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JĀMEʿ AL-TAWĀRIḴ

JĀMEʿ AL-TAWĀRIḴ i. The work

JĀMEʿ AL-TAWĀRIḴ
(The Compendium of chronicles), the historical work composed in the period 1300-10 by Ḵᵛāja Rašid-al-Din Fażl-Allāh Ṭabib Hamadāni, vizier to the Mongol Il-khans Ḡāzān (r. 1295-1304) and Öljeitü (Uljāytu; r. 1304-16), in response to commissions by both rulers. As its title suggests, the work is a compilation of materials not only on Islamic and Persian history, but also on the Mongols and other peoples with whom they came into contact: Turks, Franks, Jews, Chinese, and Indians, which has caused it to be called the "first world history" (Boyle, 1962, 1971b; Jahn, 1967; Morgan, 1982). This is indeed justified, given its coverage and reflecting its composition at one of the courts of what could equally be called the first world Empire.

Rašid-al-Din (ca. 1247-1318) entered Mongol service as a physician, but he came to prominence and power in 1298 with his appointment as co-vizier with Saʿd-al-Din Sāvaji. He remained joint vizier until his dismissal at the start of Abu Saʿid's reign, only to be coaxed out of retirement by Amir Čobān (q.v.) and ultimately to his death from the intrigues of his rivals (Melville, 1997, pp. 93-94). The details of his life have been fully studied elsewhere (e.g., ed. Quatremère, pp. i-xliv; Morgan, 1994; Amitai-Preiss; Rajabzāda, pp. 30-65), as has his Jewish background (Fischel, pp. 118-25; Netzer; ed. Rowšan and Musawi, Intro., pp. 73-81); one possible consequence of the latter may be that he was comfortable approaching Islamic history from a different perspective

than was usual; this is certainly reflected in his work. It is perhaps also seen in his inclusion of a history of the Jews in the second volume (see below). He was a prolific author and wrote on many practical and theoretical subjects aside from the *Jāmeʿ al-tawāriḵ* (see, e.g., Jahn, 1964; van Ess; Allsen, 1996, pp. 14-15; Rajabzāda, pp. 302-25). Although several aspects of his life and background may have affected his historical writing, the most important factors are his intimate access to the two Mongol rulers, Ḡāzān and Öljeitü (Uljāytu), and his high position at the center of government. He also supported the work of other historians; in 1303, for example, he presented the historian Šaraf-al-Din ʿAbd-Allāh Waṣṣāf-e Ḥaẓrat and his work to Ḡāzān at ʿĀna on the Euphrates (Waṣṣāf, pp. 305-7), and inspired several later authors (see below).

While there is little reason to doubt Rašid-al-Din's overall authorship of the *Jāmeʿ al-tawāriḵ*, the work has generally been considered a collective effort, partly carried out by research assistants (Bira, pp. 96-97). The best evidence of this is the notorious claim by Abu'l-Qāsem Qāšāni that Rašid-al-Din had "stolen" his work (see Qāšāni, 1969, esp. pp. 54-55, 240-41; Zaryāb, pp. 134-35; Morgan, 1997, esp. pp. 182-83; Rajabzāda, pp. 351-53). The context of the final complaint is a story praising Öljeitü's generosity, none of which, however, benefited Qāšāni. The work in question is here called the *Ḏayl-e Jāmeʿ al-tawāriḵ*, and could therefore refer either to the second part of the chronicle, commissioned by Öljeitü, concerning Islamic history and the people of the world, or to the history of Öljeitü himself, which has not been recovered. In the first instance, it is worth recalling that Qāšāni did write a general history (entitled *Zobdat-al-tawāriḵ*) that covers much the same ground as Rašid-al-Din (Blochet, 1910, pp. 132-57). Secondly, Qāšāni's history of Öljeitü, as it stands, in the same format as the histories of the previous Il-khans, could resemble the drafts for those earlier reigns. It seems unlikely that Rašid-al-Din's version was ever completed; the copy reportedly sighted by Togan in Mashad turns out to be the text continued by Ḥāfeẓ-e Abru (q.v.; see Ṣayyād, pp. 279-80). As noted by A. H. Morton (in Ẓahir-al-Din Nišāpuri, Introd., pp. 25-27), there are other grounds for believing that Qāšāni's claims are not entirely baseless. Certainly, assistants were used, together with named collaborators and informants, for the sections outside Rašid-al-Din's area of knowledge, such as the Kashmiri monk Kamāl-ashri for the life and teachings of Buddha (Jahn, 1956), and Chinese, Uighur, Qepčaq, and other scholars resident at court (on Rašid-al-Din's sources, see, e.g., idem, ed. Rowšan and Musawi, Intro., pp. 57-63). It was probably written, like the contemporary Chinese histories of the Chin and Liao, by a committee of historians, as part of an empire-wide project to record

the early history of the dynasty (Allsen, 2001, pp. 95-101).

For the first part of the chronicle (see below), apart from the ruler himself, Rašid-al-Din acknowledges the crucial role played by the Yüan envoy in Iran, Bolad Ch'eng-hsiang, an unrivalled authority on the early history of the Mongols, in giving him access to the Mongols' own record of their history (ed. Rowšan and Musawi, pp. 35, 1338; Boyle, 1971a, p. 3; see also Allsen, 1996, p. 13, and idem, 2001, pp. 84-85, concerning Bolad's own use of assistants). Zeki Velidi Togan (1962, pp. 63-68) proposed that this "Mongol" part of the world history is little more than a Persian translation of a Mongolian original, an idea that has attracted both criticism and support (Morgan, 1997, pp. 183-84; Bira, p. 98). Rašid-al-Din's use of Mongol sources has been analyzed by John Andrew Boyle (1962, 1971a), Thomas Allsen (2001, pp. 88-91), and Shagdaryn Bira, and is revealed also by his use of the animal calendar (Melville, 1994). It is clear at least that much scattered material, both archival and orally transmitted by Bolad and including information found in the so-called *Altan debter* "Golden register" (see ed. Rowšan and Musawi, pp. 186, 227, 235) was combined with sources such as ʿAlāʾ-al-Din ʿAṭā-Malek Jovayni, (see, e.g., Minorsky, pp. 222-28, for his account of the Mongol conquests in Russia and the Caucasus) and Ebn al-Aṯir (q.v., to whom Rašid-al-Din himself refers; ed. Rowšan and Musawi, p. 306), to produce a narrative with a very distinctive idiom, terminology, and structure, quite unlike anything produced by previous Muslim historians.

Contents. *Jāmeʿ al-tawāriḵ* is divided into two volumes of unequal length, which prompted Edward G. Browne (1929-30, III, pp. 72-74) to propose a different scheme of contents. Rašid-al-Din's own structure, however, addresses two fundamental questions that correspond to the circumstances of the empire at the time of writing: who were these nomadic people who conquered the world, and what was that world? (Toynbee, X, pp. 75, 79). The set had also a third volume that was devoted to geography, but is not known to be extant.

Volume one. This volume, divided into five parts, has been published in a composite edition by Bahman Karimi and in a new complete edition by Rowšan and Musawi; a complete English translation by Wheeler M. Thackston (pp. vii-x) includes references to other partial editions and translations (for the Russ. publications, see Arends, pp. 42-43, 50-51; see also Rajabzāda, pp. 331-33, 358-60).

The first part is a history of the Mongolian and Turkic peoples and tribes (ed.

Berezin, 1861; Russ. tr. idem, 1858; ed. Romaskevitz et al., 1965; Russ. tr. and commentary, Khetagurov and Semenov, 1952), followed first by the history of the Mongols before the rise of Čengiz Khan (q.v.; tr. Brezin, 1868; ed. idem, 1888) and then his times and life (ed. and Russ. tr. Berezin, 1888; Russ. tr. and commentary, Smirnova and Pankratov, 1952) in the next two parts. The final two parts are devoted to Čengiz Khan's successors from Ögedei to Temür Khagan (ed. Blochet, 1911; ed. Karimi, 1934; partial ed., ʿAlizāda, 1980, "Ögedei" only; Russ. tr. Verkhovskii, 1960; Eng. tr. Boyle, 1971) and the history of the Il-khans of Persia from Hülegü to the death of Ḡāzān (ed.ʿAlizāda, 1957; Russ. tr. Arends, 1946, 2nd ed. 1957; partial ed., with Fr. tr., Quatremère, 1836, "Hülegü" only; Jahn, 1940, "Ḡāzān;" Jahn, 1957, "Abaqa to Gayḵātu;" partial tr. Martinez, 1986-88, 1992-94).

Volume two. This volume, which has not yet been edited in its entirety (for mss., see Bibliography), was originally divided into two parts. The first part, on the history of Öljeitü, is missing, and the second part is divided into a couple of sections, each one made of a number of subsections:

The second part starts with a preface on Adam, the Patriarchs, and the biblical prophets (uned.), followed by a history of pre-Islamic rulers in four subsections (uned.; mss. in John Rylands University Library, Manchester, no. 406; Punjab University Library, Lahore, ms. 94/25; Arabic version in Edinburgh University Library, Arabic ms. 20). The next section treats the Islamic history from the time of the Prophet Moḥammad and the caliphate (uned.; mss. at Tehran University, Faculty of Letters, ms. 76-b; Institute of Oriental Studies, St. Petersburg, E. 5; partly in Edinburgh, Arabic ms. 20; part in Khalili MSS 727, facs. ed. Sheila Blair, 1995) to the year 1258. This section also treats Persian independent dynasties, including the Ghaznavids and their predecessors (ed. Ateş, 1957, repr. Dabirsiāqi, 1959), the Saljuqs (ed. A. Ateş, 1960; Eng. tr. Luther, 2001), Ḵʷārazmšāhs (uned.; mss. at Bibliothèque nationale, Suppl. persan 1364; British Library, Or. 1684; St. Petersburg, Institute of Oriental Studies, C. 374, fragment; partly in Edinburgh, Arabic ms. 20), the Salghurids (uned.; mss. at Bibliothèque nationale, Suppl. persan 1364; British Library, Or. 1684), and a Supplement on the Fatimids and Ismaʿilis, (ed. Dabirsiāqi, 1958; ed. Dānešpažuh and Modarresi Zanjāni).

The second section of this part is on the (other) people of the world encountered by the Mongols, including Oghuz Turks (Ger. tr. Jahn, 1969, with facs. illustrations; tr. Zeki Validi Togan, 1972; tr. Shukyurova; ed. Rowšan, 2005a), the Chinese (facs. ed. of Topkapı Saray, Istanbul, H. 1653 and Royal

Asiatic Soc. ms. A.27 = Khalili MSS727, with Ger. tr. Jahn, 1971; ed. Wang Yidan, 2000; Rowšan, 2006), Jews (facs. ed. of Topkapı Saray, Istanbul, H. 1654, and Royal Asiatic Soc. A.27 = Khalili, MSS727, with Ger. tr., Jahn, 1973), Franks, their emperors, and popes (ed. and Fr. tr. Jahn, 1951; Pers. text, repr. Dabirsiāqi, 1960; facs. ed. of Topkapı Saray, Istanbul, H. 1654, H. 1653, and Sultan Ahmed III, no. 2935, with Ger. tr., Jahn, 1977; ed. M. Rowšan, 2005b), and Indians (facs. ed. of Royal Asiatic Soc. ms. A.27 = Khalili MSS727, British Library, Add. 7628, and Topkapı Saray, Istanbul, H. 1654, in Jahn, 1965; 2nd ed., with Ger. tr., Jahn, 1980; ed. Rowšan, 2005c).

Rašid-al-Din does not specify when his work began, though he seems to have been collecting material for some time before he was invited to compose his history. Ḥamd-Allāh Mostawfi appears to link the commission with Ḡāzān's calendar reform, initiating the Ḵāni era in 701/1302 and his desire to leave a good name in the world (*Ẓafar-nāma*, p. 1414; cf. Šams-al-Din Kāšāni, fol. 4r). Ḡāzān's stated aim was to preserve the Mongols' identity and knowledge of their past, but also to make it more widely known. Much material concerning the Mongols was until then secret and kept in archives that consisted of books and scrolls with no particular order and in danger of being forgotten (Rašid-al-Din, ed. Rowšan and Musawi, pp. 34-36; cf. Toynbee, X, pp. 75-78).

One reason for preserving this memory was certainly highly practical, and explains the strong emphasis not only on the tribal origins and genealogies of the leading Mongol families but also especially on the genealogy of the ruling dynasty. As the political unity of the empire dissolved and succession crises became more frequent, it was important to reaffirm not only the identity of the ruling clan (in its descent from the mythical Alan Qoa) but also its dynastic legitimacy. Detailed genealogical information runs like a strong thread through the core of the *Jāmeʿ al-tawāriḵ*, not only in the remarkably full accounts of the Turkish and Mongol tribes with which the work begins, but also appearing again at the outset of every reign: the principles of the organization of the work and its aims being explained again at the start of the section on the life of Čengiz Khan (ed. Rowšan and Musawi, p. 306). To these genealogical charts, incidentally, Rašid-al-Din also intended to add portraits of the rulers and their families, an element that has scarcely survived in the remaining manuscripts of his work (see below). In addition, a whole volume of genealogical information seems to have been conceived as an appendix to the work, in the *Šoʿāb-e panjgāna*, which still remains unedited (Topkapı Saray, Istanbul, ms. Ahmet III, 2937; see Togan, 1962, pp. 68-71; Quinn; Allsen, 2001, p.

92).

The *Jāmeʿ-al-tawāriḵ*, then, is an official history, but it is characterized by a matter-of-fact tone and a refreshing absence of sycophantic flattery, even in the sections on Ḡāzān Khan himself, though the description of his reign is the main goal and purpose of the work (ed. Rowšan and Musawi, pp. 30-31, 307). At one moment, Rašid-al-Din is moved to consider Ḡāzān to be a Muslim saint (*wali*; idem, p. 1317), but he is praised chiefly for bringing Islam to the Mongols and thereby revealing and accomplishing God's purpose in the career of Čengiz Khan and the destruction that he wrought. The narrative of historical events and anecdotes is lively and gains immediacy from many passages of direct speech and conversation (e.g. concerning the episode of Barāq, in the reign of Abaqa; ed. Rowšan and Musawi, pp. 1065-96). This, no doubt, reflects the important role of his oral sources of information, which in this case probably included the Amir Nowruz, who is specifically mentioned as an informant (ed. Rowšan and Musawi, p. 627). The organization of material does lead to some duplication (the story of Barāq is a case in point), and also some confusion in the histories of the rulers contemporary with the various Mongol khans; but, unlike the writings of Jovayni, his immediate predecessor, Rašid-al-Din's work has a strong structural coherence to which the author regularly draws attention, while, at the same time, never failing to provide short, helpful passages linking the various sections of the chronicle.

Rašid-al-Din is remarkably frank about the shortcomings of early Mongol rule in Persia, but he is seldom overtly judgmental, offering little by way of personal opinion and even less of the moralizing tone that was a conspicuous aspect of the work of earlier historians such as Jovayni. One rare exception is his verdict on the reign of Aḥmad Takudār, whom he characterizes simply as a ruler unable to deliver justice, using personal experience from the time when he was in the service of the Jovaynis in Baghdad to illustrate the point (tr. Thackston, pp. 559-60; omitted from the edition of Rowšan and Musawi). The *Jāmeʿ al-tawāriḵ* does, nevertheless, have something of the style of a mirror for princes in the final third section of each reign, in which the author relates the character and customs, good deeds and words of the ruler, starting with the *bilig*s (adages or maxims) of Čengiz Khan and Ögedei (Ukatāy; ed. Rowšan and Musawi, pp. 581-91, 676-705, the latter lifted directly from Jovayni, pp. 161-91). This section is particularly prominent in its account of Ḡāzān, describing in detail the ruler's various reforms. This undoubtedly provides an idealized vision of the state that owes much to Rašid-al-Din's own initiative;

nevertheless, he could not have written in the way he did without a very real respect for Ḡāzān's ability and character, and absolute confidence in his support.

Ḡāzān Khan's history, as the first part of the *Jāmeʿ al-tawāriḵ* is called, was not completed before Ḡāzān's death in 1304. His brother and successor Öljeitü ordered it to be finished in two further volumes: one including an account of his reign, to be compiled as it progressed, a general history of the (Muslim) world, and an account of the peoples with whom the Mongols came into contact; the other was to be a geography describing the different climes of the world and the routes linking them. Although Rašid-al-Din speaks of the latter as being completed (see also his reference to it in ed. Jahn, 1951, p. 11, tr. p. 24), no copy has yet been found. It is possible that elements of this were incorporated into the work of Ḥāfeẓ-e Abru (Rašid-al-Din, tr. Thackston, p. 11 n. 3), and more immediately into the geography of Ḥamd-Allāh Mostawfi (q.v.), though neither author refers specifically to this debt (see also ed. Rowšan and Musawi, Intro., p. 53; Allsen, 2001, pp. 103-4, 112-13).

Although most scholarly attention has focused on volume one, which is a fundamental source for the history of the rise and establishment of the Mongol Empire, from a historiographical point of view, the second volume is far more significant as the first attempt to write a universal history: an achievement not aspired to again in subsequent centuries (cf. Jahn, 1965, pp. ix-x). It attests to the remarkable global imperial vision of the Mongol rulers. Rašid-al-Din was aware of the unique quality of his work, referring to its unprecedented nature and as an assembly of all branches of history (ed. Rowšan and Musawi, pp. 8, 9, 14, 307; Barthold, pp. 44-49; Allsen, 2001, p. 83).

The general history of the world (in practice, the Muslim world) follows the pattern established by Qāżi Bayżāwi in his *Ne ẓām-al-tawāriḵ*, with sections on the prophets, the four dynasties of the pre-Islamic rulers of Persia, the prophet Moḥammad, and the Caliphs, and then the dynasties that flourished under the ʿAbbasids; it thus provides a similarly Perso-centric view of Islamic history (see Melville, 2000). Much of this remains unpublished and, until this is rectified, it is premature to offer remarks on Rašid-al-Din's use of his sources and the message that his history of the caliphate conveys. It is clear that the sections on the Ghaznavids and the Saljuqs made use of the work of Abu Naṣr ʿOtbi and Ẓahir-al-Din Nišāpuri respectively (for the latter, see Luther, 1971; Morton). The section on the Ismaʿilis is borrowed in large amount from Jovayni, but with the addition of new material; Rašid-al-Din's treatment of the sect is also

much more objective than was the norm among Sunni historians (see Levy; Daftary, p. 95). Certainly, the language was also modified, especially that of ʿOtbi's translator, Jorfāḏa-qāni, probably the version used by Rašid-al-Din (Šahidi, esp. pp. 186-91). Behind this part of the *Jāmeʿ al-tawāriḵ* lies the interesting historiographical question of the relationship between Rašid-al-Din and the *Zobdat al-tawāriḵ* of Qāšāni (cf. above), still to be thoroughly investigated (for the Ismaʿilis, see Qāšāni, 1987, which also provides the parallel passages in Ḥāfeẓ-e Abru).

The following sections, in contrast, contain much information that had previously not been available to Muslim scholarship. As in the first volume, Rašid-al-Din starts with a history of the Turks, thus vicariously linking the comparatively insignificant Mongols to the far more ancient and illustrious legends of the Oghuz (Turan); there is once more a concern with genealogies (tr. Jahn, 1969, pp. 44-47). This material derives entirely from oral sources. The recent history of China had also already been included in the first volume, but Rašid-al-Din now prepared a separate account of the Chinese, containing general information on the country and its customs, followed by the history and stories of the emperors of China, in annalistic form. Rašid-al-Din's own engagement with Chinese civilization continued, particularly in his *Tansuq-nāma*, chiefly concerning medicine (Jahn, 1970). Rašid-al-Din's Chinese informants, from the Buddhist tradition, are named but still not identified (see also, Franke, pp. 21-24; Menges).

As with China, Persia's long contacts with the West had not generated a real Muslim history of Europe. The impulse of empire building led to an expansion of knowledge here, too; political circumstances and Mongol religious tolerance were particularly favorable to the exchange of goods and cultural wares (Jahn, 1971, pp. 12-13; Allsen, 2001). In contrast with the case of China, however, volume one of the *Jāmeʿ-al-tawāriḵ* contains almost nothing of contemporary interest, such as the Mongol missions to the West, and there is only a single enigmatic reference to the Crusades; the section on the West in volume two stands in no sort of organic relationship with the work as a whole (Boyle, 1970, p. 63). The section on the Franks derives from conversations with unnamed clerics in Tabriz, including perhaps Isolo the Pisan (Nizami, p. 37). Its introductory descriptions of Europe's geography and politics concentrate on the Mediterranean countries, and emphasize the power of the king of France, third only to the Pope and the Holy Roman Emperor; there are also various interesting items of information (Jahn, 1971, pp. 19-20; Jackson, pp. 329-30).

One example is the suggestion that the killing of the Christian community in Lucera was in response to the Muslim capture of Acre and the destruction of churches in Il-Khanid Iran (ed. Rowšan, 2005b, pp. 46, 122). The second part, on the history of the Popes and emperors, is based on the popular history by Martin of Troppau (d. 1278), and supplemented by a few extra legends and sagas (Jahn, 1951, pp. 8-10; idem, 1971, p. 21). It originally resembled a Western work not only in its contents, but also in its page layout and illustration (cf. Jahn, 1951, pp. 12-13).

As with the previous sections, Rašid-al-Din's history of India is in two parts, the first containing information about the geography, habits, and religious beliefs of the people, based largely on Abu Rayḥān Biruni's celebrated study. There follow chapters on the Sultans of Delhi, the rulers of Kashmir, and the four *yuga*s "ages" and the kings who reigned in them; this account contains the remarkable claim that Čengiz Khan was descended from one of the legendary dynasties of India (see Jahn, 1965, pp. lxxviii-lxxxvi; Nizami, p. 41; ed. Rowšan, 2005c, p. 100). The second part of book is on Buddha and his teachings, with a supplement on transmigration (*tanāsoḵ*); as noted, the main source of information was the Buddhist Lama from Kashmir, Kamālashri. Mongol interest in the subject is natural given the fact that this was the religion of Arḡun (q.v.) and his son Ḡāzān for a time, and the work might reflect the syncretist conceptions held by the Mongols in Iran (Jahn, 1956, pp. 83, 127); but there is also an attempt to fit Buddhism into the wider context of mediev al religious thought and to approximate Buddhist to Muslim theological concepts (e.g., concerning angels, prophethood).

Rašid-al-Din made elaborate provisions for the preservation and transmission of his work. In an addendum to the endowment deed (*waqfiya*) for the quarter he established in Tabriz, the Rabʿ-e Rašidi, dated 1 Rabiʿ I, 709/9 August 1309, he stipulates that two copies of the *Jāmeʿ al-tawāriḵ* were to be made every year in the *ketāb-ḵāna*, one in Arabic and one in Persian, and distributed throughout the cities of the Arab world and Iran. His collected works were also to become part of the curriculum of the *madrasa*s he had founded. This addendum is dated Ḏu'l-ḥejja 713/April 1314 (see Rašid-al-Din, *Waqf-nāma*, pp. 237, 239, 241, 252; Afšār, pp. 12-13; Blair, 1995, pp. 14, 114-15; Blair, 1996; Hoffmann, p. 200, with further bibliography).

In view of these precautions, it is ironic that so few early manuscripts have survived. This is particularly unfortunate given the fact that they were intended to be illustrated, and the surviving examples are of crucial

importance for the development of Persian manuscript painting: a departure as original as the nature of the text itself. The earliest surviving copy is part of an Arabic version, to be dated 714/1314, now preserved in Edin-burgh University Library and the Khalili Collection, and must thus have been one of the first to be produced according to the stipulations of the author's endowment instructions. It comprises about half of part 2 of the second volume. Many of the illustrations show a strong influence of Chinese painting (see Blair, 1995, with full bibliography; Hillenbrand, pp. 145-50). The subjects cho-sen to illustrate the text are partly for pedagogical purposes and partly reflect current interests at the Il-khanid court (Blair, 1996, esp. pp. 51-53), a notion developed further by Abolala Soudavar, to suggest that illustrations in a contemporary copy of the *Šāh-nāma* were used to depict events recorded in the *Jāmeʿ al-tawāriḵ* rather than in Ferdowsi's work itself (Soudavar; cf. Grabar and Blair).

Later historians recognized that Rašid-al-Din stood apart from other Muslim universal historians, in style if not in intention (Ḵonji Eṣfahāni, p. 87, tr., p. 8), although his intention was also quite different from that of his predecessors; like Bayhaqi's work, Rašid-al-Din's work found no later emulators, though many admirers. Both Faḵr-al-Din Banākati and Ḥamd-Allāh Mostawfi acknowledged their very full use of the *Jāmeʿ al-tawāriḵ*, which was also put into verse by Kāšāni in the reign of Öljeitü (Banākati, p. 107, 338, 340; Blochet, 1910, pp. 94-106; Mortażawi, pp. 590-625; Paris ms. Supplément persan 1443), and summarized in the later 14th century (ms. St. Petersburg University Library, OP. 950B). The most important means of the transmission of the *Jāmeʿ al-tawāriḵ* was its absorption into the work of Ḥāfeẓ-e Abru, also a native of Hamadān (born in Ḵᵛāf, Khorasan, and raised in Hamadān; see Aḏkāʾi), giving rise to an extremely complicated textual tradition that, despite the painstaking work of Felix Tauer, has still not been entirely clarified. Ḥāfeẓ-e Abru's compilation reflects the fact that Ḡāzān and Öljeitü's universalist vision was shared by his patron, Šāhroḵ b. Timur, but it is nevertheless significant that Rašid-al-Din's work on the peoples of the world was merely reproduced, not updated. It is probably via the work of Ḥāfeẓ-e Abru that Rašid-al-Din's history was exploited by later Timurid universal historians, such as Mirḵᵛānd and Ḵᵛāndamir (qq.v.).

Edward G. Browne's assessment of the *Jāmeʿ al-tawāriḵ* (e.g., 1929-30, III, p. 75) is as valid now as a century ago and is echoed by all subsequent writers (for a thorough survey of early authorities, see Mortażawi, 1980, pp. 405-544). *Jāmeʿ*

al-tawāriḵ presents a vast amount of data on East Asia and gave the Muslim world a quantum leap in their knowledge of the region and the wider world about them (Allsen, 2001, p. 85) at the unique moment in history when Persia was, with China, at the cultural heart of a great world empire. The passing of the moment once more restricted the intellectual horizons and vision of Persian historians. It thus remains all the more regrettable that there is still no complete critical edition of the whole text, a fundamental requirement for a full evaluation of the relationships between the *Jāmeʿ al-tawāriḵ* and the work of previous and subsequent historiographers.

Charles Melville

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JĀMEʿ AL-TAWĀRIḴ ii. The illustrations

Just as the text of Rašid-al-Din Fażl-Allāh's *Jāmeʿ al-tawāriḵ* can be regarded as groundbreaking historically, so too the illustrations to it are seminal for the study of art history. Although illustrated books had been produced earlier in Persia, from the turn of the 14th century they became more common, bigger, and fancier, and they covered a wider variety of subjects including history such that they became a major form of artistic expression there. The *Jāmeʿ al-tawāriḵ* helps us to document this development in three ways. First, we have first-hand information about how and why Rašid-al-Din, the author and patron, wanted these illustrated books produced, providing the first and, at

any time, a rare description of the working of a Persian scriptoria (*ketāb-ḵāna*). Second, we have extant manuscripts and detached illustrations made under the patron's supervision that show how his intentions were realized. And third, we have copies of the text made for later courts that help us to understand the development of the illustrated book across the eastern Islamic lands over the next three centuries.

Before his execution in 1318, Rašid-al-Din sequestered much of his fortune in pious foundations (*abwāb al-berr*) established around the Ilkhanate (Hoffman). The largest was the Rabʿ-e Rašidi, his own tomb complex outside the capital Tabriz (Blair, 1984). In its endowment deed (*waqf-nāma*) written in the patron's own hand and dated 1 Rabiʿ I 709/9 August 1309, he provided for the annual copying of a 30-volume Qur'an manuscript and a 4-volume work on *ḥadith*, and four years later he appended an addendum (Rašid-al-Din, pp. 237-41; Eng. tr., W. M. Thackston in Blair, 1995, pp. 114-15) stipulating that in addition to the religious texts, each year his scribes were to produce two copies, one in Arabic and the other in Persian, of all of his own works, including the *Jāmeʿ al-tawāriḵ*. These manuscripts were to be copied in a neat hand on large *bagḏādi*-size sheets of paper, checked with the original for accuracy, and bound in goatskin. Once registered at the judiciary, they were to be distributed throughout the realm, the Persian copies to Persian cities and the Arabic copies to Arab cities. There, they were to be deposited in *madrasa*s to be read in consultation with learned teachers or, with appropriate deposit, borrowed for copying. In short, the endowment deed to the Rabʿ-e Rašidi shows us that the patron's purpose in having these books produced was both philanthropic and pedagogic.

Illustrated copies of the text may have been made before this date, for the Baghdadi chronicler Ebn al-Fuwaṭi mentions that in the year 1305 in Arrān he met the painter (*naqqāš*) Moḥammad b. al-ʿAfif al-Kāši, an expert in the art of design and illustration (*ṣanʿat al-naqš wa'l-taṣwir*), while he was working on the book of his master, the vizier Rašid-al-Din (cited in Blair, 1984, p. 82 and n. 79; Blair 1995, pp. 62-63; Ivanov, 2000, and Blair, 2006, pp. 171-72). The same artist signed the illumination in a copy of Rašid-al-Din's theological works in Paris (BN, ms. Arabe 3232; Richard, 1997a, no. 12) dated 707-10/1307-10, and he may well have been in charge of the atelier in Tabriz. He probably had several assistants, such as the painter (*naqqāš*) Qutluq Buqā, one of the 20 Turkish slaves mentioned in Rašid-al-Din's endowment deed (Rašid-al-Din, p. 151).

Surviving manuscripts of the *Jāmeʿ al-tawāriḵ* made under the author's

supervision and illustrations detached from them show how these artists in Rašid-al-Din's scriptorium carried out his specifications. No manuscripts of the first volume (*mojallad-e avval*) on the history of the Turks and Mongols are known to have survived, but 49 illustrations detached from them have been mounted in several albums (Diez A, fol. 70-72) in the Staatsbibliothek, Berlin (Ipşiroğlu, pp. 15-32; Roxburgh, 1995, p. 116; Komaroff and Carboni, nos. 17-32) and four more in an album (H2153) in the Topkapı Palace Library, Istanbul (Cağman and Tanındı, no. 43-44).

The detached illustrations fall into three groups based on size (Rührdanz). One group of small (6 x 6 cm) pictures showing the khan and the *ḵātūn* enthroned must have illustrated the genealogical table (*jadval*) in the first part (*qesm*) of each section (*dāstān*) of Part Two (*bāb-e dovvom*), Chapter Two (*faṣl-e dovvom*), that describes a particular ruler and his family. These illustrations, also found in later manuscripts such as a late 14th-century copy in Tashkent (Abu Rayhan Biruni Institute ms. COM I, no. 22; Ismailova, figs. 1-2), underscore the text's focus on Mongol genealogy.

Figure 1a. Enthronement. Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Orientabteilung, MS Diez A, fol. 70 S 22. Cf. Ipşiroğlu, p. 22.

Figure 1b. Enthronement. Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – Preussicher Kulturbesitz, Orientabteilung, MS Diez A, fol. 70 S 10. Cf. Ipşiroğlu, p. 22.

At the opposite end of the scale are very large (29 x 38 cm), often double-page paintings. Many (FIGURE 1a and FIGURE 1b) show an enthroned couple surrounded by the court, with the ruler's male relatives to his right, his female relatives to his left, and his courtiers, including guards, musicians, dancers, falconers, and viziers, in front. These illustrations correspond to the *ṣurat-e taḵt* (picture of the enthronement) mentioned in the second part of each section describing the events leading up to a particular ruler's reign. Other double-page illustrations show major events from the reign, such as the "Destruction of Baghdad" under Hulāgu (Diez A, fol. 70, S. 7 and 4; FIGURE 2, FIGURE 3) or the "Gates of Piety," the tomb complex that Ḡāzān (qq.v.) built in Tabriz (only the left half survives: Diez A, fol. 70, S. 8 bottom).

Figure 2. Capture of Baghdad. Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Orientabteilung, MS Diez A, fol. 70 S.7. Cf. Ipşiroğlu, pp. 17-18.

Figure 3. Capture of Baghdad. Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Orientabteilung, MS Diez A,

fol. 70 S.4. Cf. Ipşiroğlu, p. 17.

In the middle are medium-size (e.g., 20 x 26 cm) rectangular pictures that depict a range of subjects, from enthroned couples with a few servants, bands of riders, hunting scenes, etc. All the text has been cropped before the paintings were mounted in the albums, but it is sometimes possible to identify the subject of specific images by comparing the scenes to those in later copies of the text, such as undated manuscripts in Calcutta (Asiatic Society of Bengal D31; Gray) and Rampur (Reza Library P.1820; Schmitz and Desai, no. IV.1), and one transcribed at Herat ca. 1425 (Paris, BN ms. Suppl. Pers. 1113; Richard, 1997b). For example, a painting showing a Mongol procession (Diez A, fol. 71, S. 50) can be identified as Hulāgu and his envoy (*ilči*) leading his army against the castles of the Assassins (Blair 2005).

In contrast to the first volume, several illustrated copies of the second volume (*mojallad-e dovvom*) on the non-Mongol peoples made under Rašid-al-Din's supervision survive. They include two manuscripts in Persian in the Topkapı Library (H1653 dated Jomāda II 714/October 1314, and H1654 completed according to the colophon on 3 Jomāda I 717/14 July 1317), but the most important because all its illustrations are contemporary with the text is an Arabic version dated 714/1314-15, now divided between the Khalili Collection in London (MS 727; facsimile and commentary in Blair, 1995) and Edinburgh University Library (Arabic ms. 20; Rice). The surviving portion comprises about one-half of a 400-page codex with 109 illustrations as well as 23 pages with depictions of Chinese emperors and attendants. Like the other manuscripts made for Rašid-al-Din, this one is transcribed on large-format sheets (each page measures some 50 x 37 cms, thus half-*bağdādi* size) of glazed, ivory-colored paper with 35 lines of clear *nasḵ* script written in a neat hand with fine illumination. The paintings are done in the same technique as the detached images: drawing in black ink heightened with a thin colored wash, sometimes highlighted with silver and bright opaque colors.

The size, frequency, and style of the illustrations in the Arabic and Persian copies of the *Jāmeʿ al-tawāriḵ* made under the patron's supervision tell us about the varying importance of the subjects and the different models available to the painters. The most distinct in terms of format is the section on China, a regnal chronicle illustrated with multiple boxes enclosing emperors and servants (FIGURE 4). The box format suggests that the artists copied from

Chinese wood-block printed texts, a suggestion confirmed by the style that adheres most closely to Chinese techniques dependent on line and colored wash. That the artists were copying is also clear from mistakes in the iconography. On the page showing Shi Huangdi, founder of the Qin dynasty (221-206 BCE), and Gao Zhu, founder of the Han dynasty (206 BCE-220 CE), for example, the emperors are shown reclining, but seem to float awkwardly in mid air because the artist omitted the requisite pillows. In other cases, the Ilkhanid artists did not understand the implications of the original sartorial details, depicting, for example, emperors with their hands covered like servants. The Mongolian official and cultural broker Bolad Ch'eng-Hsiang (biography in Allsen) might have been the person to show and explain such Chinese originals to Rašid-al-Din and his artists.

Figure 4. Page with the Chinese emperors Shi Huangdi,

founder of the Qin dynasty (221-206 BCE), and Gao Zhu, founder of the Han dynasty (206 BCE-220 CE). Khalili Collection, London, MS 727, fol. 251a (11a). All rights reserved.

The other sections of the *Jāmeʿ al-tawāriḵ* are transcribed in running prose with horizontal (landscape) rectangular illustrations, regularly cut off at the sides as though copied from a scroll. Since the text was such a new enterprise, often based on oral information, the artists had to devise new compositions to illustrate it, gathering pictorial material from a wide range of sources. Reconstructing the manuscript shows that the illustrations are not distributed regularly through the text. Rather, some sections are completely void of illustration, notably the 82 folios from the end of life of Mohammad through the Umayyad and ʿAbbasid caliphates. These subjects were clearly of little interest to the patron. Not so, the sections on the various Turkish dynasties, which are heavily illustrated: the Ḡaznavids (26 paintings on 30 folios, including one page with two illustrations), mainly violent battle scenes that underscore the dynasty's warrior past; and the Seljuqs (17 paintings, many missing, on 32 folios), mainly bland, rather simplified enthronements which highlight the dynasty's role in government and the patron's interest in bureaucracy.

Other parts of the Arabic manuscript that are heavily illustrated include the sections on pre-Islamic Iran and Arabia (27 illustrations on 33 folios) and the Prophet Mohammad (13 illustrations in 29 folios), the latter a subject of particular interest in the Ilkhanid period (Soucek). Like the section on the Jews (8 illustrations in 17 folios), these illustrations allude to the patron's Jewish roots, for they include not only well-known subjects such as Noah's ark, but also large illustrations of such events in the life of the Prophet as his campaigns against two Jewish tribes, the Banu Qaynoqāʿ and the Banu'l-Nażir.

To illustrate these scenes, unknown in the Islamic tradition, the artists turned to Western models. For example, to illustrate the "Birth of the Prophet," the artists adapted a scene of the Nativity, transforming the Three Magi into waiting women and Joseph into Prophet's uncle, although these figures play no part in the narrative. Such models would have been available either from manuscripts or liturgical objects such as portable altars brought to the Ilkhanid court by the many travelers and missionaries there. In style, the

artists adapted standard devices and figures to create new and meaningful compositions, for example, setting the figure of the Prophet against a bright blue ground (Khalili Collection, London, MS 725, fol. 67a) to distinguish his presence or foreshortening the figures to emphasize the closeness of the family of the Prophet as he exhorts them before the battle of Badr.

Rašid-al-Din's stipulation of two manuscripts per year placed a heavy burden on the artists, who had to develop ways to speed up production and reduce costs. The Arabic copy (or one like it) served as a model for the two, slightly later Persian copies in Istanbul, but they show less variety: H1653 has more repetitive and flatter compositions, fewer attempts at three-dimensional representation, and a more sparing use of silver. By 717/1317, the date of the other Persian copy in Istanbul (H1654), pressures had increased, creating a backlog: the text is slightly smaller in area, with fewer lines per page (31), and only the first three illustrations were completed before the patron's execution a year later.

The copies of the *Jāmeʿ al-tawārik̲* made for Rašid-al-Din during his lifetime continued to serve as the model for centuries for manuscripts produced under successive Turkish and Mongol dynasties ruling Iran, Central Asia, and India. Interest in the text resurged in the Timurid period, particularly under Šāhroḵ, who ordered his court historian Ḥāfeẓ-e Abru (q.v.) to compile a similar multi-volume universal chronicle entitled *Majmaʿ al-tawārik̲* and to put together a replacement text for a missing part of Rašid-al-Din's history (Soudavar, no. 22). Šāhroḵ's seal on a page with Chinese emperors (Figure 4) shows that to do so, the Timurid historian consulted this very Arabic copy. He probably also consulted the two Persian manuscripts made under Rašid-al-Din patronage (H1653 and H1654), for this was the time when they were re-margined with pinkish paper (Roxburgh 2005, no. 34). To link present with past, Timurid painters imitated the older line-and-wash technique in a deliberately archaistic style that Richard Ettinghausen dubbed "the historical style of Shahrukh" (p. 42; see also Canby).

The Mughal court picked up the Timurids' interest in the *Jāmeʿ al-tawārik̲*, undoubtedly because these conquerors of northern India saw themselves as heirs to the Mongols. The emperor Akbar (q.v.) commissioned a very large (54 x 38 cm) and splendid copy of the first volume on the Turks and Mongols (Tehran, National Library; Marek and Knizbová; detached pages, Brand and Lowry, nos. 2, pp. 35-37), completed according to the colophon on 27 Ramadan 1004/25 May 1596. To make it, his atelier consulted earlier manuscripts of the

text, including the 14th-century manuscript of the first volume in Rampur, some of whose illustrations were overpainted at this time, as well as the original Arabic version of the second volume, which received catchwords and glosses around the paintings and page numbers written at this time. For their new volume, Mughal artists continued to use the rectangular format known from the earlier copies but extended the paintings into the margins, cramming the scenes with utensils, figures, and architectural vignettes executed in typical Mughal style. The precedents established in manuscripts of the *Jāmeʿ al-tavāriḵ* made at Tabriz under the patronage of Rašid-al-Din had therefore a long shelf life, continuing to set the model for manuscripts made over the next three centuries as far away as India.

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