ANNUAL OF MEDIEVAL STUDIES AT CEU

VOL. 23 2017

Edited by
Gerhard Jaritz, Kyra Lyublyanovics, Judith A. Rasson,
Zsuzsanna Reed

Central European University
Budapest
Department of Medieval Studies

All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced,
stored in a retrieval system, or transmitted in any form or by any means
without the permission of the publisher.

Editorial Board
Gerhard Jaritz, György Geréby, Gábor Klaniczay, József Laszlovszky,
Judith A. Rasson, Marianne Sághy, Katalin Szende, Daniel Ziemann

Editors
Gerhard Jaritz, Kyra Lyublyanovics, Judith A. Rasson, Zsuzsanna Reed

Cover Illustration
Chinese imari porcelain fragment from the archaeological site of Teleki Palace,
Budapest, inv. no. 2016.116.156 BTM. Photo by Tünde Komori
(reproduced with permission)

Department of Medieval Studies
Central European University
H-1051 Budapest, Nádor u. 9., Hungary
Postal address: H-1245 Budapest 5, P.O. Box 1082
E-mail: medstud@ceu.edu Net: http://medievalstudies.ceu.edu
Copies can be ordered at the Department, and from the CEU Press
http://www.ceupress.com/order.html

Volumes of the Annual are available online at: http://www.library.ceu.hu/ams/

ISSN 1219-0616

Non-discrimination policy: CEU does not discriminate on the basis of—including,
but not limited to—race, color, national or ethnic origin, religion, gender or sexual orientation
in administering its educational policies, admissions policies, scholarship and loan programs,
and athletic and other school-administered programs.

© Central European University
Produced by Archaeolingua Foundation & Publishing House

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Editors' preface 7

I. ARTICLES AND STUDIES 9

Petar Parvanov
A Tale of Two Graves: Rethinking the Medieval Re-use of Prehistoric Burial Mounds in Madara 11

Daniel K. Knox
Measuring the Correspondence of Ennodius of Pavia: An Initial Social Network Analysis 20

Iliana Kandzha
Royal Penance as a Quasi-legal Argument in Ecclesiastical Disputes: Representation Strategies of Ritual in Ottonian Historiography (919–1024) . 35

Marino Kumir
For the Salvation of One's Soul: Piety, Status and Memory in the Dalmatian Duchy (c. 812–850) 48

Davor Salihović
Royal Self-Representation and the Symbols of Power of Nicholas of Ilok as King of Bosnia 61

Ines Ivić
Ille meus est et ego suus – The Appropriation of Saint Jerome in the Writings of Dalmatian Humanists 77

Mongols, Chinese and Europe: Special Papers 91

Balázs Nagy
Going Global: East Asian Contacts in Teaching and Research in the Department of Medieval Studies 93

Stephen Pow
Fortresses that Shatter Empires: A Look at Möngke Khan's Failed Campaign against the Song Dynasty, 1258–1259 96

Tünde Komori
Prestige Object or Coffee Cup? Problems of Identifying and Dating Chinese Porcelain Unearthed in Buda 108

Dorottya Uhrin
Monstrous Humans in the Mongol Empire. Franciscan Accounts of the Mongolian Tribes 123

Konstantin Golev
Witchcraft and Politics in the Court of the Great Khan: Interregnum Crises and Inter-factional Struggles among the Mongol Imperial Elite. The Case of Fāṭima Khatun 132

Liao Jingjing
Investigating the Relationship between the Taiyuanyin and the Northern Nomads during the Tang Dynasty 145

Ning Ya
The Mongols without Empire: Narrative Strategies surrounding Mongol History in Modern Chinese Historiography 155

Cultural Heritage Studies in Central Europe 169

Judith A. Rasson
Cultural Heritage Studies in Central Europe 171

Sanijela Stulic
Protection of a Historical Landscape, the Case of the Roman Trenches in Serbia: A Proposed Legal Framework and the Key Actors 173

Nóra Ujhelyi
Archaeology and Metal Detecting in Hungary (2000 to 2014) 187

Gergő Paukovics
To Have and Have Not: A Comparison of Hungarian Zooarchaeological Protocols 200

Zsuzsanna Papp Reed
"Other Plants I Can't Name for You in English": The Plant Composition of Monastic Herb Gardens in Late Medieval England 213

József Laszlovszky – Karen Stark
Medieval Glass Production at Pomáz-Nagykovácsi: The Finds andHeritage Interpretation of an Archaeological Site 239

Zsombor Jékely
A New Monograph on a Royal Manuscript 265

Faith and Power: Undergraduate conference papers 275

Preface 277

Indre Douglas
The Construction of Hermit Sanctity: The Case of St. Anthony 279

Daniel Elkind
Amandus of Maastricht's Slavic and Wasconian Missions, ca. AD 628–638 287

Mariia Diatlova
The Crosier and the Sword: On the Interconnectivity of Church and State Symbols of Power in Medieval Rus' 300

II. REPORT ON THE YEAR 309

Daniel Ziemann
Report of the Head of Department for the Academic Year 2015-2016 311

Nada Zečević
MECERN Annual Report 2015–2016 324

István Perczel
Report on the SRITE Project: The Syrian/Mappila Christian Community in Southwest India 327

Publications of the Faculty of the Department of Medieval Studies at CEU in 2016 339

Abstracts of MA Theses Defended in 2016 350

PhD Defenses during the Academic Year 2015–2016 362

WITCHCRAFT AND POLITICS IN THE COURT OF THE GREAT KHAN: INTERREGNUM CRISES AND INTER-FACTIONAL STRUGGLES AMONG THE MONGOL IMPERIAL ELITE. THE CASE OF FĀṬIMA KHATUN[1]

Konstantin Golev

In his description of the Mongol religion, the Chingizid administrator Alā' al-Dīn Ȧṭā'-Malik Juvaynī, a Persian historian, reports that the *qams* (as he designates the Mongol shamans) practiced the art of magic.[2] The Franciscan friar Rubruck mentions rituals similar to those described by Juvaynī.[3] There is little doubt that the adherents of the Abrahamic religions perceived the practices of the *qams* as identical with magic.[4] In this regard they did not differ much from the

---

[1] The author is affiliated with Sofia University St. Kliment Ohridski and Uludağ University, Turkey. An earlier version of this paper, "Witch-Hunts in the Court of the Great Khan (Magic, Superstition and their Political Usage in the Mongol Empire during the Thirteenth Century)," was presented at the workshop "Mongols, Chinese and Europe: Contacts and Interaction" held in Budapest in 2015. I had the chance to revise this research while I was a postdoctoral fellow at the Center for Advanced Studies – Sofia, to which I express my thanks for the support provided. I am also indebted to Ishayahu Landa for his comments on the draft of this paper.

[2] "They knew the science of magic and called the experts in this craft *qams*" می گفته اند علم سحر می دانستند که دانندگان آن حرفت را قامان"; Alā' al-Dīn Ȧṭā'-Malik Juvaynī, *Tārikh-i Jahān-Gushāy* [History of the Mongols], ed. Mīrzā Muḥammad Qazvīnī, vol. 1 (Leyden: E. J. Brill; London: Luzac & Co, 1912), 43–44; 'Ala-ad-Din Ȧta-Malik Juvaini, *The History of the World-Conqueror*, vol. 1, trans. John A. Boyle (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1958), 59.

[3] Guillelmus de Rubruc, *Sinica Franciscana*, vol. 1, *Itinera et Relationes Fratrum Minorum saeculi XIII et XIV*, ed. P. Anastasius van den Wyngaert OFM (Quaracchi: Collegium S. Bonaventurae, 1929), 305; Peter Jackson, trans., *The Mission of Friar William of Rubruck. His Journey to the Court of the Great Khan Mongke 1253–1255* (London: The Hakluyt Society 1990), 245; the editors of the translation point out the similarity with Juvaynī's account.

[4] See, for example, the accounts of Gregory of Akner and Kirakos of Gandzak, Robert P. Blake and Richard N. Frye, "History of the Nation of the Archers (The Mongols) by Grigor of Akanc: 'Hitherto Ascribed to Marak'ia The Monk:' The Armenian Text Edited with an English Translation and Notes," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 12, no. 3/4 (1949): 289; [Kiriakos Gandzaketsi] Киракос Гандзакеци, *История Армении* [History of Armenia], trans. L. A. Hanlaryan] (Moscow: Nauka, 1976), 173; John A. Boyle, "Kirakos of Ganjak on the Mongols," *Central Asiatic Journal* 8 (1963): 208; reprinted in John A. Boyle, *The Mongol World Empire, 1206–1370* (London: Variorum Reprints, 1977), article 19. The accounts of the members of Carpini's mission leave similar impressions, see, for example,

representatives of other sedentary civilizations; as early as the time of the Han dynasty (202 BC – AD 220) the Chinese feared the witchcraft of the nomadic Hsiung nu's shamans.[5] Yet the Mongols themselves made a careful distinction between the shamans and practitioners of witchcraft. Furthermore, the shamans were often involved in "denouncing" sorcerers. Although the scarcity of sources makes conclusions regarding the particular features of the indigenous Mongol religion in the Middle Ages[6] rather uncertain, nevertheless it seems that according to the Mongol spiritual concepts supernatural practices fell exclusively within the shamans' expertise.

Persecutions of "illegal" witchcraft were motivated by the perception of any endeavor of this kind as a tremendous public threat, equivalent to a capital offence. This conclusion finds support in the statement of the Mamlūk historian al-Maqrīzī, who claims that Mongol law provided capital punishment for witchcraft.[7] Such a sensibility regarding magic is often characteristic of pre-modern societies;

Giovanni Di Pian Di Carpine, *Storia dei Mongoli*, ed. Paolo Daffinà, Claudio Leonardi, Maria C. Lungarotti, Eenrico Menestò, and Luciano Petech (Spoleto: Centro Italiano di studi sull'alto Medioevo, 1989), 240–241; Christopher Dawson, ed., *The Mongol Mission: Narratives and Letters of the Franciscan Missionaries in Mongolia and China in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries* (New York: Sheed and Ward, 1955), 12; Raleigh A. Skelton, Thomas E. Marston, and George D. Painter, *The Vinland Map and the Tatar Relation*, foreword by Alexander O. Vietor. New Edition, with an Introduction by George Painter, and Essays by Wilcomb E. Washburn, Thomas A. Cahill, Bruce H. Kusko, and Laurence Witten II (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995), § 42, 90–92.

[5] Thomas J. Barfield, *The Perilous Frontier. Nomadic Empires and China* (Cambridge, MA: Blackwell, 1989), 65 and the literature quoted there.

[6] See, in general, Devin DeWeese, *Islamization and Native Religion in the Golden Horde. Baba Tükles and Conversion to Islam in Historical and Epic Tradition* (University Park: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1994), 27–50.

[7] A number of authors offer reconstructions of different fragments of Mongol imperial law, including that concerning witchcraft: Constantine d'Ohsson, *Hstoire des Mongoles depuis Tchinguiz khan jusqu'a Timour bey ou Tamerlan*, vol. 1 (Amsterdam: Frederic Muller, 1852), 408; Henry H. Howorth, *History of the Mongols from the 9th to the 19th Century*, part 1, *The Mongols Proper and the Kalmuks* (London: Longmans, Green, 1876), 111; see also Riasanovsky's research on Mongol law: Valentin A. Riasanovsky, *Fundamental Principles of Mongol Law* (Bloomington: Indiana University – The Hague: Mouton, 1965), 36, 83. Besides the hot debate over the real existence of the *Yasa*, described by al-Maqrīzī, I find his account of capital punishment for sorcery absolutely relevant. This conclusion is supported by the correlation of his statement with a group of Western, Islamic, and Chinese sources which describe the persistent Mongol behavior of executing persons accused of witchcraft, as well as the reasonable assumption that al-Maqrīzī included characteristic and even stereotyped Mongol judicial practices in his work.

in the Mongol perception the supernatural world was closely intertwined with the real one. One fragment of Carpini's *Historia Mongalorum* eloquently describes this worldview. According to the papal legate envoys, princes and all other visitors among the Mongols had to pass between two fires, together with the gifts they carried, in order to be purified. Carpini points that this was "lest perchance they have practiced sorcery, or brought poison or anything else injurious."[8] Other members of Carpini's mission, as well as Rubruck, confirm that this was standard procedure.[9] What is indicative in this case is the fact that the Mongols did not distinguish between a physical menace such as poison and damages that could be brought by witchcraft. Furthermore, shamans tried to neutralize the potential existence of poison with ritual practices. Such an approach is not typical only of the Mongols and can be observed among many other societies – including some in Europe. But it is precisely this mindset that is one of the most important prerequisites for the advent of the witch-hunt.[10]

It is not surprising, therefore, that around the mid-thirteenth century Mongol imperial society was shaken by a whole series of repressions against practitioners of witchcraft aimed at commoners and members of the middle social stratum as well as against prominent representatives of the political elite in the empire. Rubruck's report and some other evidence attest that climate extremes and other natural phenomena were ably manipulated by Mongol shamans, who represented them as a result of witchcraft. Thus, they used the trials that followed to strengthen their own prestige and circumstances.[11] But no matter how demonic the actions of the Mongol shamans were (represented by Rubruck in a negative light), there is no doubt that the dread of witchcraft, deeply rooted in the medieval

[8] "*ne forte veneficia fecerint, aut venenum vel aliquid mali portaverint*," Di Carpine, *Storia dei Mongoli*, 241; Dawson, *Mongol Mission*, 12; de Bridia, *Tatar Relation*, § 43, 92–93; see also Di Carpine, *Storia dei Mongoli*, 310; Dawson, *Mongol Mission*, 56; Benedictus Polonus, *Sinica Franciscana*, 136–137. The procedure of purifying by fire is also described in detail in Di Carpine, *Storia dei Mongoli*, 244; Dawson, *Mongol Mission*, 14; de Bridia, *Tatar Relation*, § 48, 94–95, and also in Rubruck's passage in the next footnote.

[9] Rubruc, *Sinica Franciscana*, 301; Jackson, *Friar William of Rubruck*, 241. As the editors of the translation point out, the practice of purifying by fire was also attested among the sixth-century Turks. For more details see the quoted literature, ibid., footnote 6.

[10] In the present study, this term designates the persecutions of practitioners of "improper" magic of both sexes and is used since this is the appellation under which the examined phenomenon acquired popularity.

[11] Rubruc, *Sinica Franciscana*, 300–305; Jakson, *Friar William of Rubruck*, 240–245. The editors of the translation refer to another piece of similar evidence in the *Itinerarium* of the Dominican friar Ricoldo of Monte Croce, Johnatan C. M. Laurent, ed., *Peregrinatores medii aevi quattuor* (Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs Bibliopola, 1864), 115.

Mongols' spiritual beliefs,[12] and the mass hysteria which arose out of it, were the main factors that brought large-scale repression into being. While the shamans usually concentrated their strikes against representatives of the lower and middle social strata, some members of the imperial elite realized that such a social climate provided fertile ground for purging their adversaries with high positions in the imperial court. Thus, witch-hunts flared up among the highest circles of imperial society. This article traces one of the first attested manifestations of this phenomenon.

Juvaynī's *Tārīkh-i Jahān-Gushāy* recounts a story of three interconnected cases of accusations of witchcraft belonging precisely to this category.[13] He describes a series of repressions against members of the imperial political elite that took place in the 1240s and 1250s. Juvaynī first describes the trial against the famous Fāṭima Khatun; this trial and its political context will be examined in the present study.

Fāṭima Khatun was an inhabitant of Mashhad taken into captivity during the Mongol campaign against the Khwārazmian Empire (1219–1221). After her capture she entered the entourage of Töregene Khatun – one of the wives of the Great Khan Ögedei (1229–1241). Fāṭima's star ascended after Ögedei's demise, when Töregene took the regency of the empire (1241–1246) until the election of a

[12] Rashīd al-Dīn states explicitly that the Mongols were disgusted by witchcraft: "و چون مغول سحر را بغایت منکر می باشند", Faḍlallāh Abū al-Khayr Rashīd al-Dīn, *Jāmi' al-tawārikh*, ed. Bahman Karīmī, vol. 2 (Tehran: Enteshārāt-e Eqbal, 1338/1959), 787; Faḍlallāh Abū al-Khayr Rashīd al-Dīn, *Jāmi' al-tawārikh*, ed. Muḥammad Rūshan and Muṣṭafī Mūsavī, vol. 2 (Tehran: Nashr-e Alborz, 1373/1994), 1128; Wheeler M. Thackston, trans. and annot., *Rashiduddin Fazlullah's Jami ' u't-tawarikh: Compendium of Chronicles. A History of the Mongols*, part 3 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University, 1999), 550; [Rashid-ad-Din] Рашид-ад-Дин, *Сборник летописей*, vol. 3, [Compendium of Chronicles], trans. Alfred Arends (Moscow: Academy of Sciences, 1946), 101.

[13] Juvaynī, *Tārīkh-i Jahān-Gushāy,* vol. 1, 200–203; Juvaini, *History*, vol. 1, 244–247. Rashīd al-Dīn recounts these events (as well as many others) closely following the text of Juvaynī, but sometimes differences or additional information appears in his *Jāmi' al-tawārikh*, hence parallel references to both authors will be given: Rashīd al-Dīn, *Jāmi' al-tawārikh*, ed. Karīmī, 566–567; Rashīd al-Dīn, *Jāmi' al-tawārikh*, ed. Rūshan and Mūsūī, vol. 2, 802–803; Rashīd al-Dīn, *The Successors of Genghis Khan*, trans. John A. Boyle (New York: Columbia University Press, 1971), 179; Wheeler M. Thackston, trans. and annot., *Rashiduddin Fazlullah's Jami ' u't-tawarikh: Compendium of Chronicles. A History of the Mongols*, part 2 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University, Department of Near Eastern Languages and Civilizations, 1999), 391–392; [Rashid-ad-Din] Рашид-ад-Дин, *Сборник летописей* [*Compendium of Chronicles*], vol. 2, trans. Yu. P. Verkhovsky (Moscow: Academy of Sciences, 1960), 117.

new great khan.[14] As a prominent member of Töregene's entourage and confidant of her mistress,[15] Fāṭima started to exercise increasing influence on state affairs. Töregene Khatun had harbored hatred against some of the highest officials of the empire for a long time[16] and Fāṭima, former inhabitant of Mashhad, played an active role in the intrigues against them. On Fāṭima's advice, dignitaries were removed from power and replaced with others. She and her mistress dared to raise their hands against such eminent members of the imperial administration as the Nestorian Chinqai – first minister of the late Great Khan[17] – and other outstanding imperial officials such as the Central Asian Muslim Maḥmūd Yalavach,

[14] Trusting the regency to one of the widows of the dead ruler was a common practice in both the united empire and in the emerging regional khanates; for different examples see Juvaynī, *Tārīkh-i Jahān-Gushāy*, vol. 1, 195–196, 216–217, 223, 228–229, 230; Juvaini, *History*, vol. 1, 240, 262–263, 268, 272–273, 274; Rashīd al-Dīn, *Jāmi' al-tawārīkh*, ed. Karīmī, 544–546, 564–567, 571; Rashīd al-Dīn, *Jāmi' al-tawārīkh*, ed. Rūshan and Mūsavī, vol. 1, 767–769; Rashīd al-Dīn, *Jāmi' al-tawārīkh*, ed. Rūshan and Mūsavī, vol. 2, 799–803, 810; Rashīd al-Dīn, *Successors*, 149–151, 176–179, 185; Thackston, *Compendium*, part 2, 376–377, 390–392, 395; Rashid-ad-Din, *Compendium*, vol. 2, 97–98, 114–117, 122; Minhāj al-Dīn al-Jūzjānī, *Ṭabaqāt-i Nāṣirī*, ed. ʿAbdālaḥī Habībī, 2d ed., vol. 2 (Kabul: Anjeman-e tārīkh-e Afghānestān, 1342–1343/1963–1964), 167; Minhāj al-Dīn al-Jūzjānī, *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri: A General History of the Muhammadan Dynasties of Asia, including Hindustan; from A.H. 194 (800 A.D.) to A.H. 658 (A.D. 1260) and the Irruption of the Infidel Mughals into Islam*, vol. 2, trans. Henry G. Raverty (New Delhi: Oriental Books Reprints, 1970), 1144; [Roman Khrapachevsky], Роман П. Храпачевский], trans., *Золотая Орда в источниках*, vol. 3, *Китайские и могольские источники* [The Golden Horde in the Sources, vol. 3, *Chinese and Mongolian Sources*] (Moscow: Nauka, 2009), 177–178. The custom that the wife of the dead khan should exercise the regency apparently stemmed from pre-imperial traditions of the Mongols, Di Carpine, *Storia dei Mongoli*, 315; Dawson, *Mongol Mission*, 60.

[15] According to Juvaynī, Fāṭima "became the sharer of intimate confidences and the depository of hidden secrets" of her mistress (following Boyle's translation of: "رازهای نهانی شد محرم اسرار اندرونی و مهل"), Juvaynī, *Tārīkh-i Jahān-Gushāy*, vol. 1, 200; Juvaini, *History*, vol. 1, 245; see also Rashīd al-Dīn, *Jāmi' al-tawārīkh*, ed. Karīmī, 564; Rashīd al-Dīn, *Jāmi' al-tawārīkh*, ed. Rūshan and Mūsavī, vol. 2, 799; Rashīd al-Dīn, *Successors*, 176; Thackston, *Compendium*, part 2, 390; Rashid-ad-Din, *Compendium*, vol. 2, 115.

[16] Her feelings may not have been entirely groundless. In another passage of his work, Juvaynī reports that at the time when Chinqai was still influential at court his protégés, Maḥmūd Yalavach and another imperial official named Körgüz disregarded Töregene Khatun, Alā' al-Dīn ʿAṭā'-Malik Juvaynī, *Tārīkh-i Jahān-Gushāy*, ed. Mīrzā Muḥammad Qazvīnī, vol. 2 (Leyden: E. J. Brill, 1916), 241; Juvaini, *History*, vol. 2, trans. John A. Boyle, 504.

[17] See also Paul D. Buell, "Činqai," in *In the Service of the Khan. Eminent Personalities of the Early Mongol-Yüan Period*, ed. Igor de Rachewiltz, Hock-lam Chan, Hsiao Ch'i-ch'ing, and Peter W. Geier (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1993), 95–111.

who had already entered Mongol service in the times of Chingiz Khan (1206 – 1227).[18] Anticipating the danger, Chinqai sought refuge in the camp of Köten, one of Ögedei's sons. According to Rashīd al-Dīn, Fāṭima had an old grudge against Maḥmūd Yalavach and took advantage of the situation to replace him as governor of the Mongol provinces in North China with another Central Asian Muslim – ʻAbd al-Raḥman.[19] Yalavach managed to deceive the envoys that were sent to arrest him and in his turn found shelter in Köten's camp. Notwithstanding the repeated demands of his mother, Töregene Khatun, the prince refused to hand them over and declared that he would present them before the next imperial assembly, the *qurultai*,[20] where their guilt could be established. Upon learning of these events, Maḥmūd Yalavach's son, Masʻūd Beg,[21] governor of Turkestan, and Māwarā' al-Nahr, thought it wiser to head for the camp of Batu, leader of one of the four main branches of Chingiz Khan's Golden Lineage (*Altan Uruq*) – the *Ulus of Jochi* (often referred to in the historiography as the Golden Horde).[22] The above examples are only some of the purges in the highest political circles, which affected the sedentary regions of the empire in particular. These regions were among the most significant sources of income for the state and the dynasty.

[18] See also Thomas T. Allsen, "Maḥmūd Yalavač," in *In the Service of the Khan*, 122–128.

[19] It should be mentioned that Yalavach himself was appointed as governor of the Mongol dominions in North China in place of ʻAbd al-Raḥman just a few months before Ögedei's demise. There seems to be a contradiction between *Yuanshi* and the Persian sources about the precise circumstances under which Maḥmūd Yalavach was dismissed from his office. According to the authors of the Chinese dynastic chronicle, Yalavach was removed while Ögedei was still alive as a result of an investigation caused by a conflict with his Chinese colleague, Liu Min. This version of the events was preserved in Liu Min's biography in *Yuanshi*. Both Juvaynī and Rashīd al-Dīn, however, state that Yalavach fell out of favor and lost his office in the time of Töregene's regency, Allsen, Maḥmūd Yalavač, 125. Furthermore, in this case Rashīd al-Dīn does not simply repeat the words of his predecessor, but also adds new details. It is in his account where we find out that Fāṭima was involved in this affair, as well as additional information regarding the way Yalavach was able to deceive the envoys sent to arrest him. This suggests that Rashīd al-Dīn had access to additional sources apart from Juvaynī, hence the version preserved in the Persian historiography should be preferred.

[20] This would have been the *qurultai* when a new great khan would be nominated.

[21] See also Thomas T. Allsen, "Masʻūd Beg," in *In the Service of the Khan*, 128–129.

[22] For these events and the rise of Fāṭima see Juvaynī, *Tārīkh-i Jahān-Gushāy*, vol. 1, 195–200; Juvaini *History*, vol. 1, 239–245; Juvaynī, *Tārīkh-i Jahān-Gushāy*, vol. 2, 241; Juvaini, *History*, vol. 2, 504; Rashīd al-Dīn, *Jāmiʻ al-tawārikh*, ed. Karīmī, 564–566; Rashīd al-Dīn, *Jāmiʻ al-tawārikh*, ed. Rūshan and Mūsavī, vol. 2, 799–802; Rashīd al-Dīn, *Successors*, 176–179; Thackston, *Compendium*, part 2, 390–391 Rashid-ad-Din, *Compendium*, vol. 2, 114–117.

Fāṭima was personally involved in much of the reshuffling at the top of the empire and became one of the major political players at the court.

In the meantime, Töregene Khatun aimed to ensure the imperial throne for her son and favorite, Güyük, despite Ögedei's explicit desire to be followed by his grandson Shiremün.[23] Güyük seems to have returned from his participation in the Western Campaign (1236–1242) after his father's death,[24] but Töregene

[23] Rashīd al-Dīn, *Jāmi' al-tawārīkh*, ed. Karīmī, 51, 445, 524, 561, 567, 568, 582; Rashīd al-Dīn, *Jāmi' al-tawārīkh*, ed. Rūshan and Mūsūī, vol. 1, 69, 622, 734; Rashīd al-Dīn, *Jāmi' al-tawārīkh*, ed. Rūshan and Mūsavī, vol. 2, 793, 804, 805–806, 825; Rashīd al-Dīn, *Successors*, 19, 120, 170, 180, 181, 201; Wheeler M. Thackston, trans. and annot., *Rashiduddin Fazlullah's Jami 'u't-tawarikh: Compendium of Chronicles. A History of the Mongols*, part 1 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University, Department of Near Eastern Languages and Civilizations, 1998), 39; Thackston, *Compendium*, part 2, 305, 360, 387, 392, 393, 402; [Rashid-ad-Din] Рашид-ад-Дин, *Сборник летописей*, vol. 1, part 1 [*Compendium of Chronicles*, trans. Lev Khetagurov] (Moscow: Academy of Sciences, 1952), 95; Rashid-ad-Din, *Compendium*, vol. 2, 9–10, 80, 112, 118, 119, 129; Khrapachevsky, *Golden Horde*, 178, 182–183. Shiremün was the oldest son of Ögedei's favorite son – Köchü – who was proclaimed heir apparent. Since Köchü died during Ögedei's reign, he ordered that the under-age Shiremün be proclaimed successor to the imperial throne.

[24] Juvaynī, *Tārikh-i Jahān-Gushāy*, vol. 1, 195, 199–200, 203; Juvaini, *History*, vol. 1, 239–240, 244, 248; Rashīd al-Dīn, *Jāmi' al-tawārīkh*, ed. Karīmī, 477, 482, 564, 566, 567, 582; Rashīd al-Dīn, *Jāmi' al-tawārīkh*, ed. Rūshan and Mūsūī, vol. 1, 669, 670, 678; Rashīd al-Dīn, *Jāmi' al-tawārīkh*, ed. Rūshan and Mūsavī, vol. 2, 799, 802, 804, 825; Rashīd al-Dīn, *Successors*, 61, 69, 176, 178, 180, 201; Thackston, *Compendium*, part 2, 328, 331, 390, 391, 392, 402; Rashid-ad-Din, *Compendium*, vol. 2, 40, 44, 114, 116–117, 118, 129. Rashīd al-Dīn contradicts himself regarding the precise moment of Güyük's return. Some passages in *Jāmi' al-tawārīkh* leave the impression that this happened before Ögedei's demise. At the same time, elsewhere in his work as well as in Juvaynī's earlier text (which he followed), and also in an independent passage of *Jāmi' al-tawārīkh* (the last quoted), he asserts that the great khan did not live long enough to see the return of his son. Jackson tries to reconcile the sources and link Rashīd al-Dīn's evidence with the famous episode of the *Secret History* where Ögedei reprimands his son for his failure to obey Batu, Igor de Rachewiltz, *The Secret History of the Mongols. A Mongolian Epic Chronicle of the Thirteenth Century*, vol. 1, trans. and with a historical and philological commentary (Leiden: Brill, 2006), § 275–277, 206–209; see also the comments on these paragraphs in Igor de Rachewiltz, *The Secret History of the Mongols. A Mongolian Epic Chronicle of the Thirteenth Century*, vol. 2 (Leiden: Brill, 2006), 1011–1019. Thus, Jackson offered a hypothesis for two returns – one before Ögedei's death and another after it – but this interpretation seems unlikely: Peter Jackson, "The Dissolution of the Mongol Empire," *Central Asiatic Journal* 22 (1978): 198–199, note 48; reprinted in Peter Jackson, *Studies on the Mongol Empire and Early Muslim India*, Variorum (Farnham: Ashgate, 2009), article 1; see also Kïm's critique of the possibility of Güyük returning from Europe twice: Hodong Kïm, "A Reappraisal of Güyük Khan," in *Mongols, Turks, and Others. Eurasian Nomads in the Sedentary World*, ed. Rouven Amitai and Michal Biran (Leiden: Brill, 2005), 314–320, 333.

continued to rule. Several nominations were presented at the *qurultai* that followed. Besides Güyük, Shiremün and Köten (Güyük's brother) also claimed the supreme power. Eventually, Töregene managed to secure the throne for Güyük.[25]

When Güyük was proclaimed great khan (1246–1248), an inhabitant of Samarkand, a certain 'Alid called Shīra, who functioned as the cupbearer of Qadaq (the *atabek* of Güyük[26]), accused Fāṭima Khatun of having bewitched and caused Köten to be ill. After Köten returned from the *qurultai* where his brother was enthroned, his health deteriorated further and he sent an envoy to the khan telling him that his illness was a consequence of Fāṭima's magic and that if something happened to him she was the one who should be held responsible. In Juvaynī's words, repeated by Rashīd al-Dīn, a message announcing Köten's death came afterwards.[27] Chinqai, who

[25] See the passages noted in note 23. In addition, see also Juvaynī, who mentions Töregene Khatun's role at the *qurultai*, but nowhere states explicitly that Güyük owed his throne to his mother's intervention: Juvaynī, *Tārīkh-i Jahān-Gushāy*, vol. 1, 206; Juvaini, *History*, vol. 1, 251.

[26] In this context, *atabek* designates a tutor of a prince and one of most trusted individuals in his entourage. For the influence of Qadaq and Chinqai upon Güyük in the years of his youth and during his short reign, see, for example, Juvaynī, *Tārīkh-i Jahān-Gushāy*, vol. 1, 213–214 and vol. 2, 215, 247–248; Juvaini, *History*, vol. 1, 259; and vol. 2, 480, 511; Rashīd al-Dīn, *Jāmi al-tawārīkh*, ed. Karīmī, 570–571, 573; Rashīd al-Dīn, *Jāmi' al-tawārīkh*, ed. Rūshan and Mūsavī, vol. 2, 808, 810; Rashīd al-Dīn, *Successors*, 184, 185, 188; Thackston, *Compendium*, part 2, 394, 395, 396; Rashid-ad-Din, *Compendium*, vol. 2, 120–121, 122; Di Carpine, *Storia dei Mongoli*, 320, 324–326; Dawson, *Mongol Mission*, 63, 66–67. About Qadaq's personality in general see Juwaynī, *Tarīkh-i Jahān-Gushāy*, vol. 1, 200–201, footnote 8, where Qazvīnī points out that Qadaq was a Naiman, and indeed there are hints of this elsewhere in Juvaynī's text: Juwaynī, *Tārīkh-i Jahān-Gushāy*, vol. 2, 247, quite loosely translated by Boyle: Juvaini, *History*, vol. 2, 511.

[27] There seems to be a certain ambiguity about the precise year of Köten's demise. The passages of Rashīd al-Dīn and Juvaynī noted here state that he died soon after Güyük's election, in another place of *Jāmi al-tawārīkh* Rashīd al-Dīn reports that the prince was still alive when Möngke (1251–1259) ascended the throne, Rashīd al-Dīn, *Jāmi al-tawārīkh*, ed. Karīmī, 445–446, 562; Rashīd al-Dīn, *Jāmi' al-tawārīkh*, ed. Rūshan and Mūsavī, vol. 1, 623–624; Rashīd al-Dīn, *Jāmi' al-tawārīkh*, ed. Rūshan and Mūsavī, vol. 2, 794; Rashīd al-Dīn, *Successors*, 20–21, 170; Thackston, *Compendium*, part 2, 305–306, 387–388; Rashid-ad-Din, *Compendium*, vol. 2, 11, 113. It should also be noted, however, that Rashīd al-Dīn's quoted evidence may not be reliable since it contains other contradictions. According to a Tibetan source Köten died in 1251, *Пагсам-Джонсан: История и хронология Тибета* [Pagsam-Djonsan: History and Chronology of Tibet], Ригби Пубаев, перев., [trans. Rigbi Pubaev] (Novosibirsk: Nauka, 1991), 80; Christopher Atwood pointed out that some sources report his death as late as 1253, Christopher P. Atwood, *Encyclopedia of Mongolia and the Mongol Empire* (New York: Facts on File, 2004), 321. Apparently Köten's death could not have been the immediate cause for Fāṭima's trial, but without doubt his

had already regained his influence at the court,[28] took care to remind Güyük of his brother's message. The khan sent for Fāṭima from his mother's camp, but his mother refused to hand her over and persisted before every subsequent envoy. According to Juvaynī, the relations between mother and son became strained. Eventually, Güyük sent Shīra to fetch Fāṭima and to use force if necessary. "Days and nights" she was kept naked and chained, hungry and thirsty, and suffered various tortures, including bastinado. Finally, the once-powerful favorite confessed the crime of which she had been accused, after which she was wrapped in felt and cast into the river.[29]

In this case it is quite evident that Fāṭima became the victim of a power struggle between the different political circles in the empire – a struggle that she herself had orchestrated so successfully before Güyük's enthronement. Ironically, the attack was inspired by her mistress' favorite son. Incidentally, shortly after Fāṭima's arrest Töregene Khatun also passed away. The attack took the shape of an accusation of witchcraft and the number of persons involved suggests the scale of the coalition against Fāṭima, and apparently against servants of the "old regime" from the interregnum period in general. The direct informer – Shīra – was a servant of Güyük's *ātābek* and there can hardly be any doubt that his actions were coordinated with the great khan. Chinqay's timely intervention also cannot be surprising – as noted above he was among the victims of the reorganization inspired by Fāṭima. Köten played the key role, as his deteriorating health provided evidence for the "crime". Indeed, his health had long suffered, which was one of the reasons for the rejection of his aspirations to the throne.[30] The rumor

health was shaken (see below) and this provided the grounds for the accusation that the prince was bewitched.

[28] This could be deduced from Juvaynī's explicit statement (repeated by Rashīd al-Dīn) in the passage under discussion, as well as by evidence in another part of *Tārīkh-i Jahān-Gushāy* that shows that this official enjoyed considerable influence even as early as the *qurultai* that enthroned Güyük, Juvaynī, *Tārīkh-i Jahān-Gushāy*, vol. 2, 215; Juvaini, *History*, vol. 2, 480. According to another fragment by Juvayni, Chinqai took refuge in Güyük's camp (literally "clung to Güyük's service:" " بخدمت كيوك خان تمسك كرده ") before Güyük was elected great khan, Juvaynī, *Tārīkh-i Jahān-Gushāy*, vol. 2, 241; Juvaini, *History*, vol. 2, 504. Therefore, it is possible that Chinqai moved from Köten's camp to that of Güyük before the assembly.

[29] Juvaynī, *Tārīkh-i Jahān-Gushāy*, vol. 1, 200–201; Juvaini, *History*, vol. 1, 245-246; Rashīd al-Dīn, *Jāmi' al-tawārīkh*, ed. Karīmī, 566; Rashīd al-Dīn, *Jāmi' al-tawārīkh*, eds. Rūshan and Mūsavī, vol. 2, 802-803; Rashīd al-Dīn, *Successors*, 179; Thackston, *Compendium*, part 2, 391; Rashid-ad-Din, *Compendium*, vol. 2, 117.

[30] Juvaynī, *Tārīkh-i Jahān-Gushāy*, vol. 1, 206; Juvaini, *History*, vol. 1, 251; Rashīd al-Dīn, *Jāmi' al-tawārīkh*, ed. Karīmī, 568; Rashīd al-Dīn, *Successors*, 181; Thackston, *Compendium*, part 2, 393.

that Köten suffered from palsy even reached Jūzjānī in India.[31] It seems that the faction around the new khan deliberately used Köten's illness to justify the crackdown against their adversaries. Köten's participation is important as it also reveals certain details of the clash's earlier history. It was precisely this prince who had offered refuge to the disgraced dignitaries, which hints that the faction responsible for Fāṭima's death had already started to form during the interregnum and took the first opportunity for revenge. In this regard, it should be pointed out that despite their rivalry for the throne the two brothers apparently acted in concert against Fāṭima.

Another statement of Rashīd al-Dīn also indicates the political nature of the process. According to him, the inquiry into Fāṭima Khatun was the first to be made after Güyük ascended the throne, even though another sensitive case awaited a verdict – that of Otchigin Noyan. The latter, being the youngest brother of Chingiz Khan and hence one of the oldest and most respected members of the dynasty, tried to seize power by force during the interregnum and throw the whole *Altan Uruq* into disturbance.[32] The fact that on the pages of *Jāmi' al-tawārīkh* the

[31] al-Jūzjānī, *Ṭabaqāt-i Nāṣirī*, ed. Habībī, 169; al-Jūzjānī, *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, 2, trans. Raverty, 1149. The Tibetan Buddhist tradition also states that during the visit of the Buddhist spiritual leader, Sakya Pandita, to Köten's court the latter suffered from an illness that the Tibetan managed to cure and thus the prince converted to Buddhism, John Powers, *Introduction to Tibetan Buddhism*, rev. ed. (Ithaca, NY: Snow Lion Publications), 442–443, 464–465, endnote 14. But the story of the Tibetan sources should doubtlessly be treated with skepticism as it fits too well into the classical topos of a famous spiritual leader miraculously healing a pagan ruler who then adopts the new religion.

[32] Juvaynī, *Tārīkh-i Jahān-Gushāy*, vol. 1, 199–200, 203, 210; Juvaini, *History*, vol. 1, 244, 248, 255; Rashīd al-Dīn, *Jāmi' al-tawārīkh*, ed. Karīmī, 565–566, 567, 569; Rashīd al-Dīn, *Jāmi' al-tawārīkh*, eds. Rūshan and Mūsavī, vol. 2, 801–802, 804, 806; Rashīd al-Dīn, *Successors*, 178, 180, 182; Thackston, *Compendium*, part 2, 391, 392, 393; Rashīd al-Dīn, *Compendium*, vol. 2, 116–117, 118, 119; see also Jackson, *Dissolution*, 198. The precise sequence of events cannot be established with a reasonable degree of certainty. Temüge Otchigin's attempted coup as well as the inquiry and his execution that followed Güyük's enthronement are described by both Juvaynī and Rashīd al-Dīn. But while Juvaynī states that the first inquiry after Güyük's enthronement was that of Otchigin, Rashīd al-Dīn is explicit: "First they held the inquiry of Fāṭima Khatun, second they took up the case of Otchigin," "اول یارغوی فاطمه خاتون پرسیدند و دوم ماجرای اوتچگین پیش گرفتند". Rashīd al-Dīn also states that Fāṭima's trial was the first to be held after the new khan mounted the throne – a statement not found in Juvaynī (see the passages referenced in note 29). Members of Carpini's mission also mentioned the execution of Temüge Otchigin in connection with his attempt to seize the supreme power, but omitted his name and erroneously considered him to be a nephew of Chingiz Khan. What is more important, however, is that both Carpini and de Bridia are unanimous that this happened before Güyük's election: "*Unum*

trial against Fāṭima took precedence over the investigation of an attempted coup by of one of the most prominent members of the Golden Lineage hints that the crackdown against Fāṭima and her circle was of no less political importance and held a priority position in the plans of the new ruler. Perhaps this was why this event was preserved in the Mongol historical memory for nearly five decades, up to the time when the Ilkhanid vizier, Juvaynī, compiled his monumental chronicle.

Perhaps the most important political aspect of the events surrounding the death of Fāṭima Khatun, however, is only mentioned in the last phrases used by the Persian chroniclers to describe this episode of imperial history. According to Juvaynī and Rashīd al-Dīn, everyone who was connected with the fallen favorite also perished. Juvaynī adds that envoys were sent to hunt down people from Mashhad[33] who were connected with the convicted woman, and thereby they were also subjected to repression.[34] This scarce evidence hints that the attack against Fāṭima was only the beginning of the crackdown that also befell her followers. Thus, the accusation of witchcraft actually allowed the rival factions at the imperial court to deliver a decisive blow on a whole circle of administrators and courtiers who had risen to high positions during the interregnum.[35] Apparently, Güyük

---

est quod quicimque in superbiam erectus propria auctoritate sine electionem principium, voluerit esse Imperator, sine ulla miseratione debet occidi. Unde, ante electionem istius Cuyuccan, propter hoc unus de princibus, nepos ipsius Chingiscan, fuit occisus. Volebat enim sine electione regnare," Di Carpine, *Storia dei Mongoli*, 264; Dawson, *Mongol Mission*, 25; "*Item si quis per superbiam auctoritate propria can esse voluerit mox necetur. Ideo ante electionem Cuiuc can nepos Cingis can occisus fuit quia ad imperium aspiravit*," de Bridia, *Tatar Relation.* § 41, 89–90. Although in both friars' texts factual mistakes are not rare, and sometimes they just repeat rumors, their statement cannot easily be ignored. Among the authors quoted they were the only ones who were in the vicinity of the Mongol political center about the same time as these events took place. The sequence of the trials against Fāṭima and Temüge Otchigin, however, cannot be firmly ascertained. What is of significance for the present paper is that Rashīd al-Dīn mentions the inquiry against Fāṭima together with an investigation of a coup d'état and this is doubtless an indication of the political dimensions of the crackdown against Fāṭima.

[33] Among which it seems Fāṭima recruited a considerable number of her followers.

[34] See the passages noted in footnote 29.

[35] Carpini also provides an interesting piece of evidence that Güyük's unnamed paternal aunt was accused of poisoning Ögedei and after the new khan took the throne she and "many others were tried and put to death:" "*Capta enim erat amita imperatoris istius que veneno interfecerat patrem eius … de qua cum aliis pluribus fuit factum iudicium, et fuerunt occisi*," Di Carpine, *Storia dei Mongoli*, 322; cf. the English translation, where due to a mistake in the Latin text the accused is identified as Güyük's mistress instead of his aunt, Dawson, *Mongol Mission*, 65. Some scholars see in this episode a distorted description of the trial against Fāṭima Khatun, de Bridia, *Tatar Realtion*, § 30 p. 83, footnote 2; S. Aksenova and Alexander Yurchenko [С. Аксенова и Александр Юрченко], *Христианский мир и*

found it the most effective way to remove political figures associated with his mother's reign. By orchestrating the purge and restoring the disgraced officials, the new khan aimed to emancipate himself and to emphasize the independence of his rule.[36] It is not by chance that in exactly the same period the sources mention, though outside the context of Fāṭima's trial, the execution of one of her most prominent protégés, 'Abd al-Raḥman, the governor of North China.[37]

Hence, Güyük's ascent to the throne was immediately followed by a purge of high-ranking officials and courtiers who had served during the interregnum. And although these events cannot be compared with the large-scale purges in the reign of Möngke, Güyük's successor, there can be no doubt that they fit the same model – a crackdown on the officials of the old regime.[38] As is evident above, in this respect Güyük's actions were not unlike those of his mother at the beginning of her regency. What is new is that for the first time sources mention an accusation of witchcraft as an argument for eliminating a political adversary and her associates in the high circles of imperial society. Thus, the trial of Fāṭima Khatun turns out to be the first and one of the best-described manifestations of a phenomenon that left a distinct mark on the political history of the Mongol Empire and its successor khanates. The wide opportunities presented by the accusation in such an outragous crime left the door open not only for the physical

«Великая монгольская империя». Материалы францисканской мисии 1245 года [The Christian World and 'the Great Mongol Empire.' Materials of the Franciscan mission of 1245] (Saint Petersburg: Evrazia, 2002), 302–305. Boyle links it with Rashīd al-Dīn's story that Sorcoctany Beki's sister, Ibaka Beki, and her son were accused of poisoning Ögedei. But it should be pointed out that according to Rashīd al-Dīn this accusation did not end with a trial and execution, Rashīd al-Dīn, *Successors*, 65–66, footnote, 293. In his turn, Daffinà (his interpretation seems to be the most reasonable) links this passage with the execution of Ögedei's sister, Altalun, although the circumstances surrounding her death remain unspecified in *Jāmi' al-tawārikh*, Di Carpine, *Storia dei Mongoli*, 490, note 56. Carpini's laconic statement, however, hints that after the new khan took the throne a number of trials were held, ending with numerous executions. It seems probable that Fāṭima's associates were among the executed.

[36] Which of course does not exclude the presence of purely practical motives for the new khan's personal reorganiztion, such as possible administrative incompetence, for example.

[37] Rashīd al-Dīn, *Jāmi' al-tawārikh*, ed. Karīmī, 570; Rashīd al-Dīn, *Jāmi' al-tawārikh*, eds. Rūshan and Mūsavī, vol. 2, 808–807; Rashīd al-Dīn, *Successors*, 183; Thackston, *Compendium*, part 2, 394; Rashid-ad-Din, *Compendium*, vol. 2, 120.

[38] The purges at the beginning of Möngke's reign had unprecedented scale and affected even the members of the Golden Lineage to such an extent that they seriously decimated the Ögedeid and Chaghataid branches, Thomas T. Allsen, *Mongol Imperialism. The Policies of the Grand Qan Möngke on China, Russia and the Islamic Lands, 1251-1259* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987), 30–34.

extinction of a particular opponent, but also for the disgrace and elimination of a whole circle of his or her associates. Thus, persecutions for witchcraft became a particularly effective instrument in clashes between rival factions in the imperial elite, which explains the emergence of a whole line of trials against sorcery among the highest strata of the imperial society. Soon after Fāṭima's death, the witch-hunt flared up the social ladder and doomed to death not only various courtiers, but also the members of the Golden Lineage who stood at the top of the world empire – a phenomenon that has been unduly neglected up to the present day.[39]

[39] With the exception of some limited comments, for example, Elizabeth Endicott-West, "Notes on Shamans, Fortune-tellers and *Yin-yang* Practitioners and Civil Administration in Yüan China," in *The Mongol Empire and its Legacy*, ed. Rouven Amitai-Preiss and David O. Morgan (Leiden: Brill, 2000), 226–227.