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Journal of the British Institute of Persian Studies

ISSN: 0578-6967 (Print) 2396-9202 (Online) Journal homepage: http://www.tandfonline.com/loi/rirn20

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To cite this article: Bruno De Nicola (2014) Patrons or Murīds? Mongol Women and Shaykhs in Ilkhanid Iran and Anatolia, Iran, 52:1, 143-156

To link to this article: http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/05786967.2014.11834742

Published online: 23 Mar 2017.

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PATRONS OR *MURĪDS*? MONGOL WOMEN AND SHAYKHS IN ILKHANID IRAN AND ANATOLIA

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Abstract
The interactions between the Mongols and religious leaders from different confessions have been documented since the early period of the Mongol Empire. When the Mongols conquered Iran and Anatolia and established the Ilkhanid dynasty, the interaction between the Mongol court and Sufi shaykhs became more apparent. Mongol courtly women (*khātūns*), who had enough economic capability and financial autonomy, played an important role in securing political favour and economic support for religious leaders. This paper explores the interaction between courtly women and Sufi shaykhs in Ilkhanid Iran and Anatolia. Firstly, it investigates the role of Mongol women in religion and secondly, it examines their patronage activities. Finally, it addresses the personal interaction between some of these ladies and Shaykh Ṣafī al-Dīn Ardabīlī, which provides an interesting case study to facilitate an understanding of the relationship between *khātūns* and shaykhs in the fourteenth century.

Keywords
Mongol; women; shaykhs; patronage; Islamic hagiographies

I. INTRODUCTION

The Ilkhanate—or Mongol dynasty that ruled Iran and west Asia from 1260 to 1335—has attracted special attention in the study of Sufism, firstly, as a period that witnessed the spread of mystical Islam on both a popular and an elite level, and secondly, as a time when, in the narratives of the Mongols' conversion to Islam, the role given to Sufis acquires special relevance.[1] To some extent, the Mongol rulers of the Middle East continued a tendency initiated by previous Islamic dynasties such as the Khwarazmshahs and the Seljuqs—an interaction between the royal court and Sufi leaders.[2] This relationship, however, appears to be better documented in the sources of the period of Mongol rule.[3] The presence of Sufi shaykhs among all members of the Ilkhanid royal family has been recorded across the Mongol-occupied territories.[4] In this context, shaykhs are constantly mentioned in the main sources as being under the protection of Mongol family members, both male and female. Sources repeatedly highlight how the protection and security of the life not only of shaykhs but also of *qāḍīs*, scholars, Alids, and Nestorian priests was immediately granted after a city or region fell under Mongol control.[5] The progressive incorporation of religious leaders from different confessions into the Mongol entourages created a multi-faith environment within the royal family's *ordos*, which became a characteristic feature of the early period of Ilkhanid rule in Iran.[6]

The active political role, economic autonomy, and religious freedom enjoyed by Mongol princesses in the Mongol Empire placed them in a pivotal position in the structure of the realm.[7] Consequently, Mongol

[1] Bausani 1968: 538–49; Amitai 1999: 27–46; Melville 1990: 159–77. The presence of Sufis in the court of Berke and Ozbek has also been noted: see DeWeese 1994: 86. In the Golden Horde, note also the conversion of Töde Möngke (r. 1280–88) in the Mamluk accounts; see al-Manṣūrī 1998: 227–28; Ashtor 1961: 11–30.

[2] For an overview on the complex relationship between the Seljuq dynasty and Islam see Safi 2006: 89–124; Peacock 2013b: 99–127.

[3] The exponential growth of historical writing in the Mongol period, especially in Persian, might be behind this perception; see Melville 2012: 155–208.

[4] Christian priests and bishops were also residents of these camps; see Guzman 1974: 287–307.

[5] Rashīd al-Dīn 1998: 496.

[6] Jackson 2005: 277; Bira 1999: 242.

[7] De Nicola 2011; Rossabi 1979: 153–80; Ratchenevski 1976: 509–30; Lane 2006: 227–56.

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princesses were identified and targeted by members of different religions as potential supporters and patrons from early on in the Ilkhanid period. Despite their comparatively high status in Mongol society, however, the role of royal and elite women among the Mongols of the Ilkhanate and their relationship with religious leaders has remained insufficiently studied. The traditional source materials for the period, such as chronicles written in the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries, occasionally highlight the proximity between some of these ladies and the dervishes, but they only record this in passing references.[8] Consequently, to understand the interaction between Mongol ladies and Sufi shaykhs throughout the Ilkhanid period, there is a need to include further source material that complements this rather indistinct picture offered by official chronicles. With this in mind, this article will explore the relationship between some of these ladies and the Sufi master Ṣafī al-Dīn Ardabīlī (d. 1334) on a more personal level, based on a hagiographical account of his life written in the mid-fourteenth century. The subject is of particular interest because studying the relationship between Mongol women and indigenous religious personalities in Iran and Anatolia can offer an alternative and complementary narrative to our understanding of the relationship between the Mongols and religion in the Middle East. The final aim of this work is to show that, in the relationship between women and shaykhs in Ilkhanid lands, personal relationships cohabited with the religious legitimation that patronage could provide to rulers, suggesting a combination of political convenience and personal involvement in the process of the Islamisation of the Mongols.

II. THE KHĀTŪNS AND RELIGION

Mongol noblewomen were both politically influential and economically autonomous. This status was based, on the one hand, on the prominent political role within the organisation of the Mongol empire held by wives, daughters, and concubines of the Mongol lords.[9] On the other hand, the nomadic-based social structure of the Mongols provided these ladies with their own camps (*ordo*s), where people, cattle, and wealth were accumulated and autonomously administrated by these women.[10] These characteristics made them a potential "target" for the various religious groups (both Muslim and Christian) and leaders in search of political patronage, economic support, and perhaps also influence over the faith of their children.[11] The conversion of Mongol khātūns from a primarily, but not exclusively, Christian background into Muslim ladies is not clear.[12] Details about the moment and the specific circumstances in which these women committed themselves to Islam have escaped the historical records. It is possible to speculate, however, that the progressive incursion of Sufi shaykhs into the encampments where these ladies lived, to perform religious rituals, played a role in introducing new generations of Mongol women to Islam.[13]

The khātūns who lived in the Middle East in the second half of the thirteenth century were a generation of women who came from Mongolia and carried with them their own religion, be it Nestorian Christian, Shamanist, or Buddhist.[14] During the first thirty years of Mongol dominion in Iran, the majority of influential women in the court were either Christians or remained mostly attached to their native religious practices.[15] Some scholars have argued that the religious affiliation to and support of Christianity by Hülegü's wife Doquz Khātūn (d. 1265), created a "Christian renaissance" in Iran that continued into the reign of Abāqa Khān

[8] Rashīd al-Dīn 1994: 560, 660; Amitai 1999: 33–34; Bausani 1968: 548–49; Khwāndamīr 1994: 88.

[9] Quade-Reutter 2003; Zhao 2008; De Nicola 2011.

[10] De Nicola 2013: 116–36.

[11] On the role of women transmitters of religious beliefs to their children, see De Nicola 2011: 217–24.

[12] Extensive scholarly debate has arisen regarding the "meaning of conversion" and whether it is really possible to tell if a woman or man in medieval times "converted" to another religion. Contributing to this debate from a theoretical perspective is beyond the scope of this article, but some interesting arguments on the matter among nomadic societies can be found in Khazanov 1993: 461–79, also DeWeese 1994: esp. 3–14; on the process of Islamisation as a possible bottom-up process see Melville 1992: 197–214; on politically motivated conversions among the Mongols see May 2002.

[13] There were definitely other factors beyond the incursion of Sufi shaykhs that played a role in the conversion of these ladies to Islam, but the lack of conversion narratives for these women makes it difficult to provide a definitive answer; see De Nicola 2011: 224–35.

[14] Khanbaghi 2006: 54–69.

[15] I am using the term "native religion" to refer to what is commonly mentioned as "Shamanism" because the former term better defines the group of religious practices followed by the Mongols; see DeWeese 1994: 27–39.

(r. 1265–82).[16] This approach is sometimes based on the fact that during the reign of the latter, a number of unsuccessful attempts were made to organise a joint crusade with European powers against the Mamluk sultan of Egypt.[17] Furthermore, it appears that at least part of this favouritism towards Christianity was, to some extent, influenced by his own Christian wives.[18] Despite this initial harmonious relationship between Christianity and the Mongols, at the end of Arghūn's reign (r. 1284–91) this tendency seems to have changed.[19] During the final decades of the thirteenth century, a period of transition began in terms of conversion and Islamisation among the Mongols, with military commanders and members of the royal family adopting Islam in a process that would lead to the official conversion of Ghāzān Khān in 1295.[20]

The interaction began even before this date, during the rule of Aḥmad Tegüder, the first Muslim Ilkhan of Iran (1282–84). According to Rashīd al-Dīn, the Ilkhan "held Shaykh Abdul-Rahman in such reverence that he called him 'father' and he called Ishan Mängli, a disciple of Babi Ya'qub who resided in Arran, his *qarindash* [brother]".[21] Similarly, as Charles Melville has shown, sources suggest that Ghāzān (d. 1304) received a woollen coat from Ṣadr al-Dīn Ibrāhīm Hammūya (Kubrawiya Order) as a clear indication of his affiliation to Sufism.[22] As Amitai has pointed out, however, to what extent Ghāzān was aware of the Sufi meaning of this clothing remains uncertain.[23] Without entering here into a discussion about the degree of self-awareness of Ghāzān Khān, other evidence suggests that his involvement with Sufism covered both personal involvement and financial support.[24] In this context of progressive approximation to Islam, Mongol noblewomen were not excluded from this process as their involvement in religious affairs and contact with shaykhs increased after Ghāzān's conversion.[25]

Unfortunately, the sources for the period before the "official" conversion to Islam of the Mongols in 1295 are elusive in describing the relationship between women and Sufi shaykhs. Sufi lodges were places where shaykhs, followers (*murīdān*), and travellers got together, and it has been suggested that they might have played an important role in the Islamisation of different regions of the Middle East.[26] Personal interaction existed between the khātūns and religious personalities of all confessions across the empire; however, the multi-religious milieu of the Mongols might be one of the reasons why there are no references to khātūns visiting *khānaqāh*s, madrasas, or mosques in the period before Ghāzān's conversion to Islam. Instead, female *ordo*s appear to have been a more suitable space to accommodate a more multi-faith approach to religion in the early decades of the Ilkhanate.[27] These camps, which existed all across the Mongol empire, seem to have been places where the Sufi leaders might have first engaged with the Mongol nobility and introduced them to Islamic-Sufi rituals.

Christian travellers recorded on different occasions the interaction between priests and khātūns, which appear to revolve mostly around a particular interest

[16] Khanbaghi 2006: 59–62. Doquz was a Mongol woman of the Kerait tribe and granddaughter of the famous Ong Khān, who lived in Central Mongolia at the time of Chinggis Khān. Like most of the members of her tribe, she embraced Christianity in its Nestorian interpretation; see Melville 1996; Hunter 1989–91: 142–63.

[17] Jackson 2005: 165–69. On the attempt to convince the Catalan king to wage a campaign against Mamluk Egypt, see James I of Aragon 1991: 339, 342; 2003: 325, 334–35.

[18] Abaqa was married to Despina Khātān, daughter of Leon III of Trebizond; see Rashīd al-Dīn 1994, II: 1056; 1998: 515–16; Setton 1976–84, I : 222; Aigle 2005: 157.

[19] Similar claims to those made by scholars of a "Christian renaissance" under Hülegü and Abaqā could be made for the new boost that Buddhism received under Arghūn; see Bausani 1968: 540–41.

[20] Pfeiffer 2006: 369–89; Melville 1990: 159–77; Amitai 2001: 39–43.

[21] Rashīd al-Dīn 1994, II: 1129–30; 1998: 551. On the same page, Rashid mentions that Aḥmad Tegüder joined the shaykh's sessions of *samā'* music organised at his home.

[22] On him, see Landolt 2013.

[23] Amitai 1999: 34; accepting the Sufi robe (*khirqa*) did not necessarily imply that Ghāzān was being "initiated". The ways in which Sufi "affiliations" were formed in the medieval Middle East do not follow a specific pattern but change according to the place, time, and characters involved; see Schimmel 1975: 101–08.

[24] Rashīd al-Dīn mentions that Ghāzān Khān "rewarded all the sayyids, imāms, and shaykhs, giving them purses and alms, and he issued strict orders for the building of mosques, madrasas, khanaqahs, and charitable institutions. When the month of Ramadan came, he occupied himself with acts of devotion in the company of imams and shaykhs". (1998: 620–21)

[25] A good example can be found in the early fourteenth century, when Mongol women even went on hajj to Mecca; see Brack 2011: 331–59.

[26] On Sufi lodges see Böwering and Melvin-Koushki 2010.

[27] The word referred to personal camps of male and female members of the royal family; De Nicola 2013: 126–36.

of the Mongols in rituals related to divination and healing.[28] Furthermore, royal chronicles of the period depict a situation in which women and shaykhs appear to have had close relationships within the personal *ordo*s of these ladies. The situation becomes even more widespread after the crucial decade of the 1290s, when Islam appears to have gained more of a foothold among the Mongols of Iran. References to this relationship, however, are described in general terms and given in the context of a protector–protégé connection. Therefore, they provide very little insight into how the relationship was articulated between them.

The religious affiliation of the Mongol rulers' wives in the later decades of the Ilkhanate is generally not mentioned. It seems that many of them were already Muslims from birth as a result of the previous conversion of their parents, or were assumed to be Muslims at a time when the Ilkhan Ghāzān had already committed officially to Islam. The case of Bologhān Khātūn "Mo'azzama" (d. 1310), the wife of three Ilkhans (Arghūn, Gaykhātū, and Ghāzān), is well known.[29] Melville has noted that she was associated with shaykhs and was a protector of Muslims in the face of the favouring of Christians and Buddhists by her first husband.[30] According to Rashīd al-Dīn, she had in her *ordo* Shaykh Maḥmūd Dinavārī,[31] who had been named *shaykh al-mashā'ikh* (chief shaykh).[32] Like Bologhān Khātūn, Mongol courtly women of the fourteenth century such as Baghdād Khātūn, Kurdūjīn Khātūn, and Sātī Beg are included in this group of ladies who entered the historical account in the sources as Muslims, whereas Qutlugh Malek, a daughter of Gaykhātū, among others, was involved in patronising shaykhs, even though neither of her parents was Muslim.[33] In other words, in the years immediately before the conversion of Ghāzān Khān, and especially after his conversion, the interaction between Mongol ladies and shaykhs becomes more apparent when compared to the early decades of Ilkhanid rule in Iran and Anatolia. The proximity between these ladies and shaykhs not only became more pronounced but, as we shall see, the location of the interaction between the two even moved from the *ordo* into the *khānaqāh*.

III. WOMEN AND THE FINANCIAL PATRONAGE OF SHAYKHS

Understanding the relationship of patronage between the khātūns and shaykhs is a complex subject because it has some particularities that need to be taken into account. On the one hand, there was the patronage of individual shaykhs who received specific sums of money or protection from these ladies. On the other, there was the patronage of religious buildings that provided these shaykhs with places from which to develop their religious activity. Thirteenth- and fourteenth-century Iran and Anatolia, however, were especially active in building activity designated to fulfil the needs of the Muslim community in the region.[34] Yet, only a portion of these buildings could be considered as permanent *zāwiya* or *khānaqāh* for individual shaykhs. Further complexity is added if we consider the fact that some of these shaykhs even rejected the offer from secular authorities to erect lodges for them.[35]

The Mongol ladies who arrived in the Middle East were confronted with a tradition of female patronage of buildings that existed before the arrival of the Mongols.[36] Some Seljuq women actively participated in the financial support of Muslim institutions and individuals.[37] For example, from the very early Seljuq period, we know that Arslān Khātūn (daughter of Chaghri Beg, d. 1060) carried out important charitable acts and financed religious buildings for the Muslim community in Yazd.[38] In Mashhad, an inscription dated AD

[28] Jackson 2005: 275–76; on the syncretism between Christian and Shamanic rituals in the camps of these ladies, see William of Rubruck 1900: 195.

[29] She was the daughter of a Mongol named Uthmān, whose name denotes his conversion to Islam; see Rashīd al-Dīn 1994, II: 1152–53; 1998: 561–62.

[30] Melville 1989.

[31] On him see Elias 1994: 53–75.

[32] Rashīd al-Dīn 1998: 622.

[33] Ibn Bazzāz Ardabīlī 1373/1994: 899; she was the daughter of Gaykhātū Ilkhan and Dondī Khātūn (daughter of Aq Buqa, son of Elgai Noyan); see Rashīd al-Dīn 1994, II: 1189, 1215; 1998: 580, 593.

[34] On architectural development in pre-Mongol Anatolia see Yalman 2010.

[35] The Chishti Sufi Order, which was strong in South Asia in medieval times, was famous for rejecting "material attractions" (*tark-i dunyā*), especially royal or governmental patronage; see Nizami 2013.

[36] For an overview of women in the Seljuq period, see Lambton 1988: 258–72; Hillenbrand 2003: 103–20.

[37] Hillenbrand 2003: 111–12. On patronage by Ayyubid women see Humphreys 1994: 35–54.

[38] Mancini-Lander 2012: 435–36. On the patronage of religious buildings in Yazd by the local nobility see Aubin

1118 mentions Zumurrud Khātūn, the daughter of the Seljuq Sultan Maḥmūd (r. 1105–31), as financing the renovation of the mausoleum of the eighth Imam 'Alī Riẓā.[39] This female patronage activity appears to have been consolidated by women of the Seljuq court, as the mother of Zumurrud, Safwat al-Mulk, is famous for building a compound in Damascus that included a mausoleum, a mosque, and a Sufi *khānaqāh*.[40]

The tradition continued into the second half of the twelfth century and extended to areas less directly under the control of the Seljuq court but in the hands of local dynasties or members of the royal family.[41] The *de facto* ruler of the province of Fars, a woman called Zāhidah Khātūn (d. *c.*1167–68), gathered all the money she had inherited from her ancestors after the death of her husband Boz-Aba (d. 1147–48) and dedicated these resources to the acquisition of a *waqf* for a madrasa she built in Shiraz.[42] A similar phenomenon can be seen in pre-Mongol Anatolia, where the court of the sultans of Rūm gave Sufi leaders a certain freedom of movement to interact with ladies at the court.[43] Although in this region there are numerous references to women as patrons of Islamic institutions and personalities in this region, their role has remained unclear.[44] Wolper observed that women are rarely mentioned in *waqfiyas*, which contradicts the numerous times names of khātūns appear in epigraphic inscriptions.[45] In other words, noblewomen appear in epigraphic inscriptions in buildings but their numbers do not match the scarce references to them that appear in written documents as benefactors for the maintenance and even the construction of those same buildings. This argument points towards a complex relationship between women and shaykhs in pre-Mongol Anatolia and Iran, while suggesting that it is not possible either to imply or fully to explain the interaction simply by the appearance of their names in the walls of buildings.[46]

During the early period of Mongol domination—that is, before the conversion of Ghāzān Khān in 1295—the main Persian sources depict Mongol Khāns as having supported shaykhs, *qāḍīs*, and Muslim scholars as they narrate the Mongol conquests from Mongolia to Anatolia, but this does not seem to have translated into female financial support for the construction of Islamic buildings.[47] The early affiliation of women to religions other than Islam is a reasonable explanation for this phenomenon, but the Mongols did not need to legitimise their rule in the Middle East in Islamic terms. In fact, if we look at the early Ilkhanate, for example in Baghdad, it appears that there was more construction of churches under the patronage of Hülegü's wife, Doquz Khātūn, than restoration of madrasas or mosques.[48] Yet, despite the scarcity of source material and the apparent initial favouritism of the khātūns towards financing Christian buildings, some scattered examples of female patronage of Islam can be found in Iran before the official conversion of the Ilkhanid ruler Ghāzān.

Despite enjoying a brief period of Muslim rule under Aḥmad Tegüder (r. 1282–84), to my knowledge no references to Mongol female endowments of Sufi buildings appear in the sources until the end of Arghūn's reign in 1291.[49] Mustawfī mentions that a

1975: 107–18.

39 Hillenbrand 2003: 111; on her mausoleum, see Tabbaa 1985: 61–74.

40 Humphreys 1994: 35.

41 Lambton 1988: 271.

42 Zarkūb Shīrāzī 1350/1971: 45; also mentioned in Lambton 1988: 150. The building was identified by Limbert, who mentions that the school was administrated first by the Hanafī and then by Shafi'ī, teacher of the Islamic schools of law; see Limbert 2004: 64.

43 Examples of women patronising other arts such as painting in connection with Sufism can be found in Anatolia; see the example of Gurdji Khātūn, the wife of Sultan Ghiyāth al-Dīn Kaykhusraw II (r. 1237–46) of Rūm, and later of Mu'īn al-Dīn Parvānah (d. 1277), who commissioned a portrait of Rūmī; see Aflākī 1959–61 1: 425; 2002: 292–93; Vryonis 1975: 68.

44 See different cases in Crane 1993: 1–57.

45 See, for example, the case of Princess Ṣafwat al-Dunyā, who appears in an inscription at the Sünbül Baba lodge in Tokat, although her name cannot be found in the *waqfiya* of the building; see Wolper 2000: 37.

46 See, for example, the case of the Anatolian princess analysed in Wolper 2000: 47–48; for Iran and Central Asia see Hillenbrand 2003: 111, who refers to the important number of women who appear in building inscriptions in these regions a collected in Combe *et al.* (1954: vols. 7–9 and 13–14).

47 An exception being the case of Sorghaghtani Beki, wife of Tolui, son of Chinggis Khān, who according to all Persian sources donated 1000 silver *balish* for the construction of the Madrasa-yi Khānī in Bukhara for Sayf al-Dīn Bākharzī (d. 1260); Juvaynī 1958: 108–09; Rashīd al-Dīn 1994, II: 791–94; 1971: 168–71. It has been suggested that part of this building might still have been standing when Ibn Baṭṭūṭa passed through the region in the mid-1330s and stayed at the mausoleum of Bākharzī; Rogers 1976: 90, n. 72.

48 Budge 1928: 223.

49 This does not mean that there was a lack of interaction be-

daughter of the Buddhist Arghūn, called Öljei Khātūn, founded a *khānaqāh* in the location where her father was buried.[50] This is a remarkable act when we take into consideration that it might imply, as some scholars have suggested, a violation of the secret location (*quruq*) of Mongol graves by constructing an Islamic building on her father's grave.[51] DeWeese has pointed out that Öljei's foundation represents the tensions between the process of Islamisation undergone by certain members of the Mongol elite and the privacy of traditional Mongol bereavement.[52] This violation of a Mongol tradition in favour of a Muslim *khānaqāh*, however, can also have other readings that complement DeWeese's idea. On the one hand, this might be a sign that Sufi leaders were beginning to gain ground in the "competition" for royal patronage against both Buddhism and Christianity. On the other hand, this might reflect some acculturation phenomenon, as this is the first example of the sort of patronage that—although it had been used in the area before by Seljuq ladies—was new for Mongol khātūns of the time.

While new for Mongol women of the Mongol court, the tradition of female patronage of buildings remained in areas of the Ilkhanate that were not under the direct control of the Mongols. Ruled by local dynasties that were Muslim and with close connections to the Seljuq past, the Salghurids of Fars or the Qarakhitai dynasty of Kerman had, in contrast to the Ilkhans, a need to legitimise their rule not only in the eyes of the Mongol overlord but also among the local elites of their provinces.[53] The Mongols dwelt mostly in what is today north-western Iran, Azerbaidjan, and seasonally, eastern Anatolia, establishing closer control over Khurasan by sending heirs to the throne to administer the region, but leaving the southern regions of Iran to these local Turkic dynasties that ruled the historical regions of Fars and Kerman before the Mongol invasion.[54] These provinces were ruled by powerful and influential women with political and economic capabilities similar to their contemporary Mongol khātūns.[55] Unlike the latter, however, the ladies of the provinces were Muslims when the Mongols arrived and Sufi shaykhs and Muslim *'ulama* were in a closer relationship with them.

In the Anatolian peninsula, some studies show that during the thirteenth century, female patronage of religious buildings had been a widespread phenomenon, as attested by the surviving epigraphic inscriptions.[56] Similarly, during the reign of Terken Qutlugh Khātūn (r. 1257–83), the province of Kerman saw a continuation in financial patronage of Islamic buildings. Literary sources highlight that, upon her death in Tabriz, her daughter took the body of her mother back to her hometown and buried her in a madrasa that Terken herself had commissioned and which bore her name.[57] As happened among Seljuq women before her, this tradition of patronage remained among female members of the family. Another of Terken's daughters, Pādshāh Khātūn,[58] has been linked, not without controversy, to the financing of the construction of a domed mausoleum at the "Çifte Minaret" madrasa of Erzurum while she was accompanying her husband Gaykhātū in Anatolia.[59] Her financing activity was not restricted to the Anatolian peninsula; she continued her patronage when she returned to her hometown, where she "gave

tween the Mongols and shaykhs on a more personal level; Pfeiffer 2006: 369–89; Melville 1990: 388.

[50] Mustawfī Qazvīnī 1915–19: 69; Banākatī 1378/2000: 446; Zipoli 1978: 7–37.

[51] On the concept of *quruq* and the secrecy of Mongol tombs, see Barthold 1970: 204–10.

[52] DeWeese 1994: 192; moreover, as Andrew Peacock has suggested in a personal communication, this event might be a sign of "Turkicisation" of the Ilkhanate as Turks, unlike Mongols, traditionally built mausoleums over their dead rulers.

[53] These regions were generally in turmoil during the Mongol period due to the constant intrigues for power among members of the local ruling family. See, for example, the case of Fars in Aigle 2005: 129–36; in Kerman see, among others, Kirmānī, 1983–84: 76; Vaṣṣāf 1383/2004: 168; Shabānkāra'ī 1363/1984–85: 202–03.

[54] Melville 2009: 51–101.

[55] For example, Kerman was ruled by Terken Qutlugh Khātūn (r. 1257–83) and later by her daughters after her, Pādshāh Khātūn (d. 1295) and Kurdūjīn Khātūn. Similarly, Fars was ruled by Ābish Khātūn (r. 1263–84).

[56] Many examples of women mentioned in epigraphic inscriptions in Anatolia under Mongol rule can be found in Combe *et al.* 1954: esp. vols. 13, 14 and 15). On this subject, see Wolper 2000: 41–46; Redford 2013: 151–70.

[57] The name of the madrasa is given as *madrase-ye terkānī*: see Anon. 1976–77: 315–16; also Khwāndamīr 1333/1954: 269; 1994: 155.

[58] Padshāh Khātūn first married Ilkhan Abaqa (1265–82) and then Gaykhātū (r. 1291–95): see Shabānkāra'ī, 1363/1984–85: 201; Üçok [n.d.]: 78. She wrote poetry and apparently some commentaries on the Qur'an; Rashīd al-Dīn 1994, II: 934–35; 1971: 305–06; Brookshaw 2005: 173–95.

[59] Rogers 1976: 76–77; Melville 2009: 76. Her involvement in the construction of the mosque has been questioned but not totally ruled out by Rogers 1972: 92–96.

many pensions and allowances to scholars and she ordered [the construction] of extraordinary madrasas and mosques".[60]

Similar activities are recorded, for example, in the province of Fars. Tarkān Khātun, first the wife of Sa'd II Atabek of Fars (r. 1260–62) and then of Seljuq-Shah (1263), was one of the most influential women in the region during the Ilkhanate.[61] She financed the construction of a mosque in Shiraz within the complex of the Atabek's palace before being brutally assassinated by her husband.[62] Beyond religion, her patronage also extended to Persian language and poetry, as she was described as being a woman of great "piety and generosity" by the poet Sa'di, who claimed that, under this dynasty, no harm would be done to religion in Fars.[63] Her granddaughter, Kurdūjīn Khātūn (d. 1338), belonged to a new generation of khātūns with family connections in both the royal Mongol family and the local Turkic dynasty of the Salghurids of Fars.[64] During the reign of the last Ilkhan Abū Sa'īd (r. 1317–35), she administered the revenues of Shiraz, dedicating parts of the resources to the construction of "many public buildings in Shiraz, including mosques, madrasas and a hospital".[65] The Islamic school is described as "the mosque of Kurdūjīn" in a local history of Shiraz and remained a burial place for local princes and princesses in the city.[66]

Thus, with regard to building patronage there seems to be a dichotomy between the areas of direct Mongol rule in central and northern Iran and those ruled by local dynasties. While in the former regions the patronising of buildings was infrequent, in the latter the Seljuq tradition of female patronage persisted among local dynasties. From that crucial period of the early 1290s onwards, however, this duality began to diminish. A good example of this change concerns the wife of Ghāzān Khān (r. 1295–1304), known as Bulughān Khātūn "Khurasānī", who married him before his conversion.[67] Until her husband became Muslim in 1295, she was a politically active and economically influential lady of the Ilkhanate but with little patronage activity.[68] In the years that followed Ghāzān's conversion, however, and especially after his death and her remarriage to the new Ilkhan Öljaitü (d. 1317), her religious activity appears to become more renowned or significant.[69] Like the above-mentioned Pādshāh Khātūn, her name appears in one of the inscriptions of a mausoleum in the complex of the *Yakutiye Medresesi* of Erzurum.[70] As we have mentioned above, inscriptions are problematic, but the appearance of this khātūn's name together with the Ilkhans she married might suggest some personal involvement in financing a sepulchre in the complex.[71] Furthermore, her patronising activity did not stop there. When she died, she was buried in Baghdad where she had built a *khānaqāh* for Sufi dervishes in a district (*shahr*) named *khurasānī* after her.[72] This new tendency among the khātūns was not isolated, but was accompanied by an increase in building patronage among male members of the Ilkhanid family. It appears that, after the conversion of Ghāzān Khān, the court took control over patronage of Islam and favouritism towards Christianity was progressively abandoned. In accordance with this, Ghāzān Khān built a *khānaqāh* in Būzinjird in the province of

60 Shabānkāra'ī 1363/1984–85: 202.

61 She was also the sister of the king (malik) of Yazd at the time; see Rashīd al-Dīn 1994, II: 935–36; 1971: 306–07; Zarkūb Shīrāzī 1350/1971: 62.

62 Limbert 2004: 16, 63.

63 Brookshaw 2005: 187–88, n. 44. Her daughter, Abesh Khātun (d. 1284), was taken to Shiraz after her death and buried in the *Madrase-ye 'Aẓudiya*, apparently built by Tarkān Khātūn; see Baydāwī 1382/2003: 125; Rashīd al-Dīn 1994, II: 936–37; 1971: 307.

64 She was the daughter of the Mongol prince Möngke Temür (d. 1282), son of Hülegü Ilkhan, and Abesh Khātūn of the Salghurids of Fars; Spuler 1982: 210.

65 Ghanī 1380/2001–02: 64–65; quoted in Brookshaw 2005: 188, n. 45.

66 Zarkūb Shīrāzī 1350/1971: 93; also mentioned in Vaṣṣāf 1383/2004: 345; Lambton 1988: 275–76.

67 She was related to Nawrūz, who was instrumental in the conversion of Ghāzān Khān to Islam; see Rashīd al-Dīn 1994, II: 1215; 1998: 593. On Arghūn Aqa, see Lane 1999: 459–82.

68 She actively participated in the succession struggle between her husband and Baydu, which would set Ghāzān on the throne and precipitate his conversion to Islam; see Melville 1990: 159–60.

69 Kāshānī 1384/2005: 44.

70 There are two inscriptions referring to her in the madrasa, which have been published and translated; Combe *et al.* 1954: 48–49; see also Konyalı 1960.

71 Unal 1968: 48; Unal quotes Konyalı for a reference to the death of Bulughan in 1310, but this date is problematic because, according to Kashani, the death of Bulughān Khātun Khurasānī happened on Thursday 5 Ṣafar 708 (27 July 1308); see Kāshānī 1384/2005: 82; therefore, since the madrasa was built in 1310, the reference to her appears to be post-mortem.

72 The endowment of this building was entrusted to Rashīd al-Dīn for administration; see Kāshānī 1384/2005: 82; Melville 1989: 338–39.

Hamadan, which continued to be supported under the patronage of his brother and successor Öljaitü.[73]

Patronage of Islamic buildings by Mongol khātūns appeared as a post-1290s development in the central lands of the Ilkhanate. Yet the exceptional case of Öljei Khātūn's patronage points towards an incipient process of acculturation that transformed the religious affiliation and activity of these noble ladies. In parallel with this transformative process, a tradition of women financing lodges, mosques, or madrasas originally from the Seljuq period seems to have been maintained in areas of the Ilkhanate under less direct control of the central court.[74] This transformative process in female building patronage helps to illustrate the resources that Mongol women could command and demonstrates that they undertook the pious works that were traditionally incumbent on elite figures such as sultans, bureaucrats, and amirs, but it does not necessarily help to show what the relationship of women and shaykhs was at a more personal level.

IV. A CLOSE RELATIONSHIP: SHAYKH ṢAFĪ AL-DĪN AND THE MONGOL KHĀTŪNS

If archaeological and epigraphic evidence presents its challenges in dealing with the relationship between khātūns and shaykhs, literary sources are not exempt from complications either.[75] The history of women at the Mongol court has mostly been based on official chronicles, biographical dictionaries, or travel accounts, but all these sources, although fundamental to our knowledge of the period, provide little insight into the interaction of ladies with Sufi shaykhs.[76] There is, however, another set of sources written in this period that, although needing to be handled with caution, offers a different insight into the religious experience of courtly women in the Ilkhanid period. Hagiographies and their study are not new to scholarship focusing on medieval European history, but they have been used differently in Islamic studies.[77] Containing stories and anecdotes (*ḥikāyāt*) of different shaykhs, this set of biographical narratives provides information of a different sort from that coming from the "traditional" historiographical sources.[78]

Because the authors of these accounts are generally disciples or followers of the shaykh in question and the audience to which the work is addressed originally also comprised members (or potential members) of a particular Sufi order, these sources have been downplayed as being extremely biased and having little historical relevance.[79] Yet they provide an interesting and, for the period of Mongol rule of Iran, a unique description of daily life and family relationships.[80] In the case of women, these sources depict scenarios of female interaction with Sufi leaders that cannot be found in any other account of the period.[81] Consequently, they can fill the gap in our understanding of this interaction between shaykhs and Mongol ladies that remains unclear when approached only from a paradigm that interprets their relationship in terms of patronage.

Islamic hagiographies are generally organised as a compendium of anecdotes that do not necessarily narrate events in chronological order, but are thematically organised in chapters, divided by the accounts of, for example, the shaykh's birth, childhood, or apprenticeship, or the last period in the life of the saint.[82] This is also the case in the account of the life of Ṣafī-al-Dīn Isḥāq Ardabīlī (d. 1334), the eponymous founder of the Safavid Sufi order and ultimately of the Safavid dynasty that ruled Iran from 1501 to 1736. The hagiography of Ṣafī is generally known as the *Ṣafwat al-ṣafā* and is divided into eleven thematically organised chapters ranging from the birth of the shaykh up to the deeds of some of his disciples after his death.[83] Written by Ibn Bazzāz, a disciple of the shaykh in the mid-fourteenth century, it is an almost contemporary account of the later years of Ilkhanid rule in the area.[84] Even though the original version of the work was modified in the early sixteenth century by order of

[73] Rashīd al-Dīn 1994, II: 1222; 1998: 597. Under Uljaytu, Shi'ite Islam was also considered a recipient of religious patronage due to the sympathy of this Mongol ruler to this interpretation of Islam; see Pfeiffer 1999: 41–42.

[74] On Timurid women, see Subtelny 2007: 156–58.

[75] See the example of the Seljuq princess mentioned by Wolper and the difficulties that arose in identifying women from epigraphic and literary sources; Wolper 2000: 35–52.

[76] For the usage of hagiographic literature for historical research in Iran see the pioneering works by Jean Aubin: 1956*a*; 1956*b*; 1967.

[77] The best comparative study of Christian-Muslim hagiographies is Aigle 2000; see also 1995: esp. "Introduction".

[78] Aigle 1997: 51–78.

[79] Paul 2002: 536–39.

[80] Paul 1990: 17–43; see also Aubin 1976–77: 85.

[81] A similar example of interaction between noblewomen and Sufi shaykhs documented in hagiographic material can be found in De Nicola, forthcoming.

[82] Paul 2002.

[83] Ibn Bazzāz Ardabīlī 1373/1994.

[84] On the author, see Savory 1997: 8.

the Safavid ruler Shāh Tahmāsp (d. 1576) to erase the Kurdish background of the shaykh's family and back the dynastic claim of *sayyid* status (descendant of the Prophet Muḥammad through the line of his son-in-law 'Alī), the present edition is mostly based on a fifteenth-century manuscript.[85] This source narrates different episodes in the life of the shaykh, his master, and his disciples during this period of Mongol domination of Iran and Azerbaijan.[86] It not only contains interesting facts about the relationship of this Sufi order and the Mongol rulers, but it also sheds some light on the relationship that some of the women in the Mongol court had with the shaykhs of this area.

Mongol women are not the only women mentioned in the account of Ṣafī al-Dīn, and references to these women are not restricted to this hagiography. For example, both the mother of the shaykh and his wife Bībī Fāṭima can be found in this work, but the stories about them are not connected to patronage and do not reveal any relevant information with regard to the spirituality of women in the Mongol court.[87] Other women connected to the Mongols, however, appear in other hagiographic material produced in other parts of Iran; for example, the above-mentioned Terken Khātūn and some of his daughters are mentioned as interacting closely with shaykhs in the early fifteenth-century compilation of the lives of Sufi saints by Junayd Shīrāzī (d. 1451).[88] Close interaction with secular ladies of the court such as Qutlugh Malik is not a unique characteristic of the *Ṣafwat al-ṣafā*, but something that can be seen in a number of hagiographical materials produced in the area before, after, and during the Mongol period of domination in the Middle East.[89] A notorious example is the case of Rūm, where women at the court and women in the order interact not only with each other but with the shaykhs as well.[90]

The *Ṣafwat al-ṣafā* not only narrates the encounter between women and shaykhs but also offers a description of the nature of these encounters. In one of these stories, a khātūn called Malikah Qutlugh,[91] daughter of Gaykhatu Ilkhan (r. 1291–95), is described as an initiated follower (*irādat-i murīd*) of Shaykh Zāhid Ibrāhīm of Gīlān (d. 1301), the spiritual master of Ṣafī al-Dīn. In this anecdote, we are told that she sent some provisions and gifts to the shaykh, but they were rejected on the grounds that these presents were of royal, military, and Turkish origin which made the shaykh doubt their purity (*ḥalāl*).[92] For this reason, Shaykh Zāhid Ibrāhīm decided not to consume these products or distribute them among his disciples. This might seem a strange reaction from the shaykh, considering the fact that his disciples did not later oppose the endowment given to his Sufi lodge by the Ilkhan Abū Sa'īd (r. 1317–35) in September 1320.[93] As Pfeiffer has noted, the rejection of the khātūn's gifts might be a reflection of a post-Mongol ethos expressed by the author of the hagiography writing several decades after the events.[94] Even if the story is a later construction, the important issue here is that a story in which a Mongol woman sends gifts to the shaykhs was common enough to be chosen as a credible plot or the pedagogic message of the tale. Consequently, the episode might also be showing a close interaction between shaykhs and khātūns directly connected to the royal Mongol house, and be describing the lady openly as a devotee of the saint.

Another anecdote involving, once again, Qutlugh Malik and Shaykh Ṣafī al-Dīn takes these relationships a stage further from simple greetings, and offers a different insight into the relationship between khātūns and shaykhs.[95] In this case, the lady was in a state of

[85] On the edition of the manuscript and the need for a new edition of this work, see Mazzaoui 2006: 303–10.

[86] This work also served as an important source in writing the origins of the Safavid dynasty among early historical chronicles of the Safavids; see Quinn 1996: 132–33.

[87] Ibn Bazzāz Ardabīlī 1373/1994: 759, 76–79, 86–95.

[88] Shīrāzī 1364/1985–86: 300–1.

[89] See for example the *Manāqīb* of Aḥwad al-Dīn Kirmānī (d. 1239); Anon. 1347/1969; Turkish translation: Anon.1999; or the famous accounts of the life of Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī in Aflākī 1959–61; English translation Aflākī 2002; and Sipahsālār 1385/2006–07.

[90] See De Nicola 2014.

[91] She was the daughter of Dōndī Khātūn, and therefore a granddaughter of Aq Buqa. She was also the mother of the above-mentioned Alafrang by Gaykhātū. She then married Ghāzān Khān but had no children by him; see Rashīd al-Dīn 1994, II: 1189, 1215; 1998: 580, 593.

[92] There was a debate among different medieval Sufi orders regarding the extent to which it was allowed to receive presents and gifts from secular leaders. Opinions varied depending on the *tariqa*, but the debate continued into the Timurid period; see Potter 1994: 80–81; Peacock 2013: 210–16.

[93] Minorsky 1954: 515–27.

[94] Pfeiffer rightly mentions that this story might also contain information about "tensions between the piously minded Sufi circles, especially those around Shaykh Ṣafī of Ardabīl and Shaykh Zāhid Ibrāhīm of Gilan, and the ruling Ilkhanid elite"; see Pfeiffer 2006: 379.

[95] Shaykh Ṣafī and Shaykh Zāhid were not only disciple and spiritual master but their families also intermarried. The daughter of Shaykh Zāhid (Bībī Fāṭima) was married to

misfortune (*ḥāl va vāqiʿah*) and, because she could not go into the presence of the shaykh, she sent Ṣafī al-Dīn a sealed letter in the hands of a dervish (*muʿtamadī*) mentioning this misfortune.[96] The hagiography relates that the shaykh ordered the letter to be opened and read. Immediately afterwards, he performed a miracle and cured the misfortunes of the lady from a distance. The narrative fulfils the goal of portraying the capacity of the shaykh to perform miracles from afar and even stresses, once again, the connection between the order of Ṣafī al-Dīn and the ruling Mongols of Iran. But it also narrates a scene in which this lady comes to the shaykh on matters of a more personal nature than an act of patronage with political intentions.

In the case of the *Ṣafwat al-ṣafā*, information about political issues of the Mongol court is occasionally incorporated into the narrative.[97] With regard to some of the Mongol khātūns of the Ilkhanid court, however, references to their political activity is mentioned in stories that denote an interaction with the shaykhs at a more personal level. In the fourteenth century, other ladies had contact with the shaykhs of the *ṭarīqa* of Ardabīl. Among them, Baghdād Khātūn, the wife of Sultan Abū Saʿīd (r. 1317–35) and daughter of Amīr Chūpān (d. 1327), paid a few visits to the lodge of Ṣafī al-Dīn.[98] Once she was with her husband in Ardabīl, she sent emissaries with greetings (*salām*) to Shaykh Ṣafī al-Dīn, a disciple of the lady's favourite shaykh, Zāhid who, in turn, sent his greetings back to the lady.[99] A second account mentions that Baghdād Khātūn accompanied her husband and the powerful Amīr Chūpān on a visit to Shaykh Ṣafī al-Dīn.[100] Once they were all together at the shaykh's premises, the young children of Amīr Chūpān were taken into the presence of Ṣafī to receive his blessing. The main point of the story is to highlight a new miracle of the shaykh, who told the sultan that one of the babies he had kissed had a sign of government on his head, suggesting not only that the baby would be fit to rule but also that the shaykh would have a role in the succession. For our purpose, the interesting part of the story is the background within which the anecdote is narrated. The ruling family went together to see the shaykh and the children were blessed by the religious leader.[101] There is in this story an obvious attempt by the hagiographer to link the origin of his order to the powerful Mongol dynasty, but at the same time the growing proximity of the Ilkhans and khātūns to shaykhs from the 1290s onwards suggests that, by the fourteenth century, these close encounters might have occurred with a certain frequency.

On another occasion, a visit by the same lady serves the pedagogical purpose of these hagiographical texts. Once, the Sultan Abū Saʿīd and his wife Baghdād Khātūn visited the shaykh, this time in the company of vizier Ghiyāṣ al-Dīn (d. 1336).[102] When they entered the shaykh's room, he sat with his back to Baghdād Khātūn and did not offer any presents or provisions (*sufrah*) to the lady as he did to the male visitors. Surprised, the sultan asked the shaykh about these actions and the shaykh replied, addressing the sultan as "child" (*farzand*), that God commanded that it is forbidden (*ḥarām*) to look at the spouse of someone else, in a clear reference to the fact that Baghdād Khātūn was not veiled.[103] The shaykh concluded by saying that the sultan had come to his place in search of prayers (*duʿā*) on his behalf and added that he could not perform them while a sin was being committed.[104] The didactic message here is clear, as the shaykh tried to enforce a more mainstream form of Islamic behaviour among the Mongol royal family who, although Muslim, might have had a softer approach to some Islamic practices such as the use of the veil among the ladies.

Even after the death of the charismatic leader, the relationship between the khātūns and the heirs of the

Ṣafī al-Dīn, and a daughter of the latter was married to a son of Shaykh Zahīd; see Minorsky 1954: 517–18.

[96] Ibn Bazzāz Ardabīlī 1373/1994: 1102–03.

[97] For example, the Ṣafwat al-ṣafā records the rumours that circulated in the Ilkhanate about the possibility of Amīr Chūpān being alive after he was executed by Abū Saʿīd; see Ibn Bazzāz Ardabīlī 1373/1994: 437–38.

[98] On the difficult relationship between Baghdad Khātūn, her father Amīr Chūpān, and Sultan Abū Saʿīd, see Melville 1999.

[99] Ibn Bazzāz Ardabīlī 1373/1994: 792.

[100] Ṣafī al-Dīn was not the only shaykh visited by Amīr Chūpān. After losing the favour of the sultan, he also visited Shaykh Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad Simnānī (d. 1336), imploring the shaykh to intercede in his favour before the sultan, to no avail; see Soudavar 1996: 95–218.

[101] See Ibn Bazzāz Ardabīlī 1373/1994: 348.

[102] The fact that Amīr Chūpān has been replaced by Ghiyāṣ al-Dīn suggests that this encounter happened at a later stage than that of the previous two anecdotes. Ghiyāṣ al-Dīn was the son of Rashid al-Dīn and vizier under the Ilkhan Abū Saʿīd (r. 1317–35); see Boyle 1968: 412.

[103] This was very common among Mongol women, as observed by Ibn Baṭṭūṭa in the Golden Horde; see Ibn Baṭṭūṭa 2005: 147.

[104] Ibn Bazzāz Ardabīlī 1373/1994: 912.

shaykh remained. Mongol ladies are mentioned as visiting the shrine of the saint and being received by some of the followers of the order. The story is narrated as one of the post-mortem miracles of Shaykh Ṣafī al-Dīn, in which two ladies of the Mongol court were in the Ilkhanid capital of Sulṭāniyah and went from there to Ardabil, where Khwāja 'Ala' al-Dīn Manṣūr received them.[105] The ladies were Sātī Beg (d. 1339), wife of Abū Sa'īd and regent of the Ilkhanate for a short period of time, and Kurdūjīn Khātūn, the granddaughter of Hülegü (d. 1265) by his son Möngke Temür. On their visit, both women were present at a miracle supposedly performed by Ṣafī al-Dīn after his death when they were in the shrine of the Sufi master.[106]

The narrative connects the founder of the order (Ṣafī al-Dīn), his spiritual master (Shaykh Ẓāhid), and Ṣafī's immediate disciples with different ladies of the Mongol court. Including these episodes with the khātūns in the hagiography served a political purpose for the order. This was certainly a way of connecting the *ṭarīqa* to the powerful Mongol rulers, but they could have accomplished this by only mentioning anecdotes of male rulers. Instead, in addition to accounts of male rulers, the narrative also includes the ladies, confirming on the one hand the high status enjoyed by these ladies in the Ilkhanate and on the other suggesting a much closer interaction between khātūns and shaykhs, one which goes beyond political legitimation. Thus, in a relationship where gifts are exchanged, healings are performed, and miracles are witnessed, it seems safe to contend that we are faced with a more complex image of this interaction than previously suggested, where Mongol khātūns were certainly patrons but where at least some of them also seem to have become *murids*.

V. CONCLUSION

The period of Mongol rule in Iran and Anatolia is an interesting one in which to explore the relationship between courtly women and Sufi shaykhs. As we have tried to show, this relationship was not homogeneous, and the way in which it developed at the Mongol court was markedly different from that in the provincial regions of the realm. Especially during the first decades of Mongol rule, women of the Mongol royal family kept their religious affiliation to Christianity, Buddhism, and Shamanism, while in the areas of Kerman, Fars, and Anatolia women belonging to local dynasties continued to patronise Sufism as the Seljuq dynasty had done before the Mongol invasion. In the thirteenth century, however, Islamisation and acculturation seemed to begin to take root among Mongol women. The first act of patronage of Islamic buildings emerges in parallel to this, as Sufi shaykhs and Mongol women developed a closer relationship within the *ordos* of the ladies.

At the beginning of the fourteenth century, Sufism had spread among the Mongols and the interaction with Sufi shaykhs became more apparent. Hagiographic material allows us an occasional glimpse into how the interaction between ladies and shaykhs was forged. As the analysis of the *Ṣafwat al-ṣafā* in this article has shown, personal visits to the shaykhs, participation in Sufi rituals, and the exchange of "gifts for blessings" facilitated a mutually beneficial relationship where shaykhs exchanged spiritual comfort in exchange for favour (protection) and patronage. In this sense, politically convenient patronage and personal interaction based on the charisma of a spiritual leader seem to go hand in hand. While the Mongols might have occasionally supported certain Sufis for political reasons, such as in the case of Ghāzān's conversion, the khātūns might have had a different approach. If we trust the hagiographic accounts, it appears that Mongol women in the first half of the fourteenth century were both patrons and *murids*.

Acknowledgement

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

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[105] Sultaniye is near the city of Zanjan. On the mausoleum of Uljaytu that can be found there today, see Godard 1997: 1103–18; Sims 1988: 139–76.

[106] Ibn Bazzāz Ardabīlī 1373/1994: 1062.

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