

Cultural Encounters in Anatolia in the Medieval Period:
The Ilkhanids in Anatolia
SYMPOSIUM PROCEEDINGS

21-22 May 2015, Ankara

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Ankara Citadel Ilkhanid Tax Tablet*

*The translation of the Ilkhanid inscriptions carved on the gateway of Ankara Citadel is as follows:

“Allah is the one who makes things easier. People complained about high quantity of wheat and high kupçur tax collected from them. When the decree of the conqueror of the world arrived in Engürkiye, it was ordered by law that the city issues its own money with the seal of the city and registered in the books as of the beginning of March, seven hundred thirty, for the continuation of the state of the Sultan of Muslims (may his dominion be everlasting). This is an act of law. Whoever claims more kupçur or illegal tithe than provided by law, may the curse of Allah, angels and prophets be upon him. Whoever changes this order after hearing of it falls into sin. Made by Halil.”

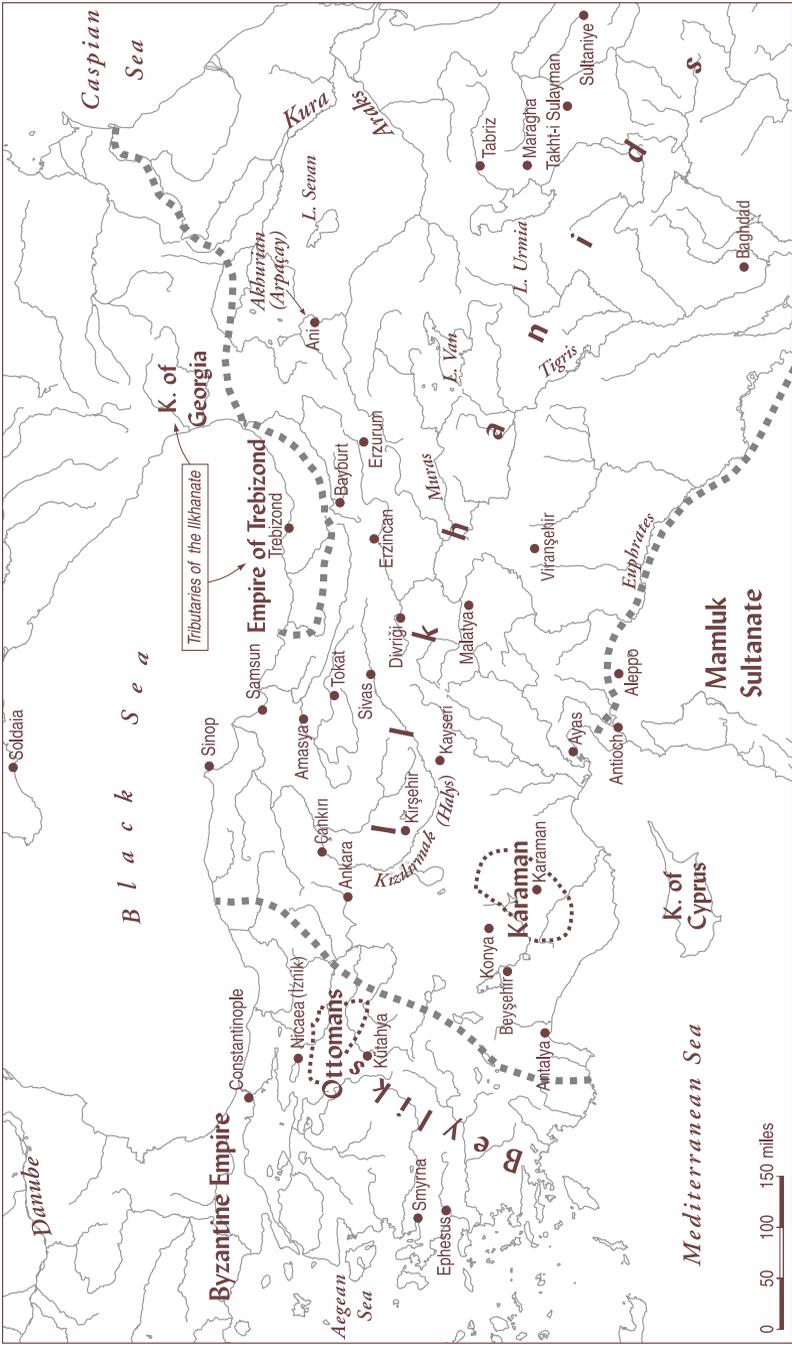
Photograph: Gökçe Günel

Source: Translation from Wittek, P. (1931). *Ankara'da bir İlhani Kitabesi*. (Offprint: *Türk Hukuk ve İktisat Tarihi Mecmuası*, v.1). Istanbul: Evkaf.



Hisar Gate, Ankara Citadel, 1932.

Source: Koç University VEKAM Library and Archive, Inv. No:2009



Ilkhanids in Anatolia (ca. 1300)

The map is based on Philip Schwartzberg's Anatolia map (Meridian Mapping)

Preface

Ilkhanids and their Western Frontier

SUZAN YALMAN

Koç University

The legendary Mongols, under Genghis Khan (ca. 1162-1227) and his successors, are recognized primarily for their military prowess, creating the largest land empire ever to exist, from China to Central Asia and the Islamic world, all the way to Europe. For this reason, their reputation related to war, pillaging, and bloodshed in the vast lands that they conquered, seems to precede them. In the aftermath of Genghis Khan's death, four states emerged: Chagatai in Central Asia (1227-1363), Golden Horde in southern Russia (1227-1502), Ilkhanid in greater Iran (1256-1353), and Yuan in China (1271-1368). Nevertheless, thanks to the lifting of borders, people, goods, ideas, and information could circulate, helping to contribute to the cultural achievements of the era. Under their dynastic rule, this great geographic expanse was united in what is known as the "Mongolian Peace" (*Pax Mongolica*). This said, however, due to the memory of violence they were often associated with, positive aspects involving their intellectual, artistic and architectural heritage have been overlooked. This book emerged from an interest in shedding

light on the brief but significant Mongol interlude in Anatolia that proved to be a vital period of cultural transformation.

The historical context in West Asia was impacted by Genghis Khan's grandson Hülegü, whose forces subjugated all of Iran and, moreover, in 1258, captured Baghdad, bringing an end to the Abbasid Caliphate (750-1258). Assuming the title *Il-khan*, meaning "lesser khan" (i.e. subordinate to the Great Khan ruling in China), Hülegü established rule over most of West Asia, including parts of Asia Minor. Due to their titulature, this branch of the Mongol dynasty became known as the Ilkhanids and centered its power in northwest Iran. In history books and surveys, 1258 is considered a watershed moment not only in terms of the political context—given the end of centuries of caliphal rule—but also as a turning point in Islamic art and architectural history. For, in terms of its periodization, significant changes are noted in the arts of the book and ceramic production, as well as in architecture, where monumentality became *du jour*. Following the conversion to Islam of Ghazan Khan (r. 1295-1304)

in 1295 and his creation of a cultural policy that supported his new religion, Islamic art and architecture would flourish again.

As with 1258, in Turkey, too, the cultural memory still retains the Seljuk defeat at the Battle of Köseadağ in 1243, after which Seljuk sultans became vassals to the Mongols. For this reason, the period is often remembered as a blight on Turkish history. Thus, even though Anatolia was part of the Mongol landscape and map, in the mindset, it has not always been in the picture. The negative connotations made it difficult to break free from the teleological model that favors the clear-cut and straightforward periodization of Seljuk-Beylik-Ottoman eras. In nation-state narratives, the Mongol period was often either glossed over under the rubric of "Seljuk" or "Beylik," until the flourishing of the "Ottoman" period.

In general, medieval Anatolia has often been marginalized in scholarship; by Byzantinists it is the periphery to the imperial capital of Constantinople, and for scholars of Islamic history, it is perceived as an eclectic or marginal zone that comes nowhere near vital centers such as Baghdad, Cairo or Isfahan. For the Mongol era, with the focus on Ilkhanid Iran, Anatolia was perceived as an unruly frontier. Although Turkish scholarship tried to counterbalance this, the rhetoric was nationalist and the agency of Turkic dynasties played a key role, leaving little or no room for the Mongols. Underlining the consequences for the Turks, some even remarked on how the period in fact helped strengthen the role of Turks in their new geography.

In terms of shedding light on the Mongol and Ilkhanid cultural achievement, a significant development was the landmark exhibition at the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York in 2002-3 entitled "The Legacy of Genghis Khan: Courtly Art and Culture in Western Asia, 1256-1353." The exhibition catalogue with the same title, edited by Linda Komaroff and Stefano Carboni, further contributed to scholarship in this area. The essays in the publication highlight how East Asian elements fused with the existing Perso-Islamic repertoire to create a new artistic vocabulary that was emulated from the borders of India to Anatolia and thus affected artistic production profoundly.

A few years later (2006-7), a popular "Mongol" exhibition was put together in Turkey at the Sakıp Sabancı Museum. As its title "Genghis Khan and His Successors: The Great Mongol Empire" (*Gengiz Han ve Mirasçuları: Büyük Moğol İmparatorluğu*) suggests, this exhibition was not focused on the Ilkhanids but conceptualized in broader terms. Curiously, local contribution to this exhibition was mostly in the form of important artifacts borrowed from Turkish museum collections and not in the form of scholarship in the related catalogue (edited by Samih Rifat). Perhaps the partial silence is once again related to the cultural memory of 1243.

How can we move beyond these perceptions of the Ilkhanid period in Anatolia? Most tangibly, what about the cultural efflorescence in Anatolian cities such as Sivas that witnessed the construction of a number of major monuments in the 1270s

(Çifte Minareli Medrese, Buruciye Medrese and Gök Medrese)? How do we handle these contradictions? Such initial questions inspired the symposium entitled "Cultural Encounters in Anatolia in the Medieval Period: The Ilkhanids in Anatolia" which took place at Koç University's Vehbi Koç Ankara Studies Research Center (VEKAM) on 21-22 May 2015. For the symposium and its publication, we envisioned bringing together Turkish and international scholars from different disciplines, in order to paint a more complete picture of this complex period in Anatolia.

In their discussion of history, literature, Sufism, arts of the book, urban history and architecture, the articles in the present volume include some of the new directions in the field. Highlighting the role of Sufism, Andrew Peacock examines the role of two notable figures in his work, "Two Sufis of Ilkhanid Anatolia and their Patrons: Notes on the Works of Mu'ayyid al-Din Jandi and Da'ud al-Qaysari." In terms of the intellectual and artistic heritage of the Mongols, manuscripts that made their way into the Ottoman royal collection are discussed by Zeynep Atbaş in "Artistic Ilkhanid Manuscripts in the Topkapı Palace Library." The importance of commerce, regional networks and urban history are addressed by Tom Sinclair in "The Ayas-Tabriz Commercial Link and Its Impact on the Cities of Sivas, Erzincan, and Erzurum." Elaborating on the concept of the frontier, Patricia Blessing examines the developments in architecture at the time in her article entitled, "Building a Frontier: Architecture in Anatolia under Ilkhanid

Rule." Also focusing on architecture, Oya Pancaroğlu analyzes the prominent role of local powerholders in her case study, "İsmail Ağa, Beyşehir and Architectural Patronage in 14th Century Central Anatolia." Bruno De Nicola studies the case of another province in his article, "On the Outskirts of the Ilkhanate: The Mongols' Relationship with the Province of Kastamonu in the Second Half of the 13th Century."

We are grateful to these authors for their invaluable contributions that have made this volume possible. İlhan Erdem, Kemal Göde, Hesna Haral, Nakış Karamağaralı, Peter Lu, Canan Parla, and Sara Nur Yıldız were also among the scholars who presented papers at the symposium but could not be part of the publication for a variety of reasons. Serpil Bağcı and Rıza Yıldırım graciously accepted to chair sessions at the symposium. We would like to thank each and every one of them, as well as the students and lively audience for their participation.

Finally, this symposium and its publication would not have been possible without the vision and generosity of VEKAM Director, Prof. Yenişehirlioğlu, and the energetic VEKAM team consisting of Arzu Beril Kırıcı and Mehtap Türkyılmaz for the symposium, and Alev Ayaokur for the volume. The final printed form was achieved thanks to copy-editor Defne Karakaya, translator Umur Çelikyay, and designer Damla Çiftçi.



Ilkhanid Coin, Ankara, 1336-1338.

Yapı Kredi Museum Collection, Inv. No. 11685

On the Outskirts of the Ilkhanate: The Mongols' Relationship with the Province of Kastamonu in the Second Half of the 13th Century¹

BRUNO DE NICOLA

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Abstract

Ever since the decisive victory over the Seljuqs of Rūm in 1243, the Mongols and their Persian officials had different approaches to the role that Anatolia should play in the Ilkhanate. The impact of Mongol rule and its reception among the Anatolian subjects was not homogeneous across the Peninsula. Eastern regions of Anatolia were geographically closer to the area where the Mongol court dwelt in North-Western Iran, which arguably gave them less room for political maneuver. On the contrary, in the western parts of Anatolia, different local dynasties emerged in the second half of the 13th century, in a complex political scenario that combined Mongol overlordship, the proximity to a decadent but prestigious Byzantium and the presence of Turkmen tribes to their political agenda. One of these dynasties was the Çobanoğlu of Kastamonu that ruled over North-Western Anatolia during the last few decades of the 13th century. This article aims to offer an overview of the relationship between center and periphery in the Ilkhanate by looking at the rule of the Çobanoğulları in Kastamonu and their political, religious and cultural development vis-à-vis the Mongols of Iran. The aim is to contrast opposing views on Mongol rule documented not only in the general narratives of the period but also to examine those works locally composed for the rulers of Kastamonu. By contracting local and more general sources, we aim to contribute to a better understanding of the complex political relationship between local dynasties in peripheral areas of the Ilkhanate and the central court of the Mongols of Iran.

Keywords: Kastamonu, Çobanoğulları, Local sources, Periphery, Centrality

¹ The research leading to these results has received funding from the European Research Council under the European Union's Seventh Framework Program (FP/2007–2013) / ERC Grant Agreement No. 208476, "The Islamisation of Anatolia, c. 1100–1500."

Introduction

The impact of the Mongol invasions of the Middle East has been the subject of extensive research, especially during the last few decades.¹ Scholars have evaluated the damage and the benefits brought by the Mongols to the Islamic world in different fields such as the military, religion, politics, economy and culture.² Despite this, in the case of Anatolia, the Mongol period has still not been adequately studied when compared with, for example, the history of the Mongols in Iran or China. There are several reasons for this. On the one hand, Anatolia was a frontier land far from the center of Tabriz-based Ilkhanid power, and consequently Anatolia occupies a marginal place in the principal Ilkhanid sources. On the other hand, Turkish historiography has traditionally overlooked the period, seeing it as a mere transition between the golden age of the Seljuks of Rūm in the initial decades of 13th century and the rise of the Ottomans in the 14th century (Melville, 2009).³ If Anatolia was a distant land in the eyes of the Ilkhanid rulers, then the western areas of the peninsula were even more so. These were areas where different local

dynasties emerged in the second half of the 13th century in a complex political scenario that combined Mongol rule, proximity to a decadent but prestigious Byzantium, and the presence of Turkmen tribes.

The classic approach to the history of pre-Ottoman Anatolia has often suggested that political fragmentation in the peninsula (the *beylik* period) began with the collapse of Mongol rule in Iran and the consequent loss of political influence over the territories of Rūm during the initial decades of the 14th century (Melville, 2016, pp. 309-335). This view implies a political unity in the period preceding the political atomization brought by the Mongols, and that this was especially due to the Seljuks of Rūm. However, the idea that there was a clear correlation between the end of Mongol domination and the emergence of the *beylik* period needs to be revised. Not only had the political fragmentation of Anatolia begun earlier than the 14th century, but it was a nonlinear process where enmities and alliances shifted depending on the political context. The city of Kastamonu and its surrounding areas offer a good example of these local polities existing during the 13th century, a period when the region was ruled mostly by the local Turkmen dynasty of the Çobanoğulları (r. c. 1211-1308).

The arrival of the Turks in Anatolia in the 11th century transformed the Byzantine province of Paphlagonia into a political, religious and cultural border region between Islam and Christianity. Two centuries later, this area became the far western frontier between the Mongols of Iran and Byzantium, while still remaining the home

1 For an overview of research in Mongol studies, see Morgan, 1985, pp. 120-125; Biran, 2013, pp. 1021-1033.

2 See Lambton, 1988; the collection of articles in De Nicola and Melville, 2016; and, more recently, Hope, 2016.

3 The omission of Ottoman–Mongol relationships is also apparent in 14th- and 15th-century Ottoman sources (Tezcan, 2013, pp. 23-38).

of a comparatively large Greek-Christian population. However, under the rule of local elites, this population had mainly become Islamized by the time of the Mongol invasions of the 1240s. Furthermore, in the second half of the 13th century, the region embraced Islamic culture in the form of the patronage of Muslim scholars, scientists and the support of Islamic institutions (Yücel, 1991). The aim of this short essay is to focus attention on the history of this particular local dynasty, and discuss the changing dynamics of the relationship between this northwestern corner of the Anatolian peninsula and Mongol rule throughout the second half of the 13th century. The aim of the paper is therefore to offer an overview of the complex relationship between center and periphery in the Ilkhanate by looking at the rule of the Çobanoğulları in Kastamonu, as well as their political, religious and cultural development under the Mongols.

Kastamonu Before and After the Mongol Conquest of Anatolia

During the few decades after the Battle of Manzikert in 1071, there was conflict in the region of Kastamonu between the newly arrived Turks and a Byzantine empire immersed in internal turmoil (Cheynet, 1980, pp. 410-438; Vryonis, 1971, pp. 85-113). The first reference to a Turkish presence in the area suggests that a group of Danishmendid Turks took control of the region as early as 1073-1074, when the Byzantine emperor, Alexios Komnenos, was forced to flee after being surprised by an attack of Turkmen

warriors in the vicinity of Kastamonu.⁴ According to Osman Turan and traditional Turkish historiography, a certain general named Karatekin is credited with capturing the region only a few years later, including the neighboring cities of Sinop and Çankırı, and annexing it for the Danishmendid dynasty in 1084-1085 (Turan, 1980, p. 85). After this short period of Danishmendid control, Byzantium regained control over the region briefly following an expedition carried out by Emperor Komnenos. However, the Greek empire was unable to hold the area for long, and it is known that by 1143 the region was under the firm control of the expanding Seljuks of Rûm.⁵

From the early days of the Turkish invasion of western Anatolia, different groups of Turkmen settled in the area, eventually forming a military elite that *de facto* ruled over this region. However, there is no direct and official reference available of a Turkmen chief being recognized by the Seljuk sultan until the beginning of the 13th century, when the historian Ibn Bibî mentions that Sultan Kayqubad I counted on the support of Hüsâm al-Dîn Çoban as being the 'bey' of the *uj* (region) of Kastamonu in 1219-1220 (Ibn Bibî, 1941, pp. 57-58; 2011,

4 C. J. Heywood, Kaṣṭamūnī, *Encyclopaedia of Islam* (2nd ed.).

5 Kastamonu was made an *iqta* territory belonging to the sultan's family. This information is inferred by the reference made by Aqsarā'ī to the transfer of the region's tax revenues from the sultan's treasury to the vizier Tāj al-Dîn Mut'azz in 1259. See Aqsarā'ī, 1944, pp. 65-66; Korobeinikov, 2004, p. 90 (also n. 7).

p. 210; Yücel, 1991, p. 37).⁶ We know little about Ḥusām al-Dīn Çoban, but he appears to have been one of the chief military commanders of a group of Turkmen tribes that had settled in the region during the 12th century (Yücel, 1991, pp. 35-36). Despite doubts being cast over the genealogical connection between Ḥusām al-Dīn Çoban and the rest of the Çobanoğulları rulers, he is considered to be the founder of the dynastic line that ruled Kastamonu in the 13th century (Cahen, 1968, pp. 233-234). Most probably established by the Seljuk sultan as a military commander charged with controlling this border region, Ḥusām al-Dīn Çoban managed to expand his field of influence over an area that was not limited to the city and region of present-day Kastamonu, but which included important urban centers such as Ankara and Gangras (modern Çankırı), two cities that were placed under the control of Kastamonu after they revolted against Seljuk authority in 1214 (Korobeinikov, 2004, pp. 92-93). Knowledge of this territorial expansion notwithstanding, the scant source material of the period makes it difficult to assess whether the ruler enjoyed full political control over these urban centers, or if his authority was limited to the command of the Turkmen tribes that were present in the rural areas of the Kastamonu region.⁷ Other

important aspects of the cultural and religious life of Kastamonu in these early decades of the 13th century, such as the nature of the interaction between the newly appointed Turkmen bey and the still numerous Greek-Christian-Hellenized population of the area,⁸ remain poorly understood.

While the information on the religious and cultural life in early 13th-century Kastamonu is scarce, there is more concrete information on the military career of Ḥusām al-Dīn Çoban during this period. Documentary evidence exists of the two military campaigns of diverse characteristics and outcomes involving the founder of the Çobanoğulları dynasty and his Turkmen armies as allies of a faction of the Seljuk dynasty. In both campaigns, the military strength of the Kastamonu Turkmen provided consistent support to Kayqubad I before and after he was crowned in 1219-1220.⁹ During the first campaign, military assistance was provided by Ḥusām al-Dīn Çoban to Kayqubad a decade before his ascension to the throne. The future Seljuk sultan had challenged the enthronement of his brother and rose in arms against him in 1211. He was eventually forced to

6 Ḥusām al-Dīn Çoban must have overseen the region, if only unofficially, since 1211 (Cahen, 1968, p. 239).

7 According to the 13th century Moroccan chronicler, Ibn Said, there were over 30,000 tribesmen in the region of Kastamonu (see Peacock, 2010, p.

84). Peacock and Yildiz (pp. 1-3) provide an interesting comparison between the rural interpretation of Anatolia by Ibn Said and the urban view given by Simon of St. Quintin.

8 We do know whether the Seljuks carried out razzias in the province in search of Greek slaves for the Seljuk army. See C. J. Heywood, Kaşımüni, *Encyclopaedia of Islam* (2nd ed.).

9 For a quick overview of his life and reign, see C. Cahen, Kaykubad, in the *Encyclopaedia of Islam* (2nd ed.).

find refuge at the fortress of Ankara where he was besieged by forces backing his elder brother Kaykaus I (d. 1219) (Ibn Bibī, 1941, pp. 56-57; 2011, p. 137). Ḥusām al-Dīn Çoban and other local Turkmen rulers fought alongside Kayqubad, cementing an alliance that would become fundamental in the establishment of Çobanoğulları rule in Kastamonu. Unfortunately for both allies, the battle was lost, Kayqubad was imprisoned and the Kastamonu forces had to withdraw to their original territories in northwestern Anatolia (Cahen, 1968, p. 121). It is difficult to interpret the reasons behind Çoban's decision to back Kayqubad in this internal Seljuk contest, and it is not known if Ḥusām al-Dīn Çoban had any previous commitment to Kayqubad that made him support his side.¹⁰ However, it is possible that the Turkmen ruler was playing his first hand in the Seljuk political arena in trying to expand the territories under his command and gain further influence over the politics of Anatolia.

If Çoban's gamble did not yield an immediate reward, his military support for Kayqubad paid off some years later when Kaykaus died and Kayqubad became Sultan of Rum. After being confirmed as *amir* of Kastamonu by the new sultan, Ḥusām al-Dīn Çoban was commissioned by Kayqubad in the early 1220s to partake in the first maritime campaign carried out by the Seljuks of Rum in Crimea (for an analysis of this campaign, see Peacock, 2006, pp. 133-149). The

objective of the campaign was to reclaim the city of Sudak, which had been incorporated as an overseas protectorate by the Seljuks a few years before, following the withdrawal of the first Mongol incursion into Russian steppes and Crimea. According to Ibn Bibī, Ḥusām al-Dīn Çobān commanded the expedition, defeated Rus resistance in the area, forced the city of Sudak to surrender, and returned to Anatolia with members of the city's nobility as hostages, leaving behind Anatolian soldiers in Crimea to guard the city (Ibn Bibī, 1941, pp. 124-127; 2011, pp. 287-289). He also instituted Islam as the "official" religion in the city and sharia as the code of law.¹¹ There is no available information regarding the fate of Ḥusām al-Dīn Çoban and the region of Kastamonu on his return to Anatolia, but they both appear to have kept out of political developments in Konya during the 1230s.

The Mongol invasion of Anatolia in 1243 shook the political status quo of the peninsula and was followed by several tumultuous years, as reflected in the historiography of Rūm. Kastamonu seems initially to have escaped any major upsets during the early years of Mongol settlement in Anatolia, or at least there are no accounts of major events in the region in the available sources. While the date of Ḥusām al-Dīn Çoban's death is unknown, the following Çobanoğulları ruler to emerge in the historical records is Alp Yürek (d. c. 1280) (Yücel, 1991, pp. 40-42). Despite the main

¹⁰ Ibn Bibī is not specific about Ḥusām al-Dīn's involvement but mentions only his support for Kayqubad (Ibn Bibī, 1941, pp. 56-57; 2011, p. 137).

¹¹ As Peacock has suggested, this did not mean conversion to Islam occurred in the city (Peacock, 2006, p. 135).

sources suggest that Ḥusām al-Dīn and Alp Yürek were father and son, some scholars have questioned if there was actually any family connection between the two (Cahen, 1968, pp. 234-235). It could be that due to Alp Yürek assuming power at a young age but it is worth mentioning that there was a period when an apparently non-Çobanoğlu tribal chief named Shams al-Dīn Tuvtaş (Yavtash) was placed in charge of protecting the castle of Kastamonu and appointed bey of the region until around 1256.¹² If Alp Yürek assumed control over the region of Kastamonu at some point after this date, it seems that he did not enjoy the same political power as his possible father, Ḥusām al-Dīn. The stricter control imposed by the Mongols of Iran over Anatolia after the establishment of the Ilkhanate, and the new Mongol officials sent from Tabriz to obtain revenues from the region¹³, appear to have reduced the authority of the Çobanoğulları. The economic benefits obtained by these Mongol representatives and the collection of the region's revenues did not mean that these officials exercised any direct day-to-day political authority over the region, or that they were even living in the area.¹⁴

¹² Little is known about him, but he was of Cuman origin (see Korobeinikov, 2004, p. 94).

¹³ The evidence for the tax revenues of the Kastamonu territories passing from Tāj al-Dīn Mut'azz (d. 676/1277) after his death to Muđjir al-Dīn Amīrshāh (d. 701/1302), as an *iqṭā'* territory, suggest economic control of the region by these Mongol officials. C. J. Heywood, Kaşamūni, *Encyclopaedia of Islam* (2nd ed.); Korobeinikov, 2004, pp. 94-96.

¹⁴ From 1260 to his execution in 1277, the city of Kastamonu, like other cities in the region, was offi-

The overlapping political authority of the *pervāne*, the economic usufruct of some Mongol officials, and the military control of the local Çobanoğulları Turkmen, seem to have been the methods used by the Mongols to control northwestern Anatolia in the three decades following its conquest.

If the authority of the local dynasty of Kastamonu initiated by Ḥusām al-Dīn Çoban became less clear in northwestern Anatolia, the narrative of the local history of the region in the last decades of the 13th century became more established. Those claiming descent from Ḥusām al-Dīn Çoban seized on a new opportunity provided by the historical context of Anatolia in the early 1280s, and developed more direct interaction with the Mongols of Iran. Although Shams al-Dīn Tuvtaş and Alp Yürek were politically subjugated and economically dominated by the Mongol officials deployed in Anatolia, a new dynamic of political interaction emerged in the 1280s. An internal dispute over the succession of the Seljuk Sultanate and the death of Abaqa Ilkhan (d. 1282) in Iran offered a new opportunity to Muẓaffar al-Dīn ibn Alp Yürek to establish a different relationship between these local rulers and the Mongols.

cially under the control of the *pervāne* Mu' in al-Dīn. After his death, this nominal authority passed to his son Mehmed Beg, who supposedly administered the region from his residence in Sinop until 1299, although he only visited Kastamonu on a few occasions (Korobeinikov, 2004, p. 95).

Collaboration, Patronage and Revolt: The Zenith and Decline of the Çobanoğulları Dynasty

After the death of the Mongol Ilkhan Abaqa (d. 1282), and especially with the rise to power of Arghūn to the Ilkhanate throne in 1284, the Mongols changed their approach towards Anatolia and became more involved in the region's development (Melville, 2009, pp. 73-81). The deployment of Geikhatu (d. 1295), Arghūn's brother, as governor of Anatolia is one of the measures taken by the Ilkhans to bring the region under tighter political control (Anonymous, 1999, pp. 112-113; Aqşarū'ī, 1944, pp. 145-146; Rashīd al-Dīn, 1994, vol. 2, p. 1155). The closer involvement of the Mongols, and the internal struggle between contending Seljuk sultans, would also affect the roles of the local rulers of Kastamonu after 1280. Against this backdrop, a figure emerges in the sources as the new Turkmen commander of northwestern Anatolia. Muzaffar al-Dīn Yavlaq Arslan, son of Alp Yürek, had a fresh political vision that, combined with some advantageous developments, would invigorate the Çobanoğulları within the political strategy of the Ilkhanate.

The first occasion for greater direct involvement in Ilkhanid and Anatolian politics came with the succession struggle that divided the Seljuks of Rūm after the former sultan, Kaykaus II, had died in exile in Crimea in 1280-1281. The struggle was caused by two of Kaykaus II's sons returning to Anatolia with the intention of claiming the Seljuk throne. According to

Ibn Bibī, the designated heir was Mesud ibn Kaykaus, but his brother Rukn al-Dīn tried to seize the Seljuk crown by arriving at the peninsula first. However, on setting foot in Anatolia, Rukn al-Dīn was captured by Muzaffar al-Dīn ibn Alp Yürek in the vicinity of Kastamonu. The Çobanoğulları ruler took Rukn al-Dīn as a prisoner in the city of Sinop, offered him to Mesud, and then pledged alliance to him (Ibn Bibī, 2011, pp. 634-635). The two new allies allegedly traveled together to Tabriz prior to 1282 in order to obtain a decree from the Ilkhan Abaqa that would grant Mesud legitimacy to be recognized as Sultan of Rūm. However, Abaqa died in 1282 and so Mesud and Muzaffar al-Dīn were forced to stay in the Mongol capital to obtain the approval of Abaqa's successor Aḥmad Tegüder (r. 1282-1284). Following the strategy of divide and rule carried out by his successors, Tegüder granted Mesud control over Diyarbakır, Harput, Malatya and the vicinity of Sivas, but kept his rival Giyath al-Dīn Kaykhusraw III (d. 1284) in charge of Konya and central Anatolia (Aqşarū'ī, 1944, p. 138). However, Kaykhusraw III did not accept this division of political authority and joined a revolt organized by Kangirtay, one of Abaqa's brothers, against Tegüder's reign (Cahen, 1968, pp. 294-295). The recently appointed Ilkhan was also facing a simultaneous uprising in the east, where his nephew Arghūn was challenging Tegüder's authority from Khurasan. Tegüder managed to suppress the Anatolian revolt by Kangirtay by sending Giyath al-Dīn Kaykhusraw III to trail and he eventually had him executed in March 1284. After the revolt was suppressed, Tegüder

decided to grant Mesud sole authority over the Sultanate of Rum. Nonetheless, although the Ilkhan had managed to put down the revolt in Anatolia, the one on the eastern front had a different outcome. Arghūn had gathered sufficient support in the east among dissident Mongol *noyans* to finally defeat Tegüder in 1284 (Amitai, 2001, pp. 15-43). When Arghūn ascended the throne, he appointed Mesud II as the Seljuk sultan and granted Muẓaffar al-Dīn ibn Alp Yürek control of Kastamonu and the surrounding areas (Yücel, 1991, p. 43).

It seems that the time that the Turkmen Muẓaffar al-Dīn spent in the opulence of the Ilkhanid capital of Tabriz, as well as the contact he certainly had with members of the court, may have influenced the local ruler of Kastamonu in starting a consistent policy of literary patronage. It is possible, for example, that while in Tabriz, he met with the renowned scholar Quṭb al-Dīn Shirāzī (d. 1311) and agreed on financing the composition of a Persian-language treatise on astronomy known as the *Ikhtiyārūt-i Muẓaffarī* (Niazi, 2011, pp. 157-158; on the Mongols' interest in astronomy, see Saliba, 2006, pp. 357-368), that the work was composed in 1284 and is specifically dedicated to Muẓaffar al-Dīn Çobanoğlu. We know that Quṭb al-Dīn never visited Kastamonu despite having lived in both Sivas and Malatya for some time in the 1280s. The close relationship between the scholar and the Ilkhanid court caused Quṭb al-Dīn Shirāzī to make several trips to Tabriz while he was living in Anatolia. This meant that an encounter was made possible at the Mongol court in Tabriz at some point

in 1284 between the court scholar and the ascendant Turkmen leader, Muẓaffar al-Dīn, who was now an ally of the Mongols of Iran at the western borders of the Ilkhanate (Niazi, 2011, p. 110).

This patronage of Quṭb al-Dīn Shirāzī by Muẓaffar al-Dīn was not an isolated case, and the financial support for men of letters became a common activity undertaken at the Kastamonu court in the 1280s. This occurred during a period of economic growth and military expansion against Byzantium which the region of Kastamonu appears to have experienced until 1291 (Peacock, 2015, pp. 377-378). During the decade in which Muẓaffar al-Dīn ruled as the Çobanoğulları leader, other authors also received financial support for their literary activity. To date, we know of five works written in Persian that were composed in the second half of the 13th century and were dedicated to the rulers of Kastamonu. However, the number of texts produced in the region increases to ten if we include those not specifically dedicated to a ruler, but produced under Çobanoğulları rule. These works were written by three different authors after the 1280s, when, as has been described, Çobanoğulları rule in the region of Kastamonu became more firmly established thanks to Mongol support.

As well as financing the astronomical treatise of Quṭb al-Dīn Shirāzī, there is evidence of the dedication of another work to Muẓaffar al-Dīn, but with a different thematic focus from Shirāzī's scientific work. The *Fuṣṭāṭ al-'adāla fī qawā'id al-sultāna* is a rather unique text that deals with religion and politics, both subjects that were

among the main interests of the works patronized by the Çobanoğulları (De Nicola, 2016, pp. 49-72). This work was composed in 1283, possibly by a certain Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Khaṭīb and dedicated to Muẓaffar al-Dīn ibn Alp Yürek, ruler of Kastamonu. The only surviving copy of the work was made on the 10th of Ramazān, AH 990 (September 28, 1582), most probably in Istanbul, and is held at the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris.¹⁵ The work includes very diverse material, such as stories of the pre-Islamic Iranian kings, stories of early Islam, unique accounts of the Qalandar dervishes, the fight of the Great Seljuks against heresies, and a particular abridged and edited version of the *Siyāsatnāmah* of (Niẓām al-Mulk (1978)). However, the main feature of the text is that it is written in the style of a mirror for princes, emphasizing the duties of a good ruler and the role he should play, especially vis-à-vis the *'ulamā'* and the people that have deviated from the right path. In addition, as we will see below, this text provides special insights into the contemporary events of Mongol Anatolia and a view of Ilkhanid rule.

Apart from these specific works by Khaṭīb and Shirāzi, the most prolific author connected to the Çobanoğulları was Ḥasan bin 'Abd al-Mu'min Ḥusām al-Dīn Khū'ī (d. 1308),¹⁶ a scribe, poet and lexicogra-

pher, originally from northwestern Iran, who found his way to Anatolia at an early age and settled in his youth at the court of the Çobanoğulları of Kastamonu (on his family, see Özergin, 1970, pp. 219-229). He served under three of the Çobanoğulları rulers and left up to seven works, mostly in Persian, but which also included a Persian-Turkish vocabulary called *Tolḥfa-yi Ḥusām*, and a versified Arabic-Persian vocabulary known as *Naṣīb al-fityān*.¹⁷ The most prominent work dedicated to a ruler of Kastamonu is the *Nuzhat al-kuttāb wa tulḥfat al-aḥbāb*, a work that aims to provide the reader with four different types of citations that can be used in the writing of letters to dignitaries, members of the court or family members.¹⁸ Manuscript copies of this work also carry a dedication to Muẓaffar al-Dīn ibn Alp Yürek.¹⁹ The work was written in AH Muḥarram 684/ March 1285, the year in which Muẓaffar al-Dīn returned from Tabriz after securing Mongol support

17 Only a fragmentary copy of the *Tolḥfa-yi Ḥusām* has survived (Khū'ī, 2000, pp. 25-27). The *Naṣīb al-fityān* was more popular in Anatolia, with different copies still available in Turkey (see MSS Süleymaniye, Reşid Ef. 978; Lala İsmâil 644; Hasan Hüsnü 1102; Râşid Efendi, 11279). Other works not dedicated to Çobanid rulers by Khū'ī include the *Rusum al-rasā'il wa nujūm al-fazā'il* (composed in 690/1291), the *Ghunyāt al-ṭālib wa munyat al-kātib* (composed in Rabi' II 709/September 1309); and poems written in Persian and compiled under the *Multamasāt* (for all these works, see Khū'ī, 2000).

18 T. Yazıcı, Ḥasan b. 'Abd-al-Mo'men, *Encyclopedia Iranica*, accessed February 23, 2017, <http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/hasan-b-abd-al-momen>; Yakupoğlu and Musali, 2018, pp. 47-52.

19 See the dedication in MS Fatih 5406, f. 33a.

15 MS Supplement Turc 1020.

16 In Turkish works he is generally referred as al-Hoy. For an edition with all the existing works of Ḥusām al-Dīn Khū'ī, see Khū'ī, 2000; and Khū'ī, 1963. A new book about the life and works of Khū'ī has been recently published by Yakupoğlu and Musali, 2018.

for his claim to rule Kastamonu.²⁰ Another work of a similar style, entitled *Qawā'id al-rasā'il wa farā'id al-fazā'il*, was composed by Khū'ī in Rajab 684/ September 1285 (Khū'ī, 2000, p. 293; Turan, 1958, p. 173). The author himself mentions that he composed this work at the request of some friends (*dustān*), immediately after he had finished the *Nuzhat al-kuttāb*, and that it was dedicated to the last Çobanoğlu ruler, Amīr Maḥmūd (d. c. 1309) (Khū'ī, 2000, p. 225).²¹

One of the main characteristics of all these works is that they were written in Persian by men of Iranian origin who had emigrated to Anatolia during the 13th century. This phenomenon was not exclusively a characteristic of Kastamonu, but rather a general process that affected all of Anatolia and, to a certain degree, contributed to the shaping of the cultural development of the peninsula from the beginning of the 13th century onwards. The traditional view was that the Mongol invasions of the 1220s in central Asia and Khurasan were the main instigator for this migration of Iranians into Anatolia. However, the view that this was the only reason why literate Persian-speaking men (and women) found their way to Anatolia is currently being challenged. The debate over the real motivation behind the migrations is still ongoing, but Anatolia was undoubtedly a magnet for these literati and men of science, and realization of this serves as an important contextual

element in understanding the patronage of Persian works by the Çobanoğulları of Kastamonu. However, another characteristic of this literary patronage is that most of the works were composed for the local rulers of Kastamonu during the 1280s and early 1290s: the period in which Muẓaffar al-Dīn Çobanoğlu maintained fruitful relationships with the Seljuks of Rūm and the Mongols of Iran.

The period of cultural development of Kastamonu under the Çobanoğulları dynasty was upset in 1291 by rebellion in which several Turkmen tribes from north-western Anatolia revolted against the Ilkhanid domination under the leadership of the Seljuk prince, Rukn al-Dīn. This was the rebellious brother of Sultan Mesud II who had been imprisoned by Muẓaffar al-Dīn Çobanoğlu a decade earlier. The Mongol army in Rūm was mobilized by the newly appointed Ilkhan Geikhatu (r. 1291-1295) to suppress the revolt.²² Muẓaffar al-Dīn Çobanoğlu remained loyal to his Mongol-Seljuk commitments and confronted the rebels before the arrival of the Mongol contingent. However, the Çobanoğulları ruler was killed during the initial confrontations, either in the battlefield or as a victim of assassination.²³ Even though Muẓaffar al-Dīn

²² For an analysis of the revolt, see Dimitri Korobeinikov (2004, pp. 87-118).

²³ There is some disagreement in the sources on this point. While Aqsarā'ī suggests that Muẓaffar al-Dīn died in battle, Byzantine sources point towards an assassination plotted by Rukn al-Dīn. See Aqsarā'ī, 1944, p. 171; Gregoras, 1829-55, vol. 1, p. 137; Korobeinikov, 2004, pp. 99-100; Pachymeres, 1835, p. 327.

²⁰ In regard to the composition, see the colophon in MS Fatih 5406, f. 58a; also Turan, 1958, p. 172.

²¹ See the dedication in MS Fatih 5406, f. 60a, lines 4-5.

appears to have been a dependable ruler, the revolts portray the fragility of the power balance in the region in which Turkmen support could rapidly shift from one leader to another. The actual motives for the revolt are unclear as available sources do not provide much detail about the reasons, and only claim that some Turkmen tribes of the area were revolting against "Mongol tyranny." However, as Korobeinikov has shown, the political situation in Kastamonu was multifaceted. There was enmity between the Çobanoğulları and Byzantium, the influence of Mongol officials having economic privileges in the region, and the potential tensions arising from nomadic Turkmen living alongside urban Persianized people who had migrated from Iran and central Asia. (Korobeinikov, 2004, p. 115; De Nicola, 2018). It could be that an intention on the part of the Çobanoğulları in establishing themselves more firmly as rulers in the region might have also contributed to conflict between different Turkmen factions in the area and the increasing political supremacy of the Çobanoğulları.

After a few years of military confrontation, the Mongols defeated the Turkmen uprising in Kastamonu in 1293. However, the defeat neither removed the Turkmen superiority from the region, nor triggered a dynastic change in Kastamonu. In fact, Amīr Maḥmūd (d. 1308), the son of Muẓaffar al-Dīn, assumed control of the region and Çobanoğulları military capability remained significant in the following years. Between the years 1295 and 1299, contingents of Turkmen, led by Çobanoğlu commanders, launched several attacks on Byzantium

and fought with Osman Gazi (posthumous founder of the Ottoman Empire) at the Battle of Bapheus (1302) (For more details on the battle, see İnalçık, 1993, pp. 77-98). Çobanoğulları might was eventually toppled not by Byzantium, nor by the Mongols or the Seljuks, but from within by a Turkmen chief who assassinated Amīr Maḥmūd in c. 1309, thus inaugurating the Candaroğulları/Jandarid dynasty in the region that ruled over north-western Anatolia from Kastamonu until the 15th century, upon which they became incorporated into the incipient Ottoman Empire (on the Jandarid dynasty, see Yücel, 1991, pp. 53-142).

Some References to and Omissions of the Mongols in Texts Composed Under the Çobanoğulları

The patronage activity carried out by Muẓaffar al-Dīn Çobanoğlu provides us with the rare opportunity of having an alternative source of information in addition to the main historical chronicles on the sociopolitical history of the region of Kastamonu. The texts composed under the rule of the Çobanoğulları of Kastamonu must be placed in the historical context described previously in this article, i.e. the Mongol domination of Anatolia, and the different historical and political moments in the relationship between the rulers of Kastamonu and the Ilkhans. It is also important to bear in mind that none of the texts patronized by the Çobanoğulları rulers were historical chronicles, like the better-known works produced by authors such as Ibn Bibi, Karīm

al-Dīn Aqsarā'ī (d. c. 1320s) or the anonymous Historian of Konya (for an account on these sources, see Melville, 2006, pp. 135-166), that aimed to narrate the political history of their patrons. Instead, these texts dealt with astronomy, religious precepts, advice for kings, and diplomatic letters. That said, some of the texts do make passing references to historical events, or deliberately omit certain historical facts on different occasions, thus providing an interesting alternative insight into the history of the Ilkhanate that complements the narrative of contemporary historians.

An example of this is that the above-mentioned *Fuṣṭāḥ al-'adāla fī qawā'id al-sultāna* surprisingly omits a rather important contemporary historical event. In the second chapter of the work (ff. 1b to 27b), which covers the initial centuries of Islamic history up to the fall of Baghdad in 1258, no reference is made to the Mongols' sacking of the city, or to the execution of the last Abbasid caliph ordered that same year by Hülegü.²⁴ One would think that the fall of the capital of Sunni Islam and the execution of its highest political and spiritual representative would be a relevant historical event to include in a text that is dedicated to a local ruler of the area, and whose main sworn aim is to guide the Turkmen rulers of Kastamonu to the right Islamic path. It is highly unlikely that these events were omitted by accident, since not only did they occur during the lifetime

of the author but the text otherwise contains a complete report of other significant events in Islamic history. However, the reasons for the omission of such important incidents in the history of Islam becomes clearer when the text is read in the context of the composition and patronage of the work. As mentioned above, the work was dedicated to Muẓaffar al-Dīn ibn Alp Yürek and composed in 1283-1284 at a time when relations between the Çobanoğulları and the Mongols of the Ilkhanate were friendly and mutually beneficial. In this context, the failure to mention Mongol responsibility for the execution of the caliph of Islam and the destruction of Baghdad appears to be an intentional oversight by the author, as doing so avoids dealing with the contradiction of preaching how to be a good Muslim to a ruler that is subject to the destroyers of the Abbasid dynasty. In other words, by simply omitting these events, the power relations between the Mongols and the Çobanoğulları become less problematic in the eyes of an audience in Kastamonu that was being rapidly Islamized and was at the front line of military conflict with the infidel Byzantium.

The pro-Mongol flavor of this work is further exemplified in other parts of the text. Despite the fact that at the time of its composition the Mongols of Iran were still a pagan dynasty and its rulers were closer to Buddhism than Islam, the author of the *Fuṣṭāḥ al-'adāla* is not afraid to glorify Mongol rule when it suits the narrative of the work. In another section, there is a reference to a casual encounter between Hülegü, founder of the Ilkhanate, and a group of

²⁴ MS Supplement Turc 1120, ff. 26b-27a; see also De Nicola, 2016, p. 56.

mendicant dervishes, the Qalandars.²⁵ While the story of the encounter between the Mongol ruler and the dervishes seems to have been widespread in the Ilkhanid lands, it is used in this case by the author of this text as an opportunity to place the still-pagan Mongols as the rightful overlords that were fighting the Qalandars and their errant beliefs. Highlighting the heretical views of these dervishes and the danger they represented for Muslims in Anatolia in the 13th century is one of the main topics covered in the *Fuṣṭāḥ al-ʿadāla* (De Nicola, 2016, pp. 49-72; Turan, 2010, pp. 531-564). The text presented them as perverted people who deviated from the true path of Islam, and their conquest by the current rulers of Anatolia is therefore supported. Among the examples used to justify the persecution of these heretics, the Mongol ruler is described as encountering these dervishes during one of his campaigns in the Middle East in the company of his advisor Naṣīr al-Dīn Tusī (d. 1274). Surprised by their shaved faces, their lack of shoes and their strange outfits, the Mongol ruler turned to his advisor and asked what to do with these people. The famous scholar advised the ruler to kill them for heresy and so the Mongol lord ordered their immediate execution (Karamustafa, 2006, p. 53).²⁶ The author of the work concludes the an-

ecdote by saying that if it were not for the Mongols, the Qalandars and their heretical ideas would have spread even further into Anatolia.

While the historical context might explain some omissions and references to the Mongols in the text, the reasons behind some other examples are less straightforward. For example, there is a major section in the *Fuṣṭāḥ al-ʿadāla* which is dedicated to describing the long-lasting persecution at the castle of Alamut by the Great Seljuk sultans of the Ismaili Shia movement. However, there is no reference to the campaigns performed by Hülegü against the Ismailis, or the final destruction of the castle by the Mongols. It is not clear why the author did not take the opportunity to glorify the Mongols for this act, as it seems that mentioning this event would have served to enhance the figure of his patron's Mongol ally. While it is again tempting to suggest that the author had no knowledge of these events, this seems unlikely considering the information that is included on other events relating to both the Mongols and the Ismailis. One interpretation for this omission is that it is evidence that the destruction of Alamut did not lead to as complete a destruction of Ismailism as some of the later Mongol sources suggest (Daftary, 2005, p. 82; Lane, 2003, p. 193). Another interpretation for the omission lies in the inner coherence of the text and the message that the author of the *Fuṣṭāḥ al-ʿadāla* is trying to convey to his patron. This interpretation suggests that if, after describing what he sees as the relentless struggle of the Seljuk dynasty as the righteous Muslims against

25 MS Supplement Turc 1120, f. 53b. See Karamustafa for more details of the Qalandar dervishes, 2006; Ocak, 1992.

26 See Pfeiffer, 2006, pp. 383-384, for more details on the interaction between Mongols and Qalandars at the time of Ahmad Tegüder (d. 1284).

the heretical Ismailis, the story ends by concluding that it is only a pagan Mongol that is capable of destroying Alamut, the whole narrative of a righteous Islam overcoming heresy would be compromised. Therefore, this interpretation suggests, by ignoring the destruction of Alamut, the author of the *Fuṣṭāṭ al-ʿadāla* avoids making a link between the Mongols and the Seljuks, and thus leaves the battle against heresy to be continued by his patron.

The narrative favorable to the Mongols found in the *Fuṣṭāṭ al-ʿadāla* is not shared by other authors who composed works for the Çobanoğlu. It is perhaps not surprising that there are no references to the Mongols in Quṭb al-Dīn Shirāzī's *Ikhtiyārāt-i Muẓaffarī* since the work is concerned with astronomy rather than politics. There is also the likelihood that Shirāzī's composition of the *Ikhtiyārāt* for Muẓaffar al-Dīn ibn Alp Yürek was motivated largely by personal economic profit, rather than as an attempt to gain political favor from what might have appeared to be a minor local ruler from the periphery in the eyes of a scholar well connected to the Ilkhanid court (Niazi, 2011, pp. 106-114).²⁷ Similarly, the prolific Ḥusām al-Dīn Khū'ī does not mention the Mongols either in any of his multiple works dedicated to the Çobanoğulları rulers. It is surprising that although Khū'ī's works

deal mainly with his samples of diplomatic letters and quotations on how to address rulers and the official ranks used in the court, he never mentions the Mongols or the Ilkhanate. The *Rasām al-risā'il*, for example, lists examples of written addresses (*khiṭāb*) and accounts (*taqrīr*) to be used for diplomatic correspondence, and yet he omits all Mongol official titles present in the Ilkhanate, such as khan, *daraghuchi* or *noyan*, and instead only lists titles belonging to the Islamic-Persian tradition such as sultan, *malik* and vizier (Khū'ī, 2000, pp. 346-373). Although his patrons were subjects of the Mongols of Iran, it seems from the work that the Ilkhanate had nothing to do with the government of 13th-century Kastamonu. Unlike the *Fuṣṭāṭ al-ʿadāla*, none of Khū'ī's works recalls any historical event in which the Mongols had directly or indirectly taken part, and it is as if the western parts of Anatolia had nothing to do with the Mongols of Iran.

In the same way as the author of the *Fuṣṭāṭ al-ʿadāla*, Khū'ī dedicated some of his works to Çobanoğulları rulers in a period of alliance between the local rulers of Kastamonu and the Mongols. However, there are differences in how the authors address Mongol role in the Middle East. It could be that the different origins of the authors might have something to do with this different approach. However, we unfortunately know nothing about the specific origins of the author of the *Fuṣṭāṭ al-ʿadāla*, and so cannot effectively compare him with Ḥusām al-Dīn Khū'ī, but it seems clear that both shared a common Iranian origin (De Nicola, 2016, p. 65). In terms

²⁷ Niazi also suggests that the reading of Ibn Bibī, in which control over cities such as Sivas and Malatya was given to Mesud II, might be claiming that these two cities were actually granted to Muẓaffar al-Dīn Çobanoğlu (see Niazi, 2014, p. 81). For Ibn Bibī's mention of the allocation of the cities, see Ibn Bibī, 2011, p. 635.

of the biographical information provided in the prefaces to his works, it seems that Khū'ī's family may have been forced to leave his original homeland after the first Mongol invasion of Iran in the 1220s (on the family connections of Khū'ī, see Özergin, 1970, pp. 219-229). The memory of the forced exile of his family might have caused some personal antipathy towards the Mongols, although this could not be openly expressed in his writings while his patrons from Kastamonu were allied to the Mongols in the 1280s.

Although antipathy for the Mongols is not immediately evident in Khū'ī's works, his political worldview can be inferred from the texts that have survived. For example, in his *Nuzhat al-kuttāb*, the formula Khū'ī used to dedicate the work to Muẓaffar al-Dīn Yāvlāq Arslān appeals strongly to the "Islamic merits" of the ruler.²⁸ On the contrary, the *Fuṣṭāḥ al-'adāla*, which is dedicated to the same ruler and composed only one year apart from Khū'ī's work, places the emphasis on the genealogical pedigree of the ruler and suggests that his legitimacy rests on the ruling tradition of his family, rather than on the specific

merit of Muẓaffar al-Dīn Yāvlāq Arslān. In other words, while in the *Nuzhat al-kuttāb*, the emphasis is placed on his Islamic credentials, the *Fuṣṭāḥ al-'adāla* always depicts Muẓaffar al-Dīn Yāvlāq Arslān as a ruler under the authority of the Seljuk sultan Mesud, who, as we saw above, was appointed by the Mongol Ilkhan Arghūn. In doing so, Khū'ī omits the fundamental role that the Mongol Ilkhans had in placing Muẓaffar al-Dīn Yāvlāq Arslān in power and in consolidating the Çobanoğulları dynasty in Kastamonu.

A similar appeal to Islamic merits is used by Khū'ī in a *fatḥmāmah* (letter of victory) that was included as an exemplary letter in his *Qawā'id al-rasā'il wa farā'id al-fazā'il* (Khū'ī, 2000, pp. 282-285). The letter provides a unique description of the capture by Muẓaffar al-Dīn of "two castles of Gideros" from the Byzantines in Rajab 683/September 1284.²⁹ As with the *Nuzhat al-kuttāb* dedication mentioned above, Khū'ī highlights the Islamic merits of his patron, Muẓaffar al-Dīn. The Çobanoğulları ruler is described as a victorious Muslim general who defeated the Christians with the assistance of his Turkmen fighters, who were motivated not by their thirst for blood or booty, but rather by jihad in the expansion of the Muslim faith in Anatolia. As Andrew Peacock says in his analysis of this letter, these Turkmen "were noted for their ferocity and were inflamed by desire

28 Muẓaffar al-Dīn Yāvlāq Arslān is described as "protector of the frontier and borders, helper of the warriors of faith, cave of the border army, triumphant of the state and religion, succorer of Islam and Muslims, aid of the Eternal, lion of the kingdom, protector of kings and sultans, supreme royal *sipahlār* of the high lands" (*ḥāmī al-ṣughūr al-aknāf, nuṣrat al-mujāhidīn, kihf al-marābi'im, muẓaffar al-dawlat wa al-dīn, maghīṣ al-Islām wa al-musalīmīn, 'aẓd al-ḥazrat, laṣī al-mamlakat, zahīr al-mulūk wa al-salaḥīn, mu'zam humāyūrīn sipahdār-i diyār-i auj*); see Khū'ī, 2000, p. 158; also MS Fatih 5406, f. 33a.

29 The castles were located in the bay of Gideros around 150 km north-west of Kastamonu on the Black Sea coast (Khū'ī, 2000, p. 282; Peacock, 2015, pp. 375-391).

to fight 'the enemies of religion'" (Peacock, 2015, p. 378). This difference in depiction of the Mongols from the glorified tone of the *Fuṣṭāḥ al-ʿadāla*, to the indifference of Khūʿī, might also suggest an inner political transformation in the Çobanoğlu understanding of kingship during the decade of the 1280s. Khūʿī died during the first decades of the 14th century and so lived through the glory days of Çobanoğulları rule, from the Mongol support in 1284 to the anti-Mongol revolt of Kastamonu and its suppression in 1293. The political upheavals of his patrons, however, did not prevent him from continuing to write, and apparently he composed another work in 1309 of chancellery literature (*inshāʿ*): *Ghunyat al-ḫalīb wa munyat al-katīb*, which was based on one of his previous works (Khūʿī, 1963, pp. 1-16).³⁰ The fact that Khūʿī continued writing beyond the revolt may suggest that he belonged to a section of the Kastamonu court that had sympathies for an anti-Mongol movement in the region, even before the rebel uprising of 1291. However, while the *Fuṣṭāḥ al-ʿadāla* was composed in 1283-1284, at a time when Muẓaffar al-Dīn allegedly came back from Tabriz with a mandate from Arghūn and the support of Mesud II, this work accordingly reflects the political status of the Çobanoğulları as clear subjects of the Seljuks and the Mongols. On the other hand, Khūʿī's works show a different view, one in which the pagan Mongols are not mentioned directly, but which depicts the Çobanoğulları as a dynasty in its own

right that was able to reign over Kastamonu by the sole merit of its rulers and their commitment to rightful Islamic principles.

Conclusions

The close relationship with the Seljuks of Rūm, developed by Ḥusām al-Dīn Çoban, favored the establishment of his Turkmen faction above others in the northwestern frontier of the sultanate in the initial decades of the 13th century. Following the eruption of the Mongols into the Middle East, Ḥusām al-Dīn's descendants went through different stages of conflict, rebellion and submission to the invaders. The return of the Seljuk prince, Mesud, to Anatolia, as well as the opposition of his brother, provided Muẓaffar al-Dīn Çobanoğlu with the opportunity of becoming a political actor in the region's development. Capturing Rukn al-Dīn not only increased Muẓaffar al-Dīn Mesud's confidence, but also opened up the possibility of obtaining Mongol support as the ruler of Kastamonu. The deal between the Çobanoğulları and the Mongols appears to have been mutually beneficial for a decade. On the one hand, it allowed the Mongols to have closer control over the peripheral territories of the western borders of the Ilkhanate, while on the other, it granted enough political support to the Çobanoğulları for them to become a Turkmen military power in the region. It also allowed them to expand their territories at the expense of Byzantium, and to explore courtly activities that were unprecedented in the region, such as the patronage of scientific, religious and political works from renowned scholars of the time.

30 For more details on the date of composition, see MS Fatih 5406, f. 98b; Khūʿī, 2000, p. 342.

The texts left by the Çobanoğulları dynasty represent evidence of an attempt to not only to consolidate this local dynasty in the area, but also to provide this semi-nomadic Turkmen tribe with the tools for the formation of a local authority under Ilkhanid suzerainty. Together, these works form an interesting corpus of advice for kings on the rules of government and diplomatic practices that appear to be tailored to an incipient ruling dynasty trying to establish itself at the far corner of an empire. Furthermore, this type of work denotes a concern with the construction of a political apparatus, an idea of kingship, and a preoccupation with religious orthodoxy. Finally, references to, as well as omissions of, the Mongols in these works reflect different perceptions of Mongol domination, thus attesting the diverse and unstable political balance that existed in the involvement of different layers of political authority, from Mongol officials to local rulers, in governing border areas on the outskirts of the Mongol Empire.

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