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Mongol loyalty networks: cultural transmission and Chinggisid innovation

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Citation
Jones, T. X. (2023, January 24). *Mongol loyalty networks: cultural transmission and Chinggisid innovation*. Retrieved from https://hdl.handle.net/1887/3513016

Version:	Publisher's Version
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Downloaded from:	https://hdl.handle.net/1887/3513016

Note: To cite this publication please use the final published version (if applicable).

2. The Language of Loyalty in Persian Sources

2.1 Introduction

In order to understand how loyalty was viewed in the source material, it is necessary to understand what language they used when discussing it. Due to the broad scope of the Mongols' geographical reach, a comprehensive study of the terminology of loyalty in the many different languages of the sources about the Mongols is beyond the scope of this study and the skills of this scholar, though would certainly be a fine addition to the scholarship on the Mongols. A case study of a selection of the language on loyalty in Persian sources on the Mongols can contribute to this work however, as it will help us to understand how these works framed loyalty decisions. Again, this is not to categorise loyalty terminology throughout all of Persian historiography, but to give examples of the type of phrases and words that our Persian authors use when discussing what we may refer to as loyalty decisions. The limitations of this research also extend to the manuscript tradition: in considering Juvainī and Rashīd al-Dīn, I am reliant on edited copies.[1] As we shall see, this terminology rarely conforms to our English word 'loyalty', so to espy the sort of choices actors make, we have to look a little deeper into our sources to find the right type of information.

In this chapter, I will first address the way in which Juvainī talks about loyalty, and the terms he uses to convey this meaning, both Arabo-Persian and Turco-Mongol. As a case study, Juvainī's account of the rebellion of Maḥmūd Tārābī in the environs of Bukhara in 1238 contributes to a better understanding of how Juvainī phrased loyalty choices he considered to be the wrong ones. I will also consider the physical indicators of loyalty which Juvainī mentions in his work, which show the changing nature of expressions submission and obedience with the advent of Mongol power. In order to do this, I analysed certain sections of Juvainī's work where he discussed either transfers of loyalty, or where moments of outstanding loyalty were noted in his text. I will then switch focus to the work of Rashīd al-Dīn, first looking at the words and phrases he uses in general to talk about loyalty, eventually focussing more specifically on three Turco-Mongol terms which appear quite often in the volume on the history of the Mongols, *Tārīkh-i Mubārak-i Ghāzānī*, namely *soyurghamīshī*,

[1] See p. 25, note 69 of this thesis.

tikishmīshī, and *uljamīshī.*[2] I will provide a quantitative analysis of these terms and what they mean for our understanding of loyalty in the Mongol world. I arrived at this step by searching the index of the Raushan edition of Rashīd al-Dīn's text. As I encountered the term *soyurghamīshī* quite frequently, I also noticed that it was regularly coupled with the two other terms mentioned here, *tikishmīshī*, and *uljamīshī.* The data on these three terms has been compiled in Appendices 1-3.This led to a pursuit of these terms in other source material, as well as an analysis of other ritual behaviours which seem to match up with what we expect of those corresponding to these terms. These behaviours attended noteworthy loyalty exchanges, often at key moments in Mongol history, and thus deserved further analysis.

2.2 Juvainī's Loyalty Terminology

First, let us turn to loyalty terminology in Juvainī's *Tārīkh-i Jahāngushā*. It is often in a negative context that loyalty is referred to in Juvainī's account, and the terms he uses are often with regards to disloyalty. While submission and obedience are often referred to, our clearest references to changes in loyalty are when that scourge of the Islamic world, rebellion, is mentioned.[3] One of the more shocking moments to Juvainī is the 'rebellion' (خروج, *khurūj*) of the sieve-maker Sufi Maḥmūd Tārābī, who in 1238-9 led a common revolt against Mongol rule and against the wealthy of Bukhara (see Map 2), when many rich people were killed and their property taken.[4] In another incident, he relates that the Uighurs, under the *idiqut* (*Idiqut* is the title for the Uighur ruler, meaning the one who holds *qut*, or divine fortune) Salindi, were involved in 'treachery' (غدر*, ghadr*) against Möngke Qa'an (r. 1251-1259) by wanting to slay all the Muslims in Besh-Baligh.[5] Juvainī similarly mentions *ghadr* when discussing the actions of Khoja and Naqu, two Chinggisid princes and sons of the previous ruler Güyük Qa'an (r. 1246-1248), who vied for the succession with Möngke, see Figure 4. Batu, grandson of Chinggis through his eldest son Jochi and ruler of the Jochid *ulus* from 1227-1255, called a meeting in his own *ulus* where the princes would discuss the succession after the death of Güyük in 1248. Khoja and Naqu did not attend but apparently sent their representative, Temür Noyan, to witness and agree with the common decision. They were unhappy with this result and

[2] These terms are difficult to transliterate according to one system, given the layering of Mongolian, Turkic and Persian within one word and the many variations of these words present in the sources.
[3] See El Fadl, *Rebellion and Violence*, *passim* for the theological debates which dealt with the topic of rebellion.
[4] Juvainī/Boyle, Vol. I pp. 108-114; Juvainī/Qazvini, Vol. I, pp. 84-90. See below for further discussion.
[5] Juvainī/Boyle, Vol. I p. 48; Juvainī/Qazvini, Vol. I, p. 34.

sought to ambush Möngke, releasing the 'arrow of treachery' (تیر غدر, *tīr-i ghadr*) but were unsuccessful due to Möngke possession of the support of divine fortune.[6]

Map 2: The key cities of the western Mongol Empire. This map is found in *The Horde: How the Mongols Changed the World* (2021), reproduced here with the kind permission of its author Marie Favereau.

Juvainī is more specific when referring to the situation in Otrar during the Mongols' attack on Khwarazm. He states that Ghayir Khan, the governor of the city, told another commander, Qaracha Khāṣṣ Ḥājib, that:

> اگر بی وفائی کنیم عذر غدر را چه محل نهیم و از ملامت و تقریع مسلمانان بکدام بهانه تفصی نمائیم, *agar bī-vafā'ī kunīm uẕr-i ghadr rā chi maḥal nahīm va az malāmat va taqrīʿ-i musalmānān bi-kudām bahāna tafaṣṣī namā'īm*.[7]

[6] Juvainī/Boyle, Vol. I, p. 264; Juvainī/Qazvini Vol. I, p. 219.
[7] Juvainī/Qazvini, Vol. I. p. 65.

> If we are unfaithful (*bī-vafā'ī kunīm*), how shall we excuse our treachery (*ghadr)* [against their ruler Sulṭān Muḥammad Khwārazmshāh (r. 1200-1220)], and under what pretext shall we escape from the reproaches of the Muslims? [8]

Qaracha Khāṣṣ Ḥājib had no such qualms or fervent religious reason to stay and fight, as he fled Otrar and was captured by the Mongols. On account of his actions, i.e. 'having been unfaithful' (وفا ننمودی*, vafā nanimūdī)* to his ruler Sultan Muḥammad*,* he was put to death by them.[9] As we shall see, this brings to mind many of the episodes in the *SHM* when Chinggis castigates those who were unfaithful to their rightful lord.[10] The appearance of this in Juvainī perhaps indicates that this was more than a simple literary trope apparent in the *SHM*, or that the trope was cross-cultural. These terms, *ghadr*, *vafā*, *bī-vafā'ī kardan*, are close to what we would expect when discussing loyalty, what is called *vafādārī* in modern Persian, but does not appear to be used as a stand-alone word for loyalty in 13th and 14th century sources.

With regards to more positive contexts for loyalty, often the language of obedience is used. Juvainī talks of the completeness of the 'obedience and subjection of the army' (طواعیت لشکر و انقیاد عسکر*, ṭavāʿīyyat-i lashkar va inqīyād-i ʿaskar*) to Ögödei Qa'an (r. 1229-1241). The extent of their obedience was such that a group of military commanders, possibly of the Oirat, did not lift a finger when Ögödei ordered the public rape and abduction of girls and women related to them, whom they had betrothed to other men when Ögödei had plans for their marriages.[11] He uses similar language, in a different form, when talking of the regency of Ögödei's widow Töregene Khatun (r. 1241-1246), saying that most of her family and the army 'obediently and willingly submitted to her' (اورا بطوع و رغبت منقاد و مذعان شدند*, ū rā bi-ṭaw' va righbat munqād va miẕʿān shudand*).[12] Juvainī seems to believe that in this period of regency however, loyalty was not common. Töregene apparently held a grudge against two of Ögödei's chief ministers, Chinqai and Maḥmūd Yalāvach, who both fled to the refuge of Ögödei and Töregene's son Köten.[13] Töregene attempts to convince their colleague, 'Imād al-Mulk Muḥammad of Khotan to slander them in the forthcoming *quriltai* (an assembly of the Mongol ruling class). He refuses, because he is possessed of 'loyalty and generosity' (وفا و کرم*, vafā va karam*) which are qualities of great men, but are 'as non-existent in this present age as the *simurgh* or the philosopher's stone' (درین روزگار چون سیمرغ و کیمیا ناموجود, *darīn rūzgār chun sīmurgh va kīmīyā*

[8] Juvainī/Boyle, Vol. I, p. 84. Boyle's translation, modified to understand the text better.
[9] Juvainī/Boyle, Vol. I, p. 84; Juvainī/Qazvini, Vol. I, p. 65.
[10] Jones, 'The Objects of Loyalty', pp. 3-4.
[11] Juvainī/Boyle, Vol. I, pp. 235-236; Juvainī/Qazvini, Vol. I, p. 191. This is quite a confusing passage, perhaps also mentioned by the SHM §281, Vol. I, p. 217, where the women are referred to as Temüge Otchigin's.
[12] Juvainī/Boyle, Vol. I, pp. 240-241; Juvainī/Qazvini, Vol. I, p. 196. Translation from Boyle.
[13] For more information on these key officials in the early Mongol world, see the various biographies found in *In the Service of the Khan: Eminent Personalities of the Early Mongol-Yüan Period (1200-1300),* (eds.) I. de Rachewiltz, H. Chan, H. Ch'i-ch'ing and P.W. Geier (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1993).

nāmawjūd).[14] Thus, loyalty is shown in terms of extremes, where only certain men (and always men in Juvainī's vision) possessed this rare quality.

Juvainī also made use of Mongol words in his descriptions of submission. This is related to the Mongol terms for loyalty and submission (M. *el*, rendered into Persian as *īl*) and disloyalty and rebellion (*bulqa*, rendered into Persian as *bulghāq*), though Juvainī does not use the term *bulqa/bulghāq*.[15] For example, when Chinggis Khan advanced on Balkh, the great men of the city came out 'showing submission' (*iẓhār-i īlī*). In this instance, we see that often when rendering a Mongol word, Juvainī pairs it with a Persian one, thus the great men also 'submitted' (*bandigī kardand*).[16] Unfortunately their submission was not trustworthy enough for the Mongols, and the city was still put to the sword. On the road from Bukhara to Samarqand, Chinggis spared the villages which 'submitted' (ایل می شدند, *īl mī-shudand*).[17] Similarly, when the Mongols approached Tirmiz they sent messengers to ask the people for their 'submission and obedience' (بایلی و مطاوعت, *bi-īlī va muṭāvaʿat*) but 'they did not accept submission' (قبول ایلی نکردند, *qabūl-i īlī nakardand*) due to their confidence in their fortifications and armies.[18] This format is used by Juvainī elsewhere, saying that a ruler from another country wanted to render his 'submission and obedience' (بایلی و مطاوعت, *bi-īlī va muṭāvaʿat*) to Ögödei, and sent him gifts to accomplish this.[19]

While Juvainī does not use *bulqa*, he prefers the Turkic equivalent *yāghīgarī/yāghī*.[20] For instance, he states that 'the people of Nishapur were openly revolting' (اهل نشابور یاغی گری صریح می کردند, *ahl-i nishābūr yāghīgarī-yi ṣarīḥ mī-kardand*). He makes a clear distinction between the

[14] Juvainī/Boyle, Vol. I, pp. 242-243; Juvainī/Qazvini, Vol. I, pp. 197-198. Or perhaps the railings of an old man about the current generation…

[15] These words and their use in Mongol history has been analysed by Michael Hope in his forthcoming work: '*El* and *Bulqa*: Between order and chaos in the formative years of the Mongol Empire (1206-1259)'; *Bulqa* could also be applied to those who had never been under Mongol control, as their diplomatic correspondence with the Mamluks and others shows, see R. Amitai-Preiss, 'Mongol Imperial Ideology and the Ilkhanid War against the Mamluks', in (eds.) R. Amitai-Preiss and D. Morgan, *The Mongol Empire and its Legacy* (Leiden: Brill, 2000), pp.57-72; submissive people were labelled *il-irgen* and those who rejected Mongol offers of submission were labelled *bulgha-irgen*, T. Allsen, *Mongol Imperialism, The Policies of the Grand Qan Möngke in China, Russia, and The Islamic Lands, 1251-1259* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1987), p. 64. These terms were translated into Latin in Güyük's general order of submission transmitted via the commander in the west, Baiju, as *provinciis nobis obedientibus* (*il irgen*) and *provinciis nobis rebellantibus* (*bulgha-irgen*), D. Aigle, 'The Letters of Eljigidei, Hülegü and Abaqa: Mongol overtures or Christian Ventriloquism?', *Inner Asia*, Vol. 7, No. 2 (2005), p. 147.

[16] However, this may also be a more defined ritual that took place, as will be discussed below.

[17] Juvainī/Boyle, Vol. I, p. 117; Juvainī/Qazvini, Vol. I, p. 92.

[18] Juvainī/Boyle, Vol. I, p. 129; Juvainī/Qazvini, Vol. I, p. 102.

[19] Juvainī/Boyle, Vol. I, p. 208; Juvainī/Qazvini, Vol. I, p. 164.

[20] This is often the case in Persian histories of this period, as shown in Na'ama O. Arom, 'Arrowheads of Hülegü Khan: Envoys and Diplomacy in His Invasion of the Middle East, 1255–1262', in (eds.) T. May, D. Bayarsaikhan, C.P. Atwood, *New Approaches to Ilkhanid History*, (Leiden: Brill, 2021), p. 253, note 21. Rashīd al-Dīn however, uses both the Turkic and Mongol terms interchangeably.

‘countries that were far and rebellious/not submissive’ (بلاد بعید و یاغی, *bilād-i baʿīd va yāghī*) and ‘the regions that were near and loyal/submissive’ (دیار نزدیک و ایل, *dīyār-i nazdīk va īl*) during the reign of Ögödei.[21] In the usage of these words, Juvainī ports Mongol ideas of submission and obedience into Persian prose. The language is in essence not that of loyalty, but that of expected obedience. This is a concept that is well documented in the Mongol world.[22] For the Mongols, loyalty was in complete submission.

An important part of becoming *el* was accepting a Mongol representative, what Juvainī labels a *shiḥna* or *basqaq*, who was both a military and civilian official, responsible for collecting taxes and keeping the local population in line.[23] Therefore when the legendary Mongol generals Jebe and Sübetei were sent in pursuit of Sultan Muḥammad Khwarazmshāh in the early 1220s, several local rulers tendered their submission rather than be attacked. ʿAlā’ al-Dawla of Hamadan was one such who ‘submitted’ (ایل شد, *īl shud*), offered up many gifts and ‘took (accepted) a *shiḥna*’ (شحنه بستد, *shiḥna bistad*). At this point, submission had occurred and loyalty was expected. However, due to the lack of governance and control, figures in the area continued to act independently and resented the acceptance of Mongol over-lordship. One Jamāl al-Dīn Āyba again began ‘disorder and unrest’ (فتنه و آشوب, *fitna va āshūb*), killing the *shiḥna* of Hamadan and imprisoning the leader of the city, ʿAlā’ al-Dawla, for his submission to the Mongols.[24] Jebe soon returned ‘for the purpose of avenging the killing of the *shiḥna*’(بر انتقام قتل شحنه, *bar intiqām-i qatl-i shiḥna*). Jamāl al-Dīn Āyba tried to submit himself, but was executed by Jebe.[25] One could also receive a *paiza* (a passport and badge of authority), as a symbol of one’s submission and loyalty, as did the *qāżī* of Sarakhs, who handed over the city and presented gifts to Jebe, and received a ‘wooden *paiza*’ (پایزهٔ چوبین, *pāiza-yi chūbīn*) from Chinggis Khan. However, for this sign of submission to the Mongols, he was executed by Mujir al-Mulk, an amir of the Khwarazmshāhid sultan.[26] Territories and people groups could apparently be partly submissive. Juvainī refers to the Bulghar, Ās and the Rus peoples as ‘not completely submitted’

[21] Juvainī/Boyle, Vol. I, p. 203; Juvainī/Qazvini, Vol. I, p. 160.
[22] See for example, T.D. Skrynnikova, 'Relations of Domination and Submission: Political Practice in the Mongol Empire of Chinggis Khan', in (ed.) D. Sneath, *Imperial Statecraft: Political Forms and Techniques of Governance in Inner Asia, Sixth-Twentieth Centuries*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), pp. 85-115; A.F. Broadbridge, *Kingship and Ideology in the Islamic and Mongol Worlds*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008).
[23] Often used by the Persian sources, equivocated to the Turkic term *basqaq* and the Mongol term *darugha/darughachi*, though Juvainī does not use the latter term.
[24] The term *fitna* could have several meanings, one conveying a more general unrest/disorder, but in a more specific sense, a person could begin a *fitna*, perhaps best described as an uprising or rebellion.
[25] Juvainī/Boyle, Vol. I, pp. 147-148; Juvainī/Qazvini, Vol. I, pp. 115-116.
[26] Juvainī/Boyle, Vol. I, p. 158; Juvainī/Qazvini, Vol. I, p. 124.

(بکلّی ایل نشده بودند, *bi-kullī īl nashuda būdand*) and thus Ögödei and the Mongols decide they need to take care of 'the remaining rebels' (بقایای طغاة. pl. of طاغی, *baqāyā-yi ṭughāt*).[27]

Juvainī's description of the conquest of Merv elaborates several terms for loyalty and disloyalty. He describes the situation in Sarakhs first, saying that an amir of Sultan Muḥammad, one Shams al-Dīn, son of Pahlavān Abū-Bakr Dīvāna, 'started an uprising' (فتنه آغاز نهادست, *fitna āghāz nahādast*). The Mongol-appointed governor of Merv, Żīyā' al-Dīn ʿAlī, was forced to meet this uprising. This left the Mongol *shiḥna*, one Barmas, in charge of Merv. The people of Merv 'revolted' (*yāghī shudand*) when it appeared that Barmas was fleeing the city. Barmas, despite threats and executions, was not able to retake Merv, and retired to Bukhara where he died. Żīyā' al-Dīn returned to Merv and when he realised what was expedient, 'he joined that group and rebelled' (با آن جماعت عصیان کرد, *bā ān jamāʿat ʿiṣyān kard*). He kept playing a double game however, joining with some Mongols who arrived at that time. Another representative of the sultan, Kush Tegin, arrived, seized Żīyā' al-Dīn and killed him, with Żīyā' al-Dīn accusing his supporters of treason (*ghadr*) for going over to Kush Tegin. Kush Tegin himself was killed by a Mongol general Qaracha, but an interesting loyalty follow-up to this story is that Merv had to be besieged yet again because many people, out of 'love for their homeland' (حبّ وطن, *ḥubb-i vaṭan*) had returned to the city. This 'patriotism', if we decide to go along with John Andrew Boyle's very modern translation of this phrase, cost these people dearly, as they were all put to death by the Mongols. Merv still went through yet another seizure by an unspecified Turcoman, able to rally the townspeople to his cause, before the city was retaken again by the Mongols.[28] In this extremely turbulent time, the lines between loyalty to the Mongols, Sultan Muḥammad, and to independent rulers of no/unspecified allegiance seem easily crossed, but with often fatal consequences for those caught up in the action. Apparently an idealistic loyalty, the love of one's homeland, still could have a powerful influence on people's decision-making.

[27] Juvainī/Boyle, Vol. I, p. 269; Juvainī/Qazvini, Vol. I, p. 224

[28] Juvainī/Boyle, Vol. I, pp. 164-8; Juvainī/Qazvini, Vol. I, pp. 128-134. Juvainī has the population of Merv go from 100,000 to 4, then 10,000 to 100 in the various captures and re-takings of the city. In this case, 'the people' seem to have been relatively united in their defence of Merv. Communal loyalties could be far more divisive of course. John Woods shows that in the Mongol siege of Isfahan in 1235/6, the city was divided into Ḥanafī and Shāfiʿī factions, who tried to use the Mongols to destroy their rivals, with the Shāfiʿī faction opening the gates for the Mongols, only for both sides to be wiped out, J.E. Woods, 'A Note on the Mongol Capture of Iṣfahān', *Journal of Near Eastern Studies*, Vol. 36, No. 1 (Jan., 1977), pp. 49-51.

2.2.1 Case Study: The Tārābī Revolt

It is perhaps worth comparing this account with that of the Tārābī revolt, as it is one of the few examples we have of non-ruling elites and their loyalty decisions in the Mongol period, and Juvainī talks about it quite differently.[29] Firstly, Juvainī describes the rebellion from the outset as heretical, saying that due to the conjunction of the planets, 'the astrologers had determined that a *fitna* would break out and that it was possible a heretic would rebel' (منجمان حکم کرده بودند که فتنه ظاهر شود و یمکن مبتدعی خروج کند*, munajjimān ḥukm karda būdand ki fitna ẓāhir shavad va yumkin mubtadi'-ī khurūj kunad*) who wore 'the dress of the people of the *khirqa*' (در لباس اهل خرقه*, dar libās-i ahl-i khirqa*[30]).[31] Maḥmūd Tārābī himself Juvainī describes as 'in stupidity and ignorance he had not his equal' (در حماقت و جهل عدیم المثال*, dar ḥimāqat va jahl 'adīm al-miṣāl*).[32] Juvainī also associates Tārābī with a trope commonly told about women in the Mongol period, namely, their association with witchcraft.[33] He says that Tārābī's sister taught him in the ways of the *parī-dārān* (those who can call on spirits, magicians). Juvainī later met several respectable people who were adamant that Tārābī had healed blind people in their presence.[34]

What is most interesting however is Juvainī's descriptions of Tārābī's followers. At first, he says that it was the 'common people' (عوام*, 'avām*) who flocked to Tārābī, and that 'what can the

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[29] This revolt has been considered and compared to the Sarbadar movement in the 14th century by Mansura Haider, M. Haider, 'The Revolt of Mahmud Tarabi and the Sarbadar Movement', *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress*, Vol. 52 (1991), pp. 939-949.

[30] Idem, p. 84. The *khirqa* is the Sufi initiate's robe.

[31] Juvainī/Qazvini, Vol. I, p. 85. The repeated use of the term *khurūj* by Juvainī for this rebellion is interesting. It recalled to me the religious aspect of the Kharijite rebellion, G. Levi Della Vida, 'Khāridjites', in *Encyclopaedia of Islam, Second Edition,* Online Edition, (2012) http://dx.doi.org.ezproxy.leidenuniv.nl:2048/10.1163/1573-3912_islam_COM_0497, Accessed 7th March 2022. However, Sara Mirahmadi pointed out to me that the term was regularly used in early Persian histories such as Balamī with no religious connotations, Mirahmadi, Personal Correspondence, 2022. On the other hand, the term *khurūj* was important to Zaydi Shīʿīs as a sign that an Imam had the necessary charisma to rule by rebelling against an oppressive ruler, N. Haider, *Shīʿī Islam, An Introduction*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), p. 40. Khaled Abou El Fadl has shown that many Sunni jurists made a moral distinction between resisting an unjust ruler's commands, *imtināʿ* (امتناع) and an aggressive rebellion which overthrew the ruler, *khurūj*, K. El Fadl, *Rebellion and Violence in Islamic Law* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), p. 283. Interestingly in this case, Maḥmūd Tārābī did declare himself Sultan of Bukhara, and had the *khuṭba* read in his name. Juvainī's emphasis on the religious ignorance of the revolt and Tārābī's association with Sufis does seem to indicate to me that he chose this word very specifically.

[32] Juvainī/Boyle, Vol. I, p. 109, Boyle's translation.

[33] See the trial of Fāṭima during Güyük's in Juvaini/Boyle, Vol. I, p. 245 or the execution of Toghachaq Khatun, wife of the Ilkhan Arghun, in RAD/Thackston, Vol. III p. 575. As noted in K. Golev, 'Intra-Mongol Diplomacy and Witch-Hunt during the Dissolution of the Empire: the Witchcraft Trial at the Court of Hülegü', *Eurasian Studies*, Vol. 17, (2019), p. 355, Rashīd al-Dīn states that 'the Mongols have a horror of sorcery', RAD/Thackston, Vol. III, p. 550. RAD/Raushan, Vol. II, p. 1128, *chūn mughul siḥr rā bi-ghāyat munkar mi-bāshand*. So this story seeks to legitimise Tārābī's destruction both from a Muslim and a Mongol point of view.

[34] Idem, pp. 109-110. Interestingly, his sister would turn on him later, saying he was too preoccupied with women and money.

vulgar do but follow their ignorance?' (عوام الناس را خود چه باید تا تبع جهل شوند, *'avām al-nās rā khud chi bāyad tā taba'-i jahl shavad*).[35] But eventually, Maḥmūd seems to have healed enough people that he convinced 'most of the people […] both noble and common' (اکثر ایشان...از خاص و عام, *akṯar-i īshān…az khāṣṣ va 'āmm*). In Bukhara itself, the ruling classes apparently got behind him in order to betray him, but it was the massed common people who protected him, so desperate for his blessing they wanted him to spit on them.[36] The revolt takes a specifically anti-Mongol turn later, when Maḥmūd tells his followers 'the world must be cleansed of those without religion' (دنیا را از بی دینان پاک می باید کرد, *dunyā rā az bī-dīnān pāk mī-bāyad kard*[37]) and to take up anything at hand, 'weapon or tool, staff or club' (سلاح و ساز یا عصا و چوبی, *silāḥ va sāz yā 'aṣā va chūbī*). Juvainī later describes Tārābī's followers as 'ruffians' *runūd va awbāsh*, an almost stereotypical phrase for poor people who performed any sort of violent action, in this case robbing the wealth of Bukhara.[38] Tārābī eventually defeats a Mongol army called upon by the amirs of Bukhara, and the Mongol forces flee, only to be set upon by 'the rural population from their villages using shovels and axes' (اهالی رساتیق از دیههای خویش با بیل و تبر, *ahālī-yi rasātīq az dīh-hā-yi khvīsh bā bīl va tabar*[39]). A larger number of Mongols then arrived, defeated and killed Maḥmūd, and set to massacring the Bukharans, re-establishing Mongol control.

For Juvainī, the hero of the piece is Maḥmūd Yalāvach, the administrator of Turkestan. Despite being unable to prevent Tārābī's takeover, it is Yalāvach who managed to stop the Mongol army from massacring the people of Bukhara, saying that only a few were involved, and thus not all should be punished.[40] We can perhaps argue that Juvainī is acting out of communal loyalty here, or loyalty to his *ṣinf*, the administrative class who formed a ruling stratum between the Mongol overlords and their subjects. On a more personal level, his brother, Shams al-Dīn, performed a similar role in trying to limit Abaqa's revenge attacks on territories like Anatolia and Khurasan.[41] As the governor of Mongol Baghdad, our historian may be looking for inevitable comparisons with his own role and the difficulties he faced in trying to prevent the voracious Mongols from despoiling the population. He also shows that Yalāvach (and perhaps by implication, Juvainī himself) has the best interests of the common people at heart, and that they should not be overtly blamed for their ignorance.

[35] Juvainī/Boyle, Vol. I, p. 110, Boyle's translation.
[36] Juvainī/Boyle, Vol. I, p. 111.
[37] Juvainī/Qazvini, Vol. I, p. 87.
[38] J.T.P. de Bruijn, 'Rind', *Encyclopaedia of Islam, Second Edition*, Online, http://dx.doi.org.ezproxy.leidenuniv.nl:2048/10.1163/1573-3912_islam_SIM_6300, Accessed 20th May 2022.
[39] Juvainī/Qazvini, Vol. I, p. 89.
[40] Juvainī/Boyle, Vol. I, p. 115.
[41] Ravalde, 'Shams al-Dīn Juwaynī', p. 66.

No doubt this stance of Juvainī's is also linked to his patronage of works which portray him in the same light. Sara Nur Yıldız has elaborated on the portrayal of Juvainī in the Seljuq court official Ibn Bībī's late 13th century work *al-avāmir al-ʿalā'iyya fi'l-umūr al-ʿalā'iyya* (*The most exalted orders regarding the most sublime affairs*), a work of Seljuq history commissioned by and dedicated to ʿAṭā Malik Juvainī.[42] Yıldız shows that Ibn Bībī's work goes to great lengths to show the Juvainī brothers as righteous Muslim administrators who guided the community of Islam during the overlordship of the pagan Mongols. This thinking is developed throughout the text, and the author even goes so far as to call ʿAṭā Malik Juvainī the heir to the Rightly Guided Caliphs, (*vāriṯ al-khulafāʿ al-rāshidīn*). This was apparently not simply empty flattery, as Yıldız points out that Juvainī in fact married Shams al-Ḍuḥā, the widow of Abū'l-Abbās, the son of the last Abbasid caliph executed by Hülegü, al-Mustaṣim. Juvaini's nephew Hārūn, son of Shams al-Dīn, also married an Abbasid princes, Shams al-Ḍuḥā's daughter Rabīʿa. The Juvainīs clearly sought to enhance their legitimacy in an Islamic context.[43]

It is clear from the titles that Ibn Bībī gives Juvainī, his marriage policy, as well as his history which revels in the destruction of the heretical Ismāʿīlīs, that he also saw the role of the administrator of the Mongols as guiding them towards the protection of orthodox Islam.[44] Therefore, the point of the above anecdote, as well as Ibn Bībī's praise of Juvainī's governorship of Baghdad, was to show that through the intercession of wise administrators such as he and Maḥmūd Yalāvach, the Mongols' wrath could be pointed in the right direction, away from Sunni orthodox Muslims, and towards those believed to be apostates and heretics.[45] Meanwhile these administrators could restore and revitalise the Islamic community which took such a hit with the destruction of the Abbasid Caliphate. Thus Juvainī attempts to show his ideal loyalty to Islam being maintained while his political loyalties remained firmly with his Mongol rulers.

Returning to the Tārābī revolt, Juvainī makes a significant difference here between the people of Merv, who fought for love of their homeland, and the people of Bukhara, who out of ignorance followed a heretic. The constant interjections of Qur'anic verses are common in Juvainī,

[42] S. N. Yıldız, 'Mongol Rule in Thirteenth-Century Seljuk Anatolia: The Politics of Conquest and History Writing, 1243-1282', PhD Dissertation, University of Chicago, 2006, p. 415.
[43] Idem, pp. 503, 528, 551, 556.
[44] Juvainī/Boyle, Vol. II, p. 719. Juvainī was in some sense judge, jury and executioner when it came to the Ismāʿīlīs, as it was he who entered the library of their stronghold at Alamut and decided which books could be saved and which should be burned as heretical texts. Lane, *Daily Life*, p. 88 and *Early Mongol Rule*, p. 26 points out that Juvainī in fact made extensive use in his own work of the biography of Ḥasan-I Ṣabbāḥ, founder of the sect, and other Ismāʿīlī works, which may indicate that not all of these 'heretical' books were destroyed.
[45] See also M. Biran, 'Baghdād under Mongol Rule, in (eds.) J. Scheiner and I. Toral-Niehoff, *Baghdad: From Its Beginnings to the 14th Century*, (Leiden: Brill, 2022), p. 295. Juvainī was apparently very strict when dealing with heterodoxy, and had the leeway to take this approach (for an alternative vision, see note 44). Jackson, *Mongols and the Islamic World*, p. 322 says that Juvainī executed a prophet in Tustar (modern day Shushtar in southwestern Iran) who claimed to be Jesus.

but in this section they appear directly after some of Tārābī's most heretical claims, those of healing the afflicted. Juvainī also repeatedly insults Tārābī, calling him *jāhil*, 'ignorant, illiterate, barbarous'. He shows how well-respected men, such as the Bukharan Shams al-Dīn Maḥbūbī, pandered to Tārābī, and told him that he was destined to conquer the world.[46] Juvainī warns against this flattering of a demagogue, and tries to indicate that reason, or at least the trust in rational men like Juvainī or Yalāvach, are the only ways to combat such madness.[47] Throughout this text it appears as if Juvainī seeks to highlight both his own ideal loyalty to true Islam, his loyalty to his homeland in his protection of the people he is responsible for, but also his loyalty to his patrons, by indicating that resistance to them was useless, even if they were not Muslims.[48]

2.2.2 Physical Signs of Loyalty

Juvainī also talks about loyalty in terms of the way it was manifested in physical form. This was the most obvious way to show both the subject population and the ruler that you were his vassal. In the Muslim world, the expression of loyalty by a vassal to a suzerain was physically shown in two ways which are consistently mentioned in historical works in this period. This would be the inclusion of the name of the suzerain in the Friday prayers, the *khuṭba*, and the striking of coinage, *sikka*.[49] Thus Juvainī explains the transferral of loyalty of the sultan of Samarqand, Sultan 'Us̲mān from the *gür-khan* of the Qara-Khitai dynasty of Central Asia (1124-1218) to Sultan Muḥammad Khwarazmshāh.[50] Sultan 'Us̲mān sent a messenger to 'declare his approval of/sympathy to him' (موافقت او اظهار کرد, *muvāfiqat-i ū iẓhār kard*[51]) i.e. Sultan Muḥammad, and in order to show his sincerity, 'performed the *khuṭba* and *sikka* in his (Sultan Muḥammad's) name in Samarqand' (خطبه و سکّه در سمرقند بنام او کرد, *khuṭba va sikka dar Samarqand bi-nām-i ū kard*) and 'made clear his (Sultan

[46] Juvainī/Qazvini, Vol. I, p. 86.
[47] Juvainī/Boyle, Vol. I, p. 110. Juvainī here after hearing the accounts of the respectable people who saw Maḥmūd Tārābī's miracles, says 'As for me, if I should see such things with my own eyes, I should concern myself with the treatment of my eyesight'.
[48] This is echoed by Ibn Bībī, who encouraged the Rum Seljuqs to accept Mongol rule as part of God's plan while maintaining their own just Islamic government, Yıldız, 'Mongol Rule in Seljuq Anatolia', p. 587.
[49] For more on these terms, see the Encyclopaedia of Islam entries: A.J. Wensinck, "Khuṭba", in: *Encyclopaedia of Islam, Second Edition*, http://dx.doi.org.ezproxy.leidenuniv.nl:2048/10.1163/1573-3912_islam_SIM_4352, Accessed 9th April 2021; C.E Bosworth, Darley-Doran, R.E. and Freeman-Greenville, G.S.P., "Sikka", in: *Encyclopaedia of Islam, Second Edition*, http://dx.doi.org.ezproxy.leidenuniv.nl:2048/10.1163/1573-3912_islam_COM_1076, Accessed 9th April 2021. For a more in-depth consideration of the *khuṭba*, see L.G. Jones, *The Power of Oratory in the Medieval Muslim World*, (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2012).
[50] According to Michal Biran, the Qara-Khitai did not demand that their vassals acknowledge them in their *khuṭba* and *sikka*, thus the Qarakhanids claimed magnificent titles there despite their relative weakness.
[51] *Muvāfiqat* is translated by Boyle as 'loyalty', which contextually is correct but the word does not quite have this English meaning.

‘Us̲mān’s) opposition and enmity to the *gür-khan*’ (مخالفت و معادات کور خان ظاهر گردانید, *mukhālifat va muʿādāt-i kūr khān ẓāhir gardānīd*). Sultan Us̲mān went a step further and fought the *gür-khan* when he besieged and captured Samarqand. Us̲mān does not seem to have faced any serious punishment for his actions, and was in fact able to surrender Samarqand to Sultan Muḥammad later when the *gür-khan* was forced to leave the city.[52]

For the Mongols, their expectations of the physical signs of loyalty were slightly different, though they did not do away with existing concepts such as the *khuṭba* or *sikka*, but rather added their own layer of loyalty expectations. A story from Juvainī captures quite well what the Mongols demanded in these terms. Juvainī tells us of the *idiqut* of the Uighurs, Barchuq, who was a vassal of the Qara-Khitai. The Qara-Khitai used the *shiḥna* system whereby a sort of overseer sent from the central state served as the link between the rulers and those areas not under their direct control. This system was adopted by the Mongols, with the overseer being called the *darugha/darughachi* in Mongolian, while Juvainī goes with the Turkic word *basqaq* and/or the Arabo-Persian word, *shiḥna*.[53] As a vassal of the Qara-Khitai, Barchuq accepted a *shiḥna* from his suzerain. Barchuq apparently spotted a sea change with the coming of Chinggis Khan and sought to choose the right side. His first act was to visibly cast off loyalty to the Qara-Khitai by killing the *shiḥna*. Barchuq then sent ambassadors ‘to announce his rebellion against the Qara-Khitai and his obedience and submission to the world-conquering Emperor Chinggis Khan’ (باعلام یاغی شدن با قرا ختای و مطاوعت و متابعت کردن پادشاه جهانگیر چنگز خان, *bi-iʿlām-i yāghī shudan bā qarā khitāy va muṭāvaʿat va mutābiʿat kardan pādshāh-i jahāngīr chingiz khān*).

This was not enough however. Chinggis honoured Barchuq’s ambassadors but demanded Barchuq’s submission in person. Barchuq paid Chinggis homage, and Chinggis showed his appreciation, Juvainī saying that Barchuq ‘returned with honours’ (با سیورغامیشی باز گشت, *bā suyūrghāmīshī bāz-gasht*[54]). What honours Barchuq received however did not come without a price. Thomas Allsen noted that according to the *SHM*, the Uighurs were required to provide tribute in the form of luxury clothing; gold brocade and damasks.[55] Yet Barchuq’s hardest tasks to prove his loyalty were still to come. These came in the form of participation in Chinggis’ campaigns. Three are

[52] Juvainī/Boyle, Vol. II, pp. 359-60; Juvainī/Qazvini, Vol. II, p. 91.
[53] D. Morgan, ‘Who Ran the Mongol Empire?’, *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Vol. 2, (Jan, 1982), p. 129; P. Buell, ‘Sino-Khitan Administration in Mongol Bukhara’, *Journal of Asian History*, Vol. 24, No. 2, (1979), pp. 131-3. For an alternative viewpoint claiming that these were distinct offices, see D. Ostrowski, 'The *tamma* and the Dual-Administrative Structure of the Mongol Empire', *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and Asian Studies*, Vol. 61, No. 2 (1998), pp. 262-277.
[54] This Turco-Mongol term *soyurghamīshī* will be discussed in the subsequent section.
[55] T. Allsen, *Commodity and Exchange in the Mongol Empire: A Cultural History of Islamic Textiles, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997),* p. 28; SHM/de Rachewiltz, §238, p. 163.

mentioned by Juvainī; first, the Mongols' campaign against the rebel Küchlüg- where Barchuq participated with 300 men; secondly, Chinggis' invasion of the lands of the Khwarazmshāh; and finally, Chinggis' last campaign against the Tanguts. Chinggis did not fail to recognise Barchuq's loyalty and 'these praiseworthy services' (این خدمات پسندیده *īn khadamāt-i pasandīda*) over more than ten years; he bequeathed Barchuq one of his daughters, Al Altan (called by Juvainī Altun Beki). It is Ögödei who has to fulfil Chinggis' order and 'he bestowed Altun Beki to him (Barchuq)' (التون بیکی را بدو سیورغامیشی فرمود *altūn bīkī rā bidū suyūrghāmīshī farmūd*). Clearly the duties of the lord to his faithful servant were not ignored after that lord's death.[56]

Twice now we have come across the Turco-Mongol term *soyurghamīshī*. This term seems to represent the physical expression of the ruler's satisfaction with his servants' loyalty, and came in the form of titles and gifts.[57] Gerhard Doerfer shows that this and the related term, *soyurghal*, which appears in the *SHM*, meant a reward given by the ruler.[58] Both words stem from the early Turkic word *tsoyurka*, meaning 'to have pity on someone, to be compassionate', and in Mongolian the verb came to mean 'to bestow favour', which was re-borrowed into Turkic with this meaning.[59] The form *soyurghal* eventually came to mean a hereditary tax-free land grant given by the ruler to his amirs and soldiers, and was used heavily by later dynasties such as the Timurids, and even later by the Safavids and the Mughals.[60] Juvainī does not use the word *soyurghal*, and indeed its meaning as a hereditary fief may have appeared toward the end of the Ilkhanid state in the 14th century, though it was used in most Chinggisid successor states. [61] Juvainī only uses *soyurghamīshī* a handful of times across his work, but its significant usage in Rashīd al-Dīn indicates that the idea of a ruler bestowing

[56] Juvainī/Boyle, Vol. I, pp. 44-7; Juvainī/Qazvini, Vol. I, pp. 32-4.
[57] G. Clauson, *Etymological Dictionary,* p. 556.
[58] G. Doerfer, *Türkische und mongolische Elemente im Neupersischen,* (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1963) Band I, #228 and #229, pp. 351-354.
[59] Clauson, *Etymological Dictionary*, p. 556.
[60] The word was used in the *SHM* meaning 'favour from the khan' more generally, see, SHM/de Rachewiltz, §202-204, pp. 133-136, and the attendant commentary by de Rachewiltz, 'Philological Commentary', Vol. II, pp. 762, 770, 778. In its noun form it appears three times in the 14th century Jalayirid chronicle *Tārīkh-i Shaykh Uvays*, which the English translator J.B. van Loon consistently translates as 'fief', though I believe in two of the cases it means a more general 'favour', following standard uses of *soyurghamīshī* in Rashīd al-Dīn, who was al-Ahrī's primary source, *Ta'rikh-i Shaikh Uwais (History of Shaikh Uwais): An Important Source for the History of Adharbaijan in the Fourteenth Century* (trans.) , J.B. van Loon ('s-Gravenhage: Excelsior, 1954), English translation, pp. 41, 47, 63; Persian text, pp. 139, 145, 163.
[61]For an overview of *soyurġal* in post-Mongol Empire states, R. Yu. Pochekaev, 'The Evolution of Soyurghal in Chinggisid and Non-Chinggisid States during the Post-Imperial Period', *Golden Horde Review*, Vol. 6, (2018), pp. 729-740; for a detailed analysis of its presence in the Timurid state, Subtelny, *Timurids in Transition, passim*. Rashīd al-Dīn does not use the term either, rather he uses the Arabo-Persian word *iqṭāʿ*. Doerfer mentions that the word *soyurġal* with this meaning only appears in the *Tārīkh-i Shaykh Uvays* of the Jalayirid period, *Türkische und mongolische Elemente*, p. 351, though it still seems to have maintained a more general meaning as well, viz note 64. Naṣir al-Dīn Ṭūsī describes what we would think should be called *soyurġal* in his work on finance for the Ilkhans, but uses the term *ḥurr* instead, M. Minovi and V. Minorsky, 'Naṣīr al-Dīn Ṭūsī on Finance', *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, Vol 10, Issue 3, (Oct. 1940), p. 773.

favour in the form of gifts, immunities, land grants, marriages and titles was seen as an outward show of satisfaction with service and reward for loyalty.[62]

In my view, this term corresponds to another Turco-Mongol term used at times by Juvainī, *tikishmīshī*.[63] While *soyurghamīshī* was the ruler's response to good service, *tikishmīshī* applied to the gifts given by subordinates as an indication of their loyalty to the ruler, as well as the physical act of making obeisance to the ruler.[64] According to Juvainī, this was a necessary step to take in becoming *el*, though it was not the first step. In discussing the Ismāʿīlī ruler Rukn al-Dīn Khūrshāh, Juvainī states that he came personally to Möngke in Qara-Qorum in 1257 to perform *tikishmīshī*, but Möngke 'did not allow Rukn al-Dīn to offer gifts' (رکن الدین را اجازت پیشکش نفرمود*, rukn al-dīn rā ijāzat-i pīshkash nafarmūd*). Here we see again Juvainī's pairing of a Persian word, *pīshkash*, with the Turco-Mongol word, a sign of erudition amongst Persian scholars, but also likely for his readers' benefit.[65] At this stage, Möngke claimed that Rukn al-Dīn wished to become *el*, but had not taken the obligatory preliminary step, namely refraining from resistance to the Mongols, in this case by destroying two of his major fortifications, Girdkuh and Lamasar. Only after this step had been taken would Rukn al-Dīn 'again have the honour of performing *tikishmīshī',* (بار دیگر شرف تکشمیشی یابد*, bār-i dīgar sharaf-i tikishmīshī yābad*).[66] A similar case is mentioned by the Armenian historian Kirakos regarding the Mongol siege of the Georgian city of Kayean in 1236. Its prince, one Awag, gave gifts and even his own daughter to the Mongol commander Chormaghun, but the siege continued. It was only Awag's surrender of the city and physical attendance on Chormaghun which ended the siege and saw Awag feasted by Chormaghun, who gave him great honour above the Mongol nobles themselves.[67] This action seems to correspond to our ideas of the terms above, though they are not used directly.

The term *tikishmīshī* is used elsewhere by Juvainī where he indicates some physical symbol of submission. The case that Juvainī deals with is that of the recalcitrant Ögödeid princes and their

[62] The word even found its way into at least one Armenian text, Grigor of Akner's *History of the Nation of Archers*, Chap. 7, where he discusses the '*sghamish'* received by Constable Smbat on behalf of King Het'um I of Cilicia from Güyük, which included a *jarligh*, golden *paiza*, and Tatar khatun with a headdress, Grigor of Akner, *History of the Nation of Archers,* (trans.) R. Bedrosian, Chapter 7, http://www.attalus.org/armenian/ga1.htm#8, Accessed 25th May 2021.
[63] I have used Juvainī's spelling here, though there are many forms of the word, deriving from the Turkic *tegiš* 'exchange', Clauson, *Etymological Dictionary*, p. 488; Doerfer, *Türkische und mongolische Elemente*, Band II, *alif* bis *tā, #*921, pp. 531-3.
[64] Juvainī/Boyle, Vol. II, p. 579, note 87.
[65] Anne Lambton has shown how the term *pīshkash* came to be used for a form of tribute from an inferior to a superior in 15th century Iran onwards, A. Lambton, '"*Pīshkash*": Present or Tribute?', *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, Vol. 57, No. I, (1994), pp. 145-158.
[66] Juvainī/Boyle, Vol. II, p. 724; Juvainī/Qazvini, Vol. III, p. 277. For more on this incident, see Lane, *Early Mongol Rule,* pp. 23-6.
[67] Kirakos Ganjakets'i's, *History of the Armenians,* (trans.) R. Bedrosian, http://www.attalus.org/armenian/kgtoc.html, Accessed 25th May 2021, pp. 217-220.

submission to Möngke, after long contesting his right to succeed Güyük. After Shiremün and Naqu's forces approached those of Möngke, Mengeser Noyan was sent out with the army and surrounded them. They realised they were surrounded and went with Mengeser to the *ordu*. Before entering however, the princes and their amirs were forced to perform *tikishmīshī*, nine at a time.[68] If we consider that the princes were outside the *ordu* under duress and Möngke's presence is not mentioned, this situation does not seem to suggest any gift-giving scenario, but rather their symbolic submission to Möngke and his justice, which they surely knew would fall upon them quite swiftly. These terms were further elaborated by Rashīd al-Dīn, and will be considered at greater length below.

Another physical sign of loyalty was the signing or writing of pledges. Juvainī mentions these most often when referring to a new ruler's succession. Juvainī describes Ögödei's accession in terms of 'obeying the command of his father' (امتثال فرمان پدر, *imtiṯāl-i farmān-i pidar*).[69] He states that it was 'according to their (the Mongols') custom' (بر عادت خود, *bar 'ādat-i khud*) that those who chose the *qa'an* 'gave written statements' (خطها بدادند, *khaṭ-hā bi-dādand*) saying they would not change his words or commands.[70] The giving of these written statements occurred on the accession of both Ögödei and Güyük. Rashīd al-Dīn also mentions this giving of pledges, though he uses the Mongol word *möchelge* for these actions, including specifically the accession of Güyük, 'all (the convened princes and amirs) agreed and gave *möchelge*s to the effect that "as long as a piece of flesh from your lineage remains that when wrapped in fat or grass a dog or a cow would not accept, we will not give the khanate to anyone else."' [71]

[68] Juvainī/Boyle, Vol. II, p. 579; Juvainī/Qazvini, Vol. III, p. 46. We are not entirely sure what this entailed, Boyle hypothesised that this was 'standing to attention', though how he arrives at this meaning is unclear. See below for the physical representation of this rite. This may be linked to the punishments meted out to these princes also, as crimes like theft had to be paid for nine times over by the criminal party in Yuán China, see Lane, *Daily Life*, p. 216.

[69] Juvainī/Boyle, Vol. I, p. 187; Juvainī/Qazvini, Vol. I, p. 147.

[70] Juvainī/Boyle, Vol. I, p. 252; Juvainī/Qazvini, Vol. I, p. 207.

[71] RAD/Thackston, Vol. II, p. 393; RAD/Raushan, Vol. II, p. 715. همگان باتفاق موچلگا دادند تا از نسل تو پاره ای گوشت باشد که در پیه و علف پیچیده سگ و گاو آن را قبول نکند خانیت به دیگری ندهیم, *hamigān bi-ittifāq mūchalgā dādand tā pāra-yi gūsht bāshad ki dar pīh va ʿalaf pīchīda sag va gāv ān rā qabūl nakunad khāniyyat bi dīgarī nadahīm.* This phrasing echoes of course the poems found in *SHM*, one of the reasons to believe that Rashīd al-Dīn either had access to the *SHM*, or some tertiary source, possible the *Altan Debter*, existed for both as well as for some of the Chinese sources as well, SHM/de Rachewiltz, §255, pp. 187-8. Atwood states that Rashīd al-Dīn's primary source was the lost Mongolian-Chinese '*Authentic Chronicle of Chinggis Khan*', which either drew on the *SHM* or had a shared source, Atwood, 'Ghazanid Chronicle', pp. 62, 74. For more on the sources for Rashīd al-Dīn's Mongol history see, Allsen, *Culture and Conquest*, pp. 89-90 and K. Shiraiwa, 'Rashīd al-Dīn's Primary Sources in Compiling the *Jāmiʿ al-tawārīkh*: A Tentative Survey', in (eds.) A. Akasoy, C. Burnett and R. Yoeli-Tlalim, *Rashīd al-Dīn. Agent and Mediator of Cultural Exchanges in Ilkhanid Iran*, (London: The Warburg Institute, 2013), pp. 39-56.

Maria Subtelny has argued that the word *möchelge* came into development slightly later, as neither the *YS* nor the *SHM* make use of it, nor is it to be found in Juvainī, who rather uses the Arabo-Persian term *khaṭ*.[72] Both Subtelny and Michael Hope have noted that the *SHM,* when referring to oaths, employs the term *üge baraldu*, meaning to pledge one's word, and that these were likely oral pledges.[73] Subtelny argues that Juvainī was also well-versed in Mongolian terminology, as can be seen from his regular usage of this terminology within his work.[74] However, if we consider the fact that Juvainī also did not use the term *bulqa*, which was certainly in existence (such as in the *SHM*) before his work was written, this point is a little thin. However, it seems plausible that given its absence in other contemporary sources, the idea of the *möchelge* developed later, perhaps stemming from a combination of the *üge baraldu* oral oaths and the *khaṭ* written statements. The Mongols presumably quickly realised that a written oath was more easily verifiable than an oral one.

From another source we are provided with a possible additional physical sign of loyalty. The Persian historian Jūzjānī, who fled from the Mongol advance in 1226 to the Delhi Sultanate, there penned a chronicle for his patron, the Delhi Sultan Naṣir al-Dīn Maḥmūdshāh, the son of Iltutmish.[75] His work, the *Ṭabaqāt-i Nāṣiri*, provides an extremely negative portrayal of Mongol rule and conquest. Jūzjānī is particularly critical of collaborators and those who did not fight the Mongols. Jūzjānī claimed that when the Mongols advanced on the city of Lahore In 1241, many merchants who lived in the city had already been provided with *paiza*s by the Mongols. They refused to help in the defence of the city organised by its ruler Malik Kara-Kush, unwilling to harm their business interests, in part leading to the capture of the city.[76] These merchants formed a sort of vanguard of the Mongol conquest, softening the ground ahead of their armies to discourage resistance. It may be that this was the tactic attempted by Chinggis Khan when he sent 400 merchants to the city of Otrar, to show what could be gained by an early submission to the Mongols. While this attempt backfired spectacularly, the Mongols' brutal response may have shown others, such as the merchants of

[72] M.E. Subtelny, 'The binding pledge (*möchälgä*), A Chinggisid practice and its survival in Safavid Iran', in (ed.) C. Mitchell, *New Perspectives on Safavid Iran: Empire and Society* (London: Routledge, 2010), pp. 10-11.
[73] SHM/de Rachewiltz, 'Philological Commentary', Vol. I, p. 457; Hope, '*El* and *Bulqa*', pp. 15-18. Subtelny notes that during the reign of the Ilkhan Arghun the *awbāsh* (ruffians) of Qazvin were made to give *möchelge*s to the effect that they would not rise up again, Subtelny, 'Binding pledge', p. 15. It seems unlikely that the dregs of the city would have been literate, but it is one of the few instances where we have a statement about the lower echelons of society's loyalty choices.
[74] Subtelny, 'Binding pledge', p. 11.
[75] C.E. Bosworth, 'Ṭabaqāt-e Nāṣeri', *Encyclopædia Iranica*, Online, https://iranicaonline.org/articles/tabaqat-naseri, Accessed 10th March 2022.
[76] Maulana Minhaj-ud-Din, Abu-Umar-I-Usman Jūzjānī, *Tabakat-i Nasiri: A General History of the Muhammadan Dynasties of Asia, Including Hindustan; from A.H. 194 (810 A.D.) to A.H. 658 (1260 A.D.) and the Irruption of the Infidel Mughals into Islam* (ed. and trans.) H.G. Raverty Vol. II (New Delhi, 1970), pp. 1133-5. Hereafter Jūzjānī/Raverty.

Lahore, that cooperation was the logical way forward to protect their self-interests and livelihoods.[77] These *paiza*s avowed the protection and authority of their bearers, so the residents of Lahore would have known the punishment awaiting them should they interfere with Mongol commercial interests.[78]

All of these physical signs of loyalty were incorporated into the political terminology of authors writing in Persian in the 13th century, even when these authors had a particularly negative view of Mongol culture as Jūzjānī did. Juvainī shows himself to be adept at understanding what these symbols meant, explaining them using Persian terms when they were complex ideas. In this manner, he also legitimates these signs of loyalty, by showing that they already existed in the Perso-Islamic world, and that the Mongols were not completely changing the way loyalty was shown. The normalisation of Mongol political concepts would continue in the works of the Ilkhanid historians of the 14th century also. One of them, Rashīd al-Dīn, provided us with a great deal of information on Mongol loyalty, and showed how certain rituals were key aspects of it. It is to this later historian we now turn.

2.3 Rashīd al-Dīn's Language of Loyalty

Rashīd al-Dīn often uses similar language as Juvainī (one of his main sources) in relating loyalty obligations in the Mongol world. One of the more interesting case studies is that of al-Malik al-Kāmil (r. 1247-1260), the Ayyubid ruler of Mayyafariqin. Al-Malik al-Kāmil, and his cousin al-Malik al-Nāṣir Yūsuf (r. 1236-1260), ruler of Aleppo, had previously submitted to Möngke Qa'an.[79] However, in the course of Hülegü and his general Ket Buqa's campaigns in Syria, al-Naṣir Yūsuf's loyalties were questioned, with suspicions he sought to assist the Mamluk sultan Quṭuz (r. 1259-1260). Shortly after Hülegü established al-Naṣir Yūsuf as governor of Damascus, he sent troops after

[77] Ibn al-Āthīr states that the money and goods that the Khwarazmshāh seized from the murdered merchants was given to the merchants of Bukhara and Samarqand. Perhaps he was trying to ensure their loyalty to him, Ibn al-Āthīr, *Chronicle*, p. 205.
[78] Kirakos, *History of the Armenians*, p. 239 confirms this, saying that no one dared to harm merchants bearing the Mongol *tamgha* (seal). These *paiza*s could be taken away of course, as a sign of the ruler's displeasure or the subject's potential disloyalty. The Syriac Catholicos Mar Yahbh-Allaha had his *paiza* removed by the Ilkhan Aḥmad when he was suspected of supporting Aḥmad's nephew and rival Arghun, and writing treasonous letters to Qubilai in China. It was restored to him once the matter was investigated and the Catholicos cleared of the charges, *Monks of Kublai Khan*, pp. 158-161.
[79] Atwood, *Encyclopedia of Mongolia,* p. 323.

him and murdered him during a drunken feast.[80] Here we have a disagreement as to what constituted loyalty. Al-Malik al-Kāmil claimed that the Mongols had 'acted in contrast to promises and pacts' (عهد و پیمان خلاف کرد, *ʿahd va paymān khilāf kard*)[81] to various rulers across the Muslim world such as the Ismāʿīlī ruler Rukn al-Dīn Khūrshāh, the caliph and in particular, al-Malik al-Nāṣir, who 'came under your protection' (به زنهار شما آمد, *bi zinhār-i shumā āmad*)[82]. These betrayals, in al-Malik al-Kāmil's eyes, meant that he would never submit to Hülegü and continue to fight him, preventing the people of Mayyafariqin from surrendering or fleeing.

However, according to Hülegü, al-Malik al-Kāmil had already attended Möngke's court, and 'received favours and returned with a *yarligh* and a *paiza*' (سیورغامیشی ها یافته با یرلیغ و پایزه بازآمده, *suyurghāmīshī-hā yāfta bā yarlīgh va pāiza bāz āmada*) [83] and this was met with al-Malik al-Kāmil's 'rebellion' (عصیان, *ʿiṣyān*). Essentially, from this perspective, al-Malik al-Kāmil had entered into a loyalty agreement with the Mongol Empire, and had broken it. According to Rashīd al-Dīn, al-Malik al-Kāmil had (unsuccessfully) sought to join forces with his cousin and defend Baghdad from Hülegü, and it was Hülegü's attack on the caliphate which saw him rebel.[84] Interestingly, we have it from Juzjānī that al-Malik al-Kāmil had accepted Mongol *shiḥna*s, again, another proviso of Mongol suzerainty, but put them to death upon hearing of Hülegü's execution of the Caliph.[85] It may be here that we have here an expression of ideal loyalty. Rashīd al-Dīn says that the *malik* was very religious man and perhaps it was the Mongols' excessive violence with regards to the caliph and his family, as well as towards his own cousin, that saw al-Malik al-Kāmil cast off his allegiance to the Mongol Empire and refuse to surrender the city. If so, this ideal loyalty came at a high cost, both for himself and for his subjects, who were reduced to cannibalism during the long siege. Al-Malik al-Kāmil himself received particularly ghastly punishment, being forced to eat his own flesh until he died.[86]

[80] RAD/Thackston, Vol. II, p. 506. BH/Budge, p. 438. Van den Bent 'Mongols in Mamluk Eyes', p. 178 shows that Mamluk historians disagreed as to the manner of al-Naṣir Yūsuf's death, with Ibn Kathīr claiming that according to one account, Hülegü had his body suspended between four trees and then cut the rope which held the trees together. Neither Rashīd al-Dīn nor Bar Hebraeus mention any particularly cruel aspect to his death.
[81] RAD/Raushan, Vol. II, p. 917.
[82] Ibid.
[83] RAD/Raushan, Vol. II, p. 920.
[84] RAD/Thackston, Vol. II, p. 508.
[85] Jūzjānī/Raverty, pp. 1265-6.
[86] RAD/Thackston, Vol. II, p. 508.

2.3.1 Rashīd al-Dīn's Turco-Mongol Loyalty Terms

We see above a repetition of certain keywords that indicate that a vassal had established a loyalty contract with his suzerain. Particularly, the granting of *soyurghamīshī* by Möngke to the Ayyubid *malik* signifies in the Mongol/Persian world of the early 14th century the expected actions of a lord to his vassal who had already made the trip to Qara Qorum and accepted the Mongol *shiḥna*s. However, this did not necessarily have to pertain to a non-Mongol ruler and his Chinggisid overlord, but also could apply within the Chinggisid family. Two of Chinggis' grandsons, Güyük and Köten (sons of Ögödei) in 1225 requested 'honour/a robe of honour and favour/reward' (تشریف و سیورغامیشی, *tashrīf va suyurghāmīshī*) from Chinggis.[87] He foisted them off onto his youngest son Tolui, saying he has given him the *yurt* and everything he owns already. Tolui obliged the young princes, presenting them with robes and other favours, while Chinggis bequeathed a *shiḥna* on Güyük to care for the prince's illness.[88] In the context of the text, several campaigns have just been carried out and presumably the princes were involved in these. In this case, apparently it was possible for Chinggisids to request *soyurghamīshī* if they thought their service warranted such. Perhaps then we should not understand it as a single moment when submission was tendered and favours returned, but as a constant reaffirmation of a subject's loyal service.

Similarly, *tikishmīshī* was an expression of the subject's continued service to the ruler. Rashīd al-Dīn provides us the history of one of Chinggis' most famous generals, Jebe of the Besüt, who were distant relatives of the Chinggisid family. Jebe was famously given his name, meaning 'arrow' by Chinggis when Jebe shot and killed Chinggis' horse from under him.[89] According to Rashīd al-Dīn, Jebe was on the run, friendless and apparently poverty stricken when he finally 'came and submitted' (بیامد و ایل شد, *biyāmad va īl shud*) to Chinggis. This may have been why Jebe was only made a commander of ten at this time, simply due to his bravery. 'He served well' (نیکو خدمت کرد, *nīkū khidmat kard*) such that he was eventually made a commander of a hundred, then a thousand, then ten thousand (*amīr-ī tūmān*). Upon his initial submission, Jebe begged to be pardoned and given *soyurghamīshī*. Here Jebe promised to repay Chinggis for the horse he killed many times over. He had nothing to offer at this stage as *tikishmīshī*, but offered his loyal service. Immediately, Chinggis' faith in Jebe was repaid, as after a campaign against Küchlüg Khan of the Naiman, Jebe presented his new lord with a thousand horses as *tikishmīshī*.[90]

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[87] RAD/Raushan, Vol. I, p. 480. Though *tashrīf* may also represent 'honour' more generally, in the following sentence they are given robes, *jāma*, so it is likely that this refers to the specific garment.
[88] RAD/Thackston, Vol. II, p. 261.
[89] SHM/de Rachewiltz, 'Philological Commentary', Vol. I, p. 534.
[90] RAD/Thackston, Vol. I, pp. 109-110; RAD/Raushan, Vol. I, pp. 190-2.

This story is also found in the *SHM*, with a slightly different explanation. In §147 Chinggis questions who shot the arrow which killed his preferred war horse, to which Jebe admits he was to blame and proposes two options for Chinggis: either to kill Jebe, or to favour him. Jebe states 'if I be favoured' (*soyurqaqda' asu*), he swears to fight his utmost on Chinggis's behalf. As de Rachewiltz notes, the favour here is to spare Jebe's life and to take him into service.[91] Often the first act of *soyurgha/soyurghamīshī* by the ruler was the pardon of the subject's life. We see here the incorporation of the request for favour in Jebe's poetical oath promising service. Clearly there were different requirements for people of different social and political stations. For those with great wealth and power, whether in terms of lands, people or herds, a suitable gift was expected. For those of a lower standing, only their life was required. Service begat position and reward, but greater forms of *tikishmīshī* were expected as the servant's station advanced.

In order to come to a better understanding of how Rashīd al-Dīn made use of Turco-Mongol ideas of loyalty, submission and obedience, considering certain words or phrases that entered the Persian lexicon at this point will be useful. Therefore this section will include a quantitative analysis of three connected Turco-Mongol words used to varying degrees by Rashīd al-Dīn. Two of them have already been discussed to some degree, *soyurghamīshī* and *tikishmīshī,* while a third, *uljamīshī* will be added as well.[92] This final term, *uljamīshī*, has been translated by Thackston as 'an oath of allegiance'.[93] However, it represents a performative ritual that appears quite similar to that of *tikishmīshī*. The two terms' interconnectedness will be discussed in the subsequent section, as well as their relationship with *soyurghamīshī.* All three words are predominantly used in verb constructions in Persian. *Tikishmīshī* and *uljamīshī* are regularly used with *kardan*, 'to do'. *Soyurghamīshī* was often used with *kardan* as well, but also with *farmūdan*, a synonym for 'to do' when discussing a ruler's actions. However, for supplicants to the ruler, Rashīd al-Dīn uses *suyurghāmīshī yāftan*, 'to receive *soyurghamīshī*'. These words could also be used as stand-alone nouns, though this is less common.

[91] SHM/de Rachewiltz, §147, p. 69; 'Philological Commentary', Vol. I, p. 536.
[92] *Uljamīshī* is also frequently transcribed as *huljamīshī.*
[93] RAD/Thackston, Vol. III, p. 767.

2.3.2 The Usage of *Soyurghamīshī*

The term *soyurghamīshī*, according to the index of the Raushan edition of Rashīd al-Dīn's history of the Mongols, appears in the work some 116 times.[94] What we shall see is that it was at the heart of the great principle of a social contract between a lord and a servant, and as seen in the case of Jebe above, it also featured in the oaths that were exchanged upon the establishment of submission.[95] What did *soyurghamīshī* consist of? Unfortunately the term is often used to mean a general reward, so it is not always made clear what this reward entailed. It can be compared to the expression, 'to find favour' or 'to favour', which do not clarify any specifics, but are regularly used to translate this term. However, if we look more carefully at our many cases, we can perhaps show what could be expected.

Considering double and overlapping mentions, we have 107 unique uses of the word *soyurghamīshī* by Rashīd al-Dīn (Appendix 1). It is used for the action of a Chinggisid great khan (*qa'an*) 43 times. This includes the reigns of Qubilai and Temür Qa'an, both referred to by Rashīd al-Dīn as *qa'an*. The word is applied to regional rulers some 60 times, almost always for Ilkhans, though there are single instances applied to Batu of the Jochid *ulus* and Baraq of the Chaghadaid *ulus*.[96] At times, the word is used for *future qa'an*s/regional rulers as well as sitting ones. The five instances where the word is *not* applied to a Chinggisid ruler are interesting. In three cases, Chinggisid rulers refer to the *soyurghamīshī* of 'the God of the world' (خدای جهان, *khudā-yi jahān)* or 'eternal God' (خدای جاوید, *khudā-yi jāvīd*). Rashīd al-Dīn uses the Persian word *khudā*, presumably this would have referenced the favour of Tengri. The other two cases apply to different prestigious figures in the Turco-Mongol milieu. The first refers to Toghril of the Kerait, the famous Ong Khan, who seeks to tempt Chinggis' younger brother Jochi Qasar to his side through the promise of various forms of *soyurghamīshī*. The only figure to whom this word is applied by Rashīd al-Dīn who could not be considered an outright ruler is Arghun Aqa. This famous administrator and governor in the western regions of the Mongol Empire under several *qa'an*s and regents is portrayed as handing out different types of *soyurghamīshī* to *malik*s, amirs, scribes and servants under his control. Tellingly perhaps, the

[94] RAD/Raushan, Vol. III, p. 2413; Abū al-Qāsim ʿAbdallāh ibn Muḥammad al-Qāshānī, *Tārīkh-i Ūljāytū*, (ed.) M. Hambali, (Tehran: Shirkat-i Intishārāt-i ʿIlmī va Farhangī (Science and Culture Press), 1384/2005), p.30 (hereafter Qāshānī/Hambali) shows that this term also was used by Qāshānī, where Öljeitü bestowed *soyurghamīshī* on his amirs and viziers on his accession.

[95] Hope, *El* and *bulqa*, pp. 15-18.

[96] The one digit discrepancy emerges from a case where it seems that both a *qa'an* and a regional ruler are giving *soyurghamīshī* in the same instance.

word is never used for a woman, despite the rulership of regents such as Töregene Khatun (r. 1241-1246) and Oghul Gaimish (r. 1248-1251).[97]

If we look at what forms *soyurghamīshī* took, they are manifold, though Rashīd al-Dīn often does not deign to mention what it consisted of. His stock phrase which accompanies his use of the word *soyurghamīshī* is *bi anvāʿ*, which can be translated as 'of different kinds/various'.[98] However, we do have plenty of cases where our author specifies at least part of the reward or favour. The first favour bequeathed was frequently the person's life. This put the subject in the ruler's debt from the outset, an important tipping of the 'great principle' in the ruler's favour, crucial in ruler-subject relations across Eurasia.[99] Favour begat service, service brought protection and compensation and when this service was outstanding or over a long period of time, greater reward followed. The Armenian historian Kirakos Ganjakets'I (d. 1271) tells of his personal experience of this 'contract'. He states that when the town of Gandzak was taken, Kirakos was spared by one 'Molar Noyan', who says he will honour him and give him a wife. Molar then proceeds to give Kirakos a tent and two servants, saying 'Tomorrow I shall give you a horse and make you happy. Stay loyal.' Kirakos was not interested however, and fled the same night.[100]

In several cases, the favour is the forgiveness of a transgression by the subject. In these cases, the ruler shows his largesse by granting mercy to a rebel or an enemy, even when they have not earned any reward. However, the right type of gift which accompanied submission or penitence could encourage the ruler's forgiveness. Sultan ʿIzz al-Dīn (r. 1246-1262) of the Rum Seljuq dynasty (1077- c. 1308) thought of a novel way to gain Hülegü's favour and to apologise for his earlier failure to submit to the Mongols: he presented the khan with a magnificent pair of boots with the sultan's own face imprinted on the sole, hoping that 'the *pādshāh* will elevate this slave's head with his royal foot.'[101] This gift, along with presumably the much more significant backing of Hülegü's powerful wife, Doquz Khatun, saved the sultan's life. According to George Lane, the presentation of clothes was a common occurrence when one party sought peace and reconciliation with another, so this scenario fits well with this trend.[102]

[97] It is unclear whether this was because that as women, they could not be considered 'true' rulers, and thus could not perform the same functions, or if Rashīd al-Dīn chose not to use the word for their actions.
[98] Eg. RAD/Raushan, Vol. I, p. 444.
[99] E. Flaig, 'Is Loyalty a Favor? or: Why Gifts cannot oblige an Emperor', in (eds.) G. Algazi, V. Groebner, and B. Jussen, *Negotiating the Gift: Pre-Modern Figurations of Exchange* (Gottingen, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2003) pp. 29-62.
[100] Kirakos, *History of the Armenians*, p. 214.
[101] RAD/Thackston, Vol. II, p. 501; RAD/Raushan, Vol. II, p. 906.
[102] Lane, *Daily Life*, p. 46.

We have many instances of a change in rank or status, where a subject is given a high position in the army or officialdom. The governorship of a province, the command of a troop of soldiers, and the rights to the tax collection of a given area are all listed as forms of reward. Attendant with these new commands were the physical confirmations of their new position, a *paiza* and/or *jarligh.* The last four mentions of *soyurghamīshī* in Rashīd al-Dīn's work appear in Ghazan's 1303 *farmān* to his army. In these instances, the form which royal favour took was the giving of land grants, called by Rashīd al-Dīn *iqṭāʿ*, which became known as *soyurghal* in the post-Mongol world.[103] Giving a person *darqan* status was a special honour, coming as it did with freedom from taxation and prosecution for up to nine offences. This status was also passed down to the holder's children.[104] We even have a few mentions of the favour being bestowed as when someone was given pride of place in the seating arrangements during *quriltai*s, a favour which cost the khan nothing but was of immense meaning to the recipient. One notable example of favour found not in Rashīd al-Dīn, but rather the *SHM*, involved Chinggis' *ba'urchi* (cook) Önggür, who was allowed to restore his *aqa* and *ini* (elder and younger brothers) of the Baya'ud lineage into the same thousand, as they had been dispersed among different groups. Önggür himself was made commander of this new Baya'ud thousand.[105]

Soyurghamīshī often came in the form of physical gifts, either in addition to other forms or on their own. The most notable type of physical gift was human, whether entire people groups or lineages, wives, or officials. In case 11 (Appendix 1) a group of Jochi Qasar's descendants were given as *soyurghamīshī* to Chaghadai by Ögödei. Most of the cases of human gifts involve a wife being given to the subject in question, and at the very highest level, some of Chinggis' own daughters and wives, such as to the Uighur *idiqut* Barchuq, case 5 (Appendix 1, p. 192)A connection with the Chinggisid family naturally meant an elevation of status, and marrying a female descendant of Chinggis brought men into the *güregen* (son-in-law) class, which formed a sort of social stratum between the Chinggisids and other lower members of the ruling classes. Officials could also be handed over as part of this gift, as we see in case 23 (Appendix 1, p. 193), where Chinggis bestows a *shiḥna* on Güyük. Beyond the human, there are many other types of physical gifts, of which horses are a common inclusion in this list. Gold, silver, coins, jewels and pearls all feature as well. In case 102, one official, Saʿd al-Dīn, was given the Mongol royal yak-tail standard, the *tugh,* as well as a drum, a *kahvarga,* by the Ilkhan Ghazan, indicating his stewardship of the state.

[103] Pochakaev, 'The evolution of *soyurghal*', pp. 729-740.
[104] Atwood, *Encyclopaedia of Mongolia,* p. 133.
[105] SHM/de Rachewiltz, §213, p. 134; P.D. Buell and J. Kolbas, 'The Ethos of State and Society in the Early Mongol Empire: Chinggis Khan to Güyük', *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Vol. 26, Nos. 1-2, (2016), p. 55; Favereau, *The Horde*, p. 39.

One notable kind of favour mentioned six times by Rashīd al-Dīn was the conferral of robes of honour and/or belts. Thomas Allsen and Eiren Shea have noted the role that investiture and the taking of robes and belts from a ruler had in physically showing loyalty obligations and submission in the Mongol world, a concept that is echoed through much of Eurasian history.[106] In the Mongol case, the removal of belts and hats before a superior was a sign of powerlessness and awe in front of their ruler, while the forced removal of a belt or hat indicated the lord's displeasure with his subordinate.[107] If we turn to the *SHM*, we can see a fascinating example of the ruler's own submission to a higher power. The young Temüjin hid from his enemies, the Merkit, at the sacred mountain of Burqan Qaldun, the legendary birthplace of the Mongols.[108] Once his enemies had moved off, Temüjin thanked the holy mountain, saying:

> 'Every morning I will sacrifice to Burqan Qaldun, every day I will pray to it: the offspring of my offspring shall be mindful of this and do likewise!' He spoke and facing the sun, hung his belt around his neck, put his hat over his hand, beat his breast with his fist, and nine times kneeling down towards the sun, he offered a libation and a prayer.[109]

Thus, the ruler himself shows his submission to the higher forces in the Mongol world, who protected him from his enemies and sustained him. Thus the lord and servant here are recast, with Temüjin representing the earthly servant, and the mountain serving as the lord. His ritual performance was one which could be described as the ideal which his descendants would follow. Indeed, every aspect of this performance would be noted by other sources on the Mongols when

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[106] Allsen, *Commodity and Exchange*, pp. 49-50, 80 etc.; T. Allsen, *The Steppe and the Sea: Pearls in the Mongol Empire,* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2019), p. 58; T. Allsen, 'Robing in the Mongolian Empire', in (ed.) S. Gordon, *Robes and Honor: The Medieval World of Investiture*, (New York: Palgrave, 2001) pp. 305-313; E.L. Shea, *Mongol Court Dress, Identity Formation, and Global Exchange*, (Routledge: New York and London, 2020), pp. 27-9, 61-5. Shea also discusses the *tirāz*, used by various Middle Eastern dynasties such as the Sasanians, Abbasids, and eventually the Ilkhanids, which was the embroidered names and titles of the ruler in the *khil'a* robes, pp. 99-100. For the importance of investiture across Eurasia in the medieval world, see other articles from Gordon's book, such as G.R.G. Hambly, 'From Baghdad to Bukhara, from Ghazna to Delhi: The *khil'a* Ceremony in the Transmission of Kingly Pomp and Circumstance', S. Gordon (ed.) *Robes and Honor: The Medieval World of Investiture*, (New York: Palgrave, 2001), pp. 193-223. Jackson has also shown that the Mongols sometimes enforced their own hairstyles on their subjects, Jackson, *Mongols and the Islamic World*, p. 93.

[107] Lane, *Daily Life*, pp. 46-7. Lane provides the example of Chinggis removing the hat and belt of his brother Jochi Qasar indicating his distrust in him. The story emerges in SHM/de Rachewiltz §244, pp. 168-9, where Hö'elün, the mother of the two brothers, comes across Chinggis having his brother interrogated and restores Jochi Qasar's hat and belt to him and castigates Chinggis himself. SHM/de Rachewiltz, Vol. II, 'Philological Commentary', p. 873 discusses that this removal of the clothing indicates Jochi Qasar's total submission to his brother.

[108] SHM/de Rachewiltz, §1, p. 1. It is here where the blue-grey wolf ordained with destiny by Tengri settled with his wife, the fallow doe, and where Batachiqan, the ancestor of the Mongols, was born.

[109] SHM/de Rachewiltz, Vol. I, §103, p. 33. For more on this incident, see L. Moses, 'Triplicated Triplets: The Number Nine in the "Secret History" of the Mongols', *Asian Folklore Studies*, Vol. 45, No. 2, (1986), pp. 290-2.

discussing rituals surrounding submission, loyalty and the establishment of a contract between rulers and ruled.[110]

The next questions that this quantitative analysis can help to answer are who received *soyurghamīshī* and why? To the first question we can respond, basically anyone. From Chinggisid princes to ferrymen of the Amu Darya River, from foreign rulers to poor travellers, all could be bequeathed royal favour. If Chinggis and his descendants could only receive their *soyurghamīshī* from God/Heaven, it stands to reason that all others should receive their favour from Chinggisid khans as the next step down the ladder.[111] The most commonly mentioned recipients of royal favour were amirs and state officials, as well as submissive foreign dignitaries. The actions which saw the agent receive favour or reward were also myriad. A preponderance of the examples relate to submission, either by a new subject or by someone who had rebelled. The fact that many of these met with Mongol favour indicates that the Mongols used plenty of carrot alongside the stick they are better known for. Many of these examples of submission also included *tikishmīshī/uljamīshī* (discussed in the subsequent sections). Besides this, we have examples of people receiving favour for notable feats of arms, faithful administrative service, loyalty in difficult situations, honesty, admitting a mistake, refusing bribes, presenting booty, bringing interesting gifts from afar, and even by way of apology by the khan.

There are three notable uses of the term *soyurghamīshī* that I wish to highlight here due to what they can tell us about Mongol custom and the political standpoint of the author, Rashīd al-Dīn. The first is in case 17 (Appendix 1, p. 193). In this instance we have two treasurers of the city of Jungdu (Zhōngdū, the Jurchen capital), Qailiq and Qadai, who offered gifts and treasures to Chinggis' representatives to take the city: Önggür Ba'urchi, Harqai Qasar, and Shigi Qutuqu, Chinggis' adopted son. While the first two *noyan*s (commander, lord) accepted, Shigi Qutuqu rejected the gifts. When questioned by Chinggis, he claims that the whole city belongs to Chinggis, and Shigi Qutuqu could not steal what belonged to his ruler. Chinggis rewards his adoptive son with double what had been offered to the others, saying that Shigi 'recognised the great custom' (یوسون بزرگ دانسته, *yūsūn-i buzurg dānista*). This incident is notable for several reasons, including that it was apparently quite a famous one in the Mongol world. The story appears in a very similar form in the *SHM*, where Shigi receives favour because he was 'mindful of the great norm (*yeke yosu*)'.[112] Here it seems we have Chinggis making an example of how loyalty to the *qa'an* could bring great reward, while disloyalty

[110] On the removing of belts and caps, see pp. 67 of this thesis; on libations and facing the heavenly bodies, see pp. 62-4; on the ritual number nine, see pp. 58-9.
[111] Qāshānī/Hambali, p. 33 indicates that a lesser Chinggisid ruler, in this case, Dua of the Chaghadaid *ulus*, could receive *soyurghamīshī* from his superior, Temür Qa'an, ruler of the Yuán Dynasty.
[112] SHM/de Rachewiltz, Vol. I, §252, p. 180, and Vol. II, 'Philological Commentary', Vol. II, p. 919.

would be punished. This example certainly seems to have made its mark. This 'great norm/custom/principle' would govern the social contract between rulers and ruled throughout the Mongol period.[113]

The second case that has been mentioned already above, case 23 (Appendix 1, p. 193) relating to Güyük and another Chinggisid prince's appeal for favour from Chinggis.[114] The identity of this Chinggisid prince is not entirely clear based on different manuscripts and editions. According to Thackston's translation, largely reliant on the Karimi edition, this person was Kölgen, Chinggis' son by a concubine.[115] However, Thackston admits that the text in fact has داکیان, perhaps 'Dakyan'.[116] According to the Raushan edition however, it was '*pisarān-i ögödei güyük va köten*' who went to Chinggis for *soyurghamīshī*.[117] The plural here, *pisarān*, sons, indicates that there was more than one son of Ögödei involved. The name Köten seems equally plausible from Thackston's edition, as both names seem very far away from the text's '*dākyān*'. This argument may seem academic, but if we analyse this closer there may be some important groundwork being established by Rashīd al-Dīn here.

If we accept for the moment that these two were Güyük and Köten, then we have an appeal by two of Chinggis' grandsons for favour, possibly due to their participation in a 1225 campaign against the Tanguts. This is hardly out of the ordinary, but the next sections are key. Chinggis responded saying:

> مرا چیزی نیست. هرچه هست به تولوی تعلق دارد که خداوند خانه و یورت بزرگ است, او دانست. *ma-rā chīzī nīst. Harchi hast bi tūlūī taʿalluq dārad ki khudāvand-i khāna va yurt-i buzurg ast, ū dānist.*[118]
>
> I have nothing. Everything there is belongs to Tolui, who is the lord of the house and the great yurt. He knows best.[119]

Tolui then proceeded to reward his nephews with robes and other assorted goods, while Chinggis gives Güyük someone to prepare his food due to his illness. In this passage I believe we have

[113] Hope, *El* and *bulqa*, p. 7.
[114] See p. 49 of this thesis.
[115] RAD/Thackston, Translator's Preface, p. xvii. Using Karimi, Tehran Iqbāl 1362. Thackston also makes use of two Russian editions (1965 and 1980), as well as Blochet's French translation of 1911.
[116] RAD/Thackston, Vol. II, p. 261.
[117] RAD/Raushan, Vol. I, p. 480. پسران اوگتای, گیوگ و کوتان The Raushan edition is based on several manuscripts, including the Topkapi and Suleymaniyya MS. RAD/Raushan, **اشارت**, هشتاد و نو- نود.
[118] Ibid.
[119] Thackston translates *ū dānist* as 'He commands', which is also possible in this context, RAD/Thackston, Vol. II, p. 261. Even though *dānist* would indicate the past tense, the meaning here is present.

a backdating of Toluid claims to the throne, as well as their superiority over the Ögödeid line. Firstly, we have the image of Chinggis handing over a privilege of the lord, namely the distribution of favour and reward, to his youngest son while Chinggis was still ruling. If we look at the instances where this word is used, in all cases but one (excluding the three related to God), *soyurghamīshī* was handed out by a ruling *qa'an* or a regional ruler. Using this term for Tolui then elevated his status to that of Chinggis', a ruler in his own right. It also highlighted Tolui's superiority over Ögödei's sons. On principle of seniority, this was true, but it also seems to presage Möngke's seizure of the throne from the Ögödeid line in 1251: two of the contenders to succeed Ögödei in 1246 are here reduced to subjects of Tolui. For good measure, Rashīd al-Dīn throws in a mention of Güyük's illness, which he elsewhere states as a reason Güyük should not have been chosen as *qa'an*.[120] The undermining of Ögödei's offspring and their claim to the throne occurs often in Rashīd al-Dīn's chronicle (and other Toluid-sponsored works), but this seems to be an interesting case, coming as it did before Chinggis' own death and with his explicit approval.

The other case I wish to touch on here is case 37 (Appendix 1, p. 195) relating to the great Mongol administrator Arghun Aqa's possible *soyurghamīshī*. This is the only case we have where the word is used for neither a Chinggisid, nor a *qa'an* or regional ruler (again excluding God). Stefan Kamola has put forward that Rashīd al-Dīn sought to tarnish Arghun Aqa's name due to his son Nawrūz's recent 'rebellion' against Rashīd al-Dīn's patron Ghazan Khan.[121] Therefore, Rashīd al-Dīn claims that Arghun Aqa was traded by his father for a leg of beef to a Jalayir commander Ilüge Qada'an, while Juvainī describes him as the son of Taichu, a prominent Oirat commander.[122] However, this case of *soyurghamīshī* casts significant doubt on Rashīd al-Dīn's downplaying of Arghun Aqa's status. As we can see, he is quite careful with how he uses the term *soyurghamīshī*, and barring some scribal/editing error, he was apparently keen to equate Arghun Aqa's position to that of an independent ruler in the Mongol world.[123] Arghun Aqa does receive *soyurghamīshī* himself

[120] RAD/Thackston, Vol. II, p. 305.

[121] Rashīd al-Dīn tells a convoluted story whereby letters were forged in Nawrūz's name which attempted to make contact with the amirs of Mamluk Egypt and Syria, blaming not Ghazan, but his amirs for blocking the propagation of Islam. Nawrūz was eventually captured and killed, in all likelihood in order to rid Ghazan of his overbearing patron, RAD/Thackston, Vol. III, pp. 637-640.

[122] S. Kamola, 'Rashīd al-Dīn and the making of history in Mongol Iran', PhD Thesis, University of Washington, 2013, p. 160.

[123] It is also possible that in this instance, Arghun Aqa in fact only determined the type of *soyurghamīshī* that was granted, and did not give out these favours himself. He was at the court of Möngke at the time, and the Persian text (Rashīd al-Dīn/Raushan, Vol. II, p. 747) states کسانی که از ملوک و امرا و نواب و بیتیکچیان در خدمت او بودند بر وفق صواب دید او سیورغامیشی یافتند, *kasānī ki az mulūk va umarā va nuvvāb va bītīkchīyān dar khidmat-i ū būdand bar vifq-i ṣavābdīd-i ū suyūrghāmīshī yāftand*. 'Anyone of the kings, amirs, deputies, and secretaries who were in his service were rewarded according to his (Arghun Aqa's) opinion'. Nonetheless, his involvement in the granting of these favours is unprecedented in Rashīd al-Dīn's text. Persian grammar is somewhat confusing in this regard, as we do not know who the *ū* (he/she) is referring to, but given that the previous sentence

from Möngke (case 38), having performed *tikishmīshī* to his sovereign. Therefore, we should not overemphasise Arghun Aqa's status, but clearly the great respect and honour afforded him remained into Ghazan's reign and beyond.

2.3.3 The Usage of *Tikishmīshī*

The word is used 37 times, while if we remove double mentions and the repetition of the story of Amir Sechektu we are left with 32 unique occurrences of the word (Appendix 2). In only two of these occasions is it applied to someone besides a *qa'an* (13 times) or a Chinggisid regional ruler (17 times). One is to the Ögödeid prince Qipchaq (a relative of Qaidu, but not a ruler in his own right), while the other refers to the ruler of the Naiman, Narqish Tayang. In around a third of the instances, we see that the person performing *tikishmīshī* was likely already a subject of the *qa'an*/ruler in question, or was acknowledging a successor. This leaves us 21 instances where it was performed to a new lord, or was an acknowledgment of rebellion against one's 'rightful' lord in Rashīd al-Dīn's perception. In only eight instances can we see what form the gift, or part of the gift, took; mostly animals such as horses or hawks, though fine clothing is also mentioned. The reciprocity of these gifts is shown by the fact that in 11 instances, the ruler responded with *soyurghamīshī* of his own. In four cases, the ritual number nine appears, with three cases (2, 6, 11) of someone performing *tikishmīshī* nine by nine, and another case (7) where Chaghadai gives his brother Ögödei nine horses.

We have noted already several times where the number nine has been mentioned in connection with these rituals. It is well-known that this number was important to the Mongols, given its regular appearance in a plethora of different language sources about them. However, it is not always evident why this is. According to Larry Moses, the number was part of shamanistic ritual. Therefore, there are nine stages of heaven, and only in the ninth stage could Tengri be found. It was here that only the most powerful shamans could reach in their ecstasy.[124] This number, which also appeared in the Türk, Uighur and Khitan empires, was one which had relevance even into the Qīng Dynasty, where the emperor received nine white animals from Mongol rulers as tribute.[125] Moses

mentions Arghun Aqa receiving most of the lands of the Middle East to govern, and the subsequent sentence discusses his return to the province of Khurasan, there is a strong case for it being Arghun Aqa's *ṣavābdīd* (opinion), that is crucial here. My thanks to Sara Mirahmadi for her advice on this section.

[124] Moses, 'Triplicated Triplets', p. 287.

[125] Idem, pp. 287-8.

also notes that in the *SHM*, the number is exclusively used for the sections talking about Chinggis, always at significant moments in his life.[126] Its relevance is thus one bound up in the religious and cultural life of steppe peoples over centuries, but it is also a legitimising force, showing who had the possession of divine support. In the performance of obeisance nine times, or with nine gifts, that divine support is reflected back upon the ruler by his subjects.

In this regard then, let us turn to one of the more interesting references for *tikishmīshī,* where Rashīd al-Dīn relates the story of Ögödei's hunts (case 5). This *qa'an* set up his winter quarters at Ong Qin, near the Bulangu and Jalingu mountains.[127] At these quarters, Ögödei set up a sort of hunting lodge-*cum*-festival area which Rashīd al-Dīn terms a *chihik*.[128] He ordered that a wall be built, which took some two days to circumnavigate, made of clay and wood, with several gates on all sides. His army then formed the famous *jirga*, or hunting circle, from a month's distance away from this venue, and drove the prey through the open gates.[129] Then he and all his followers would set to hunting within the *chihik*, according to priority. Thus first Ögödei and his personal retinue, then the princes and amirs, then the common soldiers would take turns hunting. All prey was subsequently collected, and divvied up among the participants, again according to rank. The princes and amirs then performed 'the ceremony of *tikishmīshī'*, which was followed by nine days of banqueting. After this, everyone returned to their own yurts.[130]

This fascinating recounting, which given Rashīd al-Dīn's use of the now archaic past imperfect (eg. *kardandī*, *bāzgashtandī*) throughout the passage, indicates that this event was not considered a one off, but rather occurred regularly.[131] Here we see the ritual which attended the formal affirmation of the loyalty agreement. The *qa'an* ritually collects the bounty which his servants had gathered, and divides it up among these servants, showing himself as the beneficent ruler providing for his subjects. They, in turn, ritually present themselves and their gifts to him, in a specific location

[126] Idem, p. 289.
[127] Thomas Allsen states that the Ong Qin River was in central Mongolia, some ways south of the capital of Qara Qorum, T. Allsen, *The Royal Hunt in Eurasian History,* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2006), p. 44; RAD/Thackston, Vol. II, p. 413 says that Möngke spent the winter there after his election in 1251.
[128] According to Christopher Atwood, this was the *ji'ig* in Mongolian, possibly attested in YS 3:49, C.P. Atwood, 'Pu'a's Boast and Doqolqu's Death: Historiography of a Hidden Scandal in the Mongol Conquest of the Jin', *Journal of Song-Yuan Studies,* Vol. 45, (2015), p. 241, note 7; the building of a wall to facilitate the capture of game is also mentioned in Juvainī, Juvainī/Boyle, Vol. I, p. 29; Juvainī/Qazvini, Vol. I, p. 21.
[129] For more on the hunt, see Lane, *Daily Life*, pp. 107-114.
[130] RAD/Raushan, Vol. I, p. 602; RAD/Thackston, Vol. II, p. 328. *rasm-i tikishmīshī*.
[131] Thackston translates as such, saying 'they would enter' or 'he would let' etc. This is a theme noted in anthropological studies of rituals also. For example, in A. Dencher, 'Comemmorating Conquest: The triumphal entry of William III of Orange, King of England, into The Hague in 1691', PhD Thesis, Leiden University, 2020, p. 13, he notes: 'One charasteristic of rites that makes it possible to study their mechanisms is that they are defined by repetition. This suggests that a one-time event is not a ritual, since repetition is what gives ritual its social function and power.'

tied to this ceremony. We have seen in several instances that *tikishmīshī* was performed nine by nine by the *qa'an*'s subjects, or the gifts given in groups of nine.[132] This may also have been the norm here, and the sacred number appears in the next phrase, when all the attendees feast for nine days before departing. The recurring nature of this event shows that the *qa'an* sought repeated assurances both that his subjects were provided for but also loyal to him, shown not just in their presence but also the gifts that they brought. However, we cannot ignore that while Rashīd al-Dīn is fulsome in his praise of this action by Ögödei, as pointed out by Christopher Atwood, this is labelled as one of the ruler's four major faults in the *SHM*. Apparently Ögödei was being greedy by restraining the animals, and not wanting his brothers to have them.[133] Whether Rashīd al-Dīn simply misunderstood this as a transgression of Mongol custom or whether the *SHM* is continuing its generally anti-Ögödeid vein is unclear here.

2.3.4 The Ritual of *Tikishmīshī*

In contrast to *soyurghamīshī*, it seems as if there was a specific ceremony which was involved with the performance of *tikishmīshī*. We only have bits and pieces of information about this ceremony, but let us collect what we know about this typical display of loyalty in the Mongol world. First, Rashīd al-Dīn calls it a *rasm* (custom, rite, ceremony, tradition).[134] Second, on several occasions Rashīd al-Dīn specifies that kneeling accompanied the performance of this ceremony (Appendix 2, cases 6, 14, 19 pp. 203-4). Third, we have some instances where the performer also gave a bowl of wine to the receiver of this rite (cases 30, 31, 34) in a custom known as *kāsa-gīrī*.[135] Fourth, in one case (14), the performer, or offender (*gunāhkār* according to Rashīd al-Dīn), was made to kneel with tent flaps on his shoulders during the ceremony. Rashīd al-Dīn says that this act was a custom in such cases (معتاد چنان است که در چنان قضایا, *muʿtād chinān ast ki dar chinān qażāyā*), this case being Ariq

[132] Het'um the Historian confirms that in order to find favour, one had to give the Mongols gifts in groups of nine, Het'um the Historian's, *History of the Tartars, [The Flower of Histories of the East]*, (trans.) R. Bedrosian, http://www.attalus.org/armenian/hetumtoc.html, Accessed 20th December 2020. p. 39.

[133] SHM/de Rachewiltz, §281, p. 218; Atwood, 'Pu'a's Boast', p. 241.

[134] RAD/Raushan, Vol. I, p. 602, رسم

[135] A. Soudavar, 'The Saga of Abu-Saʿid Bahādor Khān. The *Abu-Saʿidnāmé*', in (eds.) J. Raby and T. Fitzherbert, *The Court of the Il-khans, 1290-1340*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996) p. 120. According to Soudavar, this was a ritual by which Chinggisid princes honoured each other. While this seems to be partly the case, it was not exclusive to Chinggisid princes, and could be performed by non-Chinggisid commanders or Tajik administrators. Soudavar's work also points to an illustration of the rite in the 'Demotte' *Shāhnāma* relating to Zāv, the son of Tahmāsb (Figure 18). In it the person offering the bowl is kneeling in front of the enthroned monarch. Perhaps here we have some idea of how *tikishmīshī* was performed.

Böke's surrender to his brother Qubilai after their civil war.[136] Fifth, on various occasions, (cases 2, 8, 11, 14) the performers were allowed to be closer to the ruler after their *tikishmīshī*, whether that be into the ruler's arms, his inner apartments, or his *ordu* more broadly. Sixth, in at least 3 cases (11, 32, and 33) the ceremony was performed during a *toy* (banquet/feast) or *quriltai*. Seventh, in one case (34), *tikishmīshī* was performed at a banquet not just to Ghazan, but to his amirs, the princes, and notably, the khatuns, the Mongolian royal women.[137]

In these snippets of information we find the different physical and symbolic aspects of the ritual, apart from gift-giving. It is unclear whether all or any of these aspects were always part of *tikishmīshī*, but at least some of them were considered inappropriate in certain situations. In case 14 for example, when Ariq Böke performs the ceremony with the tent flaps on his shoulders, we are notified that Hülegü sent an envoy to his older brother Qubilai to complain about the manner in which Ariq Böke was forced to perform *tikishmīshī*. According to Hülegü, it was against the *jasaq* to allow a Chinggisid to be treated in this way and that this action humiliated the *aqa-ini*. Qubilai apparently accepted this criticism of his actions.[138] In all of the cases where someone was made to perform *tikishmīshī* in order to enter the ruler's presence, this person (or persons) was a relative of the ruler. This ceremonial act seems to have functioned in these cases as a sort of cleansing before a brother or cousin is accepted back into the ruler's good graces and physical presence. One is reminded of the ritual purification demanded by the Mongols of passing between two fires mentioned by John of Plano Carpini and others.[139]

The permission of physical closeness to the ruler is also notable. Not only does this signify a return to the inner circle, but also shows that trust is again restored in the recalcitrant subject.[140] Another aspect to note is that like any good ceremony, the act almost always seems to be performed publicly, showing both the debasement of the supplicant and the ruler's generosity and forgiveness to the world. This idea is linked to social constructions of rites of passage. As noted by Alexander Dencher, paraphrasing the anthropologist Arnold van Gennep, the rite of passage is 'defined as a

[136] RAD/Raushan, Vol. II, p. 785.

[137] RAD/Thackston, Vol. III, p. 661; RAD/Raushan, Vol. II, p. 1170. What is also noteworthy here is that the performer, Saʿd al-Dīn Sāhib Dīvān, presents goblets to all of the attendees at the same time performing *tikishmīshī*, which seems to indicate that the ritual took some time. صاحب خواجه سعد الدین آنجا طوی عام کرد, و ساطان اسلام و تمامت خواتین و شهزادگان و امرا را کاسه گرفت و تگشمیشی کرد.

[138] RAD/Thackston, Vol. II, p. 433; RAD/Raushan, Vol. II, p. 786.

[139] Dawson, *The Mongol Mission*, p. 10. Other incidents are mentioned in the *Tatar Relation*, R.A. Skelton, T. E. Marston and G. D. Painter, *The Vinland Map and the Tartar Relation* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1965), pp. 88-90. The Mamluk Sultan Baybars' (r. 1260-1277) envoy to the Ilkhan Abaqa was also made to do this, see Broadbridge, *Kingship and Ideology*, p. 24.

[140] Khwāndamīr/Thackston, p. 88 says that in 1303 Chupan, Qutlughshah and other amirs who had been defeated by the Mamluks were punished not only by three blows, but were not allowed in the *ordu* for a period of time by Ghazan. They were subsequently restored to favour and given robes.

process of re-assimilation or reintegration that begins with the separation of the individual from the group, followed by a liminal period during which the individual's status is uncertain and ends with their reintegration into society'.[141] Thus the elements of political loyalty and submission which the rite of *tikishmīshī* shows is also bound up in the social concept of being excluded, then regaining one's place in the society. Thus, the inclusion of some element of humiliation shows the wayward Mongol subject the social cost of transgressing imagined rules or customs. These moments were heavily laden with cultural meaning.

2.3.5 *Tikishmīshī* and *kāsa-gīrī*

This social element is even further accentuated by the relationship of *tikishmīshī* with *kāsa-gīrī* (offering a bowl of wine). As we only have the latter term used with *tikishmīshī* three times, we cannot be sure if it was consistently attached to this ritual. The term is not one generally acknowledged in Mongol scholarship, but is the subject of a study by Mahmoud Abedi, who discusses it in relation to its use in the *dīvān* of Ḥāfiẓ and the Ilkhanid histories.[142] It is not entirely clear if this term originated in the Mongol period, with Abedi stating that it was 'current' in the time of Ḥāfiẓ.[143] Abedi has tracked the use of the verb *kāsa giriftan/dāshtan* through the three major Ilkhanid historical works, those of Juvainī, Rashīd al-Dīn, and Vaṣṣāf. In Juvainī and Vaṣṣāf, the word is often used as part of descriptions of accession ceremonies, where Mongol princes acknowledged their submission to their *qa'an*.[144] Juvainī describes one such incident where Tolui 'gave a bowl' (*kāsa dāsht*) to his brother Ögödei after he was raised to the throne by Chaghadai and his uncle Temüge Otchigin, while the princes and amirs present knelt and offered up prayers for their new leader.[145] This incident, according to Abedi, was immortalised in a miniature for Rashīd al-Dīn's history, while this image has become one of the more commonly used to display Mongol political culture, see Figure 2.[146]

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[141] Dencher, 'Commemorating Conquest', p. 12, paraphrasing A. van Gennep, *Les rites de passage*, 1990, p. 13.
[142] Mahmoud Abedi, '*Kāsa giriftan*', in *Nashriyya-yi Zabān va Adabīyāt-i Fārsī* (Journal of Persian Language and Literature), Summer, Autumn and Winter 1374/1995, Nos. 9, 10, and 11, pp. 89-104.
[143] Idem, p. 89.
[144] Idem, pp. 94-96.
[145] Juvainī/Qazvini, Vol. I, p. 147; Juvainī/Boyle, Vol. I, p. 187. It is unclear to me whether the verbs *dāshtan* (to have) and *giriftan* (to take) function differently in these phrases, as both seem to mean the same thing. Perhaps one can think of 'having a cup' as toasting, however as Abedi mentions, it is key that the ruler takes the cup to signal his favour to the supplicant. In all cases we can see, whether using *dāshtan* or *giriftan*, it is the supplicant/lesser in rank who performs the original action.
[146] Abedi, '*Kāsa giriftan'*, p. 91. According to Abedi, and his source for the image, Abbas Iqbal Ashtiyani's *Comprehensive History of Iran*, there is a goblet of wine (*jām-i sharāb*) here, though the image is not clear

This wine-offering ceremony was not solely reserved for the accession of a new *qa'an*, but was regularly used by supplicants to a Mongol ruler to try and gain his favour. The ruler's reaction at this point was key, should he accept, the supplicant's request would be granted and he would find favour. Should the ruler not accept the proffered potable, it was a sign of his displeasure with the supplicant and that the request would not be granted.[147] We are provided a telling example of this by Vaṣṣāf, who relates that Shams al-Dīn Juvainī, the vizier of Abaqa accused of embezzlement by a rival named Majd al-Mulk, three times attempted to offer a cup (*kāsa girift*) to the Ilkhan but was refused. He tried a fourth time, on bended knee, kissing the ground, before the Ilkhan finally accepted and drank the cup and Shams al-Dīn Juvainī was restored to power and favour.[148] Offering a cup is mentioned in other source traditions as well, and on the spirit-path stele of the famous Khitan official of the Mongols, Ila Chucai, it is twice recorded that Ögödei offered a goblet to his official as a great sign of respect, once at a *quriltai* of 1236.[149]

The importance of the cup of wine is elsewhere indicated also. Toqto'a Beki of the Merkit in one instance swore an oath to Chinggis' rival Jamuqa by taking a golden goblet of *kumiss*, and pouring it on the ground, promising not to harm Jamuqa and return his possessions to him.[150] In a later example, the Ilkhan Baidu and the pretender Ghazan met to make peace in 1295. Both men sent delegations to establish a truce. In order to make a covenant and pact, wine was brought with gold dissolved in the goblets, before being poured on the ground. By this point, allowances were also made for Muslims, who simply took each other by the hand to swear their oaths not to harm each other.[151] The historian Qāshānī also mentions that the Ögödeid ruler Chapar was shocked by his

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enough to establish this. The image features on the frontispiece of Michael Hope's *Power, Politics and Tradition in the Mongol Empire and the Īlkhānate of Iran*.

[147] Abedi, '*Kāsa giriftan'*, p. 92.

[148] Vaṣṣāf, p. 96, cited in Abedi, '*Kāsa giriftan'*, p. 95.

[149] Song Zizhen, 'Spirit-Path Stele for his Honor Yelu, Director of the Secretariat', in (trans. and ed.) C.P. Atwood, *The Rise of the Mongols: Five Chinese Sources*, (Cambridge: Hackett Publishing, 2021), pp. 142, 146. I use here Ila as his personal name based on Atwood, *Rise of the Mongols*, p. 133, who indicates that Ila was the name he used, while it was Sinified to Yelu/Yehlü.

[150] RAD/Thackston, Vol. I, p. 107. Peng Daya elaborates some of the superstition around this ritual, saying that the Mongols believed that emptying the vessel completely were said to be cutting off their descendants, 'A Sketch on the Black Tatars', p. 113. The former Jīn official Zhang Dehui, who was summoned to Qubilai's *ordo* in 1247, mentions that on the auspicious ninth day of the ninth moon, Qubilai and all those under his banner would sprinkle white mare's milk on the ground, Zhang Dehui, 'Notes on a Journey', in (trans. and ed.) C.P. Atwood, *The Rise of the Mongols: Five Chinese Sources*, (Cambridge: Hackett Publishing, 2021), p. 173.

[151] Abedi, '*Kāsa giriftan'*, pp. 92-3; RAD/Thackston, Vol. III, p. 615. The importance of drinking a shared cup is also linked to the *anda* (blood-brother) relationship, whereby a supposedly unbreakable bond was formed by spilling one's blood into a cup of *kumiss* and sharing it, as took place between Baraq of the Chaghadaids, Qaidu of the Ögödeids, and Möngke Temür of the Jochids at the *quriltai* at Talas in 1269, M. Biran, 'The Battle of Herat (1270): A Case of Inter-Mongol Warfare', in (ed.) N. Di Cosmo, *Warfare in Inner Asian History*, (Leiden: Brill, 2002), pp. 184-5. This is also the definition of the *anda* relationship given by Atwood in his encyclopaedia, *Encyclopaedia of Mongolia*, p. 13. Interestingly however, in the 'classical case' of the *anda* relationship, that of Jamuqa and Temüjin, the blood/drinking ritual element is not mentioned by the *SHM* or Rashīd al-Dīn. The

betrayal by the Toluid Malik Temür, saying that they had sworn solemn oaths on a golden cup, how could these possibly be broken?[152] Thus we can see that the term *kāsa-gīrī* often signified an expression of obedience and a reaffirmation of one's oaths of service to the ruler.[153] In this way this ritual has similarities with *tikishmīshī* and its connotations.

SHM rather mentions the gifts that the two boys and later men exchanged to form their allegiance, SHM/de Rachewiltz, §116-118, pp. 45-6. The *YS* also translates the term *anda* saying '*anda* means in our language "friends who have exchanged gifts"', YS/Atwood, p. 12. However, Agnes Birtalan has noted that the term itself derives from the Turkic *ant ič*, which means 'to drink on the swearing' in ancient and Middle Turkic sources, A. Birtalan, 'Rituals of Sworn Brotherhood (Mong. *anda bol-*, Oir. and, *ax düü bol-*) in Mongol Historic and Epic Tradition', *Chronica: Annual of the Institute of History, University Szeged*, Vol.7-8 (2007-2008), pp. 45-6.

[152] Qāshānī/Hambali, p. 39.

[153] Abedi, '*Kāsa giriftan*', p. 93.

Figure 2: Ögödei's Accession, from a manuscript of the *Jami' al-Tawarikh* of Rashid al-Din Fadl-Allah (MS Sup Persan 1113, folio 133v). © Bibliothèque Nationale de France

In my view the Persian expression *kāsa giriftan/dāshtan* is equivalent to, and may often describe, a Mongol ceremony known as *ötök*. According to Igor de Rachewiltz, this Mongol term appears in the *SHM* with a Chinese translation given in the interlineal gloss as 'wine which is offered'. It derives from the Turkic word *ötüg*, meaning 'prayer, request to a superior.' In the Mongol world,

ötök was a formal invitation to drink, performed according to specific rules.[154] The importance of this ceremony is evident in some of the discussions of it in the *SHM*. In one instance, Chinggis' half-brother Belgütei was banned from participating in the *ötök* after letting slip Mongol battle plans to their enemies.[155] On another occasion, during the western campaign of 1236, strife arose between Chinggisid lineages due to perceived contravention of norms surrounding the *ötök*. Büri, a Chaghadaid prince, and Güyük, Ögödei's eldest son, became angry at Batu, the eldest son of Jochi, for partaking of the *ötök* before them. Although he was said to be the eldest of the Mongol princes on this campaign, as acknowledged by Ögödei, the two princes seem to have been questioning Batu's lineage due to his father Jochi's illegitimacy.[156] This slight would not be forgotten, and Batu later had Büri put to death during Möngke's reign. It was also a significant honour to be a part of, and participation in it was given to those who were elevated to *darqan* status, such as Sorghan Shira of the Suldus.[157] Clearly, this ceremony was not to be taken lightly.[158]

Returning to our Persian author, Rashīd al-Dīn does not use this word with its Mongol meaning, but does on one occasion use it with meaning of a request to a superior, when the official Majd al-Mulk writes a petition (*ötügī*) to Abaqa Khan protesting his treatment by Shams al-Dīn Juvainī.[159] Given that Rashīd al-Dīn is not shy in using Mongol terminology throughout his work, it seems likely that overall he prefers the Persian calque (*kāsa-gīrī*) of the term *ötök* in its meaning as wine given at ceremonial occasions. For many of the instances of *kāsa dāshtan/giriftan* in his work, it refers to a notable incident such as a banquet, an official meeting or a change of allegiance.[160] Consider, for example, the acclamation of Möngke as *qa'an*:

> تمامت شهزادگان و نویnان به موافقت کمر گشاده و کلاه برداشته زانو زدندن , و باتو کاسه گرفت و خانی را در محل خویش قرار داد *Tamāmat-i shahzādigān va nūyanān ba muvāfiqat kamar gushāda va kulāh bar-dāshta zānū zadand, va bātū kāsa girift va khānī rā dar maḥal-i khvīsh qarār dād.*[161]

[154] SHM/de Rachewiltz, Vol. I, 'Philological Commentary', Vol. I, p. 573. The hierarchies and complex social relations around drinking rituals are addressed by Sòng envoys to the Mongols in the 1220s and 1230s, Zhao Gong 'A Memorandum on the Mong-Tatars', pp. 90-2; Peng Daya and Xu Ting, 'A Sketch of the Black Tatars', pp. 100, 113, both found in C.P. Atwood, *The Rise of the Mongols: Five Chinese Sources*, (Cambridge: Hackett Publishing, 2021).
[155] SHM/de Rachewiltz, Vol. I, §154, pp. 77-8.
[156] Idem, §275-§276, pp. 206-7. Orda was also in attendance, but is not mentioned in this context.
[157] Atwood, *Encyclopedia of Mongolia*, p. 133; SHM/de Rachewiltz, §219, p. 149. It is unclear if this occurred with all of those who received *darqan* status, or if this was a specific case.
[158] Judith Kolbas believes that these rituals governed the social cohesion of the ruling elite and were key in ensuring loyalty, J. Kolbas, 'A Dirham for Your Drinking Cup: Calculating Monetary Value', in (eds.) T. May, D. Bayarsaikhan, C.P. Atwood, *New Approaches to Ilkhanid History*, (Leiden: Brill, 2021), p. 198.
[159] RAD/Raushan, Vol. II, p. 986. اوتوگی
[160] RAD/Raushan, Vol. I, p. 603, Vol. II, p. 952; RAD/Thackston, Vol. II, p. 330, Vol. III, p. 525.
[161] RAD/Raushan, Vol. II, p. 731.

> All the princes and *noyan*s together removed their belts, took off their caps and knelt. Batu offered wine and put the khanate in its rightful place.

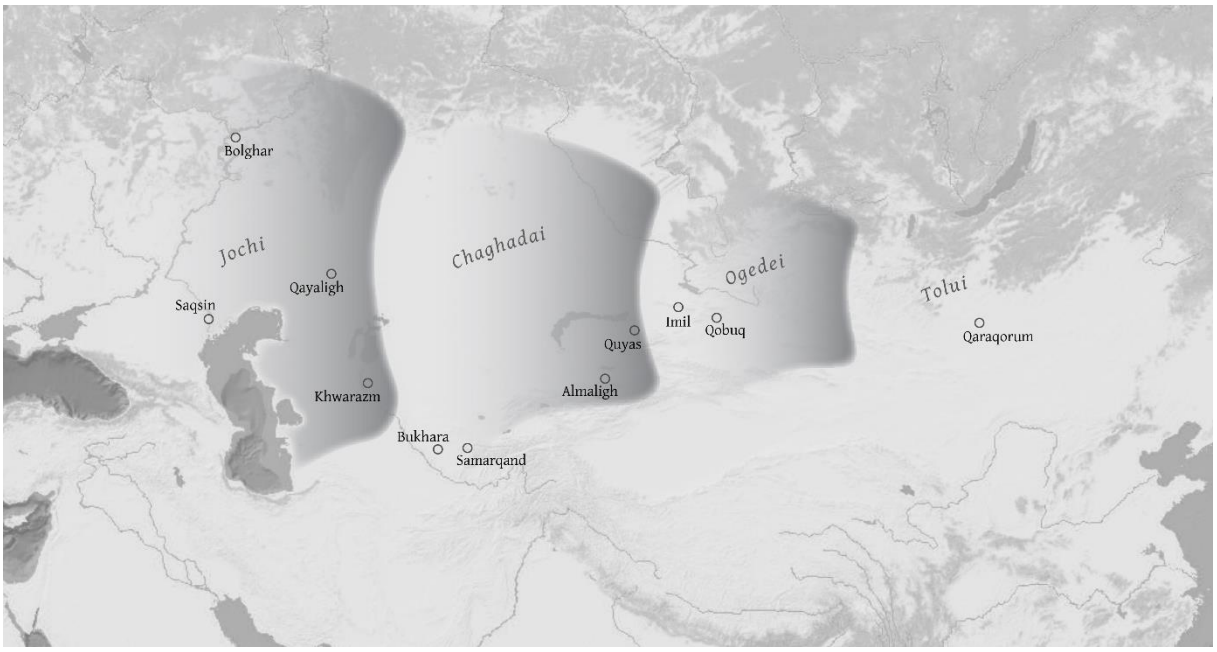
The term could also have retained both meanings of *ötüg/ötök* together, given the supplicatory nature of the instances of *kāsa dāshtan/giriftan* and the fact that they appear at times alongside *tikishmīshī*. Therefore, I tentatively propose that the Persian phrase is used by Rashīd al-Dīn where the *SHM* uses *ötök* and that the two ceremonies being described are one and the same. It seems that this ceremony could also be included in the performance of *tikishmīshī*, but it was not done in exclusively this context.

2.3.6 *Tikishmīshī* and Submission

We have seven quite interesting cases of the usage of the word *tikishmīshī* which do not seem to fit the idea of an affirmation of loyalty to one's ruler (Appendix 2, cases 26-32, pp. 204-5). Significantly, all seven are applied to Ghazan, Rashīd al-Dīn's patron and sovereign. Five of these relate to the period of Ghazan's power play against the Ilkhan Baidu (cases 27-31). In three of the cases (29-31), Baidu voluntarily sends a member or members of his retinue to Ghazan, and this person(s) promptly performs *tikishmīshī* to the young prince. If we look at the status of the people who were sent, it seems highly unlikely that Baidu willingly had them submit to Ghazan. One of them was Baidu's own son, Qipchaq, another was one of his key amirs, Doladai, and the last was his herald, Na'uldar. It is clear from the text that Baidu is not submitting to Ghazan, but rather seeking to delay him and turn him back towards Khurasan. In another instance (case 26), during Gaykhatu's reign, he sends his son Anbarchi, as well as three influential amirs, Doladai (who as we can see later served Baidu), Qunchuqbal, and Il Temür to reinforce the army of Khurasan, when they perform *tikishmīshī* to Ghazan. It seems likely that the prince and the amirs were simply acknowledging Ghazan's governorship of Khurasan, and not deserting the Ilkhan Gaykhatu. We have seen with regard to the Ögödeid prince Qipchaq that one could perform *tikishmīshī* to a Chinggisid who was not a khan. Cases 27 and 28 relate to the submission of Nawrūz to Ghazan, despite the fact that Ghazan was not yet the Ilkhan. With these six uses of the word, perhaps Rashīd al-Dīn is simply retrojecting Ghazan's rule to render that of his predecessor, Baidu's, illegitimate.[162]

[162] Khwāndamīr/Thackston, p. 81 claims that Ghazan still saw Baidu as his *aqa* however, and it was only Baidu's plot to kill Ghazan that rendered Ghazan willing to overthrow him.

The last instance (case 31) is perhaps the most puzzling. Rashīd al-Dīn claims that envoys from both the Mamluks and the Jochid khan Toqto'a came to court in 1303 and performed *tikishmīshī* to Ghazan, by now the recognised Ilkhan. Given that neither the Mamluks nor the Jochids ever acknowledged or accepted Ilkhanid suzerainty, what are we to make of this claim? That the Jochids gave great gifts on the occasion of this embassy to Ghazan is confirmed by Vaṣṣāf, who claims that they brought 21 gyrfalcons, to which Ghazan responded with a pearl worth 1000 dinars for each bird. However, Vaṣṣāf also notes that this embassy was sent by Toqto'a to claim the lands of Arran and Azerbaijan which were his by right of Chinggis' dispensation, Map 3.[163] Vaṣṣāf does not use the term *tikishmīshī* here, though he does elsewhere in his work.[164] Given these instances, we may decide, as Doerfer does, to translate this term as simply gift-giving to the khan.[165] However, the preponderance of the usage of this word in accompanying submission means that if we accept this definition, a caveat must be added that it almost always denotes subservience and submission (at least within the Ilkhanid historical works).



Map 3: Chinggis' dispensation to his four sons by Börte. This map is found in *Making Mongol History* (2019), reproduced here with the kind permission of its author, Stefan Kamola.

[163] Vaṣṣāf/Iqbāl, pp. 398-401; Vaṣṣāf/Ayati, pp. 240-2; Allsen, *Steppe and the Sea*, p. 25.
[164] Doerfer, *Türkische und mongolische Elemente,* p. 170.
[165] Idem, pp. 531-533.

Another possible option is that Rashīd al-Dīn sought to denigrate the Jochids and the Mamluks as mere vassals of the Ilkhanate, paralleling the usage of the word for Baidu's envoys to Ghazan. Qiu Yihao in his work on Mongol diplomacy and gift-giving claims that the Mongols saw all gifts from foreign rulers as tribute.[166] This, I believe, is a misunderstanding of Mongol diplomatic practice. The Mongols were perfectly aware when a foreign ruler was submissive or not, and when their gifts were tribute or formed part of the normal communication between rulers. Take for example, Juvainī's account of the Mongols' treatment of the Ismāʿīlī ruler Rukn al-Dīn Khūrshāh in 1256. This ruler, who tried to delay his surrender for as long as possible, sent several of his relatives to Hülegü, and even gave gifts to Hülegü which were accepted, before he eventually went on to Möngke's court. However, Rukn al-Dīn's submission was rejected, and he was not allowed to perform *tikishmīshī* or give gifts, due to his failure to destroy fortresses that Möngke had requested him to destroy.[167] The Mongols clearly understood the significance of this type of gift-giving, and would not let its significance be downgraded by a ruler who had failed to meet the requirements of submission.

Vaṣṣāf's account of the embassy from Toqto'a is also nothing we would not expect to see of communications between rulers who saw themselves as equal. Toqto'a sends valuable gifts to help improve the chances of the embassy's success, though extremely unlikely, and Ghazan responds with equally worthy gifts, but also a very firm 'thanks, but no thanks'. That the Mongols could *choose* to interpret gifts from foreign rulers as tribute is in no doubt, when it served their political ends. The experiences of William of Rubruck on his journey to Qara Qorum, as well as the well-known exchanges with the Pope are indicative of this political posturing.[168] The Mongols' military successes were their backing for their often extremely arrogant diplomatic style. Other Eurasian rulers were well aware of these victories however, so they were usually forced to play the Mongols' game. Rashīd al-Dīn's very different account of Toqto'a's (and the Mamluks') embassies could be another example of such diplomacy. The use of this word may also have been an attempt to coddle his patron and elevate his reputation for posterity, if we choose to accept that *tikishmīshī* necessarily involved acknowledgment of the receiver's suzerainty.

Tikishmīshī therefore was a crucial element in the performance of loyalty and obeisance. Scholars have not addressed this issue on the whole, but one who does is Stefan Kamola. Kamola argues that the *ṣāḥib-dīvān* of the province of Khurasan under the governors Chin Temür and Arghun Aqa, Bahā' al-Dīn Juvainī (father of the illustrious Juvainī brothers), performed *tikishmīshī* to Arghun

[166] Q. Yihao, 'Gift-Exchange in Diplomatic Practices during the Early Mongol Period', *Eurasian Studies*, Vol. 17 (2019), p. 208.
[167] Juvainī/Boyle, Vol. II, pp. 713-717, 724.
[168] A.J. Watson, 'Mongol inhospitality, or how to do more with less? Gift giving in William of Rubruck's *Itinerarium', Journal of Medieval History*, Vol. 37, (2011), pp. 90-101.

Aqa in the region of the Amul on the latter's return from the court of Güyük in the winter of 1247/8. Kamola states that through this ceremony, Bahā' al-Dīn showed his personal loyalty to Arghun Aqa.[169] While Kamola is absolutely correct in showing the importance of the ritual of *tikishmīshī* in establishing loyalty ties in the Mongol world, the devil is in the details here. Kamola's source for this story is none other than Bahā al-Dīn's son and Arghun Aqa's personal secretary, ʿAṭā-Malik Juvainī. It is worth reproducing this section in full to understand what is happening here:

> چون بخدود آمل رسید پدرم با اموال و نفایس مرصعات و جواهر که ترتیب کرده بود از ممالک اذربیجان برسید و فرش و بسط و آلات مجالس با آن ضم گردانید و یک دو روز جشن ساخت
> *chun bi-hudūd-i āmul rasīd pidaram bā amvāl va nafāyis-i muraṣṣʿāt va javāhir ki tartīb karda būd az mamālik-i azirbayjān birasīd va farsh va busuṭ va ālāt-i majālis bā ān żamm gardānīd va yik du rūz jashn sākht*.[170]
>
> When he (Arghun Aqa) reached the Amul country my father came to meet him with all kinds of valuables, jewel-studded objects and precious stones which he had prepared in Azerbaijan. To these he added rugs and carpets and all the paraphernalia of banqueting, and for a day or two he held a feast.[171]

While Bahā' al-Dīn brings gifts that would be wholly appropriate for the ritual of *tikishmīshī*, Juvainī does not use that word himself. As this section has shown, the performance of this ritual was directed at Chinggisid rulers, and not at non-Chinggisid officials, no matter their status. Juvainī does use the word for Arghun Aqa and other officials of the realm in his following section on Arghun's attendance on Möngke Qa'an, saying that they 'received the honour of performing *tikishmīshī*' (شرف تکشمیشی یافت, *sharaf-i tikishmīshī yāft*).[172] As I have shown above, the Mongols were very protective of this ritual and would not allow it to be performed if the right conditions were not met and it had to be performed to the right people.[173] Therefore, Bahā' al-Dīn was taking part in the common ritual of gift-giving to a superior to show obedience and loyalty, but this was not part of the very specific ceremony of *tikishmīshī* to a supreme ruler, whose symbolic power would be significantly reduced if the Mongols allowed it to be performed to a non-Chinggisid official.

[169] Kamola, *Making Mongol History*, pp. 14, 16.
[170] Juvainī/Qazvini, Vol. II, p. 247.
[171] Juvaini/Boyle, Vol. II, p. 511, Boyle's translation.
[172] Juvainī/Qazvini, Vol. II, p. 253.
[173] See above p. 44.

2.3.7 The Usage of *Uljamīshī*

Uljamīshī appears in the *Tārīkh-i Mubārak-i Ghāzānī* 19 times, with two repeated stories, meaning that we have 17 unique occurrences of the word (Appendix 3). The receiver of this action was a Chinggisid *qa'an* on 11 occasions and to a Chinggisid regional ruler on four occasions. The other two occasions are notable. The first (case 7, p. 206) is the attempt of the deputies of the city of Jungdu to bribe Chinggis' representatives there and perform *uljamīshī* to them. The two amirs who accepted this, Önggür Ba'urchi and Harqai Qasar, were punished for their actions, while Shigi Qutuqu, who refused, was rewarded. The other (case 13) is when the rulers of the Bulghars and Alans of the Qipchaq steppe submitted to the Mongols. Rashīd al-Dīn states that they performed *uljamīshī* to the princes present on the western campaign of 1236. He is not specific but given who participated in this, a regional ruler, Batu, as well as two future *qa'an*s, Güyük and Möngke, we can assume that as Ögödei's representatives on this campaign, nothing was remiss in performing *uljamīshī* to these princes. In six cases, the performer was clearly already a subject of the *qa'an*/ruler in question, while in the other 11 cases, the performer was either not yet a subject of that *qa'an*/ruler, or was portrayed as in rebellion. We have specific gifts listed for four of these occurrences. There are also four cases where *uljamīshī* was met with *soyurghamīshī* by the ruler.

We should certainly not overstate the case for this term's relevance. In the Raushan edition of some 1300+ pages, this word is used only 19 times. However, if we look at some of the instances when it is used, we can see that they are often quite important moments in the development of the Mongol Empire: the submission of foreign rulers, the handing over of key cities, and the return of Mongol figures to the fold of 'obedience' after a period of 'rebellion'. We can certainly see some similarities to the concept of *tikishmīshī*, though there do appear to be some differences. The first is one of usage. While Rashīd al-Dīn uses the term *tikishmīshī* some 11 times during Ghazan's reign, he never uses the term *uljamīshī*. Given that this was the period Rashīd al-Dīn himself was most familiar with and wrote the most about, we can surmise that at least under Ghazan, the performance of *uljamīshī* became less frequent. We can only speculate as to why this may have been; perhaps due to the similar nature of the two rituals, one became predominant or perhaps that some ritual aspect of the performance of *uljamīshī* did not conform to Ghazan's (or Rashīd al-Dīn's) religious sensibilities.

The other differences are somewhat speculative, but clear separation of these ceremonial acts is not straightforward. From a statistical point of view, only around a fifth of the mentions of *uljamīshī* include a gift elaborated by Rashīd al-Dīn. For *tikishmīshī*, it is just under half of the mentions which mention a gift (Appendix 2). The importance of gift-giving in Mongol culture may mean that Rashīd al-Dīn simply did not mention the specific type of gift in all cases, and that they

were ubiquitous. Here the semantics are perhaps important. While *tikishmīshī* is based on the Turkic word *tegiš*, meaning 'exchange', the term *uljamīshī*, comes from the Mongol verb *a'ulja*, 'to visit, meet, or greet'.[174] However, as we can see from instances of the verb *a'ulja* in the *SHM*, this meeting was often accompanied by gifts such as one's own children as servants, horses, exotic birds or furs.[175] The relatively small size of the dataset and the similarities of gift-giving practices in both therefore do not allow us to delineate the two on these grounds.[176]

Another difference may be the reason behind the actor's performance of one or the other ritual. If we look at the cases of *uljamīshī* performed by 'subjects' of the ruler, several of them seem to have been after a misdeed of that subject in some form. The last two cases (Appendix 3) apply to Arghun's reign and to two characters whose links to those who had challenged Arghun's rule were not forgiven. The first was Shams al-Dīn Juvainī, whose long support for Aḥmad Tegüder and the accusations of embezzlement against him saw him disgraced. He sought to perform *uljamīshī*, which Arghun accepted initially, but later changed his mind and had the vizier executed.[177] The other character was one Ayachi, a son of the extremely important amir and vizier Buqa. Buqa's 'rebellion' against Arghun was put down heavy-handedly, but the amir Toghan attempted to intercede on Ayachi's behalf so he could perform *uljamīshī*. Arghun rejected this, as he sought to eradicate Buqa's family and supporters.[178]

If this fault/penance theory is tenable, then case 14 (Appendix 3, p. 206) needs to be considered. According to Rashīd al-Dīn, Chinggis' sons performed *uljamīshī* to him in the summer of 1223. Which sons were part of this is somewhat unclear due to Rashīd al-Dīn's phrasing, as the line preceding this mention speaks about Chaghadai and Ögödei only, while the line after mentions both of these princes and Tolui as well. This case is, however, a repeat of cases 9 and 10, where Tolui separately, and then Chaghadai and Ögödei together perform *uljamīshī*. Rashīd al-Dīn in neither of these stories indicates a link between an action of the princes and their performance of *uljamīshī*, but in both he does mention problems in the princes' conquest of Khwarazm immediately preceding, which is echoed in the *SHM*. For Rashīd al-Dīn, the issue lay simply in a dispute between Chaghadai

[174] Clauson, *Etymological Dictionary*, p. 488. Doerfer, *Türkische und mongolische Elemente,* pp. 169, 531-3.
[175] SHM/de Rachewiltz, §137, pp. 59-60; §239, p. 164.
[176] According to Doerfer, they are mentioned together in Qazvīnī as well, Doerfer, *Türkische und mongolische Elemente*, p. 170.
[177] Khwāndamīr, *Habibu's-Siyar: Tome Three*, *Part One, Genghis Khan- Amir Temür*, (trans. and ed.) W. M. Thackston, (Cambridge, MA: The Department of Near Eastern Languages and Civilizations, Harvard University, 1994), p. 71 (hereafter Khwāndamīr/Thackston) states that Shams al-Dīn only returned to court in order to save his sons from death, but in fact they were executed anyway.
[178] Vaṣṣāf/Iqbal, p. 233; Vaṣṣāf/Ayati, p. 140. See Hope, *Power, Politics and Tradition*, pp. 136-142. This case is very similar to the Nawrūz/Ghazan dynamic mentioned above, where an amir has become too powerful and the Ilkhan has to find a way to remove them.

and Jochi, which Chinggis solved by putting Ögödei in charge, who made peace between his elder brothers and they took the city of Urgench (often called Khwarazm in the sources).[179] The *SHM* attributes a much more serious crime to Jochi, Chaghadai and Ögödei; they split the booty of the city amongst themselves and did not give a share to Chinggis. Chinggis was furious and refused to see them for three days, with his commanders having to intervene on the sons' behalf so that he would forgive them and show them favour once again.[180] The discrepancies between the accounts, including the presence of either Jochi or Tolui, or neither, do not allow us to state definitively what occurred here, but the similarities do seem to indicate that this was the same incident, where Chinggis' sons had to be chastised by Chinggis for their actions.

There is a possible connection to another ritual here that is elaborated by Lhamsuren Munkh-Erdene. He describes the usage of the word *čimar* in the SHM, saying that it was both a grievance and a penalty which emerged from the breaking of an oath, more specifically 'a […] meaning of penalty or reparation, one derived from a grievance that arose from a violation of commonly accepted norms and, especially, of a formal relationship such as a treaty'.[181] Thus, in §106-108 of the SHM*,* Jamuqa reproached his superior Toghril Khan for failing to adhere to their agreement by being three days late for a planned attack on the Merkit. Toghril acknowledged Jamuqa's grievance and told him it was up to him to punish Toghril as he would.[182] This penalty was called *čimar*. This is relevant to the above case, as it is also the term used for the grievance caused to Chinggis Khan by his three sons, Jochi, Chaghadai, and Ögödei. Munkh-Erdene explains that 'Chinggis Khan berated them with or by *cimar* and *söyü*', *söyü* meaning punishment.[183] In this case then, Chinggis' sons had committed a grievous offence against their father, breaking their oaths or transgressing the *törü*. Perhaps it was only through the process of *uljamīshī* that the brothers could atone for their error. It would be satisfying to connect these two rituals, *čimar* and *uljamīshī*, more consistently, but without a greater amount of correlation we cannot be certain. This isolated incident is fascinating, however, and does seem to indicate that *uljamīshī* had connotations of penance.

Tikishmīshī however, could also be performed as a sort of penance. In cases 7, 11 and 14 (Appendix 2, p. 203) we see how Chinggisid princes in rebellion or who had committed some misdeed performed this ritual and were brought back into the fold. Therefore we cannot immediately split the two ceremonies on this basis either. What does seem clear however is that

[179] For more on the confused narrative about this incident, see C. Atwood, 'Jochi and the Early Western Campaigns', in (ed.) M. Rossabi, *How Mongolia Matters: War, Law, and Society*, (Leiden: Brill, 2017), pp. 35-56.
[180] SHM/de Rachewiltz, §260, pp. 192-3.
[181] Munkh-Erdene, 'Rise of the Chinggisid Dynasty', pp 48-9.
[182] SHM/de Rachewiltz, §106-108, pp. 38-9; Munkh-Erdene, 'Rise of the Chinggisid Dynasty', p. 48.
[183] Munkh-Erdene, 'Rise of the Chinggisid Dynasty', p. 49.

tikishmīshī was performed regularly by subjects of the *qa'an*/regional ruler, without any attachment of guilt or blame to their actions. In many cases, this occurred on the accession of a new ruler, or simply to periodically renew one's loyalty obligations to the sitting ruler. The two performances were separate at one time and had different meanings and rituals attached to them. If we look at case 14 (Appendix 2, p. 203) and case 15 (Appendix 3, p. 207), we see that Ariq Böke performed *tikishmīshī* to Qubilai in 1264, and then only after many trials of his officers and amirs, as well as his own trial alongside Asutai (a son of Möngke), in 1266 the two Chinggisids were permitted to perform *uljamīshī*. As Rashīd al-Dīn gives no clear distinction what the differences between the two rituals were and for exactly what reasons, for now we must treat them as similar but distinct, until further information comes to light, perhaps via other sources.

2.4 Conclusion

Present in all three of these terms (*soyurghamīshī, tikishmīshī*, and *uljamīshī*) is some notion of gift-giving, a notion as important in Mongol society as it was and is in many others. However, while many works on gift-giving and gift exchange in European history exist, this is still a largely underdeveloped field with regard to the eastern side of Eurasian history. A notable step in the right direction was the 2011 publication of *Gifts of the Sultan*, a compendium of articles from an art historical perspective focusing on gifts in a (mostly) Middle Eastern context.[184] While this work covers many regimes and lands, sadly there is no chapter on Mongol gift exchange. We are indebted in this regard to the late Thomas Allsen for two of his works which focus on specific commodities and how they played a role in gift exchange; namely *nasīj* (cloth-of-gold) and pearls.[185] Also in 2019, Qiu Yihao published an article specifically dealing with gift-giving in Mongol diplomatic practices.[186] With these works, as well as myriad mentions of the importance of gift exchange found in studies covering different aspects of the Mongol world, we have some understanding of the topic. More, however, could certainly be done on this. A work analysing the social and political implications of gift-giving across pre-modern Eurasia, such as exists for western European history, would be invaluable in understanding the greater framework and cultural context of Mongol gifting.[187]

[184] L. Komaroff, *Gifts of the Sultan: The Arts of Giving at the Islamic Courts*, (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2011).
[185] For *nasīj*, Allsen, *Commodity and exchange, passim*; for pearls, Allsen, *Steppe and the Sea, passim.*
[186] Yihao, 'Gift-Exchange in Diplomatic Practices', pp. 202-227.
[187] G. Algazi, V. Groebner, and B. Jussen, *Negotiating the Gift: Pre-Modern Figurations of Exchange* (Gottingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2003).

Nonetheless, what is remarkable about the usage of these words is that they inherently link gift-giving, and its attendant rituals, to expressions of loyalty. This is not new or exclusive to the Mongols, but these three terms seem to convey a double meaning. The first is that of giving a gift, in the case of *soyurghamīshī*, from a ruler to a subject, and in the other two cases, of a subject to a ruler. The second, and more complex meaning, is an affirmation, or perhaps reaffirmation, of the loyalty bonds tying together ruler and subject in a Mongol context. These loyalty bonds were determined often in the form of verbal oaths, later replaced by written ones, called by Juvainī *khaṭ*, while Rashīd al-Dīn used the Mongol word *möchelge*, later taken up by the Safavids as well.[188] These oaths articulated the idea of the *yeke törü* or *yeke yosun*, the so-called 'great principle' mentioned by the *SHM* and Rashīd al-Dīn.[189] This great principle seemingly determined what was expected of a subject to his lord; namely service and fealty, and furthermore, the lord's obligation to his subject; protection and reward. These terms therefore are understood better as the lord fulfilling his duty to a faithful servant (*soyurghamīshī*), a previously recalcitrant 'subject' acknowledging their submission to their new lord and pledging fealty (*uljamīshī*), and the affirmation or reaffirmation of a subject's loyalty to their lord (*tikishmīshī*).

These terms help us to understand how these two Persian historians sought to convey Mongol customs and their ideas about loyalty to their audiences. They also frame to a large extent how we understand the Mongols, given these histories' comprehensiveness and accessibility. The fact that these terms, while they are not used to a very large degree, came to be used by later Timurid historians as well indicates the influence that they had. That they also even passed into Armenian to some extent shows that those ruled by the Mongols began to incorporate Mongol ideas of loyalty into their own languages and cultures. These ideas remained powerful in dynasties which succeeded the Mongols in the Middle East and Central Asia. Getting to grips with some of the concepts which these historians sought to explain gives us a firmer footing on which to base our discussions of Mongol loyalty. A pursuit of these terms in other important source languages such as Chinese or Armenian would certainly complement this study in order to see how historians of the various traditions sought to incorporate Mongol customs into their own history and language.

[188] Hope, '*El* and *Bulqa'*, pp. 2, 7-8; Manz, 'Binding pledge', pp. 10-11. These written oaths tended to be given on the occasion of a ruler's accession, 'as was customary (determined/fixed)' RAD/Thackston, Vol. III, p. 548; *chinānki ma'hūd ast*, RAD/Raushan, Vol. II, p. 995. They did not seem to have been given in cases of *tikishmīshī/uljamīshī*.

[189] SHM/de Rachewiltz, §208, p. 141 and 'Philological Commentary', Vol. II, p. 791; Called by Rashīd al-Dīn *yūsūn-i buzurg*, RAD/Thackston, Vol. I, p. 224; RAD/Raushan, Vol. I, p. 402.