AN UNKNOWN LETTER OF HULAGU, IL-KHAN OF PERSIA, TO KING LOUIS IX OF FRANCE

•

by Paul Meyvaert

Scholars who have occasion to examine large numbers of manuscripts in search of a particular text will do well to keep a watch for unexpected pieces that may turn up along the way. Collections of medieval manuscripts are serendipity country par excellence, and there is no telling what treasure may be encountered.

It was while on a search of this kind that I came to examine (in microfilm) manuscript 339 of the Nationalbibliothek of Vienna.[1] I was on the hunt for a particular saint's life, and the 1864 catalog described this manuscript in the most summary of terms: "Vitae sanctorum latine." The manuscript, which dates from the twelfth century, does in fact contain numerous saints' lives. After the completion of the codex some leaves were added at the end to contain two accounts of relics and miracles connected with Salzburg, and dated 1223 and 1225 respectively.[2] In a blank space left between the two accounts a certain scribe named Nycolaus, on 26 April 1344, copied a text without a title. It begins with the first words of the Epistle to the Hebrews ("Multifarie multisque modis olim Deus loquens patribus in prophetis"), but then continues in a very different vein: "nouissime diebus istis locutus est auo

©1980 by The Regents of the University of California 0083-5897/80/010245+18$00.50

[1] At the Hill Monastic Microfilm Library, St. John's University, Collegeville, Minnesota. I am very grateful to its director, Dr. Julian Plante, for providing me with an immediate printout of the relevant pages. I also wish to thank Professor Otto Mazal, Director, and Dr. Eva Irblich, both of the Department of Manuscripts, Nationalbibliothek, Vienna, for their help in examining the pages under ultra-violet light, for supplying me with the excellent photographs used in the production of the accompanying plates, and for permission to print the text from this Austrian manuscript.

[2] The collation of the manuscript is as follows: 1^{4-1}, $2\text{-}18^{8}$, 19^{8-2}, 20^{4-1}, 21^{12-6}, 22^{10-1}, 23^{8-3}, 24^{2+1}. The single leaf (pp. 341-342) of the last quire (24) was first added at the end of the manuscript to contain the account of the transfer of relics in 1223. A bifolium (pp. 337-340) was then inserted *before* this single leaf to contain the account of the miracle in 1225. This account occupied only two and a half pages of the bifolium, and thus a space of three columns remained blank on pages 339-340. It was in this space that the scribe Nycolaus – more than a century later – copied down the letter of Hulagu. MS 339 once formed part of the library of the bishop of Salzburg, where it had the number 295. The codex was already in that library in 1433, since it is listed in the catalog of Iohannes Holveld. It reached the National Library of Vienna in 1806. I owe the above information to the kindness of Dr. Ann Matter, who examined the manuscript for me during a visit to Vienna, and consulted with Dr. Eva Irblich on my behalf.

nostro Chingischan per Temtemgri . . . ." This text, which occupies a full two and a half columns, is nothing less than a long letter, heretofore completely unknown, sent by Hulagu, grandson of Genghis Khan and first Il-Khan of Persia, to King Louis IX of France in 1262. It deserves to be known, and I take pleasure in presenting it here.

The new letter can be fitted neatly into a background of known facts.[3] In 1274 the Mongol envoys of Abagha, son and successor of Hulagu, presented a memorandum to the Second Council of Lyons.[4] This memorandum recapitulated events that had occurred during Hulagu's reign and, in particular, mentioned an embassy which the Il-Khan had sent to the West:

> Misit etiam dominus rex Helau . . . nuncios suos sollempnissimos ad dominum papam bone memorie Urbanum et ad omnes reges et principes citra mare pro perpetua confederacione procuranda quorum minimus eram ego Ricardus notarius dicti domini regis et principis ac interpres Latinorum, qui omnes impediti fuimus a domino Maymfredo, Frederici imperatoris filio, de progressu et per uiolenciam ultra mare remissi.[5]

If this memorandum were all that had survived, it would have seemed legitimate to conclude that the particular Mongolian embassy mentioned here had been a total failure. A papal letter, however, of Urban IV (1261-1264) to Hulagu ("Exultavit cor nostrum") informs us that a certain John the Hungarian had turned up at the papal court bearing a message from Hulagu to the pope.[6] Urban IV does not relate the circumstances that surrounded the arrival of this envoy, but historians, on the basis

[3] The relations between the Mongols and the West in the Middle Ages have been the object of numerous important studies during the past few decades. It is not my aim in this article to provide a full bibliography, or to attempt an exhaustive analysis of all the implications of the newly discovered letter. My main purpose is to make the text available, and to let others, more expert in this field, exploit its richness. Among some recent general studies can be listed B. Spuler, *Die Mongolen in Iran: Politik, Verwaltung und Kultur der Ilchanzeit 1220-1350*, ed. 3 (Berlin 1968); Denis Sinor, "The Mongols and Western Europe," in K. M. Setton, ed., *A History of the Crusades* 3 (Madison 1975) 513-544; J. A. Boyle, "The Il'Khans of Persia and the Princes of Europe," *Central Asiatic Journal* 20 (1976) 25-40; Jean Richard, *La papauté et les missions d'Orient au Moyen Age, XIII^e-XV^e siècles* (Rome 1977); *idem*, *The Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem*, trans. Janet Shirley (Amsterdam 1979).

[4] The memorandum was first discovered by Gino Borghezio in two manuscripts, Vienna, Nationalbibliothek MS 389 and Vaticanus lat. 1328. He published an article entitled "Un episodio delle relazioni tra la Santa Sede ed i Mongoli, 1274," which first appeared in *Roma: Rivista di studi e di vita romana* 14 (1936) 361-372, and then again (in unaltered form) in *Atti del IV congresso nazionale di studi romani* 1 (Rome 1938) 319-330. More recently Burhard Roberg discovered two additional manuscripts, one among the chapter muniments of Durham Cathedral Library, England, the other in MS lat. 14,765 of the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris; and he published a new edition of the memorandum, together with a long introductory study: "Die Tartaren auf dem 2. Konzil von Lyon, 1274," *Annuarium historiae conciliorum* 5 (1973) 241-302.

[5] Roberg 300.5.

[6] For centuries this letter was considered as one of Alexander IV (1254-1261). Jean Giraud, *Registres d'Urbain IV: Appendice* (Paris 1906), nos. 2814 bis and 2868, provided evidence to show that it belonged to the reign of Urban. It was Jean Richard, however, who, using the 1274 memorandum discovered by Borghezio (see n. 4 above), first persuasively argued the attribution to Pope Urban IV: J. Richard, "Le début des relations entre la papauté et les Mongols de Perse," *Journal asiatique* 237 (1949) 291-297. The contents of the new letter of Hulagu fully support Richard's arguments.

of the memorandum of 1274 quoted above, have concluded that John the Hungarian must have formed part of the embassy that was intercepted by Manfred. The pope alludes to this John in the following terms:

> Nuper siquidem Joannes Ungarus tuum in hoc se nuncium asserens nostro apostolatui reservavit quod tu . . . desideras . . . sacri baptismatis unda renasci . . . . Caeterum quia super praemissis memoratus Joannes de tuo beneplacito nullas nobis sufficientes literas vel aliam certitudinem plenam exhibuit.[7]

If John the Hungarian, who did succeed in reaching Rome, failed to bring any official letters to the pope, it would again have seemed legitimate to conclude that all the documents connected with this Mongolian embassy were lost through the intervention of Manfred. This now turns out not to have been the case. A copy of the letter destined for Louis IX has survived in Vienna MS 339. It seems doubtful, however, that the letter itself ever reached the hands of the French king. There is no echo of it in Joinville's *Life* of Louis, although the biographer does describe various contacts that the king had with the Mongols. I have likewise been unable to trace any allusion to this letter in other contemporary sources.[8] No doubt one can assume that Manfred confiscated all the embassy's documents; but it remains a puzzle through what channels the letter to Louis, or a copy of it, made its way from Manfred's entourage in southern Italy to Salzburg, there to be copied by the scribe Nycolaus in 1344. It is possible that further research will some day throw more light on this problem.

The authenticity of the new letter cannot be doubted. Every line rings true. The contents find their confirmation in a wide variety of sources, Mongolian, Persian, Arabic, and Latin. No Western medieval writer would have been capable of fabricating such a text. And even if the letter failed to reach its destination, or to exercise any influence on the course of events, it remains a fascinating document for the vivid light it projects on the history of the period.

The letter was written at Maragheh (Maraga), where Hulagu established his headquarters during the last few years of his life, and is dated: "Anno decimo Nochoe die decima mensis Aprilis." This phrase calls for some comment. The word "Nochoe" means Dog: "Nochoy enim tartarice canis dicitur latine," as we read in the *Historia Tartarorum* of C. de Bridia.[9] The Mongols used a twelve-year animal cycle to date

[7] Since Giraud (n. 6 above) does not give the full text of the letter, I quote from the old edition of O. Raynaldus, *Annales ecclesiastici ab anno 1198*, ed. J. D. Mansi, 3 (Lucca 1748) 63-64.

[8] There is no allusion to it among the many sources studied by G. A. Bezzola, *Die Mongolen in abendländischer Sicht, 1220-1270* (Bern 1974). Richard, *Latin Kingdom* (n. 3 above) B.398 writes: "In 1262, so some authors said, a large Mongol embassy was sent to demand St. Louis' submission to the Great Khan," but no works are cited to support this statement. Since Hulagu's letter was known in Salzburg in 1344, where it was copied, it would not be surprising to discover some echo of it in a source of the later medieval period.

[9] See the edition of A. Önnerfors (Berlin 1967) 13.18. The word occurs here not to explain the Dog-year but a geographical region called "Nochoy kadzar" (terra canum) in Mongolian. Elsewhere, 16.21, the word is again used to explain the Mongolian term "Nochoyterim."

their documents, the Dog-year being the eleventh in the cycle.[10] To translate this Dog-year into the equivalent year of the Christian era we need some other point of reference. This is provided by the letters of two later Il-Khans of Persia which, in addition to the animal year, also give the year of the Hegira. The letter of Ghazan to Boniface VIII is dated Hegira 701-Tiger year (A.D. 1302), and that of Öljeitü to Philip the Fair is dated Hegira 704-Serpent year (A.D. 1305).[11] This establishes A.D. 1310 as a Dog-year, and means that every previous twelfth year would also have been a Dog-year (namely 1298, 1286, 1274, 1262, 1250). Since Hulagu received his command and began his great march of conquest in 1253, and since he died on 8 February 1265, the only Dog-year that enters into consideration here is 1262.[12] With this point established it is possible to suggest an explanation for the phrase of the letter as it now stands: "Anno decimo Nochoe." Western scribes unfamiliar with the Mongolian manner of dating would assume that Nochoe was the name of a ruler whose year was being given. The year 1262 was in fact the tenth year of Hulagu's reign. The original text of the letter therefore probably read "Anno decimo anno Nochoe." If so, the repetition of "anno" was later dropped because it seemed meaningless.[13]

From the contents of the letter it is evident that it must have been written not long after the battle of Ain Jalut (September 1260), in which the Saracens had been victorious over the Mongols.[14] Although Ain Jalut has been called by modern historians "one of the world's decisive engagements"[15] – since it turned the tide against

[10] See F. K. Ginzel, *Handbuch der mathematischen und technischen Chronologie* 1 (Leipzig 1906) 404 and 501-503; also Joseph de Guignes, *Histoire générale des Huns, des Turcs, des Mongols* 1 (Paris 1756) xlvii. The names for the years are Rat, Ox, Tiger, Hare, Dragon, Serpent, Horse, Sheep, Monkey, Cock, Dog and Pig.

[11] For the letter of Ghazan see A. Mostaert and F. W. Cleaves, "Trois documents mongols des Archives secrètes vaticanes," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 15 (1952) 420; for that of Öljeitü see *idem, Les lettres de 1289 et 1305 des ilkhan Arγun et Öljeitü à Philippe le Bel* (Cambridge, Mass. 1962) 57.

[12] We do not know the extent of the interval by which the letter (15 April 1262) preceded the actual departure of the embassy from Maragheh, nor how long this embassy took to reach the territories of Manfred. The history of the relations between the pope and the king of Sicily suggest that Manfred was more likely to have intervened with violence some time after the spring of 1263, when Urban was actively working to bring Charles of Anjou to Italy. For the history of the events of this period in Italy see Steven Runciman, *The Sicilian Vespers* (Cambridge 1958), esp. 32-82. For the year 1253, in connection with Hulagu's "accession," see Spuler (n. 3 above) 49. For 1265 as the year of his death, see n. 87 below.

[13] If the original phrase read "anno undecimo (XI?) Nochoe" it could be interpreted as an attempt by the Latin scribe who wrote the letter to situate the Dog-year within the twelve-year cycle, since it was the eleventh in the series. But it must be admitted that this element of the date, namely the assigning of a particular year (tenth), finds no parallel in any other Mongolian document of the period. In the Latin letter of Abagha (see below at n. 30), the date is given as: "Datum Kogo Birgunda Lov Jel, id est Anno draconis. Alting Ai, is est mense sexto vicesimo tertio die mensis."

[14] See below, lines 97-105.

[15] This is the phrase of J. J. Saunders, "The Mongol Defeat at Ain Jalut and the Restoration of the Greek Empire," in *Muslims and Mongols*, ed. G. W. Rice (Christchurch, New Zealand 1977) 67.

further Mongolian advances towards the West – in the eyes of Hulagu it was only a temporary setback soon to be overcome by a new and final assault on the enemy. The whole purpose of the letter to Louis, as it emerges in the final sentences, was to try to persuade the Latin forces to take up a defensive position along the coast, using naval vessels, so that when the Mongols launched their offensive the "common enemy" would find no place of retreat and so would finally be crushed:

> Quia tamen per terram expugnati ad aquas marinas prout accepimus possunt habere refugium potentiam uestram excitare curauimus quod uos qui ex parte opposita super ripas maris dominamini per uestros cautionem diligentiam cum uasis armatis in mari adhibentes dictorum canum infidelium inimicorum uestrorum pariter et nostrorum refugium predictum curetis inpedire ne causa defectus muniminis marini de manibus nostris ullatenus queant euadere.[16]

The major part of the letter is concerned with spelling out the reasons that should persuade the French king to respond favorably to the Mongol request, or to put it more accurately, to obey the Mongol command – for there can be little doubt that, despite the friendly tone of the letter, a real command is being issued. From this point of view the letter can be seen as an impressive instance of the Mongolian perspective on the world, as it was so perceptively analyzed by Eric Voegelin.[17] Basing themselves on the premise that a divine revelation had been granted to Genghis Khan, making him master of the world, the Mongols viewed their conquests, and their demands for submission, as no more than the carrying out of God's will here on earth. Louis IX was not exempt from the duty of obeying a divine order.[18] Behind the request for military help one discerns the threat that if this help is not forthcoming, the French king will one day also experience the fate meted out to the disobedient.

Hulagu seeks to strengthen his plea by giving a brief account of the original divine revelation granted to Genghis Khan,[19] and then follows this up by a recital of the early conquests made by the Mongols.[20] He then proceeds to enumerate his own victories over the Assassin leader Rukn-ad-Din,[21] the Caliph of Baghdad,[22] and the Sultan of Aleppo and Damascus.[23]

Yet despite its dire implications the tone of Hulagu's letter is a quite cordial

[16] See below, lines 105-110.

[17] Eric Voegelin, "The Mongol Orders of Submission to European Powers, 1245-1255," *Byzantion* 15 (1940-1941) 378-413. The present letter of Hulagu, though less blunt in language than some of the earlier Mongol letters, shows nevertheless that the basic Mongol posture had not changed by 1262. On this matter see also J. Richard, "Ultimatums mongols et lettres apocryphes: L'occident et les motifs de guerre des Tartares," *Central Asiatic Journal* 17 (1973) 186-194.

[18] See below, lines 19-22: "ut nobis . . . eo indubitancius acquiescere uelitis quo potestatem nostram ab ipso Mengutengri (id est deo uiuo) collatam diligencius consideretis."

[19] See below, lines 4-13.

[20] See below, lines 25-39.

[21] See below, lines 40-47.

[22] See below, lines 47-60.

[23] See below, lines 64-71.

one.[24] In order to win Louis's support Hulagu stresses his own friendly attitude towards Christians, and underlines the actions he has taken to help them. It is in this connection that he mentions John the Hungarian, whom we encountered above when dealing with the letter of Urban IV.[25] We can conclude from the manner in which he speaks that this John was a trusted aide of the Mongolian king. Hulagu states that he had ordered the city of Jerusalem, after its capture by the Mongols, to be restored to the papacy through the agency of John the Hungarian.[26]

In addition to providing confirmation for a number of events known to us from other documents – for example, King Louis's gift of a chapel to the great Khan, about which we know from the *Life* by Joinville[27] – the letter does contain some new data, like that of the role played by John the Hungarian. Also new is the fact that the Sultan of Aleppo and Damascus (an-Nāsir Yūsuf) was beheaded, and that Hulagu ordered his head to be placed over the gate of the city of Tabriz as an example to others.[28]

Hulagu's letter to Louis IX is a thoroughly Mongolian document in its perspective and its idiom, but it was composed in Latin. In fact it would seem that we are dealing here not with a letter first written in Mongolian or Persian and then translated into Latin, but with an original Latin composition.[29] This letter must be linked with the Latin letter sent in 1268 by Abagha, Hulagu's son and successor, to Pope Clement

[24] There is probably more than mere flattery behind the words of the letter which address Louis as the most Christian of kings (see below, lines 75-78). The Mongol Memorandum of 1274 mentions the role of the Dominican friars, and especially of Friar David Ashby, in enlightening Hulagu about the pope and the Western kings: "Fratres de ordine Predicatorum, quorum unus erat frater David . . . multa exposuerunt sibi [to Hulagu] de fide catholica et de sanctitate nec non et de excellencia sedis apostolice et potencia regum Latinorum, qui censentur nomine Francorum" (Roberg [n. 4 above] 299). Hulagu admits that he had been confused for a while about who the pope really was (see below, lines 85-89).

[25] The absence of John the Hungarian's name from the Mongol memorandum of 1274 is striking. Perhaps he had died in the meantime, or was no longer involved in any of the negotiations. In the document of 1274 all the emphasis has shifted to the Dominicans and to David Ashby. These friars may well have had a hand in preparing the final text of the memorandum presented to the Council, since Friar David is spoken of as accompanying the Mongol envoys to Lyons: "qui nos usque ad presens sacrum concilium incolumes laudabiliter conduxit" (Roberg [n. 4 above] 299).

[26] See below, lines 90-94. The Memorandum of 1274 speaks of Hulagu's troops as occupying the Holy Land: "et pertransierunt exercitus sui totum regnum Ierusalem usque ultra petram deserti que est in introitu solitudinis" (Roberg 299).

[27] See below, lines 79-81.

[28] See below, lines 70-71.

[29] The problem of translation and communication between the Mongols and the Latins as it existed at the time of the Dominican friar Ascelin's journey in 1245 is vividly illustrated in the account left us by Simon of Saint Quentin: "Tunc frater Ascelinus cum tribus suis fratribus ac tribus interpretibus et scriptoribus Baiothnoy se a multitudine astantium sequestravit nulloque illis umbraculo superastante litteras domini pape de verbo ad verbum, mediantibus aliis interpretibus, exposuit, Persis siquidem notariis scribentibus ea que audiebant a Turcis et a Grecis interpretibus et etiam a fratribus. Itaque litteris transscriptis ac mediantibus interpretibus suis in tartarico Baiothnoy expositis." This is quoted from Simon de Saint-Quentin, *Histoire des Tartares*, ed. J. Richard (Paris 1965) 106. It would seem that Hulagu realized the advantages of having at hand a competent Latin scribe who could act as the immediate interpreter of his wishes towards the Latins. (See also n. 34 below).

IV, which was discovered and published by Cardinal Tisserant.[30] In this letter Abagha excuses himself to the pope for having in the previous year (1267) sent letters written in Mongolian to the papal court: "Verum mogalice signavimus, quia illo tempore scriba noster latinus presens non affuerat."[31] There are some striking textual similarities between this letter of Abagha and the new letter of Hulagu suggesting that the same hand is at work in both.[32] This "scriba latinus" is no doubt to be identified with the Richardus who mentions himself in the Memorandum of 1274 presented to the Council of Lyons: "Ego Richardus notarius dicti domini regis et principis (Hulagu) ac interpres Latinorum."[33] Living in Persia, at a Mongolian court, this notary was familiar both with the Latin Bible and with Mongolian expressions of all sorts. This explains why he was able to compose a letter that used scriptural terminology and yet remained fully faithful to a Mongolian outlook and style. We lack clues concerning his background, but a perusal of the accounts written by the Franciscans and Dominicans of the period who traveled to Mongolia suggests the presence of opportunists on the scene, who were willing to leave the Christian side in order to serve Mongolian masters. Like the Englishman who, according to Matthew Paris, became a spy working for the Mongols, so the notary Richardus must have considered that there were advantages in attaching himself to the court of Hulagu.[34]

The text of the letter which follows reproduces that of Vienna MS 339, pp. 339-340, with as few corrections as possible. The accompanying plates will allow readers to compare the transcription with the original. Nycolaus wrote rapidly and used many abbreviations, and it took some time to puzzle out all the words. Several friends pored over the photographs with me, and hazarded their suggestions. I owe a special debt of gratitude to Fr. Leonard Boyle of the Pontifical Institute of Toronto, whose expert eye was able to solve a number of problems. Some additional suggestions, for the final version given here, were made by Professor Peter Reid of Tufts University. The Latinity of Hulagu's notary was not of the highest order, and it is also probable that here and there scribal carelessness and inattention (whether of Nycolaus or some predecessor) resulted in a few passages that are now difficult to construe, even though the general import of the words remains clear (for example,

[30] E. Tisserant, "Une lettre de l'Ilkhan de Perse Abaga, adressée en 1268 au pape Clément IV," *Muséon* 59 (1946) 547-556.

[31] *Ibid.* 556.

[32] See below, lines 35-39 and 99-100.

[33] See above, p. 246.

[34] The information concerning this Englishman comes in a letter of 1243 from Ivo of Narbonne to Gerald, archbishop of Bordeaux, which Matthew Paris quotes in extenso. The statement of how this man was drawn into the service of the Mongols is worth quoting, since it may provide a parallel for the Latin scribe of Hulagu: "Ut erat aliquantulum literatus, ea quae ibi proferebantur, tabulis commendare, et cito postea tam recte proferre, ut indigena putaretur; et eadem facilitate didicit plures linguas. Ipsum igitur Tattari per exploratores suos eligentes sibi attraxerunt, et postquam de vendicando sibi totius mundi dominio acceperunt responsum, multis sibi donariis ad fidelitatem suam et servitium astrinxerunt, pro eo quod interpretibus indigebant" (*Chronica Majora* [Rolls Series] 4.274-275). On the question of renegades, see also Richard, *Latin Kingdom* (n. 3 above) A.260-261.

lines 67-68). The notes that accompany the text seek to link passages from the letter to other known sources, although I can lay no claim to have found all the relevant material. A special set of notes (in [ ] and signed F.W.C.) aim at clarifying the Mongolian words found in the letter. I owe all the material from which these notes are drawn to the great kindness of Professor Francis W. Cleaves, of Harvard University, whose expertise and long-standing interest in the Mongolian texts of this period are well known. I could not have found a better qualified advisor.

TEXT OF LETTER

Vienna, Nationalbibliothek, MS 339, pp. 339-340

[deest titulus]

Multifarie multisque modis olim deus loquens patribus in prophetis nouissime diebus istis locutus est[35] auo nostro Chingischan per Temptemgri[36] (nomen[a] quod interpretatur propheta dei) eiusdem cognatum[b] futuros euentus miraculose temporum reuelans eidem per dictum Teptemgri nunciando significans: "In excelsis ego sum deus omnipotens solus et te super gentes et regna constitui dominatorem et regem fieri tocius orbis, ut euellas et destruas, dissipes et disperdas, edifices et plantes.[37] Annuncio igitur tibi ut mandatum meum cunctis generationibus et linguis et tribubus orientalibus, meridionalibus, septentrionalibus, occidentalibus notifices nunciesque singulis totius orbis partibus in quibus inperatores inperant uel reges regnant, presides presunt, dominia exercentur ubicumque equorum plante poterunt

[a] *MS* noe = nomine (?) [b] *MS* cognat (?)

[35] Heb. 1.1 "Multifarie multisque modis olim Deus loquens patribus in prophetis novissime diebus istis locutus est nobis in filio."

[36] [In "Temptemgri" (line 2), "Teptemgri" (line 4) we have the Mongolian Teb Tngri, epithet of Turcic origin of Kököčü, the shaman who placed Temüǰin on the throne and gave him the title of Činggis Qan. The *Secret History of the Mongols* (preserved only in a Chinese transcription) mentions the later conflict between Teb Tngri and Genghis Khan, but is silent about the role played by the shaman in the enthronement. This role, however, is mentioned by the two Islamic historians Juvaini and Rashid-al-Din. The present letter of Hulagu fully confirms the story handed down by these historians, and helps to show that at the Mongolian court in Iran, at least, the role played by Teb Tngri in the enthronement was considered a major one. The new evidence should help to dispel the doubt expressed by Paul Pelliot concerning the value of Rashid-al-Din's testimony (see *Notes on Marco Polo* 1 [Paris 1959] 302). For the passage in Juvaini see J. A. Boyle, *The History of the World-Conqueror by Ala-ad-Din Ata-Malik Juvaini* 1 (Cambridge, Mass. 1958) 39: "At this time there arose a man of whom I have heard from trustworthy Mongols that during the severe cold that prevails in those regions he used to walk naked through the desert and the mountains and then to return and say: 'God has spoken with me and has said: I have given all the face of the earth to Temujin and his children and named him Chingiz Khan. Bid him administer justice in such and such a fashion,' " See also F. W. Cleaves, "Teb Tenggeri," *Ural-Altaische Jahrbücher* 39 (1967) 260, where it is argued that the name means "Lord Cunning." F.W.C.]

[37] Jerem. 1.10 "Ecce constitui te hodie super gentes et super regna ut evellas et destruas et disperdas et dissipes et aedifices et plantes."

calcare,[38] naues nauigare, nuncii peruenire, litere audiri, ut habentes aures audiant, audientes intellegant, intellegentes credant. Quicumque uero non crediderint in posterum considerent qualiter de meis mandatis increduli premantur."

Nos igitur per uirtutem Mengutengri[39] (id est dei uiui) Huyleu[40] cham, dux milicie Mungalorum,[41] perfidarum gencium Sarracenorum cupidus deuastator, christiane fidei benignus sublimator, inimicancium strenuus expugnator, amicantium utique pius amator illustri regi Francorum Ludwico nec non principibus, ducibus, comitibus, baronibus, militibus ac ceteris, uniuersis et singulis tocius regni Francie Barachmar[42] (id est salutem). Nunciando predictam reuelationem notificamus ut nobis mandatum dei uiui exegentibus eo indubitancius acquiescere uelitis quo potestatem nostram ab ipso Mengutengri[43] (id est deo uiuo) collatam diligencius consideretis. Sed ne frustra uobis forsan modo huiuscemodi scripsisse propalemur, que nostris temporibus nuper incredulis mandatis nostris – immo pocius dei uiui – contrariantibus contigerunt, pauca de multis compendiose dilucidamus.

Placuit enim maiestati nostre in exordium mandatum diuinum regibus ac principibus orientalibus denunciare,[44] uidelicet regi Castinnorum,[45] regi Naymanorum,[46]

[38] See the phrase of the Mongolian Edict as recorded by Friar William of Rubruck: "Ubicumque possunt aures audire, *quocumque potest equus ambulare*, ibi faciatis audiri vel intelligi" (ed. A. Van den Wyngaert, *Sinica franciscana* 1 [Florence 1929] 307).

[39] ["Per virtutem Mengutengri" (line 14), "Mengutengri" (line 21), "Manguttengri" (line 111) renders the Turkish version of the Mongolian formula *mongke tngri-yin küčün-dür* ("In the Might of the Everlasting Heaven"), which is found at the outset of some Mongolian letters like that of the il-Khan Arγun to Philip the Fair (1289). For further comments on this phrase see Paul Pelliot, "Les mongols et la papauté," *Revue de l'Orient chrétien*, ser. 3, 3 (1922-1923), 3-30 (for the letter of Güyüg), and Mostaert and Cleaves, *Lettres* (n. 11 above) 17-22. F.W.C.]

[40] [Various Latin forms of the name occur in the documents of the period. Urban IV addresses his letter "Olaoni regi Tartarorum," while Marco Polo uses the form "Ulau" (see Pelliot [n. 36 above] 2 [Paris 1963] 865-867). The form given here, "Huyleu," comes closest to an actual rendering of the Mongolian Hüle'ü (Hülegü). On Hulagu see J. A. Boyle, "Dynastic and Political History of the Il-Khans," in *The Cambridge History of Iran* 5 (1968) 340-355; also J. M. Fiey, *Chrétiens syriaques sous les Mongols (Il-Khanat de Perse, XIII^e-XIV^e s.)* (Louvain 1975) 18-32, "Le nouveau Constantin: Hulagu (1256-1265)." F.W.C.]

[41] Note the use here of "Mungali" and not "Tartari" – the universal term used in the West during the Middle Ages for the Mongols. In his *Historia Tartarorum*, Simon of St. Quentin wrote: "Ipsi quoque Tartari proprie loquendo se vocant Mongli sive Mongol" (Richard [n. 29 above] 92). Likewise in the Mongol Memorandum of 1274 to the Council of Lyons: "Gentis Mogalorum quos vocatis Tartaros" (Roberg [n. 4 above] 298.1).

[42] A stain now covers the first letters of this word, but under ultra-violet light, as Professor Mazal has assured me, there was no problem in reading the correct sequence of letters. ["Barachmar" yields nothing that is immediately intelligible. If "Barachmar," however, may be considered an error for "Barachmat," it is conceivable that it is the Persian (<Arabic) *bi-raḥmat*, "in the mercy," a portion of the formula *bi-raḥmat Allāh*, "in the mercy of God." Cf. also *ba-raḥmat āmada*, "moved by pity," and *khudā raḥmat-ash kunad*, "may God have mercy on him" or "requiescat in pace," in F. Steingass, *A Comprehensive Persian-English Dictionary* (London 1947) 171a and 571a respectively. F.W.C.]

[43] On this word see n. 39 above.

[44] A list of the peoples conquered by the Mongols occurs in the *Historia Mongalorum quos nos Tartaros appellamus* of John de Plano Carpini, and in the *Historia Tartarorum* of C. de Bridia. For a comparison of the two lists see *Excursus B* of George D. Painter, "The Tartar Relation," in *The Vinland Map and the Tartar Relation*, ed. R. A. Skelton, T. E. Marston, G. D. Painter (New

regi Merchitorum,[47] regi Chyrkizorum,[48] regi Nangyazorum,[49] regi Kytayorum,[50] regi Tangutorum,[51] regi Teubetorum, regi Tubetorum,[52] regi Wigucorum,[53] regi Kamulorum,[54] regi Uilperitorum,[55] duci Chorasininorum,[56] soldano Persicorum,[57]
30 ducibus Cumanorum[58] nec non regibus et soldanis, principibus ac ducibus plage meridionalis, scilicet Yndis ac circumadiacentibus regionibus dominantibus, ceteris nec non et aliis dictorum respectu innumeris quorum nomina specificare literis fastidium generaret, qui ordinationi diuine contrarii dominationi nostre a deo nobis col-

Haven 1965) 19-106, esp. 104-106. For the sake of brevity, the references to Carpini and C. de Bridia in the following notes are to this *Excursus B*.

[45] ["Castinnorum" from "Castin," a Latinization of a Mongolian "Kesdiyin," the form of the name attested in *The Secret History of the Mongols,* §239; identified as the "Kästimi" by Paul Pelliot, "Notes sur l'histoire de la Horde d'or," *Oeuvres posthumes de Paul Pelliot* 2 (Paris 1949) 141-142, n. 2. F.W.C.] Painter (*Excursus* B 105) suggests that the "Cassidi" in C.de Bridia's list are perhaps to be identified with the Kesdiyin.

[46] ["Nayimanorum" from "Nayiman," a Latinization of the Mongolian "Naiman," the name of a Turkish people, for which see Louis Hambis and Paul Pelliot, *Histoire des campagnes de Gengis Khan, Cheng-wou ts' in-tcheng lou* (Leiden 1951) 215-221, n. 3. F.W.C.] The Naiman occur in the two lists studied by Painter (n. 44 above) 104-105.

[47] ["Merchitorum" from "Merchit," a Latinization of a Mongolian "Merkid." For comments on this people see Hambis and Pelliot (n. 46 above) 227-228 §4. F.W.C.] See also Painter (n. 44 above) 104-105 (Merkit, Mecrit, Mecriti).

[48] ["Chyrkizorum" from "Chyrkiz," a Latinization of a Mongolian "Kirgis." For a discussion of the name itself and relevant bibliography, see L. Ligeti, "Die Herkunft des Volknamens Kirgis," *Körösi Csoma-Archivum* 1 (1921-1925) 369-383, F.W.C.] See also Painter (n. 44 above) 104-105 (Kirgiz, Kergiz).

[49] ["Nangyazorum" from "Nangyaz," a Latinization of the Mongolian form of the Chinese "Nan-chia-tzu," attested as "Nangyiyas" in line 28 of the Bičig of Öljeitü to Philip the Fair, dated 1305: see Mostaert and Cleaves, *Lettres* (n. 11 above) 55 and 73-74, n. 236. F.W.C.] This name is absent from the Carpini and C. de Bridia lists.

[50] ["Kytayorum" from "Kytay," a Latinization of "Kitai," regularly "Kitad" (a Mongolian plural in -d) in *The Secret History of the Mongols*. For a discussion of the name see Hambis and Pelliot (n. 46 above) 252 §17, and especially the entry in Pelliot (n. 36 above) 1.216-229. F.W.C.] See also Painter (n. 44 above) 104-105 (Kitai).

[51] ["Tangutorum" from "Tangut," a Latinization of "Tangyud," the Mongolian name for the Hsi-Hsia or "Western Hsia;" see Hambis and Pelliot (n. 46 above) 252 § 19. F.W.C.] This name does not occur in the lists of Carpini and C. de Bridia, unless it could perhaps be read as "Cangutorum" (Cangite, Kangite, Kangit); see Painter (n. 44 above) 104-105. (There is occasional confusion of *c* and *t* in our document; see n. 53 below.)

[52] [The repetition of the name "Teubetorum," "Tubetorum" is probably a case of dittography, the second version meant as a correction of the first. "Tubet" can be taken as a Latinization of the Mongolian Töbed, the reference being here, as in the case of the other names, to the people rather than the country. F.W.C.] Both Carpini's list and C. de Bridia's mention a Buritebet, Buritabet; see Painter (n. 44 above) 104-105.

[53] ["Wigucorum" – an error for "Wigutorum" (with the scribe probably mistaking a *t* for a *c*) – derives from "Wigut," a Latinization of uiγud, the Mongolian plural in *-d* for the uiγur, the Turks of Marco Polo's "Iuguristan," the Persian Ūiγūristān; see Hambis and Pelliot (n. 46 above) 253 §18; also Pelliot (n. 36 above) 2.753-754, 261 "Iuguristan." F.W.C.] The C. de Bridia list mentions "Huyur," and that of Carpini "Uihur;" see Painter (n. 44 above) 104-105.

[54] ["Kamulorum" from "Kamul" – Marco Polo's "Camul" – a Latinization of the Uighur Turkish *Qamul* (~*Qamïl*), for which see Pelliot (n. 36 above) 1.153-156, 111 "Camul." F.W.C.] This name does not occur in the two lists studied by Painter.

[55] ["Uilperitorum" from an otherwise unattested "Uilperit" – reflecting a Mongolian plural in *-t* (unvoiced) of "Uilperi." To the best of my knowledge, apart from its appearance in early

late fastuose renitentes, in superbis fortitudinibus suis confisi contra nos acies suas preliando dirigere minime uerebantur. Quorum innumerabiles ut breuiter transeamus nece pestifera fecimus interire, eorumque regna, possessiones, ciuitates, castra, potenter inuasimus uniuersa et singula pro libito deuastando; quorum tamen aliqui maiorum gratia fulciti amicabiliter excellencie nostre adherentes salui cum uniuersis sibi spectantibus gratulationibus pocioribus potiti indubitanter permanserunt.[59]

Annis autem aliquibus interiectis, dei uiui uirtute preuia, uersus orientalem plagam propositum dirigentes in primis soldano[c] Hassasinorum,[60] percussori scilicet curtorum,[d][61] ut pretactis consideratis ditioni nostre festinancius subderetur significauimus. Qui, castrorum suorum sitibus in sublimium moncium cacuminibus applaudens, exercitum et sibi sufficientem habere credens, contra nos studuit temerarie preliari, cuius nomen Urcnedyn,[62] cum totali generatione sua de terra deleuimus, nec non castra sua fortissima, castrum scilicet Baymundeu, castrum Alamunt[63] et omnia et alia castra fere c.1[a] usque ad fundamenta prostrauimus.[64] Quibus peractis, curtorum regibus ac principibus mandatum supra dictum destinauimus, quorum reges xiiii ac principes significatis a nobis inobedientes cum suis omnibus modo supradicto

[c]*MS prius* sollando, *deinde del.* [d]*MS* curtrorum: sed cf. lines 47-48

Russian, this is the only occurrence of the name in a Western language. This testimony is of importance since it confirms the accuracy of a theoretical restitution proposed by Pelliot. This scholar, on the basis of some Chinese transcriptions ("Yü-li-po-li," "Wen-erh-pieh-li") postulated a Mongolian name "Ulbäri" or "Ulbäli," identifiable with the "Ulb(a)ri" of the Persian historian Juzjānī and the "Ürbäliyän" of Juvaini; see P. Pelliot, "A propos des Comans," *Journal asiatique* ser. 11, 15 (1920) 161-162, and Hambis and Pelliot (n. 46 above) 107. The "Uilperi" of Hulagu's letter present a Latinized form of "Ulbäri." F.W.C.]

[56] [The word should probably be read as "Chorasinorum" – the second *-in* being an inadvertent scribal duplication, or perhaps even as "Chorasanorum." On the Corasani see Pelliot (n. 45 above) 155. For the Mongolian form *Qurasan*< Persian *X(u)rāsān*, cf. Francis Woodman Cleaves, "An Early Mongolian Version of the Alexander Romance," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 22 (1959) 63-64, n. 2. F.W.C.]

[57] Among the "nomina terrarum quas subiugaverunt Tartari" C. de Bridia lists "Persarum Soldani" and Carpini the "Perses" (Persians); see Painter (n. 44 above) 85 and 104-106.

[58] ["Cumanorum" from "Cuman," on whom see Pelliot (n. 55 above) 125-185. F.W.C.] See also Painter (n. 44 above) 104-105.

[59] Note the striking textual parallelism between lines 37-39 and the letter sent from Abaga to Pope Clement IV (see above at n. 30): "Universa sua pro libito invadendo cum universis sibi spectantibus in suis bonis maioribus etiam potiti quiete permanserunt."

[60] This is Rukn-ad-Din Khur-Shah, the Assassin chief. The story of the destruction of his strongholds, which is told here in a few sentences, is narrated at length by Juvaini in the final section of his *History*, trans. Boyle (n. 36 above) 2 (Manchester 1958) 618-725.

[61] See lines 42-43 below: "curtorum regibus ac principibus mandatum . . . destinavimus."

[62] ["Urcnedyn" for Rukn-ad-Din deserves to be noted. The Mongols were incapable of sounding an initial *R*. The above form therefore almost certainly reflects the Assassin leader's name as the Latin scribe heard it pronounced in Hulagu's Mongolian entourage. F.W.C.]

[63] These are the fortresses of Maimundiz and Alamut, which figure large in Juvaini's account (see n. 60 above). Alamut, the chief stronghold of the Assassins, was captured in November 1256. On the Assassins see Bernard Lewis, *The Assassins: A Radical Sect in Islam* (London 1967).

[64] It is worth quoting here a passage from Barhebraeus's History: "They also made themselves masters of the fortress from which Rukn-ad-Din had come down – now its name was Maimûndûr – and they destroyed it. Thus also did it happen to the strong fortress which is called

fecimus trucidari. Hiis uero completis, aliquanto temporis interuallo, placuit nobis Caliphe Baldachie[65] uelut supra nominatis mandatum pristinum dirigere. Qui utique de genere Machometi nefandissimi pseudoprophete[e] Sarracenorum papam mundi caput se ipsum fuisse ridiculose gloriando creatorem omnipotentem pro dicto Machmeto et eius genere tantum, celum et terram et cuncta in eis contenta creasse firmissime asserere nullatenus hesitauit. Unde de sublimitate sua magnifica et gazis innumeris, castris innumeris, exercituum multitudinibus ingentissime confisus, contra nos elegit pocius preliari quam mandato nostro benigne parere. Quem omnipotentis dei uirtute ut ceteros rebelles palam dimicando deuicimus[66] et de suis computando duo milia milium pugnatorum necauimus, exceptis aliis quorum innumerabilis erat multitudo.[67] Patriarcham quidem Nestorianorum in dicta ciuitate Baldacense commorantem cum suis episcopis, monachis, prespiteris, clericis et christianis uniuersis eosdem singillatim a Sarracenis segregando et eisdem bona maiora conferendo, in suis bonis quiete et salue iussimus residere.[68]

Ista igitur perpendens soldanus Halapie et Damasci[69] terrore concussus filium suum uolendo obedire nobis transmisit,[70] cuius obedientia placente baiolos per terrarum suarum [?][f] et priuilegia cum tabula aurea,[71] que signum est plenioris hon-

[e] *MS* speudoprophete [f] *MS* c . . . dus?

Alâmuth and the fortress which is called Gerdkûh which is situated in the heart of the heavens. And the Tartars took fifty other fortresses which were round about it and they laid them waste and pulled them down, and all who were in them were killed." (trans. E. A. Wallis Budge, *The Chronography of Gregory Abû'l Faraj, the Hebrew Physician, commonly known as Bar Hebraeus* 1 [London 1932] 423). The same number of castles is given in Juvaini's *History* (trans. Boyle [n. 36 above] 2.637): "He then set out . . . in order that beginning with Girdkuh, they might demolish all the castles, more than 50 of them." In Hulagu's letter the number of castles has risen to 150! – or is this a case of the known propensity of scribes to err when copying figures?

[65] This was the last Abbāsid caliph, Al-Mustasᶜim.

[66] On the account of the caliph's death see J. A. Boyle, "The Death of the Last ᶜAbbasid Caliph," *Journal of Semitic Studies* 6 (1961) 145-161. Hulagu's letter does not settle the controversy about how the Caliph was slain – "deuicimus." It should be noted that according to the Mongol Memorandum presented to the Council of Lyons in 1274, it was by the sword: "Baldak . . . cepit et Calipham summum dominum Saracenorum cuius sedes et residentia erat ibidem gladio necavit" (Roberg [n. 4 above] 299). Baghdad fell on 15 February 1258.

[67] According to Barhebraeus: "The Mongols drew their swords and slew all the people of Baghdad – tens of thousands of men" (n. 64 above) 1.431. As in the case of the number of Assassin castles (see n. 64 above) the number of slain is here increased to "at least 200,000"!

[68] This is mentioned also by Barhebraeus: "And the Catholicus collected all the Christians into the Church of the Third Bazar, and there he protected them, and none of the Christians was injured" (n. 64 above) 1.431, and by the Armenian writer Kirakos of Gandzak: [Doquz Khatun, Hulagu's Nestorian wife] "réclama les chrétiens de l'hérésie nestorienne ou de toute autre nation (rite) qui se trouvaient à Bagdad et implora eux de son mari la vie sauve. Hülagu les épargna et leur laissa ce qu'ils possédaient" (quoted from Fiey [n. 40 above] 22). Barhebraeus, further on in his account (1.433), tells the story of how the Christians were eventually slain for having hidden treasures entrusted to them by the Moslems. There is no breath of this in Hulagu's letter. The name of the Nestorian patriarch mentioned here was Mar Makiki.

[69] An-Nāsir Yūsuf, Abyūdid ruler of Aleppo (1236-1260), Damascus (1250-1260) and Baalbek. The Mongol Memorandum of 1274 also alludes to him: "fugans Soldanum Alapye et Damasci qui tunc potentissimum habebatur" (Roberg [n. 4 above] 299).

[70] This story is also mentioned by Barhebraeus: [he] "sent his son Malik Aziz with treasures and offerings and large gifts in the autumn of the year fifteen hundred and seventy of the Greeks (A.D. 1259)" (n. 64 above) 1.434.

[71] This is the *paiza* made of gold, silver or some other material that is mentioned in several

oris, eidem remisimus. Qui tamen post pauca instinctu fortune temptatus, sibi contrarius[g] a sponsione sua resiliens, nobis contrarius est effectus. Quare ipso fugiente terras suas et castra potenter inuadendo, ciuitates Halapie et Damasci,[72] Haman et Haniz,[h] Baaldech, Aran et Baya[73] destruximus ipsiusque fugientis apprehensi caput in exemplum fraudulentorum super portam ciuitatis Theuris[74] iussimus suspendi.[75] Sclauos proculdubio latinos quos per Iohannem Ungarum pro sancta ciuitate Ierusalem, causa deuocionis contra infideles intelleximus uenisse, per eundem fecimus restitui pristine libertati, quod non credimus dominationem uestram latere.[76] Ceterum noueritis excellentiam nostram non ignorare quod, licet quamplures fuerint reges christianorum occidentalium, uos[i] tamen pre ceteris coruscationis industrie prerogatiua floruistis, eo quod, omnium qui christiano nomine censentur saluti diligencius inuigilantes, in signum amicitie[j] specialioris ad honorem omnipotentis dei uiui, licet uobis nondum nuntios nostros destinaueramus, per fideles nuntios uestros predecessori nostro Crinizcham in refocilationem specialem capellam uestram, diuino nomini dedicatam, mittere curauistis.[77] Quod si ex tunc nondum, ut diximus, qui-

[g] temptatus, sibi contrarius (?) *MS* tp̄us i̇ s̄ conr̄is (?)
[h] *MS prius* ha3nis, *deinde del.*
[i] *MS* quos
[j] *MS* amicie

documents of the period; see Spuler (n. 3 above) 292-293. Simon of St. Quentin calls it the "bulla Tartarica," ed. Richard (n. 29 above) 33 and n. 4, and William of Rubruck also speaks of it: "Dedit etiam Mangu ipsi Moal bullam suam, platam scilicet auream ad latitudinem unius palme et longitudinem semis cubiti in que sculpitur mandatum suum. Qui illam portat potest imperare quod vult, et fit sine mora;" *Itinerarium*, ed. Van den Wyngaert [n. 38 above] 255.

[72] Aleppo was destroyed in January 1260; Damascus surrendered in February of the same year.

[73] Among the places captured by Hulagu's forces in 1260 Barhebraeus mentions Harran (Aran?), Balash, Hamath, B'elbak (Baaldech?)-Harim (n. 64 above) 1.435-436.

[74] Theuris is identifiable as Tabriz (see index in Van den Wyngaert [n. 38 above] 632-633). This was the capital of the kingdom in Hulagu's time; see Spuler (n. 3 above) 332.

[75] As far as I am aware this detail is found in no other contemporary source. Barhebraeus mentions the slaying of an-Nāsir Yūsuf: "And he [Hulagu] commanded and Malik Nasir and his brother and every one who was with them were killed . . . in one of the ravines of Nawshahar" (n. 64 above) 1.438. One recalls, however, that at a later date the head of the Persian minister and historian, Rashid-al-Din, was also paraded in Tabriz.

[76] Hulagu's letter implies that the Mongols overran the kingdom of Jerusalem, although this is not explicitly stated, as it is in the Mongol Memorandum of 1274: "[Hulagu] famosam ciuitatem Alapye cum castro eiusdem fortissimo cepit potenter et funditus diruit ac destruxit. Damascus autem reddidit se et *pertransierunt exercitus sui totum regnum Ierusalem* usque ultra petram deserti que est in introitu solitudinis per quam transierunt filii Israel." This memorandum also alludes to the freeing of the Christian slaves: "Non est eciam omittendum quomodo pater suus [Hulagu] et ipse [Abaga] ubicumque captiuos sclavos uinctos ferro inuenirent pristine reddebant libertati et de conductu securo usque ad mare mediterraneum prouidebant" (Roberg [n. 4 above] 299 and 300).

[77] Louis had landed in Cyprus in September of 1248. In December he received there envoys from the Mongolian commander Eljigitei, who urged him to join forces with the Mongols against the Moslems. The envoys also reported that the Great Khan (Küyük) had become a Christian. The king decided to send an embassy to Mongolia in the following January (1249) under Andrew of Longjumeau. It was on the occasion of this embassy that Louis sent a chapel as a gift. Joinville is our source here: "When sending the envoys back the king had sent with them, by his own envoys, a chapel made to his own orders of scarlet cloth" (trans. M. R. B. Shaw [Baltimore 1963] 282-283). Küyük died in April 1248, but it is likely that the Mongol envoys, who reached Cyprus in the autumn of that year, were still ignorant of this fact. Louis's present to the Great

buscumque a nobis significatis talibus inuigilastis, multo magis de cetero, cum non tantum litteris sed et fidelibus nuntiis nostris maiestatem uestram uisitare curauimus, amicitiam pretactam non discredimus uos uelle nobiscum renouando uinculo forciori innouare. Insuper dominationi uestre amicabiliter uolumus denudare nos in primis summum pontificem papam Francorum regem uel imperatorem fuisse credidisse, sed postea diligentiori inquisitione habita,[78] intelleximus ipsum esse uirum sanctum deum iugiter orantem pro nationibus[k] uniuersis ipsius Misicatengrin[79] (id est filii dei uiui) locum in terris tenentem et caput omnium in Christo credentium et precantium. Quibus intellectis ei restitui iussimus sanctam ciuitatem Iherusalem a profanis iamdudum detentam, cum ceteris tocius regni pertinentiis, per fidelem nostrum deuotum Iohannem predictum fidei christiane cultorem, quod proculdubio credimus auribus uestris aliquociens insonuisse.[80]

Quia tamen nostri moris est caumatibus estiuis locis frigidis montanis niueis libencius adherere, supra dictis Halapensibus et Damaszenis deuastatis nec non uictualibus et herbariis pro maiore parte consumptis, placuit nobis uersus montana maioris Armenie paulisper redire,[81] in dictis quidem locis paucos de nostris pro quorumdam residuorum castrorum Hassassenorum destructione dimittendo; quibus furtiue insidiantes eorum paucitatem considerantes canini mures Babilonici[82] de cauernis suis egressi eosdem inuaserunt. Quidam uero meritis suis exigentibus precepta nostra preuaricando Francorum possessiones inuadendo a dictis muribus sunt corrosi.[83]

[k] *MS* matonibus (?)

Khan would therefore have been addressed to Küyük – though how this name got transformed to the Crinizcham of the letter is not clear. Hulagu avoids any reference to the harsh reply Louis received from Oghul-Ghaimish, Küyük's widow, who assumed the regency after her husband's death. Boyle (n. 3 above) 25-40 tries to explain why historians like Juvaini and Barhebraeus remain silent about Hulagu's contacts with the West.

[78] See the Mongol Memorandum of 1274 to the Council of Lyons: "Multa exposuerunt sibi [to Hulagu] de fide catholica et de sanctitate nec non et de excellencia sedis apostolice et potencia regum Latinorum, qui censentur nomine Francorum" (Roberg [n. 4 above] 299).

[79] ["Misicatengrin" is the Mongolian "Misiqa tngri" (or, perhaps, "Misiqa tengrim"), the Turkish "Misiqa tngrim" – "Misiqa" (to be read "Mišiqa") in either language being the Syriac for "Messiah." As for *tengri*, the Mongolian (or Turkish) *tngri* "heaven," the Latin translation (*id est filii dei vivi*) suggests that it has here the meaning "God." In Buddhist texts *tngri* is of common usage in the sense of "god" and *tngri-ner* as "gods." Hence *Misica tengri* might mean "Messiah God." If, however, *tengrin* is an error for *tengrim, Misica tengrim* would mean "My Lord Messiah" in Turkish and, indeed, even in Mongolian *Misica tengri* could mean "Lord Messiah." For the use of *tngri* in Mongolian and Turkish in the sense of "lord," cf. Cleaves (n. 36 above) 250, n. 10. As to the word *Misica*, it occurs four times as *Misiq-a* in the Mongolian letter of Arγun of 14 May 1290 to the papacy. Cf. Mostaert and Cleaves, "Trois documents" (n. 11 above) 70, 450, lines 4, 6, 8-9, 22-23 (with translation, 451). For remarks on the term *Misiq-a* see the commentary on 453. F.W.C.]

[80] Cf. the Mongol Memorandum of 1274: "Insuper ciuitatem sanctissimam Ierusalem cum toto regno eiusdem contulit et in possessionem poni fecit, sicut noverunt omnes christiani ultra mare et religiosus frater David, qui omnia istorum una cum aliis fratribus sui sui ordinis studiosius procuravit" (Roberg [n. 4 above] 299).

[81] Cf. Spuler (n. 3 above) 63 and 332. Hulagu returned to Caucasia in the year 1261.

[82] Note a similar expression in the letter of Abaga to Pope Clement IV: "Infideles Canini generis babilonici in medio corruant" (Tisserant [n. 30 above] 556).

[83] This is probably an allusion both to the sack of Sidon by Kitbuga, the Mongol General, and his subsequent defeat by the Mamluks at Ain Jalut in September of 1260. On the sequence and connection of these events see Richard, *Latin Kingdom* (n. 3 above) B.390-391.

Quorum preuaricatorum uindicta licet non multum nobis displicuerit nec etiam nocumentum aliquod intulerit, intentionis tamen nostre est contra dictos canini generis infideles Babilonicos[84] propositum nostrum funditus sicut et contra ceteros rebelles in breui conplere.[85] Quia tamen per terram expugnati ad aquas marinas, prout accepimus, possunt habere refugium, potentiam uestram excitare curauimus quod uos qui ex parte opposita super ripas maris dominamini, per uestros caucionem[l] diligentiam cum uasis armatis in mari adhibentes dictorum canum infidelium, inimicorum uestrorum pariter et nostrorum, refugium predictum curetis inpedire, ne causa defectus muniminis marini de manibus nostris ullatenus queant euadere.

Manguttengri[86] (id est in uiuo deo) eternaliter sine fine ualete. Uoluntate uestram super hiis et aliis, si placet, per nuncios uestros speciales una cum nostris matura festinatione nobis significate.

Datum in ciuitate Maraga[87] anno decimo, [anno] Nochoe,[88] die decima mensis Aprilis.

[Anno domini millesimo ccc.xliiii vi[a] K̄ln Maii
Nycolaus]

Mediaeval Academy of America
1430 Massachusetts Avenue
Cambridge, Massachusetts 02138, U.S.A.

Addendum: My conjecture that King Louis did not see this letter of Hulagu may have been premature. In note 8 above I quoted Professor Jean Richard, with whom I have since been in correspondence. My discovery of the letter has prompted him to reexamine the sources. There seem to be solid grounds for believing that the Mongolian embassy of 1262 did reach the French court in Paris. Professor Richard will present his findings in a forthcoming book on Louis IX.

[l] *MS* caūcoem (?)

[84] See n. 82 above.

[85] Rashid-al-Din, referring to these very years, the last of Hulagu's life, writes: "A cette époque il [Hulagu] était sans cesse occupé à réflechir murement sur les moyens de vaincre ses ennemies" (Raschid-Eldin, *Histoire des Mongols de la Perse*, trans Étienne Quatremère [Amsterdam 1968] 415).

[86] On this word see n. 39 above.

[87] Hulagu died at his winter quarters on the banks of the Jaghatu (the present-day Zarineh river, which flows into the southern portion of Lake Urmiya). Rashid-al-Din quotes some verses composed in praise of Hulagu:

> Lorsque Houlagou partit de Maragah pour se rendre
> à son campement d'hiver
> L'arret du Dieu éternel battit pour la dernière fois
> la *naubah* de la vie de ce prince
> C'était dans l'année 663, la nuit du dimanche 19[e] jour
> du mois de rebi second (=8 February 1265).

These verses show that Maragheh was his main headquarters at this period. (Quoted from the translation of Quatremère [n. 85 above]).

[88] For comments on this word and the date of the letter, see pp. 247-248 above.

le subuntims menbrū arrigrent
puerule intantū egritudīe est collap
sus ut ī mortis expectarē indici
ū sup illo ſ ī aū puer iam desper
miserā ī solū parentes uerū etiā er
tros cōpulisset infletus mater can
delam fecit staure cōparim egro
tantis. Hinc ꝑperans ad monasterīū
beati Riuperti & alumne eubiculi
mq̄ sita est tumba felicissimi cō
fessoris virgilii ingenibus gradi
ens ad sepulcrū candelā ultā mho
nore beati virgilii ꝓcuppanda
sanitate filii tam morientis accen
dit. Interim aūt dolor puero remuti
t. Iuer absenti pauatumq; natura
gere redditā cōualescit. Sicq; fcīm ē
ut camela cōsūpta mobsequio scī
mī. milla hora uirgula adhuc tu
mens ꝓcēt ase calculū. mq̄ituite
similem ꝓinde auelline. qui tam cū
tantus erat. nullam penit ei in
tulit lesionē. Sospes itaq; puer
& calculus cora tumba toti ꝑplo
ꝑsentat. magnificantia dīn. & be
nedicenti scīm suū virgilīū. in
omnibus magnalib⁹ que infideli
bus suis passim salutifere opa
tur.

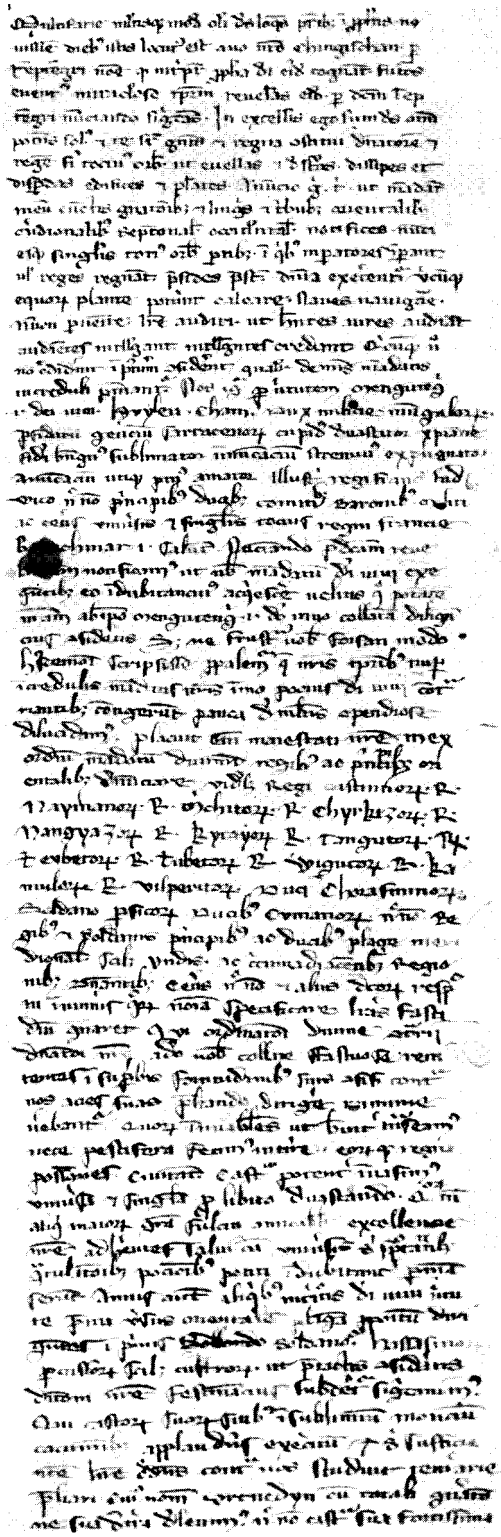


FIG. Vienna, Nationalbibliothek MS 339, p. 339



FIG. 2. Vienna, Nationalbibliothek MS 339, p. 340