



A Comparison Between the Permanent Settlements of the Ilkhanid and Mongol Emperors Based on the Prefixes Used in Manuscripts

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Abstract

Seasonal settlements of the Mongol rulers fall into the two general classes of temporary and permanent settlements, which were scattered across the territory under their influence. According to historical reports and archaeological documents, permanent settlements were constructed using building materials in certain Yaylaqs (summer quarters) and Qishlaqs (winter quarters) or on the outskirts of urban centers, and were periodically used by Mongol rulers. Historical texts from the Ilkhanid period use three different names of Qarshi, Kushk and Saray to refer to such settlements, highlighting the differing structures of the pertaining settlements. The present study aims to offer a classification for permanent settlements of the Mongol and Ilkhanid rulers via semantically and functionally interpreting the terms Qarshi, Kushk and Saray. To this end, apart from archaeological documents, Chinese terms referring to the permanent settlements of the Mongol rulers are invoked. The results of this analytical-historical research show that in light of the prefixes used in the Persian texts deriving from the Ilkhanid period, the permanent settlements of the Mongol empires and Ilkhans split into two categories: Saray and Kushk. Sarays were a series of ceremonial buildings located mostly in the main cities or important seasonal residences and are comparable to the Gongchengs of the Mongols in China. Kushk mainly denoted a midway residence, where the sole existing building was a single Kushk or Qarshi.

Keywords: Permanent Settlements, Periodic Settlements, Seasonal Settlements, Mongol Empire, Ilkhanid Dynasty.

ArticleType: Research Article

Introduction

Seasonal settlements were periodic settlements used as rest stops by the Mongols along the roads or for Yaylaqs (summer quarters) and Qishlaqs (winter quarters). Although such settlements are thought mostly to be temporary tent structures, archaeological studies in recent decades have indicated that in some sites belonging to the Mongol Empire in China, Russia, and Mongolia they were constructed using building materials (Bemmann and

Reichert, 2020; Pohl *et al.* 2012; Rogers *et al.* 2005; Rogers, 2017; Shiraishi, 2004 & 2006). Analysis of the evidence deriving from these excavations has partially explained the structure and function of such settlements (Masuya, 2013; Steinhardt, 1983, 1988 & 1999; Waugh, 2010), and helped clarify the relationship between the functional situations of the settlements and the periods during which they were used (Atwood, 2015; Boyle, 1972; Honeychurch and Amartuvshin, 2006).

Of the many seasonal settlements known within



the Ilkhanid kingdom, some were of masonry type. Unlike those pertaining to the Mongol emperors, these sites have been considered by a limited number of archaeological studies, which have placed a greater emphasis on urban areas such as Ujan and Soltaniyya than on such settlements as Takht-i Sulayman (Blair, 1986; Jaeger *et al.* 2019; Masuya, 1997 & 2002; Mirfatah, 1991, 1995 & 2006; Muhajerinejad, 2006; Porter, 2021; Rezvan and Karimian, 2016; Sarfaraz and Kiani, 1968). Hence, there are a limited archaeological dataset to enable grasping the structure and functions of the permanent settlements of the Ilkhanid rulers. The written evidence from the Ilkhanate period, unlike the historical sources from the Yuan dynasty, does not furnish much information on the form and structure of this type of settlements. In these texts, i.e., *Tarakh-i Jahangushay* (Juvayni, 2008), *Jami' al-Tawarikh* (Rashid al-Din, 1994), *Tarikh-i Vassaf* (Vassaf al-Hadra and Ayati, 1967), *Tarikh-i Oljeytu* (Kashani, 1969), and *Nuzhat al-Qulub* (Mustawfi, 2002), there is no detailed information about the type of settlements and buildings, barring the scattered references to names and titles, which are mostly considered common names. In other sources dating to the Ilkhanid rule or the succeeding periods, such as *Musameret al-Akhbar* (Aksarayli, 1983), *Tarikh-i Ibn-Bibi* (Al-Rugadi, 2011), *Tarikh-i Alam-ara-yi Abbasi* (Turkaman, 2011), *Ahsan al-Tawarikh* (Rumlu, 2005), *Habib al-siyar* (Khwandamir, 2001), and *Rawdat al-ṣafa* (Mirkhwand, 2006), one finds nothing beyond common names. However, the present study focuses on these common names to pinpoint the structure and function of the Mongols' permanent settlements and provide a clear typology of them. This study tries to find the differences and similarities between the names related to the permanent settlements of the Mongol and Ilkhanid rulers in light of these terms. To this end, the present study involved two steps. In the first step, the words used in the written Persian sources to indicate the permanent settlements of the Mongol emperors in China and Mongolia were studied. Then, they were compared with the corresponding terms in the Mongolian and Chinese texts. Moreover, archaeological documents were used as supplement to this comparison to achieve the desired results. Based on the results obtained at the end of this step, the permanent settlements of the Mongol emperors were classified according to the common names in the Persian historical texts. In the second step, the

first step's results was used to identify in the same way the permanent settlements of the Ilkhanid rulers in Iran. The only difference between these two steps is that in the latter, the referents of the common and proper names were unequivocal, and the Ilkhanid permanent settlements were generally classified according to these.

The common names underpinning the present study include Qarshi, Kushk, and Saray. The main research questions are as follows: What are the similarities and differences between the terms "Qarshi," "Kushk," and "Saray" (used as common names in Persian texts from the Ilkhanid period to refer to the permanent settlements of the Mongol and Ilkhanid rulers)? Based on the possible differences and similarities, how can the permanent settlements of the Mongol and Ilkhanid rulers in Iran be classified?

It might be a reasonable assumption that given its etymological similarity with the word Kushk, Qarshi refers to a wayside construction built by the Mongol emperors on their annual migration routes. The word Kushk has also been used for the exact same type of complexes in Iran. Both the Mongol emperors and the Ilkhans used the word Saray to refer to the large complexes consisting of several separate, independent building units, built inside the big cities.

Research Methodology

The methodology used in this research is of analytical-historical nature, and data collection and analysis are done in four stages: The first stage is the study of historical sources to categorize the fixed complexes of the Mongols based on the common titles used in these texts. The second stage is the review of published archaeological reports and research projects relevant to the subject under consideration. The third step is studying the structural features of the architectural complexes considered in this research, and examining the prefixes preceding them based on etymological analyses. The fourth step is the breakdown of the study sample into two main groups, viz. the permanent settlements of (i) the Mongol emperors and (ii) Ilkhans, to embark on intra-group and intergroup cross comparisons.

Examining the prefixes used for the Mongols' permanent complexes requires consulting reliable historical sources produced in the same period or a little later. To achieve this, first, all Persian historical

sources and reliable texts pertaining to both the Mongols and Ilkhans are examined. It is notable that the Chinese historical texts documenting the events of the Mongol rule in China are also invoked. In selecting the sources to be used in the second stage, attempts have been made to include the latest archaeological reports. Similarly, the research projects and articles written based on historical texts and authentic archaeological reports are also considered. To investigate the etymologies of the words, in addition to Turkish, Mongolian, Persian, and Chinese analytical sources and dictionaries, the dictionaries of Sogdian, Khwarazmian, Balkhian, and Tocharian, languages that coexisted with the Turkic and Mongolian cultures during different periods, are examined.

Description

Common Names in Persian and Chinese Texts

Before moving to the main discussion, a short explanation of the terms used in historical texts to indicate the Mongol and Ilkhanid rulers' permanent settlements is necessary. The first group of words includes those mainly used to refer to the Mongol emperors' permanent settlements in Persian sources. In the present study, the form and function of these settlements are analyzed based on the terms of Saray, Kushk, and Qarshi. The second group consists of the designations employed by ancient Chinese texts. These designations, *viz.* "Gong," "Dian," and "Ting," used singly or combined, refer to the permanent settlements of the Yuan emperors. These words are mainly analyzed to clarify the meaning of the Persian terms used to indicate the Mongols' settlements to better understand their functions. In the following, each of the abovementioned words is described.

Saray: The Persian "saray" derives from "sar," meaning "to surround," "to cover" and "to preserve," mainly denoting a house for the commonalty or a palace for the royalty. The word probably entered the Uyghur language as "Sarbaq" through Eastern Persian languages. In Uyghur, it means a wall, a square area, a court, and a fortress (Hassandoust, 2020: 1710-11). In New Persian, in which Rashid al-Din wrote his report, sara was mainly used as a suffix for buildings that, as independent buildings with shared use or multiple rooms, were located around the central courtyard or the central covered corridor (Beheshti and Qayyoomi Bidhendi, 2009:

150). The cases in point are the terms Caravansara, Haramsara, and Saray meaning Qaysariyya (Shams, 2010: 94).

Kushk: Like saray, the term means "to cover" and "to surround." It derives from the ancient root "Kaush," meaning "to cover" in Indo-European languages. The word can even be traced in other Indo-European languages, where, like Persian, it is used with the same meaning, such as "House" in English and "Hosa" in Old High German (Hassandoust, 2020: 2292-93). However, in New Persian, the term "kushk" mainly implies a single freestanding building amidst a garden or open area (Beheshti and Qayyoomi Bidhendi, 2009: 203). Based on Mahmud Kashgari's report from the 11th century, the word has also entered the Turkish language. He reports it meaning as "cover" and "shelter" in Turkish, similar to Farsi (Kashgari, 1996: 930).

Qarshi: According to Clauson, the term "Qarshi" has its roots in Late Tocharian and derives from "kerciye," meaning a palace and a court in Turkic and Mongolian (Clauson, 1972: 664). The specific sources used by Clauson will continue to elude us. He may have referred to the origin of "Qarshi" in this extinct Indo-European language due to the prevalence of Tocharian in Chinese Turkistan before the Uyghurs came to power. Apart from Tocharian, there is a word in Sogdian, very close to the term Kerciye in Tocharian. The word is "qwrw'dy" or "Kurč-wābē," meaning a shelter and refuge (Gharib, 1995: 200). The similarity of these two words, both existing in Indo-European languages, raises the possibility that the word Qarshi, as well as its meaning and use, entered the Turkic-Mongolian culture from the Indo-European urban culture. Relying on the meaning of Qarshi in Sogdian, it can be assumed that the early Qarshis were simple buildings built with building materials. Kashgari also refers to Qarshi as the king's palace in his book (Kashgari, 1996: 781).

Gong (宮): Gong is a Chinese word that alone conveys the meaning of palace. The form of this word (工) in Chinese also indicates the form in which the palaces of the Yuan emperors were constructed (Masuya, 2013: 225). The word Gong was also used in combination with the word Cheng as Gongcheng. Cheng means both a wall and a city, and in this combination, it conveys the enclosed area of the royal palaces (Steinhardt, 1988: 74). Gong is

also used in combination with the word Xing as Xinggong. The word Xing means temporary, which ultimately brings the meaning of this combination closer to a temporary palace or temporary settlement. The presence of the word palace in this combination, which indicates the existence of a permanent structure, has made scholars hesitant to draw a conclusion, as Masuya interprets Xinggong as royal complexes in which residence was temporary because they were located on the paths of periodic movement and near cities (Masuya, 2013: 225-226), and Steinhardt suggested that the name Xinggong possibly referred to the complexes in which residence was mainly temporary and tent structures were used (Steinhardt, 1988: 64).

Ting (亭): Ting alone means a booth and kiosk/pavilion, specifically referring to the octagonal pavilions of the Yuan emperors in the Dadu city, an island in the Lake Wansui Shan (Masuya, 2013: 238). The word also occurred in combination with Liang as Liangting, meaning summer pavilion (Rashid al-Din, 1994: 2223).

Dian (殿): This term conveys the following three meanings: a hall, a palace, and a temple (Masuya, 2013: 238).

Based on the definitions outlined above, the permanent settlements of the Mongol khans and the Ilkhans are discussed in the following.

Temporary and Permanent Seasonal Settlements of the Mongols

The Turkic and Mongol nomadic tribes periodically moved between specific seasonal settlements called Yaylaqs and Qishlaqs. These dwellings are dividable into two temporary and permanent seasonal settlements by virtue of their structural form.

Temporary seasonal settlements, due to their portable structures, were the most popular settlement type among the Turkic and Mongol nomadic tribes. According to historical documents, a most common type of temporary settlement was “Kuran,” the establishment of tents around the khan’s tent, according to *Jami’ al-Tawarikh*. The tents comprising the Kuran were placed in such a way that they eventually formed a circle (Rashid al-Din, 1994: 330). This form of settlement was also clearly mentioned in other concomitant written sources (Marco polo, 1984: 176; Nakhjavani, 1976: 62). William of Rubruck describes the Mongols’

Kuran, referred to it as “a ring” or “in the middle” due to the location of the Mongols’ main settlement among their other settlements (Rubruck, 1990: 132). He also describes the settlements within Kuran as tents that were portable due to being placed on chariots (Rubruck, 1990: 74).

The second form of seasonal settlement is a very rare settlement type built with masonry structures. According to Huttel and Erdenebat, such settlements were built due to the change in the type of rule system among the Turkic and Mongol tribes and the formation of empires, which prompted a need to control resources in a particular place. This type of permanent settlements acted as very small towns that provided accommodation for government secretaries, trade organisers, artisanal captives, and the remnants of periodic movements (Hüttel and Erdenebat, 2010: 5).

Rogers assumes the original form of these settlements as being pre-designed settlements surrounded by a quadrangular wall. He describes the Xiangnu emperors as the first to put up this type of enclosed settlement, and believes that the later Turkic and Mongol dynasties were their successors in this regard (Rogers, 2017: 8-10). The structures within these walls were probably initially defined by temporary materials such as tents, and the khan’s settlement was a magnificent tent located at the center of the enclosure (Rogers *et al.* 2005: 84-87).

Living in permanent settlements did not make the Turkic and Mongol rulers forget their nomadic behaviour and abandon their seasonal movements, in that according to Juvayni, although the rulers of the Uyghur dynasty established the permanent settlements of “Balasaqun” and “Bishbaliq,” they periodically stayed at both settlements (Juvayni, 2008: 151). According to Atwood’s hypothesis, the periodic movements after the formation of the great empires were intended to monitor different parts of the subordinate lands. Due to the large distance involved between the royal settlements, he considers it to be inconsistent with the distance between the traditional Turkic-Mongolian settlements, and accordingly thinks of these periodic movements as a measure to preserve the monarchy (Atwood, 2015: 309-10).

Mongol Emperors and Permanent Settlements

With the formation of the vast Mongol Empire in the 13th century, constructing permanent

and temporary royal settlements for seasonal movements, mainly for periodic surveillance, seemed inevitable (Atwood, 2015: 293-49; Honeychurch and Amartuvshin, 2006: 255-78), as were the construction of cities to host the central and local governments, and industrial workshops (Hüttel and Erdenebat, 2010: 50; Rogers, 2017: 1-14). The expansion of the empire and companionship with urban nations led to the formation of different types of settlements tailored to the needs of a global empire. Since the present research aims to study the permanent settlements mentioned as Saray, Qarshi and Kushk in the Persian texts authored in the Ilkhanid era, only a few of the above settlements have been considered here.

Qarshi and Saray-i Karakorum: The first settlement mentioned as Saray, Kushk, and Qarshi in the historical texts of the Ilkhanid era is the site of Karakorum. Drawing on Yuanshi and the ancient text on Karakorum written in 1346, Becker believes that this site was one of the four great camps of Chingiz (Becker, 2012: 44). In the book *The Secret History*, however, this camp is referred to as Longting, and it is said that Ogedey Khan (1229-1241) returned to this camp after the death of Tolui in 1232, three years before he commissioned the Karakorum city and Qarshi (Masuya, 2013: 232). In *Jami' al-tawarikh*, the khan's settlement in Karakorum is described as Karakorum Yurt prior to the foundation of the Karakorum city. In 1235, Ogedey Khan began the construction of the walls and his residential complex in the Karakorum city (Rashid al-Din, 1994: 672). While reporting the construction of this city, Juvayni mentions the building of a garden amid which there was a Kushk [Pavilion]. Elsewhere, he refers to the khan's settlement in Karakorum city as the Kushk-i Shahr [City pavilion] (Juvayni, 2008: 254 & 416). Rashid al-Din names the khan's settlement in the Karakorum city as Saray-i ali Bonyan [An excellent palace] founded by the Khitans in the site of the former Karakorum Yurt, and in which a kushk was erected. He describes the kushk as having very impressive decorations, and finally states explicitly that this building was called Qarshi. He also mentions the established settlements of the khan's entourage near this Qarshi (Rashid al-Din, 1994: 672). In Yuanshi, Ogedei Khan's settlement in Karakorum is referred to as Wan'an gong, meaning "Ten-Thousand Tranquilities" (Boyle, 1972: 126; Masuya, 2013: 232; Yuan Shi, 1976: chap.2, 1: 32). Rubruck describes Qaan's settlement

in Karakorum as a brick-walled area at the center of which Qaan's palace, with a structure similar to that of the European churches, was located¹ (Rubruck, 1990: 209-11). In his descriptions, in addition to referring to Qaan's palace, he also mentions other ceremonial and service buildings located in the site of the royal settlement (Rubruck, 1990: 209-11). The only remains that can be attributed to Qaan's palace complex in Karakorum are the remains of the complex wall, discovered in the southern Karakorum city beneath the Buddhist Erdene Zuu monastery. This wall, discovered directly beneath the walls of the mentioned monastery, had a quadrangular form, and there was a gate at the center of each side of it (Hüttel and Erdenebat, 2010: 13). (Figure. 1)

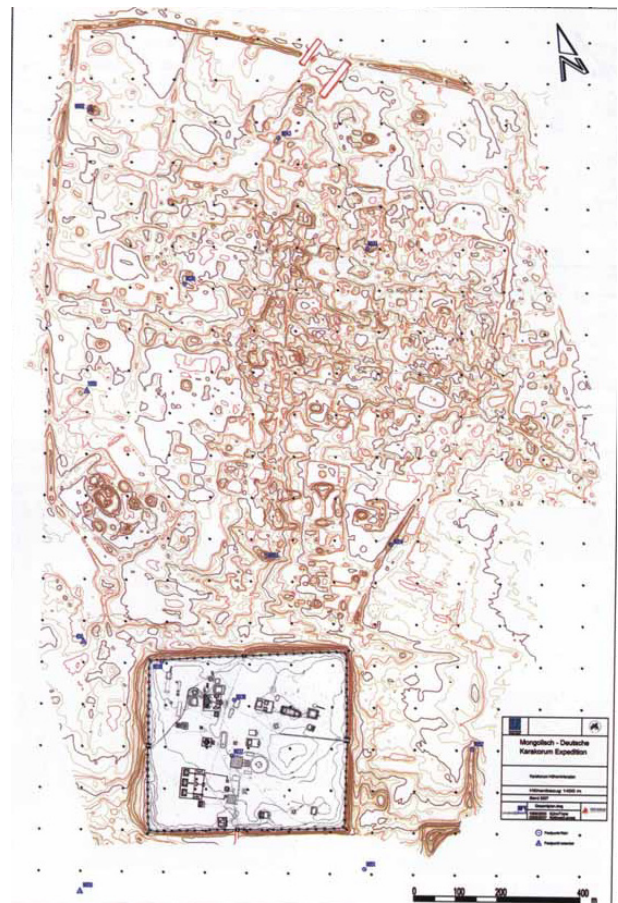


Figure 1: Contour map of Karakorum (After: Hüttel and Erdenebat, 2010).

Qarshi-i Turghu Baliq: Qaan's other settlement was located two parasangs (12.5 km) from Karakorum, and Qaan stopped there on his way to and from spring and summer quarters. Juvayni has depicted the settlement as a Kushk erected on

¹ Based on this report, "Bemmann and Reichert" has pointed out the possible similarity between the royal complex of Karakorum and the Kundoi complex in the Transbaikalian region, which is worthy of consideration (Bemmann and Reichert, 2020: 10-11).

a hill. But despite this depiction, he has stated that its name was Turghu Baliq (Juvayni, 2008: 254, 275). In Yuanshi, this settlement is indicated by the name of Yingjia dian, located in the Tusuhu cheng area (Masuya, 2013: 234), which in turn lay 30 li (15 km) from Karakorum (Shiraishi, 2004: 108). Judging from this account, given the synonymy of the two words “Cheng” and “Baliq” (Clayson, 1972: 336; Masuya 2013: 226) as well as the words “Tusuhu” and “Tuzughu,” it is possible to assume that the khan’s pavilion or Qarshi perched on a hill within the Turghu Baliq area, probably surrounded by a wall. In *Jami’ al-tawarikh*, also citing the report of Juvayni, the Turghu Baliq settlement is depicted as an excellent pavilion [Kushk] and Qarshi (Rashid al-Din, 1994: 672). Koichi Matsuda identifies the historical site “Melkhiin Tolgoi,” located on a hill 3 km south of Karakorum with Qarshi-i Turghu Baliq (Shiraishi, 2004: 109). The site, with its main axis running east-west, is hemmed in by a 104 X 74 m wall. The entrance gate is located on the east side, and the remains of two building platforms can be seen within the complex. The first platform is located in the same initial part and on the southeast side of the complex. The second lies at the western end of the wall near the end wall of the complex. This platform, which appears to be larger than the southeast one, can be assumed to be the remnants of Qa’an’s Qarshi, as it is located both on the central axis of the complex and in front of the entrance gate. The second platform perhaps served as a service building or the Crown Prince’s palace due to

its smaller size and off-central situation (Shiraishi, 2004: 109) (Figure. 2).

Qarshi-i Suri: Juvaini identifies Qarshi-i Suri as Qaan’s spring settlement. Throughout *Tarikh-i Jahangushay*, the only building designated Qarshi is the one associated with this settlement. He describes it as an excellent Kushk ornamented with various motifs and constructed by Muslim architects, unlike Kushk-i Karakorum (Juvayni, 2008: 417). In *Jami’ al-tawarikh*, Qaan’s settlement is called *Kahirchaghan*, and Rashid al-Din reports the building of this settlement as a Kushk put up by Muslims. He does not use the term Qarshi here (Rashid al-Din, 1994: 673). *Yuanshi* refers to this settlement as *Jiajian chahan dian*, located in the enclosed area of *Saolin cheng* (Shiraishi, 2004: 110) some 70 Lis (38.7 km) north of Karakorum (Masuya, 2013: 233). According to Shiraishi’s hypothesis, the historic site of *Doytan Balgas*, located 42 km north of Karakorum, is the same Qarshi-i Suri. This site sits atop a hill, 50 m above the surrounding lands. It roughly measures 150 m south-north and 250 m west-east. Exactly at the center of the site are visible the remains of a 60m long and 50m wide building, which unlike the Chinese constructions lacks tiles on its roof. This observation strengthens the likelihood of its construction by Muslims. Except for the southern side, the building is surrounded by 50 small buildings, each measuring 20 X 10 m. The centripetal deployment of buildings in this sit is so obvious that Shiraishi has compared its structure with the Mongol kurans (Shiraishi, 2004: 110, 111) (Figure. 3).

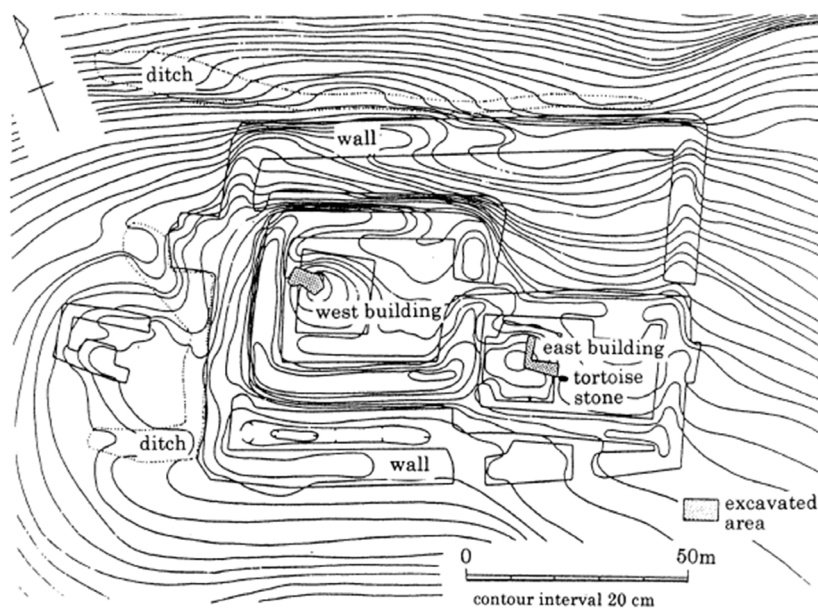


Figure. 2: Archaeological and topographical map of Melkhiin Tolgoi (After: Shiraishi, 2004).

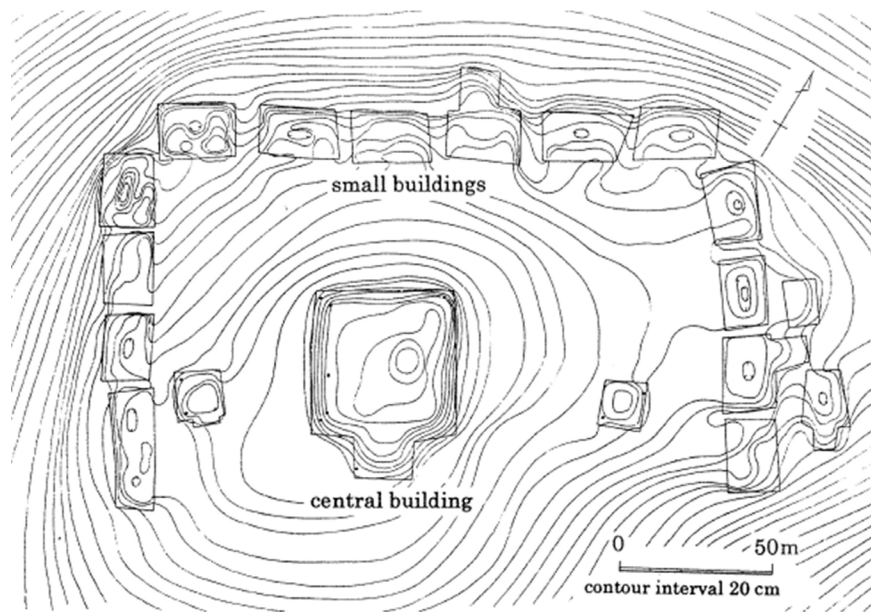


Figure 3: Archaeological and topographical map of Doityn Balgas (After: Shiraiishi, 2004).

Qarshi and Saray-i Kaipingfu: Kaipingfu is the old name of Kublai's settlement in Inner Mongolia, which was renamed *Shangdu* or Northern City after the construction of the city of *Dadu* and the transfer of Qaan's court there (Steinhardt, 1999: 153). While talking about the construction of a Qarshi, namely Naor, next to this city, Rashid al-Din refers to Qaan's settlement in Kaipingfu as Saray and Qarshi of the city. He describes Qaan's Qarshi in the Saray of Kaipingfu City as a small building located within the city (Rashid al-Din, 1994: 903, 904). From the current studies it is clear that the city of Shangdu had three nested walls: the inner wall, *Gong cheng* (Palace City), contained the main settlement of Qaan; the second, *Huang cheng* (Imperial City), framed the imperial city; and the third outer wall, *Da cheng*, enclosed the whole outer city (Steinhardt, 1988: 18, 63).

The innermost wall, or Gong Cheng, is the possible site of Qa'an's palace or Qarshi. This area, measuring 600 by 627 m, was located in the southeast part of the main wall and had three gates on the south, west and east. Through each of these gates, a street led to the center of the wall. At the northern end of this area and right along its central axis, there was a structure in a U-shaped plan. Scholars believe that this structure perhaps represents Qa'an's main palace, which Chinese sources refer to it as *Da'an ge* (Yuan Shi, 1976: chap. 38, 3: 816). In other sources from the Yuan

era, in addition to *Da'an ge*, the presence of other buildings in this area is mentioned, and there are references to at least two buildings titled *Shuijing dian* and *Kuizhang Ge* in the pertinent reports (Steinhardt, 1988: 18, 63) (Figure. 4).

Qarshi-i Lang ten: In *Jami'al-Tawarikh*, before the report on the city of Kaiminufu is unfolded, mention is made of Qaan's suburb settlement located in the eastern city. Rashid al-Din indicates this settlement as Lang ten and gives it the suffix Qarshi (Rashid al-Din, 1994: 903). This settlement might be the same *Dong liangting* or Eastern pavilion, which was situated 50 Lis (27.6 km) east of Shangdu in Chinese texts. The above-mentioned Qarshi can also be identified as the same settlement called *Jighasuchi Balaghasun* or Fisherman Castle in Mongolian sources (Masuya, 2013: 244). Archaeologists speculate that the *Baichengzi* site must be the location of Qarshi-i Lang ten. Excavations at this site have led to the identification of a 408 x 333 m wall, with three gates on the west, east, and south sides. At the center of the complex, there is a cruciform building platform on which some pieces of yellow and green roofing tiles have been recovered. The street connecting the south gate to this platform was also paved with tiles. In addition to the above-mentioned building, the remnants of two smaller buildings were also uncovered outside the wall, assumed to represent equipment warehouses (Yin Zixian, 2003: 120).

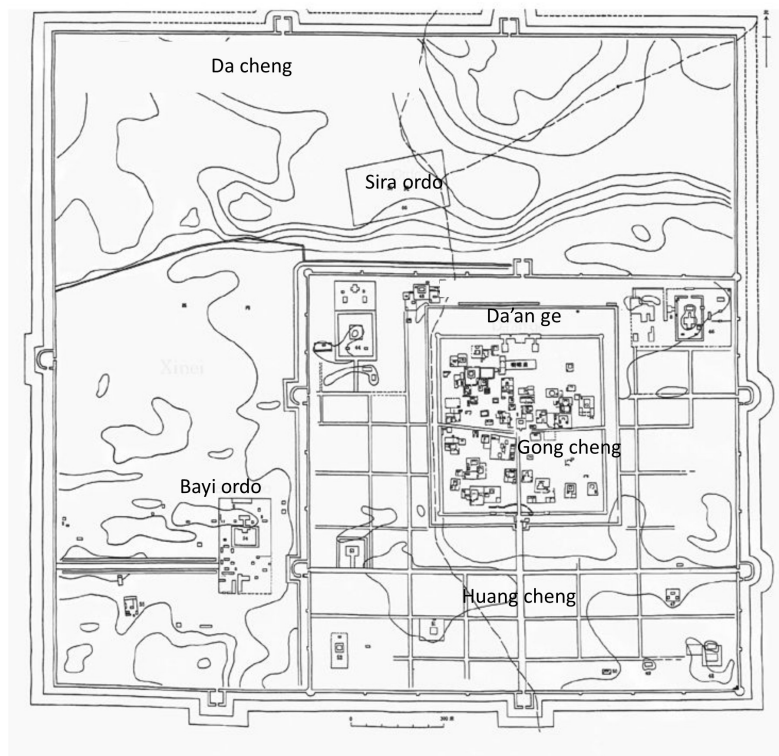


Figure 4: Shangdu (After: Wei jian, 2008).

Qarshi and Saray-i Dadu: The Mongol khans in China spent the winter in the winter quarter of Dadu. Rashid al-Din has described the location of Kublai's camp inside the city of Dadu as a very large and enclosed Saray, also calling it a Qarshi (Rashid al-Din, 1994: 901). Vassaf al-Hadra introduces the wall of Qaan's Qarshi in Dadu as a 400 x 400 steps square (Vassaf, 2020: 130). Qaan's complex of settlements or Saray, called *Huang cheng*, in Dadu City, encompasses a vast extent and several enclosed areas (Steinhardt, 1983: 138). The area mentioned as Qaan's Saray in *Jami' al-tawarikh* seems to be the site of Kublai's private settlement, known as *Gong cheng* (Rashid al-Din, 1994: 901), located east of Lake *Taiye chi*. The main building of this complex was called *Daming dian*, possibly Qaan's Qarshi, to the north and east of which lay another building called *Yanchun ge* (Masuya, 2013: 238), and a large prairie called "The Ordos Of The Eleven Empresses", where the Mongol tents were set up (Hatef Naiemi, 2019: 205). The buildings in this complex were arranged in a way that the two main buildings formed the central axis, so that *Daming dian* sat almost at the center of the complex and *Yanchun ge* on its north.

The other two royal palaces were located in the

Huang Cheng area, west of Lake *Taiye chi*. These two sites were constructed in a similar way to Qa'an's Palace but in very smaller dimensions. The first settlement, namely *Xingsheng Gong*, occupied the northwestern quarter and the second settlement, *Longfu Gong*, the southern quarter of the area (Steinhardt, 1999: 154). The placement of buildings in both complexes is centripetal. The palace or Qarshi of the complex lay almost in its center and along its central axis, while other ceremonial buildings were arranged around this central building (Figure. 5).

Permanent Settlements of the Mongol Ilkhans in Iran

Historical documents of the Ilkhanid era show that during this period the Ilkhans set up several seasonal settlements in different localities, most notably in northeast, north, west, and northwest Iran. In the historical texts, some of these numerous seasonal settlements are mentioned by the common names "Saray" and "Kushk," implying the presence of permanent and structured buildings within them. The Ilkhans' main settlements cited as Saray in historical sources include *Arghuniyya*, *Saray-i Oljeytu in Soltaniyya*, *Saray-i Khabushan*, *Alatagh*,

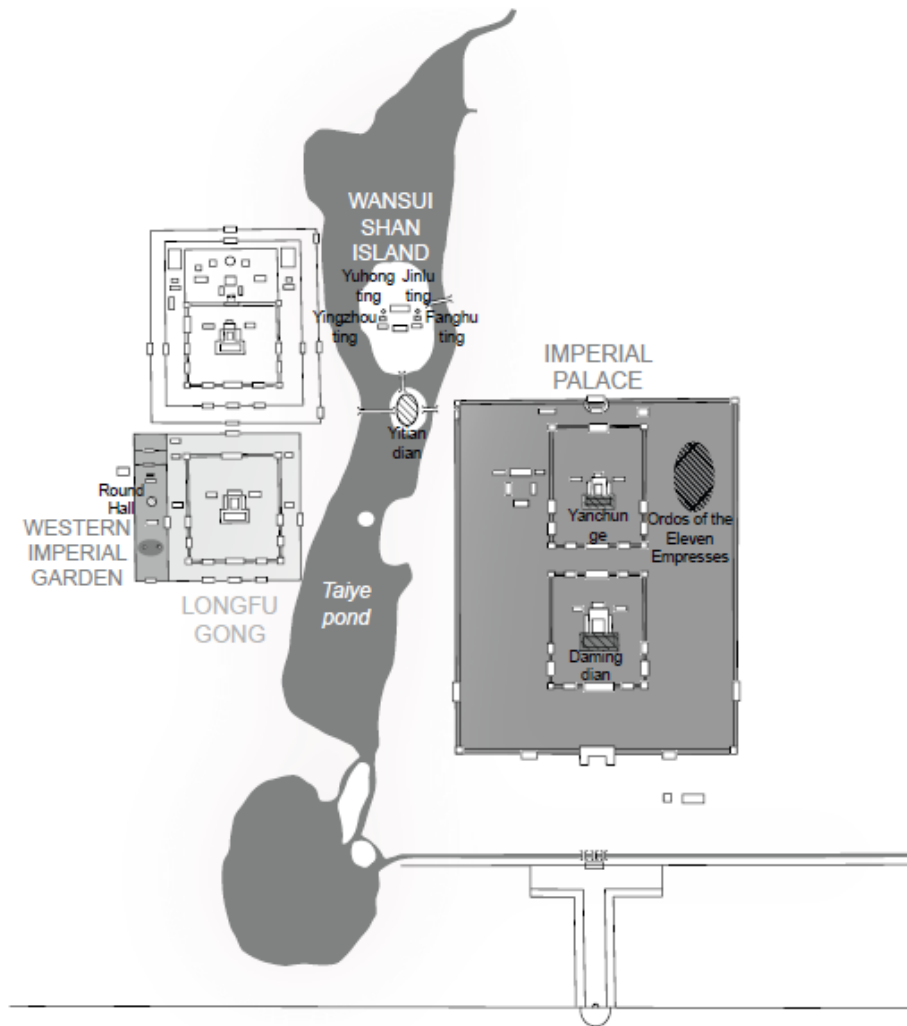


Figure 5: Dadu (After: Masuya, 2013).

Suqurluq, *Mansouriyya*, *Mozaffariyya*, *Sojas*, and *Urmia* (Rashid al-Din, 1994: 1235), of which *Mansouriyya*, *Mozaffariyya*, *Sojas*, and *Urmia* were excluded from the present study due to insufficient available information. Those defined as *Kushk* in the historical texts are *Kushk-i Sa'idabad*, *Kushk-i Ujan*, *Kushk-i Murad*, *Kushk-i Sultani* in Hamadan, *Kushk-i Golistan* in Ardabil, and *Kushk-i Muthanna* in Baghdad, of which *Kushk-i Sultani*, *Kushk-i Golistan*, and *Kushk-i Muthanna* are not considered here for the same reason.

***Saray-i Arghuniyya*:** After Maragha, Tabriz was chosen as the capital of the Ilkhanate by Abaqa Khan (1234-1282 A.D.). According to reports, a royal settlement was built on the outskirts of Tabriz during the reign of Arghun (1284-1291 A.D.). In his accounts, Rashid al-Din speaks about the construction of this settlement in an area called Sham or Shanb and describes it as a large town called

Arghuniyyah. He also refers to Arghun's order for the residence of other relatives in this town (Rashid al-Din, 1994: 1179). In several other occasions in *Jami' al-Tawarikh*, he refers to Arghun's settlement in this town as *Saray-i Mobark-i Sham*, indicating the existence of a royal complex in this area (Rashid al-Din, 1994: 1259, 1267). From these and other accounts dating to the Ilkhanid era, we know that *Arghuniyya* was located somewhere on the outskirts of the contemporary Tabriz (Mustawfi, 2002: 86; Rashid al-Din, 1994: 1179) in a way that Nadir Mirza, in his report written about seven hundred years after the establishment of this complex, acknowledges the establishment of the remains of this area in the southwest suburbs of Tabriz in his time (Shahzadih Nadir Mirza, 1981: 191).

There is not much information available about the names of the buildings located in Arghun and *Saray-i Sham*. Only sporadic references can be

found in some of the coeval sources. For instance, in *Jami' al-Tawarikh*, in the narrative of Ghazan's arrival (1295-1304 A.D.) to Tabriz in 1295 A.D., the celebration of his accession to the throne in Sari-i Sham and a Kushk called Adiliyya are declared (Rashid al-Din, 1994: 1259). This Kushk seems to have been the focal point of this Saray, located amid a namesake garden, reportedly commissioned by Arghun (Rashid al-Din, 1994: 2003, 2005). Under Ghazan's reign, the complex of Abwab al-birr of Ghazan or Ghazaniyya was built in the place of *Sari-i Sham* or *Bagh-i Adiliyya* (Rashid al-Din, 1994: 2003). It is unclear in the concomitant accounts whether or not the former buildings of the Saray were destroyed to make way for the new complex. We only know that the main Kushk of the complex, Adiliyya, was still standing at the time, as the complex's deed of endowment speaks of the residence and reception of Persian and Mongol noblesse during the pilgrimage to the tomb of Ghazan in this Kushk (Rashid al-Din, 1994: 2001). Also, according to Kashani's report, Oljeytu (1304-1316 A.D.) stayed in Kushk-i Adiliyya after arriving in Tabriz and visiting Ghazan's tomb (Kashani, 1969: 179).

Due to the construction of the Ghazaniyya complex in the place of Saray-i Sham, little information is known of the structure and arrangement of the buildings in this complex. We can only gain a little knowledge of this Saray's location from what has been obtained from the remains of the Ghazaniyya complex. Based on the aerial photography of this site captured in 1969, Hatef Naiemi has analyzed the remains of the historical site of Ghazaniyya in Tabriz and described it as having a specific structure and a plan consisting of concentric circles recognisable in the urban texture of this region (Figure. 6). She also points out two incomplete circles in the area that have fallen victim to modern buildings. At the center of the circle is the *al-Mahdiyya Grand Mosque*, which, according to her analysis, sits on the ruins of an older mosque. On the basis of her hypothesis, the mosque was perhaps built on the remains of one of the buildings of Abwab al-birr of Ghazan, and its central location in the inner circle of the complex indicates the presence of the remains of Abwab al-birr of Ghazan there. The inner circle was surrounded by another circle, which can be the outer city of Ghazaniyya or Arghuniyya. Based on the aerial imagery, she refers to the remains of two perpendicular streets which

divided the whole area confined by the two circles into four quarters. She interprets these streets as the same paths connecting the core of the complex to its suburbs (Hatef Naiemi, 2019: 87-88).

In addition to Hatef Naiemi, Moradi and colleagues have also emphasised the circular shape of this region in the abovementioned aerial photography and the effect of the form of Ghazaniyya on this plan (Moradi *et al.* 2016: 36). Based on these observations, one can assume that Sari-i Sham or Arghun's Addiliyya, as with the Ghazaniyya complex, occupied the central town, and probably other ceremonial or service buildings surrounded it before the foundation of Ghazan's Abwab al-birr (Figure. 6).

Saray-i Oljeytu in Soltaniyya: The Saray of the Soltaniyyah city is believed to have been the only royal complex of the Ilkhanids to be built in a pre-designed city, as was the case with Qa'an's royal complexes in China. The Saray was located in an enclosed area at the heart of the city built in the Qonqor-olong summer quarter by Oljeytu. Written Ilkhanid sources that locate this area at the center of the city of Soltaniyya, only report the Abwab al-birr of Oljeytu without making any mention of Sultan's Saray inside it (Amuli, 2002: 257-258; Kashani 1969: 45-47). Only in the report by Hafez-i Abru (14 and 15 A.D.) one finds indications of the location of Oljeytu's building inside the Soltaniyya citadel. Here, apart from the Abwab al-birr inside the citadel, it is explicitly said that the Saray was built inside this area by Ilkhan for his relatives. Hafez-i Abru describes the middle courtyard of this house as measuring 100 X 100 guzes (42 X 42 meters), and further talks about the construction of "Iwans" [portals] around it. He also describes the Divankhana [Court] Palace, or Oljeytu's Reception Palace in the citadel, as having a capacity of 200 people. According to him, the buildings of Ilkhan's relatives lay around this central courtyard (Blair, 1986: 146; 1993: 241; Hafiz-i, Abru 1971: 68). Archaeological excavations at the site of Soltaniyya in recent decades have identified remains from walls around the citadel, built as rectangular walls with two north and south gates. In addition, the Abwab al-birr complex of Soltaniyya to the south of the citadel have also been recovered in these excavations. Excavated exposures suggest that the complex had a central courtyard that lay just east of the Dome of Soltaniyya and linked to the entrance of the southern gate (Mirfattah, 1991: 198; 2006).

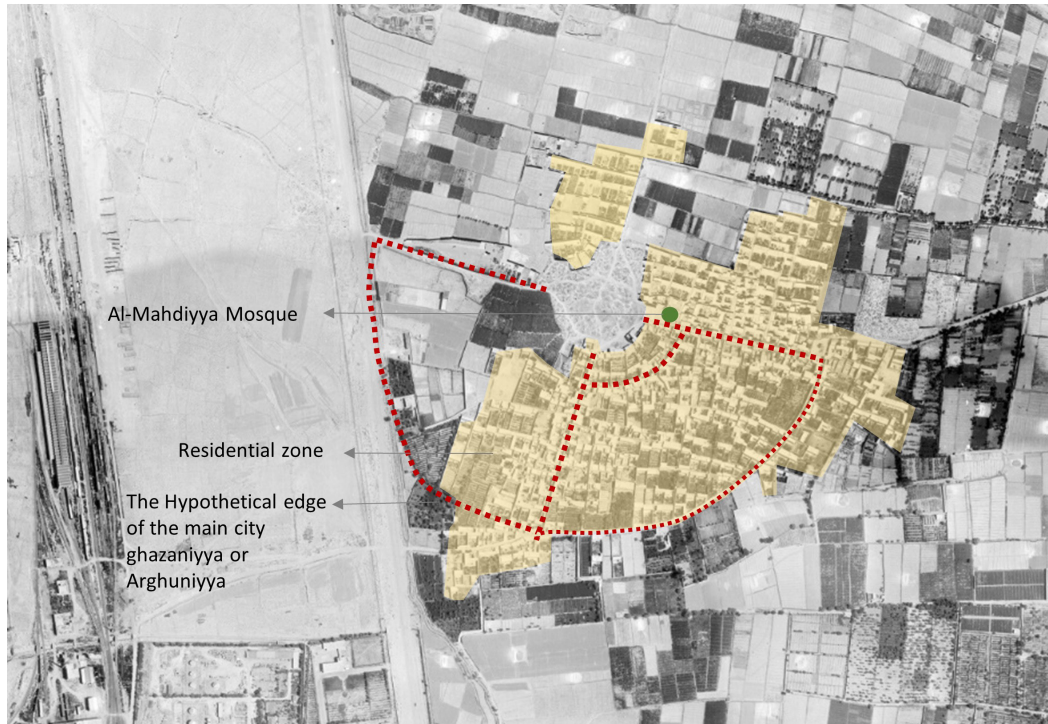


Figure 6: The 1968 aerial photo of Ghazaniyya and Arghuniyya for hypothetical outline
(After: Hatef Naiemi, 2019).

Further excavations between 2000 and 2002 led to the discovery of a portico street linking the north gate to an open area in the central citadel (Rezvan, and Karimian 2016: 151-152). The appearance of this area and its location in the center of the citadel to the north of the Abwab al-birr complex raises the possibility that the concerned area could have been the central courtyard of Saray-i Oljeytu (Hatef, Naiemi 2020: 5) (Figure. 7). It is noteworthy that the longitudinal dimensions of this area are exactly equal to the dimensions mentioned in Hafez-i Abru's account. If one assumes this as the central courtyard of the Saray-i Oljeytu, to which the royal street led from the north, it is possible to conjecture that the Divankhana [Court] Palace building was also located in front of this main entrance, on the south side, where the Qajar bathhouse of the citadel lies today. Thus, the Abwab al-birr complex was located just south of the palace. Accordingly, it can be said that the main palace of Saray-i Soltaniyya was located right in the central citadel, and a four-iwan [four-porch or four portal] courtyard formed the focal point of the Saray in question. On both the east and west sides of this courtyard, there were buildings affiliated with the Saray (Figure. 7).

Saray-i Alatagh: Alatagh summer settlement is

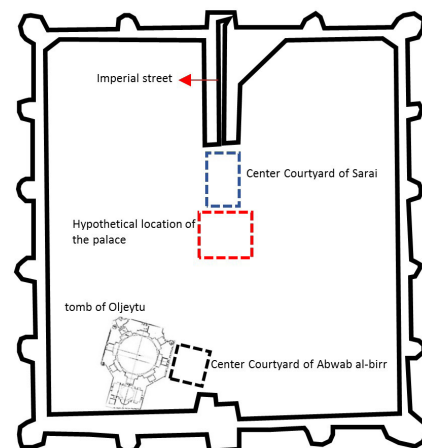


Figure. 7: Arg-i Soltaniyeh
(After: Google Earth, Depicted on 11/12/2021).

located in the northern Lake Van basin of eastern Turkey (Huff, 2006: 95). Alatağ was perhaps the first permanent settlement ever established by the Ilkhans. Rashid al-Din credits its construction to Holagu Khan (1256-1265 A.D.), stating that the latter became extremely fascinated by Alatağ on his first visit to it, named it as Labtasayut, and built a Saray there. The editors of the book *Jami' al-Tawarikh* have considered Labtasayut to be composed of two words: Labta meaning complete, and Sayut, deriving from "Sayu" and meaning settlement (Rashid al-Din, 1994: 1026, 1048, 2240). Grigor of Akanc, an Armenian writer, has also attributed the settlement constructed in Alatağ to Holagu (Blake and Frye, 1949: 343). On the other hand, Mustawfi, who believed that the area housing this settlement was part of Armenia, attributed its construction to Arghun, the grandson of Holagu (Mustawfi, 2002: 118). Yet, Shami credited it to Abaqa, the son of Holagu (Shami, 1984: 579). These contradictions may be due to the importance of this area since, in light of available written evidence, this settlement retained great importance throughout the Ilkhans rule (Al-Rugadi, 2011: 587; Aksarayli, 1983: 168-170; Budge and Budge, 1928: 63; Ibn al-Ebri, 1998: 394; Rashid al-Din, 1994: 1108; Vassaf al-Hadra and Ayati, 1967: 68).

The attestation of the common name "Saray" in various sources (Mustawfi, 2002: 118; Rashid al-Din, 1994: 1048, 1301; Shami, 1984: 579) strengthens our hypothesis regarding the existence of a residential complex consisting of several structured buildings in the Alatağ region. On the other hand, crediting the construction of a Saray in Alatağ to the first three Ilkhans raises the possibility that the construction work probably lasted until the mid-Ilkhanid period. However, in most Persian sources, the types of buildings located in this area are not discussed. The only evidence evincing the existence in the complex of a central pavilion or Kushk is an account in an Armenian text that explicitly talks about the construction of a magnificent palace in Alatağ by Holagu (Blake and Frye, 1949: 343). Moreover, from the Nestorian book *The monks of Kublai Khan*, one can deduce the existence of two other buildings in this complex, one a church commissioned by Holagu's wife, Doquz Khatun (Budge and Budge, 1928: 63) and the other a building called Sharabkhana [Wine cellar] where Ghazan resided (Budge and Budge, 1928: 73). In total, this evidence suggests that Saray-i Alatağ

consisted of a central pavilion and several other structures, all of which were circumscribed by a wall.

Saray-i Suqurluq: Suqurluq summer settlement was located somewhere, known today as Takht-i Sulayman, in the southern Lake Urmia region of northwest Iran. The less frequent attestation of this settlement in historical texts implies its inferiority to *Saray-i Alatağ* (Mustawfi, 2002: 70; Rashid al-Din, 1994: 1161, 1162, 1173, 1288).

Most historical sources fail to a description of the form and structure of the Suqurluq complex. Rashid al-Din makes only a single reference to this settlement by the common designation Saray (Rashid al-Din, 1994: 1528), while Mustawfi describes it in a little more detail, as a large Saray with a central courtyard (Mustawfi, 2002: 70). Archaeological excavations in Takht-i Sulayman confirm the picture presented by Mustawfi. On the ruins of the Sassanid structures in this area, the Ilkhans erected several buildings on four sides of a central courtyard measuring 140 x 120 m, within a large wall. Amidst the central courtyard there was a large lake resembling a massive pond, and a row of arches separated the lake from the buildings. The main buildings had also access to the central courtyard through symmetrical "Iwans" [portals] (Huff, 2006: 99). This plan, i.e. the central courtyard with a four-iwan construction, indicates the complete matching of Suqurluq with the Iranian Saray. On the main axis of the complex on the northern side stands the main hall building, which is thought to have been the central Qarshi or Kushk. This structure was built on the remains of a Sassanian fire temple imitating its plan. For this reason, it was initially believed that a dome covered its roof as with the main structure. But the nonexistent roof debris undermined this possibility, leading Hoff to assume that the roof of this hall, like those of the Chinese royal halls, rested on wooden pillars (Huff, 2006: 103) (Figure. 8).

Although the structure of the complex was modeled on Iranian four-iwan courtyards, three points observed in the reconstruction process have brought its structure closer to the royal complexes of the Mongol emperors. First, the reconstruction of the settlement and the expansion of the former complex to the south have been done in such a way that the main palace is located almost in the central axis of the complex, indicating to a certain degree the same centripetal form as in the Mongol royal

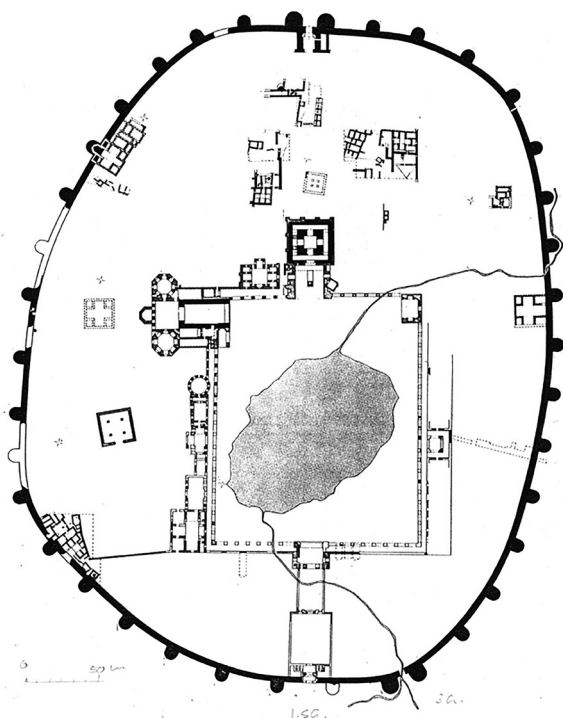


Figure 8: Saray-i Soqurluq (the site of Takht-i Soleyman) (After: Huff, 2002).

complexes. The second point is the south side of the settlement lacking in any residential buildings and its allocation to the entrance of the complex, which reminds one of the placement of buildings in such settlements as Qarshi Suri. In addition, on both sides of the main palace, i.e., on the west and east fronts, two rows of buildings ran along the central courtyard. Sarfaraz and Kiani assumed that the row on the west side belonged to Khan's wives and the one on the east to the Mongol noblesse (Sarfaraz and Kiani, 1968: 132). This hypothetic reconstruction is also reminiscent of the arrangement of male and female residences in the Mongol yurts, where the Khan's residence occupied the central yurt and the females were accommodated on one side and the males on the opposite (Rubruck, 1990: 74).

Kushk-i Sa'idabad: Kushk-i Sa'idabad was one of the Ilkhans' midway settlements, located on the Tabriz-Ujan road. Kashani specifically refers to this settlement as Kushk-i Sa'idabad when chronicling Oljeytu's travel from Tabriz to Ujan in the summer of 1304 AD (Kashani, 1969: 31). Mustawfi considers Sa'idabad as an eastern suburb of Tabriz, located 5 parasangs [Equals 31 km] from the city on the road to Ujan (Mustawfi, 2002: 89). Iskandar Beg Turkman also mentions the distance between Sa'idabad and Tabriz as 4 parasangs [Equals 25 km] (Turkaman, 2011: 400). On the outskirts of present-day

Tabriz, 30 km east of the city, there is a village by name of Sa'idabad, which can be identified with the Sa'idabad village of the Mongol period. This hypothesis is further supported by the village's location exactly midway down the road from Tabriz to Bostanabad, i.e., the area on the periphery of which the site of the historic city of Ujan has been identified based on the latest archaeological findings (Velayati *et al.* 2017: 20). According to a report in *Jami' al-Tawarikh*, in 1296 A.D. Ghazan commissioned a Kushk and a garden on the way linking Tabriz to Ujan. While not revealing the name of this Kushk, Rashid al-Din locates it near Naor Dul (Rashid al-Din, 1994: 1269). In the Mongolian language, the terms "Naor" and "Dul" signify lake and dry and barren, respectively (Starostin *et al.* 2003: 1383). Near the present-day village of Sa'idabad, there is a small lake by the local name of Ghurigol, meaning dry wetland. Thus, it can be assumed that Kushk-i Sa'idabad was commissioned by Ghazan midway down the road linking Tabriz to Ujan. This Kushk seemingly flourished in the post-Ilkhanid periods, as Qara Yusuf Turkmen reportedly died here during the Timurid period (Rumlu, 2005: 238). A remarkable evidence with valuable information on the form and structure of Kushk-i Sa'idabad comes from an account in *Beyan-i Menazil-i Sefer-i Irakeyn* by Nasuh Matrakci. During his expedition to Iran, Sulayman I (1520-1566 A.D.), commonly known as Sulayman the Magnificent, stayed in Sa'idabad for three days, on his way to Tabriz via Baghdad (Matrikci, 2000: 50). Matrakci has drawn a picture of Sultan's camp in Sa'idabad, in which only a Kushk next to a narrow river is discernible. The Kushk is illustrated as a three-arched Iwan [porch] set on four columns, with a façade lavishly decorated with tiles (Matrikci, 2000: 85). From Matrakci's sketch, one can assume that, as with other Mongol Qarshis, Kushk-i Sa'idabad consisted of a central building around which, due to the lack of other permanent structures, there were probably the settlements of the khan's entourage in the form of the traditional Mongolian tents (Figure. 9).

The painting of Kushk-i Sa'idabad shares many similarities with that of Kushk-i Ujan, also illustrated by Matrakci (Matrikci, 2000: 88) (Figure. 9). Both buildings have three Iwans [porches] with three similar arches, and both, like other Ilkhanid buildings, are placed on a similar platform. However, Kushk-i Ujan, unlike Kushk-i Sa'idabad, apparently had an octagonal plan, in



Figure 9: Kushk-i Sa'idabad (left) and Kushk-i Ujan (right)
(After: Matrakci, 2000).

which respect it can be compared to the Kushk of Saray-i Suqurluq as well as the kushks on the Taiye chi island (Masuya, 2002: 89,97; 2013: 248). Also, this building has a roof similar to Chinese buildings. However, unlike Kushk-i Sa'idabad, in *Jami' al-tawarikh*, there is no mention of the Kushk building or even the royal Saray in the Ujan city. Only Khwandamir, in the account of Timur's trip, has reported his stay in Kushk-i Ghazan in this city (Khwandamir, 2001: 501). The ongoing excavations at the archaeological site of Ujan stand up for Matrakci's observations on Ujan. The excavations have brought to light a rectangular citadel, closely resembling the one in the painting of Kushk-i Ujan (Velayati and Saadatirad, 2018: 539). This citadel is shown at the bottom of the painting, under the Kushk building. Therefore, it can be assumed that the Kushk building lay in this part according to Matrakci's sketch, and will be hopefully discovered in the upcoming excavations. However, due to the incomplete state of the excavation and the dearth of historical documents, it is not possible to comment on the type of the structure of Ghazan's royal complex in Ujan or its exact location within the city. As a final point, from the above discoveries one may conclude that Matrakci's painting of Kushk-i Sa'idabad, like his other paintings, is reliable and based on the reality of this building.

Kushk-i Murad: As a favourite settlement of Ghazan, it was built during his governorship (1284-1295) in a locality called Shirkuh (Rashid al-Din, 1994: 2265).¹ This Kushk, along with two other settlements named Radakan and Khabushan, represented his summer settlements in northern Khorasan. These three settlements were erected

on the same axis from south to north. At the southernmost point was Radakan, which is now located on the outskirts of the Chenaran city. Khabushan lay 78 km north of Radakan, the present-day city of Quchan. Shirkuh was at the northern extreme of the axis, at a distance of 67 km from Khabushan on the outskirts of where is the modern city of Shirvan. In *Jami' al-Tawarikh*, in the account on the Ghazan's career in Khorasan, his residence and periodic movements between these three settlements during the summer and autumn seasons are mentioned several times (Rashid al-Din, 1994: 1224-35). If we accept the Sultan Dovin area in modern Gorgan as the main wintering area of Ghazan during those years, it can be assumed that at the beginning of the spring, Ghazan used to move southward from Sultan Dovin and his first stop was Kushk-i Murad in Shirkuh, where he probably used to spend some of the spring. He would then continue his journey to settle in Khabushan. Next, in the peak of summer, he would enter Radakan. At the end of the summer, Ghazan would take the same route to return, and in the autumn, he would stop again in Kushk-i Murad for a few days. From this point of view, Kushk-i Murad can be interpreted as a sort of road settlement (stopping place) where Ghazan used to stay during the two seasons of spring and autumn. Historical documents also mention the residence of Abu Sa'id (1316-1335 A.D.) in this pavilion as a summer mansion, attesting to its importance up until the end of the Ilkhanid period (Mirkhwand, 2006: 4318). This pavilion can be considered similar to Kushk-i Sa'idabad i.e., a road settlement with a single central building lodging the Khan while his entourage stayed in tents set up around it.

In addition to Kushk-i Murad, the city of Khabushan was also located on this route. This city was such a center of attention both during the reign of Holagu and the governorship of Arghun and Ghazan that different structures erected in the city in their times are mentioned in the reports (Mustawfi, 2002: 185; Rashid al-Din 1994: 985). One of these buildings was a complex termed as Saray-i Khujan by Rashid al-Din (Rashid al-Din, 1994: 1528). Le Strange considered Khujan to be the same as Khabushan, which changed from Khushan to Khuchan and then to Khabushan over time (Le Strange, 1905: 419). Another account elaborating on the war between Sultan Ahmad-i Teguder (1282-84 A.D.) and Arghun talks about the presence of Arghun in Khabushan and at a place called Kushk-i Adiliyya (Rashid al-Din, 1994: 1135). Is it possible

¹ In some texts, it was also mentioned as Shotor Kuh [Camel mountain] (Rashid al-Din, 1994: 2265).

the semantic similarity of such words as Dian, Ting, Liang Ting and Xinggong with words like Kushk in Persian. However, it is noteworthy that in the Ilkhanid texts, the name Qarshi was used for all the permanent settlements of the Mongol emperors. This may indicate the fact that the writers of the Ilkhanid era used the word Qarshi to refer to a building with a permanent structure built for the residence of Qa'an. This building could have been located, along with other ceremonial buildings, either inside the Saray or on its own, within an enclosed area in the suburbs. Thus, one may conclude that this word was only used to refer to the palace of Qa'an in the settlement, hence the more frequent association of it with Kushk and not with Saray (Table. 1).

Except for Maragha, the royal settlements of the Ilkhanids in the cities of Tabriz and Soltaniyya were invariably called Saray. This designation is quite similar to the name given to the royal settlements

enclosed within the defensive walls. Like the Sarays of the Mongol emperors, in addition to the main palace or Kushk, there were several ceremonial and service buildings inside these Sarays.

The settlements in the seasonal quarters of the Ilkhanids were also mentioned as Sarays in contemporary sources. These Sarays can be divided into two categories: summer Sarays such as Alatagh, Mozaffariyya¹, Suqurluq and Khabushan; and winter Sarays such as Mansouriyya². The meager reliable archaeological evidence contrasts starkly with the substantial number of the complexes cited above. However, one can somehow reconstruct the main structure of these complexes, relying on the scant evidence at hand from Saray-i Suqurluq. These complexes, like urban Sarays, were built within defensive walls and, like the royal Sarays in the capitals, consisted of a set of buildings erected around a main building or Kushk.

Table.1: Mongol emperors' permanent complex conditions

Name	Location	Prefix in Persian Sources	Prefix in Chinese Sources	Royal Residence	Other Ceremonial Buildings	Buildings Position	Defensive Wall Situation
Karakorum	Next to the City	Saray/Qarshi/ Kushk	Gong	One	More than one	Inside the defensive wall	Square with four gate
Kaipingfu	Inside the City	Saray/Qarshi/ Kushk	Gong Cheng	More the three	Unclear	Inside the defensive wall	Square with four gate
Dadu	Inside the City	Saray/Qarshi/ Kushk	Gong Cheng	Two	Unclear	Inside the defensive wall	Square with four gate
Turghu Baliq	In the suburbs	Qarshi/Kushk	Dian	One	One	Inside the defensive wall	Square with four gate
Suri	Spring Residence	Qarshi/Kushk	Dian	One	Fifty	Unclear	Unclear
Lang ten	In the suburbs	Qarshi	Liangting	One	Two	Royal residence Inside the defensive wall	Square with three gate

of the Mongol emperors in their main capitals in the same sources, and it can be considered similar to the Chinese name Gongcheng. Based on the concerned sources and documents, one can assume that the royal Sarays of the Ilkhanids within the main cities were designed independently from the city and

¹ Saray-i Mozaffariyya was located in the Siah Kuh area, almost somewhere in the middle of the road from Maragheh to Aran, which according to Le Strange, can be tentatively located near Kalantar in northern Sarab and to the southwest of Ardabil (Le Strange, 181).

² Saray-i Mansouriyya was located in the Arran area, almost somewhere in the north of Bilasuvar and south of Bilaqan in the southeast of the Republic of Azerbaijan.

Another type of Mongol permanent settlements included those lying along the roads used for nomadic movements or the suburbs of midway cities. In the contemporary sources, such settlements were all designated as Kushks. Except for Kushk-i Chamchal, located south of the city of Sultanabad, no archaeological evidence is available on the Kushks mentioned in the sources. One can only assume the location of these Kushks in a large area

based on limited archaeological documents as well as some visual evidence. It is unclear whether these Kushks, like Turghu Baliq and Qarshi-i Langten, were confined within a wall. Also, due to the lack of evidence, one cannot confidently comment on the form and type of the residence of Ilkhan's entourage in these complexes, except for the location of the Kushk (Figure. 11, Table. 2).

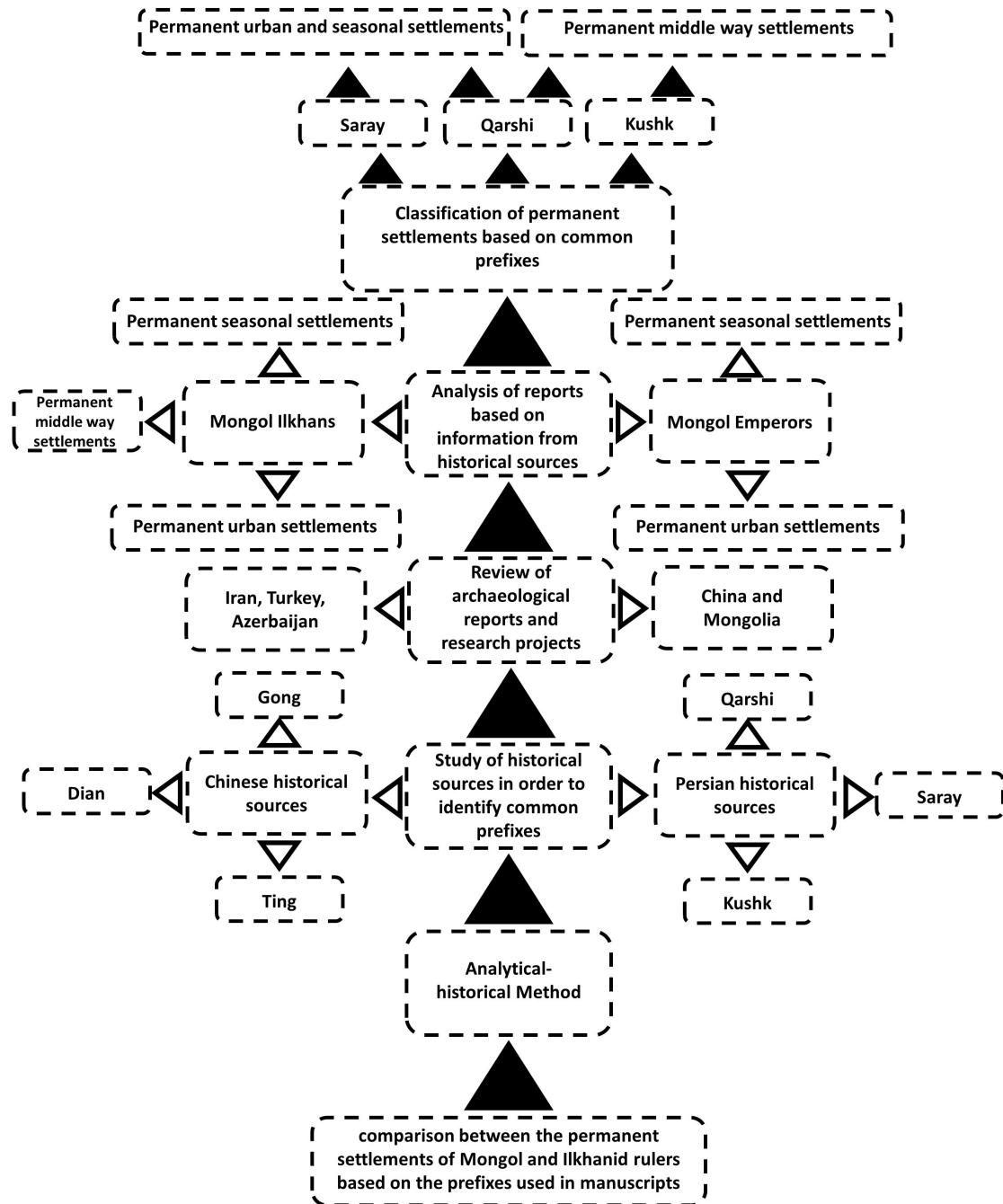


Figure. 11: Operational model of the research.

Table 2: *Ilkhanid permanent complex conditions*

Name	Location	Prefix in Persian Sources	Other Source	Royal Residence	Other Ceremonial Buildings	Buildings Position	Defensive Wall Situation
Arghuniyya	Next to the City	Saray/ Kushk	-	One	thirteen	Inside the defensive wall	Circle with four gate
Soltaniyya	Inside the City	Saray	-	One	About eight	Inside the defensive wall	Square with two gate
Alatagh	Summer Residence	Saray	Palace	Two	More than one building	Unclear	Unclear
Sughurlugh	Summer Residence	Saray	-	Two	More than one building	Inside the defensive wall	Circle with two gate
Khabushan	Summer Residence	Saray/ Kushk	-	One	Unclear	Unclear	Unclear
Mozzafariyya	Summer Residence	Saray	-	Unclear	Unclear	Unclear	Unclear
Mansuriyya	Winter Residence	Saray	-	Unclear	Unclear	Unclear	Unclear
Sa'idabad	Middle way	Kushk	-	One	Unclear	Unclear	Unclear
Morad	Middle way	Kushk	-	One	Unclear	Unclear	Unclear
Mosanna	In the suburbs	Kushk	-	Unclear	Unclear	Unclear	Unclear
Golistan	In the suburbs	Kushk	-	Unclear	Unclear	Unclear	Unclear

Conclusions

According to the common names occurring in the Persian texts dating to the Ilkhanid era, the Mongol and Ilkhanid rulers' permanent settlements split into two general categories. The first category includes large settlements built inside the main cities or in the main gathering places in Yaylaqs and Qishlaqs. These large settlements were referred to as "Saray". The settlements mainly included a complex of royal buildings centered on the khan's main Kushk.

The second group consists of small settlements, often put up on the periphery of cities, along the routes between Yaylaqs and Qishlaqs. Residence in such settlements was mostly transient, and for this very reason there were very few structures in them compared to the first category and the settlement was mainly confined to a central building. In the Persian texts from the Ilkhanid era, this form of settlement is indicated as Qarshi or Kushk in the territories ruled by the Mongol rulers and as Kushk in the Ilkhanid kingdom. However, the name Qarshi cannot be considered an equivalent of the term

Kushk since it also used to designate other royal complexes of the Mongol emperors, and therefore, one can only assume that the term Qarshi referred to the main building of Khan's settlement, which was also associated with the term Kushk in the Ilkhanid texts due to its importance.

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