

ANNUAL OF MEDIEVAL STUDIES  
AT CEU

VOL. 23 2017

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



Central European University  
Budapest  
Department of Medieval Studies

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

Editorial Board

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

Editors

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

Cover Illustration

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

Department of Medieval Studies

Central European University

H-1051 Budapest, Nádor u. 9., Hungary

Postal address: H-1245 Budapest 5, P.O. Box 1082

E-mail: [medstud@ceu.edu](mailto:medstud@ceu.edu) Net: <http://medievalstudies.ceu.edu>

Copies can be ordered at the Department, and from the CEU Press

<http://www.ceupress.com/order.html>

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

ISSN 1219-0616

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

© Central European University

Produced by Archaeolingua Foundation & Publishing House

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

Editors' preface .....	7
<b>I. ARTICLES AND STUDIES .....</b>	<b>9</b>
Petar Parvanov	
<i>A Tale of Two Graves: Rethinking the Medieval</i>	
<i>Re-use of Prehistoric Burial Mounds in Madara .....</i>	11
Daniel K. Knox	
<i>Measuring the Correspondence of Ennodius of Pavia:</i>	
<i>An Initial Social Network Analysis .....</i>	20
Iliana Kandzha	
<i>Royal Penance as a Quasi-legal Argument in Ecclesiastical Disputes:</i>	
<i>Representation Strategies of Ritual in Ottonian Historiography (919–1024) .</i>	35
Marino Kumir	
<i>For the Salvation of One's Soul: Piety, Status and Memory</i>	
<i>in the Dalmatian Duchy (c. 812–850) .....</i>	48
Davor Salihović	
<i>Royal Self-Representation and the Symbols of Power of</i>	
<i>Nicholas of Ilok as King of Bosnia .....</i>	61
Ines Ivić	
<i>Ille meus est et ego suus – The Appropriation of Saint Jerome</i>	
<i>in the Writings of Dalmatian Humanists .....</i>	77
<b>Mongols, Chinese and Europe: Special Papers .....</b>	<b>91</b>
Balázs Nagy	
<i>Going Global: East Asian Contacts in Teaching and</i>	
<i>Research in the Department of Medieval Studies .....</i>	93
Stephen Pow	
<i>Fortresses that Shatter Empires:</i>	
<i>A Look at Möngke Khan's Failed Campaign against</i>	
<i>the Song Dynasty, 1258–1259 .....</i>	96
Tünde Komori	
<i>Prestige Object or Coffee Cup? Problems of Identifying and</i>	
<i>Dating Chinese Porcelain Unearthed in Buda .....</i>	108

Dorottya Uhrin	
<i>Monstrous Humans in the Mongol Empire.</i>	
<i>Franciscan Accounts of the Mongolian Tribes</i> .....	123
Konstantin Golev	
<i>Witchcraft and Politics in the Court of the Great Khan:</i>	
<i>Interregnum Crises and Inter-factional Struggles among</i>	
<i>the Mongol Imperial Elite.</i>	
<i>The Case of Faṭīma Khatun</i> .....	132
Liao Jingjing	
<i>Investigating the Relationship between the Taiyuanjin and</i>	
<i>the Northern Nomads during the Tang Dynasty</i> .....	145
Ning Ya	
<i>The Mongols without Empire: Narrative Strategies</i>	
<i>surrounding Mongol History in Modern Chinese Historiography</i> .....	155
<b>Cultural Heritage Studies in Central Europe</b> .....	169
Judith A. Rasson	
<i>Cultural Heritage Studies in Central Europe</i> .....	171
Sanižela Stulic	
<i>Protection of a Historical Landscape,</i>	
<i>the Case of the Roman Trenches in Serbia:</i>	
<i>A Proposed Legal Framework and the Key Actors</i> .....	173
Nóra Ujhelyi	
<i>Archaeology and Metal Detecting in Hungary (2000 to 2014)</i> .....	187
Gergő Paukovics	
<i>To Have and Have Not:</i>	
<i>A Comparison of Hungarian Zooarchaeological Protocols</i> .....	200
Zsuzsanna Papp Reed	
<i>“Other Plants I Can’t Name for You in English”:</i>	
<i>The Plant Composition of Monastic Herb Gardens</i>	
<i>in Late Medieval England</i> .....	213
József Laszlovszky – Karen Stark	
<i>Medieval Glass Production at Pomáz-Nagykovácsi:</i>	
<i>The Finds and Heritage Interpretation of an Archaeological Site</i> .....	239
Zsombor Jékely	
<i>A New Monograph on a Royal Manuscript</i> .....	265

<b>Faith and Power: Undergraduate conference papers</b> .....	275
Preface .....	277
Indre Douglas	
<i>The Construction of Hermit Sanctity: The Case of St. Anthony</i> .....	279
Daniel Elkind	
<i>Amandus of Maastricht's Slavic and Wasconian Missions, ca. AD 628–638</i> .....	287
Mariia Diatlova	
<i>The Crosier and the Sword: On the Interconnectivity of Church and State Symbols of Power in Medieval Rus'</i> .....	300
<b>II. REPORT ON THE YEAR</b> .....	309
Daniel Ziemann	
<i>Report of the Head of Department for the Academic Year 2015-2016</i> .....	311
Nada Zečević	
<i>MECERN Annual Report 2015–2016</i> .....	324
István Perczel	
<i>Report on the SRITE Project:</i>	
<i>The Syrian/Mappila Christian Community in Southwest India</i> .....	327
Publications of the Faculty of the	
Department of Medieval Studies at CEU in 2016 .....	339
Abstracts of MA Theses Defended in 2016 .....	350
PhD Defenses during the Academic Year 2015–2016 .....	362

## MONSTROUS HUMANS IN THE MONGOL EMPIRE. FRANCISCAN ACCOUNTS OF THE MONGOLIAN TRIBES<sup>1</sup>

*Dorottya Ubrin*

In medieval Europe, wild forests and unknown territories were the antitypes of the inhabited world, where human culture thrived.<sup>2</sup> These unexplored places were the homeland of humans very different from us; they might be monstrous beings like people with dog heads or humans in the form of dogs. I focus here on some monstrous creatures which many people in the Middle Ages seem to have accepted as fact. These creatures were located on the conceptual boundary between humans and animals. The medieval mind often made connections between these imagined beings and strange peoples who came from outside their world to attack them. These non-European tribes were usually associated with monstrous races; the Scythians, Parthians, Huns, Alans, and Turks were imagined as being dog-headed in the minds of medieval people.<sup>3</sup>

This article attempts to shed some light on the stereotypes Western authors, mainly Franciscan envoys, applied to the Mongols. The Mongol invasion of Europe is called the Tartar Invasion in modern Hungarian historiography. Medieval authors were applying the name “Tartars” to Mongols even before they arrived in Europe.<sup>4</sup> The Tatars were a tribe conquered by Genghis Khan, but medieval, Latin writers commonly used this appellation for the Mongols because of the similarity of the word Tatar to Tartarus, the hell of antiquity. Because of this similarity between the words, and because of their cruelty, the Mongols were described as though they were creatures from hell.<sup>5</sup>

From the mid-thirteenth century, Franciscan emissaries were sent to the Mongols; the two most famous among them were John of Plano Carpini<sup>6</sup> and

---

<sup>1</sup> This paper is based on “Monstrous Humans in the Mongol Empire: Franciscan Accounts on the Mongolian Tribes,” presented at the workshop “Mongols, Chinese and Europe: Contacts and Interactions,” in Budapest in 2015. The author is a PhD student at Eötvös Loránd University (Budapest), Institute of History, Department of Medieval and Early Modern History of Hungary; Department of Inner Asian Studies.

<sup>2</sup> David Gordon White, *Myths of the Dog-Man* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991), 9.

<sup>3</sup> White, *Myths of the Dog-Man*, 52–53.

<sup>4</sup> István Vásáry, *Az Arany Horda* [The Golden Horde] (Budapest: Kossuth, 1986), 25.

<sup>5</sup> Peter Jackson, *The Mongols and the West* (Harlow: Pearson Education, 2005), 59.

<sup>6</sup> The critical edition of John of Plano Carpini’s description is Giovanni di Pian di Carpini, *Storia dei Mongoli*, ed. Enrico Menestò (Spoleto: Centro italiano di studi sull’alto medioevo, 1989).

William of Rubruck.<sup>7</sup> The aims of these missions were twofold; Christian leaders wanted to evangelize the Mongols and also collect information about them to prepare Europe for a supposed new invasion.<sup>8</sup> The envoys' descriptions of their adventures among the Mongols thus have an ethnographic point of view; they observed Mongolian customs, hairstyles, and even diet. William of Rubruck had the opportunity to taste some nomadic specialties like fermented mare's milk (*comos*) and at the first draught he reported that he sweated all over because of its unfamiliarity.<sup>9</sup> The Mongolian nomadic lifestyle differed dramatically from that of medieval European culture, but after the first shock of the fermented mare's milk, the friars realized that no dog-men nor any other monstrous humans lived among the Mongols. Rubruck wondered whether it were true that monsters or monstrous humans lived among or near the Mongols, but when he asked them, the Mongols told him that they had never seen such beings.<sup>10</sup>

### The First Franciscan Mission to Mongolia

Even before William of Rubruck, other missionaries had reached the Mongolian Empire and left detailed records for posterity. In these records one can find interesting details on fabulous tribes and accounts from people who had seen them. The most famous of these embassies was headed by John of Plano Carpini, one of the companions and disciples of Saint Francis of Assisi. Pope Innocent IV sent Carpini's mission to Güyüg Khan in 1245. Carpini's party included several friars, but most of them are unnamed in the records except for Stephanus Ceslaus, Benedictus Polonus, and C. de Bridia. The mission took a route through Eastern Europe to Batu Khan's camp on the Volga.<sup>11</sup> Stephanus Ceslaus suffered poor health and he rested at Batu's court, then Carpini and Benedictus continued their journey to the Mongolian capital, Karakorum, where they witnessed the enthronement of Güyüg in August, 1246. De Bridia presumably stayed with

---

<sup>7</sup> William of Rubruck, a Flemish Franciscan monk, went on a mission to the Mongols from 1253 to 1255 and wrote a detailed account about them. See Peter Jackson, trans., *The Mission of Friar William of Rubruck. His Journey to the Court of the Great Khan Möngke, 1253–1255* (London: The Hakluyt Society, 1990).

<sup>8</sup> Peter Jackson, "Franciscans as Papal and Royal Envoys to the Tartars (1245–1255)," in *The Cambridge Companion to Francis of Assisi*, ed. Michael J. P. Robson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 223–225.

<sup>9</sup> Jackson, *The Mission*, 98–99.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, 201.

<sup>11</sup> Jackson, "Franciscans As Papal and Royal Envoys," 225.

Stephanus, then perhaps went to Mochi's camp on the left bank of the Dnieper.<sup>12</sup> When he came back from Mongolia he met Carpini in Korenza's court on the right bank of the Dnieper.<sup>13</sup> It is well known that Carpini and Benedictus Polonus wrote reports on their experiences in the East. Carpini wrote his account, the *Ystoria Mongalorum quos nos Tartaros appellamus*, in the autumn of 1247, when he arrived back from his journey.<sup>14</sup> While the missionaries made their way back, the drafts of their reports started to circulate among interested parties. De Bridia produced another report,<sup>15</sup> which he finished writing on 30 July 1247,<sup>16</sup> based on the oral narrative of Benedictus and on Carpini's unfinished draft.<sup>17</sup> He might have completed the account with information which he had heard at Batu's court.<sup>18</sup> The aim of de Bridia's work was not to prompt action against a supposed new Mongol attack; he described them as a divine penalty inflicted on Christians.<sup>19</sup> De Bridia made some revisions to Carpini's work; the most interesting for my work is that the text contains some tribal names in the Mongolian language. Some of these tribal names are connected to the fabled tribes and monstrous humans. De Bridia's account presents the Mongols more negatively than Carpini's and uses more ancient stereotypes for the nomadic tribes than Carpini's description.<sup>20</sup>

---

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, 233.

<sup>13</sup> György Györffy, *Julianus barát és a napkelet felfedezése* [Friar Julianus and the discovery of the East] (Budapest: Szépirodalmi kiadó, 1986), 433.

<sup>14</sup> De Rachewiltz, *Papal Envoys*, 91.

<sup>15</sup> Two manuscripts remain of de Bridia's description. For a bilingual edition of the text see George Duncan Painter, trans., "Tartar Relation," in *The Vinland Map and the Tartar Relation*, ed. R. A. Skelton, Thomas E. Marston, and George Duncan Painter (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995). The other manuscript was found in 2006; Gregory G. Guzman, "The Vinland Map Controversy and the Discovery of a Second Version of *The Tartar Relation*: The Authenticity of the 1339 Text," *Terrae Incognitae* 38, no. 1 (2006): 19–25.

<sup>16</sup> Painter, "The Tartar Relation," 101.

<sup>17</sup> Kirsten A. Seaver, *Maps, Myths, and Men. The Story of the Vinland Map* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2004), 269.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, 269.

<sup>19</sup> Gregor Werner, "Die militärische Macht der Mongolen in den Berichten der Carpinimission – Die Unterschiede in der Darstellung bei Carpini und C de Bridia," PhD dissertation (Fernuniversität in Hagen, 2011), 19.

<sup>20</sup> Werner, "Die militärische Macht," 18–19.



## Imaginary Tribes in the Franciscan Accounts

In Carpini's, de Bridia's, and Rubruck's accounts they describe monstrous tribes at several points. De Bridia, chapter 13, gives some details about Genghis Khan's Eastern campaign. He mentions a tribe called Men of the Sun. "After these three months Genghis came to great mountains in a country called Narayrgen, that is, Men of the Sun, for Nara is Tartar for sun, and Irgen means men."<sup>21</sup> After this section de Bridia gives almost the same description as Carpini. The Mongols passed through a land where they did not find people although there were trodden trackways. Finally they found humans and Genghis questioned them about the inhabitants of this territory. According to their story, the people had lived "in the earth under the mountains." These people secretly attacked the Mongols, thus the Mongolian army had to leave the territory because of the great losses. Moreover, the sun "comes up with such a noise that was impossible to endure."<sup>22</sup>

It is unknown who the Men of the Sun were. De Bridia's work complements Carpini's account: "the aforesaid country is situated at the very end of the world, and beyond it no land is found, but only the ocean sea."<sup>23</sup> This last sentence might make it possible to identify where this country was located. It is hypothesized that this chapter refers to a well-known country where the sun comes up: the Land of the Rising Sun, that is, Japan. It seems that this description was based on a real place, but it might have been exotic people to both the Europeans and the Mongols. The Japanese people lived on islands isolated in the midst of the ocean and, more than a geographical boundary, the oceans constituted limits in the medieval mind.<sup>24</sup>

Besides the Men of the Sun, the Franciscan accounts describe some truly monstrous humans. In chapter 18, De Bridia gives information about a particular territory called the Land of Dogs. This chapter describes the return of the Mongols from their campaign to India and was based on information provided by Russian clerics who lived at the court of the khan.<sup>25</sup> According to this chapter, after the Tatars came across a desert, they reached "the Land of Dogs, which in Tartar is called Nochoy Kadzar; for *nochoy* means dog in Tartar, and *kadzar* means land. They found only women there without men."<sup>26</sup> In this country, women had

---

<sup>21</sup> Painter, "The Tartar Relation," 65.

<sup>22</sup> Carpini, *Storia dei Mongoli*, V, 16.

<sup>23</sup> Painter, "The Tartar Relation," 65.

<sup>24</sup> White, *Myths of the Dog-Man*, 10.

<sup>25</sup> Carpini, *Storia dei Mongoli*, V, 13.

<sup>26</sup> Painter, "The Tartar Relation," 70.

the form of humans while men were dogs by nature.<sup>27</sup> The dogs attacked the Tatars, who fought with them but could not kill them and fled. De Bridia reports that Friar Benedict spoke to:

one of the Tartars who even told him that his father was killed by the dogs at that time; and Friar Benedict believes beyond doubt that he saw one of the dogs' women with the Tartars, and says she had even borne male children from them, but the boys were monsters. The aforesaid dogs understand every word that women say, while the women understand the dogs' sign language.<sup>28</sup>

In de Bridia's and Carpini's accounts another strange nation appears which is similar to the inhabitants of the Land of Dogs. The Mongols told the friars that after they had occupied Kiev (in 1240) they had turned north and conquered several groups like the Baskirs and Samoyeds. Then they had found a nation called "*Ucorcolon*, that is, Ox-feet, because *ucor* is Tartar for ox and *colon* for foot, or otherwise *Nochoyterun*, that is, Dog-heads, *nochoy* being Tartar for dog and *terun*<sup>29</sup> for head." After that, de Bridia explains how these creatures looked: their feet were like oxen feet from the ankles down, their heads had the form of a human's, but from the ears they had "a face in every respect like a dog's," and they took their name from this monstrous part of their form. Regarding their language, he says, "they speak two words and bark the third."<sup>30</sup>

The idea of the Land of the Dogs and the dog-headed men (*cynocephalus*) derived from accounts from ancient times. It appeared in Egyptian religion; Anubis was usually depicted as a man with a canine head. In addition, classical

<sup>27</sup> Carpini, *Storia dei Mongoli*, V, 13.

<sup>28</sup> Painter, "The Tartar Relation," 70.

<sup>29</sup> Painter read *terim* instead of *terun*; Painter, "The Tartar Relation," 75. In Classical Mongolian the word *terigün* means head, Ferdinand D. Lessing, *Mongolian-English Dictionary* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1995) 805. In the manuscript the last two letters of this word were designated by four stems which can be read either *terim* or *terun*. Although there is a dot above the second half of the word, the use of dots and stems for the letter 'i' is not general in the text. The medieval Mongolian pronunciation is not known, but in Khalkha Mongolian, head is тэргүүн [tergüün]. I think the reading of this word is *terun*. Thus, the medieval copyist presumably omitted one or two letters (-g or -ig) from a word which he did not know.

<sup>30</sup> Painter, "The Tartar Relation," 74.

writings also refer to them, such as Herodotus,<sup>31</sup> Ctesias, and Pliny the Elder.<sup>32</sup> The idea of dog-headed men appears in the Christian tradition, too, a martyr from the third century, namely, Saint Christopher, was portrayed with a dog's head in the Orthodox Church. The famous thirteenth-century collection of legends, the Golden Legend,<sup>33</sup> notes that he was a Canaanite, which means etymologically that he had come from the Land of the Dogs.<sup>34</sup> The lore of the dog-headed man had spread in West through the Alexander Romance, the collection about the mythical exploits of Alexander the Great.<sup>35</sup>

Pliny located the “dog-tribe” in the Canaries because he identified the islands' name (*Canaria*) with the Latin word for dog (*canis*). According to him, only a huge number of large dogs (*multitudine canum ingentis magnitudinis*) lived on the island.<sup>36</sup> It was believed that dog-men and the dog-headed people came from Adam and Eve, but they were subsequently chased east of Eden, together with the Amazons. Both of them were usually located at the Eastern edge of the world, not just by Franciscan envoys; they were mentioned in a famous account, *The Journey of Hethum, King of Little Armenia, To Mongolia and Back*. Hethum, an Armenian king visited the Mongol khan, Möngke, at his court in 1254.<sup>37</sup> His companion wrote a description of the journey, where he mentioned the dog-men and their anthropomorphic wives. In this description, the dog-men were hunters but they shared the prey with their wives. Their sons had the shape of dogs and the daughters looked like their mothers.<sup>38</sup> One can find the dog-headed tribe in Marco Polo's description as well. He located them on an island, like Pliny, but

---

<sup>31</sup> Herodotus, *The Persian Wars*, trans. A. D. Godley (London: Heinemann, 1928), II. IV/191. 395.

<sup>32</sup> C. Plinii Secundi, *Naturalis Historiae cum commentariis et adnotatonibus* (Hackios: 1669), I. 383.

<sup>33</sup> Jacobus de Voragine, *The Golden Legend. Readings on the Saints*, trans. William Granger Ryan (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993), II. 10–14.

<sup>34</sup> Jean-Claude Schmitt, *The Holy Greyhound. Guinefort, Healer of Children since the Thirteenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 149–153.

<sup>35</sup> The romance about Alexander the Great, dating from the third century, had several translations and adaptations in the Middle Ages. This fictional account describes legendary and monstrous creatures. Dennis M. Kratz, “Introduction,” to Dennis M. Kratz, trans., *The Romances of Alexander* (New York: Garland, 1991), ix–xi.

<sup>36</sup> C. Plinii Secundi, *Naturalis Historiae cum commentariis et adnotatonibus*, I. 383.

<sup>37</sup> Rouben Paul Adalian, *The Historical Dictionary of Armenia* (Lanham, UK: Scarecrow Press, 2010), 361.

<sup>38</sup> Henry H. Howorth, *History of the Mongols from the 9th to the 19th Century* (London: Longman, Green, 1867; reprint 2013), 113.

this island was located in the Indian Ocean, called Angamanain.<sup>39</sup> Pierre d'Ally, a French scholar of the fifteenth century, referred to the dog-tribe as one of the exotic nations of India.<sup>40</sup>

European accounts describe the fabled dog-tribe who were supposed to have lived in the Mongol Empire. But are there any Mongolian or Far Eastern written traditions which mention a dog-tribe? Lubsandanjan, writer of the famous seventeenth-century Mongolian chronicle, the *Altan Tobči*,<sup>41</sup> mentions them in a list of the nations conquered by Genghis.<sup>42</sup> Among them one can find some odd tribes, like the tribe of intelligent people, the people of the pinto horse, the people of the team with the golden bowl, the tribe of maroon dogs – in Mongolian *qürin noqai ulus* – the people without heads, the people of the single striped leg, and others.<sup>43</sup> In this tradition, Lubsandanjan described the color of the dog-nation as maroon. Early Chinese sources also mention the Land of the Dogs, situating them northwest of Shang China, where a tribe lived (“Dog Jung”) whose ancestors were dogs. The Chinese traveler Hu Qiao stayed among the Khitais in the tenth century and also mentions the dog-tribe. He writes that the Kingdom of Dogs, called *Gou Guo*, was further north, where the inhabitants had the bodies of men and the heads of dogs. They had long hair and no clothes, they overcame wild beasts with their bare hands, and their language was the barking of

<sup>39</sup> “The inhabitants are idolaters, and are a most brutish and savage race, having heads, eyes, and teeth resembling those of the canine species.” Marco Polo, *The Travels of Marco Polo, the Venetian. Revised from the Marsden Translation*, ed. Manuel Komroff (New York: W. W. Norton and Company, 1953), III/13, 301.

<sup>40</sup> Enikő Csukovits, “A konstanzi zsinat mint könyvvásár és tudományos forum,” [The synod of Konstanz as a book fair and scientific forum], in *Causa unionis, causa fidei, causa reformationis in capite et membris* – *Tanulmányok a konstanzi Zsinat 600. évfordulója alkalmából* [Essays on the occasion of the 600th anniversary of the Council of Constance], ed. Attila Bárány and László Pószán (Debrecen: Print-Art, 2014), 53.

<sup>41</sup> On the *Altan Tobči* see Shagdaryn Bira, *Mongolian Historical Writing from 1200 to 1700* (Bellingham: Western Washington University, Center for East Asian Studies, 2002), 170–219, and D. Bayarsaixan [Д. Байрсайхан]; *Монголын түүх бичлэг. Арван долоодугаар зуун* [Mongolian historiography, seventeenth century] (Ulaanbaatar, 2011), 63–74.

<sup>42</sup> Lubsandanjan, *Altan Tobči* [facsimile] (Ulaanbaatar, 1990), 130, and Hans-Peter Vietze and Gendeng Lubsang, *Altan Tobči. Eine mongolische Chronik des XVII. Jahrhunderts von Blo Bžan bstan 'jin. Text und Index* (Tokyo: Daiwa, 1992), 92.

<sup>43</sup> “Döcün tümen Mongγol : dörben tümen Oyirad : jiryuyan mingγan Üjiged : Ongγoca : Osgi . Baryu : Buriyad . Tou-a . Uriyangqan . Uruγtan . Qamiγan : Enggüü : oyin irgen . alay aduyutu : altan tebsitü bölöг cölög ulus : kürin noqai ulus : terigün ügei ulus : eriyen γayca kül-tü ulus terigüten : edün ekiten ulus-i erke-tür-iyen oroyulju,” Lubsandanjan, *Altan Tobči*, 92.

dogs. Their women had a human form and could speak Chinese; when they gave birth to males, they had the form of dogs; when they gave birth to females, they had the form of humans.<sup>44</sup>

The Mongols believed that they were descended from a grey wolf and a red doe,<sup>45</sup> but dogs were also important in Mongolian culture. According to a Mongolian myth, the dog was created from a piece split off of a human.<sup>46</sup> Presumably, the origin of the classical, medieval, and Chinese sources is *en rapport* with the Altai people's (furthermore, with the Estonian, Hungarian, and Finnish) beliefs that they had animal ancestors.<sup>47</sup> Many times this ancestor was a wolf or a dog. In the Middle Ages it was believed that one ancestor of the Turks was given wolf's or dog's milk and this was the reason why they were bad-tempered.<sup>48</sup> The origins of the tales of dog-headed men or dog-men were probably the dog or wolf ancestors of nomads. The surrounding groups, however, came to know a distorted version in which humans had dog-heads or the forms of dogs. This image had spread in Europe through Herodotus. The Chinese had a direct connection with the nomads so they may have known about their myths. Perhaps the Mongols, in turn, heard this wide-spread myth from outsiders (from Rubruck, for example, who asked them about these creatures) and that is why a later Mongol source, the *Altan Tobči*, writes about the Land of the Dogs. Another interesting possibility for the origin of imagining dog-headed men also derives from nomad beliefs.<sup>49</sup> In some shamanistic beliefs, humans have more than one spirit. It was commonly believed that the humans have three spirits: the real spirit, the "transporter spirit," and the outer spirit; in Mongolian folk tales the outer spirit usually had the form of an animal.<sup>50</sup> Furthermore, during shamans' battles, the shamans were thought

---

<sup>44</sup> White, *Myths of the Dog-Man*, 133.

<sup>45</sup> Igor de Rachewiltz, "The Secret History of the Mongols: A Mongolian Epic Chronicle of the Thirteenth Century," shorter version ed. John C. Street (Madison: University of Wisconsin, 2015), Book 4. 1.

<sup>46</sup> Ágnes Birtalan, ed., *Miért jön a nyárra tél? Mongol eredetmondák és mítoszok* [Why does winter follow the summer? Mongolian legends of origin and myths] (Budapest: Terebess Kiadó, 1998), 49.

<sup>47</sup> White, *Myths of the Dog-Man*, 131.

<sup>48</sup> Julian Baldick, *Animal and Shaman: Ancient Religions of Central Asia* (London: I. B. Tauris, 2000), 49.

<sup>49</sup> I am indebted to Gábor Klaniczay for this advice.

<sup>50</sup> Ágnes Birtalan, "Lélekképzetek a mongol népek körében (Népvallás és sámánizmus)" [The imagination of souls among the Mongol peoples (Folk religion and shamanism)] (unpublished draft). There are other subdivisions of the spirits, see, for example, Alice Sárközi "Abode of The Soul of Humans, Animals and Objects in Mongolian Folk Belief," *Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 61, no. 4 (2008): 467–75.

to fight each other in the form of animals, usually in the form of a bull, but it could be other animals. Among the Yakuts the shamans are very ill when the snow melts; at that time a type of spirit called the “mother-animal” wanders. This spirit is represented by the dog, the bull, and so on.<sup>51</sup> In short, it was believed that some people can live in the form of a dog. How could a European envoy make sense of this? The ancestor of the Mongols, the fearful enemies of Christians was a wolf, and there were people from their part of the world who looked like dogs.

As the European sources show, medieval writers located these monstrous humans at the edges of the known world or on an island in the boundless ocean. The Eastern peoples or the barbaric nomads who had attacked “civilization” were usually represented as monstrous; the Scythians, the Huns, and even the Hungarians were believed to have dog-heads. Although the dog-tribe was also part of the beliefs of several Asian peoples, it differed from the European image. The Chinese, for example, did not believe that dog-headed tribes lived on the furthest edge of the known world, which would be Western Europe. But they did believe that the Land of the Dogs was situated further in the direction of the Khitais<sup>52</sup> because a monstrous half-human tribe like the dog-headed men would have been worse than uncivilized nomads. The Tatar invasions caused trauma in Central Europe and people feared a new attack was coming, all of which left marks in the historical consciousness.<sup>53</sup> Several folk tales and proverbs in present-day Hungary might have derived from the medieval or early modern Tatar attacks.<sup>54</sup> If Hungarians have to associate a word with the Tatar tribe, the dog-headed notion comes to their minds first.<sup>55</sup> One can conclude that these descriptions were not just part of the European imagination, but were widespread around the world. Although the idea of dog-headed men originated in antiquity, these ideas probably also existed among the Mongols, seen in the descriptions of both de Bridia and the Eastern sources.

---

<sup>51</sup> Baldick, *Animal and Shaman*, 77.

<sup>52</sup> White, *Myths of the Dog-Man*, 133.

<sup>53</sup> Tibor Szócs, “Egy második ‘Tatárjárás?’” [A second Tartar Invasion?], *Belvedere* 22 (2010: 3–4): 16–49.

<sup>54</sup> Zsolt Barta, “A magyarországi tatárjárás legendárium” [The legend of the Tartar invasion of Hungary], in *Tatárjárás*, ed. Balázs Nagy (Budapest: Osiris, 2003), 300–307.

<sup>55</sup> Ilona Dobos and László Kósa, “Tatár mondakör” [Tartar cycle], in *Néprajzi lexikon*, ed. Gyula Ortutay (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1982), vol. 5, 223; Ilona Dobos, “Kutyafejű tatárok” [Dog-headed Tartars], in *Tatárjárás*, ed. Balázs Nagy (Budapest: Osiris Kiadó 2003), 338–347; János Melegdi, “Nem hajt a tatár!” [The Tartars do not urge you!], *Magyar Nyelv* (1916:1): 10–11; Ödön Beke, “Kutyafejű tatár” [Dog-headed Tartar], *Ethnographia* (1946): 90–91.