

Napomene

Ove napomene služe da olakšaju čitaocu snalaženje kroz reference i izvorne tekstove. Nazivi dela navedeni su na jeziku izvorniku samo ukoliko prevod na engleski jezik ne postoji.

Uvod: Izgubljeni osvajač

„Džingis-kan je bio preduzimljiv“, Joel Aschenbacher, “The Era of His Ways: In Which We Chose the Most Important Man of the Last Thousand Years,” *Washington Post*, 31. decembar, 1989, str. 01.

„Ubrzo bi nastala nezapamćena kulturna razmena“: za više informacija o kulturnoj razmeni videti Thomas T. Allsen, *Culture and Conquest in Mongol Eurasia* (Cambridge, U.K.: Cambridge University Press, 2001).

„Kao što je engleski naučnik iz trinaestog veka, Rodžer Bejkon zapazio“: citati preuzeti iz dela Bacon’s *Opus Majus*, trans. Robert Belle Burke (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1928), tom 1, str. 416; tom 2, str. 792.

„Pokušali smo da zamislimo tvoj lik, pokušali smo, al nam se u glavi zaorio muk i otego krik“: iz pesme “Chinggis Khaan,”

koju je komponovao D. Jargalsaikhan a izvodi je muzička grupa Chinggis Khaan.

„Persijski istoričar Rašid Al-Din kaže“: citati preuzeti iz dela Allsen, *Culture and Conquest in Mongol Eurasia*, str. 88.

„Arapski političari su čak ubedivali svoje birače“: citati preuzeti iz dela Eric L. Jones, *Growth Recurring: Economic Change in World History* (Oxford, U.K.: Clarendon Press, 1988), str. 113.

„Koje je imalo za cilj idealizaciju Džingis-kana“: Almaz Khan, “C-hinggis Khan: From Imperial Ancestor to Ethnic Hero,” iz *Cultural Encounters on China’s Ethnic Frontiers*, ed. Stevan Harrell (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1995), str. 261–262.

„označili kao antipartijske elemente, kineske špijune, sabotere ili jednostavno kao neprijatelje društva“: Tom Ginsburg, “Nationalism, Elites, and Mongolia’s Rapid Transformation,” in *Mongolia in the Twentieth Century: Landlocked Cosmopolitan*, ed. Stephen Kotkin and Bruce A. Elleman (Armonk, N.Y.: M. E. Sharpe, 1999), str. 247.

„Tesno sam sarađivao sa arheologom, doktorom H. Lhagvasurenom“: Danas se u Mongoliji pri oslovljavanju gotovo isključivo upotrebljava samo prezime, recimo Lhavagsuren ili Suhbatar, ali u slučaju da je neophodno istaći razliku između osoba istog prezimena umeće se inicijal roditeljevog imena, što je u ovom slučaju H.

Prvi deo: Strahovlada u stepi 1162–1206

„Narodi! Šta su narodi?“: Henry David Thoreau, *Journal* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1981), unos iz dnevnika datiran 1. maja, 1851.

1. Ugrušak krvi

„Iz očiju mu vrca plamen“: *Secret History*, § 62.

- „Sve je zaudaralo na konjanike“: Ata-Malik Juvaini, *Genghis Khan: The History of the World Conqueror*, trans. J. A. Boyle (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1997), str. 98.
- „Onaj ko se preda i pokori ostaje bezbedan, oslobođen čemerne strave i sramote njihove strogosti“: ibid. str. 15.
- „Stasitog, okretnog čoveka, krepkog tela i građe, s proređenom sedom bradom i mačijim očima, urokljivog, žestivog pogleda“: Minhaj al-Siraj Juzjani, *Tabakat-I-Nasiri: A General History of the Muhammadan Dynasties of Asia*, trans. Major H. G. Raverty (Bengal: Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1881; reizdanje, New Dehli: Oriental Books, 1970), str. 1077.
- „Velikani među vama načinili ta zlodela“: ibid. str. 105.
- „Užarenu furunu založenu pomoću nekakvih tvrdih pritki dok iskre iz njene utrobe vrcaju i sevaju po vazduhu“: Juvaini, str. 106.
- „Ako poživiš načićeš nevestu u svakom polju i kod svake zaprege“: *Secret History*, § 56.
- „Targutai se docnije, pošto je Džingis-kan stekao moć, hvali-sao“: *Secret History*, § 149.
- „Temudžin je tada po mongolskom računanjtu imao devet godina“: događaje iz Temudžinove rane mladosti teško je precizno odrediti, pošto su Mongoli za početak nove godine uzimali kraj zime, tj. početak proleća. Svaki put kada stepa ozeleni dodavala se po jedna godina, pa se dob deteta računala po tome koliko je proleća doživelo. Budući da se rođio uoči proleća Temudžin je odmah imao jednu godinu, a svako sledeće beharanje činilo ga je godinu starijim. Otud određene nedoslednosti prilikom računanja njegovih godina. Ipak, što se ove knjige tiče, za određivanje Temudžinove dobi koristi se zapadnjački način računanja godina.
- „Jedan od Jesugejevih sinova iz prvog braka“: Kada je reč o preudaji za pastorka mongolska istorija beleži jedan slučaj gde se udovica posle muževljeve smrti udala za jednog od njegovih sinova, a onda kada je i on preminuo, ponovo se preudala za njegovog sina. Najzad, pošto je i

ovaj mladoženja umro, udovica je ponovo pribegla istom rešenju. Tako se četverostruko udala u istu porodicu i bila je žena najpre svome mužu, zatim njegovom sinu i unuku, i napislostku praunuku. Videti J. Holmgren, "Observations on Marriage and Inheritance Practices in Early Mongol and Yüan Society, with Particular Reference to the Levirate," *Journal of Asian History* 20 (1986), str. 158.

„Odeveni u iskrpljene pseće i mišje kože“: Juvaini, *Genghis Khan*, str. 21.

„Izustila ono što se zaboraviti ne sme i kušala ono neimenovanu, što se probaviti ne može.“: *Secret History*, § 201.

„O svemu je odlučivao najstariji sin“: Značaj koje starešinstvo zauzima u mongolskoj kulturi očituje se i u jeziku. Naime, u mongolskom postoje odvojene reči za starijeg brata (*ah*) i stariju sestru (*egč*), dok se za mlađu braću i sestre koristi zajednički naziv (*duu*). Uloga najstarijeg brata je toliko bitna da je pojam „ah“ vremenom postao sinonim za glavu porodice ili predvodnika omanje grupe. Kada je reč o rođenoj braći i sestrama poredak se utvrđuje lako – rođenjem. Međutim, polubraća i polusestre su u nešto neizglednijoj situaciji i njihov položaj zavisi od više činilaca, a najviše od ugleda koji uživa njihova majka.

„Uništitelju! Rušitelju! Izašao si mi iz vrele utrobe s grumenom zgrušane krvi u ruci!“: *Secret History*, § 78.

„Cítauu deceniju proveo kao sužanj.“: Meng-Ta Peu-Lu Ausführliche Aufzeichnungen über die Mongolischen Tatan von Chao Hung, 1221,“ In Peter Olbricht and Elisabeth Pinks, *Meng-Ta Pei-Lu und HeiTa Shih-Lüeh: Chinesische Gesandtenberichte über die frühen Mongolen 1221 und 1237* (Weisbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1980), str. 12.

2. Priča o tri reke

„Barjak Džingis-kanove sreće bejaše podignut.“: Ata-Malik Juvaini, *Genghis Khan: The History of the World Conqueror*,

trans. J. A. Boyle (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1997), str. 22.

„Stepski narodi su političku, svetovnu i natprirodnu moć shvatali kao nešto što je bilo neraskidivo povezano s onostranim silama“: etimologija mnogih mongolskih i turkijskih reči ukazuje na isprepletanost fizičke, političke moći sa onostranim silama. Mongolski naziv za vođu, poglavicu – vrlo je sličan rečju koju turkijska plemena upotrebljavaju za šamana – kam. S druge strane, mongolske šamanke ili vratčare zovu se idu-kan, dok je naziv za šamane muškog pola preuzet od reči za snažnog okretnog čoveka, rvača.

„Prsa su im opustela, kao i postelje“: Francis Woodman Cleaves, trans., *The Secret History of the Mongols* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1982), par. 113, str. 47–48.

„Međusobno ljubiti“: Urgunge Onon, trans., *The History and the Life of Chinggis Khan (The Secret History of the Mongols)*, (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1990), § 117.

„Dva pobratima su obično jahala na čelu duge zavojite kolone sledbenika“: za oprečno tumačenje klasnih odnosa između Temudžina i Žamuke videti: Boris Y. Vladimirtsov, *The Life of Chingis-Khan*, trans. Prince D. S. Mirsky (New York: Benjamin Blom, 1930).

„Pusto ostrvo“: posredi je Rečevilcev prevod iz *The Secret History*, § 136, 1972.

„Temudžin nikada nije zaboravio da mu je Želme spasio život“: Temudžinova rana vrlo je slična ozledi koju je pretrpeo kralj Ričard I Lavlje Srce koga je strela pogodila u rame dok je pokušavao da uguši pobunu jednog neposlušnog vazala. Kralj Ričard je pokušao da izvuče strelu, ali bez uspeha. Gvozdeni vrh je ostao duboko u rani, a strela se polomila. Sledećih nekoliko dana proveo je u bunilu dok su lekari pokušavali da izleče infekciju i groznicu. Kralj umire posle jedanaest dana bolovanja. Njegovo telo je balzamovano, ali njegovi organi ukopani su na različitim mestima uz veliku

pompu. Mozak je poslat u jednu opatiju u Poatije, srce je završilo u katedrali u Ruanu, a samo telo sahranjeno je u opatiji Fontevro. Isisavajući kanovu krv Želme je verovatno spasio Temudžina prerane i bolne smrti.

„Vojsku je organizovao u odrede“: za više informacija o brojnom stanju u Džingisovoj vojsci videti Bat-Ochir Bold, *Mongolian Nomadic Society: A Reconstruction of the “Medieval” History of Mongolia* (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 2001), str. 85.

„Neka niko ne bivakuje na izvorištu tri reke“: *The Secret History*, § 179.

„Prebivaoci iz klobučine“: ovaj izraz se i danas upotrebljava i na mongolskom jeziku glasi – „esgi turgatan“.

3. Rat kanova

„Plemena se sjatiše pod istim šarom“: Ata-Malik Juvaini, *Genghis Khan: The History of the World Conqueror*, trans. J. A. Boyle (Seattle: University of Washington Press), str. 38.

„Nije li Džingis-kana sramota da zatraži ruku moje kćeri?“: Marco Polo, *The Travels of Marco Polo*, trans. Ronald Latham (London: Penguin Books, 1958), str. 94.

„jezera Balžune“: Balžuna se u ovoj knjizi pominje kao jezero, ali postoji mogućnost da je u pitanju reka ili jezero kanalom povezano za rekom Balj, pritokom Onona. Tačan datum Džingisovog dolaska na obale Balžune i dalje je predmet velikih rasprava. Pojedini istoričari veruju da se sve zbilo nakon dugog građanskog rata, a ne posle Un-kanove izdaje. Nekolicina u potpunosti odbacuje istorijsku građu u vezi sa ovim događajem, budući da se poglavito radi o kineskim izvorima, ali većina se slaže da je do zaveta na Balžuni ipak došlo. Zainteresovanog čitaoca upućujem na iscrpnu naučnu raspravu o ovoj temi objavljenu u Francis Woodman Cleaves, “The Historicity of the Baljuna Covenant,” *Harvard*

Journal of Asiatic Studies 18, nos. 3–4 (decembar 1955), str. 357–421.

„Njihovih vatri bilo više nego zvezda na nebu.“: *The Secret History*, § 194.

„U vatru – u vatru, u vodu – u vodu. Za Temudžina bih učinio sve!“: Hei-Ta Shih-Lüeh Kurzer Bericht über die schwarzen Tatan von P'eng Ta-Ya und Sü T'ing, 1237,” in Peter Olbricht and Elisabeth Pinks, *Meng-Ta Pei-Lu und Hei-Ta Shih-Lüeh: Chinesische Gesandtenberichte über die frühen Mongolen 1221 und 1237* (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1980), str. 161.

„Njihova telesa napunila su tesnac kao istrulela debla.“ : *The Secret History*, § 96.

„Drugujmo opet!“: Urgunge Onon, trans., *The History and the Life of Chinggis Khan (The Secret History of the Mongols)* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1990), § 200.

„Huruldaj na obali Onona 1206. godine“: Što se tiče huruldaja održanog 1206. godine „Tajna Istorija“ navodi da se zbor odigrao na ušću Onona, ali u dokumentu iz sedamnaestog veka *Erdeni-yin Tobchi* stoji da je huruldaj upriličen na jednoj adi na reci Herlen. Paul Kahn, *The Secret History of the Mongols: The Origins of Chingis Khan*, exp. ed. (Boston: Cheng & Tsui, 1998), str.189.

„Postavili na crni filcani sag“: François Pétris de la Croix, *The History of Genghiscan the Great: First Emperor of the Ancient Moguls and Tartars* (London: Printed for J. Darby, etc., 1722), str. 62–63.

„Čagataj je tvrdoglav, sitničav i plitkouman“: *The Secret History*, § 243.

„Džingisov vrhovni zakonik“: za podrobniji uvid u Džingisov zakonik videti Valentin A. Riasanovsky, *Fundamental Principles of Mongol Law*, Uralic and Altaic Series, br. 43 (Bloomington: Indiana University Publications, 1965), str. 33.

„Cenkanje oko žena“: za više pojedinosti o mongolskom bračnom životu videti Paul Ratchnevsky, *Genghis Khan: His Life*

- and Legacy, trans. Thomas Nivison Haining. Oxford, U.K.: Blackwell, 1991), str. 191.
- „Krađa životinja“: za više informacija videti ibid. str. 155.
- „Usaglasio pravo na lov“: videti *The Secret History*, § 199.
- „Oslobodio od globe“: za više detalja o Džinis-kanovom pore-skom zakonu videti Riasanovsky, *Fundamental Principles of Mongol Law*, str. 83.
- „Da su pred Velikim zakonom svi jednaki“: za više detalja o tome kako se Veliki zakon primenjivao na vladajuću porodicu videti Boris Y. Vladimirtsov, *The Life of Chingis-Khan*, trans. Prince D. S. Mirsky (New York: Benjamin Blom, 1930), str. 74.
- „Da kazni razbojnike i haramije“: Onon, *The Secret History*, § 203.
- „Posebnih glasnika zvanih streloviti jahači“: za više pojedinosti o mongolskim postajama videti Bat-Ochir Bold, *Mongolian Nomadic Society: A Reconstruction of the “Medieval” History of Mongolia* (New York: St.Martin’s Press, 2001), str. 168.
- „Teb-Tengri, Džingis-kanov šaman.“: Teb-Tengrijevo ime je bilo Kokoču. U „Tajnoj Istoriji“ pominju se čak četiri čoveka sa ovim imenom i nije baš najjasnije kome je tačno poverena uprava nad Oeluninim imanjem. Ipak, dvojica od te četvorice su do tog trenutka već bila mrtva. Taičudski dečak koga je uvojila Oelun, kasnije voda odreda od hiljadu ljudi, bio je šamanov imenjak. Mnogi istoričari veruju da je Oelunin usvojeni sin zapravo nasledio njene posede, međutim na drugom mestu jasno stoji da je Kokoču Teb-Tengri posle Oelunine smrti „preuzeo njen narod“. Iako je tačan identitet Kokočua i dalje predmet zabune, ta činjenica u širem kontekstu nije od velikog značaja za razumevanje događaja u „Tajnoj Istoriji“.
- „Sećaš li se ovih grudi?“: *The Secret History*, § 244.
- „Ujgurskom kanu“: U „Tajnoj Istoriji“ (*The Secret History*, § 238.) ujgarski vođa nosi titulu „idu’ut“ koja ima trojako značenje – princ, kralj i kan.

Drugi deo: Mongolski svetski rat 1211-1261

„I glob se zatrese u rukama Zingisa“: Edward Gibbon, *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire* (London, J.M. Dent, 1910), peto izdanje, str. 76.

4. Hula na Zlatnog kana

„Topot naših kopita“: citiran je činovnik sa dvora dinastije Sung iz “Meng-Ta Peu-Lu Ausführliche Aufzeichnungen über die Mongolischen Tatan von Chao Hung, 1221,” u Peter Olbricht and Elisabeth Pinks, *Meng-Ta Pei-Lu und Hei-Ta Shih-Lüeh: Chinesische Gesandtenberichte über die frühen Mongolen 1221 und 1237* (Weisbaden: Otto Harrasowitz, 1980), str. 210.

„Iz svoje prestonice Džungdua“: Ovo mesto je kroz istoriju promenilo mnoštvo imena. Jurčeni su ga zvali Džungdu, za vreme Kublaja Mongoli i stranci su ovaj grad zvali Kanbalik, dok je među Kinezima bio poznat kao Dadu. Kasnije je preimenovan u Peking (što znači „severna prestonica“).

„Mlađani Mongol je pao ničice“: *Peking Gazette*, 30. jun 1878, citirano u C. W. Campbell’s *Travels in Mongolia: 1902* (re-izdanje, London: Stationery Office, 2000), str. 74.

„Bilo je nepohodno da svako razume koja je njegova uloga u pohodu“: videti Sechen Jagchid and Paul Hyer, *Mongolia’s Culture and Society* (Boulder: Westview, 1979), str. 370.

„Naše carstvo je poput mora“: Meng-Ta Peu-Lu Ausführliche Aufzeichnungen über die Mongolischen Tatan von Chao Hung, 1221,” u Peter Olbricht and Elisabeth Pinks, *Meng-Ta Pei-Lu und Hei-Ta Shih-Lüeh*, str. 61.

„Mongolska vojska“: Thomas J. Barfield, *The Perilous Frontier: Nomadic Empires and China, 221B.C. to A.D. 1757* (Cambridge, Mass.: Blackwell, 1992).

„Marko Polo je tvrdio da su mongolski ratnici kadri da prevale desetodnevni put, a da ne zapale vatru“: Marco Polo, *The*

Travels of Marco Polo, trans. Teresa Waugh (New York: Facts on File, 1984), str. 57.

„Njima nisu potrebne vatre i mangale da bi obedovali“: Meng-Ta Peu-Lu Ausführliche Aufzeichnungen über die Mongolischen Tatan von Chao Hung, 1221,” u Peter Olbricht and Elisabeth Pinks, *Meng-Ta Pei-Lu und Hei-Ta Shih-Lüeh*, str. 58.

„Zapovednički logori svih jedinica postavljeni su uvek na isti način“: videti “Hei-Ta Shih-Lüeh Kurzer Bericht über die schwarzen Tatan von P’eng Ta-Ya und Sü T’ing, 1237,” u Peter Olbricht and Elisabeth Pinks, *Meng-Ta Pei-Lu und Hei-Ta Shih-Lüeh: Chinesische Gesandtenberichte über die frühen Mongolen 1221 und 1237* (Weisbaden: Otto Harrasowitz, 1980), str. 187.

„Komunikacija je u mongolskoj vojsci igrala presudan značaj“: Walther Heissig, *A Lost Civilization: The Mongols Rediscovered*, trans. D. J. S. Thompson (London: Thames & Hudson, 1966), str. 35.

„Izgledalo je kao da su pali s neba, a nestajali su brže od munje koja para svod.“: videti “Hei-Ta Shih-Lüeh Kurzer Bericht über die schwarzen Tatan von P’eng Ta-Ya und Sü T’ing, 1237,” u Peter Olbricht and Elisabeth Pinks, *Meng-Ta Pei-Lu und Hei-Ta Shih-Lüeh*, str. 187.

„1219., u godini zeca“: tačni datumi pojedinih događaja i dalje su predmet velikih rasprava pošto su 1207. i 1219. godina u istom horoskopskom znaku.

„Crvenog bika“: *The Secret History*, § 240.

„Kašvara, trgovačkog grada“: Kada je reč o događajima koji su se odigrali u Kašvaru „Tajna Istorija“ navodi da se napad zbio u godini bivola 1205. dok svi ostali izvori navode da je u pitanju godina 1217. u istom horoskopskom znaku.

„Velmoža Žebe gonio je Gulčuga od Najmana, sustigao ga kod Žute stene, posekao i vratio se u domovinu.“: *The Secret History*, § 237.

„Doneo je spokojsvo, mir i bezbednost, dostigao najveće blagostanje“: Juvaini, *Genghis Khan*, str. 77.

„Car (Džingis-kan) nije imao čega da se plaši“: François Pétris de la Croix, *The History of Genghizcan the Great: First Emperor of the Ancient Moguls and Tartars* (London: Printed for J. Darby, etc. 1722), str. 119–120.

„Želim da živimo u miru.“: citat iz René Grousset, *Conqueror of the World*, trans. Marian McKellar and Denis Sinor (New York: Orion Press, 1966), str. 209.

„Gnojni čir zlogukih misli koji izaziva pobune i podele.“: Juvaini, *Genghis Khan*, str. 79–81.

„Pljačkanjem karavana doneo pustoš čitavom svetu.“: ibid. str. 80.

„Oganj besa je u njemu buktao“: ibid. str. 80.

„Ogolio glavu, okrenuo lice ka zemlji i proveo tri dana i tri noći u molitvi.“: ibid. str. 80.

5. Sultan protiv kana

„Rat je za nomade bio neka vrsta privređivanja.“: Sechen Jagchid, *Essays in Mongolian Studies* (Provo: Brigham Young University Press, 1988), str. 12.

„Tetovaže na jednom telalu“: François Pétris de la Croix, *The History of Genghizcan the Great: First Emperor of the Ancient Moguls and Tartars* (London: Printed for J. Darby, etc., 1722), str. 136

„Velmože i poglavari! Narode!“: Henry H. Howorth, *History of the Mongols*, pt. 1, *The Mongols Proper and the Kalmuks* (London: Longmans, Green, 1876), str. 81.

„Mi vladamo zemljom po Božjoj volji“: Robert P. Blake, and Richard N. Frye, “History of the Nation of the Archers (the Mongols) by Grigor of Akanc,” *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 12 (decembar 1949), str. 301.

„Mongoli zbrisali sa zemlje raskošne palate kao što pisar briše trag sa pergamenta.“: Yaqut al-Hamawi quoted in Edward

- G. Browne, *The Literary History of Persia*, br. 2 (Bethesda, Md.: Iranbooks, 1997), str. 431.
- „Najveća je radost pobediti neprijatelja“: Michael Prawdin, *The Mongol Empire: Its Rise and Legacy*, trans. Eden Paul and Cedar Paul (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1940), str. 143.
- „Pričali su mi o užasima koje počiniše Tatari“: citat iz Browne, *Literary History of Persia*, str. 430.
- „Mongolski zatvorenici“: O ubistvu mongolskih zarobljenika piše Luk Kvanten u knjizi *Imperial Nomads: A History of Central Asia, 500–1500* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1979), str. 131.
- „Klinove u glavu“: Stuart Legg, *The Barbarians of Asia: The Peoples of the Steppes from 1600 B.C.* (New York: Dorset, 1970), str. 274.
- „Mongoli su prema potčinjenom stanovništvu isprva postupali blago“: više o ovim pohodima u David Morgan, *The Mongols* (Cambridge, Mass.: Blackwell, 1986), str. 60–61.
- „Ukupan broj žrtava u letopisima“: više o preuvečanim brojkama u Legg, *Barbarians of Asia*, str. 277.
- „Ako moji sinovi“: Paul Ratchnevsky, *Genghis Khan: His Life and Legacy*, trans. Thomas Nivison Haining (Oxford, U.K.: Blackwell, 1991), str. 140.
- „Kada tražiš od Zučija da govori“: Paul Kahn, *The Secret History of the Mongols: The Origins of Chinggis Khan* (Boston: Cheng & Tsui, 1998), str. 153.
- „Borte nije pobegla od kuće“: Ibid., § 254.
- „Istoj toploj utrobi“: Ibid., § 254.
- „Divljač ulovljena gubicom“: Ibid., § 255.
- „Majka Zemlja je grudata i prostrana“: Ibid., § 255.
- „Kleknuše krotko“: Ata-Malik Juvaini, *Genghis Khan: The History of the World Conqueror*, trans. J. A. Boyle (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1997), str. 182–183.

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- „Zamak čija kapija odgovara baštenskoj kapiji“: Juvaini, *Genghis Khan*, str. 236–237.
- „Ogataj svaki dan posle obroka izlazio iz palate“: al-Din, *Successors of Genghis Khan*, str. 84–85.
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„Nanošenje uvreda i sejanje razdora kažnjava se smrću.“: Ibid., str. 191.

„Mi Mongoli verujemo u jednog Boga“: Ibid., str. 195.

„po volji večnog Boga“: Ibid.

„U hronikama vajnim“: Juvaini, *Genghis Khan*, str. 604.

„Trgovačkom svetu nenevniknutom na papirni novac“: više o mongolskom monetarnom sistemu videti u Allsen, *Mongol Imperialism*, str. 171–188, i Allsen, “Rise of the Mongolian Empire,” str. 402.

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8. Kublaj-kan i novo Mongolsko carstvo

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„Gradskih zakona i običaja“: *Secret History*, § 263. Za podrobniji uvid u mongolski zakon videti Valentin A. Riasanovsky, *Fundamental Principles of Mongol Law*, Uralic and Altaic Series, br. 43 (Bloomington: Indiana University Publications, 1965), str. 83.

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„Premda su Mongoli jasno odbacili određena učenja i osobnosti kineske kulture“: više o mongolskim kulturnim uticajima u Adam T. Kessler, *Empires Beyond the Great Wall: The Heritage of Genghis Khan* (Los Angeles: Natural History Museum, 1993).

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„Među različitim oblicima žrtvovanja“: Ibid., str. 264.

„Božje zapovesti treba poštovati“: Ibid., str. 266–267.

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At Sarray, in the land of Tartarye, Ther dwelte a kyng that werreyd Russye, Thurgh which ther dyde many a doughty m This

noble kyng was cleped Cambyuskan, Which in his tyme was of so greet renoun That ther was nowher in no regiouen So excellent a lord in alle thyng. Hym lakked noght that longeth to a kyng. As of the secte of which that he was born He kept his lay, to which that he was sworn; And therto he was hardy, wys, and riche, And pitous and just, alwey yliche; Sooth of his word, benigne, and honourable, Of his corage as any centre stable; Yong, fressh, and strong, in armes desirous As any bacheler of al his hous. A fair persone he was and fortunat, And kepte alwey so wel roial estat That ther was nowher swich another man. This noble kyng this Tartre Cambyuskan.

10. Carstvo opsene

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i Jean-Noel Biraben, "An Essay Concerning Mankind's Evolution," *Population* (decembar 1980).

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Kratak osvrt o prevođenju „Tajne Istorije“: revolucije koje su se tokom Prvog svetskog rata odigrale u Kini i Rusiji značajno su otežale izučavanje „Tajne Istorije“. Francuski sinolog Pol Pelio dvadesetih godina predano radi na francuskom prevodu koji je svetlost dana ugledao tek po završetku Drugog svetskog rata. Nemački izdavač Bruno Šindler vlasnik izdavačke kuće „Verlag Asia Maior“ spremao je nemačko izdanje pomenutog teksta u Lajpcigu, ali je zbog sve većih progona koje su organizovale nacističke vlasti, prebegao u Englesku. Tekst je ostao u Lajpcigu i kasnije ga se domogala druga izdavačka kuća „Verlag Otto Harrassowitz“ koja ga je konačno 1940. godine pustila u tisk. Prevod na kome je radio Pol Pelio objavljen je tek 1949. godine. Celovit tekst „Tajne Istorije“ na ruskom jeziku izašao je otprilike u isto vreme, a 1981. izlazi i nemačko izdanje ovog štiva. Izuzev nekolicine ekscentrika koji su predano radili na prevodu, šira javnost nije poklonila naročitu pažnju ovom mongolskom spisu. Ovi posvećenici su u narednim decenijama sarađivali najpre na rekonstrukciji i prevodu teksta na savremenim mongolskim i kineskim jezicima, a zatim i na ruski i francuski, iako su pojedini pasusi i dalje predmet žučnih rasprava. Neki delovi ruske, francuske i nemačke verzije prevođeni su na engleski, ali anglofone čitaoci naizgled nisu mnogo marili za Mongole i njihovu tobožje „Tajnu Istoriju“.

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Epilog

„Jesmo li mi krivi“: iz “Chinggis Khaan,” komponovao D. Jar-galsaihan; izvodi muzički sastav Chinggis Khaan.

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