

Mongol loyalty networks: cultural transmission and Chinggisid innovation Jones, T.X.

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# **Appendices**

## I. Appendix 1: Soyurghamīshī Instances in Rashīd al-Dīn's Tārīkh-i Mubārak-i Ghāzānī

RaD/R= Location in Rashid al-Din, ed. Raushan and Mousavi

RaD/Th= Location in Thackston's English translation

CQ= Chinggisid Qa'an (as titled by Rashid al-Din)

NCQ= Non-Chinggisid Qa'an/Qan

CRR= Chinggisid Regional Ruler

NC= Non-Chinggisid

(Note: For the purposes of this table, transliteration has been simplified)

Number	<u>Location</u>	Receiver	Action	Gift/Favour	Giver	Giver's
						<u>Status</u>
1	RaD/R: Vol. I 81. RaD/Th:	Sali	Bravery in battle	Made commander and	Mongke	CQ
	Vol. I 48			inaq		
2	RaD/R: Vol. I 113.	Ugu Temur	Long service, left Chinggis'	Offense forgiven.	Chinggis	CQ
	RaD/Th: Vol. I 66	Noyan	service	Favourite wife		
				returned to him		
3	RaD/R: Vol. I 122.	Ala Qush of	Support against Naiman.	Chinggis' daughter	Chinggis	CQ
	RaD/Th: Vol. I 71	Ongut	Handed over wall in Jin	Alaqai Beki promised		
			Empire	to him		
4	RaD/R: Vol. I 130.	Barchuq	Submission	Unspecified	Chinggis	CQ
	RaD/Th: Vol. I 76	(idiqut)				

5	RaD/R: Vol. I 131.	Barchuq	Military support	Chinggis' daughter	Chinggis/Ogodei	CQ
	RaD/Th: Vol. I 76	(idiqut)		Altun Beki		
6	RaD/R: Vol. I 189.	Jochi Qasar	Surrender to Ong Qan	Given back his	Ong Qan	NCQ
	RaD/Th: Vol. I 108		(Feigned)	household		
7	RaD/R: Vol. I 192.	Jebe	Promised loyalty to	Made commander of	Chingis	CQ
	RaD/Th: Vol. I 110		Chinggis	10		
8	RaD/R: Vol. I 193.	Sulaimish	Unspecified	Given 5000 horsemen,	Ghazan	CRR
	RaD/Th: Vol. I 111	(descendant of Jebe)		made amir of tumen		
9	RaD/R: Vol. I 194.	Daga,	Left Tayichi'ut for Chinggis,	Daga given aktachi	Chinggis	CQ
	RaD/Th: Vol. I 111	Guchugur, and	orphaned	position. Guchugur		
		their mother		given hazara/tumen,		
		Baidu Khatun		mares. Baidu Khatun		
				made dargan and		
				kumiss server		
10	RaD/R: Vol. I 254.	Jochi Qasar	Service in battle	Rank and title, he and	Chinggis	CQ
	RaD/Th: Vol. I 135			his descendants sit		
				among princes		
11	RaD/R: Vol. I 257.	Chaghadai	Sought soyurghamīshī	Given descendants of	Ögödei	CQ
	RaD/Th: Vol. I 136			Jochi Qasar		
12	RaD/R: Vol. I 333.	Bo'orchi Noyan	Admitting leaving guard	10 gold goblets	Chinggis	CQ
	RaD/Th: Vol. I 179	·	duty, gives Chinggis 10			
			gold goblets from Ong Qan			
13	RaD/R: Vol. I 379.	Barchug	Submission, turning over	Unspecified	Chinggis	CQ
	RaD/Th: Vol. I 205	(idiqut)	treasury	,		
14	RaD/R: Vol. I 381.	2 envoys of	Brought letter announcing	Unspecified	Chinggis	CQ
	RaD/Th: Vol. I 205	idiqut	submission			
15	RaD/R: Vol. I 393.	Barchuq	Came to Chinggis to	Red robe, gold belt,	Chinggis	CQ
	RaD/Th: Vol. I 213	(idiqut)	submit	becoming a fifth son		

16	RaD/R: Vol. I 403.	Liuga' Yeh-Lu	Submission, performs	Made commander of	Chinggis	CQ
	RaD/Th: Vol. I 222	Liu Ko	uljamishi	tumen, given two cities		
				and province of		
				Guangning		
17	RaD/R: Vol. I 405.	Shigi Qutuqu	Refused bribe, recognising	Receives double the	Chinggis	CQ
	RaD/Th: Vol. I 224		'great principle'	bribe		
18	RaD/R: Vol. I 409.	Boroghul	Conquered Tumat, died on	Sons taken care of	Chinggis	CQ
	RaD/Th: Vol. I 227	Noyan	campaign			
19	RaD/R: Vol. I 410.	Muqali	Conquered Jurchen	Given title kuo wang	Chinggis	CQ
	RaD/Th: Vol. I 227			(ruler of region), given		
				tumen of Ongut		
20	RaD/R: Vol. I 435.	Arslan Khan	Submission	Unspecified	Chinggis	CQ
	RaD/Th: Vol. II 241					
21	RaD/R: Vol. I 442.	Son of Temur	Unspecified	Regained father's lands	Batu	CRR
	RaD/Th: Vol. II 245	Malik, amir of		and possessions		
		Khwarazm Shah				
22	RaD/R: Vol. I 444.	Leaders of	Presented <i>nozul</i> , turned	Lives spared	Chinggis	CQ
	RaD/Th: Vol. II 246	Zarnuq	over city	·		
23	RaD/R: Vol. I 480.	Guyuk, Koten	Unspecified	Robes of honour from	Chinggis/Tolui	CQ/CRR
	RaD/Th: Vol. II 261	(Kolgan in		Tolui, shihna from	33 /	(?)
		Thackston)		Chinggis		
24	RaD/R: Vol. I 522.	Chinggis'	Conditional: Following the	The whole world	God	Deity
	RaD/Th: Vol. II 294	descendants	yasaq and yosun of			
			Chinggis			
25	RaD/R: Vol. I 527.	Chinggis'	Unspecified	Golden garments,	Chinggis	CQ
	RaD/Th: Vol. II 298.	servants,		horses, pastures		
		female				
		relatives				

26	RaD/R: Vol. I 593. RaD/Th: Vol. II 323	Chin Temur, Kul Bolad	Brought Malik Baha' al-Din to submit at court	Chin Temur given governorship of	Ogodei	CQ
				Khurasan and Mazanderan, Kul Bolad made his partner		
27	RaD/R: Vol. I 594. RaD/Th: Vol. II 324	Chinggisid family, amirs	Presence at <i>quriltai</i>	Unspecified	Ogodei	CQ
28	RaD/R: Vol. I 597. RaD/Th: Vol. II 326	Bayan and Chiqu, amirs of Alans/Bulghars	Uljamishi to princes	Unspecified	Chinggisid princes	CRR
29	RaD/R: Vol. I 606. RaD/Th: Vol. II 331	Rukn al-Din Qutlugh, Sultan of Kirman	Submission	Given title Qulugh Khan, jarligh for rule over Kirman	Ogodei	CQ
30	RaD/R: Vol. I 616. RaD/Th: Vol. II 336	A poor man	Brought awls to Ogodei	One bar of silver per awl	Ogodei	CQ
31	RaD/R: Vol. I 618. RaD/Th: Vol. II 337	An admirer	Brought pearls to Ogodei	Unspecified	Ogodei	CQ
32	RaD/R: Vol. I 642. RaD/Th: Vol. II 351	Ayachi, grandson of Orda	Service to Arghun	Unspecified	Arghun	CRR
33	RaD/R: Vol. I 658. RaD/Th: Vol. II 361	People of Jochid <i>ulus</i>	Unspecified (on enthronement of Ulagchi, Batu's grandson)	Unspecified	Mongke	CQ
34	RaD/R: Vol. II 745. RaD/Th: Vol. II 410	Princes and commanders	Unspecified	Unspecified	Mongke	CQ
35	RaD/R: Vol. II 745. RaD/Th: Vol. II 410	Sons of Koten, Qadaqan Oghul and Malik Oghul(sons of Ogodei)	Supported Mongke in succession struggle	Given <i>ordu</i> s and wives from among Ogodei's.	Mongke	CQ

36	RaD/R: Vol. II 746. RaD/Th: Vol. II 410	Retainers of Maḥmūd Yalavach and Mas'ud Beg	Came to the <i>ordu</i>	Unspecified	Mongke	CQ
37	RaD/R: Vol. II 747. RaD/Th: Vol. II 410	Maliks, amirs and retainers of Arghun Aqa	Service	Unspecified	Arghun Aqa/Mongke	NC/CQ
38	RaD/R: Vol. II 758. RaD/Th: Vol. II 417	Arghun Aqa	Performed tikishmishi, reported state of affairs in Iran	Jarligh and confirmed in position	Mongke	CQ
39	RaD/R: Vol. II 791. RaD/Th: Vol. II 435	Qaidu and descendants of Chaghadai	Proposed: Submission to Qubilai	Proposed: Unspecified	Qubilai	CQ
40	RaD/R: Vol. II 795. RaD/Th: Vol. II 438	Sarban (grandson of Mongke)	Defeated Toluid rebels	Lands and troops	Qubilai	CQ
41 <b>(2x)</b>	RaD/R: Vol. II 811. RaD/Th: Vol. II 448	Sayyid Ajall Bukhari	Service in Qarajang, provisioned Qubilai's army, represented Qubilai in Mongke's court	From Mongke: Unspecified From Qubilai: Made vizier, son made governor of Qarajang	Mongke/Qubilai	CQ
42	RaD/R: Vol. II 814. RaD/Th: Vol. II 450	Gau 'Finjan'  ping chang (deputy/vizier)	Surrendered city of Hsiang Yang Fu	Life spared, safe conduct, sword	Qubilai	CQ
43	RaD/R: Vol. II 814. RaD/Th: Vol. II 450	Gau 'Finjan'  ping chang (deputy/vizier)	Surrendered city of Hsiang Yang Fu	Given post of 'finjan'	Qubilai	CQ
44	RaD/R: Vol. II 817. RaD/Th: Vol. II 451	A group of Muslim merchants	Tikishmīshī: White legged falcon and white eagle	Food from Qubilai's own table	Qubilai	CQ

45	RaD/R: Vol. II 819. RaD/Th: Vol. II 453	Malik Nasir al- Din Kashghari	Being a generous man, accused of embezzlement	Life spared, property returned	Qubilai	CQ
46	RaD/R: Vol. II 823. RaD/Th: Vol. II 455	Abubakr Bayan 'Finjan'	Honesty, protected subjects	Jewel studded robe with belt, control of administrative affairs	Qubilai	CQ
47	RaD/R: Vol. II 824. RaD/Th: Vol. II 456	Abubakr Bayan 'Finjan'	Told Qubilai to establish his successor, prevented dispute between princes	Given his grandfather's title, he and his brothers given jarlighs and paizas	Qubilai	CQ
48	RaD/R: Vol. II 847. RaD/Th: Vol. II 468	Amir Dordaqa	Returned from serving Qaidu/Du'a, promised to attack them.	Pardoned, troop to attack Qaidu/Dua	Temur	CQ
49	RaD/R: Vol. II 848. RaD/Th: Vol. II 468	Amir Dordaqa and Chinggisid princes	Attacked Dua, killed many men, captured his son-in-law	Unspecified	Temur	CQ
50	RaD/R: Vol. II 866. RaD/Th: Vol. II 479	Those who submit	Submission (theoretical)	Treated kindly, rewarded properly	Hülegü	CRR
51	RaD/R: Vol. II 868. RaD/Th: Vol. II 480	Malik Shams al- Din Kurt	First of maliks of Iran who came to greet Hülegü	Unspecified	Hülegü	CRR
52	RaD/R: Vol. II 869. RaD/Th: Vol. II 480	Boatmen	Gave up boats for Hülegü to cross Jayhun	Tax on them abolished	Hülegü	CRR
53	RaD/R: Vol. II 872. RaD/Th: Vol. II 482	Nasir al-Din, muhtasham of Quhistan	Brought gifts, submission	Family spared, given jarligh and paiza for governorship of Tun	Hülegü	CRR
54	RaD/R: Vol. II 879. RaD/Th: Vol. II 485-6	Nasir al-Din Tusi, sons of Ra'is al-Dawla and Movaffaq al-Dawla	Loyalty	Horses, families spared, they and their descendants provisioned at court	Hülegü	CRR

55	RaD/R: Vol. II 890. RaD/Th: Vol. II 491	Husam al-Din, governor of	Submission	Several fortresses	Hülegü	CRR
56	RaD/R: Vol. II 906. RaD/Th: Vol. II 501	Dartang Atabeg Sa'd of Fars	Came to court, congratulated Hülegü on conquest of Baghdad	Unspecified	Hülegü	CRR
57	RaD/R: Vol. II 909. RaD/Th: Vol. II 503	Amir Qorchan, Achu Sukurchi, Sadun Gurji	Took facial wounds in siege of Aleppo	Unspecified	Hülegü	CRR
58	RaD/R: Vol. II 916. RaD/Th: Vol. II 506	Malik Nasir, Ayyubid prince of Aleppo	Submission?	Governorship of Damascus, 300 cavalry	Hülegü	CRR
59	RaD/R: Vol. II 916. RaD/Th: Vol. II 506	Malik Nasir, Ayyubid prince of Aleppo	None (ploy by Hülegü to trap him)	Banquet and reward (in fact killed)	Hülegü	CRR
60	RaD/ R: Vol. II 920. RaD/Th: Vol. II 508	Malik Kamil, Ayyubid prince of Mayyafariqin	Submission	Jarligh, paiza, family treated well	Mongke	CQ
61	RaD/R: Vol. II 922. RaD/Th: Vol. II 509	Malik Salih of Mosul	Unspecified	Rule of Mosul	Hülegü	CRR
62	RaD/R: Vol. II 941. RaD/Th: Vol. III 519	Ma'sud Beg	Envoy to Abaqa from Qaidu/Baraq	Unspecified	Abaqa	CRR
63	RaD/R: Vol. II 954. RaD/Th: Vol. III 526	Shams al-Din Kurt	Submission, brought tuzghu and tribute	Realm of Khurasan, group of <i>nokers</i> , made tax farmer of Herat	Baraq	CRR
64	RaD/R: Vol. II 955. RaD/Th: Vol. III 527	Prince Tubshin, Arghun Aqa, Sultan Hajjaj	Attended Abaqa in Khurasan	Unspecified	Abaqa	CRR

65	RaD/R: Vol. II 972. RaD/Th: Vol. III 535	Takachak, <i>elchi</i> of Abaqa	Carried Abaqa's arms while Abaqa was injured, good service	Became grand and influential, made keshigten for Arghun?	Abaqa	CRR
66	RaD/R: Vol. II 978. RaD/Th: Vol. III 538	Izz al-Din Aybak Shami	Submission	Made governor of Malatya, given annual stipend of 5000 dinars to support him and his men	Abaqa	CRR
67	RaD/R: Vol. II 979. RaD/Th: Vol. III 539	Shams al-Din Kurt	Submission	Made malik of Herat, Sabzavar, Ghor and Gharcha	Hülegü	CRR
68	RaD/R: Vol. II 979. RaD/Th: Vol. III 540	Shams al-Din Kurt	Joined Baraq, refused summons to go to Abaqa	None (no soyurghamīshī remains)	Abaqa	CRR
69	RaD/R: Vol. II 985. RaD/Th: Vol. III 543	Ayachi, servant of Majd al-Mulk	Hypothetical: Proving embezzlement claim against Shams al-Din Juvaini	Unspecified	Abaqa	CRR
70 <b>(2x)</b>	RaD/R: Vol. II 986. RaD/Th: Vol. III 543	Shams al-Din Juvaini	Wrote document claiming his innocence, backed by Oljei Khatun	Not punished, kept position	Abaqa	CRR
71	RaD/R: Vol. II 997. RaD/Th: Vol. III 549	Ala' al-Din Ata Malik Juvaini	Was 'falsely accused' by Abaqa	Regained possessions, given textiles and commercial goods	Ahmad Teguder	CRR
72	RaD/R: Vol. II 998. RaD/Th: Vol. III 550	Ala' al-Din Ata Malik Juvaini	Unspecified	Control of Baghdad	Ahmad Teguder	CRR
73	RaD/R: Vol. II 999. RaD/Th: Vol. III 551	Malik Fakhr al- Din	Unspecified	Made governor of Rayy, as previously	Arghun	CRR
74	RaD/R: Vol. II 1002. RaD/Th: Vol. III 552	Cherig, retainer of Qongqortai	Brought <i>tangsuq</i> s from Rum on behalf of Qongqortai as apology	Unspecified (2 leopards sent to Qongqortai)	Arghun	CRR

75	RaD/R: Vol. II 1021. RaD/Th: Vol. III 563	Shams al-Din Juvaini	Went to Arghun's court	Unspecified	Arghun	CRR
76	RaD/R: Vol. II 1022. RaD/Th: Vol. III 564	Arghun Khan	Unspecified	Father's crown and throne	God	Deity
77	RaD/R: Vol. II 1030. RaD/Th: Vol. III 566	Sa'd al-Dawla	Reported back taxes of Baghdad	Jarligh and paiza to collect taxes in Baghdad	Arghun	CRR
78	RaD/R: Vol. II 1036. RaD/Th: Vol. III 571	Prince Jushkeb	Reported conspiracy of Buqa	Unspecified	Arghun	CRR
79	RaD/R: Vol. II 1051. RaD/Th: Vol. III 581	All of Gaykhatu's amirs	Unspecified	Unspecified	Gaykhatu	CRR
80	RaD/R: Vol. II 1065. RaD/Th: Vol. III 591	Everyone	Abaqa celebrates safe delivery of Ghazan	Unspecified	Abaqa	CRR
81	RaD/R: Vol. II 1076. RaD/Th: Vol. III 596-7	Mihtar Najib al- Din Farrash	Only person of Juvayn to submit to Ghazan, presented horses as tikishmīshī, good service	Made intimate at court, given village of Zirabad, jarligh making him darqan, made a treasurer, he and his offspring given control of khanaqah and vaqf properties in Buzinjird	Ghazan	CRR
82	RaD/R: Vol. II 1077. RaD/Th: Vol. III 597	Amir Aladu of Qara'unas	Left Nawruz and Qara'unas and submitted to Ghazan	Unspecified	Ghazan	CRR
83	RaD/R: Vol. II 1090. RaD/Th: Vol. III 605	Amir Muhammad Idachi	Gave tangsuqs as tikishmīshī	Made <i>mulazim</i> (court intimate)	Ghazan	CRR
84	RaD/R: Vol. II 1091. RaD/Th: Vol. III 606	Amir Qutlughshah and other amirs	Presented booty taken from Nawruz as tikishmīshī	Unspecified	Ghazan	CRR

85	RaD/R: Vol. II 1094. RaD/Th: Vol. III 611	Satilmish, noker of Nawruz	Brought peace offer from Nawruz	Unspecified	Ghazan	CRR
86	RaD/R: Vol. II 1095. RaD/Th: Vol. III 612	Prince Toghan and Amir Nawruz	Performed tikishmīshī	Pardon, other unspecified	Ghazan	CRR
87	RaD/R: Vol. II 1098. RaD/Th: Vol. III 614	Na'uldar, herald of Baidu	Performed tikishmīshī	Unspecified	Ghazan	CRR
88	RaD/R: Vol. II 1104. RaD/Th: Vol. III 617	Nawruz	Gave oath to Baidu, united with him (a ruse)	His son Sultanshah given governorship of Yazd and <i>barat</i> of 10,000 dinars	Baidu	CRR
89	RaD/R: Vol. II 1109. RaD/Th: Vol. III 621	Sadr al-Din Zanjani	Unspecified (Baidu is afraid of his possible disloyalty)	Given jarligh and paiza, governorship of Rum	Baidu	CRR
90	RaD/R: Vol. II 1110. RaD/Th: Vol. III 621	Amir Chupan and Qurumshi Kurgan	Left Baidu, submission	Given robes, hats, jewel studded belts	Ghazan	CRR
91	RaD/R: Vol. II 1110. RaD/Th: Vol. III 621	Amir Chupan and Qurumshi Kurgan	Promised to join forces with Manqalai, Nawruz and Qutlughshah against Baidu	Requested unspecified soyurghamīshī	Ghazan	CRR
92	RaD/R: Vol. II 1121. RaD/Th: Vol. III 634	Nurin Aqa	Came to Ghazan in Baghdad	Unspecified	Ghazan	CRR
93	RaD/R: Vol. II 1122. RaD/Th: Vol. III 635	Atabek Afrasiyab Lur	Came to court	Unspecified	Ghazan	CRR
94	RaD/R: Vol. II 1132. RaD/Th: Vol. III 640.	Sadr al-Din Zanjani	Involved in executing Nawruz	Al tamgha (red royal seal) given to him	Ghazan	CRR
95	RaD/R: Vol. II 1133. RaD/Th: Vol. III 641	Amir Qutlughshah	Brought Malik Da'ud and Khatanak to Ghazan	Unspecified	Ghazan	CRR
96	RaD/R: Vol. II 1149. RaD/Th: Vol. III 650	Sa'd al-Din Sahib Divan	Unspecified	Al tamgha given to him, affairs of divan	Ghazan	CRR

97	RaD/R: Vol. II 1155. RaD/Th: Vol. III 653	Ali Sher and two other Syrian amirs	Submission	Unspecified	Ghazan	CRR
98	RaD/R: Vol. II 1157. RaD/Th: Vol. III 654	Toqta's envoys	Performed tikishmīshī	Unspecified	Ghazan	CRR
99	RaD/R: Vol. II 1162. RaD/Th: Vol. III 657	Amir Chupan	Looked after soldiers during campaign	Unspecified	Ghazan	CRR
100	RaD/R: Vol. II 1166. RaD/Th: Vol. III 659	Prince Ala Fireng	Told Ghazan the truth of his rebellion	Crime forgiven	Ghazan	CRR
101	RaD/R: Vol. II 1168. RaD/Th: Vol. III 660	Khwaja Sa'd al- Din	Honesty, righteousness	Unspecified	Ghazan	CRR
102	RaD/R: Vol. II 1168. RaD/Th: Vol. III 661	Khwaja Sa'd al- Din	Taking care of the country	Given hazara of Mongol troops, tugh and kahvarga	Ghazan	CRR
103	RaD/R: Vol. II 1170. RaD/Th: Vol. III 661	Khwaja Sa'd al- Din	Performed tikishmīshī	Unspecified	Ghazan	CRR
104	RaD/R: Vol. II 1317. RaD/Th: Vol. III 729	Ghazan	Unspecified	His forefathers' <i>ulus</i> and kingdom	God	Deity
105	RaD/R: Vol. II 1320. RaD/Th: Vol. III 733.	Mongol soldiers	Being just, maintaining yasa	Given 'iqta	Ghazan	CRR
106	RaD/R: Vol. II 1321. RaD/Th: Vol. III 734	Mongol soldiers	Being industrious	Unspecified	Ghazan	CRR
107	RaD/R: Vol. II 1322. RaD/Th: Vol. III 734	Mongol soldiers	Service	Given 'iqta	Ghazan	CRR

### II. Appendix 2: Tikishmīshī Instances in Rashīd al-Dīn's TMG

RaD/R= Location in Rashid al-Din, ed. Raushan and Mousavi

RaD/Th= Location in Thackston's English translation

CQ= Chinggisid Qa'an (as titled by Rashid al-Din)

NCQ= Non-Chinggisid Qa'an/Qan

CRR= Chinggisid Regional Ruler

CP= Chinggisid Prince

(Note: For the purposes of this table, transliteration has been simplified)

No.	Location	<u>Performer</u>	Gift	Receiver	Response	Status of Performer	Status of Receiver
1	RaD/R: Vol. I 4. RaD/Th: Vol. I 4	Everyone	Unspecified	Ghazan	Unspecified	Subject	CRR
2	RaD/R: Vol. I 115. RaD/Th: Vol. I 67	Anyat Qa'an	Unspecified (9x9)	Narqish Tayang, elder brother and ruler of Naiman	An embrace	Non- Subject	NCQ
3	RaD/R: Vol. I 192. RaD/Th: Vol. I 110	Jebe	1000 white mouthed horses	Chinggis	Soyurghamīshī	Subject	CQ
4	RaD/R: Vol. I 257. RaD/Th: Vol. I 136	Descendants of Jochi Qasar	Unspecified	Abaqa	Soyurghamīshī	Non- Subject	CRR
5	RaD/R: Vol. I 602. RaD/Th: Vol. II 329	Princes, amirs and army	Unspecified	Ogodei	Share of prey after hunt	Subject	CQ

6	RaD/R: Vol. I 680. RaD/Th: Vol. II 375	Chaghadai, Tolui and their relatives	Unspecified (9 times)	Ogodei	Unspecified	Subject	CQ
7	RaD/R: Vol. I 681. RaD/Th: Vol. II 375	Chaghadai	9 horses	Ogodei	Life spared, offence forgiven	Subject	CQ
8	RaD/R: Vol. I 682. RaD/Th: Vol. II 376	Chaghadai	Unspecified	Ogodei	Allowed into inner apartments	Subject	CQ
9	RaD/R: Vol. I 686. RaD/Th: Vol. II 377-8	Sechektu, amir of hazara	Beautiful horses	Qipchaq	Unspecified	Non- Subject	СР
10 (2x)	RaD/R: Vol. I 686. RaD/Th: Vol. II 377-8	Sechektu, amir of hazara	Beautiful horses	Baraq	Unspecified	Non- Subject	CRR
11	RaD/R: Vol. II 738. RaD/Th: Vol. II 406	Rebellious princes	Unspecified (9x9)	Mongke	Allowed into inner ordu	Non- Subject	CQ
12	RaD/R: Vol. II 758. RaD/Th: Vol. II 417	Arghun Aqa	Unspecified	Mongke	Confirmed in position, soyurghamīshī	Subject	CQ
13	RaD/R: Vol. II 785. RaD/Th: Vol. II 432	Armies of Arigh Boke	Unspecified	Qubilai	Unspecified	Non- Subject	CQ
14	RaD/R: Vol. II 785. RaD/Th: Vol. II 432	Arigh Boke	Unspecified	Qubilai	Entry into Qubilai's presence	Non- Subject	CQ
15	RaD/R: Vol. II 786. RaD/Th: Vol. II 433	Hülegü's <i>urugh</i> (referring to Arigh Boke)	Unspecified	Qubilai	(Complaint of Hülegü about manner of Arigh Boke's tikishmīshī)	Non- Subject	CQ
16	RaD/R: Vol. II 793. RaD/Th: Vol. II 437	Prince Yobuqur	Planned Submission	Qubilai	Unspecified	Non- Subject	CQ
17	RaD/R: Vol. II 811. RaD/Th: Vol. II 448	Nasir al-Din, grandson of Sayyid Ajall Bokhari	None (did not perform tikishmīshī)	Qubilai	None (however father had received soyurghamīshī from Mongke and Qubilai)	Subject	CQ

18	RaD/R: Vol. II 817. RaD/Th: Vol. II 451	A group of Muslim merchants	A white legged falcon with a red beak and a white eagle	Qubilai	Food from Qa'an's own table, soyurghamīshī	Non- Subject	CQ
19	RaD/R: Vol. II 906. RaD/Th: Vol. II 501	Seljuk Sultain Izz al- Din	A pair of magnificent boots with his own face painted on them	Hülegü	Mercy	Non- Subject	CRR
20	RaD/R: Vol. II 949. RaD/Th: Vol. III 523	Sechektu, amir of hazara	Beautiful horses	Qipchaq	Unspecified	Non- Subject	СР
21 (2x)	RaD/R: Vol. II 949. RaD/Th: Vol. III 523	Sechektu, amir of hazara	Beautiful horses	Baraq	Unspecified	Non- Subject	CRR
22	RaD/R: Vol. II 970. RaD/Th: Vol. III 534	Mubarakshah, Chubay and Qaban	News of Baraq's death	Qaidu	Unspecified	Non- Subject	CRR
23 (2x)	RaD/R: Vol. II 980. RaD/Th: Vol. III 539	Malik Shams al-Din Kurt	Livestock and robes	Abaqa	Unspecified	Unclear	CRR
24	RaD/R: Vol. II 1052. RaD/Th: Vol. III 581	Amirs Taghachar, Qunchuqbal and others	Unspecified	Gaykhatu	Crimes forgiven	Subject	CRR
25	RaD/R: Vol. II 1076. RaD/Th: Vol. III 596-7	Mihtar Najib al-Din Farrash of Juvayn	Fine horses	Ghazan	Soyurghamīshī, villages, darqan status, made treasurer, control of khanaqah and vaqf	Non- Subject	CRR
26	RaD/R: Vol. II 1086. RaD/Th: Vol. III 603	Anbarchi (son of Gaykhatu), amirs Doladai, Qunchuqbal and Il Temur	Unspecified	Ghazan	Unspecified	Non- Subject	Later CRR

27	RaD/R: Vol. II 1091. RaD/Th: Vol. III 606	Qutlughshah and his amirs	Booty taken from Nawruz	Ghazan	Soyurghamīshī	Subject	Later CRR
28	RaD/R: Vol. II 1095. RaD/Th: Vol. III 612	Nawruz and Prince Toghan	Unspecified	Ghazan	Soyurghamīshī, crimes forgiven	Non- Subject	Later CRR
29	RaD/R: Vol. II 1098. RaD/Th: Vol. III 614	Na'uldar, herald of Baidu	Unspecified	Ghazan	Soyurghamīshī	Non- Subject	Later CRR
30	RaD/R: Vol. II 1102. RaD/Th: Vol. III 616	Amir Doladai (sent by Baidu)	Food and wine	Ghazan	Unspecified	Non- Subject	Later CRR
31	RaD/R: Vol. II 1102. RaD/Th: Vol. III 616	Qipchaq, son of Baidu	Unspecified	Ghazan	Robe of honour, horse.	Non- Subject	Later CRR
32	RaD/R: Vol. II 1157. RaD/Th: Vol. III 654	Toqta's messengers and Mamluk envoys	Unspecified	Ghazan	Soyurghamīshī (for Toqta's envoys)	Non- Subject	CRR
33	RaD/R: Vol. II 1163. RaD/Th: Vol. III 658	Amirs from Syrian campaign	Unspecified	Ghazan	Unspecified	Subject	CRR
34	RaD/R: Vol. II 1170. RaD/Th: Vol. III 661	Sa'd al-Din Sahib Divan	Unspecified	Ghazan (and other members of Chinggisid house: princes and khatuns)	Soyurghamīshī	Subject	CRR

### III. Appendix 3: Uljamīshī Instances in Rashīd al-Dīn's TMG

RaD/R= Location in Rashid al-Din, ed. Raushan and Mousavi

RaD/Th= Location in Thackston's English translation

CQ= Chinggisid Qa'an (as titled by Rashid al-Din)

CRR= Chinggisid Regional Ruler

(Note: For the purposes of this table, transliteration has been simplified)

No.	Location	<u>Performer</u>	Gift	Receiver	Response	Status of Performer	Status of Receiver
1	RaD/R: Vol. I 68. RaD/Th: Vol. I 41	Chormaghun	Unspecified	Ogodei	4 tumen of tamma troops	Subject	CQ
2	RaD/R: Vol. I 133. RaD/Th: Vol. I 77	Urut Utuju, Elig Temur, Ayqaraq; 3 amirs of Kirghiz sent by Altan and Buqra, kings of Kirghiz	White hawks	Chinggis	Unspecified	Non- Subject	CQ
3	RaD/R: Vol. I 375. RaD/Th: Vol. I 203	Dayir Usun and the Uhaz Merkit	Dayir Usun's daughter Qulan Khatun	Chinggis	Split into hundreds, shihnas put over them	Non- Subject	CQ
4	RaD/R: Vol. I 393. RaD/Th: Vol. I 213	Arslan Khan of Qarluq	Unspecified	Chinggis	Soyurghamīshī	Non- Subject	CQ

5	RaD/R: Vol. I 393. RaD/Th: Vol. I 213	Barchuq, Uighur idiqut	Unspecified	Chinggis	Soyurghamīshī, red cloak, golden belt ring, Chinggis' daughter	Non- Subject	CQ
6	RaD/R: Vol. I 403. RaD/Th: Vol. I 222	Yeh-Lu Liu Ko of Khitai (Li Wang)	Unspecified	Chinggis	Soyurghamīshī, made amir of tumen, 2 cities	Non- Subject	CQ
7	RaD/R: Vol. I 405. RaD/Th: Vol. I 224	Qailiq and Qadai, deputies of Altan Khan (Jin Emperor)	Gold robes and tangsuqs	Onggur Ba'urchi, Harqai Qasar, (Shigi Qutuqu refused)	Unspecified	Non- Subject	Representatives of CQ
8	RaD/R: Vol. I 406. RaD/Th: Vol. I 224	Treasury chief of Jungdu	His grandson Ch'ungshan	Chinggis	Unspecified	Non- Subject	CQ
9	RaD/R: Vol. I 464	Tolui	Unspecified	Chinggis	Unspecified	Subject	CQ
10	RaD/R: Vol. I 464	Chaghadai and Ogodei	Unspecified	Chinggis	Unspecified	Subject	CQ
11	RaD/R: Vol. I 483. RaD/Th: Vol. II 263	Shidurqu, king of Tangut	Unspecified	Chinggis	Refused as Chinggis was ill	Subject (in rebellion)	CQ
12	RaD/R: Vol. I 513. RaD/Th: Vol. II 290	Arslan Khan of Qarluq, Barchuq of Uighur	Unspecified	Chinggis	Unspecified	Non- Subject	CQ
13	RaD/R: Vol. I 597. RaD/Th: Vol. II 326	Bayan and Chiqu of Bolghar and Alans	Unspecified	Chinggisid Princes	Soyurghamīshī	Non- Subject	CRR, later CQs
14	RaD/R: Vol. I 680. RaD/Th: Vol. II 374	Chaghadai, Ogodei, Tolui (?)	Unspecified	Chinggis	Unspecified	Subject	CQ
15	RaD/R: Vol. II 790. RaD/Th: Vol. II 435	Arigh Boke and Asutai	Unspecified	Qubilai	Lives spared, allowed to enter <i>ordu</i>	Non- Subject	CQ
16	RaD/R: Vol. II 868. RaD/Th: Vol. II 480	Arghun Aqa and nobles of Khurasan	Unspecified	Hülegü	Unspecified	Subject	CRR

17	RaD/R: Vol. II 983. RaD/Th: Vol. III 541	Qara'unas amirs in Herat	Unspecified	Abaqa	Unspecified	Non- Subject	CRR
18	RaD/R: Vol. II 1022. RaD/Th: Vol. III 564	Shams al-Din Juvaini	Unspecified	Arghun	No favour, no anger	Subject	CRR
19	RaD/R: Vol. II 1036. RaD/Th: Vol. III 571	Ayachi, son of Buqa	Unspecified	Arghun	Request to perform uljamishi rejected, he and his brothers executed	Subject	CRR

## **Dramatis Personae**

#### The Chinggisids

**Abaqa**- Eldest son of Hülegü and Yesünjin Khatun and 2<sup>nd</sup> ruler of the Ilkhanate.

Abū Saʿīd- Last widely recognised Ilkhan, eldest son of Öljeitü.

**Al Altan**- Chinggis' daughter (Order unknown). Killed after Güyük's accession for suspected poisoning of Ögödei.

**Aḥmad Tegüder**- Son of Hülegü and Qutui Khatun, 3<sup>rd</sup> Ilkhan and half-brother of Abaqa, overthrown by his nephew Arghun.

Alaqa (Alahai, Alaqa) - Chinggis' 3rd daughter and regent of the Öng'üt.

**Alghu-** Ariq Böke's choice for Chaghadaid khan and 4<sup>th</sup> Chaghadaid ruler, married Orghina Khatun and made her son Mubārakshāh his heir.

Anbarchi- Son of Möngke Temür who rebelled against Gaykhatu's reign.

**Arghun**- Son of Abaqa and a concubine, Qaitmish Egachi, 4<sup>th</sup> Ilkhan, overthrew his uncle Aḥmad Tegüder.

**Ariq Böke**- 4<sup>th</sup> son of Tolui and Sorqoqtani. Proclaimed himself *qa'an* after Möngke's death but was defeated by Qubilai.

Arpa Ke'ün- One of the last rulers of the Ilkhans, descended from Ariq Böke.

**Baidu**- Grandson of Hülegü and 6<sup>th</sup> Ilkhan, killed and succeeded by Ghazan.

**Baraq**- Qubilai's choice for Chaghadaid khan and 6<sup>th</sup> Chaghadaid ruler. Deposed Mubārakshāh.

**Batu-** 2<sup>nd</sup> son of Jochi and 2<sup>nd</sup> khan of the Jochid *ulus*. Organised with Sorqoqtani Beki the transfer of power to the Toluids.

**Berke**- Half-brother of Batu, and 5<sup>th</sup> khan of the Jochid *ulus*. Converted to Islam, at war with Ilkhanate.

**Boraqchin Khatun**- Chief wife of Batu, regent on behalf of her grandson Ulaghchi for a short time until Berke came to power.

**Börte**- Chief wife of Chinggis, and mother of Jochi, Chaghadai, Ögödei, and Tolui. Qonggirat daughter of leader Dei Sečen.

**Büri**- Either a son, but more likely a grandson of Chaghadai. According to the *SHM*, he was Chaghadai's eldest son, according to Rashīd al-Dīn, he was the second son of Chaghadai's second son Mö'etüken by a woman of the camp.

**Chaghadai**- 2<sup>nd</sup> son of Chinggis and ruler of Chaghadaid *ulus*.

**Doquz/Toquz Khatun**- A chief wife of Tolui who married Hülegü after Tolui's death. Accompanied Hülegü west and was a patron of Christians there.

**Du'a**- Son of Baraq and 9<sup>th</sup> khan of the Chaghadaid *ulus*, allied with Qaidu in opposition to Qubilai.

**Hülechü**- 12<sup>th</sup> son of Hülegü by a concubine, a candidate for succession before Arghun's khanate. Killed by Arghun for rebelling.

**Hülegü**- 3<sup>rd</sup> son of Tolui and Sorqoqtani. Leader of western campaign under Möngke and founder of the Ilkhanate.

**Gaykhatu**- Son of Abaqa and Nuqdan Khatun, 5<sup>th</sup> Ilkhan. Overthrown by Baidu.

**Güyük Khatun**- First wife of Hülegü, of the Oirat. Mother of Jumghur and Aḥmad Tegüder. Died in Mongolia before Hülegü went west.

**Güyük Qa'an**- Eldest son of Ögödei and Töregene Khatun. 3<sup>rd</sup> ruler of the Mongol Empire.

Jochi- Eldest son of Chinggis, may have been illegitimate, ruler of the Jochid ulus.

**Jumghur**- 2<sup>nd</sup> son of Hülegü, mother was Güyük Khatun, left in Mongolia by his father when he went west, sided with Ariq Böke for a time, and died on his way to join his father in Iran.

**Jüshkeb**- Eldest son of Jumghur by a concubine, a candidate for the throne before Arghun's rule, killed by Arghun for rebelling.

**Khoja**- Eldest son of Güyük, and potential successor to his father.

**Kingshü**- 2<sup>nd</sup> son of Jumghur, by a concubine, a candidate for the throne before Arghun's rule.

**Köchü**- Ögödei's 2<sup>nd</sup> or 3<sup>rd</sup> son, chosen as successor, but died young. His son Shiremün contended for the throne.

**Köten**- Ögödei's 2<sup>nd</sup> or 3<sup>rd</sup> son, a potential successor to Ögödei.

**Möge Khatun**- Former wife of Chinggis, taken by Ögödei after his father's death. May have been regent after Ögödei died.

**Möngke**- Eldest son of Tolui and Sorqoqtani, and 4<sup>th</sup> ruler of the Mongol Empire. First Toluid ruler of the empire.

**Möngke Temür (s. Hülegü)**- 11<sup>th</sup> son of Hülegü by his wife Öljei Khatun, potential successor to Abaqa, but died before Aḥmad came to power.

**Möngke Temür (s. Toqoqan)**- 6<sup>th</sup> ruler of the Jochid *ulus* from 1266-1280, succeeded by his brother Töde Möngke. Father of Toqto'a.

**Mubārakshāh**- Young son of Qara Hülegü and Orghina Khatun and 5<sup>th</sup> Chaghadaid ruler. Deposed by Baraq.

Naqu- Younger son of Güyük, and potential successor to his father.

**Noghai**- Great-grandson of Jochi through his 7<sup>th</sup> son Bo'al. General under Batu and Berke, became khanmaker in the Jochid *ulus* in the later 13<sup>th</sup> century.

**Ögödei Qa'an-** 3<sup>rd</sup> son of Chinggis and 2<sup>nd</sup> ruler of the Mongol Empire. Husband of Töregene Khatun and father of Güyük, the 3<sup>rd</sup> ruler of the Mongol Empire.

**Oghul Gaimish**- Chief wife of Güyük and regent of the Mongol Empire after his death.

Öljei Khatun- Wife of Hülegü and sister of Güyük Khatun. Mother of Möngke Temür. Married Abaqa through the levirate. Very influential in Ilkhanid politics.

Öljeitü- Son of Arghun and Örüq Khatun, half-brother of Ghazan, and 8<sup>th</sup> Ilkhan. Converted to Shi'ism.

Orda- Eldest son of Jochi and first ruler of the ulus of Orda, the left wing of the Jochid ulus.

**Orghina Khatun**- Wife of Qara Hülegü, regent of the Chaghadaid *Ulus*, mother of Chaghadaid khan Mubārakshāh. Later married Alghu.

Örüq Khatun- Wife of Arghun, mother of Öljeitü.

Örüg (Ürüng) Temür- Great-grandson of Ögödei through his sixth son Qada'an, joined Nawrūz's rebellion in Khurasan, executed by Qaidu.

**Özbek**- Ruler of the Jochid *ulus* in the early 14<sup>th</sup> century, generally credited with definitively turning the realm into a Muslim state. It is from him that the Shaybanid Uzbeks of the 15<sup>th</sup> and 16<sup>th</sup> centuries derived their name.

**Qaidu**- Grandson of Ögödei through his fifth son Qashi, and creator of a new Ögödeid *ulus* within the Chaghadaid *ulus*. Rival of Qubilai and in alliance with Du'a.

**Qara Hülegü**- Grandson of Chaghadai, son of Chaghadai's eldest legitimate son Mö'etüken. Chaghadai's chosen successor to the Chaghadaid *ulus*, 2<sup>nd</sup> Chaghadaid khan, removed by Güyük, but reinstated by Möngke.

**Qongqortai**- Hülegü's 9<sup>th</sup> son, born of a concubine, half-brother of Aḥmad Tegüder. Governor of Anatolia, killed by Aḥmad.

**Qubilai Qa'an-**  $2^{nd}$  son of Tolui and Sorqoqtani. Proclaimed himself qa'an after Möngke's death, but not recognised except by Ilkhans. Founder of the Yüan Dynasty.

**Qutui Khatun**- According to some sources, the chief wife of Hülegü after death of his wife Güyük. Mother of Jumghur and Aḥmad Tegüder, influential in Ilkhanid succession struggles.

**Sartaq**- Eldest son of Batu and Boraqchin Khatun, and 3<sup>rd</sup> khan of the Jochid *ulus* but died after receiving his patent from Möngke.

**Shiremün**- Grandson of Ögödei, may have been chosen by Ögödei as his successor.

**Sorqoqtani Beki**- Chief wife of Tolui, and mother to Möngke, Qubilai, Hülegü and Ariq Böke. Organised with Batu the transfer of power to the Toluids.

**Tegüder**- Chaghadaid prince who accompanied Hülegü in western campaign, rebelled against Abaqa under encouragement from relative Baraq.

**Temür Qa'an**- Successor to Qubilai as Yuan Emperor, briefly recognised in 1304 as qa'an of the united Mongol Empire.

**Tolui**- Youngest son of Chinggis and Börte. Regent after Chinggis' death. Husband of Sorqoqtani Beki. Father of Möngke, Qubilai, Hülegü and Ariq Böke.

**Toqta (Toqta'i/Toqto'a)**- 8<sup>th</sup> khan of the Jochid *ulus*, patronised by Nogay for the throne, executed his senior rivals, then defeated Nogay.

**Töregene Khatun**- Chief wife, or one of Ögödei's chief wives. Mother of Güyük and regent after Ögödei's death.

**Ulaghchi**- Infant son of Sartaq, and briefly 4<sup>th</sup> khan of the Jochid *ulus*, his grandmother Boraqchin Khatun was regent on his behalf.

Ürüngtash- Son of Möngke who originally supported Ariq Böke, then went over to Qubilai.

**Yesü Möngke**- Chaghadai's 5<sup>th</sup> son and Güyük's choice for khan of the Chaghadaid *ulus*, 3<sup>rd</sup> Chaghadaid khan. Replaced by Möngke with his nephew Qara Hülegü.

Yesünjin Khatun- Junior wife of Hülegü and mother of Abaqa.

**Yoshmut**- Hülegü's 3<sup>rd</sup> son, born of a concubine, came with Hülegü and Abaqa on the campaign to the west.

#### **Early Steppe Elites**

Altan Otchigin- Youngest son of Qutula Khan, at times in opposition to Chinggis.

**Ambaqai (Hambaqai) Qa'an/Khan**- Khan of the Mongols and Tayiči'ut, succeeded Qabul Qa'an/Khan, a cousin. Succeeded by Qutula Qa'an/Khan. Killed by Jīn.

Bekter- Half-brother of Chinggis, may have been elder. Killed by Chinggis. Only attested in SHM.

Belgütei- Half-brother of Chinggis, younger brother of Bekter.

Daritai Otchigin- Younger brother of Yisügei, at times in opposition to Chinggis.

**Hö'elün**- Mother of four sons: Chinggis, Jochi Qasar, Qači'un, Temüge Otčigin and one daughter, Temülün, and one of Yisügei's two wives.

Güchülüg (Küchlüg) - Ruler of the Naiman, fled to Qara Khitai and took over their state.

**Gürbesü Khatun**- Step-mother and wife of Tayang Khan of the Naiman, married Chinggis after Naiman defeat.

**Jamuqa**- *Anda* of Chinggis, set up as rival khan, often supporter of To'oril.

Jochi Qasar- Younger brother of Chinggis.

**Kököchü Teb Tengri**- Son of Temüjin's guardian Mönglik, he predicted Temüjin's empire and became a powerful shaman. He was later killed by Jochi Qasar on Temüjin's orders.

**Mönglik**- Ally of Yisügei who supported Hö'elün and Temüjin after Yisügei's death, and may have been married to Hö'elün. One of his sons, Kököchü, called Teb Tengri, was a religious figure killed by Temüjin.

Qabul Qa'an/Khan- Ancestor of Chinggis and khan of the Mongols.

Quchar- Son of Nekün Taiši, elder brother of Yisügei, at times in opposition to Chinggis.

**Qutula Qa'an/Khan**- Son of Qabul Khan, but did not succeed him immediately, but after Ambaqai. Father of Bartan Ba'atur, grandfather of Chinggis.

**Sacha Beki**- Elder relative of Chinggis, either an uncle or a cousin (son of Bartan Ba'atur, or grandson of Ökin Barqaq, elder brother of Bartan). Led the Yürkin sub-division and at times in opposition to Chinggis.

**Taichu**- Elder relative of Chinggis, usually paired with Sača Beki as making up the Yürkin branch, they may have been brothers or cousins.

**Tarqutai Qiriltuq**- Leader of the Tayiči'ut, in opposition to Chinggis, son of Adal Khan, a descendant of Ambagai.

Tayang Khan- Ruler of the Naiman, defeated by Chinggis.

**Temüge Otchigin**- Youngest brother of Chinggis, tried to seize throne before Güyük's accession. Executed after.

**Tödö'en Girte (Töda'a Qahurchi/Qorčin)**- Son or brother of Qada'an Taishi, son of Ambaqai Khan. Leader of Tayiči'ut and supporter of Tarqutai Qiriltuq.

**To'oril (Toghril/Ong Qan)** - Khan of the Kerait, *anda* to Yisügei, supporter of Chinggis, father of Senggüm.

**Tumbinai Sechen (Tumina)** - Ancestor of Chinggis, father of Qabul Qa'an.

**Yisügei Ba'atur**- Father of Chinggis, a leader of some of the Mongols. Poisoned by Tatars in Chinggis' youth.

#### Administrators, Officials and Commanders

**Abū al-Qāsim Qāshānī**- Historian patronised by Rashīd al-Dīn and Tāj al-Dīn 'Alīshāh, the viziers of Öljeitü. Wrote the *Tārīkh-i Öljeitü*, and claimed authorship of *Jāmi' al-Tavārīkh* as well.

Aq Buqa- Amir who served Ahmad, Arghun and made chief commander under Gaykhatu.

**Arghun Aqa**- Administrator and tax official under the Mongol qa'ans and Ilkhans. Son Nawrūz was influential in converting Ghazan to Islam.

**Aruq**- Brother of Buqa, together made up a powerful Jalayir faction at court of Arghun.

'Aṭā Malik Jūvainī- Governor of Baghdad under the Ilkhans, wrote Tārīkh-i Jahāngushā (History of the World Conqueror) about the Mongol conquests and empire.

**Baiju**- Succeeded Chormaqan and Eljgidei as commander of the *tamma* troops in Azerbaijan, close ties with Jochids, defeated Rum Seljuqs at Köse Dagh, executed by Hülegü.

**Buqa**- Influential Jalayir commander under Ilkhans Abaqa and Aḥmad Tegüder, pivotal in Arghun coming to power, ruled almost independently until Arghun had him executed.

Chinqai- Nestorian Turk (Onggud or Kerait) official under Chinggis, Ögödei, and Güyük.

**Chormagan (Chormaghun)** - Leader of the Mongols' *tamma* forces in north-western Iran and the Caucasus during the 1230s and 1240s.

**Eljigidei**- Appointed by Güyük to command *tamma* troops in Azerbaijan, executed by Batu during Möngke's purges of early 1250s. Replaced again with Baiju.

Ḥamd-Allāh Mustawfī Qazvīnī- Financial administrator in late Ilkhanid period. Wrote geography of the Ilkhanid realm, *Nuzhat al-Qulūb*, and a history, *Tārīkh-i Guzīda*.

**Ila Chucai (Yehlü Chucai)** - Khitan adviser to Chinggis, served as a tax official for northern China under Ögödei.

**Jebe-** One of Chinggis' most successful generals, led pursuit of Sultan Muḥammad Khwarazmshāh across Iran and Caucasus, before defeating Rus' and allies at the Kalka River.

Kit Buqa- Nestorian Christian Naiman general of Hülegü, defeated by Mamluks at 'Ayn Jalūt.

Korguz- Uighur governor of Khurasan under Ögödei.

**Maḥmūd Yalāvach**- Central Asian administrator, first of Khurasan under Chinggis, later of northern China under Ögödei and Möngke.

Mengeser Noyan- Chief jarghuchi under Möngke.

Muqali- Jalayir nöker of Chinggis, guówáng (国王) in northern China.

**Naṣīr al-Din Ṭūsī**- Polymath in service to Ismāʿīlīs, captured by Hülegü and made one of his chief advisers. Built observatory at Maragha, most famous for his authorship of *Akhlāq-i Naṣīrī*, a book on ethics that had great readership in the Muslim world.

**Nawrūz**- Son of Arghun Aqa, governor of Khurasan under Arghun before rebelling. Supported Ghazan's play for the throne and influential in converting him to Islam, later executed.

**Negüder**- Commander of Jochid troops who fled to Ghaznin after Hülegü's execution of Jochid princes. His followers, the Negüderis, were raiders who often troubled the Ilkhanate.

**Rashīd al-Dīn Fażlullāh**- Vizier to Ilkhans Ghazan and Öljeitü. Supervised creation of the *Jāmi' al-Tavārīkh* (Compendium of Chronicles), a history of the Mongols and the world.

Sa'd al-Dawla- Powerful Jewish vizier under Arghun, killed during Arghun's illness.

**Shams al-Dīn Jūvainī**- Ṣāḥib-dīvān under early Ilkhans, amassed huge wealth alongside his brother, the historian 'Aṭā Malik. Executed by Arghun.

**Shigi Qutuqu**- Orphan adopted by Hö'elün, became *jarghuchi* under Chinggis and kept book of Chinggis' *bilig*s.

**Shiktur Noyan**- Powerful commander under several different Ilkhans, involved in several transfers of power.

**Sübüdei**- Mongol general, involved in first attacks on China, before accompanying Jebe in pursuit of Sultan Muḥammad Khwarazmshāh. Was the military leader of the western campaign in the 1230s and 40s under Ögödei.

Su'unchaq (Suqunjaq) Aqa- Influential noyan under Abaqa, Aḥmad and Arghun.

**Taghachar Aqa**- Influential *noyan* in the late 13<sup>th</sup> c. Ilkhanate, changed sides many times, finally executed by Ghazan.

**Vaṣṣāf**- Tax administrator for the province of Fars under the Ilkhans. Wrote *Tajziyat al-amṣār va tazjiyat al-a'ṣār*, a continuation of Juvaini's history.

#### Enemies, Rebels, Victims and Vassals

**Al-Malik al-Kāmil**- Ayyubid ruler of Mayyafariqin, and vassal of the Mongols. Rebelled and was killed by Hülegü.

Al-Malik al-Nāşir Yūsuf- Ayyubid ruler of Aleppo and vassal of the Mongols. Killed by Hülegü.

**Al-Musta'şim**- Last 'Abbāsid caliph, resisted Hülegü's attack on Baghdad, killed along with his family after Baghdad was sacked.

Barchuq- Uighur idiqut who cast off allegiance to the Qara Khitai and supported Chinggis.

**Baybars al-Bunduqdārī**- 4<sup>th</sup> Mamluk sultan, fought at 'Ayn Jalūt, entered into alliance with Berke of Jochid *ulus*.

**Ibn al-Āthīr**- Arab scholar from the Jazira, served in Mosul, wrote *al-Kāmil fī al-Tārīkh*, a general history which includes an account on the Mongol invasions of the Islamic world.

Jalāl al-Dīn Khwarazmshāh- Last Khwarazmshāh, continued resistance to the Mongols after his father Sultan Muḥammad's death. Fled to Afghanistan, then northern India, before campaigning across Iran, the Caucasus and Anatolia. Defeated by Chormagan.

**Maḥmūd Tārābī**- Sufi sieve-maker who led a populist revolt against the Mongols in 1238-9 near Bukhara.

**Minhāj-i Sirāj Jūzjānī-** Persian historian from Jūzjān who fled the Mongol invasions to Delhi, serving the Delhi sultans, wrote the *Ṭabaqāt-i Nāṣirī*, which includes an account of the Mongol conquests.

**Qalāwūn, al-Malik al-Manṣūr**- 7<sup>th</sup> ruler of Mamluk Sultanate, exchanged embassies with Aḥmad Tegüder.

Rukn al-Dīn Khūrshāh- Last ruler of the Ismā'īlīs who submitted to Hülegü and was killed by Möngke.

Sayf al-Dīn Quṭuz- Ruler of the Mamluk Sultanate, defeated the Mongols at 'Ayn Jalūt.

**Sultan Muḥammad Khwarazmshāh**- Last ruler of the Khwarazmshāhid Empire proper, defeated by the Mongols, and whose son Jalāl al-Dīn, continued resistance to them into the 1230s.

#### Christian Sources on the Mongols

**Gregory Abū'l Farāj Bar Hebraeus**- Syriac polymath, of Jewish descent, served as Maphrian of the East for Syriac Church in Aleppo, worked in Baghdad under Hülegü, then in Maragha under Abaqa and Aḥmad. His *Chronography* focuses on the Syriac Church and the Ilkhanate.

**Grigor Aknerts'i (Grigor of Akner/Akanc)** - Abbot of Cilician monastery who wrote *History of the Nation of Archers*, a book about the Mongols and their interactions with the Armenians.

**Het'um II**- King of Cilicia in the late 13<sup>th</sup> century, and possible author of a *Chronicle* which contains significant information on the Ilkhanid state.

**Het'um the Historian**- Nephew of King Het'um I, monk, later general who fought alongside the Mongols against the Mamluks. Dictated his history, *The Flower of Histories of the East* in French.

**John of Plano Carpini**- Italian Franciscan friar, sent in 1240s by Pope Innocent IV to find out more about the Mongols. Present at Güyük's *ordu* during his enthronement.

**Kirakos Ganjakets'i**- Armenian monk who was captured by the Mongols and served as a scribe, later writing a *History of the Armenians*, which documented the Mongol invasion and the history of the Armenian Church in this period. A colleague of Vardan Arewelts'i.

Marco Polo- Venetian merchant who travelled to Qubilai's court, wrote a Description of the World.

**Mar Yahbh Allaha**- Companion of Rabban Sauma to the west. Made Catholicus of Syriac Church in Maragha. An anonymous history of his life was written shortly after his death.

**Rabban Sauma**- Öng'üt Nestorian monk from near Daidu, travelled west with his friend Rabban Mark. Given position in Syriac Church, and made envoy to the west by Arghun.

**Riccoldo da Montecroce**- Italian Dominican prior who travelled the Middle East at the turn of the 14<sup>th</sup> c. Wrote *Contra legem Sarracenorum*, a polemic against Islam, but with much information about the Mongols.

**Simon of St. Quentin**-French Dominican friar sent by Pope Innocent IV to the Mongols. Met general Baiju in Anatolia, wrote *Historia Tartarorum*.

**Smbat Sparapet**- Brother of King Het'um I of Cilicia (Lesser Armenia) and commander. Travelled to Qara Qorum in 1248, and wrote a *Chronicle* about Cilicia, and a letter to his brother-in-law Henry I of Cyprus about his journey.

**Vardan Arewelts'i**- Armenian monk who was well-traveled in the Near East, and trained alongside Kirakos Ganjakets'i. Met Hülegü, and wrote a *Compilation of History*, that includes information on the Mongols and other Turkish rulers, like the Seljugs.

**William of Rubruck**- Flemish Franciscan friar, sent by Louis IX of France in 1250s to convert Mongols. Travelled to Qara Qorum.

## **Glossary**

M- Mongolian

T- Turkish

A- Arabic

P- Persian

C- Chinese

G- Greek

Aghruq/a'uruq (M.)- The camp for followers, elderly, children, wives etc.

**Airag (M.)**- The Mongol term for *kumiss*, fermented mare's milk.

Aktachi (M.)- Keeper of horses.

Al tamgha (T/M.)- Red royal seal of Mongol rulers.

Altan Khan (M.)- The golden khan, a common appellation for the ruler of the Jīn dynasty.

Altan urugh (M.)- 'Golden lineage', referring to the Chinggisid family.

Amir (A/P.)- Commander, ruler, governor, equivalent to the Mongolian noyan or the Turkic beg.

**Anda** (M.)- Blood brother. A pact sworn between non-relatives by putting their blood into *qumis* and sharing it.

**Aqa** (M.)- Elder brother, elder relative, term of respect. Also used as part of titles, e.g. Arghun Aqa, Bolad Aqa. Combined with *ini*, meaning elder and younger brothers, thus all participants in Mongol ruling class.

Ba'atur (Persianised form: bahādur) (M.)- Hero, term of respect often given as a title.

**Bakhshi** (T.)- Buddhist lama, holy man, or scribe. There is some debate about the origin of this term, Sanskrit or Chinese, but in the Mongol period it was regularly used to describe Buddhists in Iran.

**Barāt** (A/P.)- Draft, patent.

**Basqaq** (T.)- Turkish equivalent of the Mongol *darughachi*, an official in charge of conquered cities or regions, sometimes with a military presence.

Ba'urchi (M.)- Steward, cook.

Bay'a (A/P.)- Oath of allegiance commonly given to 'Abbasid Caliph and other rulers.

Beg/bey (T.)- Commander, governor, equivalent to Arabo-Persian amir or Mongolian noyan.

**Beki** (M.)- A title of respect given most commonly to women, but also to senior male figures in the Mongol world.

**Bilig** (M.)- Wise saying, wise words, especially of Chinggis.

**Boqtaq (M.)**- Mongolian royal women's hat.

**Bulqa** (M.)- Rebellious, used by the Mongols for areas not yet conquered also. Can be a noun, bulqaq, meaning unrest or rebellion.

**Catholicos** (G.)- Title for patriarch of Church of the East (Nestorians), also a position similar to an archbishop in the Syriac Church.

Dào 道 (C.)- The right way or path, the natural order of the universe.

**Darughachi** (M.)- Mongol official in charge of conquered cities or provinces. This term more regularly used in China.

Egachi (M.)- Concubine.

Ejen (M.)- Lord.

Eke (M.)- Mother.

*El* (Persianised form: *īl*) (T/M.)- Submissive, peaceful, on good terms. Used for regions and people that had submitted to the Mongols.

Elchi (Persianised form: īlchī) (T/M.)- Envoy.

Emchü (Persianised form: *īnjū*) (M.)- Private lands and possessions of the Chinggisid house.

*Farmān* (P.)- Royal order or decree.

Farr (P.)- Divine favour, particularly for kings, though there are different types of farr.

'Fīnjān', píng zhāng 平章 (C.)- Deputy, privy councillor.

Fitna (A/P.)- Disturbance of the peace, unrest, rebellion.

Ghulām (A/P.)- Slave soldier.

**Güregen (M.)**- Son-in-law. Used for those who married daughters of Chinggisids, became a social class. Adopted by Temür and his successors.

Gür-khan (T.)- Universal khan, used as a title by the Qara Khitai khans.

Guówáng 国王 (C.)- Ruler of a region.

Hasab (A/P.)- Actions, often used in stock phrase, hasab u nasab, to mean a person's pedigree.

Hazāra (P.)- Referring to a unit of 1,000 troops, called in Mongolian a mingghan.

*Idiqut* (T.)- Uighur term for their ruler, lord of divine fortune.

Inaq (M.)- Personal advisor and confidant of the ruler.

*Ini* (M.)- Younger brother, younger relative.

*Iqtā* (A/P.)- Land grant used by Seljuqs and Ilkhanids, later came to be known as *soyurġal*.

Jam (Persianised form: yām) (M.)- Postal station with fresh horses for travelers.

Jarghu (Persianised form: yārghū) (M.)- Mongol court.

*Jarghuchi* (Persianised form: yārghūchī) (M.)- Official responsible for recording khan's laws and conducting interrogations.

Jarligh (Persianised form: yārlīgh) (M.)- Imperial decree.

Jasaq (Persianised form: yāsā) (M.)- Mongol law.

Jins (A/P.)- Kind, class, type, gender, race.

Jirga (M.)- Hunting circle.

Kahvarga (M.)- Drum.

Kāsa-gīrī (P.)- Ritual offering of a bowl of wine.

**Keshig** (M.)- Personal guard corps and employment pool of Chinggis, extended later and adopted by successor khanates, as well as later dynasties.

**Keshigten** (M.)- Member of elite household guard, the *keshig*.

Khan/qan (T/M.)- A ruler chosen by steppe elites to rule over several groups of people.

Khānaqāh (P.)- Sufi lodge.

**Khaţ (A/P.)**- Writing, but in the Mongol period often referred to a written pledge, equivalent to the *möchelge*.

Khatun (T/M.)- Royal woman.

*Khil'a* (A/P.)- Robe of honour, often given by a ruler to a subordinate.

*Khuṭba* (A/P.)- Friday sermon in which the ruler's name is mentioned.

*Khvarna/khwarrah* (P.)- Avestan term for divine favour, its New Persian synonym is *farr*.

Kö'ün (M.)- Son, regularly used to refer to Chinggisid princes.

*Kumiss* (T.)- The commonly used term for fermented mare's milk, the favoured alcoholic beverage of the Mongols.

Malik (A/P.)- King, though often not the highest ruler.

*Mamlūk* (A/P.)- Slave soldier, also the name of the dynasty which ruled over Egypt and Syria from the mid-13<sup>th</sup> century to early 16<sup>th</sup>.

*Mingghan* (M.)- Unit of 1,000 troops, regularly referred to in Persian sources as a hazāra.

Möchelge (M.)- Written pledge.

Muḥtasham (A/P.)- A noble.

Mulāzim (A/P.)- Courtier, servant of the ruler.

Nasab (A/P.)- Lineage.

**Nisba** (A/P.)- A name related to the geographical background of a person or their family, thus someone from the city of Samarqand would have the *nisba* Samarqandī.

Nökör/nöker (M.)- Faithful companion, especially to Chinggis.

**Noyan** (pl. noyat) (M.)- Commander, equivalent to Arabo-Persian amir.

**Nuzūl** (A/P.)- A type of tax/gift to a guest or traveller.

*Oghul* (T.)- Turkic equivalent of *kö'ün*, used for royal princes.

*Ordu* (T/M.)- Turco-Mongol term for a tent camp. Origin of the word 'horde' in English.

*Otchigin* (M.)- Keeper of the hearth. The youngest son of the chief wife, who received his father's lands and often wives.

Ötök (T/M.)- Ritual offering of wine, request made to a superior.

Pādshāh/pādishāh (P.)- Emperor, supreme shah.

Paiza (M/C.)- From the Chinese 牌子 páizi. Passport/badge of office used in the Mongol world to convey authority. Made of gold, silver, or wood.

**Qa'an/qaghan** (T/M.)- Imperial version of the term khan/qan, going back to the Türk Empire who used *qaghan* for their rulers.

**Qarachu/qarachi** (M.)- Commoner, to distinguish from the Chinggisid family. In the later Jochid *ulus*, there were four *qarachi beqs*, non-Chinggisid amirs who formed a ruling council.

Qāzī (A/P.)- Religious judge, often also a political leader.

**Quriltai** (T/M.)- The seasonal gathering of Mongol notables, part feast, part parliament, and part coronation ceremony. All key Mongol stakeholders took part.

**Qut (T.)**- Divine favour. This term was used by the early Türk dynasty, and later by others.

Shaykh (A/P.)- Sufi leader, holy man.

**Shiḥna** (A/P.)- Governor/mayor/sheriff for a conquering dynasty, used by the Qara Khitai, adopted by the Mongols. Largely equivalent to Turkic *basqaq* and Mongol *darughachi*.

Sikka (A/P.)- Coinage, along with khutba used to legitimize a ruler in the Muslim world.

**Sinf** (A/P.)- Professional class.

**Soyurghal** (T/M.)- Royal favour, later came to mean a tax-free land grant among the post-Ilkhanid dynasties.

**Soyurghamīshī** (T/M.)- The act of a ruler's bestowal of favour, in the form of gifts, lands, titles etc. on a loyal follower.

**Suu** (M.)- The Mongolian form of *qut*, divine favour, though the Mongols also made use of the word *qut*.

**Tamgha** (T/M.)- A seal or stamp, often in the form of a symbol or animal, which could represent a Mongol ruler. The imperial seal was red (*al tamgha*). It also came to mean the tax on commerce in the Mongol and Timurid empires.

Tamma (M.)- Garrison troops in frontier areas, which often became independent entities.

Tangsua (M.)- Precious/rare things, tribute.

**Darqan** (Persianised form: tarkhan) (M.)- Hereditary position given by the ruler, allowing the receiver to be pardoned for up to nine crimes, and tax exempt status. Also a title attached to that person and their family.

Tikishmīshī (T/M.)- The act of giving gifts to a ruler and performing obeisance.

*Törü/töre* (T/M.)- Turco-Mongol term for customary law or principles.

Toy (M.)- Banquet, feast, celebration.

**Tugh (T/M.)**- Standard, usually made from yak or horse tails.

**Tümen (M.)**- Unit of 10,000 men.

Tuzghu (M.)- Food provisions.

Üge baraldu (M.)- To give one's word in an oath.

*Uljāmīshī/huljāmīshī* (M.)- Going out to meet a ruler, usually to submit or to ask forgiveness.

*Ulus* (M.)- The appanage, grazing grounds and people allotted to a Chinggisid family member.

*Ulus ejen* (M.)- Lord of the *ulus*.

*Urugh* (M.)- Family, lineage. *Altan urugh* refers to the 'Golden Lineage' of Chinggis Khan.

*Vaqf/waqf* (A/P.)- Land set aside for pious purposes, a religious endowment.

**Wāfidiyya** (A.)- Literally 'those coming, arriving in a group'. Used to refer to the bands of Mongol refugees from the Jochid *ulus* or the Ilkhanate who defected to the Mamluk Sultanate in the 13<sup>th</sup> century.

Yeke Mongghol Ulus (M.)- The united Mongol Empire.

Yeke törü/yosun- 'The Great Principle', governing loyalty obligations between a lord and his servants.

Yosun (M.)- Custom.

Yurt (T/M.)- A tent, but also more generally an appanage and grazing territory.

**Zhōng** 忠 (C.)- Confucian idea of undying loyalty to a dynasty.

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