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Poetry and power: the appreciation of the verse in Seljuq and Ilkhanid chronicles : the case of Rāḥat al-Şudūr and Jāmi‘ al-Tavārīkh

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3. *Jāmi' al-Tavārīkh*

In this chapter, I aim to investigate the ideological contribution of the verses in *Jāmi' al-Tavārīkh*. To achieve that, I will start with situating the work in its time by taking a look at the historiographies composed before *Jāmi' al-Tavārīkh*. Subsequently I will study the author, Rashīd al-Dīn, as well as the authorship claim made by another Mongol historian, Qāshānī. The chapter continues with explaining how *Jāmi' al-Tavārīkh* was produced by giving a timeline as accurate as possible. Then I will proceed to analyse the work's language and structure, as I did for *RŞ*. The last two subchapters deal with the poetry in both first and the second volume of *Jāmi' al-Tavārīkh*.

3.1 Persian Historiography under the Mongols

The first wave of Mongol attacks on the Persian-speaking world came in 1219 after Sultan Muḥammad Khwarazmshah (r. 1200-1220) had made a sequence of strategic mistakes in dealing with the Mongols.³²² Sultan Muḥammad fled his stronghold in Khwarazm towards the east and Chinggis dispatched two of his generals, Jebe and Sübedei, after him. Not knowing that Sultan Muḥammad had died on an island in Caspian Sea, the generals continued their conquests through the Caucasus and beyond until 1223.³²³ In the east, Chinggis appointed his fourth son, Tolui, to conquer and re-conquer the cities of Khurasan and Transoxiana while he himself encountered Sultan Muḥammad's son, Jalāl al-Dīn (r. 1220-1231), who was in Ghazna at the time.³²⁴

It was not the first time that Iranian lands saw an invasion from their eastern neighbours; after all, the Seljuqs attacked Khurasan as well. One reason that causes this incident to be remarkably different from that of the Seljuqs is the abrupt nature of it. While the Seljuqs migrated eastwards over decades, the Mongols arrived swiftly capturing one city after another. This sudden incursion was also reflected in our sources as well, including the *Tārīkh-i Jahāngushā* written around 1260. The sentence below does not only show the swiftness of the incident with words, but it is also reflected in its grammar as well summarizing the whole incident of the capture of Bukhara in merely a few verbs:

"آمدند و کدند و سوختند و کشتند و بردند و رفتند."³²⁵

³²² For the formation of the Mongol Empire, see: Timothy May, *The Mongols* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2019); David Morgan, *The Mongols* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1986); Morris Rossabi, *The Mongols: A Very Short Introduction* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012); For details of the Mongols' interactions with Sultan Muḥammad Khwarazmshah, see: Peter Jackson, *The Mongols and the Islamic World from Conquest to Conversion* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2018), 72-75.

³²³ Jackson, *The Mongols and the Islamic World*, 79-80.

³²⁴ Jackson, 80.

³²⁵ 'Aṭā-Malik Juvainī, *Tārīkh-i Jahāngushā*, ed. Mohammad Qazvini (Tehran: Dunyā-yi Kitāb), 83.

“They came, they sapped, they burnt, they slew, they plundered, and they departed.”³²⁶

The author of these sentences, ‘Aṭā-Malik Juvainī, came from a family of administrators who had previously worked for the Seljuqs and the Khwarazmshahs.³²⁷ He wrote his book, *Tārīkh-i Jahāngushā*, around 1260 after he came back from his journey to Mongke’s court.³²⁸ The book narrates the story of the Mongols until the capture of the Ismā‘īlī strongholds in 1256 as well as a history of the Ismā‘īlīs presumably based on Ismā‘īlī sources retrieved from their stronghold in Alamut.

In terms of his usage of poetry, Juvainī’s book is the perfect example of what literary scholars call rhetorical prose (*naṣr-i fannī*), one of its key elements is the ample usage of poetry in prose texts. Juvainī frequently draws on the verses from the *Shāhnāma*; especially the story of Rustam and Suhrāb, and Rustam and Isfandyār.³²⁹ Out of about 440 Persian verses found in the book, roughly 80 of them were picked out from the *Shāhnāma*. He does not only attempt to apply *Shāhnāma* verses for their descriptive value, but he also makes analogies between the heroes of the *Shāhnāma* and the Mongols.

Writing at the same time as Juvainī, Sirāj al-Dīn Minhāj Jūzjānī devoted a section to the Mongols in his book, *Ṭabaqāt-i Nāṣirī*. He wrote his book outside of Mongol territory in India and dedicated it to the ruler of Delhi, Nāṣir al-Dīn Maḥmūd Shāh (r. 1246-1266). The book is a general history and contains 23 sections, the last which concerns the Mongols. Similar to Juvainī, there are elements of shock about the Mongol invasion reflected in his history. The section on the Mongols starts with what one could call ‘the essence of Jūzjānī’s opinion about the Mongols’. The author begins the section with a prophetic *ḥadīth* about the exact time of the Day of Judgment, according to which is some day between 600 and 610 of the Hijri calendar and the author equals it with the time that Chinggis rose to power in Mongolia.³³⁰ In Jūzjānī’s view, he lives in an apocalyptic time and the Mongols brought about the end of the world. This view is also demonstrated in several *ḥadīths* and quotations, mostly in Arabic, in the section of the Mongols.

³²⁶ ‘Aṭā-Malik Juvainī, *The History of the World Conqueror*, trans. John Boyle (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1958), vol.1, 107.

³²⁷ For a detailed biography of the Juvainīs, see: George Lane, *The Early Mongol Rule in Thirteenth-Century Iran* (London & New York: Routledge, 2003), 177-212.

³²⁸ Juvainī says that he was encouraged by his “friends” to immortalise the deeds of the Mongols. (See: Juvainī, *Tārīkh-i Jahāngushā*, 7). He does not name these friends, but we should bear in mind that “encouragement by friends” is a recurrent theme in Persian literary works often applied to demonstrate the author’s humbleness; the famous poet, Sa’dī, also made use of this theme in his *Gulistān*. See: Sa’dī, *Gulistān*, ed. Gholam-hossein Yousefi (Tehran: Khvārazmī, 1384/ 2005), 54.

³²⁹ See also: Sara Mirahmadi, “Legitimising the Khan: Rashīd al-Dīn’s Ideological Project from a Literary Aspect,” *Iran* 61:2 (2021): 221-234.

³³⁰ Jūzjānī indicates that Chinggis rose to power in 602 A.H. Jūzjānī, *Ṭabaqāt-i Nāṣirī* (Kabul: Bunyād-i Farhangī-yi Jahāndāran-i Ghūrī, 1391/ 2012), 545; The year 602 A.H. corresponds to 1205-6, when Chinggis managed to unite Mongolia and was installed as Chinggis Khan in a *quriltai*. See: Michal Briran, *Chinggis Khan* (Oxford: Oneworld, 2007), 39.

Unlike his peer, Juvainī, Jūzjānī rarely applies poetry in his history. The few occasions that he includes poetry are mostly concerning a poet composing a few verses at the scene. He was a poet himself and at the end of his introduction as well as at the end of the book, he inserted his own compositions. On both occasions, the poems are in the form of prayers; in the former, he implores his readers to forgive him in case of any mistakes; and in the latter, he is praying for his patron, Nāṣir al-Dīn.

It is often perceived that the four decades of 1260-1300 are a gap in Persian historiographical works which Jackson believes can be filled with two brief works of *Nizām al-Tavārīkh* by Qāzī Bayzāvī and *Akhbār-i Mughulān* by an unknown author.³³¹ The former book is a general history starting from Adam up to the Mongol period. As is apparent from the title of the author, Qāzī, he held the position of judgeship in Shiraz during the reign of Hülegü and Abaqa. *Nizām al-Tavārīkh* is his only book in Persian and is often ignored by scholars because of its brevity.³³² The book is a general history of Iran and Islam and despite having been written when technical prose was a trend, uses simple language without incorporating any verse at all. Its importance lies in its apparent popularity during the reign of the Ilkhanids which can be deduced from the numerous manuscripts from that period which have survived to this day.³³³ Moreover, Charles Melville has shown that there was a second recension of *Nizām al-Tavārīkh* produced in its author's lifetime.³³⁴ The existence of a second recension means that even in the early years of the Ilkhanids, efforts were made to legitimise them by the means of historiography.³³⁵

The second book, *Akhbār-i Mughulān*, is a brief history of the early periods of the Mongol Empire with a focus on the Ilkhanid rulers until the ascension of Arghun (1284-1291). The book was found in a collection of works scribed by Quṭb al-Dīn Shīrāzī, an astronomer who worked with Khvāja Naṣir al-Dīn Ṭūsī in the Maragha observatory.³³⁶ *Akhbār-i Mughulān*

³³¹ Jean Aubin, *Émirs Mongols et Viziers Persans dans les Remous de l'Acculturation* (Paris: Association Pour L'Avancement des Études Iraniennes, 1995), 23; Jackson, *The Mongols and the Islamic World*, 24-25. Even if we accept that there is a void in these four decades, it can only be ascribed to the historical works about the Mongols and certainly not to other subjects and genres of historiography. An example of this is *al-Mu'jam fi Āṣār al-Mulūk al-'Ajam* written by Sharaf al-Dīn Qazvīnī about the history of ancient Iranian kings up to the reign of Khusraw I of the Sasanians. See: Qazvīnī, *al-Mu'jam fi Āṣār al-Mulūk al-'Ajam*, ed. Ahmad Fotouhi-nasab (Tehran: Anjuman-i Āṣār va Mafākhir-i Farhangī, 1383/2004).

³³² Qāzī Bayzāvī, *Nizām al-Tavārīkh* (Tehran: Bunyād-i Muqūfat-i Duktur Maḥmūd Afshār, 1384/2015), vi.

³³³ It is also noteworthy that *Nizām al-Tavārīkh* is the only historical work that has been concluded in the collective work of *Safīna-yi Tabrīz*. See: *Safīna-yi Tabrīz* (Tehran: Tehran University Press, 1381/2003). *Safīna-yi Tabrīz* was produced in an Ilkhanid workshop between 1323-1325 and contains several texts presumably important in the Ilkhanid period. Some texts survived only through its collection. For more on *Safīna-yi Tabrīz*, see: *Safīna Revealed, A Compendium of Persian Literature in 14th Century Tabriz*, ed. Asghar Seyed-Gohrab and Sen McGlinn (Leiden: Leiden University Press, 2011).

³³⁴ Charles Melville, "From Adam to Abaqa: Qāzī Baiḍāwī's Rearrangement of History (Part II)," *Studia Iranica* 36 (2007): 7-64.

³³⁵ See also: Charles Melville, "Qāzī Baiḍāwī's *Nizām al-tavārīkh* in the *Safīna-yi Tabrīz*: An Early Witness of the Text," in *The Treasury of Tabriz*, ed. Asghar Seyed-Gohrab (Amsterdam: Rozenberg Publishers, 2007), 91-102.

³³⁶ On Maragha observatory, see: Aydin Sayili, *The Observatory in Islam and its Place in the General History of the Observatory* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1960), 187-223.

was inserted alongside works on philosophy and literature, none written by Quṭb al-Dīn himself, and its authorship is in question.³³⁷ The book is structured annually relating the history of the Ilkhanids year by year, applying simple language. There is no Arabic poetry or Arabic phrases and there are only two Persian verses in the whole book which were inserted as finishing lines. What this book has in common with *Nizām al-Tavārīkh* is the simplicity of its language written in a milieu where poetry and prose poetry were flourishing. Written by Quṭb al-Dīn or not, the language of *Akhbār-i Mughulān* leads us to assume that the author was not of the administrator class (*dīvānī*) which is a feature also attested in Bayzāvī's and Jūzjānī's books.

Tajziyat al-Amṣār va Tazjiyat al-Āṣār (*The Allocation of Cities and Propulsion of Epochs*), otherwise known by its author's name as *Tārīkh-i Vaṣṣāf* is the closest of Ilkhanid historical sources to *Jāmi' al-Tavārīkh* in terms of the time of composition. The author, 'Abd Allāh ibn Faḏl Allāh Shīrāzī often referred to as Vaṣṣāf al-Ḥaẓrat (Court panegyrist) was born around 1265. Not much is known from his life except what he says in his book. He served as an administrator for a while in the court of the Salghurids of Fars (1148-1282), then moved to Tabriz where he met his future patron, Rashīd al-Dīn.³³⁸ Vaṣṣāf informs us that he started to write his book in 699/1300, intending it to be a sequel to Juvainī's book, thus starting from the fall of the Ismā'īlī strongholds in 1256.³³⁹ Upon finishing the third volume, Vaṣṣāf offered his book to Ghazan in 702/1303 right before Ghazan's campaign to Syria.³⁴⁰ The book was welcomed by Ghazan to such a degree that after praising Vaṣṣāf's work, he commanded him to write another book about the early history of the Mongols.³⁴¹ It is not clear why Vaṣṣāf did not perform the task as Ghazan had ordered; instead he wrote the fourth volume about the reign of Ghazan. This volume whose composition lasted about a decade was offered to Öljeitü in 1313 while Rashīd al-Dīn was present as well.³⁴²

Vaṣṣāf's history does not only cover Ilkhanid history, but it also includes local dynasties, such as the Salghurids and the rulers of Shabānkāra (1030-1355). To our knowledge, Vaṣṣāf commenced writing his book before Rashīd al-Dīn on his own initiative but was encouraged later on to continue writing by Ghazan. The last volume, volume 5, is about the reign of Sultan Abū Sa'īd (r. 1316-1335) which means Vaṣṣāf's duration of writing lasted even after the completion of *Jāmi' al-Tavārīkh*.

³³⁷ Quṭb al-Dīn Shīrāzī, *Akhbār-i Mughulān dar Anbāna-yi Mullā Quṭb*, ed. Iraj Afshar (Qom: Kitāb-khāna-yi Āyat Allāh Mar'ashī Najafī, 1389/ 2010), 7; George Lane, *The Mongols in Iran* (London & New York: Routledge, 2018), 10.

³³⁸ Mahboubeh Sharafi, *Zindigī, Zamāna va Tārīkh-nigārī-yi Vaṣṣāf-i Shīrāzī* (Tehran: Pazhūhish-kada-yi Tārīkh-i Islām, 1392/ 2013), 23-25.

³³⁹ Vaṣṣāf, *Tārīkh-i Vaṣṣāf*, ed. Alireza Niknezhad (Tehran: Mīrmāh, 1399/ 2020), 93-95.

³⁴⁰ Vaṣṣāf, *Tārīkh-i Vaṣṣāf* (Lahore: Karīmī Press, 1929), 371.

³⁴¹ Vaṣṣāf, 406.

³⁴² Vaṣṣāf, 544.

Similar to Juvainī, Vaṣṣāf's style of writing is rhetorical prose as well. However, it is rhetorical to such a degree that the applied poems are completely intertwined with the prose passages in a way one cannot be understood without the other. In other words, Vaṣṣāf's style is a mixture of prose and poetry, in both the Persian and Arabic languages.³⁴³ The Combination of prose and poetry in Vaṣṣāf's book as well as the many rhetorical devices he used has made the book difficult to understand. It is also the reason that it has sometimes been deemed as a literary book rather than a historical one.³⁴⁴ We will overlook Vaṣṣāf's historical value if we accept such arguments. The sections on the local dynasties as well his account on the Ilkhanids is a valuable source of information. Furthermore, Vaṣṣāf was writing almost at the same time as Rashīd al-Dīn which makes his book noteworthy when analysing *Jāmi' al-Tavārīkh*. Having briefly looked at the books produced before *Jāmi' al-Tavārīkh*, we now have an idea of the atmosphere when Rashīd al-Dīn was writing. In the next section, I am going to closely look at Rashīd al-Dīn and his works.

3.2 Authorship

This section consists of two parts. The first subsection will focus on Rashīd al-Dīn's life and position while the other will investigate the claim made by the historian Qāshānī regarding the authorship of *Jāmi' al-Tavārīkh* through looking into its context. While the focus of this study is the poetry included in *Jāmi' al-Tavārīkh*, it is vital to gain an understanding of the composition of *Jāmi' al-Tavārīkh* in its entirety, who composed it, and why it was composed on such a manner. The following sections aims to clarify the relationship between the work and its possible author(s).

3.2.1 Rashīd al-Dīn

Rashīd al-Dīn Faḡl Allāh Hamadānī (1247-1318) was a vizier during the Ilkhanid era and responsible for the production of a famous world history called *Jāmi' al-Tavārīkh* (Compendium of Chronicles, hereafter *JT*).³⁴⁵ Being a great vizier in the Ilkhanid state, Rashīd

³⁴³ Julie Meisami has studied a number of works which are mixed prose and poetry, among them is *Rṣ*. She considers it a 'prosimetrum' if it is judged by western genres. Although she has not mentioned Vaṣṣāf's book in this chapter, the book certainly meets the criteria of being classified as prosimetrum. See: Julie Meisami, "Mixed Prose and Verse in Medieval Persian Literature," in *Prosimetrum*, 295-320. For definition of prosimetrum, see: Brogan, "Prosimetrum," 1115-1116.

³⁴⁴ For example, see: Vaṣṣāf, *Tārīkh-i Vaṣṣāf*, ed. Alireza Hajian-nezhad (Tehran: University of Tehran Press, 1388/2009), intro, bīst va panj (xxv).

³⁴⁵ According to John Boyle *JT* is "the first world history in the true sense ever written in any language." See: John Andree Boyle, "Rashid al-Din: The First World Historian," *Iran* 9 (1971): 26. Charles Melville further explains this term (the first world history) by indicating the factors which distinguishes this source from the previous works. It is not only due to the inclusion of accounts of the Chinese, the Turks, and the Europeans; rather it originates from Rashīd al-Dīn's vision in covering them; not as separate entities but as integral parts of the world. See: Melville, "The Mongol and the Timurid Periods 1250-1500," 169-170; There is a heated discussion among

al-Dīn has attracted the attention of scholars for a long time. However, despite the fact that he played a major role during the Ilkhanid period, the information regarding the earlier years of his life is, unfortunately, not as comprehensive as we might expect. Scholars of Mongol history, such as Stefan Kamola,³⁴⁶ Dorothea Krawulsky,³⁴⁷ Brigitt Hoffmann,³⁴⁸ and Hashem Rajabzadeh,³⁴⁹ have constructed a biography of Rashīd al-Dīn in their works, each shedding light on a part of this complicated issue.

Rashīd al-Dīn himself does not tell us much about himself in his *JT* and most biographical information about him is extracted either from his theological works or from his contemporaries. The collection of his theological works, called *Majmū'a-yi Rashīdī* (The Rashīdī Collection) consists of four items: *Kitāb al-Tawzīhāt* (Book of Explanations), *Miftāḥ al-Tafāsīr* (Key to the Exegesis of Qur'ān), *Mabāḥiṣ-i Sulṭānīya* (Imperial Discussions), and *Laṭāyif al-Ḥaqāyiq* (Subtle Truths).³⁵⁰ Other than these, he also wrote a number of agricultural and medical treatises which together with his theological catalogues and the endowment deed of Rab'-i Rashīdī (the Rashīdī Quarter of Tabriz) form all his written works known as *Jāmi' al-Taṣānīf-i Rashīdī* (Collection of the Writings of Rashīd al-Dīn).³⁵¹

In his *Vaqfnāma* (Endowment Deed), whose manuscript is written in his own hand, Rashīd al-Dīn introduces himself as 'Faḏl Allāh ibn Abī al-Khayr ibn 'Ālī al-Hamadānī known as Rashīd al-Ṭabīb.³⁵² There is no consensus in Rashīd al-Dīn's contemporary sources about the date of his birth, but he mentioned in the manuscript of one of his theological works, *Bayān al-Ḥaqāyiq* (Indication of truths) (dated 711 A.H.), that he was 62 years old which estimates his date of birth around 648 A.H./ 1250.³⁵³ His *nisba*, Hamadānī, suggests that his family were from Hamadān.³⁵⁴ His ancestor, Ra'īs al-Dawla, and his father, Muvaffaq al-Dawla were in the service of the Ismā'īlīs and after the Ismā'īlī defeat by the Mongols, Rashīd al-Dīn's family, who

scholars of this field about the authorship of various parts of *JT*, especially the world history section. I will discuss this in the next section.

³⁴⁶ Kamola, *Making Mongol History*, 28-58.

³⁴⁷ Krawulsky, *The Mongol Ilkhans and Their Vizier Rashīd al-Dīn*, 63-78.

³⁴⁸ Brigitt Hoffmann, "Speaking about Oneself: Autobiographical Statements in the Works of Rashīd al-Dīn," in *Rashīd al-Dīn, Agent and Mediator of Cultural Exchanges in Ilkhanid Iran*, ed. Anna Akasoy, Charles Burnett, and Ronit Yoeli-Tlalim (London & Turin: The Warburg Institute, 2013), 1-14.

³⁴⁹ Hashem Rajabzadeh, *Khvāja Rashīd al-Dīn Faḏl Allāh* (Tehran: Ṭarḥ-i Naw, 1377/1998), 11-70.

³⁵⁰ I have used Hoffmann's translation of book titles, except for *Mabāḥiṣ-i Sulṭānīyya*, which is my own translation. Hoffmann has stated the title as *al-Kitāb/ al-Risāla al-Sulṭānīyya* and translated it as Imperial Book. See: Hoffmann, "Speaking about Oneself," 7.

³⁵¹ For more on Rab'-i Rashīdī, see: Brigitt Hoffmann, "In Pursuit of *Memoria* and Salvation: Rashīd al-Dīn and His Rab'-i Rashīdī," in *Politics, Patronage, and Transmission of Knowledge in 13th -15th Century Tabriz*, ed. Judith Pfeiffer (Leiden: Brill, 2013), 169-185.

³⁵² Rashīd al-Dīn, *Vaqfnāma-yi Rab'-i Rashīdī*, ed. Mojtaba Minovi and Iraj Afshar (Tehran, 2536/ 1978), 35.

³⁵³ Rashīd al-Dīn, *Bayān al-Ḥaqāyiq*, ed. Hashem Rajabzadeh (Tehran: Mīrās-i Maktūb, 1386/ 2007), 82. Other estimations were presented as well, such as 645/ 1247. For a detailed discussion about Rashīd al-Dīn's date of birth, see: Rashīd al-Dīn, *TMG*, Panjāh va haft.

³⁵⁴ David Morgan has suggested that he was born in Hamadān apparently based on his *nisba*, but a *nisba* does not necessarily refer to the birthplace of every single person of that family. In fact, there is other evidence suggesting that he was not born in Hamadan. (David Morgan, "Rashīd al-Dīn Ṭabīb," in *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, accessed on February 21st, 2022, http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/1573-3912_islam_SIM_6237.)

were known physicians (*ṭabībs*), offered their service to Hülegü.³⁵⁵ Since then, Rashīd al-Dīn seems to have been making politically ambitious moves starting with the reign of Abaqa (r. 1265-1282) and his son, Arghun (r. 1284-1291), the second and third Ilkhanid rulers respectively. Before completely being immersed in courtly duties, Rashīd al-Dīn followed his family profession as a physician. *Tārīkh-i Yazd*, written by Jaʿfar ibn Muḥammad Jaʿfarī in the 14th century, suggests that Rashīd al-Dīn stayed in Yazd for a few years to complete his medical education. Jaʿfarī also indicates that years later Rashīd al-Dīn constructed a *madrasa* and a *khānaqāh* in Yazd.³⁵⁶ The list of his properties in Yazd in the *Vaqfnāma* also demonstrate his long-standing relationship with the city.³⁵⁷

It is not exactly clear what his position was in the court before Ghazan’s reign. Hashemzadeh believes that he was a physician and boon companion in the court of the Ilkhanids.³⁵⁸ We can assume that he made use of his medical skills during his service, especially considering his medical writings. However, Hashemzadeh did not offer any further evidence about Rashīd al-Dīn’s possible roles in court. The historian Nāṣir al-Dīn Munshī Kirmānī, who wrote his book on vizirate and viziers in the Islamic world during the reign of Abū Saʿīd (r. 1316-1335), indicates that the position of vizier was offered to Rashīd al-Dīn during the reign of Geikhatu, but he did not accept and continued his roles as wine bearer/cook, boon companion, and physician.³⁵⁹

The name of Rashīd al-Dīn begins to appear repeatedly with the emergence of a conflict during the early years of Ghazan’s reign. This conflict narrated by some Ilkhanid sources centred around Ṣadr al-Dīn Khālid Zanjānī, Geikhatu’s and Ghazan’s first *ṣāhib dīvān* (vizier/ finance minister). The nature of this conflict and Rashīd al-Dīn’s possible involvement is not entirely clear, as our sources report the incident differently. Nevertheless, they do agree that Ṣadr al-Dīn was accused of a crime by two courtiers and fell from Ghazan’s grace.³⁶⁰ Subsequently Rashīd al-Dīn was appointed by Ghazan alongside Saʿd al-Dīn Sāvujī to bear the responsibilities of viziers. The concept of dual vizirate had been in practice since the early years of Ilkhanid reign in order to prevent the concentration of power in any one person’s hands.³⁶¹ Unfortunately we do not have any clear image of how their responsibilities were divided. The Ilkhanid sources often mention their positions as *vizārat*, *ṣidārat*, *nīyābat*, and *ṣāhib dīvānī* without mentioning whether these positions were different and if they were, they

³⁵⁵ Rashīd al-Dīn, *TMG*, 874 & 879.

³⁵⁶ Jaʿfar ibn Muḥammad Jaʿfarī, *Tārīkh-i Yazd*, ed. Iraj Afshar (Tehran: Bungāh-i Tarjuma va Nashr-i Kitāb, 1338/1959), 92.

³⁵⁷ See: Rashīd al-Dīn, *Vaqfnāma*, 103-45. For more on Rashīd al-Dīn and his relationship with the city of Yazd, see: Iraj Afshar, “Rashīd al-Dīn Faḥl Allāh va Yazd,” *Īrānshināsī* 1 (1349): 23-33.

³⁵⁸ Rashīd al-Dīn, *Tawzīhāt-i Rashīdī*, ed. Hashem Rajabzadeh (Tehran: Mīrās-i Maktūb, 1394/ 2016), chahārdah.

³⁵⁹ Munshī Kirmānī, *Nasāʾim al-Aṣḥār min Laṭāʾim al-Akhbar* (Tehran: Iṭṭilāʾāt, 1364/ 1986), 112.

³⁶⁰ Vaṣṣāf, *Tārīkh-i Vaṣṣāf* (Lahawr: Karīmī Press, 1929), 345-6; Rashīd al-Dīn, *TMG*, 1283-1285.

³⁶¹ Shams al-Dīn Juvainī and Majd al-Mulk are examples of this practice during the reign of Abaqa. For more on them, see: Kamola, *Making Mongol History*, 34-35.

did not distinguish the differences.³⁶² We may assume that grey areas of responsibilities may have been the source of conflict between co-viziers, such as the conflict between Shams al-Dīn Juvainī and Majd al-Mulk during Abaqa's reign and the later conflicts between Rashīd al-Dīn, Sa'd al-Dīn and Tāj al-Dīn 'Alīshāh.

It is interesting that Rashīd al-Dīn never once refers to his appointment as vizier after the fall of Şadr al-Dīn. In fact, in the whole sections of Geikhatu's and Ghazan's reigns, there are only two references to him; one is after the death of Jamāl al-Dīn Dastjirdāni, the vizier of Baidu (r. 1295), when Ghazan sent Rashīd al-Dīn as his deputy (*qā'im maqām*) to Khurasan to manage affairs of that province which given Khurasan's importance displays Ghazan's total confidence in Rashīd al-Dīn;³⁶³ and the second instance Rashīd al-Dīn is mentioned is during the story of Şadr al-Dīn when he ascribes a few words to Rashīd al-Dīn and refers to him as simply "*Rashid-i ṭabīb*" (Rashīd the physician).³⁶⁴

The notion of appointment of Rashīd al-Dīn as a co-vizier is expressed in other sources. The most explicit of all is in *Tārīkh-i Vaşşāf*. Vaşşāf in a section titled as 'designation of Rashīd al-Dīn to vizierate', indicates that *nīyābat* and *şāhib dīvānī* were given to Rashīd al-Dīn and Sa'd al-Dīn.³⁶⁵ Once again, there is no indication of job responsibilities for either of them. Another historian of the Ilkhanid era, Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī, depicts the relationship between Rashīd al-Dīn and Sa'd al-Dīn. In his *Zafarnāma*, a versified history of Iran after the Islamic conquest, Mustawfī phrases their relationship as 'one knowledgeable than the other':

که مانند او در ممالک ندید	"غزان خان ز ایران ورا برگزید
بدو داد فرمان آن کار و راه	ورا نایب خویشتن خواند شاه
بدو گفت آن شاه والائژاد	زمام وزارت بدستش نهاد
ببند اندر این کار فرخ میان ³⁶⁶	بارشاد خواجه رشید این زمان

'Ghazan Khan chose him (Sa'd al-Dīn) from Iran/ as he saw no one like him in all the realms.

He called him his 'deputy' (*nāyib*)/ he gave him the command of that work.

He put the reins of vizierate in his hand/ that noble king told him then.

That he should prepare himself for this job/ with the guidance of khvāja Rashīd'

³⁶² According to Vaşşāf, Sa'd al-Dīn was appointed as *şāhib dīvān* while Rashīd al-Dīn held the positions of "*nīyābat*" (deputy) and "*vizārat*." See: Vaşşāf, *Tārīkh-i Vaşşāf*, 347.

³⁶³ Rashīd al-Dīn, *TMG*, 1122.

³⁶⁴ Rashīd al-Dīn, 1134.

³⁶⁵ Vaşşāf, *Tārīkh-i Vaşşāf*, 347.

³⁶⁶ Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī, *Zafarnāma* (Tehran: Markaz-i Nashr-i Dānishgāhī, 1377/ 1998), 1367.

Two points are noticeable in these verses: first, Sa'd al-Dīn was appointed as vizier and he was called *nāyīb* and second, he was supposed to follow the guidance of Rashīd al-Dīn. The verses clearly demonstrate a higher rank, higher than a vizier, for Rashīd al-Dīn without explaining what his role was at court.

When Ghazan died and his brother Öljeitü succeeded him, both Rashīd al-Dīn and Sa'd al-Dīn were re-appointed in their positions as 'vizier', says the historian Qāshānī in his book, *Ṭārīkh-i Uljāyṭu*.³⁶⁷ Interestingly though, the author of *Majma' al-Ansāb*, Shabānkāra'ī, phrases this appointment differently: 'the vizier of Sultan Muḥammad (Öljeitü) was still Khvāja Sa'd al-Dīn Sāvujī. He bore the name of vizier and the realm was run by Khvāja Rashīd al-Dīn Ṭabīb who was the heart and ear of the Sultan.'³⁶⁸ Similar to the *Ẓafarnāma*, this source also places Rashīd al-Dīn higher than Sa'd al-Dīn and much closer to the sultan himself. Therefore, as Kamola pointed out "he was unquestionably an important figure, probably the single most influential person at court" but we may never know the exact nature of his responsibilities.³⁶⁹

After Sa'd al-Dīn fell from grace and was killed, he was replaced by Tāj al-Dīn 'Alīshāh. Once again, the sources do not enlighten us about the responsibilities of Tāj al-Dīn and Rashīd al-Dīn. According to Vaṣṣāf, after the death of Sa'd al-Dīn, it was Rashīd al-Dīn who put forward Tāj al-Dīn for the position of vizierate.³⁷⁰ This, however, did not protect him against Tāj al-Dīn's ambitions. After long years of conspiracy, Rashīd al-Dīn was accused of poisoning Sultan Öljeitü and was killed in 1318 during the reign of Öljeitü's son, Abū Sa'īd.³⁷¹

3.2.2 Qāshānī's Claim of Authorship

Scholars have tried to answer the question of 'who wrote *JT*' for years. Almost anyone who has ever worked on the *JT* or Rashīd al-Dīn has touched upon this issue. Among the most important and extensive works are those of Edgard Blochet,³⁷² Stefan Kamola,³⁷³ Jonathan Brack³⁷⁴ and Osamu Otsuka.³⁷⁵ Despite the effort that has been put into answering this

³⁶⁷ Abū al-Qāsim Qāshānī, *Ṭārīkh-i Uljāyṭu*, ed. Mahin Hambali (Tehran, 'Ilmī va Farhangī, 1391/2013), 28.

³⁶⁸ Shabānkāra'ī, *Majma' al-Ansāb*, ed. Mirhashem Mohaddeth (Tehran: Amīrkabīr, 1363/1984), 270. "وزیر سلطان محمد همان خواجه سعدالدین ساوجی بود اما نام وزارت بر وی بود و کار مملکت او بر صاحب فاضل مرحوم خواجه رشید الدین طبیب می رفت و دل و گوش سلطان بود."

³⁶⁹ Kamola, *Making Mongol History*, 51. The same discrepancy is seen in other sources regarding the role of Rashīd al-Dīn. For more information, see: Banākatī, *Ṭārīkh-i Banākatī*, ed. Jafar Shoar (Tehran: Anjuman-i Āṣār-i Millī, 1348/ 1969), 475-476; Khvāndmīr, *Ṭārīkh-i Ḥabīb al-Sīyar*, ed. Mohammad Dabirsiyaqi (Tehran: Khayyām, 1380/ 2001), vol.3, 152; Mīrkhvānd, *Rawzat al-Ṣafā*, Leiden University Ms.Or.6772.

³⁷⁰ Vaṣṣāf, *Ṭārīkh-i Vaṣṣāf*, 540.

³⁷¹ Mīrkhvānd, *Rawzat al-Ṣafā*, folio.155.

³⁷² Edgard Blochet, *Introduction A L'Histoire Des Mongols De Fadl Allah Rashid Ed-Din* (Leyden: Brill, 1910).

³⁷³ Stefan Kamola, "Rashīd al-Dīn and the Making of the World History in Mongol Iran" (PhD diss, University of Washington, 2013).

³⁷⁴ Brack, "Mediating Sacred Kingship: Conversion and Sovereignty in Mongol Iran."

³⁷⁵ Osamu Otsuka, "Qāshānī, The First world Historian: Research on His Uninvestigated Persian General History, *Zubdat al-Tawārīkh*", *Studia Iranica* 47 (2018): 119-149.

question for at least a century, it seems that this problem has never been fully solved. One reason could be the fact that evidence can be found to support multiple arguments and different viewpoints. Thus, I will now take a look at the origin of the issue along with the available paradoxical evidence in sources. My aim is to see Qāshānī's claim of authorship in its context and more importantly, how and why it was made as well as what his claim meant during the Ilkhanid period with regard to rules of authorship and literary composition.

The problem arose when Abū al-Qāsim 'Abd Allāh ibn Muḥammad Qāshānī, the Shi'ī historian of the Ilkhanid era, made a "notorious claim"³⁷⁶ indicating that he was the real author of the *JT* and that Rashīd al-Dīn presented the book to Öljeitü on 10 Shavvāl 706 (22 April 1307) and received a reward for it, but he failed to share the reward with Qāshānī as was promised before.³⁷⁷ Qāshānī later in his book claims that he is also the author of *Zayl-i Jāmi' al-Tavārīkh* (*JT's* appendix), but in the same manner, Rashīd al-Dīn stole this one as well; Rashīd al-Dīn offered the book to Öljeitü, was rewarded and did not share the reward with Qāshānī.³⁷⁸

These two claims have shadowed Rashīd al-Dīn's credibility as the author of *JT*. The matter became more complicated with the discovery of a manuscript in the *Staatsbibliothek* in Berlin. Blochet has identified this work as the *Zubdat al-Tavārīkh* of Qāshānī, but it is not exactly clear why he has given this name to the work;³⁷⁹ especially because in the text, Qāshānī says that his work is a supplement of the *JT*.³⁸⁰ What we do know from the text is that this work is a supplement of the *JT* and probably the same *Zayl-i Jāmi' al-Tavārīkh* which Qāshānī talks about in *Tārīkh-i Uljāyту*. Blochet has compared this manuscript with the Perso-Islamic part of the *JT* and has concluded that Rashīd al-Dīn copied Qāshānī's text without acknowledging him.³⁸¹

³⁷⁶ Charles Melville, "Jāme' al-Tawārīkh," *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, last updated on April 10, 2012, <https://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/jame-al-tawarik>

³⁷⁷ Qāshānī, *Tārīkh-i Uljāyту*, 54-55.

³⁷⁸ Qāshānī, 240-241.

³⁷⁹ Blochet, *Introduction A L'Histoire Des Mongols De Fadl Allah Rashid Ed-Din*, 140-149.

³⁸⁰ "تميمه و ضميمه جامع التواريخ", Blochet, 142. Jonathan Brack has suggested a possible reason for Blochet's argument. In the text, Qāshānī says that he wants to write a history of the fourth clime which is the best (*zubdat*) of all the seven climes ("تاریخ اقلیم رابع که زبده هفت کشور... است", *Introduction A L'Histoire Des Mongols De Fadl Allah Rashid Ed-Din*, 141). Brack suggests that the usage of the word *zubdat* here may be the reason for this identification (Brack, "Mediating Sacred Kingship: Conversion and Sovereignty in Mongol Iran," 323). However, this does not seem to be a sufficient explanation, because the word *zubdat* in the sentence does not refer to the history, rather to the fourth clime. Another explanation has been put forward by Otsuka that although the name of *Zubdat al-Tavārīkh* did not come in the preface, it came in the beginning of the second chapter. Whereas on the front page of the Berlin manuscript the title is written as '*Lubb al-Tawārīkh*' (Core of Histories). (see: "Qāshānī, The First World Historian: Research on His Uninvestigated Persian General History, *Zubdat al-Tawārīkh*," 128). He also lists the available manuscripts of *Zubdat al-Tavārīkh* and it is noteworthy that except for one, none of these are from the time of the author and none of them are complete which makes it hard to be sure that they are parts of the same book.

³⁸¹ *Introduction A L'Histoire Des Mongols De Fadl Allah Rashid Ed-Din*, 145-149. Alexander Morton has also done a similar comparison for the Seljuq parts of these two works. Like Blochet, he also is of the opinion that the writer of the Seljuq part as well as other parts of the *JT* is Qāshānī. See: Alexander Morton, "Qashani and Rashid al-Din on the Seljuqs of Iran," in *Living Islamic History*, ed. Yasir Suleiman (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2012), 166-177.

Qāshānī addresses *JT* in both the Berlin manuscript and *Tārīkh-i Uljāyту*, but his two descriptions of the *JT*'s contents are quite different. In the former, he says that this supplement (the history of the Arabs and Persians, *tārīkh-i 'ajam va 'arab*) in comparison to *JT* is like a stream to a river which implies that the *JT* being discussed here included larger areas or some other topics.³⁸² Since the *Zayl* of *JT* is a Perso-Islamic history (from what can be seen in the Berlin manuscript and based on its name), it is safe to assume that *JT* was a universal history. This assumption is supported by another of Qāshānī's statements. In the introduction to his *History of the Ismā'īlīs*, he says that after the completion of *JT*, which was a collection of the histories of other people groups, he decided to write a history of the Ismā'īlīs as well. This *JT* that he mentions in this part encompasses the history of the Turks, Indians, Jews, south China, Europeans (the Franks, the Popes, and the Caesars). He also says that *JT* was compiled in accordance with the order of Ghazan Khan. If we assume that this *JT* that Qāshānī talks about is the *JT* of Rashīd al-Dīn, and keeping in mind that he says in *Tārīkh-i Uljāyту* that *JT* is the history of the Mongols, the contradictory information regarding its content causes confusion. In order to resolve this confusion, Brack considers the possibility that Qāshānī wrote a universal history with the same name of *JT* by Ghazan's order, and the book was finished before Öljeitü's reign. In other words, assuming that there were two *JTs*, he suggests that not only did Rashīd al-Dīn extensively borrow from Qāshānī's book, but also that he adopted the same title.³⁸³

Brack's explanation may have been persuasive, if Qāshānī's works had not been replete with contradictory statements. On the contrary to what he says in the introduction of *Tārīkh-i Ismā'īliya*, in *Tārīkh-i Uljāyту*, he says that *JT* is a history of the Mongols and their descendants.³⁸⁴ Taking all Qāshānī's statements into account along with what Rashīd al-Dīn says in the main introduction of the *JT* that the *JT* is the name he gave to the whole collection (all three volumes), my impression is that Qāshānī is also referring to this same book.³⁸⁵

In light of the aforementioned assumption, I would like to go into the details of the claims that Qāshānī makes in *Tārīkh-i Uljāyту*. In the first claim which is brought up among the events of the year 706/1307, Qāshānī says that Rashīd al-Dīn presented the *JT*, 'which was the composition of this miserable one,' to Öljeitü via some 'infidel Jews' (*juhūdān-i mardūd*) and that he received a reward of 50 *toman* of wealth including properties, lands, and villages and every year, he receives a total amount of 20 *toman* cash from the revenues of those properties and although he (i.e. Rashīd al-Dīn) had promised to pay the author who had created (i.e. Qāshānī himself), he did not hold his promise.³⁸⁶

³⁸² Blochet, *Introduction A L'Histoire Des Mongols De Fadl Allah Rashid Ed-Din*, 142.

³⁸³ Brack, "Mediating Sacred Kingship," 324-325.

³⁸⁴ Qāshānī, *Tārīkh-i Uljāyту*, 2.

³⁸⁵ Rashīd al-Dīn, *TMG*, 15.

³⁸⁶ Qāshānī, *Tārīkh-i Uljāyту*, 54-55. "و آدینه دهم دستور ایران خواجه رشیدالدین کتاب جامع التواریخ که تالیف و تصنیف این بیچاره بود، به دست جهودان مردود بر رای پادشاه عرضه کرد و جایزه آن پنجاه تومان مال از املاک و دیه و ضیاع بستد و هر سال از محصول

The second reference can be found at the end of the book, in the section about the virtues and good deeds of Öljeitü. The concerned passage is the last anecdote of this section according to which ‘Rashīd al-Dawla (the title Qāshānī gives the vizier here) presented the *Zayl of JT*, which was the composition of this weak one (i.e. Qāshānī) and was dedicated to Sultan Öljeitü, and Öljeitü showed him kindness and rewarded him to such a degree that had not been common before. He elevated his rank and bestowed upon him 50 *tomans* of wealth in the way of a stipend. He gave him two portions of large villages in every region whose guaranteed revenues were 20 *tomans* each year along with other blessings and endowments that no king has ever given since the time of Adam. Although he had promised to do so, he did not give a portion of it to this author (i.e. Qāshānī). Through the money, he patronized several ‘infidel Jews’ and gave them stipends.’ Then Qāshānī inserts two verses in the voice of Rashīd al-Dīn in praise of Öljeitü’s kindness and generosity.³⁸⁷

There are a few points to which I would like to draw attention here. The first point is the place of the second anecdote in the book; it is the last anecdote of the section related to the virtues and good deeds of Öljeitü. Contrary to the other anecdotes of this section, the focus is not Öljeitü or his personality, but rather on the author himself and the story where he discusses being cheated. There are some words and verses which are about Öljeitü’s generosity, but those materials only lead the readers to conclude how important this event was and implicitly it acts as a way to reproach Rashīd al-Dīn. In other words, the anecdote does not quite fit into its context, and it concerns more the author’s own agenda, rather than that of Öljeitü.

The second point which raises suspicions regarding Qāshānī’s claims of authenticity is the uncanny similarity that exists between these two anecdotes. In both anecdotes, the story begins with the presentation of the book to Öljeitü, adding a subordinate clause to express the real author; then it states the amount of award, both using the same numbers (i.e. 50 and

مستدرکات و ربوع و ارتفاعات آنجا بیست تومان نقد عفا و صفوا به وی می رسد و باوجود وعده بتصنیف یک درم به مولف و مصنف آن نداد که سعی بلیغ و جهد نجیح نموده بود و به سالها جمع کرده" " ذیل کتاب جامع التواریخ که تالیف این ضعیف بود و به نام مبارکش تمام کرده، خواجه ³⁸⁷ Qāshānī, *Tārīkh-i Öljeitü*, 240-241. رشیدالدوله برو عرض کرد. در حق او چندان سیورغامیشی و عاطفت و اصطناع فرمود که هرگز هیچ پادشاه در حق هیچ وزیر آن چنان موهبت و احسان و عطیت و اکرام و انعام معهود و معتاد نبوده، و درجه او عالی کرد و سرش به آسمان رسانید، و پنجاه تومان مال بر سبیل موجب و ادرار در حق او انعام و احسان فرمود. در هر ناحیتی دو پاره دیه معظم و قریه معمور معتبر که مجموع آن را به مبلغ بیست تومان هر ساله به ضمان است، و همچنین دیگر کرامات و انواع تشریفات و انعامات که از عهد آدم علیه السلام تا اکنون هیچ پادشاهی به جایزه لوح محفوظ نیافته باشد. و با آنک به مصنف شرط کرده بوده دانگی از آن به مولف و جامع و مصنف آن کتاب نداد. بلی به واسطه آن دو سه نفر جهود جحد را تربیت کرد و مشاهره و ادرار رسید و این ابیات می خوانند..."

Kamola states that Qāshānī puts these verses in the mouths of two or three Jews who were paid by Rashīd al-Dīn to sing them in order to further damage Rashīd al-Dīn and question his loyalty to Islam (see: "*Rashīd al-Dīn and the Making of History in Mongol Iran*," 248-249). Though Kamola’s argument regarding Qāshānī’s efforts to damage Rashīd al-Dīn’s Islamic reputation is correct and supported by Qāshānī’s mention of Jews, his reason needs some reorientation. The verb which is used for singing in Qāshānī’s passage is singular and refers to Rashīd al-Dīn himself, rather than the Jews. Nonetheless, rewarding Jews and raising them to high position seems to be a good enough reason to argue Rashīd al-Dīn’s fake conversion in Qāshānī’s eyes.

It is noteworthy that Otsuka did not differentiate between these two claims, passing over them as repeating the same statement (see: "Qāshānī, The First World Historian: Research on His Uninvestigated Persian General History, *Zubdat al-Tawārīkh*," 122)

20). There are also mentions of Jews in both anecdotes which do not seem to have been added for factual reasons; and finally, the promise that Rashīd al-Dīn allegedly made to the author and did not fulfil it.

Apart from the obvious similarity in structure and vocabulary, the amount of awards also seem problematic. If we assume that the author is stating the exact amount (which he probably is, considering how he felt about being cheated of his reward), Öljeitü rewarded Rashīd al-Dīn lands, villages, and properties whose values were 50 *tomans* and altogether, they will deliver 20 *tomans* revenue. This reward was for the completion of the *JT*. On the other hand, for the completion of *Zayl of JT*, Rashīd al-Dīn was awarded 50 *tomans* in cash, which was supposed to be paid periodically, and some properties whose revenues were 20 *tomans* every year. In other words, while the reward of the *JT* was only properties, the reward of *Zayl* was both cash and properties whose total amount was much higher than the amount for the much longer work. The author himself says that this amount of reward was not common which insinuates Öljeitü's kindness and generosity. Considering that *JT*'s content was presumably more important for the Mongols (because it included the history of Chinggis and his descendants), the amount of reward that was dedicated to the *Zayl of JT* is strange. In other words, the reward does not match the work.

However, there seems to be more to the story which all depends on what Qāshānī meant by *JT*. If *JT* is, as he says in *Tārīkh-i Uljāytu*, the history of the Mongols and their descendants until Ghazan Khan, and if *Zayl* is, as he says in the Berlin manuscript, a Perso-Islamic history, it is not logical that Öljeitü rewarded *Zayl of JT* more than he did *JT*; especially since Qāshānī himself admits that the *Zayl of JT* compared to *JT* itself is like a stream to a river.

Another point which is also important in these anecdotes is the manner of presentation. The patronage system in the Ilkhanid period was quite extensive and it functioned in a hierarchical manner. The courtiers who were close enough to the sultan or the king were able to present the book to their patrons themselves. On the contrary, if they were not close enough to the court, they would have needed a mediator who was able to approach the sultan and present the work on behalf of the real author.³⁸⁸ An Ilkhanid example of presenting a work via a mediator is the book of Vaṣṣāf which was also offered to Ghazan by Rashīd al-Dīn.³⁸⁹

In Qāshānī's first statement in *Tārīkh-i Uljāytu*, the author says that *JT* was not presented by Rashīd al-Dīn himself, but by a few 'infidel Jews' who were clearly not important enough to be mentioned by name. Given Rashīd al-Dīn's high status as a vizier, he did not need to present the book via a group of unknown Jews. Moreover, Qāshānī himself implicitly

³⁸⁸ There were also other factors which made authors to present their works via mediators. For example, if the author could not come to the court himself, because he lived in another city (Rāvandī presented his work via Khvāja Jamāl al-Dīn (see: Rāvandī, *RŞ*, 462). Presenting a work via a prestigious person could also add extra credit to the book and its author as well.

³⁸⁹ Vaṣṣāf, *Tārīkh-i Vaṣṣāf al-Ḥazra*, ed. Alireza Hajiannzhad, 24-25.

acknowledges Rashīd al-Dīn's high rank; for he calls him by the honorary title of *dastūr*, an ancient Iranian title identifiable with vizier, which draws a comparison between Rashīd al-Dīn and ancient Iranian viziers, including Būzarjmīhr, Khusraw I's famously intelligent vizier. He also calls him Rashīd al-Dīn which does not happen frequently in his work, as Qāshānī tends to use the title Rashīd al-Dawla to emphasize Rashīd al-Dīn's Jewish background.³⁹⁰ If Qāshānī, as he claims in the introduction of *Tārīkh-i Ismā'īliya* had been commissioned by Ghazan Khan to write a universal history, he would have presumably been close enough to present the book himself, but as we can see, he did not or *could* not do it.

There are other reasons which make us question Qāshānī's claim. There are references made by later authors implying or indicating that the book's author is Rashīd al-Dīn. One of these references is a story which has come in *Majma' al-Ādāb fī Mu'jam al-Alqāb*, written by Ibn Fuvvaṭī in the fourteenth century according to which Ibn Fuvvaṭī saw 'Afīf ibn Muḥammad al-Naqqāsh in Arran, in the year 705/1305, while he was sitting in the sultan's camp and illustrating Rashīd al-Dīn's book.³⁹¹ The book was probably *JT*, because it was Rashīd al-Dīn's only illustrated book.³⁹² Another piece of evidence of this sort can be found in Mustawfī's *Tārīkh-i Guzīda* from the 14th century. In his introduction, he praises Rashīd al-Dīn and later on, mentions the *JT* of Rashīd al-Dīn as one of his sources.³⁹³ A century later, the Timurid historian, Ḥāfīz Abrū, wrote an appendix on the *JT*. He not only acknowledged Rashīd al-Dīn in the book's title (i.e. *Zayl-i Jāmi' al-Tavārīkh-i Rashīdī*), but also stated that the book begins from where Rashīd al-Dīn left off, at the end of Ghazan's era (703/1304).³⁹⁴ Apart from this, one might say that Mustawfī acknowledged Rashīd al-Dīn as the author of the *JT*, because he was his protégé and took Rashīd al-Dīn's side in the conflict between the vizier and his rivals, Sa'd al-Dīn Sāvujī and later Tāj al-Dīn 'Alīshāh. While historians like Vaṣṣāf and Mustawfī supported Rashīd al-Dīn, Qāshānī supported Rashīd al-Dīn's rivals. If what Qāshānī claims is true, it would be very strange for Rashīd al-Dīn's rivals not to use these claims against him. In fact, Qāshānī's claim was not reiterated by anybody else later.³⁹⁵

Taking another approach to this matter, let us assume that by *JT* Qāshānī meant the history of the Mongols (*Tārīkh-i Mubārak-i Ghāzānī*) and by *Zayl of JT*, he meant the Perso-Islamic history.³⁹⁶ However, this assumption causes other problems: how could have Qāshānī acquired the detailed information in the history of the Mongols, if he was not even close

³⁹⁰ The title 'al-dawla' was common among the Jews in the Ilkhanid period and it was often considered as an indicator for one's religion.

³⁹¹ Ibn Fuvvaṭī, *Majma' al-Ādāb fī Mu'jam al-Alqāb* (Tehran: Vizārat-i Farhang va Irshād-i Islāmī, 1374/1995), 478.

³⁹² See: Abbas Zaryab Khowyī, "Si Nukta Darbāra-yi Rashīd al-Dīn," *Majmū'a-yi Khaṭāba-hā-yi Taḥqīqī Darbāra-yi Rashīd al-Dīn Faṣl Allāh Hamidānī* (Tehran: University of Tehran Press, 1350/1971): 135; Rajabzadeh, *Khvājah Rashīd al-Dīn Faṣl Allāh*, 352-353.

³⁹³ Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī, *Tārīkh-i Guzīda* (Tehran: Amīrkabīr, 1387/2008), 2-7.

³⁹⁴ Ḥāfīz Abrū, *Zayl-i Jāmi' al-Tavārīkh-i Rashīdī* (Tehran: Shirkat-i Tazāmunī-yi 'Ilmī, 1317/1939), ۵.

³⁹⁵ On the matter of rivalry in the Ilkhanid court between Rashīd al-Dīn and others see: Kamola, "Rashīd al-Dīn and the Making of History in Mongol Iran," 244-255.

³⁹⁶ As the name suggests, Perso-Islamic section of *JT* includes history of Islam, history of Iran from the ancient times to the emergence of the Mongols.

enough to present his work himself? What we see in the history of the Mongols must have been collected by someone who had access to the imperial archives.³⁹⁷ On the other hand, assuming Qāshānī as the writer of the Perso-Islamic history does not solve our problems either, because as we have seen in the structural analysis of *JT*, most parts of the Perso-Islamic section were adopted from other sources; they are even sometimes repeated verbatim without acknowledging the sources. Thus, considering that quoting paragraphs (sometimes intact) from other sources was not uncommon in the historiography of medieval Persia, can it even be considered stealing?³⁹⁸

Let us take a look at Qāshānī's claims while keeping the aforementioned evidence in mind in order to gain a more comprehensive understanding of how the claim was made. In neither of his claims does Qāshānī indicate that Rashīd al-Dīn had 'stolen' his work. In fact, in neither of those passages is the emphasis on the possible theft; rather, the centre of the anecdotes is how Rashīd al-Dīn makes a promise and fails to keep it. Sabotaging Rashīd al-Dīn's character in this way is also in line with stereotypical image in the Islamic world of Jews as oath-breakers³⁹⁹ and as we have seen before, Qāshānī desperately tries to smuggle in a few verbal attacks on Jews in both of his stories for no apparent reason.

In an overall view of this issue, I would like to argue that questions as such are best to be answered by looking at the milieu of their creations. Qāshānī's claim was made when there was an acute rivalry amongst the court and viziers, with administrators, courtiers, down to the lowest ranks of secretaries all taking part in. Switching sides and loyalties was surely possible, as can be seen in Qāshānī's case who seems to be a protégé of Rashīd al-Dīn at first. Qāshānī refers to Rashīd al-Dīn as *makhdūm-i man* (my master)⁴⁰⁰ which shows a patron-protégé

³⁹⁷ For the sources used by Rashīd al-Dīn, see the chapter on the structure of the *JT*.

³⁹⁸ The concept of literary theft or plagiarism is very vague and tricky in medieval Persia. One of the earliest definitions of plagiarism that we have is from Shams Qays Rāzī in his book, *Al-Mu'jam fī Ma'āyir Ash'ār al-'Ajam*, written the 13th century. Rāzī indicates that there are four types of plagiarism: *Intihāl* which is verbatim copy from someone else; *Salkh* which means using the same concept and words but changing only the order of the words; *Elmām* which is getting a concept from another and using it in another form; and *Naql* which happens when a poet gets a concept from someone and uses it in another context. He also says that if a person adopts a concept from another and uses it in a better form and stronger words, the concept would be of the second person. In other words, if a poet can recompose a verse or a poem better than its original poet, he would be considered as the intellectual owner of that verse or poem (no matter who the original poet is). (see: Shams Qays Rāzī, *Al-Mu'jam fī Ma'āyir al-Ash'ār al-'Ajam* (Tehran: University of Tehran Press, 1956) 457-469). It is possible that this exception in rule led to competitions between poets and as can be seen later (in divans of poets or even Rāzī's book), there are many examples of poets competing and trying to exceed each other's talents in composing poetry. One method that could help them compete, which was also part of their education, was to learn other people's work (poetry or prose) by heart. This method is attested in most rhetorical books and manuals for *dabīrs* (see *Al-Mu'jam fī Ma'āyir al-Ash'ār al-'Ajam*, 439-440; Niẓāmī 'Arūzī, *Chahār Maqāla* (Tehran: Šidā-yi Mu'āšir, 1386/2007), 21-22). Even more than that, it was advised to use quotations from others, but according to Rashīd al-Dīn Vaṭvāt, an expert in rhetoric in the 13th century, those quotations should be famous, so no one thinks that they are plagiarized (Rashīd al-Dīn Vaṭvāt, *Ḥadā'iq al-Sihr fī Daqā'iq al-Shi'r*, 72). Therefore, it is not always easy to draw boundaries for the concept of plagiarism in medieval Persia, given the way that writers and poets were educated and practiced their talents.

³⁹⁹ For example, see: The Qur'an 2:246; 7: 138-148.

⁴⁰⁰ Qāshānī, *Tārīkh-i Uljāyṭu*, 55.

relationship between them at least at some point. However, later more hostile behaviour is reflected in the sources. The obvious indication of Qāshānī's changing loyalty is the rededication of one of his other works to Tāj al-Dīn 'Alīshāh, Rashīd al-Dīn's rival. Qāshānī's work, titled "*Arāyis al-Javāhir*" was written around 700/1300 and was dedicated to the vizier Rashīd al-Dīn, but Qāshānī rededicated it to Tāj al-Dīn 'Alīshāh after he and Rashīd al-Dīn fell out.⁴⁰¹

Rashīd al-Dīn himself acknowledged that he acquired his information from knowledgeable and intelligible people of his own time, and he also combined pieces of predecessors' books of which he composed the second volume of *JT*.⁴⁰² He also informs us that many of the pieces from the previous sources were cited intact and without any modifications.⁴⁰³ Moreover, as other scholars have pointed out, a big project like the *JT* could not have been a work of one single person who had other responsibilities, including running the state as well. Thus, it is safe to assume that other historians, presumably Rashīd al-Dīn's proteges, including Qāshānī were involved in writing the second volume of the *JT*. Regarding Qāshānī's claims, whose texts were investigated, the passages were structured in a way to sabotage Rashīd al-Dīn's character and they are best seen as part of court rivalries. Furthermore, Qāshānī's claims does not exclude the possibility that composition of the *JT* was a group project, because in neither of the anecdotes discussed above is there anything that indicates Qāshānī as the sole writer.

3.3 *Jāmi' al-Tavārīkh* in Production

In the general introduction of *JT* which was written after its completion and after it was offered to Öljeitü, Rashīd al-Dīn gives us a brief explanation of how the work was produced. According to this one paragraph summary, the history of Chinggis Khan and his descendants was compiled from scattered and unorganized scrolls and fragments by the order of Ghazan Khan.⁴⁰⁴ The long version of this explanation can be found in the introduction of *Tārīkh-i Mubārak-i Ghāzānī* where Rashīd al-Dīn indicates that 'during the reigns of Chinggis Khan and his descendants, all inhabitable parts of the world came into their submission and some 'great people of era' (*akābir*) had composed a short history of Chinggis Khan's conquests, his reign, and his descendants' reigns, but these histories were not authentic and they were written based on the desires of some princes and Mongol *amīrs*.⁴⁰⁵ He also tells us that 'the Mongol histories were recorded in every period in the Mongol script and language (*khaṭ va 'ibārat-i mughulī*) and were kept in treasuries. However, they were not organized, and people did not

⁴⁰¹ Qāshānī, *Arāyis al-Javāhir va Nafāyis al-Aṭāyib* (Tehran: Alma'ī, 1385/ 2006), 361-2; Brack, "Mediating Sacred Kingship: Conversion and Sovereignty in Mongol Iran," 329.

⁴⁰² از جمله فضلا و معتبران طوایف مذکوره تفحص و استخبار نموده و از مضامین کتب متقدمان التقاط کرده مجلدی دیگر در باب تواریخ " عموم اقالیم در قلم آمد" (Rashīd al-Dīn, *TMG*, 8)

⁴⁰³ Rashīd al-Dīn, *TMG*, 11.

⁴⁰⁴ Rashīd al-Dīn, 1.

⁴⁰⁵ Rashīd al-Dīn, 33.

think of them as worthy of being studied. Then came the reign of Ghazan Khan who ordered him to organize and compose the Mongols' history. Thus, he gathered and organized the histories and genealogies of the Mongols and the Turks whose stories and anecdotes were kept in the treasury. Then he composed and edited it in fine words. Those histories which were short, he tried to expand by asking knowledgeable people from various ethnicities (*aqvām*) who were also present at court."⁴⁰⁶ Rashīd al-Dīn goes on for another two pages talking about this process, most of which continues in the same vein though, in different phrases.

What these passages tell us about the production of *JT* is that it was a long project which took a great deal of effort and that other people at court from different ethnicities also participated in its production. It is not an easy task to draw out a chronological order for *JT*'s process of production for many reasons, such as shortage of dates that can be found in *JT* itself, or other sources referring to it (like *Tārīkh-i Uljāyту*). However, I will try to suggest a tentative chronology here.⁴⁰⁷

Ghazan Khan ascended the throne on 10 November 1295 (23 *Dhū al-ḥajja* 694 A.H.) and he reigned until 15 May 1304 (11 *Shawwāl* 703 A.H.); both dates were recorded by Rashīd al-Dīn. At some point in his reign, he ordered Rashīd al-Dīn to compile, organize, and compose the history of the Mongols and their conquests. There is no indication of an exact date for Ghazan's order in our sources, nor is there a start date for the composition of *JT*.⁴⁰⁸ The next date that we can find in our sources is the year 702/1302, found in the introduction of *TMG* as the date of the writing the introduction. According to Rashīd al-Dīn, Ghazan became infected by a type of eye disease (*ramad*) around the date of 16 September 1303 (25 *Muḥarram* 703 A.H.) which caused his death seven months later. Rashīd al-Dīn explicitly says that some parts of *TMG* were even written in their final version, implying that their drafts were already available during the reign of Ghazan, but the complete version was offered to Öljeitü right after his ascension (on 27 July 1304/1 *Dhū al-ḥajja* 703) and its attendant ceremonies which also insinuates that offering this book was a significant event.

After *JT*'s presentation to Öljeitü, the Ilkhan read and made some corrections in the book. Rashīd al-Dīn informs us that since it was finalized completely during the reign of Öljeitü, it was only appropriate to be in his name. However, Öljeitü ordered him to keep it in Ghazan's name, as it was originally intended.⁴⁰⁹ Mohammad Reza Ghiasian, who has worked extensively

⁴⁰⁶ Rashīd al-Dīn, 33-34.

⁴⁰⁷ Stefan Kamola and Kazuhiko Shiraiwa have offered their own chronologies as well. see: Kazuhiko Shiraiwa, "Rashīd al-Dīn's Primary sources in Compiling the *Jāmi' al-tawārīkh*: a Tentative Survey," in *Rashīd al-Dīn: Agent and Mediator of Cultural exchanges in Ilkhanid Iran* (London & Turin: The Warburg Institute, 2013), 51-52; Stefan Kamola, "A Sensational and Unique Novelty: The Reception of Rashid al-Din's World History," *Iran* 58(1), (2020): 52-55.

⁴⁰⁸ Kazuhiko Shiraiwa has offered 1300 as the date of Rashīd al-Dīn receiving the order, but I could not find any source indicating that. (see: Shiraiwa, "Rashīd al-Dīn's Primary Sources," 51).

⁴⁰⁹ Rashīd al-Dīn, *TMG*, 7.

on the manuscripts of *JT*,⁴¹⁰ believes that the composition of the work was finished during the reign of Ghazan.⁴¹¹ However, if we consider Rashīd al-Dīn's statement, it seems that the draft was complete, though not the final version. In 1304, Öljeitü gave an order to Rashīd al-Dīn to add two other volumes, one on the history of the world and another on geography (*şuvar-i aqālīm*). Rashīd al-Dīn himself does not indicate the date of the second presentation. Our knowledge of this date comes from another historian, Qāshānī, who says that the book was presented to Öljeitü on 17 April 1307 (5 *Shawwāl* 706).⁴¹²

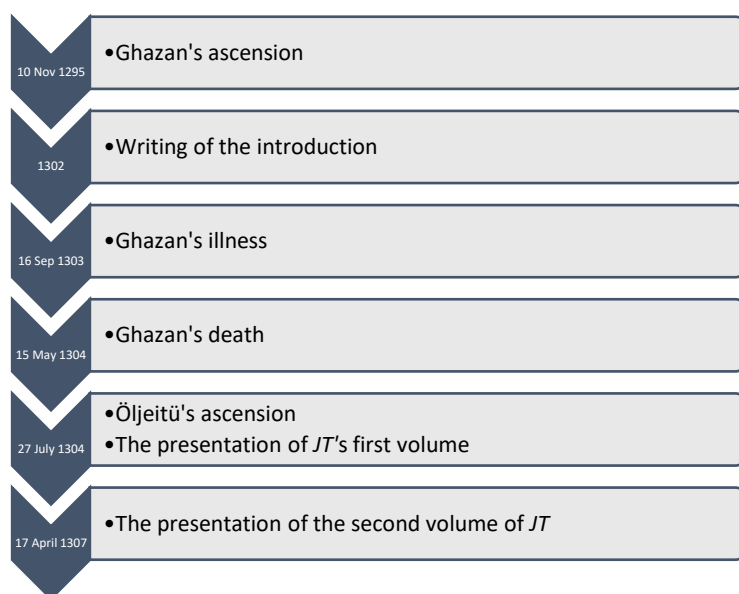


Figure 7: Production dates, Important dates offered by primary sources surrounding the production of *Jāmi' al-Tavārīkh*.

This is what we know so far about the chronology of the composition of *JT* based on our sources. Mapping the reproduction of its manuscripts is even more complicated. There are at least 72 manuscripts of *JT* extant, some contain only volume one or volume two, and others contain whole or parts of both volumes.⁴¹³ We have only a few manuscripts from Rashīd al-Dīn's time which were produced in the scriptorium of Rashīd al-Dīn's own foundation, *Rab'-i Rashīdī* (the Rashidi Quarter of Tabriz). These four manuscripts are two

⁴¹⁰ For example, see: Mohammad Reza Ghiasian, "The Topkapı Manuscript of the *Jāmi' al-Tavārīkh* (Hazine 1654) from Rashidiya to the Ottoman Court: A Primary Analysis," *Iranian Studies* 51(3): 399-425; Mohammad Reza Ghiasian, *Lives of the Prophets* (Leiden & Boston: Brill, 2018).

⁴¹¹ Rashīd al-Dīn and Ḥāfiẓ Abrū, *Jāmi' al-Tavārīkh va Majma' al-Tavārīkh*, intro by Mohammad Reza Ghiasian (Tehran: Mīrās-i Maktūb, 1398/ 2020), xlvi.

⁴¹² Qāshānī, *Tārīkh-i Uljāyū*, 54. Ghiasian suggested the year 1306 for the presentation of the book but has not offered any reason for the selection of this date. See: Rashīd al-Dīn and Ḥāfiẓ Abrū, *Jāmi' al-Tavārīkh va Majma' al-Tavārīkh*, xlvi.

⁴¹³ Shiraiwa, "Rashīd al-Dīn's Primary sources," 39. Shiraiwa has also offered a descriptive bibliography of these manuscripts in Japanese (see: Shiraiwa, "Rashīd al-Dīn's *Compendium of Chronicles*: A Bibliography of the Extant Manuscripts," in *Sanko Shoshi Kenkyū* (Tokyo, 2000) 53: 1-33). Moreover, Stefan Kamola has also presented a descriptive bibliography of the manuscripts in appendix B of his book. See: Kamola, *Making Mongol History*.

Persian versions now kept in Istanbul (Hazine 1653, Hazine 1654) and two illustrated fragments of the Arabic version now kept in the Edinburgh University Library (Ms. Arab.20) and the Khalili Collections (Ms.727); both of which are from 1314 and contain parts of the second volume of *JT*. Hazine 1653 is also from the year 1314 and consists of the second volume of *JT*. It is important to note that not all folios of this manuscript were produced in the Rashidi quarter; the manuscript was transferred to the court of Shāhrukh of the Timurid dynasty (r. 1405-1447), but apparently some folios of the manuscript had been destroyed prior to Shāhrukh's time. Shāhrukh ordered his court historiographer, Ḥāfiẓ Abrū, to restore it.⁴¹⁴ Since Ḥāfiẓ Abrū had already written his own history of pre-Islamic Iran by the time that Shāhrukh gave this order, he inserted his own composition in place of the lost folios.⁴¹⁵ Therefore, the pre-Islamic part of Hazine1653 does not demonstrate Rashīd al-Dīn's work. The other old manuscript, Hazine 1654 is from the year 1317. The manuscript covers the second volume of *JT* and its section on pre-Islamic Iran shows the difference to that of Hazine1653 as reworked by the Timurid historiographer.⁴¹⁶

Regarding the manuscripts of the first volume, which according to Shiraiwa are around 30, two manuscripts seem to be older. One is Revan 1518 kept in Istanbul, whose production was completed in Baghdad a little after Rashīd al-Dīn's death and another, ms. 1620 kept in Tashkent's Abu Rayhon Beruni Institute, which is from the early fourteenth century. Kamola has argued that this manuscript was probably produced in the Rashidi quarter.⁴¹⁷

Given the ample number of the manuscripts of *JT* and the fact that most of them are not complete and furthermore that sometimes they have differences in terms of content, it is not easy to pinpoint one manuscript as the one and only authentic one. Shiraiwa and Kamola have already shown some differences between the manuscripts, what parts have been added or omitted and where possible, why and where these differences occurred.⁴¹⁸ According to Kamola, some of these changes may even have been made by Rashīd al-Dīn himself and that is one of the reasons for some additions and omissions.⁴¹⁹

Considering the various recensions, it is also noteworthy to take a look at the process of manuscript production in the Rashidi quarter. The most important source we have that talks

⁴¹⁴ Timur's descendants were keen on gathering and reproducing genealogies related to the Chingissid family. For more information see: Beatrice Manz, "Family and Ruler in Timurid Historiography," in *Studies on Central Asian History in Honor of Juri Bregel*, ed. Devin Dewees (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2001), 57-87.

⁴¹⁵ "در این اثنا، حضرت اعلاء خلد الله تعالی ملکه و سلطانه فرمودند که کتاب رشیدی را که اولش ضایع شده بود، تمام می باید ساخت. بنده کمینه به عرض رسانید که قسم اول این کتاب که از زمان آدم است علیه السلام از ابتدای احوال حضرت رسالت صلی الله علیه و السلام، چون این کتاب که حالا نبشته شده است، بعد از مطالعه رشیدی و طبری و کامل و چند نسخه دیگرست، اگر از آنجا نقل کرده آید اولی باشد. فرمودند Rashīd al-Dīn and Ḥāfiẓ Abrū، *Jāmi' al-Tavārikh va Majma' al-Tavārikh*, 6.

⁴¹⁶ This manuscript has been analysed along with its illustrations by Mohammad Reza Ghiasian. See: "The Topkapı Manuscript of the *Jāmi' al-Tawārikh* (Hazine 1654) from Rashidiya to the Ottoman Court: A Primary Analysis."

⁴¹⁷ Kamola, *Making Mongol History*, 223.

⁴¹⁸ See: Kamola, *Making Mongol History*; Shiraiwa, "Rashīd al-Dīn's Primary Sources."

⁴¹⁹ Kamola has classified these recensions in *Making the Mongol History*, Appendix B.

about manuscript production is the endowment deed of the Rashidi quarter, the manuscript of which was finished on 17 August 1309. Parts of this manuscript were written by Rashīd al-Dīn himself. From this manuscript, we can get information about the books that were reproduced in the Rashidi Quarter. According to this document, the scriptorium was funded to produce two copies of the Quran and a four-plus volume copy of a hadith collection (*Jāmi' al-Uṣūl fī Aḥādīṣ al-Rasūl*).⁴²⁰ The scriptorium was supposed to produce one Persian copy and one Arabic copy *JT* each year as well as Rashīd al-Dīn's theological works and his *Āṣār va Aḥyā*.⁴²¹ Therefore, even in his own time, Rashīd al-Dīn made sure that his works were properly copied and distributed.⁴²²

Editions of *JT* have been published since 1834. These editions started with Quatrèmere's edited section on Hülegü and continued by Edgar Blochet's edition on Ögedei's section and finally with Karl Jahn's works on various parts of *JT*.⁴²³ However, none of these editions are complete. Our first and only complete edition of *JT* is that published by Mīrās-i Maktūb in Tehran, edited by Mohammad Raushan and Mostafa Mousavi. Due to it being complete, it is the main edition used in this work. Charles Melville, in his article, "Rashīd al-Dīn and the *Shāhnāma*," raises some issues concerning the credibility of the volume on the history of pre-Islamic Iran in this edition. He correctly points out that this volume cannot be representing Rashīd al-Dīn's work; rather that of Ḥāfiẓ Abrū.⁴²⁴ For this part, the editors consulted Hazine 1653 and 1654 as the basis of their editions, though most verses in Hazine 1653 were added by Ḥāfiẓ Abrū and cannot be found in the other manuscripts of *JT*. Given the fact that some parts of the edition cannot represent Rashīd al-Dīn's own time, I will also use other editions and manuscripts of *JT* as far as possible to get a full picture of the usage of poetry in *JT*.

⁴²⁰ Rashīd al-Dīn, *Vaqfnāma-yi Rab'-i Rashīdī*, ed. Mojtaba Minovi and Iraj Afshar (Tehran: Offset Press, 1971), 133.

⁴²¹ Rashīd al-Dīn, 237-238. Naurane Ben Azzouna has explained in an article the evolutionary development of the Rashidi scriptorium. See: "Rashīd al-Dīn Faḍl Allāh Al-Hamadhānī's Manuscript Production Project in Tabriz Reconsidered," in *Politics, Patronage and the Transmission of Knowledge in 13th-15th Century Tabriz*, ed. Judith Pfeiffer (Leiden: Brill, 2014), 187-200.

⁴²² Sheila Blair has questioned this process of distribution by saying that even though copies of *JT* were supposed to be produced every year, it did not come to fruition and therefore, Rashīd al-Dīn's plan was, at least regarding the illustrations, a failure, because the artists could not keep the pace. See: Sheila Blair, "Illustrating History: Rashid al-Din and his *Compendium of Chronicles*," *Iranian Studies* 50, no.6 (2017): 829-830. For more about *JT*'s illustrations see other works of Sheila Blair such as, "Calligraphers, Illuminators, and Painters in the Ilkhanid Scriptorium," in *Beyond the Legacy of Genghis Khan*, ed. Linda Komaroff (Leiden: Brill, 2006), 167-182; *A Compendium of Chronicles: Rashid al-Din's Illustrated History of the World* (London: Nour Foundation and Oxford University Press, 1995).

⁴²³ For more info on editions of *JT*, see: Rajabzadeh, *Khvāja Rashīd al-Dīn Faḍl Allāh*, 358-60.

⁴²⁴ See: Charles Melville, "Rashīd al-Dīn and the *Shāhnāma*," *The Royal Asiatic Society* 26, 1-2(2016): 201-214.

3.4 Language and Structure of *Jāmi' al-Tavārīkh*

As was mentioned in the section on the production of *JT*, Öljeitü ordered Rashīd al-Dīn to expand his project adding a second volume on history of the world and a third volume on geography.⁴²⁵ Unfortunately, we do not have the third volume, but since Rashīd al-Dīn's own description of this volume has an undeniable similarity to the contents of Ḥāfiẓ Abrū's *Jughrāfiyā* (The Geography), written in the fourteenth century, it is possible that some of Rashīd al-Dīn's materials found their way into Ḥāfiẓ Abrū's work.⁴²⁶

The second volume of the *JT*, the history of the world, consists of 11 sections which have all been published in the form of 11 separate volumes by the Mīraṣ-i Maktūb publishing company in Tehran.⁴²⁷ These volumes cover the history of Iran and Islam, the history of the House of Israel, the Khwarazmshahs, the Oghuz, the Samanids, the Buyids, the Ghaznavids, the Seljuqs, the Salghurids of Fars, the Ismā'īlīs, the history of India, the history of China, and the history of the Popes and Caesars. It has been suggested before that the second volume may not represent Rashīd al-Dīn's own work.⁴²⁸ In this section, however, I will investigate the book's language and structure as a long-lasting project instead of looking at it only through Rashīd al-Dīn's eyes, meaning that I will study the text as a multi-layered literary production which was reused, even modified, in later periods because of its complexity. As we will see later in this section, many of *JT*'s sections closely follow the contents and the writing styles of their sources. Therefore, it is reasonable to reflect on the continuity of *JT* while keeping in mind that it is a composition of the Ilkhanid era.

3.4.1 The First Volume, *Tārīkh-i Mubārak-i Ghāzānī*

Introductions are an important part of books in the Perso-Islamic tradition of writing, since they habitually provide readers with information about the authors' lives, their motivations and purposes for writing, their patrons and dedicatees, what or who provoked them to write and so on. Moreover, they may introduce the structure of their works and why they have decided to organize their books as they have.⁴²⁹

⁴²⁵ Page 120.

⁴²⁶ Melville, "The Mongol and Timurid Periods, 1250-1500," 171; Hiroshi Ono, "Ḥāfiẓ Abrū's Geographical Work, the So-called *Jughrāfiyā*: Its Significance and Evaluation in Relation to Rashīd al-Dīn's Works," *Journal of Asian History* 49 (2015): 65.

⁴²⁷ There are other editions such as that of Karl Jahn as well, but they do not include all volumes.

⁴²⁸ Page 123.

⁴²⁹ Writing a preface (*dibācha*) or introduction (*muqaddima*) became more important from the Timurid period onward with the emergence of albums of calligraphy and painting patronized by the Timurid rulers. Album prefaces usually include the names of the patrons and the person who was charged with its compilation, the process of compilation and the list of the masters involved. The tradition of writing album preface continued during the Safavid and the Mughal eras as well. For more information about this subject see: David Roxburgh, *Prefacing the Image* (Leiden: Brill, 2001); Wheeler Thackston, *Album Prefaces and Other Documents on the History of Calligraphers and Painters* (Leiden: Brill, 2001).

In the previous chapter, I have already discussed an instance of such introductions and the extent of understanding that one can gain by merely reading the introduction of *RŞ*. The case of *JT* is, however, slightly different than its predecessors. Given the broad subject it covers, and the long years spent on its composition, there is no surprise that there is more than one introduction.

The first introduction seems to have been written after the completion of the work and it was most likely meant to be the introduction for the entire text, since it is a general introduction which discusses the work as an entirety, especially in the last three pages.⁴³⁰ The structure also differs slightly from other historiographies which followed the Perso-Islamic tradition. For one, it starts with only a few sentences of praising God, the prophet, the Rashidun caliphs, and the companions of Muḥammad and it ends with a Qur'anic verse which praises God and salutes the prophets; all are summed up in less than five lines.⁴³¹

The introduction includes 31 verses of Persian poetry and almost all of them (except for one verse from Azraqī) are anonymous and it is not clear if they are Rashīd al-Dīn's own compositions. Unlike many of Rāvandī's verses in the introduction of *RŞ* which connected both in form and content to their previous passages,⁴³² the verses in the introduction of *TMG* were applied based on their general concept as a piece of literary evidence for the notions discussed in the prose text.⁴³³ Furthermore, they come in variety of meters and in the case of poems, in various templates such as *maṣnavī*, *qit'a*, and *qaṣīda*.⁴³⁴

In terms of content, after brief praise of God and the prophet, the introduction continues with an explanation of the process of the work; how Ghazan ordered him to collect information about the Mongols; how and when Ghazan died; and how Öljeitü succeeded him. While the traditional formula of praising God, the prophet, and the caliphs is much shorter and, in that sense, entirely incomparable to previous historical books, the author has put more effort into praising his patrons, Ghazan and Öljeitü.⁴³⁵ Between these two, he emphasized more the living patron, Öljeitü. In this account Rashīd al-Dīn only dedicated two paragraphs to Ghazan Khan while the account of praising Öljeitü continues for pages and it includes a great amount of poetry. Then, the author returns to continue his story about the process of

⁴³⁰ Rashīd al-Dīn, *TMG*, 11-13.

⁴³¹ Rashīd al-Dīn, 1.

⁴³² See for instance the rhetorical devices of *ḥall* and *aqd* on pages 39-41.

⁴³³ This practice is called "*shāhid-i miṣāl*".

⁴³⁴ *Qit'a* is a poetic template in which the rhyming words (*qāfiya*) are placed in the end of every second hemistich.

⁴³⁵ For this matter, from the sources that were written during the Mongol period and before *JT*, Juvainī's book has a page and a half; Vaṣṣāf has five pages; and in a previous period, *Rāḥat al-Şudūr* has 18 pages. There seems to be a relationship between the writing style of the writer and the length of this section in the introductions. If the author's style is more sophisticated with a large number of rhetorical figures and inclusion of poetry and Qur'anic verses, the introduction is usually longer, like in Vaṣṣāf's history. Other factors also play a role in this matter; one of which is the purpose of the authors in choosing their writing style. For example, if the author needs to impress his patron or their peers by his writing style, the introduction would be longer, like in the case of Rāvandī.

writing the book; in other words, how the book on the history of the Mongols was transformed to a 'world history'. This 'world history' should include anecdotes of various peoples and climes (*ḥikāyāt-i 'umūm-i ahl-i aqālīm-i 'ālam*), classes of humans (*ṭabaqāt-i aṣnāf-i banī ādam*), and histories of other regions (*akhbār-i sāyir-i bilād*).⁴³⁶

One of the intriguing features of this introduction is the explanation given by Rashīd al-Dīn about what is known in modern scholarship as methodology. He starts this discussion by classifying different kinds of narratives; all of which seem to have a connection to religious sciences, since in many cases, historians and religious scholars used the same set of materials.⁴³⁷ The terms Rashīd al-Dīn applies for the types of narratives are *naql-i mutivātir* and *naql-i āḥād*.⁴³⁸ The former refers to the narratives which were cited by different authors more often, the latter refers to the narratives which are conceived to be controversial among the scholars. Since there is consensus in the case of the first type of narratives, Islamic scholars often perceived them as credible; a characteristic that the latter type lacks. Rashīd al-Dīn's usage of these religious terminologies is an attestation of how he presented himself not only as a vizier or a historian, but as a religious scholar as well.

The introduction is followed by the table of contents, or rather a description of how the book has been structured. The terms that were used to describe sections, chapters, and subchapters are another reason to think that the language of every section follows the sources used for that particular section. While the words *bāb*, *qism*, and *faṣl* shape the structure of *TMG*, representing the main sections, chapters, and subchapters respectively; the structure of the second volume of *JT* (the world history) does not display such an order. *Bāb*, *qism*, and *faṣl* appear interchangeably in the second volume, following the lead of its original sources.

While the first introduction is for the whole project of *JT*, the second introduction belongs to *TMG*. In line with Perso-Islamic tradition, the introduction starts by praising God followed by praising the patron, Ghazan Khan and his conversion to Islam.⁴³⁹ According to Rashīd al-Dīn, not all people can perceive secrets of the universe and Abraham was one of the

⁴³⁶ Rashīd al-Dīn, *TMG*, 8.

⁴³⁷ Especially considering that during the 9th-14th centuries, many of historians were religious scholars themselves. There was a close connection between the emergence of *ḥadīth* and *akhbār*. *Ḥadīth* came to existence because Muslims felt that the life of the prophet is worthy of being emulated and *akhbār* emerged to record the origins of the Islamic *umma* and its constitution. At first, they both followed the same method which was mentioning a list of authorities or transmitters, in order to verify its credibility, but in the later stages, lists of authorities were omitted from historiographies. See: Andrew Peacock, *Early Islamic Historiography and Political Legitimacy* (London and New York: Routledge, 2007), 8-9.

⁴³⁸ Rashīd al-Dīn, *TMG*, 9.

⁴³⁹ Rashīd al-Dīn, 29. On Ghazan's conversion to Islam, see: Charles Melville, "Padshah-i Islam: The Conversion of Sultan Mahmud Ghazan Khan." *Pembroke Papers* 1(1990):159-177; Judith Pfeiffer, "The Canonization of Cultural Memory: Ghāzān Khan, Rashīd al-Dīn, and the Construction of the Mongol Past." In *Rashīd al-Dīn: Agent and Mediator of Cultural Exchanges in Ilkhanid Iran*, ed. Anna Akasoy, Chaled Brunette, and Ronit Yoeli-Tlalim (London & Turin: The Warburg Institute, 2013), 57-70.

few people who could. He was monotheist among all his infidel kin, and he was extremely sincere in his faith to such a degree that he was prepared to sacrifice his long-desired child to please and obey God.⁴⁴⁰ Rashīd al-Dīn informs us that Abaraham's line was kept clean and pure and from that line Muḥammad was born.⁴⁴¹ He continues the introduction by indicating that Chinggis Khan rose when the faith had started to shake and it was by his mission that the faith became strong again.⁴⁴² At the end of the introduction, Rashīd al-Dīn draws upon the figure of Abraham as he like Ghazan was on a mission to destroy idols and spread the faith of God.⁴⁴³

The style of writing, like most introductions written in this milieu is more flowery than the main body of the text, using a remarkable number of verses (49) and rhyming words (*saj'*) as well as many Qur'anic verses. The closest translation which can be presented for *saj'* may be 'rhyming words.'⁴⁴⁴ A close examination of word usage in *TMG* reveals that out of 293 words in two pages of the introduction,⁴⁴⁵ there are 89 pairs of *saj'* (178 words); most of which are formed in *mutavāzin saj'*, the most rhythmic type of *saj'*. What these numbers indicate is Rashīd al-Dīn's knowledge of literary sources and that he was aware of the importance of the writing style of introductions in the Persian canon. An example of *saj'* in the introduction is as follows:

"حال عاشقان جمال جلال قدس و مشتاقان زلال وصال انس که سالکان راه طلب و روندگان بادیه تعب اند..."⁴⁴⁶
 عاشقان = مشتاقان / جمال = جلال / جلال = جمال = زلال / زلال = جلال = وصال / قدس = انس / زلال = وصال / سالکان = روندگان / طلب = تعب

The main body of *TMG* contains two large sections. The first section concerns the Turkic peoples and the way they were divided into different people (*qawm*). In this part, the author defines four chapters and an introduction where he gives us a brief overview of the names of Turkic tribes and the geographical areas where they usually reside. The geographical information is not very detailed or specific to tribes, rather he simply names the regions where Turkic people generally could be found.⁴⁴⁷ Regarding the chapters, the author divides Turkic people into four types: First, the Oghuz people;⁴⁴⁸ second, Turkic people who were called Mongols in the time of the author;⁴⁴⁹ third, Turkic people who had their own kingdoms or

⁴⁴⁰ Rashīd al-Dīn, *TMG*, 23-25.

⁴⁴¹ Rashīd al-Dīn, 26.

⁴⁴² Rashīd al-Dīn, 28.

⁴⁴³ Rashīd al-Dīn, 29.

⁴⁴⁴ There are three types of *saj'*: *mutavāzī*, *muṭarraḥ*, *mutavāzin*. The first one happens when two words (or more) sharing the same meter as well as rhyming. The second type only signifies rhyming words, regardless of meter and the third one is only based on meter. Homa'i, *Funūn-i Balāghat*, 39-40.

⁴⁴⁵ Not counting 62 prepositions.

⁴⁴⁶ Rashīd al-Dīn, *TMG*, 22.

⁴⁴⁷ Rashīd al-Dīn, 39-40.

⁴⁴⁸ Rashīd al-Dīn, 45-60.

⁴⁴⁹ Rashīd al-Dīn, 61-102.

their own leaders;⁴⁵⁰ fourth, the Turkic people whose title (*laqab*) was ‘Mongols’ in the old times.⁴⁵¹ The last chapter has its own subchapter as well since it includes the most important myth of the Mongols and the story of their ancestor Bodonchar’s birth from a shaft of light which impregnated Alan Qo’a. This story is repeated more than once in this volume, sometimes briefly and sometimes in length.⁴⁵²

The second section of this volume narrates the history of the Turkic and Mongolian kings,⁴⁵³ the first chapter of which goes over the history of Chinggis’s ancestors (i.e. Alan Qo’a’s children) who were born from light.⁴⁵⁴ However, this time the story is told in full including the stories of all their children. This chapter ends with the story of Chinggis Khan’s father, Yisugei.

A certain type of pattern can be discerned in the rest of the volume while narrating the story of the Chinggisid family’s rule, according to which each of their stories begins with mentioning the names and genealogies of their children, occasionally with details, in case they were important. These are followed by narrating the story of their reigns and ending with a few sporadic anecdotes about their greatness or their virtues.

Although the pattern is the same for the various rulers, the section concerning Chinggis Khan is slightly different. His story is related in two forms: first the events have been narrated descriptively, and then they have been mentioned briefly in chronological order using the Chinese calendar. In the former form, the author deals with events of a number of years, then stops at a point where he finds significant. Then, he goes back to the same years to relate the history of other lands and kingdoms to show what was happening in those lands in order to provide the ground for his readers to acquire a comprehensive historical overview. This historical information usually includes China, Iran, Turkistan, Transoxiana, and the caliphate. This method of applying parallel history decreases as the Mongols come close to these other dynasties and their histories get more entangled with each other. In other words, in a way it represents the process of the expansion of the Mongol Empire.⁴⁵⁵ Parallel history can also be found in another source of the Ilkhanid era, *Tārīkh-i Vaṣṣāf* whose author, Vaṣṣāf, was a protégé of Rashīd al-Dīn. *Tārīkh-i Vaṣṣāf*’s first three volumes had been finished even before Ghazan Khan ordered his vizier to write the history of the Mongols, so when Rashīd al-Dīn started to write his history, he borrowed certain elements from Vaṣṣāf’s work including parallel history.⁴⁵⁶

⁴⁵⁰ Rashīd al-Dīn, 103-134.

⁴⁵¹ Rashīd al-Dīn, 135-196.

⁴⁵² Rashīd al-Dīn, 136 & 169 & 202-208,

⁴⁵³ Rashīd al-Dīn, 197-691.

⁴⁵⁴ The names of her sons are Būqun Qatuqī, Būqātū Sālji, and Būdanchar as recorded by Rashīd al-Dīn.

⁴⁵⁵ Kamola, “Rashīd al-Dīn and the Making of History in the Mongol Iran,” 226-227.

⁴⁵⁶ Kamola, 280.

There is a difference in the structure of the last section of the book which deals with the virtues of Ghazan Khan and his tendency to construct buildings and developing cities.⁴⁵⁷ Contrary to the other rulers whose virtues have been summed up in a few anecdotes, Ghazan's virtues and good deeds have been described in forty anecdotes, each of them having a specific subject. What is interesting is that some subjects are very similar to each other; so similar that it makes us wonder why they are not under the same topic. Given the importance of the number of forty in Islamic tradition and considering the author's intention to emphasize Ghazan's Islamic side, it seems that Rashīd al-Dīn actually was intentionally trying to reach the number 40. An example of this similarity can be found in anecdotes 30 and 31; whereas the first is about preparing food and wine for the great *ordu*, the latter is about preparing the food for *khatuns* (royal/noble women) and other *ordus*.⁴⁵⁸

3.4.2 The Second Volume, History of the World

Order of the second volume of *JT* might differ from one manuscript to another. Here I have opted the order of ms. Hazine 1654 which is the oldest manuscript for the second volume.⁴⁵⁹

3.4.2.1 The History of Iran and Islam (*Tārīkh-i Īrān va Islām*)

The first section in history of the world is the history of Iran and Islam and it is perhaps the most challenging section of *JT*, as the pre-Islamic section is Ḥāfīz Abrū's history.⁴⁶⁰ This part has been divided into two large sections, one dealing with the history of the prophets from Adam to Muḥammad and at the same time covering the history of ancient Iranian kings; and the second section narrates the history of Islam from the time of Muḥammad onwards.

It was mentioned earlier that the writing style of history and for the most part, the contents of the world in *JT* closely follows that of its sources. Rashīd al-Dīn himself says in the first introduction of *JT* that he completed the *JT*'s project by mixing and integrating other sources into his own.⁴⁶¹ According to Mohammad Raushan the only source of *JT* for the section of Iran and Islam was *Tārīkh-i Ṭabarī*.⁴⁶² Another possibility is the Persian translation

⁴⁵⁷ This can also be another influence of Vaṣṣāf's work, since there is a section in his book concerning Ghazan's buildings and reform works.

⁴⁵⁸ Rashīd al-Dīn, *TMG*, 1339-1343. On women during the Mongol era, see: Bruno de Nicola, *Women in Mongol Iran: The Khatuns 1206-1335* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2017); Anne Broadbridge, *Women and the Making of the Mongol Empire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018).

⁴⁵⁹ For more on the manuscripts of *JT*, see: Kamola, *Making Mongol History*, 183-271.

⁴⁶⁰ *JT* in the court of the Timurids will be discussed later in this chapter on page 166.

⁴⁶¹ Rashīd al-Dīn, *TMG*, 8.

⁴⁶² Rashīd al-Dīn, *Jāmi' al-Tavārīkh, Tārīkh-i Aqām-i Pādishāhān-i Khutāy*, ed. Mohammad Raushan (Tehran: Mīrās-i Maktūb, 1385/2007), sīzdah.

of *Tārīkh-i Ṭabarī* by Abū ‘Alī Bal‘amī, known as *Tārīkh-nāma-yi Ṭabarī* or *Tārīkh-i Bal‘amī*.⁴⁶³ Regardless of the impacts which these two sources may have had on *JT*'s content, the structure we see in the critical edition has nothing to do with the structural arrangements of those two sources. *Tārīkh-i Bal‘amī*'s structure was clearly oriented according to a religious framework, since before starting to narrate history, Bal‘amī inserts a few chapters on Jews asking questions of Muhammad to demonstrate the level of Muhammad's knowledge and literacy and thus, legitimizing and giving him credit as the rightful prophet. Moreover, the stories of the Iranian kings are narrated in Bal‘amī's book alongside of the histories of the prophets. There is no trace of the classes of the Iranian kings, or the separation made by the dynasties. The author first narrates the story of Adam and Seth and then goes to the stories of Kīyumarṣ to Bīvarasp, then again comes back to the story of the prophets, in this case Noah. This pattern of moving between the kings and the prophets continues throughout the whole book.⁴⁶⁴

In contrast, *JT*'s structure seems to have a different framework, especially since it seems to be following the *Shāhnāma*'s order of the kings. Another source, *Niẓām al-Tavārīkh* by Qāzī Bayzāvī is also noticeable for the structure of this section, especially regarding the division of ancient Iranian history into four *ṭabaqas* (classes): The Pishdadids, the Kayanids, the Arsacids, and the Sasanians.⁴⁶⁵ Based on the different arrangement of the Arabic manuscript of *JT* in Edinburgh and the structure of *Niẓām al-Tavārīkh*, Charles Melville has suggested that the present structure of Raushan's critical edition is a reworking of the later periods done by Ḥāfiẓ Abrū.⁴⁶⁶

Ḥāfiẓ Abrū's account of pre-Islamic history differs significantly from that of Rashīd al-Dīn. While the former includes 1,288 verses- 711 from Firdawsī and 140 written in the style of the *Shāhnāma*- the latter rarely incorporates poetry. Nevertheless, Rashīd al-Dīn's version still follows the *Shāhnāma*'s sequence of kings, including the four dynasties: the Pishdadids, the Kayanids, the Arsacids, and the Sasanians.

The second section deals with the history of Islam and contains four chapters using the terms *ṭabaqa* (class) and *maqāla* (discourse) for chapter interchangeably. While for the first chapter which deals with the history of Muhammad and his prophetic reign, the term *ṭabaqa* is used, for the other three chapters, the term *maqāla* is applied. Chapter one contains a large number of subchapters which are separated only by headings, many of which concern the battles of the Muslims against infidels.⁴⁶⁷ The next chapter concerns the reigns of the Rashidun

⁴⁶³ Charles Melville, "Rashīd al-Dīn and the *Shāhnāmeḥ*," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* 26 (2016): 206.

⁴⁶⁴ On the *Tārīkh-i Bal‘amī* and its relation to the *Tārīkh-i Ṭabarī* see: Peacock, *Medieval Islamic Historiography and Political Legitimacy*.

⁴⁶⁵ On Bayzāvī, see pp.101-102.

⁴⁶⁶ Melville, "Rashīd al-Dīn and the *Shāhnāmeḥ*," 213.

⁴⁶⁷ Two terms are used for these battles: *ghazāt* and *sariyat*. The first refers to the battles where the prophet was present, and the other refers to the battles which were fought by the prophets' commanders and representatives.

caliphs (Abū Bakr, ‘Umar, ‘Uthmān, and ‘Alī). In this chapter the pattern of narration slightly changes, since the headings are not only the description of the events, but also some of them are only the year such as: ‘the mention of the events of the year 14 A.H. (ex. *ẓikr-i ḥavādiṣ-i sana-yi arba‘a va ‘ashara*); thus, the events are narrated chronologically. At the end of every caliph’s reign, there is a subchapter on their facial features (ex. *ẓikr-i ḥillīyat-i Abū Bakr*)⁴⁶⁸ and another on their virtues (ex. *ẓikr-i manāqib va maḥāmid-i Abū Bakr*).⁴⁶⁹ The next two chapters are classified based on the dynasties: the Umayyads and the Abbasids. Almost the entire history of their dynasties is narrated chronologically.

3.4.2.2 The History of the Buyids, the Samanids, and the Ghaznavids (*Tārīkh-i Sāmānīyān, Buvayhīyān, va Ghaznavīyān*)

It is hard to distinguish a specific pattern for the section on the Samanids, the Buyids, and the Ghaznavids, like the pattern which exists for the volume on Mongol history. The section concerning the Ghaznavids, the Buyids, and the Samanids starts with a prologue where the author talks about the benefits of history which are two; the first is for rulers and kings to know that the world is transient and the only thing that will remain of rulers is their good name and good deeds; the second is for rulers and kings to appreciate the value of the ‘*ulamā* and the people of culture; the same topic that was the interest of Rāvandī as well.

There is another remark in this prologue which is about the author’s style of writing. He informs us that he attempted to write it in a manner which is understandable for both Turks and Persians and that he tried to stay away from formality and obsequiousness as well as not including anecdotes which are not in line with the book’s structure.⁴⁷⁰

As the editor, Mohammad Raushan, has pointed out, the main source of this section is the Persian translation of *Tārīkh-i Yamīnī* (written in Arabic by ‘Utbi) by Jurfādaqānī.⁴⁷¹ The Persian translation was titled *Tarjuma-yi Tārīkh-i Yamīnī* and it was composed around 1206-7 by the order of Jamāl al-Dīn’s Āyba’s vizier, Abū al-Qāsim ‘Alī ibn Ḥasan.⁴⁷² Apart from a few pages in the beginning and a few pages in the end, from the death of Maḥmūd onwards, almost everything, such as phrases, sentences, and rhetorical figures, has been adopted (or

⁴⁶⁸ Rashīd al-Dīn, *Jāmi‘ al-Tavārīkh, Tārīkh-i Īrān va Islām*, ed. Mohammad Raushan (Tehran: Mīrās-i Maktūb, 1392/ 2013), vol.2, 1122.

⁴⁶⁹ Ibid.

⁴⁷⁰ "به عبارتی که به ادراک و افهام قریب بود، و ترک و تازیک آن را بدانند، و از تکلف و تصلف دور باشیم، و از حکایتی که از اسلوب کتاب بعید بود تجنب نمایم." Rashīd al-Dīn, *Jāmi‘ al-Tavārīkh, Tārīkh-i Sāmānīyān, Buvayhīyān, va Ghaznavīyān*, ed. Mohammad Raushan (Tehran: Mīrās-i Maktūb, 1386/ 2007), 5.

⁴⁷¹ Rashīd al-Dīn, *Tārīkh-i Sāmānīyān, Buvayhīyān, va Ghaznavīyān*, davāzdah- sīzdah.

⁴⁷² Meisami, *Persian Historiography to the End of the Twelfth century*, 256.

rather copied) from *Tarjuma-yi Tārīkh-i Yamīnī*.⁴⁷³ Therefore, we only have a few pages to assess whether Rashīd al-Dīn was true to his word about the style of writing or not and even in those pages, the author(s) seems to have made use of a massive amount of vocabulary and phrases that Jūrfādaqānī had done before.⁴⁷⁴

What we see in these few pages is simple prose, as he said in the prologue. There is no trace of extreme rhetorical figures, excessive usage of *saj'*, or heroic description of battles. Contrary to these few pages, the rest of the book contains a large amount of rhetorical figures and epic descriptions of battles, especially where it concerns the battles of Maḥmūd against infidels which seems to be totally justified and expected, since the Ghaznavids, especially Maḥmūd, aimed to establish themselves as the warriors of the orthodox faith and epic descriptions of his battle could have given him an image of a religious hero. Maḥmūd was praised as *ghāzī* (holy warrior) by his court's poets and he depicted himself as such in the *fatḥnāmas* (victory proclamations) which he sent to the caliph.⁴⁷⁵ An example of the complexity he uses in his writing style is shown in the following passage concerning the battle of Bahāṭīya, one of Maḥmūd's battles against the infidels. This part has been copied from Jurfādaqānī's book word by word:

"و سلطان سه روز متواتر به صواعق یوارق صفاح و لوامح شوارع رماح او را در کورہ دمار و تنورہ ہوار می سوزانید. روز چهارم به رشق سهام و مشق سنان و حسام صحایف عمران مخاذیل و اضالیل تباہ و سیاہ گردانید، و چون زورق خورشید ندای تکبیر احزاب دین و مسامع اهل علیین رسانید از سر صدق و یقین و برای نصرت دین حمله کردند، تا سواد کفر از بیاض رقعه آن عرصہ محو شود.⁴⁷⁶

'And the Sultan burned him for three consecutive days in the oven of destruction and the tandoor of obliteration by the lightning bolts of blades and the luminescence of the lengths of spears. On the fourth day, with the shooting of arrows and the piercing blade of spear and sword, the pages of the prosperity of the denigrated and dejected were destroyed and blackened and when the skiff of the sun brought the cries of exultation of the parties of the faith to the ears of the heavenly host, they (i.e. Maḥmūd's army) out of their fervent fidelity mounted their attack for the victory of the faith, so that the black mark of blasphemy be wiped from the clean white page of that field.'

⁴⁷³ Raushan has compared the whole volume with *Tarjuma-yi Tārīkh-i Yamīnī* and included the results of this comparison at the end of the volume. See: Rashīd al-Dīn, *Tārīkh-i Sāmānīyān, Buvayhīyān, va Ghaznavīyān*, 251-264.

⁴⁷⁴ An example of this similarity between their vocabulary is the part where the author is talking about his style of writing. In Jurfādaqānī's work he tells us that his patron ordered him to translate 'Utbi's book (*Tārīkh-i Yamīnī*), in a way that it would be understandable for Turks and Persians. The sets of vocabulary that were used here is extremely similar to what Rashīd al-Dīn used. (صواب آنست که آن را بعبارتی که بافهام نزدیک باشد و ترک و تازی را دران ادراک) افتد بیاری نقل کنی و از اسلوب کتاب فراتر نشوی و از تکلف و تصلف مجانبت نمایی و بالفاظی بشیع و لغات غریب تمسک نسازی) Jurfādaqānī, *Tarjumay-yi Tārīkh-i Yamīnī*, 14.

⁴⁷⁵ Clifford Edmund Bosworth, *The Ghaznavids* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1963), 53.

⁴⁷⁶ Rashīd al-Dīn, *Tārīkh-i Sāmānīyān, Buvayhīyān, va Ghaznavīyān*, 116.

All the words that have been underlined in the Persian text enjoy a type of *saj'* and this is merely one of the many rhetorical figures that Persian authors used. There are other types of rhetorical figures in the text as well. For example, when it comes to written works, the words *savād* and *bayāz* convey other meanings such as the draft and final version respectively, as well as black and white literally.

Other than this, as may be clear from the English translation, various types of analogies can be found in this passage as well which have been underlined in the English text. Some of the analogies might be more straightforward, like the 'oven of destruction' and some others may be more sophisticated, like 'the clean white page of the field.' While in the former, there is an analogy between destruction and ovens, in the latter, the field, which presumably is an analogy to religion, is likened to a white sheet which has been blackened by blasphemy.

3.4.2.3 The History of the Seljuqs (*Tārīkh-i Āl-i Saljūq*)

The section on the history of the Seljuqs contains an introduction and a number of chapters which are separated from one another only by headings. After praising God and his prophet in the beginning of the introduction, Rashīd al-Dīn opens a discussion about the status of the angels, the prophets, and the kings. According to him, these are 'the chosen ones', each of them having particular skills and certain duties. Among them, only the kings can change their status by acquiring other skills; thus, if a just king learns knowledge (the prophets' skill), then he is closer to the rank of the prophets. Then, the author introduces the Seljuqs as the greatest dynasty by providing us a brief overview of what they did in order to improve Islam and religiosity. Although the introduction is very short, it contains the most important legitimizing pillar of the Seljuq dynasty's ideology: religion.

Apart from the first and last chapter which are about the beginning of Seljuq history and their collapse respectively, all the other chapters are arranged based on the sultans (14) each possessing one chapter. The last chapter concerns the end of Tughril III's reign and his death which contains an addendum (*zayl*) on the *Saljūqnāma* of Ṣāḥir al-Dīn Nayshābūrī, written by Abū Ḥāmid Muḥammad ibn Ibrāhīm in 1203. Since the addendum's heading explicitly mentions the source, it is unquestionable that the author has used this source.

Like all the other sections of *JT*, the question of sources is important for us to analyse the structure. Raushan believes that for this section of *JT*, Rashīd al-Dīn used two other sources, apart from Abū Ḥāmid's book: the *Saljūqnāma* and *Rāḥat al-Ṣudūr*.⁴⁷⁷ However, having compared the narratives in these three books, I do not believe that the author ever used *RṢ* as his source at all. Both *JT* and *RṢ* share the same factual narratives so much as they used the same source, i.e. the *Saljūqnāma*, but there is no narrative that is shared by *JT* and

⁴⁷⁷ Rashīd al-Dīn, *Jāmi' al-Tavārīkh, Tārīkh-i Āl-i Saljūq*, ed. Mohammad Raushan (Tehran: Mīrās-i Maktūb, 1386/2007), yāzdah.

RŞ which does not appear in the *Saljūqnāma*. Therefore, if the differences in the text of *JT* were not made by Rashīd al-Dīn (which might also have been the case), there should have been another source in use. A study by Alexander Morton has shown that there are traces of an Anatolian source in this section as well. Morton, who has investigated the narratives of *JT* and its alterations to the narratives of the *Saljūqnāma*, indicates that some alterations are related to the events which deals with the role of Israel, the forefather of the Seljuqs of Anatolia. These particular events can also be found verbatim in an Anatolian source about the Seljuq family: *Masāmarat al-Akhhbār* written by Aqṣaray.⁴⁷⁸ Since the latter book was written during the reign of Abū Saʿīd, it could not have been the source for *JT*, but they have probably made use of the same source.

There is one structural feature that recurs in almost every chapter. At the end of the era of each sultan, Rashīd al-Dīn gives us a brief description of the sultan's facial features, his lifetime, the duration of his reign, and the names of his viziers and chamberlains. This structural feature can also be found in the *Saljūqnāma* and *RŞ*, except that in the latter, it occurs at the beginning of every chapter.

3.4.2.4 The History of the Khwarazmshahs (*Tārīkh-i Salāṭīn-i Khvārazm*)

The section on the Khwarazmshahs of *JT* has no introduction and starts immediately with the genealogy of the sultans of Khwarazm and how they were related to the Oghuz.⁴⁷⁹ Moreover, there is no division for this section either. Instead of having chapters and sections to organize the contents, the author has only used headings to separate one part from another (ex. *ẓikr-i aḥvāl-i sulṭān Jalāl al-Dīn dar Hindūstān*).⁴⁸⁰ The entire history of the Khwarazmshahs has been summed up in 67 pages of which only 16 pages have been dedicated to the Khwarazmshahs before Sultan Muḥammad (r. 1200-1220).⁴⁸¹ The rest deals with Sultan Muḥammad and Jalāl al-Dīn, 18 pages and 32 pages respectively, most of which are the stories of their conquests. In the case of Jalāl al-Dīn, it covers his expeditions to India,⁴⁸² Baghdād,⁴⁸³ Gurjistān,⁴⁸⁴ and Akhlāṭ (in modern day Turkey).⁴⁸⁵

⁴⁷⁸ Morton, "Qashani and Rashid al-Din on the Seljuqs of Iran," 170.

⁴⁷⁹ Rashīd al-Dīn, *Jāmi' al-Tavārīkh, Tārīkh-i Salāṭīn-i Khvārazm*, ed. Mohammad Raushan (Tehran: Mīrās-i Maktūb, 1389/ 2010), 1.

⁴⁸⁰ Rashīd al-Dīn, 41.

⁴⁸¹ Rashīd al-Dīn, 1-16.

⁴⁸² Rashīd al-Dīn, 41-45.

⁴⁸³ Rashīd al-Dīn, 46-48.

⁴⁸⁴ Rashīd al-Dīn, 49-57.

⁴⁸⁵ Rashīd al-Dīn, 58-68.

3.4.2.5 *The History of the Salghurids (Tārīkh-i Salghuriyān-i Fārs)*

The section on the Salghurids in *JT* seems to be the shortest section of the book, probably because it is a concise summary of the Salghurid narrative in the *History of Vaṣṣāf*. As we have seen in the other sections, Rashīd al-Dīn usually follows his sources' writing style as well as making use of their contents and this section is no exception. We can see the traces of Vaṣṣāf's more 'sophisticated' writing style, along with a relatively large number of verses. There are 38 verses throughout, and the section is 28 pages long according to the critical edition. This is the fourth highest number of instances where poetry is applied in *JT*.⁴⁸⁶ Moreover, out of these 38 verses, 29 are from unknown poets which, considering that the author used Vaṣṣāf as his source, make it likely that these verses are Vaṣṣāf's own compositions.

The whole section on the Salghurids is narrated in one piece without making use of chapters and subchapters. Except for the main heading, there is no other heading that can be found in the text. As Kamola has pointed out, Rashīd al-Dīn seems to have been sceptical about including this section in *JT*, as many of the manuscripts lack this Salghurid history.⁴⁸⁷ The concise contents of the section start with the number of the Salghurid kings and their coming to power during the time of the Seljuqs and ends with the dissolution of their state by the Mongols.

3.4.2.6 *The History of the Ismā'īlīs (Tārīkh-i Ismā'īliyān)*

The beginning of history of the Ismā'īlīs is different from all the other sections, since it starts with three verses present in three different parts of the Qur'an. It commences with the first two verses of the *sura* of Fātiḥa praising God; then another verse was added from the *sura* of A'rāf where the story of Moses and his people is narrated. In this verse Moses addresses his people who were suffering from the persecution of the Pharaoh and reassures them that 'the outcome is for the cautious.'⁴⁸⁸ The third verse is from the *sura* of Baqara and the context is not related to the Jews, rather the infidels. In the previous verse Allah orders his people to fight with infidels and gives some instructions about how and when it should be done and when it is not allowed. One of these instructions is shown in the verse we are concerned with: 'Fight against them until there is no dissension, and the religion is for Allah, but if they desist, there shall be no aggression, except against the evildoers.'⁴⁸⁹ What can be

⁴⁸⁶ It stands after the volume of Iran and Islam, the history of the Mongols, and the history of the Seljuqs. The history of the Khwarazmshas possesses the same number of verses as well. However, these other sections are significantly longer than that of the Salghurids of Fars.

⁴⁸⁷ Kamola, "Salghurid History in *Jāmi' al-Tawārīkh*: A Preliminary Exploration of Its Composition and Transmission," in *New Approaches to Ilkhanid History*, ed. Timothy May et al (Leiden: Brill, 2021), 123.

⁴⁸⁸ The Qur'an 7:128.

⁴⁸⁹ The Qur'an 2: 193. Raushan has incorrectly attributed this verse to the *sura* of A'rāf.

found in *JT* is the last part concerning aggression against the evildoers. There is no clear indication of the identity of the evildoers or the type of harm they have committed, this verse is open to interpretation and could have been used to justify suppressing of any group which was considered 'evildoers'; in this case, this group may be the Ismā'īlīs who were defeated by the Mongols. This hypothesis can be supported by the evidence scattered throughout the section on the Ismā'īlīs which refers to their deviation from the 'right path.' In one of these reports, Rashīd al-Dīn informs us that there was a group of Mazdakids who were converted to Ismā'īlism,⁴⁹⁰ but they did not totally abandon their old beliefs; rather they continued to uphold them by mixing them with Ismā'īlī beliefs.⁴⁹¹

Based on the information that Rashīd al-Dīn provides us in the preface, he wrote this section after all the others and this section is important, because the Ismā'īlīs had caused a tremendous amount of troubles for previous rulers and everybody had been afraid of them until they were defeated by the Mongols. Then, as was the custom, the author praises his patron, Öljeitü, for upholding religious laws and enhancing Islam. In the next part of the preface, as was done for every section, he indicates that the responsibility of a historian is only to relate history, using the same Arabic phrase: '*al-'uhda 'alā al-rāvi'* (The responsibility is with the narrator.)⁴⁹²

The preface ends with Rashīd al-Dīn's explanation of the section's structure according to which it contains two large chapters. The first concerns the Ismā'īlī caliphs in Egypt (i.e. the Fatimids; 909-1171)⁴⁹³ and the second is the story of the Ismā'īlīs of Iran starting from and focusing on Ḥasan Ṣabbāḥ (c. 1050-1124).⁴⁹⁴ The first chapter has one introduction, and 14 subchapters (one subchapter for each caliph) separated only by headings. The introduction provides us with information regarding the events up to the reign of the first Fatimid caliph, al-Mahdī (r. 909-934). The author inserts an Arabic poem mentioning the names of all the caliphs in the beginning of the first chapter before the introduction. They are as follows:

و الراى و الفطنه و التمييز	"يا من له خلائق محموده
الصادق من يحبهم يفوز	اصغ على عده آل جعفر
فالمنصور والمعز والعزیز	اولها المهدي فالقائم

⁴⁹⁰ Mazdakism was a religious movement taking its name from its leader Mazdak. Mazdak claimed that he came to renew Zoroastrianism. The movement was specially flourished during the reign of the Sasanian king, Qubād I (r.488-531) and it was severely suppressed by Qubād I's son, Khusraw I (r.531-579). For more, see: Philip Kreyenbroek, "Iran ix. Religions in Iran (1) Pre-Islamic," in *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, last updated on 30 March 2012, <https://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/iran-ix1-religions-in-iran-pre-islamic#1>.

⁴⁹¹ Rashīd al-Dīn, *Jāmi' al-Tavārīkh, Tārīkh-i Ismā'īlīyān*, ed. Mohammad Raushan (Tehran: Mīrās-i Maktūb, 1387/2008), 147.

⁴⁹² Rashīd al-Dīn, *Tārīkh-i Ismā'īlīyān*, 3.

⁴⁹³ Rashīd al-Dīn, 3-96.

⁴⁹⁴ Rashīd al-Dīn, 97-162.

و نجله المستعلى المجيز

و حاكم و ظاهر، مستنصر

و فائز و عاضد معزوز

و آمر و حافظ و ظافر

و انت في حله الرموز"⁴⁹⁵

عدتها "يد" كما مدتها "رعب"

'Oh you, who have praiseworthy qualities/ wisdom, intelligence, discernment.

Listen to the house of Ja'far and its members/ the honest who loves them will receive salvation.

First comes al-Mahdī (r.909-934) and then then al-Qā'im (r. 934-946)/ followed by al-Manṣūr (r. 946-953), al-Mu'iz (r. 953-975), and al-'Azīz (r. 975-996).

Then comes Ḥākīm (r. 996-1021), Zāhir (r. 1021-1036) and Mustanṣir (r. 1036-1094)/ and his son, al-Must'lā (r. 1094-1101), the rewarded.

And Āmir (r. 1101-1130) and Ḥāfiẓ (r. 1130-1149) and Zāfir (r. 1149-1154)/ and Fā'iz (r. 1154-1160) and 'Āzīd (r. 1160-1171), the honoured.

Their power is the hand of God while their reign dominance/ and you are covered with secrets.'

The second chapter is less straightforward compared to the first. It starts with an introductory subchapter giving the biography of Ḥasan Ṣabbāḥ and then narrating the story of how he captured a number of castles which later on functioned as the Ismā'īlīs' strongholds.⁴⁹⁶ The subchapters are separated only by headlines until the point where his successors are discussed. From this point onward, we can see a pattern where a subchapter is dedicated to each *dā'ī* (Ismā'īlī missionary) followed by the list of the people who were assassinated during their reigns.

As for the matter of sources that Rashīd al-Dīn made use of, he himself acknowledges his sources a few times throughout the section, especially in the second chapter related to Ḥasan Ṣabbāḥ, he indicates that this history was told 'based on the opinion of their (Ismā'īlī) writer.'⁴⁹⁷ The next time he mentions a source is at the end of the second chapter on the *dā'īs* which is again followed by the aforementioned Arabic phrase which places the responsibility on the shoulders of the original narrator. Rashīd al-Dīn tells us that 'until this point, it was from the dictation of Buzurg Umīd's book and hereafter, the narration of 'Abd al-Malik ibn 'Alī, as it was seen, will be related.'⁴⁹⁸ The author seems to have stood by his word, because not long

⁴⁹⁵ Rashīd al-Dīn, 3.

⁴⁹⁶ Rashīd al-Dīn, 98-131.

⁴⁹⁷ "Rashīd al-Dīn, *Tārīkh-i Ismā'īlīyān*, 131. و آنچه این ضعیف یاد می کند به زعم واضح تاریخ ایشان است."

⁴⁹⁸ "تا اینجا از املاي کتاب بزرگ امید است، و بعد از این روایت عبدالملک ابن علی چنانکه دیده و مشاهده کرده فرمود" Rashīd al-Dīn, 141.

after, he claims again that ‘until this point, Dihkhudā ‘Abd al-Malik has narrated (the story).’⁴⁹⁹ Consequently, there is another line which indicates that the rest of the story will be related ‘from the history of the chief Ḥasan Ṣalāḥ Munshī which he composed during the time of Muḥtashim Shahāb.’⁵⁰⁰ Rashīd al-Dīn repeats this sentence once again at the end of the same subchapter.⁵⁰¹ However, the name of Ḥasan Ṣalāḥ or Ṣabbāḥ is not recorded properly; especially since this part cannot be found in all manuscripts, or if it can, the name is not legible enough. In the previous case, for example, there is no indication of the time of the composition of the source in the Süleymaniye manuscript; neither is anything about the profession of the writer (*munshī*).⁵⁰² The same goes for the edition of Mohammad Taqī Daneshpazhuh according to which the second sentence (the name of the author and the time of the composition of the source) cannot be found either in the Süleymaniye manuscript of *Majma‘ al-Sulṭāniya* or Malik Library’s manuscript of *Majma‘ al-Sulṭāniya*.⁵⁰³

Regarding the identity of the authors, Dihkhudā ‘Abd al-Malik and Ḥasan Ṣalāḥ/Ṣabbāḥ Munshī, there is not much information. The only thing that we can get from *JT* is that these two were Ismaili sources whose books were presumably also available to Juvainī, because despite the fact that Rashīd al-Dīn does not mention him as his source, he seems to have made use of the Ismā‘īlī section of *Tārīkh-i Jahāngushā* and in many cases, Rashīd al-Dīn has copied Juvainī’s sentences verbatim.

3.4.2.7 The History of Oghuz (*Tārīkh-i Ughūz*)

The History of the Oghuz has the closest connection to *TMG*, because it narrates the story of the Turkic peoples, starting from their origin, or in other words, their mythical history. This part has been written in 18 sections.⁵⁰⁴ Of these 18 sections, 16 concern the story of Oghuz himself,⁵⁰⁵ and only two are about his descendants showing the importance of the figure of Oghuz as an ancestor of the Turkic peoples.⁵⁰⁶ The story begins with Noah and how he gave the eastern lands and Turkistan to his son, Yafeth, the figure who was considered to be the ancestor of the Turks. Yafeth’s connection to Oghuz is explained in only two paragraphs after which the author quickly moves on to the birth of Oghuz.

Apart from the first section which deals with Oghuz before his rise to power, the rest of the 15 sections cover his conquests, firstly those over his own people followed by his uniting

⁴⁹⁹ "تا اینجا دهخدا عبدالملک روایت کرده است." Rashīd al-Dīn, *Tārīkh-i Ismā‘īliyyā*, 151.

⁵⁰⁰ Ibid. "بعد از این نقل حکایات از تاریخ رئیس حسن صلاح منشی است که به روزگار محتشم شهاب ساخته است."

⁵⁰¹ Rashīd al-Dīn, *Tārīkh-i Ismā‘īliyyā*, 158.

⁵⁰² Rashīd al-Dīn, 264.

⁵⁰³ See: Rashīd al-Dīn, *Jāmi‘ al-Tavārīkh: Qīsmat-i Ismā‘īliyyā va Fāṭimīyān va Nazārīyān va Dā‘īyān va Rafīqān*, ed. Mohammad Taqī Daneshpazhuh and Mohammad Modarresi (Tehran: Bungāh-i Tarjuma va nashr-i Kitāb, 1338/1959), 15 & 153.

⁵⁰⁴ The history of Oghuz is 96 pages in Raushan’s edition.

⁵⁰⁵ Rashīd al-Dīn, *Jāmi‘ al-Tavārīkh, Tārīkh-i Ughūz*, ed. Mohammad Raushan (Tehran: Mīrās-i Maktūb, 1384/2005), 1-54.

⁵⁰⁶ Rashīd al-Dīn, 55-96.

them, and then other lands towards the west. Geographically speaking, the furthest western land he conquered is the area which is called '*farang*' in the book.⁵⁰⁷ The last two sections, which concern Oghuz's descendants, have been written very concisely. As history approaches the era of the author himself, the events are narrated more haphazardly. For instance, the part which links the story of Oghuz's descendants to the more known part of history, the Samanids, has only been summed up in one sentence: '...And after him, they sat a noble on the throne of Transoxiana, and it is he that in the history of the Samanids they call Sāmān-khudā who is the father of all Samanids.'⁵⁰⁸

3.4.2.8 The History China (*Tārīkh-i Aqvām-i Pādshāhān-i Khutāy*)

The History of the Peoples and Kings China begins with China's its first mythical king, Pangu, to the time of the Mongols. The volume starts with a type of linguistic-geographical discussion which acts as the preface to the main text. It indicates the names of the concerned areas along with the people living in them and what these people are called in different languages.⁵⁰⁹ Therefore, this preface is supposed to give the readers an overview of the studied areas, while the next part, called the *muqaddama* (introduction), informs readers about other important matters related to Chinese history, such as the Chinese periodization of history, the Chinese style of historiography, and Rashīd al-Dīn's sources.

In the introduction, Rashīd al-Dīn gives us two names: Lītājī and Kamsūn. According to Rashīd al-Dīn, these two people, who were knowledgeable in medicine, astronomy, and the history of China, assisted him in gathering information. He also claims that they brought some books along from China which aided Rashīd al-Dīn to write this history.⁵¹⁰ This is where he connects his sources to Chinese historiography, attempting to prove that the information he provides is infallible because the concerned books were edited a few times in every stage of the process; first by a few 'wise people' (*ḥukamāva dānāyān-i vaqt*) and then by a learned man (*ḥakīm*). In the third stage, the book was copied by a calligrapher and was checked page by page by a group of people again. In the last stage, these books were engraved on tablets, stamped and sealed,⁵¹¹ and kept in a safe place, so no one can distort them.⁵¹² Rashīd al-Dīn claims that he has made use of a few unnamed books which were produced in the

⁵⁰⁷ There is no hint to what exactly *farang* means in this section of *JT*. It seems to be referring to western Christian lands. The term is used for another section of *JT*, that is the history of the Popes and Caesars where Rashīd al-Dīn provides us with a geographical territory of *farang*. For more information see the section of *History of the Franks, the Popes and the Caesars* later in this chapter. (Rashīd al-Dīn, *Jāmi' al-Tavārīkh, Tārīkh-i Afranj, Pāpān va Qayāshara*, ed. Mohammad Raushan (Tehran: Mīrās-i Maktūb, 1384/2005), 43.)

⁵⁰⁸ "و بعد از او اصیل زاده ای را به پادشاهی نشانندند به ماوراء النهر، و او آن است که در تاریخ سامانیان {او را سامان} خدا گویند که پدر". Rashīd al-Dīn, *Tārīkh-i Ughūz*, 91-92.

⁵⁰⁹ "تقریر اسامی ولایات معظم آن ممالک به حسب هر مصطلحی" (indicating the names of the great provinces of those realms based on their languages); Rashīd al-Dīn, *Tārīkh-i Aqvām-i Pādshāhān-i Khutāy*, 1.

⁵¹⁰ Rashīd al-Dīn, *Tārīkh-i Aqvām-i Pādshāhān-i Khutāy*, 8. "بعضی از آن کتب از ختای با خود آورده و آن معانی را مستحضر"

⁵¹¹ *Ṭamghā*

⁵¹² Rashīd al-Dīn, *Tārīkh-i Aqvām-i Pādshāhān-i Khutāy*, 8-9.

aforementioned way. It is not clear what the source was and there is no mention of any Chinese source presented to the court of the Ilkhanids, but since it mentions the name of Qubilai Qa'an and Timur Öljeitü Qa'an, it could be a source written in the early Yuan period.⁵¹³ Moreover, the author provides us with another reason for the accurateness of his source which is the Chinese script which according to him is hard to learn, but it is also unambiguous.⁵¹⁴

The section has no table of contents or the divisions that were found in the previous parts; instead, there is another sort of segmenting specific to the history of China. Rashīd al-Dīn informs us that he narrates the history based on his source without actually mentioning the title of this source: 'the mentioned book' (*ba mawjibī ka dar kitab-i mazjūr maṣṭūr ast*).⁵¹⁵

As it stands, the *History of China* consists of 36 *ṭabaqa* (class). These classes were inserted into two *ḥarfs* (letters); the first letter includes 21 classes (out of 36) and the second 15 classes. There is also an additional segment which related the history of the kings of the north, i.e. *Chīn* (*Khutāy*), who were contemporary to six classes of kings who ruled the south, *Māchīn*.⁵¹⁶ The word which is used in the additional segment to introduce various dynasties is *ṭā'ifa* (people) of which there are five. These five and the six classes of kings who ruled *Māchīn* form the first part of the second letter. The second part of the second letter contains the rest of the classes of Chinese history. Since there is no table of contents designed for this volume of *JT*, it can be slightly confusing for readers, even though Rashīd al-Dīn tries to make it clear by stating both the number of the classes in their own division and the number of them in the bigger division.⁵¹⁷ Even so, sometimes the divisions are confusing; especially the divisions between the two letters. While the first narrates the story of classes, or better yet, dynasties which ruled over the whole realm independently, the second letter narrates the story of the

⁵¹³ Francesco Calzolaio, "Prophets of the East: The Ilkhanid Historian Rashīd al-Dīn on the Buddha, Laozi and Confucius and the Question of His Chinese Sources (Part One)," *Iran and Caucasus* 23 (2019): 21. To know more about the sources of Rashīd al-Dīn, see: Herbert Franke, "Some Sinological Remarks on Rašīd ad-Dīn's History of China," *Oriens* 4, no.1 (1951): 21-26.

⁵¹⁴ In this section, Rashīd al-Dīn explains the features of the Chinese script and uses some examples for every feature. Although there is no information regarding his knowledge of Chinese in this section, we know from another of Rashīd al-Dīn's works, the *Tansūqnāma*, that he learnt Chinese. See: Karl Jahn, "Rashīd al-Dīn and Chinese Culture," *Central Asiatic Journal: International Periodical for the Languages, Literature, History, and Archaeology of Central Asia*, ed. John Andrew Boyle and Karl Jahn (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1970), 134-147.

⁵¹⁵ Rashīd al-Dīn, *Tārīkh-i Aqvām-i Pādīshāhān-i Khutāy*, 12.

⁵¹⁶ Rashīd al-Dīn himself informs us about the meanings of the terms *Chīn*, *Khutāy*, and *Māchīn*. According to him, the first two are applied to the same region which is modern day northern China and *Māchīn* is the term for southern China. See Rashīd al-Dīn, *Tārīkh-i Aqvām-i Pādīshāhān-i Khutāy*, 1-2. Therefore, it should not be confused with the terms *chīn* and *māchīn* in Persian literature where the former means Turkistan and the latter China.

⁵¹⁷ For example, the third class of the second part of the second letter would be the 30th class in the whole 36 classes of Chinese history. "طبقه سوم: از دفعه دوم از حرف دوم که طبقه سیام اصل باشد." Rashīd al-Dīn, *Tārīkh-i Aqvām-i Pādīshāhān-i Khutāy*, 63.

dynasties who also ruled independently or shared their authority with others.⁵¹⁸ Thus, the line between the two divisions is quite blurry.

The way the dynasties have been organized is by mentioning the name of each dynasty's first ruler, the number of the rulers, and the duration of the dynasty as a whole. The names of the rulers appear after a short heading, *taba'a* (subject), which separates them from the first ruler and thus emphasizing the founder's role.⁵¹⁹ Rashīd al-Dīn acknowledged that he imitated the Chinese style of historiography (*mā nīz hamān ṭarīqa rā ru'āyat kardā*) in which the pictures of rulers are depicted next to their names.⁵²⁰

3.4.2.9 The History of the Jews (*Tārīkh-i Banī Isrā'īl*)

The subsequent chapter deals with the story of the house of Israel (Jacob) and its descendants while covering general history of Jewish people. The main body begins with the story of Adam and Eve and ends with the names of the Roman emperors connecting it to the next section on history of the west. The author brings up the matter of the 'historian's responsibility' which is only to narrate the history of people based on their point of view.⁵²¹ That does not mean that the author agrees with them or necessarily believes what they relate. However, the author shows that it is a historian's job is to narrate faithfully and that people should not consider him responsible or tease him for what he narrates.⁵²² This statement has been made in almost in every volume, in the introductions or in the main bodies, but contrary to other sections where it is placed in the main body or the later parts of introduction, in this case this statement is made right at the beginning of the text. Given the author's Jewish background, it seems to be of great importance to the author, who is seeking to cover his bases early on when dealing with a sensitive topic for him.

As we have seen before in *Tārīkh-i Mubārak-i Ghāzānī* and in the *History of China*, the author attempts to convince his readers of the accuracy and truth in what he relates, in the former by getting Öljeitü's approval and the latter by explaining the Chinese style of historiography. In this section, he makes the same effort again. However, in this case, he appeals to the nature of history. According to him, history includes relating narratives and since there is a possibility of fallacy as well as rearranging (adding and omitting), history will inevitably suffice to relate the 'rare narratives,' because minds cannot make mistakes in remembering them meaning that if an incident does not happen often and if it is strange in a

⁵¹⁸ Rashīd al-Dīn, *Tārīkh-i Aqvām-i Pādishāhān-i Khutāy*, 14.

⁵¹⁹ So, the division terms are as follows: *ḥarf*, *ṭabaqa*, *taba'a*; plus *ṭā'ifa* which has the same connotation as *ṭabaqa*, since both are referring to dynasties.

⁵²⁰ Rashīd al-Dīn, *Tārīkh-i Aqvām-i Pādishāhān-i Khutāy*, 14.

⁵²¹ "شرط مورخ آن است که تاریخ هر قومی به زعم ایشان نویسد." Rashīd al-Dīn, *Jāmi' al-Tavārīkh, Tārīkh-i Banī Isrā'īl*, ed. Mohammad Raushan (Tehran: Mīrās-i Maktūb, 1386/2008), 1.

⁵²² Rashīd al-Dīn, *Tārīkh-i Banī Isrā'īl*, 1-2.

sense, people would remember it as it was.⁵²³ Regardless of the strength or weakness of this argument, this is what he brings up again when he classifies the narratives of the Old Testament into four groups: famous miracles (*mu'jizāt-i mashhūr*), extraordinary feats (*khavāriq-i ādat*), incidents (*ḥavādīs*) and wonders (*ʿajāyib*) followed by examples for each one of them.⁵²⁴ Among these examples, miracles have been attributed to Moses, thus giving him a high position compared to other prophets. While the names of other prophets, such as Noah, show up in the second class (i.e. extraordinary feats), Abraham is the only one whose rare deeds have been presented in the incidents category along with other non-prophetic incidents⁵²⁵ which leads readers to assume him as someone who can be imitated by ordinary people. He is not as high as Moses due to no miraculous moment, so he could be a perfect example to follow. Once again, considering the role of Abraham as an analogy for Ghazan in *Tārīkh-i Mubārak-i Ghāzānī*, the author seems to have treated Abraham differently for a reason.

The author first gives us a brief overview of the classification of history according to the Jews which is divided into three sections: From the creation of Adam to the exit of people of Israel from Egypt, from their departure from Egypt to the time of Alexander, and from Alexander onward. However, the author, while not totally discarding this classification, has structured the volume slightly different.⁵²⁶ According to Rashīd al-Dīn's structure, the volume has five chapters as follows: 1. Adam to Noah; 2. Noah to Abraham; 3. Abraham to Moses (although once again Abraham has been mentioned briefly in chapter two as well); 4. From the birth of Moses until 483 years later; 5. From the birth of David to the death of Ezra. Then the author added a short chapter relating the Seleucids and the Ptolemaic dynasty and ending with the Roman emperors.

Despite having presumably five separate chapters, the divisions are not as distinguishable as we would expect, since the term chapter (*faṣl*) has also been applied to make a distinction between various subjects.⁵²⁷ Moreover, there is another way of separating subjects which is by headings. In the first four chapters there is only one heading which is in Persian while all the other headings are in Arabic, and they have only appeared in the chapter five from the story of Khizr onward. This change of language in the headings led Karl Jahn to believe that unlike all the other parts of *JT*, this part was written first in Arabic and then was translated into Persian.⁵²⁸ While this can be a possibility, it can also have to do with the source Rashīd al-Dīn used. As we have seen previously, the writing style and the structure of the

⁵²³ Rashīd al-Dīn, 3. "و چون اخبار که تاریخ بر ذکر آن مشتمل است احتمال صدق و کذب و زیادت و نقصان دارد، لاجرم تاریخ مقصور
بود بر ذکر اخبار نادره چه اکثر خواطر به ضبط آن متعلق باشد و سهو و غلط و تحریف و تغییر بدین سبب از آن دور بود."

⁵²⁴ Rashīd al-Dīn, *Tārīkh-i Banī Isrā'īl*, 10-13.

⁵²⁵ Such as the story of Pharaoh and his family.

⁵²⁶ He has indicated that these three sections contain five chapters each commencing with a prominent figure: Adam, Noah, Abraham, David, and Alexander; Rashīd al-Dīn, *Tārīkh-i Banī Isrā'īl*, 5.

⁵²⁷ The word *faṣl* literally means 'to separate'.

⁵²⁸ Rashīd al-Dīn, *Die Geschichte der Kinder Israels des Rašīd al-Dīn*, ed. Karl Jahn (Wien: Verl. Der Österr. Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1973), 14.

sources affected *JT* enormously throughout its various divisions. The author has partly introduced his sources in the introduction: 24 books of the Torah and other scattered books and histories.⁵²⁹ There is no way to definitely state which other sources Rashīd al-Dīn used. Nevertheless, Jahn proposed that given the information found in this section, the sources must have come from the Talmudic tradition.⁵³⁰

3.4.2.10 *The History of the Franks, the Popes, and the Caesars (Tārīkh-i Afranj, Pāpān va Qayāšara)*

The History of the Franks, the Popes, and the Caesars has neither an introduction nor any poetry. All we know about the writing process of this section is the year of its composition, 705/1306 as mentioned by Rashīd al-Dīn.⁵³¹ The heading of the section is ‘History of the Franks’ (*tārīkh-i afranj*), accompanied by a subtitle, ‘and that which belongs to it and the mention of provinces and descriptions of the reigns of its kings and the period of the reigns of each one of them.’⁵³² What has been mentioned in the heading is almost all that we can expect of this section, namely geographical information, the history of the kings of the ‘Franks,’ and the years of their reigns.

This part has two divisions, one starting from Adam to the birth of Jesus and the second beginning with the birth of Jesus and ending in the author’s time, 1306, to be exact.⁵³³ According to Rashīd al-Dīn, there are ten groups of people, each one ruled over a certain realm at some point in history and they are as follows: Adam and his children (*ādam va farzandān-i ū*), the prophets of the people of Israel (*anbiyā-yi banī isrā’īl*), the kings of the people of Israel (*mulūk-i banī isrā’īl*), the Chaldean kings (*mulūk-i kaldānīyān*), the Persian Zoroastrian kings (*pādīshāhān-i majūs-i ‘ajam*), the Greeks (*yūnānīyān*), the Franks (*afranj*), the Christian Greeks (*yūnānīyān-i našārī*), the Arabs and the Muslims (*‘arab va ahl-i islām*), Turks and Mongols (*turk va mughul*).⁵³⁴ For every group, there is a leader, a superior who represents the whole group; for example, the leader of the Turks and the Mongols is Chinggis Khan. Therefore, Rashīd al-Dīn legitimizes Chinggis Khan by placing him in the same place as Muḥammad, the leader of the Arabs, and Alexander, the leader of the Greeks.⁵³⁵

What is also noticeable in the first section is the allocation of a separate story to Abraham, thus giving him the same credit as Adam, Noah, and Jesus which makes us consider Rashīd al-Dīn’s motives for such a step. The emphasis on Abraham is not limited only to this

⁵²⁹ Rashīd al-Dīn, *Tārīkh-i Banī Isrā’īl*, 2.

⁵³⁰ Rashīd al-Dīn, *Die Geschichte der Kinder Israels des Rašīd al-Dīn*, ed. Karl Jahn, 11.

⁵³¹ Rashīd al-Dīn, *Tārīkh-i Afranj, Pāpān va Qayāšara*, 17.

⁵³² Rashīd al-Dīn, *Jāmi’ al-Tavārīkh, Tārīkh-i Afranj, Pāpān va Qayāšara*, 17.

⁵³³ Rashīd al-Dīn, 19-37 & 39- 122.

⁵³⁴ Rashīd al-Dīn, 19-20.

⁵³⁵ Rashīd al-Dīn, 19-20. This form of legitimation can also be found in *Nizām al-Tavārīkh*.

part of *JT*, but can be seen elsewhere, such as in the *TMG*. In its introduction, Rashīd al-Dīn shows how Abraham asked his offspring to record their genealogies,⁵³⁶ just as Ghazan had done for the Mongol history and thus, he links the genealogical memory of the Mongols to that of the Arabs (the descendants of Abraham) in the Islamic world.⁵³⁷

The last chapter of this section differs organisationally, not only from the rest of history of the west, but from other parts of *JT* as well; presumably because the author was imitating his Christian sources. The question of Rashīd al-Dīn's sources on the 'Franks' was raised by Karl Jahn in 1951. He has proposed a few works which were available in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries to which Rashīd al-Dīn could have had access: the *Speculum Historiale* by Vincentius Bellovacensis,⁵³⁸ the *Chronicon* of Leon d'Orvieto, Bernard Cuidonis' *Histoire des Papes*, and the *Chronicum* by Martinus Oppaviensis. Among these sources Pppaviensis' text was the most popular and widely known during the second half of the thirteenth century, due to its translation from Latin into other European languages as well. Its author was an archbishop of Gnesna in Poland who was appointed by Pope Nicholas III. His book is a catalogue of popes and emperors from the birth of Christ to the ascension of Pope Nicholas III.⁵³⁹ Rashīd al-Dīn may have used this book as one of his sources, especially for the last chapter of section two. Not only are most of its contents the same, but also, the order in which the popes and caesars are mentioned follows Oppaviensis' schema.⁵⁴⁰

Another remarkable point about the *History of the Franks, Popes, and Caesars* is that it is the only surviving part of the *JT* that was transcribed in Rab'-i Rashīdī and did not undergo alteration during the reign of the Timurids.⁵⁴¹ The layout of the pages also demonstrates how Rashīd al-Dīn followed the design found in the western sources of his era having the depictions of the popes and of the caesars next to their names.⁵⁴² This section's manuscript is patterned as a table with four columns: the first column is dedicated to the history of caesars with their pictures as the second column next to it. The third column is the names and the pictures of the popes and the last column is the history of the Popes.⁵⁴³

Chapter four starts with the emperor Augustus (Ughustūs, r. 27 B.C.- 14 A.D.) and ends with Albert I (Adālbartūs, r. 1282-1308). Rashīd al-Dīn lists the names of the emperors as if they all belong to the same dynasty. He begins to mention their names with the Byzantine

⁵³⁶ Rashīd al-Dīn, *TMG*, 23-27. This comparison will be discussed later in this chapter along with other narratives concerning the comparison between Abraham and Ghāzān.

⁵³⁷ Stefan Kamola, "History and Legend in the *Jāmi' al-tawārikh*: Abraham, Alexander, and Oghuz Khan," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* 25 (October 2015): 566.

⁵³⁸ Vincentius Bellovacensis, *Speculum Historiale* (Graz: Akademische Druck, 1965).

⁵³⁹ Wolfgang Valentine, "Martinus Polonus' Chronicle of the Popes and Emperors: A Medieval Best-sellers and Its Neglected Influence on Medieval English Chronicles," *The English Historical Review* 116, No.446 (2001): 327.

⁵⁴⁰ Rashīd al-Dīn, *Histoire Universelle de Rašīd al-Dīn Faḍl Allāh Abul-Khair: Histoire des Francs*, trans. Karl Jahn (Leiden: Brill, 1951), 8.

⁵⁴¹ Ms. Hazine 1653, folios 295v-328r, Topkapı

⁵⁴² Rashīd al-Dīn, *Tārīkh-i Afranj, Pāpān va Qayāšara*, sī va haft.

⁵⁴³ Mohamad Reza Ghiasian, "Images of the Peoples of the World Encountered by the Mongols in the *Jami' al-tawarikh*," *Iran* 57, no.1 (2019): 77-78.

emperors. The last Byzantine emperor who is mentioned is Leo IV (Li'u, r. 751-780). Then the author moves to French history by discussing Charlemagne's reign (Karulūs, r. 768-814). He connects these two periods by one paragraph explaining that the Pope chose Charlemagne as the next emperor due to his assistance in removing the Lombards from power (r. 800-814).⁵⁴⁴ After this, the Holy Roman Emperors are discussed. The same issue of inaccuracy exists for the history of the Popes as well. The History of the popes starts from Jesus leading up to Pope Benedictus IX (Banaṭiktūs, b. 1012-d. 1056) and thus, assuming the popes to be the rightful successors of Jesus who were connected to him through the apostle Peter. The structure is almost the same in this chapter. The author indicates the origins of the concerned person, be they pope or emperor, then the period they reigned and how they died. Most accounts are only a few lines long. The longest account is the account of Emperor William (Gilimus, r. 1254-1256) whose reign was contemporary to the Mongols.⁵⁴⁵ In this account and a few other accounts, we can see that Rashīd al-Dīn applied parallel histories as well, like the account of Heraclius (Hiraqlīyūs, r. 610-641) where the Arab Muslims and the Sasanians have been mentioned too.⁵⁴⁶

3.4.2.11 *The History of India (Tārīkh-i Hind va Sind va Kashmīr)*

The History of India in *JT* has no introduction, but a semi-introduction where the author makes some remarks concerning the difficulty of writing a comprehensive history for the lands of India. In this part, Rashīd al-Dīn mentions the name of al-Bīrūnī as his source and as one of the scholars who despite the limitations upon him regarding this task, did a splendid job of writing a book about the history and the geography of this region.⁵⁴⁷ Rashīd al-Dīn acknowledges him as his source followed by his regular statement about holding the narrators and the sources responsible rather than the historian.⁵⁴⁸ The semi-introduction ends with explaining how the section was structured which is based on two large chapters; the first chapter is about the geography of Indian lands, chronology and periodization according to Indians, and the history of the kings of Delhi and Kashmir. This chapter consists of ten subchapters, the first six of which deal with geography and a general history of the kings of Delhi and Kashmir. The last four subchapters seem to be more organized. Having been based on the Indian periodization of history,⁵⁴⁹ they narrate the history of the kings of India. The

⁵⁴⁴ Rashīd al-Dīn, *Tārīkh-i Afranj, Pāpān va Qayāṣara*, 95.

⁵⁴⁵ Rashīd al-Dīn, 117-119.

⁵⁴⁶ Rashīd al-Dīn, *Rashīd al-Dīn*, 85-86.

⁵⁴⁷ Al-Bīrūnī, *Kitāb fī Taḥqīq-i Mā li al-Hind* (Hyderabad: Osmania Oriental Publications Bureau, 1958); Rashīd al-Dīn, *Jāmi' al-Tavārīkh, Tārīkh-i Hind va Sind va Kashmīr*, ed. Mohammad Raushan (Tehran: Mīrās-i Maktūb, 1384/2005), 1-2.

⁵⁴⁸ Rashīd al-Dīn, 2.

⁵⁴⁹ The author informs us that according to Indians and their prophet, Shakyamuni, time is divided into four uneven sections, each bearing a particular name and we (i.e. the author and his contemporaries) live in the last era. The names of the periods, according to Mohammad Raushan's transcription, are as follows: Kṛtāyuga, Tretāyuga, Duāpāṭayuga, and Kaliyuga. Rashīd al-Dīn, *Jāmi' al-Tavārīkh, Tārīkh-i Hind va Sind va Kashmīr*, 4.

second chapter deals with the life and religion of Buddha, called Shakyamuni by Rashīd al-Dīn, and it consists of 20 chapters covering the life of Buddha, his principles, teachings, and death.

While Rashīd al-Dīn seems to have used al-Bīrūnī's book on India (Hind) as his source for the first chapter (especially the first four subchapters on geography and chronology and sometimes even copied him verbatim), Jahn has suggested that the rest of the subchapters are based on Jūzjānī's work.⁵⁵⁰ Jūzjānī's book called *Ṭabaqāt-i Nāsiri* was written upon the arrival of the Mongols to Iran.⁵⁵¹ The author, who was writing from Delhi, devoted most of his work to the Ghurids and the Ghaznavids. Regarding the source for the second chapter of this section, Rashīd al-Dīn does not keep us in the dark. In the semi- introduction, he indicates that his source for the life of Buddha and some of the kings of Kashmir is a *bakhshi* (Buddhist monk) called Kamālashrī who knows a great deal about the book of Buddha.⁵⁵² His name is mentioned again in the beginning of the second chapter as the author's source for his history.⁵⁵³

What attracts attention in the Indian section of *JT* is the date of its composition. In the beginning of the first subchapter, Rashīd al-Dīn while discussing the classification of time according to Indians, mentions that he was writing in the year 703 A.H. which corresponds to 1304. Considering that Ghazan died a year later (704 A.H.), Jahn has suggested that unlike what has been believed by scholars that the history of the world was written on the order of Öljeitü, this date proves that the 'history of the world' project had already started under Ghazan's rule.⁵⁵⁴ While this can be a reasonable explanation for the appearance of the date 703 A.H. in the section related to the history of India, I believe that there is more to the story. The date 703 A.H. is mentioned twice, both in the first subchapter and in the fifth subchapter.⁵⁵⁵ Moreover, in the last subchapter of the second chapter, Rashīd al-Dīn says that he had written a rebuttal against the beliefs of Buddhism, especially in the case of reincarnation. According to him, this rebuttal can be found in full in his *Tawzīhāt-i Rashīdī*.⁵⁵⁶ This statement demonstrates that at least this part of the *History of India* was written after the composition of *Tawzīhāt-i Rashīdī*. It is not possible to determine the exact time of *Tawzīhāt-i Rashīdī*'s composition. However, there are a few dates mentioned in the book which can give us a clue to the approximate time of its composition. Two dates, 705 and 706 A.H.,

⁵⁵⁰ Karl Jahn, *Rashīd Al-Dīn's History of India: Collected Essays with Facsimiles and Indices* (London: Mouten and Co, 1965), xiii and xciii.

⁵⁵¹ Jūzjānī, *Ṭabaqāt-i Nāsiri* (Calcutta, College Press, 1864).

⁵⁵² Rashīd al-Dīn, *Tārīkh-i Hind va Sind va Kashmīr*, 2.

⁵⁵³ Rashīd al-Dīn, 101. Historical accounts, including Rashīd al-Dīn, suggest that there were lively court debates between Muslim theologians and Buddhist monks. Having considered himself as a theologian, Rashīd al-Dīn also participated in these debates. Brack has argued that the *History of India* does not only demonstrate the Buddhism, which was practiced in the Ilkhanid court, rather it is a "multilayered work that reflects the extensive geographical and social mobility enabled by Mongol rule in Eurasia." Jonathan Brack, *An Afterlife for the Khan: Muslims, Buddhists, and Sacred Kingship in Mongol Iran and Eurasia* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2023), 28.

⁵⁵⁴ Karl Jahn, "The Still Missing Works of Rashīd al-Dīn," *Central Asiatic Journal* 9, No.2 (June 1964): 116.

⁵⁵⁵ Rashīd al-Dīn, *Tārīkh-i Hind va Sind va Kashmīr*, 4 & 66.

⁵⁵⁶ Rashīd al-Dīn, 165.

are mentioned when Rashīd al-Dīn narrates a couple of stories about Öljeitü which shows that the book was probably written during the reign of Öljeitü.⁵⁵⁷ Therefore, the section on the history of India seems to have not been written at one single time, rather that the composition of the different chapters must have been done in various periods. Another aspect which can also show this inconsistency is the way that Persian and Arabic manuscripts were organized. The Arabic manuscripts have an extra subchapter containing a list of Buddhist works which is not included in the Persian manuscripts.⁵⁵⁸ There are also two versions of the fourth subchapter about the Buddha's adolescence.⁵⁵⁹ Inconsistency in the language of the headings adds to this disorganization, since in the Persian version, some of the headings are in Arabic and some in Persian.

So far, we have discussed what we can expect to find in *JT* in terms of structure and language. In the next section, I am going to closely look into *TMG*'s usage of poetry, how the verses were incorporated in the text, and what possible objectives Rashīd al-Dīn might have had in mind when including them.

3.5 Poetry in *Tārīkh-i Mubārak-i Ghāzānī*

In this section, I will proceed to analyse the verses of *TMG*, as well as their themes and their templates in order to show how they contribute to the topic of legitimacy and ideology for the Mongols. To achieve this, I will first explore the concept of fortune, its link to ancient Iranian kings, and how they are connected to the Mongols in *TMG*. I will then proceed to focus on the part Firdawsī and pseudo-Firdawsī verses play in this grand scheme of Rashīd al-Dīn.

3.5.1 Fortune in *Tārīkh-i Mubārak-i Ghāzānī*

Legitimacy has always been an intriguing subject for historians of all eras and regions, not only due to its vitality for various governments, but also because of its complexity. In a fascinating study on the formation of early states, Thomas Allsen argues that there is a strong connection between geography and legitimacy. In other words, geography plays a significant role in how a ruler can extract ideology from a particular geographic region.⁵⁶⁰ One of the pillars for ideology acquired from steppe culture by the Mongols is the concept of heavenly mandate and fortune, *qut* in Turkic and *suu* in Mongolian. This idea of heavenly mandate and

⁵⁵⁷ Rashīd al-Dīn, *Tawzīhāt-i Rashīdī*, ed. Hashem Rajabzadeh (Tehran: Mīrās-i Maktūb, 1394/ 2015), 337 & 706 & 838.

⁵⁵⁸ Rashīd al-Dīn, *Rashīd Al-Dīn's History of India: Collected Essays with Facsimiles and Indices*, xiv.

⁵⁵⁹ One version can be found in the ms. Hazina 1654 and the other in a later manuscript belonging to the reign of the Safavid shah, 'Abbās I (r.1599-1629). See: Rashīd al-Dīn, *Tārīkh-i Hind va Sind va Kashmīr*, 111 & 113.

⁵⁶⁰ Thomas Allsen, "Spiritual Geography and Political Legitimacy in the Eastern Steppe," in *Ideology and the Formation of Early State*, ed. Henry Claessen and Jarich Oosten (Leiden: Brill, 1996), 116-118.

divine support is also attested in the Orkhon Inscription where the ruler, Bilge Khan, says: ‘since heaven was gracious and since I was granted with fortune, I succeeded to the throne.’⁵⁶¹

A similar concept of fortune existed and was considered crucial for ruling dynasties in the history of Iran as well. This notion often referred to as *farrah* in Middle Persian and *khvarnah* in Avestan, bore various names, forms, and origins throughout time. The term *farrah* literally means ‘glory,’ but it was also interpreted as ‘splendour,’ ‘luminosity,’ and ‘shine.’ Due to these interpretations, the concept of *farrah* developed a form of association with the sun as well and at a later stage, *farrah* along with the sun, evolved to include the idea of fortune.⁵⁶²

In ancient Iranian iconography, various forms of fortune can be detected in pre-Islamic sources and most importantly, on ancient reliefs related to ancient Iranian dynasties. On a Sasanian relief at Naqsh-e Rostam near Shiraz (Figure 8), fortune is depicted as a ring. In this image, the Sasanian founder, Ardashīr I (r. 212-224) is mounted on a horse and is receiving the ring from Ahūrāmazdā, the Zoroastrian god who is also mounted. Under the hooves of their horses, we can see two other figures: Ahrīman, the devil in Zoroastrianism and the last Arsacid ruler; both trampled under the hooves of Ahūrāmazdā’s and Ardashir’s horses.⁵⁶³ The exchange of the ring in this scene signifies the bestowal of fortune by God and the transfer of power from the Arsacids to the Sasanians.⁵⁶⁴ Another picture of fortune is seen in a late Sasanian source known as the *Kārnāma-yi Ardashīr-i Bābakān* (The book of Ardashīr, Son of Bābak) narrating the story of Ardashīr I and the events which led to him coming to power. In this source, fortune is depicted as a ram running after Ardashīr’s horse to join him.⁵⁶⁵

The above instances are not unique and there is an abundance of examples displaying *farrah* in both pre-Islamic and Islamic sources. According to these sources, various types of *farrah* exist, and scholars of ancient Iran and Iranian mythology have categorised them into five groups: *Farrah-i īzadī* (the divine *farrah*),⁵⁶⁶ *farrah-i āriyayī/īrānī* (the Arian/Iranian *farrah*),⁵⁶⁷ *farrah-i mawbadī/payāambarī* (the *farrah* of prophets and priests), *farrah-i*

⁵⁶¹ Linda Darling, *A History of Social Justice and Political Power in the Middle East: The Circle of Justice from Mesopotamia to Globalization* (New York: Routledge, 2012), 86. The concept of the heavenly mandate can also be found in Chinese sources and as the Mongols and the Chinese were in contact long before the emergence of the Mongol Empire, some scholars suggest that the Mongols acquired this idea from Chinese political culture. See: de Rachewiltz, “Some Remarks on the Ideological Foundation,” 24; Peter Jackson, *The Mongols and the West* (Harlow: Pearson Longman), 45. For the Chinese heavenly mandate, see: Jonathan Skaff, *Sui-Tang China and Its Turko-Mongol Neighbors: Culture, Power, and Connections 580-800* (Oxford & New York: University of Oxford Press, 2012).

⁵⁶² Gherardo Gnoli, “Farr(ah),” In *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, last updated December 15th, 1999, <https://iranicaonline.org/articles/farrah>

⁵⁶³ On the Sasanian rock reliefs, see: Matthew Canepa, “Sasanian Rock reliefs,” In *The Oxford Handbook of Ancient Iran* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013).

⁵⁶⁴ On the Arsacids, otherwise known as the Parthians, see: József Wolsky, *L’empire des Arsacides* (Leuven: Peeters, 1993).

⁵⁶⁵ Bahram Faravashi, *Karnama-yi Ardashir-i Babakan* (Tehran: Tehran University Press, 1390/ 2011), 39-40

⁵⁶⁶ Xwarrah-i Ohrmazd

⁵⁶⁷ Airyanəm xvarəno

kīyānī/shāhī (the *farrah* of the kings),⁵⁶⁸ and *farrah-i hamigān* (general *farrah*). Since the Sasanian era, the divine *farrah* and the kings' *farrah* were applied interchangeably which caused these two previously distinguished concepts to merge. Thus, *farrah* became the divine support given to kings who were not necessarily Kīyānī.⁵⁶⁹

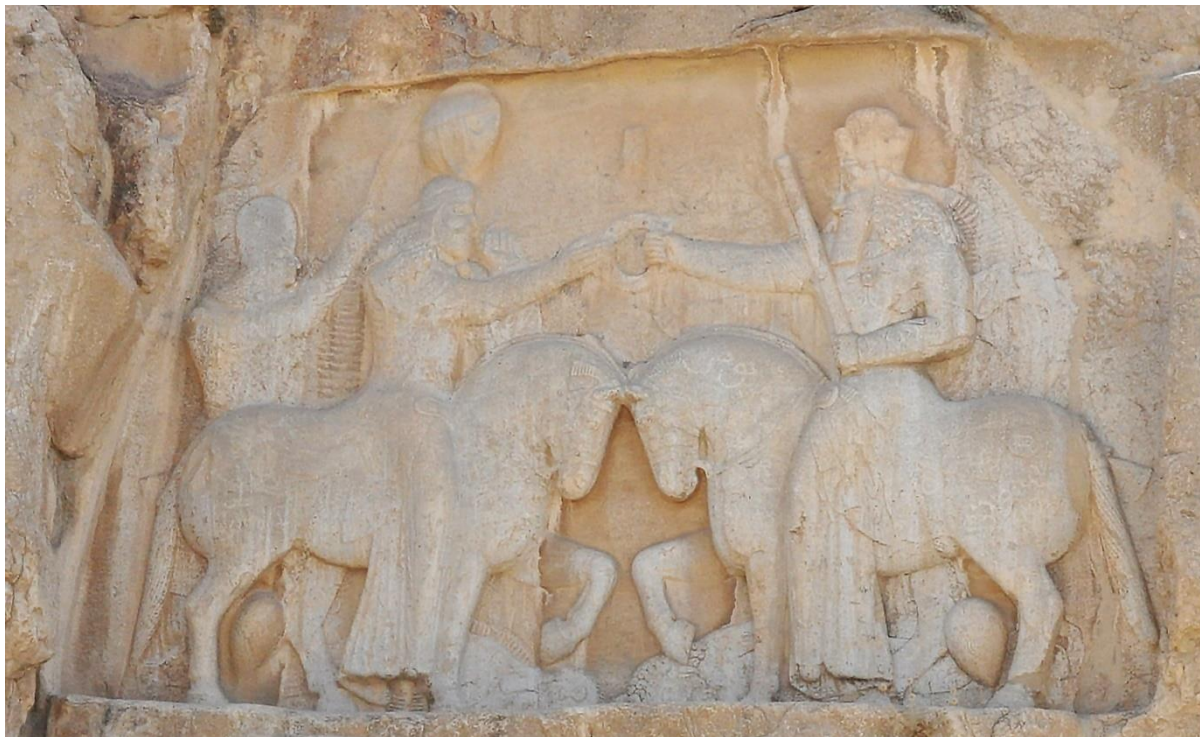


Figure 8: The Sasanian rock relief at Naqsh-i Rostam depicting the bestowal of *farrah* to Ardashir I, photo taken by Elyas Pirasteh.

In *TMG*, though the word *farrah* does not occur in its old form, it does appear in its later version, '*farr*'. This word is attested once in a verse composed by Naṣīr al-Dīn Munshī, a courtier of Jalāl al-Dīn Khwarazmshah, where he pays tribute to his patron.⁵⁷⁰ Although we only see the word *farr* once in the verses of *TMG*, there are other words which refer to the same concept of fortune. The words '*bakht*,' '*iqbāl*,' and '*dawlat*' bear precisely the same meaning. There are also the words '*rūzgār*' (time, era) and '*hūr*' (sun) which create a more subtle link with the notion of fortune. Often this set of vocabulary was applied in the verses where an account of a ruler's ascension is narrated. It is also worth noting that in these verses, there is a connection between fortune and a person's *ṭāli*' (destiny), since it was perceived at the time that one's destiny was written in the sky. Perceiving and analysing this relationship

⁵⁶⁸ Kavem xvarəno

⁵⁶⁹ Zhaleh Amoozegar, "Farrah, Īn Nīrū-yi Jādūyī va Āsimānī," *Kilk* (1374/1995): 33-35; Esmaeil Matloubkari, *Darāmadī bar Mabīnī-yi Mashrū'iyat* (Theran: Nigāh-i Mu'āṣir, 1398/2020), 111-113. Some of these *farrahs* were mentioned in the Avesta (see: Yt, XVIII.1 & Yt, XIX.9), others were mostly deductions of the Zoroastrian priests.

⁵⁷⁰ Rashīd al-Dīn, *TMG*, 492.

was among the responsibilities of a court astrologers, a practice that was called ‘omen astrology.’⁵⁷¹

A similar event occurs in *TMG*, where Öljeitü asks his court astrologer for an auspicious time to hold a *quriltai* before his ascension.⁵⁷²

به فال همایون و فرخنده اختر
به بخت موفی و سعد موفر⁵⁷³

‘With auspicious lots and happy stars/ with complete fortune and abundant happiness.’

Another responsibility of court astrologers was to be present at the births of rulers to practice ‘horoscopic astrology,’ meaning that they would read the signs in the sky to determine the child’s fortune based on the moment of his birth.⁵⁷⁴ An account of this tradition is also available in *TMG* in the section where Ghazan’s birth is narrated:

بلند است این طالع و بخت او
به خورشید رخشان کشد تخت او⁵⁷⁵

‘Exalted are his destiny and fortune/ his throne reaches to the shining sun.’

در طالع تو نگاه کردم دیدم
اقطاع تو صد هزار جان خواهد بود⁵⁷⁶

‘I gazed into your destiny and saw/ a hundred thousand souls will be in your service.’

While the above verses mention the topic of fortune explicitly, there are instances where it is referred to in a less explicit way:

چو تیره شود مرد را روزگار
همه آن کند کش نیاید به کار⁵⁷⁷

‘When a man’s fortune (time) has turned black/ whatever he does will not to be in his benefit.’

⁵⁷¹ George Saliba, “The Role of the Astrologer in Medieval Islamic Society,” *Bulletin d’études orientales* (1992): 57-58.

⁵⁷² The *quriltai* was a formal gathering of Mongol elders to discuss important affairs such as war and successions. The Chingissid family, both men and women, as well as commanders were customarily present and while these events usually involved feasting and drinking in addition to consultation and decision making. (Florence Hodous, “The *Quriltai* as a Legal Institution in the Mongol Empire,” *Central Asiatic Journal* 56 (2012-3): 88-89; See also: Christopher Atwood, “*Quriltai*,” in *Encyclopaedia of Mongolia and the Mongol Empire* (New York: Facts on File, 2004), 462-464. In a study on the subject of loyalty during the Mongol era, Tobias Jones has shown the the importance of the *quriltai*. See: Tobias Jones, “Mongol Loyalty Networks: Cultural Transmission and Chingissid Innovation” (PhD diss., Leiden University, 2023), 124-128.

⁵⁷³ Rashīd al-Dīn, *TMG*, 4; The verse is a composition of Azraqī for the new palace of the Seljuq ruler, Ṭughan-shāh ibn Arslān.

⁵⁷⁴ Saliba, “The Role of the Astrologer,” 58-58.

⁵⁷⁵ Rashīd al-Dīn, *TMG*, 1064.

⁵⁷⁶ Rashīd al-Dīn, 1063.

⁵⁷⁷ Rashīd al-Dīn, 421.

As was mentioned earlier, *rūzgār* is a word which conveys the meaning of fortune indirectly and it is this word that is of interest in this verse. At first glance, one would think that the fortune/*farrah* is the general *farrah* possessed by all people, but if we look at the context of the verse, it will lead us in a different direction. The verse appears in the story of Chinggis Khan versus Sultan Muḥammad Khwarazmshah when the latter orders the execution of the merchants sent by Chinggis. Taking a step back from *TMG*, the verse was also included in *Tārīkh-i Jahāngushā* for the same story and a few centuries earlier, it is found in *Tarjuma-yi Tārīkh-i Yamīnī*.⁵⁷⁸ However, in the last source, the verse is set during the battle between the Simjurids (913-997), rulers of Khurasan, and the Ghaznavids. In this scene, Sultan Maḥmūd defeated the Simjurid ruler, Abū ‘Alī (r. 984-987/995-997) brought about by Abū ‘Alī’s own tactical mistakes leading to loss of his fortune. Similar to the relief of Naqsh-i Rostam, the verse also indicates a transfer of *farrah* from one house to another: from the Simjurids to the Ghaznavids, and from the Khwarazmshahs to the Mongols.

Another significant instance of referring to fortune indirectly is using words meaning sun in Persian, as is shown in the following verse composed by Firdawsī:

"ز بیژن فزون بود هومان به زور" هنر عیب گردد چو برگشت هور"⁵⁷⁹

‘Hūmān was more powerful than Bīzhan/ skill becomes a fault when the sun (fortune) turns its back on you.’

In the *Shāhnāma*, there is a story where many of the Iranian and Turanian heroes fight each other over the course of 11 battles.⁵⁸⁰ Bīzhan, an Iranian hero fights Hūmān, his Turanian peer, in a brutal battle and defeats him, even though, as Firdawsī says, Hūmān was more skilled than Bīzhan, but he had already lost his fortune. This verse seems to be a popular insertion in the whole of *JT*, since we also find it in the story of Ṭughril III, the last ruler Seljuq ruler, who lost his fortune when he was defeated in the battle against the Khwarazmshahs in 1194.

The sun, used as a metaphor in the earlier verse, has a long-standing history in Persian literature which goes back to the Iranian mythical king, Jamshīd (also known as Jam and Yima). Not only does the second part of his name, *-shīd*, mean light, but also his epithet *xšāeta* conveys radiance and shine.⁵⁸¹ Jamshīd’s story is one of the most well-known mythical stories narrated in both the *Shāhnāma* and the Avesta. It is also closely connected to the loss of fortune. According to this story, after having reigned for a long time over a peaceful and flourishing kingdom, Jamshīd becomes ungrateful and arrogant and starts to claim divinity and

⁵⁷⁸ Juvainī, *Tārīkh-i Jahāngushā*, vol.2, 99. On this book, see: Daniel, “The Rise and Development,” 116-118.

⁵⁷⁹ Rashīd al-Dīn, *TMG*, 316.

⁵⁸⁰ Firdawsī, *Shāhnāma*, ed. Jalal Khaleqi Motlaq (New York: Bibliotheca Persica, 1987-2008), vol.4, 52.

⁵⁸¹ Prods Oktor Skjaervo, “Jamšid,” *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, last updated April 20th, 2012, <https://iranicaonline.org/articles/jamsid-i>

as a result, loses his fortune. For this event, Firdawsī uses two words to show fortune: *farr* and *rūz* (like *rūzgār*); one directly and one metaphorically:

همی کاست آن فرگیتی فروز⁵⁸² "به جمشید بر تیره گون گشت روز

‘The day (time) turned dark for Jamshīd/ that world-shining fortune paled.’

Moreover, because of this link between the figure of Jamshīd, the sun, and fortune, he is the only Iranian king whose name is invoked in the introduction of *JT*, where Rashīd al-Dīn pays tribute to his patrons. Ghazan is called ‘*Jamshīd-i khurshīd-ṭal‘at*’ (Sun-faced Jamshīd), and later on ‘*mīhr-i sipīhr-i bakhtyārī*’ (the sun of the sky of fortunateness) in connection to the sun.⁵⁸³

For his other patron, Rashīd al-Dīn inserts a verse through which he emphasises Öljeitü’s likeness to Jamshīd:

در بسته آدمی و پری پیش او میان⁵⁸⁴ "جمشیدوار شاه نشست از فراز تخت

‘The King, like Jamshīd, sat upon the throne on high/ the whole of mankind and fairyfolk assembled before him.’

Apart from the connection of fortune with Jamshīd, the verse also refers to another part of Jamshīd’s story where the hero, after a long wait for his new throne to be made, finally makes his ascension on a day remembered as ‘*Nawrūz*’. Analogizing Öljeitü’s ascension to that of a great mythical king could only have spoken to Rashīd al-Dīn’s highest regard to a ruler who granted a great power to him.

3.5.2 Firdawsī’s Verses and Pseudo-Firdawsī Verses

In the last chapter on *RŞ*, I discussed a number of pseudo-Firdawsī verses, their similarities to those of the *Shāhnāma*, and the way Rāvandī interpolated them into his own work, either as simple verses or as an addition to the *Shāhnāma* verses. *TMG* contains 30 verses by Firdawsī and 58 verses of pseudo-Firdawsī. *TMG*’s pseudo-Firdawsī verses are mostly comparable to those in *RŞ* meaning that they were composed in the *mutaqārib* meter and

⁵⁸² Firdawsī, *Shāhnāma*, vol.1, 45.

⁵⁸³ Rashīd al-Dīn, *TMG*, 28. Vaṣṣāf also makes use of Jamshīd as a sign of fortune for Ghazan’s ascension. See: Vaṣṣāf, *Tārīkh-i Vaṣṣāf*, 324. In the chapter related to *RŞ*, we have already considered the meaning of the sun from an astrological aspect (pp. 70-72). In literature, it also conveys a sense of power when used for a ruler or a highly ranked personage. See: Stefano Carboni, *Following the Stars: Images of Zodiac in Islamic Art* (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1997), 9.

⁵⁸⁴ Rashīd al-Dīn, *TMG*, 5.

they contain the same set of vocabulary as that of the *Shāhnāma*. The following verses will demonstrate this similarity. Firdawsī's verse is:

سپه یکسر اندیشه اندر گرفت⁵⁸⁵ "بماندند از آن کار گردان شگفت

'The heroes remain in awe of that/ the whole army stood deep in thought.'

While the verse in *TMG* is:

ز کین هر گوی لب به دندان گرفت⁵⁸⁶ "ز کردان بماندند ترکان شگفت

'The Turks were in awe of the Kurds/ each hero bit his lip in surprise.'

Or, in another instance, Firdawsī says:

سر بخت دشمن نگونسار باد⁵⁸⁷ "ازیشان ترا مزد بسیار باد

'May you be granted great reward from them/ May the fortune of your enemies be turned on its head.'

While the verse in *TMG* is:

سر بخت دشمن نگونسار شد⁵⁸⁸ "بگفتا که دولت ترا یار شد

'He said that fortune has befriended you/ that the fortune of your enemies turned on its head.'

As can be seen, in the first set of examples the rhyming words and the structure are the same. Moreover, *TMG* makes use of the phrase '*lab bi dandān giriftan/gazīdan*' (to bite one's lip) which is a popular phrase in the *Shāhnāma*, taking the resemblance between Firdawsī's verse and the pseudo-Firdawsī verse to another level.⁵⁸⁹ It is also intriguing that the second set of examples is even more evident, since the second hemistich is copied verbatim from the *Shāhnāma*.

⁵⁸⁵ Firdawsī, *Shāhnāma*, vol.5, 227. The verse emerges in the story of Isfandyār's seven trials where he decides to travel through a dangerous but short path as opposed to the easy and longer route.

⁵⁸⁶ Rashīd al-Dīn, *TMG*, 19. The verse is inserted in the story of the conquest of Dīyārbakr by the Mongols.

⁵⁸⁷ Firdawsī, *Shāhnāma*, vol.3, 165.

⁵⁸⁸ Rashīd al-Dīn, *TMG*, 1011.

⁵⁸⁹ For instance, see: Firdawsī, *Shāhnāma*, vol.7, 123 & 132.

Another similarity of the pseudo-Firdawsī verses of *TMG* to those of Firdawsī is the repetition of not only the rhyming words (*qāfiya*) but repeated rhyming words (*radīf*) as well.⁵⁹⁰ The following verses are an instance of this practice. Pseudo-Firdawsī in the *TMG* has:

"برفتند و روی زمین خیره گشت" ز گرد سواران فلک تیره گشت"⁵⁹¹

‘They went and all the earth sat in daze/ as the firmament turned to darkness from the dust kicked up by the riders.’

While Firdawsī says:

"چو بشنید رستم سرش خیره گشت" جهان پیش چشم اندرش تیره گشت"⁵⁹²

‘When Rustam heard, his head sat in a daze/ as the whole world turned to darkness before his eyes.’

The underlined words are *qāfiya* and *radīf* in this case. The importance of this resemblance is not only the repetition of collocations used by Firdawsī, but also because *radīfs* are considered to add a musical effect to the poetry through their repetitive nature. Since the pseudo-Firdawsī verses appear mostly from the Ilkhanid section in *TMG* onwards, I argue that the verses are meant to create a heroic and epic atmosphere similar to what one can find in the *Shāhnāma*. It is even more powerful given that most of the verses selected from the *Shāhnāma* are from the most well-known stories, such as the story of Rustam and Suhrāb, and the story of Rustam and Isfandyār.

There are two other ways through which an epic quality is achieved in the *Shāhnāma*. The first one is the ample insertion of single verses (*mufraqs*). *Mufraqs* do not narrate a whole story and their role is commonly to increase the effect of one’s words. In this case, Rashīd al-Dīn applied them to highlight the epic qualities of Ilkhanid history.

The second way is by displaying mobility. According to Shafiei Kadkani, mobility is one of the vital factors of a poetic image, along with shape, colour, and meaning.⁵⁹³ In *qaṣīda* and *ghazal* templates (panegyric and romantic poetry), colour and shape play the most important part. However, since epic poetry frequently involves descriptions of battles, the element of movement is an integral part of such set-pieces. The significance this mobility quality has been shown in a survey which investigates words related to movement in the *Shāhnāma*. The results of this work indicate that words conveying the meaning of movement and speed

⁵⁹⁰ *Radīf* is a poetical characteristic mostly limited to Persian. There are instances of this practice in Turkic poetry after the 13th century which might be the influence of Persian poetry. Mohammadreza Shafiei Kadkani, *Mūsīqī-yi Shi‘r* (Tehran: Nashr-i Āgāh, 1398/2019), 123-125.

⁵⁹¹ Rashīd al-Dīn, *TMG*, 875.

⁵⁹² Firdawsī, *Shāhnāma*, vol.2, 186.

⁵⁹³ Shafiei Kadkani, *Ṣuvar-i Khīyāl*, 261.

contribute to the development of an epic quality for the story.⁵⁹⁴ In the following verse of *TMG*, we can see the significance of this element:

گرت رای جنگ است یکدم به پای⁵⁹⁵ "درنگی مباش و بیوی و مپای

‘Do not hesitate, run, and do not dawdle/ if your intention is to go to war.’

As was the case for *RŞ*, the composer(s) of the pseudo-Firdawsī verses in *TMG* is unknown. Most pseudo-Firdawsī verses of *TMG* are included in the sections dealing with Mongol battles and they seem to be closely linked to this context to such a degree that it rules out the possibility that they were chosen from some hitherto unknown epic story written before the Mongol era. Although there were versified epic stories written during the Mongol era, as far as we know, we do not have any extant which were produced before *TMG*.⁵⁹⁶ In fact, the court historian Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī indicates that until he composed the *Ẓafarnāma*, no one had written the history of Iran after the Islamic conquest in the form of poetry.⁵⁹⁷ Mustawfī was Rashīd al-Dīn’s protégé and it is unlikely that he was unaware of his master’s project. It is more reasonable to assume that Rashīd al-Dīn did not consult any source for these pseudo-Firdawsī verses and that they were composed solely for this project.

So far, I have argued that these pseudo-Firdawsī verses contribute to the creation of a sense of epic, as well as a connection to Iranian heroes and kings in *TMG*. Invoking such sentiment and placing the Mongols in line with ancient Iranian kings and heroes continues in other means as well. One of these is making use of a number of rhetorical figures including various types of *tashbīh* (simile), *tamsīl* (analogy), and *isti’āra* (metaphor).⁵⁹⁸ However, what Rashīd al-Dīn does in his inclusion of poetry is somewhat in between all these three rhetorical devices. I have already discussed such methods in *RŞ* known as *shāhid-i miṣāl* (poetical proof), such as the following verses:

سر مایه کارها بنگرد "هر آنکس که دارد روانش خرد
نگه کرد باید برون آمدن⁵⁹⁹ به کاری که خواهی تو اندر شدن

‘Everyone with wisdom in their soul/ considers matters with reason.

⁵⁹⁴ Abbas Jahedjah & Leila Rezaei, “Dāyira-yi Vāzhigān va naqsh-i Ān dar Shitāb-i Ravāyat-i *Shāhnāma*,” *Funūn-i Adabī* 1 (1397/2018): 47-62.

⁵⁹⁵ Rashīd al-Dīn, *TMG*, 885.

⁵⁹⁶ On versified epic stories composed under the Ilkhanids, see: Charles Melville, “Between Firdausi and Rashid al-Din: Persian Verse Chronicles of the Mongol Period,” *Studia Islamica* 104/105 (2007): 45-56.

⁵⁹⁷ Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī, *Ẓafarnāma*, ed. Nasrollah Rastegar (Tehran: Nashr-i Dānishgāhī-yi Īrān, 1997), 7.

⁵⁹⁸ I have used loose translations for these terms in the text, as they do not identify with their counterparts in English. For more on these rhetorical figures, see: Sirous Shamisa, *Bayān* (Tehran: Firdaws, 1370/1991); Sirous Shamisa, *Nigāhī Tāzah bi Badī’* (Tehran: Mītrā, 1398/2019). On how rhetorical figures were perceived in the time of the Mongols, see: Rādūyānī, *Tarjumān al-Balāgha*, ed. Ahmad Atash (Istanbul, 1949).

⁵⁹⁹ Rashīd al-Dīn, *TMG*, 423.

Into every matter in which you wish to engage/ you must enter with awareness.'

The first line of the verse is originally from the *Shāhnāma* while the second is a pseudo-Firdawsī verse.⁶⁰⁰ Like Rāvandī, Rashīd al-Dīn also blends his own compositions into *Shāhnāmā* verses in order to achieve a better result in giving advice to his readers. These two verses appear in *TMG* in the story of Chinggis Khan and Sultan Muḥammad Khwarazmshah. The relationship between the two figures took a turn for the worst when Sultan Muḥammad confiscated the commodities of the merchants sent by Chinggis Khan. These merchants were subsequently murdered by the order of the sultan. The verses' message is to consider the consequences of one's action, a lesson which Sultan Muḥammad clearly had not learned.

While the aforementioned verse was a sound example of *shāhid-i miṣāl*, particularly one with a didactic nature, there are also instances in *TMG* which touch upon the concept of ideology:

"ز بیژن فزون بود هومان به زور" هنر عیب گردد چو برگشت هور"⁶⁰¹

'Hūmān was more powerful than Bīzhan/ skill becomes a fault when the sun (fortune) turns its back on you.'

The message of this verse, discussed in the previous section, is the precedence of fortune over skill. The verse is set during the battle between Chila'uqun of the Suldus and Tarqutay Qiriltuq, the king of Tayichi'ut. Rashīd al-Dīn informs us that Tarqutay was more talented in war than Chila'uqun, but because the latter had fortune on his side, he prevailed in their clash; precisely like the situation between Hūmān and Bīzhan.

The previous examples were all employed to convey a certain message, as is the usual function of *shāhid-i miṣāl*. There are other forms of context alteration, associated mostly with allegory. Allegory, often translated as *tamṣīl/ irsāl al-maṣal* in Persian, has a rather different connotation that it does in English. In English, it refers to "arbitrary interpretation, where something is read as an allegory of something else."⁶⁰² The Persian version is rather closer to what is perceived as a proverb or a famous didactic saying.⁶⁰³ The instances seen in *TMG*, however, do not completely fit into this category even though they certainly have shared qualities with both *tashbīh* and *tamṣīl*, as the following verse:

"هنوز از دهن بوی شیر آمدش" همی رای شمشیر و تیر آمدش"⁶⁰⁴

⁶⁰⁰ Firdawsī, *Shāhnāma*, vol.5, 323.

⁶⁰¹ Rashīd al-Dīn, *TMG*, 316.

⁶⁰² G. Teskey, "Allegory," in *The Princeton Encyclopaedia of Poetry and Poetics*, ed. Roland Green et al (US: Princeton University Press, 2012), 37.

⁶⁰³ On parables and allegorical stories in Persian, see: J.T.P de Bruijn, "Fiction I: Traditional Forms," *Enclopaedia Iranica*, last updated December 15, 1999.

⁶⁰⁴ Rashīd al-Dīn, *TMG*, 1067.

‘Even though with the smell of milk still on his breath, / his thoughts raced to the sword and arrow.’

This verse, composed by Firdawsī, belongs to the most famous story of the *Shāhnāma*, that of Rustam and Suhrāb.⁶⁰⁵ Based on the story, Suhrāb, Rustam’s son, displays the signs of maturity from an early age. He was described as an invincible fighter and a formidable warrior. When Suhrāb was 14, he decided to fight against whoever happened to be the most powerful Iranian soldier, in fact his own father, Rustam, whom he did not know. In the first battle, despite his age, he nearly managed to defeat Rustam, while the father and the son had still not been aware of their relationship. Rustam finds out when it is too late, and his son is bleeding to death. The plot as well as the nuances of this story make it a great tragedy even for a modern audience. In *TMG*, the verse is included in the story of Ghazan’s childhood. Rashīd al-Dīn introduces Ghazan as a natural warrior even from an early age, a quality which befit him as a king and as a *ghāzī* (a warrior for Islam). The inclusion of this well-known verse leads the readers to make a mental analogy between these two figures, Suhrāb and Ghazan.

Let us take a look at another example of this form of context alteration before proceeding to the next topic. The following verse is also from Firdawsī:

"که تو شهریاری و ما بنده‌ایم" به فرمان و رایت سرافکنده‌ایم"⁶⁰⁶

‘Because you are the sovereign and we are the servants, / we bow our head to your command and whim.’

The verse appears in the *Shāhnāma* describing the battle between the Sasanian king, Khusraw I (r. 531-579) and the Hephthalites who ruled over Central Asia during the 5th to 8th centuries.⁶⁰⁷ The verse is said by Khusraw I’s commanders to him before the battle when they reaffirmed their allegiance and consent to whatever he commands. Interestingly, in *TMG*, the verse is employed in the same manner, when Abaqa requests his commanders’ support to go to war against Baraq, the khan of Chaghadaid *ulus*. Therefore, while the verses are an analogy between these two situations, it also connects Abaqa to the just ancient Iranian king, Khusraw I.

We have earlier investigated the way of the pseudo-Firdawsī verses contribute to providing a heroic atmosphere for Rashīd al-Dīn’s Mongol patrons, as well as linking them to the Iranian heroes and kings. It is intriguing that sometimes this connection seems to be rather evident, as the names of Mongol rulers appear in the verses. In other words, by mentioning their names in these verses, there will be no room to debate the verses’ originality for the

⁶⁰⁵ Firdawsī, *Shāhnāma*, vol.2, 128.

⁶⁰⁶ Rashīd al-Dīn, *TMG*, 961.

⁶⁰⁷ On the Sasanian-Hephthalites relations, see: Khodadad Rezakhani, *Reorienting the Sasanians: East Iran in the Late Antiquity* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2017).

particular situations in which they were situated. The following verse is an instance of this practice:

نه از تخم ارغون زمین پاک شد نه زهر گزاینده تریاک شد
غزان آمد و تاج بر سر نهاد بنوی ز کینه دری برگشاد⁶⁰⁸

‘Neither was the earth cleansed from Arghun’s seed/ nor was the toxic poison neutralised.

Ghazan arrived and put the crown on his head/ with his new arrival he unlocked a door of enmity (he started to decrease the animosity).’

The verses are included in the section where Amīr Nawrūz, Ghazan’s right-hand man in the succession struggle, is punishing those commanders who opposed Ghazan and supported other pretenders to the throne. Nawrūz rebuked the commanders because they had thought no one from the line of Arghun was left alive to punish them. With the suppression of the opposition, Ghazan was finally enthroned. The first verse has an interesting sense of definition, promising the readers that ‘just like a poison will never be neutralized, the earth will always have a ruler from Arghun’s line.’ This verse fits well into the argument Brack makes according to which *TMG* is a composition to legitimise the Abaqaid line.⁶⁰⁹ In the next section, I will demonstrate how the poetry, added to *JT* during the reign of the Timurids, can be seen as the continuation of Rashīd al-Dīn’s plan to enhance the ideology and legitimation of his Ilkhanid sponsors.

3.6 Poetry in *Jāmi’ al-Tavārīkh*

The Timurids have often been perceived as the successors of the Mongol Empire, in particular of the Chaghadaids and the Ögödeids (in whose former territories Timur governed). This consideration arises mostly due to Timur’s great respect and loyalty to Mongol customs. Moreover, Timur sought to legitimize himself by connecting himself genealogically to the Mongols.⁶¹⁰ He married a Chinggisid princess, called himself *amīr*, and designated several Chinggisid puppets as Khans. He declared that he was a successor of the Chaghadaids, while occasionally linking himself to the Ilkhanids as well. Later in his reign, he connected his ancestry to Chaghadaid as well.⁶¹¹ As opposed to Timur, his son and successor Shāhrukh, who was not in fact his choice for the position of heir apparent, showed less interest in his Mongolian past compared to his father and more in the Islamic aspect of their rule. In fact, he

⁶⁰⁸ Rashīd al-Dīn, *Tārīkh-i Mubārak-i Ghāzānī*, ed. Karl Jahn (Abadan: Nashr-i Pursish, 1388/2009), 95.

⁶⁰⁹ Brack, “Mediating Sacred Kingship,” 66.

⁶¹⁰ For genealogies concocted for the Timurid family, see: Beatrice Forbes Manz, “Family and Ruler in Timurid Historiography,” in *Studies in Central Asian History in Honor of Yuri Bregel*, ed. Devin DeWeese (Bloomington: Indian University Press, 2001), 65-68.

⁶¹¹ Beatrice Forbes Manz, “Tamerlane and the Symbolism of Sovereignty,” *Iranian Studies* (1988), vol.21, No.1/2: 113.

did away with Mongolian courts, the *jarghus*, in favour of Islamic law, *sharī'a*.⁶¹² He moved the capital from Samarqand to the Khurasani city of Herat and preferred to focus on the Ilkhanid side of his father's claims to Mongol succession.⁶¹³ While many historians of the Timurid Empire worked to prove the connection between the Mongol Empire and the Timurid Empire to a great extent, it was Shāhrūkh's court historian, Ḥāfiẓ Abrū, who most significantly contributed to the spread of this discourse.

It was also under Shāhrūkh's rule that Rashīd al-Dīn's section on history of ancient Iran was replaced with the work of Ḥāfiẓ Abrū produced under the patronage of Shāhrūkh in Herat, though he had served in the court of Timur as well.⁶¹⁴ Like many historians of the Timurid court, Ḥāfiẓ Abrū was heavily invested in legitimising the Timurids, as can be understood from his many productions and the chronology of their compositions; all written from 1412 to 1427.⁶¹⁵ The first of these works is *Zayl-i Jāmi' al-Tavārīkh*, beginning from where Rashīd al-Dīn had left off including the events of Öljeitü' and Abū Sa'īd's reigns. The book was compiled by the order of Shāhrūkh who had a great regard for *JT*.⁶¹⁶ It was perhaps for this reason that Shāhrūkh allowed his court historian to insert his own composition on the history of ancient Iran into *JT*, since parts of the original text had been damaged and destroyed. Previously, Ḥāfiẓ Abrū had produced a general history known as *Majma' al-Tavārīkh al-Sultānīyya* by the order of Shāhrūkh and he sought to directly transfer his own materials to *JT* when he was requested to repair and restore the manuscript of *JT*.⁶¹⁷ Raushan's edition of *Tārīkh-i Īrān va Islām (The History of Iran and Islam)*, is based on this manuscript, and therefore represents the work of Ḥāfiẓ Abrū rather than Rashīd al-Dīn.

While Rashīd al-Dīn included little poetry in his section on ancient Iran, thanks to Ḥāfiẓ Abrū's intervention, this part of *JT* - or rather Ḥāfiẓ Abrū's *Majma' al-Tavārīkh* which came in its place - is replete with poetry: 1288 verses in total, most of which belong to a handful of poets/sources, as is seen in the following table:

Abū Sa'īd Abū Al-Khayr	1	Mawlavī	2
Anvarī	3	Niẓāmī	53

⁶¹² On the *arghu*, see: Florence Hodous, "Jarqu and Jarquchin," in *The Mongol World*, ed. Timothy May and Michael Hope (London & New York: Routledge, 2022), 331-340.

⁶¹³ Ghiasian, *Lives of the Prophets*, 12-13.

⁶¹⁴ For the details of his works, see: Maria Subtelny and Charles Melville, "Ḥāfeẓ-e Abrū," *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, last updated December 5, 2002, <https://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/hafez-e-abru>

⁶¹⁵ See: John Woods, "The Rise of Timurid Historiography," *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* (April 1987): 96-97; also: Evrim Binbaş, "The Timurids and the Mongol Empire," in *The Mongol World*, ed. Timothy May and Michael Hope (London & New York: Routledge, 2022), 946-947.

⁶¹⁶ Ḥāfiẓ Abrū, *Zayl-i Jāmi' al-Tavārīkh-i Rashīdī*, ed. Khanbaba Bayani (Tehran: 'Ilmī, 1317/1939), 1-2.

⁶¹⁷ Rashīd al-Dīn and Ḥāfiẓ Abrū, *Jāmi' al-Tavārīkh va Majma' al-Tavārīkh*, 6. Shāhrūkh's interest was not only limited to *JT*. Although being a history of the Mongols, *TMG* was certainly on the list of important books for the Timurids, but Shāhrūkh patronized the production and reproduction of other literary and historical works as well. See: Ghiasian, *Lives of the Prophets*, 23-44.

Aṭṭār	17	Rashīd al-Dīn Vaṭvāt	2
Bahrām V	1	Sa'dī	18
Bundār Rāzī	2	Sanā'ī	6
Firdawsī	711	Sharaf al-Dīn Qazvīnī	218
Khāqānī	2	Yūsuf va Zulaykhā	54
Khayyām	3	Ẓahīr Fāryābī	1
Khājū-yi Kirmānī	1	Pseudo-Firdawsī	140
Kalīla va Dimna	1	Unknown	52

Figure 9: Table of poets/sources in *Jāmī' al-Tavārīkh's History of Iran*

In the introduction of *Majma' al-Tavārīkh*, Ḥāfiẓ Abrū names some of his sources including *JT*, *Tārīkh-i Ṭabarī*, *Al-Kāmil fī al-Tārīkh*, and the *Shāhnāma*. What he does not mention is a book called *al-Mu'jam fī Āṣār al-Mulūk al-'Ajam* which is the at least one of the immediate sources for the section on the history of ancient Iran. *Al-Mu'jam* was composed by Sharaf al-Dīn Qazvīnī, when he served in the court of the Atabegs of Lur (1155-c. 1424).⁶¹⁸ According to Sharaf al-Dīn Qazvīnī, he was ordered by his patron, Atabeg Nuṣrat al-Dīn Aḥmad ibn Yūsuf Shāh, to write this book.⁶¹⁹ Qazvīnī informs us that he had long desired to write such a history:

"... کتابی تالیف کرده شود، مشتمل بر ذکر اخبار ملوک ماضیه و محتوی بر آثار امم سالفه و کیفیت زمان متقدم و چگونگی اوقات متقدم." ⁶²⁰

'A book should be composed covering the history of the past kings, the works and monuments of previous nations, and the events of the earlier times.'

Therefore, he wrote his work, narrating the history of ancient Iran from the mythical king, Kīyumarš, until the reign of the Sasanian king, Khusraw I (r. 531-579). According to the editor of *al-Mu'jam*, Qazvīnī wrote the book in 684/1285 and there is no mention of any date throughout the text.⁶²¹ However, the dedicatee, Aḥmad ibn Yūsuf Shāh succeeded his brother,

⁶¹⁸ Atabegs of Lur (known as Lur-i Buzurg and Hizār-asp) were a local dynasty rulling over a territory in the west of Iran. In their case, the title '*atabeg*' only refers to their position as rulers and it is not related to the *atabegs* of the Seljuqs, who were responsible for the upbringing of the Seljuq family memebers.

⁶¹⁹ Sharaf al-Dīn Qazvīnī, *Al-Mu'jam fī Āṣār al-Mulūk al-'Ajam*, ed. Ahmad Fotouhi-nasab (Tehran: Anjuman-i Āṣār va Mafākhir-i Farhangī, 1383/2005), 30.

⁶²⁰ Qazvīnī, 28.

⁶²¹ Qazvīnī, shis.

Afrāsīyāb, in 696/ 1297 and Qazvīnī wrote *al-Muʿjam* when Aḥmad ibn Yūsuf Shāh was in power.⁶²² Therefore, *al-Muʿjam* must have been written after 1297.

Qazvīnī's style of writing certainly fits into the 'rhetorical prose' (*naṣr-i fannī*) category. It is filled with Arabic and Persian verses and proverbs, *saj'*, and other rhetorical figures to such an extent that is comparable to Vaṣṣāf's history, especially in the introduction. While the main body of the book, consisting of a large amount of verses in the *mutaqārib* meter, the introduction contains only a handful of verses in this meter. On the contrary, Sharaf al-Dīn Qazvīnī demonstrates his skills in poetry by applying a variety of meters and templates both in Persian and in Arabic.

JT/ Majma' al-Tavārikh's choice of sentences closely follows Sharaf al-Dīn's text as is detectable in the following passages selected from various parts of the work:

Example 1:

<i>Al-Muʿjam</i>	<i>JT/Majma'</i>
<p>"کارآزمایان گردش روزگار و مشکل گشایان قصص و اخبار، چنین اخبار می کنند که شاه کیومرث از اسباط مهیائیل بود و امام حجه الاسلام محمد غزالی نورالله مرقدہ در کتاب نصیحه الملوک ذکر می کند که برادر شیث بود و جمعی گویند از اولاد نوح است علیه السلام و در زعم طایفه از مغان و آتش پرستان کیومرث آدم است."⁶²³</p> <p>'The people who have a knowledge of the transience of the world, anecdotes, and histories indicate that King Kīyumarṣ was a descendent of Mahyā'il and Muḥammad al-Ghazzālī- may God shine over his grave- in his <i>Naṣīḥat al-Mulūk</i> states that (Kīyumarṣ) was Shīs' (Seth) brother and a group of people say that he (Kīyumarṣ) was descending from Nūḥ (Noah) and according to <i>mughān</i> (Zoroastrian priests) and Zoroastrians, Kīyumarṣ was Ādam (Adam).'</p>	<p>"راویان آثار از آن پادشاهان کامگار اخبار چنین کرده اند که گیومرث از اسباط مهلائیل بود؛ و در بحرالانساب فرزند صلبی آدم نبشته است. و امام حجه الاسلام محمد بن محمد الغزالی رحمه الله در کتاب نصیحه الملوک آورده است که گیومرث برادر شیث بود و بعضی گویند از اولاد نوح است و در زعم طایفه ای از مغان گیومرث خود آدم است."⁶²⁴</p> <p>'Narrators of texts have indicated about those fortunate kings that Kīyumarṣ was a descendent of Mahā'il; and in <i>Baḥr al-Ansāb</i>, it has been written that he (Kīyumarṣ) was a child of Ādam (Adam) and Muḥammad al-Ghazzālī- may God bless him- has stated in <i>Naṣīḥat al-Mulūk</i> that Kīyumarṣ was Shīs' (Seth) brother and some say he was descending from Nūḥ (Noah) and according to a group of <i>mughān</i> (Zoroastrian priests), he was Ādam (Adam) himself.'</p>

⁶²² Mustawfī, *Tārīkh-i Guzīda*, 548-549.

⁶²³ Sharaf al-Dīn, *Al-Muʿjam*, 32-33.

⁶²⁴ Rashīd al-Dīn, *Jāmi' al-Tavārikh, Tārīkh-i Īrān va Islām*, ed. Mohammad Raushan (Tehran: Mīrās-i Maktūb, 1392/2013), 69-70.

Example 2:

<i>Al-Mu'jam</i>	<i>JT/Majma'</i>
<p>"صدای کوس و صیت ناموس و صرامت کیکاووس چون صبای بهار و در غایت اشتهار به همت عالی و نعمت متعالی از شاهان جهان بی‌نیاز و به کنف رحیب و مرتع خصیب از سلاطین آفاق ممتاز."⁶²⁵</p> <p>'The sound of drums and Kaykāvūs' reputation of honour and bravery are like a breeze in spring and in utmost fame; With noble efforts and God's blessings, he will have no need of the world' kings; and (he is) distinguished among the world's sultans because of (his) expansive lands and fertile fields.'</p>	<p>"صدای کوس و صیت ناموس و صرامت کیکاووس چون صبای بهار در غایت اشتهار است و چون ضیای نهار در نهایت انتشار. به همت عالی نعمت متعالی از شاهان جهان بی‌نیاز و به کنف رحبت و مربع خصبت {sic} از سلاطین آفاق ممتاز."⁶²⁶</p> <p>'The sound of drums and Kaykāvūs' reputation of honour and bravery are in utmost fame, and they are spreading like the lightness of noon. With noble efforts and God's blessings, he will have no need of the world' kings; and (he is) distinguished among the world's sultans because of (his) expansive lands and fertile fields.'</p>

The similarity in the prose text on the one hand and the inclusion of 218 verses from Sharaf al-Dīn Qazvīnī in the *JT/Majma'* for the same stories on the other, make *al-Mu'jam* as one of Ḥāfiẓ Abrū's key sources. There is no doubt that both Sharaf al-Dīn Qazvīnī and Ḥāfiẓ Abrū used Ṭabarī and Bal'amī as their references when it comes to historical information, but the construction of sentences and the selection of phrases in *JT/Majma'* signifies *al-Mu'jam* as the direct sources.

Among the poets and the sources mentioned in the Table 2, there are five groups whose verses are in *mutaqārib* meter: Firdawsī's *Shāhnāma*, *Yūsuf va Zulaykhā* ascribed to Firdawsī, Sharaf al-Dīn Qazvīnī, Niẓāmī's *Iskandarnāma*, and pseudo-Firdawsī verses. With the exception of the pseudo-Firdawsī verses, almost all of them discuss a limited number of topics. I have categorised the verses based on their core topics as follows:

- 1- Narrative verses: The verses whose primary goal is to narrate the story. They function similarly to a prose text responsible for taking anecdotes from point A to point B and they usually contained a restricted amount of figures of speech compared to the other categories.
- 2- Descriptive verses: They are responsible for bringing the story alive by describing nature, the milieu, or the context where the story is occurring.

⁶²⁵ Sharaf al-Dīn, *Al-Mu'jam*, 205.

⁶²⁶ Rashīd al-Dīn, *Tārīkh-i Īrān va Islām*, 471. The underlined words seem to be typos in the edition.

- 3- Didactic verses: One of the widest categories, since it includes all the verses with various concepts aimed to teach. They encompass notions such as kingship, justice, fatalism, and advertising virtues.
- 4- Heroic verses: Instances of this category were discussed in the previous section on *TMG*. They were chosen to invoke a heroic atmosphere in the stories.

While the majority of pseudo-Firdawsī verses are placed to create an epic context for the stories, as they did in *TMG*, there are also instances where they appear differently. These verses are found mostly in the introduction, presumably written by Rashīd al-Dīn, and contain a greater number of Arabic words, in contrast to *TMG*'s pseudo-Firdawsī verses, and they often focus on religious matters, such as the following verses:

گناه است از حکم سلطان عدول	"پس از امر و نهی خدا و رسول
فریضه بود طاعت پادشاه	چو فرمان دارای خورشید و ماه
به دنیا هلاک است و عقبی عقاب" ⁶²⁷	خلاف سلاطین مالک رقاب

'Second to the command of God and the prophet (Muḥammad), / it is a sin to disobey the sultan's order.

Similar to the master of the sun and the moon, / it is mandatory to submit to the king's command.

Opposing the rulers who own our necks, / will bring annihilation upon you in this life and punishment in the afterlife.'

The above verses are included after a short discussion regarding how a king is chosen by God to do justice and uphold the *sharī'a*. While the verses are meant to emphasize the point made in their earlier paragraphs, the discussion about the necessity to obey sultans/kings/rulers does not end here. In the next two pages, other measures are taken to further prove this point including a well-known Qur'anic verse and two famous Firdawsī verses. According to the Qur'anic verse, one must 'obey God, the prophet, and the ruler' providing the audience with a type of hierarchy to follow.⁶²⁸ Moreover, the passage between this Qur'anic verse and Firdawsī's verses are an attempt to indoctrinate the reader that just kingship is a continuation of prophecy bringing kings and prophets closer to each other in status.⁶²⁹ The inclusion of *Shāhnāma* verses after this statement is not only an example of *shāhid-i miṣāl* (poetic proof), but also a reminder that such notions had already existed in Iranian culture. The verses are as follows:

⁶²⁷ Rashīd al-Dīn, *Tārīkh-i Īrān va Islām*, 7.

⁶²⁸ The Qur'an 4: 59. "اطيعوا الله و اطيعوا الرسول و اولی الامر منکم"

⁶²⁹ Rashīd al-Dīn, *Tārīkh-i Īrān va Islām*, 9.

دو گوهر بود در یک انگشتری

"چنان دان که شاهی و پیغمبری

نه بی دین بود پادشاهی به جای"⁶³⁰

نه بی تخت شاهی بود دین به پای

'Beware that kingship and prophecy/ are two gems in one ring.

Neither can religion exist without royal throne;/ Nor can kingship without religion.'

Rashīd al-Dīn includes the same Qur'anic verse in his theological book *Mabāḥiṣ-i Sulṭānīyya* where he pays tribute to the prophet Muḥammad and Rashīd al-Dīn's own patron, Öljeitü, leaving no doubt that the ruler in the Qur'anic verse refers to Öljeitü in his opinion.⁶³¹ This Qur'anic verse is only one of the multiple arguments Rashīd al-Dīn puts forward to elevate the position of his patron. In fact, he spends about 45 pages (based on the edition) elevating Öljeitü's position to that of the prophets. His arguments include his claim that water miraculously appeared in a desert upon the birth of Öljeitü;⁶³² Öljeitü was able to achieve victory by God's assistance when he had the odds stacked against him;⁶³³ the peaceful transition of power to Öljeitü as a sign of legitimacy and fortune granted by God;⁶³⁴ and the sultan's ability to receive revelations and to influence the movements of the planets.⁶³⁵

Rashīd al-Dīn's theological works as well as court debates between Muslim and Buddhist clergies, apart from their intellectual value, were supposed to demonstrate Islam' and Buddhism's potential for legitimacy and ideology. As Brack shows in his study, *An Afterlife for the Khan*, the Mongols made use of this potential for legitimacy, reinforcing Mongol rule by appropriating new religious concepts and rituals while at the same time claiming continuity with Chinggisid ideas and Mongolian identity.⁶³⁶ In other words, they chose ideas that were akin to their own. What Rashīd al-Dīn does in his *Mabāḥiṣ-i Sulṭānīyya* is in line with this argument, seeds of which are also found in the introduction of *The History of Iran and Islam* as shown earlier.

While the *JT* project and all the theological compositions of Rashīd al-Dīn seek to legitimise the Ilkhanids- the former by its epic qualities and its connection to the ancient Iranian kings and the latter by focusing on religious arguments- there are also reasons to assume that they could have attracted Shāhrukh's attention with regard to the Timurids' legitimacy and ideology. While the production of the illustrated manuscripts of *JT* had already started in Rashīd al-Dīn's own time, such as the Arabic *JT* manuscript kept in Edinburgh, the

⁶³⁰ Rashīd al-Dīn, *Tārīkh-i Īrān va Islām*, 9.

⁶³¹ Rashīd al-Dīn, *Mabāḥiṣ-i Sulṭānīyya*, ed. Hashem Rajabzadeh (Tehran: Mīrās-i Maktūb, 1394/2016), 49-50.

⁶³² Rashīd al-Dīn, 54-55.

⁶³³ Rashīd al-Dīn, 59-60.

⁶³⁴ Rashīd al-Dīn, 66.

⁶³⁵ Rashīd al-Dīn, 66-68.

⁶³⁶ Brack, *An Afterlife for the Khan*, 10-11.

bulk of what we have today is the work of Timurid artists many of whom served in the court of Shāhrukh, indicating Shāhrukh's interest in Rashīd al-Dīn's works.⁶³⁷

Moreover, apart from Rashīd al-Dīn's works, an abundant number of *Shāhnāma* manuscripts was produced under the Timurids' patronage. Therefore, on the one hand, there is Rashīd al-Dīn's project to link the Mongols to the ancient Iranian kings by using Firdawsī and pseudo-Firdawsī verses and on the other, the increased number of *Shāhnāma* manuscripts copied during Timurid period, demonstrating the importance of Firdawsī's verses and its connection to legitimacy for the Ilkhanids and the Timurids. The practice of including *Shāhnāma* verses and pseudo-Firdawsī verses continued under the rule of the Timurids as well. As Michele Bernardini has shown, Timurid chronicles such as the *Sa'ādatnāma*, the *Ẓafarnāma* of Shāmi, and *Zubdat al-Tavārīkh*, all made use of *Shāhnāma* verses to make allegories between the Timurids and the kings and the heroes of earlier epic.⁶³⁸

Perhaps it is most fitting to end this chapter with a verse which demonstrates best this continuity between the court of the Ilkhanids and that of the Timurids. This is a pseudo-Firdawsī verse which appears in Ḥāfiẓ Abrū's *Zubdat al-Tavārīkh*:

"همه بندگانیم شهرخ پرست
من و رستم، اسکندر و هر که هست"⁶³⁹

'We are all servants worshipping Shāhrukh. / Including me, Rustam, Alexander and everybody else.'

Two other versions of this verse appear in *JT*, the first appear in the section on history of Kīyumarṣ' reign and is copied from Sharaf al-Dīn's *al-Mu'jam*. The first version is:

"همه بندگانیم خسروپرست
اگر پیشواییم اگر زیردست"⁶⁴⁰

'We are all servants worshipping the king. / Either we are leaders or followers.'

And the second is in the reign of Kaykhusraw following his ascension which mentions the names of *Shāhnāma* heroes as well. The second version is:

"همه بندگانیم خسروپرست
من و گیو و گودرز و هر کس که هست"⁶⁴¹

⁶³⁷ The illustrations of the Edinburgh manuscript alone are an example of the past in the service of the Mongols, especially when it comes to the ancient Iranian kings, since they were illustrated with Mongol facial features. Charles Melville, "The Illustration of History in Persian Manuscripts," *Iran* 56, No.1 (2018): 52-53. For *JT*'s illustrations, see: David Rice, *The Illustrations to the 'World History' of Rashīd al-Dīn* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1976); Blair, *A Compendium of Chronicles: Rashid al-Din's Illustrated History of the World*.

⁶³⁸ Michele Bernardini, "The *Shahnama* in Timurid Historiography," in *Shahnama Studies III*, ed. Gabrielle van den Berg & Charles Melville (Leiden: Brill, 2018), 155-172.

⁶³⁹ Ḥāfiẓ Abrū, *Zubdat al-Tavārīkh*, ed. Kamal Haj Seyyed Javadi (Tehran: Asāṭīr, 1395/ 2017), vol.3, 45.

⁶⁴⁰ Rashīd al-Dīn, *Tārīkh-i Īrān va Islām*, 76.

⁶⁴¹ Rashīd al-Dīn, 487.

‘We are all servants worshipping the king. / Including me, Gīv, Gūdarz, and all the rest.’

3.7 Conclusion of the Chapter

This chapter demonstrated how the ancient idea of *farrah* was employed in poetry by Rashīd al-Dīn in its later version, *farr*, in the verses included in *JT*. Similar to *RŞ*, the notion of *farr* appears in other words such as *rūz*, *rūzgār*, and *hūr* in *JT*, all of which refer to the same concept of fortune which may leave one king and join another who was assumed to have been more deserving. The transfer of *farrah* is attested in Sasanian rock reliefs, thus bringing the Mongols closer to the ideal of the ancient Iranian kings. Apart from the idea of fortune, the verses in *JT* contribute to the Mongols’ legitimacy by placing them in the line of legitimate Iranian rulers. On one hand, Firdawsī’s verses and pseudo-Firdawsī’s verses often create analogies between the Mongols, especially the Ilkhanids, and *Shāhnāma* figures. On the other hand, they have the added value of making the Mongols appear heroic like the kings and heroes of the *Shāhnāma*. This feature increases in the section on the Ilkhanids, as they were the primary focus of Rashīd al-Dīn.

While the second volume of *JT*, the world history, follows the same pattern as the first volume, *TMG*, when it comes to the verses’ epic qualities, it is also in line with Rashīd al-Dīn’s other works where he makes an effort to legitimise Öljeitü from a theological aspect. As we saw, *mutaqārib* verses in the introduction of the second volume of *JT* connect well to Rashīd al-Dīn’s plan to portray Öljeitü as a prophet-king. The epic qualities of *JT*, its link to the ancient Iranian kings, along with the connection it makes between kingship and prophethood, all attracted the attention of later rulers such as the Timurids, who made use of *JT* in their own way to acquire legitimacy among their subjects.