

PART 3

Culture and the Arts



Music in the Mongol Conquest of Baghdad: Şafī al-Dīn Urmawī and the Ilkhanid Circle of Musicians

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Thinking about music in the context of the Mongol conquest of Baghdad (656/1258) usually brings to mind elegies lamenting the fall of the city, the caliphate, and occasionally the whole of Islamic civilization.¹ This article, however, examines a different kind of music; it introduces the story of Şafī al-Dīn Urmawī (613–93/1216–94), the master musician and singer of the last ‘Abbasid caliph. By dint of his virtuosity and ingenuity, Urmawī managed to save both himself and his neighbourhood from the conqueror’s wrath and secure an important post in the Ilkhanid regime. In the first section of this work, I will translate and analyze the court musician’s personal account of the takeover, which is preserved in the Mamluk encyclopedia of Shihāb al-Dīn al-‘Umārī (d. 749/1349). The second part consists of a preliminary examination of the fate of Urmawī and his circle of musicians after the fall.² Their experiences comprise a case study for assessing the fortunes of ‘Abbasid culture under Mongol rule. At least in this particular field, my findings suggest that the termination of the ‘Abbasid regime neither eviscerated nor triggered a decline in Islamic culture. On the contrary: the Mongols’ ascension led to the continued flourishing of the ‘Abbasid musical school and to its further enrichment.

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- 1 For poems lamenting the fall of Baghdad, see Hassan, “Loss of Caliphate,” 41–49; and Abū Rukun [sic], “The Fall of Abbasid Baghdad,” 81–101.
- 2 Ilkhanid musicians were deftly described in both ‘Azzāwī, *al-Mūsīqā al-‘Irāqīyah*, 22–49 and Neubauer, “Musik zur Mongolenzeit in Iran,” 233–60, esp. fn. on 245. I will eschew rehashing their contributions, from which I benefited greatly. Instead, I will examine the material from a slightly different vantage point.

Şafī al-Dīn al-Urmawī's Account³

'Abd al-Mu'min b. Yūsuf b. Fākhīr Şafī al-Dīn Urmawī was one of the more illustrious musical artists and theoreticians in the Muslim world.⁴ Born in Urmiya (a city in modern-day Azerbaijan province in Iran), he arrived in Baghdad as a young boy. Urmawī launched a career in jurisprudence at the newly established Mustanşiriyya College (opened 631/1234), which would soon become the city's most renowned *madrassa*. Like many scholars of his time, Urmawī was a polymath. In addition to his expertise in Shafī'ite and comparative law, he was well versed in calligraphy, Arabic, poetry, history, mathematics, and of course music. By the age of 21, he had already completed his magnum opus, *Kitāb al-adwār* (The book of cycles), a systematic exposition on the modal system, which was one of the most influential works on Islamic music theory.⁵ Like its author, who was also an accomplished singer and lute player, the book combines musical theory with practice.

At one and the same time, Urmawī made a name for himself in the discipline of calligraphy. When the last 'Abbasid caliph, al-Musta'şim bi-Allāh (r. 640–656/1242–58), set up his own library and looked for copyists, Şafī al-Dīn was hired due to his excellent penmanship. He was elevated to court musician relatively late in al-Musta'şim's reign, thanks to the recommendation of his former student, the caliph's songstress Luḥāz. Soon after, he became one of the emperor's closest companions, even tutoring his sons. Moreover, Urmawī had the ear of the Caliph's top officials. In the process, he acquired considerable wealth, as his musical talents netted him a generous annual pension of 5,000 dinars.⁶

Urmawī's experiences during the Mongol conquest of Baghdad are recorded in the volume on musicians (vol. 10) of the encyclopedia *Masālik al-abşār fī mamālik al-amşār* (Paths of discernment into the kingdoms of the lands),

3 Long after this article was sent to the editor, I found out that this part was translated by G. J. V. Gelder. See his "Sing Me to Sleep," 1–9. His focus is, however, much narrower than mine, nor was he interested in the Mongol facet of this story.

4 On Urmawī's stature in the field of Islamic music, see e.g., Shiloah, *Music in the World of Islam*, 55–58, 111–23; and Neubauer, E. "Şafī al-Dīn Urmawī." In *Encyclopaedia of Islam, Second Edition*; online version at http://www.brillonline.nl/subscriber/entry?entry=islam_SIM-6447.

5 For a recent description and evaluation of sundry versions, see Wright, "The Modal System"; Idem, "A Preliminary Version of the 'Kitāb al-Adwār,'" 455–78; and below.

6 Neubauer, "Şafī al-Dīn Urmawī," and the references therein. See above all al-Kutubī, *Fawāt al-wafayāt*, 2:31–32; al-Şafadī, *al-Wāfi bi'l-wafayāt*, 19:342–43; al-'Umarī, *Masālik al-abşār*, 10:350–51; Ibn al-Ṭiqṭaqā, *al-Fakhrī fī al-ādāb al-sultāniyya*, 74, 449–50; and *al-Fakhrī*/Whitting, 49, 317.

which was compiled by the Mamluk historian and administrator Shihāb al-Dīn al-ʿUmarī, one of the most knowledgeable Mamluk historians on the subject of the Mongols.⁷ ʿUmarī’s account is based on the testimony of al-ʿIzz al-Irbilī, alias al-Ḥasan b. Aḥmad b. Zafar (d. 726/1326), a physician and teacher who migrated to Damascus from the Ilkhanate. Al-Irbilī was also described as a historian who penned, *inter alia*, many “unique biographies” (*tarājim gharība*).⁸ Furthermore, he is cited in Mamluk histories on the Ilkhan Ghazan (r. 695–704/1295–1304) and his famous vizier, Rashīd al-Dīn (d. 718/1318),⁹ thus he probably left the Ilkhanate after Ghazan’s reign.

With this short survey behind us, let us now turn to al-Irbilī’s account of Urmawī’s fortunes in the midst of the Mongol takeover of Baghdad.¹⁰ al-ʿIzz al-Irbilī mentioned in his *History*:

I was sitting with ʿAbd al-Muʿmin [i.e., Urmawī] in the Mustanṣiriyya College and [the topic of] the fall of Baghdad (*wāqiʿat-Baghdād*) came up. He told me that Hülegü summoned the city’s leaders and notables (*ruʿasāʾ al-balad wa-ʿurafāʾahu*) and asked them to divide the gated quarters (*durūb*)¹¹ of Baghdad and its neighborhoods (*maḥālihā*) and the houses of its people of means (*buyūt dhawī yasārihā*) between the commanders of his dynasty. They divided them and allotted every neighborhood or two or every two markets to a great *amir*. The quarter (*darab*) in which I lived was allotted to a commander of 10,000 riders, named

7 The whole third volume of ʿUmarī’s encyclopedia is devoted to the Chinggisids. This part had been edited, annotated and translated into German by Lech. See al-ʿUmarī, *Das Mongolische Weltreich*.

8 al-Ṣafadī, *Aʿyān al-ʿaṣr wa-aʿwān al-naṣr*, 2:188–89; al-Ṣafadī, *al-Wāfi*, 12:239; Ibn Ḥajar, *al-Durar al-kāmina*, 2:92; and Ibn Kathīr, *al-Bidāya wa-l-nihāya*, 14:144.

9 For example, see al-Ṣafadī, *Aʿyān*, 4: 9, 14, 43; and ʿUmarī, *Masālik*, 10:193.

10 ʿUmarī, *Masālik*, 10:353–56 (or the facsimile edition: ed. F. Sezgin with A. Jolhosha, E. Neubauer, 10:311–15). ʿUmarī’s text is quoted, with minor changes, in al-Ḥamawī, *Thamarāt al-awraq*, 461–66 (I would like to thank Prof. Michael Lecker for referring me to this source). The story is cited in ʿAzzāwī, *al-Mūsīqā*, 27–31; and Nāji Maʿrūf, *Tārīkh ʿulamāʾ al-Mustanṣiriyya*, 1:270–74. A Hebrew summary, based on ʿAzzāwī’s work, is included in Abū Rukun [sic], “The Fall,” 117–20. The latter dates al-ʿIzz al-Irbilī’s death to 660/1262 and claims that the story is found in *Urjūzat al-anghām* (p. 117 and n. 514)—a treatise of music by another person with a nearly identical name: Badr al-Dīn Irbilī (686–755/1287–1354). However, the *Urjūza*, which is included in ʿAzzāwī’s book (106–17), does not contain this story.

11 For a discussion on *darab* (pl. *durūb*) and its meanings, see Eickelman, “Is there an Islamic City?,” 274–94, esp. 283. Dr. Nimrod Luz graciously brought this source to my attention.

Bānū Noyan.¹² Hülegü allowed some of the commanders to kill, capture, and loot for three days, some for two days, and others for only one day, according to their ranks. When the commanders entered Baghdad's first gated neighborhood, namely the one where I was living, quite a few people of means were gathered there. And at my place, around fifty of the notable singers (*a'yān al-mughānī*), who had property and beauty, were assembled. Bānū Noyan stopped¹³ at the gate of the quarter, which was barricaded¹⁴ with wood and earth. They knocked on the gate and said: 'Open the gate and obey us, and we will give you safe conduct (*amān*). And if not, we will burn the gate and kill you.' Accompanying him [Baiju] were the naptha throwers [*zarrāqūn*], the carpenters [*najjārūn*],¹⁵ and his armed followers.

'Abd al-Mu'min said: 'I'll go out to him in submission and obedience.' I opened the gate and went out to him on my own, wearing dirty clothes and awaiting death. I kissed the ground in front of him and he told the interpreter: 'Ask him: Who are you? Are you the leader of the quarter's residents?' I said: 'Yes.' He said: 'If you want to save your life, bring us this and that'—and he asked for quite a lot. I kissed the ground for the second time and said: 'All that the *amīr* asked for will be brought, and everyone in this neighborhood will be under your rule. Order your armies to loot the other neighborhoods assigned to them and stay [here] so I can host you along with anyone you want from your retinue. I will collect all that you have asked for.' He [the commander] consulted with his followers and came with thirty people. I brought him to my house and spread out the precious caliphal carpets and the silk covers (*sutūr*) embroidered with gold. I immediately served him food—fried and roasted dishes and

12 I assume that this is referring to Baiju Noyan (often rendered Bājū in Arabic sources). Baiju (fl. 625–57/1228–59) was the Mongol general and military governor in northwestern Iran. When Hülegü advanced westward, Baiju was among the generals under his command. He distinguished himself in the Baghdad campaign, as his forces subdued the western part of the city. See P. Jackson, "Bāyjū" in *Encyclopædia Iranica*.

13 While the facsimile and Ibn Ḥijja's version read *waqafa*, 'Umarī's 2010 edition reads *waqata*.

14 'Umarī's edition reads *mudabbas/mudbis*, which can be understood as 'chained' (deriving from *dabbūs* or chain); see Pimenta, *Dictionary of Post-Classical Yemeni Arabic*, 143. Ibn Ḥijja's version employs the more suitable "*mutattaris*," a derivative of *mītras*: barricade, barrier, or rampart. Hans Wehr's dictionary, 93, http://ejtaal.net/m/aa/#HW=111,LL=1_339,LS=2,HA=76.

15 During the campaign, the carpenters probably built siege machines.

sweets—and ate a sample [of the dish] in his presence.¹⁶ When he finished eating, I arranged a royal assembly (*majlisan mulūkiyan*) for him and brought him gilded dishes from Aleppo [and] glass and silver dishes filled with distilled beverages (*sharāb murawwaq*). When the drinking cups had made a round and he got a little tipsy, I brought ten singers, all of them women, each of whom sang a different delightful tune (*malhāt*). I gave them an order, and they all sang in unison. The assembly was animated. He [Baiju] was excited by the music and his soul was satisfied. He hugged a singer he liked and had intercourse with her (*wāqa'ahā*) during the assembly, while we were watching. His day came to a close in the best possible way.

By the time of the evening prayer, his men arrived with the loot and the prisoners [from other neighbourhoods]. Apart from the food ('*aliq*')¹⁷ and the gifts of wine (*hibāt al-'awāniyya*) that were before him, I brought them wonderful presents of gold and silver dishes and coins, cash, and splendid cloths; I apologized for the dearth [of gifts] and told him: 'The commander came without notice, but tomorrow, God willing, I will invite the commander to a better feast than this.' He rode and I kissed his mount, whereupon I returned [to the neighbours]. I gathered the rich people of the quarter and told them: 'Look out for yourselves; this man will be here tomorrow and the day after as well. Each day, I want to double [the volume of the gifts from] the previous day.' They collected from their houses all kinds of gold, precious cloths, and arms worth 50,000 dinars. He already came to me before sunrise the next day, and what he saw left him astonished.

On this day, he [Bānū] arrived with his wives, and I gave him and his wives precious gifts, gold, and cash worth 20,000 dinars. On the third day, I gave him precious pearls, expensive gems, and a beautiful jennet with caliphal gear, saying: 'This is the caliph's mount.' I served all those who were with him and said: 'This quarter is already under your command; and if you grant its people their lives, he [i.e., Hülegü] will be blameless in the eyes of God and men, for all that is left to them is their souls.' He said: 'I know this. From the first day I gave them their souls, and my soul did not tell me to kill or capture them. But before doing anything else, you

16 The purpose behind this action was probably to demonstrate that the food was not poisoned.

17 While the principal meaning of '*aliq*' is 'fodder,' it is also used as a metaphor for wine or anything eaten; Lane's dictionary, 10:421 http://ejtaal.net/m/aa/#HW=652,LL=5_421,LS=2,HA=506,HW_HIDE.

should come with me to see the Qan. I already mentioned you to him and I brought him one of the objects you gave me during the first [few] days. He liked it and ordered [me] to summon you.' I feared for my life and for the people of the quarter, and I said [to myself]: 'He will take me out of Baghdad, kill me, and loot the quarter.' I became apprehensive and said: 'Oh, *khūnad* [lord], Hülegü is a great king and I am a lowly man, a singer; I am afraid and in awe of him.' He said: 'Don't be scared, only good things will befall you; he [the Qan] is a man who likes the gifted (*ahl al-fadā'il*).' I said: 'Can you guarantee that nothing bad will happen to me?' He said: 'Yes.' So I told the people of the quarter: 'Bring your precious things and give me all you have: splendid singers and a substantial amount of money in gold and silver.' I brought from my place loads of good food, plenty of wine—old and excellent—and beautiful dishes—all of it from gold and inscribed silver. I took with me three of the most beautiful singers and the best [lute] players. I wore a suit of caliphal cloth and rode on a beautiful jennet, which I used to ride on when I went to the caliph. When Bānū Noyan saw me in this [outfit], he said: 'You're a minister!' And I said: 'Indeed, I am the caliph's singer and his companion, but so long as I feared you, I wore those tattered and filthy clothes. When I became [one of] your subjects, my status was restored and I felt secure. Hülegü is a great king, greater than the caliph, and I can only enter his presence with courtliness and dignity.

He liked my response, and I went with him to Hülegü's camp. He entered his presence, brought me with him, and said to Hülegü: 'This is the man I mentioned' and pointed at me. When Hülegü's eyes fell on me, I kissed the ground and knelt as is the Tatars' custom. Bā[nū] Noyan told him: 'This [man] was the caliph's singer and did so and so for me; he [already] brought you presents.' He [Hülegü] said: "Raise him!" and they raised me. I kissed the ground for the second time and wished him well. I offered him and his retinue the gifts that I took with me. And whenever I gave him something, he asked about it, then left it. Thereafter, he did the same with the food before asking me: 'You were the singer of the caliph?' I said: 'Yes.' And he asked: 'What is the best thing you know in the science of music (*'ilm al-ṭarab*)?' I said: 'The best is a song that I sing which causes the listener to fall asleep.' He said: 'Sing to me for a while, until I fall asleep.' I regretted [my words], saying [to myself]: 'If I sang for him and he does not fall asleep he would say: 'This one is a liar,' and he may kill me. I must accomplish this with a ruse. And I said: 'Oh Lord, striking the lute's chords is only good while drinking wine. Let the king drink two or three cups so that the music will fall into place.' He said: 'I don't want the wine,

[for] it takes my mind away from the interests of my kingship; I'm impressed with your prophet who forbade it'; whereupon he imbibed three large cups. When his face turned red, I asked for his permission and sang to him. I had with me a singer called Ṣabā. In [all of] Baghdad there was not [a singer] more beautiful than her or with a better voice. She excelled at playing the lute, picking out gentle melodies that lulled him to sleep. She sang, and before I finished the piece I saw him drowsing off already. I stopped the singing abruptly and struck a strong note, which woke him up. I kissed the ground and said: 'Did the king fall asleep?' And he said: 'You were right, I fell asleep; now what do you wish from me?' I said: 'I request that the king give me a *sumayka* [trifle].'¹⁸ He asked: 'And what trifle would you like?' I said: 'A garden that belonged to the caliph.' He smiled and said to his retinue: 'This poor singer is short-sighted.' He then said to the interpreter: 'Why didn't you ask for a fortress or a town; what is a garden?' I kissed the ground and said: 'Oh King, this garden will suffice. What me—the governor of a castle or town?!' So he allotted me the garden and the full benefits that I had when the caliph reigned and added a pension that included bread, meat, and two dinars worth of fodder for my mount. Accordingly, he issued a signed and sealed order (*firmān mukmil al-'alā'im*) on my behalf and I departed. Bānū Noyan chose a commander with fifty riders, who [bore] a black standard that was Hülegü's special standard, to protect my quarter. The commander sat at the quarter's gate. He hung the black standard at the top of the quarter's gate, and it stayed this way until Hülegü left Baghdad.

Al-Irbili asked: 'How much did you lose in the process?' He ['Abd al-Mu'min] replied: 'Over 60,000 dinars of gold, the majority of which was brought to my quarter by the rich people and the rest from various luxuries (*na'am*) that the caliph had bestowed unto me.' I [al-Irbili] asked him about the salary and the garden. He said: 'The caliph's children took it [the garden] from me, saying: 'This was an inheritance from our father. And the pension was cut off by Ṣāhib Shams al-Dīn al-Juwaynī, but he compensated me for it and for the garden with 60,000 dirhams.'

While it is difficult to verify the details in Urmawī's vivid account, its main contours seem plausible enough, as they echo Ilkhanid sources; in addition, many of the elements dovetail neatly with other contemporaneous descriptions of Baghdad's fall. The much less heroic Persian version of this story appears in the history of Waṣṣāf (d. 729/1329), who describes Urmawī as an unequalled

18 *Sumayka* is literally a small fish.

master in the science of music, a second Pythagoras.¹⁹ According to Waṣṣāf, as the Mongols were occupying the city, Urmawī appeared on the threshold of Hülegü's tent and began playing music. Amid the chaos, he performed from morning to evening, but nobody paid any attention. When Hülegü was informed of the situation, he summoned the musician before him, praised his performance and took him under his aegis. More specifically, Urmawī was granted an annual pension of 10,000 dinars (twice the amount of his caliphal stipend) from the government revenues of Baghdad. Additionally, the payment would accrue to his progeny.²⁰

Urmawī's version strengthens the impression made by other sources that the sack of Baghdad was a meticulously organized campaign in which the troops fully adhered to Hülegü's orders,²¹ rather than a sudden outburst of barbarism. Moreover, this story offers a different picture from the regular descriptions of total massacre. The ability of both a local commander and Hülegü himself to enjoy a concert before the city was fully secured (according to most descriptions the Caliph was still alive by the time of the city's pillage), certainly manifest the confidence of the Mongols in the result of their campaign.²² This is also reminiscent of Chinggis Khan's conquest of Bukhara in around 1220, when the assailants appropriated singing girls and wine from the defeated

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- 19 Waṣṣāf, *Tārīkh-i Waṣṣāf*, 55; Āyatī, *Tahrīr*, 32. In the Muslim world, Pythagoras was as renowned for his musical exploits as his mathematical prowess, and music was deemed to be a science that is close to mathematics.
- 20 Waṣṣāf, *Tārīkh*, 42–43; Āyatī, *Tahrīr*, 23; Khwāndamīr, *Tārīkh-i ḥabīb al-siyar*, 3:107; Idem, (Thackston), 3:60. According to the latter, during the massacre and plunder of Baghdad, Urmawī “crept into a corner and one day presented himself in the vicinity of Hülegü's tent.” Citing *Ḥabīb al-siyar* as his source, Ḥājjī Khalīfa claims that Urmawī simply presented himself to Hülegü when the Ilkhan triumphantly entered the city. Impressed by his lute playing, Hülegü forbade his troops from touching the musician's property. Ḥājjī Khalīfa, *Kashf al-zunūn*, 1:874.
- 21 E.g. Boyle, “The Death of the Last ‘Abbāsīd Caliph,” 160 (retrieving Naṣīr al-Dīn Ṭūsī's account); Ibn al-Fuwaṭī, *Kitāb al-ḥawādīth*, 360, and Gilli-Ellevy, “Al-Ḥawādīth al-ḡāmi'a,” 367; Rashīd al-Dīn, *Jāmī' al-tawārīkh*, ed. B. Karīmī, 2:713 [hereafter Rashīd/Karīmī] and *Jāmī'ut-tawārīkh* [sic] *Compendium of Chronicles*, translated by Wheeler M. Thackston, 3:498 [hereafter Rashīd/Thackston]; al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-arab*, 23:234; Waṣṣāf, *Tārīkh*, 43; and Āyatī, *Tahrīr*, 23.
- 22 Mustawfī also states that Hülegü arranged a banquet, which included wine, singing girls, and Mongolian music after the capture of Baghdad and before the caliph's execution (L. J. Ward, *Zafarnāmah of Mustawfī*, 2:122). However, his version of the conquest is so far-fetched that it calls into question the tenability of this particular anecdote as well. Mustawfī also claims that singers and musicians entertained Hülegü in Samarqand, before the army penetrated the Middle East; *ibid.*, 2:118.

populace.²³ As we shall see, the Mongols' documented affinity for vinous feasts that were enlivened with music lends credence to these two stories.

Urmawī provides much more information on the looting—a phase that was practically ignored by contemporaneous accounts, but described in apocalyptic terms by other, mostly later, sources.²⁴ To my knowledge, none of the other versions refer to the notables dividing up their city into plunder zones or to Hülegü's premeditated assignment of different looting spans for various ranks. In any event, these periods—ranging from one to three days—support the contention that the sack of Baghdad lasted for a week, as opposed to those sources claiming that it dragged on for 30 to 40 days.²⁵

Although the tactic of foisting a 'pay or die' proposition on the defeated populace was not alien to the Mongols, Urmawī is the only one to note that it was imposed on the residents of Baghdad *after* the conquest: if the Mongols proposed such an option it was usually before they attacked the city and only if the city offered no opposition.²⁶ That said, certain other Baghdadi groups are known to have received safe conduct (*amān*) from Hülegü, often in return for exorbitant sums of money. While the details vary from source to source, most of them agree that *amān* was granted to the city's Christians, the Shi'ites from Ḥilla, merchants from Khurasan (who already had relations with the Mongols), and several Muslim notables.²⁷ The Shi'ites, merchants, and

23 Juwaynī/Qazwīnī 1:80–81; Juwaynī/Boyle, 207; cited in Allsen, "Command Performances," 38.

24 For laconic descriptions or complete omissions, see Boyle, "Death," 160; Bar Hebraeus, *The Chronography*, 1:431; Kāzarūnī, *Mukhtaṣar al-tārīkh*, 270–74; Rashīd/Karīmī, 1:713 and Rashīd/Thackston, 2:498; Shīrāzī, *Akhbār-i Mughūlān*, 34; and Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-arab*, 27:383, 23:234–35, among others. For apocalyptic descriptions, see, e.g., al-Subkī, *Ṭabaqāt al-shafi'īyya al-kubrā*, 8:261–77; Waṣṣāf, *Tārīkh*, 38–39; and Āyatī, *Tahrīr*, 20.

25 The sources according to which the plunder lasted a week are, e.g., Boyle, "Death," 160; Bar Hebraeus, *The Chronography*, 431; Rashīd/Karīmī, 1:713 and Rashīd/Thackston, 2:498; Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-arab*, 27:383; those citing a period ranging from 30 to 40 days include, among others, *Kitāb al-ḥawādīth*, 359; Ibn al-Sā'ī [Pseudo], *Kitāb? mukhtaṣar akhbār al-khulafā*, 136; Ibn al-Kathīr, *al-Bidāya*, 13:236; Waṣṣāf, *Tārīkh*, 42; and Āyatī, *Tahrīr*, 23.

26 Further on this issue see 'Umarī/Lech, 102, and the discussion in Biran, "Violence and Non-Violence."

27 For example, see *Kitāb al-Ḥawādīth*, 359, 360 and Gilli-Elewy, "Al-Ḥawādīth," 367, 368; Boyle, "Death," 159. According to Ṭūsī, scholars, shaykhs, and whoever offered no resistance to the Mongols were offered *amān*. He also claims that this option was suggested at the early stages of the conquest. Such an option is also mentioned by Rashīd al-Dīn (Rashīd/Karīmī, 1:710, and Rashīd/Thackston, 2:496) as offered to Qāḍīs (judges), scholars, shaykhs, 'Alids, Nestorian priests and "persons who do not combat against us." Christians were spared according to Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, 1:431, and according to the Arabic version of his work, Christians, Shi'ites, and scholars avoided the sword: Ibn al-'Ibrī (Bar

perhaps others indeed secured their lives at considerable cost.²⁸ As in the case of Urmawī's quarter, Mongol guards were dispatched to guarantee the safety of the Christians and merchants.²⁹ In all these instances, neighbours flocked to those who received protection, in the hopes of saving their own lives.³⁰

Another interesting element of this narrative is the singers' prosperity. Urmawī's description of the fifty singers in his upscale neighbourhood is indeed commensurate with the last 'Abbasid Caliph's well-established interest in, or obsession for, music. In fact, his zealous patronage of this art form is often cited as one of the reasons that he neglected his duties and compromised his ability to cope with the Mongol threat.³¹ The riches that these singers were able to fork over to their captors following the two-week siege that the city had just endured are quite impressive. Urmawī's reputation as a hedonist notwithstanding,³² viewing the luxuries that he amassed in juxtaposition to the oft-repeated descriptions of the unpaid troops of Baghdad before the Mongol attack³³ lends credence to the complaints as to the decadence of the city's upper class.³⁴ It also calls to mind the famous, apocryphal meeting between Hülegü and al-Musta'şim in the defeated sultan's treasury, at which the former asked his counterpart why he had refrained from using his ample holdings to build a capable army.³⁵ Urmawī's description indeed highlights the huge economic disparities in the city as well as the lack of city-wide solidarity. While the musician is deeply concerned about his quarter's fate,

Hebraeus), *Tārīkh mukhtaşar al-duwal*, 271. Ibn Kathīr notes that the Jews were saved as well; idem, *al-Bidāya*, 13:235.

28 The following sources refer to the Shi'ites: *Kitāb al-ḥawādith*, 360 and Gilly-Elewy, 368; and Ibn Ṭāwūs, *Iqbal al-a'māl*, 63, 65. For the payment exacted from the merchants, see Ibn Kathīr, *al-Bidāya*, 13:235.

29 *Kitāb al-ḥawādith*, 359 and Gilly-Elewy, 367.

30 Ibid.; Bar Hebraeus, *The Chronography*, 1:431.

31 See, above all, Ibn al-Ṭīqtaqā, *al-Fakhrī*, 63–65; *al-Fakhrī*/Whitting, 42–43. The most beautiful story cited herein involves a letter that the caliph wrote to Badr al-Dīn Lu'lu', Atabeg of Mawşil, asking him for a company of musicians. While writing the letter, Hülegü's messenger arrived with a request for catapults and siege machines. This coincidence moved Badr al-Dīn to utter the following words: "Look at the two requests, and weep for Islam and its people!" For more on Musta'şim's fondness for music, see Ibn Junayd, *al-Musta'şim billāh al-'Abbāsī*, 51–53.

32 E.g., Kutubī, *Fawāt*, 2: 32.

33 E.g., *Kitāb al-ḥawādith*, 304, 321, 331, 350 and Gilly-Elewy, 359, 361; Subkī, *Ṭabaqāt*, 8:262.

34 E.g., Ibn al-Ṭīqtaqā, *al-Fakhrī*, 63; *al-Fakhrī*/Whitting, 42.

35 E.g., Waşşāf, *Tārīkh*, 39 and Āyatī, *Tahrīr*, 21; Le Strange, "The Story of the Death of the Last Abbasid Caliph," 293–300, including the references therein. According to some sources, like Marco Polo (cited in Le Strange), the Caliph is left to starve in his treasury as punishment for his malfeasance.

he has no compunction about advising the Mongols to loot other neighbourhoods. Similarly, he does not condemn the rape that was perpetrated at his home. In all likelihood, these factors contributed to the city's defeat.

While there is no doubt that Urmawī was terrified by the Mongol onslaught, which may very well account for his above-mentioned behaviour, he considered the Mongols' actions as a hateful but legitimate prerogative of the conquerors, and they did not prevent him from throwing in his lot with them. Moreover, his description falls under the heading of the relatively mundane accounts of the fall of Baghdad. In fact, it stands in stark contradistinction to the more apocalyptic versions that inform some Mamluk sources and many contemporary Arabic works.³⁶ What is more, Hülegü's interest in 'gifted' people, not least his generosity towards the musician in question, are incompatible with the (exceedingly modern) myth that the "Tatars" destroyed Islamic culture.³⁷ They fit well, however, with Rashīd al-Dīn's description of Hülegü as "A great lover of wisdom, [Hülegü] encouraged the learned to debate the basic sciences and rewarded them with stipends and salaries. His court was adorned by the presence of scholars and wise men (*'ulamā' wa ḥukamā'*)."³⁸ Interestingly, the other 'man of talent' known to receive Hülegü's auspice during the conquest—a commander and scribe (*amīr kātib*) who excelled in calligraphy, belles-letters and horsemanship, and was famed for his beauty—was also closely connected to the Caliph's court.³⁹ It can be argued that Hülegü sought to enhance his kingly reputation by employing representatives of 'Abbasid glory at his court. At the very least, the Mongols embraced those cultural elements of the 'Abbasid court that suited their own norms or bolstered their legitimacy. The fate of Urmawī in Ilkhanid Baghdad reinforces this vantage point.

36 See above; Gilly-Elevy, 371 and e.g. al-Sarjānī, *Qiṣṣat al-Tatār min al-bidāya ilā 'Ayn Jālūt*, 101–70, 271–76; Maṣṣūr, *Qiṣṣat suqūṭ Baghdād*, 96–98. The American conquest of Baghdad in 2003 revived the memory of the Mongol conquest but in a rather distorted way. See Biran, "Violence."

37 While the cultural ramifications of Baghdad's fall are among the most lamented developments in modern Muslim literature, the treatment of this topic in contemporaneous sources is rather scanty. See Biran, "Violence."

38 Rashīd/Karīmī, 2:734 and Rashīd/Thackston, 2:513 (though he translates *'ulamā' wa ḥukamā'* as "philosophers and scientists"). For more on this issue see Reuven Amitai, "Hülegü and his Wise Men." For Hülegü as a humanist and patron of scholars see also Lane, *Early Mongol Rule*.

39 This is Falak al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Sayf al-Dīn Aydamir al-Musta'ṣimī (639–710/1240–1310), whom Hülegü appointed "the supervisor (*shihna*) of the wise men (*ḥukama'*) who found refuge in his court and were dealing with chemistry." Ibn al-Fuwaṭī, *Talkhīṣ majma' al-ādāb*, 3:281; and see the discussion in Biran, "Violence."

Urmawī's Circle of Musicians in the Mongol World

After the conquest, Urmawī remained in Baghdad, but apparently stayed in touch with Hülegü. The polymath wrote a scroll (*darj*) on the Ilkhan's behalf, which the latter was quite pleased with, and it seems as though he paid his sponsor a visit in Azerbaijan. Moreover, Hülegü appointed him inspector of endowments in Iraq, a position he held until Naṣir al-Dīn Ṭūsī, an even more acclaimed scholar, took over in 665/1267. Urmawī was a highly respected and very popular inspector. He is even said to have attained “the status of Hülegü himself” among the Iraqi population.⁴⁰ In Baghdad itself, the polymath became a companion and beneficiary of the Juwaynī brothers: ‘Alā’ al-Dīn ‘Āṭā Malik (623–81/1226–83), the famous historian and Mongol governor of Baghdad (657–680/1259–81) and Shams al-Dīn (d. 682/1284), the chief minister of Hülegü and his successor, Abaqa (r. 663–681/1265–82).

The Juwaynīs appointed Urmawī to head the Baghdad *Inshā’* (chancellery), most likely on account of his calligraphic skills. In addition, he taught music and calligraphy to the sons of the city's notables, including those of Shams al-Dīn Juwaynī, Bahā’ al-Dīn and Sharaf al-Dīn Hārūn. The latter showed great interest in music and subsequently became his teacher's patron. In turn, Urmawī dedicated *al-Risāla al-Sharafiyya fi'l-nisab al-ta'lifiyya* (The Sharafian treatise on musical proportions, c. 665/1267)—his most acclaimed work on music theory aside from the *Kitāb al-adwār*—to Sharaf al-Dīn Hārūn (put to death in 685/1285).⁴¹

Following the Juwaynīs' ouster in the early–mid 1280s, Urmawī lost his administrative post and fell into poverty. He therefore tried his luck in Tabriz, where he met al-‘Izz al-Irbilī in 689/1290.⁴² Moreover, he received some financial assistance from Quṭb al-Dīn Shīrāzī, another distinguished Ilkhanid polymath, who wrote extensive commentaries on Ṣafī al-Dīn's works.⁴³ The musician eventually returned to Baghdad, where he died in 693/1294 while imprisoned for a debt of 300 dirhams.⁴⁴ Two of his three sons were employed as scribes (*kātib*) in the Baghdad administration, and the third was a member of the city's

40 ‘Umarī, *Masālik*, 10:351–52; Ibn al-Fuwaṭī, *Talkhīṣ*, 3:319–20.

41 Ibid.; Kutubī, *Fawāt*, 2:31; al-Ṣafadī, *al-Wāfi*, 19:342–43; see also Waṣṣāf, *Tārīkh*, 66 and Āyatī, *Tahrīr*, 36. For more on the Juwaynīs and their support of the arts, see, e.g., Lane, *Early Mongol Rule*, 177–212.

42 Kutubī, *Fawāt*, 2:31; al-Ṣafadī, *al-Wāfi*, 19:342.

43 Ibn Ḥajar, *Durar*, 5:108–9.

44 Kutubī, *Fawāt*, 2:32; al-Ṣafadī, *al-Wāfi*, 19:343.

intellectual community.⁴⁵ Despite his ultimate fall from grace, Urmawī became synonymous with music in both the Muslim and Mongol worlds. Waṣṣāf considered him one of the four leading scholars of the Abaqa era, sharing this honour with his close associates: Naṣīr al-Dīn Ṭūsī, the astrologer and philosopher; the minister Shams al-Dīn Juwaynī, and Yāqūt al-Mustaʿsimī, the calligrapher.⁴⁶

Urmawī's theoretical works were extremely well received in the Ilkhanate and would continue to serve as lynchpins of music scholarship for generations to come. The most popular of these texts was *Kitāb al-adwār*, which merited an extensive commentary (as did *al-Risāla al-Sharafiyya*) from Quṭb al-Dīn Shīrāzī.⁴⁷ The ruler of Fars, Jamāl al-Dīn Abū Ishāq Īnjū (r. 742–756/1342–56), commissioned ʿImād al-Dīn Yahyā b. Aḥmad Kāshī to render *Kitāb al-adwār* into Persian and write an extensive commentary on this treatise. It continued to be translated, interpreted, and disseminated for hundreds of years in the Jalayirid, Timurid, Ottoman, and Safavid realms. In the early eighteenth century, the book was rendered into French by Pétis de la Croix, in what was the first of several Western translations.⁴⁸ As we can see, the ʿAbbasid theory of music continued to evolve long after the empire's demise.

During his heyday under the Juwaynīs, Ṣafī al-Dīn Urmawī was the centre of a wide circle of students and colleagues. His most renowned protégés (apart from the Juwaynīs) were Yāqūt al-Mustaʿsimī (ca. 618–98/1221–98), who studied both calligraphy and music with Urmawī at the caliph's court and earned

45 Ibn al-Fuwaṭī, *Talkhīs*, 1: 260 (ʿIzz al-Dīn ʿAlī), 4:105–6 (Kamāl al-Dīn Aḥmad). For the third son, Jalāl al-Dīn, see Neubauer, “Ṣafī al-Dīn.”

46 Waṣṣāf, *Tarīkh*, 55; and Āyatī, *Tahrīr*, 32. As discussed below, Yāqūt was Urmawī's student in ʿAbbasid Baghdad. Urmawī enjoyed the patronage of Shams al-Dīn Juwaynī, and in 661/1262 he delivered Ṭūsī's disquisition (or letter) on the history of Chinggis Khan to Baghdad; Ibn al-Fuwaṭī, *Talkhīs*, 3:319–20. Khwāndamīr also considers Urmawī as one of the leading scholars of Abaqa's reign, but offers a different and more extensive list of notables; Khwāndamīr, *Ḥabīb al-siyar*, 3:107; Idem (Thackston), 3:60.

47 Ibn Ḥajar, *Durar*, 5:108–9. Quṭb al-Dīn Shīrāzī's commentary on Urmawī's works is discussed in Fallāhzadeh, *Persian Writing*, 102–7.

48 For the impact of *Kitāb al-adwār*, see Fallāhzadeh, *Persian Writing*, 33–35, 102, 107, 133–34, 145–46, 149, 201–2, 207–10; and Neubauer, “Ṣafī al-Dīn,” among others. An example of Urmawī's continued popularity is the recent recording of several notations from *Kitāb al-adwār* along with the publication of attendant French and English commentaries in Lebanon; <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Migo5Wm4QK8>; http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=G7DY4V9cO_8 and Abou Mrad, *Musique*, and see its review by Wright in *Yearbook*, 197–98. Last but not least, Ṣafī al-Dīn has merited a Facebook page: <http://www.facebook.com/pages/Safi-al-Din-al-Urmawi/115898865087179>, accessed August 2, 2012.

lasting fame in Ilkhanid Iran;⁴⁹ Shams al-Dīn Aḥmad al-Suhrawardī (654–741/1256–1340), also a noted calligrapher and musician;⁵⁰ and al-Jamāl al-Mashriqī (b. 661/1262), the famous singer.⁵¹ In addition, a bevy of less acclaimed students are enumerated in the sources.⁵² Urmawī was also in contact with a wide range of peers. More specifically, his circle was on close terms with the Mawṣil singers (some of whom moved to Baghdad after the passing of the well-known patron of their profession, Badr al-Dīn Lu'lu', the Atabeg of Mawṣil, in 657/1259);⁵³ and other accomplished musicians from al-Jazīra, Anatolia, and Khurasan. The Juwaynis' largesse facilitated artistic and scholarly exchanges, and enabled the invitation of prominent musicians to Baghdad.⁵⁴

Urmawī's students also trained a new generation of musicians who then continued to teach and play his works. The renowned singer Kutayla (fl. 750–60/1350–60 in Mardin and Cairo) is said to have memorized dozens of Urmawī's suites (*nawba*), which by some counts numbered 130.⁵⁵ Furthermore, Niẓām al-Dīn al-Ṭayyārī, the most acclaimed student of al-Suhrawardī, maintained

49 On Yaḳūt, see 'Umarī, 10:348; al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh al-Islām*, 60:373–74; Kutubī, 2:592–93; and Canby, "Yaḳūt al-Musta'ṣimī," Brill Online, 2012 accessed August 2, 2012, http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopaedia-of-islam-2/yakut-al-mustasimi-SIM_7972, *inter alios*.

50 Al-Ṣafadī, *A'yān*, 1: 414–16; Ibn Ḥajar, *Durar*, 1: 335; 'Umarī, *Masālik*, 10:390–94.

51 'Umarī, *Masālik*, 10:395–406; Ibn Ḥajar, *Durar*, 3:240.

52 Among these figures are the 'Abbasid Baghdadi singer Luḥāz ('Umarī, *Masālik*, 10:356); the flautist Ḥasan al-Nāy, alias al-Zāmir ('Umarī, *Masālik*, 10:402; and Neubauer, "Musik," 255); Sa'd al-Dīn al-Silkū ('Umarī, *Masālik*, 10:402); Zaytūn ('Umarī, *Masālik*, 10:402); and Fakhr the musician (Ibn al-Fuwaṭī, *Talkhīṣ*, 3:62), who might be identical to Fakhr al-Dīn al-Shahrabānī (Ibn al-Fuwaṭī, *Talkhīṣ*, 3:234). Two others, 'Alī al-Sitāhī (or Sitā'i) and Ḥusām al-Dīn Quṭluḡ Būqā, are mentioned in 'Azzāwī and Neubauer's works on the basis of the works of 'Abd al-Qādir Marāghī (d. 838/1435), the most accomplished Persian writer in the field of music, who was raised in Baghdad and wrote a lengthy commentary on *Kitāb al-adwār*. Unfortunately, I did not have access to his work and have thus far been unable to identify the people mentioned therein. (Farmer, "Abd al-Ḳādir b. Ghaybī," Brill Online, accessed August 3, 2012. http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopaedia-of-islam-2/abd-al-kadir-b-ghaybi-SIM_0091); 'Azzāwī, *al-Mūsīqā*, 33–34; and Neubauer, "Musik," 254–55.

53 The most prominent of these singers was Ibn al-Dahān al-Mawṣilī (d. 687/1287), whose fame approached that of Urmawī; 'Umarī, *Masālik*, 10:346–48. For others, see *ibid.*, 10:405, 409; Bar Hebraeus, *The Chronography*, 1:443; and Neubauer, "Musik," 236.

54 Ibn al-Fuwaṭī, *Talkhīṣ*, 4:299; and 'Umarī, *Masālik*, 10:396–406.

55 'Umarī, *Masālik*, 10:377. At the very least, Kutayla was acquainted with Jamal al-Mashriqī and might have been his student (*ibid.*, 380); for a discussion on *nawba*, see Wright, "Nawba," Brill Online, accessed August 3, 2012 http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopaedia-of-islam-2/nawba-SIM_5859.

close ties with Abū Saʿīd, the last Ilkhan (r. 717–736/1317–35), who was a distinguished musician in his own right.⁵⁶

The flourishing of music under the Ilkhans owed a great deal to the Juwaynīs' patronage, but another factor was the Mongols' affinity for this art form. From the Mongols' perspective, music was a valued form of entertainment, which complimented another of their favourite pastimes—drinking. Furthermore, it was part and parcel of their Shamanic rites and a royal status symbol. While possessing their own venerable musical traditions, the Mongols consistently displayed a great deal of interest in the entertainment of other cultures.⁵⁷ Consequently, expert musicians from various backgrounds were highly appreciated and generously rewarded in Mongol lands. Partaking in their lords' feasts, the musicians had ample opportunity to forge bonds and influence the Mongol elite. A case in point was Ilkhan Öljeitü's marriage to a singer by the name of Najma Khatun, who, however, was bribed to 'lobby' or manipulate her husband into retreating from Raḥba.⁵⁸ Some musicians became their lord's confidants. For example, in several cases a singer served as the ruler's envoy to a neighbouring country.⁵⁹ These relations also fostered acculturation. Descriptions of, say, Abū Saʿīd studying music and composing his own Persian verses and lyrics certainly suggest a high degree of royal assimilation into local culture.⁶⁰

Musicians also filled a variety of other duties, especially in all that concerned ceremonies of state: for instance, they performed at events marking the arrival or departure of the *ordu* (the ruler's camp), and they entertained at receptions in honour of visiting delegations.⁶¹ Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, who accompanied Abū Saʿīd's *ordu* en route from Baghdad to Sultaniyya in the 1320s, reports that there were a hundred of the royal musicians—both singers and players—in the entourage; and this number does not include their counterparts who were affiliated

56 Al-Ṭayyārī was also a distinguished calligrapher; ʿUmarī, *Masālik*, 10:406–9. After the fall of the Ilkhanate, he temporally migrated to the Mamluk Sultanate. ʿUmarī draws heavily on al-Ṭayyārī by virtue of the latter's knowledge on the House of Hülegü. For a discussion on Abū Saʿīd's musical career, see ʿUmarī, *Masālik*, 10:370–72. While the centre of the music world appears to have shifted from Baghdad to the royal court in the later Ilkhanate, famous singers—both male and female—were still to be found in Baghdad; see, e.g., ʿUmarī, *Masālik*, 10:381, 382; and Ibn Ḥajar, *Durar*, 5:65.

57 Allsen, "Entertainers," 37–38, 41–42, and the references therein.

58 Ibn al-Dawādārī, *Kanz al-durar wa-jāmiʿ al-ghurar*, 9:261, 268; ʿUmarī, *Masālik*, 3:185.

59 For musicians who served as envoys, see ʿUmarī, *Masālik*, 10: 403; and al-Ṣafadī, *Aʿyān*, 5:563. For singers who were on close terms with the non-Mongol rulers of that era, see, e.g., ʿUmarī, *Masālik*, 10:346, 375.

60 ʿUmarī, *Masālik*, 10:371–73.

61 Allsen, "Entertainers," 41.

with the *amīrs*, the vizier, and the *khatuns* (queens).⁶² It also bears noting that the ruler customarily provided his princes, *amīrs*, and even some civilian officials, such as the *naqīb al-ashrāf* (the head of the ‘Alids), with drums, as part of their insignia. The drums were often augmented by other instruments for the purpose of helping these notables form bands.⁶³ Musicians also accompanied Mongol troops to the front lines, where string instruments were played and kettledrums beaten to signify the start of battle.⁶⁴ One contemporaneous report of the Mongol attack on Baghdad notes that the invading force took up its positions “happily with songs and trumpets.”⁶⁵ Similarly, when the Ilkhanid *naqīb al-ashrāf* took flight from Abū Sa‘īd, he sounded his drums and trumpets. As a result, startled villagers who believed that it was a “Tatar raid” fled in panic.⁶⁶ In light of the above, it is evident that there was a healthy demand for musicians in the Mongol Empire.

These roles and the leadership’s fondness for music were also mirrored in neighbouring lands.⁶⁷ In consequence, talented musicians were often wooed by several rulers,⁶⁸ but it appears as though the Mongols offered them the best conditions: when al-Jamāl al-Mashriqī migrated to Egypt, he complained of

62 Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, *Voyages*, 2:125–57; Idem (Gibb), *The Travels of Ibn Battuta*, 2:342–44.

63 E.g., Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, *Voyages*, 1:421–22, 2:126–27; Idem, (Gibb), 1:259–60, 2:344; and Ḥāfiẓ Ābrū, *Dhayl Jāmi’ al-tawārīkh*, 102. According to Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, it was rather commonplace in Yuan China, Mamluk Egypt, and the Delhi sultanate for commanders to have their own bands; Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, *Voyages*, 1:138–39, 3:273–77, 4:223; Idem (Gibb), 1:89; 3:686–88; 4:872, *inter alios*.

64 E.g., Polo, *The Travels of Marco Polo*, 1:337–38.

65 *Igeret Ya’kov b. Eliyahu* (ca. 1263), as cited in Arnon, “The Mongols and the Jews,” 64 [In Hebrew].

66 Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, *Voyages*, 2:422–23, and Idem (Gibb), 2:260–61.

67 As in the Mongol Empire, the primary functions of music in the Muslim world were entertainment and strengthening royal bona fides; Ibn Khaldūn, *al-Muqaddima*, in his *Kitāb al-‘ibar*, 1:763–67; Idem (Rosenthal), *The Muqaddimah*, 2:401, 404. In Ibn Khaldūn’s estimation, however, music is a product of sedentary civilization. He also notes that it has been immensely popular among Persians from antiquity onwards, and, despite the Arabs’ initial reservations about music, the prospering caliphate welcomed singers from Persia and Byzantium. During the ‘Abbasid period, the Arabs indeed developed a refined and glorious musical tradition, which was still admired in the venerated historian’s own time. That said, in citing examples, he referred to the halcyon days of Hārūn al-Rashīd (r. 170–193/786–809), and to singers like Ibrāhīm al-Mawṣilī (125/742–188/804) and his sons, and not the later ‘Abbasids (*ibid.*, 1:765–66, *idem* (Rosenthal), *The Muqaddimah*, 2:404).

68 E.g., ‘Umārī, *Masālik*, 10:364, 367, 373, 375, 408; and Ibn Ḥajar, *Durar*, 3:240. These sources describe how the rulers of India, Egypt, and Yemen sought to attract leading Ilkhanid

settling for crumbs after having grown accustomed to bread in the Ilkhanate.⁶⁹ It is also worth noting that Chinese musicians performed in Iran during Ghazan's tenure and perhaps other periods as well. Likewise, many Muslim musicians, some of whom were probably from the Ilkhanate, found their way to Yuan China, the Delhi Sultanate, and Egypt. In fact, the Mamluks welcomed members of Urmawī's circle, especially after the Ilkhanate's fall.⁷⁰ Yet another channel for musical exchange was imperial presents, as singing slave girls were often included in the bountiful gift packages that were exchanged between rulers.⁷¹ Since it was common for rulers and *amīrs* to have top-notch musicians instruct their slave girls,⁷² these sorts of exchanges were bound to enhance the transfer of 'high music' across the Eurasian continent.

The massive flow of people that informed the Mongol era naturally led to the dissemination of musical instruments. For example, miniatures attest to the presence of Chinese and European instruments in the Ilkhanate.⁷³ Moreover, Rashīd al-Dīn informs us that the Chinese system of notation also made its way into this realm.⁷⁴ Since Urmawī does not mention this phenomenon in the *Risāla*, it is difficult to ascertain whether he was aware of these transfers. The second generation of his circle was probably more cognizant of this development, as these musicians often jumped from one court to the next.⁷⁵ This sort of diversity probably nourished the continued blossoming of music and musicology throughout the borders of the Ilkhanate.

players. For contemporaneous musicians in the Mamluk sultanate, see Neubauer, "Musik," 238–40.

69 'Umarī, *Masālik*, 10:396.

70 E.g., 'Umarī, *Masālik*, 10:408; and Allsen, "Entertainers," 42–45.

71 E.g., Ibn Baṭṭūṭa mentions that the sultan of Delhi sent Hindu singing girls to the Yuan emperor; Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, *Voyages*, 4:773; Idem (Gibb), 4:1; 'Umarī, *Masālik*, 10:396, 375. For discussion of the gifts exchanged between Mongol and Mamluk dignitaries see Little, "Diplomatic Missions," 39.

72 E.g., 'Umarī, *Masālik*, 10:396; and Ibn Ḥajar, *Durar*, 3:240.

73 Farmer, "Reciprocal Influences," 334–35, 340–42; Allsen, "Entertainers," 45; and 'Umarī, *Masālik*, 10:402. For a discussion of Chinese interest in foreign musical instruments and their medical functions, see Chang De, in Li You, *Xishiji*, 2:141.

74 Rashīd al-Dīn, *Tanksūq-nāmah*, 38–39. For a full English translation of this passage, see Jahn, "Some Ideas of Rashīd al-Dīn," 146–47; cited in Allsen, "Entertainers," 44.

75 E.g., 'Umarī, *Masālik*, 10:396, 392, 402, 407; Ibn Ḥajar, *Durar*, 3:240; Šafadī, *Āyān*, 1:414–15. Of special interest is al-Jamāl al-Mashriqī's reference to an *urdhul* (a sort of reed pipe) that, in his estimation, was used by the Franks; 'Umarī, *Masālik*, 10:407. For the influence of Chinese and Indian music on their Persian counterpart during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, see Fallāhzadeh, *Persian Writing*, 206, 209, 216. The Chinese notation system, however, was not included in the Islamic theoretical musical literature.

Conclusion

As opposed to those writers who emphasize the catastrophic dimensions of the fall of Baghdad, Urmawī's personal account reinforces the more mundane perspectives on this watershed event. The fate of this polymath, his oeuvre, and students in the post-conquest Ilkhanate also demonstrates that, at the very least, the Mongol triumph did not close the curtain on 'Abbasid musical culture. In fact, due to its compatibility with the new regime's indigenous norms and the open world that the empire created, this musical tradition continued to evolve, spread, and thrive under Mongol rule. What is more, it would have a tremendous impact on the later development of Islamic music in the Arab, Persian, and Turkish world.

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