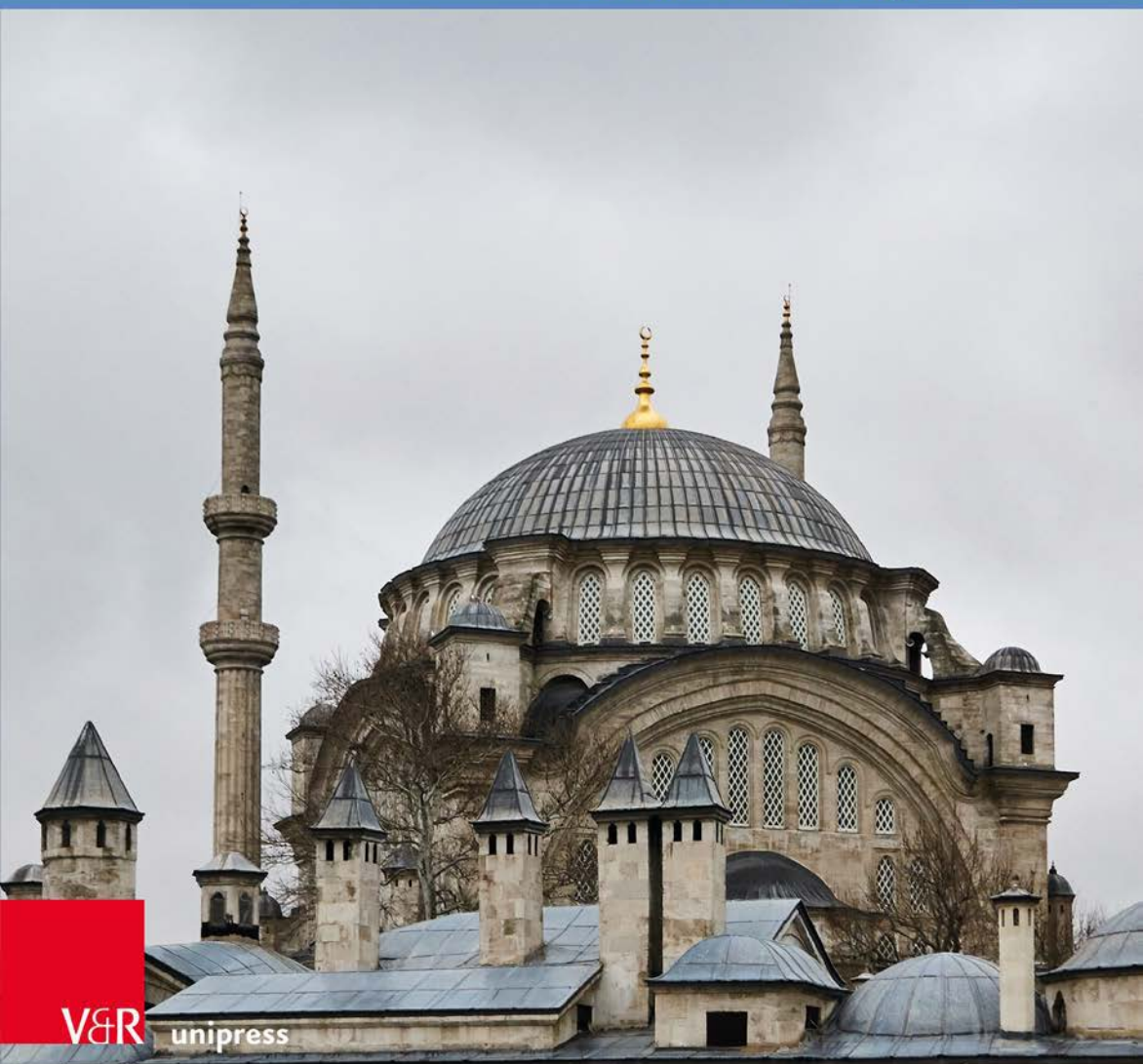


Sevgi Ağcagül / Henning Sievert (Hg.)

Kitāb-ı Hedāyā

Studien zum Osmanischen Reich und
seinen Nachbargebieten

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Zu Ehren von Hedda Reindl-Kiel

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Zu diesem Band

Für die Entstehung des vorliegenden Bandes könnten viele Gründe aufgeführt werden: Die vor einigen Jahren erfolgte Pensionierung der hier Geehrten oder die besonderen Geburtstage, anlässlich derer Publikationen dieser Art herausgegeben werden. Mehr als solche Anlässe ist es aber die von den Herausgebern und den Autoren der Beiträge tief empfundene Achtung für Hedda Reindl-Kiel und ihr Werk, die den Anlaß zu dieser Festschrift gab.

Hedda Reindl-Kiel verbrachte nach ihrer Promotion an der Ludwig Maximilians-Universität München den größten Teil ihres akademischen Lebens an der Rheinischen Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität Bonn, zunächst am neu gegründeten Seminar für Orientalische Sprachen und später in der Abteilung für Orientalische und Asiatische Sprachen des Instituts für Orient- und Asienwissenschaften, in welches das Seminar im Jahre 2006 integriert wurde. Mehrere Generationen dankbarer Absolventen wurden in dieser Zeit im professionellen Übersetzen zwischen dem Deutschen und dem Türkischen ausgebildet – und ein inoffizielles „Studium“ der Osmanistik gab es gleich dazu. Die Herausgeber dieses Bandes kamen in ihrer leider sehr kurzen gemeinsamen Zeit an der Universität Bonn zudem in den Genuss zahlreicher anregender Gespräche – nicht selten zwischen zwei Lehrveranstaltungen –, die einem wissenschaftlichen Kolloquium in nichts nachstanden.

Obwohl Hedda Reindl-Kiel über 28 Jahre hinweg bis zu zwölf Wochenstunden an Lehrveranstaltungen gab und zusätzlich mit administrativen Aufgaben betraut war, setzte sie ihre Forschung zur osmanischen Geschichte, Gesellschaft und Kultur kontinuierlich auf höchstem wissenschaftlichen Niveau fort – wie ihr das gelang, ist den Verfassern dieser Zeilen bis heute ein Rätsel geblieben. Angesichts der hohen wissenschaftlichen Ansprüche, die sie an ihre Arbeiten stellt, sind die Anzahl und die Reichhaltigkeit der Themen ihrer Publikationen umso bemerkenswerter.

An erster Stelle ist hier Hedda Reindl-Kiels Dissertation über die „Männer um Bāyezīd“ zu nennen, die als Standardwerk für die Prosopographie der Zeit um 1500 auch ins Türkische übersetzt wurde. Ausgehend von der Prosopogra-

phie solcher postbyzantinisch-osmanischen Persönlichkeiten befaßte sich Hedda Reindl-Kiel immer wieder mit transkulturellen Biographien wie der des Renegaten Wilhelm Ernst (alias Mehemmed) Schmid im frühen 18. Jahrhundert oder von modernen Fachwissenschaftlern. Kulturgeschichtliche Themen wie Ehre und Beleidigung oder die Grenzen und Möglichkeiten von Frauen der osmanischen Oberschicht fanden ebenso Eingang in Reindl-Kiels Werk wie Studien zur materiellen Kultur. Diese erschienen oft unter trefflichen Titeln wie „Der Duft der Macht“, „Diamonds are a Grand Vizier’s Best Friends“ oder „Kaugummi für den Sultan“. Zur materiellen Kultur hat Hedda Reindl-Kiel eine Reihe von wegweisenden Studien vorgelegt, die Juwelen und Luxusgüter, Speisen und Kulinarik, Tuche und Kleidung oder Zelte, Pferde und exotische Tiere aufgrund einschlägiger Register der Verwaltung erschließen. Dabei handelte es sich meist um Geschenke, sei es zwischen Würdenträgern oder zwischen Klienten und Patronen, sei es in der Diplomatie. Aus diesen Mosaiksteinen fügt sich Stück für Stück ein Bild des Gabentausches oder auch eines innerosmanischen Redistributionssystems zusammen, das wichtige neue Einblicke in die osmanische Kultur eröffnet. Dazu können die in diesem Bande versammelten Gaben in Form von Aufsätzen aus der Feder von Freundinnen und Freunden, Kolleginnen und Kollegen nur bedingt beitragen. Dafür nehmen sie Bezug auf Hedda Reindl-Kiels außerordentliche Leistungen auf dem Gebiet der osmanischen Geschichte, und zwar mit Blick auf die materielle oder Alltagskultur oder auf transkulturelle Kontakte, immer aber als Gaben.

Hedda Reindl-Kiel bewegt sich ganz selbstverständlich im internationalen Feld der Osmanistik, was auch in der Mischung der Beiträge zum Ausdruck kommt. Sie reichen von von Iran bis nach Mitteleuropa und von vorosmanischer Zeit bis ins 20. Jahrhundert und umfassen ein breites Themenspektrum, wie es auch bei Hedda Reindl-Kiels eigenem Œuvre der Fall ist. Hier begegnen uns zum Beispiel Tiere (so etwa Pferde, Katzen und Ziegen) und materielle Kultur in Form von Bauwerken; Kulturkontakt in Form von individuellen Beobachtern oder auch Spionen, Wissenswelten und Schriftkultur von hoher und etwas weniger hoher Politik bis zur Populärkultur. So divers die Themen der einzelnen Beiträge auch sein mögen – sie alle verbindet das Grundelement jeglicher historischer Forschung, nämlich die intensive Auseinandersetzung mit Quellen. Hedda Reindl-Kiel vermag es, jeder vermeintlich noch so belanglosen Textstelle das maximal Mögliche zu entlocken. Dieser ausgeprägten Quellenorientierung verschreiben sich auch die in diesem Band vereinten Beiträge.

Am Beginn des Bandes stehen zwei Aufsätze, die in chronologischer bzw. geographischer Hinsicht außerhalb des osmanischen Kontexts anzusiedeln sind. Birgitt Hoffmann beleuchtet in ihrem Aufsatz „Booty, Commodity, Objects of Prestige and Veneration: Sources of the Ilkhanid Period on Horses“ materielle Aspekte und immaterielle Bedeutungen des Pferds für die Mongolen als Nutztier

und Kulturgut gleichermaßen. Dabei zieht sie persische Quellen der ilchanidischen Zeit, zeitgenössische Beschreibungen aus dem arabischen Sprachraum und externe Berichte wie zum Beispiel denjenigen des Marco Polo zu Rate. Sevgi Ağcagül untersucht in ihrem Aufsatz „Dichtung und Plage: Şeyyād Ḥamzas Auseinandersetzung mit dem Schwarzen Tod“, welche Bilder dieser Dichter in zweien seiner Gedichte einsetzt, um die Auswirkungen des Schwarzen Todes auf ihn selbst und auf die von ihm literarisch entworfene Gesellschaft zu beschreiben.

Unter der Rubrik „Das Osmanische Reich und Europa im 16.–17. Jahrhundert“ sind vier Beiträge vereint, die dem osmanischen Europa bzw. dem Osmanischen *in* Europa gewidmet sind. Machiel Kiel unternimmt in seinem Aufsatz „Patras (Balya Badra) and the Mosque of Sultan Bayezid II. An Early Classical Ottoman Mosque on the Peloponnese, Historical Background and Reconstruction“ eine baugeschichtliche Reise durch das osmanische Patras und skizziert ausgewählte Gebäude und Persönlichkeiten dieser Stadt. Von Nenad Močanin erfahren wir in „The Great Bridge of Osijek as a Post-Süleymanic edifice. The Ottoman Sources“, welche baulichen Stadien besagte Brücke seit ihren Anfängen durchlebt hat. Der Autor schlägt anhand der Untersuchung einer Reihe von Dokumenten aus dem Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi (Istanbul) sowie einiger erzählender Quellen ein jüngerer als bisher angenommenes Errichtungsdatum der Brücke vor. Hans-Georg Majer geht in seinem Aufsatz „Schreibrohr und Papier auf dem Marsch: Schriftkultur in der osmanischen Armee“ der Frage nach, wie auf Feldzügen die Staatsgeschäfte durch die Produktion und die Zirkulierung von Schriftlichem fortgeführt wurden und was mit diesen Dokumenten nach Beendigung der militärischen Unternehmungen geschah. Quasi nebenbei liefert der Autor einen Bestandsnachweis dieser Originalquellen in Bibliotheken und Archiven des deutschsprachigen Raums. Ulrich Vollmer zeichnet in „Das Kapitel über die Türkei und die Türken im Werk *Omnium gentium mores, leges et ritus* von Ioannes Boemus (1520)“ das Wissen dieses Autors über die Türkei nach, stellt dieses in den Kontext der zugrunde liegenden Quellen und liefert dadurch ein Beispiel für das Bild der Osmanen und ihrer Religion in der abendländischen Wahrnehmung des frühen 16. Jahrhunderts.

Die darauffolgende Rubrik „Wissen und Weltsichten im 17.–18. Jahrhundert“ führt Seyfi Kenan mit „Holding the Truth in Balance: Kâtib Çelebî’s *Mizânü’l-Hakk* and his Conception of Knowledge and Education in the 17th Century Ottoman Empire“ an. In seinem Aufsatz geht Seyfi Kenan auf Kâtib Çelebîs Ansichten und Forderungen zu Wissen und Bildung ein und stellt diese in den Kontext der staatlichen und gesellschaftlichen Verfasstheit des Osmanischen Reiches im 17. Jahrhundert. Henning Sievert und Natalia Bachour konzentrieren sich auf die individuelle körperliche Verfasstheit eines durch seine Erlebnisse mehrmals gesundheitlich leidenden Gelehrten. Ihr Aufsatz „Der gebildete Kranke: Ebū Sehl Nu‘mān Efendi und die Gesundheit“ gibt Aufschluss über den

Leidensweg Nu‘māns, wie er ihn anschaulich in seinen eigenen Schriften wiedergibt. Zudem schildern sie, wie Nu‘mān sich für den Tabakgenuss ausspricht und dies nach den Regeln der Rechtsprechung juristisch untermauert. Constantin A. Panchenko deckt in seinem Beitrag „The Russian Intelligence Service in the Ottoman Empire in the Middle of the 18th Century“ anhand von russischem Archivmaterial Spionageaktivitäten im Osmanischen Reich auf. Dabei geht der Autor auch auf Rekrutierungsmethoden, die Fluktuation der Angeheueren sowie deren Betragen und Bezahlung ein. Kemal Beydilli schließt diesen Teil mit seinem Aufsatz „III. Mustafa (1757–1774). Kaynarca Öncesi bir Padişah Portresi“ ab. Der Aufsatz stellt nicht nur ein Portrait Mustafas III. (sowie seiner Angehörigen) dar – der Autor beschreibt auch Zeremonien und protokollarische Abläufe bei Hofe, die baulichen Hinterlassenschaften des Herrschers sowie seine innen- und außenpolitischen Staatsgeschäfte. Die große thematische Bandbreite des Aufsatzes spiegelt sich in der beachtlichen Anzahl der konsultierten Quellen.

Den Abschluss dieses Bandes bildet die Rubrik „Kontinuitäten und Umbrüche im 19.–20. Jahrhundert“. Suraiya Faroqhi beschreibt in ihrem Aufsatz „The material culture of poverty, and the place of animals in it: Cristina Trivulzio di Belgiojoso in Anatolia“, wie eine italienische Adelige das Alltagsleben und den Lebensstandard in der osmanischen Provinz im 19. Jahrhundert wahrnahm. Neben Ansichten von Behausungen und deren Ausstattung, dem Besitz von als Luxusgütern betrachteten Objekten wie Spiegel oder Kerzen, und Aussagen über dekorative Kosmetik und Kleidung sowie Lebensmitteln sind es Tiere und deren Bedeutung für ihre Besitzer, denen die Verfasserin des Beitrags besondere Beachtung schenkt. In dem Dokument, das Klaus Kreisers Aufsatz „Über Schafe und Lämmer: Ein *Kurban defteri* aus der Zeit von Sultan ‘Abdül‘aziz“ zugrunde liegt, spiegelt sich das Verhältnis zwischen Mensch und Tier auf andere Weise wieder. Der Autor führt mit seinem Aufsatz ein bisher kaum bekanntes Genre osmanischer Quellen ein, aus dem nicht nur Anzahl und Empfänger der für das Opferfest des Jahres 1863 von der Sultansmutter vorgesehenen Opfertiere hervorgehen. Das *defter* ist gleichzeitig eine Quelle für Untersuchungen über die Beziehungen der Herrscherfamilie zu Personen und Institutionen außerhalb des Palasts. Christoph Ramm gibt in seinem Aufsatz „Simply Divide-and-Rule? The Impact of the British Civilizing Mission on the Ottoman Communities of Cyprus“, die Diskussion über den britischen Beitrag zur Herausbildung türkischer und griechisch-zypriotischer nationalistischer Tendenzen wieder. Der Autor zeichnet die Entwicklungen nach, wie sie vor allem eintraten, nachdem Zypern 1925 zur britischen Kronkolonie erklärt worden war. Ali Suat Ürgüplü stellt in seinem Aufsatz „Did Talat Pasha really want war? Two slightly different versions of Ottoman entry into the World War by Mustafa Hayri Efendi, wartime Şeyhülislam of the Ottoman Empire and author of the ‚jihad fatwa‘“ zwei verschiedene Versionen der Begründung für den Eintritt des Osmanischen Reiches

in den Ersten Weltkrieg einander gegenüber. Zum einen ist da die publizierte Aussage von Mustafa Hayri Efendi, die zusammen mit den Aussagen weiterer Personen im letzten Kriegsjahr veröffentlicht wurde. Zum anderen stellt der Autor erstmals die handschriftlichen Aufzeichnungen des Scheichülislams vor, die Aussagen enthalten, welche in der gedruckten Version nicht vorkamen und welche als Ansatzpunkt für neue Untersuchungen zu den Beziehungen der drei Mitglieder des Triumvirats untereinander dienen könnten.

Die Herausgeber sind allen Beitragenden zu tiefstem Dank verpflichtet – vor allem für die Geduld, die sie bis zum Erscheinen dieses Bandes aufbringen mussten und die zu unserem Bedauern nicht selten strapaziert wurde.

Henning Sievert & Sevgi Ağcagül

Bonn, im August 2019

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(Stand: Juli 2019)

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Pferde und Plagen im 13.–14. Jahrhundert

Booty, Commodity, Objects of Prestige and Veneration: Sources of the Ilkhanid Period on Horses¹

Whosoever studies Persian chronicles, epics or book paintings will notice that horses and riders are in a way omnipresent. There is a lot of mounting, dismounting, hunting or racing on horseback, escaping and pursuing, covering impressive distances fast or slowly, ruining mounts by forced rides and of course attacking and fighting on horseback. Aside from this kind of evidence references to horses are scattered over a variety of literary genres like mirrors for princes and *dīwān* poetry. Since horses in those days were a fundamental feature of life this comes as no surprise. In particular the importance of horses for pastoral nomads is hardly to be overestimated. They were indispensable as mounts for hunt and warfare, means of transport, merchandise, sustenance, providers of skins and hair for clothing and other articles of daily use. But most importantly in the framework of the “Steppe Warrior System”² an efficient cavalry was indispensable to get control over an area, to establish and maintain an empire. For the 13th and 14th centuries the Mongols of Genghis Khan and his successors as conquerors and empire builders mark a special point in case.³ The light cavalry was the backbone of their whole military machine, and there were many more horses than Mongols because every warrior had at least three to four but even up to five or eight horses to be ridden in rotation, not to mention pack horses.⁴ Hippologists would probably point out that what the Mongols (and also other Central Asian pastoralists) had at their disposal with regard to their small stature

1 In 2006 the Institute of Iranian Studies of the Austrian Academy of Science in Vienna hosted a conference on the role of horses in the history, economy and culture of Asia. Hedda Reindl-Kiel and I had the pleasure to present a paper on this occasion. While Hedda’s paper has been published in the proceedings of this conference (cf. Fragner et al. (eds.), *Pferde in Asien*), I missed the chance to do so. Now I am glad to have this piece to present to Hedda’s Festschrift with congratulations.

2 Lee, *Waging War*: 164–171.

3 For general overviews cf. Sinor, “Horse and Pasture in Inner Asian History”; Lee, *Waging War*: 163–171.

4 Smith, “From Pasture to Manger”: 63f. On the Mongol army in general cf. Morgan, *The Mongols*: 74–83; Lane, *Daily Life*: 95–116; Atwood, *Encyclopaedia of Mongolia*: 348–354.

were not real horses but ponies.⁵ Be that as it may, as we will see, what matters more than body size was the hardiness of the Mongolian horses in comparison to other Middle Eastern or Western breeds.

While lexical evidence on horses and horsemen is abundant in our sources, passages dealing systematically or at least explicitly with horses as an essential element of economy, society and culture are rare.⁶ This paper presents a—non-exhaustive—synopsis of textual evidence for horses in the Mongol period of Iran and adjacent territories which sheds light on the respective social and cultural contexts. Besides principal Persian chronicles like ‘Alā ad-Dīn ‘Aṭā Malik Juwaynī’s *Tārīkh-i Jahāngushā-yi Juwaynī* [“The History of the World Conqueror”],⁷ Rashīd ad-Dīn Faḡlallāh Hamadānī’s *Jāmī‘ at-Tawārīkh* [“Compendium of Chronicles”]⁸ and Waṣṣāf’s *History (Tārīkh-i Waṣṣāf)*⁹ I also consulted some other contemporaries like Ibn al-Athīr, Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, Bar Hebraeus, and European travellers like John Plano Carpini, William of Rubruck and Marco Polo.

It is these latter “outsiders” who dealt with the special features of Mongolian horses in some detail. In the eyes of these observers the invaders’ horses because of their undemanding nature, their stamina and their agility were one of the secrets of the Mongols success. To cite Ibn al-Athīr:

“The mounts on which they are advancing crush underfoot the earth with their hooves and consume the roots of plants. They are not dependent on barley and that is why they do not need any supplies as long as they are campaigning”.¹⁰

This is confirmed by the statement of Marco Polo: “And his [i. e. the Mongol warrior’s horse] will graze on the *simple* grass that he shall find *in the fields by the*

5 The dividing line between horses and ponies ranges between 58 inches / 147 cm (or even 148 cm) and 56 inches / 142 cm from hoofs to withers. Smith, “From Pasture to Manger”: 63, n. 5. For Mongolian horses from China even lower heights are testified: 127–128 cm, cf. <http://www.ansi.okstate.edu/breeds/horses/mongolian/index.html>. But besides sheer height also phenotype and genetic evidence is a criterion for classifying, cf. http://www.equinestudies.org/mammalian_species_2008/mammalian_species_equus_caballus_pdf1.pdf. On problems of taxonomical classification cf. http://animaldiversity.org/accounts/Equus_caballus/.

6 An exception are highly specialised treatises on horse breeding, horse keeping, equine medicine, horsemanship, polo, warfare etc. For a general overview on Persian sources cf. Solṭānī Gordfarāmarzī, “Asb. iii in Islamic Times”: 724–734, where the author occasionally refers to what he collected from a variety of literary genre like mirror of princes, *dīwān* poetry, *farās-nāmas* etc.

7 [Juwaynī/Qazwīnī], *Tārīkh-i Jahāngushā-yi Juwaynī*; English translation: Ata-Malik Juwaynī, *Genghis Khan: The History of the World Conqueror* (cited as [Juwaynī/Boyle]).

8 Rashīd ad-Dīn Faḡlallāh Hamadānī, *Jāmī‘ at-tawārīkh* (cited as [JT]); English translation: Rashīd ad-Dīn Faḡlallāh Hamadānī, *Jāmī‘u‘tawārīkh. Compendium of Chronicles* (cited as [JT/Thackston]).

9 Waṣṣāf al-ḥazrat, ‘Abdallāh b. Faḡlallāh, *Tārīkh-i Waṣṣāf al-ḥazrat* (cited as [Waṣṣāf/Bombay]); German translation: id., *Geschichte Waṣṣāf’s* (cited as [Waṣṣāf/Wentker]).

10 Ibn al-Aṭīr, *Al-Kāmil fī ‘t-tārīkh*: vol. 12, 235.

way so that he need not carry barley *and other grain or hay or straw*".¹¹ Other, for instance Western breeds could not keep up with this frugality: John of Plano Carpini (d. 1252), the papal envoy to the Great Khan, relates that on his arrival in Kiev

"They told us that if we were to take to the Tartars the horses which we had they would all die, for the snow was deep and they would not know how to dig up the grass from under the snow like the Tartar horses, nor would we be able to find anything else for them to eat since the Tartars have neither straw nor hay nor fodder."¹²

On the other hand a report by Juwaynī makes it clear that even Mongol horses did not live on nothing. When Genghis Khan and his son Tolui took Bukhara in 1220 they climbed on the pulpit of the Great Mosque and Genghis Khan addressed the people of that city: "The countryside is empty of fodder; fill our horses' bellies".¹³

The horses' agility and the Mongols' riding skills also were worth mentioning. Marco Polo points out: "And they have so trained their horses that *at a sign* they turn themselves here & there *at the will of the riders* as quickly as a dog would do."¹⁴ About Genghis Khans youngest son Tolui we learn from Juwaynī: "[...] in his horsemanship he was the lightning-flash which leaps out from the veil of clouds, and renders the place where it falls like unto ashes".¹⁵

It was not by chance that Westerners thought the Mongol horsemen to be "Tartars", people from hell, the Mongols themselves cherished this image. The intimidating force of attacking Mongol horsemen was part of their "psychological warfare". When Hülägü's general Ketbugha was defeated by the Mamluk Qūṭuz at 'Ain Jalūt in Palestine 1260—by the way only because his horse stumbled—and was put to death in due course his last words—given in a presumably fictitious dialogue between poor Ketbugha and the Mamluk victor—are rendered by Rashīd ad-Dīn as following:

"...when the news of my death reaches Hülägü Khan, the ocean of his wrath will boil over, ... and from Azerbaijan to the gates of Egypt [the earth] will quake with the hooves of Mongol horses. They will take the sands of Egypt from there in their horses' nose bags".¹⁶

And when the Mongols' barbarism is branded, their horses contribute to this negative image. After Genghis Khan had ordered the people of Bukhara to feed the Mongols' horses

11 Marco Polo, *The Description of the World* (further cited as [Marco Polo/Moule/Pelliot]): 171.

12 John of Plano Carpini, "Ystoria Mongolarum" (further cited as [Carpini/Dawson]): 52.

13 [Juvaini/Boyle]: 104. The scene is echoed in a report by Bar Hebraeus, *The Cronography of Gregory Abū 'l-Faraj 1225 Bar Hebraeus* (further cited as [Bar Hebraeus/Budge]): 376.

14 [Marco Polo/Moule/Pelliot]: 174.

15 [Juvaini/Boyle]: 150.

16 [JT/Thackston]: 505–506.

“... they [the Mongols] brought the cases in which the Korans were kept out into the courtyard of the mosque, where they cast the Korans right and left and turned the cases into mangers for their horses.”

And finally “... the leaves of the Koran were trampled in the dirt beneath their own feet and their horses’ hoofs”.¹⁷

What Western envoys and merchants obviously appreciated was the Mongol *yām* system, i. e. the network of horse relay stations which extended along the principal routes of the Mongol empire and its successor states.¹⁸ The *yām* stations provided fresh horses, provisions and accommodation for military staff, officials, envoys, privileged merchants etc. On well frequented routes there were post stations every 18–25 km. Information on the number of fresh horses varies considerably between 15 and 500. The *yām* was run by the army but food and fodder had to be supplied by the local population. For those who wanted to travel quickly the *yām* system allowed changing horses several times a day.¹⁹

Horses’ contribution to the Mongols’ diet was another topic readily expounded. They provided the highly esteemed mare’s milk, which in its fermented, alcoholic version (*qumis*) was the favourite beverage of the Mongols, indispensable when feasting.²⁰ William of Rubruck (d. ca. 1270), another European envoy to the Great Khan, gives a detailed account of its production and consumption.²¹ Mare’s milk was only available in the summer months. During the rest of the year sour dried milk was mingled with water before consumption and was a principal supply for long distance campaigns. On such occasions and also for feasting and in times of distress the Mongols ate horse meat. Rashīd al-Dīn reports on Khurāsān in the year 691 / 1292 that because of starvation Mongol soldiers stole each other’s horses and ate them.²² Marco Polo even relates that when food was short “they live on the blood of their horses; for each pricks the vein of his horse *and puts his mouth to the vein* and drinks of the blood *till he is satisfied ...*”.²³

17 [Juvaini/Boyle]: 104. This scene is also rendered by [Bar Hebraeus/Budge]: 376.

18 The most detailed exposition is Olbricht, *Das Postwesen in China*; cf. also Spuler, *Die Mongolen in Iran*: 349–352.

19 John of Plano Carpini sometimes changed horses from three to seven times, cf. [Carpini/Dawson]: 55, 58, 61. Juwaynī provides an early Persian report on the subject ([Juvaini/Boyle]: 33–34). Marco Polo gives a very detailed description on the functioning of the *yām* system ([Marco Polo/Moule/Pelliot]: 242–247). The abuse of the *yām* system by non-officials like merchants and others became a heavy burden for the locals who had to entertain these people and their mounts. For this and for more general information cf. Atwood, *Encyclopaedia of Mongolia*: 258–259 and Lane, *Daily Life*: 120–122.

20 Cf. [Juvaini/Boyle]: 571, 573.

21 William of Rubruck, *The Mission of Friar William of Rubruck* (cited as [Rubruck/Jackson]: 76–77, 81–83). Spuler, *Die Mongolen in Iran*: 367, 369 gives further references.

22 [JT/Thackston]: 603.

23 [Marco Polo/Moule/Pelliot]: 173.

But the consumption of *qumis* and horse meat also had dimensions beyond sheer sustenance. *Qumis* was used in libation ceremonies which meant that before drinking some mare's milk was sprinkled outside the dwelling to the four cardinal directions.²⁴ Libation was part of daily life but became obligatory before starting a military expedition, on occasion of enthronements or celebration of the Mongol New Year and other festive occasions.²⁵ And horse sacrifice was part of Mongol funerary customs.²⁶

In view of the importance of horses in Mongol life—especially for the army and the *yām* postal system—the acquisition of horses was a vital concern. This demand could be satisfied by taking horses as booty, by breeding, purchase, confiscation, tax, tribute or gifts. Obtaining horses by plunder was most significant in times of territorial expansion. The booty—among others in horses—gained on occasion of the fall of Baghdad, for instance, was spectacular.²⁷ To take horses from the conquered peoples not only meant to deprive them of means of conveyance and warfare but also to obtain foreign “better” horses in terms of comfort.²⁸ Although the Mongols owed their success to not a minor extent to their small but tough horses, they were attracted to other breeds and became especially fond of the Arabian ones. The Great Khan Ögedei's interest in fine horses of foreign origin is documented in the Secret History. In the course of the Western campaign of the years 1236–1242, he ordered to bring “horses with long legs and long necks”, i. e. “Arabian” horses from the conquered Middle Eastern regions to his capital Qara Qorum every year as tribute besides gold, jewels, precious textiles.²⁹ A story told by ‘Aṭā Malik Juwaynī underlines the great appreciation of these foreign breeds. When a troupe of actors from Khitai (i. e. Northern China) in a performance before Ögedei ridiculed a “rebellious Muslim”, the Great Khan stopped the performance and had brought from his treasures precious objects and also Arab horses of Khurasanian and Western Iranian origin and contrasted them with inferior products and small horses from Khitai.³⁰

Horse breeding was another way to safeguard supplies in horses. Government owned stud farms are evidenced for Yuan China.³¹ Ibn Baṭṭūṭa who was travelling

24 [Rubruck/Jackson]: 75f.; [Marco Polo/Moule/Pelliot]: 190.

25 Cf. Rossabi, “All the Khan's Horses”; Atwood, *Encyclopaedia of Mongolia*: 466. On Qubilai's annual milk ceremonial in the end of the summer cf. [Marco Polo/Moule/Pelliot]: 187.

26 [Carpini/Dawson]:12–13; Atwood, *Encyclopaedia of Mongolia*: 189.

27 De Nicola, “The Economic Role of Mongol Women”: 91.

28 Smith, “From Pasture to Manger”: 67.

29 [Rachewiltz], *The Secret History of the Mongols*: 194. Probably different kinds of Oriental thoroughbreds of Arabian, Persian or Turkmen origin. Cf. Druml, “Functional Traits in Early Horse Breeds of Mongolia”: 9–16; Kretschmar, *Pferd und Reiter im Orient*.

30 [Juvaini/Boyle]: 207.

31 Yokkaichi, “Horses in East-West Trade between China and Iran”: 88. Rossabi, *Khubilai Khan*: 99 reports on horsebreeding for Khubilai by his Korean vassals.

in the first half of the 14th century was impressed by the huge size of the herds of Tatar horses which were “as numerous as the sheep in Morocco”—a statement which suggests extensive breeding.³²

Since the times of the Great Khan Ögedei (r. 1229–1241) a life stock tax was imposed on nomadic groups (mong. *qobchiri*; in Persian sources *qubchur*), which meant one of one hundred heads was collected. This kind of taxation was continued by the Yuan and the Ilkhanids alike although under the latter it became known as *marāī*. Besides this regular levy, ad hoc requisition of horses was common practice under the Yuan, i. e. people and government officials had to deliver their horses if needed. It seems that in Ilkhanid Iran this ad hoc requisition was termed *qubchur*.³³

On certain occasions, the Yuan government used to buy horses in large quantities and forced on the sellers fixed prices markedly below fair market value.³⁴ The Ilkhanids used to buy horses in large numbers from privileged Mongol traders (Turkish *ortaq*, Mongolian *ortogh*).³⁵ To safeguard their own requirements, the export of horses was forbidden at times. Carpini reported from the Golden Horde under the reign of Batu (1240s) that the prince of Kiev, Andrew of Chernigov, was accused of selling Tatar horses outside the country and therefore was executed in due course.³⁶ According to Ibn Baṭṭūṭa the situation had changed a century later. Tatar traders exported thousands of horses to India every year. Although many animals were stolen or died on the long way to Northern India via Khorazm, the Tatar traders realized enormous and unparalleled profits.³⁷

While the Yuan strictly prohibited horse exports, the Ilkhanids in contrast allowed or even favored such transactions, probably because they were a benefiting party. Trading horses to India via the Persian Gulf was a highly profitable business. To a minor extent horses were exported via India even to China. According to Waṣṣāf, the governor of Fars exported about 400 expensive mares from the Persian Gulf to India every year, which were so perfect that compared to them

32 [Ibn Baṭṭūṭa/Gibb]: vol. 2, 478f.

33 Yokkaichi, “Horses in the East-West Trade”: 88f. In other contexts, however, *qubchur* was the term for the poll tax on the sedentary population. Cf. Morgan, *The Mongols*: 77–88.

34 Yokkaichi, “Horses in the East-West Trade”: 88.

35 For the term cf. Doerfer, *Türkische und mongolische Elemente im Neupersischen*: vol. 2, 25–27. The *ortaq* / *ortogh* (lit. “partners”) acted as agents of the ruling Mongol aristocracy, were allowed to use the *yām* and at certain periods even were exempted from taxation. Cf. Allsen, “Mongolian Princes and their Merchant Partners”; Atwood, *Encyclopaedia of Mongolia*: 429. Yokkaichi, “Horses in East-West Trade”: 89 refers to Rashīd al-Dīn’s *Jāmi’ al-tawārīkh* without giving the number of the pages but obviously this should be vol. 2, 1446 of the Rawshan and Mūsavī edition and [JT/Thackston]: 715.

36 [Carpini/Dawson]: 10. Exporting horses was a sensitive issue also for the Ottomans. Cf. Reindl-Kiel, “No Horses for the Enemy”: 43–44.

37 [Ibn Baṭṭūṭa/Gibb]: vol. 2, 478.

the legendary horses of the heroes of the *Shāhnāme* were nothing but woodcarved chessmen. He claims that the total of exports in Arabian horses from the Gulf region to India was 10000 items annually.³⁸ The Delhi Sultanate and other Indian principalities had a tremendous demand in horses for their cavalries but also for horseracing and other pastimes and representation. Most of these horses were thoroughbreds of Arab, Persian or Turkmen origin.³⁹ According to Waṣṣāf, in India the horses were fed with roasted peas and cooked milk instead of barley, and while they were fattened they were confined to the stables, and in the end they were ruined by relentless racing.⁴⁰ So it was Indian inexperience with horse keeping which resulted in maltreatment and a poor survival rate of the imported horses which created this constant need in supplies. The lords of Hormuz and Kish were among the big merchants in this overseas horse exporting trade and functioned as *ortaq / ortogh* with close business relations to the court. At the same time they were part of the Ilkhanid political system and in that function paid taxes to the government.⁴¹

The approach towards *ortaq / ortogh* differed over time due to deceptive practices of those who overstrained their privileges e.g. by making excessive use of official courier horses and provisioning at the *yām* postal stations. Many of them sniffed a chance to get rich quickly by receiving high interest from lending money to people who could not pay their taxes.⁴² These dubious profiteers raised loans, invested in horses and armors and sold them to the court. Some of them even bribed Mongol *amīrs* to obtain receipts for more horses than actually delivered or even for mounts they had not delivered at all, but received billets against cash money in taxes when they presented these fake receipts to the *dīwān* officials.⁴³

The high esteem “good”, “Western”, i.e. Arab / Persian / Turkmen horses⁴⁴ were held in made them a premium object of prestige. To ride such horses and equip horses lavishly was a typical nouveau riche phenomenon to be noticed with

38 [Waṣṣāf/Wentker]: vol. 3, 108f.

39 Kauz, “Horse Exports from the Persian Gulf”: 130–131, [Ibn Baṭṭūta/Gibb]: 478f.

40 [Waṣṣāf/Wentker]: vol. 3, 108f.

41 [Waṣṣāf/Bombay]: 505f. Atwood, *The Encyclopaedia of Mongolia*: 201–205. Cf. Yokkaichi, “Horses in the East West trade”: 89–90 and Kauz, “Horse Exports from the Persian Gulf”: 130, 132–134. Both articles make references to the historians Rashīd al-Dīn and Waṣṣāf as their main sources.

42 For a general overview on the relationship between *ortaq / ortogh* and the Mongol elite cf. Allsen, “Mongol Princes and their Merchant Partners, 1200–1260”; Atwood, *Encyclopaedia of Mongolia*: 429–430.

43 This abuse is described by Rashīd al-Dīn as prevailing under the Ilkhan Abaqa and his successors until Ghazan put an end to it by his reforms: [JT/Thackston]: 736–736.

44 For a definition of different horse breeds cf. Druml, “Functional Traits in Early Horse Breeds of Mongolia”.

the Mongol aristocracy and the *ortaq / ortogh*.⁴⁵ As status symbol horses were adorned with precious saddles and trappings made of gold and bestowed with pearls and jewels and blankets of gold embroidered silk.⁴⁶ According to Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, in the Golden Horde the wives of the Khan had their coach horses covered with blankets of brocaded silk.⁴⁷

Horses were perfect items of tribute and gift. It is, however, not always easy to distinguish between the two categories. To present horses to a ruler or a rival was a demonstration of loyalty and submissiveness and therefore could be regarded as tribute. When Marco Polo relates that the Great Khan Qubilai annually received 100000 white horses on occasion of the Mongol New Year this should of course be interpreted as a kind of regular tribute.⁴⁸ Recurrent occasions for presenting horses besides the New Year were victories, enthronements, welcoming and farewell ceremonies. Horse gifting was a common element of diplomatic gift exchange. In the Chinese annals (*Yuan shih*) we find horses and especially “Western” horses as part of the Ilkhan Abū Saʿīd’s “tribute” to the Yuan emperor.⁴⁹ When Berke, the Khan of the Golden Horde, decided to become an ally of the Mamluks, Sultan Baibars showered him with lavish gifts, among them Arabian stallions. Some decades later horses were among the presents which the Ilkhan Abū Saʿīd had sent to the Mamluk court to confirm his willingness to negotiate peace.⁵⁰

Presenting horses to emphasize one’s loyalty could be a fabulous investment—that is the moral of a story told by Rashīd al-Dīn: Before Ghazan became *ilkhān*, he was governor of the province of Khorasan. When his tutor, the Mongol Amir Nawrūz, rebelled no one came in support of him but Najīb ad-Dīn Farrāsh, the *mihtar* of Juwayn.

“He presented extremely fine horses and provided all kinds of good service. (Of course, when the padishah became firmly seated on the throne he ordered that he be suitably rewarded. He made him an intimate at court [...] gave him the village of Zerabad, which was enchū, gave him a decree making him tarkhan, and appointed him as treasurer...)”⁵¹

In cases of uncompromising disfavour however, gifts were of no avail: When the city of Marw had to surrender before the Mongols the citizens sent an envoy with

45 Rashīd al-Dīn on such people: [JT/Thackston]: part III, 737.

46 For examples of remains in museum collections cf. Komaroff & Carboni (eds.), *The Legacy of Genghis Khan*: figs. 9, 10, 63.

47 [Ibn Baṭṭūṭa/Gibb]: vol. 2, 485.

48 [Marco Polo/Moule/Pelliot]: 222f.

49 Allsen, *Culture and Conquest in Mongol Eurasia*: 44.

50 Little, “Diplomatic Missions and Exchange by Mamluks and Ilkhans”: 39, 41.

51 [JT/Thackston]: 596f.

horses and other quadrupeds to Tolui as an offer of submission. In vain—in the end they were all put to the sword.⁵²

To give few presents of minor value could be seen as an open offence. When Hülägü on his advance to Baghdad repeatedly sent envoys to the Abbasid caliph with the request to surrender, the caliph's vizier proposed to placate the Mongol conqueror with lavish gifts, and send him amongst other things "a thousand Arabian horses with accoutrements".⁵³ But following the advice of other counsellors the caliph had only a few gifts presented to Hülägü which we may assume contributed to the disastrous end of the Abbasid caliphate.⁵⁴

In a detailed report of Rashīd al-Dīn on the rebellion of Barāq, a frustrated prince, who was a descendant of Genghis Khans second son Chaghatai, horses figure as a point of serious and ultimately fatal dissent, because one of Barāqs allies snared the fine horses that were meant for Barāq and wanted to send him horses of less value instead.⁵⁵

But horses were also given by rulers to show favor. They were a common item of reward for services already rendered or expected. Horses were among the rewards Qubilai assigned to his military commanders.⁵⁶ Ibn Baṭṭūṭa claims to have received ordinary and extraordinary horses from Mongol Khans and their wives every now and then. For instance Özbek Khan, the ruler of the Golden Horde, presented him many horses because he was ready to escort that ruler's third wife, the daughter of the Byzantine emperor; to Constantinople for delivery. And that lady likewise donated several horses to him.⁵⁷

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