

JERZY HAUZIŃSKI

(Slupsk)

European Rumours of Mongolian Invasions by Rašīd ad-Dīn

T. Kowalski and T. Lewicki, both recognized Polish orientalists, during their research of Arabian sources provided interesting information concerning the position of Mediaeval literary output of the nations of the Middle East in European history.

Profesor T. Lewicki was especially meritorious in that field. He was aware of the contribution of Hebrew and even Iranian literature in that matter¹. In case of the latter, scholars first refer to Persian cosmographic works. Some inquiry into Persian historiography, for example in reference to great waves of Mongolian invasions in Europe, would be suitable in that respect too.

Rumours of Mongolian actions in Europe can be found in a work of a Persian statesman, scientist and historian – Rašīd ad-Dīn Faḍl Allāh (1247–1318), which was entitled *Ġāmiʿ at-tawārīḥ* ("Collection of Chronicles"). Important is the fact that the historian was a vizier of Mongolian rulers of Iran from 1298 to 1317². He did not limit himself to reconstruction of the history of the Muslim world, but also decided to discover the past of all the nations known then. So in the second part of this great historiographic work, we can find fragments dealing with historical problems of ancient Israelites along with chapters devoted to the ecumeny of Islam at the time of Mongolian invasions. He also dealt

¹ T. Lewicki, *Źródła arabskie i hebrajskie do dziejów Słowian w okresie wczesnego Średnio-wieczia*, "Studia Źródloznawcze", III, 1958, p. 61.

² Cf. about him as the historian I.P. Pietrušewskij, *Rašīd ad-Dīn i jego istoričeskij trud*, in: Rašīd ad-Dīn, *Sbornik letopisej*, I, part 1, Moskva — Leningrad 1952, pp. 7–37; E. Berthels, *Rašīd al-Dīn Tabib*, in: *Enzyklopaedia des Islām*, vol. III, Leiden–Leipzig 1936, pp. 1213–1215.

with the history of ancient Franks (i.e. various nations belonging to the western Christian world), the history of Indian and Chinese rulers, as well as the history of papacy. We can also find there some information about the nations of Eastern Europe. Rašīd ad-Dīn while writing that part of his unique compendium of universal history used the material selected by scholars from outside of the Muslim world, such as: Mongols, Chinese, Hindu and was even, among others, assisted by a French monk³.

Although his works were much later compared to those of his kinsman Ġuwaynī, he used much richer and varied sources than his predecessor.

Most probably, the first European scholar who in the first half of the 19th century became aware of some reminiscences of Mongolian invasions on the Ruthenian Duchy in the work of Rašīd ad-Dīn was a German Romantic orientalist — Joseph Hammer von Purgstall, but publication of some parts of his work along with simultaneous translation by M.É. Quatremère, and independently by I.N. Berezin⁴, rendered the information concerning the history of Russia especially to Russian historians themselves. They were set off by Berezin in his commentary to Ruthenian parts of the "Collection of Chronicles".

It is not my intention to dwell on the episodes dealing with Ruthenian Duchy in the work of Rašīd ad-Dīn but to take into consideration other episodes connected with Mongolian actions at the farthest western front. However, I must mention that the Ruthenian subject appeared in the work of Rašīd ad-Dīn in the context of Sübetei and Ġebe's campaign in Western Iran, Trans-Caucasia and in the steppes north to the Black Sea, which were controlled by the Qipčaq.⁵ Rašīd ad-Dīn just as the authors of other chronicles, wrote that the Mongols entered the Ruthenian country invading the Qipčaq. The invaded organized help for themselves and collected the army superior in number than the Mongolian one. Mongols started to withdraw, while the Qipčaq and the Ruthenians thinking they were withdrawing out of fear were chasing the invaders during twelve days. Suddenly the Mongols turned back and hit the chasing company before they could manage to consolidate. The Mongols killed many Ruthenians and Qipčaq. The fight lasted one week and finally weakened the Qipčaq and the Ruthenians so that they began to retreat. The Mongols followed them and on their way destroyed

³ Cf. B. Spuler, *Quellenkritik zur Mongolengeschichte Irans*, ZDMG, vol. 92 (17), 1938, pp. 219–243.

⁴ J. Hammer-Purgstall, *Geschichte der Goldenen Horde in Kiptschak, das ist: der Mongolen in Russland*, Pesth 1840, p. 4 and seq.

⁵ M.É. Quatremère, *Histoire des Mongols de la Perse, écrite en persan par Raschid-Eldin* . . . , vol. I, Paris 1836; *Sbornik letopisey. Istorija Mongolov, sočinenije Rašid-eddina*. Pers. text, Eng. trans. and commentary I.N. Berezin, in: *Trudy Vost. otdel'. Russ. arkh. obščestva*, V, 1858, XIII, 1868, XV, 1888.

all the set
the steppe

Althoug
we know th
Kalka Rive
The battle
of joint Qip

Rašīd
lection of
between 11
the Rulers
Mongolian
Ögedei in
Guyūk-C
countries o
[. . .] to con
The Persia
according
described b
dynastic fi
rian provic
Year of Ap
Muslim da

The Bū
which can i
The Russia
A.A. Rom
translation
the coalitic
caused by I

⁶ *Rašīd ad-Dīn*
contemp. Ru
Leningrad 19
ed. C.J. Tor

⁷ J.L.I. Fe
ropäischen G

⁸ Rašīd ad-Dīn
Trans.: Rašīd

⁹ *The Secret*
and 270 cont.

¹⁰ Rašīd ad-Dīn

¹¹ V.G. Ti
Ordý, II, ed.

all the settlements "until they devastated most of them". Then they turned to the steppe to join Činggis Qān.⁶

Although Rašīd ad-Dīn did not specify the place and the date of the fight, we know that he meant the battle which took place at the end of May 1223 on the Kalka River, which is a tributary of the Kalmius River flowing into the Azov Sea. The battle, according to Rašīd ad-Dīn, resulted in the holocaust and repulse of joint Qipčaq-Ruthenian forces.⁷

Rašīd ad-Dīn referred to the Mongolian wars in a fragment of the "Collection of Chronicles" encompassing the history of the Mongols in the period between 1235 and 1241 and further on in a separate part entitled "Annals of the Rulers of the Qipčaq Steppe". Rašīd ad-Dīn opens the fragment of the Mongolian history by information about the assembly called by the Great Khan Ögedei in 1235. It was decided that "the monarchs Bātū, Mengū Qān and Guyūk-Qān, together with other princes and numerous army would go to the countries of the Qipčaq, Ruthenians, Būlars, Madžars, Bāšgirds, Ās and to Sūdāk [...] to conquer all of them. So they started their preparations to the campaign".⁸ The Persian historian, in the list of nations which were supposed to be subjugated according to Ögedei, included a mysterious nation of Būlars.⁹ That nation is described by Rašīd ad-Dīn following the list of Mongolian commanders and dynastic figures whom Ögedei ordered to move westwards.¹⁰ The Persian historian provided the date of the beginning of the expedition as the Spring of the Year of Ape, which coincided with the month of Ġumādā II, 633 according to Muslim dating [11 II-11 III 1236].

The Būlars are mentioned by the Persian historian together with the Bāšgirds, which can indicate a close localization and their belonging to the same civilization. The Russian editors of Persian excerpts in V.G. Tizengauzen's collection, A.A. Romaškevič and S.L. Volin while providing this fragment in the Russian translation, identified the Būlars as Poles.¹¹ They mentioned the destruction of the coalition of the Būlars and the Bāšgirds which took place in 1236 and was caused by Bātū and his brothers. Both datings of the battles, if we could compare

⁶ Rašīd ad-Dīn, I.N. Berezin, TVORAO, XV, St. Petersburg 1888, pp. 139-140; see also contemp. Russian transl. O.I. Smirnova: Rašīd ad-Dīn, *Sbornik letopisey*, I, 2 Moskva-Leningrad 1952, 229. For Arabian testimony see Ibn al-Athīr, *Al-Kāmil fi-tā'riḥ*, XII, Upsaliae, ed. C.J. Tornberg, p. 253 (the both Oriental sources dat. in 620 H = 4 II 1223-24 I 1224).

⁷ J.L.I. Fennell, *The Tatar invasion of 1223: source problems*, "Forschungen zur osteuropäischen Geschichte" XXVII, 1980, pp. 18-31.

⁸ Rašīd ad-Dīn, *Ġāmi'at-tawārīḥ*, ed. A.A. Ali-Zade, II, 1, Moskva 1980, p. 119; Russ. Trans.: Rašīd ad-Dīn, *Sbornik letopisey*, II, Moskva-Leningrad 1960, p. 36.

⁹ *The Secret History of the Mongols*, transl. F.W. Cleaves, Cambridge, Mass. 1982, chapters 262 and 270 containing ethnonym "Bular" (Bolar) referring to Bulgaria of the Kama [Further: SHM].

¹⁰ Rašīd ad-Dīn, ed. Ali-Zade, pp. 124-128; Russ. trans. Y.P. Verkhovskiy, p. 37.

¹¹ V.G. Tizengauzen (Tiesenhausen), *Sbornik materialov otnosyaščikhsya k istorii Zolotoy Ordy*, II, ed. A.A. Romaškevič and S.L. Volin, Moskva-Leningrad 1941, pp. 23 and 34.

them with the situation on the Polish territory and the fact that the campaign was led by Bātū Khan, eliminate Poland, what is further more visible in the part of the work by Rašīd ad-Dīn. A critical analysis of this mysterious fragment will be provided later.

After that unclear episode, in Winter between 1235–1237 Mongolian commanders assembled their troops in the valleys between the rivers of the area, the name of which can be deciphered as Ḥābān, Ḥāmān, Čāmān, Čāčān and even Ğābān¹², and sent Sübetei to the country of the Ās and the Bulgars. After a presentation of the battles against the nations inhabiting the Volga Basin, Rašīd ad-Dīn mentioned the assembly of the younger Činggisids, who in Autumn 1237 decided to organize another campaign to the Russian territory.¹³

The further fragment of the "Collection of Chronicles" contains rumours of the Mongolian fights against the Ruthenians and nomadic tribes of Eastern Europe. Rašīd ad-Dīn mentioned the conquest of Riazan (Arpan), Kolomna (Ike), where Kūlkān, one of Činggis Qān's sons died of a wound.¹⁴

The eastern historian mentioned the defeat and the death of the Prince Roman from Mongolian hands, the similar fate of Prince Vladimir as well as the conquest of Moscow. After the information of the conquest of the town of "Great Yurgiy", in the result of the eight days siege, which might refer to the town and the castle of Tversky Toržok¹⁵, there is a description of the conquest of Perejaslav and the fights with the "Duke of the Province of Vanke Jurku" which could refer to the Vladimir Prince George Vsievodovič. According to Rašīd ad-Dīn, after the seizure and execution of the prince "they [the Mongols] left after having decided at the assembly of princes how to proceed with chasing and how to conquer and destroy any town, region or fortress [on their way]".¹⁶ After resumption of the activities, Bātū reached Kozielsk, which according to Rašīd ad-Dīn, was besieged for 2 months without any results.¹⁷ It was the arrival of Qadān and Büri that helped the Mongols to break defense of Kozielsk and to conquer the town. That event closed the author's account of the fights against Russia, which are mentioned again in the chapter entitled: "Annals of the Rulers of the Qipčaq Steppe".

He says that in Autumn of the Year of Mouse, which was the equivalent of the year 637 of the Muslim era (August 3, 1239, July 22, 1240), Guyūk and Mengu,

¹² Rašīd ad-Dīn, ed. Ali-Zade, p. 128.

¹³ Rašīd ad-Dīn, p. 133.

¹⁴ Rašīd ad-Dīn, p. 134. Kūlkān can be identified with Kölgen as mentioned in genealogical tables of Činggis Qān's house, see Men-da bey-lu. *Pol'noye opisanie mongolo-tatar*. Russ. transl. N.C. Munkuev, Moskva 1975, p. 56.

¹⁵ Rašīd ad-Dīn, p. 134. The editors of the Russian translation of *Ĝāmi' at-tawāriḥ* indicate Tversky Toržok, see p. 39, note 22.

¹⁶ Rašīd ad-Dīn, p. 135.

¹⁷ Rašīd ad-Dīn, p. 135 lectio: K.s.l. a.i.s.k.t.3 as Kozielsk in Russ. transl., p. 39.

following
with his b
for a cam
could be p
were crow
in the wo
Mankukā
Russian t
oğul" and
so it could

It is g
and Polan
few days b
attack of
sent one
brother O
Bātū's a

Consec
death (124
(The Carp
basis of th
wing and
stop them
Boleslaus
the former
Birza de
the Region
Bātū went

¹⁸ Rašīd
sis and ethn
prosy etniče
210; H. Göc
minikaner d
Manfred He
¹⁹ Rašīd
Mankarman
Kiev.

²⁰ V.T. Pa
edition, Mos

²¹ Rašīd
the translat

²² The reco
sponding to-

following Ögdei's order returned from the Qipčaq Steppe. Batu Khan together with his brothers and commanders — Qadān, Būri and Böček (Būğak), went off for a campaign to the Russian territory and the Nation of Black Caps. The latter could be possibly called Mordwins.¹⁸ The resumed actions in the Russian territory were crowned by the conquest of a great town the name of which was described in the works of Rašīd ad-Dīn as Munkar Qān, Mankar Qān and also as Mankukā.¹⁹ We can assume that it was Kiev, but the name of the next great Russian town conquered by the Mongols can be deciphered with a Turkish "uč-oğul" and the proper name — Vladimir as Vladimir the Farthest or bordering, so it could refer to Volynian Vladimir.

It is generally agreed upon that immediately before the invasion on Hungary and Poland, Mongols conquered the Vladimir-Halician Duchy, which took place a few days before Christmas 1240. The area of Volynian Vladimir became a base of attack of Mongolian troops against Poland, while Halič against Hungary. Bātū sent one *tūmen* of his troops against Poland under the command of his older brother Ordu, while the main Mongolian forces had to attack Hungary under Bātū's and Sübetei's command.²⁰

Consequently, Rašīd ad-Dīn says, that in Summer of the year of Ögdei's death (1241), commanders of Ḥan Bātū resumed their conquest through Marāqtān (The Carpathians?) in order to conquer the Būlars and the Bāšgirds.²¹ On the basis of this information, we know that Ordu and Bāidār started from the right wing and arrived at Īlāwūt (Aylāwūt?) territory and defeated Barz, who tried to stop them. He was one of the Polish rulers, and we can take into consideration Boleslaus the Shy (1228–1279) or Henry the Pious (1238–1241). In case of the former, Barz could be a cluster of "Bolislaus". In case of the variant (lectio): Birza a deformed record of German Fürst, while Īlāwūt could be deciphered as the Region of Wrocław.²² Rašīd ad-Dīn, on the other hand, wrote: "Then Bātū went on towards Īstārīlāv, fought a battle with the king of Bāšgirds and

¹⁸ Rašīd ad-Dīn, p. 162: "qoum-e siyah-e Kolahan". For the problems of the ethnogenesis and ethnical divisions among them see B.A. Vasil'ev, *Problema Burtasov i Mordva, Voprosy etničeskoj istorii mordovskogo naroda*, "Trudy Instituta Etnografii" LXIII, 1960, pp. 180–210; H. Göckenjan, *Das Bild der Völker Osteuropas in den Reiseberichten ungarischer Dominikaner des 13. Jahrhunderts*, in: *Östliches Europa. Spiegel der Geschichte. Festschrift für Manfred Hellmann zum 65. Geburtstag*, Wiesbaden 1977, pp. 125–152.

¹⁹ Rašīd ad-Dīn, p. 163 lectio: Mankar Qān. This name can be connected with the form Mankarman §262 SHM, prefixed by Kiva, with which anonymous Mongolian authors denoted Kiev.

²⁰ V.T. Pašuto, *Mongol'skiy pokhod v glub' Evropy, Tataro-mongoly v Azii i Evrope*. Second edition, Moskva 1977, pp. 215–218.

²¹ Rašīd ad-Dīn, pp. 163–164. In the Russian translation there is an explanation made by the translator, p. 45 *bulars* = pol'jaki; *basghirds* = wengry.

²² The record of this corrupted form adapted to Persian phonetics contains a *part-vūt*, corresponding *to-vrat (-islavia)*.

the Mongolian troops defeated them.”²³ That it was the first description of the encounter with the Hungarians and the concordance of the ethnonym “Bāšgird” with the used eponyme “Īstārīlāv” (Transylvania) is undoubtedly true. However, we can not be sure as to the identification of the nation of the Sāsāns defeated, according to Rašīd ad-Dīn, by Qadān and Būri in a triple encounter. Perhaps they were Transylvanian Saxons, lieges of the Arpad monarchy at that time.²⁴

The next European episode in the works of Rašīd ad-Dīn is information about the defeat of the nation of Qarāulāḡ (Wallachia) by Böček, who after crossing the forest at the base of the Bayaḡbuḡ mountain, came to the territory of “Mīšlāv and defeated his enemies who were standing there ready to meet him.”²⁵

There is much evidence that “Mīšlāv”, for Rašīd ad-Dīn, was Moldova where the auxiliary army fought, ready to protect the operations of the Bātū Hān’s army on the Hungarian Lowland. The Mongolian subsidiary army invaded Transylvania. The attempts of the Transylvanian voivode at defending the mountain passages proved useless.²⁶

It is worth mentioning that a part of Mongolian troops after having crossed the Danube entered the Balkans. During the invaders’ retreat Transylvania and Moldova were plundered again. After the information on the Tartar’s attack at the Mīšlāv territory, Rašīd ad-Dīn widely described the Mongolian operations in the Hungarian Kingdom. Accordingly, the Persian historian wrote: “We went on along the five earlier mentioned trails, the monarchs conquered the whole Bāšgirds’ territory, the territory of the Sāsāns and Madžars forcing their ruler Kellar to flee. They spent their summer on the Tisa River. Qadān went on with his army and subjugated the territory of Tāqūt, Arberoq and Sarāf and followed their ruler Kral to the coast. Since he (Keral) boarded a ship in Talankīn, Qadān returned by land. After many battles he conquered the towns of ‘Ūlāqūt, Qirqīn and Qīlat. The news about the Qān’s death did not reach them yet.”²⁷

This document is the final one written by the Persian author and concerning the Mongolian military operations in Europe.

²³ Rašīd ad-Dīn, p. 164.

²⁴ On this population of mediaeval Transylvania see H. Göckenjan, *Hilfsvölker und Grenz-wächter im mittelalterlichen Ungarn*, Wiesbaden 1972, see Index. It is quite likely that Persian historian meant the Slav subjects of the Arpad monarchy (Slovaks, Croats, Serbs).

²⁵ Rašīd ad-Dīn, p. 165. In the Persian text of Ali-Zade’s edition there is a variant: “Bayaḡbuḡ”.

²⁶ On the Mongols’ operations in Transylvania, see *Rogerii Carmen Miserabile*, c. 20, p. 564; generally R.W. Seton-Watson, *A history of the Roumanians. From Roman times to the completion of unity*, Cambridge 1934; *Brève histoire de la Transylvanie*, Bucareșt 1965, pp. 28–31.

²⁷ Rašīd ad-Dīn, pp. 165–166. The names of the towns can be also deciphered as: “Ūlāqūtqirqīn ve Qīlat”. On the invasion against the Croats see J. Solda, *Provala Tatara u Hrvatsku*, “Historijski zbornik”, XXI/XXII, 1968–9, pp. 371–388.

As far as
by Rašīd
victory on
majority o
garian kin
Frederic
The names
ciphered, b
other hand
the ship to
names of ‘
his return

It is ag
Serbia (Ra
tumn 1242
return from
each year t
steppe.²⁹

Now I
chapter de
Ögedei in

Rašīd
of Bulgaria
Ġoci. Their
(Būrāldāy)
of which “
this in the
Their terri
Bātū adva

²⁸ B. Hóma
hunderts bis
also the surve
zeugen und Z
and J. Swee

²⁹ P. Nikov
1929, fasc. 3,
the csar Theo
Ed. L. Schop
L. Schopen,

³⁰ Rašīd a
the Eastern
operations in
pp. 5–24.

As far as operations in Hungary are concerned, the basic information provided by Rašīd ad-Dīn is in accordance with European sources. Therefore, after his victory on April 11, 1241 at the Mohi Plateau, where Sajó River joins Tisa, the majority of Mongolian forces spent their Summer.²⁸ The chase after the Hungarian king Bela IV, who was escaping from the estate of an Austrian Prince Frederick II of Babenberg, was headed by a Mongolian commander Qadān. The names of the territories they conquered while chasing the king cannot be deciphered, but Arberoq could suggest northern Albania (Arboreš). Sarāf, on the other hand, could be a Croatian name of Zagreb. Talankīn, where Bela IV boarded the ship to find shelter on an Adriatic island, could be the Dalmatian Trogir. The names of 'Ūlāqūt, Qirqīn and Qīlat, the towns which Qadān conquered during his return from the Adriatic, remain unrecognized.

It is agreed, upon that during his long march he forced his way through Old Serbia (Raška) and reached estates belonging to the Bulgarian Kingdom. In autumn 1242, or perhaps in the following year, the army of Bātū Hān, on their return from the Hungarian campaign forced the Czar of Tyrnovo to pay tribute each year to the Golden Horde at Bātū Hān's residence founded in the Volga steppe.²⁹

Now I get back to the previous part of *Ġāmi' at-tawārīh*, especially to the chapter describing the wars fought by the commanders under the Great Khan Ögedei in the years between 1236 and 1241.

Rašīd ad-Dīn wrote, that after spending the Autumn of 1236 on the border of Bulgaria on the Volga River, the Mongolian commanders joined the family of Ġoci. Their brother Bātū and Šaybān, along with a commander Būrildei (Būrāldāy) went to fight against the nation of Būlars and Bāšgirds, the territories of which "were conquered without much effort."³⁰ Rašīd ad-Dīn described this in the following way: "Būlars constituted quite a numerous Christian nation. Their territory bordered that of the Franks'. After having heard the news of Bātū advancing with his princes, they made supplies and started a campaign

²⁸ B. Hóman, *Geschichte des ungarischen Mittelalters*, vol. II: *Vom Ende des zwölften Jahrhunderts bis zu den Anfängen des Hauses Anjou*, Berlin 1943, pp. 139-143 (battle of Mohi); see also the survey of the contemporary western sources: *Der Mongolensturm. Berichte von Augenzeugen und Zeitgenossen 1235-1250*. Übersetzt, eingeleitet und erläutert von H. Göckenjan und J. Sweeney (Ungarns Geschichtsschreiber, 3), Graz-Wien-Köln 1985.

²⁹ P. Nikov, *Bylgari i tatari v srednite vekove*, "Bylgarska istoričeska biblioteka", II, Sofiya 1929, fasc. 3, pp. 97-142. The traces of that dependence were clearly visible during the reign of the czar Theodor Svetoslav (1300-1321), see Ioannes Cantacuzenus, *Historiarum libri IV*. Ed. L. Schopen, I. Bonnae 1828, pp. 188-189; Nicephorus Gregoras, *Byzantina historia*. Ed. L. Schopen, I. Bonnae 1829, p. 399.

³⁰ Rašīd ad-Dīn, ed. A.A. Ali-Zade, p. 125. On the early operations of the Mongols in the Eastern Europe see Th.T. Allsen, *Prelude to the western campaigns: Mongol military operations in the Volga-Ural region, 1217-1237*. "Archivum Eurasiae Medii Aevi", III, 1983, pp. 5-24.

with 40 *tūmens* of excellent army. Šaybān who constituted the avantgarde of the army with 10 thousand of horsemen, sent the news to Bātū Han that they were twice as numerous as the Mongolian army was and that all of them were knights. When both armies faced each other, Bātū following the custom of Činggis Qān, mounted the top of a hill and gasping heavily he prayed nights and days to God. He also ordered the Muslims to pray in groups. A river separated the armies. Bātū and Būrildei crossed the river at night and started to fight. Šaybān, Bātū's brother, participated himself in the encounter.

Emir Būrildei led the attack with all the forces at once. The Mongols rushed at Kellar's pavilion (he was their king) and cut the ropes with their swords. Following the fall of the royal pavilion, their squads started to escape. As a proud lion jumping at his trophy, the Mongols chased and killed them, so that they exterminated the majority of the army. The territory was conquered and the victory was great. Būlar and Bāšgird are big countries and comprise desolate areas. Although the Mongols defeated them, they rose again and the territory was not completely subjugated. The rulers of the country are called "kellar" and still live there."³¹

Rašīd ad-Dīn was the first Persian author who used an ethnonym "Būlar" to describe the nation living in the neighbourhood of the Bāšgirds. The nation inhabited the country which in mediaeval western sources was called Magna Hungaria.³² The news about the national cradle (original fatherland) of the European Madžars in Asia, called "Magna Hungaria", was included in the oldest Hungarian historiography.

In the years 1231–1237, the friars of the Hungarian Province of Dominican Order led four campaigns in order to find the original fatherland of the Danube Hungarians.³³ About 1235, a member of the second campaign, friar Julian, found in the region of Central Volga a country inhabited by the nation that spoke Hungarian.³⁴ That nation, which in reality were the kinsmen of the Danube Hungarians, was known as Bāšgirds to the Muslim writers of that period.³⁵ They

³¹ Persian Text, ed. Ali-Zade, pp. 125–128; the Russian translation: *Sbornik letopisey*, II, p. 45.

³² On the Magna Hungaria, see J. Marquart, *Osteuropäische und ostasiatische Streifzüge*, Leipzig 1903, p. 69; cf. C.A. Macartney, *The Magyars in the ninth Century*, Cambridge 1930, pp. 156–173; H. Dörrie, *Drei Texte zur Geschichte der Ungarn und Mongolen. Die Missionsreisen des fr. Julianus CP ins Uralgebiet (1234/5) und nach Russland (1237) und der Bericht des Erzbischofs Peter über die Tataren* ("Nachrichten der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen", I), Göttingen 1956, pp. 143–147; also remarks of the I. Deér in: *Relatio Fratris Ricardi*, "Scriptores rerum Hungaricarum", II, Budapestini 1938, pp. 539–540.

³³ Cf. J. Strzelczyk, *Spotkanie dwóch światów. Stolica Apostolska a świat mongolski w połowie XIII wieku*, Poznań 1993, pp. 51–57.

³⁴ D. Sinor, *Un voyageur du treizième siècle: le Dominicain Julien de Hongrie*, "Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies" XIV, 1952, fasc. 3, pp. 589–602.

³⁵ T. Lewicki, *Les noms des Hongrois et de la Hongrie chez les médiévaux géographes arabes*

bordered
state kno
townships
Bilār incre
Bulgarian
reference
authors, i
Bātū an
Khan's
time, wha
ingly iden
of that pe
Muslims,
attributed
Francs ref
European

We alr
of the Qip
Mongols o
the Bāšgir

In the
torical rea
explanatio
relation of
sources, B
This coin

et persans,
History of t
³⁶ Cf. I. H
1308.

³⁷ R.G. F
fasc. 2, p. 1
³⁸ See illus
vero magna
pagani".

³⁹ L. Koc
1961, pp. 43

⁴⁰ Bātū's
see C. de Br
et Hungaria
decem milia
van den Wy
by Baiar-Ĝa

bordered Kamskaya Bulgaria to the north-west, which in the past was a strong state known as the Greater Bulgaria. The main centers of that state were the townships of the Bulghār, Bilār and Suwār.³⁶ In the 12th century, the position of Bilār increased so much, that Arabian authors started to call in that way Kama Bulgarians and their state.³⁷ Therefore, the notion used by Rašīd ad-Dīn in reference to that nation can bring to mind the reference to Bilār of the Arabian authors, i.e.: the Kamskaya Bulgaria. We can assume, therefore, that in 1236 Bātū and his brothers, along with Mongolian commanders outside Činggis Khan's family, defeated the Bulgars (Bilārs) and the Bāšgirds at the same time, what in fact happened. Nevertheless, the description of the Būlars, seemingly identical with the Bulgars, excludes such an identification. The Bulgars of that period, i.e. in the times of the Mongolian invasion, were in their majority Muslims, not Christians.³⁸ They have never bordered Franks in the ethnic sense attributed to that nation by Muslim medieval authors. As we know, the name of Franks referred in the Islamic East since the time of the First Crusade to Western European nations.³⁹

We already know from the narration of Rašīd ad-Dīn concerning the rulers of the Qipčaq Steppe, that in the year of Ögedei's death (1241) in Spring, the Mongols crossed the Carpathians (Marāqtān) and defeated the Būlars-Poles and the Bāšgirds-Hungarians.

In the same variant, Poles and Hungarians became, in accordance with historical reality, the victims of the Mongolian invasion. There we should look for explanation of the mysterious episode with the Būlars. In that sole episode, the relation of Rašīd ad-Dīn can account for Poland, since as we know from other sources, Bātū did not fight there himself, neither did Šaybān, nor Būrildei.⁴⁰ This coincidence along with other details from the quoted fragment show, the

et persans, "Folia Orientalia" XIX, 1978, pp. 35-55; cf. P.B. Golden, *An Introduction to the History of the Turkic Peoples*, Wiesbaden 1992, see Index, "Baškirs".

³⁶ Cf. I. Hrbek, art. "Bulghār", in: *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, I, Leiden 1960, pp. 1304-1308.

³⁷ R.G. Faḥrutdinov, *O stolice domongol'skoy Bulgarii*, "Sovetskaya archeologiya", 1974, fasc. 2, p. 131.

³⁸ See illustrious testimony of di Piano Carpini, *Historia Mongalorum*, III, 14, p. 156: "Est vero magna Bulgaria regnum magnum et potens opulentas habens civitates: sed omnes sunt pagani".

³⁹ L. Koczy, *Narody w pierwszej wyprawie krzyżowej*, "Teki Historyczne", XI, London 1960-1961, pp. 43 and seq.

⁴⁰ Bātū's oldest brother Ordu (Orda) was in charge of the Mongolian contingent in Poland, see C. de Bridia, *Historia Tartarorum*, c. 27: "Ex tunc postea processit (Bātū) contra Poloniam et Hungariam dvisoque exercitu in metis terrarum cum fratre suo Ordu, misit contra Poloniam decem milia pugnatorum"; also Giovanni di Piano Carpini, *Historia Mongalorum*, ed. A. van den Wyngaert, p. 72: "iste (Ordu - J.H.) fuit in Polonia et Hungaria". Ordu was joined by Baiar-Ġagatay's son in his invasion of Poland, see Rašīd ad-Dīn, p. 164.

question is of the Mongolian operations in 1241 in Hungary. In order to prove that one should get back to two specific Hungarian sources, which accounted for the Hungarian events during Mongolian invasion, i.e.: *Carmen Miserabile* by Roger of Turri Maiore (nowadays Torre Maggiore) who died in 1266 and was an archdeacon of Varadin and to *Historia Salonitana* by his contemporary Thomas, the archdeacon of Spalato (1201–1268).⁴¹ Roger wrote that both the Hungarian army and the Mongolian army camped on both banks of the Sayo River, which was wide enough for Hungarians to believe that it could not be crossed without a bridge.⁴²

That author also wrote that the Mongolian army crossed the river by a wade situated far away from the Hungarian camp. At the sunrise the Mongols, after having circled the Hungarians, started the battle. He did not write anything about the attack on the royal pavilion, description of which we can find at Rašīd ad-Dīn's,

The escape of the Hungarians is described by Roger as a gradual procedure. Namely, the Mongols left the Hungarians a free passage to escape which in the meantime became very crowded. The Mongols did not shoot at the escaping enemy. Later on they started to follow them. According to Roger, the piles of killed Hungarian corpses covered the ground at the distance of two days ride from the battleplace. In his description of the loot he does not mention the royal pavilion, but he adds that the Mongols got into possession of the royal seal, which they used to stamp, so called, Bella's letter. They say that in the letter, in which the gentry and the mob were forbidden to leave their homes, the monarch mentioned the loss of the camp and the royal pavilions.⁴³ That letter was, of course, dictated by the Mongols themselves. The description of the battle is much wider and is very similar to the relation of the Persian historian.

Thomas of Spalato also mentioned the Sayo River, which separated the Hungarians from the Tartars. The Hungarians at the royal command, pitched their tents close to one another and surrounded them with carts.⁴⁴ Bātū climbed

⁴¹ Rogerii *Carmen miserabile*, ed. L. Juhász: "Scriptores Rerum Hungaricarum", II, Budapest 1938; Thomas Archidiaconus, *Historia Salonitana*, ed. F. Rački, "Monumenta spectantia historiam Slovorum Meridionalium", XXVI, Zagrabiae 1894. Partially German translation and commentary by H. Göckenjan, *Der Mongolensturm. Berichte von Augenzeugen und Zeitgenossen 1245–1250*, see above note 28.

⁴² Rogerii *Carmen miserabile*, c. 28 p. 569: "Et, cum aqua magna existeret et lutosa, quod (sic) non erat eis credulitas, quod sine ponte transitus alicui esse posset".

⁴³ Cf. *Carmen miserabile*, c. 31 p. 574: "Et fecerunt scribi per quosdam clericos Hungaros, [...], maioribus omnibus et popularibus per totam Hungariam existentibus sub nomine regis multa varia ficticia litterarum sub hac forma: Canum feritatem et rabiem non timeatis nec vestris de domibus vos movere audeatis: licet enim propter quandem improvisionem tum castratum tentoria relinquerimus, [...]."

⁴⁴ *Historia Salonitana*, ed. F. Rački, p. 160: "Composuerunt ergo sese quasi in quodam arctissimo stabulo cuncti, circumponentes currus et clipeos undique quasi pro munimento castrorum.

the top of on
his return he
it would be
crossed the
ropes made i
Mongols left
but after som
and not eage
bodies as wit

One impo
of the Hung
Italian Franc
Historia Mon
de panno line

Still close
Ĝuwaynī (
work *Tarih-i*
battles betwe
attacked the
on their roy
Mongols had
fled".⁴⁸

Also the
(40 *tūmens*) i
pecially the
1239.⁴⁹

According
Kelar (*keler*)

Ita uero tentori
inucem stringeb

⁴⁵ Ibidem, p. 1
speculatus est di

⁴⁶ *Historia Sal*
posse ad arma n
inde iaculis infige

dextris et a sinist
⁴⁷ *Historia Mon*

saeculi XIII et X

⁴⁸ *The Ta'rikh-i*
Leyden-London 1

World-Conqueror

⁴⁹ *Vetera Monun*
mae 1859; number

the top of one of the hills and from there he observed the Hungarian camp.⁴⁵ After his return he told his men that due to unreasonable crowding of the Hungarians it would be much easier for the Mongols to defeat them. At night the Mongols crossed the river using a bridge and the wades. The crowded tents and their ropes made it more difficult for the defenders to escape after the lost battle. The Mongols left them a free passage to escape. They did not chase them immediately, but after some period of time. When they realized that the Hungarians were tired and not eager to resume the fight they killed them. The ground was covered with bodies as with leaves in winter.⁴⁶

One important detail in Rašīd ad-Dīn's account concerning the pavilion of the Hungarian King which became Bātū's possession, was confirmed by an Italian Franciscan Giovanni di Piano Carpini (died in 1252), who in his *Historia Mongalorum* described Bātū Hān's court and wrote: "Tentoria autem de panno lineo habet magna et satis pulcra, que Regis Ungarie fuerunt."⁴⁷

Still closer to the relation of Rašīd ad-Dīn is the evidence provided by Ğuwaynī (1226–1283), another Persian historian older than himself, who in his work *Tarīh-i ġahān ġušāi* ("The History of the World-Conqueror") describing the battles between the Bāšġirds and Bātū's army said that Sibāqan (=Saybān) attacked the Bāšġirds from the rear with all his forces: "and they bore down on their royal pavilions and cut the ropes with their swords. And when the Mongols had overturned their pavilions, the army of the Keler lost heart and fled".⁴⁸

Also the estimated manpower of the Būlar army as 40 thousand men (40 *tūmens*) is true for Hungarians at the time of the battle on the Sayo River, especially the manpower of the Qumans (Hungarian Qipčaq) in Autumn 1239.⁴⁹

According to Rašīd ad-Dīn and Ğuwaynī, the Bāšġird rulers were called Keler (*keler*). That word originally had a form of "Kāral" and first entered the

Ita uero tentoria constipata fuerunt, et eorum funiculi in tantum connexi et concatenati ad inuicem stringebantur. . ."

⁴⁵ Ibidem, p. 160: "Tunc Bath, maior dux tartarei exercitus, in quendam collem conscendens, speculatus est diligenter omnem dispositionem exercitus [. . .]"

⁴⁶ *Historia Salonitana*, p. 163: "Cum enim uideret (hostes) iam itineris labore defessos, nec posse ad arma manus extendere, nec pedes ulterius ad fugam laxare, tunc ceperunt hinc et inde iaculis infigere, gladiis obtruncare, nulli parcere, sed omnes feraliter trucidare. Cadebant a dextris et a sinistris (h)ybernalium foliorum instar [. . .]"

⁴⁷ *Historia Mongalorum*, ed. A. van den Wyngaert in: *Itinera et relationes fratrum minorum saeculi XIII et XIV (Sinica Franciscana I)*, Quaracchi near Florence 1929, p. 110.

⁴⁸ *The Ta'rikh-i Jahān-gushā of Alā u'd-Dīn Atā Malik-i-Juwaini*, ed. M. Qazwini, part I, Leyden-London 1912 (GMS, XVI, 1) pp. 225–226; Eng. trans.: J.A. Boyle, *The History of the World-Conqueror*, Cambridge, Mass., 1958, p. 271.

⁴⁹ *Vetera Monumenta Historica Hungariam Sacram illustrantia*, ed. A. Theiner, vol. I, Romae 1859, number 493, pp. 268–270.

Mongolian language via one of the Slavonic languages (*kral*) or via Hungarian (*kiralj*).⁵⁰

That word was adopted from Mongolian by Iranian sources in the form of *keler* (*keler*), which meant both the person of the monarch and the nation ruled by him.⁵¹ In the latter case, the nations or countries of *Kelers* can mean either Hungary (and Poland) or more widely European Catholic kingdoms.

T. Lewicki proved that in reference to Hungary the term "keler" referred to Christian inhabitants of the kingdom at the time of the Mongolian invasion. The noun *Bāšgird* referred to Muslim inhabitants of that country.⁵² In case of Hungary it was true when *Rašīd ad-Dīn* wrote that the rulers of that kingdom "rose again" and that their country was not completely subjugated.⁵³

Finally, it is worth mentioning that the somewhat unclear episode analysed here and concerning the relationship between the Mongols and the nation of the *Būlars* refers to Hungary — not to Poland and is connected with important events of 1241 on the Danube Lowland. That fragment which is a chronologically older draft story independent of the next part called "Annals of the Rulers of the *Qipčaq* Steppe".

Rašīd ad-Dīn was seemingly unaware of the clear relationship between the description of the battles on the Danube against the *Bāšgirds*, *Madžars* and *Sāsāns* and the episode with the *Būlars*, mentioned in the earlier parts of his *Collection of Chronicles*.

On this basis we can formulate a further postulate to solve the problem of annual stratification of that monumental piece of work.

⁵⁰ SHM, §270 contains the form of "Kerel", according to G.D. Painter denotes Hungary, see *The Vinland Map and the Tartar Relation*, New Haven and London 1965, pp. 104–106.

⁵¹ I. Hrbek, *Ein arabischer Bericht über Ungarn*, AOH, VI, 3, 1955, p. 228.

⁵² T. Lewicki, *Madjar et Madjaristān*, *Encyclopédie de l'Islam*. Nouvelle édition, vol. V, Leiden 1986, p. 1008.

⁵³ The retreat of *Bātū*'s army from the Hungarian Lowland began in March-April 1242, while *Bela IV* sailed back to his Kingdom at the end of August of that year, see *Rogerii Carmen Miserabile*, p. 588.

Mediaeval
travel acco
sify. Partic
as a literar
one elemen
elements be
the structur

Althoug
not defined
Über die P
Łódź 1969,
and Cz. Ni
nej (podróż
mentary Pr
very fact of
travel acco
resources" o
istic of crea
feelings and

¹ T. Lewicki,
T. Lewicki,
T. Lewicki,

² M. Kowa