

## Pādshāh Khatun

### *An Example of Architectural, Religious, and Literary Patronage in Ilkhanid Iran*

BRUNO DE NICOLA

In comparison to sedentary societies, women in the Turkic-Mongol nomadic and seminomadic societies showed greater involvement in the political sphere, enjoyed a greater measure of financial autonomy, and generally had the freedom to choose their religious affiliations.<sup>1</sup> Some women advanced to positions of immense power and wealth, even appointed as regent-empresses for the entire empire or regional khanates. Such examples included Töregene Khatun (r. 1242–46), Oghul Qaimish (r. 1248–50), and Orghina Khatun (r. 1251–59).<sup>2</sup> Other women such as Qutui Khatun (d. 1284) in Mongol-ruled Iran accumulated great wealth from war booty, trade investment, and the allocation of tax revenues from the newly conquered territories.<sup>3</sup>

Through their unique prominence in the empire's socio-economic system, elite women had an active role in financially supporting and protecting cultural and religious agents. Our understanding of the impact that Chinggisid women had on the flourishing of cultural life in the empire as a whole, and in the Ilkhanate of greater Iran in particular, remains poor, however. The historical record tells us little about the role that Chinggisid female members played as patrons of religious and cultural life, especially when compared to the relative wealth of references to female influence in the political and economic arenas. However, abundant accounts show that female elite members from the local Turkic-Mongol dynasties who ruled as vassals for the Mongols, or had been incorporated into the ranks of the ruling Chinggisid household

through marriage, played a pivotal role as cultural and religious patrons. Doing so, they indirectly contributed to the empire's religious and intellectual life, and in some instances, were further directly involved in the cultural activities of the societies they were ruling.<sup>4</sup>

The female patronage of religious institutions and clergy was especially prominent in the case of the Turkic-Mongol dynasties that ruled as Ilkhanid vassals, on the peripheries of Ilkhanid Iran, in Fārs, Kirmān, or Anatolia.<sup>5</sup> This chapter provides an overview of the life of Pādshāh Khatun (1256–95), a prominent lady of the Qutlughkhanid line of rulers. Despite being born in Kirmān, on the periphery of the Ilkhanate, she played an active role in Ilkhanid politics during the second half of the thirteenth century. Furthermore, her life and patronage activities open a window into the architectural, literary, and religious patronage of royal women in the Ilkhanate, and more broadly, the Mongol Empire.

#### FROM CENTRAL ASIA TO KIRMĀN: THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE QUTLUGHKHANID DYNASTY IN SOUTHERN IRAN

Pādshāh Khatun belonged to the Qutlughkhanid line that ruled Kirmān in southern Iran (1222–1306) under the Mongol and, later, Ilkhanid aegis. The dynasty owed its emergence, first, to the historical turmoil that ensued from the Mongol conquests in Central Asia, and later, to the establishment of Mongol rule in Iran. The founder of the Qutlughkhanids, Baraq Ḥājib (Baraq the Chamberlain, r. 1222–35), was a scion of the ruling house of the Qara Khitai. The Qara Khitai were Khitan fugitives from North China who ruled in Central Asia in the century that preceded the rise of the Mongols (1124–1218).<sup>6</sup> Despite ruling over a majority-Muslim population in Central Asia, the nomadic Qara Khitai did not convert to Islam maintaining instead their Chinese trappings and mainly, their Buddhist affiliation.<sup>7</sup> However, their policy of religious tolerance, and the security and prosperity that Qara Khitai rule brought to the region, guaranteed the cooperation of their Muslim subjects. In addition to their religious policies, the Qara Khitai were also distinguished for the prominent position they attributed to female members of the ruling line. Out of the five Qara Khitai emperors, two were empresses. These empresses ruled in their own right, not as temporary regents for their underage male offspring or until a succession struggle was resolved.<sup>8</sup>

This relative peace and prosperity in Central Asia abruptly ended in the early thirteenth century, when Qara Khitai rule was afflicted with

political crisis. Their former vassal, the Muslim Khwārazmshāh Muḥammad (r. 1200–1220), who would become Chinggis Khan’s main opponent in Central Asia and the Middle East, seized this opportunity, and in 1210 conquered Transoxiana (mostly in modern-day Uzbekistan), the Qara Khitai’s richest province and main source of revenue.

During the battle between the Qara Khitai and the Khwārazmshāh, Baraq Ḥājib, Pādshāh Khatun’s great-uncle, was either taken captive or detained prior to the battle in Khwārazm. Impressed by his talents, the Khwārazmshāh appointed him as a chamberlain (*ḥājib*) and assigned him to the service of his son Ghiyāth al-Dīn, who had ruled central Iran. Baraq then converted to Islam. Ghiyāth al-Dīn appointed him governor of the city of Isfahan (in central Iran) and perhaps of Kirmān as well.<sup>9</sup> According to a different version, Baraq was heading to the Delhi Sultanate (1206–1526) when he defeated the local governor of Kirmān and decided to settle there.<sup>10</sup>

Baraq’s decision was probably also influenced by the Chinggisid conquest and expansion, first to the heart of the Qara Khitai realm (1218), and soon thereafter, through most of the Khwārizmian domain (1219–20). In 1224, the Khwārazmshāh Jālal al-Dīn (r. 1220–31), now a fugitive fleeing the Mongol forces, confirmed Baraq’s position as governor of Kirmān, conferring upon him the title Qutluḡ Khan (Turk. “the fortunate khan”). Witnessing, however, the Khwārazmian Empire’s collapse in the 1220s, Baraq sought to guarantee his new dominion initially through the blessing of the ‘Abbasid caliph, who invested him with the title of Qutluḡ Sultan. Subsequently, in 1232, he also approached the new rising force of the Mongols, who too confirmed his position in Kirmān and his title Qutluḡ Khan.<sup>11</sup> Baraq Ḥājib’s new Qara Khitai state in southern Iran maintained some characteristics of its Central Asian predecessors, including the elevated position of women. However, Baraq’s new polity was now ruled by a Muslim dynasty reigning under Mongol aegis.

After the establishment of the Ilkhanate in the second half of the thirteenth century, the Qutluḡkhanid kingdom of Kirmān played a prominent role in Ilkhanid trade networks, and especially in the vibrant intra-Asian commercial trade. Strategically situated along the road connecting Europe, Asia Minor, and West Asia to India, Kirmān also benefited from its location between the Ilkhanate’s thriving cities in northern Iran and the strait of Hormuz, the Ilkhanate’s main gateway to the Persian Gulf, which connected the maritime trade routes from Iran to India and the Far East.<sup>12</sup> The city of Kirmān was itself a center of production, both for raw materials and manufactured goods. The famous Italian merchant

Marco Polo mentions the importance of mining activity in the region, with turquoise and iron produced in great quantities, as well as “exquisite needlework in the embroidery of silk stuff in different colours, with figures of beasts and birds, trees and flowers, and a variety of other patterns . . . for the use of noblemen so deftly that they are marvels to see, as well as cushions, pillows, quilts and all sort of things.”<sup>13</sup>

As rulers of the region, the Qutlughkhanids controlled trade in the area. They received revenue from the taxation of the population and the land, as well as from the traffic in trade commodities through their territories. As with the Mongol ruling house, female members of the Turkic-Mongol elites that ruled under the Ilkhans too shared in the economic surplus of their houses.<sup>14</sup> In the Mongol Empire, women were free to accumulate and invest considerable wealth, based on revenues from their share in booty, land and tax allocations, and the usufruct of the livestock and the population under their rule, in addition to the trade revenues. Women became important financial investors in religious and cultural life, a tradition that continued under the Mongols’ successors—the Muzaffarids (r. 1314–93), the Timurids (r. 1370–1507), and the Safavids (r. 1501–1736).<sup>15</sup>

#### THE LIFE OF PĀDŠHĀH KHATUN: A TURKIC-QARA KHITAI WOMAN IN MONGOL IRAN

Pādshāh Khatun was among a select group of women who, despite her lack of Mongol roots, achieved elevated political status at the Ilkhanid court. Born in 1256 at the Qutlughkhanid court, Pādshāh was the daughter of Quṭb al-Dīn Muḥammad (r. 1236, 1252–57), nephew and heir to Baraq Hājib, the founder of the Qutlughkhanid kingdom in Kirmān, and Terken Qutlugh Khatun (r. 1257–82), a noble Qara Khitai and Baraq’s widow (see fig. 14.1).<sup>16</sup> When Quṭb al-Dīn, her father, died shortly after her birth, Pādshāh’s mother, Terken Qutlugh, assumed control over large parts of southern Iran receiving Mongol consent. She ruled first as a regent for her minor son, and later in her own right, governing Kirmān for over twenty years.<sup>17</sup> Terken Qutlugh initially resisted her Muslim daughter’s marriage to the infidel Ilkhan Abaqa (r. 1265–82); the latter requested Pādshāh’s hand shortly after his ascension. According to a later account, Pādshāh was even raised as a male named “Ḥasan Shāh” so she could avoid being made to marry the “infidel” Mongol.<sup>18</sup> Yet in 1271–72, when Pādshāh was sixteen years old, the marriage took place.<sup>19</sup>

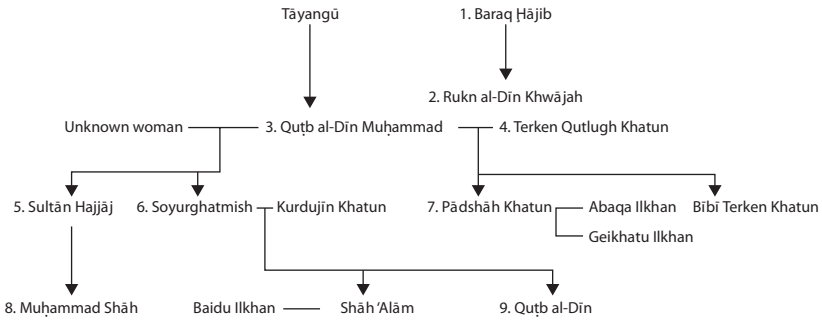


FIGURE 14.1. The Qutlughkhanids of Kirmān.

Despite Terken Qutluḡ's initial resistance, the marriage appears to have been mutually beneficial. The Qutluḡkhanids in Kirmān further solidified their political alliance with the Ilkhans, gaining a foothold at the Mongol court as well. Through the marriage alliance, Terken Qutluḡ guaranteed Ilkhanid military protection and political recognition of the vassal status of Kirmān.<sup>20</sup> The Ilkhanid court, on the other hand, used the marriage to further secure its control and to guarantee the flow of economic tribute from the rich province of Kirmān. Kirmān itself could not sustain the permanent presence of a Mongol nomadic regiment, and therefore, the Ilkhans used the Qutluḡkhanids to indirectly rule the province. The Qutluḡkhanids were further required to provide the Ilkhan with military support during times of need. During the Battle of Herat (1270), where the Ilkhan Abaqā faced, and eventually defeated, the Chaghadaid Khan Baraq (r. 1266–71), the Qutluḡkhanids, indeed, provided important military assistance, warding off the Chaghadaid military encroachment from Central Asia.<sup>21</sup> Pādshāh Khatun's marriage provided the Ilkhans with further guarantee of Qutluḡkhanid loyalty.

Following her marriage, Pādshāh Khatun was incorporated into Abaqā's court and given the *ordo* (camp, mobile court) of her husband's mother, Yesünjin. The latter died a few months after the marriage.<sup>22</sup> Pādshāh was not the sole, nor the main wife of the Mongol ruler. Yet through her marriage, she secured herself an influential position at the court. There she was able to advance her mother's interests vis-à-vis the Mongol overlords, and became an effective political actor. In 1282, Abaqā died, and while Pādshāh remained at the Mongol court, the new Ilkhan Aḡmad Tegüder (r. 1282–84) made different plans for the Qutluḡkhanid dynasty. He removed Pādshāh's mother, Terken Qutluḡ,

from her position as ruler of Kirmān and enthroned in her place her stepson, Soyurghatmish.<sup>23</sup> Pādshāh firmly opposed her half-brother's appointment to no avail. Nevertheless, she maintained her loyalty to her mother. When Terken Qutluḡ's health deteriorated, likely due to old age, Pādshāh Khatun and her sister Bībī Terken traveled from the court to Siyāh Kūh (possibly in the region of Gīlān, near the Caspian shores), to meet their mother there, offering their support for her claim to the throne. When Terken Qutluḡ died shortly afterward, in 1283, Pādshāh sent her sister Bībī to Kirmān with their mother's body, but also with a secret plan to remove Soyurghatmish from office.<sup>24</sup> Pādshāh's plot to take over her homeland and reestablish her influence in the region, however, failed, mainly because the Ilkhan Aḡmad Tegüder remained supportive of her half-brother.

Fortunately for Pādshāh, Tegüder's reign did not last. Two years only after his ascension, his nephew, Arghun, backed by prominent Mongol commanders, orchestrated a coup that placed him on the throne in 1284. Political alliances in Iran shifted once again. The new Ilkhan ordered that Pādshāh Khatun and her brother share in Kirmān's government. Pādshāh Khatun did not hesitate to complain to the Ilkhan about his decision, publicly rejecting this Solomonic solution. Her courageous move backfired: her complaints were interpreted as rebellious and her claim for rulership over Kirmān did not gain any sympathy with the Ilkhanid elite.<sup>25</sup> The Mongol commander Boqa (d. 1289), who was instrumental in promoting Arghun to the throne and was subsequently appointed vizier, decided to remove Pādshāh from the center of power by forcing her to remarry.<sup>26</sup> She was given in marriage to Arghun's brother, Geikhatu (r. 1291–95). Whereas levirate, the widow's marriage to her husband's male relative, often a younger sibling or a son (from another mother), was common in Mongol and Qara Khitai societies, it was not sanctioned from a Muslim standpoint. Despite her expressed devotion to Islam (see below), Pādshāh Khatun had married two non-Muslim Mongol partners, one of whom was the son (Geikhatu) of her late husband. This suggests a level of compromise and rapprochement between the Mongol traditions and the Muslim faith, perhaps alluding to some form of religious syncretism, to which the Turkic Muslims in Mongol service were accustomed.<sup>27</sup>

After her marriage to Geikhatu, Pādshāh accompanied him to Rūm (Anatolia), where he was appointed governor.<sup>28</sup> Pādshāh Khatun remained there between 1286 and 1291. During this period, she remained far from the Ilkhanid political scene. Instead of politics, she

devoted her time in Rūm to literary activity and architectural patronage (see below). This intermezzo ended with Arghun's death in 1291 and her husband Geikhatu's ascension to the throne, which allowed Pādshāh to return to Iran. As soon as she set foot in the Mongol court, she reclaimed control over her homeland. Indeed, immediately after securing the throne, Geikhatu granted Kirmān to Pādshāh Khatun, summoning her brother Soyurghatmish to the court. She triumphantly returned to Kirmān as the new Qutlughkhanid ruler. Furthermore, Geikhatu granted her custody of her brother. Initially locking him behind bars, she executed him in August 1294.<sup>29</sup>

During her husband's reign, Pādshāh extended the influence of Kirmān's government over the regions of Yazd (north), Shabānkārah (east), and Hormuz (south).<sup>30</sup> However, after Geikhatu's death and Baidu's (r. 1295) ascension, a new succession struggle broke out in the Ilkhanate. Pādshāh opposed the new Ilkhan, but managed to remain in Kirmān despite the desertion of many of her supporters. Eventually, the remaining forces were defeated by the Mongol troops, and she was forced to surrender. Kurdujīn Khatun, the widow of Pādshāh Khatun's half-brother Soyurghatmish, was now at play as well. Kurdujīn claimed Kirmān for herself, and sent Pādshāh as a prisoner to the court. Pādshāh never made it to Baidu's court; she was killed near the city of Mishkin (northwestern Iran) in June/July 1295, where she was initially buried.<sup>31</sup> In time, her remains were transferred to Kirmān and she was reburied in the madrasa of Qubbat Sabz, which her mother Terken Qutlugh had founded.<sup>32</sup>

#### WOMEN'S ARCHITECTURAL PATRONAGE IN ILKHANID IRAN

Despite the havoc and disruption the Mongol conquests caused, some practices, including patterns of court patronage of Islamic institutions, remained largely unchanged. Since the eleventh century, local rulers, officials, and aristocratic families, especially female elite members, had carried out the traditional role of architectural patrons.<sup>33</sup> In the twelfth century, noblewomen from regional and imperial Turkic dynasties such as the Seljuk Empire vigorously promoted construction activity and financed diverse religious buildings, including mosques, mausoleums, and hospices (*khānqāh*), throughout Iran, for example, in Yazd, Mashhad, and Shirāz.<sup>34</sup> This female patronage activity continued in the early thirteenth century as well, and especially under the Seljuk branch in Anatolia.<sup>35</sup>

The practice of elite female patronage of religious institutions and leaders was familiar among the Mongols as well. Shortly after Chinggis Khan (r. 1206–27) started to expand and consolidate his empire, Mongol elite women began performing acts of patronage. During the empire's first decades, most female patronage was directed at the religions the Mongols had initially encountered. Daoists, Buddhists, and Eastern Christians (mainly Nestorians) were the first to benefit from their patronage. Although Islam was not included in this group,<sup>36</sup> there are early examples of Mongol women contributing to the construction of Muslim sites of education and worship. For example, Sorqaqtani Beki (d. 1251), Chinggis Khan's daughter-in-law and mother of his son Tolui's (d. c. 1232/3) four main sons,<sup>37</sup> donated a thousand dinars to the famous Kubrawī Sufi master Sayf al-Dīn al-Bakhārī (d. 1261),<sup>38</sup> for the construction of a madrasa and a *khānqāh* in Bukhara in the 1240s; and she did this despite being a confessed Christian.<sup>39</sup>

While the Mongols brought with them their own tradition of female patronage, their expansion into the Muslim world of the thirteenth century also brought into their fold local expressions of female patronage by members of Muslim dynasties of Central Asian origin. Terken Khatun (d. 1264), the wife of Atabeg Sa'd II (d. 1262) of the Salghurids of Fārs (r. 1148–1282), another Mongol vassal dynasty in southern Iran, directly ruled over this region during the mid-thirteenth century.<sup>40</sup> She used her political influence and the resources at her disposal to promote and finance the construction of a mosque inside the Atabeg's palace in central Shiraz.<sup>41</sup> Similarly, her niece, namesake, and Pādshāh's mother, Terken Qutlugh, established several pious foundations (*waqf*, pl. *awqāf*), providing funds to support the construction of colleges (madrasas), a hospital, and mosques in Kirmān.<sup>42</sup> Pādshāh Khatun was likely influenced by her mother's philanthropic activity, and followed her example once she became a political actor in the Ilkhanid court.

Pādshāh Khatun, however, outdid her female relatives, expanding her patronage activity beyond southern Iran, and representing its transregional nature. Her name is connected with the construction of the dome of the famous "Çifte Minaret" madrasa (also known as Hatiniye Madrasesi) in the modern Turkish city of Erzurum (see fig. 14.2).<sup>43</sup> It is uncertain whether she directly participated in financing the dome. Yet, she seems to have donated to this madrasa when she resided in Anatolia in the late 1280s.<sup>44</sup> We know little about her activity as an architectural patron once she returned to Kirmān in 1291, although she appears to have continued to support Islamic institutions. A contemporary source mentions that she





FIGURE 14.2. The dome of the mausoleum at the “Çifte Minaret” madrasa, Erzurum, Turkey, the building of which was paid for by Pādshāh Khatun. Photo by Patricia Blessing.

“gave many pensions and allowances to scholars and she ordered [the construction] of extraordinary madrasas and mosques.”<sup>45</sup>

#### WOMEN AS PATRONS OF RELIGIOUS PERSONALITIES

Noblewomen’s involvement in financing and supporting religious institutions in medieval Turkic-Mongol societies often proceeded from an earlier relationship with a charismatic religious leader, mostly a leading figure in the institution. Such interactions, between Turkic female elite

members and religious leaders, largely predated the Mongol invasions.<sup>46</sup> Mongol elite women, too, maintained close ties with charismatic figures following the expansion of the empire, establishing direct patronage relationships with personalities of different backgrounds and religious creeds such as Christian priests (Armenians, Nestorians, or Catholics), Buddhist and Daoist monks, Muslim shaykhs, and shamans (both male and female), all of whom frequented the *ordos* of Mongol women.<sup>47</sup>

Muslim scholars, and especially Sufi shaykhs, were also quick to receive the protection and financial patronage of noble Mongol women. Donations to Islamic institutions by Turkic-Mongol women were generally accompanied by provisions for the shaykhs, scholars, and imams attached to the financed *madrassa* or *khānqāh*. Sorqaqtani Beki's support for the mystic Sayf al-Dīn al-Bākhārī in the early years of the empire (above) was not an isolated case. Sufi literature, especially lives of saints (hagiographies), contains multiple references to Mongol and Turkish women in greater Iran before and during the Ilkhanid period.<sup>48</sup> Different hagiographic accounts of Mongol-ruled Anatolia recall numerous examples of upper-class Turkic women with close contacts with Sufi masters such as Awḥad al-Dīn Kirmānī (d. 1238), the famous mystic and poet Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī (d. 1273), and his son and successor Sultān Walad (d. 1312).<sup>49</sup>

Pādshāh Khatun, too, might have associated with Sufi shaykhs in the period she spent in Anatolia. Shams al-Dīn Aḥmad Aflākī included in his fourteenth-century hagiography of the mystical poet Rūmī and his offspring an anecdote depicting the close relationship between Pādshāh Khatun and ʿĀrif Chalabī (d. 1320), Rūmī's grandson. According to one such anecdote,<sup>50</sup> which contains some chronological inconsistencies, Pādshāh was a supporter of Mawlānā's family. The account mentions that Pādshāh Khatun was so fond of ʿĀrif Chalabī that she would not release him from her presence in Erzurum even after receiving numerous letters from ʿĀrif's father, Sultan Walad (d. 1312), the Sufi family's head, beseeching her to let his son return to Konya. The hagiographical account continues with ʿĀrif Chalabī leaving after a significant period of time at the khatun's side due to a dispute. Upon his arrival in Konya, ʿĀrif fasted in silence for three straight days until he announced to his followers that Pādshāh Khatun had died, a detail that was confirmed by a letter ʿĀrif immediately received. The grieving shaykh returned to Erzurum to pay his respects to Pādshāh; afflicted he lay over her body, pardoned her offenses, and recited some quatrains in her honor. The purpose of these hagiographic accounts is to highlight

the miraculous abilities of the shaykh (in this case his anticipation of the khatun's death). Even if the details are exaggerated and inaccurate (for one, Pādshāh did not die in Erzurum), the anecdote still is an important indication of Pādshāh's cultivation of a close relationship with Ārif (or any other member of the Sufi family).

Pādshāh seems to have also fostered relationships with non-Muslim religious figures. According to the Venetian merchant Marco Polo, when he met with her during one of his famous journeys, he noticed a Nestorian priest in her service.<sup>51</sup> Her mother, Terken Qutluğ, made the region of Kirmān a safe haven for merchants, and especially for Muslim scholars and shaykhs, many of whom had migrated from Central Asia in search of patronage and a sanctuary.<sup>52</sup> There is no indication that the policy of welcoming religious leaders that started under Terken Qutluğ diminished once Pādshāh Khatun became ruler of Kirmān. This continuous interaction between women and shaykhs comprised both devotional affiliations and economic and political patronage and benefits, and religious leaders appear to have competed for the favor of influential women. Scholars have concluded that Sufis had a less significant role in the conversion of the Mongols to Islam than had been previously suggested. Still, Sufi masters certainly played a role in making Islamic practices more familiar to the new rulers and their wives.<sup>53</sup>

The incorporation of female members of the Muslim vassal dynasties into the Ilkhanid court through marriage from the 1270s onward was also an avenue for advancing the gradual Islamization of the Mongols. The marriage of Ilkhanid rulers and princes (Abaqa, Geikhatu, and Möngke Temür) with Muslim Turkic women did not induce them to convert to Islam; yet, as scholars note, the years during which these marriages largely took place, the 1270s through the 1280s, marked a turning point in the slow but steady Islamization process of the Mongols.<sup>54</sup> Women such as Pādshāh Khatun remained active in supporting Muslim communities in Iran after their marriages to the Ilkhans. Bringing Muslim practices and patronage patterns into the Mongol court environment, the new wives further facilitated the cultural rapprochement between the Mongol overlords and the Muslim communities they ruled.

#### LITERARY PATRONAGE AND WOMEN'S CULTURAL ACTIVITY

While the role of women as patrons of buildings, institutions, and religious leaders is often recorded, female involvement in the patronage of

cultural activities is less evident. Many surviving Islamic manuscripts, especially in Iranian and Central Asian collections, remain unexplored. However, some evidence suggests that these women were directly or indirectly involved in what some scholars have termed the “renaissance” of Persian literature—the increase in literary and manuscript production in the thirteenth- and fourteenth-century Persianate world. One of the few clearly documented examples of the direct patronage of literature is found during the reign of the Salghurid dynasty of Fārs in Shiraz.<sup>55</sup> The famous poet Sa‘dī (d. c. 1292) dedicated two of his most famous works to different rulers of Fārs, and highlighted the “pious and generous” character of one of the ruler’s wives, the above-mentioned Salghurid Terken Khatun (d. 1264), praising her support for literary production.<sup>56</sup>

In addition to poetry, local chronicles and histories too blossomed during the period alongside the major Ilkhanid historical compositions, authored by historians like Rashīd al-Dīn, Juwaynī, and Mustawfī.<sup>57</sup> The writing of two local histories of Kirmān was closely connected to Pādshāh’s patronage activities. The first of these works is the incomplete and anonymous *History of the Qara Khitai Kings of Kirmān* (*Tārikh-i shāhī Qarā-Khitā’īyān-i Kirmān*), which appears to have been commissioned by Pādshāh Khatun in the second half of the thirteenth century.<sup>58</sup> The work was intended as the official history of the Qutlughkhanid dynasty, highlighting the deeds of Pādshāh’s mother, Terken Qutlugh, during what was considered the golden age of medieval Kirmān.<sup>59</sup> The other work, *Simṭ al-‘ulā li’l-ḥaḍra al-‘ulyā* (The Sublime Necklace for her Great Majesty), was written by Nāṣir al-Dīn Munshī Kirmānī (d. after 1316). While the work was composed two decades after Pādshāh Khatun’s death and was dedicated to the Mongol general Isan Qutlugh Noyan (d. 1337–38),<sup>60</sup> in the early stages of his career, the author, Kirmānī, served as a court official in the chancellery of Pādshāh Khatun’s court, and became one of the most powerful courtiers in the Qutlughkhanid administration.<sup>61</sup>

Due to the symbolic meaning the Quran holds for Muslims, women often sought to patronize lavish copies of the sacred text. A manuscript containing the details of a *waqf* (charitable endowment) dated Safar 1, 786 (March 25, 1384) mentions that Bibī Terken, Pādshāh’s sister, donated a gold-plated Quran to be kept at her parents’ tomb in the Qubbat Sabz *madrassa*.<sup>62</sup> There are no records of a specific donation of copies of the Quran by Pādshāh. However, that she would support the reproduction of the text is plausible considering her long-standing patronage record. A passing reference in an early fourteenth-century

chronicle does in fact state that, while she was in Anatolia, Pādshāh dedicated part of her time to writing a commentary on the Quran.<sup>63</sup> Unfortunately, we know nothing else of this commentary, but the chronicler mentions that “she herself was a good scholar,”<sup>64</sup> highlighting that she was responsible for the composition of different literary works.

This is an important statement that sets Pādshāh Khatun apart from other women. She was one of the few Turkic-Mongol women who directly contributed to cultural production in the Ilkhanate.<sup>65</sup> Further she was a skillful calligrapher and composed several short poems that were reproduced in medieval works.<sup>66</sup> Contemporary male scholars recognized her poems, and not only the local chroniclers copied them, but also Ilkhanid court historians such as Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī Qazwīnī.<sup>67</sup> One poem composed possibly in Anatolia exemplifies the self-reflective nature of her poetry and her longing for her hometown in Kirmān:

Although I am the child of a mighty sultan  
and the fruit of the garden that is the hearth of the Turks  
I laugh at fate and prosperity  
but I cry at this endless exile.<sup>68</sup>

That Pādshāh Khatun chose to write her poetry under different pseudonyms—the female pseudonym Lāla Khatun, or the male Ḥasan Shāh—is unique as well.<sup>69</sup> Outspoken woman that she was, it seems unlikely that she felt compelled to hide her poetry. Scholars have suggested that she used pseudonyms in the hope that it would help the dissemination and acceptance of her poetry.<sup>70</sup> “Ḥasan Shāh” might have also been the name under which Pādshāh was raised to avoid her having to marry a Mongol prince. In any case, hidden behind her pseudonyms, Pādshāh managed to leave a literary legacy and open the field for other women. In the mid-fourteenth century, almost fifty years after her death, Jahān Khatun (d. 1382),<sup>71</sup> a granddaughter of the Persian vizier and historian Rashīd al-Dīn (d. 1317), mentions Pādshāh in the introduction to her *dīwān* (poetry collection). In this work, Pādshāh is described as one of a small group of Muslim women (together with Fāṭima, daughter of the Prophet Muḥammad, Qutlughshāh Khatun,<sup>72</sup> and ‘Ā’isha Muqriya),<sup>73</sup> who had contributed to the field of poetry. This enabled Jahān Khatun to legitimize her own status as a Muslim poet.<sup>74</sup> In doing so, a new generation of noblewomen in Iran acknowledged Pādshāh Khatun as a pioneer, who not only promoted culture as a ruler, but also actively contributed to the intellectual production of medieval Iran.

## CONCLUSION

Pādshāh Khatun is an example of the politically active, economically autonomous, and culturally involved Turkic-Mongol noblewomen of her time; but, fusing Steppe vigor and Islamic piety, she was also an exceptional character who defied cultural norms. She was involved, like many of her contemporaries, in the internal political struggles that were common in the unstable Ilkhanate. She succeeded in accumulating political influence and economic wealth as the wife of infidel Mongol rulers, and as the daughter of a Muslim ruler of Kirmān, and during her last years, even ruled her native province under the Mongol aegis. Similar to other Turkic-Mongol elite women, she was involved in the patronage of Islamic institutions and scholars at the Mongol court, as the governor's wife in Anatolia, and then as the ruler of Kirmān. Her contributions, however, to the Islamic sciences and Persian poetry further elevate her beyond her female contemporaries.

## NOTES

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1. Ratchnevsky 1976; Rossabi 1979; De Nicola 2017a; Broadbridge 2018.
2. For Turco-Mongol women in the political sphere: De Nicola 2017a, 65–89; De Nicola 2016b, 107–20; Broadbridge 2018, 164–224.
3. De Nicola 2016a, 91–94.
4. Patronage activity was not restricted to Mongol women in the medieval Islamic world. For example, Ayyubid Damascus: Chamberlain 1994.
5. Lambton 1988, 258–96; De Nicola 2014a.
6. Originally ruling in North China and Mongolia as the Liao dynasty (907–1125), the Qara Khitai (also known as the Western Liao) escaped westward to Central Asia after the Manchurian Jurchen people, founders of the Jin dynasty (1124–1234) took over North China (Biran 2005b).
7. Biran 2005a.
8. Biran 2005b, 160–68.
9. Biran 2005b, 87–88.
10. Munshī Kirmānī 1983–84, 22; also, Juwaynī 1997, 476; Biran 2005b, 88.
11. Biran 2005b, 88.
12. On the trade routes: Aubin 1953, and Gill's chapter in this volume.
13. Polo 1903, 1: 86.
14. Yazd was another region where the local elites were greatly involved in patronage projects. Aubin 1975, 107–18.
15. Thys-Şenocak 2006; Bates 1993; Newman 2009, 108; Soucek 1998.
16. Munshī Kirmānī 1983–84, 35. There is no comprehensive narrative account of the Qutlughkhanid dynasty available in English. For a general

account in German: Quade-Reutter 2003, 53–234. For brief accounts on the Qutlughkhanid women: Lambton 1988, 276–87; Lane 2003, 96–99.

17. For Terken Qutlugh: Lane 2006, 248–50; Quade-Reutter 2015.

18. Minorsky 2012, quoting Mīrkhwānd, *Rawḍat al-ṣafā*<sup>1</sup>.

19. Lambton 1988, 280–81.

20. The territories of the Qutlughkhanids roughly included the present borders of the province of Kirmān in the modern Islamic Republic of Iran, including the cities of Bam and Sīrjān.

21. Shabānkāraʿī 1984, 198–99; on the battle: Biran 2002.

22. She died in Jumada II/January of that year (1272): Rashīd al-Dīn 2: 1098; Rashīd al-Dīn 1998, 536.

23. Shabānkāraʿī 1984, 200; Khwāndāmīr 1954, 3: 269; Khwāndāmīr 1994, 155.

24. Munshī Kirmānī 1983–84, 54–55.

25. De Nicola 2017a, 108–9.

26. Melville 2009, 1: 75.

27. Ratchnevsky 1976, 517; Holmgren 1986; Ratchnevsky 1968.

28. Al-Aqṣarāʿī 1944, 145–46; Anonymous 1976, 112–13.

29. Rashīd al-Dīn 1994, 2: 935; Rashīd al-Dīn 1971, 306; Munshī Kirmānī 1983–84, 73; Spuler 1943, 154.

30. Quade-Reutter 2016; Munshī Kirmānī 1983–84, 75.

31. Quade-Reutter 2016.

32. Munshī Kirmānī 1983–84, 76; Mustawfī Qazwīnī 2008–9, 1: 537; Rashīd al-Dīn 1994, 2: 935; Rashīd al-Dīn 1971, 306.

33. E.g., Grabar 1968, 626–58; Blair 1994, 5–20; Pfeiffer 2013, 136–37.

34. De Nicola 2014a, 146–47; De Nicola 2017a, 228.

35. Yalman 2017; Redford 2015.

36. De Nicola 2017a, 210–16.

37. On Sorqaqtani: De Nicola 2017a, 72–76; Broadbridge 2018, 195–224.

38. Sayf al-Dīn Bākharzī was a prominent disciple of Najm al-Dīn Kubrā (d. 1221), founder of the Kubrawiyya Sufi order. He is famous for converting Berke Khan (r. 1257–67), the first royal Chinggisid convert: Algar 2012. On the Kubrawiyya: DeWeese 1988.

39. Rashīd al-Dīn 1994, 2: 823; Rashīd al-Dīn 1998, 2: 400; Juwaynī 1912–37, 3: 8–9; Juwaynī 1997, 552–53; Banākātī 2000, 400.

40. De Nicola 2017a, 110–12.

41. Limbert 2007, 16, 63.

42. Bāstānī Pārīzī 1991, 55–68.

43. De Nicola 2014a, 148. On the controversy about her involvement in the dome's construction: Rogers 1976, 76–77.

44. Quade-Reutter 2016, quoting Karamağalı n.d.

45. Shabānkāraʿī 1984, 202.

46. De Nicola 2017a, 208.

47. Khazanov 1994, 12; De Nicola 2017a, 186–88. Dawson 1955, 165–66; William of Rubruck 2009, 195–99; Rossabi 1989, 41

48. The “propagandistic” nature of the hagiographies raises questions regarding the authenticity of their accounts. Yet, even if the interactions of Sufi shaykhs



with Turco-Mongol women are exaggerated, they still offer unique insight on these women's contacts with religious circles. De Nicola 2014b, 134–35; Paul 1990.

49. De Nicola 2014b.
50. Aflākī 1959–61, 2: 889–91; Aflākī 2002, 621–23.
51. Marco Polo 1903, 1: 92.
52. Quade-Reutter 2015.
53. DeWeese 2009; De Nicola 2017b, 353–76.
54. Pfeiffer 2006, 369–89; De Nicola 2017b, 362–64.
55. On the Salghurids: Aigle 2005.
56. Brookshaw 2005, 187–88; De Nicola 2017a, 110–11.
57. Melville 2000.
58. Anonymous 1976.
59. Aigle 2005, 63–64; Fahīmī 2013, 111–13.
60. Īsan Qutluḡ was active in Iran during the early decades of the fourteenth century. He served as amir for Ilkhan Öljeitü (r. 1304–16) and remained an important figure during the reign of the last Ilkhan Abū Sa'īd (r. 1316–35). He was executed soon after Abū Sa'īd's death, due to his involvement in a rebellion in 1337–38. Hāfiz Abrū 1972, 65, 131–37, 200–201; Wing 2016, 85.
61. Aigle 2005, 64.
62. A reproduction of the original *waqf* written in Arabic can be seen at Asnad.org (Philipps Universität Marburg), [www.asnad.org/en/document/514](http://www.asnad.org/en/document/514) (accessed August 28, 2018).
63. Shabānkāra'ī 1984, 201.
64. Shabānkāra'ī 1984, 201.
65. On her patronage of scholars, Quade-Reutter 2015, quoting Munshī Kirmānī 1983–84, 73; Waṣṣāf 1853, 292.
66. Quade-Reutter 2015.
67. Munshī Kirmānī 1983–84, 70; Anonymous 1976, 61; Mustawfī 2008–9, 533.
68. Translation in Lane 2006, 246; Lane 2003, 110 (for the full poem).
69. Quade-Reutter 2015; Ṣadaqiāni 1991, 244.
70. Ingenito 2018, 195.
71. On Jahān Khātūn: Ṣafā 1984, 2: 1045–56.
72. Qutluḡshāh Khatun was Öljeitü's wife and daughter of Amir Irinjn. She inherited the *ordo* of Doquz Khatun, Hülegü's wife. De Nicola 2017a, 157; Qāshānī 2005, 8.
73. Ingenito 2018, 195.
74. Ingenito 2018, 195.

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