

# The Qarāūnās in the Historical Materials of the Īlkhānate

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## Introductory

The word Qarāūnās<sup>(1)</sup> appears in the *Universal History*<sup>(2)</sup> and the *Waṣṣāf History*,<sup>(3)</sup> which are the most important sources concerning the Īlkhānate. The word appears, on the one hand in the expressions, 'a 10,000 strong corps of Qarāūnās' and 'a 1,000 strong unit of Qarāūnās', where it seems as if it is applied to the name of a military unit of the Īlkhānate; on the other hand, it is used for a group of rebels in the Khurāsān area, and for a group of bandits making incursions into the Fārs region. However, Rashīd al-Dīn, the author of the *Universal History*, has absolutely nothing to say about who the Qarāūnās were, while the *Waṣṣāf* only says, extraordinarily obscurely, 'the Qarāūnās are the fiercest of the Mongols and are evil spirits rather than human beings.'<sup>(4)</sup> Thus it remains totally unclear, from these sources, who the Qarāūnās actually were. The name Caraunas also appears in Marco Polo's *The Description of the World* as that of bandits in the Kirmān area.<sup>(5)</sup> This, too, may be thought to have some relationship with the Qarāūnās in the Persian language histories, but the only point in common is 'plunderers in the south eastern region of the Īlkhānate', and nothing appears to suggest a direct link with the troops of the Īlkhānate. In short, the Qarāūnās or Caraunas which appear in the various source

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(1) Qarāūnās, Qarāūnā and Qarāūna are found; I have used Qarāūnās throughout, except in quotations.

(2) The editions and abridgements of the *Universal History* used in this article are as follows:

Rashīd 1: *Jāmi' al-Tavārikh* I, ed. by A. A. Alizade etc., Moskva, 1965.

Rashīd 2: *Jāmi' al-Tavārikh* III, ed. by A. A. Alizade, Baku, 1957. For the 'main chronicles', from that of Ābāqā to that of Ghāzān, I have also consulted the edition of K. Jahn.

Rashīd 3: E. Blochet, *Djami el Tévarikh par Fadl Allah Rashid ed-Din*, Tom II, Leyden & London, 1911. Wherever 'Chronicle of—' appears in the text, the reference is always to the 'main chronicles' of the *Universal History*.

(3) *Tārikh-i Waṣṣāf*, Bombay, 1952-3. Reprinted Tehran, 1960.

(4) *Tārikh-i Waṣṣāf*, p. 118.

(5) A. C. Moule & P. Pelliot: *Marco Polo. The Description of the World*, I-II, London, 1938. vol. I, pp. 121-122.

materials have extremely little in common as to their nature, apart from the name. Moreover, the references to the Qarāūnās in the Persian language sources are divergent as to their activities, the area of their activities and the time of their activities, and they are, furthermore, so fragmentary, that they are too vague to be easily used. As a consequence, no doubt, nobody has hitherto carried out a comprehensive examination of the appearances of Qarāūnās in the Persian language sources, and made the matter clear. D'Ohsson simply cites the word Qarāūnās from the original sources without giving any special consideration to the Qarāūnās, confining himself to pointing out that there is a reference to them in Marco Polo's *The Description of the World*.<sup>(6)</sup> Hammer-Purgstall links Qarāūnās with Qarāūn Chidūn, but does not go beyond this casual thought based on phonetic similarity.<sup>(7)</sup> Howorth, too, introduces the various views held by his predecessors, without proposing any particular view of his own.<sup>(8)</sup> Again, in recent years, both Spuler<sup>(9)</sup> and Boyle<sup>(10)</sup> have cited the name, Qarāūnās, without, in either case, producing a new view. Then there is the view of Yule,<sup>(11)</sup> who looked into the references to the Caraunas in Marco Polo's *The Description of the World*, which amounts to no more than this vague suggestion: 'Perhaps a tribe called Qarānūt, a branch of the Qunqirāt, associated with the Qarāūn Chidūn, which became a military formation, 10,000 strong, in the Īlkhānate, and then turned into bandits based in the south eastern region of the territory, Qarānūt becoming corrupted into Qarāūnās.' Even the great Pelliot, in his *Notes on Marco Polo*, deals with the question of the Qarāūnās, without producing any persuasive explanation.<sup>(12)</sup> Finally, there is the most recent study, that of Aubin, who follows in the footsteps of previous scholars, and completely fails to clarify the vital questions as to just who the Qarāūnās were and what position they occupied, in the Īlkhānate.<sup>(13)</sup>

Studies of the Qarāūnās hitherto are thus extremely nebulous. They are generally focussed on consideration of the reference to Caraunas in Marco Polo's *The Description of the World*, where they are represented as bandits infesting the south eastern region of the Īlkhānate. But there is the question

(6) C. D'Ohsson: *Histoire de Mongols*, I-IV, Amsterdam, 1834-35. vol. IV, p. 46.

(7) J. F. von Hammer-Purgstall: *Geschichte der Ilhāne*, 2 Bande, Darmstadt, 1841-43. vol. 1, p. 309.

(8) H. H. Howorth: *History of the Mongols from the 9th to the 19th century*, I-IV, 5 vols, London, 1876-1927. vol. 3, pp. 388-389.

(9) B. Spuler: *Die Mongolen in Iran*, Leipzig, 1939.

(10) J. A. Boyle: *Dynastic and Political History of the Īl Khāns (The Cambridge History of Iran, vol. V. The Saljuq and Mongol Periods, ed. by J. A. Boyle, Cambridge, 1968, Chapter 4.)*

(11) H. Yule: *The Book of Ser Marco Polo the Venetian concerning the kingdoms and marvels of the East*, I-II, 3rd ed. revised by Henry Cordier, London, 1903. vol. 1, pp. 101-106.

(12) P. Pelliot: *Notes on Marco Polo I*, Paris, 1959, §122 'Caraunas', pp. 183-196.

(13) J. Aubin: *L'Ethnogenèse des Qaraunas, Turcica I*, 1969, pp. 65-94.

of 'Qarāūnās' being used, on the one hand, as the name of a military unit of the Īlkhānate, and appearing, on the other hand, as rebels in the south eastern region of the Īlkhānate, indeed, as marauding invaders of that area, opposed to the Īlkhāns. This question is not one to be considered simply as an episode in Marco Polo's *The Description of the World*. It should be handled as a vital question in the history of the Īlkhānate. And I think its elucidation can only be possible if we start by arranging and using the Persian language material, in particular the *Universal History*, which is so fragmentary and also divergent as to be difficult to deal with. In this way Marco Polo's references, once taken together with those of the *Universal History*, should also become somewhat more comprehensible.

So I now propose to give some discussion to, principally, the references in the *Universal History* in order to find out just who the Qarāūnās were, and what significance their variously described activities had in the history of Īlkhānate.

## CHAPTER I

As has already been said, the references to the Qarāūnās in the *Universal History* are so fragmentary and also so divergent that it is not possible to use them to argue just who the Qarāūnās were. I hope to proceed with my argument by putting order into these references to the Qarāūnās.

### Section 1

There are two passages in the 'Study of Tribes' in the *Universal History* where we find the expression, Commander of the 10,000 strong body of the Qarāūnās (*amīr-i tūmān-i Qarāūnās*). First, in the 'Study of the Mankqūt Tribe':<sup>(14)</sup>

'Jadaī Nūyān,<sup>(15)</sup> [commander of the 1,000 strong corps of the Tūlūi family, of the Mankqūt tribe] lived till the time of Ūktāi Qāān, and was in the service of the persons of the sons of Sūrquqtanī Bikī and Tūlūi Khān. (...) Among the descendants of Jadaī Nūyān in this country [of Īrān] there was Mankqūdāi. He was the father of Qutlughshāh Nūyān [the powerful *amīr* of Ghāzān Khān] and commander of the 1,000 strong body of the Mankqūt tribe. Mankqūdāi's brother, Hūlqūtū Qūrchī, was a guard commander (*amīr-i kezīk*) and also became com-

(14) Rashīd 1: pp. 508-509.

(15) Words in [ ] have been supplied by the writer to render the meaning of the original text easier to understand.

mander of the 10,000 strong corps of Qarāūnās.'

Next, in the 'Study of the Īldūrkin Tribe':<sup>(16)</sup>

'This tribe is a branch of the Sūldūs. At the time of Jīnkīz Khān, [it] fought against Ūnk Khān, was defeated, and, on reaching the region of [Lake] Bāljiūna, sent an envoy to Ūnk Khān, and a great many letters were given to him. (...) The envoy at this time was named Harqai Jīūn, a man of this tribe. (...) Hindū Bītikchī, who was commander of the 10,000 strong corps of the Qarāūnās in the Bādghīs region of Khurāsān, in this country [of Īrān] was of the same tribe as Harqai Jīūn and was a descendant of a cousin of his.'

These two items enable us to know the names of two 'commanders of a 10,000 strong body of Qarāūnās', Hūlqūtū Qūrchī and Hindū Bītikchī. However, all we learn is that Hindū Bītikchī occupied Bādghīs region and that Hūrqūtū Qūrchī also became a guard commander; on such concrete matters as the nature of the '10,000 strong corps of Qarāūnās' or the period of their existence, we learn nothing whatever.

The expression 'commander of a 10,000 strong corps of Qarāūnās' appears only in the two passage cited above in the *Universal History*, but we find the expression, 10,000 strong corps of Qarāūnās (*tūmān-i lashkar-i Qarāūnās, tūmān-i Qarāūnās*), in the various 'main chronicles'. We may doubtless suppose that the controller of this 10,000 strong corps of Qarāūnās was the 'commander of a 10,000 strong corps of Qarāūnās', so I now propose to set out the references to the 10,000 strong corps of Qarāūnās found in the 'main chronicles', and see how they can be linked with the two references to 'commander of a 10,000 strong corps of Qarāūnās' found in the 'Study of Tribes'.

First, there is the following fragment in the 'Chronicle of Aḥmad':<sup>(17)</sup>

1. 'The 10,000 strong corps of Qarāūna, which serves the *ordu* of Ābāqā Khān, and is a military unit directly subordinate to Ābāqā Khān, stationed at Baghdād in winter and Siāhkūh in summer . . .'

We next find, also in the 'Chronicle of Aḥmad, the following account of the occasion when Prince Arghūn, who had fought with Aḥmad Khān in 1284 and been placed under house arrest in the Khurāsān area, was rescued and moved towards Ādherbaijān in order to subjugate Aḥmad Khān:<sup>(18)</sup>

2. 'When the princes and *amīr* killed Alīnāq [a powerful *amīr* of Aḥmad Khān], they sent the chief official of Iṣfahān, Būra, to the 10,000 strong

(16) Rashīd 1: pp. 456-457.

(17) Rashīd 2: p. 175.

(18) Rashīd 2: pp. 190-193.

corps of Qarāūna, which had gone to the Siāhkūh area, with the message, "make an expedition and the capture Aḥmad." (. . .) When Būra reached (the 10,000 strong corps of) Qarāūna, they, too, launched an expedition immediately and set off to find Aḥmad. (. . .) «<sup>(19)</sup> Aḥmad, for his part went back to his own *ordu* by way of Sharūyāz, but he was captured by Shīktūr Nūyān and held in close confinement.» Suddenly after that, a unit of the Qarāūna arrived, and seized all [Aḥmad's] *ordu*, and no trace but ashes was left of the *yūrt*. Then [the Qarāūna] stripped [Aḥmad's mother] Qutūi Khātūn and [his concubines] Tūdāi Khātūn and Armanī Khātūn naked, and 2,000 of them were assigned to guard Aḥmad.'

We then find the following reference to a contemporary matter in the *Waṣṣāf History*:<sup>(20)</sup>

3. 'When Arghūn [who had gone in pursuit of Aḥmad Khān] reached the neighbourhood of Muslmī, Qarānqāi [Qarābūqāi in the *Universal History*] and Shīktūr, together with a unit of Qarāūnās, led out the sultan [Aḥmad] bound to greet Arghūn.'

We next find, in the 'Chronicle of Ghāzān' a passage concerning the time when, in 1295, Prince Ghāzān and Bāidū Khān, moved their armies from the Khurāsān region to that of Ādherbaijan and confronted one another, and finally the *amīr* of the two met and came to an agreement. This reads, in part, as follows:<sup>(21)</sup>

4. 'When the *amīr* [came back from the meeting and] submitted the proposals from Bāidū's side, Ghāzān spoke as follows: "If Ṭughāchār will also come back, together with the 10,000 strong corps of Qarāūna, who were *injū* under the direct control of Arghūn Khān, I am prepared to wind up these discussions and return [to the Khurāsān area]." [Thereupon] Bāidū replied as follows to the *amīr* [of Ghāzān] who had gone to his place: "Prince Ghāzān would also doubtless agree that Arghūn Khān has treated me, too, just like a son of his own [all his life]. Arghūn Khān has attached *amīr* to each of his sons and established their winter quarters. But Ṭughāchār, together with a 10,000 strong corps of Qarāūna, has always been with me at Baghdād. This has been clearly decided by the orders of Arghūn Khān and is a settled matter." [On hearing this] Ghāzān and his *amīr* agreed to it all, and said, "In the matter [of the 10,000 strong corps of Qarāūnās], which has [already] been decided, I commit them [to your charge], and myself will return [to the Khurāsān area]." (. . .) He then sent greetings, "I am going back by the Siāhkūh

(19) Words in « » are the present writer's summary of the text.

(20) *Tārīkh-i Waṣṣāf*: p. 136.

(21) *Rashīd* 2: pp. 291-292.

road." Bāidū and his *amīr* were not satisfied [with this]. This was because there were units of Qarāūna at Siāhkūh, and they were afraid that, when Ghāzān Khān<sup>(22)</sup> passed through the place, these units might combine under Ghāzān and start another rebellion. Thereupon, [Bāidū Khān] sent Pūlād Chīnksānk with the message, "Ghāzān should return by the road by which he came."

Let us now correlate these four pieces of information as follows:

1. The 10,000 strong corps of Qarāūnās were troops under the direct control of Ābāqā Khān, with summer quarters at Siāhkūh and winter quarters at Baghdād, and they were in the service of Ābāqā Khān's *ordu*.
- 2, 3. When, in 1284, Prince Arghūn was rescued from house arrest in the Khurāsān area, and went in pursuit of Aḥmad Khān in the direction of Ādherbajjān, the 10,000 strong corps of Qarāūnās, which was stationed at Siāhkūh, cooperated with Arghūn.
4. The 10,000 strong corps of Qarāūnās, which had entered the *injū* under the direct control of Arghūn Khān, went into winter quarters at Baghdād together with the *amīr* Ṭughāchār, and Prince Bāidū accompanied them. In 1295, Prince Ghāzān and Bāidū Khān made a treaty, and established that the 10,000 strong corps of Qarāūnās, together with Ṭughāchār, should come under the control of Bāidū Khān, and at this time this body was stationed at Siāhkūh.

If all this is taken together, I think that one can make the following statement about the 10,000 strong corps of Qarāūnās:

'They were originally a body of troops, directly attached to Ābāqā Khān, with summer quarters at Siāhkūh and winter quarters at Baghdād. After the death of Ābāqā, they cooperated with his son, Arghūn, and helped in the pursuit and subjugation of Aḥmad Khān. After the accession of Arghūn Khān, they entered the *injū* directly attached to Arghūn Khān; they came under the command of the *amīr*, Ṭughāchār, and, as in the previous reign, were stationed at Siāhkūh or Baghdād, until the time of Bāidū Khān. In 1295, Prince Ghāzān and Bāidū Khān concluded an agreement, and it was decided that this 10,000 strong corps, which had long had close relations with Bāidū Khān, should come under the command of the latter.'

## Section 2

The next question concerns the two men mentioned in the items from the 'Study of Tribes' quoted above: 'Hūlqūtū Qūrchī, who was a guard commander and became also 'commander of a 10,000 strong corps of

(22) Though the text has 'Ghāzān Khān', he had of course not succeeded to the throne at this time.

Qarāūnās'; and, 'Hindū Bītikchī, commander of a 10,000 strong corps of Qarāūnās stationed in the Bādghīs area of Khurāsān'. What was the relationship between these commanders of 10,000 strong corps of Qarāūnās' and the '10,000 strong corps of Qarāūnās directly attached to the Khān'?

In this connection, there is the following quotation from the 'Study of the Sūnīt Tribe', where a 10,000 strong corps and a 1,000 strong unit are listed as having joined in Chūrmaghūn's Īrān expedition,<sup>(23)</sup> which took place in 1228 during the regency period of Tūlūi:<sup>(24)</sup>

'Another *amīr* [to join Chūrmaghūn's expedition] was Chaghatāi Kūchek. At this time,<sup>(25)</sup> [Jīnkīz Khān's son], Chaghatāi died and his name became taboo. Since Chaghatāi Kūchek was of the Sūnīt tribe, he was subsequently called Sūnitāi. He was at first chief of a 1,000 strong unit, but on the death of Ṭughāchār's father, Qūtūbūqā, [the Khān] grante him the place. (...) On the death of Sūnitāi, his place was given to Hūlqūtū Qūrchī, the uncle of Qutlughshāh, of the Mankqūt tribe. Then, in Arghūn's time, the place was given to Ṭughāchār. This was then entrusted to Alādū by Ghāzān Khān, emperor of Islām.'

This tells us that, on the occasion of Chūrmaghūn's Īrān expedition in 1228, in Tūlūi's regency period, Sūnitāi of the Sūnīt tribe took part as chief of 1,000 strong unit, and that he was also active as such later at the time of Hūlāgū's expedition; that on the death of Qūtūbūqā he succeeded to the latter's place; that after Sūnitāi the place was succeeded to by Hūlqūtū Qūrchī of the Mankqūt tribe; and that it passed successively, in Arghūn Khān's reign, to Ṭughāchār, and again, in Ghāzān Khān's reign to Alādū.

Nothing is said here of what was the place to which Sūnitāi, chief of a 1,000 strong unit at the time of Chūrmaghūn's expedition, succeeded after Qūtūbūqā. But it is clear that, among the *amīr* cited here, 'Hūlqūtū Qūrchī, uncle of Qutlughshāh Nūyān of the Mankqūt tribe' may be identified with 'Hūlqūtū Qūrchī, brother of Qutlughshāh Nūyān's father, Mankqūdāi, who became a guard commander and chief of a '10,000 corps of Qarāūnās' of the 'Study of the Mankqūt Tribe', previously quoted; and that there is identification between 'Ṭughāchār who succeeded to the place of Hūlqūtū Qūrchī in the reign of Arghūn Khān' and 'Ṭughāchār, who was in charge of a 10,000 strong corps of Qarāūnās, who had entered the *injū* directly attached to

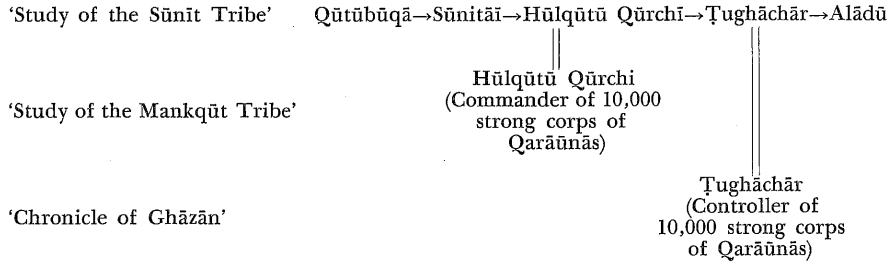
(23) For the date of Chūrmaghūn's Iran expedition, we may refer to the *Shēng-wu ch'inchēng lu* 聖武親征錄 (Record of Jīnkīz Khān's personal expeditions) (Wang Kuo-wei 王國維, *Mēng-ku shih-liao chia-chu ssū-shu* 蒙古史料校注四種—'Four documents for Mongol history, with commentary', T'aipei, 1962), p. 201:

'In the year *wu-tzū* (1228), the emperor T'ai-tsung (Ūktāi) consulted with his brother (Tūlūi), and sent Chūrmaghūn on another expedition to the western regions.' So we know that it started in 1228.

(24) Rashīd 1: pp. 156-157.

(25) In 1242.

Arghūn Khān', also previously cited in the 'Chronicle of Ghāzān'. There can thus be no room for doubt that the account in the 'Study of the Sūnīt Tribe' records changes in commanders who were 'commanders of 10,000 strong corps of Qarāūnās directly attached to the Khān', as correlated in Section I.



We thus now know the names and the order of five men who were 'commanders of 10,000 strong corps of Qarāūnās' which were 'directly attached to the Khān' and had summer quarters at Siāhkūh and winter quarters at Baghdād. The name of Hūlqūtū Qūrchi, cited in the 'Study of the Mankūṭ Tribe', appears, but that of 'Hindū Bītikchī, commander of a '10,000 strong corps of Qarāūnās, stationed in the Bādghīs area of Khurāsān', of the 'Study of the İldürkīn Tribe', does not. It is stated that 'the 10,000 strong corps of Qarāūnās directly attached to the Khān' has summer and winter quarters at Siāhkūh and Baghdād respectively. But it is also stated that Hindū Bītikchī, 'commander of a 10,000 strong corps of Qarāūnās', was stationed in the Bādghīs area. This being so, would the 10,000 strong corps of Qarāūnās under the command of Hindū Bītikchī be quite a different thing from the '10,000 strong corps of Qarāūnās directly attached to the Khān'? Or might it be that Hindū Bītikchī too was one of the commanders of 'the 10,000 strong corps of Qarāūnās directly attached to the Khān', since it so happens that his being stationed in the Bādghīs area is recorded at the time when the Khān's *ordu* was moved to the Bādghīs area?

In order to resolve this problem, it is necessary to collate the dates and activities of the five men previously shown to have been 'commanders of the 10,000 strong corps of Qarāūnās directly attached to the Khān' with the date and activities of Hindū Bītikchī, investigate the nature of the two 10,000 strong corps, and ascertain whether or not there is a direct connection between them.

We will start by looking at the five who were commanders of 'the 10,000 strong corps directly attached to the Khān'. Of them, we know that Ṭughāchār, who was said to have become commander of the 10,000 strong corps during the reign of Arghūn Khān (1284–1291), was also in that position at the time when Ghāzān fought with Bāidu Khān in 1295, from the record, cited above, in the 'Chronicle of Ghāzān'. However, there is an item pertinent to the time at which he became commander of the 10,000 corps in the *Waṣṣāf*



*History*, dealing with events immediately subsequent to Aḥmad Khān's (1282–1284) accession:<sup>(26)</sup>

'[Prince Arghūn] gave Ṭughāchār a drum and a flag and appointed him chief of a 10,000 strong corps. Thus the troops of the Qarāūnās—who had the nature of evil spirits and were not human, there being none among the Mongols so ferocious as they—came under the command of Ṭughāchār.'

There is some ground for supposing his appointment to have dated from the time of Aḥmad Khān. However, according to the 'Chronicle of Aḥmad', Ṭughāchār had been seized by Aḥmad Khān's men in Baghdād and imprisoned in Tabrīz before the conflict between Arghūn and Aḥmad Khān, and was liberated after the overthrow of Aḥmad Khān by Arghūn.<sup>(27)</sup> So even if he did become 'commander of the 10,000 strong corps of Qarāūnās' in Aḥmad Khān's reign, one may suppose that he had almost no opportunity to exert control over the corps at this period, and that he effectively became 'commander of a 10,000 strong corps of Qarāūnās', as recorded in the 'Study of the Sūnīt Tribe', in Arghūn Khān's reign, probably just after his accession. However this may be, we would probably do well to regard Ṭughāchār as having been in the position of 'commander of a 10,000 strong corps of Qarāūnās' from round about the accession of Arghūn Khān to immediately before that of Ghāzān Khān. And the period during which Alādū was in the position, in the succeeding reign of Ghāzān Khān, is also quite clear. But questions arise as to the dates and activities of Ṭughāchār's three predecessors in this appointment. The information concerning them is extremely sparse, but happily it proves adequate on the whole.

First, there is a single item concerning Hūlqūtū, Ṭughāchār's immediate predecessor, in the 'Chronicle of Ābāqā'. This is the following item concerning the sequel to the death of Shamus al-Dīn Muḥammad Kurt in 676 by the Mohammedan calendar (1277–78). He was the head of the Herāt house, Kurt,<sup>(28)</sup> and was arrested and died in prison in Tabrīz:<sup>(29)</sup>

'[On hearing the news of the death of Shamus al-Dīn Muḥammad Kurt, Ābāqā Khān] spoke as follows: "He's a cunning fellow. It's just possible that he's shamming dead in order to escape." So Hūlqūtū, the *amīr* in waiting (*amīr-i masās*) went out, nailed down the coffin firmly, and buried it.'

(26) *Tārīkh-i Waṣṣāf*: p. 118.

(27) *Rashīd* 2: p. 178, 193.

(28) Detailed information on the house of Kurt is to be found in Minobu Honda 本田實信, 'The establishment of the authority of Kurt in Herat へラートのクルト政權の成立', (*Tōyō-shi Kenkyū* 東洋史研究, 21-2, 1962).

(29) *Rashīd* 2: p. 150.

From this item it emerges that at the end of Ābāqā Khān's reign (1277–78), Hūlqūtū was personally attendant on the Khān as 'amīr-in-waiting'.

With regard to Hūlqūtū's predecessor, Sūnitāi, there is an item in the *Waṣṣāf History* for the time when Ābāqā Khān's troops, personally led by him from the Ādherbaijān region, fought with the Barāq troops from Chaghatāi Khān's country, which had invaded the Khurāsān area:<sup>(30)</sup>

'Sūnitāi Nū'yan dismounted from his horse, sat on a chair, and spoke as follows: "Have I anything to say to each of the soldiers who are going to endure the hardships of the field of battle this day? [Nothing. Just fight, that is all.] God knows [the destiny] of each one. And so does the heart of Chinkīz Khān. Will we not all here prepare to lay down our lives in the face of the enemy?"'

This tells us that at the time of the Barāq invasion of Khurāsān in 1269, Sūnitāi was active in the heart of Ābāqā's army. It is recorded in the *Pure Garden*<sup>(31)</sup> that Sūnitāi was 90 years old at this time, and it is certain that 40 years had passed since he had accompanied Chūrmāghūn at the head of a thousand men, so that he must have been of a considerable age at the time of the Barāq invasion of Khurāsān.

To continue, with regard to Sūnitāi's predecessor, Qūtūbūqā, we find the following in the 'Study of the Bārīn Tribe':<sup>(32)</sup>

'The renowned Qūtūbūqā Nūyān, great *amīr*, son of Ṭāmūqa Nūyān [of the same tribe as Ūkar Qalja and Qūtūs Qalja, chiefs of units of one thousand men of the house of Tūlūi].'

We thus learn that he was a powerful *amīr* of the Bārīn tribe, but no date is given. In the 'main chronicles' there is only a single passage concerning him, in the 'Chronicle of Ābāqā', but this enables us to ascertain his date definitely.

This is the following passage concerning the fighting with the army of the country of Qipchāq Khān, one month after the accession of Ābāqā Khān (1265–1282):<sup>(33)</sup>

'Prince Yashmūt [third son of Hūlāgū] (...) on the orders [of his elder brother Ābāqā] marched out to repel Nūqāi [of the country of Qipchāq Khān]. So he crossed the river Kur and the two armies met at Chaghān Mūrān, known as Āqsū. The two sides deployed their strength and fought, with a large number of killed in both armies. Qūtūbūqā, the father of Ṭughāchar Āqā fought fiercely in this battle and was finally killed.'

(30) *Tārikh-i Waṣṣāf*: p. 74.

(31) *Mīrkhwānd*: *Raūzat al-Ṣafā*, 10 vols, Teheran 1960, vol. 5, p. 306.

(32) *Rashīd* 1: pp. 528–529.

(33) *Rashīd* 2: pp. 103–104.

From this it is clear that Qūtūbūqā was active in the heart of Ābāqā's army, and, on the occasion of Qipchāq Khān's army's invasion in 1265, died in battle.

So, it is clear that Qūtūbūqā, Sūnitāi and Hūlqūtū, the three chiefs of the 10,000 strong corps, named as the predecessors of Ṭughāchār, were each of them in the personal service of Ābāqā Khān, were at the heart of his armies, participating in important military operations. The period covered by the three extends from immediately after Ābāqā Khān's accession in 1265 to about 1278, thus covering the greater part of Ābāqā Khān's reign (1265–1282). This accords with the statement in the 'Chronicle of Aḥmad', 'The 10,000 strong corps of Qarāūnās was a force directly attached to Ābāqā Khān and was in the service of Ābāqā Khān's *ordu*.'

The periods of activity of the five commanders of the '10,000 strong corps of Qarāūnās directly attached to the Khān' are thus broadly clear, while, as has already been stated, the names of their tribes are also clear, Qūtūbūqā and Ṭughāchār, father and son, being *amīr* of the Bārīn tribe, Sūnitāi of the Sūnīt tribe, and Hūlqūtū Qūrchī of the Mankqūt tribe.

As for Alādū, as will be mentioned later, the name appears as that of an *amīr* of the Tātār tribe in the 'Study of the Tātār Tribe'.<sup>(34)</sup> We can now set out this information about the five 'commanders of the 10,000 strong corps of Qarāūnās directly attached to the Khān' as follows:

1. Qūtūbūqā (Bārīn tribe). At the centre of Ābāqā's armies in 1265, died in battle with the army of the country of Qipchāq Khān.
2. Sūnitāi (Sūnīt tribe). Active at the centre of Ābāqā's armies in battle with the Barāq troops of the country of Chaghatāi Khān in 1269.
3. Hūlqūtū Qūrchī (Mankqūt tribe). Service on the person of Ābāqā Khān as '*amīr*-in-waiting', 1278.
4. Ṭughāchār (Bārīn tribe). Activity confirmed from immediately after the accession of Arghūn Khān in 1284 until the reign of Bāidū Khān in 1295.
5. Alādū (Tātār tribe). Took the post of commander of the 10,000 strong corps during the reign of Ghāzān Khān (1295–1304).

The foregoing enables us to make the following points:

- A. Qūtūbūqā and Ṭughāchār were both *amīr* of the Bārīn tribe, and were father and son, but the others were all of different tribes.
- B. We know from statements in the 'Study of Tribes'<sup>(35)</sup> that Sūnitāi, Hūlqūtū Qūrchī and Ṭughāchār all had sons, but the position of commander of a 10,000 strong corps did not pass to their sons.
- C. Ṭughāchār, the son of Qūtūbūqā, did become commander of a 10,000 strong corps after Qūtūbūqā, but this was about 20 years after his father's death in battle, and with two intervening chiefs in the position.

In short, we can say that the position of 'commander of the 10,000 strong

(34) Rashīd I: p. 189.

(35) Rashīd I: p. 157, 509, 529.

corps of Qarāūnās directly attached to the Khān' was not handed down in any particular tribe or family line.

Then what sort of people were they who occupied the position of commander of a 10,000 strong corps? We know from an item in the 'Study of the Mankqūt Tribe', already cited, that Hūlqūtū was also a guard commander, and another item, also already cited, in the 'Chronicle of Ābāqā' speaks of him as 'amīr-in-waiting' to Ābāqā Khān; and it would seem in the first place quite correct to regard him as having been also a guard commander of Ābāqā Khān. Then we find the following concerning Ṭughāchār in the 'Chronicle of Aḥmad':<sup>(36)</sup>

‘Ṭughāchār (. . .) Qūnchaqbāl and other personal guards (*keziktān*) and followers of Ābāqā Khān . . .’

and this shows that he too was originally in the personal service of Ābāqā Khān.

Taking these various matters into consideration, I think we can say that, whereas the position of commander of an ordinary 10,000 or 1,000 strong body, combining the functions of tribal chief and army commander, was hereditary, the control over a 10,000 strong body of Qarāūnās, which was incorporated in the *injū* directly attached to the Khān, was entrusted to an *amīr-in-waiting* to the Khān, and the position was in principle not hereditary. In so far as can be judged from the sparse materials, it can be said that the commanders of the '10,000 strong corps of Qarāūnās directly attached to the Khān', engaged in action in very close collaboration with the Khān; and we can find no particular stations for their units apart from Siāhkūh and Baghdād, previously cited, nor confirm any particular link with the Bādghīs area.

### Section 3

As pointed out above, we cannot confirm any particular connection between the '10,000 strong corps of Qarāūnās directly attached to the Khān' and the Bādghīs area. But I propose to go on to investigate the date and activity of Hindū Bitikchī 'commander of a 10,000 strong corps of Qarāūnās' stationed in the Bādghīs area, and discuss the relationship with the '10,000 strong corps of Qarāūnās directly attached to the Khān'. There is no information whatever about his date in the 'Study of the Īldürkīn Tribe' previously cited, and it is therefore necessary to rely on information in the 'main chronicles' on this point, but the material is sparse.

First of all, we find the following item in a passage from the 'Chronicle of Hūlāgū' in connection with the attack on Baghdād in 1258:<sup>(37)</sup>

(36) Rashīd 2: p. 175.

(37) Rashīd 2: p. 58.

‘Powerful persons of the city appeared [before Hūlāgū] and begged for clemency in the following terms: “Many people are swearing allegiance. Please show them kindness. For the Khalīfa is sending his sons [as hostages] and is proposing to appear himself in his own person.” In the very middle of this address, an arrow flew into the eye of one of the powerful *amīr*, Hindū Bītikchī. Hūlāgū Khān was extraordinarily angry [about this].’

It is clear from this passage that in 1258, at the time of the attack on Baghdād, Hindū Bītikchī was attendant on the person of Hūlāgū as one of the powerful *amīr*.

There is next the following passage in the ‘Chronicle of Aḥmad’ giving an account of the occasion when, after the death of Ābāqā Khān in 1282, Aḥmad’s succession was decided, and Prince Arghūn went back to the Khurāsān area:<sup>(38)</sup>

‘When [Prince Arghūn] arrived at Māzandarān, Amkāchī Nūyān came out to welcome him with a unit of ten thousand. Prince Arghūn recalled Hindū Nūyān, who was on defence duty on the bank of the river Āmūya with 20,000 troops,<sup>(39)</sup> and he addressed the two of them as follows: “When my father was alive, he recalled me, and I therefore set out in accordance with his orders, unaccompanied by troops. However, when I reached Ādherbaījān, my father was dead, and the decision about the throne of the Khān had already been taken. Having no troops, I was obliged, inevitably, to agree. If now you, with your powerful swords, will recover my father’s throne from him [Aḥmad Khān] who won it, I will prove grateful for your exertions” (...). [To this,] Hindū Nūyān replied as follows: “The situation is as Your Highness the Prince has pronounced, but Aḥmad Khān is one of your superiors.<sup>(40)</sup> Let Aḥmad be said to have succeeded to the throne in that area [Ādherbaījān], while you issue orders in this area [Khurāsān]. On the subject of the succession to the throne of the Khān, please listen to an old man’s words. If Aḥmad were to send [troops] in your direction, we, your servants, would be at your disposal even unto death.”’

There is here, first of all, no question about the identification of the person described as ‘Hindū Nūyān at the head of 20,000 on defence on the bank of the Āmūya river’, with ‘Hindū Bītikchī, commander of a 10,000 strong corps of Qarāūnās, stationed in the Bādghīs area of Khurāsān’, in the ‘Study of the Ildūrkin Tribe’. The foregoing passage is for 1282, so that 24 years had elapsed since Hindū Bītikchī had taken part as a leading *amīr* in the attack

(38) Rashīd 2: pp.175–176.

(39) Amū Daryā, Amu river 阿姆河.

(40) ‘aqā’ in the original.

on Baghdād, and so refers to himself as an 'old man'.

It is thus clear that Hindū Bītikchī, 'commander of a 10,000 strong corps of Qarāūnās' was an *amīr* in personal attendance on Hūlāgū at the time of the attack on Baghdād in 1258, and that, immediately after the accession of Aḥmad Khān in 1282, he was stationed on the bank of the Āmūya river at the head of 20,000 troops. This year, 1282, is situated between 1278, when we know of the activities of Hūlqūtu Qūrchī as the third 'commander of a 10,000 strong corps of Qarāūnās directly attached to the Khān', and the year 1284, when it is to be supposed that Ṭughāchār took the position of the fourth chief of the 10,000 strong corps. It has already been related how in 1284 Arghūn was placed under house arrest by Aḥmad Khān's faction in the Khurāsān area, and how, when he was rescued, he went in pursuit of Aḥmad Khān, and the '10,000 strong corps of Qarāūnās directly attached to the Khān' cooperated with him, but the name of the commander of the corps at this time was not recorded. Even if, according to *Waṣṣāf*, Ṭughāchār, the fourth commander of the 10,000 strong corps, is held to have been commander of the corps in the time of Aḥmad Khān, he had been, as already related, seized and imprisoned in Tabrīz, at the time when Arghūn was pursuing Aḥmad Khān, so he could not have been in command of 'the 10,000 strong corps of Qarāūnās directly attached to the Khān' at this particular moment. This being so, it may be that it was Hūlqūtu Qūrchī, the third commander of the corps, who was in command of the 10,000 strong corps at this time. But the material is poor, and there is absolutely no proof that it was he. On the one hand, as already related, Arghūn, who had returned to Khurāsān on the accession of Aḥmad Khān in 1282, requested the cooperation of Hindū Bītikchī, chief of the 10,000 strong corps of Qarāūnās stationed on the bank of the river Āmūya, in connection with the overthrow of Aḥmad Khān, but Hindū Bītikchī said that he should not fight with Aḥmad Khān, and refused the request to cooperate. However, he had sworn that 'if Aḥmad Khān led troops against Arghūn, he would be at his disposal even unto death'. If this is right then it can be said that there is the possibility that the '10,000 strong corps of Qarāūnās directly attached to the Khān', stationed at Siāhkūh, which cooperated with Arghūn in 1284 in his overthrow of Aḥmad Khān, was the '10,000 strong corps of Qarāūnās' led by Hindū Bītikchī, and that thus the '10,000 strong corps of Qarāūnās directly attached to the Khān' was the same thing as the '10,000 strong corps of Qarāūnās' led by Hindū Bītikchī. Next, in order to make it clear whether or not the two were the same, I propose to investigate further the '10,000 strong corps of Qarāūnās' as it appears in the records about 1284, and the activities of Hindū Bītikchī.

In 1284, Prince Arghūn had a skirmish with the advance guard of Aḥmad Khān's army in the Abhar area, after which he fled to the Khurāsān area, but he was eventually pursued and seized by Aḥmad Khān's main body, and

placed under house arrest. However, through the treachery of Aḥmad Khān's powerful *amīr* Būqā, he escaped and went in pursuit of Aḥmad Khān. As has already been related, the '10,000 strong corps of Qarāūnās directly attached to the Khān', stationed at this time at Siāhkūh, cooperated with Arghūn, but we find the following account, in the 'Chronicle of Aḥmad' of what occurred immediately before Arghūn's engagement with Aḥmad Khān's advance guard in the Abhar area, three or four months previously:<sup>(41)</sup>

'Arghūn sent an emissary to Naūrūz [son of Arghūn Āqā] saying, "Come after me with the 10,000 Qarāūna troops which are under your command," and requested Hindū Nūyān [to set out], with the [Qarāūna] troops.'

From this passage we learn that, in accordance with the agreement of 1282, Arghūn was requesting Hindū Bītikchī, 'commander of the 10,000 strong corps of Qarāūnās' to set his troops in motion on the occasion of the advance of Aḥmad Khān's troops. And, again, we learn that Naūrūz, son of Arghūn Aqā, 'Governor-General of Khurāsān' at the time of Hūlāgū's expedition, was also in command of a '10,000 strong corps of Qarāūnās'.

After the skirmish with Aḥmad Khān's advance guard in the Abhar area, Arghūn's troops went eastwards; the 'Chronicle of Aḥmad' is once more the source for what happened when they reached the Reī area, in the following passage:<sup>(42)</sup>

'[Arghūn] reflected, "If, when our troops reach their garrison or encampment, the Qarāūna troops come and join us from their place, then we would fight Aḥmad's army at Kālpūsh above Jājāram, even if it came on us from the rear. If we can succeed in this fashion, why should we leave our horses resting at home?" And he withdrew [eastwards]. When he reached Dāmghān, he could see no sign of the Qarāūna [troops]. This was because on the way [the Qarāūna] had heard that Arghūn's troops had been defeated, and they had, therefore, returned, and plundered on the way.'

There is also the following passage concerning the events of this same time in the *Waṣṣāf History*:<sup>(43)</sup>

'The troops of the Qarāūnās arrived at that time, but, when they learnt of the prince's situation [Arghūn's defeat], they returned. They then began on their customary atrocities, destroying and looting with great ferocity. They set fire to the Dāmghān area and ravaged it.'

It is not clear from these sources whether the Qarāūnās troops who did not

(41) Rashīd 2: p. 180.

(42) Rashīd 2: pp. 181-182.

(43) *Tārīkh-i Waṣṣāf*: p. 129.

cooperate with Arghūn at Dāmghān and withdrew, ravaging the country,' were those under the command of Hindū Bītikchī or under that of Naūrūz, but it is quite certain that there were 'Qarāūnās troops' who did not respond to Arghūn's request for cooperation. It is not clear from these sources alone whether the 'Qarāūnās troops', who withdrew from Dāmghān ravaging the country, were those under the command of Hindū Bītikchī or under that of Naūrūz, but there is a passage in the 'Chronicle of Aḥmad', a little later than that about the ravages of the 'Qarāūnās troops' at Dāmghān, in which it is recorded that Naūrūz coordinated his actions with Arghūn.<sup>(44)</sup> So I think that the 'Qarāūnās troops' who ravaged at Dāmghān and withdrew, without cooperating with Arghūn, were probably not the Qarāūnās troops led by Naūrūz. It follows that the Qarāūnās troops who ravaged Dāmghān and withdrew, without cooperating with Arghūn, may be regarded as those under the command of Hindū Bītikchī. There is supporting material for this in the *Herāt Records*.

According to the *Herāt Records*, 'In 1284, Hindū Nūyān killed Tāitimūr, commander of a 10,000 strong corps backed up by Arghūn's influence. He was pursued by the *amīr* stationed at Bādghīs and fled to the city of Khaīsār in Herāt, but he was captured in 1285, and handed over to Arghūn Khān'.<sup>(45)</sup> This was just at the time, in 1284, of the accession of Arghūn, who had narrowly managed to win his victory over Aḥmad Khān with the treacherous complicity of Būqā. So it is not difficult to imagine how distressing was the position of Hindū Nūyān, who, going back on his previous agreement on the occasion of Aḥmad Khān's march to Khurāsān, had failed to respond to the request for cooperation, and plundered Hamadān. He had become an enemy of Tāitimūr, commander of the 10,000 strong corps backed up by Arghūn's influence and killed him, and had then been pursued by the *amīr* stationed at Bādghīs, fled to Herāt, been finally captured and handed over to Arghūn; all this in 1284, so we can probably trace back his going back on his previous agreement and failing to cooperate with Arghūn, in the conflict between Aḥmad Khān and Arghūn in that year. That is to say, Hindū Bītikchī, commander of a '10,000 strong corps of Qarāūnās' stationed at Bādghīs, went back on his agreement in the conflict between Aḥmad Khān and Arghūn in 1284, not only failed to cooperate but proceeded to plunder; therefore, it was after Arghūn Khān's accession that he fled to Herāt and was captured in 1285. It has already been related how the '10,000 strong corps of Qarāūnās directly attached to the Khān', stationed at Siāhkūh, cooperated with Arghūn in 1284, when he had escaped from house arrest and was pursuing Aḥmad Khān, so whatever may be the connection between the '10,000 strong corps of Qarāūnās directly attached to the Khān' and the '10,000

(44) Rasīhd 2: pp. 184-185.

(45) Saifi: *Tārīkh-i Nāma-i Herāt*, ed. by Muḥammad Zubair al-Siddiqī, Calcutta, 1944, pp. 376-378.



strong corps of Qarāūnās' led by Hindū Bitīkchī, it is at any rate probably safe to say that they were different things.

It should be possible to provide further support for this fact by elucidating the topographical relationship between Siāhkūh and Baghdād, where the '10,000 strong corps of Qarāūnās directly attached to the Khān' was stationed, and the Badghīs area and the bank of the Āmūya where Hindū Bitīkchī was stationed. There is no question about Baghdād, but it is not possible to make a definite identification for Siāhkūh. However, an approximation may be made. As has already been related, when, after escaping from house arrest, Arghūn went after Aḥmad Khān from Khurāsān in the direction of Ādherbāijān, and arrived at Reī, Būra, the chief officer (*shahna*) of Iṣfahān was sent to recall the '10,000 strong corps of Qarāūnās', which was stationed at Siāhkūk. This means that Siāhkūh was somewhere west of Reī, and we may perhaps guess from the name that it was in hilly country suitable for pastoral nomads.<sup>(46)</sup>

There are one or two other items bearing on this. The 'Chronicle of Aḥmad' makes the following statement in its account of Arghūn on his way back from Ādherbāijān to Khurāsān after Aḥmad Khān's accession in 1282:<sup>(47)</sup>

[Arghūn] sent a messenger to Hamadān when he struck his camp at Siāhkūh.'

And the 'Chronicle of Hūlāgū' states as follows:<sup>(48)</sup>

[Hūlāgū] arrived in the Hamadān area, and ended his journey at Siāhkūh.'

These items suggest that Siāhkūh was a halting place on the way back from Ādherbāijān to Khurāsān and not so very far from the Hamadān area.

A further point that has already been mentioned is this: when, in 1295, Ghāzān, who had concluded an agreement with Bāidu Khān, was about to go back to the Khurāsān area, he informed Bāidu Khān that his return route would go by Siāhkūh; and Bāidu Khān and his *amīr*, afraid that Ghāzān might join up with the 'units of Qarāūnās stationed at Siāhkūh', sent the order, 'you are to return by the way you came.' According to the 'Chronicle of Ghāzān', his outward journey on this occasion had been, from the Khurāsān area → Dāmghān → Semnān → Fīrūzkūh → Teherān → Qazvīn → Qūnqūrūlānk → Sefīdrūd.<sup>(49)</sup> Siāhkūh may be regarded as having been a halting place on the return route from Ādherbāijān to Khurāsān and located away from Ghāzān's outward route, above, and our previous identification should be

(46) 'Siāhkūh' means 'black mountain' in Persian.

(47) Rashīd 2: p. 170.

(48) Rashīd 2: p. 64.

(49) Rashīd 2: pp. 286-288.

considered about right.<sup>(50)</sup> In short, we have reason to believe that Siāhkūh was a considerable distance from the Bādghīs area of Khurāsān and the bank of the Āmūya river.

When, in 1284, Arghūn recalled the 10,000 strong corps of Qarāūnās of Hindū Bītikchī or Naūrūz, he advanced eastwards from Abhar, as already related, passed through Reī and arrived at Dāmghān, but his arrival at Dāmghān was after the 'Qarāūnās troops' had already withdrawn thence. If we consider in what direction they went after their withdrawal from Dāmghān so as not to encounter Arghūn's troops who had moved from the west, the Khurāsān area is the only possibility. In short, the 'Qarāūnās troops' who withdrew without cooperating with Arghūn, were the Qarāūnās troops stationed in the Khurāsān area, and these as has emerged from our previous investigations were the '10,000 strong corps of Qarāūnās' led by Hindū Bītikchī. It is now possible to state definitely that the '10,000 strong corps of Qarāūnās in the Khurāsān area', commanded by Hindū Bītikchī or Naūrūz, and the '10,000 strong corps of Qarāūnās directly attached to the Khān' were different bodies.

## CHAPTER II

### Section 1

Our investigations in the previous chapter have demonstrated the existence, at least during the reign of Aḥmad Khān (1282–1284), of the '10,000 strong corps of Qarāūnās in the Khurāsān area' commanded respectively by Hindū Bītikchī and Naūrūz, distinct from the '10,000 strong corps of Qarāūnās directly attached to the Khān.' As already related, Hindū Bītikchī was already a powerful *amīr* in personal attendance on Hūlāgū at the time of the attack on Baghdād in 1258, and may we not suppose that he gained the position of commander of a 10,000 strong corps somewhat before 1282, when we know him to have been stationed on the bank of the Āmūya river? Naūrūz's father, Arghūn Āqā, who was 'governor of Khurāsān' at the time of Hūlāgū's expedition, was in the Khurāsān area until his death in 1275 in the neighbourhood of Tūs,<sup>(51)</sup> and may we not suppose that the '10,000 strong corps of Qarāūnās', which was under the command of Naūrūz in 1284, had formerly been under the command of his father, Arghūn Āqā? However, the expression, '10,000 strong corps of Qarāūnās' is nowhere to be

(50) Professor Minobu Honda, in his 'Iruhan no Tōei-chi, Kaei-chi イルハンの冬營地夏營地' (The Winter and Summer Quarters of the Ilkhans) (Tōyō-shi Kenkyū, 34-4, 1976, p. 90) locates Siāhkūh between Hamadān and Marāgha, and I propose to follow him.

(51) Rashīd 2: p. 143.

found, apart from the references cited from the 'Chronicle of Aḥmad' in the previous chapter, in any of the preceding 'main chronicles'. It is therefore impossible to ascertain directly from the 'main chronicles' either the origin of the '10,000 strong corps of Qarāūnās in the Khurāsān area' or their relationship with the '10,000 strong corps of Qarāūnās directly attached to the Khān'. Our sole clue to this question lies in a fragmentary item in the 'Chronicle of Ghāzān' concerning Alādū, who became commander of the '10,000 strong corps of Qarāūnās directly attached to the Khān', in the reign of Ghāzān. This gives the following account of events immediately after the rebellion, in 1289 in the reign of Arghūn Khān, of Naūrūz against Prince Ghāzān, who was responsible for the Khurāsān area at the time:<sup>(52)</sup>

'Two days before Naūrūz did battle with Ghāzān, the *amīr* Alādū and many *amīr* of the Qarāūnās attacked the houses of Naūrūz and plundered them all (...). After this plundering, [the Qarāūnās *amīr*], in their customary way, split up into two or three groups and parted from Alādū, some of them joining Naūrūz, others going to their own houses where they started revolts and riots. When Alādū saw that they were scattered in all directions, he moved his own residence to Dara-i Makhkam in the Bādghīs area, and came and ranged himself under Ghāzān. Ghāzān largely rewarded his upright conduct.'

As has already been said, Alādū became commander of the '10,000 strong corps of Qarāūnās directly attached to the Khān' in Ghāzān's reign, that is to say, after his accession in 1295, so that it goes without saying that the Qarāūnās troops led by Alādū in the Bādghīs area in 1289, which appear in the above quotation from the 'Chronicle of Ghāzān', were different from the '10,000 strong corps of Qarāūnās directly attached to the Khān'. In short, according to the above item, there was already a link between Alādū and Qarāūnās troops in the Khurāsān area before Alādū became commander of the '10,000 strong corps of Qarāūnās directly attached to the Khān', after the accession of Ghāzān. Thus the Bādghīs area, which was Alādū's place of residence at this time, was a place already deeply connected with the '10,000 strong corps of Qarāūnās in the Khurāsān area', which was, as already mentioned, commanded by Hindū Bītikchī. If this be accepted we may think as follows: 'Alādū took command of the Qarāūnās troops in the Bādghīs area, in the place of Hindū Nūyān [Hindū Bītikchī], who, at the beginning of the reign of Arghūn Khān killed Tāitīmūr, commander of a 10,000 strong corps, fled to Herāt, was captured in 1285 and handed over to Arghūn Khān.' But there is also the following account of the *amīr* proceeding against Hindū Nūyān in the *Herāt Records* already quoted:<sup>(53)</sup>

(52) Rashīd 2: p. 264.

(53) *Tārīkh-i Nāma-i Herāt*: p. 377.

'The *amīr* Alādū Nūyān, Jārdū and Danqarā, stationed at Bādghīs were to attack Hindū Nūyān, and so coordinated their forces.'

And this shows that Alādū was in the Bādghīs area before Hindū Nūyān had fled to Herāt and been captured. In fact, may we not suppose that Alādū had close connections with the Qarāūnās troops in the Bādghīs area before the downfall of Hindū Nūyān

Next, in the year 671 of the Mohammedan calendar (1272-3), Ābāqā Khān was informed of the attack on Bukhārā by the army of the country of Chaghatāi Khān, and we find the following in the account in the 'Chronicle of Ābāqā' of the countermeasures taken at the time:<sup>(54)</sup>

'In 671, Ābāqā Khān designated Īsūdar Ughūl, who had succeeded Tubsīn Ughūl in responsibility for Khurāsān, to go to Bukhārā, and ordered him: 'If the inhabitants of Bukhārā are satisfied with leaving their native places and transferring to Khurāsān, do not attack them. If otherwise, ravage Bukhārā.' He then gave ten thousand [troops] to Nīkpaī Bahādur, Chārdū and Alādū, and despatched them to Īsūdar's command.'

This statement enables us to know that, about 1272, Alādū, who was in the Khurāsān area, was sent to Bukhārā on the orders of Ābāqā Khān. But just who were Nīkpaī Bahādur and Chārdū who went with Ālādū, and what sort of troops were these 10,000 at the head of whom they set out?

First, there is the following item in the 'Study of the Qunqirāt Tribe' concerning Nīkpaī Bahādur:<sup>(55)</sup>

'In the time of Jīnkīz Khān, there was another *amīr* [of the Qunqirāt tribe]. His name was Tūqūchār. (...) Among the *amīr* in this country of [Īrān] was Nīkpaī Bahādur, commander of a 1,000 strong unit of Qarāūnās (*amīr-i hazāre-i Qarāūnās*), stationed in the Bādghīs area, and he was Tūqūchār's grandson.'

From this it is clear that the Nīkpaī Bahādur, who accompanied Ālādū, was a 'commander of a 1,000 strong unit of Qarāūnās, and, like Hindū Bītikchī, 'commander of a 10,000 strong corps of Qarāūnās in the Khurāsān area', was stationed in the Bādghīs area.

As regards Chārdū, who accompanied Ālādū and Nīkpaī Bahādur, we know, first of all, from a passage of the *Herāt Records* previously quoted, that in 1284, immediately after the accession of Arghūn Khān, he was stationed in the Bādghīs area, and, together with Ālādū, put down Hindū Nūyān, (Bītikchī) 'commander of a 10,000 strong corps of Qarāūnās in the Khurāsān area', who had revolted against Arghūn Khān; then there is the

(54) Rashīd 2: pp. 140-141.

(55) Rashīd 1: pp. 397-398.

following passage in the 'Chronicle of Ghāzān', recounting the events immediately after Naūrūz, who in 1289 had raised a rebellion against Prince Ghāzān, sent, in 1294, Sātalmīsh, who was under his command, to announce his return to allegiance:<sup>(56)</sup>

'Naūrūz's brother, Hājī, and Chārdū Bahādur's son, Anjīl, came from Naūrūz, and [said] the same words as Sātalmīsh. Ghāzān was sympathetic, and went from there towards the Sarkhas area.'

This passage seems to tell us that Chārdū Bahādur's son, Anjīl, was under Naūrūz, commander of a '10,000 strong corps of Qarāūnās in the Khurāsān area'.

To sum, up, we learn the following facts from all this: that Nīkpaī Bahādur, one of the *amīr* despatched about 1272 by order of Ābāqā Khān, was 'commander of a 1,000 strong unit of Qarāūnās', and was stationed in the Bādghīs area, like Hindū Bītikchī, 'commander of a corps of 10,000 Qarāūnās in the Khurāsān area'; that Alādū was stationed in the Bādghīs area in 1284, and that, still stationed in that area in 1289, he acted in concert with Qarāūnās units; that Chārdū Bahādur was stationed in the Bādghīs area in 1284; and that his son, Anjīl, was, in 1294, under the leadership of Naūrūz, who commanded a '10,000 strong corps of Qarāūnās in the Khurāsān area'. In short, it becomes clear that there was a connection with Qarāūnās troops in the Bādghīs area of Khurāsān.

It would seem to follow with certitude from consideration of these facts that the troops who went to Bukhārā in about 1272 under the command of Nīkpaī Bahādur, Alādū and Chārdū, were Qarāūnās troops. In short, we know that Alādū was at the head of Qarāūnās troops in the Bādghīs area in about 1289; so that it was not after the subjugation of Hindū Bītikchī, 'commander of a 10,000 strong corps of Qarāūnās in the Khurāsān area' that he first commanded Qarāūnās troops, but he was already commanding them somewhat earlier, in about 1272. It does seem as if we may consider Alādū and Chārdū to have been, like Nīkpaī Bahādur, *amīr* of the grade of 'commander of a 1,000 strong unit of Qarāūnās'; and it also seems virtually certain that the three of them had been incorporated in the '10,000 strong corps of Qarāūnās in the Khurāsān area' under the command of Hindū Bītikchī, or in the '10,000 strong corps of Qarāūnās in the Khurāsān area' under the command of Naūrūz [or his father, Arghūn Āqā]. Which means, in other words that the '10,000 strong corps of Qarāūnās in the Khurāsān area' had already been in existence in about 1272.

(56) Rashīd 2: p. 283.

## Section 2

It was made clear in the previous section that the '10,000 strong corps of Qarāūnās in the Khurāsān area', under the command of Hindū Bītikchī or Naūrūz, existed about 1272 in the reign of Ābāqā Khān. But the latest reference we find to the '10,000 strong corps of Qarāūnās in the Khurāsān area' is that already quoted from the 'Chronicle of Aḥmad' concerning the struggle for the accession to the Khanate between Arghūn and Aḥmad Khān, and no further mention appears in the subsequent 'main chronicles'. However, there is a portion of the first half of the second chapter of the 'Chronicle of Ghāzān', which gives a detailed record of the situation in the Khurāsān area from the time of Naūrūz's rebellion in 1289 to that of Ghāzān's accession in 1295; and there frequently appear fragmentary references to the rebellious and marauding activities of bands of Qarāūnās in the Khurāsān area.

In the preceding section we quoted the passage which stated, 'Immediately after Naūrūz's rebellion, Alādū led the Qarāūnās *amīr* in attacking Naūrūz's household, after which the Qarāūnās *amīr* split up into small bands and acted independently.' Immediately after these events, there is the following account of the time when reinforcements reached Ghāzān, having deserted Arghūn Khān:<sup>(57)</sup>

'Naūrūz learnt that troops [to relieve Ghāzān] were arriving from the region of 'Irāq, and intending to place themselves under him, so he sent his household and other followers to the Herāt region, and himself advanced as far as Jarmaqān. Then, seeing resistance was impossible, he withdrew. [Ghāzān's] superior force advanced as far as the Jām area in pursuit of Naūrūz. Then, at the Khār Sarāi, which is above Jām, Uljāitū returned to the allegiance [of Ghāzān] along with Tamājī, son of Yakībīdūn, who was one of the many Qarāūna and followers of Naūrūz.'

Continuing the above passage, we have the following account of the occasion when, after Naūrūz's flight, Ghāzān recalled Prince Kīnshū,<sup>(58)</sup> who had been associated with Naūrūz:<sup>(59)</sup>

'In order to recall Kīnshū and his great *ordu*, Ghāzān sent *amīr* to Bādghīs. Kīnshū understood, and passed through the mountains of Ghūr and Ghurjīstān, with his wives and followers. He then brought [under Ghāzān] the *amīr* of the great *ordu* and Taknā and the troops of Qarāūna who were with them, sweeping away all their camps.'

(57) Rashīd 2: pp. 264-265.

(58) Son of Hūlāgū's second son, Jūmqūr. Bound to Naūrūz through marriage ties. Rashīd 2: pp. 258-259.

(59) Rashīd 2: p. 265.

These items concern the submission to Ghāzān of Qarāūnās who had been under Naūrūz or Prince Kīnshū resisting Ghāzān in the Khurāsān area. Then there is this account of the return, in 1290, from the allegiance of Arghūn Khān, of the reinforcements, leaving a part of them behind:<sup>(60)</sup>

‘That summer many Qarāūna revolted and advanced to Juvāin. Their commander was Dānishmand Bahādur and they plundered. [In the face of this, Ghāzān] appointed the *amīr* Mūlāi [to lead an expedition] to drive them back.’

There is only one other passage in the rest of the ‘Chronicle of Ghāzān’ where Dānishmand Bahādur, the commander of Qarāūnās troops, mentioned here, appears.

This is in the account of the time when Naūrūz, who had temporarily submitted to Ghāzān, was defeated by Ghāzān in 1297 and fled to the Herāt region:<sup>(61)</sup>

‘A man called Dānishmand, commander of a 1,000 strong unit under Naūrūz, returned to the allegiance [of Ghāzān]. The *amīr* Qutlughshāh set out [to pursue Naūrūz] with him as advance guard. [Naūrūz’s younger brother] Ūirātāi Ghāzān went out to Nishāpūr, and told Naūrūz of the arrival of [Ghāzān’s] troops. Naūrūz struck his camp there, and encountered Dānishmand Bahādur’s troops at the *yām* staging post, where they fought. Dānishmand Bahādur’s force was inferior, but Naūrūz was defeated and fled with a few men.’

It is clear from this that in 1297, after Ghāzān’s accession, Dānishmand Bahādur had been under Naūrūz. We may suppose that he had been serving Naūrūz before this time, and it would seem almost certain that the Qarāūnās troops that he brought with him in 1290 would have been troops that had been under Naūrūz.

Let us now look at the Qarāūnās in the Khurāsān area, carrying on from the time of Naūrūz’s rebellion. There is another passage for the year 1290, like the previous one, as follows:<sup>(62)</sup>

‘That winter many Qarāūna raised a rebellion in the Sarkhas area, and moved to the Merv area. The holy banner [of Ghāzān] was moved to the Dara-i Margha area, and Alādū Nūyān was despatched to punish them and bring them back to allegiance.’

It is not clear what *amīr* was at the head of the Qarāūnās troops mentioned here, but we can tell that they were a different band of Qarāūnās from those

(60) Rashīd 2: p. 267.

(61) Rashīd 2: p. 319.

(62) Rashīd 2: pp. 267–268.

so far cited in this section, and that they were opposed to Ghāzān.

Thus, according to the foregoing, after Naūrūz had raised his rebellion in 1289, some Qarāūnās followed Naūrūz, and some followed Prince Kinshū, who was associated with Naūrūz. And if, among these, there were some who came and submitted to Ghāzān, there were also some who were opposed to him. Then again, there were bands of Qarāūnās apart from these who opposed Ghāzān, while, from the time of Ābāqā Khān, there were such troops of Qarāūnās as those led by Alādū, who were active in Ghāzān's service. In short, one finds no unified body of a '10,000 strong corps of Qarāūnās in the Khurāsān area' after Naūrūz raised his rebellion; one only finds small bodies of Qarāūnās in constantly changing groupings.

In the 'main chronicles' prior to the 'Chronicle of Ghāzān', we find no names of *amīr* leading these small bands of Qarāūnās apart from that of Alādū, but they must all have originally been in the '10,000 strong corps of Qarāūnās in the Khurāsān area', under the command of Naūrūz or Hindū Bītikchī. In which case from what period did the '10,000 strong corps of Qarāūnās in the Khurāsān area' begin to disband?

We find the following passage in the 'Chronicle of Aḥmad', of the time of rivalry between Arghūn and Aḥmad Khān for the succession to the Khanate, about the events immediately after Arghūn's capture by Aḥmad Khān's troops and his house arrest:<sup>(63)</sup>

[Aḥmad Khān] killed Ūrtīmūr Qūshchī, Nīkpaī Qūshchī and his brother, Qājār Akhtachī on suspicion of siding with Arghūn.'

Here, Nīkpaī Qūshchī, who is said to have been, 'killed by Aḥmad Khān because he was attached to Arghūn', is identical with the previously mentioned Nīkpaī Bahādur, 'commander of a 1,000 strong unit of Qarāūnās'. When the commander of a 10,000 strong corps or the commander of a 1,000 strong unit was executed for a criminal offence, it was usual for the unit to be disbanded and redistributed, and we may suppose that part of the '10,000 strong corps of Qarāūnās in the Khurāsān area' had already begun to be disbanded from the time of Arghūn and Aḥmad Khān's dispute for the succession to the khanate in 1284. Further Hindū Bītikchī seems to be the reverse case of Nīkpaī Bahādur; he went back on his agreement and failed to cooperate with Arghūn, and, in addition, killed a powerful *amīr* of Arghūn; he was captured in 1285 very soon after Arghūn's accession, and there is no subsequent mention of his '10,000 strong corps', which was presumably disbanded precisely on his capture.

In short, the disbandment of the '10,000 strong corps of Qarāūnās in the Khurāsān area' started in 1284, being closely bound up with the struggle between Arghūn and Aḥmad Khān for the succession to the khanate. Then

(63) Rashīd 2: p. 186.



Naūrūz raised his rebellion in connection with political rivalries in Ādher-baijān in 1289, and in the course of it two '10,000 strong corps of Qarāūnās in the Khurāsān area' split up into bands of small units, and, as we saw in the quotation from the 'Chronicle of Ghāzān', quoted above, engaged in independent activities, rebelling and plundering. But later, in 1294, we see from certain items in the 'Chronicle of Ghāzān', how, when Naūrūz submitted to Ghāzān, a number also of these bands of Qarāūnās, split into these small units, submitted to Ghāzān:<sup>(64)</sup>

'The *amīr* of the Qarāūna troops—that is to say, Tughāi and others—came to join Ghāzān.'

or,

'Resistance became perilous, and, in the area of Sakht-i Maḥkam, many Qarāūna troops, who had entreated permission to surrender, came to Ghāzān.'<sup>(65)</sup>

In the foregoing, we have investigated the matter of the '10,000 strong corps of Qarāūnās in the Khurāsān area' from extremely fragmentary material. If we put together what we have learned in Sections 1 and 2, we may summarise the results as follows: 'We have confirmed the existence of the '10,000 strong corps of Qarāūnās in the Khurāsān area' at least as early as 1272, and we have found their origin in the reign of Ābāqā Khān, like that of the '10,000 strong corps of Qarāūnās directly attached to the Khān', but we have found no special attachment to the Khān. In 1285, Hindū Bītikchī, commander of a 10,000 strong corps, who rebelled against Arghūn, was captured, and also, in 1289, Naūrūz raised a rebellion against Ghāzān. In the course of these events, the 10,000 strong corps broke up into small bands, and these eventually came to surrender to the authority of Prince Ghāzān who had been in charge of the Khurāsān area.'

### CHAPTER III

#### Section 1

So far, we have been dealing with the nature and vicissitudes of the '10,000 strong corps of Qarāūnās directly attached to the Khān', garrisoned at Siāhkūh and Baghdād as summer and winter quarters respectively, and the '10,000 strong corps of Qarāūnās in the Khurāsān area'. There are other references to the Qarāūnās in the *Universal History*, with which we will now deal.

(64) Rashīd 2: p. 284.

(65) Rashīd 2: p. 285.

There is, first, the following passage in the 'Chronicle of Ghāzān':<sup>(66)</sup>  
 'In 678 (1279–1280), Ābāqā Khān went towards the Khurāsān area in order to repel the Qarāūnā troops who were ravaging the Fārs area, and he joined Bulghān Khātūn and Ghāzān with him in his advance. Arghūn Khān<sup>(67)</sup> came out to welcome him, and joined him at Semnān. (...) Ābāqā went towards Kītūjām and Herāt, and sent Arghūn Khān<sup>(68)</sup> out to the Ghūr-Gharja region in order to repel the Qarāūnā.'

Next, there is the following passage in the 'Chronicle of Chaghatāi' about Prince Yasār Ughūl<sup>(69)</sup> of the house of Chaghatāi, who was executed for joining Aḥmad Khān's side, on the occasion of the struggle for the succession to the khanate between Arghūn and Aḥmad Khān:<sup>(70)</sup>

'In the year that Ābāqā Khān went off to Herāt in order to repel the Qarāūnās, Yasār, the third son [of Yīsūtūā] returned to allegiance in that place [Īrān, Īlkhānate].'

Then there is the following passage in the 'Chronicle of Ābāqā':<sup>(71)</sup>

'On the 14th day of the 1st Rabī 'month of that year [678 of the Mohammedan calendar], Ābāqā Khān went to the town of Herāt. On the last day of [that] month, *amīr* of the Qarāūna came to return to their allegiance.'

These three fragmentary accounts show that, in the year 678 of the Mohammedan calendar (1279–1280), Ābāqā Khān made an expedition to subdue the Qarāūnās who were raiding the Fārs; that he sent his son, Arghūn, who was in the Khurāsān area, against them, as a result of which the Qarāūnās *amīr* came to surrender to Ābāqā Khān in Herāt.

If the nucleus of the Qarāūnās, who came to surrender at this time, was formed by any of the '10,000 strong corps of Qarāūnās' investigated in chapters I and II, the question becomes fairly simple. However, it emerged clearly from what has already been said that the '10,000 strong corps of Qarāūnās directly attached to the Khān' was in existence in 1265, immediately after Ābāqā Khān's accession, and also that the '10,000 strong corps of Qarāūnās in the Khurāsān area' was in existence at least in 1272. That is to say, we can see that both the '10,000 strong corps of Qarāūnās' were in existence from before the year 678 (1279–1280) when Ābāqā Khān sent his son, Arghūn, to

(66) Rashīd 2: p. 252.

(67) Though the text has 'Arghūn Khān', he had of course not succeeded to the throne at this time.

(68) See preceding note.

(69) Third son of Yīsūtūā, who was third son of Mūātūkān, who was second son of Chaghatāi. Rashīd 3: pp. 168–169.

(70) Rashīd 3: pp. 168–169.

(71) Rashīd 2: p. 153.

subdue Qarāūnās. If we accept this, then we may suppose that there was indeed some relationship between the 'Qarāūnās who were raiding the Fārs area' and the '10,000 strong corps of Qarāūnās directly attached to the Khān' or the '100,00 strong corps of Qarāūnās in the Khurāsān area', but there was no direct link.

## Section 2

There are absolutely no other references in the *Universal History*, apart from those cited in the previous section, to the 'Qarāūnās who were raiding the Fārs area'. But Marco Polo, in *The Description of the World*, has a deeply interesting passage about Caraunas robbers on the south eastern borders of the Īlkhānate.

At the beginning of 1270, Marco Polo was proceeding from Kirmān in the direction of Hurmūz, on his way to the Yüan court, and the following passage belongs to that time:<sup>(72)</sup>

'And in this plain are several cities & villages and towns which have the ramparts of earth high and thick and high towers to defend them from their enemies the people called Caraunas who are there in plenty; these are a most cruel & wicked race and robbers who go scouring the land & doing great harm. And why are they called Caraunas, which means to say as much as guasmul or mongrels in our tongue? Because long ago their mothers were Indian and their fathers Tartars (Mongols). And these people when they wish to scour the whole land and to rob, they make the whole day become dark like a dark night by their enchantments and by devilish work, so that one does not see far or hardly at all, and one hardly see his comrade at his side. And this darkness they make from distant places to last seven days journeys in length through that plain so that men cannot protect themselves from them. And then they who know the country very well, they ride through that plain silent & one very close beside the other when they have made the darkness; and they are sometimes quite ten thousand in a company, and sometimes more, and sometimes less, and are divided in many parts, so that they make so long a line that they seize the whole plain from which they wish to rob, so that all those whom they find on the plains outside town or castle cannot escape them, neither men nor women nor beasts nor things, without being taken. And it is true that when they have taken the men, they kill all the old without any pity, & the young & the women they take & sell them in other places for serfs & for slaves, so that they greatly destroy the land & have made it almost all desert. These have a king, & their king is called Negodar, a man of very great spirit. And this

(72) A. C. Moule & P. Pelliot, *op. cit.*, vol. 1, pp. 121-122.

Negodar once went to the court of Ciagatai, lord of a noble province, who was own brother to the great Kaan with quite ten thousand horsemen of his people and stayed with him for some time because he was his uncle and a very great lord. And while he stayed with him then that Negodar thought to himself and did a very great crime, and I will tell you how. He seduced ten thousand armed men of the best brigade which Ciagatai had, and one day he left his uncle Ciagatai who was in Great Armenie and fled away with quite ten thousand horsemen of his people who were very cruel and wicked, and with these twenty thousand valiant & brave men he passed thence through Badascian (Badakhshān) and through a second province which is called Pasciai and through another province which has for name Chescemir (Kashmīr), and there he lost many of his people and of his animals because the ways were narrow and bad. And when they have taken all these provinces they enter into Indie in the borders of a province which is called Dilivar. They take by storm a very noble city which also has Dilivar for name, and he stays in that city and stopped with his army, and took the kingdom, which he took from a king who was of that province who had Asidin Soldan as name, who was very great and rich. For he came upon him at unawares. And there he began to reign at rest. And the white Tartars (Mongols) began to mix with the Indian women who were black, and begat sons of them who were called Caraunas, that is, in their language, mixed; and these are they who go scouring through the country of Reobar and through each other country as best they can. And when they came into Dilivar they learned the magical and devilish arts with which they make darkness come and hide the daylight, so that unless one is near the other they are not seen; and thus sometimes they ride for thirty or forty days journeys, and usually towards the direction of Reobar, because all the merchants who come to trade in Curmos (Hurmūz), until they learn that the merchants from the parts of Indie are coming, send in the winter time the mules and camels, which are become lean through the length of the journey, to the plain of Reobar where, through the abundance of grass, they are bound to grow fat. And these Caraunas, who are waiting for this, come carrying everything off, and they take the men and sell them.'

The information Marco Polo provides in this passage about the antecedents of the robber bands of Caraunas, the meaning of the word, Caraunas and so on, is not to be found in Persian language sources and is of exceptionally great interest. It goes without saying that it constitutes a most precious source for elucidating the nature of the Qarāūnās. However, there are also portions which may be supposed to be a confusion of a number of separate facts, or no more than simple hearsay, and these cannot be simply accepted

wholesale; they require investigation.

We may first draw up a summary of Marco Polo's account as follows:

- (1) The Caraunas were robbers whose activities centred on the Kirmān area.
- (2) The word Caraunas signifies a 'mixed breed' from Mongol men and Indian women.
- (3) The chief of the robber band of Caraunas was called Negodar. He had originally been at the court of his uncle, Ciagatai, at the head of 10,000 troops, but he had absconded at the head of his own 10,000 troops and 10,000 of those of Ciagatai, passed through Kashmīr, and entered India, where he made his base.

The statement in (1), 'the Caraunas are robbers active on the south eastern borders of the Īlkhānate' is in agreement with that of the *Universal History*, 'Ābāqā Khān sent his son, Arghūn, against the Qarāūnās who were raiding and plundering in the Fārs area'. And in the matter of date, too, both the date, 1279–1280, in the *Universal History* and Marco Polo's narrative, belonging as it does to the beginning of 1270, fall in the reign of Ābāqā Khān and may be said to be more or less the same period. Point (2) is a statement peculiar to Marco Polo, and will require examination hereafter as to its accuracy. It would also seem that, in point (3), the statement, 'the band of Caraunas, 20,000 strong, passed through Kashmīr, entered India, and there made its base', is connected with (2), and similarly requires examination. The questionable part of (3) is, 'the chief of the robber band of Caraunas was called Negodar. He was at the court of his uncle, Ciagatai, at the head of 10,000 troops, but he absconded with his own 10,000 and 10,000 of Ciagatai's'. A number of facts seem to have been confused in the notion that the name of the chief of the Caraunas was Negodar, but there seem to have been reasons for the confusion being made. We will next try to bring some order into this question.

### Section 3

In the 'Chronicle of Ābāqā', under the heading, 'invasion and plundering of Fārs and Kirmān by the troops of the Nikūdayān', we find:<sup>(73)</sup>

"In the year 677 (1278–1279), the year of the tiger, about 10,000 cavalry of the Nikūdayān raided the Fārs area.'

This tells us that, in Abāqā's reign, there was a band of marauders called Nikūdayān [a party of Nikūdar] which raided the Fārs and Kirmān areas

(73) Rashīd 2: p.151.

on horseback. But the following also appears in the 'Chronicle of Abāqā':<sup>(74)</sup>

'In 677 (1278–1279) (...) Abāqā Khān went from Tabriz to Khurāsān. On the 3rd day of the 1st Rabī' month of 678 (14 July 1279), Prince Arghūn was sent out with troops to repel the Nikūdayān. Arghūn went out as far as Sīstān, invested it, and returned. Then he brought about the return to allegiance of Ūljāibūqā<sup>(75)</sup> [eldest son of Mubārakshāh, great-grandson of Chaghatāi] and others belonging to the same tribe, and brought them, with his own army [to Ābāqā Khān]. On the 14th of the 1st Rabī' month of that year (25 July 1279), Ābāqā Khān went out to the city of Herāt. On the last day of that month the *amīr* of the Qarāūna returned to allegiance.'

This means that Ābāqā Khān made an expedition to the south east in the Mohammedan year 678 (1279–1280), and sent his son, Arghūn on a punitive expedition; and not only Qarāūnās were involved, as related in Section 1, but there were also the Nikūdayān. In other words, both Qarāūnās and Nikūdayān were raiding Kirmān, Fārs and Sīstān on the south eastern borders of the Īlkhānate and were the bands engaged in plundering.

It also emerges from the foregoing passage that the Nikūdayān were under the control of a prince of the house of Chaghatāi, in about 1279, and we further learn from the following passage, also in the 'Chronicle of Abāqā',<sup>(76)</sup> that princes of the house of Chaghatāi continued in control of the Nikūdayān:

'Until 698 (1298–1299), the chief of the Nikūdayān was 'Abdālla,<sup>(77)</sup> son of Būchī, who was grandson of Chaghatāi. Then after that, [Chaghatāi Khān] Dūā, son of Barāq, recalled 'Abdālla and kept him under himself, and sent his own son Qutlughkhwāja in his place.'

We find the following information about 'Abdālla, son of Būchī, who was grandson of Chaghatāi', who appears in the above as being in control of the Nikūdayān, and about 'Qutlughkhwāja, son of Dūā', who was appointed successor to 'Abdālla in the 'Chronicle of Chaghatāi'.

First, about 'Abdālla:<sup>(78)</sup>

'[Bāijū, eighth son of Chaghatāi had] a son called Mūchī. The commander of the Qarāūna troops in the Ghaznīn area is this Mūchī. He

(74) Rashīd 2: pp. 152–153.

(75) The 'Chronicle of Chaghatāi' has: 'Ūlchāibūqā, son of Mubārakshāh, son of Qarā Hūlāgū, fourth son of Mūatkān, second son of Chaghatāi.' Rashīd 3: p. 173.

(76) Rashīd 2: p. 152.

(77) The 'Chronicle of Chaghatāi' has: 'Abdālla, son of Mūchī, son of Bāichū, eighth son of Chaghatāi.' Rashīd 3: p. 177.

(78) Rashīd 3: p. 177.

has a son called 'Abdālla, who is a Mohammedan. ['Abdālla's] father [Mūchī] was in the [Ghaznīn] area and recalled 'Abdālla under his own control. [After that, Chaghatāi Khān Dūā] sent his own son, Qutluqkhwāja, to the area in his ('Abdālla's) place.'

Next, about Qutluqkhwāja:<sup>(79)</sup>

'[Chaghatāi Khān] Dūā had sons. One of them was Qutluqkhwāja, and to him were entrusted the Ghaznīn area and the troops of the Qarāūna, who had long been subject to their command.'

In short, 'Abdālla and Qutluqkhwāja, who appear in the 'Chronicle of Ābāqā' as 'chiefs of the Nikūdaryān' are referred to in the 'Chronicle of Chaghatāi' as 'chiefs of the troops of the Qarāūnās in the Ghaznīn area'. Looking at the matter in this way, the question naturally arises whether the Qarāūnās and Nikūdaryān were exactly the same people. However, the 'Chronicle of Ghāzān' has the following passage for about 1299, after Ghāzān's accession:<sup>(80)</sup>

'A 1,000 strong unit [of Qarāūnās] from among the Qarāūnās who were living in the Tāram area—their commander was called Būqā—deserted. They took the road to 'Irāq, passed through the Yazd and Kirmān areas, plundering along the way, and, at Bīnīgāū, joined up with the 'Nikūdaryān.'

Clear distinction is made here between the two. The two must have been, from the first, completely different bands of people whom we can see to have acted in concert under the control of 'Abdālla and Qutluqkhwāja of the house of Chaghatāi.

In this case, then, just what does the Nikūdar of Nikūdaryān indicate? The first thing to be considered is that the grandson of Chaghatāi, who was sent from the house of Chaghatāi on the occasion of Hūlāgū's expedition, is recorded in Persian language sources as Nikūdar or Tikūdar.<sup>(81)</sup> This Nikūdar remained in Īrān even after the establishment of the Īlkhānate, and led a 10,000 strong corps in the service of Ābāqā Khān. But in 1269, Barāq of the house Chaghatāi planned an invasion of Khurāsān. When he passed through Derbend at this time, he proposed to cooperate with Barāq's army, was captured, his troops disbanded, and he himself, though pardoned, died soon afterwards.<sup>(82)</sup> We can clearly take it that the troops disbanded at this time were the Nikūdaryān invaders of the south eastern borders of the Īlkhānate in the following year under the princes of the house of Chaghatāi. However,

(79) Rashīd 3: p. 173.

(80) Rashīd 2: p. 330.

(81) Eldest son of Mūchī Ībe, eldest son of Chaghatāi. Rashīd 3: pp. 158–159. Rashīd 2: p. 111.

(82) Rashīd 2: pp. 111–113. Rashīd 3: pp. 158–159.

this man's name appears in the Persian language sources as Nikūdar and Tikūdar; but the *Chronicle of Georgia* gives 'Thagouthar', and, since no confusion is possible in Georgian between the sound 'n' and the sound 't', the correctness of Tikūdar is made certain.<sup>(83)</sup> So it follows that, even if one supposes that the remains of Tikūdar's disbanded troops formed part of the Nikūdaryān, we cannot look for the derivation of the name, Nikūdaryān, in this grandson of Chaghatāi, Tikūdar. There is the following passage in the 'Chronicle of Jūchī' bearing on the origin of the name, Nikūdaryān:<sup>(84)</sup>

'[Kipchāq Khān] Berkāi rebelled against Hūlāgū Khān. Then (...) in 660 (1261-1262) there was a battle. Then the various troops that had come to this country [of Irān] led the way in flight together with Qūli and Tūtār [princes of the house of Jūchī]. Some [among them] took the route to the mountains of Khurāsān and Ghazna and to Bīnīgāū, and [reached] as far as Multān and Lahāūr, which are on the borders of Hindūstān. The great *amīr*, who were their leaders, were Nikūdar and Unkūchīā. The *amīr* of Hūlāgū pursued their rear. Also, some of them took the route to Derbend and joined their own tribes.'

This makes one wonder whether the name, Nikūdaryān, originated in the Nikūdar, who, as an *amīr* sent from the house of Jūchī on the occasion of Hūlāgū's expedition, was commander of a unit, which fled to the borders of Hindūstān, by way of Khurāsān and Ghazna, at the beginning of 1260, at the time of the conflict between Hūlāgū and Qipchāq Khān Berke. However, natural though this may seem, it is not to be supposed that only the unit led by this Nikūdar was called Nikūdaryān. As has already been shown, those who commanded the Nikūdaryān were the princes of the house of Chaghatāi. So it may be supposed that the components of the Nikūdaryān consisted of the remaining elements of the disbanded troops of Prince Tikūdar and other forces of the house of Chaghatāi, together with forces led by Nikūdar of the house of Jūchī, based on the Ghazna region after their flight. We may suppose, in short, that the Nikūdaryān were a composite body of forces belonging to the house of Chaghatāi and forces under the banner of Nikūdar of the house of Jūchī. Then, from the time of Ābāqā Khān, these Nikūdaryān and Qarāūnās acted together under the command of princes of the house of Chaghatāi and raided the south eastern borders of the Īlkhānate.

Let us now return to Marco Polo's account. Marco Polo gave Negodar as the name of the chief of the Qarāūnās who were raiding the south eastern borders of the Īlkhānate because he made a confusion with the Qarāūnās and Nikūdaryān, who, in the time of Ābāqā Khān, were operating together under the command of princes of the house of Chaghatāi. And we must

(83) M. Brosset: *Histoire de la Géorgie*, S. Petersbourg, 1849, p. 576.

(84) Rashīd 3: p. 139.



exclude what is given in point (3) of our summary of his passage on the Caraunas in Section 2: that 'the chief of the robber band of Caraunas was called Negodar. He had originally been at the court of his uncle, Ciagatai, at the head of 10,000 troops' in respect of our investigation of the Qarāūnās. Nor can we accept, just as it stands, the part that says, 'he absconded at the head of his own 10,000 troops and 10,000 of those of Ciagatai', but his statement that 'the original strength of the Caraunas robber band was 20,000' remains as a subject for subsequent investigation.

So we may put together points (1), (2) and (3) from Marco Polo's account, and the fragmentary passages from the *Universal History*, about the Qarāūnās robbers who raided the south eastern borders of the Īlkhānate, and say: 'A band of Qarāūnās, 20,000 strong, passed through Kashmīr and entered India; with their base there, they were active as bandits on the south eastern borders of the Īlkhānate in Ābāqā Khān's reign; "Qarāūnās" means "a cross breed of Mongol men and Indian women."' "

## CHAPTER IV

### Section I

In the preceding three chapters, I have concentrated on the references in the *Universal History*, and I have divided the divergent accounts of the Qarāūnās into three major parts.

(1) The 10,000 strong corps of Qarāūnās directly attached to the Khān quartering at Siāhkūh in summer and Baghdād in winter belonged to the Khān's *injū*, command of the corps being entrusted to an *amīr* in waiting, who thus became a 'commander of a 10,000 strong corps'; in principle, this position was not hereditary, but it passed from Qūtūbūqā, at the time of Ābāqā Khān's accession, by way of Sūnitāi, Hūlqūtū and Ṭughāchār, to Alādū in the reign of Ghāzān. (*Universal History*.)

(2) Apart from the '10,000 strong corps of Qarāūnās directly attached to the Khān', there were two '10,000 strong corps of Qarāūnās in the Khurāsān area', commanded respectively by Hindū Bītikchī and Naūrūz, which were in existence at least in 1272, in the reign of Ābāqā Khān; but in 1284, Hindū Bītikchī went back on his agreement and failed to meet Arghūn's request for cooperation in the conflict between Prince Arghūn and Aḥmad Khān for succession to the khānate; as a result of this, he was arrested after Arghūn's accession, and his '10,000 strong corps' was disbanded. Naūrūz, too, in 1289 at the end of Arghūn Khān's reign, raised a rebellion against Prince Ghāzān who was in charge of the Khurāsān area. In the course of this, his '10,000 strong corps' was

also broken up. The men, together with the remains of Hindū Bītikchī's '10,000 strong corps' that had been disbanded, formed small groups, in constantly varying combinations. Among them were such bodies of Qarāūnās that Alādū commanded from the time of Ābāqā Khān, and which were active in the service of Ghāzān, but the greater part of them were repeatedly in opposition to Ghāzān. However, in 1294, Naūrūz offered his submission to Ghāzān, and a number of small bands of Qarāūnās also surrendered to him. (*Universal History*)

(3) A force of 20,000 '*robber bands of Qarāūnās*' passed through Kashmīr and entered India, and, making their base there, *they were active on the south eastern borders of the Ilkhanate in the reign of Abāqā Khān*. The word 'Qarāūnās' signified a mixed breed of Mongol men and Indian women. (Marco Polo, *The Description of the World*. The passages in italics are common to the *Universal History*.)

On the basis of these points I would like to proceed at once to make clear what the nature of the Qarāūnās was. However, it is not possible to understand their nature solely by comparison of (1), (2) and (3). A glance at the Qarāūnās as they appear in these (1), (2) and (3) discovers only small parts in common. Such points as may be said to be in common are, first, that the earliest period was the reign of Ābāqā Khān; second, that Alādū, who became fifth commander of the '10,000 strong corps of Qarāūnās directly attached to the Khān' in the reign of Ghāzān Khān, had previously been at the head of Qarāūnās troops in the Khurāsān area in the reigns of Ābāqā Khān and Arghūn Khān. These are all that can be pointed to. The only *amīr* connected with the Qarāūnās in (1) and (2), of whom we can know from the sources, is Alādū, and it is Alādū to whom I wish to draw attention. Examination of (3) brings his ancestry in question, and on this point the 'Study of the Tātār Tribe' says:<sup>(85)</sup>

'After Sālī Nūyān, his son, Alādū, took command of his troops.'

From this we can tell that Alādū's father was Sālī Nūyān, and that Alādū took over the troops that his father had commanded. On this point the 'Study of the Tātār Tribe' once more has the following to say:<sup>(86)</sup>

'20,000 troops were sent to the border of Hindūstān, and garrisoned in the Qundūz, Baqlān and Badakhshān areas. [The position of] commander of a 10,000 strong corps of them [the 20,000 troops] was given to someone called Mūnkū. On his death [the position] was given to someone called Hūqūtur.<sup>(87)</sup> On his death in his turn [Mankū Qān] sent this Sālī

(85) Rashīd 1: p. 189.

(86) Rashīd 1: pp. 188-189.

(87) The original text has Hūqūtur ( هوقوتو ), but as it became clear later that تو is to be regarded as a mistake for تر , I have emended it in advance to Hūqūtur.

Nūyān as a 10,000 strong corps commander of the 20,000 troops in the stead of Hūlāgūtur. Since this was [just] the time when Hūlāgū Khān was appointed [commander of the expeditionary force] to Īrān, Mankkū Qāān spoke as follows to Sālī Nūyān: “The area to which you are going is on the borders of Hindūstān and Kashmīr, and adjacent to the area of Hūlāgū’s expedition. [The troops under] you will become a detachment of Hūlāgū’s [expeditionary] force. That is to say, your troops will give support to Hūlāgū and you will come under Hūlāgū’s orders.” After which, Sālī Nūyān enquired: “Until when will we remain in that area?” [To this Mankkū Qāān] said, “It will probably become a permanent station.” Sālī Nūyān led his troops to Hindūstān and Kashmīr, subjugating many countries, which he plundered and brought under Hūlāgū’s control, as well as sending him many Indians [as prisoners].’

From this we learn that Alādū’s father, Sālī Nūyān, was appointed, and sent from Mongolia, as a 10,000 strong corps commander of the 20,000 troops who had been stationed in the Hindūstān-Kashmīr area, that is to say, the ‘Hindūstān-Kashmīr protectorate’, since before Mankkū Qāān’s reign; and that, on the occasion of Hūlāgū’s Īrān expedition, which took place at almost the same time that he went to his post, he came under the command of Hūlāgū, whose flank he protected by his conquering activities. Accordingly, ‘the troops commanded by Sālī Nūyān’s son, Alādū, after his father’, were the ‘20,000 troops of the “Hindūstān-Kashmīr protectorate”’ commanded by Sālī Nūyān at the time of Hūlāgū’s expedition, but in the ‘Chronicle of Hūlāgū’ we find the following entry about the troops commanded by Sālī Nūyān:<sup>(88)</sup>

‘Of the troops, who were with Sālī Nūyān, all those now anywhere [in Īrān] have become part of the *injū* of Ghāzān Khān, emperor of Islam, by right of succession.’

‘The troops who were with Sālī Nūyān’ are the ‘20,000 men of the “Hindūstān-Kashmīr protectorate”’, in other words ‘the troops commanded by Sālī Nūyān’s son, Alādū, after his father’. Further, then, our investigations in Chapter I showed that ‘the troops who had become part of Ghāzān Khān’s *injū*’ and ‘the troops commanded by Alādū’ could be regarded as none other, in terms of 10,000 strong corps, than the ‘10,000 strong corps of Qarāūnās directly attached to the Khān’, to the command of which Alādū succeeded after Ṭughāchār in the reign of Ghāzān. In short, the predecessors of the ‘10,000 strong corps of Qarāūnās directly attached to the Khān’ are to be sought in the 20,000 troops of the ‘Hindūstān-Kashmīr protectorate’ which had been under the command of Alādū’s father, Sālī Nūyān and other 10,000 strong corps commanders.

(88) Rashīd 2: p. 22.

The predecessors of the '10,000 strong corps of Qarāūnās directly attached to the Khān', commanded by Alādū in Ghāzān Khān's reign, are, then to be sought in the 20,000 troops of the 'Hindūstān-Kashmīr protectorate', commanded by Alādū's father, Sālī Nūyān, but, in that case, what of the '10,000 strong corps of Qarāūnās in the Khurāsān area'? I have recounted in Chapter II how the 10,000 strong corps commanders, Hindū Bītikchī and Naūrūz, commanding the '10,000 strong corps of Qarāūnās in the Khurāsān area' offered resistance to the house of Hūlāgū from the time of Aḥmad Khān's reign, in the course of which the troops were broken up into small groups. But we know that in the end, in 1294, Naūrūz submitted to Prince Ghāzān, and that thereafter many small bands of Qarāūnās came to surrender to Ghāzān. The 'Chronicle of Hūlāgū' says, as quoted above, 'of the troops who were with Sālī Nūyān, all those now anywhere [in Īrān] became part of the *injū* of Ghāzān Khān, emperor of Islam, by right of succession.' If we interpret this passage with particular attention to the words 'all those anywhere [in Īrān]', we may conclude that 'the troops, which entered Ghāzān Khān's *injū*, formerly under Sālī Nūyān's command' were not merely the '10,000 strong corps of Qarāūnās directly attached to the Khān'. Many bodies of Qarāūnās are involved: the Qarāūnās troops once commanded by Alādū in the Khurāsān area; the troops of Qarāūnās in the Khurāsān area who were broken up in Naūrūz's rebellion and surrendered in the course of the rebellion, or else surrendered to Ghāzān Khān after Naūrūz's submission; troops of Qarāūnās in the Khurāsān area who took part in Naūrūz's rebellion on the arrest of Hindū Bītikchī and their disbandment and dispersal, and afterwards surrendered to Ghāzān Khān; and those among them who were subsequently moved to the Ṭāram area.<sup>(89)</sup> In other words, we may conclude that the predecessors of the Qarāūnās troops commanded by Hindū Bītikchī and Naūrūz in the Khurāsān area (first as a '10,000 strong corps', later fragmented) were also the 20,000 troops of the 'Hindūstān-Kashmīr protectorate' commanded by Sālī Nūyān. So the statement in the 'Study of the Tātār Tribe', 'Sālī Nūyān's son, Alādū, commanded his father's troops' is to be understood, in my opinion, as follows: 'the 20,000 troops of the Hindūstān-Kashmīr protectorate,' which were under the command of Sālī Nūyān at the time of Hūlāgū's expedition, were, at some juncture or other, divided into the "10,000 strong corps of Qarāūnās directly attached to the Khān" and the "10,000 strong corps of Qarāūnās in the Khurāsān area". Sālī Nūyān's son, Alādū, was among the "10,000 strong corps of Qarāūnās in the Khurāsān area" and was in command of a part of them (probably a "1,000 strong unit of Qarāūnās"), and acted under the orders of Abāqā Khān and Arghūn Khān; but from the time of Naūrūz's rebellion he gave help to Prince Ghāzān, who was in charge of the Khurāsān area, and even contributed to his acces-

(89) Rashīd 2: p. 330. See text quoted for note (80).

sion; and after Ghāzān's accession, Alādū's father's troops, which had been divided in two, were once more united.'<sup>(90)</sup>

What, then, would have been the nature of the 20,000 troops of the 'Hindūstān-Kashmīr protectorate', under the command of Sālī Nūyān at the time of Hūlāgū's expedition? According to the 'Study of the Tātār Tribe', already quoted, there were two 10,000 strong corps commanders, Mūnkūdū and Hūqūtūr, before Sālī Nūyān was sent from Mongolia to succeed to the post of 10,000 strong corps commander, immediately before Hūlāgū's Īrān expedition, in the reign of Mankkū Qāān. But dates and other details are not clear. This question can be fairly well clarified by reference to the 'Chronicle of Hūlāgū' and the *Yüan-ch'ao pi-shi* 元朝秘史 (*The Secret History of the Mongols*)<sup>(91)</sup>

First, in the account in the 'Chronicle of Hūlāgū' of the composition of Hūlāgū's expeditionary force, we find:<sup>(92)</sup>

[Mankkū Qāān] had discussions with the royal tribe (āqā va īnī) and the following decision was reached: the troops who were sent with Bāijū and Chūrmāghūn to be stationed in Īrān for purposes of pacification,<sup>(93)</sup> were sent with Ṭāir Bahādūr to Kashmīr and Hind, in advance of this (Hūlāgū's Īrān expedition) should all be placed under Hūlāgū's command. The troops held by Dāir Nūyān<sup>(94)</sup> were, after his death, commanded by [ ]<sup>(95)</sup>, after him by [ ],<sup>(96)</sup> after which [Mankkū Qāān] gave [the command of these troops] to Sālī Nūyān of the Tātār tribe. Sālī Nūyān ravaged the Kashmīr area, and brought several thousand prisoners [to Hūlāgū].'

It is thus clear that the 20,000 troops of the 'Hindūstān-Kashmīr protectorate', to the command of which Sālī Nūyān succeeded at the time of Hūlāgū's expedition, had originally been under the command of Dāir Nūyān (Ṭāir Bahādūr).

Comparison of the changes of 10,000 strong corps commanders, as recorded in the 'Chronicle of Hūlāgū' here and the 'Study of the Tātār Tribe' previously, yields the following figure:

(90) It is, of course, true that, in the course of their commanders' opposition to the house of Hūlāgū, the '10,000 strong corps of Qarāūnās in the Khurāsān area' became split up, and it is not to be supposed that the troops of Sālī Nūyān's time were passed on to Alādū just as they were.

(91) Following Naka Michiyo's 那珂通世 translation and commentary on *Ch'êng-chi-ssu han shih-lu* 成吉思汗實錄 (Veritable record of Jīnkkiz Khān) (Tokyo, Chikuma Shobō 筑摩書房, 1943).

(92) Rashīd 2: pp. 21-22.

(93) 'tamā' in the original. There remain some doubtful points in this connection, but here, in view of the context, I have rendered it 'pacification'.

(94) The same man as Ṭāir Bahādūr of course.

(95) The name is missing here.

(96) As above.

‘Chronicle of Hūlāgū’ Dāir → ( ) → ( ) → Sālī ‘Study of the Tātār Tribe’ Mūnkūdū → Hūqūtūr → Sālī

It is thus clear that the successive 10,000 strong corps commanders of the 20,000 troops of the ‘Hīndūstān-Kashmīr protectorate’ were:

Dāir → Mūnkūdū → Hūqūtūr → Sālī<sup>(97)</sup>

Next, at what sort of date would the 20,000 troops of the ‘Hīndūstān-Kashmīr protectorate’ have originated? On this point, there is the following passage in the *Yüan-ch’ao pi-shih* (*Ch’êng-chi-ssü han shih-lu* 成吉思汗實錄) (*The Secret History of the Mongols—Veritable Record of Jīnkīz Khān*):<sup>(98)</sup>

‘Having had himself elected Han 罕 (Qan) [in 1229] and having appropriated the 10,000 bodyguards and the people of the interior to his own [use], Wo-ko-tai Ko-han 斡歌歹合罕 (Ogödei-qahan), after consultation with his elder brother Ch’a-a-tai 察阿歹 (Ca’adai), sent Wo-huo-t’u-êrh 斡豁秃兒 (Oqotur) and Mêng-ko-t’u 蒙格秃 (Möngetü) as reinforcement for Ch’o-êrh-ma-han Huo-êrh-ch’ih 綽兒馬罕豁兒赤 (Cormaqañ-qorci) who had gone on an expedition against the Ko-li-po Sha-lei-t’an 合里伯莎勒壇 (Qalibai-Soltan) of the people of Pa-hei-t’a-t’i 巴黑塔惕 (Baqtat), one of the peoples [whose subjugation] his father Ch’êng-chi-ssü Ko-han 成吉思合罕 (Cinggis-qahan) had left unfinished.’

This passage shows that, immediately after the accession of Ūktāi Qāān in 1229, the two *amīr*, Wo-huo-t’u-êrh and Mêng-ko-t’u were sent out to reinforce the expeditionary force of Ch’o-êrh-ma-han (Chūrmaghūn) which had been operating in Īrān since the regency of Tūlūi in 1228. There can be no doubt that ‘Wo-huo-t’u êrh’ and ‘Mêng-ko-t’u’ in this passage are to be identified with ‘Hūqūtūr’ and ‘Mūnkūdū’, who became 10,000 strong corps commanders

(97) I do not propose a detailed examination of the three 10,000 strong corps commanders before Sālī Nūyān. We can identify Dāir, the first 10,000 strong corps commander, with the 1,000 strong unit commander ‘Ta-i-êrh’ in the *Yüan-ch’ao pi-shih* 元朝秘史 (Naka Michiyo, *op. cit.* p. 276) and ‘Dāir, of the Qūnqītān tribe, 1,000 strong unit commander, of the house of Ūktāi’ in Chapter III of the ‘Chronicle of Chīnkīz’ (table of 1,000 strong unit commanders). The second 10,000 strong corps commander can probably be identified with ‘Mūnkūdū Sāūr, younger brother of Jebe (Chê-pieh 哲別)’ of the ‘Study of the Bisūt Tribe’ (Rashīd I: p. 557), and the third, Hūqūtūr, with the ‘Hūqūtūr (original text, Hūqūtū), younger brother of Aljī Nūyān (An-ch’ên-na-yen 按陳那顏), son of Deī Nūyān’ in the ‘Study of the Qunqīrāt Tribe’ (Rashīd I: p. 394). Dāir, the first of the 10,000 strong corps commanders was an *amīr* who took part in Jīnkīz Khān’s central Asian expedition, and we also know of the second corps commander’s elder brother, Jebe, and the elder brother, Aljī Nūyān, of the third corps commander, Hūqūtūr, as *amīr* who also took an active part in Jīnkīz Khān’s central Asian expedition. In short, Sālī Nūyān’s three predecessors were all *amīr* of tribes which were active in the west at the time of Jīnkīz Khān’s central Asian expedition.

(98) Naka Michiyo, *op. cit.*, p. 514.

with the 'Hindūstān-Kashmīr protectorate'; it is not clear from this passage whether the first 10,000 strong corps commander, Dāir, was active at the same time as Hūqūtūr and Mūnkūdū or whether he was their predecessor, but we do at least know that the troops of the 'Hindūstān-Kashmīr protectorate' set out from Mongolia immediately after the accession of Ūktāi Qān in 1229.

In short, it is clear that the predecessors of the '10,000 strong corps of Qarāūnās directly attached to the Khān', which had come, immediately after Abāqā Khān's accession, from the command of Qūtūbūqā by way of Sūnitāi, Hūlqūtū and Ṭughāchār to that of Alādū in the reign of Ghāzān Khān, and the predecessors of the '10,000 strong corps of Qarāūnās in the Khurāsān area', commanded respectively by Hindū Bītikchī and Naūrūz, were the 20,000 troops of the 'Hindūstān-Kashmīr protectorate', which originated immediately after the accession of Uktāi Khān in 1229; their first 10,000 strong corps commander, Dāir, was succeeded by Mūnkūdū and Hūqūtūr, after which, at the time of Hūlāgū's expedition, came their fourth 10,000 strong corps commander, Sālī Nūyān, father of Alādū.

At this point I would like to recall my analysis of the passage of Marco Polo in Chapter III. Marco Polo said, 'The Qarāūnās bands are 20,000 strong. They passed through *Kashmīr* and entered *India*, and, making their base there, were active as robbers, centred on the Kirmān area, in the reign of Ābāqā Khān. The word, 'Qarāūnās', means "a mixed breed born of Mongolian men and Indian women".' The item, 'robbers in the Kirmān area' will be touched on later; but if we examine two other points here: 'the Qarāūnās bands are 20,000 strong. They passed through *Kashmīr* and entered *India*, where they made their base'; and 'The word, "Qarāūnās" means "a mixed breed born of Mongolian men and Indian women"'; there would seem to be agreement between the *Universal History* and Marco Polo's *The Description of the World*. That is to say, as I have already shown, the predecessors of the '10,000 strong corps of Qarāūnās', mentioned in the *Universal History*, were, both for those 'directly attached to the Khān' and for those 'in the Khurāsān area', the 20,000 troops of the 'Hindūstān-Kashmīr protectorate', who were sent to the Hindūstān-Kashmīr region and stationed there immediately after the accession of Ūktāi Qān in 1229;<sup>(99)</sup> these troops were sent out in 1229; the first appearance of the word 'Qarāūnās' in the *Universal History* is in the reign of Ābāqā Khān; so, even taking the date of his accession, 1265, there is an interval of 36 years; it is thus wholly conceivable that during this period there should have been produced a mixed breed between the Mongol soldiers of these troops and indigenous Indian women. In short, it is clear that the word 'Qarāūnās' as it appears in the Īlkhānate historical materials is the name given after the establishment of the Īlkhānate to a mixed breed born between the 20,000 Mongolian troops stationed in the

(99) One should not, perhaps, make too much of the agreement of the figure, '20,000', here, but one cannot, either, think it entirely fortuitous.

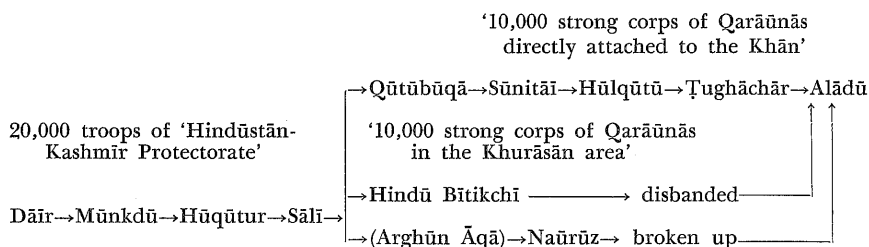
'Hindūstān-Kashmīr protectorate' which originated immediately after the accession of Ūktāi Qāān, and indigenous Indian women.

## Section 2

Our investigations in Section 1 have established what was the true nature of the 'Qarāūnās' which appear in important historical materials relating to the Īlkhānate. But there still remain the following questions:

- (1) In what circumstances did the Qarāūnās, a mixed breed from Mongol soldiers of the 'Hindūstān-Kashmīr protectorate' and indigenous women, come to form the strength, from the time of Ābāqā Khān, of the '10,000 strong corps of Qarāūnās directly attached to the Khān' and the '10,000 strong corps of Qarāūnās in the Khurāsān area'?
- (2) How are we to explain the 'robber bands of Qarāūnās' raiding the south eastern borders of the Īlkhānate?
- (3) Though we may consider it certain that the 'Qarāūnās', who appear in important historical materials relating to the Īlkhānate, were a mixed breed of Mongol soldiers of the 'Hindūstān-Kashmīr protectorate' and indigenous women, does the word, 'Qarāūnās', itself, as Marco Polo says, in fact mean 'mixed breed'?

I would first like to throw light on (1), the most important of these questions, at the same time investigating (2). The following figure resumes the changes in the 10,000 strong commanders, of the troops of the 'Hindūstān-Kashmīr protectorate', the '10,000 strong corps of Qarāūnās directly attached to the Khān', and the '10,000 strong corps of Qarāūnās in the Khurāsān area':



I would now like to investigate when and how the Qarāūnās, who were the principal component of the 20,000 troops of the 'Hindūstān-Kashmīr protectorate', came to form the '10,000 strong corps of Qarāūnās directly attached to Ābāqā Khān'.

The first question to raise on this point is the chronological relationship between Sālī Nūyān, the fourth 10,000 strong corps commander of the 20,000 troops of the 'Hindūstān-Kashmīr protectorate', and Qūtūbūqā, the first 10,000 strong corps commander of the '10,000 strong corps of Qarāūnās directly



attached to the Khān'. As I have already described, Sālī Nūyān succeeded to the post of 10,000 strong corps commander of the 20,000 troops of the 'Hindūstān-Kashmīr protectorate' immediately before Hūlāgū's expedition, and, being in the Hindūstān-Kashmīr area at the time of that expedition, he provided flank support for the conquering activities of Hūlāgū's main body, from all of which it is clear that he was an *amīr* in the reign of Hūlāgū Khān. However, apart from the references already quoted from the 'Study of the Tātār Tribe' and the 'Chronicle of Hūlāgū', there are only fragmentary items about him in the *Yüan-shih* 元史 (History of the Yüan) and the *Herāt Records*, so we know nothing whatever about his circumstances subsequent to Hūlāgū's expedition.

Qūtübūqā's death in battle with the forces of Qipchāq Khān's took place, as already stated, in 1265, just one month after Ābāqā Khān's accession. So one wonders whether one would not do well to suppose that he was in command of the '10,000 strong corps of Qarāūnās directly attached to the Khān' before Ābāqā Khān's accession, in the reign of Hūlāgū.

In short, Sālī Nūyān's command of the 20,000 troops of the 'Hindūstān-Kashmīr protectorate' and Qūtübūqā's command of the '10,000 strong corps of Qarāūnās directly attached to Ābāqā Khān' were both in the reign of Hūlāgū Khān and roughly simultaneous. So we may take it that the '10,000 strong corps of Qarāūnās directly attached to Ābāqā Khān' was, from the reign of Hūlāgū Khān, under the control of Prince Ābāqā.

Next, by what conjuncture did the Qarāūnās, who formed the troops of the 'Hindūstān-Kashmīr protectorate' under the command of Sālī Nūyān, come to have a relationship with Ābāqā in the reign of Hūlāgū? There can be only one answer: this lies in the fact that, in the last years of Hūlāgū Khān's reign (1263-64), Prince Ābāqā was despatched on administrative and defence duties in the Khurāsān area.<sup>(100)</sup> That is to say, as has already been described, the troops of the 'Hindūstān-Kashmīr protectorate' commanded by Sālī Nūyān came under the supreme command of Hūlāgū at the time of his expedition, but, when Ābāqā was sent to take charge of the Khurāsān area, these troops passed under his supreme command. So we may suppose that it must have been at this point that the link arose between Prince Ābāqā and the Qarāūnās who constituted the troops of the 'Hindūstān-Kashmīr protectorate'.

Next, when would a part of the Qarāūnās have come to constitute the '10,000 strong corps of Qarāūnās directly attached to Ābāqā Khān' with summer and winter quarters at Siāhkūh and Baghdād respectively?

A clue to this question is provided by a fragmentary reference in the 'Chronicle of Ghāzān'. This occurs in the account of the time when Ghāzān, who was dealing with Naūrūz's rebellion in the Khurāsān area, went to

(100) Rashīd 2: p. 91.

Isfarāin in order to avoid a confrontation with Naūrūz who had been strengthened by the acquisition of Qāidū's reinforcements:<sup>(101)</sup>

'Nūrīn, Qutlughshāh and Sūtāi, [*amīr* of Ghāzān] made known a report: "All the Qarāūna, who came to be joined with the *ordu* on account of Abātāi's great 1,000 strong unit (*hazāre-i buzurǵ*), are rebellious, and were discussing returning [eastwards] in defiance".'

The 'Abātāi' mentioned here is the *amīr* Abātāi Nūyān of the Qunqirāt tribe, who was active from the time of Hūlāǵū's expedition, and who died in 1280 at the end of Ābāqā Khān's reign. There is a reference to him in the 'Chronicle of Ābāqā' which describes the dispositions of Ābāqā's army in 1269, when his troops were engaged with those of Barāq from Chaghatāi's country, which had invaded the Khurāsān area:<sup>(102)</sup>

'Abātāi Nūyān was in command of the centre (*qūl*). And, again, in the 'Chronicle of Arghūn':<sup>(103)</sup>

'[Arghūn Khān] rewarded the *amīr* Qunchaqbāl and conferred on him the post of his grandfather, Abātāi Nūyān, that is to say, the post of *amīr* commanding the centre (*qūl*).

We thus know that he was the *amīr* who commanded the centre (*qūl*) of Ābāqā Khān's army.

There is thus no difference between 'Abātāi's great 1,000 strong unit' and the '1,000 strong unit of the centre (1,000 strong unit of lifeguards) of Ābāqā commanded by Abātāi'.<sup>(104)</sup> And the fragmentary reference in the 'Chronicle of Ghāzān, quoted above, seems to show that Qarāūnās did in fact come and rally from the east on account of the '1,000 strong unit of the centre (1,000 strong unit of lifeguards, great 1,000 strong unit)', which was directly attached to Ābāqā Khān. Reasoning from the fact that in 1269, Abātāi Nūyān was in command of Ābāqā Khān's 1,000 strong unit of the centre', it would seem at first sight that, though the Qarāūnās rallying from the east is natural, this must have been before 1269, at the time, in fact, in 1265, when Prince Ābāqā returned from his post in the Khurāsān area to Ādherbaijān on account of his accession. The case of the '10,000 strong corps of Qarāūnās directly attached to Ābāqā Khān' may be understood in just the same way as that of the '1,000 strong unit of the centre', of Ābāqā Khān: when Ābāqā came back from Khurāsān to Ādherbaijān in 1265, he would

(101) Rashīd 2: p. 271.

(102) Rashīd 2: p. 121.

(103) Rashīd 2: p. 209.

(104) The words meaning '1,000 strong unit of lifeguards' in the *Universal History* are '*hazāre-i qūl*' (1,000 strong unit of the centre) (Rashīd 2, p. 518), '*hazāre-i khās*' (1,000 strong unit of bodyguards) and '*sar-qūl*' (head central troops). The expression, '*qūl-i buzurǵ*' (great centre troops) (Rashīd 2, p. 335) is also known.

have brought with him part of the Qarāūnās, who had been under his command when he was at his post, and these would have entered his own *injū* as a 10,000 strong corps directly attached to him. No doubt Qūtūbūqā, the first of the 10,000 strong corps commanders, had been in command of these troops in the Khurāsān area before Ābāqā Khān's accession.

We have now made it clear that the '10,000 strong corps of Qarāūnās directly attached to the Khān' was constituted from the Qarāūnās who accompanied Ābāqā when he left his post in the Khurāsān area and returned to Ādherbāijān for the purpose of his accession. But what, then, was the relationship between the '10,000 strong corps of Qarāūnās in the Khurāsān area' and Prince Ābāqā's Khurāsān command?

It is almost impossible to find any concrete reference to the time of Prince Ābāqā's Khurāsān command, but there is a single item, as follows, in the 'Study of the Bisūt Tribe':<sup>(105)</sup>

'Mūnkdū Sāūr [younger brother of Jebe] was originally in the personal service of Tūlūī Khān. Mūnkdū had seven sons, the youngest of whom was called Ūrūs, and he came to this place [Īrān] serving Hūlāgū Khān as *qūrchi* of the guard. (. . .) Then, when Ābāqā Khān<sup>(106)</sup> was appointed to [take charge of] the Khurāsān area in Hūlāgū Khān's last years, Ūrūs was appointed *amīr* of the four guards (*amīr-i chahār kezīk*) and given wide powers. Then, when Ābāqā Khān<sup>(107)</sup> became king (khān) and returned from Khurāsān, he sent Ūrūs back and sent him on defence duties on the Herāt and Bādghīs borders, placing the troops in that area under his command.'

This passage tells us that when Prince Ābāqā, who had been sent to Khurāsān in Hūlāgū's reign, returned to Ādherbāijān in 1265 to ascend the throne, Ūrūs, a powerful *amīr* of the Bisūt tribe, who had served the khān personally and accompanied Ābāqā, was left behind in the Bādghīs area, for the defence of Khurāsān, the troops of that area being placed under his command. The Bādghīs area, here, where Ūrūs was left in charge of defence, was, as has already been said, the garrison area of the '10,000 strong corps, 1,000 strong units, of Qarāūnās in the Khurāsān area'. Ūrūs's father, Mūnkdū Sāūr, is to be identified with the Mūnkdū who was the second 10,000 strong corps commander of the 'Hindūstān-Kashmīr protectorate', while Alādū, son of Sālī Nūyān, the fourth, 10,000 strong corps commander of the 'Hindūstān-Kashmīr protectorate', was in command of Qarāūnās troops in the Khurāsān area in the time of Ābāqā and Arghūn; from these two facts we may suppose

(105) Rashīd 1, pp. 557–558. The text has 'Yīsūt Tribe', but 'Bīsūt Tribe' is, of course, correct.

(106) The text has Ābāqā Khān, but, of course, Ābāqā had not yet succeeded to the throne at this time.

(107) See preceding note.

that the troops commanded by Mūnkdū's son, Ūrūs, in the Bādghīs area, at the time of Ābāqā's return to Ādherbaijān were a part of the Qarāūnās troops who had remained in the Khurāsān area. There are no references whatever to this Ūrūs in the 'main chronicles', and we are therefore unable to find out anything about his concrete relationship with Hindū Bītikchī, Naūrūz, Nikpaī and Alādū, the *amīr* discussed in Chapter II, who commanded Qarāūnās troops in the Khurāsān area. However, Hindū Bītikchī and many of his fellow *amīr* were also, like Ūrūs, *amīr* in personal attendance on Prince Ābāqā and accompanied him to his post in charge of Khurāsān; and it would surely be safe to suppose that, even after Ābāqā's return to Ādherbaijān, they would have remained on defence duties in the area in command of Qarāūnās troops. To sum up, we may suppose that the '10,000 strong corps of Qarāūnās in the Khurāsān area' were a part of the Qarāūnās who had been under Ābāqā's command and who, when he returned from his post in Khurāsān to Ādherbaijān to accede to the throne, were placed under the command of his personal *amīr* and formed into a garrison force for the Khurāsān area. Their origin would thus, like that of the '10,000 strong corps of Qarāūnās directly attached to the Khān' have been at the time of Prince Ābāqā's return to Ādherbaijān.

In view of the foregoing, I think we can make the following statements about the relationship between the 20,000 troops of the 'Hindūstān-Kashmīr protectorate' and the various Qarāūnās who appear in the important historical materials for the Īlkhānate "(the '10,000 strong corps of Qarāūnās directly attached to the Khān', the '10,000 strong corps of Qarāūnās in the Khurāsān area', and the 'robber bands of Qarāūnās on the south eastern borders of the Īlkhānate')" "When, at the end of Hūlāgū's reign, his son, Ābāqā, was sent to take charge of the Khurāsān area, the troops of the "Hindūstān-Kashmīr protectorate", led by Sālī Nūyān, who, under Hūlāgū's supreme command, had been providing him with flank protection in the course of his conquests, came under the command of Ābāqā, and this was the origin of the link between the Qarāūnās, who constituted these troops, and Ābāqā.<sup>(108)</sup> Then, when, in 1265, Ābāqā returned to Ādherbaijān to mount the khān's throne, part of the Qarāūnās, whose link with Ābāqā had become particularly strong, accompanied Ābāqā and moved west, and these were the constituents of the "10,000 strong corps of Qarāūnās directly attached to Ābāqā Khān" and the "1,000 strong units of the centre (1,000 strong units of lifeguards, great 1,000 strong units)." Then the "10,000 strong corps of Qarāūnās directly attached to Ābāqā Khān" entered Ābāqā Khān's *injū*, becoming a directly attached force, quartered at Siāhkūh in summer and Baghdād in winter, serving in Ābāqā Khān's *ordu*, and commanded successively by three of Ābāqā Khān's personal *amīr*, Qūtūbūqā, Sūnitāi, and Hūlqūtū. The "10,000 strong

(108) There are no sources bearing on the 10,000 strong corps commander, Sālī Nūyān's situation at this time, so nothing whatever is known of it.

corps" next entered the *injū* of Arghūn Khān and became a directly attached force, its command passing to Ṭughāchār, and being quartered, as in the previous reign, at Siāhkūh and Baghdād. It next passed into the *injū* of Ghāzān Khān and came under the command of Alādū. Then Ābāqā also formed the Qarāūnās, who had not accompanied him, into the "10,000 strong corps of Qarāūnās in the Khurāsān area", *amīr* backed up by Ābāqā Khān's influence being appointed 10,000 strong corps commanders and assigned to their command, and this constituted a garrison force for the Khurāsān area. However, perhaps because they were on the frontier, these troops gradually took on the character of personal forces of the 10,000 strong corps commanders, and, with the reign of Arghūn Khān, resistance to the house of Hūlāgū set in. In the course of this, the "10,000 strong corps" broke up into small bands; but after the surrender of the 10,000 strong corps commander Naūrūz in 1294, a number of small bands of Qarāūnās also came to surrender to Prince Ghāzān; after Ghāzān's accession, these were unified under Alādū who had become commander of the "10,000 strong corps of Qarāūnās directly attached to the Khān", and Alādū reconstituted as one force the troops that had been commanded by his father, Sālī Nūyān, and which had split in two. As to the point that the "robber bands of Qarāūnās", who raided the south eastern borders of the Īlkhānate in Ābāqā's reign, were a mixed breed produced by men of the 20,000 troops of the "Hindūstān-Kashmīr protectorate" and indigenous women, they were completely similar in this respect to the elements composing the "10,000 strong corps of Qarāūnās directly attached to the Khān" and the "10,000 strong corps of Qarāūnās in the Khurāsān area"; but at the moment when, in the closing years of Hūlāgū Khān's reign, Ābāqā was sent to take charge of the Khurāsān area, they were already turning independent on the south eastern borders of the Īlkhānate and so did not pass under Ābāqā's command, and even after Ābāqā Khān's accession they continued as raiders of the south eastern borders.'

We have here resolved questions (1) and (2), and I would next like briefly to touch on (3), the meaning of the word, Qarāūnās. Marco Polo says, 'Qarāūnās means, in their language, a mixed breed from Mongol men and Indian women'. As is clear from our investigation hitherto, the 'Qarāūnās', who appear in the sources relating to the Īlkhānate, were undoubtedly a mixed breed of Mongol men forming the troops of the 'Hindūstān-Kashmīr protectorate' and indigenous women. However, no word 'qarāūnās' meaning 'children of mixed breed' exists in Mongol, and so we cannot just accept Marco Polo's statement as it stands.

The mixed breed born between the men of the 'Hindūstān-Kashmīr protectorate' and indigenous Indian women were probably known by the distinguishing name of Qarāūnās because of some externally visible characteristic, and we may suppose that the word too was expressive of such an external characteristic. It would seem almost certain that the Qarāūnās,

being a mixed breed from Indian women would have been blacker in colour than ordinary Mongols, and we may suppose that the 'qarā' of 'qarāūnās' was a transcription of the sound 'khara' which means 'black' in Mongol. Then, according to a suggestion made by Professor Kazuo Enoki 榎一雄, 'ūnās', 'ūnā' or 'ūna' might be a transcription of Hsiung-nu 匈奴, so that 'Qarāūnās' might well mean 'black Hsiung-nu'. There is no doubt, either from the fact that the Qarāūnās formed the Khān's directly attached force or from the statement quoted from the *Waṣṣaff History*, that they were exceptionally ferocious, which would account for their being compared with the Hsiung-nu, and this combined with the external characteristic of being black might well have led to the appellation, 'Qarāūnās (black Hsiung-nu)'. Various theories have been advanced as to the meaning of 'Qarāūnās', but the above, following Professor Enoki, would seem to be most satisfactory.

#### Conclusion

The investigations described in the preceding four chapters have enabled us to reach some reasonable conclusions on the nature of the Qarāūnās, their relationship with the Īlkhānate and the meaning of their name. I now propose to end with a brief account of the significance of the Qarāūnās question and the circumstances of the Qarāūnās troops after the reign of Ghāzān Khān.

As has been said, Sālī Nūyān's son, Alādū, followed Ṭughāchār, in Ghāzān Khān's reign, as commander of the '10,000 strong corps of Qarāūnās directly attached to the Khān', and he also united the small bands of Qarāūnās in the Khurāsān area, reconstituting the greater part of the troops of the 'Hindūstān-Kashmīr protectorate', that his father had formerly commanded, but what significance would these facts have had? To answer this question we have to know about Ṭughāchār, the fourth commander of the '10,000 strong corps of Qarāūnās directly attached to the Khān', before Alādū.

As has already been said, Ṭughāchār was originally an 'amīr-in-waiting' to Abāqā,<sup>(109)</sup> but after Arghūn's accession, he became the fourth commander of the '10,000 strong corps of Qarāūnās directly attached to the Khān'. Then, in 1288, he was also given by Arghūn Khān authority over the 'various areas of the *injū* of Arghūn Khān.'<sup>(110)</sup> Ṭughāchār became powerful with his command of the '10,000 strong corps of Qarāūnās directly attached to the Khān', which was in Arghūn Khān's *injū*, and his authority over the 'various areas of the *injū*' and, from the final period of Arghūn Khān's reign to the reign of Ghāzān Khān, he always played an important role in the political struggles surrounding the conflict for the throne, and was involved

(109) See note (36).

(110) Rashīd 2: p. 211.

in many a plot and act of treachery. His first plot involved the killing of Jūshī, Qūjār, Ūrdūqaiā and Sa'd al-Daūra, Arghūn Khān's most trusted *amīr*, immediately before Arghūn Khān's death.<sup>(111)</sup> This conduct of his made him afraid of Ghāzān, Arghūn Khān's son, and, after the death of the latter, he supported the accession of Prince Bāidū, but was unsuccessful; in the end he served Gaīkhātū Khān, on his accession, and became one of the latter's powerful *amīr*.<sup>(112)</sup> He next hatched a plot in support of prince Anbārjī (son of Mankkūtīmūr, eleventh son of Hūlāgū), failed and was arrested, but he was once again released.<sup>(113)</sup> After this he linked himself secretly with Prince Bāidū, betrayed Gaīkhātū Khān, and, on Bāidū Khān's accession, became one of his powerful *amīr*; but finding himself in rivalry with Tūdājū, a 10,000 strong corps commander of the Qūnqqtān tribe, also one of Bāidū Khān's powerful *amīr*, he betrayed Bāidū Khān, and surrendered to Prince Ghāzān, who had advanced with his army from the Khurāsān area.<sup>(114)</sup> One whose actions were much the same as those of Ṭughāchār was Qūnchaqbāl. In the reign of Arghūn Khān he took over 'Ābāqā Khān's 1,000 strong unit in the centre (1,000 strong unit of lifeguards, great 1,000 strong unit)', the main body of which was formed by the Qarāūnās,<sup>(115)</sup> and he, too, like Ṭughāchār, had been one of Abāqā Khān's *amīr*-in-waiting.<sup>(116)</sup> The reason that these two always played central roles in the struggles for the throne was, precisely, the presence in the background of their '10,000 strong corps of Qarāūnās directly attached to the Khān' and the 'Khān's 1,000 strong unit of the centre'.<sup>(117)</sup> In short, there was an increasing tendency, from the time of Arghūn Khān's reign, for even the Khān's directly attached force, mainly composed of the Qarāūnās of the '10,000 strong corps of Qarāūnās directly attached to the Khān', and the 'Khān's 1,000 strong unit of the centre', to take on the character of private troops of their corps or unit commanders. But, organised as they were in '10,000 strong corps' and '1,000 strong units', they were the stronger for being the Khān's directly attached force, and for that reason, probably, were not disbanded.

In 1295, Ghāzān marched from the Khurāsān area to Ādherbaījān and overthrew Bāidū Khān. His first task, it need hardly be said, was to root out the cause of the struggles for the Khanate bound up with the continuing rivalry for power between the *amīr*. Immediately after executing Bāidū

(111) Rashīd 2: p. 226.

(112) Rashīd 2: pp. 227–228. pp. 233–234.

(113) Rashīd 2: pp. 234–236.

(114) Rashīd 2: p. 243, 294.

(115) See note (103).

(116) See note (36).

(117) *Waṣṣāf History*, p. 260 records that, immediately after the accession of Gaīkhātū Khān, Ṭughāchār and Qūnchaqbāl lost the command of their own troops, but this seems to have been a temporary matter.

Khān, Ghāzān executed Qūnchaqbāl,<sup>(118)</sup> who had been on the side of Bāidū, and, immediately after his accession, he exiled Ṭughāchār, who had come to surrender to him, to Rūm, where he had him murdered some months later.<sup>(119)</sup> At this point, the Khān's directly attached forces, chiefly made up of the Qarāūnās of the '10,000 strong corps of Qarāūnās directly attached to the Khān' and the '1,000 strong unit of the centre', all came under Ghāzān Khān's control. The small bands of Qarāūnās, who had surrendered to him in the Khurāsān area, were combined with the greater part of the troops of the 'Hindūstān-Kashmīr protectorate', formerly commanded by Sālī Nūyān, under the unified control of Ghāzān Khān. Then Alādū, the son of Sālī Nūyān, who had done Ghāzān good service in his Khurāsān period, was put in command of these forces. In short, Alādū's becoming corps commander of the '10,000 strong corps of Qarāūnās directly attached to the Khān' was not just a matter of his succeeding as fifth corps commander, after Ṭughāchār, who had been fourth; it should be interpreted as an important event, it being Ghāzān's first step towards rooting out the evil of the constant struggles for the Khanate and establishing unity of action.

Next, why did Ābāqā make the Qarāūnās his directly attached forces? I think that this can be treated as a question of the character of the Īlkhānate in relation to the circumstances in which it came into being. That is to say, Hūlāgū, the first Īlkhān was originally the commander-in-chief of the expeditionary force, and, after his conquest he became 'Governor-General' of the territory of Īrān, which formed the *injū* of the house of Tūlūi and was entrusted to him by Mankkū Qāān. Accordingly, most of the troops he led from Mongolia were simply under his command, not his own troops. They were tribal troops, or troops put under his command at the time of the expedition, forces which had their origin in such outposts of the Mongol empire of Ūktāi's reign as the 'Ādherbaījān military government' or the 'Hindūstān-Kashmīr protectorate', their sole business being to take part in the conquest. But right in the middle of the campaign, in 1259, the news came of the death of Mankkū Qāān, who had ordered the subjugation of Īrān, and this was followed by a struggle that arose between Qūbilāi and Ariqbūkā for the throne of the Qāān. It was necessary to counter the forces of the Mamlūks and those of the country of Qipchāq Khān who had designs on the conquered territory. Hūlāgū inevitably gave up all thought of returning home and remained in Īrān. At this point, Hūlāgū, who was originally commander-in-chief of the Īrān expeditionary force, finished his conquest, and then became 'Governor-General of Īrān', the position entrusted to him by Mankkū Qāān; thus came into being the Īlkhānate, the Mongol authority of which Hūlāgū was the first *Īlkhān*. However, as was said above, the greater part of the

(118) Rashīd 2: pp. 300-301.

(119) Rashīd 2: p. 302. pp. 307-308.



various forces which formed the nucleus of the Īlkhānate were not Hūlāgū's own troops, and so it cannot be said that, when the Īlkhānate was first set up, the basis of the khān's authority was necessarily very strong. In 1265, Hūlāgū had hardly marked this stage in the conquest when he died, and his son Ābāqā acceded. On this occasion he brought with him from his post in the Khurāsān area the Qarāūnās who had become linked to him there, making them his own directly attached force; this, too, was simply a contrivance to strengthen the authority of the *khān*.

In the reign of Ābāqā Khān, who succeeded to the conquering activities of Hūlāgū, there were continual invasions by the troops of hostile countries, Qīpchaq Khān's, Chaghatāi Khān's, the Mamlūks'; no particular problem arose between Ābāqā Khān and the various Mongol forces, which formed the nucleus of the Īlkhānate as to the solidarity necessary to counter these incursions. But in 1282, when he had brought a certain stability to the Īlkhānate, Ābāqā Khān died. And separatist symptoms, which had been taking root since the establishment of the Īlkhānate, bound up with struggles for the succession, began to emerge into the open, and there was a state of continual confusion. At this time, the various tribal forces, which had formed the nucleus of Hūlāgū's expeditionary force, and the various forces, that had originated in the outposts of Ūktāi Qān's reign, had an increasingly strong tendency to independence. So when in 1295 Ghāzān marched from the Khurāsān area, overthrew Bāiḍū Khān and succeeded to the throne, he made his closest *amīr* his instruments, and dealt with the various forces tending towards independence. By first reuniting the troops of the 'Hindūstān-Kashmīr protectorate', (Qarāūnās troops) which had been split in two, he cut at the root of the struggles for the khānate. He next destroyed the tribes who had formed the nucleus of Hūlāgū's expeditionary force, and then proceeded to extirpate the successors to the 'Ādherbaijān military government' and the 'Khurāsān government-general', and he further killed many of the princes who were disputing the throne. In doing all this Ghāzān was successful in establishing a unified authority, which was quite epoch making in the history of the Īlkhānate, of which the nucleus was his closest *amīr*.<sup>(120)</sup>

In short, the reunification under Ghāzān of the troops of the 'Hindūstān-Kashmīr protectorate' (Qarāūnās troops) which were divided in two at the

(120) The account of the course of Ghāzān Khān's reunification, in Chapter 2 of the 'Chronicle of Ghāzān', is fairly detailed, but the preceding 'main chronicles' are so terse that one has a strong feeling of abruptness, and so, in order to understand various concrete matters—what had been the circumstances of the various Mongol forces, destroyed by Ghāzān, since the foundation of the Īlkhānate? Or, what sort of people formed the nucleus of Ghāzān Khān's political authority?—it is necessary to bring together and study the 'Studies of Tribes' and other detailed information. These matters have hitherto scarcely been investigated, but they constitute an important problem in the history of the Īlkhānate, and I am hoping to publish another article on this subject.

time of Ābāqā Khān's accession, should be understood as, 'the essential separatism of the Īlkhānate rooted in the circumstances of its foundation, and an aspect of Ghāzān's action to overcome this and bring unity.'

We will finally touch briefly on the state of the 'Qarāūnās troops' who were incorporated in Ghāzān Khān's *injū*, after his time.

It was Alādū who was in command of the 'Qarāūnās troops' unified in the time of Ghāzān. The 'Study of the Tātār Tribe' has the following passage:<sup>(121)</sup>

'Aladū had two sons. One was Baktūt, who was *amīr* of the Qarāūna troops stationed in Khurāsān. The other was Dalqak, who served under Ghāzān Khān.'

It is thus clear that, in Ghāzān's reign, Alādū's son, Baktūt, was in command of the Qarāūnās troops in the Khurāsān area.

We also find the following in a passage in the 'Chronicle of Ghāzān', treating of matters a few months after Ghāzān's accession:<sup>(122)</sup>

'In 695 (1295–1296), (. . .), the *amīr* Alādū arrived from the Khurāsān area, and submitted a candid report about the state of affairs there.'

This tells us that he went to the Khurāsān area after Ghāzān's accession. Taking this together with the fact that his son, Baktūt, was in command of the Qarāūnās troops in the Khurāsān area, it would seem certain that, after Ghāzān Khān's accession, Alādū was in charge of the main force of 'Qarāūnās troops', and that they were stationed in the Khurāsān area.

Scarcely any references can be found to Alādū after the period quoted above, and the year of his death is unknown. But his son Baktūt, in the reign of Uljāitū Khān (1304–1316) which followed that of Ghāzān Khān, and of Abū Sa'īd Khān (1316–1335), was, we know, stationed in the Khurāsān area and was extraordinarily powerful, and it is to be supposed that he had succeeded to his father's control over the 'Qarāūnās troops'. However, after Ghāzān Khān's reign, control over the Khurāsān area was not necessarily stable. As a result, Baktūt, too, had an increasing tendency to independence after the death of Uljāitū Khān. He joined with Prince Yasāūr, of Chaghatāi's line, and opposed Abū Sa'īd, but eventually, when Yasāūr's followers turned on their leader in about 1320, Baktūt was killed at the outset.<sup>(123)</sup> We may doubtless suppose that the Qarāūnās troops were also disbanded at this time.

The name Qarāūnās is also found in the records of Tīmūr's reign. There it is a term of contempt used by the Mogūls of Mughūlistān for the Chaghatāi

(121) Rashīd 1: p. 189.

(122) Rashīd 2: p. 308.

(123) Ḥāfīz-i Abrū: *Dhail-i Jāmi' al-Tavārikh*, ed. by Khān-Bābā Bayānī, Tehran, 1939, p. 112.

Turks of Māvarā' al-nahr. It was probably not applied to the 'Qarāūnās troops' of the Īlkhānate period, disbanded on the death of Baktūt, or to the 'robber bands of Qarāūnās' connected with the country of Chaghatāi Khān, but even so, one may think that some of them were included.