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The Mongols and Religion

The previous volume of the Journal focused on the aspirations of Karl Jahn, ancestral editor of the *Central Asiatic Journal*, whose interest in the Mongols helped sustain academic enthusiasm over the generations. As announced in volume 66, the contributions of the “Mongols and Religion” conference held at Vienna in May 2019, jointly organised by the Institute for Austrian Historical Research (University of Vienna) and the Institute of Iranian Studies (Austrian Academy of Sciences) form the main body of the present volume, which is co-authored with the organiser of the Vienna conference, Prof. Francesca Fiaschetti. The beneath introduction by Prof. Fiaschetti is meant to illustrate the state of research in the field and will also set out the contents of the individual contributions. Further to the conference participants who agreed to edit their papers for this edition of the CAJ, we are proud to present the articles by Francesco Calzolaio and by Guzal Normurodova. Calzolaio’s contribution interprets the study on the Chinese writing system by the Persian scholar-official Rashīd al-Dīn, to our knowledge the earliest West-Eurasian intellectual to do so. Normurodova’s article illustrates her research into the pre-Russian khanates of Central Asia, and in particular of Bukhara. In the present volume, Normurodova’s contribution forms the chronological sequence to the post-Mongol societies and states which formed in Central Asia. This volume furthermore features a greater number of book reviews, some of which requiring a fair amount of research. This volume is an achievement that would not have been attained without the energy and meticulous editorial skills of my colleague Dr Petra Himstedt-Vaid. As always, I am very grateful for her devoted work.

Lars Peter Laamann (SOAS)
November 2024

Foreword by Francesca Fiaschetti (University of Vienna)

The religious attitude of the Chinggisids, with its manifold effects on the economic, social, and cultural development of the empire, is one of the key elements in understanding how Mongol rule shaped medieval Eurasia. From patronage to conversion, the Medieval Mongols interacted in several ways with the religious communities they encountered as they shaped their project of conquest and imperial identity. As a result, numerous scholarly works have explored the religious framework of Chinggisid policies and its impact on Eurasian exchanges in the 13th and 14th centuries.

This special issue, which brings together selected contributions from an international conference held in Vienna in 2019, provides new insights into this topic and the study of the Mongol Empire (1206–1368). The conference took as its starting point Gibbons’ famous interpretation of the Medieval Mongols’ attitude towards religion as

one of ‘tolerance’ and explored how the religious framework served as a platform for the economic, political and social development of the empire.

The paper by Erica Danielle Connerney looks specifically at Gibbons’ image of ‘tolerance’ identifying it as a ‘perception’ shaped by European intellectual and religious history. Peter Jackson offers a broader discussion of various aspects of the religious attitudes of the imperial Mongols, which dialogue with several of the contributions collected in this volume. In Jackson’s analysis, the religious policies of the Medieval Mongols served, among others, to secure political balance and ‘peace’ (i.e., the empire’s expansion). The element of religious diplomacy, or more generally the interaction of the imperial Mongols with their neighbours, also comes to the fore in Szilvia Kovács’ study of the activities of the Franciscan diplomat Elias of Hungary as well as in Sally Greenland’s analysis of the long and difficult invasion of Tibet. In a similar direction, Qiu Yihao’s contribution, which analyses Berke’s announced conversion to Islam, brings new insights on the religious factor in intra-Mongol interactions.

Investigating the religious perceptions of the Medieval Mongols – a topic which has been at the centre of various scholarly works in recent years – Jackson highlights the centrality of the idea of ‘charismatic sanctity’ as an expression of Heaven’s favour. The topic is analysed further in Or Amir’s paper, which offers a survey of Islamic historiography up to the Mamluk period (1250–1517) and explores the practice of divination as a tool to gain social and cultural capital.

In his paper, Bruno De Nicola goes into more detail about the influence of the Medieval Mongols on the religious and social landscape of the Islamic world by focussing on the spread of Sufism in the Ilkhanate.

The economic aspect of Mongol religious policies is the focus of Enkhbold’s paper, which examines Mongol patronage of religious communities by analysing the evidence for religious taxation in Mongol and Persian documents. Hu Xiaobai’s contribution then takes the discussion to the Ming period (1368–1644) where he illustrates the long-lasting effects of the dynamics triggered by the policies of the medieval Mongols.

By looking at less studied primary sources and examples from different regions of the empire, the volume offers new data and ideas for the scholarly dialogue on the intellectual, social, and political history of Mongol Eurasia. We would like to thank the institutions that made the original 2019 conference possible for their support and the co-organiser Bruno de Nicola, who also played an important role in the selection and initial review of the papers presented here. Thanks are also due to the authors and reviewers of the articles and to the editor of the *Central Asiatic Journal* for their tireless work in bringing this project to completion.

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Understanding Berke's Announcement of Islamic Conversion in a Genealogical Perspective¹

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Introduction

Sent in reply to Sultan Baybars' (r. 1260–77) embassy, dispatched in 1262, the embassy from the Khan of the Golden Horde, Berke (r. 1256–66), arrived on 11 Rajab 661H (21 May 1263). Berke's envoys delivered his announcement on his conversion to Islam and his response to the Sultan on establishing an anti-Ilkhanate alliance in the name of *jihād*.² Yet Berke was not the first Chinggisid Khan to seek alliance with an external independent ruler against his own relatives. In fact, one year before Berke's embassy (i.e. in 1262), Ilkhan Hülegü (r. 1256–65) had already sent an embassy to King Louis IX of France, to persuade the latter to launch a new assault against their "common enemy", the Muslim Sultan in Egypt.³ These diplomatic activities together provide a *de facto* indication of the final dissolution of the unified Mongol Empire. In the mean time, Berke's embassy initiated a long-lasting relationship between the Golden Horde and the Mamluk realm, both in the military and in the commercial realms. Furthermore, his positive response to Islamic propaganda paved the route for the spread of Islam among the Qipchaq peoples.⁴

1 This article was presented as a paper with the same title at the conference *The Religions of the Mongols* at the University of Vienna in 2019.

Research for this article was sponsored by the National Social Science Fund under the "International and Regional Studies Program" 冷門絕學及國別史項目 (19VJX013).

2 C. d'Ohsson, *Histoire des Mongols, depuis Tchinguiz-Khan jusqu'à Timour Bey*, Feng Chengjun (tr.), Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1962, v.2, 134; Barthold Spuler, *Die Goldene Horde: Die Mongolen in Rußland, 1223–1502*, Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1965, 45; Salikh Zakirov, *Diplomatičeskiye otnosheniya Zolotoy Ordys Yegiptom, XIII–XIV vv*, Moskva: Nauka 1966, 11–2; Reuven Amitai-Preiss, *Mongols and Mamluks: the Mamluk-Ilkhanid War, 1260–1281*, New York: Cambridge University Press, 2004, 81–2; Roman Pochekaev, *Tsari ordynskie: Biografi khanov i pravitelei Zolotoi Ordys*, St. Petersburg: Evraziia, 2010, 19–21. On the definition of the term "jihād" and the meaning Berke tried to convey to the Mamluk Sultan through the discussion in his letter, see Marie Favereau, *La Horde d'Or et le sultanat mamelouk: Naissance d'une alliance*, Cairo: Institut français d'archéologie orientale du Caire, 2018, 28–30.

3 Paul Meyvaert, "An Unknown Letter of Hulagu, Il-Khan of Persia, to King Louis IX of France", *Viator*, 1980: 11, 245–59.

4 Robert Irwin, *The Middle East in the Middle Ages: the Early Mamluk Sultanate 1250–1382*, London, 1986, 51; Charles J. Halperin, "The Kipchak Connection: The Ilkhans, the Mamluks

Berke's letters addressed to Sultan Baybars are undoubtedly important as first-hand accounts for understanding his initial motivations for establishing an anti-Ilkhan alliance. Perhaps more importantly, however, these letters also supply the first batch of documents relating to the early spread of Islam in the Jochid *ulus*. Compared to later versions of Berke's conversion to Islam, the narratives in the aforementioned diplomatic letters were more historical in nature than legendary, despite the fact that none of these letters has come down to us in their original form.⁵ The "legendary" narratives around Berke's conversion, as researchers, like DeWeese and Pfeiffer have already pointed out, usually contain generic forms and formulaic scenarios which can be traced back to the earlier Arabic-Persian historiographical traditions.⁶

There are in fact two texts of Berke's letters recorded by coeval Mamluk historians. The first letter was mentioned initially in Ibn 'Abd al-Zāhir's chronicle, but this merely preserves a fragmentary paragraph.⁷ The second letter, duplicated by Baybars al-Manṣūrī, is much longer than the first and includes more detailed accounts, yet is still an abridgement of the original text.⁸ The difference in the two letters' contents is obvious. For instance, the first letter includes Berke's conversion to Islam "together with my four brothers" (*akhwatī al-arba'ati*, discussed below); an accusation against Hülegü of violating Chinggis Khan's *yasa*; an appeal to avenge the Caliph's death and a suggestion to converge in an attack against Hülegü's army. In the second letter, Berke listed the names of fourteen Jochid princes and four *amīrs* who followed him in converting to Islam; the names of Berke's envoys and their attendants and an announcement of revenge for the Caliph's death.

and Ayn Jalut", *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, vol. 63, no. 2, 2000, 229–45.

- 5 István Vásáry, "'History and legend' in Berke Khan's conversion to Islam", in D. Sinor (ed.), *Aspects of Altaic Civilization III* (1990), 230–52; reprinted in Vásáry, *Turks, Tatars and Russians in the 13th–16th Centuries*, London: Ashgate Variorum, 2007.
- 6 Devin DeWeese, *Islamization and Native Religion in the Golden Horde: Baba Tükles and Conversion to Islam in Historical and Epic Tradition*, Pennsylvania: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1994, 67–90; Judith Pfeiffer discussed, via a case study on Ilkhan Ahmad's conversion, the mutual relationship between the historical event and the conversion narrative in Islamic tradition. See Judith Pfeiffer, "Conversion to Islam among the Ilkhans in Muslim Narrative Traditions: The Case of Ahmad Tegüder", PhD diss., Chicago University, 2003, 26–43.
- 7 al-Zāhir mentions two letters from Berke Khan addressed to Baybars, delivered separately by two envoys, but mixed the contents of both letters in his quotation. Muḥyī al-Dīn 'Abd Allāh Ibn 'Abd al-Zāhir, *al-Rawḍat al-zāhir fī sirat al-malik al-zāhir*, 'A. 'A. al-Khuwayṭir, Riyad, 1976, 171; English translation see, Syedah Fatima Sadeque, *Baybars I of Egypt*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1956, 187–8. For a complete translation see: David Ayalon, "The Great Yasa of Chinggis Khan: a Re-examination (Part B)", *Studia Islamica*, 1971: 34, 167–72. The quotation of Berke's first letter also survived in Ibn al-Furāt and Ibn al-Kathīr's works. See Muḥammad b. 'Abdarrahīm Ibn al-Furāt, *Ta'rikh Ibn al-Furāt*, Beirut: published M.A. thesis, American University of Beirut, 1961, v. 6:1, 60–1; Ibn al-Kathīr, *al-Bidāya wa-l-nihāya fī ta'rikh*, Cairo: Maṭba'at al-Sa'āda, v. 13: 238.
- 8 Baybars al-Manṣūrī, *Zubdat al-fikra fī tā'rikh al-hijra*, Donald S. Richards (ed.), Beirut: Klaus-Schwarz-Verlag, 1998, 82–4.

Up to now, however, most researchers have been interested in the first letter (i.e., Ibn 'Abd al-Zāhir's quotation), and in contrast, only a few researchers have discussed the information provided by the second letter recorded in Baybars al-Manṣūrī's chronicle.⁹ In addition, as an institutionalised tradition, the diplomatic letters and communications exchanged between the Golden Horde and Mamluk realm were by nature a mix of oral and written messages – the Jochid ambassadors usually submitted one letter composed in Mongolian, Turkic or Persian, along with its translation into Arabic. Therefore, the existing text of Berke's letter includes quite a large amount of Mongolian or Turkic names and terms. Besides, even in the modern edition, most of the misspellings and distortions in spelling non-Arabic words remain without any attempt at correction.

The present article thus focuses on Berke's second letter (i.e. on Baybars al-Manṣūrī's quotation) and seeks to re-assess to what extent Berke had won support in the ruling clan of the Jochid *ulus* both during and after his conversion to Islam. Based on a complete translation of Berke's second letter, the author uses Rashīd al-Dīn's *Jāmi' al-tawārīkh* ("Compendium of Chronicles") and two Chinggisid genealogies: the *Shu'ab-i panjgāna* ("Five-fold Genealogies", hereafter cited as SP) and its Timurid continuation the *Mu'izz al-ansāb* ("the Glorifier of the Genealogies", hereafter cited as MA), to identify the personages listed in this letter.¹⁰ Moreover, by locating those princes who allied with Berke within the Jochid genealogy, it sheds new light on the internal structure of the Jochi *ulus*.

2. Berke's letter in Baybars al-Manṣūrī's chronicle

Baybars al-Manṣūrī chronicled Berke's letter in the Rajab of 661H (May 1263). Besides the *Zubdat al-fikra* (hereafter cited as ZF), Baybars al-Manṣūrī also recorded the existence of this letter in his two less informative works, but only included the ab-

9 For previous discussions on the content of the first letter, see István Vásáry, *Cumans and Tatars: Oriental Military in the Pre-Ottoman Balkans, 1185–1365*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005, 230–52; Reuven Amitai-Preiss, *Mongols and Mamluks: The Mamluk-Ilkhanid War, 1260–1281*, New York: Cambridge University Press, 2004, 82–3. For the second letter, as far as I know, only Amitai, Heidemann and Vásáry have supplied significant analysis; see Amitai, *Mongols and Mamluks*, 84, note 35; Stefan Heidemann, *Das Aleppiner Kalifat (A. D. 1261): vom Ende des Kalifates in Bagdad über Aleppo zu den Restaurationen in Kairo*, Leiden: Brill, 1994, 69, n. 31; 172, n. 47.

10 Here I have to emphasize the historical value of the Arabic translation of the *jāmi' al-tawārīkh* (hereafter cited as JT): the existing manuscript was copied in 785H/1384–4, shortly after the collapse of the Ilkhanate. This manuscript is regarded as remaining closer to the original text, especially when referring to those non-Arabic/Persian terms which were easily confused by later scribes. Rashīd al-Dīn Fadhl-allāh Hamādānī, *Tarjuma-yi 'Arabī-yi al-jāmi' al-tawārīkh (tā'rikh al-Ghāzānī)*, *Facsimile Copy of the Manuscript 3034, Hagia Sophia Library (copied in 785 A.H.)*, Yousuf al-Hadī (introduction), Tehran: Mirās-i Maktūb, 2017, 695 (hereafter cited as JT/Arabic); *Shu'ab-i panjgāna*, İstanbul, Topkapı-Saray Müzesi kütüphanesi, MS. Ahmet III 2937. (hereafter cited as SP); Hāfiz-i Abrū (Shahāb al-Dīn 'Abd Allāh Khvāfī), "*Mu'izz al-ansāb (Proslavlyayushcheye genealogii)*": *Vvedeniye, perevod spersidskogo yazyka, primechaniya, podgotovka, faksimile k izdaniyu*, S. H. Vokhidova, Almaty: Izdatel'stvo "Dayk-Press", 2006.

stracts.¹¹ Among the later Mamluk historians, only al-‘Aynī quoted Baybars al-Manṣūrī’s text in full.¹² It is worthy of attention that the variant forms of the Mongolian personal names appearing in al-‘Aynī’s quotation are useful for us to correct the misspellings in the text of ZF.

The ZF confuses the chronology of this letter. Baybars al-Manṣūrī reported that it was “his (i.e. Berke’s) response” (*jawābhi*) to Sultan Baybars’ first letter (entrusted in 660H/November 1261 to October 1262).¹³ However, according to Amitai’s discussion, this letter must have been brought to Egypt on 10 *Dhu ’l-qa ’da* 662/4 (September 1264), by Berke’s second embassy.¹⁴ Given that, within the letter, Berke mentioned that he had sent a noble from Mayyāfariqin to provide an eyewitness account of his conflict against Hülegü, events which occurred between October 1262 and 22 April

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- 11 They are: 1) the *al-Tuḥfa al-mulūkiyya fī al-dawla al-turkiyya*, ‘Abd al-Ḥamīd Ṣāliḥ Ḥamdān (ed.), Cairo: al-Dār al-Miṣriyya al-Lubnāniyya, 1987; and 2) *Mukhtār al-akhbār: tā’riḫ al-dawla al-Ayyūbiyya wa-dawlat al-Mamālīk al-Baḥriyya ḥattā sanat 702H*, ‘Abd al-Ḥamīd Ṣāliḥ Ḥamdān (ed.), Cairo: al-Dār al-Miṣriyya al-Lubnāniyya, 1993. For a bibliographic introduction to these two chronicles, see D. P. Little, *An Introduction to Mamlūk Historiography: An Analysis of Arabic Annalistic and Biographical Sources for the Reign of al-Malik an-Naṣir Muḥammad ibn Qalā’ūn*, Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 1970, 4–9; Linda S. Northrup, *From Slave to Sultan: the Career of al-Manṣūr Qalāwūn and the Consolidation of Mamluk Rule in Egypt and Syria (678–699 A.H./1279–1290 A.D.)*, Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1998, 38–9. As for the *Mukhtār al-akhbār*, Sidarus assumes that Baybars al-Manṣūrī’s Coptic secretary and collaborator Ibn Kabar, who had previously compiled a chronicle in Coptic, was the real author of this work. See Adel Yusef Sidarus, “The Mamluk Historian al-Amīr Baybars al-Manṣūrī al-Dawādār (d. 725/1325) and his Coptic Secretary al-Qiss al-Shams Abū al-Barakāt Ibn Kabar (d. 724/1324) (A New Assessment).” *American Journal of Humanities and Social Sciences Research* 4:1, 2020, 141–148.
- 12 Badr al-Dīn Maḥmūd b. ‘Alī al-‘Aynī, *‘Iqd al-jumān fī tawārīḫ ahl al-zamān*, ed. Muḥammad Muḥammad Amīn, Cairo: Dār al-kutub, 1987, v. 5: 360–1. The content of Berke’s letter was not included in al-Nuwayrī’s encyclopedia, but he transcribed the list of Sultan Baybars’ gifts from the ZF. Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad b. ‘Abd al-Wahhāb al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-arab fī funūn al-adab*, Bayrūt: Dār al-Kutub al-‘Ilmiyah, 2004, v. 30: 38–9. Besides al-‘Aynī, the later Mamluk historian Ibn al-Furāt also abstracted the content of Berke’s letter in his anecdotes of the year 662H, including the new converts to Islam and the defeat of Hülegü. Ibn al-Furāt, *Tā’riḫ Ibn al-Furāt*, v. 6:1, 102.
- 13 ZF, 70. But Baybars al-Manṣūrī chronicled the date of sending Sultan’s first mission as 659H (1260–1), one year later than Ibn al-Shaddād’s account. al-Zāhir, *al-Rawd*, 88–9. For further discussion of this date, see Peter Jackson, “The Dissolution of the Mongol Empire”, *Central Asiatic Journal*, 1978, v.22, 237, note 231; Amitai, *Mamluk and Mongols*, 81, n. 17.
- 14 Amitai, *Mamluk and Mongols*, 84, n. 35. Heidemann considers that the second letter was delivered in 665H/1266–7 from Berke’s encampment in the Volga area. Heidemann, *Das Aleppiner Kalifat*, 169, n. 31. 665H seems too late, however. Besides, in his *al-Tuḥfa* Baybars al-Manṣūrī recorded that Berke’s second embassy arrived in Cairo in 662H/1265–5 – this embassy was not mentioned in the ZF. In the *al-Tuḥfa*, Berke’s letter was abridged as, “it says that the Tatars’ family embraced Islam and informs the Sultan to fight against Hülegü and be in solidarity with the faith of Islam (*ya ’lamu al-sulṭān bi-muḥārabatah la-Hulākū ta’aṣṣuban la-ain al-Islām*)”. This supplement indicates that the author had, to a certain extent, already revised his chronology. See *al-Tuḥfa*, 52.

1263,¹⁵ it is illogical to date the letter's submission to May 1263. Thus Amitai's opinion is credible. It is obvious that Baybars al-Manšūrī mixed up the texts of Berke's two letters, which were delivered in 1263 and 1264 respectively. As for the "second" letter from Berke, those Jochid princes who were listed in the ZF letter were in fact the "second" batch of the converts to Islam, following Berke's "four brothers", who were mentioned in his first letter.

Translation of the text:

Narrative on Berke's conversion to Islam and that of the Tatars with him:

In this year, envoys arrived from the king of the Tatars, Berke. They were Amīr Jalāl al-Dīn b. al-Qādī and the Shaykh Nūr al-Dīn 'Alī.¹⁶ They reported his Islamic conversion and presented the letter from him (i.e. Berke) which includes the list (*zakar*) of [those members] of the Tatar's families (*bayūt al-Tatār*, i.e. Jochi's family) who became Muslims and left their infidels' group behind, and the details of their tribes and clans, the peoples and the troops.

It said: "[the people] converted to Islam [were] our elder and younger brothers, and their descendants. They are: BWDKWR's (Tūdākūr's) children and their retinues (*ba-ḥashamhum*); the descendants [from] the territories of KWKAJSW (Kūkjū)¹⁷ and YYŠW-Būqā¹⁸ (Yīsū-Būqā), and [the people] from the territories of Qūdughū, Qarājā[r],¹⁹ BYŠW-Bughā (Yasū-Būqā),²⁰ Shirāmūn, BWRBAKW (Būrālkū) and Minkqadār with his armies and the subjects (*sawādhu*, blacks); and Bik-Qadāq, Bāynāl, Tuqūz-ughūl, Qutlugh-Tīmūr, Ajī (Ayājī) with his descendants; DRBAY (Durbāy) and a myriarchy (*tūmān*) that was dispatched to Khurāsān,²¹ and all the people who were sent as the companions of Bāyju, such as Bāynāl Nūyan and ABKAKWA (Ilkā-Kūkū).²² All those people have now converted to Islam with their families (*'usar*), started to obey the mandate of Islam, follow the [rule of] the Sunna, contribute alms and struggle against the enemy in the way of Allah.

They said, "Praise to Allah, who has guided us to this; and we would never have been guided if Allah had not guided us" [Qu'ran 7:43], and we recited, "The Messenger has believed in what was revealed to him from his Lord" [Qu'ran, 2:285], and let the Sultan know that I fought with Hülegü, who is of my flesh and blood, to raise the

15 Rashīd al-Dīn, *Rashiduddin Fazlullah's Jami'u't-tawarikh: Compendium of Chronicles, A History of the Mongols*, Wheeler McIntosh Thackston (tr.), Harvard: Harvard University, Department of Near Eastern Languages and Civilizations, 1998, Thackston, v.2: 511–2 (hereafter cited as JT/Thackston).

16 Both of these were named by al-Zāhir as Berke's envoys. See Sadeque, *Baybars I of Egypt*, 157.

17 In al-'Aynī's version, this appears as: KWKAΓWR (كوكاخور).

18 In al-'Aynī's version, as: YNŠW-BWQA (ينشو بوقا).

19 In al-'Aynī's version, as: QRAJAR (قراچار).

20 In al-'Aynī's version, as: NTŠ-BGA (انتش بغا).

21 In al-'Aynī's version, as: *tajrrad ilā Khurāsān*.

22 In al-'Aynī's version, as: AYKAKWA (ايكاكوا).

word of God and solidarity with the faith of Islam. Because he is unjust and the tyrant over those who are infidels to God and His Messenger.

I have dispatched the envoys and my envoys who accompanied the Sultan's envoys. They are: Ar-Būqā, Ar-Tīmūr²³ and Ūnāmās,²⁴ and I sent Ibn Shihāb al-Dīn Ghāzī with them.²⁵ This is because he was a witness to the event, and he will therefore tell the Sultan what he saw with his own eyes of the wonders of the battle. Then let us explain to the Sultan that he was successful in the good deed and good fortune, because he was appointed as Imām by the 'Abbasid family during the Muslim Caliphate. He is the governor by God's rule – [I appreciate his endeavour and praise God for that] – especially when we were informed that he sent him with the Muslim troops to Baghdād and recovered that area from the hands of the infidels.

The date of this letter is the beginning of Rajab, year 661H (May 1263).

[Written] in the place of Ifīl."²⁶

It is a long letter, including detailed and lengthy [information] and this is a summary of it.²⁷

23 As for the second person's name, Cleaves regards the *a/e* in the second syllable as an epenthetic vowel, probably deriving from the name Er-Temūr (meaning "Man-Iron"). See, F. W. Cleaves, "The Mongolian Names and Terms in *The History of the Nation of the Archers* by Grigor of Akanc", *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 12: 3/4. 1949, 406. The pre-suffix *er/ār-*, according to Clauson and Rybatzki, appears in ancient Turkic documents with the meaning "man". (G. Clauson, *An Etymological Dictionary of Pre-Thirteenth-Century Turkish*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1972, 192; Volker Rybatzki, *Die Personennamen und Titel der mittelmongolischen Dokumente: Eine lexikalische Untersuchung*, Helsinki, 2006, 137). Besides this reading, the possibility that this is a scribal error for the word "Öz/Ös-" cannot be excluded. Therefore, these two persons' names can probably be identified as: Öz-Buqa and Öz-Temūr. See, Rybatzki, *Die Personennamen*, 172.

24 I cannot identify this name with the contemporaneous Persian-Arabic sources, nor find the word Ūnāmās in any lexicons of Classic Mongolian. It has probably been altered from the form "Nāymās" by a scribal error. "Nāymās", according to the morphology, derives from "naiman" (eight). It is, however, peculiar that the plural form was used as a person's name in Mongolian. Regarding the Mongol commander "Nāymās", Vaṣṣāf mentioned him as a subordinate of Churmaqan. See 'Abdallah b. Faḍlallāh Sharaf al-Dīn Shīrāzī (Vaṣṣāf al-Ḥadrāt), *Tārīkh-i Vaṣṣāf (Tajzīya al-amṣār va tazjīya al-a'sār)*, Muḥammad Mahdī Iṣfahānī (ed.), Bombay: 1853, repr. Tehrān: Ibn Sīnā, 1959–60, 587.

25 His name is al-Ashraf b. al-Mulk al-Muzaffar Shihāb al-Dīn Ghāzī b. al-Ādil. (see below)

26 The term Ifīl in this context refers to Berke's encampment Volga Sarai. The quotation of Berke's letter is strictly consistent with the ending protocol of the imperial documents issued by Mongol rulers. Usually, the ending protocol includes: 1) the confirmation of the document with a seal (omitted here); 2) the date; 3) the place of issue. See, Michal Biran, "Diplomacy and Chancellery Practices in the Chaghataid Khanate: Some Preliminary Remarks", *Oriente Moderno*, vol. 88. 2008, 387.

27 ZF, 82–3; al-Āynī, *Iqd al-jumān*, v. 5: 390–1; Russian translation see, V. G. Tizengauzen, *Sbornik Materialov, Otnosyashchikhsya k Istorii Zolotoy Ordyy*, St. Petersburg: 1884, v.1, (text) 77, (tr.) 99; Turkish translation (based on Tizengauzen's translation) see, *Altınordu Devleti Tarihine Ait Metinler*, V. de Tiesenhausen (ed.). İ. H. İzmirlı (tr.). Istanbul, Marrif Matbaası, 1941, 161–5. The translation is based on Richard's edition of Zubdat al-fikra, and I must acknowledge

Identification of the names mentioned in the letter

While the existing version of Berke's letter is written in Arabic, the terms and the format reveals that it was probably based on a Turkic text. Because, as a tradition of Mamluk-Golden Horde diplomatic practices, the mission usually prepared two letters in different languages (Arabic, Turkish, potentially Persian and Mongolian), for which Arabic and Uyghuric scripts were used. In addition, the content of these letters, in most cases, was based on oral messages dictated by the Mongol ruler.²⁸ Therefore, it is certain that some terms appearing in this letter were derived from Turkic-Mongolian words and reflected political ideas then current among the Mongols.

For instance, in the beginning of the letter, Berke proclaimed the conversions to Islam within "our elder and younger brothers". This phrase is equivalent to the term *aqā va īnī* (elder and younger brothers) in Persian and *gege didi mei* (哥哥弟弟每) in Chinese, all deriving from the Mongolian phrase *aqā de 'ü*.²⁹ According to Fukushima Shinsuke, the phrase *aqā de 'ü* in the *Secret History of the Mongols* is equivalent to the Mongolian term *urugh* (clan), meaning a group of people related patrilineally.³⁰ In the Yuan dynasty, the same phrase frequently appeared in imperial decrees, where it referred to the entire royal family. In a decree announcing the enthronement of Temür Qa'an (i.e. Chengzong, r. 1293–1307), for example, it is reported that Temür was elevated as the imperial successor by the unanimous support of "the virtuous men among the enfeoffed princes and [his] own brothers, as well as the seniors among the royal marriage partners and governmental officials".³¹ Likewise, the word *'usar* (families) in the paragraph mentioned above, according to its context, refers specifically to the Chinggisid clan.

Besides, Berke mentioned that his brother had converted to Islam with his "armies and the subjects". It is noteworthy that the term "subjects" in Arabic text is *sawād*

my appreciation for referring to Or Amir's English translation (see: mongol.huji.ac.il/database, Hebrew University).

- 28 Marie Favereau, "The Golden Horde and Mamluks: the Birth of a Diplomatic Set-Up (660–5/1261–7)", in *Mamluk Cairo, a Crossroads for Embassies: Studies on Diplomacy and Diplomats*, Frédéric Bauden, Malika Dekkiche (eds.), Leiden: Brill, 2019, 315–7. In some cases, the Arabic/Persian chronicles even leave the impression that oral communications took priority over written messages on diplomatic occasions. See Biran, "Diplomacy and Chancellery Practices in the Chaghataid Khanate", 385–6.
- 29 For etymological discussions of the words mentioned above, see G. Doerfer, *Türkische und mongolische Elemente im Neupersischen*, Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag GMBH, 1963–75, v.1, 133–140 "aqā"; v.3, 226, "īnī". On the "*aqā de 'ü*", see C. P. Atwood, "The Administrative Origins of Mongolia's 'Tribal' Vocabulary", *Eurasia: Statum et Legem*, 2015, 28.
- 30 Fukushima Shinsuke 福島伸介, "12–13世紀のモンゴル社会における *uruq* について: 親族構造論としての外婚集団の分析" (On the *uruq* in Mongol society during 12–13 CE: Analysis of exogamy groups in the discussion of kinship structures), in *Mongoru kenkyū* モンゴル研究 (Bulletin of the Japanese Association of Mongolian studies), 1985, 31–47.
- 31 "乃有宗藩昆弟之賢, 威囁官僚之舊...合辭推戴". Song Lian 宋濂, *Yuanshi* 元史 (Official History of the Yuan Dynasty). Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1976, *juan* 18, 381 (hereafter cited as YS). In the Chinese text, the literal translation of the phrase *kundi* 昆弟 is "elder and younger brothers".

(black), obviously deriving from Mongolian *qaraču*, which was used to refer to non-Chinggisids, or broadly, to the common people.³² As for the Arabic word *bilād* (lands, territories), in this context, this must be interpreted as “appanage”, which means the domains allotted to Chinggisid princes by the Khan. The original word which was equivalent to this use of *bilād* would perhaps have been the Turkic *inju*, a corruption of the Mongolian *emčü*, meaning “private”, or “personal property”.³³ Therefore, we can read the pattern in which Berke introduced his allies as a listing according to the different branches of the Jochid clan, along with their retinues and their territories. In other words, where personal names were listed together, their arrangement indicates that they came from the same lineage.

Therefore, we may conclude that Berke’s letter supplied an overview of his religious alliance from the Jochid ruler’s own perspective. His introduction covered two basic concepts in nomadic social organization: the royal clan and their subjects. Meanwhile, by enumerating the names of Jochid princes and their followers, along with their families, retinues and armies, Berke tried to depict an image of the sphere of influence which had been controlled by his allies. In this way, Berke expressed his success in spreading the faith of Islam among the Golden Horde, thereby convincing Sultan Baybars to join the anti-Ilkhanate alliance.

The persons mentioned in Berke’s letter can be identified separately as follows:

[1] *Tūdākūr b. Čimbai*

The first name mentioned in Berke’s letter, “BWDKWR”, is simply a corruption of Töde’ür (Pers. Tūdā’ür). He is the son of Jimbai, Jochi’s tenth son.³⁴ The initials of his name in Berke’s letter is “B”, probably due to a scribal error. It is noteworthy that the SP recorded his name as “Tüydäkūr” (تويداکور), which supplies an evidential document to confirm that Baybars al-Manşūr’s recording is authentic.

Besides his name, Rashīd al-Dīn does not supply any detailed information on either his life or personal career, probably indicating that Töde’ür was a less influential prince among the Jochid family.

[2] *Kūkājū and Yasū-Būqā b. Berkečer*

According to the JT, SP and MA, both of these people can be identified as Berkečer’s sons, as Kūkājū (Mong. Kökečü) and Yīsū Būqā (Mong. Yesü Buq-a) respectively.³⁵

32 Doerfer, *Türkische und mongolische Elemente*, v.1, 397–8.

33 Doerfer, *Türkische und mongolische Elemente*, v.2, 220–5; Timothy May (ed.), *The Mongol Empire: a Historical Encyclopedia*, ABC-CLIO, 2016, v.1, 15–6.

34 JT/Thackston, v. 2, 354; JT/Arabic, 695; SP, f.116b; MA, JI. 256. In the manuscripts of the JT, Töde’ür’s name is transliterated as “Tūdāūr” (توداور) and in the SP is “Tūdūr” (تودور), labelled with the diacritical sign *ḍammah*. Additionally, the scribe of the SP sometimes combined the letter “W” and “Y” together, for transliterating the soft vowel “-ö/ü”.

35 JT/Thackston, v. 2, 353; SP, f. 113b; MA, JI236. The Mongolian forms of these two princes’ names appear only in the SP. Vásáry, following İzmirlı’s reading (as “Yisunoğay”), suggested identifying this person as Bo’al’s descendent Noqai (spelt Yīsū Nūghā/Yesü Noqai) – the latter

When compared to the Persian sources, Baybars al-Manṣūrī's version seems to add a superfluous letter "S" (*sin*) in spelling Kökečü's name. As for Yesü Buqa, his name was mentioned by a Yuan Chinese Epitaph as *ye-su-pu-hua* (業速普化).³⁶

The father of Kökečü and Yesü Buqa, Berkečer was a full brother of Berke and son of the elder daughter of Khwārazmshāh Muḥammad, Sulṭān Khātūn (or Khān Sulṭān).³⁷ Like his brother Berke, Berkečer is one of the earlier Islamic converts among the Jochid family; this may be attributed to their mother's influence.³⁸ According to al-Dhahabī, however, Berkečer (incorrectly spelt 'Barka-ḥar') was initially an infidel like his Jochid relatives, and only became a Muslim shortly after hearing the news of Berke's conversion.³⁹ Moreover, Berkečer was mentioned elsewhere as a loyal follower of Berke in both political and religious affairs. For instance, several Armenian historians accused Berke and Berkečer of plotting to poison their nephew Sartaq b. Batu, after the latter was assigned to succeed as ruler of the Jochid *ulus* in 1256, with the permission of the Great Khan Möngke.⁴⁰ A contemporary Persian author described him as one of the "eminent" (*sar-afrazī*) Jochid princes during the reign of Batu.⁴¹

form appears in the ZF under anecdotes of the year 663H./1264–5. Vásáry, *Cumans and Tatars*, 72. If that was the case, however, why did Berke's letter introduce Bo'al's two descendants separately? I therefore tend to believe that Noqai, as his letter addressed to Sultan Qalawun indicates, converted to Islam after his relatives. See ZF, 131.

- 36 Xu Youren 許有壬, "Gu jinyifuwei yuanshixian zhubu majun muzhiming" 故進義副尉元氏縣主簿馬君墓碣銘 (Epitaph of Gentleman Ma, Former Jinyi fuwei, Record Keeper of Yuanshi County), *Zhizheng ji* 至正集, 55 *juan*, in: *Yuanren wenji zhenben congkan* 元人文集珍本丛刊 (Series of rare versions of the collected writings composed during Yuan era), Taipei: Xinwenfeng Press, 1985, v. 7, 259–60.
- 37 MA, J1186. For a discussion on the identification of Berkečer's name, see Paul Pelliot, *Notes sur l'histoire de la Horde d'Or*, Paris: Librairie Amérique et d'Orient, Adrien-Maisonneuve, 1949, 51–2.
- 38 For detailed discussions of Sulṭān Khātūn's name and background, see Jean Richard, "Berke Khan et les débuts de l'islamisation de l'Horde d'Or", *Revue des Études Islamiques* 35, 173–83; I. Vásáry, "'History and legend'", 230–52; reprinted in Vásáry, *Turks, Tatars and Russians in the 13th–16th Centuries*, London: Ashgate Variorum, 2007. In his latest book, however, Jackson has questioned the above opinion, and argued that there is a chronological issue with identifying the Khwārazmshāh's daughter with Berke's mother. See Peter Jackson, *The Mongols and the Islamic World: from Conquest to Conversion*, New Haven: Yale University Press, 2017, 348–9.
- 39 Muḥammad Ibn Aḥmad al-Dhahabī, *Siyar a'lām al-nubalā'*, Suḥayl Arna'ūt and Bashshār Ma'rūf (eds.), Beirut: Mu'assasa al-Risāla, 1996, v. 23, 366. I am grateful to Professor Michal Biran for reminding me to pay attention to this work, and to Or Amir for his translation.
- 40 Juvaynī, *The History of the World Conqueror*, 268. Although both the Muslim and Christian historians widely admit that Berke was responsible for Sartaq's abnormal death, only the Armenian authors accused Berkečer (recorded as Barkach'ay) of being Berke's co-conspirator. See, Kirakos Gandzakets'i, *Kirakos Gandzakets'i's History of the Armenians*, R. Bedrosian (tr.), New York: Sources of the Armenian Tradition, 1986, 309–311; A. G. Galst'yan, *Armyanskiye istochniki o mongolakh: Izvlecheniya iz rukopisey XIII-XIV vv*, Moscow: Izd-vo vostochnoy lit., 1962, 27.
- 41 'Alā al-Dīn 'Atāmalik Juvaynī, *The History of the World Conqueror*, J. A. Boyle (tr.), Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1958, 249; Ḥakīm Zajjājī, *Humāyūn-nāma: tārikh-i manzūm-i*

In 1236, Ögödei divided the population and lands of the Jin Dynasty (r. 1115–1234) among the imperial family. Batu, as the ruler of Jochi *ulus*, received 41,302 “five households silk” households (*wuhusihu* 五戶絲戶) in Pingyang *Lu* (平陽路, in modern Shanxi Province).⁴² As a Jochid prince, Berkečer also shared in these Jochid appanages. As for Yesü Buqa, Chinese sources reported that he had his own appanage in Liaoshan (遼山, today’s Zuoquan xian) and Heshun (和順, today’s Jinzhong xian), two counties in eastern Shanxi Province, which he probably inherited from his father. These two regions bordered an appanage belonging to the Chagatayids, resulting in conflict when agents from the latter once plundered their populations.⁴³

[3] *Qūdughū b. Orda*

This person apparently refers to Qutuqai (in Persian *Qūtūqūy*), sixth son of Orda, the first ruler of the left hand of the Jochid *ulus*.⁴⁴ Several coeval Armenian authors, e.g. Kirakos and Akanc’ mentioned that “very greatest chiefs of Batu’s region” accompanied Hülegü to Iran and “everyone honoured him like a Khan”. Among them, one Jochid prince named “Ghataghan” can probably be identified with this Qutuqai.⁴⁵ The alteration of the last syllable between -ai/ei (or -a/-e) and -an/en was frequent in Classical Mongolian. For example, the personal name Abaqa was sometimes spelt “Abāqān”; Balaqa (or Balaqai) was in some cases spelt “Balāqān”.⁴⁶

Rashīd al-Dīn supplied only limited information on Qutuqai.⁴⁷ On the contrary, Armenian sources emphasised that Qutuqai, together with another Ordaid prince Quli, was charged as representatives of the left-hand of Jochi *ulus* with responsibility for military affairs in Iran. Subsequently, when three Jochid princes (i.e. Quli, Tutar and Balaqai) were executed by Hülegü in 1258, after being accused of sorcery and alien-

Hakīm Zajjājī, ‘Alī Pīr Niyā (ed.), Tehran: Farhangistān-i Zabān va Adab-i Fārsī, 2004, v.2, 1089.

42 YS, 2414. See, Qiu Yihao, “Independent Ruler, Indefinable Role: Understanding the History of the Golden Horde from the Perspectives of the Yuan Dynasty”, *Revue des mondes musulmans et de la méditerranée* 143, 2018, 33–4.

43 Xu Youren, “The Epitaph of Former Jinyi fuwei”, 259–60.

44 JT/Thackston, v. 2, 351; JT/Arabic, 677; SP, f. 108b. The SP labelled his name with both Arabic and Uyghuric script, as: Pers. *Qūtūqūy*/Mong. Qutuqai.

45 *Kirakos Gandzakets’i’s History of the Armenians*, 313; Robert P. Blake, Richard N. Frye, “History of the Nation of the Archers (The Mongols) by Grigor of Akanc’ Hitherto Ascribed to Malak’ia the Monk: The Armenian Text Edited with an English Translation and Notes”, *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 12: 3/4, 1949, 327. (hereafter cited as Akanc’/Frye)

46 For the form “Bālāqa” (Mong. Balaq-a), see SP, f. 114a; for “Balāqān” see JT/Arabic, 686. For further discussion of this name see Cleaves, “The Mongolian Names and Terms”, 413–4. On the form “Abāqān”, see Bakr Quṭbī Aharī, *Tā’rīkh-i Shaykh Uwais (History of Shaikh Uwais): an important Source for the History of Adharbajjān in the fourteenth Century*, J. B. Van Loon (tr.), The Hague: Mouton and Co. 1954, text, 134.

47 In later manuscripts, Rashīd al-Dīn gave a self-contradictory account of Qutuqai’s descendants. He states that the sons attributed to Hülegü (Orda’s seventh son) were actually Qutuqai’s. As I cannot find this sentence in earlier manuscripts, such as the Arabic version, it was probably supplemented by a later scribe. See JT/Thackston, v.2, 351; JT/Arabic, 677.

ation, Qutuqai was the last Ordaid prince active in western Asia.⁴⁸ Therefore, the appearance of his name in Berke's diplomatic letter reveals a common political stance within Orda's clan, namely support for Berke, and enmity to the Ilkhan.

[4] *Qarājā[r] b. Udur*

Given that al-'Aynī's quotation supplied the accurate form "Qarājār", it is a simple matter to identify him as Udur's son Qaračar (Pers. Qārāchār).⁴⁹ Udur, Jochi's twelfth son, was one of the princes of the left hand and all his family were close to Orda's family.⁵⁰

Qaračar represented his family as a participant in Ariq Böke's enthronement, which took place in 1259 in the Altai Mountain region, together with Orda's son Qurumiš.⁵¹ Considering that Ariq Böke's candidacy benefited from Berke's endorsement, Qaračar and Qurumiš's attendance at this event doubtless revealed an aligned stance from both the eastern and western wings of the Jochid *ulus*.⁵² During the civil war between Ariq Böke and Qubilai, Qaračar, together with Hülegü's son Čumqar (i.e. Jümghār), commanded Ariq Böke's troops in battle against Qubilai and were subsequently defeated.⁵³

As these accounts indicate, as a prince of the Left Hand of the Jochid *ulus*, Qaračar was unavoidably involved in the events occurring in the eastern part of the Mongol Empire. Likewise, he also benefited from his appanage in China. A Yuan inscription indicates that his appanage was located in Anping County (安平, in today's Hengshui 衡水, Hebei Province). His name appears in the inscription as "Prince Qarachar" (*hal-la-cha-er dawang*, 哈刺察兒大王). This inscription was a memorial to a figure in the local elite, one Li Xiu (李秀), who was recommended by Qaračar as the chief official in charge of administering his appanage and subjects.⁵⁴ Previous researchers have

48 JT/Thackston, v.2, 506; Maḥmūd ibn Masūd Quṭb al-Dīn Shīrāzī, *Akhbār-i Muḡhūlān dar anbāna-yi Quṭb*, Īraj Afshār (ed.), Qum: Kitābkhāna-yi Ayatola Marāshī Najafī, 2010, 41. However, there is an apparent discrepancy between Akanc's record and the other accounts. Akanc' said, Qataqai (Гатай) along with Balaqai and Tutar were strangled under Hülegü's order. But Akanc' sometime confused his information about non-Ilkhanid princes and he is the only author who reported Qutuqai's execution. Akanc'/Frye, 237.

49 JT/Thackston, v.2, 354; JT/Arabic, 696; SP, f. 116b; MA, JI196. Qaračar's name in the genealogical table of the JT was spelt as "Qarāja" (قراجه), without the last letter "-r". In addition, it is noteworthy that in the Arabic version, Udur's name was spelt as "Hūādūr" (هوادیور). The further discussion on the name of Qaračar and the suffix *-char* (i.e. *-jār* in Arabic), see Pelliot, *Notes sur l'histoire de la Horde d'Or*, 52.

50 JT/Thackston, v.2, 348.

51 JT/Thackston, v. 2, 427. Thackston incorrectly translated as "Orda's son Qurumish, Qarachar", but Allsen already pointed out the latter is Udur's son. See, Thomas Allsen, "The Princes of the Left Hand", *Archivum Eurasiae Medii Aevi*, v.5, Wiesbaden: 1987, 17.

52 ZF, 55.

53 JT/Thackston, v. 2, 428.

54 "哈刺察兒大王舉公爲長", see *Shenzhou jinshiji* 深州金石記 (Bronze and stone inscriptions in Shenzhou"), Wu Rulun 吳汝綸 (ed.), *juan* 11, "Yuan guzhangguan ligong beiming" 元故長官李公碑銘 ("Inscription of the late Official, Gentleman Li Xiu"), in the *New Edition of Historical*

tended to identify this “Prince Qaračar” as Ögedei’s fourth son, whose name also appears in the JT and the YS.⁵⁵ According to the YS, however, in 1238, Ögedei ordered the removal of Anping, as well as other two counties (Raoyang 饒陽 and Wuqiang 武彊), from the former Zhending *Lu* (真定路), and assignment to the Office of Military and Civil Myriarchy of Gucheng and Other Regions (*gucheng dengchu junmin wan-hufu* 鼓城等處軍民萬戶府), which took charge of administrative affairs for the Jochid appanage.⁵⁶ Therefore, the “Prince Qaračar” here obviously refers to a Jochid prince rather than to Ögedei’s son. It is likely that Qaračar had to rely upon his representatives (i.e. the *jaruqači* and *daruqači*) to administer his Chinese appanage and only sometimes issued the edicts to appoint and remove local officials.⁵⁷

[5] *Yasū-Būqā and Shirāmūn b. Songqur*

These two persons can be identified as Yesū Buqa (Per. Yīsū Būqā) and Širemūn (Per. Šīrāmūn), sons of Jochi’s ninth son Songqur (Pers. Shīngqūr).⁵⁸

[6] *BWRBAKW (Būrālkū) b. Yasū-Būqā b. Songqur*

This name presumably derives from a variant of the Mongolian word “Būrālqī” (Mong. *boralqi*), which means “runaway slaves or animals”.⁵⁹ The alternation of the letters *-r* and *-l* in Persian/Arabic transliteration is, according to Pelliot, frequent, and the final syllable *-qī/ghī* also can be replaced by *-qū/ghū* as well. A similar form “Bolargo” can be found in a 1320 commercial agreement from Venice and in addition, the form “Boralkī” also appears in the 16th century Chaghatai Turkic chronicle *Tawārīkh-i guzīda-yi nuṣrat-nāma* (compiled in 1504).⁶⁰

Materials carved in Stone 石刻史料新編, 3rd series, Taipei: Xinwenfeng Press, 1986, v. 24, 542–3.

55 YS, 2716; JT/Thackston, v.2, 306; SP, f. 124b; MA, J1416.

56 YS, 1357–8, 2414. Ren Yi 任毅, “Jin Zhou zhiji” [晉州治記] (The Description of Administration in Jin Zhou), *Quanyuanwen* [全元文] (Complete Collection of all surviving Yang period prose literature), Nanjing: Fenghuang chubanshe, 1998, v. 9, 21–2.

57 Qiu Yihao, “Independent Ruler, Indefinable Role: Understanding the History of the Golden Horde from the Perspectives of the Yuan Dynasty”, in *Revue du monde musulman et de la Méditerranée* 143, 2018, 33–6.

58 JT/Thackston, v. 2, 354; JT/Arabic, 694, SP, f. 108b, 115b. Yesū Buqa’s name is omitted from the Arabic version and in the SP, the Uyghuric script of Songqur’s name is labelled incorrectly under the Arabic form of the name “Jīlā’ūn” (Jochi’s eighth son). For the etymology of the personal name Širemūn, see Pelliot, *Notes sur l’histoire de la Horde d’Or*, 46. İzmirlı identified the first person’s name as “Tenuşukbuğa” (تَشُقُ بَغَات), but we cannot find this name in Jochid’s genealogy. *Altınordu Devleti Tarihine Ait Metinler*, 161.

59 Doerfer, *Türkische und mongolische Elemente*, v.1, 213–4; Rybatzki, *Die Personennamen*, 267. In contemporary Chinese sources, this word usually was transliterated as *bu-lan-xi*, 不闌奚 or *bo-lan-xi*, 孛闌奚.

60 Miya Noriko 宮紀子, “Buraruguchi zaikō” ブラルグチ再考 (Reconsidering Bularghuchi), *Tōhō gaku-hō* 東方學報 (Journal of Oriental Studies), 2011: 86, 733; Akasaka Tsuneaki 赤坂恒明, *Jochi-kei seiken no rekishi ni kansuru kenkyū* ジュチ裔諸政權史の研究 (Studies of Jochid regimes), Tokyo, 2005, 405.

Working through the chronicles, among Jochi's family there is only Yesü Buqa's son Buralqī (Pers. Būrālqī/ Mong. Buralq-i) who can be identified with Berke's "Būrālkū".⁶¹ Rashīd al-Dīn supplies no information about Buralqī beyond his name.

In addition, both Armenian and Georgian chronicles respectively mentioned a non-Toluid prince, Bawrayan (Urq'an in Georgian), who served as Hülegü's accompanier to Iran. Cleaves tries to identify this Bawrayan with the Mongolian *boraqan*, but we cannot find such a name in the Chinggisid genealogy.⁶² Thus this Bawraghan can probably be identified with Yesü Buqa's son Buralqī, although Akanc' reports that he eventually submitted to Hülegü and avoided execution.⁶³

[7] *Minkqadār b. Bo'al*

According to the records of the JT, SP and MA, this was Mingyadar (Pers. Mīnkqadār), son of Jochi's seventh son Bo'al (Pers. Būvāl) and the brother of Noqai, the eponymous founder of the Nogay *Ulus*.⁶⁴ In addition, Bo'al's name appears in the ZF as "Mughal" (مغل).⁶⁵ He also was described as one of the powerful Jochid princes who administrated the Jochid *ulus* after Batu's death.⁶⁶

[8] *Bāynāl, Bak-Qadāq, Ajī (Ayājī) b. Šaiban*

These three princes, Bāinal (Pers. Bāynāl), Qadaq (Pers. Qādāq) and Ayači (Pers. Ayājī), came from the family of Jochi's fifth son, Šaiban.⁶⁷ As for the form Bak-Qadāq, it seems to combine the title *bak* (i.e. *bey*) with the personal name. The Turkish *bak* is to be regarded here as a title applied to Chinggisid princes. The Mongolian personal name "Ajī" (or Ajay) is mentioned among the Chinggisid clan as the name of Hülegü's eighth son (Per. Ajāy/Mong. Ajai).⁶⁸ We cannot find this name in Jochi's family, however. It is most likely a corruption of Ayājī (Mong. Ayači), the eighth son of Šaiban.

[9] *Qūtlūq Timūr b. Sāyliqān b. Šaiban*

According to both the JT and the SP, Sayliqan, respectively Orda's fourth great-grandson and Šaiban's ninth son, has a descendant named Qutluq-Temür (Pers. Qūtlūq

61 JT/Thackston, v. 2, 354; JT/Arabic, 694, as: Būralghī (بورلغی); SP, f. 115b; MA, J1256.

62 Cleaves, "The Mongolian Names and Terms", 415.

63 Akanc'/Frye, 237, 338; Roin Metreveli, *The Georgian Chronicles of Kartlis Tskhovreba (A History of Georgia), translated and with commentary*, T'bilisi: Artanuji, 2014, 345. The Georgian Chronicle emphasized that Urq'an was a son (koun < kö'en) of Batu.

64 JT/Thackston, v. 2, 354; SP, f. 115b; MA, J125a. The SP supplies another form of his name as "Mīnk-qān" (i.e. Mong. Mīngyan), but the scribe subsequently struck it through with a line. Bo'al's name appears in the SP (f. 115a), spelt as "Būval" (بووال).

65 ZF, 17.

66 Ibn Faḍl Allah al-'Umārī, *Das Mongolische Weltreich: al-'Umārī's Darstellung der mongolischen Reiche in seinem Werk Masalik al-absar fi mamalik al-Amsar*, Klaus Lech (ed. and trans.), Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1968, 100.

67 JT/Thackston, v. 2, 353; JT/Arabic, 687; SP, f. 114a; MA, J1236.

68 SP, f. 139b.

Timūr). In light of the chronicle evidence, only Sayliqan's son is appropriate to be identified with this Qutluq-Temür.⁶⁹

[10] *Tuqūz-ughūl b. Tangqut*

This Toquz-oγul doubtless refers to the second son of Jochi's sixth son Tangqut (Pers. Tangqūt).⁷⁰ The SP records his name, in both Arabic and Uyghuric scripts, as Pers. Tūqūz~Mong. Toqus. The Turkish *oγul* (Pers. ughūl), is exclusively applied to Chinggisid princes in the Persian and Turkish sources compiled during the Mongol era.

[11] *Durbāy*

In al-'Aynī's quotation, this name is marked with the phonetic symbols as "Durbāy". It derives, of course, from the Mongolian *dörbei*, meaning "people of the Dörben tribe".⁷¹ This Durbāy, according to Berke's letter, is a commander who had been "dispatched to Khurāsān" with a myriarchy (*tūmān*).

Dörbei belonged to the Tutuqli'ut Tatar, a branch of the Tatar tribe. His father Quli and his uncle Qara-Mönggetü Uha were saved by Chinggis Khan's two Tatar wives, Yesülün and Yesügen, from the retaliatory slaughter of Tatar people, and were subsequently adopted in Yesülün and Yesügen's camps as cooks (Mong. *ba'urči*).⁷² When Quli and Qara-Mönggetü Uha grew up, they were ordered to gather the dispersed Tatar people. Durbāy's cousin, Qara-Mönggetü Uha's son Sali, was sent to the frontier of North India (Hindūstān) and Khurasan and, in the early 1250s, on Möngke Qan's order, he replaced Hülqūtū as commander in charge of the campaign in North India and Kashmir. Later, Sali was assigned as Hülegü's subordinate and sent a lot of Indian slaves to Iran.⁷³ As for Dörbei, he was also dispatched to Iran with his family. Thus "a *tumān*" Mongol detachment which was dispatched to Khurasan along with Dörbei, as Berke's letter mentioned, most probably refers to the Mongol garrison previously under Sali's command.

Nonetheless, Berke probably exaggerates Dörbei's allegiance to the Jochids, because he continued to serve Hülegü after the latter completely broke with the Jochid *ulus*, and subsequently conducted the siege of the fortress of al-Bīra. On account of this achievement, Dörbei was appointed as the military official of Diyarbakr, and his son Buraču became the Ilkhan's son-in-law.⁷⁴

69 JT/Thackston, v. 2, 353; JT/Arabic, 687; SP, f. 114a; MA, JI236. On Qutluq-Temür from Orda's clan, see SP, f. 109b.

70 JT/Thackston, v. 2, 353; JT/Arabic, 691; SP, f. 114b; MA, JI246.

71 Rybatzki, *Die Personennamen*, 334.

72 JT/Thackston, v. 1, 48.

73 JT/Thackston, v. 1, 48; SP, f. 139a.

74 JT/Thackston, v. 1, 48; SP, 140b, 143a, ZF, 95.

[12] *Bāynāl Nūyan*

This Bainal (Pers. Bāynāl), as Akanc' recorded, is one of the "three captains" who invaded Albania and Georgia.⁷⁵ As a subordinate general accompanying Chormaqan on expedition deep into the territories of Iran and Iraq, Bainal and Naimas once conducted an incursion towards Baghdad, with a detachment consisting of ten chiliarchies (*dah hazār*).⁷⁶ Ibn Bībī mentions Bainal's official title as *yārghūchī* (judge) and describes him as a friend of the Parvāna of the Rūm Saljuq Sultanate, i.e. Mu'īn al-Dīn Sulāymān.⁷⁷

[13] *Ilkā-Kūkū*

This Ilkā-Kūkū is paralleled by the Köke-Elege (Pers. Kūkā-Īlkā) in contemporary Persian sources. As Rashīd al-Dīn mentioned, Köke-Elege came from the Uryāngqat tribe, clansmen of the famous Mongol general Söbetei.⁷⁸

Although Berke listed Köke-Elege as Baiju's subordinate, according to Vaṣṣāf, Köke-Elege was initially stationed at Maymana (in today's Faryab Province, north-western Afghanistan), and marched from there towards Mazandarān, where Jochid's expeditionary forces had their headquarters.⁷⁹ En route, Köke-Elege and Buqa-Temür conducted an attack aimed at the town of Tūn (near Shaburgan).⁸⁰ After leaving Mazandarān, Köke-Elege participated in the siege of the Isma'ili fortress on Mount Alamut, under the command of three Jochid princes, i.e. Quli, Tutar and Balaqai.⁸¹ He is mentioned by Baybars al-Manṣūrī as a chief commander (*al-akābir*) who led Jochid

75 Akanc'/Frye, 297.

76 Zajjājī, *Humāyūn-nāma*, v.2, 949. Zajjājī does not supply an accurate date for the Mongols' incursion against Baghdad. According to Boyle's study, however, this occurred in 1238. See J. A. Boyle, "The Capture of Isfahan by the Mongols", *Atti del Convegno Internazionale sul Tema: la Persia nel Medioevo*, Rome, 1971, 335.

77 Ibn Bībī (Amīr Nāṣir al-Dīn Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad b. 'Alī al-Ja'farī al-Rughdī), *al-Avāmīr al-'alā'ya fī 'l-umūr al-'alā'ya: ma'arūf ba tārikh-i Ibn Bībī*, Zhāla Mutaḥidīn (ed.), Tehran: Pazhuhishgāh-i 'Ulūm-i Insānī va Mutālī'āt-i Farhangī, 2011, 559; A German translation is contributed by Herbert W. Duda, *Die Seltschukengeschichte des Ibn Bībī*, Kopenhagen: Munksgaard, 1959, 288. In Ibn Bībī's chronicle, his name is spelt as "Tāynāl". As Cleaves has pointed out, the form "Tāynāl" is merely a corruption of "Bāynāl". Cleaves, "The Mongolian Names and Terms", 415–6.

78 JT/Thackston, v. 1, 83; SP, f. 138b.

79 Vaṣṣāf, *Tārikh-i Vaṣṣāf*, 588; Saif ibn-Muḥammad Saifī Haravī, *Tārikh-nāma-yi Harāt*, Qulamriza Tabataba'ī Majd (ed.), Tehrān: Asatir-Goftogoye Tamaddunih, 2004, 261.

80 L. J. Ward, "The Zafar-Nāmah of Hamdallāh Mustaufī and Il-Khān Dynasty of Iran", PhD Dissertation, Manchester University, 1983, v. 3, 24.

81 Juvaynī, *Genghis Khan. The History of the World-Conqueror*, v.2, 618.

troops to conquer the city of Baghdad.⁸² After conquering Baghdad, Köke-Elege continued to conduct attacks in Syria.⁸³

Like Dörbei, despite the appearance of his name in Berke's letter, Köke-Elege seems to have finally turned his allegiance to Hülegü. He served the Ilkhan as Chief Justice (*yārghūchī*) and was positioned as commander over Suqunčağ, Hülegü's personal guardian (*amīr-i kizīk*).⁸⁴ During Arghun Khan's reign (r.1284–91), Köke-Elege's son Arqusūn succeeded to his position.⁸⁵

[14] *Ibn Shihāb al-Dīn Ghāzī*

Abū Shāma records his full name as: al-Ashraf b. al-Mulk al-Muzaffar Shihāb al-Dīn Ghāzī b. al-ʿĀdil, and in Ibn Shaddād's gazetteer his name appears as al-Ashraf Mūsā.⁸⁶ al-Ashraf came from the family of an Ayyubid ruler (*ṣāhib*) of Mayyāfāriqīn. When his father Shihāb al-Dīn Malik Ghāzī passed away in 645H/1247–8, his brother al-Kāmil Nāṣir al-Dīn Muḥammad inherited his position and attended Möngke's court. Due to a lack of faith in Hülegü's peace guarantee, al-Kāmil refused to submit to him and was thus executed in 1258 on Hülegü's order.⁸⁷

As for al-Ashraf Mūsā, acting on al-Kāmil's orders, he presented himself before Batu in 1252, to request the latter prevent Baiju's incursions into their territory.⁸⁸ This indicates that al-Ashraf Mūsā had established a personal relationship with the ruler of the Jochid family even before Berke's enthronement. Given these experiences, it is easy to understand why al-Ashraf Mūsā aligned himself with Berke during the conflict against the Ilkhanate. Berke introduces him as "a witness to the event" who would "tell the Sultan the wonders of the battle that he saw with his own eyes". This appar-

82 ZF, 35. His name appears in here as "KWKL" (كوكل). The account of the ZF is consistent with the other Arabic and Persian sources. According to Rashīd al-Dīn, the army headed by Qulī, Balaqai and Tutar were charged with attacking the Suq Uthman Gate. (JT, V. 2, 496); as Ibn Wāṣil said, "Berke's army" assaulted the city from the western side, beside the Tigris River. See Mohamed Rahim, *Die Chronik des ibn Wāṣil: Ġamāl ad-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Wāṣil, Mufarriğ al-Kurūb fī Aḥbār Banī Ayyūb, Kritische Edition des letzten Teils (646/1261) mit Kommentar, Untergang der Ayyubiden und Beginn der Mamlukenherrschaft*, Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2010, 155.

83 Bar Hebraeus, *The Chronography of Gregory Abū'l Faraj*, Wallis Budge (tr.), New Jersey: Gorgias Press, 2003, 439–40

84 SP, f. 138b.

85 SP, f. 147a.

86 Abū Shāma, *Tarājim rijāl al-qarnayn al-sādis wa-l-sābiʿ al-ma'rūf bi-l-dhayl 'alā al-Rawḍatayn*, Muḥammad Zāhid b. al-Ḥasan al-Kawṭarī (ed.), Cairo, 1947, v.5, 351; Muḥammad Ibn-Ibrāhīm Ibn Shaddād, *al-A'laq al-khaṭīra fī dhkir umarā' al-shām wa-al-jazīra*, 'Abbāra, Yahyā Zakariyā (ed.), Dimashq: Wizārat al-Thaqāfa wa-l-Irshād al-Qaumī, 1978, v.3, part 2, 474.

87 ZF, 42; JT/Thackston, v.2, 507; Minhāj al-Sirāj Jūzjānī, *Tabakat-I-Nasirī: 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*, Major H. G. Raverty (tr.), London: Gilbert & Rivington, 1881, v.2, 165–7. (hereafter cited as Jūzjānī/Raverty).

88 Ibn Shaddād, *al-A'laq al-khaṭīra*, v.3, part 2, 477.

ently refers to the battle which occurred on the Terek River (January of 661H/1263), in which Hülegü's troops suffered a heavy defeat, losing a huge amount of cavalry.⁸⁹

3. The Establishment of Berke's Islamic Network

According to the discussion above, we can conclude that Berke's following included the vast majority of the branches of the Jochid family. His two blood brothers' names, i.e. Berkeçer and Bora-Muhammad, who were Berke's early comrades in conversion to Islam, were not included in the list, however.⁹⁰ How to explain the absence of their names? A reasonable presumption is that both of their names had already been introduced to the Mamluk Sultan in a previous letter. Given that there are "four brothers", who, as Berke said, "stood up and fought him (i.e. Hülegü) from all sides for sake of reviving the light of Islam", the third Jochid prince in this clique can probably be identified as Togai-Temür, despite his deeds only being mentioned by authors in the seventeenth century, i.e. Maḥmūd b. Valī (around 1595–1641) and Abū al-Ghazī Bahādūr (1603–63). According to the accounts of these two authors, Berke personally converted Togai-Temür to the Islamic faith.⁹¹ We have still, however, no evidence allowing us to identify the fourth of Berke's allies.

Concerning the princes listed in Berke's letter, most of them came from the Right Hand (i.e. western wing) of the Jochid *ulus*, namely the integral part of the so-called "Golden Horde" under the domination of Jochi's second son Batu. Among these princes, Šaiban's branch contributed more participators than others, totalling four princes. This number is consistent with Šaiban's status among the Jochid family; contemporary authors, both Muslim and Christian, depicted Šaiban as "distinguished" (*mashhūr*) among his brothers.⁹² Tangqut and Bo'al, two Jochid princes who had participated the expedition in Rus and Hungary, are also included in this list.

Therefore, the collaboration between Berke and the princes of the western wing was probably established as early as the conquest of the Qipchaq Steppe and eastern Europe. When Berke became the fourth *khān* of the Jochid *ulus* in 1257, two influen-

89 ZF, 18. Rashīd al-Dīn avoided mentioning Hülegü's defeat, but the *Akhbār-i Mughūlān*, which is regarded as a primary source for Rashīd al-Dīn's work, reports that "A certain amount of Hūlāgū's troops were killed and destroyed" in the war. Quṭb al-Dīn Shīrāzī, *Akhbār-i Mughūlān*, 39–40.

90 Pelliot, *Notes sur l'histoire de la Horde d'Or*, 49–50.

91 For Maḥmūd b. Valī's account see Raverty's selective translation, Jūzjānī/Raverty, v.2, 1102, 1165. For an introduction to Maḥmūd b. Valī's life and his chronicle *Baḥr al-asrār fī manāqib al-akhyār* ("The Sea of Secrets concerning the Achievements of the Just"), see B. A. Ahmadov, *Istoriko-geograficheskaja literatura Srednej Azii XVI-XVIII vv. (pis'mennye pamjatniki)*, Tashkent: Izd-vo "Fan" Uzbekskoj SSR, 1985, 65–71. P.I. Desmaisons, *Histoire des Mogols et des Tatares, par Aboul-Ghāzi Bēhādour Khan*, St. Petersburg: Imprimerie de l'Académie Impériale des sciences, 1874, v.2 (trans.), 181.

92 Ḥamdallāh Mustawfī Qazvīnī, *Ẓafarnāma*, Nāhīd Zākārī (ed.), Tehran: Pazhuhishgāh-i 'Ulūm-i Insānī va Mutālī'āt-i Farhangī, 2010, v.8, 101; John of Plano-Carpini, *Historia Mongolorum: The Story of the Mongols Whom We Call the Tartars*. Tr. Erik Hildinger. Boston: Branden Publishing, 1996, 64.

tial princes of the western wing, Tutar b. Bo'al and Balaqai b. Šaiban, who had previously headed east into present-day Afghanistan in charge of military preparations, were likewise placed under his direct command.⁹³

The left hand of the Jochid *Ulus* usually refers to the eastern half of the Jochid realm, which was dominated by Orda and his four brothers Udur, Toqai-Temür, Songqur and Šinggüm.⁹⁴ Among them, Jochi's eldest son Orda, ninth son Songqur and twelfth son Udur respectively dispatched the princes to participate in Berke's alliance. Orda, appearing in Russian Chronicles as "Urdju" or "Urduy", participated from the very beginning in the western campaigns in the Volga-Ural regions and Rus as far as Eastern Europe.⁹⁵ As the leader of the princes of the left hand, Orda's personal authority was respected even by the Great Qa'an Möngke, despite his refusal to succeed to his father's throne as a *khān*.⁹⁶

As a tradition, each powerful Chinggisid branch preferred to assign family members to participate in campaigns in multiple directions, in order to obtain appanages and spoils from both the eastern and western territories of the Empire. Quli thus, as the Ordaids' respective, led an independent contingent, along with his major wife Kükteni, his brother Qutuqai, fourth son Ayači and the integral branch of his third son Mingyan, to join Hülegü en route in 650/1252–3. His contingent left Khwarazm and advanced westward via the Dihistān steppe and Mazandarān to eastern Iran.⁹⁷

We lack any information about Quli's religious faith. Yet, among his descendants, we find more than one Perso-Muslim name. For instance, Quli's fifth son was named Musalman (Pers. Musulmān); the fourth son Mingyan's eldest son was named Khalil and his second son Basmaq's son was named Hasan. These derived from Arabic-Persian words *Khalīl* ("friend") and *Hasan* ("good", or "benefactor").⁹⁸ These onomastic

93 On Tutar and Balaqai's itinerary, which, according to Haravī's accounts, started from the Badaghis steppe in where their headquarters located and then headed towards Mazandarān, see Haravī, *Tārikh-nāma-yi Harāt*, 260. This is also supported by Mustawfī. In the *Zafarnāma*, Mustawfī stated that "Balaghay Shāh and Tutar Shāh set out ... by way of Samnān and Khuvār and thence to the (Ismā'īl people's) castle." Samnān and Khuvār are located in present-day Semnān Province, on the Khurasan trunk road. See Ward, *The Zafar-Nāmah of Hamdallāh Mustawfī*, v.2, 37, notes 46 and 47. However, among the contemporary authors, Rashīd al-Dīn is the only one to mention that Tutar and Balaqai passed through the Qipchaq Straits (Darband, present-day Derbent in Dagestan). JT/Thackston, v.2, 36. The only possible explanation for this contradiction is that Rashīd al-Dīn, because of his bias towards the Jochids, deliberately avoids mentioning the Jochid princes' achievements in battle against the Ismā'īlī territories.

94 JT/Thackston, v.2, 348; JT/Arabic, 665.

95 *The Hypatian Code, Part 2: The Galician-Volynian Chronicle*, George A. Perfecky (trans.), Munich: Wilhelm Fink Verlag, 1973, 48; *Pamjatniki literatury drevnej Rusi, vypusk 03: XIII veka*, Lev Aleksandrovich Dmitriev, Dmitrij Sergeevich Lihachev (eds.), Moscow: Izdatel'stvo Hudozhestvennaja literatura, 1981, 172–3.

96 JT/Thackston, v.2, 348.

97 Juvaynī, *Genghis Khan. The History of the World-Conqueror*, v.2, 608; JT/Thackston, v.2, 350–1.

98 JT/Thackston, v.2, 351; JT/Arabic, 675. Hasan b. Basmaq's name does not appear in Thackston's translation, but is recorded in the Arabic version.

shifts can in some measure be regarded as a sole indicator that the Islamic faith had been increasing its influence within the Chinggisid royal family.⁹⁹ In addition, Rashīd al-Dīn's report that these Jochid princes had arrived in Iran as children thus reveals that they were born and named shortly before 1250.

While Jochi's ninth son Songqur is a relatively obscure figure in contemporary historical works, the presence of three members of his branch in Berke's letter is unexpected. However, as a Jochid prince once pursued and attacked the Qipchiq refugees in Hungary,¹⁰⁰ Songqur and his branch may well have played a more important role among the princes of the left hand than we imagine.

There are four Jochid families absent from Berke's letter. Jochi's eighth son Čilaqa'un and fourteenth son Šinggūm, as the JT mentioned, had no sons. It seems most likely that they died young. The reason for the absence of Batu's family is apparent: the two Batuid successors Sartaq and Ulayčī died within a few years and all surviving princes were still young. Therefore, when Berke replaced a Batuid prince to ascend the throne as the new *khān* of the Jochid *Ulus*, the authority of Batu's family was inevitably curtailed. As for Toqai-Temūr, I assume that his name had already appeared in Berke's first letter (see above).

Thus, through the analysis of Berke's allies, we can conclude that Berke's policies – referring both to Islamic propaganda and foreign relations – won wide support across the Jochid family. This fact, in the meantime, also confirms that the Mamluk authors' anecdote about the events preceding Berke's enthronement is reliable. Mamluk sources state that Batu's widow Boraqčīn tried to install her stepson Toda-Mōngke to succeed as ruler of the Jochid *Ulus*, but the Jochid "*khāns*, Batu's sons and the rest of the *amīrs*" (*al-khānāt*, '*aulād Baṭū wa baqīyya al-umarā'*) boycotted this project. When the "family members" (*qawm*) learnt of her plot to request Hülegü's assistance in usurping the throne, she was executed by drowning in the river.¹⁰¹ On the other hand, Jūzjānī's account that Berke led a violent purge in Jochi's clan seems an exaggerated, if not completely false, version, supplied by his informant Sayyid Ashraf al-Dīn, a Muslim trader in Delhi.¹⁰²

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- 99 Judith Pfeiffer, "Reflections on a 'Double Rapprochement': Conversion to Islam among the Mongol Elite during the Early Ilkhanate", in: *Beyond the Legacy of Genghis Khan*, Linda Komaroff (ed.), Leiden/Boston, 2006, 372–6.
- 100 JT/Thackston, v.2, 332.
- 101 ZF, 14; al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-arab*, v.27, 243; al-Aynī, *Iqd al-jumān*, v.5, 90. In this context, the word "*qawm*" seems better understood as the "family members" rather than "tribe". Baybars al-Manšūrī incorrectly dates this event to 652/1254–5, but as Vásáry points out, Boraqčīn briefly seized power as regent after Sartaq's death in 1256. Vásáry, "'History and Legend' in Berke Khan's Conversion to Islam", 245. Rashīd al-Dīn avoided talking about the events of Boraqčīn's plot and death, yet in the section on Jochi's progeny, he dated the Jochid prince Balaqai's execution impossibly to the year 654/1256–7, and in the following section, three Jochid princes' deaths to 658/1260. This probably reveals that Rashīd al-Dīn unintentionally confused these two events (i.e. the deaths of Boraqčīn and Balaqai). JT/Thackston, v. 2, 362, 506.
- 102 Jūzjānī/Raverty, v.2, 1288, 1292.

Given that most of the sympathizers settled in their own appanages, how was Berke able to forge an efficient alliance across such a vast expanse of territory? This may be attributed to the geographic distribution of Berke's appanages. We have no information to trace Berke's initial appanage. Nevertheless, after Great Qa'an Möngke ascended the throne, Berke was allotted an appanage in the regions of Georgia (*qu-er-zhi di*, 曲兒只地), more specifically the pasturelands of the North Caucasus.¹⁰³ Since his appanage was located on the route from Persia towards the Volga Sarai, the Muslim envoys passed through Berke's encampment first, and presented him with their gifts. This in fact damaged Batu's own interests, so he ordered Berke to migrate to the east, beyond Etilia (i.e. Volga).¹⁰⁴ However, as Haravī mentioned, Berke moved his encampment to Darband (in present-day Derbent, Daghestan) and from there directed the Jochid contingent through his envoys.¹⁰⁵ Meanwhile, he also inherited the Volga Sarai after his accession.¹⁰⁶

Besides this, Berke owned several separate appanages in Khwarazm and Transoxiana. It was said that Berke studied the Qu'ran in Khujand (present-day Sughd, Tajikistan).¹⁰⁷ Ötemish Hājji, a sixteenth-century historian of Khwarazm, recorded that Berke departed to Signāq – the region of the northern and lower reaches of the Syr River, in order to flee from his infidel relatives.¹⁰⁸ Additionally, in 659H/1260–1, Tāj al-Dīn Kart, a local Herati commander, fled northward from Taknābād (near present-day Kandahar) when he learned of his brother Shams al-Dīn's plan to murder him. After one month, Tāj al-Dīn reached Berke's encampment and presented himself for an audience. According to contemporary travel reports, this most likely refers to Berke's appanage in Khwarazm.¹⁰⁹ In Transoxiana, Bukhara is the city in which Berke first met his religious tutor, Shaykh Sayf al-Dīn Bākharzī, a leading disciple of the Kubravī Sufī sect. Moreover, Vaṣṣāf reports that one-third of the citizens who dwelt in the city of Bukhara were Berke's subjects.¹¹⁰

103 YS, 45.

104 *The Mission of Friar William of Rubruck: his Journey of the Court of Great Khan Möngke, 1253–1255*, Peter Jackson (trans.), London: Hakluyt Society, 1990, 127.

105 Haravī, *Tārīkh-nāma-yi Harāt*, 261. Haravī dated the event to 656/1258 and called the Jochid ruler “Bātū”, but according to the chronology Batu died in 1255, therefore “Batu” in this context must refer to Berke. Spuler, *Die Goldene Horde*, 31–2.

106 al-Dhahabī mentioned Berke's dispatch of the envoy to Shaykh Sayf al-Dīn al-Bākharzī from the Saqsīn (i.e. the regions of the lower reach of Volga). al-Dhahabī, *Siyar al-lām*, v. 23, 363.

107 Jūzjānī/Raverty, v.2, 1284.

108 Ötemish Hājji, *Chingīz-nāma*, V. P. Judina, Y. G. Baranova, M. H. Abuseitov (eds.), Alma-Ata: Gylym, 1992, 96.

109 Haravī, *Tārīkh-nāma-yi Harāt*, 292–3. Dang Baohai compared Ibn Battūta's and Pegolotti's itineraries and pointed that the route from Volga Sarai to Sarachik (on the lower reaches of the Ural River) takes eight days by river, while from Sarachik to Bukhara it usually takes around fifty days. It is thus impossible for Tāj al-Dīn to have set off from Taknābād and reached Volga Sarai to meet Berke within a single month. See Dang Baohai 黨寶海, *Mengyuan yizhanjiaotong yanjiu* 蒙元驛站交通研究 [Studies on the postal stations during the Mongol Yuan era], Beijing: Kunlun chubanshe, 2006, 354–5.

110 ZF, 15; Jūzjānī/Raverty, v.2, 1285; Vaṣṣāf, *Tārīkh-i Vaṣṣāf*, p.51.

Naṭanzī, a Timurid historian, said that Chinggis Khan “assigned each son several possessions in the territory of the others so that in this way envoys would continuously pass to-and-fro between them.”¹¹¹ In this way, the imperial fiefs linked the ever-expanding empire together like glue. Berke's appanages sometimes adjoined the territories of his brothers. For instance, Toqṭai b. Balaqai's winter quarters were near the Terek River toward Darband and Šaiban's territory was to the north of Yangikent (south of the Syr River, some twenty kilometres from Kazalinsk), both located adjacent to Berke's appanages and alongside his route towards Central Asia.¹¹² Therefore, Berke, as well as his brothers, were able to travel easily through these routes from Caucasia to Transoxiana. al-Dhahabī recorded that Berke once left Bulghār, passed through Jand and Otrar successively and finally reached Bukhara.¹¹³

Obviously, the network of the routes which linked Caucasia, Khwarazm and Transoxiana were not exclusive to the Chinggisid princes and their envoys, but were in the meantime also open to the royal trade agents and religious elites. If we compare Berke's appanages to the places in which the famous Kubravīya Sufi Shaykhs had studied and lived, we can find there is a remarkable coincidence between them. For instance, Sayf al-Dīn Bākharzī (586–659/1190–1261), a key figure in Berke's conversion to Islam, studied in Nishapur and Herat for a long time and first obtained an audience to Najm al-Dīn Kubrā, the Kubravīya founder, after a long trip to Khwarazm. Furthermore, Bākharzī studied with the Najm al-Dīn Kubrā and, at the latter's suggestion, left for Bukhara before the Mongol attack on Khwarazm. Besides, according to the hagiographical work *Maqāmāt-i Shaykh Ḥasan Bulghārī*, the fascinating figure of 13th CE Sufism Shaykh Ḥasan Bulghārī was captured by the infidels of the Dasht-i Qipchaq; after nine years' slavery in Bulghār and Rus, he fled to Bukhara and there became disciple to Bākharzī.¹¹⁴ Meanwhile, Bābā Kamāl Jandī, another disciple of Najm al-Dīn Kubrā, born in Jand (or Sīghnāq), studied in Khwarazm and later undertook missionary work around the Syr River.¹¹⁵ It is hard to consider the above convergence of place names as an accident. On the contrary, the sufis migrated across Berke's different appanages and this fact actively promoted contacts of both sides. Furthermore, this network of routes also contributed to the spread of Islam among the Jochid family after Berke's conversion.

111 Mu'īn al-Dīn Naṭanzī, *Muntakhab al-tavārīkh-i Mu'īnī*, Jean Aubin (ed.), Tehrān: Kitāb furust-yi Haiyām, 1957, 427. Allsen, “Sharing the Empire: Apportioned Lands under the Mongols”, in: *Nomads in the Seditary World*, Anatly M. Khazanov & André Wink (ed.), London: Curzon, 2001, 184.

112 JT/Thacksoṭn, v.2, 353; Carpini, *Historia Mongalorum*, 105.

113 al-Dhahabī, *Siyar a'lām*, v. 23, 366.

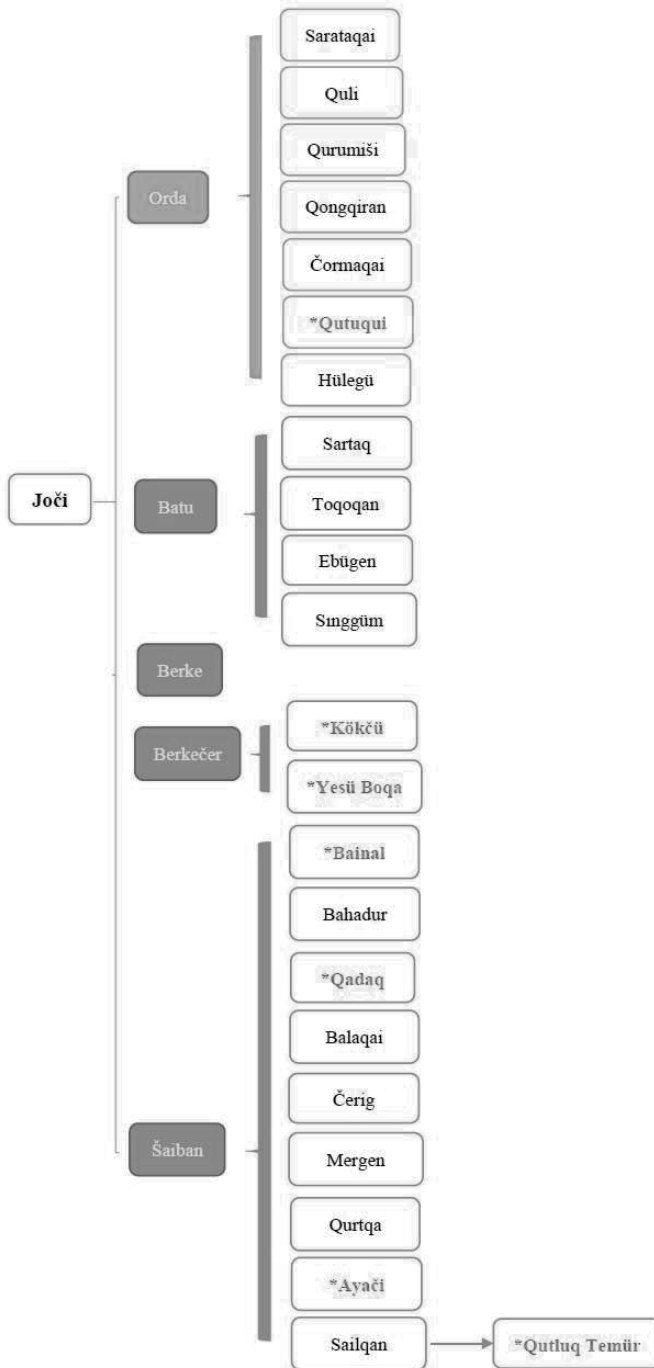
114 Īrāj Afshār, “Sayf al-Dīn Bākharzī”, *Haftād Guftār-i Īrāj Afshār*, Tehran: Afshār Publisher, 2012, 741–2; Devin A. DeWeese, “The Kashf al-Hudā of Kamāl ad-Dīn Ḥusayn Khorezmī: a fifteenth-century Sufi Commentary on the Qaṣīdat al-Burdah in Khorezmian Turkic (text Edition, Translation, and Historical Introduction)”, PhD diss. Indiana University, 1985, 30–2.

115 DeWeese, *The Kashf al-Hudā of Kamāl ad-Dīn Ḥusayn Khorezmī*, 70–80.

Conclusion

The story of Berke's conversion to Islam is clearly an essential element in Muslim sources referring to the history of the Golden Horde. However, the narrative accounts relating to this event were unavoidably coloured by Islamic bias. In other words, the story of Berke's conversion in Muslim sources can be regarded as a formulaic scenario based on Islamic historiographical models, indicating how Muslim authors understood a nomadic ruler's adoption of a new religion, rather than an objective record.

In contrast, Berke's letter preserved in the ZF accidentally supplies us with an account which was not reshaped according to Islamic historiographical tradition. The list of new conversions objectively reflects the spread of Islam through the royal family of the Jochid *Ulus*. Furthermore, considering that the Islamic faith continued to play a role in diplomatic exchanges between the Golden Horde and the Mamluk Sultanate, during the post-Berke era, various Jochid princes continued to establish their personal relationships with the Mamluk sultan under the slogan "conversion to Islam".



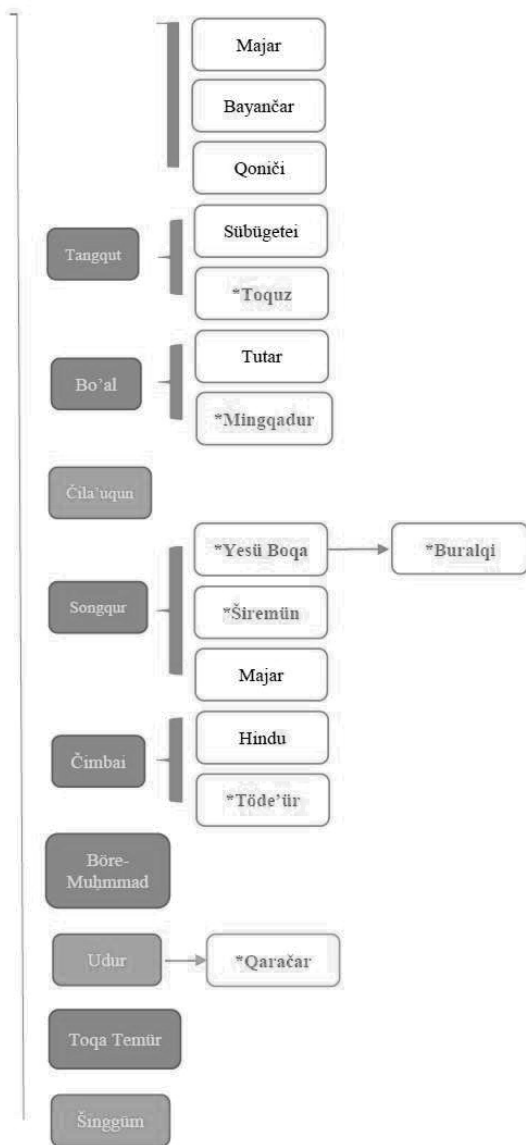




Figure 1: The Genealogical Table of Jochi's Clan

Note:  = Left-hand Princes of Jochi *ulus*

 = Right-hand Princes of Jochi *ulus*

The names mentioned in Berke's letter are marked in red.

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