* 飲膳正要.

PROVINCES. Divisions of the sedentary portions of the Mongol Empire. Not later than the end of the reign of Ögödei (q.v.), the Mongols, for administrative convenience, had divided their major holdings into three great provinces, one for Mongol (north) China (q.v.), centered in Zhongdu 中都 (q.v.), one for Central Asia, centered in Beshbaliq (q.v.), and one for Khurāsān (q.v.) and Iran (q.v.), centered in Tūs. In addition, a Central Province existed in Mongolia, ruled directly from Qaraqorum (q.v.). Not included in these provinces was Mongol Russia (q.v.), a relatively recent acquisition that the Mongols only began to organize under *qan* Möngke (q.v.), and the major princely domains were also outside of their control.

Each province was ruled by a joint satellite administration in which representatives sent directly from the imperial authority were seconded by representatives, *i.e.*, *nöker* (q.v.) “associates,” of interested princely parties. The head of the province was usually a *jarquci* (q.v.), and he was usually associated with

other *jarquci*, including some nominated by the princes, but they could also send *bicigci* (q.v.), “secretaries,” in this case designates for tax administration (to make sure that the princes received their just share of tax income).

After the breakdown of unified empire, this system was continued in China at least, where it gradually re-emerged as the modern Chinese province system, with occupied China being divided into several provinces itself, and the area about the winter capital of Daidu 大都 (*see* Peking) set up as the “Central” Province. Elsewhere, the old imperial provinces functioned as distinct portions of the new, successor *ulus* (q.v.), except in Russia where the process of setting up an imperial province was never brought to completion, although begun. Only Mongol Iran seems to have followed the Chinese pattern of dividing the entire area controlled by the Ilqanate (q.v.) into new provinces, although the system was Iranian, and not particularly Mongolian. *See also Jarqu; Booty; “2. Mongol Empire”; “3. Qanate China.”*

PU SHOUGENG 蒲壽晟 (FL. 1245–1286). Pu Shougeng was the Sino-Persian head of highly lucrative maritime customs in Quanzhou 泉州 in Fujian 福建 under the Song (*see* Song, Dynasty), and then under the Mongols, to whom he surrendered and later played a major role in their final pacification efforts in the extreme south. Among other things, Pu provided substantial naval resources, which were greatly appreciated by the Mongols, who had only a small ocean-going fleet at the time, although well equipped for riverine warfare. He was typical of the assimilated Muslims in China (q.v.) and his family, except for their religion, was in many ways completely Chinese to the degree of identification with many key Chinese cultural symbols. Although Pu’s family is usually assigned a Persian origin, like many Chinese Muslims of the coastal regions, it may have come to China through Muslim settlements in Champa (q.v.)

PULAD. Given the title *Ching-sang* (q.v.) (*chengxiang* 丞相), “minister,” he was the representative of Qubilai (q.v.) in the Ilqanate (q.v.). He was known both for his knowledge of Mongolian history and of conditions in East Asia, and later became a major informant of the Persian historian Rashid al-Dīn (q.v.). He helped serve as a funnel through which information about Qubilai’s East Asia was passed.

— Q —

QA'AN. “Supreme ruler.” The word is from Turkic *qaghan*. Qa'an was first the posthumous name of Ögödei (q.v.), but was later generally applied to Mongolian rulers. *See also Qan*; Titles.

QABUL-QAN. Ruler of the *Qamuq Mongol*, “Mongol Totality” (12th century) and Jin ally (*see Jürched*). He was the grandson of Qaidu, I (q.v.), and grandfather of Cinggis-qan (q.v.).

QAFAN. *See Qan.*

QAGHAN. *See Qan.*

QAHAN. *See Qan.*

QAIDU, I. Mongol *qan* (early 12th century). Qaidu was one of the first to be recognized by the Jin Dynasty of China (*see Jürched*). He was the great-great-grandfather of Cinggis-qan (q.v.).

QAIDU, II (1236–1301). Qaidu was a grandson of Ögödei (q.v.) through the latter's fifth son, Qashi, born from Döregene-qatun (q.v.). He became the representative of the House of Ögödei (q.v.) in a fight for succession to the throne of the *qan* of unified empire, a struggle with Qubilai (q.v.) and his allies that went on for decades. Qaidu set up his base in the Semirechye (q.v.), centered on Qayaliq (q.v.), but also including parts of Turkistan (q.v.) and Siberia (q.v.). He also successfully dominated the Ca'adai *ulus* (q.v.) (*see also* Buqa Temür; Dua) and invaded Mongolia (q.v.) and Turkistan. The initial high point in his advance in the former direction came in 1277, by proxy, when local Mongols revolted during a campaign against him and pillaged the old Mongolian capital of Qaraqorum (q.v.). It took Qubilai until 1282 to restore order, and required a major diversion of effort. In Turkistan, Qaidu nibbled away for some years at the holdings of the Beshbaliq Uighur (*see* Turfan Uighurs) and their Mongol allies. His assault was one of the main reasons that the area went into a decline.

Simultaneously, although the whole episode is unclear, Qaidu seems to have made an effort towards Tibet (q.v.), resulting in the aBri-Kung Disturbance (q.v.) of 1285. In 1289 he

made a personal advance into Mongolia. Qaraqorum (q.v.) fell again, forcing the aged Qubilai to take the field in person. In 1292, still holding a base in Western Mongolia, Qaidu invaded again, but was defeated twice by Marshall Bayan (q.v.).

Qaidu outlived Qubilai and prepared new advances. He recovered from his defeats at the hands of Bayan, and even took lost territories back. When he resumed the advance towards the end of his life, he was again defeated by forces from Mongol China, under Princes Qaishan (q.v.), and Kamala, primarily due to problems in his rear with the Golden Horde (q.v.), and the Ilqanate (q.v.). Nonetheless, if Qaidu had lived longer he probably would have recovered from this defeat too. The ultimate lack of success of the Mongols in China against Qaidu revealed the limitations of their power. *See also* “3. Qanate China”; “5. Ca’adai *Ulus* and Qaidu.”

QALAN. Mongol tax. Its nature varied from area to area. *Qalan* was primarily a special tax to support the military service of Mongol *noyan* (q.v.), “lords.” Originally it may have meant draft for military service itself. *See also* *Qubciri*.

QAM. Turkic term for a shaman. Occasionally it was confused with *qan* (q.v.). *See also* *Bakshi*; Shaman.

QAMUQ MONGOL. “The Mongol Totality,” the political grouping ruled by Qabul-qan (q.v.). The term was later used in an early Mongol inscription by Cinggis-qan (q.v.) to refer to his own Mongols. *See also* “1. Mongolia before Empire.”

QAN. Preferred title of the rulers of the Mongol Empire and of its great princes. To distinguish themselves from other *qan*, Temüjin, Ögödei (q.v.), and Güyük (q.v.) used additional titles. Temüjin, for example, became Cinggis-qan, “universal *qan*,” Ögödei was known as *Qa’an* (q.v.), from Turkic and Written Mongolian *qaghan*, “supreme ruler.” *Qa’an* also became his tabu name. Güyük was *Dalai-yin qan*, “universal *qan*,” and this title is also applied to Ögödei in the *Secret History of the Mongols* (q.v.)

How Möngke distinguished himself from other *qan* is uncertain. Contemporary sources and documents call him *qan*, but

also *qaghan* and even *qa'an*, probably representing the spoken-Mongolian equivalent of the Mongolian Script spelling *qaghan*, and not an intentionally reuse of Ögödei's tabu name. Ögödei was still *Qa'an* in documents from Qubilai's reign and only towards the end of the 13th century, or early in the 14th did he become simply Ögödei.

Qubilai (q.v.) was Qubilai-qan, but also *qaghan*, the title used by his successors by preference in surviving documents. Marco Polo (q.v.) and other observers also regularly call him "Great *Khan*" (q.v.), a title that does not occur in Mongolian sources, but which probably had a Mongolian origin. "Great" usually means imperial in the administrative usage of the time.

The issue of Mongolian titles is complicated by the fact that Chinese and other sources retroactively assigned titles to early Mongolian figures commensurate to the later status of their descendants. Thus, in the *Secret History of the Mongols*, Cinggis-qan (q.v.) has been changed to Cinggis-qa'an, or Cinggis-qahan, a form closer to the Turkic *qaghan*. What is significant is that contemporary sources know none of this. *See also* Titles.

QANBALĪQ. "Qan city," the popular Turkic name for the Mongol winter capital of Daidu 大都 (*see* Peking). *See also* *Balaqasun*; *Balıq*.

QANGLIN. Turkic people found in the eastern part of the south Russian steppe (q.v.). After their conquest by the Mongols, various Qanqlin groups were distributed as booty (q.v.) throughout the empire, including to the *qan* himself who formed a Qanqlin guard (*see* Imperial Guard). This was inherited by Qubilai (q.v.). *See also* Kibca'ut.

QARA. 1. "Black," also "clear." 2. Common, not elite; common herdsmen (compare *qaracu*, "commoner"). 3. From the perspective of ego, *qara* describes an outside lineage with which one can intermarry under conditions of extreme exogamy typical of Mongolian society. (*See also* *Yasun*.) 4. A direction, apparently west, or, better, southwest.

QARA-HÜLE'Ü. *Qan* (r. 1242–1246) of the Ca'adai *ulus* (q.v.). Qara-Hüle'ü was the grandson of Ca'adai (q.v.), and husband of Ergene-qatun (q.v.). He was deposed by *qan* Güyük, and Yesü Möngke (r. 1246–1251), the eldest living son of Ca'adai, was

appointed in his place. After the latter was executed during the purges of Mōngke (q.v.), Qara-Hüle'ü was reestablished, but died shortly thereafter. His wife, Ergene-qatun, proved a most capable regent after his death in the name of their son, Mubārak Shāh (r. 1266) (q.v.). *See also* "5. Ca'adai *Ulus* and Qaidu."

QARA-KITAN EMPIRE (1124-1211). This was the Kitan successor state formed in Turkistan (q.v.) and the Semirechye (q.v.) by the loyalist Yelü Dashi 耶律大石 (r. 1124–1143), also called western Liao (Xiliao 西遼). The name Qara-Kitan perhaps means the "commoner" Kitan (q.v.) Empire, as opposed to the Liao, although it is also said that the qara (q.v.), "black," in the name of the state may also denote a direction (southwest of Mongolia). The Qara-Kitan Empire persisted as a relatively powerful entity, in spite of the Buddhism (q.v.) of its ruling class, and the Islam (q.v.) of most of its subjects, until the early 12th century when the Naiman (q.v.) refugee Güçülük (q.v.) seized the person of the last *gür-qan* (q.v.), "universal *qan*," of the empire and his state. Although they were always very few in number, recognizable remnants of the native Kitan population of the area could still be traced as late as the 13th century, including their use of the Chinese written language, one reason for the Chinese used by Ghazan (q.v.) on his multilingual coins.

Yelü Dashi, after a flirtation with the invading Jürched (q.v.), had rejoined the Liao emperor but quickly realized that the situation was hopeless, and fled to the steppe. As Liao resistance crumbled behind him, he mobilized the large garrisons that the Kitan maintained in Mongolia and, apparently, local Mongol allies well. Although the purpose of this effort was to reestablish the Liao, Yelü Dashi decided, more realistically, to establish a new Liao empire in Turkistan (q.v.), an area already under distant Kitan influence. In 1129, he was ready, although the Islamic sources suggest that there had been some unsuccessful attacks into Khirghiz domains, to the north of Mongolia, and then towards Kāshghar, prior to that date.

With a force of perhaps 10,000, Yelü Dashi advanced towards and took Balāsāghūn from the local Qaraqanid prince, who was having trouble with his Turkic vassals. From this base, Yelü Dashi then advanced west, into Sogdia, against the Khwarazmians (*see* Khwarazmian Empire), then under Seljuq (q.v.) control, and into *Khurāsān* (q.v.) and Iran (q.v.). During this advance he achieved an important victory in 1141 (in Sep-

tember at Katwan) over the Seljuq sultan, which shook his control of the area and made the Qara-Kitan, not the Seljuq, the dominant power over the Khwarazmian Empire (q.v.). The results of this battle, when the news finally arrived in Europe, was interpreted as due to the actions of Prester John (q.v.), although Dashi was probably a Manichaeian.

In the early 13th century, the Qara-Kitan Empire controlled a broad range of territory, stretching from Uighur domains in the east (*see* Turfan Uighur), to Transoxania (q.v.) in the west, to Lake Balkhash in the north, south to Khotan and Balkh (q.v.), in what is now Afghanistan, with Khwarazm (q.v.) as a vassal state. Similar to the later Mongol Empire, it was a multiethnic empire embracing many sedentary cultures. It also seems to have made institutional contributions to the Mongols, possibly including the Mongolian *daruqaci* (q.v.) system. The Kitan employed similar local supervisors from the central authority, some even bearing the title *basqaq* (q.v.), a term equivalent semantically to *daruqaci*.

QARAJANG. Mongol name for the Yunnan 雲南 region. More specifically it referred to the indigenous Dali 大理 Kingdom overthrown by the Mongol advance of the 1250s.

QARAKUMISS. A Turkic word apparently in use among the Mongols to designate a clarified *airag* (q.v.) or kumiss (q.v.).

QARAQORUM (CARACORUM). The capital of the Mongol Empire from the middle of the reign of Ögödei (q.v.), 1235, when the *qan* first ordered that the city be walled, through that of Möngke (q.v.), although the roots of the city pre-date the former's reign. There is, in fact, a good deal of evidence that Cinggis-qan (q.v.) had already designated the site as his future capital in 1220. The name is usually derived from a river of the same name running to the west of the city, but quite probably this is a misunderstanding. The name more likely recalls the winter feasts (*qurim*) held by commoner (*qara*, "black") Mongols on this and similar sites, the river being named after the event. This must have been the reason that Cinggis-qan chose it in the first place, namely that it already had a history as an area for assembly, although the site was in Naiman (q.v.), not Mongol, domains.

According to eyewitnesses, Qaraqorum was quite small, even by the European standards of the time. William of Rubruck (q.v.), in fact, says that it was no larger than a village. Nonetheless, the Mongols made great efforts to adorn the site architecturally, including a number of Buddhist buildings and monuments. Various excavations have been done at the site, most recently by the Mongols, who have excavated the ruins of Ögödei's palace.

QARA'UL. "Those sent out to look." *Qara'ul* were a patrol or reconnaissance force; also: a guard. *Qara'ul* became a widely borrowed word and still is in use today in Russian, among other languages. A *qara'ul* apparently differs from forces of *alginçi* (q.v.), advanced part of a *tanma* (q.v.), in that the latter seem to have been stationed more permanently, for decades if we may judge from *alginçi* in China (q.v.). Note also the word *bolqa'ul*, "those looking closely," more specifically a close reconnaissance force. *See also* Armies, Organization.

QARAUNAS. Mongol group found between the Iranian border and India. The Qaraunas caused considerable local damage and were a thorn in the side of the Ilqans. They seem to have originated in *tanma* (q.v.) forces, nomadic garrison troops sent to the area in the time of *qan* Ögödei (q.v.), with later additions, including some Golden Horde (q.v.) forces that had once participated in the advance of Hüle'ü (q.v.). *See also* Nigüder.

QARAVUL. *See* *Qara'ul*.

QARI. 1. Foreign states, but not outside the family of the Mongolian world empire. 2. Provinces or subordinate territories. 3. People with whom one could intermarry without violating Mongolian incest rules.

QARLA'UD. The Qarluq of the Islamic sources. This was a Turkic group living in what is now northeastern Kazakhstan. They submitted to the Mongols in 1211.

QARLUQ. *See* *Qarla'ud*.

QATUN. "Queen." Traditional Mongolian title given to the wives of *qan* (q.v.).

QAYALIQ. Small city in the Semirechye (q.v.), center of the domains of Qaidu (q.v.). He made strenuous efforts to build it up, since surrounding areas were rich in pasture, hunting and fishing resources. The city had important Christian and even Buddhist minorities, so that it mirrored religious complexity of the then-Mongol Empire at the local level.

QAYDU. *See* Qaidu, II.

QAZVĪNĪ, ḤAMD ALLĀH MUSTAWFĪ. Persian historian and geographer. He was author of the “Selected History” (*Ta’rīkh-i Guzīda*), a general history of the world down to 1329, the “Book of Victories” (*Zafar-Nāma*), a verse epic, and the “Restoration of Hearts” (*Nuḏat al-qulūb*), a geography and cosmography. A contemporary of events described, Qazvīnī is an important source for understanding the late Ilqanate (q.v.).

QIPCHAP. *See* Kibca’ut.

QIPCHAQ. *See* Kibca’ut.

QITAN. *See* Kitan.

QOL. “Center, focus, essence; pivot.” The term designated that part of the Mongol Empire coming directly under the authority of the *qan*, that is the *yeke qol*, “great center,” “great pivot,” or *qol-un ulus*, “ulus of the center,” “pivot ulus.” Originally *qol* was a division of the Mongol army (*see* Armies, Organization), but later the term acquired a territorial connotation as well. The system of a division into a central element and satellites of the central element was virtually universal in the Mongolian administrative thought of the time. The modern Chinese province system (*see* Province) derives from it.

QORCI. “Quiver bearer.” This was a title held by members of the Mongol imperial bodyguard (*see* Kesikten).

QORI-TUMAD. A “Forest People” (q.v.). The Qori-Tumad revolted, along with the Kirgisud (q.v.), in 1217 or 1218. It required a major effort by Joci (q.v.) to suppress this revolt.

QOSI'UL. Singular *Qosi'un*. 1. Composed of pairs. 2. A mobilization of two out of every ten. 3. Probably a pair of military units operating together, as forces under Jebe (q.v.) and Sübe'etei (q.v.) did regularly. In this case, Jebe's force was called the *manglai*, "forehead," and that of Sübe'etei the *gejige* (q.v.), the follow-up, or reserve army. *See also* Armies, Organization.

QOYITUL. "Those in the rear, those following up." The *qoyitul* were the van of an army.

QUANZHEN 全真. *See* Taoism.

QUANZHOU 泉州. *See* Zaiton.

QUBCIRI. Mongol tax. Originally a requisition of one out of every 100 animals, surrendered to the *qan* or other authority. Later the tax became one imposed on sedentary people, with assimilation to the customary taxes paid prior to the Mongols. After the reforms of Ögödei (q.v.), the term *alban qubciri* also appears. Although some have interpreted *alban* as another tax, this is an adjective in Mongolian meaning "obligatory" and *alban qubciri* is most probably the obligatory tax claimed for himself and his establishment by Ögödei, and by his successors.

QUBI. 1. "Portion, apportionment, share." 2. A share of booty. 3. An apanage that could consist of a grant of conquered populations, territory (and people), or revenues by the *qan* acting as the representative of the imperial clan. In contrast to *soyurqal* (q.v.), "boons," which could involve similar grants by the *qan*, *qubi* tended to be hereditary and not individual, the case with a *soyurqal*, except that a *qubi* could be what was given as a *soyurqal*. When a *qubi* or other goods became an inheritance it was an *inje* (q.v.), "irrevocable inheritance." *See also* Booty.

QUBILAI-QAN (1215–1294). Founder of the Yuan Dynasty (q.v.), the Mongol successor state in China. Qubilai was pretender to the defunct throne of the *qan* of unified empire. He was the second of four sons of Tolui-noyan (c. 1190–1231\32) (q.v.), youngest son of Cinggis-qan (q.v.). Qubilai received an apanage in what is now Inner Mongolia, and acquired a direct interest in China. When his elder brother, *qan* Möngke (q.v.), came to the throne in 1251, Qubilai, then in his mid-thirties, became

his viceroy for Mongol China. He proceeded to use this position to build up a substantial local power base, including acquiring a number of talented advisors, mostly Chinese (*see* Liu Bingzhong 劉秉忠). They later became the founding ministers of Qubilai's new state and gave him a considerable advantage in the civil war with his younger brother Ariq-bökö (q.v.) that followed Möngke's sudden death in 1259.

Qubilai's role during Möngke's campaign against Song (*see* Song, Mongol Conquest of), in addition to preparing north China as a base for the campaign, was to lead the Mongol advance south from Sichuan 四川, into the Sino-Tibetan borderlands, and then into Yunnan 雲南 (q.v.). There Qubilai established a Mongol administration that later came under the Bukharan *jarquci* Sayyid Ajall (1211–1279) (q.v.), beginning the process by which the area ultimately became a permanent part of China. *Qan* Möngke's sudden death found Qubilai heavily involved in his campaign in the south, preparing to support his brother's advance into Song domains through Sichuan with a parallel advance farther south.

At first Qubilai wished to continue with the campaign, but his advisors soon encouraged him to return to the north and look to shoring up his own position in the coming struggle to determine who would be the next *qan*. To forestall Ariq-bökö, who, as controller of the “center” (*see* *Qol*) and the Mongol capital of Qaraqorum (q.v.), a station assigned him by Möngke, held an advantage of position, Qubilai convened a pocket *quriltai* (q.v.), and had himself elected *qan*. Ariq-bökö quickly responded, although neither could claim that they had been legitimately elected by representatives from all the interested parties in the Mongolian world, including the Ca'adai *ulus* (q.v.) and the Golden Horde (q.v.), even if Qubilai did enjoy some support in the former. Ariq-bökö was widely respected in the Mongolian world for his conservative values in contrast to Qubilai, whom some felt was too Chinese. Qubilai, on the other hand, had an enormous power base in north China and had inherited the imperial bodyguard (*see* *Kesikten*) and other parts of Möngke's imperial establishment.

The civil war between Qubilai and his brother lasted for more than four years. Except for the crisis caused by the revolt of the Chinese warlord Li Tan 李壇 (q.v.) in Shandong 山東, Qubilai held the advantage almost from beginning to end, and handled his rival easily militarily. Ariq-bökö was forced to sur-

render in 1264. Other parts of the Mongolian world scarcely participated. The Golden Horde (q.v.) was at war with the Ilqanate (q.v.), which did, in theory support Qubilai, but was unable to do much about it for most of the period. Although Qubilai and his brother sponsored rival candidates for rule in the Ca'adai *ulus* (q.v.), at no point were Ca'adai domains actively involved in the civil war. A unified Mongol Empire had now become a dead issue, although the idea remained into the early 14th century.

With the surrender of his brother, Qubilai gained unrestricted control of China and most of Mongolia, including Qaraqorum, although his rule was never unchallenged in Central Asia (*see* Qaidu). It was perhaps for this reason that Qubilai endeavored to set up shop in China, and not in Mongolia, ruling at first primarily from his former princely headquarters, the later Yuan Dynasty "Upper Capital" of Shangdu 上都 (q.v.), and then later from his winter capital of Daidu 大都 (*see* Peking), an entirely new capital built just north of the old Jin Dynasty (*see* Jürched) center of Zhongdu 中都 (q.v.).

Qubilai's new qanate of China, initially confined to the north, had a Chinese administrative structure, although a Mongolian-style administration continued to function beside it, and behind it. Chinese symbol was particularly important at the beginning of his new regime, before the Li Tan (q.v.) rebellion shook Qubilai's confidence in some of his Chinese advisors and supporters. In 1260, in addition to appointing Chinese chief ministers for the first time, Qubilai established a Chinese-style year period (*nianhao* 年號). Later, in 1271, his qanate took a dynastic designation, Yuan, "origin" (*see* Yuan Dynasty), supposedly suggested by his Chinese advisor Liu Bingzhong 劉秉忠 (q.v.). In 1279, Qubilai completed his conquest of the south and became the first Chinese emperor to rule over a completely united China since the eighth century.

The conquest of Song did not mark the end of his aspirations. His campaigns continued overseas towards Japan (q.v.), into Vietnam (*see* Champa; Annam), and Java (q.v.), and also by land into Burma (q.v.). For the first time in its history, China became the base for a most aggressive sea power.

Qubilai's qanate of China was a "Chinese" dynasty, at least it made a strenuous effort to appear that way to its subjects, the

majority of whom were Chinese, but the new regime was also strongly aware of its Central Asian roots. Not only was Qubilai and the rest of his family, along with many advisors, officials, and a large part of his military, Mongolian, but his regime continued to employ non-Chinese of every variety. As a result, Persian, the international diplomatic language of the time, and Turkic dialects were as important as Mongolian and Chinese at court. Qubilai and his successors also pursued a cultural policy of trying to provide something for everyone. Mongol court cuisine (see Appendix C), for example, not only included Mongolian dishes, such as roast wolf and the preferred mutton soups, but also Iraqi-Persian, Turkic, Kashmiri, and other dishes. Qubilai also tried to introduce a universal script, the aPhags-Pa Script (q.v.) created to write all the languages of his empire, but it did not catch on.

Also an important expression of Mongolian values and the multicultural emphasis of the Mongol court in China was its mixture of religions (see Religion; Buddhism). Although previously, Cinggis-qan had favored Taoism (q.v.), and even a Zen monk (see Haiyun 海雲), among various religious practitioners seeking his attention, and Christians (see Christianity) from the West competed for Imperial attention under Möngke (q.v.), Qubilai and his house became converted to the Buddhist religion. Significantly, it was not to any of its Chinese varieties but to Tibetan Lamaism (q.v.), rich in shamanic traditions (see Shaman) close to Mongol native beliefs.

Among those playing a key role in Qubilai's apparent sincere conversion was his primary wife and key political advisor, Cabui (?–1281) (q.v.). Also important was the personality of aPhags-Pa bLa-Ma (1235–1280) (q.v.) of the Sa-sKya (q.v.) order. Lamaism has remained the religion of the Mongols, but despite the conversion, at no time did Qubilai persecute or discourage other religions, with the possible exception of Islam (q.v.) for brief periods of time due to problems with Central Asian enemies. Qubilai's China, as a consequence, remained quite as international religiously as had the unified Mongol Empire before it.

Qubilai died at a ripe old age, nearly 80, in 1294. No other ruler of Mongol China lived as long, nor did any ever rise to his stature, and decline quickly set in. Thanks to Marco Polo (q.v.), Qubilai remains to this day the very image of the oriental potentate. It was his China that the European explorers of the 15th

and 16th centuries set out in search of, marking the beginning of our modern age. *See also* “2. Mongol Empire”; “3. Qanate China.”

QUMAN. *See* Kibca’ut.

QURILTAI. Assembly of Mongolian and other notables. Although *quriltai* are best known in terms of their important function in the election of the Mongol *qan*, they were, in fact, convened for other reasons as well. Most of the important issues of peace and war were discussed at *quriltai*, including future military strategy. In addition to talking and electing, the Mongols attending *quriltai* also feasted and celebrated, following an old Mongolian tradition that called for such activities during *quriltai* and other larger encampments.

QURUT. Hard, sun-dried milk curds to be reconstituted as a thin fermented milk drink in water. These were Mongolian campaign rations (q.v.). The word *qurut* is Turkic not Mongolian.

QUTULA-QAN. Early Mongol ruler. He was the successor of Ambaqai (q.v.), who had been captured by the Tatar (q.v.) and killed by the Jin (*see* Jürched). Qutula tried to take vengeance on the Jin, but was crushed by the Tatar. He was the last major Mongolian ruler before Cinggis-qan (q.v.) and was his great-uncle.

— R —

RABBAN ŞAUMĀ (C. 1225–1294). Nestorian (*see* Nestorianism) traveller. Rabban Şaumā was a member of one of the Önggüd (q.v.) communities of the northwest China (q.v.) borderlands. Sent to Mongol Iran (q.v.) by Qubilai (q.v.) as an envoy, and to further Mongol imperial integration through patronizing Nestorianism, he is most famous for the journey, reversing the track of Marco Polo (q.v.), that he made to the West, including Europe. He was there between 1275 and 1280, before returning to İlqanate (q.v.) domains where his traveling companion, Marcos, henceforth known as Yaballāhā III (q.v.), was appointed patriarch of the Nestorian Church in 1281. It was Marcos who wrote the life of Rabban Şaumā that is our principal source of

information about him, and his journeys in which he met some of the most important European figures of his day, including the kings of France and England. Rabban Şaumā died in Baghdad (q.v.), caught up in church business. *See also* Religion.

RAIDS. Method for weakening enemies and generating booty. Mongol raids were often small scale, but could also involve massive mobilizations organized in the manner similar of the great hunts (*see Nerge*). Much of early Mongol military activity outside the steppe, even the invasion of Khwarazm (q.v.), were little more than glorified raids, except that the intent in the latter case was to even the score and take vengeance (q.v.), as well as generate booty (q.v.). Only gradually did the Mongols attempt to seize and control territory and govern it. The encouragement for this generally came from interested parties in the sedentary areas rather than from among the Mongols themselves, although by the time of *qan* Ögödei (q.v.) at latest, the Mongols too had begun to understand the values of taxation as opposed to expropriation.

Raids, like most Mongolian military campaigns, took place during the winter as a rule. At that time of the year most herding tasks were completed, and there was a surplus of manpower, a relative abundance of stored food due to a late autumn culling of the herds, and river barriers were usually frozen. This permitted easy passage without the need to build even temporary bridges. Winter campaigning also allowed the Mongols to avoid unpleasant hot weather in places like China. They were used to the cool, highland steppe and found hot weather intolerable. It also made them sick. Their herds and horses were also more resistant to livestock plague during cold weather.

RASHĪD AL-DĪN FAḌL ALLĀH (1247–1318). Persian historian and Ilqanate (q.v.) minister. He was the first to write a truly universal history of the world focusing on events in both the West and the East. Rashīd Al-Dīn, although a later convert to Islam, was born a Jew, and first came to the attentions of the Mongol rulers of Iran as a physician. Later rising to the rank of vizier, he served Ghazan (q.v.), Öljeitu (q.v.), and Abū Sa'īd (q.v.). He was finally executed during the reign of the latter, supposedly for poisoning Abū Sa'īd's father, Öljeitu.

Rashīd al-Dīn's scholarly works, which he found time to work on, with a large staff, despite his active political career,

include his general history, the “Collection of Histories” (*Jāmi’ al-tawārīkh*) with its unique sections on China and the Western world. The first part, on the history of the Mongol Empire and the Ilqanate, down to the death of Ghazan in 1304, is known as the “History of Ghazan” (*Ta’rīkh-i Ghāzānī*), pointing up the role of *ilqan* (q.v.) Ghazan as patron of the entire work. In compiling it, and the rest of his history, Rashīd al-Dīn was able to consult one or more Mongolian chronicles in Ilqanate secret archives, including a text that is very similar to the existing *Secret History of the Mongols* (q.v.). He also was able to draw upon the knowledge of Qubilai’s official representative in the Ilqanate, a well-informed Mongol named Pulad (q.v.) *Ching-sang* (*chengxiang* 丞相), “minister Pulad,” and what was apparently an extensive output of a translation agency under his control. Its products included a summary of a Buddhist popular history that Rashīd al-Dīn used as one basis of his China history, and even a translation of a Chinese acupuncture manual.

Other works of Rashīd al-Dīn, some of them still existing only in manuscript, include a highly interesting text on agronomy, the “Vestiges and Living Things” (*Āthār wa Aḥyā’*). This has considerable information on Mongol Iran (q.v.), and on the China of Qubilai (q.v.) as well, a fact indicative of active technological and scientific exchanges.

RATIONS. See Campaign rations.

“RECORD OF A JOURNEY TO THE WEST.” See *Xi yuji* 西游記.

“RECORD OF THE MONGOLS AND TATARS.” See *Mengda Beilu* 蒙韃備錄.

“RECORD OF THE PERSONAL CAMPAIGNS OF THE SAGELY MILITANT.” See *Shengwu qinzheng lu* 聖武親征錄

RELIGION. Native Mongolian religion focused on the spiritual powers of heaven and earth, principally the cult of *tenggiri*, the blue sky, and a number of earth spirits that are a great deal less well described than the sky god, but were, nonetheless, still important in Mongolian religion. Associated with these beliefs

were numerous rituals designed to propitiate this or that force, and an elaborate system of avoidances and tabus.

Ancient Mongolian religion lacked anything resembling a priesthood, or even full-time practitioners. Certain individuals were involved with various forms of prognostication (as *tölgeci*), including divinization through the cracks appearing in sheep scapula, and other bones. This was an important activity among the early Mongols, and one conferring great prestige on those able to do it well. Others were associated with magic. This included weather magic, principally rainmaking, performed by *jadaci*, “those involved with *jada*,” i.e., with bezoars. This was an important function in generally dry Mongolia. The bezoars used in this rainmaking were believed to have special magical potency.

In addition to such individuals, also widely found among the early Mongols were shaman, *bö'e*, male shaman, and *idugan*, female shaman (see Shaman). These shaman availed of tutelary spirits, usually animals, to gain spiritual powers allowing them to traverse the various divisions of a layered universe and, when treating illness, reclaim the lost, stolen, or errant soul of a patient. Shaman could also divine the intentions of the hidden spiritual powers of the universe, including their approval or disapproval of human acts. For this reason they, and other prognosticators, played an important part in Mongolian political ritual, including the election of *qan*. Cinggis-qan (q.v.), for example, was first elected *qan* only after a shaman, Üsün-ebügen, Üsün the “old,” an epithet associated with shaman among the Mongols, had announced the intentions of “Heaven and Earth.”

Also present among the early Mongols was Nestorianism (q.v.), although in a very primitive form and cut through with Mongolian religious as well as Christian concepts. There was possibly some Buddhism (q.v.) as well, promoted by the Kitan (q.v.) everywhere they ruled, including in Mongolia, but most Mongolian exposure to Buddhism and the other world religions, with the exception of Nestorianism, came only with the era of conquest.

Although some Mongols, eventually, did become converts to Buddhism and other religions of the sedentary world, they still continued to conceptualize them in terms of their own religious experiences. Early missionaries, for example, from China and Tibet (q.v.), were valued not so much for their own religious values, as for their ability to fill the standard roles of reli-

gious practitioners in Mongolian society. Thus some of the first Tibetans to proselytize (the Tibetan mTshal-Pa) gained a reputation for weather magic, others for their purely magical skills, and even divinational abilities. It is also clear that the Mongols easily identified tantric practices focusing on the control of a tutelary spirit with their own native shamanism. This is, in fact, one reason why Tibetan Lamaism (q.v.) so easily replaced Mongolian native tradition as the official state religion in Mongol China. Also important was the ability of the *bLa-ma* (q.v.) to provide political sanctification in much the same way that the shaman of old did at the time of imperial elections, although the latter never vanished from Mongolian political life.

Islam (q.v.), less tolerant and more exclusive than Buddhism, was less accommodating to native Mongolian religious values, but the latter persisted alongside an official Islam almost to the end of the Ilqanate (q.v.), for example. Islam never had a total hold over the Mongol elite. On the other hand, after the official conversion of the Ilqanate, efforts were made to suppress Buddhism, Nestorianism, Judaism, and Western Christianity in Iran, usually for immediate political reasons. Buddhism, which was mostly Tibetan, disappeared there as a result.

ROGER OF HUNGARY. *See Carmen Miserable.*

ROGER OF VARADIN. *See Carmen Miserable.*

RUBRUC. *See* William of Rubruck.

RUBRUCK. *See* William of Rubruck.

RUSSIA. Russia was comprised of territory of the city-states and principalities associating out of recognition of a common cultural tradition reaching back to the Varangians (Ruses) who founded most of them. At the center was the great city of Kiev (q.v.), all but destroyed, like many Russian centers, during the Mongolian major invasions of the 1230s. Also linking the Russian communities with each other were a common orthodox religion, including a standard church language, Old Church Slavonic, actually a Bulgarian dialect, and a material culture containing many Byzantine as well as common Slavic elements. The Byzantine elements included the icons that were an important part of the Greek religion of the era, as well as Russian.

After Mongol conquest there was no Russia to the degree that one had existed in Kievan times. Kiev and many other major centers had been crushed or destroyed. The balance of power shifted to states allied with the conquerors, for example, Moscow (q.v.). Other Russian states, *e.g.*, Novgorod, choose to look west, although it was endangered by one Western power, the Teutonic Knights (q.v.)

The new Russia that took shape under the Mongols came to be centered upon Moscow and borrowed a great many political and administrative practices from the conquerors. It also emerged as a unitary territorial state, not unlike the Golden Horde (q.v.), and not as a loose association of small states linked only by culture and a feeling of commonality. Like the Mongols, Moscow conquered its rivals. It did not seek to dominate them by culture or religion.

RUSSIAN STEPPE. The southern part of what is now the Ukraine and the Russian Federation, suitable for use by pastoral nomadic peoples. The Russian steppe abuts a larger area of Central Asia steppe via the Volga region.

RUTHENIA. Word for Russia (q.v.) in some sources.

RUYSBROECK. *See* William of Rubruck.

RYAZAN. Russian city and principality (*see* Russia). Among the first to fall to the Mongols, on December 21, 1237, it declined rapidly under their rule.

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SA-SKYA. Tibetan monastic group. It was among those competing for dominance in Tibet (q.v.) at the time of Mongol incursion and sent the Sa-sKya Paṇḍita (q.v.) to the court of Prince Köten (q.v.) in Kökenoor to establish contact. Köten, in charge of the Tibetan operations of the Mongols, was suffering from an illness. The Paṇḍita, learned in Tibetan medicine, was able to cure him, although Köten did die not long after. The Paṇḍita died there too, leaving behind his nephews aPhags-Pa (q.v.) and Phyag-Na as hostages. The former was summoned (with a military escort) by Prince Qubilai (q.v.), who established a long-

term relationship with him and with the Sa-sKya. They became the ruling monastic group in Tibet, and the representative of the Mongols. APhags-Pa himself first became the national preceptor (*guoshi* 國師) then imperial preceptor (*dishi* 帝師) for Mongol China (q.v.), and the head of the Buddhist religion.

SA-SKYA PANDITA, KUN-DGA RGYAL-MTSHAN (1182–1252). Tibetan prelate of the Sa-sKya (q.v.) order, considered the most learned man of his time in Tibet (q.v.). He led a small delegation to the Mongol Prince Köten (q.v.), then in charge of Tibetan affairs for the Mongols, and is said to have successfully treated him for an illness. He died shortly thereafter but left behind his two nephews, including aPhags-Pa (q.v.), who later became the chief religious figure for Mongol China (q.v.).

SA'D AL-DAULAT OF ABHAR. Jewish physician and vizier to *ilqan* Arghun (q.v.). Like the “bad” ministers of Qubilai’s China (q.v.), Sa’d was extremely good at generating revenue, at whatever the cost. He failed to survive Arghun’s reign.

SAJÓ, BATTLE OF (APRIL 11, 1241). Decisive battle during the Mongol invasion of Hungary (q.v.). The Mongols invaded Eastern Europe on five fronts, two of which thrust into Poland and Germany, and three into Bohemia or Hungary. Hungary was the main target, since it had harbored Kibca’ut (q.v.) refugees fleeing the Mongols. Hindered in its mobilization efforts by a Mongol campaign of disinformation, the Hungarian army attempted to block the Mongol line of advance from Bohemia. When this failed, it fell back to a strategic bridge, the only one in the area, on the Sajó River. There it mounted a spirited defense. Bat-qan (q.v.), overconfident, and contrary to the advice of strategic commander Sübe’etei (q.v.), mounted a frontal assault. Losses were heavy on both sides and the Mongols only won because Sübe’etei had forded the Sajó downstream of the bridge and then moved to outflank the Hungarians. They were slaughtered, destroying one of the largest armies in Europe. *See also* Bela IV; *Carmen Miserable*; “2. Mongol Empire.”

SAMARQAND. City in Bukhara (q.v.) region. Taken intact by the Mongols on March 19, 1220, it became the center of Mongolian administration there due to damage suffered by the city of Bukhara during its conquest. Samarqand had a significant Kitan

(q.v.) minority. This was reinforced when the Mongols brought in Kitan as administrators. They included Yelü Ahai 耶律阿海, the brother of Yelü Tuhua 耶律秃花, then active in Mongol China (Ahai 阿海 had started out there), as well as the son and heir of Ahai 阿海.

SAMUQA-BA'ATUR. Mongolian general. Participated in the final Mongolian siege of the Jin capital of Zhongdu 中都 (q.v.) during 1214-1215 in support of local forces.

SARAI. Capital of Bat-qan (q.v.) on the lower Volga, it was strategically positioned to control trade along that important artery. Later there was a second Sarai (New Sarai) said to have been built by Berke (r. 1257-1266) (q.v.) to rival old Sarai. Its capture in 1502 by the Crimean *qan* marked the end of the Golden Horde (q.v.). By that time old Sarai was but a pale reflection of itself thanks to Tamerlane (q.v.), who had sacked it.

SATELLITE ADMINISTRATION. *See* province.

SAUGAT. *See* sauqa.

SAUQA. 1. A gift. 2. A gift of booty (q.v.). 3. A bribe. This was an amazingly widespread Mongolian word existing as a loan word in Chinese (*saohua* 掃花), and even as far afield as medieval Portuguese (*çaugate*). The word was also borrowed from Mongolia into various Turkic languages, which also had a native equivalent, *sajgat*, which has largely fallen out of use.

SAYIN. 1. "Good, excellent," as in *sayin darasun*, "good wine." This was a term occurring in Chinese plays of the era. 2. The late, e.g., Sayin Qan, the posthumous name for Bat-qan (q.v.).

SAYYID AJALL, ŠAMS AL-DĪN 'UMAR (1211-1279). Mongol minister. Sayyid Ajall was born in Bukhara (q.v.) and was appointed a *yeke daruqaci* over three Chinese prefectures by Ögödei (q.v.) in 1229. This appointment may have been inherited from his father, who had also served the Mongols. After another *daruqaci* (q.v.) appointment, this time apparently to represent Ca'adai (q.v.) and Joci (q.v.), who had holdings in China (q.v.), Sayyid Ajall was promoted to the more important post of *jarquci* (q.v.). He held it for the rest of his long life.

Initially he served in the developing Mongol provincial administration (*see* Province) based in the old Jin Dynasty (*see* Jürched) capital of Zhongdu 中都 (q.v.), continuing in that function under subsequent Mongol rulers, through Möngke (q.v.). During the early part of his career, at least, he seems to have served as a representative of the House of Tolui-noyon (q.v.).

Under Qubilai (q.v.), Sayyid Ajall, as an old supporter of the House of Tolui, became one of 10 pacification commissioners sent out to take charge of Mongol China in the Mongol prince's name. All were apparently *jarquci*. Once again, he was sent back to Zhongdu, but later received regional appointments, including one in west China, and then in Yunnan 雲南 (q.v.), after 1273. There he successfully pacified this outlying area for the Mongols. He is said by his biographers to have encouraged both Islam (q.v.) and Confucianism (q.v.) in the area, and to have been a patron of both. Members of his family continued to serve the Mongols after his death.

SCIENG. *See* sheng 省.

SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY. The Mongols were extremely successful in drawing upon the best that the East and West had to offer in science and technology, and in promoting scientific and technological exchanges. They introduced such innovations as Muslim astronomy, medicine, geography and map-making to China (q.v.); a Middle Eastern variety of the catapult; encouraged the spread of gunpowder (q.v.) technology; and probably brought block printing to the Islamic world and points beyond. In their task they were greatly encouraged by the availability of individuals willing to travel from one end of the Mongol Empire to the other. They included a Jin Dynasty (*see* Jürched) expert in pyrotechnics and military technology, and many other East Asian experts who went to Iran (q.v.), and Muslim astronomers, doctors and many other experts who went to China. *See also* Jāmal al-Dīn; Guo Shoujing 郭守敬; Medicine; *Huihui yaofang* 回回藥方; Rashīd al-Dīn; Zhu Siben 朱思本; *Chao* 鈔; Trebuchet.

SEALS. The Mongols used seals from an early date and the seal became one of the symbols of administrative authority in the conquered areas, especially for the *daruqaci* (q.v.), whose title has been interpreted as “the one pressing down [a seal],” i.e.,

having the ultimate say. Among surviving seals is that of *qan* Güyük (q.v.). It proclaims him *dalai-yin qan* (q.v.), “universal *qan*” of the *Yeke Mongol Ulus* (q.v.), “the Great Mongol Patri-mony. *See also* Appendix A.

SECRET HISTORY OF THE MONGOLS. The most important early Mongolian chronicle. It covers the origins of the Mongols, the family of Cinggis-qan (q.v.) and the history of his rise to power, and the reign of the second *qan*, Ögödei (q.v.). The text exists in two versions. One is a shorter text in Mongolian Script (q.v.) copied out into Mongolian chronicle *Altan Tobci (Nova)* written in the 16th century. A second, longer version, survives in the form of a Chinese transcription prepared for the practice of Ming Dynasty (q.v.) translators. Since this text shows the kind of misreadings commonly arising from the ambiguities of the Mongolian script, it is assumed that the original text transcribed into Chinese was in the Mongolian Script.

The longer version is divided by type of content into four parts. The first is largely comprised of legendary material and lacks dates. This is followed by a year-by-year chronicle extending to the end of Cinggis-qan’s reign, to which a large number of what are clearly documents have been added as a third part. The fourth part is the addition covering Ögödei’s reign. It is in the same style as the Cinggis-qan chronicle, and is probably by the same hand. The shorter text lacks the fourth part, and some individual paragraphs. There are also individual differences between the texts, but many of these may reflect changes made by the author of the *Altan Tobci (Nova)*, bLo-bZan bsTan-aDzin, in adapting the text.

The longer text includes a colophon that the text was written in the mouse year (*see* Dating), at the time of a great or imperial *quriltai* (q.v.) convened on Köde’e Island of the Kherulen River. Only one such *quriltai* is known, that of 1229, a mouse year, which elected *qan* Ögödei. Since the longer text includes a chronicle of Ögödei’s reign, the whole text cannot possibly date from 1229. Even if we exclude the chronicle of Ögödei’s reign as a later addition, the date of 1229 will still not work for what remains, since there are a number of anachronisms in the other parts of the text, some serious misdatings off by 12 or more years, suggesting material added long after the events themselves when memories were no longer so clear. The longer text also shows extensive tampering by later editors who, among

other things, changed the title Cinggis-qan to Cinggis-qa'an or Cinggis-qaghan to accord with later Mongolian usage (*see Qan*). The shorter version lacks the colophon, but also contains anachronisms and it too shows evidence of editorial tampering. It lacks some of the more serious misdatings since the passages in question are generally missing.

The history of the text is thus complicated. The most likely interpretation is that most of the text, certainly including the first part of the *Secret History of the Mongols*, with its undated entries, most, but not all, of the Cinggis-qan chronicle, and most of the documents do date from 1229, but that the *Secret History*, as we have it, did not assume its present form until much later, perhaps as late as the 14th century, by which time much additional material had been added to the longer version. The longer version thus represents the end of this evolution, while the shorter version, which lacks most of this additional material but does have anachronisms, is an intermediate version. Neither version is the original text of 1229, but the shorter version is far closer to it than the longer, and may date from the 1240s or 1250s in its current form.

SELJUQ. Name of several Turkic dynasties, initially in Central Asia, but later primarily in Anatolia. The Sultanate of Rūm (*see Seljuq of Rūm*) was the most important example there. The Seljuq states ultimately unraveled in the face of Mongolian invasion (*see Baiju*), and Turkey (q.v.) ultimately came under the rule of the Osmanli (q.v.), or Ottomans, their successors, close allies with and imitators of the Mongols.

SELJUQ OF RŪM. Seljuq Turkic kingdom in Anatolia, a Mongol enemy and then ally. It was called of Rome (Rūm) in note of the former Byzantine occupation of the area for centuries. *See also Seljuq, Kose Dagh, Battle of; Baiju.*

SEMIRECHYE. "Area of seven rivers." This is the region just south and east of Lake Balkhash (q.v.). The Semirechye was an area of important nomadic presence in Mongol times, although parts of the region were settled too. It was an important base for Qaidu (*see Qaidu, II*) during his wars against Qubilai (q.v.) and other competitors. *See also Qayaliq.*

SEMU 色目. “Various categories.” The *semu* were one of the legally-defined social groupings of Mongol China (q.v.). The others were *Menggu* 蒙古 (q.v.), “Mongols,” *Hanren* 漢人 (q.v.), “North Chinese”, and *Nanren* 南人 (q.v.), “South Chinese,” the latter having the lowest status. The *semu* were generally Central Asians and Westerners, and ranked just below the Mongols themselves, but above the *Hanren*. This system was unique to Mongol China and was not found elsewhere.

SENGE. Uighur or Tibetan finance minister of Qubilai-qan (q.v.). One of two (see Aḥmad) “bad” ministers blamed by the Chinese for their excessive financial exactions, although these exactions served Qubilai, then involved in Japan (q.v.) and elsewhere, well.

SEX. Modern Mongols are remarkably free from sexual inhibitions and probably the early ones were as well. We do have a pronouncement of Cinggis-qan (*bilig*, q.v.) that seems to rule out adultery, but this is contradicted by another in which he contemplates the joys of sex with the wives and daughters of his enemies. Perhaps different rules applied when enemies were involved, as in most other areas of Mongol social relationships.

Our sources are remarkably free from mention of sexual scandals, which is not to say that the Mongols were more free from them than other societies. Perhaps they were just less interested.

One scandal that appears to have been taken more seriously outside Mongol elite circles rather than within, was the story that Joci (q.v.), born after his mother’s captivity by the Merkit (q.v.), perhaps too long after, was not the child of Cinggis-qan (q.v.) at all. Whatever the truth of this, the story never kept Cinggis from treating Joci as his son, and although some sources note friction between the two, it may not have had anything to do at all with Joci’s possible illegitimacy. In fact, in accordance with Mongol tradition, Joci, even if born from some Merkit father, was probably not considered illegitimate since he was raised by Cinggis.

Another scandal is more interesting in that it probably shows opposition to Cinggis-qan and his family within elite circles. According to a story found in the Tibetan *gHor Chos-aByung*, “History of the [Buddhist] Dharma in Mongolia,” a late work, but here reflecting a much older tradition, Cinggis-

qan died, not from a fall from a horse, but from having intercourse with the daughter of the King of Xixia 西夏, who put a sharp object into her vagina. This the *qan* encountered, and then bled to death. Not a very likely story, but apparently a widespread one in the 13th century and later. It survives to this day, told about whoever.

Although the Chinese pornography of the era shows the Mongols having sex on horseback, there is no evidence that they ever did. Like the attribution of Mongolian barbecue (q.v.) to the Mongols, the whole thing appears to be a myth. Not a myth are apparently some of the stories told about Toghon-Temür (q.v.). Tibetan tantric practices were apparently involved, and not just sexual excess, but this was a distinction not fully understood by the Chinese. These latter became progressively more puritanical from Yuan times on, although not especially during the Yuan itself when no less a figure than Zhao Mengfu (q.v.) the painter is said to have painted a series of pornographic panels. These are now lost. *See also* Baghdād-qatun.

SHAMANS. Special religious figures in Mongolia, and in other parts of the world. The shaman's power is based upon a tutelary spirit that gives him the ability to travel through the various segments of a layered universe to find out mysteries, and also cure when the soul of a patient has been stolen, or has wandered. In Mongolia, both men (*bö'e*) and women (*idugan*) became shaman. Their distinguishing characteristics were a special garb, with symbols reflecting the mythological worldview of the Mongolian and Central Asian shaman: a drum, and a hobby horse. The hobby horse stood for the tutelary spirit. In Mongolia, the tutelary was usually an animal, one of the more powerful ones such as the bear.

When practicing, the shaman went into a trance while singing special songs to summon his tutelary spirit, and mounting, or accompanied by his tutelary, he would then visit the other world where he would do what was required of him. Not all illness could be treated by the shaman, just those involving the soul, and its removal from the body. In addition to their function as healers, shaman were also expected to announce the will of the spirits, at *quriltai* (q.v.) when *qan* were to be elected, for example. *See also* Religion; Shamanism.

SHAMANISM. Practices and beliefs associated with the shaman (q.v.). There is no religion of shamanism *per se*, although shamanic practices from area to area in Central Asia do share common elements, including mythology.

SHANGDU 上都. The “Upper Capital,” also Kaipingfu 開平府. This was Qubilai’s princely residence from 1256, when a palace was built there for him and the area walled, and later the summer capital of Qanate China (before 1264 its only capital); the court nomadized between it and Daidu 大都 (*see* Peking). Situated at Doloon-noor, in what is now Inner Mongolia, Shangdu had the virtue of cool summers, and proximity to the steppe. Marco Polo (q.v.) and others describe its airy tent palaces and other pleasant facilities. In literature it survives as Coleridge’s Xanadu, site of Kubla’s “pleasure dome.” *See also* Capitals.

SHAYBAN. Mongol prince. He was the brother of Bat-qan (q.v.) and one of the commanders of the 1241 invasion of Eastern Europe.

SHEEP. Herd animal, the central focus of Mongolian pastoral nomadism (q.v.). The Mongolian sheep is relatively small, producing just about the amount of meat that can be conveniently be eaten, or otherwise processed or shared out in a short time. Its wool is of little value and is usually employed only for felt-making, but the fleeces are used for clothing. The most important sheep product is sheep milk, usually consumed in fermented form. *See also* Food.

SHENG 省. Province (q.v.). By tradition, although the arrangement did vary, Mongol China (q.v.) was divided into 11 provinces or *sheng*, including Mongolia itself, and Korea (q.v.), an allied kingdom, and 9 strictly Chinese provinces. There was also one central domain, called *fuli* 腹裡, “within the stomach.” This is a very strange term that is mostly like a transcription of some Mongolian word, probably *qol*, “the center,” although the phonetic match is not good. Although generally ruled by delegates from the central authority of the *qan* (in Korea the king and his ministers fulfilled this role), these provinces were by no means strictly subordinate to it, and seem to have continued the Mongolian tradition of joint administration by all concerned. *See also* *Xingsheng* 行省; *El*.

SHENGWU QINZHENG LU 聖武親征錄. “Record of the Personal Campaigns of the Sagely Militant,” a Chinese chronicle covering the first years of Mongolian expansion. It is almost certainly a translation or close adaptation of one or more Mongolian originals. The text closely follows the *Secret History of the Mongols* (q.v.) in significant details.

SHIMO MINGAN 石抹明安. Early Kitan (q.v.) supporter of the Mongols. Initially associated with the Jin (see Jürched) *jüyin* (q.v.) frontier tribal armies, he later participated in the early Mongol administration of Zhongdu 中都 (q.v.), probably as a regional *daruqaci* (q.v.).

SHIREMÜN. Grandson of Ögödei-qan (q.v.). He was a contender to be his successor, but he lacked support. He was again a contender after the death of Güyük (q.v.), with the backing of Oqul-Qaimish (q.v.). When Möngke (q.v.) was elected instead, Shiremün was among those supposedly attempting to carry out a coup against the new *qan*, and was executed after his arrest in the purge that followed. *See also* “2. Mongol Empire.”

SHUMI YUAN 樞密院. The “Bureau of Military Affairs.” This agency controlled the military structures of qanate China (q.v.), functioning more or less independently of the rest of what was theoretically the civil structure of Yuan government. It remained the most Mongolian of all the agencies of Yuan government.

SIBERIA. In Mongol times, Siberia was the abode of various semi-pacified groupings such as the “Forest Peoples” (q.v.) subdued by Joci (q.v.). It also became the seat of various successor qanates such as the White Horde (q.v.), and the Khanate of Kazan (q.v.). Qaidu (q.v.) also controlled domains in Siberia.

SIGI-QUTUQU (CIRCA 1180–1262). “Fifth” or adopted son of Cinggis-qan (q.v.), and important functionary during the reigns of the first *qan* of unified empire. He outlived them by a substantial margin, dying during the early reign of Qubilai (q.v.) when he was in his eighties. From the reign of Cinggis-qan, down at least until the accession of Möngke (q.v.), in addition to actively serving as a general during Mongol expansion, he

held the post of chief *jarquci* (*yeke jarquci*) (*see jarquci*) for the *qan*. In that capacity he participated in *jarqu* (q.v.). These were actions connected with the distribution of booty, including its evaluation, in particular through censuses carried out in the conquered areas, and with any disputes arising once the distribution had been made. In this capacity, Sigi-qutuqu played an active role at court, where he was charged, among other things, with keeping track of imperial actions that were to be written up and compiled into a “Blue Book” (*Köke Debter*), by order of Cinggis-qan. This probably became one of the sources from which the later *Secret History of the Mongols* (q.v.), which reproduces a large number of imperial orders in its text, was compiled. He also served as a senior official in China and other conquered areas. In China, for example, he took his canvass, and set the Mongol’s administrative house in order before a permanent regional administration could be set up in the former Jin (*see Jürched*) capital of Zhongdu 中都 (q.v.), and was in many ways the first chief of that administration.

Sigi-qutuqu has been considered the author of the *Secret History* by some, and certainly he was literate and in a position to author such documents. Nonetheless, there is no direct evidence linking him with the text. The fact that the author, or one of the authors of the history, refers to *qan ecige minu*, “my *qan* father” proves nothing since such language is conventional, and any Mongol might have considered Cinggis-qan his “*qan* father.” *See also* “I. Mongol Empire.”

SIEGE WARFARE. The Mongols, for obvious reasons, came late to siege warfare, and conducted it largely with the assistance of sedentary peoples more familiar with its arts than they. Nonetheless, its importance quickly became obvious to them and as they began a serious occupation as well as conquest of sedentary areas, the siege train following Mongol armies became increasingly sophisticated. Siege experts, for example, were among those brought to Iran (q.v.) by Hüle’ü (q.v.), including at least one Chinese pyrotechnician.

By Qubilai’s (q.v.) time, Mongol armies, while continuing to rely on elite cavalry, had become sophisticated all-arms teams, even including river and ocean fleets. Without such support, and it was thanks largely to Chinese subjects that they had them, the Mongol conquest of Southern Song would have been entirely impossible. *See also* War; Song, Mongol Conquest of.

SILESIA. Territory in the southwestern part of Poland. Invaded by the Mongols in 1241. *See also* Liegnitz, Battle of.

SIMON DE SAINT-QUENTIN. Dominican traveler. He visited Mongol Iran (q.v.) in the 1240s, and left an account.

SINICIZATION. The process by which cultures surrounding China (q.v.) have taken up, voluntarily or involuntarily, Chinese culture, at least outwardly. The conventional picture is that China's foreign conquerors in particular became Chinese very quickly. This does not appear to have been true for the Mongols, who mostly lived apart from the Chinese in their own reserves, even in the south. When they did live in China, they generally resided in areas of mixed culture, such as the Sino-Mongolian frontier zone, or in areas such as the region of the capital Daidu 大都 (*see* Peking) that had been ruled by foreigners for centuries and were, as a consequence, only a little Chinese. Also an influence helping the Mongols resist Sinicization was their acceptance of a religion, Tibetan Buddhism (*see* Lamaism), that had little in common with the Chinese variations of Buddhism, and preference for Mongolian, Persian, and apparently Turkic dialects as *linguae francae* instead of Chinese. Even the food they ate was not very Chinese. *See also* Language; Food.

SIRA-ORDU. "Yellow," *i.e.*, "White" (*see* *Caqa'an*), tent palace. This was a Mongolian imperial camp at a choice summer and autumn site near Qaraqorum (q.v.).

SI'ÜSÜN. "Dried meat." *See* Campaign Rations.

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION. The bonds holding society together in pre-imperial times, later a justification for privilege. Kinship was its most important aspect. Mongolian society was extensively organized according to how individuals and groups were related to one another. This is clearly reflected in the *Secret History of the Mongols* (q.v.), for example, the first part of which is an elaborate genealogy with commentary and justifications. In this system, not only individuals were carefully linked with one another, but groups as well, associated with this or that kin unit, usually a maximal lineage or *oboq* (q.v.), through the links binding the elites controlling them. This was even true

when the subordinates in a group were not physically related to the elite groups, or to the others with which lines of kinship were traced. The fiction was maintained because access to pasturage did not belong to individuals but to kin groups, and thus if a given herding community was to have access to pasture resources it had to be associated with some kinship group. Unless, of course, it could assert itself militarily and seize those pastures, in which case a new or modified kinship system would be created to reflect new conditions.

In pre-imperial times, the sense of family that grew out of this system was one of the few bonds linking Mongolian society as a whole, and was the source of the few rules confining individual action (for example, a guest friendship, q.v., even for enemies). Only if an individual or a group patently violated the largely unwritten social rules could one act against them with impunity, including taking vengeance (q.v.) on the offender or offenders, vengeance being a social acceptable way of violating otherwise inviolable social norms.

After the establishment of empire, many of the facets of pre-imperial social organization were continued. The new tribes of the era of conquest, for example, were often identified with older social groups, and given their names, usually because the leadership of these new tribes remembered its association with the older system. Relations between the old maximal lineages (*oboq*) also found reflection in determining who was who in the new Mongolian world empire, for example in the *Jāmi' al-tawārikh* of Rashid al-Dīn (q.v.). It provides detailed histories and genealogies as part of an official Ilqanate (q.v.) kinship and ranking system, despite the fact that most of the groupings identified and described no longer existed in Rashid al-Dīn's time. Those that did exist had little connection with what came before. *See also* Social Structure.

SOCIAL STRUCTURE. Mongolian society was relatively egalitarian except that there existed clear patterns of subordination, and some were technically the bond servants or slaves (*bo'ol*) of others. Nonetheless, this did not entail the kind of subservience that was the case with African slavery in the United States, for example. Status was conferred primarily, but not exclusively, by birth, although status at birth could easily be lost through the vicissitudes of steppe life, and by a position within a kinship system that stressed hereditary rights to positions and

even status. In practice, there was considerable social mobility, and even slaves could rise to relatively high positions. Descent was patrilineal except that there were many matrilineal elements present as well, as seen in the traditionally high position enjoyed by the mother's brother among recent Mongols.

Within the conquered domains, the Mongols often sought to impose a social system rewarding those who had submitted first and most sincerely. In Mongol China (q.v.), perhaps borrowing from a Jin Dynasty (*see* Jürched) tradition, this produced the so-called Mongolian class system in which the population was divided into Mongols (*Menggu* 蒙古) (q.v.), Central Asians (*Semu* 色目) (q.v.), "various categories," North Chinese ("Han People," *Hanren* 漢人) (q.v.) and South Chinese ("Southerners," *Nanren* 南人) (q.v.), in a descending order of status. (*See also* Social Organization.

SÖGETÜ. Mongolian general from the Jalayir (q.v.). After fighting to put down the Li Tan 李璿 rebellion and participating in the final advances against the Song (*see* Song, Mongol Conquest of), Sögetü was sent with the fleet to take Champa (q.v.), a kingdom in what is now central Vietnam. He died there in 1285, after a protracted struggle with Annam.

SOLANGQA. Mongol name for Korea (q.v.). This word may or may not be related to the Mongolian word for weasel, a homophone.

SONG 宋. *See* Song, Dynasty; Song, Conquest of; Song, Loyatism.

SONG, DYNASTY. Ruled the Chinese south, after being expelled from the north by the new Jin Dynasty (*see* Jürched) during the early 12th century. A worthy opponent of the Mongols, since Song China (*see* Song, Mongol Conquest of) was among the most economically sophisticated portions of the world, and was able to maintain very large and well-equipped armed forces. Unfortunately, the rulers of Song had continued to treat their military badly which, as a consequence, had low morale, and there was an acute shortage of good war horses. These were needed to fight the Mongols on an equal basis. Nonetheless, Song armies put up credible resistance for decades, and it was only the ability of the Mongols to adopt many of the same mili-

tary techniques, including the use of naval power (*see* Yaishan 崖山, Battle of), that finally allowed Song to be defeated.

The Song was founded in 960 by Zhao Kuangyin 趙匡胤 (927–976), who usurped power from the previous dynasty, Later Zhou 周 (951–960), which controlled the Chinese north, but was in the process of expanding south. Between 963 and 975, Zhao continued this expansion and had subdued almost the entire south. Only two states remained and prevented a complete reunification of China (q.v.), for the first time *in toto* since the middle 8th century, and these were conquered by his successor, Song Taizong 太宗 (r. 976–997).

Although the Song had reunited China, it found it more difficult to consolidate its control in the border regions of the north, facing two major enemies there. The first was the Kitan (q.v.) Liao Dynasty (906–1125), which controlled the so-called “Sixteen Prefectures” in northwest China, and the passes leading into China, allowing Kitan attacks of Song virtually at will. The second was the emerging state of Xixia (q.v.), which slowly conquered China’s extreme northwest. It cut off Song China from most Central Asian commerce and from adequate supplies of war mounts, a critical shortage for the dynasty forced, when it was forced to fight mostly mounted enemies.

For much of the 11th century, Song China fought to assert itself against its opponents but was unable to conquer either Liao or Xixia. Both considerably expanded their territories at the expense of Song. Part of the problem was the Song attitude towards its own military, looked down upon by the civil elite and discriminated against. Also at issue was continued struggle internally between conservatives and reformers, with the former ultimately winning out. One result was that China’s industrial revolution of the 11th century never really got off the ground, and that creative attempts at state capitalism to strengthen the power of the center failed, making China still weaker.

While Song was unable to conquer either Liao or Xixia, neither could these two relatively weak states conquer Song. This was not the case with the dynasty (1125–1234) that overthrew Liao, and began a massive invasion of Song. Jin (*see* Jürched) was an entirely different enemy than Liao, which had been based upon the nomadic Kitan and held a relatively sparsely populated area. Jin had both a substantial sedentary population base and a large cavalry force, mostly comprised of Kitan turncoats.

Between 1125 and 1127, the Jin, fresh from subduing Liao, went over to a general assault on the Song, and took the Song capital, Kaifeng 開封, thus ending the first phase of the dynasty's existence, Northern Song. In the end, a Song prince was able to reestablish the dynasty based upon the port city of Hangzhou 杭州, the "Temporary Capital" (*Xingsuozaizai* 行所在, from whence Marco Polo's Kinsay, q.v.), although not without a protracted struggle and having to take to the sea.

The Southern Song, although they continued to war with the Jin Dynasty after that, made a treaty with them in 1141–1142. It essentially divided China between the two regimes, Jin in the north, and Song in the south. The situation was stalemated. Jin proved unable to conquer Song, and Song, the Jin. The Southern Song, now turned inward, witnessed an unparalleled economic development based in part upon the new crop of tea and maritime commerce. Despite these changes, its military power, which was still substantial physically, slowly eroded.

Song sought to take advantage of the Mongol incursions into the north to recover territory from the failing Jin, but this only brought them into conflict with the Mongols. Thus, after the final collapse of Jin, Song found itself at war with the Mongols almost continuously until its own collapse in the 1270s (*see* Song, Mongol Conquest of). As had been the case with Jin, Mongolian preoccupations elsewhere prolonged the life of the dynasty. In addition, it proved to be a very different adversary militarily than Jin, and enjoyed a substantial defensive advantage, due to climate and the many defensible rivers and river positions extending across almost the entire Chinese south.

Prior to Qubilai (q.v.), the major push by the Mongols came under Möngke (q.v.), who sought to outflank Song river defenses by an attack from the west. The Mongols made major advances there, but were unable to gain a real foothold in Song domains. Qubilai used a more direct approach, and also Chinese-style armies with cooperating riverine forces, and even a coastal navy. This was successful in the end. After conquest, the former Song domains remained the economic heartland of the Mongol empire in China but were never entirely assimilated into it (*see* Song, Loyalism; Ming) in the way that the north was. *See also* "2. Mongol Empire;" "3. Qanate China."

SONG, LOYALISM. Passive resistance of south Chinese elite to the Mongols. After the conquest of Song (*see* Song, Mongol

Conquest of), many Chinese members of the upper class refused to recognize the fact of Mongol conquest through such things as: continuing to use Song money (allowed by the Mongols for several years in any case); dating according to the old Song emperors and not by the year periods of the new Yuan Dynasty (q.v.); refusing to refer to *Da Yuan* 大元, “great Yuan,” the designation properly used for the new dynasty, rather referring to Mongols or Tatars; and withholding their services from the government. All of these were traditional means of protest, and such dynastic loyalism occurred frequently in Chinese history, often at the peril of the loyalist. What was new in Mongol times was the extent and tenacity of this protest, and the degree to which the ruling government simply ignored it.

The Mongols by and large did not care, and made little effort to suppress the loyalist movement. They, in any case, preferred to employ the north Chinese and Central and West Asians, and were willing to accept almost anything the south Chinese chose to do, provided that they paid their taxes and did not revolt. There was thus no literary or any other kind of inquisition in Mongol times. This was quite unlike the later Qing response to Ming loyalism. *See also* Song, Dynasty.

SONG, MONGOL CONQUEST OF. After seizing power in Mongol China in 1260, and winning his civil war against Ariq-bökö (q.v.), Qubilai-qan (q.v.) stopped to consolidate his position before mounting a full-scale assault on the last surviving Chinese state, Southern Song (1125–1279) (*see* Song, Dynasty). The advance finally began in 1267 and went on for 12 years. The resulting campaign was one of the hardest fought in history. The armies involved were huge by the standards of the time, the Song side fielding more than a million men. Rich pyrotechnical resources were available to both sides and powerful torsional artillery was in general use, hurling incendiaries and possibly exploding bombs.

The Mongols would have preferred a war of maneuver that the Song, short of horses, would have been unable to counter. Aware of this, the Song adopted a positional strategy, stationing large garrisons in powerful fortresses that were strategically placed along the main lines of Mongol advance. The Mongols had either to assault these fortresses, advance through unsuitable terrain in central and south China (q.v.), or

attempt a naval envelopment, and face the threat of a numerous and technologically superior Song navy. It included some of the largest warships of the time, most armed with pyrotechnical weapons.

To defeat the Song strategy, the Mongols were forced to use Chinese tactics against their Chinese enemies. In addition to their traditional cavalry that now had to take a subordinate role, they developed a substantial siege train and assembled large armies of foot soldiers. In order to defeat the Song morally, as well as militarily, Qubilai's armies then set about destroying Song fortresses and field armies one-by-one, in a strategy recalling that of U. S. Grant before Richmond in 1864–1865, during the US Civil War.

The key positions athwart the main line of Mongol advance down the Han 漢 River towards the Song capital at Hangzhou 杭州 were the dual fortresses of Fancheng 樊城 (q.v.) and Xiangyang 襄陽 (q.v.). It took Qubilai's armies, ably led by Marshal Bayan (1237–1295) (q.v.), six years to reduce them. Finally, in late 1274 Mongol armies penetrated to the Yangtse, where they were forced to fight a massive land and sea battle in March 1275, before beginning their final advance on Hangzhou. After a period of negotiations, they entered the Song capital peacefully on February 10, 1276, ending a dynasty and an era in Chinese history.

As the Mongols completed their occupation, loyalists took up two young princes, later making the older of the two emperor, and fled down the coast, supported by units of the Song fleet. The resistance movement that followed paralleled that of 1125–1130, in which Southern Song had saved itself using a similar strategy against an equally determined adversary, the Jürched (q.v.) of the Jin Dynasty (1125–1234). At first the resistance movement prospered, due to an invasion of the Mongolian homeland by Qubilai's Central Asian competitors (*see* Qaidu), forcing a diversion of Mongol armies north. Initially the resistance movement was based in Fujian 福建, and then in Guangdong 廣東 and Guangxi 廣西. It was able to rally much of the southeast and interior central China to the Song cause.

To overcome Song resistance, the Mongols had to organize a coordinated land and sea campaign. They advanced simultaneously by land into the various regions supporting resistance, and used their growing naval forces to seize coastal

points behind loyalist lines. By late 1278, the loyalists had been isolated in the province of Guangdong 廣東. The older Song prince had died by then and his brother now ruled.

The Song navy prepared for a final battle in early 1279 at Yaishan 崖山, an island off modern Macao. By then, after some defections, the loyalist fleet was comprised of about a thousand ocean-going junks and many smaller support ships. The Song fleet, perhaps fearing more defections, but giving up all mobility in the process, had been drawn up in a long rectangle. Ships were tied one to another with sterns outward and wooden palisades had been constructed on top, to create a floating fortress for Song troops. Although this arrangement was primarily a reflection of loyalist desperation and low morale, it probably also reflected a realistic appraisal of the growing power of Mongol naval forces and the enhanced abilities of Mongol commanders on the water.

The loyalist fleet had anchored close to land to allow foraging for food and wood, to make arrows and repair ships. This gave Li Heng 李恆 (1236–1285), one of the Mongol commanders, an opportunity to seize positions looking over the Song ships and mount mangonels (q.v.), *huihui pao* 回回砲, there to bombard the Song with stones and various incendiaries. This bombardment proved highly effective, but Li's superior, Zhang Hongfan 張洪範 (1238–1280), ordered a cease fire, since Zhang was afraid that the Song ships would slip anchor and flee, prolonging the resistance movement.

The final battle took place on March 19, 1279. Although the Mongol fleet was at most half the size of the Song fleet, and some ships arrived too late to participate in the battle, Mongol ships were small, fast, and maneuverable. These qualities were extremely advantageous in the close-in waters in which the battle was fought, located midway between two islands.

Li Heng, in charge of the assault, began the attack in the early morning from the north and northwest, as the tide receded to the south. He used the force of the tide to gain speed and momentum, and was soon involved in close fighting with Song regulars stationed high up on the Song ships. The assault of Li Heng was soon joined by a second attack from the south, which the Song sought to counter with Greek fire. Later, two additional Mongol flotillas joined in from the east and west, followed up by a land attack on the rear of the Song ships, where they were closest to the land.

The battle went on for almost the entire day. The Mongolian ships used their mobility to the utmost, while the Song fleet was unable to respond, since Song ships were tied up rigidly to one another. The Mongols were able to penetrate the Song line, and began operating within the Chinese rectangle. When the afternoon tide came in, the Mongols used its force to charge in again. They boarded and seized several Song ships, braving Greek fire.

By late afternoon, their rectangle in disarray, loyalist ships began to surrender. Some 800 ships were taken and 100,000 corpses were left floating in the water. Among them was the body of the last Song prince. A few ships escaped, but the battle effectively ended Song resistance. The Mongols had not just won a major victory. They had bested the Song on the water, their own element. *See also* "3. Qanate China."

SORQOQTANI-BEKI. Wife of Tolui-noyan (q.v.). After his death she became an important figure in Mongol China (q.v.) where she had extensive holdings.

SOUTHERN SONG 宋 DYNASTY. *See* Song, Dynasty.

SOVEREIGNTY. To the Mongols, Heaven (Tenggiri), and Earth, "taking counsel together," had given all the face of the earth to Cinggis-qan (q.v.) and his Mongols. It was the duty of the Mongols to obtain the submission of all involved, and the duty of potential subjects to submit. This view finds expression above all in the letters of submission sent by the Mongols to those they planned to campaign against next, letters that the recipients often found outrageously arrogant, but which the Mongols took very seriously. Just as a failure to submit was against the will of Heaven, so a false submission, or a revolt after submission, was dealt with extremely harshly as well. On the other hand, once a city or a group had submitted to the Mongols and expressed willingness to accept Mongol dominion, this city or group became part of the Mongolian world order. They became entitled to certain benefits, the magnitude of which increasing with the service of the conquered to the conqueror.

SOYURGAL. *See* *Soyurqal*.

SOYURQAL. A boon, favor. This was a personal grant of population, territory, revenues, or material goods as a reward for services rendered; usually tax free. *See also Qubi*; Booty.

SPECULUM HISTORIALE. *See* Vincent of Beauvais.

STEPPE. Open pasture lands, similar to the prairies of North America. They stretched along a steppe zone (q.v.) in central Eurasia, with a few detached outcroppings, in Hungary (q.v.), for example. Steppes were man-made in that they required constant use by the livestock of herdsman to avoid reversion to less usable, and possibly less-passable fields, and because they were probably intentionally expanded by burning.

STEPPE ZONE. The long band of steppe (q.v.), with many isolated outcroppings, stretching from the borders of China into Eastern Europe. Its precise dimensions, particularly its width, varied with climatic conditions and use, since the steppe is man-made, by the animals herded by man, and by his intentional actions to change the environment. Portions of steppe can revert to other types of land if the use placed on them by animals decreases, or new sections of steppe can be created if climatic conditions are at all favorable for the growth of steppe grasses. The steppe, in addition to providing the material basis, along with the herdsman's animals, for pastoral-nomadic life, also was a great zone of communication, since steppe groups could easily move from one end of it to the other, as the Mongols did readily. The steppe zone also provided interior lines for steppe empires and allowed them to shift military resources back and forth easily for raiding and controlling sedentary areas.

STRATEGY. Mongolian demographic resources were extremely limited (*see* Population, Mongolian), and Mongol military strategy focused on utilizing these limited resources in the most efficient ways possible, and on achieving the greatest results with minimum losses. Their strategy was thus one of rapid, simultaneous movements to outmaneuver opponents, and avoid large battles if possible, but if forced to fight, to use mass to advantage by assembling the most men at the critical point. This was easily accomplished given Mongolian mobility, and the good communications between even distant units (*see* Armies, Or-

ganization). Tactically, battles were fought at a distance whenever possible, with the feigned retreat and ambush a preferred technique. Running away was no shame, if some advantage could be obtained from it in the future. Nor was choosing to fight some other day, when conditions might be more advantageous. Since Mongol armies usually lived off the land and traveled light logistically, delay usually gave them rather than their more encumbered sedentary opponents the advantage.

As they went about building their empire, the Mongols used local allies (*see Cerik*) as shock troops and to take fortified centers whenever possible. Even their own cavalry forces might be comprised of recruits from other steppe groups to spare Mongolian manpower.

SU. Holy or spiritual power. *See Sutan.*

SÜBE'ETEI-BA'ATUR (1176-1248). Mongol general and strategist. Sübe'etei was a member of the Uriyangqai, today primarily comprised of reindeer-breeders, but then including Mongolian Uriyangqai living, more or less, the traditional Mongolian way of life. His family appear to have had long-standing connections with the family of Cinggis-qan (q.v.). It was in following up these connections that Sübe'etei began serving Cinggis, at first apparently as an individual warrior, one with a good reputation judging by the *Secret History of the Mongols*, which calls Sübe'etei one of the "Four Hounds" of the *qan*, then as a unit commander. He was first commander of a hundred, and then of a full chiliarchy in 1206, when Cinggis formally became ruler of the Mongolian world and set about reorganizing it.

One of his first important assignments was in connection with some Naiman (q.v.) and Merkit (q.v.) refugees attempting to flee Mongolia, and thus the vengeance of Cinggis-qan. Initially this effort was under the control of Joci (q.v.), Cinggis-qan's eldest son, who defeated the refugees in a great battle in 1208, but did not annihilate them. One group of survivors from the Merkit fled towards Uighur domains (*see Turfan Uighurs*), led by Qudu, the eldest son of Merkit chieftain Toqto'a-beki (q.v.), to seek the protection of the *gür-qan* (q.v.) of the Qara-Kitan (*see Qara-Kitan Empire*). Sübe'etei, under the operational control of Jebe (q.v.), was sent to pursue and destroy them. He first advanced into Uighur domains, where the local ruler, the *İdiqut* (q.v.), killed the governor established over him by the

Qara-Kitan, and submitted to the Mongols, being among the first sedentary rulers to do so (1209). From Uighur domains, Jebe and Sübe'etei continued after the fugitives. They defeated them on the Djem River with their help of their new Uighur allies.

Still the pursuit continued, as Qudu and the survivors fled into the Qipchaq steppe (*see* Russian Steppe). By this time Sübe'etei was acting on his own. Jebe had turned south in pursuit of the Naiman Güçülük (q.v.), who fled into Qara-Kitan domains, where he ultimately overthrew the *gür-qan* (q.v.) and established his own state in its place (1211). Despite this event, Jebe withdrew temporarily, since he did not want to risk an open conflict with new enemies. He combined his forces with those of Sübe'etei once again.

Jebe's intention was, if he could not deal with Güçülük he would at least finish off the last Merkit, and to that end Jebe and Sübe'etei resumed the advance west again. By that time the Merkit survivors had combined their surviving forces with a large number of Qangli (q.v.) tribesmen. The two Mongol generals met and defeated this army, and finally extinguished this group of Merkit survivors, but before they could return home again they encountered another opponent, the *khwārazm-shāh* Muḥammad II (q.v.), and fought an unintended battle with him which ended in a draw. Both armies then withdrew. This was in very late 1209 or early 1210.

Later Sübe'etei participated in the Mongol assault on China (q.v.). He fought in what is now Inner Mongolia and from there advanced into Manchuria, a center of Jin Dynasty (*see* Jürched) power, since it was from Manchuria that the Jürched had come. He then moved south along the gulf of Bohai 渤海, towards the Jin capital of Zhongdu 中都 (q.v.).

After the withdrawal of Cinggis-qan's armies in 1214, Jebe and Sübe'etei seem to have been sent east again, where Güçülük, although unpopular with his subjects, had achieved a position of power. Ultimately he was hunted down and killed by a local Mongol (and former Qara-Kitan) viceroy, Hosimaili 曷思麥里. This did not bring peace to the region, since the Mongols now began to plan for a general invasion of western Turkistan (q.v.) in response to the Otrar incident of 1218 (q.v.).

Jebe and Sübe'etei were in the vanguard of the advance from the Irtish River, and as Khwarazmian armies (*see* Khwarazmian Empire) withdrew into the cities or fled south,

Cinggis-qan released them to pursue their old enemy, the *khwārazm-shāh* Muḥammad II, whom they pursued onto an island in the Caspian Sea (q.v.), where he died in late 1220. Not stopping, the two Mongol generals then continued their advance through northern Iran (q.v.), into the Caucasus, and from there into the south Russian steppe where they first sacked Sudaq (q.v.) in the Crimea (q.v.), a major trading center, and then met defeated a force of Russians and Kibca'ut (q.v.) under Mstislav of Galicia (May 1223) (*see* Kalka River, Battle of). From there, the two generals continued to move along the northern Caspian, where Jebe died or was killed, and then Sübe'etei linked up with other Mongol forces under Joci (q.v.). He thereupon organized local forces into a nomadic garrison force, or *tanma* (q.v.), for the Volga (q.v.) and south Russian steppe. Shortly thereafter, Sübe'etei again marched east, and took part in the Mongol campaign against Xixia 西夏 (q.v.), leading an advance across the desert into the heart of Xixia domains.

After the death of Cinggis, Sübe'etei began to participate in the final assault on the rump Jin state. Initially, Ögödei (q.v.) seems to have been somewhat distrustful of him, in part due to a failure (or rather inability) to support another Mongol commander in 1230, but this soon passed thanks to the intermediation of Tolui-noyan (q.v.), and Sübe'etei again became a major Mongolian military figure.

Ordered to go on the defensive by Ögödei, Sübe'etei seized the initiative. The *qan* had made a truce, but Sübe'etei sabotaged it and moved to isolate the Jin capital at Kaifeng 開封 (q.v.). Pressed by hunger and disease, the Jin emperor fled in 1233 to Caizhou 蔡州, where he committed suicide in early 1234, ending the dynasty.

Jin finished, the Mongols could now continue their conquests in other directions. Sübe'etei, now around 60 years old, was to be actively involved. Both Eastern and Western sources assign him overall strategic responsibility for the five-year advance towards the Volga region, then into Russia, and finally Eastern Europe, even though Bat-qan (q.v.) was in charge of the entire operation. Representatives of all the princely establishments, and of the center (the future *qan* Güyük) (q.v.), also participated. After reducing the lower Volga, the Mongols moved systematically against the Russian principalities, starting with Ryazan (q.v.), taken on December 21, 1237. After a diversion to campaign against the Kibca'ut (q.v.), and a pause in 1239 to

consolidate, the advance resumed again and Kiev (q.v.) was taken on December 6, 1240.

The next year witnessed Sübe'etei's final campaign, his masterpiece, a general assault on Eastern Europe with five major lines of advance, each carefully coordinated with the other. The goal was the conquest of Hungary (q.v.) where the Mongols hoped to establish an advanced base. The attack was imminently successful, although Bat-qan was nearly defeated in a frontal assault on the Hungarians holding a strategic bridge, contrary to the advice of Sübe'etei, who simply outflanked their position by crossing the Sajó downstream using a pontoon bridge (*see* Sajó, Battle of). In 1242, after a Christmas raid as far as Vienna, the Mongols withdrew from Hungary again, in large part due to the death of *qan* Ögödei. Sübe'etei returned to Mongolia, where he died in 1248. His many accomplishments were among the most remarkable in military history and it is probably safe to say that without him the Mongols might have been a great deal less successful. *See also* "1. Mongol Empire."

SUDAQ. Genoese trading settlement on the Crimean Peninsula (*see* Crimea). Sacked by by Jebe (q.v.) and Sübe'etei (q.v.) in 1223, and again in 1238 during the second Mongol invasion of the Russian steppe (q.v.), Sudaq survived to continue to be an important contact point of the West with the Mongol world.

ŠÜLDE. Collective ancestral Mongol spirit resident in the *tuq* (q.v.) or banner.

ŠÜLEN. Originally this was a broth, the preferred form of everyday Mongolian food, but later, in an evolved form, also a banquet dish (the term later became synonymous with the banquet itself). In Mongol China (q.v.) it was usually made by adding thickeners such as chickpeas, rice, barley, or other ingredients to a spiced mutton stew. This is a thoroughly Near Eastern idea, specifically from Mesopotamia and neighboring areas. The practice is entirely un-Chinese. A *šülen* could be served as a liquid or cooked dry. *See also* Foods.

SULTĀNIYYA. Ilqanate (q.v.) sedentary (summer) capital. It replaced Tabriz (q.v.) in the early 13th century. Construction was completed by *Ilqan* Öljeitü (r. 1304–1316), and the present site

is noted for the most important Ilqanate architectural monument, his mausoleum. Sultāniyya was equivalent to the Shangdu 上都 (q.v.) of Qubilai's China. The *ilqans* never built a planned, large-scale sedentary capital like Daidu 大都 (*see* Peking).

SUPPLIES. *See* Campaign Rations.

SUTAN. Holy, sacred things. This could be anything belonging to the *qan* whose person was regarded as holy or sacred.

SUZDAL. Center of a Russian principedom ruled by Grand Duke Vladimir in 1238, when the Mongols invaded. He was defeated and killed by the Mongols in March. Suzdal itself was taken the previous month.

SWORDS. Swords were carried by some Mongol warriors, those better protected for close combat by armor. While the preferred Mongol weapon was the bow (*see* Compound Bow), considerable numbers of swords have been found. These are typically single-edged, short, and light and intended for slashing rather than stabbing. Daggers and long knives were perhaps more typical weapons of commoner Mongols. *See also* Arrows; Armor; Mangonels; Trebuchet; Lances; Gunpowder.

SYR-DARYA RIVER. One of two rivers running into the Aral Sea (q.v.). The Syr-darya was a focus of irrigated agriculture and sedentary life, and site of many of the important cities of the region. *See also* Amu-darya.

— T —

TABRIZ. Iranian city. It was the preferred Ilqanate (q.v.) summer residence and capital until the completion of Sultāniyya (q.v.).

TABU NAMES. After their deaths, important Mongols, and possibly commoners, received tabu names so that the living could avoid referring to them by their given names, and thus possibly stir up their spirits. Among these names was *Sayin Qan*, “the Good” or “Late Qan,” for Bat-qan (q.v.), *Sayin Eke*, “the Good” or “Late Mother,” for Börte (q.v.), *Yeke-noyan*, “Great Lord,”

for Tolui-noyon, and *Qa'an*, “Emperor,” for Ögödei (q.v.). Another was possibly Taš, “stone” in Turkic, used for Cila'un (q.v.), whose name means “stone” in Mongolian. He was a son of Muqali (q.v.). How long such tabuing remained in force is unclear, but by the end of the reign of Qubilai (q.v.) Ögödei was again being referred to by his given name.

TABUS. The Mongols had an elaborate set of traditional tabus designed to prevent themselves, or any associated with them, from offending the spirits that they regarded as being in almost all things. Among them was a tabu against urinating in running water (q.v.), washing clothing in water, cutting fire (q.v.) with a knife (wounding the fire spirit), or stepping on the threshold of a *ger* (q.v.) or yurt. Offenders could be killed for their offense, or, at least, they had to be purified. This could involve movement between two fires since the fire spirit could purify. In particular, things struck by lightning (q.v.) had to be so purified.

TACTICS. *See* Strategy.

TAIMAS. Mongol general. Taimas was sent west, along with Tainal, by Cormaqan-qorci (q.v.) to deal with Jalāl al-Dīn (q.v.) while his commander attended to other matters.

TĀJ AL-DĪN 'ALĪŠĀH. Ilqanate (q.v.) minister. During the reign of Abū Sa'īd (r. 1316–1335) (q.v.) he engineered the execution of his rival, the historian Rašīd al-Dīn (q.v.). He was an ally of general Choban (q.v.). *See also* “6. Ilqanate.”

TALAS COVENANT (1269). Agreement primarily between Baraq (q.v.), *qan* of the Ca'adai *ulus* (q.v.) and Qaidu (q.v.), although Golden Horde (q.v.) representatives were also involved. They divided up revenues from the sedentary economic center (Bukhara, q.v., and nearby areas, *e.g.*, Transoxania, q.v.) of the Ca'adai *ulus* between them, with all sides agreeing not to expropriate goods and revenues in the areas involved but to allow Mas'ūd Beg (q.v.) to administer them in a rational manner in their names. The agreement also governed the establishment of pastures for Baraq and Qaidu. *See also* “5. Ca'adai *Ulus* and Qaidu.”

TALAS RIVER. River in central Turkistan (q.v.). It marked the real boundary between nomadic and largely sedentary territory in the Ca'adai *ulus* (q.v.).

TAMERLANE (1336–1405). Turkic chieftain and conqueror. He was not Mongol, but sought to trace Mongol connections through his wife's ancestors. His English name is a corruption of the Persian Timür-i Leng, "lame Timür." Tamerlane is important not only for his conquests, but for his role in definitively ending the Mongol era in Turkistanian history, and for his attack on the Golden Horde (q.v.) in 1395–1396, which began with the Battle of the Terek River (q.v.), in which the army of Toqtamysh (q.v.) was decisively defeated, and ended with the destruction of much of the sedentary base of the Golden Horde along the lower Volga (q.v.), including Sarai (q.v.).

TAMGHA. 1) A seal of office, including of the *qan*. See also seal. 2) A commercial tax, 5 percent in the Ilqanate (q.v.).

TANGUT. Collective name for various non-Chinese peoples making up the dominant group of the Xixia (q.v.) kingdom. Most appear to have had a Tibetan origin, but Altaic elements were also present, including the Tangut ruling family, descended from a Medieval Altaic people called the Toba. Most Tanguts were pastoral, but many lived in cities by the 13th century. Like other culturally mixed groups of the Sino-Mongolian frontier, the Tanguts had their own script, distantly based upon Chinese (q.v.). Tangut were also found in Jin (see Jürched) domains, including among or near the Önggüd (q.v.). See also "1. Mongol Empire."

TANMA. A *tanma* was a nomadic garrison force in the form of a kernel tribal federation comprising elements specifically assigned from the steppe, and associated local forces. Later other elements became part of a *tanma*, as more local surrenders took place. During the earliest period of Mongol expansion, such *tanma* were the most important form of regional control and expansion. Later, the *tanma* continued to exist, but formal administrative organs came into being as well, and not all surrendered populations were organized as part of it, as was the case at first. The word is apparently a Turkic verbal noun from the verb *tan-*, "to know, command, control." Nomadic members of

a *tanma*, including its commander, were known as *tanmaci*. *See also Alginci*; “2. Mongol Empire.”

TANMACI. Tribal member of a *tanma*. Also designated the commander of a *tanma*.

TAOISM. Originally a Chinese philosophy, the term was later applied to certain popular movements and religious groups as well. In early Mongol China (q.v.) the most important Taoists were the members of the so-called new Taoist sects of which the Quanzhen 全真 was the most influential. Originally organized in large part as a protest against foreign, e.g., Jin Dynasty (*see* Jürched) rule, such sects became very important as organizational elements in the chaos of the Jin collapse and the emergence of the Mongols. At one point, the leader of the Quanzhen sect, Changchun 長春 (q.v.) was invited to visit Cinggis-qan (q.v.) then campaigning in the far west, and made the arduous journey that is recorded in detail in the “Record of a Journey to the West,” (*Xi yuji* 西游記), by Changchun’s disciple Li Zhichang 李志常. Later, after Changchun’s death, the Taoists, who sought to take over the leadership of religion generally in north China, including Buddhism (q.v.), overstepped their bounds. After a series of Buddho-Taoist Debates (q.v.) held before Prince Qubilai (q.v.), they were persecuted, and their canonical texts burned. *See also* Religion.

TARBAQAN. A marmot, *Marmota bobak*. It was a major food (*see* Foods) source under the Mongols, but also a vector of Black Plague (q.v.), requiring avoidance when the fleas causing the disease were active. Recently, various parts of the marmot have been assigned medicinal properties, and this may have been the case in early Mongol times as well.

TARIM BASIN. The desert basin that forms the most important part of eastern Turkistan (q.v.). Most of the important cities of the region are located around its rims, where there are at least seasonal rivers, and underground water that can be tapped.

TARKHAN. *See* Darqan.

TARMASHIRIN. Last ruler of a united Ca’adai *ulus* (q.v.) (r. 1326–1334). Despite his Buddhist name, he was a convert to Islam (q.v.). *See also* “5. Ca’adai *Ulus* and Qaidu.”

TARTAR. *See* Tatar.

TATAR. 1. An important association of groups found in eastern Mongolia in the 12th century. Many were closely allied with the Jin Dynasty (*see Jüyin; see also* Jürched) and thus were largely enemies of Cinggis-qan (q.v.) and his allies. The Tatar were of long standing as an ethnic group by the time of Cinggis-qan, and are first mentioned in Chinese sources in the 9th century. By the time of Cinggis-qan, they seem, unlike most Mongolian groups, to have already been organized into distinct tribal units, but this may, in large part, have been due to the connections with the Jin. 2. A general name for tribal peoples of the steppe in the Jin and Song empires. Zhao Hong 趙珙 (q.v.), the author of the *Mengda beilu* 蒙鞑備錄 (1221), divides them into black, white, and wild. The White Tatar were the Önggüd (q.v.), the Black Tatar appear to be the Mongol elite, and the “wild” Tatar commoner Mongols, or at least more primitive groups associated with the Mongols. 3. A general name for the tribal peoples of the Golden Horde (q.v.). It usually occurs in the form Tartar, a northwestern Turkic dialectical form of Tatar. (Despite popular misconception, it is not related to Latin *tartarius*, “from hell.”) The word Tatar itself appears to be of Turkic origin (it is an aorist of the verbal root *tat-*, meaning “habitually drawing,” i.e., *ger*, q.v., on carts), but most Tatar were probably culturally Mongolian by the time of Cinggis-qan.

“TATAR RELATION.” Name given to a text more or less identical to the account of John of Plano Carpini (q.v.), found written on the back of the manuscript pages upon which the so-called Vinland Map (q.v.) is drawn. The *Tatar Relation* is certainly genuine, whatever the status of the map. *See also* Benedict the Pole.

“TATAR YOKE.” Term used by Russian historians to designate the period of active Golden Horde (q.v.) control over Moskovy,

and the other Russian principalities. It was supposedly broken by the Battle of Kulikovo (q.v.).

TAXATION. For the early Mongols taxation was largely in the form of a share of animals herded (*qubciri*, q.v.), and in the obligation to serve the *qan* when mobilized (apparently the origin of *qalan*). Later, the Mongol conception of taxation was modified to include taxation of sedentary peoples, with yields other than in animals. Generally, many local, traditional taxes were then identified with Mongol taxes, creating considerable confusion in our sources. The Mongols only slowly went over to the idea of taxation in the occupied, sedentary areas as opposed to seizure of individuals and property, and outright expropriation of the survivors. *See also Tamgha.*

TAYICI'UT. The former people of Yisügei (q.v.). They abandoned his widow Hö'elün (q.v.) and her children, including Cinggis-qan (q.v.) on the pastures, a virtual death sentence. Although Hö'elün and her brood survived, the Tayici'ut remained the bitter enemies of Cinggis-qan and his family, until subdued again during his wars.

TEB-TENGGIRI (KÖKÖCHÜ). A shaman (*bö'e*; *see Shaman*) who initially was a supporter of Cinggis-qan (q.v.), but who finally became so powerful that he had to be executed in the traditional Mongolian way, without shedding blood (q.v.). The name Teb-Tenggiri was a nickname and means something like "high Heaven," Tenggiri (q.v.) being the Mongolian sky god. Shaman such as Teb-Tenggiri played a particularly important role in early Mongolian society, since it was their duty to announce the will of Heaven, including at the time of the election of *qan*.

TEMÜCHIN. *See Cinggis-qan.*

TEMÜGE-OTCIGIN. Younger brother of Cinggis-qan (q.v.) and the "fire guardian" (*otcigin*, q.v.) of his father's yurt as the youngest son. His descendent, Nayan (q.v.), caused Qubilai (q.v.) considerable difficulty in 1287 when he revolted in Manchuria. It was Temüge who executed the shaman Teb-Tenggiri (q.v.) by breaking his back during a wrestling match.

TEMÜJIN. *See* Cinggis-qan.

TEMÜR ÖLJEITÜ. Second ruler (1294–1307) of the Mongol qanate of China (q.v.). He was the son of Qubilai's son and heir apparent, Zhenjin 真金 (q.v.), who predeceased his father. Temür Öljeitü's reign was most important for the end of the threat from Qaidu (q.v.), due to the latter's death, and Temür Öljeitü's attempt to make peace with the feuding princes of the Mongolian world and reestablish at least the semblance of unity. He is also noted for ending the active imperialism of Qubilai's reign, including canceling further plans for assaulting Japan (q.v.). *See also* "4. Qanate China."

TENDUC. Name used by Marco Polo (q.v.) for a small urban center of one group of Önggüd (q.v.). The name is from Chinese Tiande 天德. This settlement was typical of many such small towns and cities dotting what is now Inner Mongolia at the time and shows a buildup of sedentary population in the area.

TENGGIRI. "Heaven" The term also occurs in the compounds Köke Tenggiri, "Blue Heaven," or Möngke Tenggiri, "Eternal Heaven." Tenggiri was the Altaic sky god worshipped by the Mongols. It was sometimes conceived of in anthropomorphic terms, and thus identified with the Christian God by missionaries. *See also* Religion; "Eternal Heaven."

TEREK RIVER, BATTLE OF (APRIL 14, 1395). The Terek is a river in the southern part of Russia (q.v.). It was where Tamerlane (q.v.) decisively defeated Toqtamysh (q.v.) of the Golden Horde (q.v.) on April 14, 1395. This was a disaster from which the Golden Horde never recovered, although it continued to exist, in disunified form, for some time thereafter.

TERRITORY. For the Mongols, territory was seen in terms of pastoral uses made of it, and its value for pastoral use. By Mongol tradition, territories belonged to the group and not to individuals, and rights to use them was by group membership. Under the empire and later, this often meant that the designated head of a group, representing it, told its members where to pasture their animals, as Bat-qan (q.v.) did, for example. But pasture use could also be assigned by consensus as well as the order of some powerful persons.

TERRITORY, ADMINISTRATION OF. By Mongol tradition, territories belong to groups, not individuals, and were subject to joint use. The same principle was applied to the Mongol Empire as a whole, whose components were ruled jointly by the various groups using or claiming them, with the *qan* speaking on behalf of his clan. *See also* Province; Government; *Jarqu*.

TEUTONIC KNIGHTS. European crusading order active in Eastern Europe and Russia (q.v.). The order was first formed during the Third Crusade and gradually emerged as a brotherhood similar to the Knights Hospitalers of Saint John, and received many donations of lands with which to support itself. At first its efforts were concentrated on the Holy Land (q.v.), but its focus shifted to Eastern Europe in connection to a grant of privileges to the order by Hungarian King Andrew II in 1211. Initially this meant campaigns against the Quman (q.v.) Turks of the south Russian steppe (q.v.) and adjacent areas, but in 1230 the order also began helping local princes fight against the Pagan Prussians. Later, after absorbing the Livonian Sword Brothers, the Teutonic Knights became involved farther afield, as far as Novgorod, which brought them into proximity with the Mongol world.

Defeated on the famous Battle on Lake Peipus in 1242 by Aleksander Nevsky (q.v.), perhaps with Mongol support, the order retreated to its East Prussian base, which it built up against the Lithuanians (*see* Lithuania), its mortal enemies. The order continued to assert itself, although the appearance of a united Lithuania-Poland (*see also* Poland) in 1386, and the conversion of the Lithuanian ruling house to Christianity that same year, marked a serious threat. The order declined after that, particularly after the defeat of the order in the Battle of Tannenberg on July 15, 1410, by the Poles and Lithuanians, with some Mongol help, although it continued to exist for some centuries more. The main role of the order in Eastern Europe during the era of Golden Horde (q.v.) influence there was as an enemy in the rear of Poland and Lithuania, preventing them from uniting their armies effectively against the Mongols.

TEXTILES. Prestige goods in the Mongol world. The Mongols did not weave, except, apparently, for a minor tradition of card weaving. This was largely due to the fact that the wool pro-

duced by their sheep (q.v.) was of too poor quality to make good wool cloth. There was also little space in Mongolian life for large and complicated looms. Fine textiles for clothing (beyond animal skins and felt overgarments) and other purposes, particularly for display, thus had to come from outside. In peaceful times this meant trading and, in fact, the steppe was very much involved in China's silk trade, and silk was the preferred prestige cloth among the Mongols. It remains the material of choice for the Mongol robe (*de'el*) to this day. Textiles could be and were also seized as booty (q.v.) and producers of sophisticated textiles could be captured and taken back to the steppe to produce for Mongol masters in captive settlements, although, of course, raw materials had to be imported.

Once the Mongols were in control, they had access to textiles produced as taxes, an old tradition in China at least, but also established still more sophisticated trading connections to obtain what they needed. Conspicuous display became even more noticeable under the empire, and in the successor qanates. There are thus many references to trade textiles in Mongol-era sources and a rich terminological tradition as witnessed, for example, by Marco Polo (q.v.).

THOUSAND. *See Mingan.*

THOMAS OF SPALATO (C. 1200–1268). Thomas was author of an account of the Mongolian invasion of Hungary and points south, e.g., Dalmatia. *See also Carmen Miserabile*; Hungary; Sübe'edei; Bat-qan.

TIBET. In Mongol times, the area occupied by groups and peoples of Tibetan culture. It included the present geographical Tibet, and tribal outcroppings into west China and north into Kokenoor, and even Tangut (q.v.) Xixia (q.v.). Strictly speaking, there was no Tibet as a political entity when the Mongols invaded, just competing communities, including tribes and monastic groups. The latter were usually controlled by a dominant clan (the aKhon family in the case of the Sa-sKya, q.v.), and were economic and social units as well as religious communities. There were perhaps a dozen major ones in the early 13th century, none of them capable of dominating the others without outside aid. In this case, aid was provided by the Mongols, who, for various reasons, probably its relative weakness as compared

to aBri-Kung (q.v.), or even mTshal-Pa, chose the Sa-sKya to become hegemon. See also Sa-sKya Paṇḍita; aPhags-pa; Kōten.

TIMÜR-I LENG. See Tamerlane.

TITLES. Numerous titles occur in our sources connected with Mongolian and non-Mongolian figures, some reflecting actual practice, and others attempting to render Mongolian usage for local consumption. For this reason interpretation of them is fraught with difficulty. The available sources are also highly contradictory.

Generally, the titles of the era were of four sorts: first were highly individualized titles more honorific than functional in character, although sometimes indicating a hereditary ranking. One example that is probably clearly honorific is *ba'atur* (q.v.), “valiant,” or “hero.” Another is *mergen*, “wise, a sharpshooter.” Both may have indicated hereditary rankings at some point in Mongolian history, but there is no evidence that this was the case any longer in the 13th century. By contrast, a title clearly associated with hereditary status (it is so labeled in the *Secret History of the Mongols*, q.v.), at least in males, is *beki*, of uncertain meaning. Among those holding it was Usun-ebügen, Usun “the old,” a shaman (q.v.). This title also was added to female names. In some cases the honorific titles were Chinese, e.g., *ong-qan*, from Wang 王 –qan, “prince qan,” or *guiong*, i.e., *guowang* 國王, “prince of a country” or “prince of a dynasty.”

Also part of this category were popular nicknames such as *aqqa* (q.v.), “elder brother,” as in Arqan-aqa (q.v.). In this case the *aqqa* may have been intended to distinguish between members of a lineage in the same way that Latin *magnus* in medieval Carolingian usage indicated the first Charles in the Carolingian lineage. This may have been the case with other such titles as well. In all cases, such honorific or hereditary titles or nicknames occurred after names, never before them.

Second were those titles indicating permanent associations within the Mongolian inner establishment, e.g., *qorci*, “quiver-bearer,” a bodyguard (see *Kesikten*) appointment. This was proudly borne by a number of notable Mongols even though their actual functions in Mongolian military organization were far more exalted, e.g., in the case of Cormaqan-qorci (q.v.). Such titles also always occurred after a name.

Third were those titles indicating some external office, perhaps held on a temporary basis, and these usually occurred before a name. One of the most common of the titles held in this way was *tanmaci* (q.v.), member or commander of a *tanma* (q.v.), a nomadic garrison force. *Jarquci* (q.v.) and *daruqaci* (q.v.) also were usually titles occurring before, not after names and seem to have functioned in this way.

Finally, there were titles self-assigned by individuals or by the locals seeking for an equivalent of some Mongol office in their own terms. Thus Yelü Chucai 耶律楚材 (q.v.), the great Kitan (q.v.) minister of Ögödei (q.v.), “took” the title *zhongshu ling* 中書令 (q.v.), “chief of the Central Secretariat,” although there is no evidence that such a “Central Secretariat,” the centerpiece of a traditional Chinese court, ever existed.

In probably the same manner, except that the initiative may have come from the locals rather than the office holders in some cases, Mongolian *daruqaci* seem to have been called *basqaq* (q.v.), with the same meaning, in Central Asian Turkic, in some areas. This term was originally used in the Qara-Kitan Empire (q.v.). *Daruqaci* are also called *shahna*, a Persian equivalent. Likewise, many *jarquci* also were called by various local titles including, apparently *shahna*, and, in China (q.v.), *xingsheng* 行省 (q.v.), “[Official] Carrying Out the Business of a Branch Secretariat,” based upon Jin Dynasty (*see* Jürched) usage. The latter practice may have begun under the empire, but most of our sources indicating such usage are later. In no case is there evidence, in the Mongolian imperial period at least, that the individuals involved were ever anything more than *daruqaci*, or whatever office they held.

Later, to complicate the problem further, the successor qanates extensively adopted local administrative systems, and the offices and titles associated with them. In that case a system of dual appointments was often employed, with individuals in China, for example, holding a Chinese-style office as well as a bodyguard appointment. There is evidence for something similar in Mongol Iran. *See also* Government.

TÖDE MÖNGKE. Golden Horde (q.v.) *qan* (r. 1280–1287). It was during Töde Möngke’s reign that Turkic definitively replaced Mongolian on Golden Horde coins, indicating the culmination of Turkicization (q.v.) among them. He was a Muslim and intervened actively in Eastern Europe, including in Bulgaria, to

the benefit of Byzantium. He was dominated by the emir Noqai (q.v.). *See also* “4. Golden Horde.”

TOGHON TEMÜR. Last emperor of the Mongol Yuan Dynasty (q.v.) (r. 1333–1368). He was second only to Qubilai (q.v.) in the length of his reign in an era of short-lived emperors, but this long reign did him little good since China (q.v.) was soon all but lost to the Mongols, and the emperors in Daidu 大都 (*see* Peking) became irrelevant for subsequent developments. Toghon Temür is said to have been given to sexual excesses, but the sexual excesses in question may only have been tantric rituals (*see* Sex). The legend of Toghon Temür in this case more reflects Chinese attempts to characterize him as a “bad last emperor,” who loses the Mandate of Heaven through his own evilness, than any reality. Driven from Daidu in 1368 by victorious Ming (q.v.) armies, Toghon Temür retreated to the fringes of the steppe, and began the Northern Yuan (q.v.) resistance movement before his death in 1370. *See also* “3. Qanate China.”

TOGHTO (1314–1355). Powerful minister in Mongol China (q.v.). Toghto dominated the court for much of the reign of Toghon-temür (q.v.). He is noted for his efforts to build up the power of the declining dynasty. He personally campaigned in the south, by then mostly held by rebels, on two occasions, in 1352 and 1354–1355, on the latter case to regain control of the strategic Grand Canal, but his efforts were, in the end, largely ineffectual. This was due to competing court factions that undercut his authority. He was recalled and cashiered in 1355, and the Yuan court never again regained the initiative. Toghto is sometimes seen as the head of a pro-Chinese faction at court, but this is doubtful. Certainly Chinese symbol was useful in factional disputes within a ruling class that included large numbers of Chinese, but the extent to which this represents any real Sinicization (q.v.) of the Mongols, for example, remains to be seen. *See also* “3. Qanate China.”

TOÏN. *See* Toyin.

TOKTAMISH. *See* Toqtamysh.

TOKTU. *See* Toqta.

TOLERATION. The Mongols, at least until the widespread appearance of Islam (q.v.) among the Mongols in the west and Central Asia, were noted for their toleration of all religions and of other cultures in general. One expression of this was a flourishing of missionary efforts among them, with European Christianity appearing in China (q.v.) and Iraq (q.v.), and Tibetan Buddhism as far afield as Iran (q.v.) and perhaps even in Russia (q.v.). Other, expressions in cultural terms, were the court dishes of the imperial dietary *Yinshan zhengyao* 飲膳正要 (q.v.) that held something of interest for almost anyone, from any culture, likely to appear at court.

TOLUI-NOYON (1193–1233). Youngest son of Cinggis-qan (q.v.). He was the father of Möngke *qan* (q.v.) and Qubilai (q.v.), and through Qubilai, progenitor of the royal line of qanate China (q.v.), and thus important in its historiography. Tolui was regent following the death of Cinggis-qan. Later he played an active role in the final advance on the Jin (*see* Jürched), in part through Sübe’etei (q.v.), whose champion Tolui became with *qan* Ögödei (q.v.). Tolui would probably have had an even more important role in the history of early Mongol China if he had not died comparatively young. In some sources his name is written Toli, which may be a tabu form. *See also* Tabu Names.

TO’ORIL-QAN. *See* Ong-qan.

TOQTA. Golden Horde (q.v.) ruler (r. 1291–1312). He was the puppet of the powerful emir Nogai (q.v.), until the latter’s death in 1299. Toqta’s reign represents the apex of Golden Horde influence. He married the daughter of Andronikos II Paleologus of Byzantium. *See also* “4. Golden Horde.”

TOQTAMYSH. Golden Horde (q.v.) ruler (1376/77–1395). He was decisively defeated by Tamerlane (q.v.) at the Battle of the Terek River (q.v.) on April 14, 1395. Toqtamysh began as a puppet of Tamerlane, but proved an effective ruler and made a serious effort to restore the fortunes of the declining Golden Horde, particularly vis-à-vis the Russian states. Although deposed by Tamerlane in 1391, Toqtamysh refused to relinquish his throne and fought back, drawing a more serious intervention

from the south that ended in disaster for the Golden Horde and for Toqtamysh. *See also* "4. Golden Horde."

TOQTO'A-BEKI. Merkit (q.v.) chieftain. He led a group of refugees from the steppe wars of Cinggis-qan (q.v.) that reassembled in the far west of the Mongolian world (along the Irtish). There they were safe for several years, but ultimately fell victim to Joci (q.v.), moving his pastures in that direction. Toqto'a-beki was killed in the battle that resulted, in late 1208 or early 1209. *See also* Sübe'etei; "2. Mongol Empire."

TÖREGENE-QATUN. *See* Döregene-qatun.

TORZHOK. A minor Russian city that received the epithet "bad" from the Mongols on account of its protracted resistance prior to its fall on March 23, 1238. This was so late in the preferred winter campaigning season (to allow easy passage of frozen rivers) that further Mongol advance was ruled out for that year. This probably saved Novgorod and some other points from capture. *See also* "2. Mongol Empire."

TOSHI. *See* Joci.

TOSSUC. *See* Joci.

TO'UCAR. Mongolian general. Sent to scout the west with 2000 horsemen. Received the surrender of the Qarlu'ud (q.v.).

TOUXIA 頭下. Also *touxiang* 頭項. This is a term of uncertain origin applied in China (q.v.) to the great lords of occupied China, both Mongolian and local and, by extension, to their holdings. It may be related to Mongolian *tushiyal*, "an investment with authority," including over tribal groups.

TOYIN. Turkic term for Buddhist monk. From the Chinese *Daoren* 道人, "man of *dao*."

TRADE. For the Mongols, trade, generally long range and focused mostly on the exchange of exotic commodities, was something that they sought to participate in through their direct representatives, or through capital provided to associations of merchants, or *ortaq* (q.v.). In addition to traditional Mongol patterns of

trade, including traditional sponsorship of the trade of others operating in or on the fringes of the steppe, the Mongols also learned to participate, once they were in control, in local trading systems. This included the so-called tribute trade of China. Nonetheless, unlike the Chinese, the Mongols were always directly concerned with commercial rather than symbolic value.

In addition to official trade in which Mongols participated indirectly, or controlled, there was also considerable private trade going on. This was the original intent of the Polos in traveling to China, for example (*see* Marco Polo). Here too, the Mongols sought to profit from it by various commercial taxes (principally the tax called *tamgha*, q.v.), and through systems of gift-giving in exchange for favors, including free passage.

TRANSHUMANCE. *See* Pastoral Nomadism.

TRANSOXANIA. Traditionally the land beyond the Oxus River, a traditional boundary of Iran (q.v.) with the outside world. Much of the land involved came under the Ca'adai *ulus* (q.v.) and the river valleys and oasis states of the area were the economic foundation of Ca'adai rule.

TREBIZOND. Byzantine successor empire located around the city of that name on the Black Sea coast of modern Turkey and ruled by the Comnenos family, the Byzantine dynasty before the Latins (*see* Constantinople, Latin Empire of). Important outlet for Mongol-era trade passing through Iran (q.v.). *See also* Byzantine Empire.

TREBUCHET. In Mongol times, a heavy type of catapult thrown with counterweights rather than having a charge propelled by torsion. It had more range than the standard catapult, could throw larger weights, and was capable of a higher rate of fire. The Mongols used it, among other things, to throw shrapnel-filled bombs as well as incendiaries, at least in China (q.v.) (*see also* Gunpowder). The Polos (*see* Marco Polo) claim to have introduced the trebuchet to China, but this is highly unlikely since similar human-powered devices had long been known there. What the Polos, or someone else from the Western world, may have introduced is the idea of the counterweight, which made the trebuchet the most powerful artillery of the era, and one of the weapons which made Mongol conquests of fortified centers

on a large scale possible. *See also* Mangonels.

TRIBES. The post-expansion organizational units of Mongolian society. Originally, the Mongols seem to have lacked higher-level organization above the herding unit, other than that which was provided by an elaborate organization of society in terms of various overlapping kinship units and traditional regional associations. It was only in the protracted wars of the late 12th century that larger units first appeared generally. The first to be mentioned were the *güre'en* (q.v.) that Cinggis-qan (q.v.), Jamuqa (q.v.), and others led into battle. These are defined by Rashīd al-Dīn (q.v.) as a circle of wagons with the tent of the leader of the *güre'en* pitched in the exact center, indicating his power over the rest. Later, the *güre'en* seem to have evolved into or been replaced by the *mingan* (q.v.), a military and social unit theoretically capable of fielding a thousand warriors; sometimes more, sometimes less. These *mingan* not only made up the armies of the era of expansion but also were the units about which regional tribal federations were based, e.g., the *tanma* (q.v.) garrison forces established in various parts of the empire. *See also* Social Structure; *Oboq*; *Uruq*.

TUGH. *See* *Tuq*.

TÜGH TEMÜR, I. Prince of the House of Tolui. He played a major role in the 1276 revolt of Mongolia against Qubilai (q.v.).

TÜGH TEMÜR, II. *Qan* of Mongol China (q.v.) (r. 1328–1329, 1329–1332). The most Sinicized of the Mongol emperors of China, since he was said to have spoken and written Chinese well. He had a relatively small political impact due to his short reign. *See also* “3. Qanate China.”

TUIN. *See* *Toyin*.

TUMAN. *See* *Tümen*.

TÜMEN (MYRIARCHY). A regional command comprising several tribal units or *mingan* (q.v.). There were relatively few of them and, unlike the *mingan*, there is no evidence that a *tümen* was ever a social as well as a military unit. There is also little evidence, in Mongol imperial times at least, that *tümen* were in-

tended to be standing units. They appear and disappear in our sources, unlike the *mingan*, traceable over the long term. The *tanma* (q.v.) of China (q.v.) was technically organized as a *tïmen*, but not all *tïmen* were *tanma*. See also Army.

TUQ. Mongolian banner. Sacred standards raised by Cinggis-qan (q.v.) and other Mongol figures. It required human sacrifice to propitiate the *sülde* (q.v.) or ancestral spirit resident in it during times of mobilization for war. Reportedly, this was done as late as 1945. That of Cinggis-qan was white and had nine yak tail streamers (later, horse tails seem to have been substituted for Mongol banners). That of Muqali (q.v.) also had nine yak tails and a black moon on his *tuq*. That of Qubilai (q.v.) had the sun and the moon, and that of his brother Hüle'ü (q.v.) an eagle. The practice of the *tuq* probably came to the Mongols from the Turks, although the Kitan (q.v.) and Chinese also used such banners.

TURFAN. A depression in Chinese Turkistan (q.v.) harboring a major oasis, and thus an important base for military action in the area. Turfan was the focus of the Turfan Uighurs (q.v.).

TURFAN UIGHURS. Turkic population of the Turfan region in eastern Turkistan (q.v.) centered on the city of Beshbaliq (q.v.). Its relationships, if any, other than an apparently borrowed name (see Uighurs), with the Uighur steppe empire of the 9th century remain unclear. After developing on their own, and under the political influence of others, the Turfan Uighurs came under the Qara-Kitan Empire (q.v.) in the early 12th century.

Qara-Kitan overlordship continued until 1209 when, threatened by a closer supervision by the Qara-Kitan and the approach of Merkit (q.v.) refugees from the steppe, pursued closely by the Mongols, the Uighur king, the *idïqut* (q.v.) Barchukh Art Tegin, decided to revolt from the Qara-Kitan and submit to the Mongols.

Subsequently, at times to their detriment, the Turfan Uighurs proved loyal allies of the Mongols, fighting locally against the Merkit, along with the Mongols under Sübe'etei (q.v.), and then against Güçülük (q.v.). They also actively participated in the war of Cinggis-qan (q.v.) against the Khwarazmians (see Khwarazmian Empire) and then in the last war of

the *qan* against the Tangut (q.v.) of Xixia (q.v.).

Later, after an era of comparative peace, the Turfan Uighurs found themselves on the boundary between Qubilai's (q.v.) qanate China (q.v.) and the Ca'adai *ulus* (q.v.), and later close neighbors of the domains of Qaidu (q.v.). In the subsequent warfare with Qaidu, as the battle lines surged back and forth, the Turfan Uighur suffered greatly, sometimes under foreign occupation, and went into decline. Some of their cities, including Beshbaliq, were in virtual ruins by the late 13th century. Ultimately the Yuan government entirely abandoned the area.

TURKICIZATION. Cultural assimilation of others by Turks. In the case of the Mongols, this could mean an outright assimilation, as of Mongols in the Golden Horde (q.v.), Iran (q.v.), or Turkistan (q.v.), that is, turning Mongols into Turks, or a cultural assimilation, *e.g.*, of much of Mongol court culture in China (q.v.). One sign of the latter are the many "Mongolian" words such as Qanbaliq (q.v.), "City of the *qan*," *i.e.*, Peking (q.v.), which are actually Turkic forms of what may have been originally Mongolian words. In addition to terminology, Mongol court foods of China are replete with Turkic elements, although, in many cases, the Turks may have been mere transmitters of Islamic food culture. *See also* Foods.

TURKISH CULTURE. Turkish culture for the Mongols was of two sorts. The most important was native Turkic culture operating at the folk level. This included such things as articles and equipment for daily life, folklore, food, vocabulary, particularly political terminology, *etc.* Secondly, the Turks were also repositories of sedentary knowledge reinterpreted with their interests and tastes in mind, which they often passed on to the Mongols. Most of the assimilated court foods of the Mongols, for example, appear to have been borrowed from the Turks who, in turn, had often assimilated non-Turkic traditions.

TURKISH LANGUAGE. There was no single Turkish or Turkic language spoken during Mongol times, but a number of more or less closely related languages and dialects. As today, the differences were more often in vocabulary, including loan words, and their sources, than in base structure, so communication from one Turkic group to the other was usually relatively easy. Certain dialects, those spoken by the Kibca'ut (q.v.) and Qanglin

(q.v.), for example, may also have served as *linguae francae*. This was apparently the case in Mongol China (q.v.), where a number of different Turkic groups were present, including Kibca'ut and Qanglin guards (*see* Imperial Guard). At least there is little evidence of substantial Turkic linguistic diversity at court. *See also* Languages.

TURKISTAN. “Land of the Turks.” A recent term for the steppe areas that today comprise most of modern Kazakhstan, Khirghizia, Uzbekistan, Turkmenistan, and Tajikistan, as well as Chinese Xinjiang 新疆. The latter is also known as eastern Turkistan and the former, formerly Soviet area, as western. Geographies and cultures of the two regions are very different. Chinese or eastern Turkistan is very much a desert land, where oases form the most important centers of human occupation, and while there is some Iranian influence in the area, most of the non-Altaic peoples were from other Indo-European linguistic groups such as Tocharians or Sogdians. Western Turkistan, by contrast, although including its own oases, is a land of rich river valleys and of adjacent steppe areas. Although, as in eastern Turkistan, there has long been a Turkic presence and, for that matter, other Altaic influence as well, the sedentary culture of the area is heavily Iranian. Probably because of its geography, with a lack of good pasture lands, the Mongols never colonized Chinese Turkistan to any significant degree, while western Turkistan was and remained a bastion of nomadic groups, particularly the northern part.

TURKS. People speaking Turkic languages, both steppe groups and sedentary or semi-sedentary cultures, such as the oasis Uighurs (*see* Turfan Uighurs) or the Seljuq (q.v.) of Anatolia. Turks were found from what is now Inner Mongolia, throughout Central Asia, including parts of Mongolia, into the south Russian steppe and south into northern Iran and Anatolia (which they were well advanced in turning into the Turkey of today), and west and southwest into Egypt and Yemen. They were the most numerous and most widespread of the Altaic groups of Mongol times. They were also that Altaic group, with the possible exception of the Kitan (q.v.), that the Mongols felt closest to in culture and most comfortable with, even oasis Turks. Unlike the Mongols, Turks had been literate for more than 600 years as the Mongols began their conquests, and had accumulated enormous

experience in governing sedentary peoples. The Mongols consequently not only freely borrowed cultural elements from the Turks in other areas, but extensively drew upon various kinds of Turkic-speakers to help them administer by preference as well. As a result, the Mongolian world became so Turkic that many of the Mongolian words that have come down to us, for example, *e.g.* qarakumiss, “clarified kumiss,” Qanbalīq (q.v.), “*Qan* city,” i.e., Peking (q.v.), are not Mongolian at all but Turkic. Likewise, when the Mongols carried out their court feasts, as witnessed by the *Yinshan zhengyao* 飲膳正要 (q.v.), the non-Mongolian foods that are most evident are Turkic.

TUTQA'UL. Mongolian transportation policemen. They were responsible for order along the *jam* (q.v.), the imperial postal routes. These routes were maintained for general use, and, as *naryn jam* (q.v.), “secret *jam*,” for restricted state service. In qanate China (q.v.) they also carried out a number of other, related functions as well, including control over internal migration. The *tutqa'ul* are all but invisible within the official Chinese structure of qanate China but, according to Rashīd al-Dīn (q.v.), constituted a major administration of their own. *See also* “3. Qanate China.”

TUYIN. *See toyin.*

— U —

UIGHUR SCRIPT. *See* Mongolian Script.

UIGHURS. Turkic speakers of the China (q.v.) borderlands and of eastern Turkistan (q.v.). Not to be confused with the Uighurs of today. The name goes back to a nomadic group extremely important in Tang Dynasty times but, contrary to the popular conception, there is no simple one-to-one correlation between steppe and sedentary Uighurs. Some steppe Uighurs did become sedentary as rulers over oasis states, but most of the Uighurs of Mongol times have other origins entirely, and represent a more generalized Turkic stratum. Among those called Uighurs in Mongol times were the Önggüd (q.v.) of what is now Inner Mongolia., both in Chinese and in Western sources (Bar Hebraeus, q.v.). Many, but not all were, in fact, Turkic,

and the area was a focus of Turkic settlement during the period after the fall of Tang, thus the usage. *See also* Turfan Uighurs.

UIHUR. *See* Uighurs.

ULUS. Joint patrimony. In the Mongolian system peoples and lands conquered or held by hereditary right did not belong solely to the individual who held them but to his entire clan, and had to be shared, as an *ulus*. Under this system the entire Mongol Empire was the *ulus* of the altan *uruq* (q.v.), “golden *uruq*,” or imperial clan, as the *yeke Mongol ulus*, “the great [or imperial] Mongol patrimony.” *See also* Jarqu; Jarquci; Territory; Territory, Administration; Government; Province.

‘UMARĪ, IBN FAḌL ALLĀH AI- (1301–1349). Mamlūk (q.v.) encyclopedist who was unusually well informed regarding the Mongols, probably reflecting the high quality of Mamlūk intelligence. His work, the “The Ways of Sight in the Empires of the Lands” (*Masālik al-abṣār wa l’mamālik al-amṣār*), includes chapters on each of the Mongol successor qanates as they were at approximately at the time of writing. The author died prematurely of the Black Death (q.v.).

URIANGQADAI (1201–1272). Son of Sübe’etei-ba’atur (q.v.). He was repeatedly entrusted with major campaigns in Mongol China (q.v.), including Yunnan 雲南 (q.v.), and along the western border of Sichuan 四川, where he fought initially with prince Qubilai (q.v.), later independently. Other descendents of Sübe’etei were also involved in the final drive on Song China, including Aju, the son of Uriangqadai.

URUQ. Descent group tracing patrilineal descent back to a comparatively recent and well-known common ancestor, in contrast to an *oboq* (q.v.) in which ancestry was traced back to a maximal ancestor who could be fictive. The Mongolian imperial clan, or *altan uruq* (q.v.), “golden” *uruq*,” was such a descent line, in its case tracing its ancestry back to Cinggis-qan (q.v.). Members of a given *uruq* could also trace their ancestry through other *uruq*, as naturally did Cinggis-qan himself before he became the progenitor of the *altan-uruq*.

— V —

VASSĀF-I HĀDRAT (1264–1334). Pen name of Sharaf al-Dīn ‘Abdallāh of Shīrāz. Persian historian, noted for the difficulty and obscurity of his “Division of Territories and the Passage of Ages” (*Tajziyat al-amṣ ar was tazjiyat al-a’ṣ ār*), a continuation of the history of Juvaynī (q.v.). The work is, nonetheless, still a rich source of information for this period, particularly institutional history.

VENGEANCE. Vengeance is a central theme in the *Secret History of the Mongols* (q.v.), and was obviously of great importance to Cinggis-qan (q.v.) and the Mongols. Although there is no evidence that the blood feud ever assumed the proportions that it did as a social institution in the German or Old Norse worlds, individuals were expected to right wrongs done to them on the steppe. Righting such wrongs became a major justification for violence, war, and expansion in a society in which kinship links sought to bind the various components of society with each other and prevent just such violence and war, particularly the destruction of other groups, or their seizure as subordinates. Vengeance was thus one of the social institutions balancing the centripetal force exerted by kinship. The ability to take vengeance successfully was also a way that young competitors for power could distinguish themselves from one another. It also provided an umbrella for mobilizing steppe energies against outsiders, who were frequently warred against as having offended the *qan*, his officers, or the dictates of social order, in the case of the Khwarazmians (*see* Khwarazmian Empire).

VENICE. Italian city-state with interests in the Levant and in the interior of the Mongol Empire. Venice was headquarters for the Polo family (*see* Marco Polo).

VINCENT OF BEAUVAIS (C. 1190–1264). Author of a great historical encyclopedia, the *Speculum Historiale*, “Historical Mirror.” It includes extensive information on the Mongols from various sources, including John of Plano Carpini (q.v.), and Simon de Saint Quentin (q.v.). One manuscript is also associated with the so-called *Tatar Relation* (q.v.) and the Vinland Map (q.v.).

VINLAND MAP. An early map, now owned by Yale University, showing the Old World, Africa, Greenland, and Vinland, the Norse discoveries in America of the 11th century. The map is considered a forgery by many, but this has not been proven definitively. Associated with it is the manuscript called the *Tatar Relation* (q.v.), which is certainly genuine.

VOLGA BULGHARS. Altaic people concentrated along the middle Volga in an area noted for its great commercial importance, especially the great city of Bulghar (q.v.). Other groups of Bulghars invaded the Balkans and established the Bulgaria of the Danube (Thrace), but these Bulghars, or Bulgarians (q.v.) as they are now known, had become Slavs by the time of the Mongols. Only fragmentary texts documenting their original, Altaic language now remain. The Volga Bulgharians had become heavily Turkicized by the time of the Mongols, although some older linguistic strata still remained.

VOLGA RIVER. River in what is now central Russia (q.v.) whose lower and middle reaches constituted the economic focal point of Golden Horde (q.v.) power. The word probably comes from Bulghar (*see* Volga Bulghars).

— W —

WAHLSTADT. *See* Liegnitz, Battle of.

WANG JI 王楫. Appointed to “regulate” Zhongdu 中都 (q.v.) by Alaqa-beki (q.v.), the daughter of Cinggis-qan (q.v.), and wife of the then-head of the Tenduc Önggüd (q.v.). His actual office is uncertain, but he was probably a *jarquci* (q.v.). He continued to hold similar appointments for some time.

WAR. War and raiding was a strategy of life for the Mongols. Many institutions bound Mongolian society together. These included kinship, which linked all Mongolian groups as one big family, and strong traditions of mutual support, solidarity, particularly in adversity, and even of hospitality towards rivals and enemies. Nonetheless, steppe life remained intensely competitive with many ups and downs. As today, adverse weather con-

ditions could wipe out the herds of a nomad upon which he is dependent to survive. This was principally caused by what is now called *khara zud*, "black *zud*," in which a layer of ice, the result of a snowfall, followed by a freezing, followed by a re-freezing, covers fodder and prevents animals from eating. This would force the nomad into the utmost poverty, and usually starvation. When this happened, groups had only two choices, reliance upon other groups, perhaps those with which they were united by close kinship links, or migration associated usually with raiding (*see Raids*) to live off the land. Similar pressures could arise during good times as well, when a rapid buildup of livestock or human populations outstripped local resources. This could create enormous pressures when a number of groups attempted to use the same overstretched resources and thus generated fierce competition.

When this took place at the macro level, above the level of the herding unit, substantial conflict could result. In this case, the driving force was usually not simply conflict over scarce resources, but a major social mobilization based upon articulated campaigns of vengeance (q.v.), whatever the original cause of the conflict. Such campaigns allowed exterminations and the subordination of one group to another.

Campaigns of vengeance in turn could generate still more social pressures, since the only way that a chieftain could maintain his following, at a certain level, was through the generation of booty (q.v.). At the beginning this could simply mean a bigger share of the resources that were the possible object of competition. This was done by denying access to others, or limiting access, with all followers benefiting, and those who were not followers losing, although the latter did have the option of joining the winning group, in which case they could benefit too, at the expense of others still. Be that as it may, since such things as pasture lands were limited, even populations as possible subordinates and slaves, booty quickly assumed the form of prestige goods, *i.e.*, textiles, precious metals, metal goods, even wooden goods, since wood is rare on the steppe. Food could also become a major variety of booty. In most cases, obtaining such prestige goods and stored grains, for example, meant raiding and warring against sedentary societies.

The anthropologist A. L. Kroeber relegates the Mongols to the position of a half culture, because he claims that they were dependent on the outside world for many things, *e.g.*, grain and

textiles, and most industrial goods. In fact, Mongolian society was largely self-sufficient, certainly in food, if one factors in what was obtained from hunting and gathering, and most of the things not produced on the steppe could be obtained by trading. Steppe horses were always in demand in the sedentary world, for example, as were steppe mercenaries. The Mongols did obtain many things from the sedentary world, but it was usually as a part of the system of raiding and warfare already described, to generate booty in the form of prestige goods, but they were never dependent upon the sedentary world for their existence as Kroeber claims.

WARRIOR. In Mongol times any male member of society of a reasonable age. The old, the young, and women also fought, but usually as part of *a'uruq* or base camps, although groups of women warriors are noticed for Mongol China (q.v.), in association with the *tanma* (q.v.) of Muqali (q.v.), for example.

WATER. In Mongolia, seat of a spirit, and governed by various tabus (q.v.) to prevent its violation. The Mongols never insulted water by urinating into it, or washing their clothing in water.

WEAPONS. *See* Arrows; Armor; Compound Bow; Mangonels; Trebuchet; Lances; Swords; Gunpowder.

WHITE. *See* *Caqa'an*.

WHITE HORDE. *See* "White" Ordo.

"WHITE" ORDO (AQ ORDO). Holdings of the House of Orda (*see* Orda), a collateral line to the main Golden Horde (q.v.) line descended from Berke (q.v.). By the late 14th century, the "White" Ordo or Horde had become the dominant group in Mongol Russia (q.v.) in the face of the political bankruptcy of the main Golden Horde line.

WILLIAM OF RUBRUCK. Franciscan monk and Papal envoy to *qan* Möngke (1253–1255) (q.v.). Has left behind a detailed account of his travels that is one of the most valuable sources for the period. He did much to replace the extensive mythology of the medieval worldview on the East with real information.

WOMEN. Performed most of the same functions as men in the Mongolian society of conquest, although they were not regularly warriors, and women ruled only as regents, not as *qan*. One of the few distinctions of gender was language, the Mongolian of the time having different sets and male and female endings, something no longer characteristic of any Mongolian language. Other gender distinctions were headdress, including the elaborate *boqta* (q.v.) worn by elite women; positioning within the yurt, with male and female sections; and different focuses in religion. Women were also conventionally assigned certain tasks including making and breaking camp, tending carts, and processing dairy products and hides. *See* Men.

— X —

XI YOUJI 西游記. “Record of a Journey to the West,” eyewitness account of the 1221–1223 journey of the Taoist Changchun 長春 (q.v.) across Asia to meet Cinggis-qan (q.v.) by his disciple Li Zhichang 李志常. Together with the 1221 *Mengda Beilu* 蒙韃備錄 (q.v.), “Record of the Mongols and Tatars,” by Zhao Hong 趙珙 (q.v.), and the *Heida shilue* 黑韃事略 (q.v.), “Brief Account of the Black Tatar” by Peng Daya 彭大雅 (q.v.) and Xu Ting 徐霆 (q.v.), it is one the three most important Chinese eyewitness accounts of the early Mongols and is particularly valuable in providing candid information about Cinggis-qan not available in other sources and descriptions of the first Mongol efforts to set up an administration in newly conquered Turkistan.

XIANGYANG 襄陽. City in central China (q.v.), one of two key positions blocking the Mongol advance on the Song (the other was Fancheng 樊城, facing it across the Han 漢 River) (*see* Song, Mongol Conquest of). It took some six years of concerted assault by land and by river to get past them. The Mongols intended not only to take the fortresses, but also to destroy and isolate large components of the Song army, and thus destroy its morale. The siege went on until 1274, when the Mongols finally attained the Yangtse. From there it was a relatively easy advance on the Song capital of Hangzhou 杭州 (q.v.), although other battles remained to be fought.

XINGSHENG 行省. 1. As verb: “Exercise supervision.” 2. As noun: “An official exercising supervision.” 3. Noun: The office of an “official exercising supervision.” A *xingsheng* was originally a branch administrative unit of a central organization, but was not a regular territorial administration. The Mongols, by contrast, used the term to describe their regional administrations and their officers, and, by extension, the territories governed by these administrations. Later the abbreviated term, *sheng* 省, simply came to mean “province” (q.v.)

XIXIA 西夏. Dynastic designation for the Tangut (q.v.) kingdom of northwest China (q.v.) that was first attacked by the Mongols in 1205, but only finally reduced in 1227, the year of the death of Cinggis-qan (q.v.). The name was granted by the Song (*see* Song, Dynasty), but the Tangut state itself had first become an organized regime in the 10th century. The core group is usually identified as Tibetan, but other ethnic groups were present as well, including the Toba, an Altaic group that had played a major role in north China prior to the reunification achieved by the Sui Dynasty (586-618), Turkic-speakers, Chinese, and even some Mongols. The area that Xixia came to occupy, the Ordos, the Alashan Desert, and the Gansu 甘肅 corridor, was once well integrated with China, but had become progressively “barbarian” over time, as had north China itself. A major part of the process was the replacement of what once was a dominant Chinese population by non-Chinese elements, including Tibetans.

The real founder of the Xixia state was Li Yixing 李彝興 (died 967), who had Toba ancestors and had gained the Li surname, that of the Tang Dynasty ruling houses, as a gift. Like his successors, Li was careful to play off one group against the other in order for Xixia to survive, above all Kitan (q.v.), and later the Jürched (q.v.) against the Song.

The core areas of Xixia were densely populated, with many large and well-fortified cities that had to be reduced one by one by the Mongols, one reason why the conquest of Xixia took so long. In the end, much of the area was destroyed and the native Tangut rulers and their subordinates, unlike the Jürched (q.v.), all but vanished.

XU TING 徐霆. One of two authors, the other was Peng Daya 彭大雅 (q.v.), of the *Heida shilue* 黑韃事略 (q.v.), an early account of the Mongols. Xu Ting went to Mongolia in 1235–1236

and after meeting Peng, the two collaborated on the report drawing upon both their experiences.

— Y —

YABALLĀHĀ III (1245–1317). Nestorian patriarch (*see* Nestorianism), companion and biographer of traveler Rabban Šaumā (q.v.). Like Rabban, Marcos, or Yaballāhā III, as he became known after his accession, was an Önggüd (q.v.), born in what is now Inner Mongolia. His reign saw a high point and then a decline of Nestorian fortunes, as the Ilqanate (q.v.) turned to Islam (q.v.).

YAISHAN 崖山, BATTLE OF (March 19, 1279). Final battle in the Song resistance Movement (*see* Song, Mongol Conquest of) in which various generals and courtiers who had fled Hangzhou 杭州 (q.v.) shortly before its fall attempted to reestablish the dynasty. By 1279, the Song fleet had taken refuge below the island of Yaishan 崖山 in the southern part of what is now Zhongshan 中山 County in Guangdong 廣東. There it was hemmed in by the Mongols on all sides. It was under bombardment from Mongol catapults, cut off from foraging on land for food supplies and wood to replenish stocks of arrows.

To prevent any ships from cutting and running, Song ships were roped together into a long rectangle, with the ships of the Song emperor in the center. This gave up any chance of mobility for the besieged Song fleet and gave the tactical advantage to the Mongols. The battle began in the early morning of March 19, 1279, as one Mongol force used the incoming tide to rush Song defenses. Later during the day, other Mongol forces joined the attack from different directions, in part using the outgoing tide in the same way that the incoming tide had been used earlier. By the end of the day, the Song defense was in tatters and the defensive rectangle had been broken at several points.

A very large number of ships were destroyed, but many surrendered as soon as it was realized that all was lost. Most were later used in the Mongol 1281 assault on Japan (q.v.). The last Song emperor was drowned by his supporters and only a few escaped the battle. Most were later killed in storm, although some individuals continued to resist for several more years, although not effectively. One reason for Mongol ex-

passion towards the south (*see* Champa) in the years that followed was to find and neutralize such persons.

YAM. *See* *Jam*.

YARLIK. *See* *Jarliq*.

YASAQ (YĀSĀ). *See* *Jasaq*.

YASUN. “Bone.” This kinship term principally used to distinguish between the two different layers of a kinship group: *caqa’an yasun*, “white bone,” bound kin among themselves and to others through actual links of kinship; and *qara yasun*, “black bone,” where the links were fictive. Intermarriage was possible between members of the respective “white” and “black” bones of a group, but not within either group. *See also* *Caqa’an*; *Qara*.

YEKE MONGOL ULUS. “Great” or “Imperial Mongol Patrimony,” the official name of the Mongol Empire for internal consumption. *See also* *Ulus*.

YELÜ AHAI 耶律阿海. Early Kitan (q.v.) supporter of Cinggis-qan (q.v.), surrendering with his brother 禿花 at an early date. Ahai later became regional *daruqaci* (q.v.) of the Mongol administration for the region of Bukhara (q.v.).

YELÜ CHUCAI 耶律楚材 (1189–1243). Kitan (q.v.) minister of Cinggis-qan (q.v.) and of Ögödei *qan* (q.v.), under whom he took charge of imperial tax administration in China (q.v.). Yelü Chucai, scion of a Sinicized and established literati family, began his career as a minor official of the Jin regime (*see* Jürched), but was, in his own words, of minor importance, and was left behind when the Jin court abandoned Zhongdu 中都 (q.v.). He was then in his mid-twenties. Witnessing the chaos of the last days of the capital prior to its Mongol conquest, Chucai tried to withdraw from the world by accepting the discipline of a Zen monk and continued to do so for some three years.

Who brought him to the attention of Cinggis-qan (q.v.) is unclear, but Chucai was summoned to Mongolia on April 12, 1218, probably in connection with continuing Mongol efforts to rally Kitan serving the Jin to their cause. In this respect Chucai was a disappointment since, despite his Kitan ancestry, Chucai

stressed his loyalty to Jin. Nonetheless, the *qan* put him into his retinue (presumably the imperial bodyguard, *see* Kesikten) and gave him the Mongolian name *Urtu Saqal*, “long beard.” He took charge of Chinese documents for the budding Mongol chancellery, but also served as an astrologer, in this case, diviner, an important function for the Mongols (*see* Religion).

When the *qan* went campaigning in the west, Chucai went with him and remained there until 1226. During the meetings between the *qan* and his Taoist guest, Changchun 長春 (q.v.), Chucai served as an intermediary. This earned him considerable criticism later, when the Taoists began to misuse their power and influence with the Mongols. In response, Chucai wrote his *Xiyu lu* 西遊錄, “Recording of a Journey to the West.” In it he gave his own version of what had taken place between Changchun and himself, among other things. It was published two years after the *Xi yuji* 西游記 (q.v.), “Record of a Journey to the West,” written by Li Zhichang 李志常 to tell the story from Changchun’s point of view.

Also an important part of activities of Chucai in the west during these years was his identification of what was apparently a rhinoceros, which the Mongols had never seen, but encountered in India, as a mythical Chinese animal, a *juedian* 角端, a variety of *qilin* 麒麟, the ultimate Chinese symbol of auspicious benevolence. The Mongols, according to the *Xi yulu*, took the appearance of the animal as a sign from heaven (*see* Teng-giri) and turned back from a planned invasion of India.

Back in Mongolia, Chucai continued to serve Cinggis-qan until his death in 1227. During these years, and during the brief regency of Tolui-noyon (q.v.), Chucai was very much caught up in the struggles between the Buddhists and Taoists in China, struggles that were to culminate in a major crackdown of the latter under Qubilai (q.v.). (*see also* Buddho-Taoist Debates).

With the election of Ögödei (q.v.), whose case seems to have been actively encouraged by the Kitan minister at the *quriltai* (q.v.) that elected him, Chucai became one of the most important ministers in Mongol service, although probably not as important as his biographer makes him. His primary role was that of chief coordinator for the tax offices, each staffed by two Confucians, as *balagaci* (q.v.), “storehouse managers,” and *amuci* (q.v.), “granary officers,” set up in the 10 *lu* 路, or *cölge*, (q.v.) then existing in the pacified and directly ruled areas of north China.

In this role he was brilliantly successful, and is said to have delivered to the financially strapped *qan* exactly those amounts of tax revenues promised in advance (the alternative, according to the biographer of Chucai, was simply to turn north China into grazing land, sans Chinese). This event seems to have put the Mongol administration on a financially sound basis for the first time. Since similar efforts were being made in other parts of the Mongol Empire to achieve the same results, areas not part of the bailiwick of Chucai, his role may have been more that of an implementer of a broader policy than as its originator. In any case, rather than being the head of the chancellery, as his biographer claims, Chucai was instead carefully supervised by the *cerbi* (and *jarquci*, q.v.) Cinqai (q.v.), who had to press his seal on all documents of Chucai before they were valid.

Chucai, buoyed by his success, remained in office until the end of Ögödei's reign, but was increasingly pushed aside as the demand for revenue grew and Western-style tax farming was gradually substituted in place of the more rational and sensitive (to local needs) system that Chucai had created. Chucai, now in his later forties, became increasingly frustrated with these developments, and with the death of Ögödei his role diminished considerably, although he was still treated with respect. He died soon after. *See also* "2. Mongol Empire."

YELÜ LIUGE 耶律留哥. Kitan (q.v.) supporter of the Mongols. He revolted after the 1212 Mongol invasion of Manchuria. His defection was a major blow to the Jin (*see* Jürched), since he was positioned close to the Manchurian homeland. He was later suppressed by the Mongols who came to consider him a danger.

YELÜ TUHUA 耶律秃花. Kitan (q.v.) supporter of Cinggis-qan (q.v.), among those surrendering to the Mongols at an early date in what is now Inner Mongolia. He was later an important sub-commander of the Mongolian *tanma*, "nomadic garrison," for occupied China (q.v.). *See also* Yelü Ahai 耶律阿海.

YINSHAN ZHENGYAO 飲膳正要, "PROPER AND ESSENTIAL THINGS FOR THE EMPEROR'S FOOD AND DRINK." The official dietary manual for qanate China (q.v.) presented to the throne by Hu Sihui 忽思慧 (q.v.) in 1330. In addition to considerable Chinese content, since the work was written at a high point of Chinese influence at court, the work

contains much Islamic and Mongolian medicine. At the heart of the book are the “exotic recipes of combined flavors” of chapter 2, which are expressive of almost every possible food tradition found in the then-Mongolian world, all cooked with the “Mongol tastes” (F. Sabban) in mind. The text is, as a consequence, a rich primary source for an emerging world cuisine, since many of the same recipes were being eaten from one part of the Mongolian world to the other. *See also* Qubilai; Food; Appendix C.

YISÜGEL. Minor Mongol chieftain, father of Cinggis-qan (q.v.). He was poisoned by Tatar (q.v.), sometime between 1160 and 1175, while returning from a trip to arrange a marriage between his young son Temüjin, the later Cinggis-qan, and Börte (q.v.), the daughter of Dei-sechen (q.v.), an old associate of Yisügei. Temüjin’s mother, Hö’elün (q.v.), then had to see to the survival of her family after Yisügei’s retainers (*see* Tayici’ut) abandoned them on the steppe.

YSTORIA MONGALORUM. *See* John of Plano Carpini.

YUAN DYNASTY (1260–1368). The Chinese name for Qubilai’s (q.v.) qanate China (q.v.). The name was supposedly chosen by Liu Bingzhong 劉秉忠 (q.v.) based on the *Yijing* 易經, but it could equally well be expressive of Mongolian ideas, too. While Chinese sources agree on the ending date of the dynasty, some date its beginning to 1276, when Song was conquered, or even to 1279, when Song resistance ceased.

YUANSHI 元史. The official history of Qubilai’s (q.v.) Yuan Dynasty (q.v.), thrown together by a committee at the beginning of the following Ming Dynasty (1368–1644) (q.v.). The work is, as a consequence, inadequate in many respects and does a hatchet job on many of its sources (many of the original documents used still survive, permitting comparison). It also recasts pre-qanate history largely in a Chinese mold, with violence done to the realities of the times, and sees qanate China as a far more Chinese structure than it actually was. Nonetheless, the *Yuanshi* remains an important source since many of the original documents upon which it was based no longer exist. It is the most comprehensive work of its kind, if we exclude later attempts to rewrite it, including the *Xin Yuanshi* 新元史, “new Yuan history,” finished in the early part of the previous century.

YUNNAN 雲南. Chinese province in the southwestern part of the present boundaries of China (q.v.). With a well-established separatist tradition, the area was conquered by the Mongols in the 1250s and has remained a part of China ever since. The Mongols were particularly interested in Yunnan 雲南 because there are many areas there suitable for Mongolian pastoralism and because the region was a potential base for attacks on Burma (q.v.), Vietnam, and other parts of Southeast Asia.

YURT. *See Ger.*

— Z —

ZAITON. Arabic name for the city of Quanzhou 泉州 in Fujian 福建, a major trading center for contact with the Western world and focus of Islamic presence in China (q.v.).

ZHAO HONG 趙珙. Author of the *Mengda beilu* 蒙鞑備錄 (q.v.), a 1221 account of the Mongols. Very little is known about him, but his work is one of the most important sources for the period.

ZHAO MENGFU (1254–1322). Yuan Dynasty (q.v.) calligrapher, painter and economics minister. Zhao's painting, with its Song style lines and empty space, but northern chromaticism, typifies the art of the era which personified the unifying of the separate artistic traditions of north and south under the Mongols. Although a scion of the former Song imperial line, Zhao, rather than becoming a recluse as many Song literati did, actively served the Mongols. *See also* Song, Loyalism.

ZHENJIN 真金 (1243–1285). Qubilai's (q.v.) intended heir, but he predeceased his father. Zhenjin's son, Temür Öljeitü (r. 1294–1307) (q.v.) mounted the throne instead. Zhenjin received both a Buddhist and a Confucian education, and was considered by many courtiers as a source for a prospective Sinicization (q.v.) of the dynasty.

ZHONGDU 中都. "Middle Capital." Principal capital of the Jin 金 Dynasty (*see* Jürched) located just south of the present city of Beijing 北京. Besieged by the Mongols in 1214, it was finally

taken in 1215, largely as a consequence of the revolt of Kitan (q.v.) forces in the Jin army. Long the administrative center of Mongol China (q.v.), the city was rebuilt, mostly on a site to the north of old Zhongdu, as Daidu 大都 (see Peking), the winter capital of qanate China. *See also* Qubilai-qan.

ZHONGSHU LING 中書令. Self-assigned title of Yelü Chucai 耶律楚材 (q.v.) as head of his tax administration. Normally the *Zhongshu ling* 中書令 would be the head of a *Zhongshu Sheng* 中書省 (q.v.), “Central Secretariat,” but no such agency actually existed at the time. *See also* Titles.

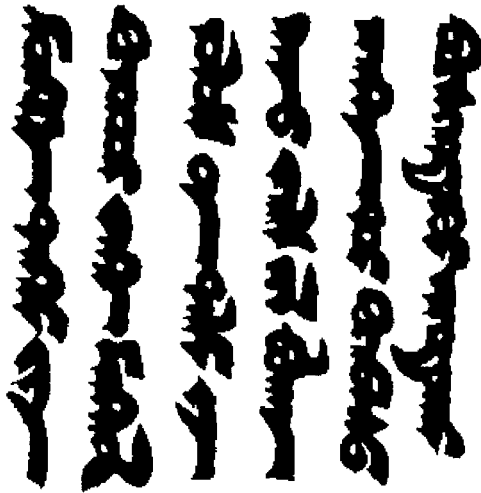
ZHONGSHU SHENG 中書省. “Central Secretariat,” in Chinese, including later Yuan government, the central executive authority of government. The term is used in early Chinese sources for Mongol China (q.v.) in reference largely to the tax administration controlled by Yelü Chucai 耶律楚材 (q.v.). It was apparently of his own choosing, and no such Chinese-style governing authority existed in practice.

ZHU SIBEN 朱思本 (1273–1337). Compiler of the *Guang Yu Tu* 廣輿圖, “Extended Map of the Earth,” based in part upon geographical knowledge from the Islamic world. His atlas is not only remarkable for its detail for East Asia, but also for the extensive information that it contains about some areas quite remote from East Asia, including Africa. It is shown by Zhu Siben 朱思本 in its correct shape, something in which he was centuries ahead of European mapmakers. Later Yuan geographers added still more detail, including a list of more than a hundred place names in interior west Africa, the land of medieval Mali (q.v.), source of gold.

ZHU YUANZHANG 朱元璋. The Hungwu 洪武 Emperor (r. 1368–1398), founder of the Ming Dynasty (q.v.). Originally a minor leader of one of the Red Turban rebel groups that rose up against the Mongols in several areas at the end of Mongol rule, Zhu carefully maneuvered to achieve supremacy and, unexpectedly, survived to found a new dynasty.

Appendix A: Mongolian Scripts

A. Uighur Script, Seal of Güyük *Qan* (1246)



The text reads:

Möngke Tengri-yin Küchün-tür Yeke Monggol Ulus-un Dalai-yin qan-u jarliḡ il bulqa irgen-tür kürbesü büsiretügüi ayutuyai

By the Power of Eternal Heaven, the Edict of the Universal *Qan* of the Great Mongol Patrimony. If this reaches a pacified or a rebellious people, it must respect [it] [and] it must fear.

Note different spelling conventions in this Classical Mongolian text.

B. Mongolian in Chinese Transcription, the *Secret History of the Mongols*

蒙古秘史卷一

忙豁命紐察
脱正察安

成吉思(合)罕納 忽札兀兒。
名 皇帝 的 根源

迭額列 騰格理 額扯 札牙阿秃 脱列克先 孛兒帖赤那
上 天 處 命有的 生了的 蒼色 狼

阿主兀 格兒該 亦訥 豁埃馬蘭勒 阿只埃 騰汲思客 秃勒周
有 妻 他的 慘白色鹿 有來 水名 渡 着

亦列罷 幹難沐 連訥帖里兀捏 不岫(罕)罕(合)勒敦納
來了 河名 河的 源 行 山 名 行

嫩秃黑刺周 脱列克先 巴塔赤(罕)阿主兀
營盤做着 生子的 人名 有來

(二)

The text reads:

*Cinggis-qahan-nu huja'ur
de'ere Tenggiri-ece jaya'atu töreksen börte-cinō aju'u
gergei inu qo'ai-maral aji'ai
tenggis ketüljü ireba
onan-müren-nü teri'ün-e burqan-qaldun-na nuntuqlaju
töreksen bataciqan aju'u¹*

The origin of Cinggis-qahan:

There was Grey Wolf born with predestination from Heaven
Above.

His spouse was Beautiful Doe.

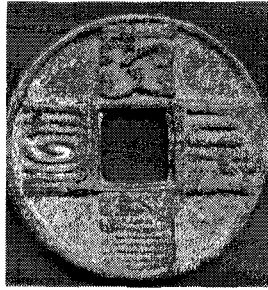
They came, having crossed over the sea.

As they were nomadizing at Burqan-qaldun,

At the headwaters of the Onan River,

There was born [to them] Bataciqan.

C. aPhags-Pa Script (10 Cash Coin)



Vertical text (in Chinese) *jy üen*

Horizontal text (in Chinese) *t'ung bau*

Currency of the Zhiyuan 至元 Period

¹ Text from Igor de Rachwiltz, *Index to the Secret History of the Mongols*, Bloomington: Indiana University Press (Uralic and Altaic Series, 121), 1972.

Appendix B: Glossary of Mongolian Words and Terms in the Text

<i>airag</i>	kumiss
<i>alban qubciri</i>	“obligatory” <i>qubciri</i> , a tax
<i>alginci</i>	scouts; advanced elements of a nomadic garrison
<i>altan</i>	golden, imperial
<i>Altan Debter</i>	<i>Golden Book</i> , a history
<i>altan uruq</i>	Golden or Impe- rial Lineage
<i>amuci</i>	granary officer
<i>anda</i>	blood brother
<i>aqqa</i>	elder brother; senior
<i>aqtaci</i>	squire
<i>arqi</i>	hard liquor
<i>a'uruq</i>	base camp
<i>ayil</i>	nomadic village

<i>ayimaq</i>	group of nomadic villages; a tribe; division of a nomadic garrison
<i>ba'atur</i>	hero, valiant; a title
<i>bakla-</i>	(verbal root) pile up in layers
<i>balaqaci</i>	storehouse manager
<i>balaqasun</i>	city, town
<i>bars</i>	snow leopard
<i>baurci</i>	see <i>bawurci</i>
<i>bawurci</i>	a cook; also cup bearer
<i>bayan</i>	rich, rich in horses
<i>beki</i>	title of uncertain meaning
<i>bicig</i>	writing
<i>bicigci</i>	secretary
<i>bilig</i>	clever saying; maxim
<i>boal</i>	honey wine
<i>bö'e</i>	shaman (male)
<i>böke</i>	strong man, wrestler; a title
<i>bölök irgen</i>	small, isolated group of people

<i>bo'ol</i>	slave
<i>boqta</i>	headdress
<i>boruqa</i>	an arrow the body of which whistles in flight
<i>bularqi</i>	lost property
<i>bularquci</i>	official in charge of lost property
<i>bulqa</i>	rebels; those not pacified
<i>burqan</i>	a Buddha; an idol; a local spirit
<i>caqa'an</i>	white; imperial, elite
<i>Caqa'an Teüke</i>	<i>White History</i> , religious text of Qubilai's reign,
<i>cerbi</i>	chamberlain
<i>cerik</i>	an army; local allies
<i>cölge</i>	city and its hinterland, an administrative unit
<i>dalai</i>	lacking limits; universal; imperial establishment
<i>dalai-yin qan</i>	universal <i>qan</i>
<i>darasun</i>	wine, usually rice wine

<i>darasunci</i>	wine bearer
<i>darqan</i>	one free of taxes; an artisan
<i>daruqa</i>	see <i>daruqaci</i>
<i>daruqaci</i>	one pressing down; imperial or princely representative
<i>de'el</i>	robe
<i>eke</i>	mother
<i>el</i>	pacified area; a province
<i>el-qan</i>	see <i>ilqan</i>
<i>elci</i>	envoy
<i>emcü kesikten</i>	court service officers (imperial bodyguard)
<i>e'üdeci</i>	gateman
<i>gejige</i>	follow-up force
<i>ger</i>	yurt
<i>gerege</i>	emblem of office
<i>gete'ülsün</i>	spies; secret police
<i>gui-ong</i>	“prince of a country,” or “prince of a dynasty”
<i>güiyigci</i>	runners; couriers on foot

<i>gür-qan</i>	“Universal Khan”; ruler of Qara-Kitan Empire
<i>güre'en</i>	type of encampment; proto-tribe
<i>güregen</i>	imperial son-in-law
<i>hordu</i>	see <i>ordu</i>
<i>iduqan</i>	shaman (female)
<i>il</i>	see <i>el</i>
<i>ilqan</i>	king, khan of a paci- fied area
<i>inje</i>	a permanent (heredi- tary) apportionment; dowry
<i>irgen</i>	people; pacified population
<i>jada</i>	bezoar; used in rain magic
<i>jadaci</i>	magician making rain
<i>jam</i>	postal courier system and its stations
<i>jarliq</i>	imperial edict
<i>jarqu</i>	joint inquiry; court of joint inquiry (for clan business)
<i>jarquci</i>	adjuticator; inquirer for clan business

<i>jasa'a</i>	testicle; mountain oyster
<i>jasaq</i>	an official pronouncement; a law, regulation
<i>jebe</i>	a coat of mail
<i>jerge</i>	see <i>nerge</i>
<i>jüyin</i>	allied tribal people (of Jin)
<i>kebeta'ül</i>	night guards, of imperial bodyguard
<i>kejim</i>	quilted protection
<i>kelemeci</i>	translator
<i>kesik</i>	see <i>kesikten</i>
<i>kesikten</i>	members of imperial bodyguard
<i>khara zud</i>	livestock disaster; icy weather
<i>Kökö Debter</i>	<i>Blue Book</i> , collection of judicial decisions
<i>Kökö Tengiri</i>	“Blue” Heaven; sky god
<i>kötöl</i>	reserve horse(s)
<i>manglai</i>	forehead; vanguard of an army

<i>mergen</i>	sharpshooter; wise; a title
<i>mingan</i>	“thousand”; military and social unit; tribe
<i>Möngke Tenggiri-yin kücün-dur</i>	“By the Power of Eternal Heaven,” Mongol imperial formula
<i>naiman</i>	eight
<i>naryn jam</i>	secret courier service
<i>nerge</i>	hunting circle
<i>nökör</i>	associated warrior; associate in an administration
<i>noyan</i>	aristocrat, lord; prince; commander
<i>nuntuq</i>	nomadic territory
<i>obo'o</i>	ritual cairn, marker of stones
<i>oboq</i>	patrilineal maximal descent group
<i>olja</i>	booty
<i>Ong-qan</i>	“Prince khan,” a title
<i>onggon</i>	fetish or idol
<i>ordu</i>	palace tent
<i>oro[n]</i>	position in a yurt; bed; throne

<i>ortaq</i>	merchants' association (with imperial sponsorship)
<i>otcigin</i>	“fire guardian”; youngest son
<i>Qa'an</i>	tabu name of Ögödei; emperor
<i>qayan</i>	(Classical Mongolian) emperor
<i>qalan</i>	tax, to support military
<i>Qamuq Mongqol</i>	the “Mongol Totality,” an early association
<i>qan</i>	king or emperor; khan
<i>qar</i>	hand; wing of an army
<i>qara</i>	black; common
<i>qara'ul</i>	guards; guard force
<i>qari</i>	foreign states or people; subordinate states; people with whom one can intermarry
<i>qatun</i>	queen, empress
<i>qodali</i>	arrow with special bone point that whis-

	bled; an arrow of cypress wood
<i>qol</i>	center, pivot; the imperial establishment
<i>qol-un cerik</i>	central or imperial army
<i>qorci</i>	“quiver-bearers,” of bodyguard
<i>qosi’ul</i>	in pairs; a mobilization of two out of ten
<i>qosi’un</i>	“nose,” “nostrils”; division of army
<i>qoyar yosu</i>	joint secular and religious regime
<i>qoyitul</i>	“those following up”; rear of an army
<i>qubeiri</i>	proportional Mongol tax; on animals, other property
<i>qubi</i>	share, apportionment
<i>quriltai</i>	a deliberating assembly
<i>qurim</i>	ritual feast
<i>quruq qima</i>	dry roasted meat cut up finely
<i>qurut</i>	dried curds
<i>sauqa</i>	share or gift of booty; a bribe

<i>sayin</i>	good, excellent, fine; the late
<i>Sayin Eke</i>	“The Late Mother,” Börte
<i>Sayin Qan</i>	“The Late Qan,” Bat-qan.
<i>se’ül</i>	tail
<i>si’üsün</i>	dried meat rations
<i>soyurqal</i>	boon; gift to a worthy party
<i>su</i>	holy or spiritual power
<i>sülde</i>	collective ancestral spirit resident in the banner
<i>šülen</i>	soup, banquet soup
<i>sutan</i>	those having holy or spiritual power
<i>tamgha</i>	commercial tax
<i>tanma</i>	nomadic garrison force
<i>tanmaci</i>	member or com- mander of a nomadic garrison force
<i>tarag</i>	milk sour
<i>tarbaqan</i>	a marmot
<i>tümen</i>	myriarchy; corps

<i>tuq</i>	banner, embodying spiritual force
<i>turqa'ut</i>	day guards, of imperial bodyguard
<i>tutqa'ul</i>	courier system and internal movement policeman
<i>ulus</i>	joint patrimony
<i>Urtu-saqal</i>	“long beard,” <i>i.e.</i> , Yelü Chucai 耶律楚材
<i>uruq</i>	patrilineal descent group from recent, well-known ancestor
<i>yeke daruqaci</i>	great or imperial representative
<i>yeke jarquci</i>	great, <i>i.e.</i> chief, or imperial adjudicator
<i>yeke jasaq</i>	imperial law, or regulation
<i>Yeke Mongqol Ulus</i>	The “Great Mongol Patrimony”; The Empire
<i>Yeke-noyan</i>	“Great Lord,” Tolui-noyon
<i>yeke qan</i>	great khan
<i>yeke yasaq</i>	see <i>yeke jasaq</i>

Appendix C: Eating at the *Qan*'s Table, Selected Recipes from the *Yinshan zhengyao* 飲膳正要 (1330)

1. *Päräk* [Borek] Horns

Cut up finely: Mutton, fat from a sheep's tail, sheep's tail [meat], and young leeks. Add spices, salt and sauce. Combine uniformly. Make the skins from white flour. Use a flat iron to bake. Baste with butter or honey when done.

Notes: The spices are left up to the cook, but *garum masala* should work fine. The sauce could be something made using a wine vinegar and other ingredients or perhaps yogurt and spices. Soy sauce, although not traditional, will work as well.

2. *Jasa'a* ["Mountain Oysters"]

Use two. Remove testicle from scrotum. Salt and combine with asafoetida (about 3 g) and onions (about 30 g). Fry quickly in vegetable oil. Baste with saffron dissolved in water. Add spices [not defined]. When ready, sprinkle with ground coriander.

Note: As above, spicing with *garum masala* should be fine.

3. Roast Wolf Soup

Ingredients: wolf leg, cut up; three large cardamoms; 15 g of black pepper, 3 g of *kasni* [asafoetida], 6 g of long pepper, 6 g of "grain of paradise" [or small cardamoms], 6 g of turmeric, 3 g of saffron.

Make a soup of ingredients. When done, flavor with onions, sauce, salt, and vinegar.

Notes: For sauce use soy sauce. This recipe works perfectly well with lamb as well as wolf meat, if wolf is not available.

4. *Mastajhi* [Mastic] Soup

Ingredients: leg of lamb, bone and cut up; five large cardamoms; 6 g of cinnamon; 15 cubic inches of chickpeas; soak, smash, and remove the skins.

Make a broth from the lamb, cardamoms and cinnamon. When done strain broth and remove meat and put aside. Add 6.25 cubic inches of the pulverized and skinned chickpeas, 31.5 cubic inches of aromatic non-glutinous rice, and 3 g of mastic. Flavor with a little salt. Cook until chickpeas and rice are done. Shred the meat and add. Garnish with coriander leaves [Chinese parsley].

Notes: This cooks down to a relatively dry consistency and the result is not really a soup at all but a *sopa seca*. The 6.25 cubic inches of pulverized and skinned chickpeas are apparently what is left after smashing and skinning. This is a typical Mongolian banquet dish.

5. *Tutumash*

Take 3 kg of white flour and roll out into a fine dough to make the *tutumash* skins. Take a leg of mutton and roast the meat dry. Chop up finely to make *quruq qima* [finely chopped, roasted meat] and use the *quruq qima* to stuff the *tutumash* skins.

Close up the stuffed skins and cook in a good [thick] broth. Add noodles and cook dry. Flavor with onions. Add garlic, cream [or yogurt], and finely ground basil.

Notes: Follow any modern Turkish cookbook in making the skins. It is necessary to roll them out repeatedly to get the right dough consistency. Modern Turkish cooks work butter or yogurt into the dough to get the right consistency, but do not overdo. *Tutumash* was one of the most popular recipes of the Mongol era and is still eaten in Turkey today. The name comes from the back and forth motion (*tutum*) of the rolling pin in making the skins, or *ash*, “noodles.”

6. Bal-po [Kashmiri] Curry

Ingredients: leg of mutton, boned and cut up; five large cardamoms; 15 cubic inches of chickpeas; soak, smash, and remove the skins; a Chinese radish.

Make a soup of ingredients. Strain soup and remove meat and Chinese radish. Cut up into coin size [*sashuq*] pieces and return to the soup. Add 3 g of saffron, 6 g of turmeric, 6 g of black pepper, 1.5 g of *kasni* [asafoetida], and coriander leaves. Flavor with a little salt. Eat over cooked aromatic non-glutinous rice. Add a little vinegar.

Notes: *Sashuq* is a Turkic word for a small coin. Bal-po is Nepal and adjacent areas, including Kashmir.

7. Detoxifying Dried Orange Peel Puree

Ingredients: 500 g of fragrant orange peel (remove the white); 500 g of prepared mandarin orange peel (remove the white); 30 g of sandalwood, 250 g of kudzu flowers, 250 g of mung bean flower, 60 g of ginseng (remove green shoots), 60 g of cardamom kernels, 180 g of roasted salt.

Powder ingredients. Take in boiling water on an empty stomach.

Note: This is a hangover recipe. Try any large oriental market for the kudzu flowers, or perhaps an Asian pharmacy.

8. Red Currant *Sharbat*

Use 5 kg of fresh northern red currants (remove the seed and take the juice in water); 4 kg of refined white granulated sugar.

Boil ingredients into a concentrate.

Notes: A *sharbat* is a sweet drink from the Islamic world. Table sugar is already refined. Any currants will do.

9. Eggplant *Manty*

Ingredients: Cut up finely mutton, sheep's fat, sheep's tail, onions, prepared mandarin orange peel. Remove the pith from a "tender" eggplant.

Make a stuffing from the other ingredients and stuff the eggplant. Steam cook. Add garlic, cream [or yogurt], and finely ground basil.

Notes: A *manty* is usually dough-covered but can also be a stuffed eggplant as here, or a stuffed tomato. It can also be a dough covering to a small game meat.

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Serious scholarly study of the history of the Mongol Empire and of its successor states dates back to the 17th century, and Edward Gibbon advanced a social interpretation of the rise of Cinggis-qan that is still in vogue today in his monumental *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, which also includes a short discussion of the rise of the Mongols as well as a detailed history of the Roman and Byzantine Empires. In the early 19th century, the great Russian orientalist school, one of the first to concern itself with things Mongolian as a joint effort, came into being and its influence is also still felt to the present (including with the present author, who is a student of one member of that school, Nicholas Poppe). That period also saw the first large-scale modern history of the Mongols, that of the French-Armenian d'Ohsson, published in 1824, which is still useful today because of d'Ohsson's masterful use of the Persian sources.

During the remainder of the 19th century, a major effort was made to publish these and other sources, many of the Persian ones hitherto existing only in manuscript, as many still do today. This included Quatremère's edition and translation of a portion of the text of Rashīd al-Dīn's history (1836). Also appearing were many specialized studies, including those by Hammer-Purgstall on the Mongols in Russia, and in Iran (1840 and 1841-1843), and another general history, this time in English by Howorth (1876-1888), although Howorth was not able to use primary sources in the original. The first biography of Cinggis-qan, of which there are now a large number, actually dated back to the previous century. It was that of Petis de la Croix, published in 1710. Also a major contribution of early scholarship on the Mongols were studies of Marco Polo, principally Henry Yule's annotated edition appearing in 1876, later updated by Cordier and republished in 1903. This is still the most usable translation of Marco Polo, and the notes are a gold mine for scholars.

The scholarship of the 20th century, which can be no more than sketched below due to limitations of space, built upon

these roots, especially those provided by the Russian school. It continued strongly into the Soviet period with major scholarship produced by Barthold, and Vladimirtsov, author of a new biography of Cinggis-qan, and an important examination of early Mongolian society, the first of its kind. Russians and Soviets also continued to publish and interpreted the sources for the Mongol Empire and its successor states and related topics include Poppe's work, still the standard interpretation, on Mongolian documents in the aPhags-Pa Script. More recently, a most important Russian scholar of the period was the Buriyat Ts. Munkuyev, one of the leaders in the interpretation of the social and political history of Mongolian empire.

In Germany, B. Spuler produced detailed and painstaking volumes on Mongol Russia and Iran, replacing those of Hammer-Purgstall of the previous century. Although the volume on Iran has been replaced in many ways by the relevant volume of the *Cambridge History of Iran* (1968), both volumes remain useful and several new editions were produced by Spuler as the scholarship changed. Also an important part of the German scholarship of the last century was Erich Haenisch's edition and dictionary to the *Secret History of the Mongols*, although Haenisch was not the first to reconstruct the Mongolian text of this important source from Chinese transcription. This is among many other important works of Haenisch. Also to be mentioned among the great German scholars of the 20th century concerned with the Mongols, although they are still living at the time of writing, is Herbert Franke, although his contributions are more Sinological than Mongolistic, and Turkologist and linguist G. Doerfer, whose voluminous dictionary of Mongolian and Turkish loan words in Persian is a major resource.

In France, the field was dominated by Paul Pelliot, who died in 1945 but whose posthumous works were still appearing recently. Pelliot, as is well known, never wrote a book, but was a master of philology, including notes on Marco Polo in three volumes, one of them quite thick, that really never got past the letter "C," but include extremely detailed discussions of such important topics as cotton and Cinggis-qan. Pelliot was also the first, before Haenisch, to reconstruct the Mongolian text of the *Secret History of the Mongols*. His many students have continued his approach to scholarship and, in some cases, his own works by helping produce posthumous versions. Among Pelliot's students, not particularly involved in publishing his unpublished works but having made a major contribution none-

theless, is the German Paul Ratchnevky, whose contributions to the field of Mongolian studies are many. They include a highly usable life of Cinggis-qan based primarily upon Mongolian and Chinese sources (but not Persian, since Ratchnevsky does not read Persian).

Also among these students was an American, F. W. Cleaves, who produced a highly detailed series of examinations of source material, above all inscriptions, exhaustively annotated, even with notes on top of notes. Cleaves also produced a translation of the *Secret History of the Mongols*, although it is in a most archaic language, and the promised volume of notes never appeared. Among other U.S. scholars, David Farquhar was one of Cleaves students (also of Poppe) and continued this tradition, although in a more broadly interpretive way, until the time of his premature death, leaving incomplete his major opus, a detailed exegesis of the Chinese side of the governmental system of Mongol China as it existed in the 14th century, at the qanate's maturity.

Other important national schools of Mongolian scholarship include the Japanese, who have made and continue to make major contributions to the understanding of all aspects of the Mongol Empire and its successor states, particularly Mongol China. The Japanese had the advantage for much of the century before 1945 that they were in close contact with Mongolia and the Mongols thanks to Japanese interests in Manchuria. This resulted in studies that were often well in advance of anything published in the West in their sophistication. Among them is important work by Yanai Watari 箭内互, the early master of the field, Haneda Torū 羽田亨, Iwamura Shinobu 岩村忍, who worked extensively on Mongolian social and economic history, and Maeda Naonori 前田直典, whose life was cut short but whose ideas, particularly on imperial Mongolian government remain vital to this day.

The field was less well represented in China, but the Chinese have continued to produce first-class editions of the important sources in Chinese, most recently two separate editions, one with a dictionary, of the surviving chapters of the *Huihui yaofang* 回回藥方, once part of an enormous encyclopedia of Islamic medicine prepared, apparently, for the Mongol rulers of China. Modern China has also seen published a new version (by Ke Shaomin 柯紹忞) of the *Yuanshi* 元史, the official history of qanate China, called *Xinyuanshi* 新元史, "New Yuan History," and the unexamined *Mengwuer shiji* 蒙兀兒史記,

“Historical Record of the Mongols,” of Tu Ji 屠寄, one of the finest works ever produced on the Mongols, but little known since it is written in Chinese. Also to be mentioned among the important Chinese specialists, a man whose life was also cut short before he could realize his full potential, was Wang Guowei 王國維. His annotated editions of early Chinese sources on the Mongols remain among the best. Among a younger generation of Chinese scholars (from Taiwan) concerned with the Mongols, still very active, is Hsiao Ch’i-ch’ing (Xiao Qiqing) 蕭啟慶, author of a large number of important studies including the best essay on late qanate China in the *Cambridge History of China*.

Last but not least, there have been individual scholars who worked in various countries more or less independently of others and the Mongols. Among the former, and still living, but already having had a long career, is Igor de Rachewiltz, born in Italy but currently living in Australia. A number of the many contributions of de Rachewiltz will be listed below, but perhaps his greatest contribution in the end will be his soon-to-appear translation of the *Secret History of the Mongols*, with profuse annotations. He has also worked extensively with biographical materials on the Mongol period found in Chinese sources and has striven to make them accessible to scholars in the field. Another scholar, working a little less alone who deserves to be mentioned in this context is the great Turkish historian Ismail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı who, although primarily interested in the history of his own country and its origins, nonetheless has produced, in the relevant chapters of his *Osmanlı Devleti Teşkilâtına Medhal* (“Overview of the Organization of the Ottoman Government”) the best institutional history of any of the successor qanates for Mongol Iran, one that richly provides a context for what happened before and after the Ilqans. Unfortunately, because few working in the field have a sufficient command of Turkish, this important work and Uzunçarşılı’s many other contributions, and of Turkish scholars in general writing in Turkish, remains largely unknown.

Another major scholar who, although from the United States, is not part of any school at all and thus is isolated in fact, if not in practice, is Thomas Allsen, one of those rare individuals knowing Chinese as well as Persian, although he is not equally strong on the Altaic side. He is the author of important institutional studies, and most recently an attempt to study in detail the cultural interchanges promoted by the Mongolian

world (this work appeared too late to be used in preparing the current Dictionary).

The contributions of the Mongols to what is their own history are obviously many and continue to appear in profusion. The Mongols are also very much involved in a new area of the investigation of the Mongolian past, archaeology. Although the first to carry out archaeological fieldwork specifically focusing on Mongol imperial and qanate themes *per se* were Russian archaeologists, including S. V. Kiselev, who carried out major excavations at the site of the Mongol capital of Qaraqorum, the Mongols are the ones today doing most of the digging in their own country, although Chinese archaeologists are making important finds too, and Russians continue with their excavations. Unfortunately, while Chinese and Russian archaeological reports are comparatively accessible and relatively well known, Mongolian ones are not. Very few libraries have even a sampling of Mongolian excavation reports, or for that matter, of Mongolian books at all, making material produced from the Mongolian side all but inaccessible to those unable to visit Ulaanbaatar or the Wilson Library of Western Washington University, in Bellingham, Washington, which collects such materials.

Among the major Mongolian scholars concerned with the early history of Mongolia, before and the during era of Mongol Empire, and its immediate aftermath are N. Ishjamts, Kh. Perlee, Sh. Bira, the latter still very active, Sh. Natsagdorj, B. Sum'yabaatar, and Ch. Dalay, to name just a few. The work of Dalay on Mongolia in the Mongol age is especially important since it strongly counters the thesis of John Dardess that the Mongols became Confucianized. To this list we might add D. Gongor, whose two-volume *Khalkh Tovchoon*, "Short History of the Khalkha," although focusing on a slightly later period, provides the fullest social history of the Mongols, including those of the period of empire, in any language. Also a contribution of the Mongols is the only full translation of the *Yuanshi* 元史, "official history of the Yuan," into Mongolian by Dandaa (pen name of Ch. Demcigdorj).

With centuries of scholarship now to draw upon, with the most important sources published, and growing interest in the Mongol period, the 21st century should be a golden age of Mongolian studies. In fact, it is likely not to be. First of all, those truly qualified to study the topic (being able to use, as a minimum, Chinese, Mongolian, and Persian sources, coupled

with strong area knowledge of one or more of the regions ruled by the Mongols) are a dying breed and were never very numerous to begin with. By and large they are being replaced by specialists in China or Iran, or some other area strongly impacted by Mongol conquest. They usually see things through the eyes of local tradition, and may miss the big picture of the Mongolian world. Also a problem, as the reader may guess, is a vast scholarly literature that is amazingly dispersed linguistically. Even if it were all in English, it would be difficult to read it all, and since even controlling a good cross section of the literature probably requires the ability to read a dozen languages, few can be said to be truly informed, with the literature in Mongolian among the most neglected. Still another problem is the fact that so much of what is written, following the example of Paul Pelliot and F. W. Cleaves in the United States, is often impenetrable philology that is difficult to get through, even if you know what the author is talking about. This kind of scholarship is important, but so are interpretive essays and overviews, preferably readable ones, which are seldom produced. In fact the field, at times, seems somewhat hostile to the idea, preferring nit-picking instead.

Thus, in the hopes that a new generation, one using this dictionary perhaps, will produce the broadly interpretive essays and overviews that are so urgently needed, I have compiled the bibliographical list below above all to include books, articles, even publications of source material, that try to make sense of it all, although some nit-picking ones are included as well, because nit-picking is important too, and they are good resources.

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NOTE: Works, books and articles, used in writing the narrative sections and the dictionary entries are marked below with an asterisk.

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