

T U R K E S T A N
D O W N T O T H E M O N G O L
I N V A S I O N

BY W. BARTHOLD

Third Edition

WITH AN ADDITIONAL CHAPTER,
HITHERTO UNPUBLISHED IN ENGLISH
TRANSLATED BY MRS. T. MINORSKY
AND EDITED BY C. E. BOSWORTH, AND
WITH FURTHER ADDENDA AND CORRIGENDA
BY C. E. BOSWORTH

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ELIAS JOHN WILKINSON GIBB

and to promote those researches into the History, Literature, Philosophy and Religion of the Turks, Persians and Arabs, to which, from his Youth upwards, until his premature and deeply lamented Death in his forty-fifth year, on December 5, 1901, his life was devoted.

تِلْكَ آثَارُنَا تَدُلُّ عَلَيْنَا * فَانظُرُوا بَعْدَنَا إِلَى الْآثَارِ

*"These are our works, these works our souls display;
Behold our works when we have passed away."*

" E. J. W. GIBB MEMORIAL "

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PREFACE TO THE THIRD EDITION

THE fact that a third edition of Barthold's *Turkestan* has been called for indicates the permanent value of the work, unsurpassed after nearly seventy years in its breadth of treatment and mastery of abstruse detail. The task of preparing a new edition was originally entrusted by the Gibb Memorial Trustees to the late Professor V. Minorsky, whose own vast knowledge of the Iranian world aptly complemented Barthold's special field of Central Asia. Professor Minorsky's own death unhappily supervened before he could take the work in hand, and the Trustees then conveyed the task to myself.

Barthold's rigorous standards of scholarship, and his steadfast refusal to bend these canons to the exigencies of politics and ideology, did not commend him to the Soviet authorities. Barthold's greatness as a scholar could not be gainsaid, nor could his firm Russian patriotism, but his works became increasingly hard to find in Russia, and the results of his researches were only cited in a selective and often tendentious way. In the post-Stalinist era, the pendulum has swung, and Barthold has become, in the view of Soviet ideologists, ready for rehabilitation. In 1963 there began in Moscow publication of the whole collected corpus of Barthold's works, a praiseworthy project which will make available many studies which, for western specialists at least, have been largely inaccessible in the West. A Russian version of the 1928 English version of *Turkestan* has formed the first volume of this project, and it has been ably edited by the prominent orientalist I. P. Petrushevskiy.

A particular point of interest here is that an additional chapter by Barthold, absent from both the 1900 Russian original and the

1928 English version, is included in the new Moscow volume. The discovery amongst Barthold's posthumous papers of this long chapter was, according to the note by Professor Minorsky prefixed to the 1958 English reprint of *Turkestan*, announced in *Moscow News* of 28 April 1941. It covers the events in Central Asia between the death of Chingiz Khan in 1227 and the formation of the independent Chaghatay Khanate in 1269, and in the 1963 Moscow volume it comprises, with its extensive notes, pp. 531-84. Mrs. T. Minorsky prepared an English translation of this chapter; this has been edited by myself, and is now here printed and made available to the English-speaking world for the first time. It should be noted that the Russian editor of *Turkestan* has supplied further notes, and in some cases corrections, to Barthold's text; these are placed in square brackets. I have myself made some further additions here; these are also placed in square brackets, but are marked with the initials "C.E.B." My colleague, Professor J. A. Boyle, kindly read through the chapter and elucidated many of those Mongol personal names whose correct form was not known to Barthold or to the Russian editor; certain of his notes have been inserted, again in square brackets and with the initials "J.A.B."

For the 1958 reprint of the English second edition, Professor Minorsky noted that some copies of the Russian original of 1900 contain the "theses" advanced by Barthold when he presented his thesis, *Turkestan*, to the Oriental Faculty of the University of St. Petersburg. These form a helpful synopsis of the whole work, and have again been reproduced in the present third edition. Professor Minorsky also supplied a list of his own notes on and corrections to *Turkestan*. As many as possible of these remarks were incorporated in the text of the book, and the rest were prefixed to the book as Addenda and Corrigenda (pp. xiii-xiv of the 1958 reprint). I have myself accumulated numerous addenda and corrigenda to the work, and have accordingly combined these with the earlier ones of Professor Minorsky and a few more communicated

to me by Professor Boyle. The respective origins of all these are indicated by the initials C.E.B., V.M. and J.A.B. at the end of each point.

There only remains to thank, on behalf of the scholarly world, the Gibb Memorial Trustees for making this great work available once more.

University of Manchester

C. E. BOSWORTH

ADDENDA AND CORRIGENDA

- | Page | Line | |
|-----------|------------|---|
| 3 | 6 | In Brockelmann's work, the criticism of Ṭabari's methods is qualified by the addition of <i>gelegentlich</i> ("occasionally"). (V.M.) |
| 8 | 19 | A manuscript of part of an epitome of the <i>Tāji</i> has now been found in the Yemen. See M. S. Khan, "A manuscript of an epitome of al-Ṣābi's <i>Kitāb al-Tāji</i> ," <i>Arabica</i> , XII, 1965, 27-44, who is also preparing an edition of this whole section. (C.E.B.) |
| + 9 | 2 | Tha ^c ālībī's <i>Laṭā'if al-ma^cārif</i> is now available in an English translation by C. E. Bosworth, <i>The book of curious and entertaining information</i> , Edinburgh 1968. (C.E.B.) |
| 10 | 13 | Sallāmi's <i>Ta'rikk wulāt Khurāsān</i> is also mentioned in Ibn Funduq's biography of Sallāmi in the <i>Ta'rikk-i Bayhaq</i> , ed. Bahmanyār, 154, and in Juwayni's <i>Ta'rikk-i Jihān-Gushā</i> , ed. Qazwini, III, 271. (C.E.B. and V.M.) |
| 11 | n.1 | For <i>Farid at-ta'rikk</i> read <i>Mazid at-ta'rikk</i> (see p. 252 n.4). (V.M.) |
| + 13 | n.3 | Correct the reference to Minorsky's translation of the <i>Hudūd al-^cālam</i> to: G.M.S., N.S. XI, 1937. See also Minorsky, "Addenda to the <i>Hudūd al-^cālam</i> ," <i>B.S.O.A.S.</i> , XVII, 1955, 250-70; these addenda will be included in a forthcoming second edition of the <i>Hudūd al-^cālam</i> . (C.E.B.) |
| + 14 | 24 | Narshakhi's work is now translated into English, with copious notes, by R. N. Frye, <i>The history of Bukhara</i> , Cambridge, Mass. 1954; and see <i>idem</i> , "Notes on the history of Transoxiana," <i>Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies</i> , XIX, 1956, 122-5. (C.E.B.) |
| + 16 | n.4 | The Istanbul manuscript of al-Fārisī's <i>dhayl</i> is Köprülü 1152. (C.E.B.) |
| + 16 | 15-16 | For al-Bayyī ^c read Ibn al-Bayyī ^c , and the date of his death as 405/1014; on him see V. A. Hamdani, "Some rare manuscripts in Istanbul libraries," <i>J.R.A.S.</i> , 1938, 561-2. Facsimile texts of the local histories of Nishāpūr have now been published by Frye, <i>The histories of Nishapur</i> , The Hague, 1966. (C.E.B. and V.M.) |
| 18 and 19 | last and 1 | The identity of the two Tha ^c ālībīs "appears to be established beyond any reasonable doubt" (F. Rosenthal, "From Arabic books and manuscripts. |

- III the author of the *Gurar as-siyar*," *J.A.O.S.*, LXX, 181-2. (V.M.)
- 19 4 The Bodleian MS. (d'Orv. X, 2) ends with the reign of the Abbasid al-Manṣūr. (V.M.)
- 19 8 The first book of the *Ghurar as-siyar* was published and translated by H. Zotenberg, *Histoire des rois des Perses*, Paris 1900; for an analysis of the unpublished part dealing with the early Islamic period. See G. Gabrieli in *Rend. dell'Accad. dei Lincei*, Scienze Morali, Ser. 15, Vol. XXV, 1916, 1138-43. (C.E.B.)
- 21 18 There is a partial edition of the *Zayn al-akhbār*, covering the sections from the Ṭāhirids to the Ghaznavids, by M. Nazim, Berlin 1928, and another partial edition, covering the sections from the Sāsānids to the Ṭāhirids, by Sa'īd Nafisī, Tehran 1333/1954. The whole text has thus still not been published, but an English translation is being prepared by V. Pontecorvo. (C.E.B.)
- 22 26 The citations from Bayhaqī in other works, and the apparent borrowings from him, are collected together by Nafisī in his *Dar pīrāmūn-i Ta'rikh-i Bayhaqī, shāmil-i āthār-i gum-shuda-yi Abu'l-Faḍl Bayhaqī va Ta'rikh-i Ghaznaviyān*, Tehran 1342/1963, 2 vols. (C.E.B.)
- 24 6 Better editions of Bayhaqī now exist, sc. those of Nafisī, Tehran 1319-32/1940-53, 2 vols. of text and one of notes, and of Q. Ghani and A. A. Fayyād, Tehran 1324/1945. There is also a good Russian translation by A. K. Arends, *Istoriya Mas'ūda 1030-1041*, Tashkent 1962. (C.E.B.)
- 25 n.1 The most recent and best text is that of H. Darke, Tehran 1340/1962, who has also published an English translation, *The book of government or rules for kings*, London 1960; translations into German, Turkish and Russian also exist. (C.E.B.)
- 26 21 The *Mujmal at-tawārikh*, edited by Malik ash-Shu'arā' Bahār, Tehran 1318/1939. (V.M.)
- 27 n.5 Read: Muḥammad Iqbāl. (V.M.)
- 28 34 The *Kharīdat al-qaṣr* is still only in part published; the section on the poets of Egypt by Aḥmad Amin *et al.*, Cairo 1951, 2 vols., and that on the poets of Iraq, Part I, by M. Bahjat al-Atharī and Jamīl Sa'īd, Baghdad 1375/1955. (C.E.B.)
- 28 36 The *Akbār ad-dawla as-Saljūqiyya* of Ṣadr ad-Din (?) now edited by M. Iqbāl, Lahore 1933. (V.M.)
- 30 12 Zāhir ad-Din's *Saljūq-nāma* has now been published

- in Tehran, 1332/1954, together with the *dhayl* of Abū Hāmid Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm; it is thus Ḥāhir ad-Dīn's work, and the mere continuation of Abū Hāmid, which is the basis of Rāwandī's *Rāḥat aṣ-ṣudūr*. (V.M. and C.E.B.)
- 31 n.8 The *Ta'rikh-i Bayhaq*, ed. Aḥmad Bahmanyār, Tehran 1317/1938. (V.M.)
- 33 7 Muntajab ad-Dīn's collection, the *ʿAtabat al-kataba*, was published by M. M. Qazwīnī and ʿAbbās Iqbāl, Tehran 1329/1950; see also A. K. S. Lambton, "The administration of Sanjar's empire as illustrated in the *ʿAtabat al-kataba*," *B.S.O.A.S.*, XX, 1957, 367-88. (V.M. and C.E.B.)
- 33 8 and *passim* For Sinjar read Sanjar (Turkish "He who charges, thrusts with his lance"); see P. Pelliot, "Quelques noms turcs d'hommes et de peuples en -ar (-ār), -ur (-ūr), -īr (ir)," in *Oeuvres posthumes*, II, Paris 1949, 176-80. (C.E.B.)
- 33 15 Waṭwāt's Arabic correspondence was published in the *Majmūʿat rasā'il*, Cairo 1315/1897-8; the Persian letters are now available in Q. Tūysirkānī's *Nāmāhā-yi Rashīd ad-Dīn Waṭwāt*, Tehran 1338/1959. (C.E.B.)
- 35 17 An edition of Samʿānī's text is now being published by the Osmania University, Hyderabad, Deccan, 1962- (6 vols. so far published). (C.E.B.)
- 38 n.5 The whole text of the *Ṭabaqāt-i Nāsiri* is now published by ʿAbd al-Hayy Ḥabībī, 2nd edition, Kabul 1342-3/1963-4, 2 vols. (C.E.B.)
- 341 n.1 The third volume of Juwaynī has now been published as G.M.S., N.S., XIV/3; see also the excellent translation of J. A. Boyle, *The history of the World-Conqueror*, Manchester 1958, 2 vols. (C.E.B.)
- 46 29 Read Shabānkāra'ī, and see on his work (still unpublished), Bosworth, "Early sources for the history of the first four Ghaznavid Sultans (977-1041)," *Islamic Quarterly*, VII, 1963, 18-20. (C.E.B.)
- 51 8 The *Rawḍāt al-jannāt fī awṣāf madīnat Harāt*, ed. Muḥammad Kāzīm Imām, Tehran 1338-9/1959-60, 2 vols. (C.E.B.)
- 51 18, An etymology of the term *bakhshi* from Sanskrit
388 15 *bhikṣu* is now generally rejected in favour of one from the Chinese *po-shih* "learned man, teacher"; see Pelliot, "Notes sur le 'Turkestan' de M. W. Barthold," *T'oung-Pao*, XXVII, 1930, 14-15, and the exhaustive discussion in G. Doerfer, *Türkische und*

mongolische Elemente im Neupersischen. II Türkische Elemente im Neupersischen, Wiesbaden 1965, 271-7, No. 724. (C.E.B.)

- 56 2 The *Maḥla^c as-sa^cdayn*, edited by Muḥammad Shafi^c, Lahore 1360-8/1941-9, 2 vols. (V.M.)
- 57 n.2 The *Ta'rikk-i Harāt* or *Ta'rikk-i Mulūk-i Kart*, ed. M. Z. aṣ-Ṣiddiqi, Calcutta 1943. (V.M.)
- 70 16 The Kumijis (and the associated group of the Kanjina, who also occupied a valley running down from the Buttamān Mts.) were very probably remnants of early conquering empires in Central Asia, such as the Sakas or Hephthalites; Ptolemy mentions a Saka tribe of كـمـجـيـس (see Minorsky, *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, 120, 361-3). (C.E.B.)
- 127 18 Kufin in the neighbourhood of Karmīna. (V.M.)
- 133 11 Add:
Wanūfakh الوونفخی iv, 942 In the neighbourhood of Bukhārā (evidently identical with Wanūfāgh) erroneously (الونوفی) (V.M.)
- 186 39 Apparently: end of the *seventh* century. (V.M.)
- 216 n.5 The form Rutbil or Ratbil, admittedly thus read by the Arabic lexicographers and philologists, has never been plausibly explained. It is, therefore, probable that Marquart was right and that we should read Zunbil, to be connected with the god Zūn or Zhūn whose shrine was in Zamīndāwar in south-eastern Afghanistan and whose name is secured by Chinese renderings of the name. See amongst recent literature, M. Bussagli, "Cusanica et serica. I La fisionomia religiosa del dio Zūn (o Shūn) di Zābul," *R.S.O.*, XXXVII, 1962, 79-91, and G. Scarcia, "Zunbil or Zanbil,"? *Yād-nāme-ye Jan Rypka*, Prague 1967, 41-5. (C.E.B.)
- 221 5 *Ahdāth*, "revenue from fines"? (V.M.)
- 222 19-21 It seems very dubious that the Ḥusayn b. Ṭāhir aṭ-Ṭā'i, whose activities at Bukhārā Narshakhi describes at length, is identical with the Ṭāhirid Ḥusayn b. Ṭāhir b. ʿAbdallāh; see R. Vasmer, "Über die Münzen der Ṣaffāriden und ihrer Gegner in Fārs und Ḥūrāsān," *Numismatische Zeitschrift*, LXIII, 1930, 148-9. (C.E.B.)
- 227 24 Barthold probably takes this account of Nizām al-Mulk's too seriously; see Bosworth, "Ghaznevid military organisation," *Der Islam*, XXXVI, 1960, 45. (C.E.B.)

- 230 n.12 *Uskudār* probably from *σκούραριος*. (V.M.)
- 242 x30 The whole passage from the *Ta'rikh-i Bayhaq* on the establishment of the 'Alids in Khurāsān is translated by Bosworth in *The Ghaznavids, their empire in Afghanistan and eastern Iran 994-1040*, Edinburgh 1963, 196-7 (C.E.B.)
- 250 5 Ibrāhīm b. Alptigin, one of Ibn Hawqal's informants, described as "Hājib Šāhib Khurāsān" in *Kitāb šūrat al-arḍ*, ed Kramers, Leiden 1938-9, I, 14 (V.M.)
- 253 3I Abū 'Alī's *laqab* was self-assumed, and not bestowed by Nūh b. Maṣṣūr; cf. 'Utbī, Manīnī I, 155, and Gardīzī, ed. Nazim, 53 ("He subjected Amīr Nūh to every possible sort of scornful treatment and styled himself 'Amīr of Amīrs, the divinely-aided one'"). (C.E.B.)
- 254 x15 See now on the origins of the Qarakhanids, O. Pritsak, "Von den Karluk zu den Karachaniden," *Z.D.M.G.*, CI, 1951, 270-300. (C.E.B.)
- 257 n.I Whilst it is true that Kāshgharī spells كاشك and includes it in the class of palatalised *i.e.* front vowels, it is also worth bearing in mind that the earliest sources on the Seljuq invasions, the contemporaries or near-contemporaries Gardīzī, Bayhaqī and the author of the *Ta'rikh-i Sīstān*, invariably spell ساجوق. Obviously, the etymology of the name is crucial, but this has not yet been explained with entire certainty. Recently, K. H. Menges has plausibly suggested one from *salmaq* "attack, charge forward" > *salchug* "attacking, charging," attributing the various spellings in the Arabic script to variable eastern Turkish orthography (*J.N.E.S.*, X, 1951, 268 n.2). (C.E.B.)
- 261 n.I The correct form of the founder of the Ghaznavid dynasty's name is almost certainly Sebūk/Sevük-tigin "Beloved prince"; the first element is already found in Orkhon Turkish onomastic (cf. Pelliot, "Notes sur le 'Turkestan' de M. W. Barthold," 16). (C.E.B.)
- 269 30 Pelliot, *loc. cit.*, suggested that Payghū might not necessarily be connected with another Turkish word *bīghu*, "a kind of falcon" (cf. also Doerfer, *op. cit.*, II, 427-8, No. 846 under *pīgū*); but it is clear that, in this place at least, we are dealing with the head of the Oghuz on the lower Syr Darya and Aral Sea fringes, who undoubtedly had the title Yabghu. See now Pritsak, "Der Untergang des Reiches des Oguzischen Yabgu," *Fuad Köprülü armaganı*, Istanbul 1953, 397-410. (C.E.B.)
- 271 5 Ilak: better Ilig, see O. Turan, "Ilig unvanı hak-

- kında," *Türkiyat Mecmuası*, VII-VIII, 1940-2, 192-9, and Doerfer, *op. cit.*, 210-13, No. 661. (C.E.B.)
- 280 12 On "Alitigin, see Pritsak, "Karachanidische Streitfragen. 2 Wer was "Ali Tigin?", *Oriens*, III, 1950, 216-24, showing that he was not, *pace* Sachau and Barthold, the brother of the Ilig Naşr, but a second cousin, the son of Bughra Khan Hārūn, first conqueror of Bukhārā, and brother of Qadīr Khan Yūsuf. (C.E.B.)
- 286 n.2 The anonymous work originally edited by Melioranskiy is, in fact, the vocabulary of Ibn Muḥannā, *Hilyat al-insān wa-halbat al-lisān*, further edited by Kilisli Rif'at Bey, Istanbul 1337/1919; cf. Pelliot, *op. cit.*, 17-18. Part of the *Ṭabā'ic al-ḥayawān* is now edited and translated, with an extensive commentary, by Minorsky, *Sharaf al-Zamān Ṭāhir Marvazī on China, the Turks and India*, London 1942. From Marvazī's account of this embassy (text *7*9, tr. 19-21, 76-82), the name of the second ruler emerges not as Bughra Khan but as "the Exalted Ilig, Yughur Khan"; Minorsky thought that this was probably the ruler of the Uighur Khanate centred on Kan-su. (C.E.B.)
- 289-90 See now on the Karrāmiyya sect, Bosworth, "The rise of the Karrāmiyyah in Khurasan," *Muslim World*, L, 1960, 5-14. (C.E.B.)
- 300 16 For Abū Şādiq Tabānī read Abū Ṭāhir Tabānī. (C.E.B.)
- 300 penult. On "Ayn ad-Dawla Muḥammad b. Naşr, see Pritsak, *op. cit.*, 224-7. (C.E.B.)
- 303 2 For a detailed account of this battle of Dandānqān (based mainly on Bayhaqī), see B. N. Zakhoder in *Istoricheskiy Zhurnal*, III-IV, 1943, Turkish tr. in *Belleten*, XVIII, 1954, 581-7. (C.E.B.)
- 304 15 Pritsak points out (*op. cit.*, 227-8 and "Die Karachaniden," *Der Islam*, XXXI, 1953-4, 34 ff.) the inaccuracy of Barthold's statement that Bōritigin Ibrāhīm b. Naşr founded a new, independent Khanate in Transoxania at this time. There was really a split in the Qarakhanid Khanate c. 433/1041-2. The principle of the Double Khanate, with a Chief Khan and a Co-Khan, was destroyed after Qadīr Khan Yūsuf's death in 424/1032 by the ambitious sons of the Ilig Naşr, Muḥammad and Ibrāhīm. "Ayn ad-Dawla Muḥammad set himself up in Uzkend as Chief Khan, in rivalry to Sulaymān b. Qadīr Khan Yūsuf, the senior member of the dynasty, in Khotan and Kāshghar. Ibrāhīm established himself in

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- Samarqand as Co-Khan with Muḥammad. From this time, then, date the two separate Qarakhanid Khanates, an eastern one centred on Balāsaghūn, later Kāshghar, and a western one centred on Uzkend, later Samarqand. (C.E.B.)
- 312 3 It is generally agreed that Turkish *bitik* "official document" stems ultimately from the Chinese cultural world, Chinese *bit* (Karlgren, *piēt*) "brush, write with a brush." Cf. Doerfer, *op. cit.*, II, 262-7, Nos. 717-18. (C.E.B.)
- 317 16 Jikils: better Chigil. (C.E.B.)
- 318 16 The Khan was strangled on 25 June 1095 (see A. Ateş, "Tarcumān al-balāga, das früheste neupersische Werk über rhetorische Figuren", *Oriens*, I, 1948, 56-7 n.). (V. M.)
- 320 n.1 Read: *Atrāk al-Khiṭā*. (V.M.)
- 323 n.1 The *History of Semirechye* is now available in English, tr. V. and T. Minorsky, in Barthold, *Four studies on the history of Central Asia*, I, Leiden 1956, 73-171. (V. M.)
- 324 4 The Khwārazm-Shāh Ekinchi b. Qochar seems to have been personally acquainted with Marvazī, who was one of Sultan Malik Shāh's court physicians, and who derived from him information about his own tribe, the Turkish people of the Qūn; cf. *Marvazī on China, the Turks and India*, 29-30, 98-100. (C.E.B.)
- 324 7 *Amīr-i Dād* "Amir charged with the administration of justice" is here the official designation of Ḥabashī b. Altuntaq; see on this office, I. H. Uzunçarsili, *Osmanlı devleti teşkilatına medhal*, Istanbul 1941, index, and H. Horst, *Die Staatsverwaltung der Grosselgūgen und Ḥorazmšāhs (1038-1231)*. Wiesbaden 1964, 93. (C.E.B.)
- 326 25 On these, *Sudūr* of Bukhara, see Pritsak, "Al-i Burhān," *Der Islam*, XXX, 1952, 81-96. (C.E.B.)
- 330 13 Maḥmūd Khān, the probable dedicatee of Anwarī's poem, *The tears of Khurāsān*. (V.M.)
- 336 6 Read: Qilij-Ṭamghāch-Khān Mas'ūd b. al-Ḥusan b. 'Alī (Pritsak, "Die Karachaniden," 55). (C.E.B.)
- 338 16 Early raids into Ghūr are said to have been made by Sebūktigin and the boy Maḥmūd of Ghazna; a major expedition was also launched in 401/1011 under Maḥmūd's generals Altuntash (the later Khwārazm-Shāh, see below, 279) and Arslan Jādhib (see Bosworth, "The early Islamic history of Ghūr," *Central Asiatic Journal*, VI, 1961, 116 ff.). (C.E.B.)

- 382 30 *Bukāwul* = "food-taster, overseer of supplies for the court and army, quartermaster"; of uncertain etymology, cf. Doerfer, *op. cit.*, II, 301-7, No. 755. Regarding Barthold's n. 4 on this page, that the Naiman term for *bukawul* was *qunsat*, Pelliot points out that the manuscripts of Rashīd ad-Dīn used by Berezin have, in fact, *qīshat* and *qīchat*, and he hesitatingly suggests a connection with Turkish *qīsh*—"crush, break up [food]" ("Notes sur le 'Turkestan' de M. W. Barthold," 25-7). (C.E.B.)
- 383 ff. See the long discussion by Pelliot on the titles of these various guards of the Mongol Khans, in *op. cit.*, 27-32. (C.E.B.)
- 383 3 *Akhla* originally meant "gelding," and then "riding horse" in general, since the Mongols rode geldings almost exclusively, cf. B. Vladimirtsov, *Le régime social des Mongols: le féodalisme nomade*, Paris 1948, 45. This Mongol-Turkish term may be originally Iranian, cf. Doerfer, *op. cit.*, I *Mongolische Elemente im Neupersischen*, Wiesbaden 1963, 114-17, No. 8, and also 117-18, No. 9 (on *akhtachi* "Master of the horse" = Arabic-Persian *Amīr-i Akhur*). (C.E.B.)
- 385 27 In the article of Boyle, "On the titles given in Juvainī to certain Mongol princes," *H.J.A.S.*, XIX, 1956, 146-8, it is suggested that the title "Great Noyan" (Turkish *Ulugh Noyan*, Mongolian *Yeke Noyan*) was given to Toluy posthumously to avoid mention of his real name. (J.A.B.)
- 387 11-14 According to Pelliot, "Notes sur le 'Turkestan' de M. W. Barthold," 33-42, the use of the red seal (*al tamgha*) is directly attested, e.g. by Güyük and the Il Khanids in Persia; but when Barthold spoke of the use of a blue seal (*kōk tamgha*) for the most solemn documents, he was reading too much into Rashīd ad-Dīn's text. Instead, Pelliot tentatively proposed a connection with the *kōkō debter* "blue register" used by the Mongols for judicial decrees, etc., the use of blue paper or blue ink for official documents being widespread in the Far East (and consequently known at Qubilay's court). (C.E.B.)
- 389 نون n.3 It is universally accepted that Mongol *toyin*, Turkish *toyin*, stem from the Chinese *tao-jen* "Man of the true way (Tao)" = Buddhist monk; cf. Doerfer, *op. cit.*, II, 648-51, No. 993. (C.E.B.)
- 389 n.5 *But-parast* here and elsewhere almost certainly means "Buddhist." (C.E.B.)
- 392 n.3 Barthold was almost certainly right in separating

- Mongol *biki* (better *beki*) from *bike* "noble lady, princess," cf. Doerfer, *op. cit.*, II, 389-406, 410-11, Nos. 828, 830. (C.E.B.)
- 416 n.1 In Boyle's article, "On the titles given in Juvaini to certain Mongol princes," 148-52, it is suggested that, like Toluy's title Ulugh Noyan, that of *Ulus Idi* "Lord of the Ulus" (sc. the people comprising the leader's patrimony) "was bestowed on Jochi after his death. Barthold's identification of Ulus Idi with the general Jedey Noyan must accordingly be corrected; we are here dealing with one person only, not two. See further, Juwayni-Boyle, *History of the World-Conqueror*, I, 86 n.1. (J.A.B.)
- 417 15 Barthold has here confused this Alaq Noyan with the Alaq who led the expedition against Banākath; see Juwayni-Boyle, *op. cit.*, I, 46 n.14. (J.A.B.)
- 449 9 On Turbāy (Mongolian, Törbey) and Qabāy (*recte* Qaban), see Juwayni-Boyle, *op. cit.*, I, 141 and n.1, 166 and nn. 37, 38. (J.A.B.)
- 459 11 In the title Sayin Khan, *sayin* probably means "good" not in the sense of "good-natured" or "sagacious," but in that of "the late, deceased, of blessed memory." It would, therefore, be a posthumously-awarded title. (J.A.B.)
- 460 22 For Jaghatāy-Khān read Chaghatayid Khān. (V.M.)

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