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[T]he seizure of this *ordo* with its attached servitors, herds, tents, and equipment was surely reckoned as a substantial loss by the grandchildren of Chinggis Khan.

T. T. Allsen, *Culture and Conquest*, 2001¹

In order to make sense of the influential and outspoken role acquired by some Mongol women in the politics of the empire as seen in previous chapters, it is important to uncover if and how these ladies participated in the imperial economy. However, to write on the economic history of nomadic societies presents a number of challenges marked by the lack of documents generally associated with the economy of empires, such as testaments, commercial treaties, notarial documents, and so on. Not having any of this type of documentation forces us to rely upon those sources we use for writing the more general history of the Mongol Empire and try to isolate from it references to the empire's economy. In the case of women in the empire, the task is even more arduous, since the information regarding their activity is arguably even slimmer than what we have for men. In order to bypass this methodological issue, this chapter mostly focuses on one fundamental element in the life of the Mongol nomads: the *ordo*. Due to the *ordo*'s centrality in the economic life of the Mongol Empire, I believe it is safe to include it among one of the Mongol institutions that helped to articulate an imperial economy in constant transformation.

The word *ordo* has been widely used by Mongolists for decades to refer to the Mongol royal encampment.² The Turkish term appears originally to have referred to the group of tents belonging to the elite cavalry of the khan in the middle of which stood the yurt of the ruler.³ The Persian chroniclers used it when specifying where the king or other member of the royal family was at a certain time.⁴ However, this is not to say that its precise meaning always remained constant; sometimes the sources refer to the *ordo* as a political entity (similar to the itinerant court of medieval European kingdoms) and at other times as a centre of economic and

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military importance.⁵ A clearer definition has been offered by Christopher Atwood, who defined the *ordo* as ‘the great palace-tents and camps of the Mongol princess, princes and emperors, which served as the nucleus of their power’.⁶ Thus, the *ordo* functioned not only as the nucleus of family and social life, but also as a centre of economic activity, with horses, cattle and trade being organised around it.⁷ Probably because they were familiar with this nomadic institution from the Saljuq period, Persian historians were not particularly struck by the *ordos* of the Mongols.⁸ In fact, it seems that *ordos* had been around in Eurasia for a considerable period by the time of the Mongol expansion. Possibly in the same way that they adopted the institution of female regency, the Mongols incorporated the *ordo* from the Liao dynasty, establishing garrisons in Mongolia while they ruled Northern China.⁹

A travelling Taoist monk from Northern China wrote the following description of an *ordo* in his account of his trip to meet Chinggis Khan in the early thirteenth century:

We were soon inside the encampment; and here we left our waggons. On the southern bank of the river were drawn up hundreds and thousands of waggons and tents. ... Ordo is the Mongol for temporary palace, and the palanquins, pavilions and other splendours of this camp would certainly have astonished the Khans of the ancient Huns.¹⁰

This Chinese account confirms the description given by modern historians and not only underlines the spectacular extension of the camp, but also stresses the fact that the dwelling was typical of nomadic empires of the steppes, be they Hun, Khitan or Mongol. In the thirteenth century, William of Rubruck described his encounter with Batu’s encampment in the following terms: ‘When I saw Batu’s orda [*ordo*] I was overcome with fear, for his own houses seemed like a great city stretching out a long way and crowded round on every side by people to a distance of three or four leagues’.¹¹ Similarly, Ibn Battuta observed the mobility of the Mongol *ordos* on his visit to the territories of the Golden Horde in the fourteenth century. He wrote: ‘On reaching the encampment they [the Mongols] took the tents off the waggons and set them upon the ground, for they were very light, and they did the same with mosques and shops’.¹² So, the *ordos* comprised not only the dwellings of the Mongols but also their places of worship and economic exchange.

In Iran, the political and economic power of successive rulers of the Ilkhanate was centred around their *ordos*.¹³ Each member of the royal family, as well as other important persons, had their own *ordo* and this continued in Iran into the fourteenth century under Öljeitü (r. 1304–16).¹⁴

The central role of the *ordos* led to the duplication of agents and officials when local elites interacted in the court. This phenomenon is illustrated by, for example, the multiplicity of *keshigs* in the *ordos* of the Chinggisid family members in the Ilkhanate.¹⁵ But, if the *ordo* caused a certain amount of inconvenience in the political administration of the realm, it also provided a central, yet mobile, institution of economic activity. Progressively, the *ordos* became centres for the accumulation of cattle, commodities and personal wealth. The expansion of the empire led to such enrichment of these camps that, if an *ordo* were appropriated by a candidate to the throne, it could be fundamental in tipping the balance in his favour during a succession dispute.¹⁶

Pivoting around this institution, in this chapter, we initially attempt to identify who among the Mongol women had an *ordo* and to provide an explanation on the structure and function of those *ordos*. Second, we look at how women accumulated wealth in their *ordos* in different periods of the Mongol Empire and how they adapted their economic activity to different moments in the history of the empire. Finally, we focus on how these *ordos* were first passed from woman to woman, and then eventually appropriated by men in fourteenth-century Iran as part of a designed political strategy during the reign of Ghazan Khan. As a whole, this chapter aims to uncover the economic position of Mongol women in the empire, how they accumulated, expanded and transmitted their wealth, and the degree of autonomy they enjoyed in disposing of the resources they had obtained during the empire's expansion.

The Ordo: A Nomadic Institution for Women's Economic Activity

Studies of nomadic societies generally indicate that women were in charge of the household while men were usually committed to hunting and war.¹⁷ As Rossabi has noted, the Mongols were a patrilineal society in which men owned most of the family wealth, which was administered at home by the women.¹⁸ When the Mongols became richer through the accumulation of wealth garnered by conquest, the men were able to marry more women and distribute their property among them to be managed.¹⁹ So, following this pre-imperial custom, the main wives of a ruler or male member of the royal family had their own *ordos* or appanages where property, cattle and people were accumulated and administered by women.²⁰

However, Mongol women were not altogether barred from holding property. Some women did receive property from their husbands (in the form of dowries), ruled their respective *ordos* and used them to fulfil their

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own political agenda.²¹ If the *ordos* of the *khātūns* played a role not only in the economy, but also in the politics of the Mongol Empire, two questions arise. Who had the right to be in charge of an *ordo*? Did all women have *ordos* under their administration? The second question may be easier to answer. Sources clearly state that some women were in attendance in the *ordos* of other women and were never themselves provided with an *ordo* to administer. Consequently, it seems that only nobles and their wives had a camp under their command.²² Regarding the first question, the situation is more complex and seems to have depended on the historical context in which women lived during the different stages of the empire's expansion. All women who were entitled to rule an *ordo* were the chief wives of the rulers or other members of the royal family; the difference resides in how they came to be *khātūns*. Mongol women increased their right to property as they went through the stages of life. Among Altaic societies in general it has been observed that when the woman is not married, her status is low and she is economically dependent on her family because 'her legal personality is of the lower order'.²³ Once she is married, she acquires control over her marriage dowry, increasing her economic status in the family household. Finally, it is when she has borne a son that she is fully entitled to dispose of property and administer not only her personal wealth but that of her minor sons in the event of the death of her husband.²⁴

During the early life of Chinggis Khan – before the empire – the most precious commodities that a pastoral society could accumulate were herds and people. There is not much about the former in the sources; however, herds were attached to people and if one gained control of people then one could obtain the benefits of their cattle. As Allsen has noted, 'the political struggles that accompanied the formation of the Mongol state turned on the control of people and herds, not on land per se'.²⁵ Ever-increasing numbers of people were incorporated into the Mongol family and this resource was at the disposal of Mongol women. While progressively defeating his rival tribes, Chinggis Khan dispatched captives to the appanages of different members of the royal family.²⁶ Although sources differ as to the number of people assigned to Chinggis Khan's mother, she was included in this allocation and she received more subordinates than Chinggis Khan's sons.²⁷ It is interesting to note that some accounts stress the fact that Hö'elün disputed the number of subjects she received and seemed unwilling to share them with her son.²⁸ Chinggis Khan's wife received one thousand people, who served as her personal guards, whilst two other wives of the Mongol emperor received into their *ordos* the people allocated to them.²⁹

When the empire expanded, women increased the amount of people

that came under their command and the structure of the *ordos* became more sophisticated. The massive accumulation of wealth following military expansion meant that by the 1230s, the Mongols had to implement a census to organise 'taxation, military conscription, and the identification of cultural and technical specialists'.³⁰ However, despite this abundance, it seems that only the main wives of a lord or military commander had a share of the wealth in their personal *ordo*. Travellers from sedentary societies that had not been in touch with Altaic pastoral people were impressed by the existence of these female camps and their organisation. In his trip to the court of Güyük (d. 1248), Carpini observed a clear division between the *ordos* of the different women in the camp of a prince: 'When a Tartar has many wives, each one has her own dwelling and her household, and the husband eats and drinks and sleeps one day with one, and the next with another'.³¹ It is specifically mentioned that these *ordos* belonged to a man's wives, whilst concubines or other women in the Mongol household were deprived of a personal *ordo*. Rubruck provides a clearer picture of the construction of these individual queenly *ordos* in the Mongol court, mentioning that 'married women' themselves drive the carts when their dwellings are transported and when they are unloaded from the cart the group of tents that forms their *ordos* are distributed hierarchically from west to east in the encampment, commencing with the chief wife and followed by the others 'according to their ranks'.³² He continues by describing how the Khan spent one night in the *ordo* of one of his wives and on that day 'the court is held there, and the gifts which are presented to the master are placed in the treasury of that wife', thus shedding some light on the distribution of wealth among these ladies.³³ Similar descriptions can be found in the account given by Ibn Battuta on the appanages of Uzbek's wives in the Golden Horde, where women drove their own waggons.³⁴ He introduces the concept of the Khan having four main *khātūns*, who were ordered in a hierarchy similar to that observed by Rubruck, and he confirms the fact that the ruler divided his nights between the various *ordos* of his wives.³⁵ Each *khātūn* had a separate *ordo*, and he relates visiting the ladies separately, each of them having their own properties and subordinates.³⁶

The Persian sources are not very specific regarding the ownership of *ordos* among the descendants of Chinggis Khan. For example, both Rashid al-Din and Banakati note that Ögetei had four great *khātūns*, but only mention the first two: Boraqchin Khatun, who was the eldest wife, and Töregene Khatun.³⁷ There is no mention of the former having her own *ordo*, while the latter clearly had one that allowed her to assume the regency of the empire.³⁸ The difference between these two was that Boraqchin did

not have any sons by the Khan and she was therefore not able to administer her own property. Among the concubines only Erkene, the mother of Ögetei's sixth son Qadam Oghul, is mentioned.³⁹ Interestingly enough, Rashid points out that he was raised in the *ordo* of Chaghatai, while those born of a chief wife (like Güyük) seem to have been raised in their mother's *ordo*. A similar situation occurs in the account of the wives of Chinggis Khan's second son Chaghatai.⁴⁰ Although he had many wives, two of them were more important than the others: Yesülün Khatun and her sister Tögen Khatun.⁴¹ However, the eldest son of Chaghatai (Mochi Yebe) was not born of either of these *khātūns* but from a slave girl. She was 'in the *ordo* of Yesülün' and was assaulted by Chaghatai while his wife was away. The episode not only provides a reference to the existence of Yesülün's *ordo*, but also marks the status of the son born from this illegitimate union. It is mentioned that Chaghatai 'did not hold Mochi-Yebe of much account and gave him fewer troops and less territory'.⁴²

In China, there is little information on the appanages of women in Qubilai's times. According to Marco Polo, Qubilai had four main wives and only their sons had the right to rule. But, more importantly, he mentions that each of them had a court of their own which more than ten thousand people were dependent upon.⁴³ However, some sources do not specify only four, but instead name many wives.⁴⁴ Of these *ordos* mentioned by Marco, only that of Chabui, the wife of Qubilai, is well known and has been noted by scholars.⁴⁵ Therefore, in order to have the right to an *ordo*, women not only needed to be a chief wife or provide a son, but to accomplish both states at the same time.⁴⁶ In the territories of Iran, however, the same formula did not apply. Although Doquz Khatun bore no sons to Hülegü, Rashid al-Din accords her the status of chief wife because 'she was the wife of his father'.⁴⁷ According to Mustawfi, Hülegü had seven chief wives but Doquz is not mentioned among them.⁴⁸ This discrepancy in the sources might be the result of a queen of Iran being improvised because one was required when Hülegü decided to claim these territories for himself, whilst later on Rashid needed to justify the status of this woman.⁴⁹ On the other hand, Mustawfi, writing in the mid-fourteenth century, saw no need to justify the rule of Doquz Khatun, while Rashid al-Din could not question the legitimacy of his patron Ghazan Khan. However, despite not being a chief wife or having a son by Hülegü, Doquz administered an *ordo* that continued to be maintained as a *khātun's ordo* for generations of Ilkhanid women into the fourteenth century.

The example set by Doquz seems to have been followed by other women in the Ilkhanate into the second half of the thirteenth century. Despite only having a daughter and no sons by her first husband (Abaqa)

and having no children by her second husband (Arghun), Bulughan Khatun 'Bozorg' had an *ordo* of her own.⁵⁰ We do not have much information about her daughter beyond the mention of her marriage to Toghan Buqa.⁵¹ So why, under these circumstances, was Bulughan given an *ordo*? There are two possible reasons. First, Rashid says that because Abaqa loved her so much she was placed above two of his other wives to whom he was already married.⁵² It would seem from this that a *khātūn*'s personal appeal could be reason enough to grant her an *ordo*.⁵³ Second, because she could not have a son, she was in charge of raising the Khan's grandchild Ghazan as her own child.⁵⁴ In an interesting quotation, Rashid al-Din claims that Abaqa decided that, since Bulughan was going to act as foster mother to Ghazan, her *ordo* would belong to him when she died.⁵⁵ These two factors might be why Bulughan was granted an *ordo*, which, as we see below, eventually played a key role in the political development of Mongol Iran after her death.

Finally, the last three Ilkhans of Iran, those who embraced Islam, seem to have followed a similar pattern. According to Rashid al-Din, Ghazan Khan had seven wives.⁵⁶ In this account, one specific *ordo* is mentioned, that of Doquz Khatun, which was given to Kokachin Khatun, the lady who was accompanied by Marco Polo on his return from China. She is mentioned in fourth place in Rashid's enumeration of Ghazan's wives. She died soon after her husband's accession and it was at that moment that Ghazan married his seventh wife, Karamü, upon whom he bestowed the *ordo* which had once belonged to Doquz and then to Kokachin.⁵⁷ The lack of accurate data about the death dates for some of these *khātūns* makes it difficult to assess whether there were always four main *khātūns* at any one time. We know that Ghazan had seven wives in all and that two died very soon after Ghazan Khan took the throne, whereupon he married two others. Throughout his reign, it appears there were five main *khātūns* in total, with the possibility of there being four if his first wife Yedi Qurta had died before her husband.⁵⁸ Out of Ghazan's seven wives, only one is mentioned as having an *ordo*. The others may have had their own appanages, but they would not have been as important or prestigious as the one that belonged to Doquz Khatun. Having a son no longer seemed to be a requirement, since Ghazan only had one son from his fifth wife but the boy died in childhood.⁵⁹

The decline in fertility rates among the Mongols in Iran might have had an influence on policies relating to the assignment of *ordos* to women. With a low survival rate among the descendants of the ruling house – not to mention the paucity of male heirs – the requirement to bear a son seems to have been abandoned by the fourteenth century. Upon taking control of

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the realm, both Öljeitü (d. 1316) and then Abu Sa'id (d. 1335) had to readjust the economic balance among the *khātūns*. We are told that, despite having many wives,⁶⁰ Öljeitü conferred the *ordo* of Ghazan Khan's wife Karamü upon his own wife Qutlugh Shah Khatun, even though she apparently bore him no son.⁶¹ Nor was the last Ilkhan of Iran able to produce any male descendants from any of his six wives.⁶²

So, under these particular circumstances, royal women in the Mongol Empire enjoyed, as they did in other medieval nomadic societies, a personal encampment where their property was held. However, it is less evident how these *ordos* functioned internally or what administrative structure they had.⁶³ The descriptions we possess from Christian travellers do not shed much light on those involved in their administration or on the functions of those who were attached to the *khātūns*. Occasionally, one encounters a reference to such individuals but their role within the structure of the camp is not given. We know that cattle were private property and that when a cattle owner joined an *ordo* his herds immediately became attached to that particular camp.⁶⁴ One may imagine, though, that in these circumstances the herdsman still bore personal responsibility for his animals.

Scattered references can be found for the period before 1260, when the empire was still under the direct command of one khan. At this time, women had various amirs in their *ordos* who were charged with carrying out their commands and administering their properties. For example, when Töregene was empress, some of her agents were sent to Khurasan to collect taxes in territories that were under the jurisdiction of the powerful Arghun Aqa.⁶⁵ Other agents were sent to the *ulus* of Batu with the same purpose.⁶⁶ Sorghaghtani Beki also had people to administer her revenues. According to Jean Aubin, at least three of them were also under the command of Arghun Aqa in Khurasan on her behalf and, when Möngke Khan came to the throne in 1251 they were given charge of different regions in Iran.⁶⁷ Finally, in Central Asia, those people in attendance to Orghina Khatun in her *ordo* played an important role in the nomination of her son Mubarak Shah for the throne of the *ulus* on the death of Alghu in 1266.⁶⁸

This presence of 'agents' in the *ordos* of members of the royal family, both men and women, has been noticed by scholars in recent times.⁶⁹ However, evidence of women having individual responsibility for the administration of these entities is scarce. As the empire grew, so did the amount of property and numbers of people in the *ordos* and some sort of central administration was needed. At the top of the administrative structure, the figure of the *amīr ordo* (governor or commander of the camp)

appears several times in the Persian sources.⁷⁰ Their function is not clear, but it seems that as well as taking part in the administration of wealth in the *ordo* they may have been in charge of the soldiers.⁷¹ References to these individuals can be found especially in connection with the women of the Ilkhanate. Among the wives of Hülegü, Öljei Khatun had an *amīr ordo* called Zangi, the son of Naya Noyan. Also mentioned are other amirs with different ranks, such as *amīr tūmen*, who was in charge of a military unit comprising ten thousand soldiers, and a weapons amir with obvious military responsibilities.⁷² Although these two belonged to a male *ordo*, there is no reason to believe that women's camps did not also have amirs with these functions. Qutui Khatun also had an *amīr ordo* by the name of Asiq and he was in command of her properties and dependent soldiers. He was, as was Zangi, fundamental to the political development that promoted Arghun Ilkhan to the throne. Rashid al-Din says that in 1282, just before the coronation of Tegüder Ahmad, the son of Abaqa went to Siyah Koh and 'took over his father's treasury' to prevent his about-to-be-crowned uncle taking control of the royal funds. It was in this context that Asiq ordered that Arghun's *ṣāhib dīvān* be imprisoned, and so he was held in the *ordo* of Tegüder Ahmad.⁷³ Although their specific duties are not described in the sources, the *amīr ordo* seems to have acquired considerable status, accumulating substantial wealth into the fourteenth century.⁷⁴ This is evident in the marriage of Ilkhan Öljeitü to °Adilshah, who is specifically referred to by Kashani as the daughter of Sartaq, the *amīr ordo* of Bulughan Khatun.⁷⁵ This suggests that, if a man was the *amīr ordo* of a *khātūn*, it conferred sufficient status upon him in the Mongol court to permit him to marry his daughter – and thereby connect his family – to the Ilkhan.

Apart from these chief administrators, a *khātūn's ordo* included several other dignitaries, officials and servants. According to Marco Polo, the imperial wives of Qubilai Khan had 'many pages and eunuchs, and a number of other attendants of both sexes; so that each of these ladies has not less than 10,000 persons attached to her court'.⁷⁶ It might be argued that Polo's description only applied to the court of Qubilai, who certainly had access to enough wealth in China to provide his wives with magnificent *ordos*. However, in his visit to the more 'pastoral' territories of the Golden Horde, Ibn Battuta was fascinated with the splendour of the *khātūn* camps. Compared with the Christian travellers who had passed through the region one century earlier, the Maghrebi voyager had greater access to the organisation of the ladies' *ordos*. According to him, each of these ladies was 'accompanied by about fifty girls, ... [and] twenty elderly women riding on horses between the pages and the waggon'.⁷⁷ Furthermore, these *ordos*

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had a military guard of 200 mounted slave-soldiers (Mamluks) and 100 armed infantry at their disposal.⁷⁸ So, despite the differences in numbers, there is some resemblance between these *ordos* and those observed by Marco Polo in China.

Ibn Battuta's account is a bit more generous than others with regard to the details he provides on the administration of women's *ordos*. For example, he observes that, at a reception for visitors, the royal ladies would have an elderly woman on their right side and one younger one on their left. The former is described as an *ūlū khātūn*, which is translated by the traveller as 'lady vizier', while the latter is named a *kujuk khātūn*, a 'lady chamberlain' to the queen.⁷⁹ From such references, it is difficult to derive a clear picture of the duties and functions of these two women; however, the observations of the Moroccan traveller would suggest that these women had some responsibility for the functioning of the female camp, and maybe for some of its property.⁸⁰ There were also male officers. We are told that the emperor's daughter, It Kujujuk, summoned male staff and gave orders to them.⁸¹

It remains a possibility that every wife of a Mongol prince or khan had an *ordo*, but we have not specifically heard about them all. Yet, the available evidence suggests a much more complex situation in which queenly *ordos* can be traced across the Mongol Empire in different periods of its development. The ownership of such an *ordo* was generally reserved for the chief wives of a wealthy man if they had borne him a son, but this pattern could not be followed in all circumstances and exceptions to it occurred when certain conditions obtained, such as the personal favouring of a particular woman or low fertility rates among the ruling Mongols in the conquered territories. All in all, women in the Mongol Empire were centres of substantial economic activity, requiring trained personnel to oversee their operations.⁸² Such personnel seem, by and large, to have eluded the historical accounts, but the presence of the *amīr ordos*, male and female pages and concubines suggests that the *ordos* of the *khātūns* had an internal structure that facilitated their economies.⁸³ Finally, other aspects of the administration of the *ordos* that appear in the sources, such as the administration of justice, banquets, receptions and diplomatic gatherings, surely required specialised people as well.⁸⁴

Women's Economic Activity in the Mongol Empire

Just as *ortaqs* [merchants] come with gold-spun fabric and are confident of making profit on those goods and textiles, military commanders should teach their sons archery, horsemanship, and wrestling well. They should test them in

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these arts and make them audacious and brave to the same degree that *ortaqs* are confident of their own skills.⁸⁵

The *ordos* of the *khātūns* functioned as places where wealth could be stored, administered and used to influence the political life of the Mongol Empire. However, these camps governed by women needed to accumulate a constant flow of resources in order to maintain and ideally increase the wealth of these women. As the Mongol Empire grew, its economy found new opportunities and diversified into different profitable activities. The Mongols went from a mostly pastoral economy with limited trade during the early life of Chinggis Khan to adopting a complex economic system that not only included long-distance trade from China to the Black Sea but also mixed certain characteristics of the nomadic economy with tax systems of some of the sedentary societies they had conquered. The following sections explore how women participated in this complex economy by looking at areas of female economic activity from the time of Chinggis Khan, then following its development into the Ilkhanate. In order to facilitate comprehension of this development, this section is divided into three subsections that explore, first, aspects of the female role in a steppe-based economy during Chinggis Khan's lifetime; second, the united empire from the death of Chinggis Khan to the rule of Möngke Khan (r. 1251–9); and, finally, women's economic role in Ilkhanid Iran. In this final section, special attention is paid to the implementation of a dual system that tried to accommodate a Mongol traditional taxation system alongside the practices they encountered in Iran, resulting in new practices of economic exaction for the *khātūns*.

THE *KHĀTŪNS*' PARTICIPATION IN THE STEPPE ECONOMY: CHINGGIS KHAN AND APPROPRIATION BY CONQUEST

Although recent archaeological work has documented the existence of agricultural practices in the steppe at the time of Chinggis Khan, in pre-imperial Mongolia wealth was based on two basic resources: cattle and people.⁸⁶ As Chinggis Khan was subduing his rivals in the steppe, a process of systematised plunder, characteristic of this early stage, was carried on by his followers and relatives.⁸⁷ In *The Secret History of the Mongols*, this process is shown as being especially vigorous when Temüjin conquered a rival faction. For example, immediately after he had 'crushed and despoiled' the Keraites, the future Chinggis Khan started 'distributing them on all sides', giving to some of his allies a full subgroup of the conquered people.⁸⁸ He also took from his defeated rival his nieces, marrying one of them and

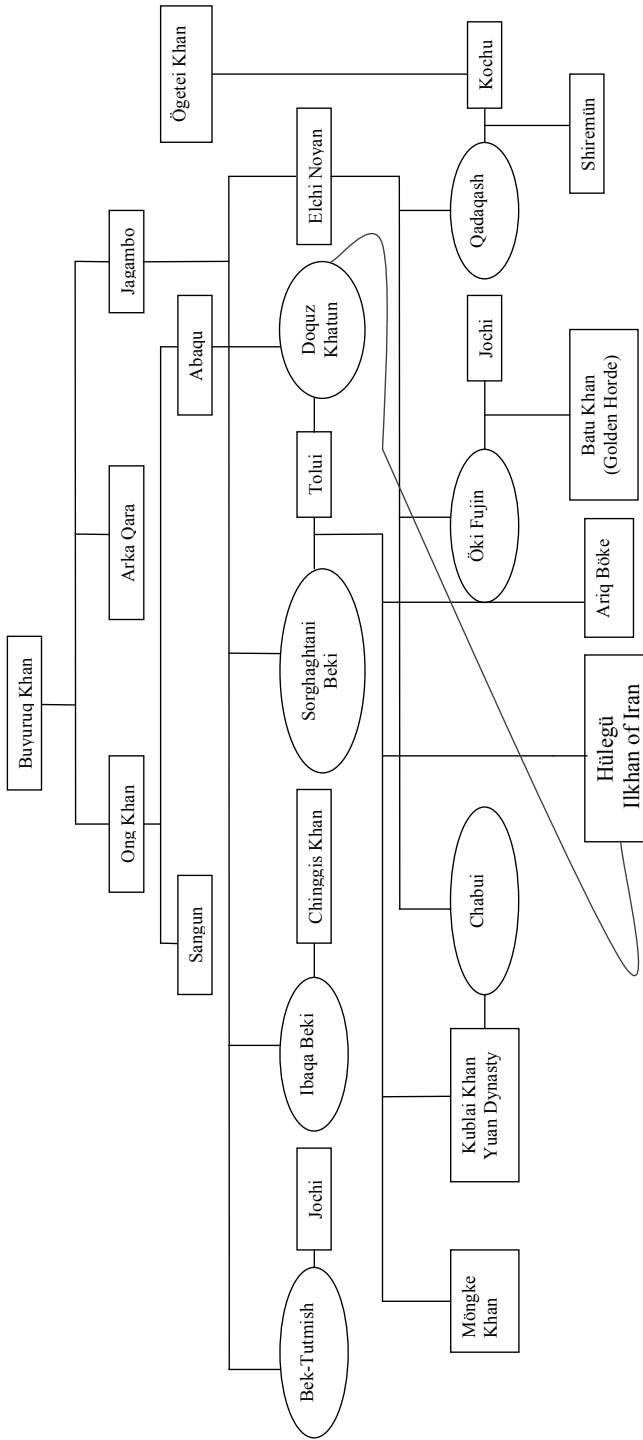


Figure 4.1 The Keraitis and their connection to the Chinggisid family

giving the other to his son Tolui.⁸⁹ He was merciful to the father of the two women and allowed him to keep his subordinates; he put under his control all the resources belonging to him and his daughters. The following chapter in *The Secret History* details the division of the Kerait people and how they were distributed among Chinggis Khan's allies according to their merit in battle and how helpful they had been in the campaign.⁹⁰

In this strategy of plunder and distribution, women participated in the booty and also had a share in it.⁹¹ During this early period, one woman who received a considerable amount of wealth in this manner was Chinggis Khan's mother Hö'elün. She was always a beneficiary in the allocation of people conquered by Chinggis Khan. Sources disagree about her share of the booty, a subject that has generated a certain amount of discussion among scholars. *The Secret History* says that she received 10,000 people, while Rashid al-Din reduces this to 5,000 with another 3,000 going to the youngest son Otegin; these, however, remained within the mother's control, taking her tally to 8,000 people.⁹² Having all these people under their command lent a military capability to members of the royal family, and an economic one too because herds and flocks came with the conquered and were incorporated into the Chinggisid family's *ordos*.⁹³ Numbers of animals are not given in the sources, but it is fair to say that the more people fell under their command, the wealthier they became. Hö'elün always received more people than the rest of the family. Her position as mother of the ruler was the determining factor.

However, she was not the only woman in Chinggis Khan's family to receive people who had been seized in war. His wife Börte had an *ordo* and at least occasionally was the recipient of such people. It is interesting that she is not mentioned in the Chinese, Persian or Mongolian sources when discussing the Khan's distribution of people. However, Rashid al-Din refers to the fate of a Tangut boy who was brought to the royal camp, presumably after a raid against the Hsi-Hsia kingdom.⁹⁴ Chinggis Khan came across the boy (the future Buda Noyan) and was impressed by his intelligence at such a young age. Interesting for us is that, after being in charge of a company of a hundred soldiers, Buda Noyan was promoted to become 'the commander of Börta Fūjin's great ordu'.⁹⁵ The incorporation of people into Börte's *ordo* is not presented in quantitative but in 'qualitative' terms. Apart from Buda Noyan, other generals from different backgrounds from across the Steppe are mentioned as being part of Börte's personal appanage (along with, presumably, their dependants and flocks). People from the Sonit, the Dörbän and the Kerait tribes were assigned to her, confirming that she received a share of the Steppe people who submitted to her husband.⁹⁶ In the same section, other wives (Qulan Khatun) and

some of Chinggis Khan's daughters (Tümälün Khatun and Chächäyigän) are also reported to have been in command of people.⁹⁷ This suggests that, though it may only be Hö'elün who is mentioned in the context of the major distribution of people carried out by the Khan among his male relatives, other women in the royal family also participated in the system of conquest and distribution during the formative period of the empire.

A story concerning another of Chinggis's wives gives us not only further evidence of the existence of ladies' *ordos* and the share *khātūns* had in the revenues produced by the consolidation of the empire, but also some details about what the wealth in their camps consisted of. There is a famous anecdote in *The Secret History* and the *Jami' al-tawarikh* about Chinggis Khan giving away one of his chief wives, the Kerait Ibaqa Beki, to one of his generals. The story differs significantly between the two versions.⁹⁸ In the Persian account, the Khan gave his wife to a commander who was guarding his tent because he had had a dream in which 'God' had told him to put an end to his marriage with this *khātūn*. However, the Mongolian account simply sees this as Chinggis rewarding the commander, General Kehatay Noyan, for suppressing the revolt of Jagambo.⁹⁹ There are certainly correspondences in the two renditions: both sources make similar references to Chinggis Khan's disposal of the *khātūn*'s possessions. According to *The Secret History*, Chinggis Khan told the lady before giving her to her new husband:

Your father Jaqa Gambu [Jagambo] gave you two hundred servants as a dowry; he gave you also the steward Ašiq Temür and the steward Alčiq. Now you are going to the Uru'ut people; go, but give me one hundred out of your servants and the steward Ašiq Temür to remember you.¹⁰⁰

Similarly, Rashid al-Din mentions that Chinggis Khan asked her to leave him 'one cook and the golden goblet from which I drink kumiss', so that he would have 'mementos' of her when she was gone. But, according to this Persian account, 'he gave all the rest, everything in the camp, *ev-oghlan*s, horses, retainers, stores, herds and flocks, to the lady'.¹⁰¹ The story is useful to us for a number of reasons. First, it helps us to have a clearer idea of the kind of property these ladies had at their disposal. Ibaqa Beki had people under her command (at least 200), given by her father; she also possessed horses, slaves and cattle, which would have generated revenue. Second, it is noteworthy that both sources indicate that Chinggis retained part of the *khātūn*'s property before she was sent to her new husband.¹⁰² On the one hand, Chinggis Khan seems to take a share as a sort of 'payment' because he is giving her away; at the same time, a reduction in the amount of property at a woman's disposal might also have been a

way to limit the resources of this lady and her fellow tribesmen in case another rebellion arose among the Keraites.

The expanding wealth of the new Mongol nobility in the early empire meant that women occupied a new role in the economy. As Allsen has noted, 'the Mongols, heretofore a society with limited purchasing power, now suddenly found themselves with vast and unaccustomed wealth, and the ruling strata, the main beneficiaries of the booty and tribute, were prone to an extravagance typical of the *nouveau riche*'.¹⁰³ Objects of luxury had been present in the Steppe before the empire, but consumption rapidly increased as more and more resources found their way into the hands of the *khātūns*.¹⁰⁴ The circulation of fine goods in the Mongol court is illustrated by the following anecdote. When Ögetei gave a poor man a pair of pearls belonging to his wife Möge Khatun in exchange for two melons, people thought the Khan had gone mad. The poor man had no idea of the value of the pearls but the Khan predicted that they would come back to his wife very soon. The man sold the pearls cheaply in the market and their buyer thought that because they were so beautiful they deserved to be given to a queen, so he brought the pearls back to the court and, thus, the Khan's prophecy was fulfilled.¹⁰⁵ The accumulation of such highly elaborate artefacts seems to have increased in the *khātūns'* *ordos* as the empire expanded, eventually reaching the levels of opulence described by Ibn Battuta among the ladies of Berke's *ulus* in the fourteenth century.¹⁰⁶ However, the *khātūns* were not only interested in luxury artefacts. Chinese sources describe the purchase of flour by Mongol women. It was necessary to transport it over a distance of up to 1,150 kilometres, but the *khātūns* had no problems in paying the bill.¹⁰⁷

In order to satisfy increasing demand among Mongol princes and princesses, some kind of structure was needed which would enable trade to flourish and merchants to bring their products safely to their customers.¹⁰⁸ Accounts of the relationship between the Mongols and the merchants in this early period are not very clear. It seems that both parties actively collaborated, that the new empire stimulated and protected trade, and that Mongolia became a new market for Inner Asian traders.¹⁰⁹ An example of the presence of commercial agents from Central Asia before the rise of Chinggis Khan was documented when a Muslim called Hasan was among the campaign against the Keraites.¹¹⁰ According to Juvayni, the Mongol lifestyle and the scarcity of well-established merchants meant that those traders who did reach the camps could expect high profits. Citing the profits made by a particular entrepreneur called Ahmad of Khojend, he highlights the fortunes that it was possible to make by bringing 'gold embroidered fabrics, cottons, *zandanichi* and whatever else they thought suitable' to be sold to the Khan and his family.¹¹¹

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Whilst the khans certainly dealt with merchants, references to women doing the same thing in this early period are not abundant. However, women's capital was represented in the commercial expedition sent by Chinggis Khan to the neighbouring Khwarazmshah kingdom in 1218 (this expedition became the catalyst for the invasion of Central Asia by the Mongols). The Khan gathered the merchants together and 'ordered his sons, daughters, wives, and military commanders to select Muslims from their respective retinues and to supply each with gold and silver ingots (balish) so that they might trade in the land of the Khwārazmshāh'.¹¹² This suggests that even at the time of Chinggis Khan, women were investing in long-distance commerce despite trade still being in its infancy when Chinggis Khan died in 1227. Guards were appointed at the borders of the Mongol domains to secure the unhindered entry of merchants, but this only happened when Chinggis Khan had consolidated his power in the Steppe.¹¹³ Before that, it was mostly through the acquisition of booty that princes and *khātūns* were enriched. In this early period, women's wealth lay in cattle, horses and people, though they did occasionally invest in trading enterprises. With the establishment of a new generation of rulers in 1227 and the incorporation of foreigners into the administration, the economy of the empire expanded and became more sophisticated, and it was this that created the possibility of more varied economic roles for women.

EASY MONEY, SPECULATION AND TRADE: MONGOL WOMEN IN THE UNITED EMPIRE'S MERCANTILE ECONOMY

The accumulation of wealth through the exaction of resources continued after the death of Chinggis Khan, with the *khātūns* continuing to garner riches when the Mongols conquered Northern China and Russia.¹¹⁴ However, this wealth exaction quickly adopted a more 'imperial form' whereby not only cattle and soldiers but also skilled artisans were captured and brought to Mongolia to begin the construction of the imperial city of Qaraqorum at the heart of the Steppe.¹¹⁵ Juvayni comments that the building of the new Mongol capital was an enterprise in which

artisans of every kind were brought from Khitai, and likewise craftsmen from the lands of Islam; and they began to till the ground. And because of Qa'an's great bounty and munificence people turned their faces hitherward from every side, and in a short space of time it became a city.¹¹⁶

The economic relevance of the new Mongol capital can be noticed in the fact that Ögetei abandoned his fief in Eastern Turkestan and moved

towards the new city, where resources could be accumulated easily and economic activity centralised.¹¹⁷

In the two decades following the death of the founder of the empire, new ways of extracting and maximising resources developed as the empire grew. For example, Ögetei Khan expanded the network of relay stations created by Chinggis Khan. It was actually the second emperor of the Mongol Empire who made the financial effort to transform the famous *yam* system from a military function into a commercial enterprise.¹¹⁸ The consolidation of this system of provision posts greatly stimulated merchants, who also benefited from Mongol investment in fixing the roads that connected different parts of the empire.¹¹⁹ The period of Ögetei's reign (r. 1229–41) seems to have been a golden age for trade in the Mongol Empire. Infrastructures, benefits and an easy-spending nobility secured profits for those who ventured into the north-eastern parts of Asia.¹²⁰ However, towards the end of Ögetei's reign some new measures were implemented in order to further benefit from all this commercial activity. Prominent officials such as Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai and Mahmud Yalavach made the first attempts to establish a taxation system in order to regulate and tax trade.¹²¹ In addition, during Töregene Khatun's regency, Yalavach was replaced by °Abd al-Rahman and the commercial strategy of Ögetei's early reign was reinstated. As Allsen puts it, 'the regent was well disposed toward the merchants, who quickly resumed their former position at court. °Abd al-Rahmān, a personal favourite of Töregene, received an imperial seal that gave him administrative as well as fiscal control over north China'.¹²² This transfer of attribution from the empress to her subordinates (including her advisor Fatima Khatun) and her commitment to a system less keen on central taxation and more open to 'free trade' could be interpreted as weakness in Töregene's government.¹²³ But, in her defence, the system considerably benefited her treasury.¹²⁴

If Töregene is presented as the ruler who supported a decentralised administration that favoured the merchants' interests and damaged farmers and sedentary producers, it is Sorghaghtani Beki who is portrayed in the opposite light. It is important to note that Tolui's wife was among the first members of the royal family to enjoy a different type of personal income. The fact that she received territories as revenues in Northern China, which had a sizeable sedentary population, gave her the chance to be among the first Mongol nobles to implement a different economic system than the exaction and pastoral model of her predecessors.¹²⁵ Nonetheless, this attachment to a more centralised and tax-orientated model did not prevent Sorghaghtani from participating in trade activities that might have benefited her *ordo*. During the reign of her brother-in-law

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Ögetei, Sorghaghtani was in charge of not only her personal camp but also the people and revenues of her deceased husband Tolui. She appointed her own representatives in the stations (*tayan yams*) of the *yam* network under the coordination of a man called Alchiqa.¹²⁶ But, the organisation of commerce and the distribution of profit were not as smooth as the sources suggest. As the empire grew, so too did competition between members of the royal family. At stake was the assignment of merchants, who became increasingly sought after as more and more members of the royal family acquired wealth and became involved in trade. Powerful and wealthy women were able to claim particular merchants (*ortags*) even if they belonged to the Khan.¹²⁷ *Khātūns* with less influence at the court had to force ‘people of the provinces’ to give their sons up not only for domestic service but also to become *ortags* in the service of Mongol princesses for a small remuneration.¹²⁸

The involvement of women in trade was not restricted to granting authorisations to merchants. Although references to women are not abundant, some of them sent members of their personal *ordos* on expeditions to seek trade beyond the frontiers of their fiefs. Sorghaghtani Beki, being wealthy and favoured by the Persian sources, received much attention in matters of the economy. Rashid al-Din recalls a particular occasion when she sent a thousand men in a ship to sail northward along the Angara River into deep Siberia.¹²⁹ Three commanders of the lady’s *ordo* were in charge of the expedition, which had the objective of reaching ‘a province near which is a sea of silver’. The group made it and obtained so much silver that they were not able to put it all in the ship.¹³⁰ There are no other descriptions of women ordering expeditions for raw materials in the sources. However, this is not to say that other *khātūns* who had important appanages in this period did not also finance exploration, considering the amount of people and resources they had at their disposal.

It is interesting to see how the same sources dealing with similar topics can change their perceptions depending on the political outlook.¹³¹ Sorghaghtani was praised for the expedition that found so much silver, but, when referring to the regency of Oghul Qaimish, Rashid says that her relationship with merchants was the reason she neglected the empire’s governance. The reference indicates the direct involvement of *khātūns* in the commercial life of the empire, but the regent is described as spending most of her time with shamans (*qams*), which meant that in her reign ‘little was done, however, except for dealings with merchants’, referring to her role as a consumer but probably also to her role as a promoter of trade.¹³² Thus, it appears that during the reign of Güyük and his wife Oghul Qaimish, trade flourished with the Silk Road connecting

the Far East and Europe via the Russian Steppe. Nevertheless, the hugely profitable unregulated trade system supported by Töregene and afterwards by her son and daughter-in-law seems to have clashed with the necessity, by the end of 1240, to have a more centralised economic administration.

Persian sources highlight the fact that by the time Oghul Qaimish left the throne in 1250, the expenditure of the imperial treasury was out of control. Rashid al-Din specifically blames Güyük's wives, sons and relatives for dealing with merchants on 'a still greater scale than during his lifetime' and they did so by writing drafts to the dealers which were backed up by a rapidly contracting imperial treasury.¹³³ Even if the debts owed to the merchants by Oghul's administration were exaggerated by the pro-Toluid Persian sources, its mention is, to use Allsen's words 'significant and symbolic'.¹³⁴ The relationship between the royal family and the merchant community functioned in this period at a personal level, with presumably lax central control over expenditure and the issuing of drafts based on anticipated revenues.¹³⁵ The overissuing of these drafts and the inadequacy of the resources to pay them may have provoked a cycle of speculation and inflation leading to what was seen as a chaotic economic period in the 1240s.¹³⁶ Not without a strong bias, the Persian and pro-Toluid sources present the reign of Möngke Khan as a return to economic stability.

If the period prior to the death of Chinggis Khan was marked by an economic system based on the exaction and distribution of wealth via conquest, the rule of the Ögeteids and the regencies of their women could arguably be seen as a golden age in the expansion of trade across the empire.¹³⁷ The consolidation of the *yam* system led to rapid and lucrative commerce that not only enriched the multinational merchant community of Eurasia, but allowed Mongol women to invest in commercial expeditions, establish commercial enterprises with traders and satisfy their personal desire for luxury products, which in itself helped to stimulate the economy. However, this model depended upon the constant exacting of wealth through military means and complete freedom of action for the *ortaqs*.¹³⁸ During the 1240s, when women ruled, there were no massive military expeditions and no new sources of revenue. By 1250, the model proposed ten years earlier by Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai was reinstated. Möngke Khan assumed control with a new set of advisors who were more in tune with the policies developed by his mother Sorghaghtani in her sedentary dominions in Northern China.

The new Khan implemented a series of measures to better control the imperial treasury, to establish a more settled economy based on taxation, to promote farming and to control the merchants.¹³⁹ This did not mean that

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trade was out of favour or that business with merchants had to stop. On the contrary, Rashid al-Din says that debts owing to traders were paid by Möngke and the flow of entrepreneurs continued in Eurasia. For example, William of Rubruck constantly relied on the advice of merchants of various origins he encountered across Eurasia during his trip to the court of the Khan.¹⁴⁰ In addition, Mongol women dealing with merchants are documented well into the fourteenth century in, for example, the Golden Horde.¹⁴¹ Yet, in the middle of the thirteenth century, a new model was implemented and it aimed to tidy up the imperial accounts and produce a more efficient revenue system which would favour the rulers. In 1251, Möngke Khan and his administrators introduced a 'Mongol taxation system' for the conquered population, which was brought by Hülegü into Iran when he was named Ilkhan in 1260. In the same way that women had their share of the booty in the 'exaction system' and were active in the period of 'free trade' during the unified Mongol Empire, it was expected that they would participate in the new system.

THE *KHĀTŪNS*' ECONOMIC PARTICIPATION IN ILKHANID IRAN: DEALING WITH A SEDENTARY POPULATION

The economic development of the Ilkhanate has generally been described as evolving in two stages, divided by the reign of Ghazan Khan.¹⁴² The economic reforms introduced by him and his vizier Rashid al-Din have been regarded as a turning point in the government of Mongol Iran. New economic policies were introduced which focused on land productivity and new modes of taxation, abandoning the Mongol exaction model of the early empire. However, doubts have been raised as to whether these measures were actually implemented and the degree to which the sedentary Persian population really benefited from them.¹⁴³ The reforms were begun under Möngke Khan (r. 1251–9) and continued by Hülegü when he conquered Iran, as the financial notes left by his advisor Nasir al-Din Tusi suggest.¹⁴⁴ Nonetheless, on top of these reforms, the second conquest of Iran and the further campaigns carried out by the Mongols in the Middle East under the Ilkhans added new opportunities for booty in similar terms to those campaigns of the united empire. In this case, once again women were to be among the beneficiaries of the resources obtained from military campaigns.

Hülegü's military conquest of the Middle East produced enormous booty. Great amounts of gold, silver, horses and slaves were taken with the fall of Baghdad in 1258 and further tributes were received from the caliph when he capitulated.¹⁴⁵ Furthermore, the continuation of the

military campaigns in the Mamluk territories in Syria and Palestine in 1260 yielded substantial riches, some of which were distributed among the family members and some sent back to the court of Möngke in Mongolia.¹⁴⁶ There is evidence that at least part of this booty accumulated during Hülegü's conquests was set aside for the women's personal treasures in their *ordos*. When the first Ilkhan died in 1265, his successor Abaqa informed his widows of his passing. Among these ladies was one of his principal wives (Qutui Khatun), who had been on her way from Mongolia to Iran to meet her husband. When she arrived, Abaqa received her and 'enriched with money and goods' the wife of his father. In addition, a concubine of Hülegü called Arighan was included among the 'items' reserved for the newly arrived Qutui Khatun to become one of her attendants.¹⁴⁷ Her actual role in the court of the Ilkhan is made clear when Rashid al-Din mentions that 'Qutui Khatun's share of booty and plunder had been turned over to her [Arighan]. She had accumulated vast amounts of valuable items and property, so when Qutui Khātūn arrived in the ordu she found it well stocked with all sorts of things'.¹⁴⁸ This story shows firstly that women still had a share in the revenues produced by conquest during the invasion of Iran and after the establishment of the Ilkhanate. Secondly, it underlines once again the difference between the status of wife and concubine among the *khātūns*, since the properties belonged to the chief consort of the Ilkhan while the concubine played a role in accumulating and administering the *khātūn's* revenues.

In addition to a direct accumulation of wealth made by women from the booty obtained in military campaigns, resources were distributed among members of the royal family through other channels. For example, different types of gifts were exchanged among important personalities across the empire, playing an important role in maintaining alliances between factions and territories.¹⁴⁹ Whenever a new Ilkhan ascended the throne, the ladies of the court would receive gifts. Hülegü gave to his sisters, sons and generals immediately after appointing a man in charge of the treasury in Iran.¹⁵⁰ His two immediate successors, Abaqa and Tegüder, also made gifts to the *khātūns* when they took the throne.¹⁵¹ Similarly, Geikhatu and especially Ghazan Khan, whose generosity was remarked upon by Rashid al-Din, gave money to the women on several occasions.¹⁵² It is not easy to be precise about the quantity of riches transferred from the treasury to the ladies' *ordos*. Such gifts generally included money and luxury goods such as goblets, jewels and especially expensive textiles.¹⁵³ In turn, the women bestowed gifts of money on local nobles and religious leaders, contributing in this way to a further distribution of wealth.¹⁵⁴

These personal gifts and presents need to be distinguished from the

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other sources of income which noble women had in Iran. In the Ilkhanate, there was a larger sedentary population than among other regions of the empire such as the Golden Horde or the Chaghataid Khanate. The taxation of Mongol Iran is confusing and has generated a considerable amount of literature. Generally speaking, the Ilkhanate functioned with a dual administration system which maintained the existing Islamic-Persian system and incorporated mainly three new fiscal measures of Mongol origin.¹⁵⁵ The difference in the Mongol taxation system appears to rest on the fact that it was irregular in its timetable and based on the census to determine the amounts to be paid. On the other hand, the Islamic-Persian system was based on land productivity. This difference between the two systems allowed for their coexistence, but also doubled the financial pressure on the conquered population.¹⁵⁶

Three new taxes were introduced by the Mongols with the clear purpose of generating income for the royal family. The first was called the *qubchur*, which, according to Juvayni, was introduced in Iran as part of the reforms carried out by Möngke in the early 1250s.¹⁵⁷ It seems to have been a tax of nomadic origin designed to exact cattle and soldiers; subsequently, it was transformed into a poll tax to adapt to the sedentary subjects of Iran.¹⁵⁸ The second tax is generally referred to as the *qalān* in Persian sources, but not much is known about it; it is presumed to be a generic term referring to a group of nomadic exaction taxes which were adapted to the financial needs of the conquerors.¹⁵⁹ Finally, there was a tax called the *tamghā*, which is agreed to have been a tax on trade and commercial transactions, which, as we will see below, continued to play an important role in the Ilkhanate. In turn, the fiscal burden over the local population became too high, meaning that this dual taxation system could not be maintained for long. The deteriorating economy in the second half of the thirteenth century, together with the progressive incorporation of local administrators into the court, were the driving forces behind the important economic reforms carried out by Ghazan Khan at the end of the thirteenth and the beginning of the fourteenth centuries.

The taxation system helped the Ilkhanate to accumulate resources that were distributed, as we have seen, among the influential Mongol women of Iran. In addition, noble women participated more directly in the Ilkhanate economy through 'estate taxes' which were divided between those lands under the supervision of the *dīvān* and those which were the direct property of the royal family (*khāṣṣa* and *injū*).¹⁶⁰ The former was land confiscated by the Mongols from the conquered Persian nobility, and its revenues were used for the maintenance of the Khan, the *khātūns*, the offspring of the royal family and members of the *ordos*.¹⁶¹ Interestingly,

the Mongol concept of the *ordo* is similar to the *injü*, which includes produce from a particular piece of land, revenues from taxes (both Persian and Mongol) and people who inhabit the place.¹⁶² Consequently, when we find references in the sources to Mongol women in Iran being allocated land to hold in usufruct, we should not understand that they governed such land, but that they enjoyed its productivity.¹⁶³

In Iran, the practice of allotting land to women took place from the very beginning. Abaqa distributed the resources of sedentary populations among the *khātūns*, giving

a portion of Mayyafariqin [in Syria] to Qutui Khatun, part of Diyarbekir and the province of Jazīra [Iraq] to Oljāi Khatun, Salmas [north-western Iran] to Jumghur's wife Tolun Khatun and his sons Jūshkab and Kingshū. He also gave some territories to his sons and concubines.¹⁶⁴

However, from the end of Abaqa's reign, it appears that the allocation of estate taxes for *khātūns'* *ordos* was replaced by a system whereby the allocated region had to pay a fixed tax that a women's servant collected from the assigned territories.¹⁶⁵ According to Rashid al-Din, funds were squandered and corruption among the servants of the ladies and the governors of the provinces led to an ever-increasing loss of revenue, culminating in the financial chaos of Geikhatu's reign (r. 1291–5). This situation prepared the way for the Persian vizier to justify the reforms of his patron Ghazan Khan when he assumed control of the realm. It is said that trials were held to punish corrupt servants and provincial deputies, whilst the administration of the ladies' *ordos* was reformed, which included restricting their autonomy. Despite the corruption and possible impoverishment of the *khātūns'* *ordos* during this period of financial chaos, women retained control over property, attested to by the fact that Ghazan Khan gained the support of many women's *injūs* to finance his claim to the throne in 1294–5.¹⁶⁶ Further, women having land revenues under their command seems to have persisted up to the reign of Abu Sa'id (r. 1317–35). When speaking of Baghdad Khatun, Ibn Battuta mentions that 'each *khātūn* possesses several towns and districts and vast revenues, and when she travels with the sultan she has her own separate camp'.¹⁶⁷

Finally, it is worth mentioning that in the Ilkhanate trade continued to be a pivotal part of the Mongol economy, even acquiring a global dimension, as it was strategically located on the trade routes that connected Europe, India and the Far East.¹⁶⁸ Opening trade routes had been a clear policy from the time of Möngke and this remained so under Hülegü.¹⁶⁹ The immense booty gained by the conquest of Alamut and the sacking of Baghdad might have acted like a magnet, drawing merchants to the

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Ilkhanate. Rashid al-Din laments the fact that once Ghazan had come to the throne, ‘the treasures Hülegü Khan had brought from Baghdad, the infidels’ territories, and other places ... had been stolen by the guards over time, and bars of gold and jewels were being sold to merchants’.¹⁷⁰ The Mongol rulers’ interest in keeping commerce flowing in Iran can be seen from the very beginning. When Hülegü occupied Baghdad after defeating the last Abbasid caliph, he sent two of his commanders to begin the reconstruction of the city. The Ilkhan commanded that, once the dead had been buried, the markets of the city were to be restored as quickly as possible.¹⁷¹ There are other examples of this determination to restore trade after military conflict. During Ghazan Khan’s campaign to repel the Golden Horde’s incursion into Azerbaijan, the area was ‘obliterated’, according to Rashid al-Din, but the merchants returned to the region of Tabriz to continue trading.¹⁷²

In the first period of the Ilkhanate, Mongol women in Iran appear to have managed to maintain their lifestyle with the revenues produced in their *ordos*. With booty, land revenues and gifts pouring in from the Khan and the amirs, the *khātūns* seem to have been well provided for. In this period of plenty, Rashid al-Din notes, merchants were a common feature in female camps, where they moved goods to benefit the *khātūns* and were depositaries of the ladies’ revenues.¹⁷³ Marco Polo observed that Mongol women were constantly involved in trading activities, selling and buying all that they and their dependants needed.¹⁷⁴ These women, who belonged to the highest strata of the Ilkhanid nobility, shared their

connexion with the great commercial companies and with big wholesale and transit trade. They invested a part of their income in the companies of the great wholesale merchants, called usually *urtaq* (*ortaq*) ... who returned the feudal lords [or ladies] their share of the profit in goods, mostly textiles.¹⁷⁵

However, the growing dependence of the nobility upon the merchant community led to corruption and financial speculation, and the manipulation of the currency to the benefit of the merchants themselves, which inevitably led to the draining of treasuries and to economic instability.¹⁷⁶

One of the areas where trade became especially profitable in the Ilkhanate was the Persian Gulf and the provinces of southern Iran that connected the Arabian Peninsula, the Levant and India.¹⁷⁷ These regions were ruled in the first half of the Ilkhanate by different women of the Salghurid and Qutlughkhanid dynasties. The Salghurids, an autonomous entity under Mongol rule, controlled the Persian Gulf and the revenues from trade in that region.¹⁷⁸ As we have seen, Abesh Khatun, the ruler of Fars, struggled to impose her authority and to protect the treasuries of the

province against the ever more controlling central Mongol court. After her death, Rashid al-Din says, the dynasty ceased to have any real control over the region. He mentions that, 'although the office of malik of Shiraz is now performed by *ortags* and merchants, the drums are still beaten at the gates of the atabegs' palace and the Great Dīvān is still held there'.¹⁷⁹ However, by the fourteenth century, Hormuz, according to Shabankara'i, was under the control of a woman called Bibi Maryam, who also controlled the Gulf and the lucrative trade of the area.¹⁸⁰

To summarise, female economic activity in the Ilkhanate went through different phases. Initially, women continued to benefit from the distribution of wealth carried out by the rulers, with the resources coming from the conquest of Iran and the appropriation of the treasuries of the caliph and Alamut. Much of this came in the form of presents, which helped to maintain the always unstable political alliances of the Mongol *ulus*, whilst at the same time enabling these women to create demands that dynamised the economy. Gradually, the sedentary nature of larger parts of Iran and Möngke's new approach to the land made way for women to be allocated a share of the dual taxation system, especially in taxes from those lands confiscated from the Persian nobles who had not joined the Mongols as they advanced westwards into the Middle East. The constant interest of the Mongol nobility in trade and commercial exchange allowed women to invest at least part of their income with the merchants of their camps in order to finance the increasing demands of their lifestyle. This encouraged speculation and corruption, which the Ilkhans tried to counteract by the imposition of taxes on the sedentary population of the provinces, particularly in southern Iran. This culminated with the reforms of Ghazan Khan and his vizier Rashid al-Din, who sought to put an end to uncontrolled exaction.

The Economic Autonomy of Mongol Women in the Ilkhanate: From Transmission to Appropriation of Wealth

Despite the risk of being oversimplistic, the period of Mongol domination in Iran can be divided into two different scenarios for methodological purposes. The first corresponds to a period when, despite Tegüder Ahmad's short reign, there was continuity in the line of succession from Hülegü (d. 1265) through the descendants of Abaqa (d. 1282), his son Arghun (d. 1291) and then Geikhatu (d. 1295). The second period begins with the struggle for power between Baidu (d. 1295) and Ghazan Khan (r. 1295–1304), and the latter's conversion to Islam. These two periods influenced in different ways the transmission practices of female properties, conditioning their economic autonomy and modifying the way in

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which property had passed from woman to woman in previous periods. Despite influential women having a say over who the new recipient of an *ordo* should be, it needs to be stressed that the sources clearly mention that the allocation of women's *ordos* after a *khātūn*'s death always rested with the male ruler of Iran or male members of the royal family. So, even if the administration of resources belonged to women, the ownership of the *ordos* remained a masculine monopoly. In this section, we are mostly concerned with exploring how the custom of men controlling the passage of property from woman to woman became a direct appropriation of the *khātūns*' property by men, thus betraying the tradition of women's administration of these resources.

THE TRANSMISSION OF THE *KHĀTŪNS*' PROPERTY IN IRAN BEFORE GHAZAN'S REFORMS

Although information regarding the transmission practices of *khātūns*' *ordos* is generally incomplete for most regions of the Mongol Empire, in the case of the Ilkhanate it is fairly abundant. This might be due to the direct involvement of Rashid al-Din in the reforms carried out by Ghazan Khan. The need for the Persian vizier to account for women's property in order to reconstitute the Ilkhanate economy might have been the reason for the detailed information his account generally provides about these women. The considerable accumulation of wealth from looting, trade and confiscation by the Mongols in the early Ilkhanid period might have created a surplus which led to the economic autonomy of the *khātūns*' *ordos*.

References to the transmission of property among Hülegü's wives start to emerge at the time of his death in 1265. It is at this moment that his son and heir Abaqa began to redistribute female properties among the women in his family. Hülegü had distributed the *ordos* of his wives to different parts of the empire when he had conquered Iran. Among them was one of his major wives, Güyük Khatun, who died in Mongolia before the departure of her husband to the west.¹⁸¹ According to Banakati, her camp was given to a certain woman called Arzani, about whom we have no further information.¹⁸² However, Rashid al-Din clearly mentions that when Güyük Khatun died, Hülegü married Qutui Khatun and gave her the *ordo* of the deceased khatun.¹⁸³ Qutui brought with her the *ordo* of Güyük Khatun to Iran and united it with the properties that were kept aside for her in the Ilkhanate until her arrival.

The *ordos* of Hülegü's other wives remained in their hands while they were alive. This was so with the properties of Öljei Khatun, who was the

sister of Güyük Khatun by another mother.¹⁸⁴ Because she lived longer than her husband, Abaqa married her and kept her *ordo* intact.¹⁸⁵ As we have seen, she used her prestige and economic autonomy in the political struggles of the Ilkhanate by supporting Arghun against Tegüder Ahmad and hosting her daughter-in-law Abesh Khatun at her *ordo*. In general, if the wife of the father was still alive, the Mongols in this period married these women to ensure that their property and people would be on their side in the event of a conflict. Yet some complicated cases appear, for example with the *ordo* of Doquz Khatun (d. 1265), who died shortly after her husband Hülegü and had no children. This meant that her properties were left without a head, posing a challenge to successive Ilkhans on how to deal with the wealth and people of this lady. The fact that she is not mentioned among the official wives of Hülegü has raised further suspicion over her possible role in securing legitimacy for the Ilkhanate and the Hülegüid line of succession.¹⁸⁶ Possibly this role as legitimiser of a line of succession helps to explain the fact that the transmission of her *ordo* is the only one that can clearly be traced into the fourteenth century as being held exclusively by women, even beyond the economic reforms carried out by Ghazan Khan.

When Doquz died in 1265 Abaqa married Tuqtani Khatun, a former concubine of his father's, in order to promote her to principal *khātūn* and put her in charge of Doquz's *ordo*.¹⁸⁷ So now the *ordo* was not only still under the authority of a woman, but a woman of the same tribal origin and Christian faith as Doquz Khatun. Arguably, this move might have helped Abaqa maintain the alliances forged by his father with that community.¹⁸⁸ Tuqtani died on 21 February 1292 (on the last day of Safar 691) during the reign of Geikhatu. However, as a sign of times to come, the new receiver of the *ordo* was not married by the present Khan of Iran but by his nephew Ghazan. Doquz Khatun's *ordo* was then given to Kokachin Khatun, a lady from the family of Bulughan Khatun 'Bozorg' who became famous among historians for being the lady that travelled from China with Marco Polo on the Venetian merchant's return to Europe.¹⁸⁹ It is noteworthy to mention that the incorporation of this *khātūn*'s *ordo* into Ghazan's sphere of influence occurred only a few years before he ascended the throne, just in time for the contingent of people belonging to this camp and the legitimacy that came with it to help Ghazan in his struggle against Baidu. See Figure 4.2 for some more examples of the transmission of *khātūns'* *ordos*.

Kokachin Khatun died only four years after arriving in Iran in 1296, when her husband Ghazan had already been crowned ruler of the Ilkhanate and converted to Islam. Unlike with other *khātūns'* *ordos*

in this later period, Ghazan decided to place a woman in charge of it after his wife's death, keeping this set of properties under the control of women. He gave the camp to a woman called Karamun after marrying her in 1299 and receiving a sizeable dowry.¹⁹⁰ Not much is known about this woman beyond the fact that she was the daughter of Abatay Noyan and the cousin of Bulughan Khatun 'Mo^cazzama', the wife of Arghun and Ghazan.¹⁹¹ She passed away on 21 January 1304 (12 Jumada II 703). According to Rashid al-Din, Ghazan was deeply affected by her death and her body was carried to Tabriz to be buried. After that, 'he [Ghazan] went into her ordu and wept much. He ordered that whatever arrangements and ceremony she deserved should be carried out. After her coffin was taken away, tears welled up in his imperial eyes every time he thought of her'.¹⁹² The *ordo*, however, was not left empty and when Öljeitü was crowned later that year he placed his new wife Qutlughshah Khatun in charge of it.¹⁹³

There are two interesting elements here. First, it seems that the *ordo* originally belonging to Doquz Khatun had a certain symbolic value, possibly functioning as a source of legitimacy for the Mongol rulers of Iran. Further, although Rashid al-Din finished his chronicle in the reign of Ghazan, he includes in his account the fact that the *ordo* belonged to a wife of Öljeitü, a singularity that does not appear in relation to other *ordos*.¹⁹⁴ Second, looking at the receiver of the *ordo*, another interesting element emerges. Qutlughshah Khatun was the daughter of Amir Irinjin, a powerful amir who had rebelled against Abu Sa^cid in 1319.¹⁹⁵ Amir Irinjin, according to some sources, was not only a relative of Doquz Khatun, but also a Christian.¹⁹⁶ Therefore, the transmission of this *ordo* into this Christian family and its maintenance into the fourteenth century might suggest a possible connection between it and the Christian community of the Ilkhanate, an association originally used by Hülegü and Abaqa almost sixty years previous.

Some women in charge of *ordos* were replaced by other women when they died. However, a number of ladies' *ordos* seem to have been created from scratch by rulers at the time of their enthronement. Yesünjin, Abaqa's mother, was one of Hülegü's secondary wives and belonged to the Suldus people in attendance at the *ordo* of the above-mentioned Güyük Khatun.¹⁹⁷ When she came to Iran with Qutui Khatun, Abaqa's mother was given an *ordo* and her status was upgraded to 'Mother of the Khan'.¹⁹⁸ Her camp is interesting because, after her death in 1272, it passed to Padshah Khatun, a Muslim non-Mongol woman who became the first 'native' Turco-Iranian to become a *khātūn* and official wife of a Mongol Ilkhan.¹⁹⁹ Her status was upgraded from secondary wife to Khatun after her arrival in Iran. This

also suggests that Yesünjin's *ordo* was newly created, since she had been in the Güyük *ordo*, which she did not inherit because it passed to Qutui, who was still alive and administering the camp.²⁰⁰ In the case of Abaqa's wives, the first woman he married. We do not know much about her, but, after her death, Abaqa replaced her with a Tatar woman called Nuqdan, who eventually mothered Geikhatu Ilkhan.²⁰¹ Nuqdan died and Abaqa put in her place El-Tuzmish Khatun, a woman of the Qonqirat people, related to the Chaghataids through her mother.²⁰² Despite not having a clear sense of its origin, this *ordo*'s importance resides in the fact that it belonged to the chief wife of Abaqa. In addition, El-Tuzmish Khatun married three successive Mongol Ilkhans, which might be an indication of the symbolic and economic value that holding this encampment provided to this lady.²⁰³ Further, this *ordo* continued functioning into the early fourteenth century under the reign of Ghazan Khan, when we find descriptions of the *khātūn* travelling around Iran, guarding Mongol princes in her camp and giving banquets for the Khan and the ladies of the court.²⁰⁴ Similarly, the *ordo* of Martai Khatun, Abaqa's second wife, seems to have been of a new type. Martai was of a prestigious lineage since she (and her well-known brother Musa) were grandchildren of Chinggis Khan by his daughter Tümlün.²⁰⁵ She lived into the reign of Arghun and was replaced by Tödai Khatun, a former wife (or possibly originally a concubine) of Abaqa who played an important role in the struggle between Arghun and Tegüder Ahmad.²⁰⁶ This last woman (Tödai) only became a *khātūn* after Arghun placed her in charge of Martai's *ordo* in about 1287, and she continued to hold it at least until 1295 when her camp was the setting for a peace treaty.²⁰⁷ Interestingly, Tegüder Ahmad was incapable of taking any women from his father Hülegü and only one from his brother Jumghur.²⁰⁸ In fact, when he tried to claim Tödai after the death of Abaqa, he was firmly opposed by Arghun. This lady became a major conflict between Arghun and Tegüder Ahmad during the civil war that confronted these two Ilkhans. Eventually, Arghun married Tödai only after Ahmad's death, making her a *khātūn* and providing her with an *ordo* and the economic autonomy to influence the political life of the Ilkhanate. Tegüder Ahmad's attempts to seize these properties, and Arghun's resistance to them, suggest that the patrimony initially secured by Abaqa by marrying his father's wives helped to secure, through Mongol patrilineality, the legitimacy and economic strength of Abaqa's descendants. This conflict for a woman's *ordo* is an indication of the economic background to the political struggle for succession in the Ilkhanate between the traditional elective system of rulers and the lineal descent from Hülegü that would ultimately be imposed.

Finally, there is one *ordo* that illustrates the transition from this early period to the reforms carried out by Ghazan Khan. Bulughan Khatun ‘Bozorg’ was a woman of the Baya’ut people who first married Abaqa and, like Dorji and Martai, received an *ordo* for herself. However, ‘because he [Abaqa] loved her very much, he seated her above Martai and Tāspina (Despina) Khātūn’.²⁰⁹ She bore only a daughter by Abaqa and when he died Arghun married her and the rest of Abaqa’s wives.²¹⁰ Her *ordo* was instrumental in Arghun’s escape when Tegüder Ahmad imprisoned him for rebellion.²¹¹ When Bulughan died in 1286 her body was taken to Shujas near the city of Sultaniya where, presumably, Arghun was buried later on.²¹² Following the usual pattern when the holder of a *khātūn*’s *ordo* had died, Arghun married another woman called Bulughan Khatun (‘Mo^oazzama’) from the Eljigin branch of the Qonqirat people.²¹³ We will further explore the singularity of this *ordo* in relation to Ghazan Khan’s rise to power in the next section, but would like to stress at this point that the *ordo* of the ‘Bulughan ladies’ was a new allocation of properties created by Abaqa Khan, maintained thereafter by Arghun and then by Geikhatu and Ghazan into the early fourteenth century.²¹⁴

In this period, the *khātūns*’ *ordos* that had originally been created in Mongolia were maintained and the new ones were created by the Ilkhans of Iran. The allocation to women of property from different sources and its storage in their *ordos* certainly provided women of the noble strata with an important degree of economic autonomy. Their role in the political development of the Ilkhanate is illustrated by the importance of female camps in promoting diplomatic encounters, protecting fugitives and even planning rescue missions. Furthermore, the attention that Mongol male rulers paid to securing the passing on of these *ordos* as integral units might have encouraged the growth of wealth in these camps. So, two elements, namely the increasing value of the ladies’ *ordos* and the increasing involvement of women in politics, appear to have made these camps economic and political bases that might sometimes have held the balance of power when there was disagreement over the election of a new ruler of the Ilkhanate.²¹⁵ In relation to this, when the Ilkhanate suffered a deep economic crisis after the reign of Geikhatu (1291–5), it is not surprising that Ghazan, with the help and possible influence of local administrators, decided to implement a series of economic reforms across his territories. Women’s *ordos* were of primary importance in these reforms and, as we see below, the limitation and appropriation of the *khātūns*’ property and autonomy was one of the targets.

Ordo Number	First known owner	Assigner	Receiver of the <i>ordo</i>	Assigner	Receiver of the <i>ordo</i>	Assigner	Receiver of the <i>ordo</i>	Assigner	Receiver of the <i>ordo</i>
1	Doquz Khatun	Abaqa Ilkhan	Tuqtani Khatun	Geikhatu or Ghazan Ilkhan	Kokachin Khatun	Ghazan Ilkhan	Karamu Khatun	Öljeitü Ilkhan	Qutlughshah
2	Güyük Khatun	Abaqa Ilkhan	Qutui Khatun	Appropriated by Arghun after the succession struggle with Ahmad Tegüder.					
3	Yesünjin Khatun	Abaqa Ilkhan	Padshah Khatun	No track of the <i>ordo</i> after her death. Possibly appropriated during Ghazan Kahn's reign.					
4	Doji Khatun	Abaqa Ilkhan	Nuqdan Khatun	Abaqa Ilkhan	El-Tuzmish Khatun (survived into the 14th century)				
5	Martai Khatun	Arghun Ilkhan	Tö dai Khatun	(Disputed by Ahmad Tegüder). Ordo kept by Ghazan?					
6	Bulughan Khatun Bozorg	Arghun Ilkhan	Bulughan Khatun 'Mo'azzama' (Disputed by Geikhatu Ilkhan). Finally appropriated by Ghazan Ilkhan during the civil war against Baidu.						

Figure 4.2 The evolution of the *khatūns'* *ordos* in Ilkhanid Iran

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THE APPROPRIATION OF LADIES' WEALTH: GHAZAN KHAN'S RISE TO POWER AND ECONOMIC REFORMS

Most of what we know regarding women's *ordos* and their economic activity is provided by Rashid al-Din, who, writing in the reign of Ghazan Khan, had a personal interest in underlining the role that these camps played in the economy of the Ilkhanate. Since he was responsible for designing and implementing the economic reforms of his patron, some information provided in his chronicle appears to be an attempt to justify some of Ghazan's actions when he was on the path to becoming Ilkhan.²¹⁶ Among these is the claim that the *ordo* of Bulughan Khatun 'Bozorg' was in reality given to Ghazan by his grandfather Abaqa.²¹⁷ According to Rashid al-Din, this happened at the same time that the young Ghazan was entrusted to Bulughan for his education and the lady kept the *ordo* and the future Ilkhan Ghazan throughout Tegüder Ahmad's reign (1282–4).²¹⁸ Abaqa died in 1282 and Bulughan married Arghun by the levirate system. The relevance of this *ordo* can be seen in the fact that, when the Persian vizier describes Bulughan's death in 1286, he offers an unusual description of the property held in the *ordo*.

When he [Arghun] inventoried the storehouse of the deceased Bulughan Khatun, he took a few items of clothing and gold and silver utensils for himself. As for the rest, he said, 'These stores, yurt, and *ordu* belong to Ghazan by order of Abaqa Khan. They are to be sealed.' Those who had seen the storehouse reported that no one had ever possessed its like, for there were more jewels, utensils, and precious pearls therein than could be described. The reason for this is that, because Abaqa Khan loved Bulughan Khatun excessively, every time he went into the treasury he picked up a precious jewel and gave it to her in secret. When the treasurers pilfered things after Bulughan Khatun's death, Ghazan found out about it and was constantly asking for an investigation, but the treasury remained sealed.²¹⁹

Rashid al-Din insists several times that when Bulughan Khatun 'Bozorg' died her *ordo* should be given to Ghazan Khan, and he suggests that this particular *ordo* included extensive properties, wealth and presumably people. Consequently, although Arghun married another woman of the same name (Bulughan 'Mo^oazzama') immediately after Bulughan 'Bozorg' had died, the property was not transferred to the new wife, but allegedly its treasures were sealed, reserved for Ghazan Khan and stored in Khurasan.²²⁰ If this was the case, the practice of replacing the female head of an *ordo* with another woman was flouted and, though the new wife was made a *khātūn*, she received none of the riches. In the narrative, this anomaly is somehow justified by claiming that these properties

were treated differently because Abaqa foresaw in his grandson Ghazan a glorious fate as a ruler of Iran. Yet, when one looks at the rise of Ghazan Khan, other elements emerge that might explain not only Rashid's narrative about this camp but also the story itself as a means of justifying some of the economic reforms designed by the vizier.

When Geikhatu took control of the realm in 1291, he hurried to seize control of his father's female *ordos*, just as his predecessors had done before him. He married Padshah Khatun and El-Tuzmish Khatun from his father's appanage, but also took two wives from his brother and predecessor Arghun Khan. One was the Christian Öriüg Khatun and the second one was Bulughan 'Mo^oazzama'. As we have seen, the first two held important *ordos* belonging previously to the mother of Abaqa and to Doquz Khatun respectively, which lent extra legitimacy to his claim to the throne. While the acquisition of these two camps seems to have been straightforward, the matter of Bulughan Mo^oazzama's *ordo* led to friction between the Ilkhan and his nephew Ghazan Khan. A son marrying his dead father's wives – and taking control of their *ordos* – was not a matter of great conflict among the Mongols of Iran. However, when a new ruler claimed the wives of his brothers and predecessors, the transmission of property from woman to woman may have threatened to undermine the financial basis of any future claim of those sons to the throne. Hence, the above-mentioned dispute between Tegüder and Arghun over Abaqa's wife Todai Khatun was to be repeated between Geikhatu and Ghazan over Bulughan 'Mo^oazzama'.

Geikhatu hurried to marry the disputed lady in July/August 1292 (Sha^oban 691), which must have seemed like a setback for Ghazan Khan's aspirations to the throne.²²¹ It is suggested in the account that Geikhatu's underlying strategy was to incorporate this *ordo* into his own appanage and for that reason he 'refused to let Ghazan go to her'. Immediately, Ghazan went back to Khurasan, ensuring in this way that his uncle did not claim the properties of Bulughan 'Bozorg' left in that region.²²² However, in the narrative, Rashid al-Din tries to portray Geikhatu's actions as illegitimate and contrary to his father's (Abaqa's) will. This impression is given when it is said that the marriage between Geikhatu and Bulughan took place 'against her will', indicative of the new Ilkhan's wrongdoing. By contrast, Ghazan is praised for his patience in bearing his lot and waiting until the time comes to consummate his marriage to his father's wife.²²³ This last statement, however, seems counterfactual. Rashid, writing a few years after the event, knew the outcome of the story. Instead of waiting, Ghazan had hurried to marry Kökechin Khatun, who had come from China accompanied by Marco Polo and was placed in the prestigious *ordo* of Doquz Khatun. By marrying this woman whom his father Arghun

had asked Qubilai to send from China (a woman of the same family as Bulughan ‘Bozorg’), Ghazan had secured his claim to the *ordo*.²²⁴

The unfortunate economic measures carried out in Geikhathu’s reign left the Ilkhanate in jeopardy after his death in 1295 when his cousin Baidu rebelled, killed him, and had himself crowned Ilkhan on 8 Jumada II 694 (25 April 1295).²²⁵ At this point, Ghazan saw the opportunity he had been waiting for and marched from Khurasan into Tabriz to claim the throne. On the way, he added powerful amirs and princes to his cause and also, presumably, locals because he converted to Islam en route.²²⁶ At a gathering of his growing band of allies, he complained about the support promised by Baidu, giving this as a reason to begin hostilities against his cousin. He claimed he was not receiving ‘the camps, and the women, and the concubines of my father which he promised’, suggesting that Baidu was trying to take control of the women and their camps and thus contravene the customary rules.²²⁷ In order to avoid a civil war, the *noyans* of each side met at the *ordo* of the already mentioned Tödai Khatun and agreed on the distribution of territories and people. Under Ghazan’s control were placed some members of the royal family and the revenues (*injü*) produced in east and south Iran. Although negotiations seemed to advance towards a peaceful resolution, the arrival of reinforcements from Baghdad for Baidu’s army led to negotiations failing and Ghazan’s *noyans* had to withdraw.²²⁸

The rearranged power balance that followed has been examined elsewhere; various amirs changed sides until Ghazan was powerful enough to overcome his cousin.²²⁹ For the purposes of this book, though, it is important to recognise that, within this exchange of people and revenues, the *khātūns’ ordos* appear to have played an important role. Rashid al-Din seems to find it important to mention the wealthy *ordo* of Bulughan again, stating that among those who deserted Baidu and joined Ghazan were the lady’s pages (*ev-oghans*), and that the amirs

decided to send to Prince Ghazan the *ordus* of Arghun Khan, the great lady Bulughan, Örug Khātūn, and Prince Kharbanda along with the other princes and to turn over his possessions and treasury. Furthermore, from the side of the Sapedrod [Safid-rud], Persia, Khurasan, Qumis, and Mazandaran would be Ghazan’s, along with half of the region of Fars and the entirety of the *enchüs* there.²³⁰

Thus, Rashid al-Din’s narrative turns again to the *khātūn’s ordo* to show that Ghazan’s patience eventually paid off and that the revenues, servants and soldiers left by his grandfather came back into his possession to support his rise to the throne. The first action taken by the new ruler

after defeating his rival was to officially marry – in the Muslim fashion – Bulughan Khatun ‘Mo^oazzama’, thus closing the circle by gaining both the *ordo* and the ‘replacement’ wife of his father.²³¹ Ghazan’s use of female resources in his struggle with Baidu might have made him aware – if he was not so already – of the wealth at the *khātūns*’ disposal. Persian viziers like Rashid al-Din at the court of Ghazan might also have taken note. So, with the Ilkhanate submerged in financial problems in 1295, it is not surprising that the architects of the political and economic changes regarded the *ordos* of the *khātūns* as a crucial economic resource in need of reform.²³²

In one section of Rashid al-Din’s *Jami^o al-tawarikh*, he explains the reforms of the *khātūns*’ *ordos*. This is not an extensive section, but provides some useful information. It starts by describing the anarchy among the *khātūns*’ servants, who were accusing each other of corruption and stealing from the treasuries and revenues.²³³ After putting all the servants and administrators of his predecessors on trial for corruption, Ghazan issued an order by which the revenues and maintenance of the ladies’ *ordos* would fall under the jurisdiction and administration of the *ṣāhib dīvān*. This man would be responsible for setting the levels of tax to be paid to the *khātūns* and for allocating the revenues of a specific district to a particular *khātūn*’s *ordo*.²³⁴ The aim was to avoid the imposition of excessive taxation and the duplication of tax collectors (from different *ordos*) in the same region.²³⁵ Under the supervision of the *ṣāhib dīvān*, revenues were to be used only for maintaining the supply of horses, camels, cloth and food for the *khātūn*, and, in the event of a surplus, the money was to be sealed in the *khātūn*’s treasury to be used only ‘in case of an emergency’.²³⁶ The law had the clear goal of rationalising taxation and expenditure simultaneously, by placing them under the control of the *ṣāhib dīvān*, which involved imposing limits on female economic power.

Apart from curbing the *khātūns*’ economic autonomy, these measures seem to have been an attempt to reform the traditional manner in which ladies’ *ordos* were passed on. Reporting measures to rectify problems in the transmission of ladies’ *ordos* after the death of the ruler (of the kind that occurred with the accessions of Tegüder Ahmad and Geikhatu mentioned above), Rashid mentions that Ghazan ‘endowed them [the properties of a *khātūn*’s *ordo*] to their male offspring, not the females. Those enchu (Injū) properties will henceforth be the enchu and property of the sons of that lady’. In addition, if the lady did not have sons – as was the case with Bulughan Khatun ‘Bozorg’ – the property would belong to the son of the deceased man by another of his wives.²³⁷ Now, if we examine these regulations closely, we find a description of Ghazan’s relationship with the *ordo*

of Bulughan Khatun ‘Bozorg’ and a validation of the rights of the new ruler over the extensive properties of the *khātūn*. The reforms expounded in Rashid al-Din’s narrative validate the right of the chronicler’s patron to take control of the revenues of his father’s wives. It is difficult to estimate the proper scope of these reforms and to determine to what extent they were implemented in the Ilkhanate; there is general agreement, though, that they must have had an impact on the economy.²³⁸ According to Rashid al-Din himself, in his time all the policies to control female revenues were implemented and all the responsibility rested with the office of the *ṣāhib dīvān*. Rashid illustrates the organisation of the revenues and the usufruct of the *khātūns’* property by the court when he recounts that,

recently, when there was a need for more funds for army supplies, he [Ghazan] ordered them to give a thousand-thousand dinars to the army from their [the ladies’] treasuries. In this way it was paid, and the army was greatly helped. Never in any era has there been such an arrangement.²³⁹

To a certain degree, the appropriation of resources from Mongol ladies by the central government did not stop with Ghazan, but continued into the reign of Abu Sa‘id (r. 1317–35), when Mustawfi mentions that the regent Amir Chopan imposed fines directly on Qutlughshah Khatun.²⁴⁰ This is not to say that women’s *ordos* disappeared from the Ilkhanate in the fourteenth century or that noble women did not retain some degree of economic independence.²⁴¹ What we have attempted to examine here is the extent to which Ghazan Khan and his viziers, commanded by Rashid al-Din, were successful in limiting the nature of women’s involvement in the economy of that region. They did this primarily through changing the way in which the *khātūns’ ordos* were passed on. This transformation in the economic status of the *khātūns* was an element in the process of centralisation that occurred in the Ilkhanate from the last decade of the thirteenth century onwards. There is, I would suggest, a relationship between this limiting of female economic power and the disappearance of the toleration of female regency in southern areas of the Mongol domains. This diminution of women’s economic and political influence was part of the drive to centralise government and resources in order to create greater political, economic and religious unity in Mongol Iran.

Notes

1. T. T. Allsen, *Culture and Conquest in Mongol Eurasia* (Cambridge, 2001), p. 48.
2. My aim in this chapter is to explore the *ordo* as an economic entity. The

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- ongoing debate about the ‘tribal model’ and the connotations that this term had (and still has) in European historiography on Central Asia is not looked at here. See D. Sneath, *The Headless State: Aristocratic Orders, Kinship Society, and Misrepresentations of Nomadic Inner Asia* (New York, 2007), pp. 118–19.
3. *The Secret History of the Mongols: A Mongolian Epic Chronicle of the Thirteenth Century*, trans. I. de Rachewiltz, 2 vols (Leiden and Boston, 2004) (hereafter, *SH*), p. 454. On the etymology of the word and a description of its meaning, see P. Pelliot, *Notes sur l’histoire de la Horde d’Or*, ed. L. Hambis (Paris, 1949), p. 30, fn. 1.
 4. For example, Carpini uses the terms ‘orda’ and ‘tent’ as synonyms on certain occasions. See C. Dawson, *The Mongol Mission: Narratives and Letters of the Franciscan Missionaries in Mongolia and China in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries* (London and New York, 1955), p. 54.
 5. For the seasonal itinerary of Ögetei Khan in Mongolia, see J. A. Boyle, ‘The Seasonal Residences of the Great Khan Ögedei’, *Central Asiatic Journal* 16 (1972), pp. 125–31. Juvayni refers to members of the royal family coming from Central Asia for the election of Güyük as being ‘from the ordu of Chaghatai’. See ‘Ala’ al-Din ‘Ata Malik Juvayni, *Tārīkh-i jahān-gushā*, ed. M. Qazvini, 3 vols (Leiden and London, 1912–37) (hereafter, *TJG*), I, pp. 204–5/Juvayni, *Genghis Khan: The History of the World Conqueror*, trans. J. A. Boyle, 2 vols (Manchester, 1958; reprint 1997 with foreword by D. O. Morgan) (hereafter, Boyle), p. 249. On another occasion, he refers to the *ordo* as the encampment of a particular member of the royal family; see *TJG*, I, pp. 215, 217/Boyle, pp. 260, 262.
 6. C. P. Atwood, ‘Ordo’, in C. P. Atwood (ed.), *Encyclopaedia of Mongolia and the Mongol Empire* (New York, 2004). Allsen notes that the individual Mongol yurt was called *ordo ger*, which literally means ‘camp tent’. See T. T. Allsen, *Commodity and Exchange in the Mongol Empire: A Cultural History of Islamic Textiles* (Cambridge, 1997), p. 13; Sneath, *Headless State*, p. 72.
 7. For example, Juvayni mentions that, at the time of Chinggis Khan’s death, ‘each man left his ordu and set out for the quriltai’ that would elect the new Khan. See *TJG*, I, p. 144/Boyle, p. 183.
 8. D. Durand-Guédy, *Iranian Elites and Turkish Rulers: A History of Isfahan in the Saljuqid Period* (London, 2009), pp. 75–101. On the nomadic lifestyle of the early Saljuqs, see A. Peacock, *Early Seljuq History: A New Interpretation* (London, 2010), pp. 89–98.
 9. M. Biran, ‘The Mongol Transformation: From the Steppe to Eurasian Empire’, *Medieval Encounters* 10:1–3 (2004), p. 344; *SH*, p. 454.
 10. Chih-ch^{ang} Li, *The Travels of an Alchemist: The Journey of the Taoist Ch^{ang}-Ch^{un} from China to the Hindukush at the Summons of Chingiz Khan, Recorded by His Disciple Li Chih-Ch^{ang}*, trans. A. Waley (London, 1931), p. 71.

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11. Dawson, *Mongol Mission*, p. 126.
12. Ibn Battuta, *Travels in Asia and Africa, 1325–1354*, ed. and trans. H. A. R. Gibb (London, 2005), p. 147.
13. D. Aigle, 'Iran under Mongol Domination: The Effectiveness and Failings of a Dual Administrative System', *Bulletin d'études orientales* 57:2 (2008), p. 74.
14. See the well-documented article by C. Melville, 'The Itineraries of Sultan Öljeitü, 1304–16', *Iran* 28 (1990), pp. 55–70.
15. C. Melville, 'The Keshig in Iran: The Survival of the Royal Mongol Household', in L. Komaroff (ed.), *Beyond the Legacy of Genghis Khan* (Leiden, 2006), p. 161; see also C. P. Atwood, 'Ulus Emirs, Keshig Elders, Signatures, and Marriage Partners: The Evolution of a Classic Mongol Institution', in D. Sneath (ed.), *Imperial Statecraft: Political Forms and Techniques of Governance in Inner Asia, Sixth–Twentieth Centuries* (Bellingham, 2006), pp. 141–73.
16. See, for example, the case of Malik Temür (son of Ariq Böke), who benefited from capturing an *ordo* of one of his father's wives to obtain enough resources to be considered a powerful ally by Qaidu, a rival Mongol lord of Qubilai Khan. See M. Biran, *Qaidu and the Rise of an Independent Mongol State in Central Asia* (Richmond, 1997), p. 41.
17. L. Krader, *Social Organization of the Mongol-Turkic Pastoral Nomads* (The Hague, 1963), p. 186; Dawson, *Mongol Mission*, p. 96, 103. See also M. Rossabi, 'Khubilai Khan and the Women in his Family', in W. Bauer (ed.), *Studia Sino-Mongolica: Festschrift Fur Herbert Franke* (Wiesbaden, 1979), p. 154.
18. Rossabi, 'Khubilai Khan', p. 154.
19. For example, Ibn Battuta noticed that, when travelling, the *ordos* of the *khātūns* travelled separately from those of their husbands. See Ibn Battuta, *The Travels of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, A.D. 1325–1354*, trans./ed. C. Defrémery and B. R. Sanguinetti (French) and H. A. R. Gibb (English), vol. II (Cambridge, 1962) (hereafter, IB), p. 483.
20. Precedents of women being in charge of property have been identified among other Inner Asian societies such as the Liao-Khitans; see K. A. Wittfogel and J. Feng, *History of Chinese Society: Liao (907–1225)* (Philadelphia, 1949), p. 199; G. Vernadsky, 'The Scope and Contents of Chingis Khan's Yasa', *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 3:3/4 (December, 1938), p. 357. The standard number of principal wives among the Mongols was four, although this number was not fixed across the empire. See S. Shir, 'The "Chief Wife" at the Courts of the Mongol Khans during the Mongol World Empire (1206–1260)' [in Hebrew], MA dissertation (The Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 2006).
21. Rossabi, 'Khubilai Khan', p. 154.
22. This especially applies to concubines. See A. Lambton, *Continuity and Change in Medieval Persia: Aspects of Administrative, Economic and Social History* (New York, 1988), p. 293.

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23. Krader, *Social Organization*, p. 188.
24. Krader, *Social Organization*, p. 188.
25. T. T. Allsen, 'Ever Closer Encounters: The Appropriation of Culture and the Apportionment of Peoples in the Mongol Empire', *Journal of Early Modern History* 1 (1997), p. 4.
26. C. P. Atwood, 'Appanage System', in C. P. Atwood (ed.), *Encyclopaedia of Mongolia and the Mongol Empire* (New York, 2004). See also B. Vladimirtsov, *Le régime social des Mongols: le féodalisme nomade*, trans. M. Carsow (Paris, 1948), pp. 123–6.
27. Although the figures might be relative, the *SH* mentions that she received 10,000 people including the share of Chinggis Khan's youngest brother Otchigin; see *SH*, §242. Rashid al-Din mentions that she received 8,000, of which only 3,000 belonged to her and the rest to her youngest son; see *JT*, I, p. 611 / Thackston, p. 281.
28. *SH*, § 242. It is mentioned, however, that she 'did not complain' about this.
29. See Rashid al-Din Tabib, *Jāmi^c al-tawārīkh*, ed. M. Rawshan and M. Mūsavī, 4 vols (Tehran, 1373/1994) (hereafter, *JT*), I, pp. 75, 593–4, 613/*Jami^c u't-tawarikh: Compendium of Chronicles*, ed. S. S. Kuru and trans. W. M. Thackston, 3 vols (Boston, 1998) (hereafter, Thackston), pp. 43, 272–3, 282.
30. Allsen, 'Ever Closer Encounters', p. 6.
31. Dawson, *Mongol Mission*, pp. 17–18.
32. Dawson, *Mongol Mission*, p. 95.
33. Dawson, *Mongol Mission*, p. 96.
34. R. E. Dunn, *The Adventures of Ibn Battuta: A Muslim Traveler of the 14th Century* (London, 1986), p. 168.
35. *IB*, p. 486.
36. *IB*, pp. 486–9.
37. He mentions that the Khan had many wives and sixty concubines. *JT*, I, p. 620/Rashid al-Din Tabib, *The Successors of Genghis Khan*, trans. J. A. Boyle (New York and London, 1971) (hereafter, *Successors*), p. 18; Fakhr al-Din Banakati, *'Tārīkh-i Banākati': A General History from the Earliest Times to the 14th Century A.D.*, ed. J. She^car (Tehran, 1378/2000) (hereafter, *TB*), p. 282.
38. See Chapter 2.
39. *JT*, I, p. 631/*Successors*, p. 27. Interestingly, Banakati comments that the mother of Qadam Oghul was called Qubayi (قوبایی). Maybe due to a mistake in the edition of the manuscript, she is not mentioned as a main wife; however, this might also suggest that, despite the confusion about the name, this son of Ögetei did not come from a chief *khātūn*. The name of the four *khātūns* according to Banakati are Buraqjin (بوراقچین), Turkina (تورکینه), Muka (موکا) and Jajin (جاجین). *TB*, p. 282.
40. There is a difference here between the two Persian editions of the *Jami^c al-tawarikh*. While Rashid al-Din Tabib, *Jāmi^c al-tawārīkh*, ed. B. Karimi, 2

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- vols (Tehran, 1367/1988–9) (hereafter, *JTK*) mentions that Chaghatai had eight sons (I, p. 533), the *JT* mentions only six (II, p. 751), omitting Qadaqai and Baiju. Their descriptions are also omitted from the *JT* edition.
41. The first one being the cousin of Chaghatai's mother Börte, whilst the second married him after the death of Yesülün. See *JT*, I, p. 752/*Successors*, p. 135.
 42. *JTK*, I, p. 534/*Successors*, p. 136. In the *JT* (I, p. 759), the order of Chaghatai's sons is reversed and Mochi Yebe appears as the second instead of the first as in *JTK*.
 43. M. Polo, *The Book of Ser Marco Polo, the Venetian: Concerning the Kingdoms and Marvels of the East*, trans. H. Yule, 2 vols (London, 1903) (hereafter, *MP*), I, p. 356.
 44. *JTK*, II, pp. 612–15/*Successors*, pp. 241–5; *JT*, II, pp. 865–8. Rashid mentions at least seven wives who gave sons to Qubilai. There is a similar case in *IB*, p. 486.
 45. M. Rossabi, *Khubilai Khan: His Life and Times* (Berkeley, 1989), p. 16.
 46. Both Yesülün and Tögen had sons with Chaghatai, the former was the mother of 'all his chief sons', while the latter was the mother of Chaghatai's seventh son Qadaqai. See *JT*, I, p. 540/*Successors*, p. 144.
 47. *JT*, II, p. 963.
 48. L. J. Ward, 'Zafarnāmah of Mustawfi', doctoral dissertation (Manchester University, 1983) (hereafter, *ZM*), pp. 206–7.
 49. Shir, 'The "Chief Wife"; Y. Brack, 'Mediating Sacred Kingship: Conversion and Sovereignty in Mongol Iran', PhD dissertation (University of Michigan, 2016), ch. 1.
 50. See, for example, the reference to her *ordo* in Abu al-Qasim °Abd Allah ibn °Ali Kashani, *Tārīkh-i Ūljāyū*, ed. M. Hambly (Tehran, 1384/2005) (hereafter, *TU*), p. 7.
 51. Her name was Malikeh. See *JT*, II, p. 1057/Thackston, p. 516.
 52. *JT*, II, p. 1056/Thackston, p. 515.
 53. Abaqa favoured Bulughan above Martai Khatun and Despina Khatun. Neither of them bore him a son and only the former gave the Ilkhan a daughter called Nujin. See *JT*, II, p. 1056/Thackston, pp. 515–16.
 54. *JT*, II, p. 1212. The Mongols did not have problems with accepting the adoption of children by members of the royal family. See, for example, the adoption of Shigi Qutuqu by Chinggis Khan and Börte in *SH* §203 and the comments in *SH*, p. 769. See also P. Ratchnevsky, 'Šigi-Qutuqu, ein Mongolische Gefolgsmann im 12.–13. Jahrhundert', *Central Asiatic Journal* 10 (1965), pp. 87–120; I. de Rachewiltz *et al.* (eds), *In the Service of the Khan: Eminent Personalities of the Early Mongol–Yüan Period (1200–1300)* (Wiesbaden, 1993), pp. 76–9.
 55. *JT*, I, pp. 1208–10/Thackston, pp. 590–1.
 56. *JT*, II, p. 1215/Thackston, pp. 593–4. Banakati follows Rashid al-Din in his account of Ghazan's wives. See *TB*, pp. 450–1.

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57. *JT*, II, p. 1289/Thackston, p. 644.
58. About her, we know that she was the sister of Mubarakshah, the son of Orghina Khatun from the Chaghataid Khanate. See *JT*, II, p. 1215/Thackston, p. 593.
59. *JT*, II, p. 1215/Thackston, p. 593. Her name was Bulughan ‘Mo^oazzama’ and a short biography can be found in C. Melville, ‘Bologān (Bülügān) Kātun’, *Elr*.
60. At least fifteen are mentioned in the *TU*, pp. 7–8, if we include Qutlughshah Khatun. It needs to be acknowledged here that reduced life expectancy suffered by the Mongols in Iran during the fourteenth century was another cause for the decrease in the number of Mongol royal family members. See J. M. Smith, ‘Dietary Decadence and Dynastic Decline in the Mongol Empire’, *Journal of Asian History* 34:1 (2000), pp. 35–52.
61. *TU*, p. 42. She had a son (not by Öljeitü) called Amir Shaykh °Ali, who had the esteem of Abu Sa°id (اعتباری داشت) in the court; see Hafiz-i Abru, *Ẓayl-i Jāmi° al-tawārīkh-i Rashīdī: shāmil-i vaqā°i°-i 703–781 hijrī-i qamarī*, ed. K. Bayani (Tehran, 1350/1971), p. 99/Hafiz-i Abru, *Chronique des rois mongols en Iran*, ed. and trans. K. Bayani, 2 vols (Paris, 1936), p. 76.
62. C. Melville, *The Fall of Amir Chupan and the Decline of the Il-Khanate, 1327–1337: A Decade of Discord in Mongol Iran* (Bloomington, 1999), p. 7.
63. Lambton, *Continuity and Change*, p. 293. See also J. Aubin, *Émirs mongols et vizirs persane dans les remous de l’acclturation* (Paris, 1995).
64. While the ownership of livestock was private in nomadic societies, the pastures remained communal property. See A. M. Khazanov, *Nomads and the Outside World*, trans. J. Crookenden (Madison, 1994), pp. 123–6.
65. *TJG*, II, pp. 243–4/Boyle, p. 507.
66. *TJG*, II, pp. 244–5/Boyle, p. 508.
67. Nasir al-Din °Ali Malik was given the *tūmen* of Nishapur, Tus, Isfahan, Qom and Kashan; Siragh al-Din was named *ṣāḥib dīvān* with Baha al-Din Juvayni, and Iftihar al-Din was put in charge of the region of Qazvin. See Aubin, *Émirs mongols*, p. 19.
68. *JT*, II, p. 895/*Successors*, p. 265. There is also a reference to the marriage of Arghun Aqa to a daughter of an amir from the *ordo* of Yesü Möngke in Central Asia. See *TJG*, II, p. 250/Boyle, p. 513.
69. Melville, ‘Keshig in Iran’, p. 161.
70. See, for example, *JT*, I, p. 72/Thackston, p. 41.
71. See the execution of Esen Temür and his *amīr ordo* after their rebellion against Ghazan in 1296. *JT*, II, p. 1294/Thackston, p. 631.
72. *JT*, II, p. 1168/Thackston, p. 569.
73. *JT*, II, p. 1126/Thackston, p. 549. A similar intervention by the amirs of the *ordos* is mentioned in J. A. Boyle, ‘Dynastic and Political History of the Il-Khans’, in J. A. Boyle (ed.), *The Cambridge History of Iran*, vol. V (Cambridge, 1968), p. 367.

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74. *Khātūns* in Iran sometimes protected fugitives and dissidents. Some *amīr ordos* did this too; see *JT*, II, p. 1170/Thackston, p. 570; Lambton, *Continuity and Change*, p. 291. Also Amir Injil, who was the *amīr ordo* of Bulughan Khurasani (wife of Ghazan Khan), protected Toghan until the wrath of the Ilkhan against him had decreased; see *JTK*, II, p. 929/Thackston, p. 637.
75. *TU*, p. 7.
76. *MP*, I, p. 356.
77. *IB*, p. 484.
78. *IB*, p. 484.
79. *IB*, p. 485.
80. The process of selecting women to act as advisors and administrators can be observed in the appointment of Fatima Khatun by Töregene during her regency. See Chapter 2.
81. Interestingly, It Kujujuk's *ordo* was separate from that of her father. It is not clear, however, whether the camp belonged to her or her husband (Isa Bek), who was the grand vizier of the Golden Horde. It seems that she commanded the *ordo*'s dependants. Ibn Battuta mentions that, when the lady called for her staff, the jurists, the qadis, and the sayyid and sharif Ibn °Abd al-Hamid all came. See *IB*, p. 489. Chamberlains were noted in the *ordo* of Bayalun Khatun (a Byzantine princess and third wife of Uzbek Khan); see *IB*, p. 488.
82. For a general explanation of the role of the *bitikchis* (secretaries) in different periods of Mongol rule in Iran, see Lambton, *Continuity and Change*, pp. 52, 62, 209; A. Lambton, *Landlord and Peasant in Persia: A Study of Land Tenure and Land Revenue Administration* (London and New York, 1953), pp. 84, 90, 447; G. Doerfer, *Türkische und Mongolische Elemente im Neupersischen: Unter Besonderer Berücksichtigung älterer Neupersischer Geschichtsquellen, vor Allem der Mongolen- und Timuridenzeit*, vol. II (Wiesbaden, 1965), pp. 264–7.
83. Notice here the fact that concubines were in attendance to the chief wives. See Lambton, *Continuity and Change*, p. 293.
84. See references to justice administration in ladies' *ordos* in *TJG*, II, p. 241/Boyle, p. 504; see also P. Ratchnevsky, 'La condition de la femme mongole au 12e/13e siècle', in G. Doerfer *et al.* (eds), *Tractata Altaica: Denis Sinor sexagenario optime de rebus altaicis merito dedicate* (Wiesbaden, 1976), p. 519.
85. *JTK*, I, p. 437/Thackston, p. 297.
86. T. T. Allsen, 'The Princes of the Left Hand: An Introduction to the History of the Ulus of Orda in the Thirteenth and Early Fourteenth Centuries', *Archivum Eurasiae medii aevi* 5 (1985–7), p. 27.
87. Allsen, *Commodity and Exchange*, p. 27.
88. It is mentioned that he gave to the Suldus Taqai the Jirgin branch of the Kerait people; *SH*, §186

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89. These women are Ibaqa Beki and Sorghaghtani Beki respectively.
90. *SH*, §187. Similar examples can be observed during the defeat of other steppe factions such as the Merkits; see *SH*, §198. On the Tatars' extermination and the influence of women in saving some of their relatives, see *JT*, I, p. 83/Thackston, pp. 46–7.
91. Another appropriation of women by the victorious side after a battle occurred when the Mongols defeated the Tumat people, see *SH*, §241.
92. *SH*, §242; *JT*, I, p. 611/Thackston, p. 281. Just as the Khan distributed people, so he had the right to take them back. One such occasion involved Chinggis's brother Qasar, who was a potential rival to the Great Khanate. See *SH*, §244, and comments on p. 877.
93. On the influence of women in the Mongol army, see B. De Nicola, 'Women's Role and Participation in Warfare in the Mongol Empire', in K. Latzel, S. Satjukow and F. Maubach (eds), *Soldatinnen: Gewalt und Geschlecht im Krieg vom Mittelalter bis Heute* (Paderborn, 2010), pp. 95–112.
94. R. Dannel, 'The Hsi Hsia', in D. Twitchett and H. Franke (eds), *The Cambridge History of China: Alien Regimes and Border States, 907–1368* (Cambridge, 1994), pp. 206–14.
95. *JT*, I, p. 137/Thackston, p. 74.
96. *JT*, I, p. 593/Thackston, pp. 272–3.
97. See A. F. Broadbridge, 'Marriage, Family and Politics: The Ilkhanid-Oirat Connection', *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* 26:1–2 (2016), p. 123. There is a famous reference in Juvayni to a daughter of Chinggis Khan (Tümälün) entering the city of Nishapur after the Mongol conquest; after massacring the majority of the prisoners, she took 400 of them for their craftsmanship and brought them to Turkestan. See *TJG*, I, pp. 139–40/Boyle, I, p. 177. On the veracity and the confusion generated in the sources about this event, see the commentary in Boyle's translation on pp. 174–5, fn. 1; De Nicola, 'Women's Role and Participation', pp. 101–2.
98. Her case is also mentioned in Sneath, *Headless State*, p. 175.
99. *JT*, I, p. 197/Thackston, p. 104. Jagambo was the father of Ibaqa Beki and the brother of the Ong Khan of the Keraits. He was pardoned when Chinggis Khan conquered his people, but he later rebelled and was destroyed. See *SH*, §208.
100. *SH*, §208.
101. *JT*, I, p. 197/Thackston, p. 104.
102. The *SH* specifies that she did not lose her rank as chief wife of the Khan despite her being married to another man. This was a special privilege given to her which allowed her to maintain her hereditary rights. See *SH*, p. 791.
103. T. T. Allsen, 'Mongolian Princes and their Merchant Partners, 1200–1260', *Asia Major* 2:2 (1989), p. 93. D. Aigle, *The Mongol Empire between Myth and Reality: Studies in Anthropological History* (Leiden, 2015), p. 9.
104. See, for example, the present given by Chotan (mother of Börte) to Chinggis

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- Khan's mother when the marriage between their children was arranged, in *SH*, §96.
105. *TB*, p. 388; *TJG*, I, p. 168/Boyle, pp. 211–12.
 106. *IB*, pp. 485–6. Textiles were another product for which there was a high demand among Mongol women; see Allsen, *Commodity and Exchange*, p. 16.
 107. See Allsen, 'Mongolian Princes', p. 93.
 108. Khazanov distinguishes between two different kinds of trade among pastoral societies: one in which there is direct exchange of goods between nomadic and sedentary people and another in which the nomads act as mediators in exchanges between sedentary societies. See Khazanov, *Nomads and the Outside World*, p. 202.
 109. Allsen, 'Mongolian Princes', p. 94; M. Rossabi, 'The Muslims in the Early Yüan Dynasty', in J. D. Langlois (ed.), *China under Mongol Rule* (Princeton, 1981), pp. 260–1.
 110. *SH*, §182 and p. 657. For the presence of merchants from Bukhara in the court of Chinggis Khan mentioned in the *Yuan Shih*, see P. Pelliot, 'Une ville musulmane dans la Chine de nord sous les Mongols', *Journal Asiatique* 211 (1927), pp. 264–8.
 111. *TJG*, I, p. 59/Boyle, pp. 77–8. Rashid al-Din also mentions Chinggis Khan dealing with Muslim merchants; see *JT*, I, pp. 472–3/Thackston, pp. 233–4.
 112. Allsen, 'Mongolian Princes', p. 88. He refers to Juvayni in *TJG*, I, p. 60/Boyle, p. 78, but in this account only the sons (پسران), the *noyans* (نوینان) and the amirs (امرا) are mentioned, and no specific reference to women is made. The *khātūn* is mentioned in Rashid al-Din's version; see *JT*, I, p. 473/Thackston, p. 234.
 113. *TJG*, I, p. 59/Boyle, pp. 77–8.
 114. See, for example, how in 1236 Ögetei granted Sorghaghtani Beki those areas in Northern China conquered by Tolui. See W. Abramowski, 'Die Chinesischen Annalen von Ögödei und Güyük: Übersetzung des 2. Kapitels des Yüan-Shih', *Zentralasiatische Studien* 10 (1976), pp. 131–2, and 'Die Chinesischen Annalen des Möngke: Übersetzung des 3. Kapitels des Yüan-Shih', *Zentralasiatische Studien* 13 (1979), p. 16.
 115. For a description of the city of Qaraqorum and the diversity of its inhabitants' origins, see Dawson, *Mongol Mission*, pp. 177–80. See also Allsen, *Commodity and Exchange*, pp. 34–5, and 'Biography of a Cultural Broker: Bolad Ch'eng-Hsiang in China and Iran', in J. Raby and T. Fitzherbert (eds), *The Court of the Il-Khans 1290–1340* (Oxford, 1996), p. 130.
 116. *TJG*, I, p. 192/Boyle, p. 236.
 117. V. V. Barthold, *Four Studies on the History of Central Asia*, 4 vols (Leiden, 1956–63), I, p. 45.
 118. On the *yam* system, see D. O. Morgan, *The Mongols* (Cambridge, MA, 1986; rev. edn 2007), pp. 91–4; A. J. Silverstein, *Postal Systems in the Pre-Modern Islamic World* (Cambridge, 2007), pp. 141–64.
 119. Allsen, 'Mongolian Princes', p. 96.

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120. For the taxation organised to maintain the *yam* system, see J. M. Smith, 'Mongol and Nomadic Taxation', *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 30 (1970), p. 52.
121. I. de Rachewiltz, 'The *Hsi-Yu Lu* by Yeh-Lü Ch'u-Ts'ai', *Monumenta Serica* 21 (1962), pp. 1–128, pp. 189–216; T. T. Allsen, 'Mahmud Yalavach', in I. de Rachewiltz *et al.* (eds), *In the Service of the Khan: Eminent Personalities of the Early Mongol-Yüan Period (1200–1300)* (Wiesbaden, 1993), pp. 122–7.
122. Allsen, 'Mongolian Princes', p. 103.
123. This is the interpretation given by the Persian sources, which are generally more sympathetic to the Toluid branch of the Chinggisid family.
124. Rossabi, 'Muslims in the Early Yüan Dynasty', pp. 267–8.
125. See Rossabi, 'Khubilai Khan', p. 161.
126. *JT*, I, p. 665/*Successors*, pp. 55–6.
127. Sorghaghtani specifically asked Ögetei to give her a merchant, but the Khan was opposed. She used the name of her husband to change his mind. See *JT*, I, p. 789/*Successors*, p. 168.
128. See *JTK*, II, p. 1045. This fact is also mentioned by Allsen, 'Mongolian Princes', p. 103. On the term *ortoy* or *ortaq*, see Doerfer, *Türkische und Mongolische Elemente in Neupersischen*, II, pp. 25–7.
129. The Angara River is nowadays in Russia and is the only river flowing out of the Baikal Lake to join the Yensei River into the Kara Sea, which is part of the Arctic Ocean.
130. *JT*, I, pp. 76–7/Thackston, p. 43.
131. D. O. Morgan, 'Persian Historians and the Mongols', in D. O. Morgan (ed.), *Medieval Historical Writing in the Christian and Islamic Worlds* (London, 1982), pp. 109–24.
132. *JT*, II, p. 810/*Successors*, p. 186.
133. *JT*, II, p. 861/*Successors*, p. 236.
134. Allsen, 'Mongolian Princes', p. 111. Juvayni reckons the imperial debt to the merchants at the time of Möngke's coronation in 1250 was 500,000 ingots. See *TJG*, III, p. 85/Boyle, II, p. 604.
135. There is evidence in Chinese sources of the ruin of the peasantry in Northern China due to the speculation of these courtly merchants. Farmers had to sell their property and even their wives and children to pay their debts to the *ortaq*s. See E. Endicott-West, 'Merchant Association in Yüan China: The Ortoy', *Asia Major* 2:2 (1989), p.149.
136. Allsen, 'Mongolian Princes', pp. 108–9.
137. Allsen, 'Mongolian Princes', pp. 104–5; Rossabi, 'The Muslims in the Early Yüan Dynasty', pp. 269–70.
138. For trading conditions prior to the reign of Möngke Khan, see Allsen, 'Mongolian Princes', pp. 104–5.
139. *TJG*, III, p. 79/Boyle, II, p. 600.
140. *JT*, II, p. 861/*Successors*, p. 236. These merchants were mostly Christian;

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- the clerics were more trusting of their coreligionists like the Byzantines or Ruthenians. See Allsen, 'Mongolian Princes', pp. 108–9.
141. See the case of Taydula/Tayitoghli Khatun in M. Favereau, 'Sources vénitiennes pour l'histoire de la Horde d'Or: nouvelles perspectives de recherche', *Golden Horde Review* 1 (2016), pp. 45–6.
 142. For a description of Ghazan's reforms, see Lambton, *Landlord and Peasant*, pp. 83–92; P. Petrushevsky, 'Rashid al-Din's Conception of the State', *Central Asiatic Journal* 14 (1970), pp. 148–62.
 143. While Rashid al-Din tends to exaggerate the benefits of Ghazan's reforms, Vassaf and Mustawfi, for example, are more cautious in their description of the benefits of the new economic policies. See P. Petrushevsky, 'The Socio-Economic Condition of Iran under the Il-Khans', in J. A. Boyle (ed.), *The Cambridge History of Iran*, vol. V (Cambridge, 1968), pp. 494–500; Lambton, *Landlord and Peasant*, p. 92.
 144. For a transcription and translation of this document, see M. Minovi and V. Minorsky, 'Nāṣir al-Dīn Ṭūsī on Finance', *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 10:3 (1940), pp. 755–89.
 145. Anonymous, *Histoire de la Géorgie: depuis l'Antiquité jusqu'au XIXe siècle*, trans. M. Brosset (St Petersburg, 1849), pp. 519–20. On the fall of Baghdad and the appropriation of the caliph's treasury by the Mongols, see °Abd al-Razzaq ibn Ahmad ibn al-Fuwati, *al-Ḥawāḍith al-jāmi'ah*, ed. M. Jawad (Baghdad, 1932), pp. 325–8.
 146. R. Amitai, 'Mongol Raids into Palestine (A.D. 1260 and 1300)', *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* 2 (1987), pp. 236–55.
 147. See *JT*, II, pp. 967–8, 1051–2/Thackston, pp. 474, 514.
 148. *JT*, II, pp. 1064–5/Thackston, p. 520. A similar account can be found in Shirazi, Qutb al-Din Mahmud ibn Mas'ud, *Akhbār-i Mughūlān (650–683) dar anbānah-ī Mullā Quṭb: az majmū'ah-ī khaṭṭī-i muvarrahk-i 685, Kitābkhānah-ī Āyat Allāh al-°Uẓmā Mar'ashī Najafī (Qum)* (Qom, 2010), p. 46.
 149. See, for example, *TJG*, III, p. 7/Boyle, II, pp. 551–2; D. M. Dunlop, 'The Keraites of Eastern Asia', *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 11:2 (1944), p. 285.
 150. *ZM*, p. 17.
 151. *JT*, II, pp. 1060, 1126/Thackston, pp. 517, 549.
 152. *JT*, II, pp. 1195, 1331/Thackston, pp. 582, 660. The local administrators and the *ṣāhib dīvān* also offered gifts to the ladies; *JT*, II, pp. 1323–4/Thackston, p. 661.
 153. Allsen, *Commodity and Exchange*, p. 56. See also the allocation of money given to Abesh Khatun by Hülegü in °Abd Allah ibn Fazl Allah Vassaf, *Tahrīr-i tārikh-i Vaṣṣāf*, ed. °A. M. Ayati (Tehran, 2004) (hereafter, *TV*), p. 113.
 154. See, for example, the money given by Konchak Khatun, wife of Amir Irinjin, to the Nestorian church in the early fourteenth century. See

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- E. A. Wallis Budge (trans.), *The Monks of Kublai Khan, Emperor of China* (London, 1928) (hereafter, BS), pp. 304–5. Also Terken Qutlugh Khatun provided gifts to the influential personalities such as Arghun Aqa. See Anonymous, *Tārīkh-i Shāhī-yi Qarā-Khitā'iyān*, ed. M. I. Bastani Parizi (Tehran, 1976–7), p. 183.
155. On the taxation system of the Mongols, see among many others Lambton, *Continuity and Change*, pp. 79–99; Smith, 'Mongol and Nomadic Taxation', pp. 46–85; H. F. Schurmann, 'Mongolian Tributary Practices of the Thirteenth Century', *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 19:3/4 (1956), pp. 304–89; Petrushevsky, 'Socio-Economic Condition', pp. 483–537; Morgan, *The Mongols*, pp. 87–90; D. Ostrowski, 'The "Tamma" and the Dual-Administrative Structure of the Mongol Empire', *Bulletin of School of Oriental and African Studies* 61:2 (1998), pp. 262–77.
156. Lambton, *Continuity and Change*, p. 84.
157. *TJG*, II, pp. 253–4/Boyle, II, p. 516. On the difference between this 'Mongol poll tax', the 'Islamic poll tax' (*jizyah*) and their evolution in the Mongol Empire, see Petrushevsky, 'Socio-Economic Condition', p. 533.
158. On this, see Morgan, *The Mongols*, p. 88. The process seems to have occurred in both China and Iran; see T. T. Allsen, 'The Yüan Dynasty and the Uighurs of Turfan in the 13th Century', in M. Rossabi (ed.), *China among Equals: The Middle Kingdom and Its Neighbors, 10th–14th Centuries* (London, 1983), p. 263.
159. For a discussion of the term, see Smith, 'Mongol and Nomadic Taxation', pp. 46–85.
160. J. Paul, 'Fiscal System III. Islamic Period', *EIr*.
161. The revenues produced from the implementation of these taxes varied and are difficult to assess; for an interpretation of the numbers, see Petrushevsky, 'Socio-Economic Condition', p. 499.
162. Petrushevsky, 'Socio-Economic Condition', p. 516.
163. For the allocation of lands and shares across the Mongol Empire, see T. T. Allsen, 'Sharing out the Empire: Apportioned Lands under the Mongols', in A. M. Khazanov and A. Wink (eds), *Nomads in the Sedentary World* (Richmond, 2001), pp. 172–90.
164. *JT*, II, p. 1110/Thackston, p. 541. On Qutui Khatun, see also *JT*, II, pp. 1064–5/Thackston, p. 520.
165. *JT*, II, p. 1507/Thackston, p. 745.
166. Aubin, *Émirs mongols*, p. 58. According to Mustawfi, Ghazan's reforms maintained the economic wellbeing of the *khātūns* by rearranging the *injū* system. See *ZM*, p. 429.
167. *IB*, p. 340.
168. See the reference to the transit of merchants from Iran to China and vice versa in Bar Hebraeus, *The Chronography of Gregory Abū'l-Faraj 1225–1286*, trans. E. A. Wallis Budge, 2 vols (Amsterdam, 1976; reprint, New Jersey, 2003) (hereafter, *Chronography*), p. 456; *JT*, II, pp. 1339–40/

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- Thackston, p. 668. On long-distance trade in this period, see R. S. Lopez, 'Les methods commerciaux des marchands occidentaux en Asie du XIe au XIVe siècle', in M. Mollat (ed.), *Colloque international d'histoire maritime* (Paris, 1970), pp. 343–8; J. Delumeau and J. Richard, 'Sociétés et compagnies de commerce en Orient et dans l'Océan Indien', *Annales: Histoire, Sciences Sociales* 23:4 (1968), pp. 823–43; for the fourteenth century, see P. Jackson, *The Delhi Sultanate a Political and Military History* (Cambridge, 1999), pp. 252–3; N. Di Cosmo, 'State Formation and Periodization in Inner Asian History', *Journal of World History* 10:1 (1999), pp. 2–4.
169. Mustawfi suggests that one of the reasons why Möngke sent Hülegü against the Ismailis was because they were cutting the trading routes between Persia and Mongolia. See *ZM*, pp. 12–13.
170. *JT*, II, p. 1349/Thackston, p. 672.
171. *JT*, II, p. 1069/Thackston, p. 499.
172. *JT*, II, p. 1303/Thackston, p. 651.
173. From Rashid al-Din we can interpret that gifts and cattle were included among the resources that women invested in trade through the mediation of merchants. See *JT*, II, p. 1507/Thackston, p. 745.
174. M. Polo, *The Description of the World*, trans. A. C. Moule and P. Pelliot, 2 vols (London, 1938) (hereafter, *MP2*), I, p. 169.
175. Petrushevsky, 'Socio-Economic Condition', pp. 509–10. Also among these nobles was Rashid al-Din himself; he owned an impressive fortune and used to invest in trade, as did his Persian and Mongol counterparts. See Rashid al-Din Tabib, *Kitāb-i mukātibāt-i Rashīdī*, ed. M. Abarquhi and M. Shafi (Lahore, 1947), letter 36, pp. 220–40, or letter 34, pp. 183–207. Although there has been debate about the authenticity of these letters, it seems to me that either Rashid al-Din traded with the goods mentioned in the book or those who produced the letters in the Timurid period considered the participation of these personalities in trading activities a common practice. On the debate, see A. H. Morton, 'The Letters of Rashīd al-Dīn: Ilkhanid Fact or Timurid Fiction?' in R. Amitai and D. O. Morgan (eds), *The Mongol Empire and its Legacy* (Leiden, 1999), pp. 155–99; A. Soudavar, 'In Defense of Rashid-Od-Din and his Letters', *Studia Iranica* 32 (2003), pp. 77–122.
176. See A. P. Martinez, 'Regional Mint Outputs and the Dynamics of Bullion Flows through the Ilkhanate', *Journal of Turkish Studies* 8 (1984), pp. 147–73; Allsen, 'Ever Closer Encounters', p. 21.
177. On the trade in the region of Hormuz and the Persian Gulf in this period, see J. Aubin, 'Les princes d'Ormuz du Xiii au Xv siècle', *Journal Asiatique* 241 (1953), pp. 77–137.
178. *TV*, p. 100.
179. *JT*, II, pp. 936–7/*Successors*, p. 307.
180. Shabankara²i, *Majma^c al-ansāb*, ed. H. Muhaddith (Tehran, 1363/1984) (hereafter, *MA*), pp. 215–16. It is not clear if this is the same Bibi Maryam who had a mausoleum built in the Omani city of Qalhat; see *IB*, p. 396.

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181. Both Hülegü and Güyük Khatun were grandchildren of Chinggis Khan. For an explanation of marriage practices between cousins among the Chinggisids, see Broadbridge, 'Marriage, Family and Politics', pp. 122–3.
182. *TB*, pp. 411–2. As far as I am aware, she is not mentioned by Rashid al-Din or Mustawfi.
183. *JT*, II, p. 964/Thackston, p. 472.
184. See Figure 4.2.
185. *JT*, II, p. 1055/Thackston, p. 515.
186. Shir, 'The "Chief Wife"'; Brack, 'Mediating Sacred Kingship', ch. 1. However, although Juvayni and Mustawfi do not mention Doquz Khatun in their accounts, both Rashid al-Din and, later, Banakati do. See *JT*, II, p. 963/Thackston, pp. 471–2; *TB*, p. 411; *ZM*, pp. 206–7.
187. *JT*, II, p. 1055/Thackston, p. 515. Her name was Tuqtani Khatun of the Kerait people and she was the daughter of the Ong Khan's sister and a resident of Doquz's *ordo*. See *JT*, I, p. 119/Thackston, p. 65. On her, see also P. Pelliot, 'Le vrai nom de "Seroctan"', *T'oung Pao* 29:1/3 (1932), p. 49.
188. Rashid refers to Tuqtani observing the same customs and rituals (همان رسوم و آیین نگاه می داشت) as Doquz, from which we can infer that she also was a Christian. See *JT*, II, p. 963/Thackston, p. 472.
189. *MP*, I, p. 32; *JT*, II, p. 963/Thackston, p. 472; *TB*, p. 411.
190. The amount was 600,000, but the currency is unidentified. The sources mention the word عوای and عوال. See *JT*, II, p. 1289/Thackston, p. 644, fn. 1; *JTK*, II, pp. 937–8.
191. Melville, 'Bologān (Bülügān) Kātun'; *JT*, II, p. 1215/Thackston, p. 593.
192. *JT*, II, p. 1322/Thackston, p. 660.
193. *JT*, II, p. 963/Thackston, p. 472; *TU*, p. 42.
194. *JT*, II, p. 963/Thackston, p. 472.
195. C. Melville, 'Abū Sa'īd and the Revolt of the Amirs in 1319', in D. Aigle (ed.), *L'Iran face à la domination Mongole* (Tehran, 1997), pp. 89–120; *TU*, p. 42.
196. *BS*, p. 257.
197. See *TJG*, I, p. 29/Boyle, I, p. 40, fn. 1; *JT*, II, pp. 964, 1055/Thackston, pp. 472, 515.
198. The specific mention in Rashid al-Din's work that Güyük Khatun's *ordo* was given to Qutui suggest that Yesünjin's *ordo* was created ad hoc for her by her son Abaqa when she arrived in Iran. The sources are not clear in this respect. See *JT*, II, p. 964/Thackston, p. 472.
199. *JT*, II, pp. 1055, 1098/Thackston, pp. 515, 536; Nasir al-Din Munshi Kirmani, *Simt al-ulā lil-Hazrat al-ulyā dar 'Tārīkh-i Qarā-khitā'iyān-i Kirmān'*, ed. A. Iqbal (Tehran, 1362/1983–4), p. 71; *TV*, p. 165. All these sources mention that Padshah was an official wife and that she became a chief *khātūn*. The only exception is *MA*, p. 200, as has been noted by N. Dalkeisen, 'Gender Roles and Women's Status in Central Asia and

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- Anatolia between the 13th and 16th Centuries', doctoral dissertation (Middle East Technical University, 2007), p. 178, fn. 502.
200. This is a suggestion; we cannot be certain about the origin of these women's *ordos*.
 201. *JT*, I, p. 88/Thackston, p. 49.
 202. *TU*, p. 7; *JT*, II, p. 1055/Thackston, p. 515. Her name appears in different forms: Thackston transcribes it as *Eltuzmish*, while Boyle gives *El Tutmish* from Rashid's (إيلتوزميش). In the *TU*, it appears as *Letermish* (لترميش).
 203. On her, see *TU*, p. 7.
 204. *JT*, II, pp. 1317, 1320/Thackston, pp. 658, 660.
 205. Rashid mentions that she was the sister of Musa because they shared the same father, but it is not clear whether Martai was also the daughter of Chinggis Khan's daughter Tümlün. See *JT*, II, p. 1056/Thackston, p. 515.
 206. According to Rashid, one of the disputes between the two rivals was the desire of Tegüder Ahmad to marry Tö dai Khatun, which clashed with Arghun's right to marry his father's wives. See *JT*, II, pp. 1139–48/Thackston, pp. 556–9.
 207. *JT*, II, p. 1163/Thackston, p. 566. On the diplomatic usage of the *ordo*, see *JT*, II, p. 1248/Thackston, p. 615.
 208. She was *El-Qutlugh*, a concubine of *Jumghur's*, whom Ahmad had made an official wife; see *JT*, II, p. 1122/Thackston, p. 547.
 209. *JT*, II, p. 1056/Thackston, p. 515.
 210. *JT*, I, p. 188/Thackston, p. 97; on her daughter *Malika*, see *JT*, II, p. 1057/Thackston, p. 516.
 211. On this episode, see *JT*, II, pp. 1141–6/Thackston, pp. 556–8.
 212. Hamd Allah Mustawfi Qazvini, *The Geographical Part of the 'Nuzhat al-Qulüb' Composed by Hamd Allah Mustawfi of Qazwin in 740 (1340)*, trans. G. le Strange (Leiden and London, 1915–19; reprint 2008), p. 69; Melville, 'Bologān (Bülügān) Kātun'; R. Zipoli, 'The Tomb of Arghūn', in *Primo Convegno Internazionale sull'Arte dell'Iran Islamico* (Venice and Tehran, 1978), pp. 7–37.
 213. On *Bulughan Khatun 'Mo°azzama'*, see Melville, 'Bologān (Bülügān) Kātun'.
 214. On *Bulughan Khatun 'Mo°azzama'*, see Figure 4.2; *TU*, p. 89.
 215. See, for example, how a general of Tegüder Ahmad plundered the *ordo* of Arghun's chief wife, *Qutlugh Khatun*, when he knew of his rebellion. See *JT*, II, p. 1140/Thackston, p. 556. Similarly, the *ordo* of *Qutui Khatun* was sacked by Arghun after defeating Tegüder Ahmad. *JT*, II, pp. 1147–8/Thackston, p. 559.
 216. D. O. Morgan, 'Cassiodorus and Rashīd al-Dīn on Barbarian Rule in Italy and Persia', *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 40:2 (1977), p. 314.
 217. *JT*, II, p. 1212/Thackston, p. 592.
 218. *JT*, II, pp. 1212–13/Thackston, p. 592.

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219. *JT*, II, p. 1213/Thackston, p. 593.
220. It is interesting that Ghazan complained about robberies from this treasury performed by those in charge of the *ordo* after the death of Bulughan 'Bozorg'. See *JT*, I, p. 1213/Thackston, p. 593.
221. *JT*, II, pp. 1212–14/Thackston, pp. 592–3. She even gave him a son, Ching Pulad; see *TB*, p. 447.
222. It is in this period that Ghazan forged his alliance with Amir Nawruz. See the different versions of the episode in *JT*, II, pp. 1236–44/*JTK*, II, pp. 867–78/Thackston, pp. 605–13.
223. *JT*, II, p. 1214/Thackston, p. 593.
224. *JTK*, II, p. 869/Thackston, p. 606.
225. Boyle, 'Dynastic and Political History', pp. 374–5; for the exact date, see C. Melville, 'From Adam to Abaqa: Qādī Baidāwī's Rearrangement of History (Part 2)', *Studia Iranica* 36:1 (2007), p. 17; alternative dates in *TV*, p. 160; *Chronography*, p. 500.
226. A summary of the campaign can be found in Boyle, 'Dynastic and Political History', pp. 376–80. On the possibility of Ghazan's conversion being politically motivated, see R. Amitai, 'Ghazan, Islam and Mongol Tradition: A View from the Mamluk Sultanate', *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 59:1 (1996), p. 1.
227. *Chronography*, p. 504.
228. Aubin, *Émirs mongols*, p. 58.
229. For an explanation of this process, see Boyle, 'Dynastic and Political History', pp. 377–9; Aubin, *Émirs mongols*, pp. 56–60; Baidu was eventually defeated and killed in October–November 1295. See Abu'l-Fida', *The Memoirs of a Syrian Prince: Abu'l-Fidā', Sultan of Hamah (672–732/1273–1331)*, trans. P. M. Holt (Wiesbaden, 1983), p. 24; see also Melville, 'From Adam to Abaqa, Part 2', pp. 16–17.
230. *JT*, II, p. 1249/Thackston, p. 615; *TB*, p. 455.
231. Ghazan had a son (Alchu) and a daughter (Oljay Qutlugh) by her, who eventually became the chief wife of Abu Sa'id. See *TU*, p. 82; Kamal al-Din 'Abd al-Razzaq Samarqandi, *Maṭla'c-i sa'cdayn va majma'c-i baḥrayn*, ed. A. Nava'i (Tehran, 1372/1993), p. 54; Melville, 'Bologān (Bülügān) Kātun'.
232. On the state of the economy and the problems of the court in exacting revenues from the provinces, see Aubin, *Émirs mongols*, pp. 62–3. According to Petrushevsky, 'Socio-Economic Condition', pp. 491–4, one of the reasons for the economic crisis in this period was the conflict between a 'nomadic' and a 'Persian' understanding of administration.
233. *JT*, II, pp. 1507–8/Thackston, pp. 744–5.
234. *JT*, II, p. 1508/Thackston, p. 745.
235. Interesting in this is the anecdote narrated by Rashid al-Din in which gangs in the markets threatened wealthy merchants and nobles, demanding money. He points out that some of these groups were connected to *khātūns*,

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- suggesting a thirst for money in the Mongol *ordos* prior to Ghazan Khan. See *JT*, II, p. 1538/Thackston, p. 761.
236. *JT*, II, p. 1508/Thackston, p. 745.
237. *JT*, II, p. 1509/Thackston, p. 745.
238. R. Amitai, 'Turko-Mongolian Nomads and the Iqtā System in the Islamic Middle East (ca. 1000–1400 CE)', in A. M. Khazanov and A. Wink (eds), *Nomads in the Sedentary World* (Richmond, 2001), p. 153; D. O. Morgan, *Medieval Persia, 1040–1797: A History of the Near East* (New York, 1988), pp. 75–6; Lambton, *Continuity and Change*, pp. 115–29; I. Miller, 'Local History in Ninth/Fifteenth Century Yazd: The "Tārīkh-i Jadīd-i Yazd"', *Iran* 27 (1989), p. 78.
239. *JT*, II, p. 1509/Thackston, p. 745.
240. Hamd Allah Mustawfi Qazvini, *The 'Ta'rikh-i-Guzida': or 'Select History' of Hamdu'llah Mustawfi-i-Qazwini*, ed. and trans. E. G. Browne, 2 vols (Leiden and London, 1910–13), p. 148.
241. Attested to by the endurance of some *ordos* like those of El-Tuzmish, Qutlughshah Khatun and Baghdad Khatun, mentioned above. Toghanchuq (also Toghhan), who was Abaqa's daughter and Amir Nawruz's wife, had an *ordo* which played an important role in diplomacy and in the redistribution of wealth in Khurasan. See *JT*, II, p. 1243/Thackston, p. 612.