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Thirteenth and Fourteenth Century European-Mongol Relations

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Abstract

Growing recent interest in the Mongol Empire and its Eurasian conquests has led to an increase in scholarship on the Mongols. After the Mongol attacks on Eastern Europe – specifically Russia, Poland, Hungary, and the Balkans – in the 1230s–1240s, Europeans were petrified of the terrifying and unfamiliar invaders. However, at times this initial anxiety waned and even turned to hope for a European alliance with the Mongols against Muslim powers like the Mamlūks of Egypt. This essay briefly summarizes recent major works on medieval European and Mongol relations in the areas of diplomacy, mission, art, and material culture. The author encourages scholars on the Mongol Empire to collaborate across disciplines in an attempt to counteract the difficult multilingual nature of sources on the Mongol Empire. Finally, the essay will show how medieval Eurasian and Mongol studies exemplify topics in history like transnationalism, cross-cultural exchanges, and intercontinental trade, which are more relevant today in our globalized world than ever.

Introduction: Exciting Prospects and Big Challenges

If the growing number of universities offering World History courses, and of opportunities for publishing historical studies that emphasize cross-cultural exchanges are indicative of trends in the field, then the Mongol Empire is certainly fashionable. The Mongol Empire itself exemplifies current historical buzzwords like transnational contacts and cross-cultural exchanges. The field of Mongol Studies provides exciting opportunities for new perspectives on global history, and has helped reorient the study of major European topics, such as the Italian Renaissance and Crusade history.

Still, research on the Mongol Empire, and in particular its interactions with its neighbors in Europe, has been complicated by the need for knowledge of a large number of unrelated languages and for mastery of scholarship in a variety of disciplines addressing the topic. In creating the largest contiguous land empire the world has ever seen, the Mongols conquered peoples that spoke dozens of languages. For sources on European-Mongol relations, Latin is most important. General Mongol history requires languages of their conquered subjects, most significantly Chinese, Persian, and Arabic. There are documents in classical Mongolian, as well as Armenian, Georgian, French, Italian, and Greek. The multicultural character that made the Mongol Empire unique also makes it difficult for any single scholar to fully explore. Further, in addition to more typical historical scholarship based in written sources, the study of Mongol-European interactions has drawn the attention of art historians, textiles historians, archaeologists, and literary scholars. All of these disciplines have something to add to the emerging picture of cross-cultural contact and exchange between Mongols and Europeans in the later Middle Ages.

My goal in this article is two-fold. First, I will acquaint the reader with the work most exciting and useful to historians of medieval and early modern European history with

relation to the Mongol Empire. Study of the Mongols has suggested both non-European origins of aspects of the Italian Renaissance in the fourteenth century and contributed to on-going debates over how Europeans interacted with non-European peoples and viewed the ''Other.'' Second, I suggest how historians may broaden our understanding of Europe-Mongol relations, and indeed, Mongol-subject relations as a whole, by discussing select sources in art and textile history. While this essay will focus on how scholars have approached Europe and the Mongols, it will also bring less-studied topics like material culture – including fourteenth century Latin tombstones in China – into a discussion with other fields.

My focus will primarily be on works in English. There is also much scholarship on the Mongol Empire in Chinese and German, as well as Mongolian, Italian, French, Hungarian, Polish, Russian, Arabic, and Japanese. There is one caveat. Our study of Europe-Mongol relations and understandings, unfortunately, is usually not bilateral. While we have Mongol-commissioned sources – the most important of which is *The Secret History of the Mongols* – we have so few Mongol-produced texts that we have not achieved as full of an understanding of how the Mongols viewed the West as we have vice versa.[1] In addition, *The Secret History* can be excitingly problematic because it integrates historical and fictional events.[2] Our understanding of Mongol ideas about Westerners, the Chinese, Muslims, etc., is refracted through the lens of those subject peoples and visitors to Mongol domains. As a result, our study, for now, is one-sided.[3]

Missions to the Mongols: Encounters with the ''Other''

The most richly informative sources on European relations with the Mongols are travel narratives and letters from the Franciscans and Dominicans who carried diplomatic letters and attempted to spread Christianity in Mongol territories.[4] Scholars of mendicant history, particularly that of the Franciscans, understand the pioneering journeys to Mongol China beginning in the mid-1240s, in the context of Franciscan proselytizing methods and consider the mendicants' successes in garnering converts. Those concerned with diplomatic and political history look to the role of the papacy in directing missions, and the role of mendicants in establishing diplomatic relations. Many question the papacy's role in commissioning missions to the Mongols and also focus on the friars' successes, failures, and accuracy of their accounts. They tend to portray these journeys mutually exclusively, as either diplomatic or evangelistic in purpose. However, the travelers had a variety of experiences that belie the simple dichotomous categorization that scholars often place them in.[5]

One point of contention in the scholarship concerns the prime motivators of such missions to Mongol realms. Felicitas Schmieder discusses papal and mendicant desire to incorporate non-believers into the *orbis Christianus* and underscores the significance of Pope Gregory IX's bull *Cum hora undecima* (1235) – which authorized friars to preach to non-Christian nations – for mendicant mission.[6] She argues that the legal framework of mission was the popes' claim for true world domination.[7] On the contrary, James Ryan disputes the idea that the papacy organized and directed the increased missions to Mongol territory. He argues that the role of the papacy has been over-emphasized because most of our sources from the period are papal letters accrediting envoys empowering missions, or letters to the pope from returning mendicants. I suspect, however, that he is neglecting some aspects of the missions themselves because each pope had varying interest in the Mongols.[8] Though Ryan contends that the missionary journeys sprang, from the most part, from the initiatives of individual friars rather than the Curia, one can argue the

opposite from the same evidence; the papacy played a major part in shaping missions' expectations by the issuance of privileges and establishment of new sees in Yüan China.[9]

Why does it matter if the Curia played a major role in directing missions to the Mongols? The core issue is if missions to the Mongols represented increasing papal power. Schmieder notes that following the general doctrine of canon law in the thirteenth century, the pope, Christ's vicar on earth, possessed jurisdiction and power over all humans, by law, even if not in reality in sovereignty.[10] Consequently, he also claimed the right and the duty to oversee the unbelievers' countries, a conclusion that is reflected in *Cum hora undecima*.[11] Ultimately, missions to the Mongols may be seen as one aspect of the larger battle for jurisdictional and actual power between popes, European monarchs, and their respective allies.

A second issue of debate is the question of how successful the mendicants were in their mission, though it is not always clear what scholars mean by "success." Denis Sinor calls Carpini "by far the most successful" of the papal envoys Innocent IV dispatched to the Mongols, on the grounds that he did not get into life-threatening situations like his contemporary Dominican Ascelin.[12] Ascelin, at his meeting with Baiju, the Mongol commander of Iran in 1247, did not offer presents, refused to bow (genuflect) before Baiju, and demanded that the general and his men become Christians. Enraged, Baiju sentenced Ascelin to death, though he was eventually spared.[13] Does a "successful" mission simply mean surviving without embarrassment? Or returning to Europe with a khan's promise to convert to Christianity? The Franciscan Giovanni of Montecorvino was seemingly the most successful of all the friars. According to his *Epistolae*, he was friendly with the khan and even converted the Nestorian Ongüt (Onggüd) prince Körgüz, whom he called "King George."[14] If we measure the general success of mendicant missions in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries by their longevity and the endurance of the Christian Church in China, however, then all of them were failures.[15]

This subject is tied in with a third topic of discussion, the categorization of each mission as either evangelistic or diplomatic. Peter Jackson considers the early missions of Carpini, Ascelin, and Andrew of Longjumeau as solely diplomatic in nature.[16] William of Rubruck is deemed a missionary because he was not officially commissioned by the pope as a diplomat, though he did carry a letter from Louis IX of France.[17] Does the triumph of a mission depend on whether each friar accomplished their goals as a diplomat or missionary? These are difficult questions to answer because of the nature of the sources. Did Innocent IV expect Güyük or Möngke Khan to promise to convert to Christianity? Would William have been satisfied if he baptized a few folks and served as confessor to the German prisoners, whom he said was the motivation for his journey?[18] He accomplished the former, but never found the Germans, and in any case, did his baptisms produce committed Christians? If we remember that the journey from the Near East to the Mongol capital took months, if not years – Giovanni of Montecorvino was waylaid in India for thirteen months partially due to poor weather – and entailed numerous obstacles, the friars' mere survival seems a success in itself.[19]

Instead of falling into the same debates on success vs. failure, or missionary vs. diplomat, we can ask questions like how did each man understand his mission's purpose? How did their identities as a mendicant, diplomat, and missionary *together* affect their writing, their understanding of those they encountered, and their behavior? After all, Carpini genuflected whenever requested (albeit grumblingly), while Ascelin refused to do so and nearly lost his life.[20] Both men were mendicants, both men carried letters from Pope Innocent IV, and both men were officially diplomats.[21] What accounts for the difference in behavior while "in the field?"

The scholarship on missions to the Mongols has, understandably, focused on the longest texts from Friars Giovanni of Carpini and William of Rubruck. Heinrich Dörrie and Mary Dienes have looked at the earliest missions to the Mongols by Hungarian Dominicans in the late 1230s.[22] There are also short letters from Benedict the Pole and post-Montecorvino missionaries to Mongol China, such as Peregrine of Castello (bishop of Quanzhou 1318–22, known as Zaytun, Zayton, or Zaitun in his time), Andrew of Perugia (d. 1322), Odoric of Pordenone (d. 1331), and Giovanni of Marignolli (in China 1342–45).[23] Scholars could do more to include these texts into their discussion of medieval mission.

In addition, because of scholars' tendency to categorize mission as either diplomatic or proselytizing, sources that do not conform to these labels have not been well incorporated into studies of contact between Europeans and Mongols. This schema of categorization can be limiting. What do we do with texts that might be both, or neither? The Dominican Ricoldo of Montecroce (d. 1320) was a diplomat to the Mongol Ilkhan Arghun's court, but wrote a guidebook for missionaries that described his travels.[24] Hayton (Het'um, Hethum, Hetoum) of Gorikos (Korikos, Corycus), dictated his popular *La flor des estoires de la terre d'Orient* in 1307, which included a history of the rise of the Mongols.[25] As nephew of the Cilician Armenian King Het'um I (*r.* 1226–69), the author Hayton had the unparalleled perspective of one from a Christian kingdom who allied with the Mongols.[26] The Archdeacon Thomas of Spalato (Split) (d. 1268) wrote about the Mongol invasion of Hungary and the Balkan peninsula in the early 1240s in his *Historia Pontificum Salonitanorum atque Spalatensium*.[27] We can ask the same questions of all of these texts.[28] How do we balance our reading of these sources as informative descriptions of the Mongols, and as windows into the mindset and culture of the author? Ultimately, how did these authors negotiate the social, religious, political, linguistic, and cultural boundaries between themselves and their audience, Mongol or otherwise?

The efforts of fourteenth century missions and economic activities are additionally evidenced by tombstones in Yüan China (1260–1370) memorializing European friars, merchants, and members of the Chinese community. They contain a mixture of Catholic, Nestorian Christian (Christians of the Church of the East), and Buddhist iconography. [29] One recurring syncretic image is of a cross above a lotus flower, a symbol frequently employed in Buddhism. These tombstones are rarely incorporated in studies of medieval European Christians abroad, particularly because scholars tend to analyze them in the context of Nestorian Christian and Buddhist contact. Much of the scholarship is also in Chinese.

Scholars usually assume that because the number of Nestorian Christians outnumbered Latin Christians in Mongol China, any Christian imagery on tombstones, such as crosses, is likely Nestorian in origin. The medieval Latin Church considered the Nestorians heretical because they believed that the human Jesus and the Divine Messiah existed in two separate natures. Scholars also assume that due to doctrinal differences, emphasized by Latin Christians like William of Rubruck in his *Itinerarium*, Nestorians and Catholics remained relatively separate in daily life.[30] However, in major cities, Nestorians resided in the neighborhood of foreigners alongside Muslims, Hindus, Catholics, and visitors and merchants from all over the empire.[31]

There are several well-preserved Latin Christian tombstones. The first belongs to Friar Andrew of Perugia (d. 1332). Andrew, bishop of Quanzhou, seems to have presided over the expansion of the Catholic community there, and reported in his letter of 1326 that his church had become a cathedral.[32] The second and third tombstones, of Katerina Ilioni (Vilionis, Vilioni, Viglione) (d. 1342) and her brother Antonio (d. 1344), were found at

Yangzhou (Yangchow). Katerina's tombstone contains images of the martyrdom of St. Catherine of Alexandria and the Madonna with child, while Antonio's tombstone shows St. Anthony Abbot, both executed with distinct Chinese artistic flourishes.[33]

The Ilioni tombstones not only testify to an Italian presence in Yüan China – Francis A. Rouleau and Robert Lopez speculate that the Ilioni family hailed from Genoa – but hints at rare European female travelers.[34] In addition, the remarkable amalgamation of Christian and Chinese imagery begs the identity of the tombstones' carvers. The mixed imagery indicates that a local Chinese artisan probably completed the work, but how familiar was he with Latin Christian imagery? Was the artisan a convert? How did Europeans in Mongol China understand, appropriate, and incorporate aspects of local culture, religion and customs into their lives, Christian faith, and funeral customs? How did European Christians, especially women like Katerina, understand their religious and cultural identity in a multi-religious and ethnic environment?

Is the Enemy of my Enemy my Friend? Europe and the Ilkhanate

For a few decades in the second half of the thirteenth century, Europe looked to the Mongol rulers of the Ilkhanate as potential allies against mutual Muslim enemies, a hope that the Ilkhans did not usually deter, and indeed, even encouraged. After establishing the Ilkhanate dynasty, Hülegü (r. 1256–65), grandson of Genghis Khan (Chinggis Khan), began to correspond with popes and kings, like Louis IX of France, in an attempt to gather support for a combined military maneuver against the Mamlūks.[35] Hülegü's son Abakha (Abaqa, Abagha) (r. 1265–82) stepped up the communication and even sent envoys to the Second Council of Lyons in 1274. For the next thirty years envoys traveled from the Ilkhanate to as far as England, the most famous of whom was Rabban Sauma, a Chinese-born Nestorian monk who visited the kings of France and England, and Pope Nicholas IV on behalf of Arghun (travels 1287–90). In the end, the alliance did not materialize.[36]

Why did Europe fail to conclude an alliance with the only entity with the military prowess to defeat the Mamlūks?[37] This question receives much attention because if the coalition had succeeded, world history would have been very different indeed.[38] Peter Jackson addresses the issue of why the European-Ilkhanate alliance did not succeed, but he admirably complicates the picture while leaving room for future analysis. While a few have concluded simplistically that a coordinated Frankish-Mongol operation was "doomed from the start," Jackson explores *why* Latin Europe hesitated to partner with the Ilkhans.[39] The Mongol legacy from their destructive attacks on Eastern Europe in the early 1240s was still vivid. After all, Golden Horde khans – whose realm included territory from the Urals, to the right banks of the Danube River, and extended east into Siberia – were still harassing Poland in 1259. Jackson notes that it took a long time before writers in the Latin West became aware of the friction between Mongol cousins, the khans of the Golden Horde and Ilkhanate.[40] Various chroniclers warned that the Mongol world view, which saw them as the "true masters of the world," would produce another invasion of Europe.[41] Jackson does neglect to mention how the conversion of the Ilkhan Ghazan to Islam in 1295 could have contributed further to Western hesitance (or whether news of it reached Europe).

In his analysis of Latin-Ilkhanate communication, Jackson presents opportunities for further study, especially on the role of Europeans in the service of the Ilkhans; Ilkhanid envoys may have helped perpetuate the image that the Ilkhans treated Christians favorably.[42] How did Greeks, Genoese, Venetians, Armenians, Frenchmen, and Englishmen

come to serve in Mongol Iran as translators, diplomats, and administrative assistants? Jackson notes that the embassy to Europe in 1276–7 was headed by John and James Vassalli, who were probably Greeks.[43] The Ilkhan Arghun employed several Italians, such as the Genoese Rommasso de' Anfossi and Buscarello de' Ghisolfi. The Pisan Isolo da Anastasio seemed to have served three Ilkhans who reigned from 1284 to 1304.[44] How did these translators, scribes, merchants, and monks become Ilkhanid agents? How did they acquire the linguistic skills – Persian, certainly, and possibly Mongolian – to perform their duties? Did they serve as intermediaries with European trading centers in or near Mongol territory, such as the Genoese city of Caffa? A better understanding of European-Mongol relations in Persia requires a closer look at the men who enabled the communication to happen at all.[45]

The Mongol Influence on European Material Culture

The missions to Yüan territory and relations with the Ilkhanate facilitated economic and artistic exchanges between Europe and various parts of the Mongol Empire. Scholars have debated the influence of cross-cultural contacts between Europeans and Mongols on European cultural productions, particularly in the areas of art and material culture. Art historians have noted a scattering of Mongol figures in medieval European paintings, though there has been no systematic study as of yet. Some have ventured analyses of decoration resembling phags-pa script – which was commissioned by Kubilai Khan (r. 1260–94) as a script intended to replace the Mongolian script based on the Uighur language Genghis Khan had created – in some paintings, though others have called it Kufic-like.[46]

For art historians, there are two issues at hand: what is the significance of Mongol figures and products *in* European art; and what is the influence of Mongol and Chinese motifs and products *on* European art? In instances where scholars have mentioned Mongol figures in medieval European paintings, it is often in comparison with representations of Muslims and Jews. Still more consideration has arisen from paintings, like Simone Martini's *St. Louis Altarpiece* (*c.* 1317), that depict beautiful Tartar cloths (*panni tartarici*), though even the origins of the textiles depicted are up for debate.[47] In this context, art historians pay attention to techniques and paints used to portray the luxury gold fabrics, while textile historians cross-reference textual citations of *panni tartarici* with examples in paintings.[48]

Lauren Arnold is one of the most vocal proponents of a Mongol impact on medieval Western art as transmitted through Franciscan intermediaries.[49] She argues that Chinese items were familiar enough in medieval Europe that when Dante, Boccaccio, and Chaucer needed a metaphor for worldly refinement, they referred to Tartary and its wares.[50] Hidemichi Tanaka also sees Eastern influences, pointing to the hanging silks, ''almond-shaped'' eyes, and ''the free postures'' of several figures in the frescoes of the life of St. Francis in the Basilica of St. Francis at Assisi as proof of ''oriental influence.''[51] He contends that decorative elements resembling the Mongol phags-pa script appear in hem designs of Giotto's *Life of Christ* in the Scrovegni Chapel in Padua.[52] Finally, in his examination of Ambrogio Lorenzetti's *Good Government* and *Bad Government* frescoes in Siena, Italy, Tanaka argues that the costumes of the dancing ladies may have come from the Orient and that the perspective used for the mountains was probably influenced by Chinese paintings and scrolls.[53]

What is the investment in discerning Asian influences in medieval Italian and European art? Tanaka and others are responding to an older scholarship that dismissed foreign

influences on significant medieval and early Renaissance paintings. For example, Leonardo Olschki argued that "Those who attribute to Oriental models and motifs a revolutionary virtue and a decisive influence on the artistic feeling, technique, and imagination of the masters [of Italian art of the early Renaissance] are wrong."[54] In contrast, Tanaka posits that fourteenth century Italian painters had a deep interest in Oriental scripts due not only to their exoticism, but also to their respect for Oriental civilization.[55] This is rather difficult to prove, though it suggests interesting opportunities for new studies.

Mention should be made of Rosamond Mack, who examines how Oriental trade and travel contributed to artistic development in Italy and made a permanent impression on Italian decorative arts.[56] Mack argues that in using pseudo-Mongol text in frescoes like *The Four Doctors of the Church* fresco at the Basilica of St. Francis at Assisi, Italian painters, inspired by fabrics with *tiraz* – a band of standardized Arabic inscriptions marking royal Islamic honorific garments – looked for an exotic link to the Early Christian era in the Holy Land.[57] A controversial argument, this is an issue for art historians and linguists to explore more thoroughly. Mack also has a tendency to use the terms "Oriental" and "Islamic" interchangeably and loosely, without attention to issues of, for example, how the Mongol presence in Islamic lands affected Islamic art.[58]

Some of the most promising work on material cultural exchange has focused on the history of textiles. In their discussion of the presence of *panni tartarici* (Tartar cloths), textile historians focus on craftsmanship; for example, what types of threads and weaving were used, as well as the origins and transmission of motifs. The lack of surviving *panni tartarici*, as well as the specialized knowledge and equipment needed to examine such precious finds, has made this field one of the most challenging, but exciting avenues to explore the Mongol cultural impact on the medieval Western textile industry and fashion.

Mack briefly discusses the presence of Mongol textiles, or *panni tartarici*, in medieval Italian paintings and European papal and royal inventories. According to Thomas Allsen, such "Tartar cloth," *nasīj*, or "cloth of gold and silk," was not made by Mongol hands; however, the ruling Mongol elite of the Ilkhanate used them extensively and indeed, it did not seem to matter to European collectors of *panni tartarici* whether they were made by Mongol weavers or not.[59] While the Mongols captured and employed thousands of Central Asian and Chinese craftsmen to produce *nasīj*, and the Mongols' astonishing demand for and use of *nasīj* certainly influenced what materials and motifs were used.

The premier textile historian Anne Wardwell has done excellent work on *panni tartarici* and examines Chinese and Central Asian motifs and their influence on Italian silk design.[60] Because her focus is on the transmission of motifs, she neglects to discuss plain silks and rarely discusses European use of Tartar cloths.[61] Her findings are particularly useful regarding the manufacture of *panni tartarici*, especially because many contain mixed Chinese, Central Asian, and Persian motifs. When the Mongols conquered new territories, they usually spared craftspeople, especially textile workers, and relocated them to centers of production.[62] From her studies of Eurasian fabrics, it is clear that a great deal of mixing of weaving techniques and motifs occurred at textile workshops in locations like Tabrīz, Mosul, and Samarqand.[63]

Lisa Monnas presents the most convincing evidence for the argument that Italian painters consciously imitated a variety of silks, including *panni tartarici*, but she does not go so far as to claim that Mongolian phags-pa script inspired Italian painters. Her study is particularly helpful for contextualizing the importance of silk to late medieval culture and fashion. She connects representations of *panni tartarici* in paintings, such as the *St. Louis Altarpiece* (*c.* 1317) by the Sienese painter Simone Martini, to similar surviving examples

of Tartar fabrics, such as those found in the tomb of Cangrande della Scala of Verona (d. 1329).[64] The portrayal of Mongol features, particularly *panni tartarici* or Tartar cloths, and their presence in dozens of European inventories, demonstrates how highly valued and a part of contemporary fashion Mongol luxury goods were.[65]

This field invites further investigation on the workshops that produced beautiful and highly valued textiles. How did Persian, Central Asian, and Chinese craftspeople work together as artisans and prisoners of war? How did their Mongol overlords dictate the selection of motifs? What were the long-term effects of such large-scale migration on the craftspeople's former and new homes? How important were European, particularly Italian, but also Armenian, Russian, and Byzantine merchants in the trade of *panni tartarici*? We may also be inspired by Linda Komaroff's examination of the transfer of artistic ideas from eastern to western Asia through the Ilkhanate, and Anna Muthesius's studies of the importance of Byzantine textiles to Western Europe.[66] How were the Mongols mediators in the transmission of Persian, Arabic, Central Asian, and Chinese materials, motifs, and techniques in art and textile design?

Fear of Destruction and Hope for Conversion: Textual Representations of Mongols Context

In addition to influencing European art and material culture, the Mongols appeared in medieval literature and theological treatises, as well as influenced late medieval and early Renaissance cartographic productions. When the Mongols erupted suddenly on the scene in the thirteenth century, Europeans initially saw them as a harbinger of the Apocalypse and as inhuman creatures from hell employed by God on a purgative mission.[67] However, these negative attributions were not static and Europeans also hoped that the Mongols might be the fulfillment of the legendary Christian king Prester John.[68] Authors from all over Europe were fascinated; we have thirteenth and fourteenth century Italian, French, English, Iberian, Russian, Balkan, Hungarian, Armenian, and Georgian writers who pondered the Mongols.[69]

How have scholars analyzed these textual representations of the Mongols? Some have shown how medieval Christians turned to historical and geographical material found in Scripture, Classical writings, and prophetic and apocalyptic texts to make sense of the Mongols. The most common European reading of the Mongols was that they were either Gog and Magog, or the Ishmaelites, both of whom had been enclosed by Alexander the Great in mountains to the east. The Mongols also signaled the coming of the Antichrist, foreshadowed the end of the world, and were punishment from God for Christian sin.

C. W. Connell shows how one of the earliest associations of Mongols with figures drawn from Scripture was that which depicted them as agents of the Antichrist.[70] W. R. Jones traces the origins of the image of the barbarian in medieval Europe to Classical attitudes about the barbarian and his way of life.[71] Peter Jackson argues that Latin Christians resorted to Scripture and to apocalyptic prophecy, notably the seventh-century *Revelations* of Pseudo-Methodius – which predicted that the Ishmaelites and Gog and Magog, would reappear as harbingers of the Last Days – to explain the devastation of Eastern Europe in 1241–2.[72]

Scholars of Jewish history highlight the association of negative imagery of the Jews with the Mongols. In his *Cronica majora (maiora),* Matthew Paris tells of a Jewish-Mongol 'plot' in 1241, in which Jews, who considered the Mongols their brethren, attempted to smuggle weapons to their would-be rescuers from Christian rule and cruelty. Sophia Menache notes how Matthew's report demonstrated Christian stereotypes of the Jews.[73] An art historical perspective complements this. Debra Strickland argues how pejorative

visual representations of Muslims (Saracens) and Jews provided a template for representations of the Mongols.[74] The association between Jews and Mongols continued; both were routinely accused of cannibalism. Matthew Paris swore that the Mongols ate female breasts or nipples as delicacies.[75]

There is no shortage of medieval writers' depiction of the Mongols as cruel, bloodthirsty, and sexually depraved. However, it is clear that not all chroniclers and theologians held such negative images of the Mongols. While Daniel Baraz highlights that the primary manifestations of the cruelty attributed to the Mongols were sexual cruelty and cannibalism, contemporaneously, friars preached on how sinful Christians could do better to imitate the Mongols.[76] The Franciscan preacher Berthold of Regensburg (*c.*1220–1272) referenced the Mongols and used them as examples of pagans and idolaters to be compared to good Christians.[77] The Majorcan philosopher Ramon of Lull (*c.*1232–1315) thought the Mongols would be easier to convert than Muslims or Jews.[78]

Contact with the Mongols also greatly impacted the late medieval geographical worldview, and the representation of the world in word and image.[79] Fantastic stories of the Mongols helped fuel European dreams of wild men and monstrous races.[80] These found their way onto *mappaemundi*, where, like in art, Mongols were associated with figures like Gog and Magog and Jews.[81] The presence of foreign peoples on maps could serve to reinforce understandings of the self and 'Other' in political, social, and religious contexts.[82] *Mappaemundi* and medieval travel writing also created, reinforced, and dispelled medieval and early modern ideas of race, ethnicity, and alterity.[83] William of Rubruck searched for monstrous peoples (and remarked on how he did not find them), while Odoric of Pordenone reported on the dog-faced cynocephali.[84] Medieval models were integral to early modern conceptions of race and superiority.[85]

How do we explain the variety in attitudes towards the Mongols? Some looked to the Mongols as potential allies against Islam in the Middle East, as the beginning of the end of the world, and as the antithesis of a bad Christian. Scholars often discuss how medieval Europeans portrayed the Mongols as the ''Other,'' an argument that is applicable to literary and artistic sources, but invites further investigation.[86] We may follow the example of Hanska, Ruotsala, and Liu in attempting to understand why preachers and theologians' messages concerning the Mongols varied so greatly. We can also use concepts from alterity and ethnic or race studies to think about how Europeans wrestled with and portrayed the Mongols in literature, maps, and art.

Conclusion: Future Directions

Ultimately, Mongol studies, and perhaps even medieval studies, needs to be more collaborative. Because the scholarship is necessarily limited by language, region, and inconsistent bodies of sources, how can we understand the larger picture if we do not pool our linguistic and disciplinary expertise? For example, further study on the Latin tombstones in Yüan China would require knowledge of Chinese and, more specifically, Yüan period Chinese, in the search for more on Christian converts or Chinese artisans that could have carved the tombstones. This would be complemented by Latin, for archival research, in search for more European merchants like the Ilioni family, and Italian, for sources and scholarship on the Italian merchants who dotted the fourteenth century Eurasian landscape. Again, the Europeans who served the Ilkhans as translators, scribes, and envoys deserve more attention; this would require Persian, Latin, and possibly Arabic for primary sources, but also French, Italian, and German to fully understand the scholarship.

The Mongol Empire has received increasing interest lately, which can be seen in the growing body of academic scholarship. Rather uniquely, however, the Mongols have also found a place in film, media, and pop culture.[87] Mongol Studies, and indeed, medieval Eurasian history in general, is exciting because it can serve so many purposes and present diverse paths for further exploration.[88] Medieval Eurasian history exemplifies phenomena – like transnationalism, cross-cultural exchanges, and intercontinental trade – that are now in our connected and globalized world more relevant than ever.

Note to the Reader

Transliterations of Mongol, Persian, and Arabic names and terms have been carried out according to the language of the original. Transliteration of Chinese follows the pinyin system. Common alternative spellings, which are important especially in searches for sources, are provided in parentheses

Short Biography

Colleen is a Ph.D. candidate in History at the University of California, Santa Barbara. She was a Fulbright scholar in Rome in 2010–2011. Her dissertation, titled ''A Sign of the Apocalypse or the Ideal Ally? European-Mongol Relations in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries'' uses diplomatic sources, travel narratives, and artistic and material culture to examine shifts in medieval European understandings of the Mongols. She enjoys teaching World History and Writing. She holds BAs in History and Psychology from UC Berkeley, and an MA in History from UC Santa Barbara. She plans to complete her Ph.D. in summer, 2013.

Notes

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[1] The *Secret History* was the first text to be composed in the Mongolian language. The author is unknown, but the text was likely written very soon after Genghis Khan's death in 1227. The last few sections of the text were probably added later. See P. Kahn for a short introduction to the text's history. 'Introduction to *The Secret History of the Mongols*', in W. Fitzhugh, M. Rossabi, and W. Honeychurch (eds.), *Genghis Khan and the Mongol Empire* (Smithsonian Institute: Washington, DC: Mongolian Preservation Foundation, 2009), 116–23. The following are the most notable English translations of *The Secret History*. I. de Rachewiltz's impressive version contains the most detailed and comprehensive annotations. *The Secret History of the Mongols: a Mongolian Epic Chronicle of the Thirteenth Century* (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2004). F.W. Cleaves's translation is difficult to read because of its King James Bible English, but valuable in its scholarly analysis. *The Secret History of the Mongols* (Harvard-Yenching Institute: Harvard University Press, 1982). P. Kahn's translation, intended for a broad audience, with few footnotes, is abridged and adapts Cleaves's prose translation into a narrative poem. *The Secret History of the Mongols: The Origin of Chinghis Khan: An Adaptation of the* Yüan ch'ao pi shih, *based primarily on the English translation by Francis Woodman Cleaves* (Boston: Cheng & Tsui, Co., 1998). U. Onon has been criticized for his thesis that modern minority Mongol dialects, particularly Dawr (Dagur), are directly related to the original language of *The Secret History*. *The Secret History of the Mongols: the life and times of Chinggis Khan* (Richmond, Surrey: Curzon, 2001). See T. Sarantsatsral for a bibliography of translations of the *Secret History*. *Монголын нууц товчоо зохиолын гадаад орчуулга/Mongolyn nuut s tovchoo zokhiolyn gadaad orchuulga* (Secret History of the Mongols and its translations into foreign languages) (Ulaanbaatar: Bembi San, 2006).

[2] For example, P. Ratchnevksy notes that ''The chronology of the *Secret History* in unreliable because the author considers the individual episodes of his epic to be more important than either their interrelation or correct chronological order.'' *Genghis Khan: His Life and Legacy,* Trans. T. N. Haining (Oxford, UK; Cambridge, MA: Blackwell, 1992), 61. Also see Rachewiltz, *The Secret History*, xxvi.

[3] P. Jackson, *The Mongols and the West, 1221–1410* (Harlow, England; New York: Person Longman, 2005), 4.

[4] The first widely accessible study in English on medieval missions to Mongol territories is I. de Rachewiltz's *Papal Envoys to the Great Khans* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1971).Written in narrative form, with a bibliography, but no footnotes, Rachewiltz's study is highly readable, but its lack of citations and somewhat considerable number of factual errors necessitates that it should be read in conjunction with other sources. Published in the same decade, J. Richard expanded Rachewiltz's scope to address missions to nearly all of the Mongol Empire. *La papauté et les missions d'Orient au Moyen Age (XIIIe-XVe siècles)* (Rome: École française de Rome, 1977). Though the book contains numerous minor errors – see Denis Sinor's review in *Speculum* 56/3 (July 1981): 645–47 – its scope is supremely impressive and still vital to the field. D. Morgan's *The Mongols* is very readable and broadly covers all regions of the Mongol Empire **(**Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1986). P. Jackson's excellent and thorough *The Mongols and the West, 1221–1410* is now the standard. For a thorough historiography of the Mongol Empire until 1999, see P. Jackson, 'The state of research: The Mongol Empire, 1986–1999', *Journal of Medieval History*, 26/2 (2000): 189–210. For work prior to 1989, see D. Sinor, 'Notes on Inner Asian: History of the Mongols in the Thirteenth Century', *Journal of Asian History*, 23 (1989): 26–79. Sinor's 'The Mongols in the West' also contains an overview of European-Mongol relations. *Journal of Asian History*, 33/1 (1999): 1–44. For students, an excellent and brief introduction to the history of European-Mongol relations is P. Jackson, 'The Mongols and Europe', in D. Abulafia (ed.), *The New Cambridge Medieval History*, *Volume V, c. 1198 - c. 1300* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 703–19.

[5] The following are a selection of general studies on missions to the Mongols. P. Jackson, 'Early missions to the Mongols: Carpini and his contemporaries', *The Hakluyt Society Annual Report for 1994*, 14–32. P. Jackson, 'The Mongols and the Faith of the Conquered', in R. Amitai and M. Biran (eds.), *Mongols, Turks, and Others: Eurasian Nomads and the Sedentary World* (Leiden: Brill, 2005), 245–90. P. Jackson, 'William of Rubruck in the Mongol Empire: Perception and Prejudices', in Z. Von Martels (ed.), *Travel Fact and Travel Fiction: Studies on Fiction, Literary Tradition, Scholarly Discovery and Observation in Travel Writing* (Leiden: Brill, 1994): 54–71. J. Ryan, 'Conversion vs. Baptism? European Missionaries in Asia in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries', in J. Muldoon (ed.), *Varieties of Religious Conversion in the Middle Ages* (Gainesville, FL: University Press of Florida, 1997), 146–67. J. Ryan, 'Nicholas IV and the evolution of the eastern missionary effort', *Archivum historiae pontificiae* XIX (1981): 79–95. J. Ryan, 'Preaching Christianity Along the Silk Route: Missionary Outposts in the Tartar 'Middle Kingdom' in the Fourteenth Century', *Journal of Early Modern History* 2/4 (November, 1998): 350–73. G.G. Guzman, 'European Captives and Craftsmen Among the Mongols, 1231–1255', *The Historian* (2010): 122–50. G.G. Guzman, 'European clerical envoys to the Mongols: Reports of Western merchants in Eastern Europe and Central Asia, 1231–55', *Journal of Medieval History* 22/1 (March, 1996): 53–67. R. Mason, 'The Mongol Mission and Kyivan Rus', *Ukrainian Quarterly* 49/4 (Winter 1993): 385–402. M. Dienes, 'Eastern Missions of the Hungarian Dominicans in the First Half of the Thirteenth Century', *Isis* 27/2 (August, 1937): 225–41.

[6] The Bull was issued again by Innocent IV in 1245, with slight modifications, and continued to be reissued through the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. J. Muldoon, *Popes, Lawyers, and Infidels: The Church and the Non-Christian World, 1250–1550* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1979), 36–7.

[7] F. Schmieder, '*Cum hora undecima*: The Incorporation of Asia into the *orbis Christianus*', in G. Armstrong and I.N. Wood (eds.), *Christianizing Peoples and Converting Individuals* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2000), 259–65. The following generally concur with Schmieder. J. Muldoon, *Popes, Lawyers, and Infidels*, x. Rachewiltz, *Papal Envoys*, 155. G.G. Guzman, 'Christian Europe and Mongol Asia: First Medieval Intercultural Contact Between East and West', *Essays in Medieval Studies* 2 (1985): 227–44 (here 239).

[8] J. Ryan, 'To Baptize Khans or to Convert Peoples? Missionary Aims in Central Asia in the Fourteenth Century', in G. Armstrong and I.N. Wood (eds.), *Christianizing Peoples and Converting Individuals* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2000), 247–57. Jackson agrees with Ryan in *The Mongols,* 262.

[9] Pope Clement V appointed Giovanni of Montecorvino the Archbishop of the new Latin see of Khanbalech, or Beijing, with ecclesiastical jurisdiction over the entire Mongol world in the papal bull *Rex regum* (23 July 1307).

[10] Schmieder, 'Cum hora undecima', 260. B. Roest is in agreement, 'Medieval Franciscan Mission: History and Concept', in W. van Bekkum and P.M. Cobb (eds.), *Strategies of Medieval Communal Identity: Judaism, Christianity and Islam* (Paris: Peeters, 2004), 137–62 (here 145).

[11] See Muldoon, *Popes, Lawyers, and Infidels* for more on the evolution of canon legal thought on missions to non-Christians. Jackson agrees with Ryan in *The Mongols,* though in earlier scholarship he concurred with Schmieder, 'Early Missions to the Mongols', 29.

[12] Sinor, 'The Mongols in the West', 10.

[13] Extracts of the account of the Ascelin's embassy, written up by fellow Dominican Simon of Saint-Quentin (whose text is referred to as *Historia Tartarorum*), only survives in the Dominican Vincent of Beauvais's *Speculum historiale* (*c.* 1253).Vincent's monumental encyclopedia *Speculum Maius* was composed of the *Speculum naturale,* the *Speculum doctrinale,* and the *Speculum historiale*. He also took material from Giovanni of Plano Carpini's *Historia (Ystoria) Mongolarum*. See J. Richard for a critical Latin edition with commentary in French of the *Speculum historiale's* Simon of Saint-Quentin material. *Simon de Saint-Quentin: Histoire des Tartares* (Paris: P. Geuthner, 1965). Also see G.G. Guzman, 'Simon of Saint-Quentin and the Dominican Mission to the Mongol Baiju: A Reappraisal', *Speculum* 46/2 (April 1971): 232–49. 'Simon of Saint-Quentin and the Dominican Mission to the Mongols, 1245–8', Ph.D.

diss. (University of Cincinnati, 1968). 'The Encyclopedist Vincent of Beauvais and His Mongol Extracts from Giovanni of Plano Carpini and Simon of Saint-Quentin', *Speculum* 49/2 (April 1974): 287–307. Giovanni of Carpini's Latin *Historia Mongolarum* has most recently been edited by E. Menestò, *Giovanni di Pian di Carpine: Storia Dei Mongoli,* Trans. Italian M.C. Lungarotti (Spoleto: Centro Italiano di Studi sull'alto Medioevo, 1989). The Latin is also in A. Wyngaert (ed.), *Sinica Franciscana, I. Itinera et relationes Fratrum Minorum saeculi XIII et XIV* (Quaracchi: Firenze, 1929), 27–130. For an English translation see C. Dawson, *Mission to Asia* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1980), 3–72.

[14] Montecorvino's three *Epistolae,* written in 1292–93, 1305, and 1306, respectively, are in Wyngaert, *Sinica Franciscana, I*, 340–55. For an English translation of the second and third Latin letters – the first letter survives in a problematic Italian translation – see Dawson, *Mission to Asia,* 224–28. Montecorvino laments that after George's death, Nestorian Christianity reasserted itself as the Öngüts' faith. See the following. M. Paolillo, 'La lettera di Giovanni da Montecorvino (1247–328) e il suo incontro con il Re Öngüt Giorgio: un enigma medieval in Asia Orientale', *Mediaeval Sophia* 5 (2009): 74–95. P. Sella, ''Aspetti storici della missione di Giovanni da Montecorvino nel Cathay', *Antonianum periodicum trimester* 77/ 3 (2002): 475–502. Rachewiltz, chapter VIII 'The Archbishop of Khanbaliq', *Papal Envoys*. Jackson, chapter 10 'Mission to the Infidel', *The Mongols*.

[15] Jackson notes that Montecorvino's one long-term success was ministering to the Alans, Christians of the Greek Orthodox rite who had been moved from their homeland in the Caucasus to serve as part of the imperial Yüan guard. The Alans wrote to the pope in 1336 asking for a replacement for their much missed pastor. *The Mongols,* 259.

[16] Jackson, *The Mongols*, 256. Andrew of Longjumeau was dispatched by Pope Innocent IV in 1245 and met with a Mongol general near Tabrīz. In 1249 Andrew also journeyed to the Mongol capital at Karakorum. At times I will refer to Giovanni of Plano Carpini and Giovanni of Montecorvino as Carpini and Montecorvino, respectively – though Carpini and Montecorvino are location names – to distinguish them from each other.

[17] William of Rubruck's Latin *Itinerarium* is in Wyngaert, *Sinica Franciscana, I,* 164–332. For an annotated English translation see W. van Ruysbroeck, *The Mission of Friar William of Rubruck: His Journey to the Court of the Great Khan Möngke, 1253–1255*, Trans. P. Jackson with D. Morgan (London: Hakluyt Society, 1990). Also translated in Dawson, *Mission to Asia,* 89–220.

[18] When in Palestine William heard from Andrew of Longjumeau about a group of German slaves belonging to the Mongol prince Buri. Wyngaert, *SFI,* xxxviii, 10, p. 324. Also see Rachewiltz, *Papal Envoys*, 123.

[19] Giovanni left Tabrīz in 1291 and en route spent 13 months among the St. Thomas Christians on the Coromandel coast (Ma'bar) of India. He reached Khanbalech (Beijing) sometime in 1294. See Jackson, *The Mongols,* chapter 10 for details.

[20] A. Ruotsala argues that the envoys tried to 'stand behind their own religious conviction' and categorizes their behavior as 'martyr-like.' *Europeans and Mongols in the Middle of the Thirteenth Century: Encountering the Other* (Helsinki: The Finnish Academy of Science and Letters, 2001), 93–94. I point to the fact that Carpini did things he personally opposed, such as genuflect, as evidence for my disagreement with Ruotsala.

[21] In *Cum non solum* (13 March 1245) Innocent remonstrated with the Mongols, appealed to them to desist from attacking Christians and other nations, and enquired as to their future intentions. *Dei patris immensa* (5 March 1245) contained an exposition of the Christian faith and urged the Mongols to accept baptism. Latin texts in K. E. Lupprian (ed.), *Die Beziehungen der Päpste zu islamischen und mongolischen Herrschern im 13. Jahrhundert anhand ihres Briefwechsels* (Vatican City: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1981), 141–49, (nos. 20, 21). Translated in Dawson, *Mission to Asia*, 73–76.

[22] The 1230s saw four separate Dominican missions in Greater Hungary (supposedly in the Volga-Ural region), partly in response to the looming Mongol threat. Ricardus addressed his report to Pope Gregory IX. Julian's *Epistula de vita Tartarorum* was addressed to the Bishop of Perugia, who was a papal legate, and included a letter from Batu Khan (d. 1255) to King Béla IV of Hungary; it demanded unconditional surrender to the Mongols. Julian's letter in H. Dörrie, **'**Drei Texte zur Geschichte der Ungarn und Mongolen. Die Missionreisen des fr. Iulianus O.P ins Ural-Gebiet (1234/5) und nach Russland (1237) und der Bericht des Erzbischofs Peter uber die Tartaren', *Nachrichten der Akademie der Wissenschafien in Goettingen, 1, Phil.-Hist. Klasse,* 6 (1956), 125–202 (letter 165–82). Ricardus's Latin text is in Dörrie, 'Drei Texte', 151–61. Dienes translates Ricardus's letter in 'Eastern Missions', 237–40. Also see D. Sinor, 'Un voyageur du treizième siècle: le Dominicain Julien de Hongrie', *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London,* 14/3 (1952): 589–602.

[23] Benedict the Pole accompanied Carpini for much of his journey. Benedict's *Relatio* (1245) is in Wyngaert, *Sinica Franciscana I,* 134–43. Peregrine of Castello's *Epistola is in* Wyngaert, *Sinica Franciscana I,* 365–68. Translation in Dawson, *Mission to Asia,* 232–34. Andrew of Perugia's *Epistola* is in Wyngaert, *Sinica Franciscana I*, 373–77. Translation in Dawson, *Mission to Asia,* 235–37. Odoric's *Relatio* is in Wyngaert, *Sinica Franciscana I*, 413–95. English translation with extensive notes in Sir H. Yule, *Cathay and the Way Thither,* new ed. by Henri Cordier, 4 vols. (London: Hakluyt Society, 1913–16), ii, 97–277. English translation more recently published in H. Yule, *The Travels of Friar Odoric* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2002). Generally see Rachewiltz, *Papal Envoys*, 179–86. A.C. Moule, 'A Life of Odoric of Pordenone', *T'oung Pao*, 2nd Series, 20/$^{3/4}$ (Aug., 1920–1921): 275–90. Odoric also has a *vita,* extract translated in Moule, 'A Life of Odoric.' Original in ''Chronica XXIV Generalium Ordinis Minorum,'' in

Analecta Franciscana, III (Quaracchi, 1897), 499–504. Giovanni of Marignolli's *Relatio* is in Wyngaert, *Sinica Franciscana I,* 524–60. Translation in Yule & Cordier, *Cathay and the Way Thither,* ii, 309–94. See H. Franke, 'Das himmlesche Pferd des Johann von Marignola', *Archiv für Kulturgeschichte* 50 (1968): 33–40. Also see Rachewiltz, *Papal Envoys,* 191–201.

[24] For commentary on Ricoldo's *Liber peregrinacionis* or *Libellus ad nationes orientales* (*c.* 1291), see U.M. de Villard, *Il Libro Della Peregrinazione nelle Prati d'Oriente di Frate Ricoldo da Montecroce* (Rome: Santa Sabina, 1948). Also see A. A. Dondaine, 'Ricoldiana: notes sur les oeuvres de Ricoldo da Montecroce', *Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum,* 37 (1967): 119–79.

[25] *The Flowers of Histories of the East* was translated into Latin – Glenn Burger hypothesizes perhaps at Pope Clement V's request – in the same year. *Recueil des Historiens des Croisades: Documents Arméniens,* 2 vols. (Paris, 1869–1906). French text 'La flor des estoires de la terre d'Orient' in II, 111–253. Latin text II, 255–363. Also see G. Burger, ''Cilician Armenian Métissage and Hetoum's *La Fleur des histoires de la terre d'Orient,*'' in J. J. Cohen (ed.), *The Postcolonial Middle Ages* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 2000), 67–84. R. Bedrosian has generously provided a free introduction and critical translation online. 'Het'um the Historian's *History of the Tartars*' (2004) [Online]. Retrieved on 18 June 2012 from: <http://rbedrosian.com/hetumint.htm> See Bedrosian for other thirteenth and fourteenth century Armenian sources that discuss the Mongols. 'Armenian Historical Sources of the 5–15th Centuries Selected Works', (1996) [Online]. Retrieved on 20 June 2012 from: <http://rbedrosian.com/hsrces.html>

[26] For more on King Het'um I, see J.A. Boyle, 'The Journey of Het'um I, King of Little Armenia, to the Court of the Great Khan Möngke', *Central Asiatic Journal*, 9 (1964): 175–89. For an overview of Armenian-Mongol relations, see B. Dashdondog, *The Mongols and the Armenians (1220–1335)* (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2011).

[27] See J.R. Sweeney, 'Thomas of Spalato and the Mongols: A Thirteenth-Century Dalmatian View of Mongol Customs', *Florilegium*, 4 (1982): 156–83.Thomas's *Historia* is in F. Rački, *Monumenta Spectantia Historiam Slavorum Meridionalium* 26 (Zagreb, 1894). It lacks a full collation of the one of the four extant manuscripts.

[28] There are many more notable texts, but I will briefly discuss Russian sources because the Golden Horde is not always well-integrated into work on general European-Mongol contacts. The *Chronicle of Novgorod* (or the First Novgorodian Chronicle) documents four centuries of medieval Novgorod history, including the Mongol invasion. English translation in R. Michell and N. Forbes (Trans.), *The Chronicle of Novgorod, 1016–1471* (Hattiesburg, MS: Academic International, 1970). See T. Noonan, 'Medieval Russia, the Mongols, and the West: Novgorod's relations with the Baltic, 1100–350', *Mediaeval Studies*, 37 (1975): 316–39. Nineteenth and twentieth century Russian and Soviet historiography on the Mongol presence in Russia has been polarized. Some blame the ''Tartar yoke'' for unappealing qualities of the Russian government. Others argue that the Mongol impact on Russian history was slight and negligible. The scholarship on the Mongol presence in Russia in the past few decades has been more balanced. See the following. G. Vernadsky, *The Mongols and Russia* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1953). J. Fennell, *The Crisis of Medieval Russia, 1200–1304* (London; New York: Longman, 1983). C. J. Halperin, *Russia and the Golden Horde: The Mongol Impact on Medieval Russian History* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1985).

[29] See S. P. Brock for more on the numerous debates concerning the label 'Nestorian Christian.' 'The 'Nestorian' Church: a lamentable misnomer', in J. F. Coakley and K. Parry (eds.), *The Church of the East: Life and Thought* (=*Bulletin of the John Rylands University Library of* Manchester) 78/3 (Manchester, 1996): 23–35.

[30] See fn. 17 for William's *Itinerarium*.

[31] Nestorians and Catholics were both labeled as *yelikewen* in Chinese historical records. L. Tang, 'Mongol Responses to Christianity in China: A Yuan Dynasty Phenomenon', *Asia Research Institute Working Paper Series* 63 (April 2006): 3–24. Also see F. Mote for more on Chinese society under Mongol rule. 'Chinese Society Under Mongol Rule, 1215–1368', in H. Franke and D. Twitchett (eds.), *The Cambridge History of China, Vol. 6, Alien Regimes and Border States, 907–1368* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 616–64. Also see Herbert Franke, 'Sino-Western Contacts Under the Mongol Empire', in *China Under Mongol Rule* (Brookfield, VT: Variorum, 1994), 49–72.

[32] See fn. 23 for Andrew's *Epistola*. For a discussion of the tombstones' iconography, see K. Parry, 'The Iconography of the Christian Tombstones from Zayton', in I. Gardner, S. Lieu, and K. Parry (eds.), *From Palmyra to Zayton: Epigraphy and Iconography* (Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols, 2005), 229–46. Also see I. Gardner, 'The Medieval Christian Remains from Zayton: A Select Catalogue', in I. Gardner, S. Lieu, and K. Parry (eds.), *From Palmyra to Zayton: Epigraphy and Iconography* (Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols, 2005), 215–28. J. Foster, 'Crosses from the walls of Zaitun', *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland,* (April 1954): 1–25. For Quanzhou tombstones see K. Parry, 'Angels and Apsaras: Christian Tombstones from Quanzhou', *TAASA Review,* 12/2 (2003): 4–5.

[33] According to legend, St. Catherine of Alexandria was martyred in the early 4th century by the pagan Roman emperor Maxentius. She was supposedly a noted scholar who was tortured and killed by Emperor Maxentius after defeating his best pagan philosophers in a debate on Christianity. St. Anthony Abbot, also known as Anthony of Egypt, was famed for his dessert asceticism in Egypt. See J. Purtle, 'The Far Side: Expatriate Medieval Art and Its Languages in Sino-Mongol China', *Medieval Encounters*, 17 (2011): 167–97 (here 182).

[34] F. A. Rouleau, 'The Yangchow Latin Tombstone as a Landmark of Medieval Christianity in China', *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, 17/ 3/4 (Dec. 1954): 346–65. R.S. Lopez, 'Trafegando in partibus Catagii: altri genovesi

in Cina nel Trecento', in *Su e giù per la storia di Genova* (Genoa: Università di Genova, Istituto di Paleografia e Storia Medievale, 1975), 171–86 (here 184–85). Also see R. S. Lopez, 'Nouveaux documents sur les marchands italiens en Chine à l'époque mongole', in *Comptes rendus des séances de l'académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres*, 121e année/2 (1977): 445–58. Reference from Purtle, 'The Far Side', 178. Some scholars posit that the Ilionis were Venetian. D. Howard, 'Venice and Islam in the Middle Ages: Some Observations on the Question of Architectural Influence', *Architectural History*, 34 (1991): 59–74 (here 73, fn. 20). P. Jackson, 'Marco Polo and his 'Travels'', *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* (1998): 263–82 (here 281).

[35] See P. Meyvaert for more on the episode in 1262. 'An Unknown Letter of Hulagu, Il-Khan of Persia, to King Louis IX of France', *Viator*, 11 (1980): 245–62.

[36] See M. Rossabi, *Rabban Sauma and the First Journey from China to the West* (Tokyo: Kodansha International, 1992). Also see A. Mostaert and F.W. Cleaves, *Les Lettres de 1289 et 1305 des ilkhan Aryun et Öleitü à Philippe le Bel* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1962).

[37] The Mongol-Mamlūk conflict is most thoroughly investigated by Reuven Amitai-Preiss in *Mongols and Mamluks: The Mamluk-Ilkhanid War, 1260–1281* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995).

[38] R. Amitai links the English lack of enthusiasm to meet Abakha's proposals to the issue of toleration at the time of the Crusades. A. Reuven, 'Edward of England and Abagha Ilkhan, A Reexamination of a failed attempt at Mongol-Frankish cooperation', in M. Gervers and J. M. Powell (eds.), *Tolerance and intolerance: Social conflict in the age of the Crusades* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 2001), 75–82 (here 81–82).

[39] J. A. Boyle, 'Il-khans of Persia and the Christian West', *History Today*, 23/8 (August 1973): 554–63 (here 30–31).

[40] The Khans of the Golden Horde descended from Jochi (d. 1227), oldest son of Genghis Khan's principal wife Börte. The Ilkhans descended from Hülegü, grandson of Genghis Khan by his youngest son Tolui (d. 1232) by Börte. After the deaths of Great Khans Ögödei and his son Güyük, the Toluids and Jochids feuded over issues of succession.

[41] Ricoldo of Montecroce, who worked for the Ilkhan in the 1290s, says this. See Dondaine, 'Ricoldiana', and fn. 24. Jackson, *The Mongols*, 184. For more on Mongol ideology see E. Voegelin, 'The Mongol orders of submission to European powers, 1245–1255', *Byzantion* 15 (1941): 378–413. I. de Rachewiltz, 'Some remarks on the ideological foundations of Chingis Khan's empire', *Papers on Far Eastern History* 7 (1973): 21–36. P. Jackson, 'Christians, Barbarians and Monsters: The European Discovery of the World Beyond Islam', in P. Linehan and J. L. Nelson (eds.), *The Medieval World* (London; New York; Routledge, 2003), 93–110.

[42] D. Aigle begins to do this in 'The Letters of Eljigidei, Hülegü, and Abaqa: Mongol Overtures or Christian Ventriloquism?'' *Inner Asia*, 7/2 (2005): 143–62. For example, a letter from Eljigidei, the Mongol commander in Iran, to King Louis IX of France (r. 1226–70), claimed that Güyük Khan (r. 1246–48) had converted to Christianity and announced the exemption of all Christians from labor services and taxation and the restoration of their churches in Mongol territories. In truth, however, holy men of all religions were excused, and there is no evidence that Güyük ever converted. Louis received the letter from Mongol envoys in Cyprus in December 1248. Rachewiltz wonders if Eljigidei instructed the Nestorian envoys who carried the letter to explicitly make this statement, or if they manufactured the stories. *Papal Envoys,* 120–21.

[43] Jackson, *The Mongols*, 168. It would not have been rare to find Greeks in the Ilkhan's court; after all, Abakha Khan married Maria Despoina, an illegitimate daughter of Byzantine Emperor Michael Palaeologus VIII. The khan even supposedly received baptism at the occasion in 1265. A. Van Millingen discusses the church named after St. Mary of the Mongols, 'The Church of S. Mary of the Mongols', in *Byzantine Churches of Constantinople* (London: MacMillan & Company, Lmtd., 1912), 272–79.

[44] Jackson, *The Mongols*, 173. Among other duties, Isolo represented Ghazan Khan (r. 1295–1304) on several missions. Also see J. Richard, 'Isol le Pisa: Un aventurier franc gouverneur d'une province mongole?' *Central Asiatic Journal* 14 (1970): 186–94.

[45] For students, a good introduction to European-Ilkhanate relations is J. A. Boyle, 'The Il-Khans'. For more on communication between English monarchs and Ilkhans, see L. Lockhart, 'The Relations between Edward I and Edward II of England and the Mongol Il-Khans of Persia', *Iran* 6 (1968): 23–31. Also see J. Paviot, 'England and the Mongols (*c.* 1260–1330)', *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 10/3 (November, 2000): 305–18.

[46] M. Rossabi, *Khubilai Khan His Life and Times* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988), 54.

[47] L. Monnas (and others) argues that the textiles portrayed are *panni tartarici*. *Merchants, Princes and Painters: Silk Fabrics in Italian and Northern Paintings 1300–1550* (New Haven, London: Yale University Press, 2008).

[48] See C.S. Hoeniger for an analysis on techniques used to represent luxury textiles. 'Cloth of Gold and Silver: Simone Martini's Techniques for Representing Luxury Textiles', *Gesta* 30/2 (1991): 154–62.

[49] L. Arnold, *Princely Gifts and Papal Treasures: The Franciscan Mission to China and Its Influence on the Art of the West, 1250–1350* (San Francisco: Desiderata Press, 1999).

[50] Arnold, *Princely Gifts,* 119.

[51] H. Tanaka, 'Giotto and the Influence of the Mongols and the Chinese on His Art: A new Analysis of the Legend of St. Francis and the Fresco Paintings of the Scrovegni Chapel', *Art History (Tohoku University)* (Japanese title

Bijutsu shigaku), 6 (1984): 175–88 (here 185). Tanaka does not discuss the debate over the cycle's painter, which he assumes was Giotto. The frescoes are in the Upper Basilica at Assisi.

[52] H. Tanaka, 'The Mongolian script in Giotto's paintings at the Scrovegni Chapel at Padova', in H. Fillitz and M. Pippal (eds.), *Akten des XXV. Internationalen Kongresses Für Kunstgeschichte, Wien, 4–10. September 1983, Europäische Kunst um 1300* (Wien: Hermann Böhlaus Nachf, 1986), 167–74. Tanaka echoes his argument in 'Oriental Scripts in the Paintings of Giotto's Period', *Gazette des Beaux Arts* CXIII (May–June 1989): 214–26. Arnold is quite convinced by Tanaka, *Princely Gifts,* 124.

[53] H. Tanaka, 'Fourteenth Century Sienese Painting and Mongolian and Chinese Influences: The Analysis of Simone Martini's Works and Ambrogio Lorenzetti's Major Works', *Art History (Tohoku University)* 7 (1985): 136–90 (here 184). Also see R. Prazniak 'Siena on the Silk Roads: Ambrogio Lorenzetti and the Mongol Global Century, 1250–1350', *Journal of World History*, 21/2 (June 2010): 177–217.

[54] L. Olschki, 'Asian Exoticism in Italian Art of the Early Renaissance', *The Art Bulletin*, 26/2 (June 1944): 95–106.

[55] Tanaka, 'Oriental Scripts', 224.

[56] R. Mack, *From Bazaar to Piazza: Islamic Trade and Italian Art, 1300–1600* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002), 4.

[57] Mack, *From Bazaar to Piazza,* 51–71. Also see R.B. Serjeant, *Islamic Textiles: Material for a History up to the Mongol Conquest* (Beirut: Librairie du Liban, 1972).

[58] See *The Legacy of Genghis Khan: Courtly Art and Culture in Western Asia, 1256–1353* for more on the production of Islamic art under the Mongol Ilkhans. L. Komaroff and S. Carboni (eds.), (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art; New Haven: Yale University Press, 2002). For more on art and architecture in Iran and Central Asia under the Mongols see S. S. Blair and J. M. Bloom, *The Art and Architecture of Islam 1250–1800* (New Haven; London: Yale University Press, 1994).

[59] T. Allsen, *Commodity and Exchange in the Mongol Empire* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 2–3.

[60] A.E. Wardwell, '*Panni Tartarici:* Eastern Islamic Silks Woven with Gold and Silver (13th and 14th Centuries)', *Islamic Art* III (1988–1999): 95–173.Wardwell draws on groundbreaking work by Otto von Falke, who used inventories and paintings to establish a chronology of medieval European silk patterns. O. von Falke, *Kunstgeschichte der Seidenweberei* (Berlin: Verlag Ernst Wasmuth, 1913).

[61] For a list of *panni tartarici* in Europe, see Wardwell, '*Panni* Tartarici,' 134–44. David Jacoby notes that Wardwell does not include plain *panni tartarici*. 'Genoa, Silk Trade and Silk Manufacture in the Mediterranean Region (ca. 1100–1300)', *Collected Studies Series CS* 836 (2005): 11–40 (here 26, fn. 86).

[62] See M. Rossabi, Behind the Silk Screen: Movements of Weavers in Asia, Seventh to Fourteenth Centuries', *Orientations* (March 1998): 84–89. Also see James C. Y. Watt, 'Textiles of the Mongol Period in China', *Orientations* (March 1998): 72–83.

[63] Wardwell, '*Panni Tartarici*', 112. Also see Wardwell, 'Flight of the Phoenix: Crosscurrents in Late Thirteenth- to Fourteenth-Century Silk Patterns and Motifs', *The Bulletin of the Cleveland Museum of Art,* 74/1 (January 1987): 2–35. 'Indigenous elements in Central Asian silk designs of the Mongol Period and their impact on Italian Gothic silks', *Bulletin du CIETA* 77 (2000): 86–98. 'The Stylistic Development of 14th- and 15th-Century Italian Silk Design', *Aachener Kunstblätter* 47 (1976–1977): 177–226.

[64] For an examination of the Cangrande's tomb see L. Magagnato (ed.), *Le Stoffe di Cangrande: Ritrovamenti e recherche sul 300 veronese* (Firenze: Alinari, 1983). Also see L. Monnas, 'Dress and textiles in the St. Louis Altarpiece: New light on Simone Martini's working practice', *Apollo* (March 1993), 166–74. 'Silk Textiles in the Paintings of Bernardo Daddi, Andrea di Cione and Their Followers', *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte*, 53/1 (1990), 39–58.

[65] See fn. 61 for a partial list of European inventories that list *panni tartarici*.

[66] L. Komaroff, 'The Transmission and Dissemination of a New Visual Language', in L. Komaroff and S. Carboni (eds.), *The Legacy of Genghis Khan: Courtly Art and Culture in Western Asia, 1256–1353* (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art; New Haven: Yale University Press, 2002), 168–95. A. Muthesius has published extensively on textiles. *Byzantine Silk Weaving: AD 400 to AD 1200* (Vienna: Fassbaender, 1997). *Studies in Byzantine and Islamic Silk Weaving* (London: Pindar Press, 1995). *Studies in Byzantine, Islamic, and Near Eastern Silk Weaving* (London: Pindar, 2008). *Studies in Silk in Byzantium* (London: Pindar Press, 2004). We might also follow the example of scholars like J. Folda, who highlights artistic developments that demonstrate and strongly suggest influence between Crusaders and the Mongols. **'**Crusader Artistic Interactions with the Mongols in the Thirteenth Century: Figural Imagery, Weapons, and the Cintamani Design', in C. Hourihane (ed.), *Artistic interchange between the Eastern and Western Worlds in the Medieval Period* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2007): 147–66.

[67] D. DeWeese, 'The Influence of the Mongols on the Religious Consciousness of Thirteenth Century Europe', *Mongolian Studies* 5 (1978): 41–78. For a general study, F. Schmieder surveys European relations with the Mongols in the context of the crusades and discusses Latin writers' placement of Mongols in history. *Europa und die Fremden: die Mongolen im Urteil des Abendlandes vom 13. Bis in das 15. Jahrhundert* (Sigmaringen: J. Thorbecke, 1994). Schmieder draws on scholarship by G. A. Bezzola, who examines mainly thirteenth century Latin sources to understand how the Mongols appeared in European eyes. *Die Mongolen in abendländischer Sicht, 1220–1270: ein Beitrag zur Frage*

der Völkerbegegnungen (Bern: Francke, 1974). Schmieder's scope is also larger than A. Klopprogge's nearly contemporary monograph, as she incorporates Timur/Tamerlane's reign (*r.* 1370–1405). Klopprogge looks at European knowledge of Asia pre-Mongol invasions of Eastern Europe and how that understanding changed post-contact with the Mongols. *Ursprung und Auspriigung des abendliindischen Mongolenbildes im 13. Jahrhundert: Ein Versuch zur Ideengeschichte des Mittelalters* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1993).

[68] See the following for the Mongol association with Prester John. C. F. Beckingham and B. Hamilton, 'Prester John and the Mongols', in Beckingham and Hamilton (eds.), *Prester John, the Mongols, and the Ten Lost Tribes* (Aldershot, UK: Variorum, 1996): 159–67. P. Jackson, 'Prester John 'redivivus': A Review Article', *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 7/3 (Nov. 1997): 425–32. I. de Rachewiltz, 'Prester John and Europe's discovery of East Asia', *East Asian History*, 11 (June 1996): 59–74. C. Ho, 'The Prester John Legend and the Mongols', in *World History: Ancient and Medieval Eras*, ABC-CLIO, 2011. Accessed March 9, 2012. http://ancienthistory2.abc-clio.com/

[69] See fn. 13, 14, 17, 22–25, 27, 28. In addition, Jacques de Vitry (*c.* 1165/70–1240) was one of the first Europeans to mention the Mongols in his *Historia Orientalis* (*c.* 1221**)**. Latin text with French translation in J. de Vitry, *Histoire orientale = Historia orientalis,* Trans. J. Donnadieu (Turnhout: Brepols, 2008). The monk Roger of Apulia wrote *Miserabile Carmen super destructione regni Hungariae per Tartaros facta,* or *Sad Song on the Destruction of the Kingdom of Hungary by the Tartars* (*c.* 1249). In *Scriptores Rerum Hungaricarum,* ed. L. Juhász, 2 vols. (Budapest: 1938), ii, 543–88. Matthew Paris (d. 1259) had much to say about the Mongols in his monumental *Chronica maiora*, though he never left his native England. Latin in H.R. Luard (ed.), *Chronica majora,* 7 vols. (London: Longman & Co., 1872–3). See R. Vaughan, *Matthew Paris* (Cambridge: University of Cambridge Press, 1958). For the Mongol material see J. J. Saunders, 'Matthew Paris and the Mongols', in T. A. Sandquist and M. R. Powicke (eds.), *Essays in Medieval History Presented to Bertie Wilkinson* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1969), 116–32. The authenticity of Marco Polo's *Le divisament dou monde* has been debated heatedly, but there is no doubt it contains valuable information on the Mongols and Yüan China. *Marco Polo. The Description of the World*, composite Trans. A. C. Moule and P. Pelliot, 2 vols. (London: Routledge, 1938). See I. de Rachewiltz for a good summary of the issues surrounding Marco Polo's text. 'Frances Wood's Did Marco Polo go to China? A Critical Appraisal', *Zentralasiatische Studien des Seminars für Sprach- und Kulturwissenschaft Zentralasiens der Universität Bonn* 27 (1997): 34–92. Also see A.D. von den Brincken for analysis of 151 Western authors who commented on Christian communities in Asia and Africa from about 1100 to 1400. *Die 'Nationes christianorum orientalium' im Verständnis der lateinischen Historiographie von der Mitte des 12. Bis in die zweite Hälfte des 14. Jahrhunderts* (Cologne: Böhlau, 1973). We also have, of course, significant Persian, Arabic, and Chinese texts that contain abundant descriptions and representations of the Mongols and other Asian peoples.

[70] C. W. Connell, 'Western Views of the Origin of the 'Tartars': An Example of the Influence of Myth in the Second Half of the Thirteenth Century', *Journal of Medieval and Renaissance Studies*, 3 (1973): 115–37 (here 121).

[71] W. R. Jones, 'The Image of the Barbarian in Medieval Europe', *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 13/4 (Oct., 1971): 376–407.

[72] P. Jackson, 'Medieval Christendom's encounter with the alien', *Historical Research*, 74/186 (2001): 347–69. The Ishmaelites were associated with both the Mongols and Muslims. C. Burnett and P.G. Dalche, 'Attitudes towards the Mongols in medieval literature: the XXII Kings of Gog and Magog from the court of Frederick II to Jean de Mandeville', *Viator* 22 (1991): 153–67. Also see F. Schmieder, '*Nota sectam maometicam atterendam a tartaris et christianis*: The Mongols as non-believing apocalyptic friends around the year 1260', *Journal of Millennial Studies*, 1/1 (Spring 1998): 1–11.

[73] S. Menache, 'Tartars, Jews, Saracens and the Jewish-Mongol 'Plot' of 1241', *History*, 81/263 (1996): 319–42.

[74] At times Muslims, Jews, and Mongols were portrayed as Monstrous Races, such as Anthropophagi – a mythical race of cannibals – and the Cynocephali, or Dogheads. D. H. Strickland, *Saracens, Demons, & Jews: Making Monsters in Medieval Art* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2003).

[75] G. G. Guzman, 'Reports of Mongol Cannibalism in the Thirteenth Century Latin Sources: Oriental Fact or Western Fiction?', in S. D. Westrem (ed.), *Discovering New Worlds: Essays on Medieval Exploration and Imagination* (New York: Garland, 1991), 31–61 (here 52). A. C. Gow points out that the *Revelations* of Pseudo-Methodius accused the Jews of horrific acts of cannibalism, a trait commonly ascribed to the Mongols, who were also seen as one of the Ten Lost Tribes. *The Red Jews: Antisemitism in an Apocalyptic Age, 1200–1600* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1995), 40. Also see D. Baraz, *Medieval Cruelty: Changing Perceptions, Late Antiquity to the Early Modern Period* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2003), 97.

[76] Baraz, *Medieval Cruelty*, 95.

[77] J. Hanska and A. Ruotsala, 'Berthold von Regensburg, OFM, and the Mongols: Medieval Sermon as a Historical Source', *Archivum Franciscanum Historicum*, 89 (1996): 425–45.

[78] Lull says this in his *Book of the Gentile and the Three Wise Men* (*c.* 1276). B. Liu, 'The Mongol in the Text,'' in C. Robinson and L. Rouhi (eds.), *Under the Influence: Questioning the Comparative in Medieval Castile* (Leiden: Brill, 2005), 291–325. Also see K. V. Jensen, 'Devils, noble savages, and the iron gate: Thirteenth century European concepts of the Mongols', *Bulletin of International Medieval Research* 6 (2000): 1–20. Ricoldo of Montecroce also thought the Mongols could be converted more easily than Muslims, Jews, and Eastern Christians. Dondaine, 'Ricoldiana', 163. Also Jackson, *The Mongols,* 264.

[79] J. K. Hyde argues that the expansion of the Mongol Empire was a factor that helped modify the accepted medieval view of the world handed down from antiquity. 'Real and Imaginary Journeys in the Later Middle Ages', *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library of the University of Manchester* lxv (1982): 125–47.

[80] For a study on the monstrous and Plinian races in the Middle Ages see J. B. Friedman, *The Monstrous Races in Medieval Art and Thought* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1981). For medieval maps and the Plinian races see especially chapter 3, 'At the Round Earth's Imagined Corners.'

[81] For example, in the northeast corner of Asia on the Catalan world atlas of *c.* 1375, a caption notes that Alexander enclosed 'the Tartars Gog and Magog' in the Caspian Mountains. The map was produced by a Majorcan Jewish cartographer named Abraham Cresques for Charles V of France. See H.C. Freiesleben (ed.), *Der Katalanische Weltatlas vom Jahre 1375: nach dem in der Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, Verwarhtren Original Farbig Wiedergegeben* (Stuttgart: Brockhaus, 1977). Citation from A. C. Gow, 'Gog and Magog on *Mappaemundi* and Early Printed World Maps: Orientalizing Ethnography in the Apocalyptic Tradition', *Journal of Early Modern History*, 2/1 (Feb. 1998): 61–88 (here 75).

[82] See J. B. Friedman, 'Cultural Conflicts in Medieval World Maps', in Stuart B. Schwartz (ed.), *Implicit Understandings: Observing, Reporting, and Reflecting on the Encounters Between Europeans and Other Peoples in the Early Modern Era* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 64–95. M. Camargo notes that geography in *The Travels of Sir John Mandeville* (*c.* 1356) – whose protagonist supposedly traveled to places like 'Great Tartary,' India,Quinsai (Hangzhou), China, and Egypt – functions to show the 'shape of the world and the customs of those who inhabit it teach a moral lesson.' 'The Book of John Mandeville and the Geography of Identity', in T. Jones and D. A. Sprunger (eds.), *Marvels, monsters, and miracles: Studies in the medieval and early modern imaginations* (Kalamazoo, MI: Medieval Institute Publications, 2002), 67–84 (here 69). The compiler incorporated information from narratives by Giovanni of Plano Carpini (fn. 13), Vincent of Beauvais (fn. 13), Odoric of Pordenone (fn. 23), the Cilician Armenian Hayton of Korikos (fn. 25), and possibly Marco Polo (fn. 69). Also see I. M. Higgins, *Writing East: The 'Travels' of Sir John Mandeville* (Philadelphia: University Pennsylvania Press, 1997).

[83] Generally, see L. Lomperis, 'Medieval Travel Writing and the Question of Race', *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies*, 31/1 (Winter 2001): 147–64. T. G. Hahn discusses race in John of Mandeville's *Travels*. 'The Difference the Middle Ages Makes: Color and Race before the Modern World', *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies*, 31/1 (Winter 2001): 1–37. Gow notes how Marco Polo influenced the appearance and labeling of Gog and Magog in *mappaemundi* well into the seventeenth century. 'Gog and Magog', 86. For ethnography in the genre of medieval travel writing see generally J. P. Rubiés, 'Late Medieval Ambassadors and the Practice of Cross-Cultural Encounters 1250–1450', in P. Brummett (ed.), *The 'Book' of Travels: Genre, Ethnology, and Pilgrimage, 1250–1700* (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2009), 37–112. J. P. Rubiés, 'The Emergence of a Naturalistic and Ethnographic Paradigm in Late Medieval Travel Writing', in J. P. Rubiés (ed.), *Medieval Ethnographies: European Perceptions of the World Beyond* (Surrey, England; Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2009), 43–64. M. B. Campbell, 'The Utter East: Merchant: Merchant and Missionary Travels During the ''Mongol Peace''', in *The Witness and the Other World: Exotic European Travel Writing, 400–1600* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1988), 87–121.

[84] Wyngaert, *Sinica Franciscana I*, beginning 471. Citation from L. Ramey, 'Monstrous Alterity in Early Modern Travel Accounts: Lessons from the Ambiguous Medieval Discourse on Humanness', *L'Esprit Créateu*, 48/1 (Spring 2008): 81–95 (here 86).

[85] Ramey, 'Monstrous Alterity', 94. Also see Friedman, 'At the Round Earth's Imagined Corners', in *The Monstrous Races*, 37–58.

[86] See J. Valtrová, 'Beyond the Horizons of Legends: Traditional Imagery and Direct Experience in Medieval Accounts of Asia', *Numen* 57 (2010): 154–85. Also see M. Peleggi, 'Shifting Alterity: The Mongol in the Visual and Literary Culture of the Late Middle Ages', *The Medieval History Journal*, 4/1 (2001): 15–33.

[87] Some recent examples of the Mongols in film and pop culture include the movie *Mongol: The Rise of Genghis Khan* (2007), *On the Trail of Genghis Khan* (2010), and *Genghis Khan* (2013), starring Mickey Rourke as the titular leader. There are many video games involving the Mongols, and even a four decade old motorcycle club called 'Mongols MC.'

[88] N. Giffney provides suggestions on how to incorporate theory, especially queer theory, into Mongol Studies. 'Que(e)rying Mongols', *Medieval Feminist Forum*, 36/1 (2003): 15–21.

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