ARCHIVUM EURASIAE MEDII AEVI

edited by

Th. T. Allsen, P. B. Golden, R. K. Kovalev,
and A. P. Martinez

19 (2012)

Harrassowitz Verlag · Wiesbaden

CONTENTS

CHRISTOPHER P. ATWOOD
Six Pre-Chinggisid Genealogies In The Mongol Empire …… 5

BRIAN BAUMANN
Whither The Ocean? The *Talu Dalai* In Sultan Öljeitü's
1305 Letter To Philip The Fair Of France …….. 59

CHENG FANGYI
The Research On The Identification Between Tiele (鐵勒)
And The Oγuric Tribes ……...…… 81

MIHÁLY DOBROVITS
Textological Structure And Political Message In
The Old Turkic Runic Inscriptions ……...……... 115

АЙМАН ДОСЫМБАЕВА
Дракон – символ земли тюркской …… 119

ROMAN K. KOVALEV
The Production Of Dirhams In The Coastal Caspian Sea
Provinces Of Northern Iran In The Tenth-Early Eleventh
Centuries And Their Circulation In The Northern Lands ……... 133

НУРКЕН Е. КУЗЕМБАЕВ
Монгольское завоевание Кипчакских племен
Восточного Дешт-и Кипчака и судьбы кипчакской
элиты в составе Монгольской империи и за ее пределами ……... 185

RUTH I. MESERVE
Striped Hyenas And 'Were-Hyenas' In Central Eurasia …… 199

АНТОН САЛМИН
Булгары – Татары – Чуваши …… 221

XIANG WAN
A Study On The Kidarites: Reexamination Of
Documentary Sources ……...….. 243

CRITICA
Virgil Ciociltan, *The Mongols and the Black Sea Trade in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Century*. Trans. Samuel Willcocks, Leiden: Brill, 2012.
Reviewed by Nicola Di Cosmo …….. 303

Forêt, Philippe, and Andreas Klapony, eds. *The Journey of Maps and Images on the Silk Road*. Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2008.
Reviewed by Jonathan Skaff …… 307

WHITHER THE OCEAN?
THE *TALU DALAI* IN SULTAN ÖLJEITÜ'S 1305 LETTER TO PHILIP THE FAIR OF FRANCE

BRIAN BAUMANN

In 1305, at the pinnacle of good relations with the West, the Ilkhan Sultan Öljeitü sent a letter to Philip the Fair of France.[1] The letter states that after forty-five years of infighting following the ascent of Möngke in 1259 the Mongol lands (the Ilkhanate, the Ulus of Jochi under Toqto'a, the Ögedeids under Chabar, and the Chaghataids of Du'a) are at long last unified with Temür, the Yuan emperor in Daidu. It conveys hopes for amiable relations with the West, which too is now more unified, and suggests the possibility for mutual cooperation in the near future.[2] Along with other sources from the period, the letter gives the impression that correspondence between the Mongol sovereigns and their Western counterparts was then commonplace. True as this may be, few such missives remain. This particular letter found its way to the Biblioteque Nationale in Paris. An early study of it was published by Abel Rémusat in 1824. An important document in many ways, it has been commented on by many. In 1962 it received state-of-the-art treatment at the hands of Antoine Mostaert and Francis Cleaves.

Over the years one line of the letter in particular has proved perplexing. The line reads: *naran uryuqui Nangyiyas-un yajar-ača abun Talu dalai-dur kürtele Ulus barildaju jamud-iyan uyaγulbai* [We have built up a Nation and connected it with post-roads from China, land of the rising sun, to the *Talu dalai*]. Mostaert and Cleaves explain neatly each word or phrase in the line except one, the term *Talu dalai* 'Ocean Sea'. Almost every scholar has had a different opinion about what it refers to, they tell us. Yet still they have not been able to establish where the *Talu* Ocean might be. Rémusat identifies it with the Iranian great salt-lake Urmiya.[3] In a 1933 article W. Kotwicz assumes it must refer to some greater sea, the Caspian, Black Sea, or Mediterranean.[4] In 1949 E. Haenisch renders the term *Talu* Meer (*Talu* Ocean) but refers to Kowalewski's dictionary of a century prior where *dalu dalai* is given as the old name of the Caspian Sea.[5]

Such guesswork continued on until a breakthrough was made by Denis Sinor in a 1972 article in *The Mongolian Society Occasional Papers*' 8th issue, dedicated to Owen Lattimore. Here Sinor demonstrates that the term *Talu dalai* refers to the

1 I would like to thank I. de Rachewiltz for his comments on an earlier draft of this paper. For the state of good relations between the Ilkhanate and Christedom during this time, see Jackson (2005: 171).

2 Mostaert and Cleaves 1962: 55 ff.

3 Rémusat 1824: 395-6.

4 Kotwicz 1933: 45.

5 Haenisch 1949: 230; Kowalewski 1849: 1635. See also Sinor (1972: 115-16).

'World Ocean' of what he not unjustly calls "mythical geography." He then, correctly it seems, interprets the term to refer not to any specific locale but, rather, to the ends of the earth as they knew it.[6]

Though this might seem the ultimate answer to the puzzle, a problem remains in how the term is understood. We see this problem reveal itself in the recent works of Peter Jackson, who, in his specialization on Ilkhan relations with the West, discusses Öljeitü's letter frequently. In a 2006 article Jackson reaffirms Sinor's solution when he writes that the term *Talu dalai* denotes "the Ocean that was believed to surround the Eurasian land-mass."[7] Note that in the word "believed" Jackson imputes to the term 'Ocean' a sense that is both literal and imaginary. He is telling us that in medieval times people fancifully imagined that their world was surrounded by a non-existent body of water. In saying so, Jackson is saying nothing new. In his posthumously published *Notes on Marco Polo*, Paul Pelliot says that one sort of ocean known by the Mongolian term *dalai* was "supposed to surround the earth."[8] Sinor too says that Turco-Mongolian terms for 'ocean' have the same meaning as the Greek *oceanus*, that is, "the vast sea or river supposed to encompass the inhabited earth."[9] Are we to believe, then, that the Mongols, who had had built roads from one end of Eurasia to another and daily travelled those roads believed in an imaginary ocean that somehow separates Europe and Asia? Something here simply does not jibe.

Before offering a solution to the puzzle we must first recognize that the imputation that medieval people believed their world to be surrounded by a non-existent body of water is not altogether unfounded, for it appears that there were indeed some who maintained the notion. For instance, in meeting with Mongols on his journey through their lands in 1253, William of Rubruck is asked about his own country. In describing it to them, he makes the intriguing observation that, "As for the ocean they could not grasp that it had neither limit nor shore."[10]

Yet the imputation made above just as well altogether misses the fact that a World Ocean does undoubtedly and irrefutably surround the Eurasian land-mass not as a literal body of water but as a figurative term for the horizon that limits a given world or realm and so may extend all the way to the celestial equator. The figure makes for a simple concrete metaphor. As the 'heart' represents one's thoughts and emotions, the 'ocean', its offing, represents the horizon. Being land dwelling creatures, to follow the horizon is inevitably to meet with the ocean. And it is at the ocean where the horizon is true, that is, the line separating earth and sky is perfectly defined. By extension, in addition to the horizon, the 'ocean' trope also represents that which is all-encompassing.

Let's make sure we are right.

6 Sinor (1972: 117-119).
7 Jackson (2006: 15)
8 Pelliot 1959: 301.
9 Sinor 1972: 119.
10 Jackson 1990; Dawson 1955: 134; and Rockhill 1900: 133.

In literature the 'Ocean' motif is well attested. In Homer's *Iliad* (5.4-6) we read of an Ocean Stream that stands for the horizon:

> [Pallas Athene] made weariless fire blaze from [Diomedes'] shield and helmet like that star [Sirius] of the waning summer who beyond all stars rises bathed in the ocean stream to glitter in brilliance.[11]

The trope is attested not merely in literature but in works whose subject deals directly with astral science. In Aratus' *Phaenomena* the risings and settings of stars are consistently given in terms of emerging from, or sinking into, the watery depths. Here the 'Ocean' is consubstantial with the horizon – as in the following passage:

> Not the faintest, when the Crab rises, are the circling stars that lie round the ocean to east and west, some setting, some rising from the other horizon. Setting is the Crown, and setting the Fish as far as its spine; half of the setting Crown you can see in the sky, while half is already cast down by the world's edge. The backward-turned figure, in the parts up to the lower belly, is not yet set, but the upper parts move in darkness. The Crab also brings down the toiling Ophiuchus from knees to shoulders, and brings down the Serpent close to the neck. No more will Boötes bulk large above and below the horizon, the lesser part being above, and the greater already in darkness. It takes four signs of the Zodiac together for the ocean to receive Boötes' setting.[12]

In India the 'World Ocean' trope is not clearly attested in the Vedas. A. B. Keith says that in the *Rig Veda*, "There is no trace of the theory that the earth is bounded by an ocean."[13] Yet in his discussion of the god Varuna he cites passages that might possibly imply the concept.[14] Either way, the term comes to figure prominently in Indian tradition through the influence of western astronomy and mathematics. The *Sūryasiddhānta* (12.35) states, "Surrounding [earth] on every side is fixed next this great ocean, like a girdle about the earth, dividing the hemispheres of the gods and of the demons [i.e., northern and southern hemispheres (see 12.35)]."[15] Here, as it does in Greek, and in particular Ptolemaic, Geography from which the Indian tradition derives, the World Ocean clearly stands for the celestial equator.[16]

In his early 14th c. *Commedia* Dante in *Inferno* (26.127-29) makes a mind experiment of the spherical earth. He does so by projecting his character as crossing the celestial equator from the northern to the southern hemisphere where, "Already all

11 Lattimore 1951: 128. Also in Hesiod's *Theogony* (131-33, 282, 695f.) the sun is said to set in subterranean waters (Wender 2004: *passim*). See also Black (1985: 156).
12 Aratus 1997: 115.
13 Keith 1925: 78-79.
14 Keith 1925: 96-97, 104.
15 Burgess 1860: 390-91.
16 See also the *Āryabhaṭīya* (4.12) of Āryabhaṭa (1930: 68).

the stars of the other pole I saw at night, and our own pole so low that it did not rise above the floor of the sea."[17] Here and elsewhere (in *Purgatorio* 1.28-30 where he describes the setting of the Wain [Ursa Major]) we see that Dante has made the 'Ocean' figure represent both the horizon and the celestial equator simultaneously.

Knowing that the 'Ocean' is a trope that refers to either the horizon or to the celestial equator, brings us to a number of aspects pertaining to ancient orientation systems and the science of Geography that must be understood in order to fully appreciate what this 'Ocean' means and how it functions.

First, when we perceive of the 'Ocean' as the horizon, we do so from a topocentric point of view. From this point of view the center of the earth refers to the point of observation or to a topical political center, such as Rome or Dadu. When we perceive of the 'Ocean' as the celestial equator, we do so from a geocentric point of view whereby the center of the earth refers to the earth's core.

From either point of view, orientation on earth depends on that in heaven. As Berggren and Jones note in their Introduction to Ptolemy's *Geography*, "For the ancient geographers geographical directions were in the first place defined astronomically."[18] In this system, locations on earth were marked by stars. Remembering the now lost writings of the Greek astronomer Hipparchus (fl. 162-127 BC), Strabo (1.1.12) reminds us that the relative positions of far flung places were to be determined by astronomical observation.[19] As a sidelight we note that the fundamental problem for ancient cartographers was that they did not possess a sufficient set of stellar coordinates from places around the globe. As Virgil says of the emperor in *Aeneid*, "He will extend Roman power beyond far Garamantes, East beyond India too, to a land that lies under no mapped stars," on to China, that is.[20]

That Virgil refers to the Far East not in terms of land but in terms of stars demonstrates a third fundamental aspect of ancient orientation, that is, that orientation exacted symmetry between heaven and earth. In this symmetry, as points on earth depended on the configuration of the heavens, celestial orientation governs earthly orientation. Although the heavens were configured in all sorts of ways, these configurations were then applied to earth in kind. For instance, the heavens were oft divided into six zones of latitude. These were then consigned to the earth and known as 'the climes'. The heavens were also divided into three bands, an upper band, the circumpolar stars, a middle band which extended north from the celestial equator, and a lower band, the southern stars, below the celestial equator. (Such an orientation, of course, is given by observation from the Northern Hemisphere). These bands were sometimes known as 'sky', 'middle earth' and 'sea'. Importantly, the

17 Durling and Martinez (1996: v.1, 405).

18 Berggren and Jones 2000: 8.

19 As cited in Berggren and Jones (2000: 3).

20 Virgil 2007: 154. It is worth noting that the Mongols did the science of Geography a world of good when in ordering the *Shoushili* calendar project promulgated in 1280 their scientists made reliable astronomical observations from points all throughout their realm. See Sivin (2009).

heavens were divided into four spheres or quarters. These four quarters were so divided from lines, the colures, fixed relative to the four directions, which, themselves, were defined relative to the seasonal nodes, the equinoxes and solstices. The four quarters of heaven were then superimposed upon the earth. Sometimes the four quarters were known as four separate oceans, sometimes as four separate realms or 'continents' floating on these oceans. Thus, when it comes to a term such as 'the four continents', although we might assume the term refers to four distinct landmasses – that do not in fact exist, the term in actuality refers to four spheres of heaven.

That the earth was known by some number of heavenly 'oceans' demonstrates a fourth fundamental aspect of celestial orientation. As the configuration of heaven reflects the order on earth, this symmetry between heaven and earth needs be expressed through figurative language whereby physical action plays out as allegory. Allegory is precisely that which reflects an event's simultaneous tie to heaven and earth. The backdrop of fixed points that allows one to keep in order the movements of the stars was known as 'the firmament'. The firmament was likened to a dome, vault, cup, or cauldron and said to be made of stone, lapis, crystal, gold, silver, or the like. The celestial poles were likened to a 'pole'. Peoples marked the celestial North Pole with a star. That star marks the pole constantly, that is, every day, and was likened to a peg, spike, or nail. A line from the celestial pole to the point of observation forms an axis likened to the axle of a cart, or to a staff or tree. The heavens turn round this axis like wheels of a cart or a mill wheel grinding. The seasonal nodes, that is, the solstices and equinoxes, belong to the firmament. They come to be 'guarded' by stars or asterisms. The stars assume the guise of virtually everything under the sun but are, individually and in systems, oft likened to animals. The seasonal nodes make up the foundation of heaven and are likened to cornerstones, mountains, or other geographic features. The seasonal nodes are linked through colures. The solstitial and equinoctial colures that divide the heavens into four equal spheres intersect at right angles at the celestial North Pole. They form the brace-work of the heavenly vault and are oft likened to pillars of stone or sycamore or cedar trees. The ecliptic is likened to the meandering course of a river. And the horizon and celestial equator, as we have seen, are likened to a world-encompassing ocean.

That earthly orientation depended on allegories of the stars brings us to a fifth fundamental aspect of celestial orientation, which is, that the world created by means of the observable sky is relative to the point of view of the observer. As given by latitude, different observers did not all have the same stars to work with. Relying on stars observable to one in the northern hemisphere to rule the world leaves the southern hemisphere ungovernable. Peoples would describe the southern hemisphere as a chaotic expanse of water. (So we have yet a different sort of ocean). When it comes to nations, different peoples configured their heavens according to their own unique circumstances. These circumstances were given by their place on earth but also by politics, culture, economics, and so on. Nations did not share the same seasons, nor would they necessarily mark a given season, the season for sow-

ing, for instance, in the same way. Although it is important to remember that ancient peoples did not live in their own respective vacuums, but, rather, shared much of the same sky and relied on the same conventional systems in their interactions with each other, at the same time it needs remembering that there were nonetheless many worlds and just as many heavens.

Not only were there many worlds, worldly realms nested. By the stars, one can orient oneself. By the same stars one can orient one's domicile, one's town, one's region, one's nation, all nations, and the earth itself.

What this means for the 'World Ocean' trope is simple: The 'Ocean' can be anywhere. It expands and contracts perfectly. It surrounds us constantly. In this it takes on a supernatural quality. This supernatural quality figures prominently in literature. And it defines the essence of the ancient art of magic. Yet, it is not at all imaginary. It is supremely real. One can see the Ocean at one's fingertips. This author lives on the 9th Floor in a building on a hill, and there is a lovely view of the 'Ocean', the horizon, that is, from his window. It was common for wealthy lords to build a moat around their manors. This moat embodied the World Ocean in microcosm.

Of course, it was the convention of the World Ocean trope to represent the limits of known world or *oikoumene*. But there was not just one known world. There were 'known worlds' all over the place, in the Near East, in Central Asia, in Indian, China, and so on. And even from within a certain tradition or culture, the known world kept changing. From the late Babylonian Period (ca. 600 BC) we have a map of the Babylonian realm surrounded by a body of water known as 'Bitter River' (*nâru marratum*). Beyond the river the fragmented text shows the remnants of triangular-shaped representations of what would have totaled seven or eight lands (*nagû* 'region, district, island'). One of these outlying regions is said to be the dwelling-place of Utnapištim, the hero of the Great Flood as described in Tablet XI of the *Epic of Gilgamesh*. In this map Babylon takes the center. The northern horizon does not extend beyond the source of the Euphrates River. The southern horizon is limited by the Persian Gulf.[21] In their Introduction to Ptolemy's *Geography*, Berggren and Jones note that "Herodotus (4.36) and Aristotle (Meteor. 2.5 362b12) both describe world maps (*periodoi*) of their time as circular with a ring-shaped Ocean entirely surrounding the land-mass of the *oikoumene*."[22] By Ptolemy's time the World Ocean encompassed the known world from the Rock of Gibraltar in the west, Ethiopia in the South, the Ganges River in the east, and Europe in the north.[23] Islamic world maps expand on Ptolemaic geography but continue to represent the world's

21 The Babylonian map of the world is kept in the British Museum. See Budge (1906). For its explication, see Horowitz (1988). For the terms *marratum* 'river' and *nagû* 'province, island', see also Horowitz 29-33. The Babylonian map has been discussed by many. Some scholars see the Babylonian map as a model for the representation of geography in the Hebrew *Book of Enoch*. Others dispute aspects of these claims. See Milik (1976: 15-18); Vanderkam (1983); and Bautch (2003).

22 Berggren and Jones 2000: 31.

23 Berggren and Jones (2000).

horizons as a continuous Ocean Stream.[24] In the celestial and terrestrial globes of the late 17th c. geographer Vincenzo Coronelli (1650-1718), the *oikoumene* had expanded to include the Americas.[25] In the Zoroastrian *Tîr Yast*, similar to what we find in Homer's *Iliad*, the bright and glorious Tistrya, that is, the star Sirius, rises up from the sea Vouru-kasha. As is the case in Indian tradition with Mt. Meru, this sea encompasses a central mountain, Mt. Us-hindu. According to the Zoroastrian cosmogony *Bundahishn*, this mountain is said to be made of ruby, the substance of the sky.[26] In the Indian *Anugītā* (15), a cycle of writings dealing with the transmigration of souls in a book of the Sanskrit epic *Mahābhārata*, the Pitris, that is, the souls of the dead, tell of a royal sage named Alarka who uses his mighty bow to conquer the world as far as the ocean.[27] In the visionary writings of the 10-11th c. Bukhara native Ibn Sīnā (d. 1037), known in the Latin world as Avicenna, we meet with the Ocean in "The Recital of Hayy ibn Yaqzan" as follows:

> At the uttermost edge of the Occident there is a vast sea, which in the Book of God is called the Hot (and Muddy) Sea. It is in those parts that the sun sets. The streams that fall into that sea come from an uninhabited country whose vastness none can circumscribe.[28]

In Ibn Sīnā's "*Mi'raj-Namah*" [The celestial ascent], having traversed the Ninth Heaven, known as the "Lotus of the boundary," the heavenly pilgrim sees four seas, each of a different color. These seas represent ideal realities of substantiality, corporeality, matter, and form. Then appear multitudes of souls. They are divided into angelic choirs. Leaving these assemblies, the Prophet comes again to the boundless sea of "The Recital of Hayy ibn Yaqzan." Here he sees an angel pouring the water of the sea into a great river, which carries the water everywhere.[29]

In China the figurative use of terms related to water signifying limitlessness abound.[30] Indeed in the etymologies of Chinese characters we are reminded that language, itself, when we get right down to it, begins in allegory. The etymology of the term *zhou*洲'continent' as an island in the midst of a great river suggests a longstanding interface with the concept of the World Ocean in western tradition. In the Daoist canon, in the Eastern Jin era (317-420) *Taishang jiuchi banfu wudi neizhen jing* 太上九赤班符五帝內真經 [Nine crimson speckled talismans of the Five Emperors' inward contemplations treatise] the expression *jiuchi banfu* 九赤班

24 See, for instance, the world map of Muhammad al-Idrīsī (1109-1165/6) as described in John and Savage-Smith (2003: 13-14).
25 Stevenson 1997: 97ff. See also Bonasera (1953); and Jacob (2006: *passim*).
26 Darmesteter 1975: 101, n. 5.
27 Kashinath 1965. For various types of maps, celestial, terrestrial, and cosmological, in Indian tradition, see Kirfel (1967: Plates 1-18).
28 Corbin 1960: 142.
29 Corbin 1960: 175.
30 See, for instance, in the *Shijing*.

符 [nine crimson-speckled talismans] refers to the *qi* of the Nine Original Ones, that is, the Emperors of the Five Directions and those of the Four Seas.[31]

We cite these examples because we come by them easily. With little effort we could cite many more. Examples of the trope abound. The 'Ocean' as the expanse of the horizon that limits a given realm constitutes one of the single-most familiar figures in all of world civilization.

In Western Civilization how the trope came to be lost makes for a supremely important question. To touch upon it briefly, the monotheistic traditions, Judaism, Christianity and Islam, along with other traditions, Zoroastrianism, Platonism, Buddhism, Manichaeism, and more, made it their purpose to bring about a new world order. This new world order in its infancy meant the end of kings and nations and the rise of one world rule. The movement had scientific underpinnings. It championed a one-world-fit-all orientation system. And it championed the idea that nature could be explained in full without contradiction and without recourse to phenomena-specific allegories. In doing so it did not abandon the ancient pagan allegories, but it transformed them. We have seen how Ibn Sīnā assigned each of the four seas a different color and an ideal reality: substantiality, corporeality, matter, and form. This process was ongoing. In general the traditions promising a new world order transformed the ancient allegories by adding qualities abstract, moral, and everlasting to what was originally natural, amoral, and eternal. Thus in Buddhism, the Ocean Stream becomes a sea of righteousness, a sea of compassion, or what have you.[32]

In Europe the process of transforming and repudiating pagan allegories began with the Latin Church and intensified over time. In Catholicism, to string together a list of treatises against pagan learning we have for instance, Hippolytus of Rome's (c. 170 – c. 236) *The Refutation of All Heresies*. Augustine of Hippo's (354-430) *City of God*, the 5th c. Paulus Orosius' *Historia adversus paganos*, and Thomas Aquinas' *Summa contra Gentiles* (and, of course, *Summa Theologica*). With the Reformation, Protestants purified monotheistic doctrine by furthering the attack on pagan allegory, outlawing iconography. At the end of the 17th c. Spinoza's *Tractatus Theologico-politicus* (1670) turns theologians' demands that the Bible be taken literally against them, presenting the Bible as consisting almost wholly of superstitious absurdities useful only for governing the simple-minded masses.[33]

Still, the pagan allegories remained commonplace in the West throughout the Renaissance and well into the 18th century. To realize this, we need only be reminded of the works of Rabelais (c. 1494-1553), Shakespeare (1564-1616), E. Spencer (1552-1599), and J. Milton (1608-1674). With the Enlightenment in the 18th c.,

31 Schipper and Verellen 2004: 166. See also the *Zhengyi fawen jing huguo jiaohai pin* 正一法文經護國醮海品 [Offering to the seas for the protection of the state, from the Zhengyi ritual canon] which also mentions the Four Seas (Schipper and Verellen 2004: 476).

32 See below.

33 See Walker (1964: 7); Wade (1938); and Spinoza (2007).

however, things began to change dramatically. In England Thomas Locke (1632-1704) laid a foundation for an epistemology grounded in objectivity; Isaac Newton (1642-1727) proved its potency for uncovering the laws of nature; and William Whiston (1667-1752) propagandized the Enlightenment ideal against the received tradition. In *A new theory of the earth, from its original to the consummation of all things. Wherein The Creation of the World in Six Days, The Universal Deluge, And the General Conflagration, as laid down in the Holy Scriptures, Are shewn to be perfectly agreeable to Reason and Philosophy*, (1696) Whiston reinterprets the Bible according to the rhetoric of his time. Here he reinterprets the Great Flood of Genesis (6-9) as a literal event caused by a comet striking the earth.[34] While the biblical motifs were reinterpreted, those ancient allegories that fell outside of Christian orthodoxy were not only taken literally but written off as imaginary, nonsense.

More than any sort of intellectual movement or philosophy, what sounded the death knell of the ancient allegories was the perfection of geography. With the world mapped in full there was now no point in resorting to relative geography comprised of celestial allegories such as the 'four oceans or 'four continents' or an 'Ocean Stream' to describe it.

Stemming from this cultural transformation, scholars of the Academy, firmly grounded in Enlightenment rhetoric, come to take the ancient allegories literally and write them off as imaginary. In so doing, scholars deem the ancients profoundly ignorant and primitive. With the coming of Modernity, the rhetoric intensifies as the biblical writings are treated in the same way as other 'mythologies'. Not only is the Bible taken literally, it too comes to be written off as imaginary, nonsense. The result of so doing has created a yawning chasm between 'science' and 'religion', 'us' and 'therm'. It makes a clean cut separating ourselves from the pre-Enlightenment past. Thus in a 1903 essay "The Geography of Dante" Edward Moore apologizes for what he describes as the contemptible view taken by modern scholars of Dante's knowledge of geography. He does so with the caveat that Dante cannot be blamed for not transcending the ignorant state of geographical knowledge current in his time. Strangled, he says, by the misplaced attentions of theologians, geography was given by revelation and fantasy. Conspicuous among its errancies, he tells us, are a number of features. These include: the Ocean surrounding the whole earth, as if earth were a vast island; a watery, indistinct southern hemisphere and the limitation of "dry land" to the northern hemisphere; and so on.[35]

Returning now to Sultan Öljeitü's letter to Philip the Fair, a problem worth considering concerns the earthly location of the *Talu dalai*.[36] Sinor is correct to say that

34 Whitson 1755: 111ff.

35 Moore 1903: 109-114. For an assessment of the ancient Babylonian map's World Ocean as the work of primitive, ignorant cartographers, see Sayce (1906). Braga (2003) gives a wide survey of various types of world maps; however, the view of these maps as being based on principles fantastical, unempirical, and imaginary, shows no knowledge of the science's first principles.

36 I would like to thank I. de Rachewiltz for his helpful suggestions in discussing this section with me.

the term refers to "the end of the world." And according to the relativity of medieval geography where this might be is anybody's guess. Still, among nations and internationally "the end of the world" had defined, albeit frequently changing, terrestrial locations. Thus, as Öljeitü's letter was sent to a foreign potentate, we might ask how a foreigner would understand the *Talu dalai*. Fortunately, we have a translation of the letter into Italian. We also have a reply to Öljeitü written by Edward II of England (1284-1327) which uses similar language. The Italian translation reads: *da unde la sole se leva, in fine ale vostre confine* "from the rising of the sun to the limits of your frontier." The Latin language reads: *ab ortu solis usque ad confinia ultra mare* "from the rising of the sun unto the Outremer frontier." Sinor interprets these lines as referring to the border between the Ilkhanate and the West. Foreign kings, he argues, would have been offended by such bold territorial claims. Thus scribes emended the language to make it clear that "the Mongols' power did not extend to the limits of the world, to the ocean sea, but stopped where western rule began."[37] In the case of the language of the Italian translation, Sinor's interpretation seems to be more or less correct. The translator has taken the *Talu dalai* to refer to the limits of the Western frontier or Christendom (*in fine ale vostre confine*). This frontier includes great bodies of water, The Meditteranean Ocean and the Black Sea, but it also includes the long steppe frontier that stretched from the Black Sea to the Baltic west of Mongol-controlled Kiev and east of Polish Cracow.[38] The language of the Latin translation, however, though a more accurate translation, is somewhat more ambiguous in meaning. Sinor believes that with the phrase *confinia ultra mare* the translator gives Edward II to understand that the Outremer refers to the Mongols' Outremer, that is, to the frontier between the Mongols and Christendom. This likely is what Edward II understood, for this is what the Mongolian phrase says. Still, as we have seen in Ibn Sīnā's "The Recital of Hayy ibn Yaqzan," by the 11th century and indeed long before, the Outremer was known to be "at the uttermost edge of the Occident."[39] We know this as the Atlantic Ocean. Language that says from the rising of the sun to the Outremer (or to the limits of the realm) is tantamount to saying from sunrise to sunset. For Edward II to understand an ocean or outer limit that is akin to sunset as being located somewhere to the east of his realm would be absurd. Yet there is no end to absurdity in this world. In this absurdity, we realize that the physical location of the *Talu dalai* is not all that important. Perhaps Edward II understood the phrase for what it is: grandiloquent style once commonplace among rulers of great realms.

As for the Mongols and their 'Ocean', Öljeitü's letter we remember, was written in 1305. By this time the Mongols' culture had changed dramatically since the founding of the empire almost a century prior in 1206. The letter was written long after Chinggis Khan's death in 1227. It came after the Mongols' conquest of Mesopotamia in 1256 and after their various conversions to Buddhism and Islam. Öljeitü,

37 Sinor 1972: 119.
38 See the maps of Jackson (2005: xxviii-xxxiv).
39 Corbin 1960: 142.

himself, was raised Buddhist, ascended to the throne as a Sunni Muslim, after which time he converted to Twelver Shi'ism. Yet too he was baptized Christian and received the baptismal name Nicholas after Pope Nicholas IV (1227-1292) who had begun good relations with the Mongols during the reign of his father, Arghun (r. 1284-1291). By 1305 Mongolian culture had been influenced dramatically by the West. It is not surprising then that Öljeitü would use a Western figure of celestial orientation, the World Ocean, in a letter to the leader of the Western world. And so we might assume that the term *Talu dalai* as a figure for the horizon that limits a given realm was newly assimilated in Mongolian culture.

Yet the word *talu* in the expression *Talu dalai* derives from Old Turkic *taluy*. And, as Denis Sinor demonstrated, in Old Turkic the term *taluy* has both the literal meaning 'ocean, sea' and a figurative meaning in what we now know to be celestial orientation.

The term is attested in the Kül Tigin Inscription of 732. Here the mighty Prince Kül is said to have gone on campaigns eastwards to the Shandong plain. "I almost reached the ocean," he is given to say.[40] According to Sinor, context shows beyond doubt that *taluy* refers to the Yellow Sea.[41] Yet it is not inconceivable that a reference to a literal body of water refers at the same time to "the ends of the earth" as the horizon that limits a given realm. Indeed it is not impossible that the metaphysical meaning is primary. Still, any non-literal meaning is ambiguous at best.[42] In the Turkish version of the *Great Hymn to Mani*, *taluy* is used figuratively. Here Mani is said to bring us through the Sea of Suffering (*ämkäklig taluytïn käčürtüngüz*) to Nirvana.[43] The figurative use of *taluy* as a term of celestial orientation is clearly seen in the phrase *tört taluy* 'The Four Oceans'. These four 'oceans' we remember refer to the seasonal nodes, cardinal directions, and colures that divide heaven – and therefore earth – into four quarters. The term *tört taluy* is attested in Uygur writings on the Biography of Xuanzang. Here it is said that the eloquence of Buddha is like unto the Four Oceans (*tïlangurmaq-ïn tört taluy-qa oγšatï*).[44] More widely attested, the term *tört bulung*, literally the 'four corners', in reference to the four quarters of heaven and earth also proves not only the Turks' reliance on celestial orientation but also their use of international terminology as well.[45] Another term of shared meaning with *tört taluy* is *tört öd* 'the four times or seasons'.[46] Also related is the term *maxarač* for Sanskrit *mahārāja* in reference to the mythical four warrior kings who guard the cardinal points as various stars.[47] In a more general vein, 'celestial

40 Tekin 1968: 261.
41 Sinor 1972: 117-18.
42 But see the discussion of the term *taluy ögüz* below.
43 SETF II 56-57, 172. See also Clauson (1972: 502); and Tekin (1993: 8 n. 3).
44 SETF I 355, ln. 1986; See also Sinor (1972: 117-18).
45 For *tört bulung*, see, for instance, Tekin (1968: 321, 385); SETF II 147; Röhrborn [1971: 38 (ln. 751), 58]; and Tekin (1993: 16 n. 28).
46 SETF II 229 (ln. 325), 230, 278.
47 SETF II 355 n. 16; and Röhrborn 1971: 54 ln. 1343.

orientation' is rendered in Old Turkic by the terms *yïngaq* and *sïngar*.[48] Old Turkic sources include numerous different orientation systems. To cite one, in the Kül Tigin Inscription east is defined by sunrise; south, by midday; west, sunset; and north, midnight.[49] This orientation is fixed at the equinoxes and likely marked in some way by the Pleiades.[50]

It is important to point out that geography in the Old Turkic sources exhibits not only the symmetry between heaven and earth inherent in celestial orientation but the relativity inherent therein as well. In sources the realm is defined according to worldwide parameters. For instance, in the Kül Tigin Inscription we read:

> Eastwards to the sunrise, southwards to the midday, westwards as far as the sunset, and northwards to the midnight – all the peoples within these boundaries (are subject to me).[51]

And we read:

> (All the peoples living in) the four quarters of the world were hostile (to [my ancestors]). Having marched with the armies, they conquered all the peoples in the four quarters of the world and subjugated them.[52]

Yet at the same time the Turkish realm is just as well defined according to earthly limits.

> If the Turkish kagan rules from the Ötükän Mountains there will be no trouble in the realm. I went on campaigns eastwards up to the Shantung plain; I almost reached the ocean. I went on campaigns southwards up to Tokuz-Ärsin; I almost reached Tibet. Westwards I went on campaigns up to the Iron Gate beyond the Pearl River, and northwards I went on campaigns up to soil of Yir Bayïrqu. A land better than the Ötükän Mountains does not exist![53]

The Turkish world is for Turks and Turks alone. We read:

48 For *sïngar*, see SETF II 170, 277; von Gabain 1954: 97; von Gabain 1958: 41; von Gabain 1959: 49; and Röhrborn 1971: 61; for *yïngaq*, see SETF I 312; SETF II 186, 279; von Gabain 1954: 103; von Gabain 1959: 54; and Röhrborn 1971: 64.

49 Tekin 1968: 261.

50 Bazin 1991: 498 ff. See also SETF II 247-48 where the east is defined relative to spring and marked by the stars of the great constellation Blue Dragon; south is defined relative to summer and marked by the stars of the Red Bird; west, autumn; and so on; see too SETF II 379 where according to the Chinese 九官 *jiugong* [nine palaces] system north is fixed relative to the winter solstice, east, the vernal equinox and so on.

51 Tekin 1968: 261.

52 Tekin 1968: 263.

53 Tekin 1968: 261.

> When the blue sky above and reddish-brown earth below were created, between the two human beings were created. Over the human beings, my ancestors Bumïn Kagan and Istämi Kagan became rulers. After they had become rulers, they organized and ruled the state and institutions of the Turkish people.[54]

If there are no Turks, there is no world. In the Tonyukuk Inscription we read:

> If Ilteriš Kagan had not won, or if he had never existed, and if I myself, Bilgä Tonyukuk, had not won, or if I had never existed, in the land of Qapγan Kagan and of Turkish Sir people, there would have been neither tribes, nor people, nor human beings at all.[55]

When a nation is no more it is said to dissolve in water. Again in the Tonyukuk Inscription we read:

> Having waded Kök Öng, I led [my army] toward the Ötükän Mountains. With carts drawn by oxen the Oguz came from the Toγla. (Their army) probably consisted of (three thousand men); we were two thousand. We fought. Heaven favored us. We put them to rout. They were poured into the river.[56]

Good government is understood in terms of symmetry between heaven and earth. When that symmetry is broken, disorder ensues. In the Kül Tigin Inscription we read:

> The Tokuz-Oguz people were my own people. Since heaven and earth were in disorder, they revolted (against us).[57]

Likewise we read:

> You, Turkish and Oguz lords and peoples, hear this! If sky above did not collapse, and if earth below did not give way, O Turkish people, who would be able to destroy your state and institutions? O Turkish people, regret and repent! Because of your unruliness, you yourselves betrayed your wise kagan who had (always) nourished you, and you yourselves betrayed your good realm which was free and independent, and you (yourselves) caused discord.[58]

54 Tekin 1968: 263.
55 Tekin 1968: 290.
56 Tekin 1968: 285.
57 Tekin 1968: 270.
58 Tekin 1968: 267.

Note how conversely this statement implies that when order to the government is lost, the sky does fall, the earth, give way.

Synonymous with *taluy* 'ocean' is the compound *taluy ögüz*. Though the meaning of *taluy* as either a literal body of water or a figure for the horizon that limits a given realm is ambiguous enough, the term *taluy ögüz* is even more so. Translated sometimes as 'ocean' (German *Meer*) sometimes as 'river' or 'stream' (German *Strom*), the compound can also be understood to mean 'ocean and river or rivers'. This reading is rather contrived, however. The compound more aptly suggests a *hendiadys* form typical of Turkish languages whereby two terms of shared meaning, here *taluy* 'ocean' and *ögüz* 'river', together create a more general denotation, in this case, 'waters'. Yet another reading of the compound, however, is the more literal reading, 'Ocean Stream'. Rather nonsensical as a term of physical geography, it refers precisely to the figure for the horizon *cum* celestial equator common to celestial orientation.

The term is attested twice in the Tonyukuk Inscription (E1, E2).[59] In both cases it refers to the outer limit of the Turkish realm. What in the Kül Tegin Inscription is rendered *taluyqa kičig täg-* "reach unto the Ocean" in the Tonyukuk Inscription is given as *taluy ögüzkä täg-* "reach the Ocean Stream." While the physical referent to the 'ocean' ought to be the Yellow Sea, the Yellow Sea just as well marks the limits of the known world. In other words, the physical notion of a literal body of water and the metaphysical notion of a figure for the outer limits of the known world are consubstantial here. While the term *taluy* 'ocean' alone might suggest a literal interpretation, the term *taluy ögüz* clearly lends itself to the figurative. Yet, when we see the two inscriptions in parallel we might think that the literal and figurative are consubstantial in both and then too in both that the figurative meaning is primary. In the *Great Hymn to Mani* the term again occurs twice.[60] In one occurrence (ln. 90) we have *taluy ögüz-takii balïqlar* which W. Bang and A. von Gabain translate as "Die im Meer befindlichen Fische" [the fish found in the ocean]. In the other (ln. 163), we have *buyanlïγ taluy ögüzüg aqïtïp* translated as "ließen den Strom der verdienstlichen Werke strömen" [having caused to flow (your) stream of meritorious deeds]. In these instances the literary and sacred character of the text makes the meaning of the term ambiguous yet too suggests that the celestial, cosmic denotation of the term figures over any literal body of water. Two more attestations occur in the Uygur translation of the Chinese 慈悲道場懺法*Cibei daochang chanfa*, which Klaus Röhrborn synoptically titles *Eine uigurische Totenmesse* "A Uygur Death Mass."[61] Here, as in the case above, an additional layer of allegory is affixed to the Ocean Stream. Thus, in the phrase *qut qolunmaqlïγ taluy ögüzka kirip* "having entered the beatific Ocean Stream" moving towards the horizon becomes inextricably linked with the act of seeking grace. In the epithet (ln. 1025-1026) *taluy ögüz suwï täg öküš äšidmiš* Buddha is the one who "heard as much as the waters of

59 Tekin 1968: 250.
60 SETF II 54, 68.
61 Röhrborn 1971: 42, 45.

the Ocean Stream." In the *Altun Yaruq Sudur* the cosmological denotation to the Ocean Stream is rather straightforward. Here (V47) the Buddha is known as *sansarlïγ taluy ögüzüg yuγurγuluq tar kimi* "the vessel by which one navigates Saṃsāra's Ocean Stream."[62] The text (0141) also mentions a bodhisattva named *Uluγ taluy ögüz iligi* "Lord of the Great Ocean Stream." This translates Sanskrit Mahāgambhīrasāgara-rāja, Chinese 大海深王 Dahaishenwang also known as大流王 Daliuwang.[63]

These examples of the terms *taluy* and *taluy ögüz* in Old Turkic Uygur suffice to show that the Mongolian term *talu* in Öljeitü's letter derives from a tradition in which the trope of the 'Ocean' as a figure for the horizon that limits a given realm is well known and widely used. The use of the trope in Old Turkic shows sophisticated allegorical rhetoric and the integration of Turkish culture with the rest of the known world, with China and the West. The trope in Turkish goes back at least to the 8th century A.D. – though it is probably much older.

Following P. Pelliot, D. Sinor notes that Old Turkic *taluy* and Mongolian *dalai* are cognates.[64] Citing the 1246 letter of Güyük kha'an he shows too that the two terms are used as synonyms in Mongolian chancellery parlance.[65] A. von Gabain offers a plausible etymology of the terms as deriving from Chinese *daliu*大流 'great steam'.[66] This evidence suggests furthermore that the principle denotation of the term *dalai* in Mongolian is not to the literal ocean but to the figurative 'ocean' signifying the horizon. This primacy should not be surprising, for in Mongolian tradition the ways of heaven take precedence over the ways of earth.

In this priority of the heavenly and figurative over the earthly and literal the term *dalai* would not be alone. Numerous terms function in this way. One class of such terms is the animals. Throughout Mongolian letters, the term *bars* 'tiger', for instance, seldom, if ever, refers to a literal tiger, but almost always refers to a celestial phenomenon.

So, if the Mongols did in fact rely on the rhetoric of heaven and know and use the term *talu* and especially the term *dalai* in this way, Öljeitü's 1305 reference to the World Ocean figure ought not to be the first.

Turning to the *Secret History of the Mongols*, the term *dalai* 'ocean' occurs four times. In one of these (§253, ln. 10218), the term seems to refer to a literal body of water. Here Chinggis Khan sends his younger brother, Qasar, on campaign along the Bohai seacoast (*dalai gijin*) with the left wing of the army.[67] In its three other occurrences, however, *dalai* seems to refer to a figure of celestial orientation.

In §199 (ln. 7409) in ordering his general, Sübe'etei, to aggressively pursue fleeing Merkid combatants Chinggis Khan resorts to hyperbole when he says: *jiqasun*

62 Zieme 1996: 194.
63 Zieme 1996: 200.
64 Sinor (1972: 118); Pelliot (1923: 25; 1930: 289; 1959: 301).
65 Sinor 1972: 118-19.
66 von Gabain 1974: 366.
67 de Rachewiltz (2006:181, 920-21).

bolju tenggis dalai-tur oro'asu ci Sübe'etei gölmi qubci'ur bolju si'üjü qubciju [Should they turn into fish and dive into the Ocean Sea, you, Sübe'etei become a net and pull them out]. Note the similitude between the term *tenggis dalai* 'Ocean Sea' in this passage and the *Talu dalai* of Öljeitü's letter. In the word *tenggis* we have simply the substitution of one term for 'ocean' *tenggis* for another, more archaic term, *talu*. The meaning of the two expressions ought to be the same. Certainly the term *tenggis dalai* 'Ocean Sea' denotes no literal ocean. It seems as if Chinggis Khan is telling Sübe'etei to pursue the Merkid to the ends of the earth.

In §245 (ln. 9806) we have another occasion for hyperbole when Mönglik, father of the deposed Teb Tenggeri, reminds Chinggis Khan of their long friendship. I have been your companion, he says:

> *dayir etügen-i danglasun-u tedüi büküy-ece*
> *dalai müren-i qoroqan-u tedüi büküy-ece*
> [Since the brown earth was no more than a clod of dirt
> Since the ocean river was no more than a creek.]

Igor de Rachewiltz, who follows Antoine Mostaert in both his explication and translation of the passage, translates the phrase *dalai müren* (literally 'ocean river') as "sea and rivers" and renders the line *dalai müren-i qoroqan-u tedüi büküy-ece* "Since the sea and rivers were only the size of a rivulet."[68] However, in taking the phrase *dalai müren* to refer to literal, disparate bodies of water, forgotten is the fact that the term merely stands as the Mongolian version of Old Turkic *taluy ögüz* 'Ocean River', that great commonplace of celestial orientation.

How do the two different readings of the phrase *dalai müren* affect the overall meaning of the passage? To take the terms *dalai müren* for a literal body or bodies of water as "sea and rivers" elicits an intellectual response. The passage seems to concern an objective, remote reality; a reality of timeless antiquity; a reality detached from the interlocutors themselves. That the waters of the earth were once nothing but a rivulet makes for a fanciful reality, a reality which can only be imagined. However, in its allegorical sense – together with the literal meaning of the words themselves – the phrase evokes a visceral affect. By taking the *dalai müren* 'ocean river' for the horizon that limits a given realm the passage now concerns the interlocutors directly. The 'Ocean River' is ever-present. They are immersed in it as they speak. Its extent defines who they are. Its extent defines who they are. The world is consubstantial to their realm and changes over time. Note too in this passage how the phrase *dayir etügen* 'brown earth' is reminiscent of the phrase *yaγïz yer* 'brown earth' in the passage of the Kül Tigin Inscription that describes the genesis and relative geography of the Turkish realm. In traditional manner Father Mönglik is telling Chinggis Khan, I have been your friend since the time when we were very poor and our world was but nothing to now when our realm has become expansive unto the horizon itself.

68 de Rachewiltz (2006: 173, 885); Mostaert (1952: 290-92).

Note carefully that to read the phrase *dalai müren* in a figurative way as the horizon that limits a given realm makes perfect sense; conforms perfectly to the rhetoric and science of the day; and is in every way in keeping with Turko-Mongolian culture. What is more, with this base meaning established, the passage just as well resonates with additional meaning. The nonsense of a rivulet or creek that turns into a mighty ocean becomes a catachresis capturing the solemnity of nature's cycle of waters. The catachresis is reminiscent of the lore of Aquarius, an old man who pours out water endlessly from a small urn into a little river that fills the world with all its waters.

In §280 (ln. 11902) the same distinctions apply. The term *dalay-yin qahan*, which de Rachewiltz translates justly as 'Universal Ruler',[69] means little when translated literally as 'King of the Ocean'. If we take the term to refer to a ruler whose dominion is expansive like unto an ocean again the affect is intellectual. However, the title assumes its greatest, most visceral affect when the term *dalai* 'Ocean', as a figure for the horizon, signifies the whole world, the ruler of all.

That three out of four attestations of the term *dalai* in the *Secret History of the Mongols* refer not to a literal body of water but to a figurative horizon shows the primacy of the figurative rhetoric of heaven over the literal exposition of worldly events in that text. This primacy of heaven, we might add, extends beyond the term *dalai*. It applies – in general – to all terms in the *Secret History* – including the term *Činggis qan*. This primacy of heavenly rhetoric marks that text as no mere chronicle but a chronicle in the epic tradition common throughout Eurasia.

Returning to the title *dalay-yin qan*, we find it attested as *taluy-nung xan* in the Turkish preamble to Güyük's letter of 1246 to Pope Innocent IV (r. 1243-1254). In the seal to that same letter we find the Mongolian form as *dalay-in qan*. The seal reads as follows:

> *mönke tngri-yin küčün̲tür yeke Mongγol ulus-un dalay-in qan-u jrlγ il bulγa irgen-t̲ür kürbesü büsiretügüi ayutuγai*
> [By the power of eternal heaven, should this edict of the World-wide Khan of the Great Mongol Nation reach any person among the pacified or combatant peoples, let it be heeded; let it be feared!][70]

The epithet *dalai* survives the Mongols' conversion to Buddhism under Qubilai Khan. In the Zhuyongguan inscription north of Beijing the Mongol emperor is referred to as *talayi-yin ejen*. Pelliot translates the title stiltedly as "master of the ocean." Poppe renders it "lord of all."[71] According to Buddhist dimensions, *dalai* is

69 de Rachewiltz (2006: 216, 1029).

70 For the transcription and translation of the text, see Kara (2005: 20, 157). We have altered his translation modestly. See also Sinor (1972: 118-19); and Pelliot (1959: 301). Note too that perhaps the name of Chinggis Khan's son, Tolui, belongs to this tradition as well.

71 Pelliot 1959: 301; Poppe 1957: 63, 64, 66, 130. Poppe gives a fair translation of the term, but he does not quite fully understand it. In his Commentary he notes that while the basic

further abstracted. That same inscription mentions *talayi erdem* 'all-encompassing knowledge', *talayi buyan* 'all-encompassing righteousness or merit', and *talayi amitan* 'all living beings'.[72] The epithet lives on even after the fall of the Mongol empire in the title Dalai Lama. By no means the lama of fishes, the Dalai Lama's title makes him one not as the ocean is vast, as if from the point of view of one living on a boat, but one as the horizon is all-encompassing, as the ocean surrounds the lands. He is the lama of all who would be Buddhist.

In closing, when it comes to the question of the meaning of the term *Talu dalai* in Öljeitü's letter of 1305 to Philip the Fair, we meet with a line in the sand and a great divide between the correct approach to scholarship and the incorrect approach. To take literally what in fact is figurative discernably distorts how we perceive. It causes one to see that which is subjective, visceral, ever-present, and scientific for that which is objective, intellectual, imaginary, and unreal. To foist a literal reading onto what is figurative is to read after the science of the Enlightenment in Europe and the world we live in now but not after the science of the day. In order to be a true scholar in this world it is useful to know something of language and something of history, but one must know the first principles of science as well, something of celestial orientation, the ways of heaven, and the meaning of the *topoi* by which those ways were expressed. To be ignorant in this respect is not an option. The world of letters, Mongolian, Asian, and beyond, is replete with mythical destinations, rivers of fire and magic mountains, and should one have the courage to seek them, without knowledge of the requisite science as a guide, one will inevitably find oneself with those brave souls who dared to seek the *Talu dalai*, so close, so close and yet so far.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

ARATUS (1997). *Phaenomena*. Douglas Kidd, ed. and transl. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

ĀRYABHAṬA (1930). *The Āryabhaṭīya of Āryabhaṭa: An Ancient Indian Work on Mathematics and Astronomy*. Walter Eugene Clark, transl. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

BAUMANN, Brian (2008). *Divine Knowledge: Buddhist Mathematics according to the Anonymous* Manual of Astrology and Divination. Leiden: Brill.

BAUTCH, Kelley Coblentz (2003). *A Study of the Geography of* 1 Enoch 17-19: *'No One Has Seen What I Have Seen'*. Leiden: Brill.

BAZIN, Louis (1991). *Les Systemes chronolgiques dans le monde Turc ancien*. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó.

meaning of *dalai* is 'sea', "in ancient texts *dalai* also had the meaning 'oceanic', i.e., universal, immense" (Poppe 1957: 110 n. 113). Yet in in his glossary he defines it as 'all-encompassing' (130).

72 Poppe 1957: 61-66, 130.

BERGGREN, J. Lennart and Alexander JONES (2000). *Ptolemy's Geography: an Annotated Translation of the Theoretical Chapters*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
BLACK, Matthew (1985). *The Book of Enoch or I Enoch*. Leiden: E. J. Brill.
BONASERA, F. (1953). "Terrestrial and Celestial Globes by Vincenzo Coronelli." *Imago Mundi: The International Journal for the History of Cartography* 10: 79-80.
BRAGA, Corin (2003). "Mappemondes fantasmatiques. Principes nonempiriques de l'imaginaire cartographique." *Echinox Journal* 5: 32-72.
BUDGE, E. A., ed. (1906). *Cuneiform Texts from Babylonian Tablets, &c., in the British Museum*. Part XXII. London. Plate 48 (No. 92687).
BURGESS, Ebenezer (1860). "Translation of the *Sūrya-Siddhānta*, a Textbook of Hindu Astronomy; with Notes, and an Appendix by Rev. Ebenezer Burgess." JAOS: 141-499.
CLAUSON, Gerard (1972). *An Etymological Dictionary of Pre-Thirteenth-Century Turkish*. Oxford: Clarendon.
CORBIN, Henry (1960). *Avicenna and the Visionary Recital*. W. R. Trask, transl. New York: Bollingen Foundation.
DARMESTETER, James, transl. (1975/1884). *The Zend-Avesta*, Part II, The Sīrōzahs, Yasts and Nyāyis. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass.
DAWSON, Christopher, ed. (1955). *The Mongol Mission: Narratives and Letters of the Franciscan Missionaries in Mongolia and China in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries*. A nun of Stanbrook Abbey, transl. New York: Sheed and Ward.
DE RACHEWILTZ, Igor, transl. (2006). *The Secret History of the Mongols: A Mongolian Epic Chronicle of the Thirteenth Century*. Leiden: Brill.
DURLING, Robert and Ronald L.MARTINEZ (1996). *The Divine Comedy of Dante Alighieri*, v. 1, *Inferno*. New York: Oxford University Press.
GABAIN, Annemarie von (1954). *Türkische Turfan-texte VIII: Texte in Brāhmīschrift*. Berlin: Akademie-Verlag.
GABAIN, Annemarie von (1959). *Türkische Turfantexte X: Das Avadāna des Dämons Āṭavaka*. Berlin: Akademie-Verlag.
GABAIN, Annemarie von (1974). *Alttürkische Grammatik*. Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz.
GABAIN, Annemarie von and Werner WINTER (1958). *Türkische Turfantexte IX: Ein Hymnus an den Vater Mani auf "Tocharishch" B mit alttürkischer Übersetzung*. Berlin: Akademie-Verlag.
HAENISCH, Erich (1949). "Zu den Briefen der mongolischen Il-Khane Argun und Öljeitü and den König Philipp den Schönen von Frankreich (1289 u. 1305)." *Oriens* 2: 216-235.
HOROWITZ, Wayne (1988). "The Babylonian Map of the World." *Iraq* 50: 147-165.
HOROWITZ, Wayne (1998). *Mesopotamian Cosmic Geography*. Vol. 8. Eisenbrauns.
JACKSON, Peter, transl. (1990). *The Mission of Friar William of Rubruck: His Journey to the Court of the Great Khan Möngke, 1253-1255*. London: Hakluyt Society.
JACKSON, Peter (2005). *The Mongols and the West, 1221-1440*. Harlow: Pearson.

JACKSON, Peter (2006). "World-Conquest and Local Accomodation: Threat and Blandishment in Mongol Diplomacy," in *History and Historiography of Post-Mongol Central Asia and the Midddle East: Studies in Honor of John E. Woods*. Judith Pfeiffer and Sholeh A. Quinn, eds.Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 3-22.
JACOB, Christian (2006). *The Soveriegn Map: Theoretical Approaches in Cartography throughout History*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
JOHNS, Jeremy and SAVAGE-SMITH, Emilie (2003). "The Book of Curiosities: A Newly Discovered Series of Islamic Maps. *Imago Mundi: The International Journal for the History of Cartography* 55: 7-24.
KARA, György (2005). *Books of the Mongolian Nomads: More than Eight Centuries of Writing Mongolian*. Bloomington: Research Institute for Inner Asian Studies.
KASHINATH Trimbak Telang, transl. (repr. 1965). *The Bhagavadgītā, with the Sanatsugātīya and Anugita*. The Sacred Books of the East. Vol. 8. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass.
KEITH, Arthur Berriedale (1925). *The Religion and Philosophy of the Veda and Upanishads*. 2 vols. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass.
KIRFEL, Willibald (1967). *Die Kosmographie der Inder*. Hildesheim: Georg Olms Verlagsbuchhanglung.
KOTWICZ, W. (1933). "En marge des lettres des il-khans de Perse retrouvées par Abel-Rémusat." *Collectanea Orientalia* 4.
KOTWICZ, W. (1936). "Quelques mots encore sure les lettres des il-khans de Perse retrouvées par Abel-Rémusat." *Collectanea Orientalia* 10.
KOWALEWSKI, Joseph E. (1849). *Dictionnarie mongol-russe-françai*. 3 vols. Kazan.
LATTIMORE, Richard, transl. (1951). *The Iliad of Homer*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
MILIK, J. T., ed. (1976). *The Books of Enoch: Aramaic Fragments of Qumran Cave 4*. With Matthew Black. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
MOORE, Edward (1903). "The Geography of Dante." *Studies in Dante*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
MOSTAERT, Antoine (1952). "Sur quelques passages de l'Histoire secrète des Mongols." HJAS 15: 285-404.
MOSTAERT, Antoine and Francis Woodman CLEAVES (1962). *Les Lettres de 1289 et 1305 des ilkhan Arγun et Öljeitü à Philippe le Bel*. Scripta Mongolica Monograph Series I. Cambridge: Harvard-Yenching Institute.
PELLIOT, Paul (1923). *Les mongols et la papauté*. Paris, A. Picard, pp. 3-30.
PELLIOT, Paul (1930). "Sur la legend d'Uγuz-khan en écriture ouigoure." *T'oung Pao* 27: 247-358.
PELLIOT, Paul (1959). *Notes on Marco Polo*, 3 vols. Paris, Adrien Maisonneuve.
POPPE, Nicholas (1957). *The Mongolian Monuments in ḥP'ags-pa Script*. 2nd ed. John R. Krueger, ed. and transl. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
RÉMUSAT, Abel. 1822.1824. *Mémoires sur les relations politiques des princes chrétiens et particulièrement des rois de France, avec les empereurs mongols*. Mémoires . . . de l'Académie des inscriptions et belles lettres. VI, 396-469, VII, 335-438.

ROCKHILL, William Woodville, transl. (1900). *The Journey of William of Rubruck to the Eastern Parts of the World, 1253-55, as Narrated by Himself, with two Accounts of the Earlier Journey of John of Pian de Carpine*. London: The Hakluyt Society.
RÖHRBORN, Klaus (1971). *Eine uigurishe Totenmesse*. Berlin: Akademie-Verlag.
RYMER, Thomas (1818). *Foedera*, vol. II, 1, London.
SAYCE, A. H. (1906). "A Babylonian Tourist of the Abrahamic Age and his Map of the World." *The Expository Times*. James Hastings, ed. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. Vol. 18: 68-73.
SCHIPPER, Kristofer and Franciscus VERELLEN (2004). *The Taoist Canon: A Historical Companion to the* Daozang. 3 vols., Chicago: University of Chicago.
[SETF] (1972). *Sprachwissenschaftliche Ergebnisse der deutschen Turfan-Forschung*. Albert August von Le Coq, F. W. K. Müller, Willi Bang, Annemarie von Gabain, Gabdul Rashid Rachmati, Wilhelm Thomsen, eds. 2 vols. Leipzig: DDR.
SINOR, Denis (1972). "The Mysterious 'Talu Sea' in Öljeitü's Letter to Philip the Fair of France." *Analecta Mongolica*. John G. Hangin and Urgunge Onon, eds. Occasional Papers 8. Bloomington: The Mongolia Society, 115-121.
SIVIN, Nathan (2009). *Granting the Season: The Chinese Astronomical Reform of 1280, With a Study of Its Many Dimensions ad an Annotated Translation of Its Records*. New York: Springer.
SPINOZA, Benedictus de (2007). *Theological-political treatise*. Michael Silverthorne and Jonathan Israel, transl. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
STEVENSON, Edward L. (1921). *Terrestrial and Celestial Globes: Their History and Construction Including a Consideration of their Value as Aids in the Study of Geography and Astronomy*. Vol. 2. New Haven: Yale University Press.
TEKIN, Talat (1968). *A Grammar of Orkhon Turkic*. Bloomington: Indiana University.
TEKIN, Talat (1993). *Irk Bitig: The Book of Omens*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag.
VANDERKAM, J. C. (1983). "1 Enoch 77, 3 and a Babylonian Map of the World." *Revue de Qumran Paris* 11: 271-278.
VIRGIL (2007). *Aeneid*. Frederick Ahl, transl. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
WADE, Ora O. (1938). *The Clandestine Organization and Diffusion of Philosophic Ideas in France from 1700 to 1750*. Princeton.
WALKER, D. P. (1964). *The Decline of Hell: Seventeenth-Century Discussions of Eternal Torment*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
WENDER, Dorothea, transl. (2004). *Hesiod*: Theogony; Works and Days; *Theognis*: Elegies. Penguin Books.
WHISTON, William (1755). *A new theory of the earth, from its original to the consummation of all things. Wherein The Creation of the World in Six Days, The Universal Deluge, And the General Conflagration, as laid down in the Holy Scriptures, Are shewn to be perfectly agreeable to Reason and Philosophy*. 6th ed., London.

ZIEME, Peter (1996). *Altun Yaruq Sudur, Vorworte und das erste Buch: Edition und Übersetzung der alttürkischen Version des goldglanzsūtra (Suvarṇaprabhāsottama-sūtra)*. Berliner Turfantexte XVIII. Turnhout: Brepols.