

## CHAPTER 1

## Whose Secret Intent?

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Hülegü Khan's arrival on the south bank of the Amu Darya, or the Oxus, in the 1250s was the second time that a large Mongol-led military force had landed south of the great river poised to advance on the Iranian plateau. Three decades earlier his grandfather Chinggis Khan had unleashed his forces in a destructive campaign of retribution and conquest whereas Hülegü Khan came in response to an invitation from the Persian notables of Qazvin. He and his brothers harboured the aim of extending the mercantile, political, and cultural power of the Chinggisid empire and its emerging new dynamic reincarnation under Möngke Khan, eldest of the brothers, by consolidating their grip over the southern half of the greater Chinggisid empire encompassing Iran, Tibet, and China. A delegation from Qazvin had approached the newly enthroned emperor and requested that he extend his direct rule over the Iranian heartlands and appoint a prince to replace the ineffective and corrupt military regime, which had been in place since the early 1220s. The Iranians had seen the rising fortunes of individual Persians and Muslims in the Chinggisid domains, and they sought to bring their land out from the cold and in from the peripheral political wastelands of the West. They sought to pre-empt any ambition that the Turanian rulers might harbour towards their land and welcome the new generation of sophisticated, worldly, and educated young princes and, as they had done so many times before, assimilate the migrants from north of the Oxus. This paper aims to show how and why various Iranian players contributed to the assimilation and development of Il-Khanid rule in Iran. With individual notables and their families, such as Baydawi, the Iftikhariyans, and the Juwaynis, exploiting their contacts and positions, by the turn of the century the courts of the two 'Iraqs' were awash with linguistically adept adventurers and entrepreneurs

with their gaze fixed determinedly eastward. Many had seen the hand of God in the rise of the Mongols. If God's secret intent was promotion of the Faith, for the notables of Iran it was promotion of Persian interests.

#### ATA MALIK JUWAYNI: A MAN OF THE PEN

When Ata Malik Juwayni (1226–83),<sup>1</sup> Hülegü Khan's personal assistant and adviser, surveyed the ruins of the former Ismaili stronghold of Alamut, he allowed his writing to betray a strong sense of satisfaction and achievement. He saw in the establishment of the House of Tolui (Hülegü's and Möngke's house), embodied in the accession of Möngke, the oldest of the four brothers and sons of Chinggis Khan's youngest boy, Tolui, a break from the past and a new, glorious beginning. He sings in praise of the new ruler, Möngke Khan, praying for "the endurance of his empire and the continuance of his Khanate" and welcomes the new era that Möngke Khan's coronation heralds.<sup>2</sup> For Juwayni the annihilation of the "heretics," that is, the Ismailis in particular, vindicated his current position serving his infidel masters and finally went some way in explaining God's purpose, his "secret intent" in unleashing the wrath of the Mongols on the Islamic world.

The truth of God's secret intent by the rise of Chingiz Khan has become clear and the benefit afforded by the passing of dominion and sovereignty to the World Emperor Mengu Qa'an plain to see. By this famous victory the keys to the lands of the world are placed ready for use in the hands of the [*Mongols'* power (*dar dast-i qudrat*). [my italics]<sup>3</sup>

But Juwayni makes it clear that God's secret intent went further than just clearing the world of the hated Ismailis:

The Banner of Islam is raised higher and the candle of the Faith lit brighter; and the sun of the creed of Mohammad casts its shadow over countries whose nostrils had not been perfumed by the scent of Islam...and whose soil had not been trodden save by [infidels].<sup>4</sup>

For Juwayni, God's secret intent had now become clear. Surveying the victory of the forces of Hülegü Khan over the headquarters of the despised Ismailis, he understood the purpose of Chinggis Khan's advent and his triumph over the lands of East and West. Now he also understood that God's intent in the rise of the Great Khan's grandson Möngke Khan had three repercussions.

First, the divine insult and theological threat: The Ismailis had been dealt a devastating defeat and a near fatal blow. Their longevity and apparent infrangibility had defied the certainty and undermined the conviction of generations of Sunnis. This convincing and devastating conquest was a reaffirmation of the Sunnis' identity and confidence, a boost which would be much needed in the near future. The almost pathological antipathy which many Sunni writers expressed towards the Ismailis, arose from the questions that any Ismaili victory, or success, forced on them. If God endorsed Ismaili teachings or beliefs in any way, it invariably would have questioned the very basis of Sunni theology and the rationale at the heart of Sunni theology.

Second, Juwayni saw a role for himself and for other men of the pen like him in God's grant of "the keys to the lands of the world... ready for use in the hands of the [Mongols'] power (*dar dast-i qudrat*)."<sup>5</sup> Power had been granted to the denizens of Turan and the Turanian men of the sword, and much of the world now united behind a Chinggisid flag. However, as Juwayni had so subtly observed and remarked, the execution and exercise of that power lay in its hands, and clearly Juwayni saw himself as one of the hands of that power.

Last, the prophecies had been fulfilled, and the tradition of "The Earth was allotted to me and I was shown the East and the West thereof; and the kingdom of my people shall reach what was allotted to me thereof" should come to pass in the appearance of a strange army" was affirmed.<sup>6</sup> For Juwayni, this final stage in the establishment of the Chinggisid empire that is, the incorporation of the Islamic world fully into this world empire, "is as though the tradition: "Seek knowledge even in China" related to this age and to those who live in the present era."<sup>7</sup> Juwayni had already witnessed in a decade of travel in the East the extent that Muslims and Persians had found positions for themselves at all levels throughout the growing empire.

Today so many believers in the one God have bent their steps thitherwards and reached the furthest countries of the East, and settled, and made their homes there that their numbers are beyond calculation or computation. Some are those who at the time of the conquest of Transoxiana and Khorasan were driven thither in the levy as craftsmen and keepers of animals; and many are those who – from the farthest West, from the two Iraqs, from Syria and other lands of Islam – have wandered in the way of trade and commerce, visiting every region and every city, acquiring fame and seeing strange sights, and have cast away the staff of travel in those regions and decided to abide there; and have settled down, and built mansions and castles, and reared the cells of Islam over against the houses of idols, and established schools, where the learned teach and instruct and the acquirers of learning profit thereby.<sup>8</sup>

#### MEN OF THE DIWAN

It is significant that Juwayni saw “the keys to the lands of the world” placed in the hands not of the Mongols but in the Mongols’ power, by which he presumably meant those who execute and formulate that power. Ata Malik Juwayni, whose father had entered Mongol service following the collapse of the Khwarazmshah’s regime, had spent his formative years in the Mongol domain and had grown up with the ethnically and culturally diverse children of the elite. During those early years spent under Mongol supervision, he had received a formal Islamic education, schooling in Iran’s rich literary traditions, tutoring in a wide range of disciplines, and appreciation of his Persian heritage, as well as the exceptional experiences and insights afforded by extensive travel, all of which placed him in a unique position from which he could judge the merits and advantages to be gained from inclusion in the ruling elite of the emerging world empire.<sup>9</sup> The Chinggisids had been creating their integrated, multi-ethnic, multicultural state from the early thirteenth century, and the Juwaynis were the children of the boiling cauldron.<sup>10</sup>

His experiences of court life as a growing boy and later as an assistant to the Mongol administrator, Arghun Aqa, and then to Prince Hülegü Khan would have left him under no illusions as to who

wielded power and whose influence turned wheels and unlocked doors. His advice and insight would have been jealously sought after by those not so advantageously situated back in Iran.

However, Ata Malik was not alone in having such intimate access to the centres of power. Descriptions of Möngke Khan's court, in particular, reveal that there were a number of diverse supplicants jostling for the attention of the most powerful man on Earth.<sup>11</sup> Though individual local rulers had sought recognition and allegiance with the conquerors in addition to obtaining accommodation with Baghdad, their ties with the Mongols did not translate into any meaningful advantages on the ground, and Western Asia remained peripheral and of little concern to the grand players on the world stage far to the East. King Hetoum of coastal Armenia, Baraq Hajib of Kirman, Shams al-Din Kart of Herat, Abu Bakr of Shiraz, all had sought accommodation with the Chinggisids, but they were yet to work in unison or see beyond their local horizons.<sup>12</sup>

Iran for the most part had continued in a state of instability and political and economic chaos since the psychologically devastating ca. 1220s invasion of north Iran, ruled over by negligent Mongol-sponsored military governors exhibiting all the inadequacies, weaknesses, failings, and incompetence of any military administration of a civilian population. The military regime had done little to quell the skirmishes and raids of marauding brigands, be they wearing the armour of the Khwarazmshahs, the standard of the Caliph, the insignia of the Ismailis, or the fearsome infamy of the Kurds or the Lurs. Writing circa 1300, the Arab Shi'ite, ibn Taqtaqi (Ibn Tabataba) described in his *Mirror for Princes*, the *Tarikh al-Fakhri*, the situation of Qazvin and its environs prior to the arrival of Hülegü Khan in the 1250s:

Subjects could not sleep in security in their houses, and civil war and strife were unceasing, as happened in the case of the people of Qazwin, (situated) near one of the heretics' strongholds. The ruler Imam al-Din Yahya, son of al-Iftakhri, told me as follows: "I remember we were in Qazwin, and night came, we put all our household utensils, clothes, and baggage in deep hidden cellars we had in our houses. We left nothing above earth [*sic*], fearing a sudden onset by the heretics. At dawn we brought out our things, and when night came we did the same thing again."

Because of this, the carrying of knives and arms by the men of Qazwin was common. The heretics continued in this wise [*sic*] till the time of Shams al-Din, judge of Qazwin, who went to Qa'an, fetched troops, and demolished all the heretics' strongholds.<sup>13</sup>

It was with a view to ending this unacceptably chaotic situation that the notables of Qazvin put together a delegation to represent their interests and dispatched it to the court of Möngke Khan. The notables of Qazvin were aware of the absence of security in the country, and they were aware of the failure of the Mongol military governors to deliver security and confidence to the highways and urban centres of Iran. It was not only the Ismailis who were sowing insecurity and anarchy throughout the country and beyond, the bandits, marauding gangs and highway robbers, often loosely labelled Kurds and Lurs, were adding to this state of overall anarchy and dangerous chaos. It was also ill-disciplined bands of Mongols, nominally under the authority of Baiju Noyan, who terrorised merchants and caravans, murdering and pillaging at will.

As late as 650/1252 on the eve of Hülegü Khan's dispatch to Iran, Ibn Fowati (pseudo) records in his detailed chronicle of events as witnessed from Baghdad, the actions of the Mongol armies who not only attacked the lawless gangs of Kurds but also ambushed legitimate, honest, merchant caravans travelling to Baghdad. They had become yet another source of fear and insecurity for the long suffering people of Iran.

The forces of the Mongols launched an all out assault on the peoples of the mountains and from the Kurds they killed many and took many prisoners, plundering and removing clothes from the bodies. The [Mongol] armies from there reached Harran and Roha (Edessa), and they established that place as a base for attacks. Then they returned. During their return they came face to face with a caravan that was coming from Rum in the direction of Baghdad. They killed the people from the caravan and pillaged their goods. Ibn al-Salaya, Wali of Irbil, wrote to Baghdad about these events. People became extremely fearful, and the Mongols returned to their own caravanserais in Azerbaijan and other places.<sup>14</sup>

It was in this atmosphere of growing insecurity that the delegation to Möngke Khan was assembled. Their aim was to persuade the Khan to appoint a royal prince as regent to Iran and for him to rule the country directly as their sovereign.<sup>15</sup> They envisaged Iran with a new dynasty at its helm, the ninth, following the Khwarazmshahs. The delegation, which left Qazvin not long after the accession of Möngke Khan, had four main objectives. They hoped, first, to pre-empt any designs on the country other Mongol princes might have held; second, to eliminate the constant threat and attacks of the Ismailis; third, to put their country once again firmly on the political and economic map of the world, and finally to fulfil the prophecies of their religion and hoist the flag of Islam in the far reaches of China.

The Persian communities in the southeastern ports of China were long established, but those communities could only grow and prosper as long as the Mongols continued to establish themselves throughout China. However, the role of Muslims, and Persians in particular, in the growth of the empire would have been well-known back home. The delegation to Möngke Khan led by the Qadi of Qazvin was aimed at integrating Iran into the Mongol world empire, connecting with the scattered Persian communities, and establishing a new dynasty to lead the country in this new direction, together with an underlying awareness of the new Mongol monarch's potential for conversion to Islam.

The Juwayni family had been servants of the kings of Iran since the early days of the Abbasid era. Their duty was to serve king and country regardless of the nature of the dynasty. It was in this spirit that they had served the Khans from the beginning when Baha al-Din, father of Ala al-Din, future governor of Baghdad, and Shams al-Din, the future prime minister of the Il-Khanate, left the impetuous Jalal al-Din Khwarazmshah for the Chinggisid court. Much later, in 1284, when Shams al-Din died in the hands of his conniving rivals, he wrote up a detailed will to safeguard his lands, property, and dependents. Though his words and wishes were essentially ignored and his sons underwent the same fate as their father, it is significant that in his view he had served both his country and Muslims faithfully and well. Even though he had been one of the cornerstones of Mongol rule in Iran and had been a pivotal bureaucrat in the Chinggisid administration before the advance on Iran, Shams al-Din

in no way saw his actions or the whole sweep of history in which he was so deeply involved, in any way detrimental to the interests of Muslims. It must be assumed that like his brother, he was nurtured, educated, and trained in the Chinggisid domains and that he too accompanied Hülegü, “a rose branch in the royal garden” on the first Il-Khan’s epic march on the West and yet in his will he was able to write with a clear conscience,

up until now, I have not attacked the life or property of any Muslim...I am with God in the protection of his glory and at no time did I commit major sins up until this time.<sup>16</sup>

The Juwayni family’s sometimes ambiguous attitude to their Mongol masters is expressed in Ata Malik’s chronicle of the World Emperor. His father Baha al-Din on his retirement laments the state of the *diwan* and the education and character of those officials who were about to replace him,

Have pity on me, the traces of right and truth have been effaced and the foundation of noble deeds is about to collapse. We have been plagued by successors who in their blindness used combs for their heels and towels for their combs.<sup>17</sup>

The son then adds his own well-known gripe about the new breed of Central Asian rather than Persian bureaucrats, who “consider the Uyghur language and script to be the height of knowledge and learning” and whose characters are less than desirable.<sup>18</sup> This is a situation that Hülegü Khan’s establishment of his royal court in Iran would presumably reverse and rectify. Once the court was established in the Persian heartlands, there would be no need for these Uyghur arrivistes. This infamous complaint is directed at the outgoing regime and signals the brave new world which Möngke’s enthronement heralds.

However, despite these grievances against this generation of officials who had been running the empire from its inception until the present, a task to which the Juwaynis in their opinion would be far more suited, the account of the first encounter of the Chinggisids with the Islamic world is in no way cautionary and portrays the God-

sent World Emperor as a liberator and the Mongol army as the saviors of the oppressed Faithful. This first contact between the Mongol army and the Muslim world was one of welcome and relief, with one witness observing that the Chinggisids

permitted the recitation of the *takbir* [god is great] and the *azan* [Islamic call to prayer] and caused a herald to proclaim in the town that each should abide by his own religion and follow his own creed. Then we knew the existence of this people [Mongols] to be one of the mercies of the Lord and one of the bounties of divine grace.<sup>19</sup>

Juwayni even notes with approval that those liberated lands joined forces with the Khans in their westward campaign “And when Chingiz-Khan marched against the Sultan’s empire [Khwarazm], [Arslan Khan] joined him with his men and rendered him great assistance.”<sup>20</sup> While noting with approval the Mongols’ successes, Juwayni observes that

Whoever molests the faith and law of Mohammad never triumphs, while whoever fosters it, even though it be not his own religion, advances day by day in prosperity and consideration.<sup>21</sup>

The Chinggisid era was marked by many changes and developments affecting every aspect of life and society in every area where “Tatar hoof had trod.” The names of the negotiators that arrived from Chinggis Khan, “Khwaja Umar Khoja al-Otrari, al-Jamal al-Maraghi, Fakhr al-Din al-Dizaki al-Bukhari, and Amin al-Din al-Haravi,”<sup>22</sup> reflect these developments and the changes that the face the Chinggisids presented to the world had undergone. One reason so much is known about this era is that so much of it has been minutely described in the many histories and chronicles that were commissioned and recorded at this time. Most recognised that the advent of the Chinggisids heralded a new era and a dynamic new order. Juwayni himself realised that he was witness to historic events and sought to record as much as he could, writing with his contemporaries, as much as future generations in mind.<sup>23</sup>

## RETICENCE OR OVERWORK?

Why Juwayni was uncharacteristically reticent on the actual fall of Baghdad has been the subject of much speculation in the light of his pivotal political position and the potential he possessed to explain so much about a key event in local, regional, and indeed universal history, a situation about which Juwayni would have been fully conscious and informed. Peter Jackson supports the popular view that "he simply could not bring himself to write of [sic] the event."<sup>24</sup> That a hard-nosed, widely experienced, politically astute, often ruthless, and wily pragmatist would have had butterflies when called upon to describe an event which resulted in his appointment to one of the most influential positions in the government and the climax to his career sounds highly suspect. Though undoubtedly an important turn of events, the death of a Caliph, the destructive occupation of an already dilapidated city, and the establishment of another new regime, were hardly unique or unprecedented and were unlikely to have been imbued with the symbolic gravitas and significance which hindsight has adorned them. The ripple in the pool caused by the 1258 attack on Baghdad soon trembled back to normal. Certainly these events were not as unexpected or shocking as to render a seasoned political operative person speechless.

One point which is often overlooked while considering Juwayni's attitude is the position of the man prior to the invasion of Baghdad when he was a trusted adviser to Hülegü whose job was simply to comment and advise, and his position post Baghdad when he was an official who had donned the mantle of high administrative office and whose job was to make and execute decisions. He would have had to be far more guarded in his words and publicly expressing opinions after assuming the governorship of what was still an important metropolis. The death of the Caliph was a controversial subject.

Juwayni, like so many of his countrymen, took an active part in the occupation of the Abbasid capital and no doubt there was some grim nationalistic satisfaction in the observation that the Arabs had finally got their comeuppance. The assault on Baghdad was not solely a Mongol military adventure. Persia's city states, including Kirman, Yazd, Shiraz, and Herat, were all well represented in the operation

with military units, and the dissent that did occur was rare enough to deserve comment, for example, the Kurdish atabek, Tekele b. Hazarasp, the Fadilwayhid (r.1252–58) at whose open expressions of sorrow and mourning for the ‘martyred’ caliph, Hülegü took great umbrage. Tekele was eventually taken into custody and stood trial. His guilt was established, and in 1258, he was executed in Tabriz. His family secretly transferred the corpse for burial, which took place in the village of Dorud in Luristan.<sup>25</sup> The story was given prominence because it was unusual. A more common reaction was that of fellow Kurd, Badr al-Din Mas’ud (r.1244–60) who, like other provincial rulers in Iran, offered his allegiance to the new Great Khan, Möngke, and accepted the rewards which followed the fall of Baghdad, in his case dominion over the city-state, Sulaymanshah.<sup>26</sup>

A more likely explanation for Juwayni’s apparent reticence on the subject of the assault on the Abbasid capital was that the new governor of Baghdad was very busy, and the fall of Alamut was a far more appropriate event with which to close his history than the fall of Baghdad, an event that in fact signified a new beginning and a break from the Arab-dominated past.<sup>27</sup> Juwayni had already explained how he was forced to limit his literary indulgences to hurriedly snatched moments at the end of each day.<sup>28</sup> An explanation of the political complexities, the correspondence with which Juwayni would have been fully acquainted, the deliverance of judgment of the main players, and some kind of eulogy to the House of Abbasid would have been an exacting and time-consuming commitment, not to be undertaken lightly by someone fully aware of the fact that his family name and reputation were at stake. For Nasir al-Din Tusi, whose account of the fall of Baghdad comprised the final chapter of Juwayni’s work in many manuscripts, such considerations were not a factor since he came from a Shi’a background, where the Caliphate was not held in any great esteem and the fall of Baghdad was hardly considered a tragedy. Baghdad had been wracked by bloody Shi’a/Sunni strife for a number of years, and the Shi’a had welcomed the arrival of Hülegü and his armies as saviors. Both Juwayni and Tusi served the same master, and records indicate that relations were good between them. Tusi’s account of the ‘events’ in Baghdad is written in a clear, simple Persian in contrast to Juwayni’s ornate extravaganza and though composed after Hülegü’s death he attaches the non-

essential honorifics, 'King of the World, the source of peace and security' to the conqueror's name, indicative of the respect in which he held his king.<sup>29</sup>

The idea that the brutality and bloodily exacting punishment and practices of the Mongols and their local allies might have horrified Juwayni is demonstrably shown to be hollow when the minister's own practices as governor of Baghdad are considered. Ibn al-Fowati (pseudo), a chronicler of events in Baghdad, has detailed a year by year account of events in the city as they unfurled, recording everything from the weather to the arrival of ministers, from state visits by the Il-Khan to the various political intrigues which periodically rocked the city. Included in this jumble of anecdotes are many concerning the city's governor, Ala' al-Din, and his reaction to the plots of which he was often the target. One incident involved accusations that Juwayni had been in treasonable correspondence with the Mamluk regime in Cairo, a fashionable denouncement of the time. Like many citizens of Baghdad, Ahmad Sharabdar had quickly entered the new administration upon his release from prison where he had been briefly sentenced following the 'events' (vaq'eh)<sup>30</sup> in Baghdad. As the superintendent of wine manufacture for the diwan, 'his name was on the tip of [everyone's] tongue' and people including the governor spoke easily in his presence. This Ahmad and an accomplice, Kibayah, repeated rumours and supposed treasonable quotations from Juwayni to the shahna, Tatarqiya, and an inquiry was launched and a *yarghu* [court] set up to try the various parties. Ala' al-Din Juwayni was quickly cleared and the conspirators admitted their guilt after 'people were appointed to get a confession out of [them].'

They gave [the accused] into the hands of the Sahib Diwan ('Ala' al-Din Juwayni). He imprisoned him for a few days. Then they constructed a cell/cage and crucified him inside it [*chahar mikh kashidand*].

They appointed one of the buffoons of Baghdad and all the time he slapped his face and pummelled his head with an odd shoe and farted on him and peed in his face. The people dragged that cage [*otaqak*] with a rope through the bazaars and districts from both sides of Baghdad. The prisoner used [*kashud*] his

tongue to insult the Sahib. They sent someone to say to him that the Sahib has forgiven you and that you can come out of this iron cage. On condition that they cut your tongue. If you accept, stick out your tongue so that we can cut it. He stuck out his tongue. A rod was pushed through it and he could no longer make conversation. But till the end of the day in just such a way the cage was pulled and rolled. Then they cut off his head and they put a goat's head with a beard in its place and again they rolled him around the town.<sup>31</sup>

The treatment meted out to the culprits is neither unique nor unusual, and the chronicler records similar vicious punishments. An Ismaili was apprehended following a murder and his slow, drawn out punishment was first amputation of feet and hands, followed by the breaking of his back until finally he was beheaded.<sup>32</sup> The satirist poet Pur Baha' records one convict whose punishment included public rape and one hundred and seventy-seven lashes.<sup>33</sup> The Persians did not need lessons in brutality from the Mongols.

If the Juwaynis were central and representative of the Persians who envisaged an acceptable future under Chinggisid rule, the theologian Baydawi represented the Sunni ulema who endorsed the advent of the Turanian [i.e. Mongol] Khans.

#### QADI 'ABDALLAH BAYDAWI: A MAN OF THE CLOTH

Baydawi's 'pocket history'<sup>34</sup> of Islamic Iran enjoyed enormous popularity and commanded a widespread readership during the time of its composition, the late thirteenth century and early fourteenth century. This has often intrigued and baffled modern historians, who were generally nonplussed as to why such a superficial little book was able to command such apparent respect and regard. Their general confusion was compounded by the fact that the summarised history had been written by a highly respected and undisputedly learned man, the Qadi Baydawi (c.1225–1316). Baydawi not only commanded great respect among his contemporaries but also his writings on theology and Islamic thinking have continued to be studied and remained influential unto the present time. However, this was a time when the new regime exercised

their political and military strength in defence of the empire, and their concern for its internal peace and prosperity together provided the opportunity for flourishing growth in the arts, literature, religious studies, and the sciences.<sup>35</sup>

Baydawi's little history was almost rushed out and portrayed the new regime as an integral part of Iranian history while its second monarch, Abakha Khan, was still very much settling onto his new throne. The steppe had met the sown, and they had formed a happy union. Baydawi, and possibly others, regularly updated the history, and it gained remarkable popularity for a work so lacking in substance. E.G. Browne was to dismiss this history, "a dull, jejune little book...not worth publishing"<sup>36</sup> and it was not until Charles Melville turned his attention to it that its full significance became clear.<sup>37</sup> This was a piece of deliberate political propaganda, and there must have been a deliberate effort to disseminate it as widely as possible; hence the summarised accounts of the various dynasties. What this history established was that the Il-Khans were a fully integrated, accepted, and natural part of Iran's great heritage and history. The Il-Khans were the natural successors in the long seamless march of Iranian history. It is worth mentioning that a copy of Baydawi's history appeared in Abu al-Majd's *Safina ye-Tabriz*, a broad ranging collection of manuscripts collected in the second decade of the fourteenth century, which, however, is noticeably lacking in historical tracts. Abu al-Majd obviously considered Baydawi's "pocket history" an indispensable and authoritative guide to Iranian history and of all the books he might have chosen for inclusion in his comprehensive collection of indispensable key texts, he obviously considered Baydawi's work the most valuable, concise, and accurate representation of his time and history.

That this highly respected theologian chose to compose this political, historical tract is of great significance. Baydawi's great grandfather, 'Ali, had been a respected local imam in Bayda. His grandfather, Mohammad, had been chief qadi [or judge] in Shiraz, while his own father, 'Umar, had followed in the footsteps of his grandfather, establishing the family lineage and traditions at the heart of the Iranian ulema. His father had built a substantial library at home, and this proved particularly valuable in reducing the necessity

for him to travel. That he took full advantage of his father's legacy is evident from his reputation for erudition and sound scholarship which had travelled well beyond the boundaries of his own city and province and ensured that his name carried weight and prestige throughout the Mongol empire. Surprisingly for one so famous, few dates can be attached to his life with any degree of certainty. Even his date of birth and death are debated.

Baydawi, as his little history suggests, would have been instrumental in maintaining support amongst the ulema and notables of Iran for a Persianised Il-Khanate. Qazvin had led the original delegation to the court of Möngke. The secular rulers had all pledged political and military support for the nascent regime during Hülegü's long march westward to Iran.<sup>38</sup> The Shi'ite clergy had early expressed their recognition and support for Hülegü through their spokesman, Ibn Tawus, a close friend of the Caliph's adviser, Ibn al-'Alqami. Ibn Tawus (1193–1266) had resisted all entreaties by the Caliph to act as his intermediary with the Mongols prior to 1258<sup>39</sup> though after his fatwa in favour of Hülegü Khan the Shi'ite cleric accepted his appointment by the new ruler as official leader of the Shi'a. The Shi'a ensured the safety of their holy sites and cities through their early contact with Hülegü Khan, even appealing to the Khan's vanity with reports of a Shi'ite Hadith prophesising the fall of Baghdad to the sons of Kantura (Turks).<sup>40</sup>

Persian miniaturists also re-enforced Baydawi's and Juwayni's assimilation of the Chinggisids into the dynastic chronicles of Iran, offering legitimacy to the new rulers. Juwayni's frequent citations and quotes from the Koran sometimes overshadow another frequent source of inspiration, namely Iran's legendary past and Persia's heroic legacy, the *Shahnama*, made famous by the poet, Ferdowsi (940–1019 or 1025). Juwayni often portrayed the Chinggisid Khans in the heroic roles which are scattered throughout Ferdowsi's masterpiece.<sup>41</sup> This depiction of the Chinggisids as figures from Iran's heroic mythology, which Juwayni had begun early, was endorsed by the later Il-Khanid chroniclers and miniaturists in such works as the Great Mongol *Shahnama*, which saw the transformation complete.<sup>42</sup>

Baydawi was also instrumental in assimilating the ruling elite into the intrigues and complexities of Muslim rivalries and theological disputes while they were still nominally infidels. Baydawi's name had risen to international prominence outside the closed world of Islamic

theology with his reinstatement as the chief judge of Shiraz by the Il-Khan's chief wazir, overruling the local governor who had removed him from the office in 1278. The incident occurred after the eminent wazir had observed Baydawi performing in a theological debate on a visit to Tabriz. After the ending of his professional career ca.1282, he moved permanently to Tabriz and devoted himself purely to scholarly and theological pursuits. It was in Tabriz that he completed his renowned Koranic commentary, *Anwar al-Tanzil wa Asrar al-Ta'wil*, which he dedicated to the Il-Khan, Arghun Khan (r.1284–91). This dedication to Arghun was of great significance since this work would have clarified the concerns and beliefs of the Il-Khan's Muslim population and perhaps would have served to legitimise the Mongol Khan. The undeserved reputation for anti-Muslim sentiments that has been attached to Arghun Khan is further brought into question by this additional evidence of the monarch's keen interest in theology and Islam in particular. By the time of Ghazan Khan's accession to the throne in 1295 and the adoption of Islam as the state religion, Baydawi had become the spokesman for the Sunni population of Iran while the Shi'ites were represented by the equally renowned theologian Ibn al-Mutahhar al-Hilli.

#### DIVERSE CONTACTS

Back in the early 1250s, it must be presumed that Baydawi, along with his secular partners had envisaged the eventual assimilation of the Mongol rulers into Iran. The mercantile collaboration had been there from the beginning. Cultural assimilation had been relentless, and Persian had become not only the *lingua franca* of the empire but the social and cultural identity of many of the elite. Ibn Battuta on his visit to the east coast of China quotes his smattering of 'Chinese' which upon examination reveals itself to be Persian, as is the ditty that the Yuan supreme commander, Amir Qurtay, repeatedly sings for him.<sup>43</sup> But the assimilation had been in progress at all levels right from the first contacts between the Muslims of eastern Turkestan and their Mongol saviors. Chinggisid encampments had been established in northern Iran and Azerbaijan since the early 1220s when Jebe and Subotai had made their notorious reconnaissance trip around the Caspian Sea and through the Caucasus. These camps allowed contact

between invaders and invaded to develop on a non-confrontational basis and encouraged the evolution of social intercourse at various levels, including trade, the provision of skills, and the exchange of expertise and information.

It was these rudimentary contacts which also underpinned the emergence of a Mongol empire built on cultural and commercial exchange. The existence of multi-lingual dictionaries is attested to throughout the region, and the Chinggisid court in particular became a magnet for language specialists. As early as 1230, there is evidence of specialist institutions for language training in northern China and after 1260, language training units were even attached to the Mongol military.<sup>44</sup> One of the criteria for success in the closing decades of the thirteenth century was linguistic versatility. Repeatedly, high-ranking scribes are credited with writing Uyghur, Turkic, and Chinese, emphasising that the new Mongol state needed linguists and that language learning was obviously a growth industry in which Central Asians had for long taken a leading role. Most of the scribes were Uyghurs or Nestorian Christians, and Mongolian was initially expressed in the script used for liturgical Syriac and Uyghur.<sup>45</sup> Ibn al-Fowati recounts the example of a close friend of his from a family of amirs whose father entered Mongol military service following the fall of Baghdad. While the father took up his post in Maragha under Sughunjaq, the son = “kept company with the learned men of the Uighurs and bakhshis (Buddhist priests), and learned from them how to write the Uighur script as well as their language.”

The Il-Khan's so-called encampments often provided shelter to learned men, offering additional legitimacy for the Mongol rulers. A scholar from Ardibil, 'Afif al-Din Mohammad al-Qashi, was a Persian poet as well as a painter who worked on an illuminated manuscript of Rashid al-Din's *Jama' al-tavarikh*. The illustrations found in this epic work of Rashid al-Din provide a vivid example of the deep cultural influences of China prevalent in Iran at this time.<sup>46</sup> However, what is noteworthy about this particular case is that the artist was with Sultan (or Il-Khan) Öljeitü at his 'encampment.' That Sultan Öljeitü's residence was more than a nomadic encampment is hardly a surprise, but the date as to when exactly the Chinggisid encampments grew into what were essentially mobile cities is the vexing question to which the existence of the artisan must give rise.

That such a sophisticate as 'Ata Malik Juwayni (1226–83) would have been schooled while in the confines of the camp has already been surmised and the logical conclusion must be that the children of all the elite must surely have had equal access to such learning.

They grew up imbued with the ideals of service and rule. They were instilled with an unquestioning loyalty and were trained to rule in the name of their Khan. The quintessential servant of the Khans was one such as Sayyid 'Ajall Shams al-Din Bokhari (1211–79)<sup>47</sup> who, after a lifetime of loyal service, was appointed governor of the strategic province and mercantile and cultural cross-roads of Yunnan. Sayyid 'Ajall's grandfather had entered the service of Chinggis Khan along with his troops, a thousand head of cavalry, while his son and grandson were trained as loyal officials of the expanding state. Their religion, Islam, was not considered an impediment, and Shams al-Din even promoted his faith locally while at the same time observing equal attention to Buddhist interests. A governor of Hangzhou, Sharaf al-Din (d.1323), whose father probably entered Chinggisid service as an artisan, demonstrates how certain characteristics of the serving officials had become 'universal' throughout the Mongol domains. On the Chinese stele erected by his son in his honour, there is mention of his loyal service, his exemplary career, and a life guided by Confucian ideals but no mention of his religion, Islam. Yet by his stated desire to be buried in Hangzhou's Ju-jing Muslim cemetery and the naming of all his children with Muslim names, it is clear that Sharaf al-Din was a quietly practicing Muslim. What both these men demonstrate is that the ideals of the Chinggisid state in no way contradicted or impeded their Muslim faith.

#### QAZVIN: A CITY WITH FORESIGHT

To return, once again, to the initial decision taken in Iran to support the establishment of a new regime and seek inclusion in the Chinggisid 'World Empire'; the Juwayni family had long been in the service of the Great Khans and the judge, 'Abdallah Baydawi, had foreseen amicable and mutually respectful relations, but it was the leading families and notables of Qazvin who had formed intimate ties with the Mongol princes in particular, right from the days when the Chinggisid commanders erected their headquarters outside the city

walls because of the easy access the environs of Qazvin afforded them to the pasturelands of Azerbaijan.<sup>48</sup>

In the decades following the initial Chinggisid invasions, Iran had developed little and local interests prevailed. Until his ignoble demise, Jalal al-Din Khwarazmshah threatened the stability of the isolated city states of the Iranian plateau. The Ismailis dominated the regions, including Qazvin, in which they maintained strongholds, much to the frustration of the notables of that influential city. Added to this quagmire, the Caliph's armies were also free to follow the interests of their master. While Persia stagnated, in the east Persians prospered in the service of the Khans.

Qazvin had become a favourite urban centre of the Mongol commanders from the earliest days of the penetration of the West. The gentle hills of Azerbaijan reminded the Khans of home, and Qazvin was a convenient city with access to the pasture lands and the caravan routes to the West, Arabia, and to the Qipchaq steppe. In his informed and influential chronicles, the Il-Khanid official Hamdullah Mustawfi Qazvini records the fortunes and failings of many of his contemporaries, and he devotes much space to his hometown Qazvin. Other than his own family, which prospered under Chinggisid rule, the Iftikhariyans<sup>49</sup> were a local family which benefited from the notice of the Khans when they turned their attention to the attributes of the city. The young Mongol princes and lords would have been anxious to learn about the lands through which they rode and over which they would soon be exercising power, and it was the learned and experienced of those lands to whom they turned for guidance and learning. One such was the "learned and pious" Iftikhar al-Din Muhammad Bakri. Even at this early stage, the Chinggisids recognised the value of education and the educational wealth of the institutions which they were embracing.

The storm of Jebe and Subotei had swept past, and in their wake, a very different army was feeling its way forward. By the early thirteenth century, the Iftikhariyan family had established itself at the forefront of Qazvin's political elite, and it was Iftikhar al-Din Muhammad Bakri's grandson, also Iftikhar al-Din Muhammad the son of Abu Nasr, who forged the first links with the Chinggisid invaders. Iftikhar al-Din Muhammad served as a tutor at the Great Khan Ögödei's court where he instructed the young Chinggisid princes

including the sons of Tolui, Möngke in particular.<sup>50</sup> This early service bore much fruit and when the Toluids moved to establish their authority in southwestern Asia their old friend was not forgotten. Mustawfi claims that prince Abakha and his son Arghun, along with their amirs and captains, stayed eighteen days at the home of Malik Iftikhar al-Din Muhammad. Qazwin became a favourite city with all the Il-Khans, who visited frequently, starting with Hülegü who enjoyed a warm bath in a “Muslim *hammam*.”<sup>51</sup> Möngke Khan appointed Iftikhar al-Din Muhammad governor of Qazwin along with his brother Malik Imam al-Din Yahya, and they ruled over the city for twenty-seven years.<sup>52</sup>

During the bleak decades following the devastation caused by the calamitous campaign of Noyans Jebe and Subotei, which did not spare Qazvin,<sup>53</sup> the Qazvini political elite must have been fully aware of events beyond the waters of the Amu Darya and of the power and influence that was accruing to individual Persians and Muslims who had entered Chinggisid service. Mahmud Yalavach,<sup>54</sup> first mentioned in 1218 as a merchant/ambassador, and his son Mas’ud Beg are legendary, but they are merely the most famous of the many former subjects of the Qara Khitai, or Khwarazmians, who seized the opportunity presented by the nascent power emerging from the steppe. These farsighted men along with the Uyghurs, acted as intermediaries with sedentary communities. Chinqai (1169–1252), whom Juwayni claims was a Christian Uyghur, was another merchant who encouraged and informed his Mongol masters and reaped rewards later as the empire expanded. Ahmad Fanakati who became infamous as the Yuan dynasty’s chief administrator under Khubilai and who is listed in the Yuan dynastic history under ‘Villainous Ministers,’ hailed from what had been the lands of the Qara Khitai and which embraced the Mongol invaders under Noyan Jebe as liberators. His career began in the household of Alchin Noyan (d.1237), a brother-in-law of Chinggis Khan, and later in the service of Khubilai’s wife, Chabi (d.1281), and by 1247 he was serving Khubilai as a financial adviser.

In addition, trade links between China and Iran had existed for centuries, and these ties were periodically strengthened by political contacts at all levels. After the Arab invasions of the seventh century, the Sassanian elite from Iran fled their native lands to find sanctuary

in the East where they were welcomed by the Tang royal family. Later under the Tang, Muslim merchants arrived and established communities in the port cities of eastern China, and many sources record the flourishing mercantile networks operating from the cities of Quanzhou or Zaytun (Zi-tong), Guangzhou or Canton, and in the north Yangzhou. Social and business groups rapidly developed and assimilated into the larger society.<sup>55</sup>

The opportunities for their city opened by the accession of Möngke Khan would have become obvious to the notables of Qazvin whose intimate links with the House of Tolui gave them an immediate invitation to the court and precedence over many other petitioners flooding the new Khan's domains. This was an opportunity to put forward their case for help against their hated neighbours, the Ismailis, who they could present as not only a local threat but a threat at the very heart of the empire. More importantly, it was their opportunity for recognition and their opportunity to reap the benefit of those many years of contacts and personal relationships. This was an opportunity to establish Qazvin and Iran as an integral part of the new global empire and to consolidate the disparate tentacles of Persian power and influence under the umbrella of the new Khan's justice. Juwayni's impassioned account of Möngke and the expectations engendered by his enthronement go beyond the bounds of formal panegyrics and Persian flummery. His praise rings true and his adulation genuine. Juwayni was singing the praise of someone who would put an end to the situation where "every hireling [became] a minister, every knave [became] a wazir"<sup>56</sup> had become the norm. Nor does Juwayni hold back in his condemnation of what had occurred before Möngke's enthronement and the shameful situation into which Khorasan in particular had sunk. The embassy from Qazvin sought to replace the existing military regime under a weak and corrupt Noyan Baiju with an administration headed by a royal prince, namely Hülegü Khan, "a rose branch in the royal garden."<sup>57</sup>

### The Tale of 'Ala' Al-Din: Two Adventurers

That immediate and welcome advantage was taken of the incorporation of Iran into the greater empire is illustrated by the stories of those who sought to ally themselves with the new power

in the East. The example was set when Hülegü Khan, responding to the needs of his brother Khubilai, dispatched Noyan Bayan who had spent his formative years in Iran and had an Iranian wife and family. So impressed was Khubilai with the young commander that he retained his services and married him into his own family, cementing his own ties with the impressive young general by awarding him a wife, Besujin, who was closely related to Khubilai's favourite, Chabi.<sup>58</sup> He thus ensured Bayan's future involvement in the political life of the regime at the highest levels.<sup>59</sup>

There were many others who looked East with thoughts of fame and fortune, and two examples illustrate the forethought of Persian merchant-adventurers. A certain 'Ala al-Din and his brother 'Umar from 'the western regions,' by which Persia was meant, donated funds to aid Khubilai Khan's war efforts in the West, and as a reward for these services they were granted land and 'Umar an official position in the Yuan administration of Gansu province. 'Ala' al-Din received lands in Hangzhou, and in recognition of the growing Muslim community present in that city, funded the construction of a mosque, which stands to this day.<sup>60</sup> The Ju-jing cemetery of Hangzhou reflects the prestige of the Muslim, mainly Persian, community of the former Song capital. From information gleaned from the tombstones, a picture of a very prosperous community emerges, a community which was formed subsequent to the establishment of the Il-Khanate. Descriptions of Yuan Hangzhou appear in Rashid al-Din, Wassaf, Ibn Battuta, Mustawfi, Marco Polo, Odoric of Pordonne as well as various Chinese sources including the art collector Zhou Mi, who provides details of the Ju-jing graveyard and Muslim burial practices. The Ju-jing gardens had belonged to the Song imperial estates and occupied prime estate lying between the southeast shores of West Lake, the Qing-bo Gate and Wu Hill and the palace enclosure. The fact that this very desirable site should be given to the Muslim community says much about their position in Hangzhou society. The twenty or so extant tombstones are individually crafted with sometimes original Persian verse in ornately designed calligraphy, bordered by floral arabesques extending to the sides of the steles, on both sides of the gravestones. Unfortunately, a number of tombstones are damaged, with names and dates being obscured. However, those that retain biographical detail indicate their owners as being amirs,

merchants, clerics, Sufis, and men of substance hailing from both Iran and Turkestan. The buried appear to have come from Semnan, Isfahan, Bukhara and one, a merchant, possibly from the Yuan capital, Daidu. Most of the inscriptions contain the Koranic quote, "The death of the exile is martyrdom" indicating that death had occurred far from home.

8. ..., the Shaikh, the most distinguished, the great, the generous, the honored, the pride of the merchants, famous in the cities, patron of the learned and the strangers, refined of character, pleasant of disposition, known
9. among the kings of al-'Iraq, the deceased, departed Khawaja Shams al-Haqq wal-Din, Glory of Islam and the Muslims, Muhammad b. Ahmad b. Abi Nasr al-Isfahani, may God give him the joy of His mercy.

The existence of this prosperous community in Hangzhou<sup>61</sup> and in neighbouring Dahuating<sup>62</sup> (modern Songjiang, a suburb of Shanghai) appears to be the result of the absorption of Iran into the Mongol empire.

The other example of an adventurer taking advantage of the new situation also concerns a Persian named 'Ala' al-Din (Alaowading) who in 1271 also contributed to Khubilai Khan's war effort, for which assistance he was duly rewarded. The details are recorded in the Muslim biographies in the Yuan dynastic history.<sup>63</sup> Around 1271, Khubilai Khan had sent a request to his nephew, Abakha Khan, the Il-Khan of Iran, to send experts in siege warfare, catapult-makers in particular, to help him in his conflicts in his domains, and the prince duly dispatched two engineers with their families to his uncle's capital. The biographies of the two Persian experts, Alaowading ('Ala' al-Din) and Yisimayin (Ismail) from Shiraz appear in the Yuan dynastic history and between them detail the subsequent fate of the two men. What is relevant to the case of 'Ala' al-Din, the founder of the Phoenix Mosque, is the rewards the two engineers received, which would seem to be the standard payment for such valued artisans. Each received 'suits of clothes', an official residence, and official positions. For the engineers, their transfer marked the start of successful careers, and for Ismail in particular, his move towards the East

established the foundation for his heirs to build notably powerful and increasingly influential positions in the Mongol hierarchy.

### THE IFTIKHARIYANS

But it was the notables of Qazvin who initially made the move to capitalise on their contacts with the new regime. Mustawfi, though writing nearly a century after the events, would have had access to his family's papers and the personal memories of those who, if not personally involved in events, would have known key figures from those dramatic times and were involved in those historic events. He was also writing long after the times where it might have been politically, if not personally, advisable to lavish encomia on the early Khans. His family, like its rivals, the Juwaynis, as well as other leading families from Qazvin would have benefited directly from the establishment of the Il-Khanate. It is noteworthy that it was the Chief Justice of Qazwin who travelled to Möngke Khan's court to petition the Great Khan for the appointment of a king to bring justice, peace, and posterity to their land. In Mustawfi's rather fanciful account, the Chief Justice chose Hülegü from among the assembled lords and grandees. In particular, he requested that the Mongol army under Hülegü's command first rid the world of the Ismaili menace.<sup>64</sup> In gratitude, Möngke upon whom God had bestowed luminous glory and might (*Yazdān torā dād īn farr o zūr*) would become their 'guide' (*rahnāmūn*).<sup>65</sup> However, a merchant, another member of the delegation, eloquently explained the expectations of the people of Iran from their request to the Great Khan. After Möngke rejected his appeal to build a bridge across the Oxus, the silver-tongued Qazvini elaborated.

O illustrious and magnanimous Qa'an, we do not speak of a bridge made of stone (*naqūyim pol az sang*), or brick, nor a bridge of chains. I want a bridge of justice (*khwāham pol az dād*) over that river, for where there is justice, the world is prosperous. He who comes over the river Amu Darya finds the Qa'an's justice, and on this side of the river there is justice and a path. On that side of the river, the world is evil, and some people become prosperous through injustice. When one passes over the river

into the land of Iran, the world is full of injustice, enmity and oppression.<sup>66</sup>

The details of this story can also be found in the chronicler, Ibn al-Tiqtaqa's *Mirror for Princes* which places the establishment of the Il-Khanate firmly in the context of Iranian history. Ibn Taqtaqi claims that he heard an eye-witness account from Malik Imam al-Din Yahya, Iftikhar's brother and joint governor of Qazwin, a fact which again emphasises Iftikhar's family connections with the Chinggisid elite. Mustawfi devotes a section of his *Selected History* to the Iftikhariyans and notes that Iftikhar al-Din Yahya was a linguist skilled in written and spoken Turkish and Mongolian (*khatt wa-zaban-i turki wa-mughuli*) and his work was highly regarded and considered authoritative by the Mongols. He eloquently translated the classic *Book of Kalila and Dimna* into Mongolian and the *Book of Sindibad* into Turkish, which suggests an intimate and ongoing acquaintance with both languages. With Möngke on the Chinggisid throne, Iftikhar al-Din Muhammad, in particular, prospered and through him the city, which gained some fine buildings. Imam al-Din Yahya not only continued as governor of Qazwin, but had the area under his jurisdiction expanded to include first the whole of Iraq al-Ajam from Tabriz to Yazd and later Iraq al-Arab that included Baghdad. He outlived his other brothers and died around the beginning of 1301 and was succeeded by his son, another Iftikhar al-Din. His other brothers had been governors at various times of Mazandaran, Gurjistan [Georgia], Mosul, and Diyar Bakr.<sup>67</sup> Imam al-Din Yahya was buried in a *madrassa* [theological college] that he had founded in Darb Firasha, east of Baghdad. He had built the *madrassa* for a respected Shafi'i cleric, and this demonstrates again that the Iftikhariyan's close connections with the Chinggisids did not preclude close ties with the religious establishment.<sup>68</sup>

An indicator of the transformation of the barbarians from the steppe and their donning of garb more acceptable to their apparently accommodating subjects is the experience of another of the Iftikhariyan brothers, Radi al-Din Baba, who had been governor of Diyar Bakr and then of Mosul. On ascending the throne in 1265, Abakha had appointed him joint governor of Diyar Bakr with Jalal al-Din Tarir.<sup>69</sup> He was also a poet, as was his son, and their patrons

included a wide range of important figures. Significantly, the son's patrons included the Mongol generals Esen Khutlugh and Tughlugh as well as Öljeitü's two prime ministers, Rashid al-Din and Sawaji. The Mongol camp must have changed greatly from its early days on the steppe if its generals were now versed in and patrons of Persian poetry.<sup>70</sup> Anecdotes and examples of Mongols donning the cultured caps of their 'hosts' are not in fact hard to come by, and even the Sufi poet Jalal al-Din Rumi, who famously encouraged his friend and confidant, the Parvana of Rum, to maintain and deepen his contacts with his infidel overlords, counted Mongols and their officials among his disciples, for example Nur al-Din Chacha (Jicha), an important amir of Rum with close Mongol contacts. Nur al-Din, a 'Companion of the Cave'<sup>71</sup> is the 'somebody' who posed the theological question concerning the existence of anything superior to prayer and who was also the recipient of letters from the Moulana.<sup>72</sup> Iltermish Khatun, wife of Abakha Khan and Geikhatu Khan and daughter of Qutluq Timur Kuregen Konqurat,<sup>73</sup> organised a *sema*, a Sufi remembrance of God, in the manner initiated by Rumi in her own household on the occasion of Moulana's grandson's visit to Ghazan Khan. "I will make arrangements for a gathering and offer him a sama<sup>c</sup> so that his blessed face will be seen."<sup>74</sup>

Perhaps related to this transformation of hardened Mongol men-of-the-sword and their substitution of nights of drunken debauchery for evenings of cultured poetry reading or prayer is the emphasis found in the biographical dictionary of Ibn al-Fowati on linguistic skills. Again and again, those mentioned are awarded merit if their accomplishments, including knowledge of Chinese and Persian in particular, though Turkish, Arabic, and Mongolian are also duly recognised. With Persian becoming the lingua franca of the Mongol empire, Persian speaking officials were in demand far beyond the borders of the Persian-speaking world. Such was the demand for linguists with proficiency in Eastern tongues that a certain Muzaffar al-Din Qutluq Beg b. Ibrahim was appointed court translator and awarded the post of Amir Translator, whose job required him to transform "Turkic and Uyghur and Persian into eloquent Arabic."<sup>75</sup> The famous Mahmud Yalavach al-Khwarizmi is mentioned and, among his many accomplishments, Ibn al-Fowati records his deft management of the Mongols' kingdom' and his ability to write Mongol, Uyghur, Turkish, and Persian and to speak Hindi, Chinese, and Arabic. Amongst

the pantheon of colourful figures who populated Ibn al-Fowati's world was a certain Ghiyath al-Din Qutlugh Beg b. Taj al-Din Zirak b. 'Aziz Khwaja al-Kashghari al-'Amir and his brother 'Imad al-Din Mas'ud. The brothers were born in Bukhara into a family of merchants and came to Baghdad in the service of the Mongol noble Aruq, one of the governors of Arghun Khan (r.1284–91). Ibn al-Fowati met the brothers in Baghdad and includes them in his dictionary as examples of young, successful, and influential men of good character. Listed in their accomplishments and noteworthy traits are their ability to recite the Koran, proficiency in Persian, Turkic, Mongol, and Chinese, knowledge of science and poetry, and generosity to the students of Nasir al-Din Tusi. Men such as these found positions in the courts of Tabriz and Azerbaijan, but it was from their ranks that the bureaucracies of the Yuan also recruited staff. The Persian governors of Zayton (Quanzhou) and Qinsai (Hangzhou) would need deputies and advisers conversant at least in Persian and Chinese.

Iran was viewed as a source of expertise and knowledge even before Hülegü departed on his epic journey westward. Möngke had instructed him to secure the services of Nasir al-Din Tusi; so it was certainly very much in Tusi's interest that Alamut fell without a fight and that its learned denizens were assured safe conduct. Whether there existed any lines of communication between men such as Tusi or the relatives of Rashid al-Din and the ulema and notables of Qazvin or Tabriz cannot be ascertained, but that the embassy from Qazvin to Möngke Khan's coronation received wide support is implicit in subsequent developments.

#### ARPA KHAN: A JUST INFIDEL?

One subsequent development was certainly unexpected but perhaps not so surprising, namely Arpa Khan's accession (r.1335–36) to the Il-Khanid throne backed by the wazir, Ghiyath al-Din. What was paramount in the move was the understanding that Islam be given its central position in the country's spiritual life and given the Chinggisids' history with Muslims, past and current the ulema had no reason to fear the rule of an infidel Turkish-Mongol ruler.<sup>76</sup> Further insight into this attitude towards infidel rulers can also be gained from the last entry in Abu al-Majd's remarkable collection of learned

manuscripts, his own, handwritten personal library, the *Safina ye-Tabriz*. The final entry of the collection is a letter from Ghiyath al-Din b. Rashid to his brother itemising the qualities which Arpa Khan, the Mongol aspirant to the Il-Khanid throne as the Mongol dynasty was in its last throes and required support, must exhibit and adhere to if he wished to receive the endorsement of Ghiyath al-Din b. Rashid al-Din as Abu Sa'id's (r.1316–35) successor. According to later accounts, Ghiyath al-Din locked Arpa Khan in his house until he had agreed to abide by the conditions laid down by the wazir to receive his endorsement as the next Il-Khan of Iran. The recent discovery of the *Safina*<sup>77</sup> revealed the first and only extant source for the four conditions upon which the wazir was insisting before granting his full support to the aspirant to the Persian throne. These conditions are extremely revealing and cast new light on the attitudes of the Persian elite to their sovereigns. In accepting Ghiyath al-Din's terms, Prince Arpa would pledge to implement the four conditions laid down by the wazir and rule through the *shar'iah* and the *yasaq* [Mongol legal tradition]. The reference to the *yasaq* should not be taken to suggest that Iran be subjected to the rigors of steppe law, but more, in this context, simply to secular law rather than religious law. The *yasa* should be understood as secular law as opposed to the *shari'a* or religious law. Prince Arpa is being asked to commit himself to ruling the country according to Islamic law and for the Mongols and possibly the non-Muslims, the *yasaq*, an ill-defined code of law but strict nonetheless.

The four conditions stipulated that first, Arpa Khan rule with justice and truth and that he does not succumb to sensuality or debauchery; second, that he rule without bias and with equal regard to Persians and Mongols, military and civilians, and that he rule by justice and fairness; third, that upon succeeding to the throne, the new Il-Khan release Ghiyath al-Din from his duties and official obligations, something which did materialise, with tragic repercussions for the wazir; fourth that Arpa Khan rule with due regard and full respect for the *shari'a*. The reason for this condition to be so emphasised was that it was by no means certain that Arpa Khan was a Muslim, for he was certainly not a practicing Muslim. Arpa Khan had been brought up and had originally professed a 'Mongol religion' but then went on to profess his adherence to

Christianity. Of late, he claimed to have accepted Islam but this is thought to have been out of political expediency rather than conviction, and, therefore, it was generally accepted that Arpa Khan was not a Muslim. That he was therefore perceived as being an infidel and yet remained acceptable to many as a successor to the Iranian throne makes that early decision of the Qazvini notables and 'ulema to welcome the Chinggisid rule all the more explicable. What was essential was that the Iranian monarch must show due respect for the strictures and obligations of Islam.

As the early example of the Turkish-Mongol Qara Khitai clearly demonstrates, infidel rulers of Muslim lands within the Dar al-Islam, though not ideal, can in certain situations be acceptable and even welcomed. Chinggis Khan, as a divinely sanctioned source for legitimising royal accession, had been established and was to continue in the Islamic world until at least the Safavid Shahs in the sixteenth century claimed legitimacy through their links to the Shi'ite imams. God's secret intent was not always obvious to even the ulema, but the Faithful knew that the divine purpose would always safeguard the interests of the faithful. "You fear the Tatars because you don't know God."<sup>78</sup> Many were able to accept Chinggis Khan's self-proclaimed role as the punishment of God and that it was divine retribution that precipitated the inglorious fall of the Khwarazmshah. Indeed, Sufi teaching had a Sufi saint riding at the forefront of the Mongol hordes as they visited devastation on the lands of Turkestan.<sup>79</sup> God as a punisher of the misdeeds of the faithful is a common explanation for any number of disasters which beset the lands of the religious and provides useful fuel for attacking those deemed not faithful enough. But for many, the advent of Chinggisid rule in Iran was not viewed as a silver lining but a positive and welcome reward from God. Their new rulers were infidels, but they were open to conversion, a situation which had been seen so many times before. Their new rulers provided the keys to power in lands which God had already revealed were there for the Faithful to discover and exploit. Within two short generations from Hülegü Khan's arrival on the Iranian soil, Persian generals, leading ulema, and merchants who were considered the friends of kings could be found together in the former Song capital of Hangzhou, buried in land which a few decades earlier had been the pleasure gardens, the *Ju-jing yuan* of the Song emperors.<sup>80</sup> These

were men who had had elements of that power in their hands (*dar dast-i qudrat*).

From the initial embassy to the court of Möngke Khan in the early 1250s when the notables of Qazvin put forward their case for Iran's inclusion in the Chinggisid security, trade, and economic umbrella, through Hülegü Khan's long triumphant march to the West, accompanied and joined by the elite and their representatives of the Western regions, to the establishment after the fall of the old Arab regime in Baghdad, of a new, enlivened government in Iran, combining the various progressive forces of western Asia and elements from throughout the Chinggisid lands who had been raised and nurtured in the dynamic spirit of the age, the assumption of power by the Mongol brothers heralded a dramatic change of direction. The Juwaynis, Tusi, and many other men of the pen; Baydawi, the Iftikhariyans, Qazvinis, Semnanis, and the many families of loyal officials; Rumi, Tabrizi and the many court poets who enjoyed princely patronage, whose religion was Islam, whose tongue was Persian, whose hearts dwelt on the Iranian plateau but whose loyalty was to the Great Khan, guardian of their future and securer of their aspirations. Juwayni was right to contemplate the secret intents behind the triumph of the Mongols.

## NOTES

1. See *Encyclopaedia Iranica* (online edition, [www.iranicaonline.org](http://www.iranicaonline.org), 2009). See [[www.iranica.com/articles/jovayni-ala-al-din](http://www.iranica.com/articles/jovayni-ala-al-din)] (accessed 25 September, 2010).
2. Juwaynī. Translated by John Andrew Boyle. *The History of the World Conqueror* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1997), pp.589–90; M. Qazvīnī ed., *Tārīkh-i-Jahān Gushā*, vol. III (London: Luzac & Co., 1937), p.61.
3. Juwaynī. *The History of the World Conqueror*. p. 638; Qazvīnī. *Tārīkh-i-Jahān Gushā*, vol. III. pp.139–40.
4. Juwaynī. *The History of the World Conqueror*. p.13; Qazvīnī. *Tārīkh-i-Jahān Gushā*, vol.III, p.9.
5. Juwaynī. *The History of the World Conqueror*, p.638; Qazvīnī. *Tārīkh-i-Jahān Gushā*, vol.III, pp.39–40.
6. Juwaynī. *The History of the World Conqueror*, p.13; Qazvīnī. *Tārīkh-i-Jahān Gushā*, vol.I (London: Luzac & Co., 1912), p.9; no Koranic reference given.

7. Juwaynī. *The History of the World Conqueror*, p.14; Qazvīnī. *Tārīkh-i-Jahān Gushā*, vol.I, p.9.
8. Juwaynī. *The History of the World Conqueror*, pp.13–14; Qazvīnī. *Tārīkh-i-Jahān Gushā*, vol.I, p.9; on Persians and Muslims working for the Yuan administration see Bai Shouyi 白寿彝. *Hui zu ren wu zhi* 回族人物志 [Muslim Personalities] (Yinchuan: Ningxia renmin chubanshe, 2000).
9. See Hashem Rajabzadeh, “The Jovayni Family,”; George Lane, “Jovayni, ‘Alā al-Din,”; Michal Biran, “Jovayni, Sāheb Divān,” *Encyclopaedia Iranica* 15 (2010) (online edition [www.iranicaonline.org](http://www.iranicaonline.org)).  
See [[www.iranica.com/articles/jovayni-ala-al-din](http://www.iranica.com/articles/jovayni-ala-al-din)]  
[[www.iranica.com/articles/jovayni-family](http://www.iranica.com/articles/jovayni-family)]  
[[www.iranica.com/articles/jovayni-saheb-divan](http://www.iranica.com/articles/jovayni-saheb-divan)] (accessed 25 September, 2010).
10. Michal Biran, “The Mongol Transformation from Steppe to Eurasian Empire,” in *Eurasian Transformations, Tenth to Thirteenth Centuries*, edited by Johann P. Arnaron, et al. (Leiden: Brill, 2004), pp.348–49.
11. Peter Jackson translated, *The Mission of Friar William of Rubruck* (London: The Hakluyt Society, 1990), p.221 passim.
12. See George Lane, *Early Mongol Rule in Thirteenth-Century* (London: RoutledgeCurzon, 2003).
13. Ibn al-Tiqtāqa. Translated by C.E.J. Whitting, *al-Fakhri on the Systems of Government and the Muslim Dynasties* (London: Luzac & Co., 1947), p.27.
14. Ibn Fowatī (pseudo). Translated by Abdul Mohammad Āyatī, *Historical Events of the 7th Century* (Tehran: Society for the Appreciation of Cultural Works and Dignitaries, 2002), p.163; Ibnu’l-Fouti, Al-Hawdithu’l-djmi’h w’l-tadjaribu’l-naftah fi’l-miati’l-sabi’ah [Historical Events of the 7th Century] (Baghdad: Historia Irak Medeltiden 1932), pp.260–61.
15. Hamdullāh Mustawfī Qazvīnī, *Zafarnāma* [n.a.] (Tehran: Iran University Press, AH1377/CE 1999), (facsimile of British Library Or.2833), p.1166; L.J. Ward translated, “Zafarnamā of Mustawfī,” (PhD dissertation, Manchester University, 1983), pp.5–7.
16. Abu al-Majd Muhammad comp, *Safīna-yi Tabrīz* [Ship of Tabriz], facsimile of manuscript in the Islamic Consultative Assembly, (Tehran: University of Tehran, 2003).
17. Juwaynī, Qazvīnī ed., *Tārīkh-Jahān Gushā*, vol.I, p.4; Boyle translated, *Genghis Khan: History of the World Conqueror* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1997 ed.), p.7.
18. Juwaynī, Qazvīnī, ed. *Tārīkh-Jahān Gushā*, vol.I, p.4. Boyle translated, *Genghis Khan: History of the World Conqueror*, p.7.
19. Juwaynī, Qazvīnī, ed. *Tārīkh-Jahān Gushā*, vol.I, p.50. Boyle translated, *Genghis Khan: History of the World Conqueror*, p.67.

20. Juwaynī, Qazvīnī, ed. *Tārīkh-Jahān Gushā*, vol.I, p.58. Boyle translated, *Genghis Khan: History of the World Conqueror*, p.77.
21. Juwaynī, Qazvīnī, ed., *Tārīkh-Jahān Gushā*, vol.I, p.50; Boyle translated, *Genghis Khan: History of the World Conqueror*, p.68.
22. Mudjtabā Mīnuvī ed. *Sīrat-i Djalāluddīn* [Life of Jalal al-Din] (Tehran: Scientific & Cultural Publications Company, 1986), p.50.
23. Juwaynī, Qazvīnī ed., *Tārīkh-Jahān Gushā*, vol.I, pp.5–8. Boyle translated, *Genghis Khan: History of the World Conqueror*, pp.8–12.
24. Peter Jackson, “Mongol Khans and Religious Allegiance,” *IRAN* 47 (2009): 110.
25. Prince Sharaf al-Dīn Bitlisī, translated by M.R. Izady, *The Sharafnāma* (Costa Mesa: Mazda Publishers Inc., 2005), pp.90–92.
26. Izady, *The Sharafnāma*, pp.130–32.
27. For her positive view of the fall of Baghdad as heralding a new beginning freed from the chains of the Arab past, see Fariba Zarinebaf-Shahr, “Cross-Cultural Contacts in Eurasia: Persianate Art in Ottoman Istanbul,” in *History and Historiography of Post-Mongol Central Asia and the Middle East*, edited by Judith Pfeiffer and Sholeh Quinn (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2006), pp.529–41.
28. Juwaynī, Boyle translated, *Genghis Khan: History of the World Conqueror*, p.152; Qazvīnī ed., *Tārīkh-Jahān Gushā*, vol.I, p.118.
29. John Boyle, “The Death of the Last Abbasid Caliph: a Contemporary Muslim Account,” in John Boyle ed., *The Mongol World Empire 1206-1370* (London: Variorum Reprints, London 1977), p.xi and p.151.
30. A common euphemism for the destruction of Baghdad found in contemporary sources such as Ibn al-Fowatī.
31. From Ibn Fowatī [pseudo], translated by Abdul Mohammad Āyatī, *Historical Events of the 7th Century* (Tehran: Society for the Appreciation of Cultural Works and Dignitaries, 2002), year 677 AH, pp.240–41.
32. Ibn Fowatī, translated by Abdul Mohammad Āyatī, *Historical Events of the 7th Century*, year AH 693, p.285.
33. Pūr Bahā Iradj Afshār translated, *Kār-nāma-yi awḳāf. Athar-i Tādī al-Dīn Nasāī* [Pious Bequest Work Book of Athir Tāj al-Dīn Nasa'i], in *Farhang-i Irān-zamīn*, viii (AH 1339/CE1960), p.15, lines 204–07; Pūr Bahā, translated by Birgit Hoffman, “Von Falschen Asketen und ‘unfrommen’ Stiftungen,” *Proceedings of the First European Conference of Iranian Studies, Societas Iranologica Europaea* (Rome, 7–11 September, 1990), p.462, lines 249, 251, 254, 255.
34. “Pocket” in the sense that it is a short and superficial overview of history. Baydāwī, Qādī Nizām al-Dīn, *Nizām al-tavārīkh*, edited by Bahman Mīrzā

- Karīmī (Tehran, AH 1313/CE 1935); rpt. edited by Mīr Hāshem Mohadeth (Tehran, AH 1382/CE 2003).
35. From the introduction of ‘Abd Allāh Baydawī’s text *Tawālī’ al-Anwar min Matalic al-Anzar*, edited and translated by Edwin E. Calverley and James W. Pollock, *Nature, Man and God in Mediaeval Islam* (Boston: Brill, 2002), p.xxvii.
  36. E.G. Browne, *Literary History of Persia, vol.III* (Cambridge: The University Press, 1902–06), p.100.
  37. Charles Melville, “From Adam to Abaqa : Qādī Baidāwī’s Rearrangement of History,” *Studia Iranica* 30, no.1 (2001): 67–86; Charles Melville, “From Adam to Abaqa: Qādī Baidāwī’s Rearrangement of History,” *Studia Iranica* 36, no. 2 (2007): pp.7–64.
  38. See John Masson Smith, “Hülegü Moves West: High Living and Heartbreak on the Road to Baghdad,” in *Beyond the Legacy of Genghis Khan*, edited by Linda Komaroff (Leiden: Brill, 2006): pp.111–34.
  39. Etan Kohlberg, *A Medieval Muslim Scholar at Work: Ibn Tawus and His Library* (Leiden: Brill, 1992): pp.7–8.
  40. Wassāf, ‘Abd Allāh ibn Faḍl Allāh Shirāzī, edited by M.M. Isfahānī, *Tajziyat al-amṣār wa tazjiyat al-acṣār, Tārīkh-i-Waṣṣāf*, 1853, rept. (Tehran: Ibn Sīnā, AH 1338/CE 1959–/): p. 36; Ibn Fuwatī (pseudo), translated by Abdull Mohammad Āyatī, *Historical Events of the 7th*, p.196.
  41. See Assadullah Souren Melikian-Chirvani, “Le *Shāh-nāme*, la gnose soufie et le pouvoir mongole,” *Journal Asiatique* 272 (1984): 249–337; Melikian-Chirvani, “Conscience du passé et résistance culturelle dans l’Iran mongol,” in *L’Iran face à la Domination mongole*, edited by Denise Aigle (Tehran: Institut français de recherche en Iran, 1997): pp.135–77.
  42. Robert Hillenbrand ed., *Shahnama: The Visual Language of the Persian Book of Kings* (Burlington: Ashgate, 2004); Abdulah Soudavar, “The Saga of Abu-Sa’id Bahâdor Khân, The Abu-sa’idnâmé,” in *At the Court of the Il-Khan’s, 1290-1340*, edited by J. Raby and T. Fitzherbert (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996), pp.95–218.
  43. Ibn Battuta, translated by H. A. R. Gibb, *The Travels of Ibn Battuta AD 1325-1354*, vol. IV (London: The Hakluyt Society, 1994): p.903.
  44. Thomas Allsen, “The *Rasûlid Hexaglot* in its Eurasian Cultural Context,” in *The King’s Dictionary* edited by Peter Golden (Leiden: Brill, 2000): pp.36, 42, passim.
  45. Allsen, “The *Rasûlid Hexaglot*,” pp.25–26.
  46. See Yuka Kadoi, *Islamic Chinoiserie: The Art of Mongol Iran* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2009).
  47. See George Lane, “The Dali Stele,” in *Intellectual and Cultural Studies. Festschrift in Honor of Prof. Isenbike Togan*, edited by Nurten Kilic-Schubel

- and Evrim Binbash (Istanbul: Ithaki Press), forthcoming; Paul Buell, "Sayyid 'Ajall," in *In the Service of the Khan*, edited by Igor de Rachewiltz (Weisbaden: Harrassowitz, 1993): pp.466–79; Jacqueline Armijo-Hussein, "Sayyid 'Ajall Shams al-Din" (Ph.D. dissertation, Harvard University, 1996).
48. See George Lane, "Persian Notables and the Families which Underpinned the Ilkhanate," *Eurasian Nomads as Agents of Cultural Change*, edited by Reuven Amitai and Michal Biran (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press) forthcoming.
49. See Francois de Bois, "Iftkhāriyān of Qazvin," in *Iran and Iranian Studies: Essays in Honour of Iraj Afshar*, edited by Kambiz Eslami (Princeton: Zagros Press, 1998): pp.13–23.
50. Hamdallāh Mustawfī, *Tārīkh-i Guzīdah* (Tehran, AH1362/CE 1983): p.799.
51. Mustawfī, *Tārīkh-i Guzīdah*, p.793.
52. Mustawfī, *Tārīkh-i Guzīdah*, p.797.
53. E.G. Browne, *Literary History of Persia, vol.III*, pp.96–98; Hamdallāh Mustawfī, *Zafarnāma* (Tehran: Iran University Press, AH 1377/CE 1999), (facsimile of British Library Or.2833), pp.1024–25.
54. Thomas Allsen, "Mahmud Yalavach, Mas'ud Beg 'Ali Beg, Safaliq, Bujir," in *In the Service of the Khan*, edited by Igor de Rachewiltz (Harrassowitz Verlag: Wiesbaden, 1993), pp.122–35.
55. Chen Dasheng, "Chinese-Iranian Relations: vii. Persian Settlements in Southeastern China during the T'ang, Sung, and Yuan Dynasties," *Encyclopaedia Iranica* [[www.iranica.com/articles/chinese-iranian-vii](http://www.iranica.com/articles/chinese-iranian-vii)] 25 September, 2010; Liu Yingsheng & Peter Jackson, "Chinese-Iranian Relations: iii. In the Mongol Period," *Encyclopaedia Iranica*. [[www.iranica.com/articles/chinese-iranian-iii](http://www.iranica.com/articles/chinese-iranian-iii)] 25 September, 2010.
56. Juwaynī, Qazvīnī ed., *Tārīkh-Jahān Gushā, vol.I*, p.4; Boyle, translated, *Genghis Khan: History of the World Conqueror*, p.7.
57. Mustawfī, *Zafarnāme*, p.1165; Mustawfī, Ward translated, "Zafarnamā of Mustawfī," (PhD dissertation, Manchester University, 1983): p.1.
58. Besujin was the niece of Chabi and younger sister of Antung (1245–93), a great-grandson of Mukhali and a firmly established Right Chancellor in the Secretarial Council.
59. C.C. Hsiao, "Bayan," in *In the Service of the Khan*, edited by Igor de Rachewiltz, pp.584–607.
60. Dai Liang 戴良, *Jiulingshan fang ji*, 九靈山房集 [Collection from the House of the [Master] of the Nine Spirits Mountain, i.e., Dai Liang]: juan 11.
61. Translated by Alexander Morton. For a full study of the Hangzhou tombstones, see, George Lane and Alexander Morton, *The Phoenix Mosque of Hangzhou* (forthcoming); George Lane, "The Phoenix Mosque of Hangzhou 杭州鳳凰寺"; and A.H. Morton, "Muslim gravestones in the

- Phoenix Mosque in Hangzhou 杭州凤凰寺的穆斯林墓碑,” *Qinghua Yuanshi* 清华元氏, no.1, (December 2010): forthcoming.
62. Dahuating 搭話丁 was the former name of Songjiang 松江, the original urban centre of what is now Shanghai. The 1341 mosque was built by the Mongol darughachi [governor] and Muslim convert to serve the growing community of Persian and other settlers including the descendants of Gao Kegong (1248–1310). The city’s gazetteers record a number of Muslim darughachis. See Lane & Morton, *The Phoenix Mosque*.
63. Song Lian 宋濂, *Yuan Shi* 元史 [History of the Yuan Dynasty], (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1976): p.4544; see also A.C. Moule, *Quinsai With Other Notes on Marco Polo* (Cambridge: The University Press, 1956): pp.86–88; E. Bretschneider, *Mediaeval Researches from Eastern Asiatic Sources, vol.I* (London: K. Paul, Trench, Trübner, 1910): pp.273–74; YS 203, biographies of Fang Ji 方技, Tian Zhongliang 田忠良, Jin Dejin 靳德進, Zhang Kang 張康, Sun Wei 孫威, Alaowading 阿老瓦丁 (‘Ala’ al-Din), Yisimayin 亦思馬因 (Ismail), and Anige 阿尼哥.
64. Mustawfī, *Tārīkh-i Guzīdah*, pp.588–89; *Zafarnāmah*, pp.1168–69; Ward translated, “Zafarnamā of Mustawfī,” (PhD dissertation, Manchester University, 1983): pp.11–13; Juwayni and Rashid al-Din claim that Möngke decided on his brother without the Judge’s help.
65. *Zafarnāmah*, p.1169, Ward translated, “Zafarnamā of Mustawfī,” (PhD dissertation, Manchester University, 1983): p.12.
66. Mustawfī, *Zafarnāmah*, p.1166, Ward translated, “Zafarnamā of Mustawfī,” (Ph. D dissertation, Manchester University, 1983), pp.5–6.
67. Mustawfī, *Tārīkh-i Guzīdah*, p.800.
68. Ibn al-Fuwaṭī, translated, ‘Abdulmuhammad Āyatī, *al-Hawādith al-Jāmi’ah* [Historical Events of the 7th Century], (Tehran, 2002): p.304; Ibn al-Fuwaṭī [pseudo], *al-Hawādith al-jāmi’ah wa-al-tajārib al-nāfi’ah fi al-mi’ah al-sābi’ah* [Historical Events of the 7th Century] (Baghdad, 1932): p.478; Şafadī, *Nakt al-himyan fi nukat al-’umyan*, p.204 cited in François de Blois, “The Iftikhāriyān of Qazvin,” in *Iran and Iranian Studies: In honour of Iraj Afshar*, edited by Kambiz Eslami and Elraj Afshear (Princeton: Zagros, 1998): p.16.
69. Rashīd al-Dīn. *Rashiduddin Fazlullah’s Jami’u’t Tawarikh: Compendium of Chronicles*. Translated by Wheeler Thackston. (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Department of Near Eastern Languages and Civilizations, 3 vols., 1998): p.518.
70. Mustawfī, *Tārīkh-i Guzīdah*, p.733.
71. “Companion of the Cave,” a close and loyal friend, from the story of Abū Bakr who hid in a cave along with the Prophet. A spider miraculously spun a web over the entrance to mislead their pursuers.
72. Rūmī, *Ketāb-i Miyeh Māfiyeh*, edited Badī’ al-Zamān Farvazānfar, (Tehran,

- AH 1362/CE 1983): pp.21, 260; *Discourses of Rumi*, translated by A.J. Arberry (Curzon: Richmond, 1994): p.43; Shams al-Dīn Aflākī, translated by John O’Kane, *The Feats of the Knowers of God* (Leiden: Brill, 2002): pp.95, 343–44; Emel Esin, “Description of Turks and ‘Tatars (Mongols) of the Thirteenth Century,” in *Documenta Barbarorum: Festschrift für Walther Heissig zum 70. Geburtstag* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1983): pp.83, 86 n.29; Makūtbāt Mūlānā Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī, edited by Toufiq Sobhānī, (Tehran: Markaz Nashr Dāneshkāhī, AH1371/CE 1992): pp.13, 94, 128, 301, 302.
73. On Īltermesh Khatun see Rashīd al-Dīn, *Jāmi’ al-tavārikh*, (Tehran: Nashr Elborz 1994), pp.1189, 1316, 1320; Rashīd al-Dīn, translated by Thackston, *Compendium of Chronicles*, pp.580, 658, 660.
74. O’Kane, *The Feats of the Knowers of God*, pp.591–93.
75. Cited in Devin De Weese, “Stuck in the Gullet of Genghis Khan,” in *History and Historiography of Post-Mongol Central Asia and the Middle East*, edited by Judith Pfeiffer and Sheeleh Quinn (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2006): p.24.
76. See Michal Biran, *Chinggis Khan* (Oxford: Oneworld Publishers, 2006).
77. Abū Majd al-Dīn Tabrīzī, *The Safīna-ye-Tabrīzī* (Tehran: University of Tehran, 2003).
78. O’Kane, *The Feats of the Knowers of God*, p.593.
79. See DeWeese, “Stuck in the Gullet of Genghis Khan,” pp.23–60.
80. See, Lane and Morton, *The Phoenix Mosque of Hangzhou*; and Lane and Morton, *Qinghua Yuanshi 清華元史* no.1 (December 2010).

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