

1 | A New World of Encounters

The Life of Tamta Mqargrdzeli

The coming of this woman into the house of the sultans brought about much good.¹

Some said it was the fault of the horse, which went lame just as he tried to escape. Others blamed the rider himself: he was drunk and, 'riding aimlessly', came too close to the walls of the besieged city. Yet others praised the city's defenders: they had dug a trap and carefully covered it in straw, and it was this that the horse blundered into.² All, however, agreed on what happened next. Ivane Mqargrdzeli, the commander of a combined Christian army of Georgians and Armenians, was captured outside the besieged walls of the Muslim-held city of Akhlat, on the north-west shore of Lake Van in what is now eastern Turkey. The year was 1210.

The consequences of Ivane's capture would resonate for the next forty years, particularly for one person, his daughter Tamta. Tamta became one of the rewards in the ransom negotiations that followed Ivane's capture and led to her diplomatic – forced – marriage to al-Awhad, the ruler of Akhlat, and a nephew of the Ayyubid Sultan, Saladin, the scourge of Christians. However, this was only the first in a series of defeats, marriages and rape that saw her passed between all the conquerors who eyed Anatolia in the first half of the thirteenth century. These encounters traversed a new world that stretched from the Mediterranean to Mongolia.

Tamta's travels show the mobility of the medieval world. Her life links together the Georgians and the Armenians – the Christian peoples of the Caucasus – with the Ayyubids, Seljuk Turks and other Turkish emirates – the Muslim groups that dominated Anatolia and Syria. She was involved with the Crusader states in the Holy Land and Byzantium. She also connects all these eastern Mediterranean and Caucasian cultures with the Central Asian world of the Khwarazmians and the East Asian Mongols – both of whom

¹ Kirakos, 83 (trans. Bedrosian, 46).

² These varied explanations are recounted by Abu'l-Fida, 85; V. Minorsky, *Studies in Caucasian History* (London, 1953), 150 n.1 (citing al-Qazvini). Kirakos, 82; al-Dahabi, 193; M. F. Brosset, *Additions et éclaircissements à l'Histoire de la Géorgie* (St Petersburg, 1851), 272–3, notes the silence of the Georgian sources concerning this defeat.

invaded Tamta's world in the 1220s and 1230s; shocking new arrivals with radically different cultures and terrifyingly ferocious armies. She travelled between Christianity, Islam and the shamanistic and Buddhist religions of the Mongol world, and between the cultures of the Mediterranean, the Caucasus, Eurasia and Asia. We do not normally think that all these culturally diverse and apparently separate worlds could be experienced by one person, let alone by a woman, in the thirteenth century. Tamta lived amongst all these different groups and, between about 1236 and 1245, she even travelled to Mongolia. Although she has left no account of her travels, she was one of the first Christians to undertake such an arduous journey, and she returned before the first of the better-known western missionaries, the Friar John of Plano Carpini, had even set out on his travels. In the mid-1240s the Mongols returned Tamta to Akhlat and, if she had first entered the city as a prize of war, a victim, she now returned to it as the city's independent ruler and was to govern there for the last decade of her life. Tamta's shift from forced bride to female ruler represents one of the great transformations of a woman in the thirteenth century.

Tamta's life can only be pieced together from a few off-hand mentions spread across histories written by contemporaries in Georgian, Armenian, Arabic and Persian. For them, women were hardly the stuff of history. But those occasional, sparse appearances in the historical sources give enough information to sketch out her history, and that is the aim of this chapter. The following chapters examine the nature of the religious and cultural encounters that she enjoyed or endured, and the ways in which her identity changed in consequence. The different names, peoples and cultures that appear in this chapter, in many cases fleetingly and with only the briefest of descriptions, will be explored and explained at much greater length in the next. This book re-traces Tamta's life, the cultures she encountered and the role played by women in them.

Tamta's Life

Tamta's presence as a bargaining chip in the ransom negotiations for her father is the first that we know of her in any historical source. Her life before then is purely surmise. It is an inauspicious beginning for a biography: we do not know when she was born, and this is compounded by the fact that we do not know when her father, Ivane, was born either; nor do we have any information about her mother, beyond her name, Khoshak.³ The

³ She is named in Kirakos, 159, and in Vardan, 212, where Vardan claims that she was responsible for the conversion of Zakare's son, Shahanshah, to Chalcedonianism: C. Toumanoff, *Les*

Mqargrdzeli family owned great estates in the province of Lore, on the marchlands between Armenia and Georgia in the Caucasus, and it was in this area of high plateaux and deep river gorges that she must have spent her first years. We know that Ivane took on an active role at the court of Georgia from the 1190s, and that Tamta was clearly of marriageable age by 1210. If we assume that she was over thirteen at her marriage, and given that her death is placed in the year 1254, we might assume that she was born around 1195.⁴ Tamta had one brother, Avag, who was to succeed their father in his posts at the Georgian court in the 1230s, and who played an important role in Tamta's life in the decade before she died.

Tamta had been raised at a time when women seemed to be in the ascendant in the Caucasus. Her family held senior posts at the court of Tamar, the Queen of Georgia and the first woman to rule in her own name and in her own right in the region (r. 1184–1210). Taking advantage of internal power struggles all around Georgia among the Seljuk Turks, the Turkoman tribes in Anatolia and Azerbaijan, the Byzantines and the Armenians, Tamar's armies extended Georgian rule and influence through eastern Anatolia. By 1199 Georgia controlled most of Greater Armenia (the traditional name for the area comprising most of modern Armenia and parts of eastern Turkey), and by the end of the next decade it dominated many of the small Muslim emirates that lay beyond them. Tughrilshah, the Emir of Erzurum, acknowledged Tamar as his overlord and even placed a cross above his Islamic banners;⁵ and the Mengujekid ruler of Erzincan similarly acknowledged his vassalship to her. Muslim historians worried about Georgian expansionism in this decade: Tamar's troops raided far into Khorasan in eastern Iran, and one writer feared the Georgians' ambition to replace the Caliph in Baghdad with their Christian Catholicos, and to turn the city's mosques into churches.⁶ In 1210, then, Tamar's independent position as a woman ruler was secure, and, as her reign coincided with a period of Georgian territorial expansionism, it was already being hailed as a golden age, commanded by a living saint who was also the 'fourth member of the Trinity'.⁷

dynasties de la Caucasic chrétienne de l'Antiquité jusqu'au XIXe siècle. Tables généalogiques et chronologiques (Rome, 1990), 295, tab. 63:7.

⁴ From the eighth century the legal age for a girl to marry was thirteen: *Ecloga*, 72; for the reality see C. Hennessy, *Images of Children in Byzantium* (Aldershot, 2008), 16–17.

⁵ Ibn al-Athir, 3: 270.

⁶ Juvayni, 2: 426. However, this is something of a cliché in Islamic sources: the same appears in Husayni, 36.

⁷ Tamar was named as saint during her lifetime in the Vani Gospels (Tbilisi, National Center of Manuscripts, A-1335, fol. 272v): K. Sharashidze, *Sakartvelos sakhelmtsipo muzeumis kartul khelnatserta aghtseriloba: qopili saeklesio muzeumis khelnatserebi (A kolektsia)* vol. 4 (Tbilisi, 1954), 409; E. Taqaishvili, 'L'évangile de Vani', *Byzantion* 10 (1935), 655–63; Tamar as fourth member of the Trinity: *Kartlis Tskhovreba*, 239.

The Mqargrdzeli family played a formidable role in this expansion of Georgian power, although it was not itself a Georgian family.⁸ It had risen to prominence in the 1170s under Tamar's father, Giorgi III, as he looked for fresh courtiers to counterbalance the established but fractious nobility that constantly sought to subvert or limit his royal power. For new, loyal allies he had looked beyond Georgia's traditional borders to an Armenian family of Kurdish descent whose head, Sargis Mqargrdzeli, had proved himself in battle and at court. Sargis was followed by his sons Zakare and Ivane, and it was their loyalty to Tamar that enabled her to exercise independent power as ruling Queen in a world in which women were more normally expected to move from father to husband as meek and obedient chattels.

Tamta's background, then, must be found within the mixed Georgian and Armenian milieu of the start of the thirteenth century. Tamta's early life was spent in this double world – divided geographically between Armenia and Georgia, divided linguistically between the different languages each country spoke, and divided religiously between the two different Christian confessions that each nation professed. Her uncle Zakare adhered to the Armenian Apostolic Orthodoxy into which members of the family had been baptised, but in around 1200 her father converted to the Chalcedonian Christianity of the Georgians.⁹

Ivane's capture at Akhlat in 1210 took place during the annual Georgian summer raids that sought to extend Tamar's territory south and west into Greater Armenia and Anatolia, or south and east into Iran. Akhlat was an important military goal because of its strategic location between the Caucasus, Anatolia and the Jazira. One of the explanations for Ivane's seizure offered by Armenian chroniclers claimed that it was divine vengeance for his apostasy from the Armenian faith.¹⁰ The failed assault on Akhlat marked the high water mark of the Georgian adventurism that opened the thirteenth century. Two years later, soon after Zakare's death, Ivane set up a great public inscription around the entrance to the church at Haghartsin in northern Armenia in memory of his brother and to celebrate their joint successes:

By the will of God, this inscription is a monument in perpetuity, in memory of the sons of the Great Sargis, Zakare and Ivane, of the Bagratid family. When the bounty of God was upon his creatures and allowed us to enter into possession of the heritage of our fathers, he placed first in our hands the impregnable castle of Amberd and the royal city of Ani, then the

⁸ The family's origins are described in Kirakos, 81. ⁹ *Kartlis Tskhovbreba*, 263–7.

¹⁰ Kirakos, 82–3. His defeat at Garni in 1225 was similarly ascribed to his apostasy in the Sebastatsi chronicle: *Armianskie istochniki*, 23.

fortress of Bjni and Marand as far as Gushank; Tevriz [Tabriz]; Karnukalak [Erzurum] as far as Akhlat; Shaki, the Shirvan; Barda as far as Beluqan, and many other countries with their frontiers which we regard as futile to mention. This God, who never angers, loved Zakare, the crown of our head, and called this powerful hero to him. So I, I constructed this oratory, in our hereditary monastery of Haghartsin, carved in stone, red in colour, at the gate of the church of St Gregory, and I gave it a vineyard, located at Yerevan, in memory of my brother. The servants of this place must celebrate, without interruption, a liturgy in the principal chapel; those who will do this, may they be blessed by God.¹¹

Given the fate of Tamta, the 'as far as Akhlat' appears particularly poignant. There is certainly no mention of his capture, or of Tamta's, in this bombastic text.

The price of Ivane's ransom in 1210 was high: a thirty-year peace in which the Georgians vowed not to launch new attacks to the south, the return of captured castles, the release of 5,000 Muslim captives and the payment of 100,000 dinars.¹² The final demand, the handing over of Tamta in marriage to the commander of the city, al-Awhad, was perhaps the most costly of all. Tamta's treatment shows the limits and exceptionalism of Tamar's hard-won position: the Queen may have eventually been able to determine her own fate, but her female subjects were not afforded a similar luxury.

Al-Awhad was one of the many nephews of al-Nasir Salah al-Din Yusuf, better known in the west as Saladin, the leader of the Ayyubid family that dominated the Muslim world in Syria and Egypt at the end of the twelfth century. Al-Awhad had only recently come into power in Akhlat. In the twelfth century the city had been an independent Turkish emirate, ruled by Muslim emirs who gave themselves the title of Shah-i Armen (King of the Armenians), but the years before Ivane's capture were marked by internal strife within the city. The last of the Shah-i Armen dynasty, an unnamed son of Beg-Temür, had been forced out of the city by its inhabitants. His malicious and incompetent rule fed a revolt, and he was replaced by one of his *mamluks* (slave soldiers) named Balban. Al-Awhad was based in the nearby city of Mayyafariqin (modern Silvan) and his advance to the north was part of a concerted campaign organised by his father al-ʿAdil (the brother and successor of Saladin) to expand Ayyubid power out of Syria and the Jazira and into south-eastern Anatolia and Greater Armenia. In the face

¹¹ Brosset, *Additions et éclaircissements*, 271; S. La Porta, "The Kingdom and the Sultanate were Conjoined": Legitimizing Land and Power in Armenia during the 12th and early 13th Centuries, *REArm* 34 (2012), 73–118, at 91.

¹² Abu'l-Fida, 85.

of these Ayyubid advances on the city Balban allied himself with Tughrilshah, the Seljuk ruler of Erzurum (and occasional vassal of Georgia), the most powerful of the emirates in eastern Anatolia. This kept the Ayyubids at bay, but awakened Tughrilshah's own ambitions. He betrayed and murdered Balban, hoping to take control of Akhlat himself. Once more the people of the city rose against a potential ruler, refusing Tughrilshah entrance into Akhlat. But to keep him out they needed support from elsewhere, and were now forced to open their gates to al-Awhad, who was clearly seen as the lesser of two evils.¹³ Nevertheless, the Ayyubid ruler was not a popular choice and his garrison was virtually imprisoned in the citadel by the city's population.¹⁴ Underlying this fierce distrust was ethnic tension between the Turkoman elites of Anatolia and the Arabicised rulers of Syria. Al-Awhad had been warned to be careful in Akhlat, as its people 'are averse to the Arabs' (although as we will see, such ethnic distinctions are by no means clear cut, and the identity of the Ayyubids was complex).¹⁵

It was at this moment that the Georgian raid on the city ended in failure with such disastrous consequences, and led to Tamta's marriage to its Ayyubid ruler. The marriage was a minor affair – al-Awhad was one of the less important of the sons of al-'Adil, only trusted with a relatively insignificant territory to rule, a long way from the heartland of Ayyubid power in Syria and Egypt. Al-Dahabi dismisses him as 'unjust and deceitful'.¹⁶ Although the marriage had international ramifications in bringing Georgians and Ayyubids into contact with each other, it was essentially a border affair. However, this was to change very quickly, when Tamta found herself a widow after only a few months.¹⁷ Al-Awhad died, probably of disease, and his lands were rapidly taken over by his brother al-Ashraf Musa, who assumed control of his government, and also took over his treaty with the Georgians. He clearly inherited al-Awhad's Caucasian wife as well, and he immediately married Tamta to preserve the blood-link that underlay the peace.

The replacement of al-Awhad by al-Ashraf appeared seamless. Al-Ashraf stressed his continuity with his brother, maintaining his policies and even completing his buildings.¹⁸ But this appearance of continuity in fact disguised a radical change, as al-Ashraf was much more ambitious than his

¹³ Bar Hebraeus, 363–5. ¹⁴ Minorsky, *Studies in Caucasian History*, 149.

¹⁵ Ibn al-Athir, 3: 122. ¹⁶ Al-Dahabi, 198.

¹⁷ C. D'Ohsson, *Histoire des Mongols, depuis Tchinguiz-Khan jusqu'à Timour Bey ou Tamerlan* (Amsterdam, 1852), 3: 42.

¹⁸ As at the minaret extra muros at Mayyafariqin al-Ashraf completed in 1212 and that at al-Ruha: E. J. Whelan, *The Public Figure: Political Iconography in Medieval Mesopotamia* (London, 2006), 437–40.

brother, and sought to carve out a larger and more significant realm to rule. The second marriage moved Tamta into a very different league within the Ayyubid world: al-Ashraf, along with his older brothers al-Kamil and al-Mu'azzam, were the three major figures in their generation of the family and dominated its tensions, manoeuvrings and disputes over the next quarter of a century across the Jazira, Syria and Egypt. Initially, al-ʿAdil disapproved of his son's actions at Akhlat, fearing, with good reason, that it was evidence of his dangerous ambition, but al-Ashraf managed to persuade him of his loyalty to the family.¹⁹ This second marriage lasted for more than a quarter of a century, until al-Ashraf's death in 1237.

As a wife of al-Ashraf, Tamta was closer to the heart of the Ayyubid world, but she had to move carefully. On the one hand she now potentially had access to much greater wealth and influence than she had ever enjoyed before, but on the other her status as a Christian wife in a Muslim court made her vulnerable. Indeed, her future must have looked bleak. She was just one of many wives in al-Ashraf's harem, and by no means the most favoured. She had little family around her and no leverage among the court elite. We know more about the activities of her co-wives, who came from the most powerful Islamic dynasties to the west and east, including an unnamed sister of the Seljuk Sultan of Anatolia, Kaykubad I (1219–37), and Terkan Khatun, the sister of the Zangid ruler of Mosul, Arslan Shah I (1193–1211).²⁰ We also know more about her sisters-in-law, such as Dayfa Khatun, who was to go on in Aleppo to become the first Muslim woman to exercise independent rule.²¹ These other women were Muslims and allied to powerful families within the Ayyubid confederacy and its allies. Tamta had neither religious nor family ties to protect her. Akhlat was very much an outpost of al-Ashraf's pocket empire; it was separated from his heartlands around Har-ran and Raqqa in the Jazira by the Artuqids in Amid (modern Diyarbakir) and Mardin. And when, in 1229, he took control of the wealthy capital, Damascus, al-Ashraf relinquished control of most of his other lands in the Jazira, leaving the windswept lakeside town of Akhlat even more isolated.²²

It is not clear how al-Ashraf used his new wife, and she does not seem to have borne him any children.²³ However, she was not required to convert to

¹⁹ Ibn al-ʿAmid, 19.

²⁰ R. S. Humphreys, 'Women as Patrons of Religious Architecture in Ayyubid Damascus', *Muqarnas* 11 (1994), 35–54, no. 15.

²¹ Y. Tabbaa, 'Dayfa Khatun, Regent Queen and Architectural Patron', in *Women, Patronage, and Self-Representation in Islamic Societies*, ed. D. F. Ruggles (Albany, 2000), 17–34.

²² Al-Dahabi, 224.

²³ J. Sublet, 'La folie de la princesse Bint al-Ašraf (un scandale financier sous les Mamelouks Bahris)', *BEO* 27 (1974), 45–50 suggests that Tamta may have borne him a daughter; but the identity of the mother is unknown.

Islam, as the Christian brides of other Muslim rulers around her were often forced to. It seems unlikely that she accompanied her new husband on his journeys between the cities he controlled. Instead, the one source that takes an interest in the marriage suggests that she mostly resided in Akhlat. This is the Armenian historian Kirakos Gandzaketsi's comment on the aftermath:

The coming of this woman into the house of the sultans brought about much good, for the lot of the Christians under their domination improved, especially in Taron since the monasteries which were there and had been under taxation, had the rate of their taxes lowered, and half of them had the whole tax discontinued. [The Muslims] ordered those under their domination not to despoil or trouble travellers going to Jerusalem for pilgrimage. The Georgians especially expanded [their influence], for Ivane was misled to the doctrine of Chalcedon (through which the Georgians were lost); for he loved the glory of man more than the glory of God. He became charmed by the queen named Tamar, daughter of Giorgi, while Zakare remained true to the orthodox confession of the Armenians. Therefore they honoured the Georgians even more, for they were not taxed in all their cities, and in Jerusalem as well. [Ivane's daughter] was named Tamta.

Thus was friendship and unity achieved between the Georgian kingdom and the sultans' lordship.²⁴

Kirakos, who was probably writing on behalf of a Mqargrdzeli patron, is our main source for Tamta's life.²⁵ He was a contemporary of Tamta and began writing his history in 1241. His assessment of Tamta's influence is clearly a retrospective view, so we must assume that it was these concerns with monastic and city taxation and freedom of travel that occupied her over the next decades; for she is mentioned in no source for the next fifteen years. Akhlat itself was administered by a governor installed by al-Ashraf, his *hajib* (chamberlain), Husam al-Din 'Ali, so any influence that Tamta might exert had to be exercised through him. As we will see, where women did rule in the Muslim world, they had to do so through a façade of male governors. Taron, the fertile agricultural plain to the west of Lake Van, clearly came under her purview. This province was still largely populated by Christians, mostly Armenian, but also Greeks and Syrians, despite having been under Muslim rule for more than a century; and it was among the Christians living here that Tamta was able to have most impact. The two achievements that

²⁴ Kirakos, 83 (trans. Bedrosian, 46). When fighting broke out between the Georgians and Akhlat, the Georgians were able to appeal to al-Ashraf to restore the peace, which he did: Ibn al-Athir, 3: 242–3.

²⁵ B. Dashdondog, *The Mongols and the Armenians (1220–1335)* (Leiden; Boston, 2010), 13.

Kirakos lists for Tamta, the reduction in taxation and support for pilgrimage, were key state activities in the thirteenth century, and both indicate her active role in the government of the region. Tax exemptions and records of pilgrimages were frequently noted in inscriptions on Armenian churches and city monuments to provide a permanent record of their existence, but the Christian monuments of Taron are almost all now destroyed.

In 1220 al-Ashraf gave Akhlat to his brother al-Malik al-Muzaffar Ghazi to rule as part of a redistribution of fiefs among the Ayyubid clan, and so this is the one period when Tamta may have travelled south with her husband into the Jazira and Syria. Ghazi himself tried to replicate the Georgian alliance by demanding to marry Rusudan, the daughter of Queen Tamar (and now sister of the ruling King, Giorgi IV Lasha), but the negotiations came to nothing.²⁶ By 1224 al-Ashraf was fed up with his brother, who had started to conspire against him with al-Mu‘azzam, their more powerful sibling in Damascus, and he returned to capture and rule the city once again.²⁷ Tamta was certainly back in the region, without her husband, when Akhlat changed hands once again in 1230, suggesting that once more al-Ashraf left her in the city as his regent.

Tamta's reappearance coincided with the appearance of a new threat to the society of eastern Anatolia and the Caucasus. It came from the east: the Khwarazmians, a Turkic–Persian people from Central Asia, based to the south of the Aral Sea (modern Turkmenistan and Uzbekistan). The first phase in the expansion of the Mongols in the 1210s and 1220s had forced them to retreat to the west, where the Khwarazmian ruler, Jalal al-Din Minguburnu, carved out for himself a new kingdom in Iran, Azerbaijan and the Caucasus. The Khwarazmian invasion of eastern Anatolia began in 1225, when Jalal al-Din set out from Tabriz. It was in the course of this invasion that Tamta re-emerges from obscurity; and once again her fate can, in part, be laid at her father's door. Jalal al-Din's freedom to establish a new realm in the region came from his crushing defeat of a Georgian–Armenian army under Ivane's control at the battle of Garni in 1225. Ivane had underestimated the power of the Khwarazmians, thinking them a spent force after their defeats by the Mongols; his army was massacred and he fled the battlefield, leaving Tamta's brother Avag to sue for peace on humiliating terms.

In 1225 Tamta is recorded as being in command of the castle of ‘Aliabad; a site which Jalal al-Din passed by but spared on his way to capture the

²⁶ Kartlis Tskhovreba, 205.

²⁷ Ibn al-Athir, 3: 247–8; Minorsky, *Studies in Caucasian History*, 150.

Georgian capital, Tbilisi.²⁸ This castle was probably located somewhere on the modern frontier between Armenia and Azerbaijan, suggesting that Tamta was still associated with the politics of her family in Armenia at this time, as well as exercising power in Akhlat on behalf of her husband.²⁹ However, on 14 April 1230 she was in Akhlat again when the city was finally captured by Jalal al-Din – three-and-a-half years after his first attempt in November 1226 had been rebuffed by the *hajib* Husam al-Din ‘Ali.³⁰ The siege was a long and brutal one: ‘The people of Akhlat ate the sheep, then the cattle, then the buffaloes, then the horses, then the donkeys, then the mules, then the dogs and cats. We heard that they were catching rats and eating them. They showed endurance that nobody could match.’³¹ Jalal al-Din attacked with giant mangonels that hurled burning naphtha into the city. It was still remembered as the most traumatic episode in the city’s history as late as the 1890s when the Anglo-Irish traveller H. F. B. Lynch visited Lake Van.³² With the city captured, Tamta was taken prisoner by Jalal al-Din himself, who then ‘enjoyed his rights with her that very night’.³³ In other words, he raped her.

Here we begin to gain a more sober assessment of the position of elite women and the fragility of their position. The successful, independent reigns of Tamar in Georgia or Dayfa Khatun in Aleppo were exceptions that few other women could equal. Contemporary chroniclers presented Jalal al-Din’s assault on Tamta as an act of retribution against Malika, one of his wives. Malika was the daughter of Toghril Shah III, the last Great Seljuk ruler of Iran, and had been married to Muzaffar al-Din Özbek, who, with the title of *atabeg* of Azerbaijan, dominated the government of Iran.³⁴ Malika seems to have been the effective ruler of Tabriz when Jalal al-Din first moved west, and she negotiated the surrender of the city to him in 1225. She then engineered an excuse to force a divorce from her husband (condemned as cowardly and incompetent) in order to marry the Khwarazmshah. This looks very much like an attempt to jump horses to the new power in the region. She moved with Jalal al-Din to the city of Khoy, but fell out with her new husband and escaped to Akhlat, where she incited the *hajib* Husam

²⁸ Juvayni, 2: 430–31; al-Nasawi, 295.

²⁹ On the location of ‘Aliabad see Minorsky’s note in Juvayni, 2: 431 n. 20.

³⁰ J. A. Boyle, ‘Dynastic and Political History of the Īl-Khāns’, in *The Cambridge History of Iran*, vol. 5: *The Saljuq and Mongol Periods*, ed. J. A. Boyle (Cambridge, 1968), 303–421, esp. 327–33.

³¹ Ibn al-Athir, 3: 298.

³² H. F. B. Lynch, *Armenia: Travels and Studies* (London; New York, 1901), 2: 295–6: ‘the event still forms the centre of the slight historical knowledge which is possessed by [even] the least educated of the present inhabitants.’

³³ D’Ohsson, *Histoire des Mongols*, 3: 42. ³⁴ Juvayni, 2: 424.