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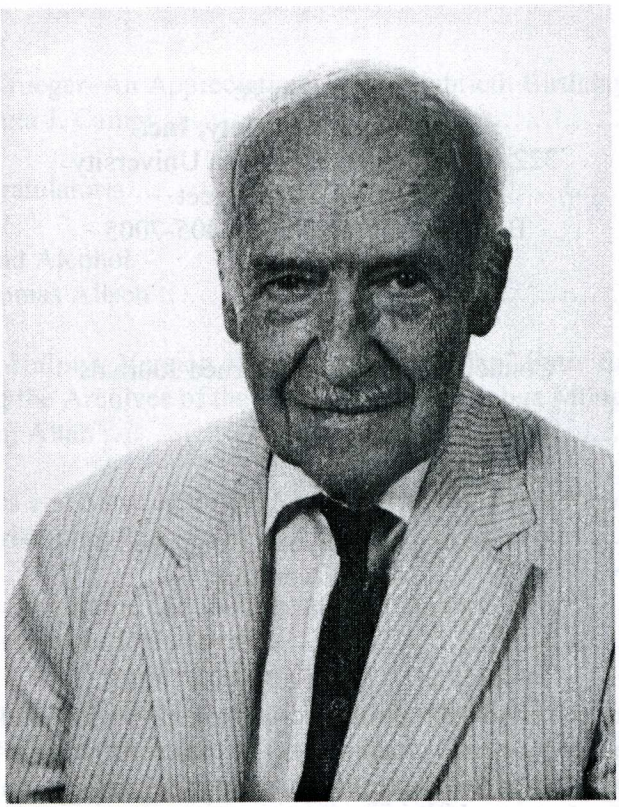
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Dedicated to John R. Krueger On His Birthday

Edited by
Johan Elverskog

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Informants and Sources for the *Secret History of the Mongols*[*]

CHRISTOPHER P. ATWOOD BLOOMINGTON

Along with the date of its composition, one of the most important unresolved questions about the *Secret History of the Mongols* (*SHM*) is its authorship. In the past, scholars have put forward Tatar-Tong'a, Chinqai, or Shigi Qutuqu as possible authors of the text. Of the three, Shigi Qutuqu is, as Igor de Rachewiltz concludes, certainly the most likely candidate, being both a member in the innermost circle at court and a major figure in the *SHM* itself. Tatar-Tong'a and Chinqai, by contrast, were relative outsiders and are never mentioned in the *SHM*.[1] What all three share is the fact of having been scribes at the Mongol court; this rare distinction of literacy has hitherto been the principal fan with which to winnow the large number of possible candidates for authorship of the work.

A reconsideration of the date of the *SHM*, however, raises the possibility of a new approach to the question. As is well-known, the *SHM* is dated only by the twelve-year animal cycle to "the year of the mouse," a date which could conceivably be 1228, 1240, 1252, or 1264. Recently, I have advanced arguments that 1252 makes the most sense as the date of the *SHM*.[2] These arguments will have to be evaluated by scholars in the field, but if they hold up, as I believe they will, then this dating also offers a new approach to the question of the *SHM* authorship. If the *SHM* was written in 1252, then by the time of its composition, almost all of the contemporaries of Chinggis Qan would have been deceased. As a result we may add "alive during Chinggis Qan's youth and rise, and also in 1252" as a further, quite stringent, criterion narrowing down the most likely possible person responsible

[*] Although I did not have the chance to study with John Krueger, he was full of aid and counsel when as a young faculty member at Indiana University I was suddenly thrust into the position of editor of *Mongolian Studies*. I greatly appreciated his help then and am only to happy to repay a tiny part of it through this presentation of my scholarly homage.

for the information in the *SHM*.

Most broadly, the dating of 1252 also raises the possibility that the identity of the *SHM*'s informant(s), either directly through oral interviews or indirectly through written memoirs or orally transmitted memories, may be just as important, if not more, as that of the author. If the *SHM* had been written in 1228, when many of those who had known Chinggis Qan from youth were still alive, then the author would have had to have been the primary selector, choosing from a wide variety of vivid memories, including quite likely his own. On the other hand, if the *SHM* was written in 1252, we have a different situation: a few companions of the conqueror—but only a few—would have been alive and able to serve as informants for someone seeking to write a history of the empire's founding. Other sources or memories would have to be sought indirectly, through second hand oral tradition or possibly written sources. One could then reasonably expect the particular situation and experiences of these precious few actual informants (whether at first or second hand) about the heroic days of Chinggis Qan to be formative influences on the *SHM*, quite apart from whoever was the actual author. I believe that by combining outside information and the pattern of coverage and distortion of fact in the *SHM* two primary informants for the *SHM* can be identified, one alive in 1252 and one who died a decade or more before then.

As I will show, one of the most important clues to the identities of the informants has been the exaggerated role assigned to certain figures. Although this is a judgment call and not a matter susceptible of irrefutable proof, it is my belief that obvious magnification of a person's role is more likely to flow from the pen of a disciple of that person, rather than from that person himself. In other words, if we see a particular figure, such as Shigi Qutuqu, given a role so grossly exaggerated that it is impossible that he could have believed it to be true, I would interpret this not so much as an indication that the man being glorified was the author, but rather as indication that a disciple or acolyte of his wrote it, perhaps using that person as an informant.

The Arguments for 1252: A Summary

The arguments for the 1252 date are set out at length in the article cited above, and those desiring a full presentation should consult it. Here I will only briefly summarize my points.

1) I believe that the SHM is a unitary text, with a number of important themes running throughout the text that are not found in any other history written under the Mongol empire. These include: a) an emphasis on the role of women advising Chinggis Qan; b) the designation of Shigi Qutuqu alongside Bo'orchu and Muqali as Chinggis Qan's innermost advisers; c) the high degree of freedom in criticizing Chinggisids throughout the work; d) the lack of criticism of Tolui or Möngke throughout the work; e) the glorification of Shigi Qutuqu and the denigration of Muqali; f) the denigration of the role of non-Mongol officials in general; and g) a preference among non-Mongol officials for Muslim Turkestanis over Uyghurs, eastern Turkic Christians, or Kitans.

Given these common themes and the stylistic unity of the text, I find theories of the *SHM* date that involve multi-stage composition or massive revisions by successive hands to be implausible.

2) Although the narrative ends just short of the conclusion of Ögedei Qa'an's reign (i.e. 1241) there are a number of statements in it which are anachronistic and must post-date 1240: a) the appointment of Mahmud Yalavach and Mas'ud Beg as the two administrators of sedentary cities cannot predate 1241 and is very implausible before 1246; b) the account of the debate over the succession cannot predate the accession of Tolui's son Möngke to the throne in 1251; c) the harsh criticism of the Chinggisids Güyüg and Büri cannot predate the overthrow of Güyüg's family and the execution of Büri in 1251-52.

3) the *SHM* sections on Chinggis Qan contain many anachronisms dating from the 1230s at the earliest: a) The elimination of Muqali's role as viceroy in North China cannot predate 1229 and is very implausible before Möngke Qa'an's reign (1251-59); b) the account of the battle at Tongguan Pass cannot predate 1232; c) the description of Shigi Qutuqu as chief census-taker of the Mongols cannot predate 1234-35, and is implausible before 1251; d) the description of the Qonggirad as marriage partners is very implausible before 1237; e) the reference to Töregene and Sorqaqtani Beki alone of Chinggis Qan's daughters-in-law fits best a composition date after 1241.

4) Numerous passages in the *SHM* cannot postdate the accession of Qubilai Qa'an (either as original text or as edited):

a) the highly confused account of the conquest of North China cannot postdate the inception of Qubilai's historical programs in 1260-64; b) the portrayal of Turkestanis as Chinggis Qan's only favored advisers cannot postdate 1260; c) the denigration of Muqali cannot postdate 1260; d) the glorification of Shigi Qutuqu cannot postdate 1260; e) the account of the subjugation of the Caliph of Baghdad is highly implausible after 1256.

Proponents of the 1228 date have argued that as the colophon says the *SHM* was written at a *yeke qurilta* "great assembly" in the seventh moon of the year of the mouse and the only year of the mouse when such an assembly is recorded is 1228, 1228 must be the date. I have presented evidence, however, that biennial assemblies (one around the lunar new year and one in summer) were the rule for the Mongols, and that both of these could be and were called "great assemblies." In the seventh moon of the year 1252, Möngke Qa'an and several princes are recorded by name as discussing a wide variety of military campaigns and receiving foreign envoys[3]; what we know about the Mongol practice of government suggests that these sorts of decisions must have been discussed at a "great assembly." The idea that "great assemblies" took place only during coronations and other great events is, I argue, a non-Mongolian idea imported into the data by Chinese and Persian authors.

If the *SHM* was written in 1252, why then does it stop the coverage of events in 1240 or so? The explanation of this fact is that speaking or writing about the Chinggisid family was always a highly risky endeavor. Two high commanders, Körgüz and Harghasun, were executed by stuffing their mouths with stones for slandering Chinggisids.[4] A writer about the history of the Mongol rulers would want to be sure that the Chinggisids he criticized were dead and that the "verdict" on their character was settled, before taking up his pen. A writer in 1252 could have that confidence only in discussing events of Ögedei Qa'an, not of Güyüg's reign.

Some Main Informants and Sources

If we take 1252 as the date of the *SHM*, then as the main informants for its composition we ought to look for persons who were involved in the youth of Chinggis Qan, who were still alive during the reign of Möngke Qa'an, and who play a major role in the history. There is only one persons who fulfills all of these conditions: Shigi Qutuqu.

The biography of Shigi Qutuqu has already been written by Paul Ratchnevsky and there is no need to resume it here.[5] As Ratchnevsky

points out, the account of Rashîd al-Dîn, in which Shigi Qutuqu was the adoptive son of Chinggis Qan's wife Börte, not his mother, Ö'elün Üjin, as the *SHM* claims.[6] This discrepancy is typical of the exaggeration of Shigi Qutuqu's seniority in the *SHM*, but it also reminds us of Shigi Qutuqu's relative youth. Rashîd al-Dîn says he died during the rebellion of Ariq-Böke (i.e. between 1260 and 1264) at the age of eighty-two. If that is the case, then he would have been born around 1179-1183, assuming an East Asian counting of age as one year at birth. On the other hand, the *SHM* dates his discovery in the Tatar camp in a cradle and adoption by Ö'elün Üjin to the campaign against the Tatars in 1195-1196, which would imply a birth date of around 1193-4, give or take a year.[7] This date can probably be discounted, however.

Rashîd al-Dîn has stories about his bravery in camp at ages twelve and fifteen, that is, around 1192 (plus or minus two years) and 1195 by Rashîd al-Dîn's dating. One may assume that Shigi Qutuqu could be an accurate informant for events and stories in Chinggis Qan and Börte's household from roughly that time on. The first time when he was given a significant political role (apart from the completely uncorroborated account of the *SHM* of his supposed role in the 1206 coronation) came in the sack of Zhongdu (modern Beijing) in 1215, that around the age of 35. Shigi Qutuqu could be an accurate informant for public events from that time on.

The idea that Shigi Qutuqu was a major informant for the *SHM* is attractive, although it has no explicit support in the sources. As an informant, but not the author, he would not be responsible, for example, for the garbled presentation of the campaigns in Central Asia, a fact that has often counted against his authorship of the *SHM*. A younger author might easily have been impressed enough by Shigi Qutuqu's stories to exaggerate his role in the great 1206 coronation *qurilta*. It is also important to note that whereas Rashîd al-Dîn says that Qutuqu saved Tolui from kidnapping by a vengeful Tayichi'ud, the *SHM* has Boroghul's wife Altani, along with Jetei and Jelme saving Tolui from a vengeful Tatar.[8] This would seem to bar Shigi Qutuqu from being the actual author of the *SHM*. It is most implausible that a man who, according to this hypothesis, wrote a completely fictitious role for himself into his account of the 1206 *qurilta* would hesitate to seize credit as well for a rescue for which many believed him responsible. These discrepancies fit much better the idea of Shigi Qutuqu having been a main informant, but not the author, of the *SHM*. Yet, it must be recognized that for the earlier events of the *SHM* about Chinggis Qan's childhood even Shigi

Qutuqu could only have been dispensing hearsay. Nor is there any reference in the sources to the depths of his knowledge of the past.

The same is not true of Naya'a of the Ba'arin.[9] According to Rashîd al-Dîn he "lived to be extremely old and was still alive in Ögedei Qa'an's time. He said that when Chingiz Khan married his first wife, he ate some of the food from the groom's banquet and remembered it."[10] That fact that Rashîd al-Dîn mentions his claims to remember these ancient events indicates Naya'a was widely known for his memory of events early in the time of Chinggis Qan, a fact which in turn makes it likely that his memories would be drawn upon for any biography of the conqueror's early life.

Naya'a's role in the *SHM* is consistent with the hypothesis that he was a major source for the work. He and his father Old Man Shirgü'etü (*Shirgü'etü Ebügen*) appear first in *SHM* §149 as subjects of the Tayichi'ud commander (*noyan*) Targhutai Kiriltuq. Old Man Shirgü'etü has captured Targhutai Kiriltuq and was thinking to hand him over to Chinggis Qan, but his son Naya'a advises him instead to release the commander, since Chinggis Qan will not approve of commoners (*haran*) seizing their own sovereign (*qan*). Old Man Shirgü'etü does so and the Naya'a's sentiments are approved by Chinggis Qan. In §197, after Chinggis Qan defeats the Merkid, the Merkid commander Dayir Usun and his daughter Qulan are guarded by Naya'a for three days, before Naya'a presents them to the emperor. Chinggis Qan at first suspects Naya'a of having molested the beautiful Qulan, who was being presented as his new consort, but when Qulan points out how Naya'a was really protecting her from rampaging soldiers and that her virginity is still intact, Chinggis Qan approves of Naya'a saying: "He is a true-spoken man. Let us entrust great things to him." Finally in 1206, Naya'a is, according to the *SHM*, given a command of a thousand (§202), as well as a command of the *tümen* (ten thousand) in the middle, alongside Bo'orchu's *tümen* on the right and Muqali's *tümen* on the left (§220).

As with Shigi Qutuqu, some of these episodes are only partially corroborated, if at all, in other sources. For example, his supposed command of a third, central, *tümen*, coordinate with Bo'orchu and Muqali's right and left wings is not corroborated in any other source, all of which take Bo'orchu and Muqali to be the only two wing commanders.[11] Instead Rashîd al-Dîn describes Naya'a as the *süt(ü)küsün* or lieutenant commander for Muqali's left wing *tümen*.[12] The episode of Old Man Shirgü'etü and the capture of Targhutai Kiriltuq is mentioned briefly in the *Veritable Record of Chinggis Qan*, compiled in 1287 under Qubilai Qa'an, but the role of Naya'a is

completely eliminated: "Shirgü'etü Ebügen caught in his hands Aquchi Ba'atur and Targhudai and came to Qutuqul Fields, but he released them again and fled. He had only his two sons, Naya'a and Alaq, come and submit."[13] The *SHM*'s reading of Naya'a's merit in this episode was stripped not just from the *Veritable Record*, but from the rest of Yuan biographical literature as well. In one of Rashîd al-Dîn's retellings of the story, Shirgü'etü is actually rewarded for presenting the two Tayichi'ud lords as captives to Chinggis Qan![14]

The change here seems almost certainly to reflect doubts even among Naya'a's family about the veracity of the account. Under Qubilai Qa'an, when the *Veritable Record of Chinggis Qan* was composed, Bayan Chingsang was the greatest and most prestigious official—and he was a direct descendant of Naya'a's brother, Alaq. If this story was an accepted part of the family history, one would expect it to have been inserted both into the *Veritable Record*, and into the biographical literature on Bayan and his ancestors. Instead, as we have seen Naya'a's role is eliminated from the *Veritable Record* and the story is completely ignored in the official biography of Bayan.[15]

Thus if the story originated with the participants, it must have been a personal story of Naya'a's, one with which his brother Alaq and his descendants did not agree. Under Ögedei Qa'an Naya'a had possessed great prestige as one of the only people alive to remember Chinggis Qan's youth, yet in his youth he was also called *jusur* "flatterer; wily," an epithet Rashîd al-Dîn explains from the Ba'arin clan's penchant for practical jokes, but one which hardly increases confidence in stories that derived from him.[16] The real truth of this episode seems irrecoverable, but I hazard the following guesses: the *SHM* used Naya'a's recollections, directly or indirectly, for the episodes about him, and probably for many other stories of Chinggis Qan's early life as well. The epithet *jusur* and the treatment of the episodes in the histories involving him indicate, however, that the reliability of his recollections was in some sense controversial.

Since Naya'a appears to have died during the reign of Ögedei ("was still alive during Ögedei Qa'an's time," i.e. 1229-1241), any use the *SHM* author made of his memories must have been indirect (keeping in mind the 1252 date which I argued for above). Two modes of transmission would be possible. The first would be through memories passed on through Naya'a's own descendants (of whom we have no record) or household servants. The second would be through writing. If something of Naya'a's memories were written down, this was most likely by a scribe; given his already advanced age when the Mongols (in the narrow sense) came in contact with the literate

Naiman court, Naya'a was almost certainly illiterate. From what we know of the stories involving him personally, what Naya'a dictated would seem to be in the form of *bilig*s, that is to say anecdotes which culminate in a wise saying, establishing a precedent for future commanders.

Narrative Records among the Mongols, 1228-1252

The circulation of such collections of *bilig*s or anecdotal and proverbial wisdoms in the period up to the composition of the *SHM* in 1252 is well-known. Rashîd al-Dîn remarks that "Now it was the custom in those days [i.e. the 1230s] to write down day by day every word that the ruler uttered, and for the most part they would make use of rhythmical and obscure language. Everyone had appointed one of his courtiers to write down his words." The scribe for Ögedei was Chinqai (who had earlier recorded the words of Chinggis Qan) and that for his brother Cha'adai was a Han called Vazir, and once their masters tested them to see which one was better at recording their sayings word for word.[17] Chinggis Qan himself had many scribes and before the appointment of one, Tatar-Tong'a, as tutor of his sons, he was tested by Chinggis Qan: "The Emperor asked 'Do you have a thorough mastery of your country's script?' Tatar-Tong'a answered completely with what he had taken down in accordance with the imperial intent."[18] Although the language is given the cast of an exchange on policy, it actually seems to have been an examination on the accuracy of his shorthand. In 1223, during Chinggis Qan's interview with the Daoist master Changchun while campaigning in Afghanistan, three officials, Chinqai (a Uyghur), Liu Zhonglu (a Han), and Alixian (a Tangut) and three palace attendants (perhaps including Tatar-Tong'a himself) all wrote down what was said.[19] A collection of such *bilig*s or wise sayings of Chinggis Qan was published in Persian translation by Rashîd al-Dîn in his *Ghazanid History*.[20] It is likely, although not certain, that it was based on a Mongolian-language original. Such enigmatic sayings of the ruler written down day by day could function as a kind of encoded royal diary, with information that those in the know could use to trace a history of the empire.

Cha'adai's scribe, Vazir, is said to have actually written an outline history of Chinggis Qan's conquests. Originally the servant of a Han physician, Vazir had been somehow demoted to a mere herder. His master Qushuq Noyan, queried by his liege lord, the imperial brother Cha'adai, over the sequence of Chinggis Qan's conquests, in turn asked those in his service for what information they had. As Qushuq Noyan was interviewing others, Vazir listened in from outside the yurt

and made comments loud enough to be heard. Impressed by his replies, Qushuq "called [Vazir] in and asked him from whence he had acquired this knowledge. He produced a book in which he had recorded day by day all the past events and histories that were now required. Qushuq was pleased" and brought him to Cha'adai, whose service he entered.[21] The date of this episode must be sometime between the death of Chinggis Qan in 1227 and the death of Cha'adai around 1242, and most likely rather early in that period. This remarkable private history was then the earliest known history written in Mongolian. It is thus quite possible that Naya'a too, boasting of his early acquaintance with Chinggis Qan, dictated a similar set of anecdotes and proverbs. Could this collection also have been used in writing the *SHM*?

The extant Persian histories of the early Mongol empire also allow us to reconstruct the actual contents of another circulating collection of *biligs*, albeit one that had no part in the composition of the *SHM*. 'Alâ' al-Dîn Atâ-Malik Juvainî's *History of the World Conqueror*, composed from 1252 to 1260 or so, has a famous section detailing both the stories of Ögedei's generosity and the proverbial wisdom behind it.[22] Two of the very stories found in Juvainî are also found in 'Usmân ibn Sirâj al-Dîn Jûzjânî's history (written shortly after 1260 in India) with clear evidence of literary dependence.[23] In both cases, Jûzjânî's account is fuller and appears closer to the original, yet Juvainî includes many similar anecdotes not found in Jûzjânî. This suggests that the two historians drew on a common source, an impression confirmed by the fact that the two historians were virtually contemporaneous in time, widely separated in space and political allegiance, and do not appear to have used each others' works otherwise. The most likely explanation, then, is that both historians must have been copied the stories from a Persian-language collection of anecdotes about Ögedei, a collection that was presumably widely circulated. In turn such a collection of stories may have stemmed from a palace collection of written Mongolian-language *bilig*s of Ögedei's reign, and this may account for why Rashîd al-Dîn recognized this section in Juvainî as being of *bilig* origin and included it within his *Ghazanid History* as Ögedei's imperial sayings.[24]

Although the ultimate source must have been a court collection of Ögedei's *biligs*, the dating of the circulated collection emerges from its insistent themes: 1) that the best Mongol rulers are exemplars of the heroic generosity recommended in Turco-Islamic mirrors for prince such as the *Wisdom of Royal Glory*; 2) that Mongols in the past rightly preferred to direct such generosity to Muslims in the West; and

3) that while Ögedei exemplified this best practice, Cha'adai and the Buddhist *toyin* (monks) had distorted it with anti-Muslim sentiment. The open attacks on Cha'adai, found particularly in Jûzjânî's fuller version of two anecdotes, would have been inconceivable under Ögedei's own reign and indeed any time before Möngke's purge of Cha'adai's sons in 1251. The most plausible assumption is that Muslim scribes at the court of Möngke Qa'an produced this account at the high tide of Möngke's purge to justify his attack on Cha'adai's family and portray Möngke's pro-Muslim policies as a return to the legacy of Ögedei.[25]

Conclusion

This discussion of the possible sources and informants for the *SHM* is necessarily provisional and incomplete. If I am correct in my dating of the *SHM* to the year 1252, then 25 years separated the *Secret History of the Mongols* from the death of Chinggis Qan. This may seem a long time compared to the almost instantaneous reduction to writing postulated by the proponents of the 1228 date of the *SHM*, yet even with the 1252 date the emergence of Mongolian-language historiography is remarkably early compared to that of other "barbarian" conquerors. In the Arab empire, the first references to any history of the armed prophet[26] who founded it come from the last third of its first century. Works on the Arab conquests are said to have been written shortly thereafter. Yet the nature of these early sources remains unclear. The earliest extant biography (*sîra*) of Muhammad was written by Muhammad Ibn Ishâq, who died in A.H. 150/A.D. 767, while quotations of other accounts of the Arab conquests from around the time are found in later works.[27] Adopting a rough equivalence of Chinggis Qan's break with Ong Qa'an and his first establishment as an independent ruler in 1203 with the date of Muhammad's flight to Medina in 622, this would be the equivalent for the Mongol empire of 1348. Thus while the eventually resulting historiography of the empire builders is far poorer in the case of the Mongols than that of the Arabs, the Mongols were remarkably precocious, especially in producing as powerful an essay in the craft as the *SHM* so early on. It was this precocious Mongolian-language historiography which was the foundation on which the Chinese and Persian narratives of the Mongol rise were mostly built. Further examination of the *SHM* in conjunction with other sources of the time will surely illuminate still more of this earliest phase of Mongolian-language historiography.

NOTES

[1] See the survey of scholarly opinion in Igor de Rachewiltz, *The Secret History of the Mongols: A Mongolian Epic Chronicle of the Thirteenth Century* (Leiden: Brill, 2004), pp. xxxiv-xl.

[2] Christopher P. Atwood, "The Date of the Secret History of the Mongols Reconsidered," *Journal of Song and Yuan Studies* 37 (2007), 1-48.

[3] Song Lian, ed., *Yuan shi* (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1976), 3/46.

[4] 'Ala-ad-Din 'Ata-Malik Juvaini, trans. John Andrew Boyle, *The History of the World Conqueror* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1958), vol. 2, p. 505; Rashîd al-Dîn, trans. John Andrew Boyle, *Successors of Genghis Khan* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1971), pp. 212-13.

[5] P. Ratchnevsky, "Šigi Qutuqu," in *In the Service of the Khan*, ed. Igor de Rachewiltz, Hok-lam Chan, Hsiao Ch'i-ch'ing, and Peter W. Geier (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1993), pp. 75-94.

[6] Rashiduddin Fazlullah, trans. W.M. Thackston, *Jami'u't-Tawarikh: Compendium of Chronicles, A History of the Mongols*, vol. 1 (Cambridge: Harvard University, 1998), pp. 47-48; Rashid-ad-Din, trans. L.A. Khetagurov, *Sbornik letopisei*, vol. 1, part 1 (Moscow: Academy of Science, 1952), 107-08; *SHM* §135, 138.

[7] *SHM* §135; Cf. de Rachewiltz, *The Secret History of the Mongols*, 486, which dates the campaign on the basis of Tuotuo, ed., *Jin shi* (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1975), 94/2088-89.

[8] Compare Rashiduddin, *Jami'u't-Tawarikh: Compendium of Chronicles*, p. 48; Rashid-ad-Din, *Sbornik letopisei*, vol. 1.1, p. 108; *SHM* §214.

[9] Naya'a's name is written sometimes *nâyâqâ* (i.e. Nayagha in Mongolian) and sometimes *nâyâ* in Rashîd al-Dîn (cf. *Sbornik letopisei*, vol. 1.1, p. 187, vol. 1.2, p. 91), but Naiya in the *Shengwu qinzheng lu* and Naya'a in the *SHM* transcription. I have followed the consistent Chinese transcriptions and treated the -gh- as silent.

[10] Rashiduddin, *Jami'u't-Tawarikh: Compendium of Chronicles*, vol. 1, p. 105; Rashid-ad-Din, *Sbornik letopisei*, vol. 1.1, 187.

[11] Chinese official biographical sources know only Bo'orchu and Muqali as wing and *tümen* commanders; see Su Tianjue, ed., *Yuanchao mingchen shilue* (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1996), 1/2 (citing the family history of Muqali), 3/41 (citing the *xuandebei* or memorial inscription of Yan Fu for Öz, nicknamed Örlög-Noyan, descendant of Bo'orchu; see also Su Tianjue, ed., *Yuan wenlei* [1335; rpt. Taipei: World Publishing House, 1962], 23/5b).

[12] See Rashiduddin, *Jami'u't-Tawarikh: Compendium of Chronicles*, vol. 1, p. 105, Rashiduddin Fazlullah, trans. W.M. Thackston, *Jami'u't-Tawarikh: Compendium of Chronicles, A History of the Mongols*, vol. 2 (Cambridge: Harvard University, 1999), pp. 273, 275-76, 277; Rashid-ad-Din, *Sbornik letopisei*, vol. 1.1, p. 187, and vol. 1.2, pp. 267-68, 270, 272. The Persian is given as *sûtûkûsûn* in vol. 1, part 1, and as *sûtkûsûn* in vol. 1, part 2. The word is not attested in either Middle Mongolian or Turkic that I am aware of.

[13] §6; see Wang Guowei, ed., "Shengwu qinzheng lu," in *Menggu shiliao sizhong* (1926; rpt. Taipei: Cheng-chung shu-chü, 1962), 35b-16a; Rashiduddin, *Jami'u't-Tawarikh: Compendium of Chronicles*, vol. 1, p. 163 and Rashid-ad-Din, *Sbornik letopisei*, vol. 1.2, pp. 90-91. I am currently preparing a critical edition of this text based on unpublished Ming manuscripts. In the introduction I have

demonstrated the identity of the Mongolian original of the *Shengwu qinzheng lu* with the original Mongolian base text of Rashîd al-Dîn's biography of Chinggis Qan and the further identity of the Chinese version with the *Taizu shilu* "Veritable Record of the Great Founder" (i.e. Chinggis Qan) whose presentation to the throne is mentioned in the *Yuan shi*. William Hung made a number of objections to this identification which I have, I believe, sufficiently answered.

[14] Rashiduddin, *Jami'u't-Tawarikh: Compendium of Chronicles*, vol. 1, p. 105; Rashid-ad-Din, *Sbornik letopisei*, vol, 1.1, pp. 187-88. This is the version in Rashîd al-Dîn's account of the Ba'arin lineage; in his biography of Chinggis Qan, he of course follows the Veritable Record account (Rashiduddin, *Jami'u't-Tawarikh: Compendium of Chronicles*, vol. 1, p. 163 and Rashid-ad-Din, *Sbornik letopisei*, vol. 1.2, pp. 90-91).

[15] Bayan was Shirgü'etü's great-grandson and the *xundebei* or "Inscriptions of merit and virtue" written for him by Yuan Mingshan says of Shirgü'etü that he "participated with his soldiers in the Great Founder 's [Chinggis Qan] punitive expeditions to suppress the tribes and was made a chiliarch"; see Su Tianjue, ed., *Yuan wen lei*, 24/11b; cf. Song Lian, ed., *Yuan shi Yüan shih*," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 19 (1956), pp. 202-203, 276.

[16] See Rashiduddin, *Jami'u't-Tawarikh: Compendium of Chronicles*, vol. 1, pp. 105, 163, vol. 2, p. 277; Rashid-ad-Din, *Sbornik letopisei*, vol. 1.1, p. 187, vol. 1.2, pp. 90-91, 272. The root *jusur* in the verbal forms *jusuridchu* and *jusuridun* is found in *SHM* §160 and 180, with the sense of "flattering."

[17] Rashîd al-Dîn, *Successors of Genghis Khan*, p. 155-56.

[18] Song Lian, ed., *Yuan Shi*, 124/3048.

[19] Li Zhichang, ed. Wang Guowei, "Changchun zhenren Xi you ji zhu," in *Menggu shiliao sizhong* (Taipei: Cheng-chung shu-chü, 1962), "Xi" A, 58b (p. 342). On Liu Wen, styled Zhonglu, see "Xi" A, 2b (p. 230); on Alixian, see "Xi" A, 13b (p. 252), where Wang Guowei identifies him with the Arasen of *SHM* §280.

[20] Rashid-ad-Din, *Sbornik letopisei*, vol. 1.2, pp. 259-265; Rashiduddin, *Jami'u't-Tawarikh: Compendium of Chronicles*, vol. 2, pp. 293-301 (unfortunately Thackston's translation was made from an incomplete Chaghatay Turkish version, not the Persian original). The fact that every emperor's biography in the *Ghazanid History* has a third section for such material indicates that he expected all of them had such collections made. In fact, though, only that of Ögedei and Ghazan Khan is of any significant length. For Güyüg and Möngke, Rashîd al-Dîn inserted citations from Juvainî that hardly seem to bear the nature of such recorded sayings. For Qubilai, he had nothing and hence filled the space with a list of Ariq Böke and Melik Temür's commanders instead. For the Il-qans Hüle'ü, Abagha, Ahmad Tegüder, and Arghun he included one anecdote each.

[21] Rashîd al-Dîn, *Successors of Genghis Khan*, p. 155. In Rashiduddin, *Jami'u't-Tawarikh: Compendium of Chronicles*, vol. 2, p. 379, Thackston's translation gives the name of Vazir's first master as Qosha'un Noyan.

[22] Juvaini, *History of the World Conqueror*, vol. 1, pp. 204-236.

[23] Compare Juvaini, *History of the World Conqueror*, vol. 1, pp. 204-206 (no. 1) and 225 (no. 4) with Maulânâ, Minhâj-ud-Dîn, Abû-'Umar-i-'Usman [Jûzjânî], trans. Major H.G. Raverty, *Tâbaḳât-i-Nâsirî: A General History of the Muhammadan Dynasties of Asia* (1881; rpt. Calcutta: Asiatic Society, 1995), pp. 1107-1109, and 1110-1115.

[24] Rashîd al-Dîn, *Successors of Genghis Khan*, pp. 76-94.

[25] The governor of the Amu Darya province, Körgüz, famously had his mouth stuffed with stones until he died simply for referring in a sneering way to Cha'adai's death in 1242; see Juvaini, *History of the World Conqueror*, vol. 2, pp. 502-505; Rashîd al-Dîn, *Successors of Genghis Khan*, pp. 212-13. Unlike Rashîd al-Dîn, Juvainî refused to actually cite the words of Körgüz, and prudently also toned down the anti-Cha'adaid thrust of the *bilig* texts, as can be seen by comparison with the parallel citations in Jûzjânî. It is likely that in the first flush of partisan hatred, the Muslim officials of Möngke pushed the limits of criticism of the imperial family further than the court, on sober reflection, considered wise, and that Juvainî was responding to the court's second thoughts.

[26] Armed prophet, the phrase from Macchiavelli's *Prince* to describe theocratic state-founders such as Romulus or Moses who disposed of military force as well as sacred charisma, would not be a bad translation of *shengwu*, the posthumous title granted to Chinggis Qin in Chinese, conventionally translated as "sagely (or holy) warrior."

[27] Fred M. Donner, *Narratives of Islamic Origins: The Beginning of Islamic Historical Writing* (Princeton: The Darwin Press, 1998), pp. 147-48, 175-77.