

THE MONGOLS IN THE ISLAMIC LANDS

Studies in the History of the Ilkhanate

Reuven Amitai

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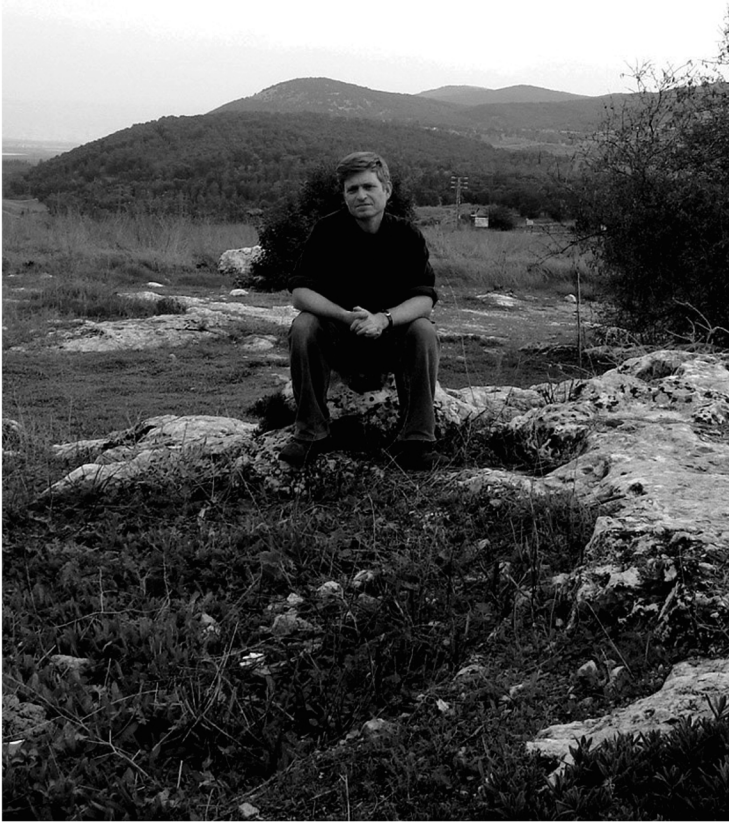
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Each article has been given a Roman number in order of appearance, as listed in the Contents. This number is repeated on each page and is quoted in the index entries.

Corrections noted in the Addenda and Corrigenda have been marked by an asterisk in the margin corresponding to the relevant text to be amended.

The following articles appeared under the surname Amitai-Preiss: I, III, VI, VII, IX, X, XII, XIII and XIV.

PREFACE

The Mongol invasion and occupation of much of the Islamic world in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries left a lasting impact on the region. Although this period began with destruction, massacres and suffering, it was followed by cultural effervescence and by varying degrees of political stability and economic development. As shown clearly in the recent work of Thomas Allsen, Asia was opened up from one end to the other, and ideas, technologies, commodities, foods and people moved across the continent. An expression of these wide cultural horizons was the great Persian language history of the known world, *Jāmi' al-tawārīkh* – “The Compendium of Histories” – by the wazir and scholar Rashīd al-Dīn, written at the beginning of the fourteenth century and dealing with the then entire known world. In the realm of politics, Iran was unified again, after centuries of political fragmentation or control by states centered elsewhere (without denying the short-lived achievements of the Seljuqs). Perhaps, no less significant, the term “Iran” became more common during the Mongol period (a phenomenon demonstrated by the studies by Dorothea Krawulsky and Bert Fragner), a development which together with political reunification helped set the stage for the emergence of modern Iran. Finally, due to the Mongols, the population of Eurasian Steppe origin in the Middle East increased significantly. Many of these were Mongols who became speakers of Turkish languages, and others were Turks who entered the region under the aegis of the Mongols, fled before them, or came in their aftermath.

Even many of the peoples not conquered or occupied by the Mongols were profoundly influenced by the presence of the Mongols in the area, not least by the need to prepare themselves for confrontation with this potential or real enemy. One can scarcely comprehend the history of the early Mamluk Sultanate of Egypt and Syria without considering its decades-long war against the Mongol Ilkhanid state.

It could therefore be suggested that without taking the Mongols into consideration, one cannot understand the history of most of the Islamic world from the thirteenth century onward. In other words, Islamic studies mean, to a certain extent, the study of the Mongols. At the same time, the development and fate of the Mongols in west Asia, be it in the Middle East, the steppes of southern Ukraine and Russia, or Central Asia (i.e., the area more-or-less

covered by the Muslim republics of the former Soviet Union and the Chinese province of Xinjiang), should also be approached in the framework of Islamic history, as the Mongols in these areas almost universally eventually converted to Islam. Moreover, the use of sources emanating from Muslim countries, primarily in Persian and Arabic, are indispensable for the study of Mongol history in these regions and beyond.

I am pleased and grateful that Dr. John Smedley of Ashgate Publishers has given me the opportunity to collect many of my papers dealing with the Ilkhanids, the dynasty established by Hülegü, grandson of Chinggis Khan, in the region of Iran and the surrounding countries in the mid-thirteenth century. These papers, published over almost two decades, deal mostly with specific incidents and subjects, although here and there I have strived to paint a wider canvas (articles VII, XIV and XVI). The articles collected here do not presume to present a comprehensive picture of Mongol-controlled Iran. I confess that they include virtually nothing on the conquered population, its social and cultural history and other, related issues. Rather, I have concentrated on some matters which I have thought to be of a certain interest for the history of the Mongols, Iran and the late medieval Muslim world at large: specific institutions of the state, historiography, the conversion of the Mongol elite and tribesmen to Islam, and military history, primarily the war with the Mamluks along the southwestern frontier and in Syria. The last-mentioned topic dovetails with my other main interest, the early Mamluk state. I hope that my analysis of this sixty-year long war (expanding upon and continuing my *Mongols and Mamluks: The Mamluk-Ilkhanid War*, Cambridge 1995), based on a study of both sides, will present a useful perspective to this important and long-running conflict in regional and world history.

One theme that emerges in most of these papers is the great importance for the study of the Mongols – and not only in the West Asia – of the evidence embedded in the Arabic historical writing emanating from the Mamluk Sultanate. This is a subject discussed in article IV and incidentally in other papers here. Further reading in the vast corpus of Mamluk historiography should lead to other interesting finds and conclusions about the Mongols.

*

In a scholarly career, one incurs many pleasant debts to teachers and colleagues who have assisted and encouraged along the way. I would like to take the opportunity to thank belatedly Prof. Andrew Hess, now at Tufts University, who at the University of Pennsylvania over thirty years ago, first aroused in me an interest in the peoples of the Eurasian Steppe and showed me their importance for Middle Eastern history.

I would like to dedicate this volume to my teachers, colleagues and students at the Institute of Asian and African Studies at the Hebrew University of

Jerusalem, where I have found a most conducive environment for my scholarly work since I first arrived as a M.A. student in 1980.

REUVEN AMITAI

*The Institute of Asian and African Studies
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*Evidence for the Early Use of the Title *īlkhān* among the Mongols*

Hülegü (d. A.D. 1265) and his successors were known by the title *īlkhān*, which has provided modern scholars with a convenient label for the dynasty. In general, *īlkhān* has been glossed as “subject” or “submissive” *khān*.¹ There is less agreement, however, over the circumstances in which *īlkhān* was adopted by Hülegü. This, in turn, is connected to the more general discussion on the manner in which Hülegü’s dynasty was established.² Without purporting to resolve these questions, in the following article some evidence is offered which sheds light on these matters.

It seems that *īlkhān* was only officially adopted as part of Hülegü’s protocol in A.D. 658/A.H. 1259–60, when it appears for the first time on his coins.³ Yet there are several examples from Islamic and Armenian literary sources where the term is found previous to this year, the earliest dating from A.D. 1255.⁴ It is possible, however, that some of this pre-A.D. 1260 evidence for the employment of *īlkhān* may be anachronistic. In other words, contemporary writers who composed their works after A.D. 1260 may have applied a term common to that time to their descriptions of events before this year. On the other hand, two pieces of evidence which almost certainly date from before A.D. 1260 have been identified; that of Ibn Shaddād will be examined at length, while the second, found in

¹ See A. Mostaert and F. W. Cleaves, “Trois documents mongols des archives secrets vaticanes”, *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, xv (1952), p. 452; G. Doerfer, *Türkische und mongolische Elemente im Neupersischen* (Wiesbaden, 1963–75), ii, pp. 207–9, who also reviews scholarly opinion on the term’s meaning. For recent use of “submissive/subject *khān*” see: T. T. Allsen, *Mongol Imperialism* (Berkeley, 1987), p. 48; D. Morgan, *Medieval Persia* (London, 1988), p. 178. For the title *khān*, see L. Krader, “Qan-Qayan and the beginnings of Mongol kingship”, *CAJ*, 1 (1955), pp. 17–34; I. de Rachewiltz, “Qan, Qa’an and the seal of Güyük”, in K. Sagaster and M. Weier (eds), *Documenta Barbarorum: Festschrift für Walther Heissig zum 70. Geburtstag* (Wiesbaden, 1983), pp. 272–81.

² See Allsen, *Mongol Imperialism*, pp. 47–9; P. Jackson, “The dissolution of the Mongol Empire”, *CAJ*, xxxii (1978), pp. 208–35; D. Morgan, *The Mongols* (Oxford, 1986), pp. 148–9; *idem*, *Medieval Persia*, pp. 58–60.

³ See N. Amitai-Preiss and R. Amitai-Preiss, “Two notes on the protocol on Hülegü’s coinage”, *Israel Numismatic Journal*, forthcoming, and no. 40 below.

⁴ R. W. Thomson, “The historical compilation of Vardan Arewelc’i”, *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, xliii (1989), pp. 217–18 (= E. Dulaurier, “Les Mongols d’après les historiens arméniens”, *Journal asiatique*, 5th Ser., xvi [1860], pp. 290, 292); Juwaynī, *Ta’riḫ-i jahān-gushāy*, ed M. M. Qazwīnī, iii (Leyden and London, 1937), pp. 130, 136 (translation in J. A. Boyle, *History of the World Conqueror* [Manchester, 1958], ii, pp. 632, 636). This evidence is reviewed in greater detail in Amitai-Preiss, “Two notes”. Ibn al-‘Ibrī (Bar Hebraeus), *Ta’riḫ mukhtaṣar al-duwal*, ed. A. Šāliḫānī (Beirut, 1890), p. 486, writes “Hülegü *īlkhān*” when he describes the commencement of the Mongol invasion of Syria (at the beginning of A.H. 658 = December 1259).

Waṣṣāf's history, will be more briefly discussed. It is important to note that as yet, no evidence has been found to show that Hülegü received this title from his brother, the Qa'an Möngke, when the latter dispatched him in A.D. 1251 to continue the Mongol conquests in the Islamic world.⁵

The evidence of 'Izz al-Dīn Muḥammad b. 'Alī ibn Shaddād al-Ḥalabī (613–84/1217–85) is found in his description of his mission in 657/1258–9 to the Mongols besieging the city of Mayyāfāriqīn. Ibn Shaddād had been dispatched by al-Nāṣir Yūsuf, the last Ayyūbid ruler of Aleppo and Damascus, whom he had long served as a high official. He returned from his mission in the spring of 657/1259. With the Mongol invasion of Syria the following year, Ibn Shaddād fled to Egypt, where he eventually entered the service of Sultan Baybars (658–676/1260–1277). He died there in 684/1285.⁶

Ibn Shaddād is best known for his authorship of two works. The first is a biography of Sultan Baybars, titled *Ta'riḫ al-malik al-zāhir* or *al-Rawḍ al-zāhir fī sīrat al-malik al-zāhir*, of which only the second half is extant.⁷ His second work is a multi-volume geographical-historical study, *al-'Alāq al-khaṭīra fī dhīkr umarā' al-shām wa'l-jazīra*.⁸ The third volume of the latter work is devoted to the Jazīra, a region today divided between northern Iraq, southern-eastern Turkey and north-eastern Syria. In his long presentation of the history of Mayyāfāriqīn, Ibn Shaddād describes the above-mentioned mission to the Mongols who were then besieging this city.⁹ In passing, it may be added that although several scholars have summarised this passage in some detail, none has drawn attention to the important evidence therein regarding the title *ilkhān*.¹⁰

The background to Ibn Shaddād's mission was Hülegü's conquest of Baghdad (Ṣafar 656/February 1258), and his subsequent dispatch of his son Yoshmut to subjugate Mayyāfāriqīn, located east of the Tigris River. Al-Malik al-Kāmil Muḥammad b. al-Muẓaffar Ghāzī, the Ayyūbid ruler of the city, had submitted to the Mongols as far back as 650/1253. Yet paradoxically, with the approach of Hülegü to the area, al-Kāmil showed all the signs of rebellion: he had disregarded Hülegü's summons to send troops in order to take part in the conquest of Baghdad, and he subsequently refused to make even symbolic expressions of loyalty to the Mongols. Bar Hebraeus reports that al-Kāmil even

⁵ Cf. Allsen, *Mongol Imperialism*, pp. 47–9.

⁶ For biographies, see Y. Koch, "Izz al-Dīn ibn Shaddād and his biography of Baybars", *Annali dell' Istituto Universitario Orientale* (Naples), XLIII (1983), pp. 250–3; D. Sourdel, "Ibn Shaddād", *EtP*, iii, p. 933; Ibn al-Ṣuqāṭī, *Tālī kitāb waṣfayāt al-a'yān*, ed. J. Sublet (Damascus, 1974), pp. 145–6.

⁷ This work has been edited by A. Huṭayṭ as *Ta'riḫ al-malik al-zāhir* (*Die Geschichte des Sultans Baibars*) (Wiesbaden, 1983). For the titles, see the editor's comments on p. 19; also Koch, p. 249, n. 1.

⁸ Vol. i, pt. 1, *Ta'riḫ ḥalab*, has been edited by D. Sourdel (Damascus, 1953); other sections of this volume were edited by A.-M. Eddé, in "La description de la Syrie du Nord de 'Izz al-Dīn ibn Shaddād", *Bulletin d'études orientales*, XXXII–XXXIII (1980–1), pp. 265–402. Vol. ii, pt. 1, *Ta'riḫ madīnat dimashq*, was edited by S. Dahhān (Damascus, 1956); pt. 2, *Ta'riḫ lubnān al-urdunn wa-filasṭīn*, ed. S. Dahhān (Damascus, 1963). Vol. iii, *Ta'riḫ al-jazīra*, was edited by Y. 'Abbāra (Damascus, 1978), in two parts.

⁹ Ibn Shaddād, *Al'lāq*, iii, pt. 2, pp. 491–9. 'Abbāra's edition was compared to MS. Bodleian Marsh 333, fols. 115b–118a. A second MS. of this volume exists: MS. Berlin 9800 (Ahlwardt's catalogue), which I was unable to consult.

¹⁰ H. F. Amedroz, "Three Arabic MSS on the history of the city of Mayyafāriqīn", *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1902, pp. 806–8; Cl. Cahen, "La Djazira au milieu du treizième siècle d'après 'Izz-ad Din Ibn Chaddad", *Revue des études islamiques*, VIII (1934), p. 123; L. Ilisch, *Geschichte der Artuqidherrschaft von Mardin zwischen Mamluken und Mongolen, 1260–1410 AD* (Ph.D. dissertation, Westfälische Wilhelms-Universität, Münster, 1984), pp. 32–3. The passage is also briefly mentioned in Amitai-Preiss, "Two notes", although its significance was also not fully appreciated there.

drove the Mongol commissioners (*shahānī*, pl. of *shahna*) out of the city. Hülegü's patience soon wore thin, and in the late fall of 656/1258 he sent an army to take the city. Before the advent of the siege, al-Kāmil had met with al-Nāşir Yūsuf in Syria, and had received a promise of aid.¹¹ In fact, the only help which would be forthcoming from al-Nāşir was the dispatch of the embassy under Ibn Shaddād al-Ḥalabī, whose mission was to intercede with the Mongols at Mayyāfāriqīn and to convince them to desist in their attempts to take the city.

Ibn Shaddād's account is spread over several chapters, the first of which describes his setting out as an envoy, together with a grandson of Saladin. They left Damascus on 1 Muḥarram 657/29 December 1258, taking with them a gift for Yoshmut (1500 dinars, a jewelled belt and a jewelled sword). Passing through northern Syria, they reached Aleppo after two weeks. A week later they set out, and arrived at Ḥarrān on 28 Muḥarram/25 January 1259, where they stayed for three days. They reached Mārdīn after another three days, where they delivered a verbal message to its Artuqid ruler, al-Malik al-Sa'īd Ghāzī, in which al-Nāşir asked his advice about what was to be done *vis-à-vis* the Mongols. Al-Sa'īd refused the request.¹² Thereupon Ibn Shaddād and his companions set off for the last leg of their trip to Mayyāfāriqīn. Twice, on either side of the Tigris, they encountered groups of Mongols. Continuing on, they encountered a third unit of Mongols. From this point, Ibn Shaddād's account will be given in translation.¹³

A group of Mongols came upon us, and with them were shamans (*qāmāt*).¹⁴ They inspected all of our people, and the beasts with us. Then they set up fires on two sides and passed through them with us, while beating us with sticks.¹⁵ From the examination of the cloth, they took a piece of gilded Khiṭā'ī¹⁶ cloth, and cut off from it a cubit-long (*dhirā'*) section. From this, they cut smaller pieces,

¹¹ For these events, see, Amedroz, "Three Arabic MSS", pp. 805–6; Cahen, "La Djazira", pp. 121–3; R. S. Humphreys, *From Saladin to the Mongols* (Albany, 1977), pp. 334–5, 340–1, 344; J. A. Boyle, "Dynastic history of the Īl-khāns", in *Cambridge History of Iran*, v, ed. J. A. Boyle (Cambridge, 1968), pp. 349–50; Ibn al-'Ibrī, p. 483.

¹² For al-Sa'īd and his relations with the Mongols, see Ilich, *Geschichte der Artuqidenherrschaft*, pp. 28–40.

¹³ The above summarised portion is taken from Ibn Shaddād, *A'lāq*, iii, 491–2; the translation will cover pp. 492–5.

¹⁴ This is the Turkish equivalent of the Mongol *bō'e* (> Turkish *böğü*). See J. A. Boyle, "Turkish and Mongol shamanism in the Middle Ages", *Folklore* (London), lxxx (1969), p. 178, rpt. in J. A. Boyle, *The Mongol World Empire* (London, 1977), art. XXII; G. Clauson, *An Etymological Dictionary of Pre-Thirteenth Century Turkish* (Oxford, 1972), pp. 625; Doerfer, iii, pp. 402–6. For the Arabic plural *-āt* in words of foreign origin, see W. Wright, *A Grammar of the Arabic Language*, 3rd ed. (rpt., Cambridge, 1986), i, p. 198. A similar example of this plural being used for a Mongol word connoting people is *qarāwūlāt* (> *qarayul*, "watchman"), found in K. Lech (ed. and tr.), *Das Mongolische Weltreich: Al-'Umarī's Darstellung der mongolischen Reiche in seinem Werk Masālik al-abşār fi mamālik al-amşār* (Wiesbaden, 1968), p. 18 of Arabic text.

¹⁵ This Mongol custom of purifying visitors or envoys is well attested in the sources; besides the examples found in Boyle, "Turkish and Mongol Shamanism", pp. 183–4, see: John of Plano Carpini, in A. van den Wyngaert, *Sinica Franciscana*, vol. i (Quaracchi-Florence, 1929), p. 41; translation in C. Dawson (ed.), *The Mongol Mission* (London, 1955), p. 12.

¹⁶ According to Yāqūt (*Mu'jam al-buldān*, ed. F. Wüstenfeld [Leipzig, 1866–73], i, p. 822), Khiṭā'ī was a type of cloth which was manufactured in Tabrīz. There is no reason to assume that it was not produced elsewhere. See also R. Dozy, *Supplément aux dictionnaires arabes* (Leiden, 1881), i, 381a. For an additional example, see Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-'Umarī, *Masālik al-abşār fi mamālik al-amşār: dawlat al-mamālik al-ūlā*, ed. D. Krawulsky (Beirut, 1986), p. 100. Jūzjānī, *Ṭabaqāt-i Nāşirī*, ed. 'A. H. Ḥabībī (Kabul, 1343 S.), ii, p. 103; tr. H. G. Raverty, *Ṭabakāt-i Nāşirī* (London, 1881; rpt. New Delhi, 1970), ii, p. 966 mentions *khiṭā'ī* in connection with some sort of silk (*qazz* or *khazz*). *Khiṭā'ī* is apparently derived from the Khitans, a Manchurian people who established the Liao dynasty in north China (A.D. 907–1124), and whose name became synonymous with northern China. Alternatively, it

tossed them down and burnt them in the fire.¹⁷ Thereupon they said: "The Īlkhān¹⁸ orders you to rest tonight, and you will come to him tomorrow." When we woke up, a group came to us and took the gifts which we had. They carried them before us, and ordered us to proceed with them. When we came to his presence, we delivered to him the message, which contained congratulations on his arrival, and a complaint of the [Mongol] depredations in the country of the Jazīra and the killing of the people there. [The letter] recalled [al-Nāṣir Yūsuf's] loyal and freely-given submission to [the Mongols] for twenty years¹⁹, and what he had sent²⁰ of gifts and moneys, which had not helped him at all. When [the Mongols] heard the message, they permitted us to leave for the place where we had been lodged. The next day, they had us come, and uttered harsh words to us. They said: "Your subjects fought us and made war against us. We did not enter the Jazīra except in pursuit of our enemies, the Türkmēn and the Bedouin (*al-'arab*)." I demanded from them what they had taken from the city of Ḥarrān and compensation for it. "If you do not behave justly to us, we will renounce [our] loyalty [to you]." This angered them, and they said: "How many heads do you have that you meet with the Īlkhān with these words." Then they stood us up roughly and took us [to look] upon corpses. They said: "If you are not wise, you will end up like these."

Chapter on What Happened to me with the Representatives of the Lord of Mayyāfāriqīn: We have already said that the Mongols had demanded that he²¹ [should come] when they arrived at Mayyāfāriqīn, and found fault with him. When it became clear to them that he was in [the town], they had me brought two days after this [above] discussion. I was told: "The lord of Mayyāfāriqīn calls for you." I said: "I have no need to be with him." [The Mongols] said: "You will go to him for our sake." I replied: "My lord did not order me to do this." They said: "You have no choice but to go to him." I asked: "What am I to say when I meet with him?" They said: "You will say to him 'We have come from al-Malik al-Nāṣir to intercede on your behalf that you will go out to the Īlkhān, and be loyal to him.'"

The rest of the passage is interesting but less germane here, and will thus be briefly summarised. The Mongols eventually prevailed upon Ibn Shaddād to act as a mediator between them and al-Kāmil. Ibn Shaddād was able to find a formula upon which both sides could agree, which included a tribute which al-Kāmil was to pay. The Mongols made

may be taken from the Qara Khitai, the Khitayan successor state established in the steppe east of Transoxania. Perhaps the *khiṭāī* mentioned in the text was an imitation of material originally imported from north China, possibly some type of silk. Thus, the above expression "gilded *Khiṭāī*" cloth might be translated as "silk brocade".

¹⁷ This would seem to be some type of offering to the fire-deity. In the Mongol fire-cult, pieces of silk and other materials were among the objects offered to this deity by being thrown on the fire. The offering of cloth, however, followed the dedication of other objects, such as selected bones and fat of a white sheep, butter and wine. The uniqueness of Ibn Shaddād's evidence is that only cloth is mentioned. See N. Poppe, "Zum Feuerkultus bei den Mongolen", *Asia Major* (Leipzig), II (1925), pp. 130-45, esp. pp. 140-4; W. Heissig, *The Religions of Mongolia*, tr. G. Samuel (London, 1970), pp. 69-76. P. Ratchevsky, "Über den mongolischen Kult am Hofe der Grosskhane in China", in Louis Ligeti (ed.), *Mongolian Studies* (Amsterdam, 1970), pp. 426-9, mentions that silk and other materials were used in various ceremonies of the Yuan rulers in China. I am grateful to Prof. W. Heissig, Prof. P. Buell and Prof. E. Endicott-West, with whom I spoke on this matter, and who referred me respectively to the above three studies.

¹⁸ In 'Abbāra's edition, this title appears as two words. In the MS. Bodleian, however, the title is found as one word.

¹⁹ For al-Nāṣir Yūsuf's dispatch of a mission to the Mongol Qa'an in 643/1245-6, see Ibn Shaddād, *A'lāq*, iii, pt. 1, p. 237; Juwaynī, i, pp. 205, 212 (tr. Boyle, i, pp. 250, 257); Ibn al-'Ibrī, p. 448. For al-Nāṣir Yūsuf's mission in 648/1250, see Humphreys, *From Saladin to the Mongols*, pp. 334-5, and p. 466, nn. 40-1.

²⁰ Ed. 'Abbāra, p. 493: *yab'athuhu*; the editor writes that the original MS. has *nab'athu*. Actually the MS., fol. 116a, reads *nab'athuhu*. It would seem that here the narrator has briefly slipped into the first person of the original letter, instead of the third-person indirect speech that he has for the rest of the letter.

²¹ I.e. the lord of Mayyāfāriqīn, al-Kāmil Muḥammad.

ready to depart, but then they soon renewed the attack and the siege wore on. By now, however, Ibn Shaddād was long gone; before he left, however, he had met with Yoshmut (to whom he refers by name), who asked him about the strength of the Şālihiyya.²² Ibn Shaddād returned to Syria via Mārdīn, where al-Sa'īd now expressed a willingness to seek a common policy with al-Nāşir Yūsuf against the Mongols. The author made his way to Aleppo, and from there to the south, meeting al-Nāşir Yūsuf in Palestine around the end of May 1259.²³

This passage is important for several reasons. First, this is an instance where a historian becomes a historical personality in his own right. Second, we are provided here, as well as in preceding and subsequent pages, with a large amount of original information on the siege of Mayyāfāriqīn and its eventual subjugation. Third, there is a report here of a Mongol shamanistic custom, in which are given interesting details, apparently not found elsewhere. In the present context, however, what draws our attention is the repeated use of the title *İlkhān*. It is thus that the groups of unknown Mongols, with whom Ibn Shaddād spoke, refer *en passant* to their leader. The casual and repeated manner in which it is used would seem to indicate that this term was already a regular mode of alluding to him. It certainly did not arouse any amazement on Ibn Shaddād's part. There is little doubt that Ibn Shaddād's report reflects the language of the period about which he was writing and not the usage of the time in which he was composing his work (ca. 679/1280–1),²⁴ since he provides us with more-or-less verbatim accounts of his own conversations. One does wonder, however, in what language these conversations were carried out. It is doubtful that the Mongols knew Arabic, and it is unlikely that Ibn Shaddād spoke Mongolian. It would seem that the sides conversed via an interpreter, although there is no mention of this.²⁵ The possibility exists that the conversation was in Turkish: perhaps Ibn Shaddād, being in contact with Turkish officers in Syria, knew some Turkish, as did his interlocutors; it is known that many of the "Mongol" soldiers were actually Turks, and others may have spoken Turkish.²⁶

Ibn Shaddād's evidence, however, is not as straight-forward as it initially appears. To

²² The Şālihiyya were the mamlūks of the penultimate Ayyūbid ruler of Egypt and Syria, al-Şāliḥ Ayyūb (d. 647/1249). The most prominent component of the Şālihiyya was the Baḥriyya regiment; in some sources it seems that the two names are synonymous. The Şālihiyya/Baḥriyya had been responsible for the end of Ayyūbid power in Egypt in 648/1250, and the establishment of the Mamlūk sultanate. It had since fallen on hard times, and at the time of Ibn Shaddād's mission, a large portion of it had been in Syria for several years, under the leadership of the future sultan Baybars. See R. Irwin, *The Middle East in the Middle Ages: the Early Mamluk Sultanate 1250–1382* (London, 1986), pp. 18–22; A. Levanoni, "The Mamluks' ascent to power in Egypt", *Studia Islamica*, LXXII (1990), pp. 124–5.

²³ This summary covers *A'lāq*, iii, pp. 495–9.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 510.

²⁵ For the important role of interpreters in the Mongol empire, see D. Sinor, "Interpreters in medieval Inner Asia", *Asian and African Studies* (Haifa), xvi (1982), pp. 292–320. Sinor, however, does not discuss in detail interpreters in the Middle Eastern portion of the Mongol empire, but functionaries of this type must surely have existed there. The Franciscan William of Rubruck (in Wyngaert, p. 203; translation in P. Jackson and D. Morgan, *The Mission of Friar William of Rubruck: His Journey to the Court of the Great Khan Möngke, 1253–1255*, Hakluyt Society, 2nd. Ser, vol. 173 [London, 1990], p. 118 [= Dawson, *The Mongol Mission*, p. 119]) writes that in A.D. 1253 he met at Sartaq's camp in southern Russia Armenian priests who knew both Turkish and Arabic, and another individual who knew these languages and Syriac. Armenians might well have served as interpreters for Hülegü's troops in the Arabic speaking countries.

²⁶ See D. Ayalon, "The Great Yāsa of Chingiz Khān. A re-examination", Pt. C1, *Studia Islamica*, xxxiv (1971), p. 126.

whom exactly does the term *ilkhān* refer? Is it possible that the Mongols with whom Ibn Shaddād spoke were using it for Yoshmut? So it appears, because it can be inferred from Rashīd al-Dīn that Hūlegū at this time was not at Mayyāfāriqīn, but rather at his *ordu* (camp) in Azerbaijan: after the conquest of Baghdad, Hūlegū had left the city on 23 Šafār 656/12 March 1258, going first to his *ordu* at Khāniqān, some 60 km northeast of Baghdad.²⁷ Subsequently, he moved north, reaching his heavy baggage (*aghrūq*) north of Hamadān on 11 Rabīʿ II/7 April 1258.²⁸ By the 29th of Rajab of this year (22 July 1258), Hūlegū was at Marāgha in Azerbaijan.²⁹ According to Rashīd al-Dīn, he was not to leave this province until the fall of 657/1259, when he marched into Diyār Bakr on his way to Syria.³⁰ An additional indication that Hūlegū was not at Mayyāfāriqīn is that Ibn Shaddād was sent with a present to Yoshmut and not to his father, an unthinkable breach of protocol were it known that the latter was in the area. It would appear then that here *ilkhān* was applied to his son Yoshmut, the Mongol commander at Mayyāfāriqīn.

Objections might be raised to the above suggestion. First, Hūlegū's exact whereabouts at this time are not as certain as Rashīd al-Dīn would have us believe, and his evidence is not without problems. He describes the beginning of the siege of Mayyāfāriqīn only after Hūlegū set off from Azerbaijan for Syria on 22 Ramaḍān 657/12 September 1259,³¹ while it really began many months before (see above). Rashīd al-Dīn's chronology is thus somewhat suspect. Since the author put the advent of the siege after Hūlegū's departure from Azerbaijan, perhaps the date of this departure should be moved forward, even to the time of Ibn Shaddād's mission to Mayyāfāriqīn if not earlier. There is, however, no evidence to support this conjecture.³²

Alternatively, Hūlegū may have made a visit to the area before he set off on the expedition to Syria, and Rashīd al-Dīn was confused, thus conflating the commencement of the siege with Hūlegū's campaign into Syria. The fact that Rashīd al-Dīn does not mention Hūlegū's whereabouts for the months previous to Ramaḍān 657 does not mean that he was in Azerbaijan during all this period. Actually the distance between Tabrīz and Mayyāfāriqīn is about 250 km as the crow flies, which is not such a great distance for a nomadic prince, who conceivably would want to check up on his son's activities during a lengthy siege. This is, however, very speculative and cannot be the basis for stating that

²⁷ Rashīd al-Dīn, *Jāmi' al-tawārīkh*, vol. iii, ed. A. 'Alfzāda (Baku, 1957), p. 62; cf. Ibn Kathīr, *al-Bidāya wa'l-nihāya* (rpt., Beirut, 1977), xiii, p. 203, who states that Hūlegū left Baghdad in Jumādā I 656/May–June 1258.

²⁸ Rashīd al-Dīn, pp. 63–4.

²⁹ Rashīd al-Dīn, p. 65, who writes that Hūlegū met Badr al-Dīn Lu'lu', ruler of Mosul, at Marāgha on this date. The contemporary Ibn Wāsil, *Muṣfarrij al-kurūb*, MS. Bibliothèque Nationale ar. 1703, fol. 140a, simplifies Hūlegū's itinerary: after the taking of Baghdad, the Mongols went to Azerbaijan. Al-Yūnīnī, *Dhayl mir'at al-zamān* (Hyderabad, 1954–61), i, p. 91, conveys the same information, probably following Ibn Wāsil.

³⁰ Rashīd al-Dīn, iii, p. 68; Boyle, "History of the Īl-khāns", p. 350: Hūlegū left Azerbaijan on 22 Ramaḍān 657/12 Sept. 1259.

³² There is some indication that Hūlegū may have moved into the Jazīra before Rashīd al-Dīn's date for his taking leave of Azerbaijan, but after Ibn Shaddād's visit to the area. The fifteenth-century author Ibn Taghrī Birdī, *al-Nujūm al-zāhira fi al-tārīkh mišr wa'l-qāhira* (rpt., Cairo, n.d.), vii, p. 54, writes that during 657/1258–9, when the Mamlūk commander (and soon-to-be sultan) Qūṭuz was in Egypt celebrating the defeat of the Bahriyya in Syria (according to Humphreys, *From Saladin to the Mongols*, p. 343, this defeat was in the summer of 1259 [c. Rajab 657/July 1259]), news came that Hūlegū was at Āmid on his way to Diyār Bakr in the Jazīra. For Hūlegū's route through the Jazīra, see also Humphreys, *op. cit.*, p. 344.

Hülegü was in the environs of Mayyāfāriqīn sometime during Ibn Shaddād's mission to the Mongols investing the city.

Perhaps evidence is provided in a statement by Jūzjānī, who writes that at some point Hülegü, disgusted by his son's conduct of the siege, arrived at Mayyāfāriqīn to take charge of the operation.³³ This information, however, is undated and would seem to refer to Hülegü's arrival in the area on his way into Syria. On the basis of this evidence alone, it is impossible to state that Hülegü made a visit to Mayyāfāriqīn before the advent of his campaign to Syria, since contemporary Arabic and Armenian historians, as well as pro-Mongol Persian writers of the next generation, do not record Hülegü's presence at the siege. Jūzjānī, although a contemporary of these events, was writing then in Delhi, far away from the siege. If Jūzjānī's information is to be believed, it must be alluding to Hülegü's passing by the city in the summer or fall of 1259.

Possibly more compelling evidence for an earlier visit of Hülegü to Mayyāfāriqīn is recorded by al-Yūnīnī (d. 726/1326), who writes in his obituary of Ibn Shaddād (s.a. 684/1285): *wa-kāna min khawāṣṣ al-malik al-nāṣir ṣalāḥ al-dīn yūsuf b. muḥammad wa-tarassala 'anhu ilā hūlākū wa-ghayrihi min al-mulūk...* ("He was among the close associates of al-Malik al-Nāṣir Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Yūsuf b. Muḥammad and undertook missions on his behalf to Hülegü and other kings.")³⁴ This information is undated, but no other mission to the Mongols by Ibn Shaddād is known. It is certainly clear from Ibn Shaddād's passage that the author went no further east than the area of Mayyāfāriqīn. So if al-Yūnīnī's evidence is correct, it would seem at first glance that the mission to Hülegü could only have taken place at this time near Mayyāfāriqīn. But a case can be made against this argument: how is it that Ibn Shaddād himself does not mention Hülegü by name, as he does Yoshmut?³⁵ In fact, it is very unlikely that Ibn Shaddād would not have mentioned Hülegü had he run into him unexpectedly; as seen above, when he set out, Ibn Shaddād had brought a present for Yoshmut, who was known to be at Mayyāfāriqīn. It can only be concluded, then, that Hülegü was nowhere in the vicinity of this city. It would seem that al-Yūnīnī, by writing that Ibn Shaddād had been sent on a mission to Hülegü, was really saying that he had been sent to the Mongols. Since al-Yūnīnī apparently did not know the details of this mission, Hülegü was the obvious and convenient choice as its destination.

In short, in spite of some evidence to the contrary, it is fairly certain that Ibn Shaddād did not meet Hülegü at Mayyāfāriqīn, but rather his son Yoshmut. The corollary of this statement is that the Mongols who spoke with Ibn Shaddād were referring to Yoshmut by the term *īlkhān* and not Hülegü. We should, however, be wary of drawing a further conclusion from this statement, that at this time *īlkhān* was an appellation for members of Hülegü's family, or even a generic term for Mongol princes, and only subsequently became a title reserved for Hülegü and his descendants who inherited the kingship. Intriguing as this possibility might be, it would be based on only this one example. As far as I know, there is no other case – before or after A.D. 1260 – where this title is applied to any member of Hülegü's family except for the ruling prince, be it in coins, letters or

³³ *Ṭabaqāt-i Nāṣiri*, ii, p. 203; tr. Raverty, ii, 1272–3, who called into question the veracity of this statement.

³⁴ Al-Yūnīnī, iv, p. 270. A slightly shorter version of this statement is found in Khalīl b. Aybak al-Ṣafādī, *al-Wāfi bi'l-wafiyāt*, iv, ed. S. Dederig (Istanbul, 1959), p. 190.

³⁵ *A'lāq*, iii, p. 497.

literary sources. The closest we come to an exception, and this is not even connected to Hülegü's dynasty, is Rashīd al-Dīn's rendition of a statement supposedly made by Mongols of the Golden Horde to their ruler Toqta (A.D. 1291–1312), who is addressed as *īlkhān*.³⁶ This evidence, however, is apparently of doubtful credibility: Rashīd al-Dīn was *a priori* unlikely to have known this information and he was not above inventing conversations that suited his story.³⁷ In addition, in the few extant exemplars of Toqta's coins, the term *īlkhān* is not found, but rather *qān* (= *khān*).³⁸ It would seem that Rashīd al-Dīn had placed a title common to Mongol Iran into the mouths of Mongols from the north.

By 657/1258–9, *īlkhān* had not only gained some currency in the Mongol camps and among the troopers, but had also begun to be adopted in official – albeit non-Mongol – diplomatic writing. The Persian historian Waṣṣāf (*fl.* A.D. 1328) records a rather truculent letter sent by al-Nāṣir Yūsuf to Hülegü sometime in 657/1258–9, probably towards the end of the year: *waqafnā... 'alā kitāb warada mukhbīran 'an al-haḍra al-īlkhāniyya...* (“We have become acquainted... with an informative letter which has arrived from the ‘īlkhānic’ presence [or, his ‘īlkhānic’ excellency]...”).³⁹ It is reasonable to assume that al-Nāṣir Yūsuf was using an expression based on the word *īlkhān* because he thought it would be appropriate to Hülegü. Perhaps, *īlkhān* or its variants had already appeared in a Mongol letter to al-Nāṣir, although it is not found in any of the extant letters.⁴⁰ It is possible, however, that the sultan or his chancery officials may have learnt of the title from refugees, travellers or envoys, such as Ibn Shaddād. In any case, no examples of *īlkhān* appearing in Mongol diplomatic or protocol from before 658/1259–60 have yet come to light.⁴¹

To sum up, no evidence has yet been found in the sources regarding the circumstances in which the title *īlkhān* was adopted. Towards the end of the 1250s, there is information from contemporary sources that *īlkhān* was in some use, although there is some evidence

³⁶ Rashīd al-Dīn, *Jāmi' al-tawārīkh*, ed. E. Blochet: *Djami el-tévarikh, histoire générale du monde...*, ii (Leyden and London, 1911), p. 149 (translation in J. A. Boyle, *The Successors of Genghis Khan* [London and New York, 1971], p. 128 and n. 12). See Jackson, “Dissolution”, p. 231 and n. 203, who cast some doubts on the veracity of this evidence. Allsen, *Mongol Imperialism*, p. 63, n. 68, cites Jamāl Qarshī, *Mulhaqāt al-ṣurāh*, in V. V. Bartol'd (ed.), *Turkestan v epokhu mongol'skogo nashestviia*, pt. I, *Teksty* (St Petersburg, 1898), p. 136, that *īlkhān* was applied to Berke upon his accession to the Jochid throne. The text, however, reads *al-khān al-muslim*. Dr Jackson has drawn my attention to the following information in Doerfer, ii, p. 208, where it is mistakenly claimed that Abū Bakr Ahrī, *Ta'rikh-i Shaykh Uways*, ed. J. B. van Loon ('s-Gravenhage, 1954), p. 137, uses *īlkhān* for another son of Hülegü, Möngke Temür. It is clear, however, that the reference is to Hülegü, and not to his son.

³⁷ See, e.g., the conversation of Ked-buqa with the Mamlūk sultan Qutuz after the battle of 'Ayn Jālūt; Rashīd al-Dīn, ed. 'Alfzāda, iii, pp. 74–5.

³⁸ I. and C. Artuk, *Istanbul Arkeoloji Müzeleri Teşhirdeki İslāmî Sikkeler Kataloğu* (Istanbul 1970–4), ii, p. 815; *Catalogue of the Oriental Coins in the British Museum*, vi: S. Lane-Poole, *The Coins of the Mongols* (London, 1881), pp. 123–4.

³⁹ Waṣṣāf, *Tajziyāt al-amṣār wa-tazjiyāt al-a'ṣār* (rpt., Tehran 1338 S./1959–60 of ed. Bombay, 1269 H./1852–3), p. 44. This letter is reproduced in W. M. Brinner, “Some Ayyūbid and Mamlūk documents from non-archival Sources”, *Israel Oriental Studies*, ii (1972), p. 136. This evidence is briefly mentioned in Amitai-Preiss, “Two notes”. Since the conquest of Baghdad, al-Nāṣir Yūsuf had adopted a conciliatory policy towards Hülegü. With Hülegü's invasion of Syria looming, al-Nāṣir paradoxically adopted a more defiant attitude, expression of which is found in this letter. Hence it would seem that the letter is from late 657/1259. This matter is discussed in detail in R. Amitai-Preiss, *The Mamluk-Īlkhānid War: its Origins and Conduct up to the Second Battle of Homs (A. H. 680/ A. D. 1281)* (Ph.D. diss., Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 1990), pp. 25–8.

⁴⁰ See Amitai-Preiss, *The Mamluk-Īlkhānid War*, as cited in the previous note.

⁴¹ In Amitai-Preiss, “Two notes”, it is suggested that perhaps *īlkhān* was struck on Hülegü's pre-A.H. 658 coins, although admittedly this is speculative, since no exemplars of this type have yet been found from before A.H. 658.

that it was applied to at least one family member besides Hülegü. There is an indication that the title was part of Hülegü's protocol at this time, but only from 658/1259–60 can it be definitely stated that this is the case, when it appears regularly on his coinage. From this time on, it would seem that *īlkhān* was restricted to Hülegü and his successors.⁴²

⁴² For the circumstances behind the use of *īlkhān* in the official protocol of Hülegü and his descendants, see Jackson, "Dissolution", pp. 231–2; Amitai-Preiss, "Two notes". Dr Jackson (*loc. cit.*) alludes to the relative infrequency with which *īlkhān* is used even after 1260. In a letter of December 1990, Dr Jackson kindly sent me several additional references which illustrate this point. This topic, however, is beyond the scope of the present article and must be dealt with more fully in a separate paper.

II

TURKO-MONGOLIAN NOMADS AND THE *IQTĀ'* SYSTEM IN THE ISLAMIC MIDDLE EAST (CA. 1000-1400 AD)

Someone looking at the history of the late medieval Islamic world, particularly its eastern half, might ask why the experience of the eleventh century was so different from that of the thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries. In particular: why did the Seljuqs cause so much less destruction than their Mongol 'cousins'? Why did two groups of nomadic, Inner Asian origin act so differently upon entering the lands of Islam?

In its broad lines the standard answer is convincing enough, and I will not attempt to challenge it: the Seljuqs and their Türkmen followers, nomadizing on the fringes of the Islamic world for some decades, entered Iran as Muslims. The Seljuqs and their entourage accommodated themselves quickly to the political norms prevalent in the eastern Islamic world, and saw themselves as responsible not only for their nomadic followers but also for the population as a whole. Moreover the Türkmen appear to have been relatively few in number, evidently some several tens of thousand families. This can be contrasted to the Mongols who first came into Iran as invaders and not as migrants; when - in the 1250s - the Mongols entered into the Islamic world they arrived in much larger numbers, perhaps more than a hundred thousand families. More important, however, is that Chinggis Khan and his followers had had little contact with Islam and its culture (although individual Muslims may have been known) before the invasion. The world of eastern Islam was a foreign one, and the Mongols certainly did not stand in awe of it. To this may be added the circumstances in which the war with the Khwārazm-shāh began, the desire to revenge the death of the merchants from Mongol territory, and perhaps the intent to establish a *cordon sanitaire* along this front. Mongol imperial ideology probably also played a role in the destructiveness of the Mongols in their various campaigns into the Islamic world.¹

With little knowledge of, and no commitment to Islam and the Muslim way of life, it is not surprising that in the newly conquered areas the Mongols erected an administrative system different from that of their Seljuq

predecessors. The latter were quick to see themselves as Muslim rulers, embracing the trappings of Muslim state-craft, including titles, forms of legitimization, bureaucratic usages, and the establishment of a regular army based on mamluks (slave soldiers).² The Mongols, in contrast, did not adopt these institutions in a wholesale manner, although components of Middle Eastern origin were integrated in their rather eclectic administrative system, where elements of Uighur, Khitan, Chinese, and Mongolian provenance each played their part.³

To some degree, in the 1290s this situation began to change with the conversion of the Ilkhans, as the Mongol ruler in Iran came to be called, along with the Mongols as a whole in that country. The Ilkhans began to express their right to rule in Islamic terms, although traditional Mongol forms continued to exist concurrently, albeit in an attenuated form.⁴ In fact, Mongol and Muslim components were to co-exist - at times uneasily - in the realm of administration for a long time, as they would in other aspects of public and private life, not least in the sphere of religion and law.⁵ These changes have usually been associated with the well known reforms of Ghazan (1295-1304), the Ilkhan whose name is justifiably connected with the conversion to Islam of the Mongols in Iran. Scholars have debated the results of these reforms and their long-term implications, but the consensus is that they enjoyed some success, at least in stabilizing the economy of the Ilkhanid State, and this appears to have continued into the reigns of his successors. If these reforms were motivated to some degree by a renewed interest in Islamic administrative institutions, and if they were at least partially executed, then one can thus discern a certain convergence of the Mongol state in Iran to the model erected by the Seljuqs and their senior bureaucrats. One of these institutions frequently mentioned in this context is the *iqṭā'* (plural *iqṭā'āt*), the revenue generating allotment of land for army officers, which was re-introduced under Ghazan shortly before his death in 703/1304. On the whole modern scholars accept that at this time some type of change in land administration was promulgated, leading to a certain drawing together in this field of Mongol and Muslim traditions. There is, however, some disagreement what exactly the term *iqṭā'* meant and how far it was implemented, even in Ghazan's own reign.⁶

It appears to me, however, that even the portrayal of the limited nature of the reimplementation of the *iqṭā'* under Ghazan and the later Ilkhans has gone too far. I will suggest that whatever the intent of Ghazan in this matter, perhaps prodded on by his *wazīr* Rashīd al-Dīn, the promulgation of the neo-*iqṭā'* system - as it might conveniently be called - remained all but a dead letter. If this is true, then one instance of the supposed drawing together of Muslim and Mongol administration practices is effectively

eliminated, giving us a clearer perception of the continued resilience of Mongol tradition even after the conversion to Islam.

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The *iqṭā'* system had its origins in the political, administrative and economic confusion which affected the center of the 'Abbāsīd caliphate from the middle of the ninth century AD.⁷ The difficulty in procuring cash to pay the army prompted the government to seek an alternative method to keep the senior officers and their military following satisfied. From this evolved the *iqṭā'*, the assignment to an officer of the right to collect revenue, i.e. taxes, at source. This was in lieu of the money being collected by the agents of the central administration and then distributed to the army via a bureaucratic apparatus. From the government's viewpoint, the advantage of the new system was that the onus of collection was placed on the officers. Some revenues, in theory, were even to reach the state treasury: the officer was to collect the *kharāj*, or agricultural tax, from which he was to pass on the tithes ('*ushr*'), a smaller amount, to the treasury. The grantee (*muqṭa'*) was given neither administrative rights nor title over the land in question, but only the right to collect taxes. The allotment was also not to be passed on by inheritance. Thus the lands remained in principle the property of the state and all that had been done was to simplify the collection and distribution of the moneys involved. This type of *iqṭā'* was referred to by the jurists as *iqṭā' tamlik* ('*iqṭā'* of possession'), evidently since the '*ushr* paid by the *muqṭa'* made this resemble privately held '*ushr* paying land (*milk*).

In reality, however, things turned out differently. The right of the state to receive its share, the '*ushr*', was increasingly ignored. More importantly, the fact that the *muqṭa'* lacked both administrative control and the right to pass on the *iqṭā'* to his heirs was not conducive to the strengthening of his interest in its long-term vitality. It became an increasing prevalent phenomenon that the *muqṭa'* attempted to extract as much revenue as possible from his *iqṭā'*, and having done so - perhaps for a period of several years - move on to another, 'untapped' *iqṭā'*. This inevitably harmed the agricultural areas in the Caliphate's central provinces, and contributed to depopulation and declining agricultural productivity, and in the long run to falling tax receipts. Over time, then, the *iqṭā'* system of the ninth and tenth centuries contributed in a significant way to the political and military crises it had been created to alleviate.⁸

In spite of the problems inherent in the *iqṭā'* system, successive dynasties adopted it as a major, if not the primary way to pay their armies. It

was evidently considered the most efficient method of financing expensive military formations, primarily - but not only - those of a mamluk nature. An important phase in the development of this institution took place under the Būyids, who gained control over Iraq⁹ and western Iran in the mid-tenth century, keeping the 'Abbāsids on as puppet rulers. The fiction of the payment of the *ushr* to the state was finally eliminated and hence there arose the *iqṭā' istighlāl* ('*iqṭā'* of usufruct'): the *muṣṭa'* was no longer under any obligation to pay the '*ushr*' to the treasury. The use of the of *iqṭā'* spread under their rule, and the stage was thus set for the adoption by the Seljuqs of this system to finance their army in the second half of the eleventh century.¹⁰

The acceptance by the Seljuqs of an already established administrative mechanism should be seen in the wider context of the development of the Seljuq state as it expanded westward in the mid-eleventh century. Certainly urged on by key bureaucrats such as al-Kundurī and Nizām al-Mulk, the Seljuq elite made a quick transition from being Central Asian tribal chiefs to being rulers of an enormous Muslim state whose inhabitants were overwhelmingly sedentary. In the process, they appear to have alienated the great mass of Türkmen tribesmen on whom their power was originally based. Many, if not most, of the Türkmen, perhaps with the encouragement of the rulers, began to move to the Azarbayjan and other border areas to put some distance between themselves and the central authorities. The attraction of the latter region included not only extensive grasslands and a congenial climate (at least for someone inured to that of the Eurasian Steppe), but also the proximity of the Byzantine frontier, which offered plenty of opportunity for raiding, now under the guise of *jihād*.¹¹ Of course, the Türkmen were not too far away from the Seljuq court in western Iran, and if necessary could be called up for campaigning. Still, their relative distance from the centers of power necessitated the creation of a new fighting force. The Seljuqs saw fit to adopt the type of army already established for over 200 years in the central and eastern Islamic lands, one composed of mamluks, mainly of Turkish origin.¹²

Mamluk armies, however, were expensive: not only did the young mamluks have to be bought and imported from far away, they also had to undergo several years of training and education before they were deemed ready to be enrolled in fighting units.¹³ The costs of establishing and maintaining a mamluk army had to be borne in some way, and the *iqṭā'* system was called upon to play this role, under the supervision of the Persian bureaucrats. Because of their great expense, mamluk armies tended to be relatively small, and the estimates given by modern scholars of the standing mamluk army of the Seljuq sultans at their height was 10,000-

15,000.¹⁴ It is worth mentioning, however, that at the crucial battle of Manzikert/Malazgird in 1071, only 4000 Turkish mamluks are mentioned by one Arabic source as being with Sultan Alp Arslān,¹⁵ an indication that the actual mamluk force may have been smaller.

On the Seljuq *iqṭā'*, Claude Cahen has written: '... the Saldjūks made a wider use of the *iqṭā'* in their empire than had been made previously, and probably introduced it in provinces (particularly eastern Iran) where it had scarcely ever been used: but it remained in conception a continuation of that of the Būyids - an equivalent of pay granted for a short time...'¹⁶ This being said, under the Seljuqs, and particularly when the power of their state began to decline, there arose the so-called 'administrative' *iqṭā'*,¹⁷ whose holder received together with the right to collect taxes in a certain area, the authority to govern there. With the weakening of Seljuq authority, some of these 'administrative' *iqṭā'* even took on a hereditary nature, and in one Seljuq successor state, that of the Zengids of Mosul and Aleppo, this right of inheritance was even institutionalized.¹⁸ But this development, by which the Muslim *iqṭā'*s took on a certain resemblance to the western European fief, was a dead end: the Ayyūbids and Mamluks, successors of the Zengids in Syria and Egypt, reverted to the system of non-hereditary *iqṭā'*, and the Mamluks completely removed any connection between the *muqṭa'* and the local governor.¹⁹

Pursuing the *iqṭā'*, even briefly, through the Seljuq empire and its successor states serves two purposes: first, it demonstrates how an elite of nomadic origin, taking upon itself a mode of government found in the Muslim world, can contribute to the development and spread of one or more well-established institutions, in this case, the method of payment of standing armies. Secondly, it can be seen that potential problems of the *iqṭā'* system could be kept in check by strong central government. Paradoxically, the regime which could probably best dispense with the *iqṭā'* as an administrative device, was the one best equipped to regulate it and prevent the grantees from abusing it.²⁰

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There is no convincing evidence that the Mongols upon entering the Islamic world, either under Chinggis Khan in ca. 1220 or under his grandson Hülegü and his immediate successors more than 30 years later, used the *iqṭā'* as described above to finance their troops.²¹ I.P. Petrushevsky, however, has written: 'Under the first six Īlkhāns also *iqṭā'* land was granted to the military, but not to all soldiers, the grants being mainly to the higher

ranks.²² The basis for this statement is uncertain. The only reference he gives is to Juwaynī's *Ta'rikh-i jahān-gushā*,²³ and an examination of this source shows that the word *iqṭā'āt* used there refers only to land allocated by *enemies* of the Mongols.

The term *iqṭā'* does turn up on occasion for this period, but it is applied only to land grants of some type to soldiers from pre-Mongol regimes who continued to serve the Mongols, as in the case of Khwārazmian troops, which actually were subordinate to the khans of the Golden Horde.²⁴ In Syria in 1260, during the brief Mongol occupation of the country, an *iqṭā'* which could support 100 horsemen was granted by Hülegü to the Ayyūbid prince al-Ashraf Mūsā, prince of Ḥimṣ, who submitted to the Mongols.²⁵ According to Ibn al-Athīr (d. 1233), writing in Mosul, Chinggis Khan was said to have offered the defenders of Merv *iqṭā'āt*, but this was only a ruse to get them to leave the city.²⁶ It is clear that this has nothing to do with an incipient form of land administration in the newly conquered territories, but was only a deceptive offer - or the rumor of one which reached Ibn al-Athīr - to Muslim troops accustomed to such payment. Similarly, Tegüder Aḥmad Ilkhan (1282-4) is said to have been accused by his nephew Arghun, soon to replace him, of having planned to grant *iqṭā'āt* to the descendants of the Kurds (perhaps referring to the Ayyūbids) and to give them the lands of the Mongols.²⁷ This story is very possibly apocryphal, and again refers to some type of grant of land, referred to here by a well-established expression, to an already existing Muslim political-military elite. Naṭanzī, the early fifteenth-century Persian chronicler, reports that Abagha Ilkhan (1265-82) granted a large area as a *soyurghal*, a Mongol term used from the mid-fourteenth century and understood in the sense of administrative *iqṭā'* (more about this below), to the local ruler of Luristan.²⁸ From the context it appears that some type of administrative *iqṭā'* is the intent of the author. Since this is the only use of *soyurghal* for such an early date it is quite likely that Naṭanzī's use of it was anachronistic. In any case, we may note that it was granted to a non-Mongol ruler.

There is one example, however, where *iqṭā'* may perhaps be connected with the Mongols themselves at a relatively early date: following Waṣṣāf, it seems that some Mongol commanders may have expropriated for themselves *inter alia* tracts of lands, which are referred to as *iqṭā'*. Thus it is reported in an order issued around 692/1293 prohibiting them to do so.²⁹ Whether such so-called *iqṭā'āt* resembled the traditional allocation to collect granted by a ruler, as described above, is doubtful. This expropriation of land, condemned by the central authorities seem to have been tagged *iqṭā'* only since it was a convenient term for tracts of land known by the bureaucrats who wrote up the order.

The above review of the appearance of the term *iqṭā'* in the history of the early Ilkhanate (up to Ghazan's reforms) leads to the conclusion that the *iqṭā'* institution as it was understood in the pre-Mongol Islamic east had basically ceased to exist, except in the residual Muslim states, now reduced to vassaldom to the Ilkhans. Why did the Ilkhans not adopt this particular institution which had a history of some 400 years behind it, and which virtually every regime in the Islamic world from Egypt to the east utilized in some form or another? A first answer, as suggested above, was that there was no *a priori* reason why the Mongols, non-Muslims as they were, should have adopted a given institution common to the Islamic world. Related to this is their steadfastness in maintaining an army based on tribesmen, unlike the Seljuqs. Thus they had no need or desire to introduce a mamluk army, which would have necessitated heavy expenditures. A tribal army was, from the point of view of the state, a self-paying venture, although it was helpful if it was supported by booty and occasional gifts and payments. Since revenues from agricultural taxes were, in theory, not needed for the military, they could be brought straight to the treasury for the use of the court. It comes as no surprise, then, that the term *iqṭā'* virtually disappears from the sources, since the institution was now superfluous.

What seems to have been allocated by the Ilkhans to the Mongols (and perhaps Turks), be they commanders or regular tribesmen, were pasture lands. These were referred to as *'ulūfa* by the mid-fourteenth century Mamluk official and encyclopedist Ibn Faḍlallah al-'Umarī (d. 1349), who describes such areas as having been given to Jochid contingents in the early Ilkhanid army in the area of Azarbayjan.³⁰ The granting of pasture land also seems to have been the case when Hülegü granted the area of Jazīrat Ibn 'Umar (northern Iraq of today) to one of his wives after he conquered it.³¹ In Persian sources, these grazing grounds are referred to by the Arabic-Persian hybrid *'alafkhwār* or the Mongol-Turkish *yurt*. Lambton provides several examples of the use of these terms before Ghazan's reforms.³² Mention should also be made of land grants made by the Great Khans to themselves and other members of the royal family in Iran in the period before the arrival of Hülegü, which are described by Allsen in his contribution to the present volume. The exact extent of these holdings and how long they endured into the Ilkhanid period is unclear, but there are indications that some were still extant up to Ghazan's reign.

This was the situation into which Ghazan re-introduced the *iqṭā'*, shortly - as it becomes clear in retrospect - before the end of his life. Following Rashīd al-Dīn, it appears that many of the Mongol tribesmen had been having difficulty maintaining themselves only from pastoral nomadism. Up to then, the Mongol tribesmen had not received any salary, and had even

been expected to pay taxes to the treasury,³³ a similar statement is given by Juwaynī in his history.³⁴ But this was no longer a tenable arrangement, especially since booty from conquest and raiding had apparently been drying up for some time, notwithstanding the success of the Mongol campaign into Syria in 1299-1300.³⁵ Rashīd al-Dīn goes as far as to suggest that part of the problem was the growing sedentarization, or a desire for it, among the Mongols. He writes:

At this time, most of the soldiers had the desire for estates (*amlāk*) and [the practice of ?] agriculture. Upon acquiring *iqṭā'* land (*milki iqtā'ī*), they will have reached [their] goal.³⁶

Ghazan's solution to these problems was to reintroduce the *iqṭā'* system, albeit in a slightly altered form. An interim, and not successful, solution had been to grant the troops drafts, or rights for payment (*bārāt* in the singular), of grain.³⁷ Rashīd al-Dīn himself cites *in extenso* the text of Ghazan's order (*yarliḡh*); it is a reasonable assumption that Rashīd al-Dīn, then one of the two *wazīrs* of the state, also had a hand in the formulation of the *yarliḡh*. Its gist is as follows: The Mongol troops were to receive *iqṭā'* from either crown or state lands (*ī n j ū wa dālāy*), and taxes which had previously been paid to the treasury were now to go straight to the troops. So far there is a similarity to the Seljuq *iqṭā'*. But the land was to be distributed among the regiments of 1000 horsemen (*hazāra*), and then broken up among the units of 100, 10, and individual soldiers. This represents a departure from the Seljuq model (as well as its successor states), where the *iqṭā'* remained in the hands of the officer, who saw to the needs of his troops. Another difference was that the individual allotments were to be passed on by inheritance, or at least to family members. The land itself was to be worked by peasants and slaves, and not by the Mongols. The system was to be supervised by officials (sing. *bitikchī*).³⁸ As Lambton and Morgan have noted, another divergence from the Seljuq model was that whereas in the Seljuq version, the local landlord and notables intervened between the military man and the peasant, according to Ghazan's system the common Mongol soldier was directly above the peasant, and apparently the landlord had been all but eliminated in the collection of taxes.³⁹

There is no reason to doubt the authenticity of this document. Whether this decree had much of an effect is a different matter. Lambton has already noted that on account of the late date of the promulgation of this edict, shortly before Ghazan's death, 'it is questionable how far it was implemented in the form set out in the *yarliḡh*.'⁴⁰ In the following, I will examine whether it was executed at all.

First, it may be noted that the term *iqṭā'* does not appear in the narrative portion of the section in Rashīd al-Dīn's history devoted to Ghazan himself, which, given the late date of the *yarlīgh*, should not come as a surprise. Rashīd al-Dīn's history of Ghazan's brother and successor Öljeitü (1304-16) has not come down to us, so that it cannot be ascertained if it appeared there. We do have, however, the history of Öljeitü's reign by Qāshānī,⁴¹ but the term *iqṭā'* does not crop up there. Another contemporary, Waṣṣāf, 'seldom refers to *iqṭā'*s under the Īl-Khāns though he has a great deal of information on tax-farming in Fārs. It is difficult not to conclude from this that *iqṭā'*s were rare or almost nonexistent in Fārs.'⁴² Waṣṣāf does mention an *iqṭā'* being granted to 'sultān,' the son of the renegade bedouin leader of north Syria, Muhannā b. 'Īsā (of the Āl Faḍl tribe), who fled to Iraq around 712/1312-3. Öljeitü granted 'Sultān' many presents, including an *iqṭā'* in the province which included Ḥilla, Kūfa and Shafāta.⁴³ A contemporary Syrian source, Abū 'l-Fidā', gives a slightly different rendition of this story: the father Muhannā b. 'Īsā had received Ḥilla as an *iqṭā'*, while maintaining his *iqṭā'* from the Mamluk sultan at Salamiyya in Syria. To demonstrate his 'loyalty' to Öljeitü, Muhannā sent his son Sulaymān (evidently corrupted by Waṣṣāf to 'sultān') to the Ilkhan's court. Abū 'l-Fidā' concludes with a critical comment about Muhannā's double loyalty.⁴⁴ Whatever the details, it is clear that this is nothing more than a throwback to the earlier model of allocating *iqṭā'*s to local Muslim rulers and has nothing to do with Ghazan's edict. The fact that this occurs in Iraq, 'home' of the *iqṭā'*, should be noted.

A more serious contender for an example of the realization of Ghazan's edict may perhaps be in a story mentioned in a Mamluk source. Also in 712/1312-3, a group of important Mamluk officers, led by Qarā Sunqur, fled the wrath of the sultan al-Nāṣir Muḥammad b. Qalāwun, for the Ilkhanate. They were well received by Öljeitü, who gave them *iqṭā'*s: Qarā Sunqur himself received Marāgha and his associate Āqqūsh al-Afram got Hamādhān.⁴⁵ Assuming that we can fully accept the veracity of this report - as far as I know it is found only in a fifteenth century Mamluk source - this can be understood as nothing more than the Ilkhan's way to compensate important Mamluk deserters. At most, we have something which resembles the administrative *iqṭā'*, i.e., a governorship combined with the enjoyment of revenues from that area. Again, no mention is made of Mongols, officers or otherwise, receiving *iqṭā'*s.

An earlier example of such an *iqṭā'* might be found s.a. 698/1299 in the description of the events following the earlier defection of a group of Mamluk amirs from Syria to the Ilkhanate. Ghazan offered to grant their leader, Qipchaq, Hamadhān as an *iqṭā'* (*wa-aqṭa'a li-qibjaq hamadhān*).

Qipchaq, however, refused the offer, saying that he preferred to remain in Ghazan's presence.⁴⁶ Here too, it seems that a traditional type of *iqṭā'* was not intended, since it is clear that Qipchaq was expected to reside there. This appears to be something resembling an administrative *iqṭā'*; in other words Qipchaq was appointed as governor of Hamadhān and the surrounding country. In any event, since Qipchaq declined the offer, nothing was to come of this would-be precedent.

It is with these accounts in mind that another report of Qarā Sunqur's arrival in the Ilkhanate can be examined. Ibn al-Dawādārī (fl. 1330s), who goes to lengths to besmirch this amir and to exaggerate his influence with the Ilkhan, tells that Qarā Sunqur was granted almost unlimited power to enact reforms within the Ilkhanate, which supposedly was in a terrible state. Among his many 'reforms' intended to revitalize the army was the introduction of *iqṭā'ār*.⁴⁷ I have little doubt that this particular action, like the many others mentioned by the author, is a product of his imagination (or that of his source, the anonymous *al-nāqil*, 'the transmitter'). Ibn al-Dawādārī is attempting to demonize Qarā Sunqur by exaggerating his power among the Mongols, and thus to justify the attempts of the Mamluk sultan to assassinate him.⁴⁸ What is important here is that this particular claim would only impress a Mamluk audience if they believed that the Mongols did *not* have any type of *iqṭā'* system. Indirectly, then, we learn that the Mamluks, who were generally well informed about events at the Mongol court,⁴⁹ knew little or nothing of the existence of *iqṭā'*s among the Mongols, presumably since they did not exist, or were very limited in scope.

That the Mamluks and the historians who wrote in their kingdom did not know of the existence of an *iqṭā'* system in the Ilkhanate, is seen in the following passage from the biographical dictionary of Khalīl b. Aybeg al-Şafadī (d. 1363). In his entry on Ghazan, al-Şafadī writes:

[Ghazan] devoted his attention to putting in order the armies. He defended the borders, guarded the kingdom, and attacked the enemy in every direction. He issued orders and commands (*al-yarāligh wa'l-a ḥkām*) to rebuild the land, to desist from bloodshed, and to augment the [number of] people of each profession, so that they would become many and the land would be populated ...⁵⁰

As far as I know this is the only passage in a Mamluk source which mentions the reforms of Ghazan. It is significant that no reference is made to the introduction of *iqṭā'ār*.

Of course, only so much can be made of negative evidence, but this conclusion is strengthened by the information provided in the portion devoted to the Mongols in the encyclopedia by Ibn Faḍlallāh al-'Umarī, al-

Şafadī's friend and colleague. In his detailed description of the financial system of the Ilkhanid state, al-'Umarī reports information which was conveyed to him by Nizām al-Dīn Abū 'l-Faḍā'il Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥakīm al-Ṭ ayyārī, a high official in the service of the Mongols who fled to the Mamluk Sultanate in the aftermath of the collapse of the Ilkhanate.⁵¹ No mention whatsoever is made of *iqṭā'*s by al-'Umarī, except for the above cited passage referring to the grants given to Khwārazmian troops.

Al-'Umarī does, however, mention other types of grants called *idrārāt*, *ma'īshāt*, *marsūmāt* and *in'āmāt*.⁵² Lambton translates the first two terms as 'allowances' and 'pensions,' and the last as 'gifts.' The *idrārāt* may be 'money grants' or villages, but if it was the latter it was a form of private landed property (*milk*).⁵³ Elsewhere, Lambton writes that *ma'īshāt* was the name usually given to 'grants on the revenue for a specific sum.'⁵⁴ The meaning of the term *marsūmāt* is not clear. Lech does not translate it, and for that matter leaves his reader to his or her own devices with the terms *idrārāt* and *ma'īshāt*.⁵⁵ Lambton lumps *marsūmāt* together with the *idrārāt* and *ma'īshāt*, calling them all 'a variety of land grants and money grants.'⁵⁶ Leiser renders *marsūmāt* as 'pensions,'⁵⁷ which is about as precise as we can probably get. It appears that the exact meanings of these terms are elusive, as are the distinctions between them.⁵⁸ Some of these 'grants' may be connected to land, but these gifts were of private property. They were not connected to the *iqṭā'* envisioned by Ghazan, not the least since the *marsūmāt* go back to Hülegü.⁵⁹ There is certainly no justification for Togan rendering these expressions as *iqṭā'*s, let alone as *soyurghals* (on that see below), and even *timars* and *zeamats*.⁶⁰

Al-'Umarī, then, has passed on credible if not completely clear information on gifts, allowances and grants of private lands. His source was a refugee bureaucrat from the recently defunct Ilkhanate, who was in a position to know about these things. No mention is made of anything resembling an *iqṭā'* system. Might we ask whether one was in place?

We are, however, denied a simple or unequivocal answer. Another Ilkhanid official, Ḥamdallāh Mustawfī Qazwīnī, writing in the 1330s, perhaps soon after the collapse of the Ilkhanate in 1335, mentions in his geographical work *Nuzhat al-qulūb* the term *iqṭā'* four times: Pishkīn in Azerbaijan, Shīrwān and Gushtāfi along the Caspian Sea, and Khurasan.⁶¹ These were, of course, areas of major concentrations of Turko-Mongolian tribesmen, although not the only ones. What is to be made of this evidence, in what is generally taken to be a reliable source?⁶² I can suggest three explanations for this information, which appears out of the blue after some thirty years of silence regarding the *iqṭā'*: a) That the author mentions this information *en passant* may indicate a deeply rooted and common

institution which gave no cause for comment by the author. b) *Iqtā'* as used by Mustawfi meant something different than was usually understood in the medieval Islamic world and even *circa* 1300 by Ghazan and his entourage. An example of the 'misappropriation' of this term is given above (p. 11). c) This information reflects the arrangements ordered by Ghazan in the aftermath of his above described *yarliḡh*, but not necessarily carried out. It may be mentioned that geographical works in the medieval Islamic world are often more prescriptive than descriptive. Given the total lack of record of the expression *iqṭā'* in the three decades or so before its appearance in this source, the last suggestion seems the most likely. With regard to the first possible explanation, an additional problem can be noted: Why is there mention of specifically Pīshkīn and nowhere else in Azarbayjan, the center of Mongol Iran where much of the Mongol army and elite were found? Other provinces with known Mongol garrisons, such as the Jazīra and Rūm, are also missing.

It is in this light that we should examine another piece of evidence from the post-Ilkhanid area. This is from the chancery manual of Muḥammad ibn Hindūshāh Nakhjawānī, *Dastūr al-kātib*,⁶³ who writes that the commanders of *tūmens* (10,000), 1000s and 100s held *iqṭā'*s in the provinces.⁶⁴ Rather than see this as further proof of the implementation of Ghazan's order on *iqṭā'*, it makes more sense to see the passage as an idealized vision of a Persian bureaucrat. This information does not even have the advantage of providing the names of the four locations as given by Mustawfi to strengthen his claim. It is possible that the ultimate inspiration of this passage is the *yarliḡh* found in Rashīd al-Dīn along with the information that preceded it, which was discussed above. A hint to this effect is the subsequent sentence given by Nakhjawānī: the army commanders were concerned *inter alia* with cultivation (or prosperity) and agriculture (*ba-'imārat wa zirā'at mashghūl mī-shūwand*). This is reminiscent of Rashīd al-Dīn's statement - cited above - that the Mongols had a 'desire for property and [practising] agriculture.'⁶⁵

Whether the Mongols really had begun to settle and to be engaged in agriculture is another matter. A detailed exposition of this subject is beyond the confines of this article, but it can be mentioned that Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-'Umārī provides a different view:

Every tribe has land to reside in and the descendant inherits it from the forefathers since Hülegü conquered this country. Their abodes (*manāziluhum*) are in it. They have in it crops for their substance, but they do not live by tilling and sowing.

To al-'Umārī's mind, based on information brought from knowledgeable informants from Ilkhanid territory more than a generation after Rashīd al-Dīn, the Mongols continued to maintain their nomadic lifestyle. The practice of agriculture by the Mongols, or their desire to engage in it, is not as simple a matter as some Persian writers might have us believe.

There exists, however, another term, which might be connected with Ghazan's *iqṭā'*. This is the *soyurghal* (literally in Mongolian a 'grant' or 'favour'), that according to Petrushevshky was 'a military fief [*sic*, R.A.] which appeared under the Jalayirids, was hereditary, and had fiscal and administrative immunity.'⁶⁶ The evidence for the use of *soyurghal* in this sense during the immediate post-Ilkhanid, however, is fairly sparse, to put it mildly.⁶⁷ It appears several times in the published portion of Nakhjawānī's work, but in the more general sense of 'favour.'⁶⁸ In the post-Ghazan Ilkhanate it does not surface, and thus it is clearly a development unrelated to Ghazan's promulgation of the *iqṭā'*. If *soyurghal* does appear in descriptions of the Ilkhanid period, it is only in later sources, and thus most probably is being used in an anachronistic sense. One example is that given by Naṭanzī, cited above. A second one is provided by al-Ahrī (ca. 1360) in his *Ta'riḫ-i Shaykh Uways*, which is mainly a history of the Jalayirid dynasty. In his descriptions of the Ilkhan Arghun (1284-91), he writes: 'In the year 685/1286-7, Pūlād Chinksān and Ūrduqiyā brought a *soyurghal* from the Qān [=Qubilai Qa'an], concerning [the appointment to] the kingship of Arghun Khan.'⁶⁹ But, as the translator J.B. van Loon notes, in this particular case, *soyurghal* could best be understood as a synonym for the term *yarligh*, 'royal order.' Whether we accept this or rather understand *soyurghal* in a more general sense of 'favour,' it is clear that no type of land holding is intended here.

Later in the fourteenth century and afterwards, the term *soyurghal* does appear more frequently in a sense which Lambton understands to resemble the administrative *iqṭā'* of Seljuq days.⁷⁰ The *soyurghal*, then, is not relevant to the *iqṭā'* described in Ghazan's *yarligh*, either in function or provenance.

I have found only one explicit mention of an *iqṭā'* in the Ilkhanate during the post-Ghazan era which is actually connected with a Mongol personage. The Syrian historian Ibn Kathīr (d. 1373) describes s.a. 715/1315-6 how Chūpān, the most senior officer in the Ilkhanate,⁷¹ received the town of Malatya in southeastern Anatolia as an *iqṭā'*. 'The Mongol king had given it to him totally' (*aṭlaqahā la-hu malik al-tatar*). The source adds that Chūpān appointed there a 'Kurdish man' as his representative or governor.⁷² Al-Maqrīzī makes a distinction between a Kurd named Manduh, active in anti-Mamluk counter espionage and a personage named Mizāmīr who was Chūpān's governor there.⁷³ Whatever the exact identity of his

representative, it is clear the great Mongol officer had the right to administer the area, including surely the collection of taxes. Could this be a lone piece of evidence pointing to some type of implementation of Ghazan's neo-*iqṭā'* system? Probably not, although the possibility cannot be eliminated. The use of the expression *aṭlaqa*, which I have translated 'to give something totally' hints that this is some type of grant of private property to this important officer, similar to the types referred to by al-'Umārī which were cited above.

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The fact that *iqṭā'* is rarely mentioned during the time of Ghazan, the later Ilkhans and their direct successors, is not something that can be ignored. One can contrast it to the recurrent appearance of *iqṭā'* in the sources for the history of the Mamluk Sultanate, which show a keen interest in which Mamluk amir had replaced another (through death, retirement, or - more often than not - arrest) and received his land grant.⁷⁴ Al-'Umārī's taciturnity with regard to *iqṭā'* among the Ilkhans contrasts sharply with the detailed discussion of the principles of this institution among the Mamluks.⁷⁵

The highly attenuated form (at best) of the *iqṭā'* among the Mongols in Iran in the post-Ghazan period has implications for the study of the Ilkhanid government's attitude to land use, tax policy and perhaps the settled population as a whole. These are, however, subjects which must be left to further research. In the context of the present volume, I will briefly comment on the implications of this conclusion for understanding the long-term impact of sedentary Islamic culture on nomadic conquerors. The case of the *iqṭā'* is one case of several, which shows that the Mongols were hesitant to adapt themselves to the culture of their subjects, even after several generations in Iran and the surrounding countries. Whatever Ghazan's intentions, it appears that they were fulfilled at best to a very limited degree. This reluctance to adopt the *iqṭā'* institution, even in a modified form, is indicative of the aversion or diffidence of the Mongol ruling class towards many of the political norms of the eastern Islamic world. The process of adopting the political norms of their adopted country was long in coming and far from being complete when Mongol rule collapsed in 1335. The Mongols, or at least their elite, showed a great deal of resilience in protecting their traditional culture, much more than their Seljuq predecessors, and perhaps more than has generally been understood by modern scholars.