



JOVAYNI, ŞĀĤEB DIVĀN

JOVAYNI, ŞĀĤEB DIVĀN ŠAMS-AL-DIN MOĤAMMAD b. MoĤammad (k. 4 Ša'bān 683/16 October 1284), Persian statesman of the early Il-khanid period and the younger brother of the historian 'Alā'-al-Din 'Aṭā-Malek Jovayni (q.v.). He was known as *şāĥeb(-e) divān* (chief of secretariat, chief financial officer, vizier), a post he held from 1263 until shortly before his death in 1284.

The Jovaynis, a Persian family of professional bureaucrats and men of letters from the region of Jovayn (q.v.) in Khorasan, claimed descent from Fażl b. Rabi', the chamberlain and vizier of the 'Abbasid caliph Hārūn al-Rašid (r. 786-809). They served the Saljuqs and K̄vārazm-šāhs before turning their allegiance to the Mongols. Šams-al-Din's father, Bahā'-al-Din MoĤammad, who originally served Jalāl-al-Din Menguberti K̄vārazmšāh, submitted in 1232-33 to Jentemor (Chin Temür), the Mongol governor (*bāsqāq*) of Khorasan and Māzandarān, and in 1235 became his *şāĥeb(-e) divān*, a post he continued to hold under Jentemor's successors, Gorguz (Körgüz) and Arġun Āqā (q.v.) until his death in 1253-54 (Qazvini, pp. *yĥ-kā*). Ḥamd-Allāh Mostawfi and Nāşer-al-Din Monşi suggest that Šams-al-Din succeeded his father's post (Mostawfi, 1960, p. 586; Nāşer-al-Din Monşi, pp. 103-4) in 1255, but this may be due to the title of *şāĥeb(-e) divān* that both father and son held. According to Rašid-al-Din Fażl-Allāh, in 1263 Hulāgu (Hülegü) Khan appointed the young Šams-al-Din to be his *şāĥeb(-e) divān*, a position he continued to hold almost till his death (Rašid-al-Din, II, p. 735, tr., III, p. 513). His rise to power might have been facilitated by his close relations with Naşir-al-Din Ṭusi, the famous astronomer and Hulāgu's close advisor (Aubin, p. 21) and by his marriage to the daughter



of Arġun Āqā, the Mongol governor of Khorasan (1243-75) and his father's employer (Ebn al-Fowaṭi, p. 468).

As *ṣāḥeb(-e) divān*, Šams al-Din soon acquired enormous influence. He is often praised for shaping a just, flourishing, and efficient administration in Iran, despite the fiscal and anti-Muslim whims of the Il-khans (e.g., see Mostawfi, tr. Ward, 1983, p. 208, 262, 314, 319-20; Nāṣer-al-Din Monši, pp. 102-3; K̄vāndamir, 1974, III, p. 114, tr. III, p. 64; Aubin, p. 24; Rašid-al-Din, II, pp. 1079-80, tr., III, p. 738). He ruled in Tabriz and contributed to the restoration of the economic and religious life of the Il-khanate. He built a bridge in Azarbaijan and a dam near Sāva (Mostawfi, 1915-19, I, pp. 221, 224, II, pp. 213, 216), restored mosques in Iraq (Ebn al-Fowaṭi, p. 276), and urged for the opening of the Hajj routes (Paul, p. 281).

Šams-al-Din was also involved in making military decisions. He advised Abaqa (Abāqā, q.v.) during the latter's preparations for the battle of Herat in 1270 against the Chaghatayids and in its aftermath, and in 1277 commanded an army which took part in Abaqa's campaign into Anatolia, and on his way back he also fought against the tribes of Caucasus (Rašid-al-Din, II, pp. 768-70, tr., pp. 538, 539; Nāṣer-al-Din Monši, p. 103). He is said to have secured Muslim villages and towns from the army's wrath during Abaqa's campaigns in Anatolia, yet his pro-Muslim feelings did not prevent him from advising Abaqa in 1273 to ravage Muslim Bukhara, thereby ensuring that the Chaghatayid princes would not covet it anymore, and, at the same time, settling his personal grudge against the Chaghatayid administrator, Mas'ud Beg (Waṣ-ṣāf, p. 77; Spuler, 1985, pp. 68, 71, tr., pp. 73, 76).

Šams-al-Din also held close connections with the local dynasties subject to the Il-khanids, including the Karts of Herat, the Qara Khitays of Kerman, the Salghurids of Fars, and the Atābaks of Luristan. He sent Il-khanid officials into their realms and, at least in Yazd, he had an agent responsible for the province's restoration (Ja'fari, pp. 111-14; Aubin, p. 23; Lane, pp. 135, 137). Šams-al-Din also staffed the administration with his family, appointing his elder son, Bahā'al-Din Moḥammad, governor of Erāq-e 'Ajam, where he ruled till his untimely death in 1279; another son, Šaraf-al-Din Hārūn, known for his intellectual interests, was entrusted with Anatolia in 1277 (k. 1286; Qazvini, pp. *lā, sā-sb*). His elder brother, the historian 'Alā'al-Din 'Aṭā-Malek, governed Baghdad for about twenty-four years, over which Hulāgu Khan had appointed him in 1259, a year after his capture of the city (Qazvini, pp. *kṭ-lj*). During his time in office Šams al-Din accumulated considerable wealth, mostly in lands,



but also through commercial ventures in Hormuz, in which he and his partner and joint vizier under Abaqa, Suḡonjāq/Sunjāq, made a great deal of profits (Waṣṣāf, p. 56, red. Āyati, pp. 32-33; Rašid-al-Din, II, pp. 775-77, tr., III, pp. 542-44; Aubin, p. 23). His eminent position, however, also gave rise to much jealousy. Šams-al-Din's fall was manipulated by his former protégé Majd-al-Molk Yazdi. In 1277 the latter accused the Jovayni brothers of being in league with the Mamluks of Egypt, but was unable to prove their guilt. In 1280, however, Majd-al-Molk was more successful. This time he blamed the brothers not only in allying with the Mamluks (a charge never confirmed by Mamluk sources), but also with embezzling huge sums from the treasury. Šams-al-Din's brother, 'Āṭā-Malek, was put under arrest and saved from trial only in late 1281 through the intervention of Mongol princes and princesses, but he returned to jail a few months later due to another wave of accusations. Šams-al-Din was saved by Hulāgu's widow, but Abaqa chose to appoint his rival Majd-al-Molk as a joint vizier with him, a nomination that greatly limited his power (Rašid-al-Din, II, pp. 775-57, 786-89; tr., pp. 542-44, 549-51; Waṣṣāf, red. Āyati, pp. 55-56; K̄vāndamir, 1917, pp. 272-92; Boyle, p. 362; Qazvini, pp. *lw ff.*; Browne, III, pp. 22-24).

Abaqa died in early 1282 and a conflict broke out over succession between his son, Arḡun, and Abaqa's younger brother Tegüder (Takudār). Šams-al-Din was among the supporters of Tegüder, who had converted to Islam with the name Aḡmad and was favored as the senior surviving son of Hulāgu Khan (Ebn al-Fowaṭi, p. 417; Šabānkāra'i, p. 264; Waṣṣāf, red. Āyati, pp. 66-70; Spuler, 1985, pp. 77 ff., tr. pp. 82 ff.). Under Aḡmad Tegüder (r. 1282-84), who was chosen as the new Il-khan in May 1282, Šams-al-Din and his brother were cleared of charges brought against them by Majd-al-Molk and returned to favor, while their accuser was put to death (Waṣṣāf, red. Āyati, p. 67; Qazvini, pp. *nz-nḥ*; Spuler, 1985, p. 79, tr., p. 84). Šams-al-Din became the Il-khan's sole leading minister, and might have been involved in Tegüder's attempts to put an end to the Il-khanid-Mamluk rivalry (Bar Hebraeus, Pers. tr., pp. 383-84; Waṣṣāf, red. Āyati, pp. 70-72; Spuler, 1985, pp. 78-79, tr., pp. 83-84); however, the whole idea of Tegüder's rapprochement was questioned by Adel Allouche). Šams-al-Din also managed to rehabilitate his brother, who was reinstated in Baghdad, and to get rid of his own rival Majd-al-Molk, whose terrible end (he was sliced to pieces and ritually cannibalized, Waṣṣāf, p. 108, red. Āyati, p. 67; Qazvini, pp. *nz-nḥ*), however, was later to befall Šams-al-Din himself (Qazvini, pp. *s-sj*; Browne, III, pp. 29-30). Aḡmad's short reign (r. 1282-84), however, was dominated by his worsening relations with his nephew, Arḡun (1284-91), who



coveted the throne. One of Arġun's grievances against his uncle was that his protégés, the Jovayni brothers, had poisoned his father, Abaqa. These charges might have prompted the death of Šams-al-Din's brother, who suffered a stroke in 1283. He was succeeded in Baghdad by Šams-al-Din's son, Hārūn, a nomination that proves that Šams-al-Din had not yet lost favor (Ebn al-Fowaṭi, p. 428; Qazvini, pp. *nt-s*; Spuler, 1985, p. 79, tr., p. 84). When Arġun deposed Aḥmad in summer 1284, however, Šams-al-Din considered escaping to India. Unwilling to desert his family, he was convinced to ask for Arġun's mercy. With the help of Buqā, Arġun's vizier and once a close friend of Šams-al-Din, he was reprieved and reinstated as Buqā's deputy, but when the two soon fell out, Buqā abandoned his colleague and Arġun was free to revive the accusation of financial misappropriation, try, and execute Šams-al-Din (near Ahar in Azarbaijan on 4 Ša'bān 683/16 October 1284). Šams-al-Din wrote a will moments before his execution, dividing his appanage among his sons and portraying himself as dying for the cause of Islam (Rašid-al-Din, II, pp. 808-11, tr., III, pp. 563-65; Šabānkāra'i, p. 266; Waṣṣāf, pp. 141-42, red. Āyati, pp. 82-84; Bar Hebraus, pp. 472-73, Pers. tr., p. 392; Ebn al-Fowaṭi, p. 435 with several variations; Mirkvānd, V, pp. 346-47; Spuler, 1985, pp. 82-83, tr., pp. 87-88; Paul, pp. 282-83).

Šams-al-Din's sons soon shared their father's fate. In 1286, Hārūn, demoted under Arġun to an accounting position in Baghdad's administration, was executed on the charge of administrative disorder. His brothers, some of them still minors, were executed soon afterwards (Ḍa-habi, p. 382; Ebn al-Fowaṭi, p. 219; Faṣiḥ Kṽāfi, III, pp. 354-56; Waṣṣāf, p. 142; Rašid-al-Din, II, p. 811, 820, tr., III, pp. 565, 572, with conflicting details).

Šams-al-Din and his sons Hārūn and Bahā'-al-Din were generous patrons of Islamic literature, art, and science. They were praised by leading contemporary poets, Shaikh Moṣleḥ-al-Din Sa'di, Majd-al-Din Hamgar, and Homām Tabrizi (Sa'di, pp. 907-9, 914, 926, 936-38, 944-45; Browne, III, pp. 121, 153), and many works were dedicated to them (e.g., Dawlatšāh, pp. 105, 106, 166-67, 218; Qazvini, pp. *sd ff.*; Browne, III, p. 29). Šams al-Din left behind several verses (in Persian and Arabic) as well as a few letters (Paul, pp. 277-85; see, e.g., Dawlatšāh, pp. 220-21, 167; Browne, III, pp. 30, 106, 115, 121, 153). His son, Šaraf-al-Din Hārūn, wrote poetry and left a *divān* that has survived in a unique manuscript kept at the British Library (BM OR 3467; Rieu, pp. 166-67; Browne, III, p. 21; Āġā Bozorg Ṭehrāni, 1936-78, IX, p. 1287). He is described as one of the most learned men (*yak-i az afāzel*) of his time, who, in 1272-73,



served as a teacher in the Neẓāmiya College in Baghdad. He was also a talented musician. The celebrated musicologist, Şafi-al-Din Ormavi, trained him in music and was one of his close associates. Ormavi's major work, *Resāla-ye šarafiya*, is named after Hārūn and dedicated to him. He married Rābe'a, the granddaughter of the last 'Abbasid caliph for the dowry of 100,000 dinars (Ebn al-Fowaṭi, pp. 369, 374; K̄vāndamir, 1938, p. 270; Qazvini, pp. *sā-sb*, *sh-sw*; Lane, p. 201). Hārūn was executed in Jomādā II 658/July-August 1286 because of a slander by Faḵr-al-Din Mostawfi (a cousin of the historian Ḥamd-Allāh Mostawfi), and his wife also died the same day (Waṣṣāf, p. 65; Qazvini, pp. *sā-sb*). Šams-al-Din's elder son, Bahā'-al-Din Moḥammad, is mostly famous as an extremely harsh, but very effective, governor (e.g., K̄vāndamir, 1938, pp. 271-72; Waṣṣāf, pp. 64-65, red. Āyati, pp. 34-37; Lane, pp. 197-98).

Šams-al-Din and his family are usually described as Shafi'ites, like their famous forefather, Abu'l-Ma'āli 'Abd-al-Malek Jovayni (q.v.), best known as Emām-al-ḥaramayn (1028-85; see, e.g., Yunini IV, p. 225); but there is also a claim, probably unfounded, that he and his brother were Shi'ites (Āgā Bozorg Tehrāni, 1972, p. 172; idem, 1936-78, IX, p. 1267).

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