

TADHKIRAT AL-MULUK

*A MANUAL OF
ŞAFAVID ADMINISTRATION*

(circa 1137/1725)

PERSIAN TEXT IN FACSIMILE (B.M. Or. 9496)

Translated and explained

BY

V. MINORSKY

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PRINTED BY W. HEFFER & SONS LTD., CAMBRIDGE, FOR THE TRUSTEES OF
THE "E. J. W. GIBB MEMORIAL" AND PUBLISHED BY MESSRS. LUZAC & CO.,
46, GREAT RUSSELL STREET, LONDON, W.C.1.

1943

Printed and Bound in Great Britain at the Works of
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*and to promote those researches into the History, Literature, Philosophy and
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until his premature and deeply lamented Death in his forty-fifth year, on
December 5, 1901, his life was devoted.*

تِلْكَ آثَارُنَا تَدُلُّ عَلَيْنَا * فَانظُرُوا بَعْدَنَا إِلَى الْآثَارِ

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TO THE ORIENTALISTS
OF THE U.S.S.R.
IN THEIR ORDEAL

СОВЕТСКИМ ВОСТОКОВЕДАМ,
В ДНИ ВЕЛИКИХ ИСПЫТАНИЙ

FOREWORD

IN spite of the small size and dull official style of the *Tadhkirat al-mulūk*, this "Memorial for Kings" is of outstanding importance for the study of Šafavid institutions. In general, it belongs to the interesting class of political manuals, which is poorly represented in Persian literature. The study of the Islamic period of the history of Iran,—which alone covers thirteen centuries,—is still in its infancy, not so much for want of useful outlines of single periods as because of the limited methods of research which were so long employed.¹ Studies of political events, chronology, literature, religion and art all have their importance, but the picture is likely to remain incomplete and to lack unity until there has been a more thorough examination of the ethnological factors, the economic background and the institutions, reflecting, as they do, the respective positions of the social groups.

In this respect, the "Memorial for Kings," completed about A.D. 1726, forms a welcome accession to our materials, for it deals with the more permanent and solid facts of state organisation, in contradistinction to our narrative sources which pay too much attention to the kaleidoscopic succession of battles, appointments and intrigues.

My interest in the MS. was first aroused by Dr. E. Edward's article in *The Times* (17th November, 1924), giving details of the new acquisitions of the British Museum from the library of the late Sultan 'Abd al-Ḥamid.² In 1930 I copied a considerable part of it but later lost my notes. I copied it for a second time in 1934, and gave an outline of my study in a paper read at the XIXth International Congress of Orientalists held in Rome in 1935.³ The difficulties of the task became apparent only later when I undertook a complete translation of the Persian original. They consist in the great abundance of technical terms and formulas scattered throughout the text for which the dictionaries are of no great help; their meaning can be ascertained only by internal evidence, by quotations in Persian texts of the Šafavid epoch, or by explanations found in contemporary European sources. Very embarrassing too is the uncouth style of the author, which should be more properly called "official jargon" (see Annex V). In the plan of the treatise there are some inconsistencies and lacunae, and parallel passages are usually repeated with some variants and additions. The MS. is beautifully written, but the scribe did his work mechanically: he was negligent in his spelling and hardly concerned with the meaning of the original. In places the text is disturbed and the particularly important tables of the Budget look at first sight like a puzzle.

In the present edition the MS. is reproduced photographically. In order

¹ See my papers, *Les études historiques et géographiques sur la Perse*, in *Acta Orientalia*, X, 1932, 278-93, XVI, 1937, 49-58 (originally read at the International Congresses of Orientalists in Leiden, 1931, and in Rome, 1936).

² In fact, the MS. (Or. 9496) bears only the endorsement: "bought of M. Nahman, 12th July, 1924."

³ See *Acta Orientalia*, XVI/1, 1937, pp 55-8.

to facilitate the checking of my interpretation of it I have given in the English text, not only references to the folios of the original,¹ but also profuse quotations of single Persian words and expressions. My translation follows the arid original as closely as possible and intentionally avoids giving more precision than is contained in the author's loose original. Special terms are either accompanied by a transcription of the Persian equivalent, or left without translation. In the latter case their meaning is explained in the list of catch-words at the end of the book.

In the course of my work on the *Tadhkirat al-mulūk* I took every opportunity to illustrate the passages by other contemporary sources. As the commentary was bound to follow the paragraphs as they come in the text, it has been thought useful to include in the Introduction some general notices on the more important problems of the Safavid administration. So finally, and for the time being, the book has taken the shape of a general guide to Safavid institutions.

Since 1937 I have published several studies on the problems of social and political organisation of Persia. My present book sums up and develops my views on the subject. In it I have not only wielded my professional weapons as an Orientalist, but I have also endeavoured to make full use of my other studies and of my personal experience.

I have followed the conventional system of "transliteration," although, on reflection, I regret having hesitated to adopt the novelty (*bid'a*) of alterations which would have made it more conformable to spoken Persian. I hope my Iranian friends will not suspect me of ignorance in that *banda-yi shumā* is pronounced *bande-ye shomā* and that in Persia they say *sāhab* (for *ṣāhib*) and *morāsele* (for *murāsala*). In the Turkish words abounding in our administrative text I have tried to restore as much as possible the original forms of Turkish as spoken in Iran (and not in Istanbul).

I am much obliged to the Trustees of the Gibb Memorial for having included this second contribution of mine in their great series.

Messrs. W. Heffer & Sons, and their staff, have all my praise for the careful production of the book in these difficult times.

I have much pleasure in offering my thanks to my friends, Mrs. N. K. Chadwick and Mr. A. J. Boyle, for checking my copy and to Professor C. A. Storey for reading the proofs of my book.

My wife typed my MS., with its endless additions and alterations, and prepared the Index. Without her help this book would never have been completed.

CAMBRIDGE, 12.X.1942.

¹ On the system of references see p. 218.

ABBREVIATIONS

- Aḥsan al-tavārikh**—by Ḥasan-i Rumlū, ed. N. Seddon, 1931.
- ‘Ālam-ārā**—by Iskandar Munshī, Tehran, 1314. Cf. *Khuld-i Barīn*.
- Bedik**—Petrus Bedik, *Cehil-Sutun*, Vienna, 1678.
- Browne, LHP**—*A Literary History of Persia*.
- Camb. Add. 220**—Anonymous, History of Shāh Ismā‘īl [cf. B.M. Or. 3248], see also Ross.
- Carmelites**—*A Chronicle of the Carmelites in Persia and the Papal Mission of the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries*, London, 1939, 2 vols.
- Chardin**—*Voyages du Chevalier Chardin*, ed. Langlès, Paris, 1811, 10 vols.
- De Laet**—Ioannes de Laet, *Persia, seu regni Persici status variaque itinera in atque per Persiam*, Leyden, Officina Elzeviriana, 1633, 374 pp.
- Don Juan**—*Relaciones de Don Ivan de Persia dirigidas a la Magestad Catholica de Don Philippe III, Rey de las Españas*, Valladolid 1604. Engl. transl. by G. Le Strange, *The Broadway travellers*, 1926.
- Du Mans**—R. du Mans, *Estat de la Perse en 1660*, ed. by Ch. Scheffer, Paris, 1890.
- Figuroa**—Don Garcia de Silva Figuroa, *Commentarios de la Embajada . . . al Rey Xa Abas de Persia*, 2nd ed., Madrid, 1903; French tr. by A. de Wicqfort, 1667.
- Ḥabīb al-siyar**—by Khwāndamīr, Tehran, 1281.
- Herbert**—Sir Thomas Herbert, *Some Yeares Travels*, 3rd ed., 1665. An abridged edition by Sir W. Foster in the *Broadway Travellers*, 1928.
- Kaempfer**—E. Kaempfer, *Amoenitatum exoticarum . . . fasciculi V, Lemgoviae*, 1712.
- Khuld-i Barīn**—by Muḥammad Yūsuf Vālih, B.M. MS., Or. 4132, partly edited by Suhayli Khwānsāri (as an Appendix to the *Dhayl-i Tārīkh-i ‘Ālam-ārā-yi ‘Abbāsī*), Tehran, 1317/1939.
- Le Brun**—C. Le Brun’s *Travels*, Engl. transl., 1759.
- Minadoi**—Gio. Thomaso Minadoi de Rovigo, *Historia della guerra fra Turchi et Persiani* (1588), 2nd ed., Venice, 1594.
- Minorsky, Review**—*A Civil and Military Review in Fārs in 881/1476*, BSOS, X/1, 1939, 141-78.

- Minorsky, Soyūrghāl**—*A soyūrghāl of Qāsim b. Jahāngīr Aq-qoyunlu*, BSOS, IX/4, pp. 927-60, 1939.
- Muqaddimat al-adab**—A Mongolian-Turkish supplement (14th cent.?) to Zamakhshari's dictionary (12th cent.), ed. N. Poppe, Leningrad, 1938-9.
- Nasīr al-dīn Tūsī**—his *Faṣl* on Finance, published by Minovi and Minorsky, B.S.O.S., X/3, 755-89, 1941.
- Or. 4935**—B.M. MS., Collection of royal farmans, cf. Rieu, *Supplément*, pp. 255-6.
- Ross**—Sir E. D. Ross, *The Early Years of Shāh Ismā'īl* [after Camb. Add. 220], JRAS, April, 1896, 92 pp.
- Ṣafvat al-ṣafā**—by Tavakkul ibn Bazzāz, Bombay, 1329/1912.
- Sanson**—Sanson, *Voyage ou relation de l'Etat présent du royaume de Perse*, Paris, 1695.
- Silsilat**—*Silsilat al-nasab-i Ṣafaviya*, ed. Iranshahr, Berlin, 1343.
- Tarīkh-i Amīnī**—by Faḍlullāh b. Rūzbihān, Bib. Nat., ancien fonds pers. No. 101.
- Thévenot**—De Thévenot, *Suite du voyage de Levant*, seconde partie, Paris, 1674.
- T.M.**—*Tadhkirat al-mulūk*, B.M. Or. 9496.
- della Valle**—Pietro della Valle, *Viaggi*, Brighton, 1843.
- Vechietti**—G. B. Vechietti, *A Report on the conditions of Persia in the year 1586* (in Italian), published by H. F. Brown in *English Historical Review*, 1892, pp. 314-21.
- Z.T.**—Muhammad Mūḥsin, *Zubdat al-tavārīkh*, Cambridge University Library, E. G. Browne collection, MS. G15 (13).
- [For an additional list of bibliography, see Annex VI.]

INTRODUCTION

I. SOURCES ON PERSIAN INSTITUTIONS

- §1. SCARCITY OF INDIGENOUS SOURCES.
- §2. EUROPEAN TRAVELLERS
 - (a) Under Shah 'Abbās
 - (b) Under the later Safavids (Du Mans, Chardin, Kaempfer, Sanson, Le Brun, the Carmelites, etc.).
- §3. THE *Tadhkirat al-mulūk*:
 - (a) The Circumstances of its Compilation.
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II. PROLEGOMENA

- A. SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC STRUCTURE OF THE SAFAVID STATE:
 - (a) The Shah
 - (b) The Ruling Classes.
 - (c) The Middle Classes
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 - (e) Causes of the Decline.
- B. SINGLE QUESTIONS OF ORGANISATION.
 - (aa) *Mamālīk* and *Khāssa*.
 - (bb) Immunities, Assignments and Fees.
 - (cc) Royal Workshops.
 - (dd) Military Organisation.

I. SOURCES ON PERSIAN INSTITUTIONS

§1. SCARCITY OF INDIGENOUS SOURCES

THE exceptional place which the *Tadhkirat al-mulūk* occupies among the sources of the Safavid period, and even of the general history of Persia, will become manifest in the light of the following considerations.

With regard to Egypt we possess several excellent manuals of administration: 'Umari's *Ta'rif bil-muṣṭalah al-sharīf* (after A.D. 1340), Qalqashandī's *Ṣubḥ al-a'shā* (the author died A.D. 1418), etc.¹; for the Ottoman Empire a series of *Qānūn-nāmas*² are available; the Mughal institutions in India were minutely recorded in Abul-Faḍl 'Allāmi's *Āyin-i Akbarī*, which forms the third part of his monumental *Akbar-nāma*.³

These works have no exact counterpart in purely Persian literature. Niẓām al-Mulk's *Siyāsat-nāma*, one of the most important books ever written in Persian, is a manual of politics and not a matter-of-fact description of the existing institutions of Seljuk times. Naṣir al-dīn Tūsī's outline of taxation is very valuable, but has a limited scope and contains no statistics.⁴ Rashīd al-dīn's *Jāmi' al-tavārikh* gives a wonderful picture of Ghazan-khan's reforms⁵ but does not describe systematically

¹ See R. Hartmann's remarks on these "Staatshandbücher" in his *Pohtische Geographie des Mamlūkenreichs*, in *ZDMG*, 70, 1916, pp. 1-40, 477-511.

² See P. A v Tischendorf, *Das Lehnwesen in den Moslemischen Staaten*, Leipzig, 1872, p. 55 (based on 'Ayn-i 'Alī's *Qawānīn-i āl-i 'Othmān*, A.D. 1610) and Kraelitz-Greifenhorst, *Kānūnnāme Sulṭān Mehmeds II*, in *Mitteilungen z Osman. Gesch.*, I/1, 1921, pp. 1-47, especially pp. 16-7.

³ A good survey of this principal work and of other subsidiary sources is found in Ibn-e-Hasan, *The Central Structure of the Mughal Empire*, Oxford, 1936, pp. 7-26.

⁴ Minovi-Minorsky in *BSOS*, X/3, 1940, pp. 755-89.

⁵ The third *qism* of the History of Ghazan, *GMS*, ed. Jahn, pp. 218.

the offices, revenues, salaries, etc. As compared with it, Ḥamdullāh Mustaufi's *Nuzhat al-qulūb* (A.D. 1340) has some particular merits in that it pays special attention to the geographical distribution of revenues and the economic situation of the country.¹ There is no need to insist on the importance of such collections of state papers as the *Tavassul ilā al-tarassul*,² and especially Muḥammad b. Hindūshāh's *Dastūr al-kātib*,³ but these sources, purporting as they do to exhibit the most exquisite specimens of clerical style, are of course only casual and patchy. Consequently the only method of ascertaining the institutions of a period of Persian history is to set up a mosaic of stray references scattered through the contemporary sources. Barthold's *Turkestan* shows what can be achieved by this method, but such painstaking reconstruction depends on the opportunities presented by our sources. The latter are neither numerous nor supported by public records, which, as a result of the numerous invasions and of the constant shifting of capitals, have not survived in Persia. Hence the importance of an authentic treatise which contains a systematic and sufficiently complete description of the Persian administrative system.

§2. EUROPEAN TRAVELLERS

Hitherto our most detailed and trustworthy intelligence on the internal structure of the Safavid kingdom has been derived from European travellers and residents in Persia.

For the explanation of the *T.M.* we have chiefly to depend on the travellers of the later half of the seventeenth century, but three reports dating from the time of Shah 'Abbās and Shah Ṣafī should not be overlooked in this connection.

The Spanish *Relaciones de Don Juan de Persia*, Valladolid, 1604,⁴ were taken down from the dictation of the secretary of the Persian embassy URUJ BEG B. SULTĀN 'ALĪ BEG BAYĀT after he had been converted to Catholicism. The embassy left Persia on 9th July, 1599, apparently before Shah 'Abbās had completed his reform of the army. Himself a *qizil-bash*, Uruj beg speaks with special pride of the Turcoman praetorians, but the list of their tribes which he gives from memory is artificial and confused. The second part of the book dilutes Don Juan's narrative with data culled from European sources (Giovanni Botero).

The *Viaggi* of PIETRO DELLA VALLE (1617-27) is one of the most valuable books on Persia whether as regards the accomplishments of the author, the scope of his enquiry, the great accuracy of facts or the excellency of transcriptions. Especially interesting are the chapters on the army, tribal relations and the changes brought about by the creation of a new aristocracy of Caucasian (Georgian) origin.

For the reign of Shah Ṣafī we have the very remarkable account of OLEARIUS, who in 1636-8 accompanied a Holstianian embassy to Persia in the capacity of

¹ See A. Z. Validi, *Moğollar devrinde Anadolunun iktisadi vaziyatı*, 1930, and recently I. P. Petrushevsky, *H Qazvini hak istochnik po sotsialno-ekonomicheskoy istorii Vostochn Zakavkazya*, in *Izv. Akad. Nauk S.S.S.R.*, 1937, No. 4, pp. 879-920 (with some misprints in Oriental words).

² Compiled under the Khwārazm-shāhs towards A.D. 1182-4, printed in Tehran, 1315/1936

³ Dedicated to Sultan Uways Jalāyir (757-76/1356-74) and analysed in great detail by Hammer, *Geschichte d. Goldenen Horde*, 1840, pp. 463-516. *Diplome mongolischer Staatsämter (759-60/1157-80)*. Hindū-shāh's work urgently needs an edition.

⁴ English translation by G. Le Strange, 1926 (with some alterations of Don Juan's spellings).

secretary. Olearius makes only a few remarks on the Shah's revenue. More detailed, but desultory, is his enumeration of the 19 higher and 22 lower officials.¹

Of the later reports we shall refer only to those which give systematic accounts of the Safavid administration.

In his work presented to the Minister Colbert the Capuchin Father RAPHAËL DU MANS² sums up the observations made during the first fourteen years of his sojourn in Isfahan. The author was one of the best Persian scholars of the time and was employed by the Shah as an interpreter in the more important negotiations. His book is remarkable as a first-hand account of the situation, covering as it does the whole range of Persian topics and using an exact terminology. Many travellers enjoyed Father Raphael's hospitality and utilised his notes.³

The second report belongs to the French Protestant Chevalier JEAN CHARDIN. This famous work based on the observations made during an eleven years' residence in Persia⁴ occupies an exceptional place in the literature on Persia.

A shrewd observer, fully abreast of the accomplishments of his age, Chardin is remarkable for his sure political judgment, his insight into the intricacies of Persian practices, and, above all, his broadminded and sympathetic attitude towards his subject.⁵ Style is not a strong point with the great Huguenot; some of his sentences lack the Gallic clarity and it is not easy to follow his topography of Isfahan.⁶

Chardin spent the later part of his life (1681-1713) in England, or in the service of the English; he died at Turnham Green and in the southern aisle of Westminster Abbey there is a tablet with the inscription: *Sir John Chardin—Nomen sibi fecit eundo*. It is a matter of regret, however, that no complete translation of his work, which inspired Gibbon and Montesquieu,⁷ is available in English. The part of it going under the name of "Sir J. Chardin's Travels in Persia" comprises only the record of his peregrinations and not the general description of the country which occupies Vols. IV-VIII of the Langlès edition. Of quite particular importance for our

¹ The *Commentarios de la embajada* (1618-9) of Don Garcia Silva y Figueroa, first published in 1603-5, contain nothing useful for our purpose. The Spanish nobleman is very accurate on the stages, ceremonies and negotiations, but he seems not to distinguish between the *qurchi* and the newly created *qullar*, see French transl. by Wicqford, 1667, p. 255. Sir Thomas Herbert's *Some Yeares Travels* (1627-9), first published in 1634, give a few scattered remarks on the army, revenue and currency, most of which he borrowed from the compilation of de Laet, *Persia seu regni Persici status*, Leyden, 1633. His style is amusingly bombastic and his spellings queer: *Allaugh Whoddaw = Allāh khodā*.

² Born in 1613, died in Isfahān in 1696. Spent 51 years in Persia. *Estat de la Perse en 1660* was published by Schefer, Paris, 1890. The administrative system of Persia is described on pp. 14-42 and *passim*.

³ E.g., J. B. Tavernier, see Schefer, *o.c.*, LXXI. Kaempfer, *Amoenitates*, Preface and pp. 28, 233, 237.

⁴ From 1664 to 1670 and from 1671 to 1677 (see his *Voyages*, I, p. xxv-xxvi, and VI, 86). The complete account was published only in 1711, the best edition in 10 vols. is by Langlès, Paris, 1811, though some of the emendations of Oriental words by the editor are misleading, and the Index totally inadequate.

⁵ As compared, e.g., with Du Mans's national and confessional prejudices.

⁶ The French academician Charpentier in his *Carpentieriana*, Paris, 1724, p. 371, boasts of having prepared Chardin's travels for the press. Langlès in *Biographie Universelle*, Paris, 1844, VII, rightly maintains Chardin's merit "d'avoir bien vu, bien observé et bien présenté ses observations," while leaving to Charpentier "le bien faible avantage d'avoir revêtu d'un style passablement lourd et souvent gothique les précieux matériaux recueillis par Chardin."

⁷ Gibbon, *The Rise and Fall*, Chapter L: "The jeweller, Chardin, had the eyes of a philosopher. . . . Not indeed the most learned but the most judicious and inquisitive of our modern travellers." Montesquieu, *Esprit des Loix*, 1749, quotes Chardin, I, 27, 209, 224, II, 26, etc.

purpose is the "Description du Gouvernement politique, militaire et civil des Persans,"¹ which deals with such important matters as the kingdom's military strength, the high offices, land-tenure, finance, justice, etc. Were it not for the question of space, one would incorporate whole pages of Chardin's work, but even the select passages quoted in our commentary and notes will greatly facilitate the study of our Persian text.

The third work directly interesting us is *Amoenitatum Exoticarum politico-physico-mediciarum fasciculi V*, by the remarkable German scholar ENGELBERT KAEMPFER, who in 1684 accompanied to Persia the Swedish ambassador L. Fabricius, and later acted as doctor to the Dutch squadron cruising in the Persian Gulf. Altogether, he spent four years in and near Persia.² Of this valuable and careful work, pages 60-143 deal with the internal organisation of Persia, high offices, troops, budget, etc. Kaempfer had picked up some colloquial Persian but his knowledge of the written language was inadequate even in 1686 when he was writing the part of his book referring to these subjects.³ Among his informants he quotes the mihmandār appointed to attend on the Embassy. His diaries preserved in the British Museum show how eagerly he collected the data of earlier European travellers.⁴ A memorandum which du Mans specially dedicated to Kaempfer is still preserved among the latter's correspondence,⁵ and it is quite probable that Kaempfer profited also by the oral communications of his Capuchin friend. In 1684 the latter's knowledge of the country was far more advanced than in 1660 when he wrote his *Estat de la Perse*.

Less certain is Kaempfer's relation to Chardin, who brought out his book one year before the *Amoenitates*.⁶ Both may in some instances have had recourse to the same sources and informants.

The fourth contemporary work bearing on our subject is the *Etat présent de la Perse* of Father P. SANSON, who went to Persia as Apostolic missionary in 1683, stayed 8 months in Qazvin, 6 months in "Lower Assyria," travelled in Khūzistān,

¹ Vol. V, 205-500, Vol. VI, 1-165.

² *Allgemeine Deut. Biographie*, XV, 1882, 62-4: "Kämpfer war ohne Zweifel einer der gelehrtesten und geistigsten Männern seiner Zeit, der Humboldt des 17. Jahrhunderts." Born in 1651, Kaempfer arrived in Isfahan on 30th March, 1684, and appears to have left it for Gombrun in November, 1685, see his MS notes, B.M., Sloane 2912, fol. 20a. He spent about two years in Gombrun and left for Batavia in 1688. He returned home in 1693, published his *Amoenitates* in 1712 and died in 1716. His native town Lemgo erected a monument in his memory. See Karl Meier-Lemgo, *E. Kaempfer, der erste deutsche Forschungsreisende*, Stuttgart, 1937 (a book for general readers; on K.'s travels in Persia, pp 19-94).

³ *Amoenitates*, p. 67. The part on Persia was written in Gombrun; p 77. dum in his describendis Gamroni occuparer.

⁴ See long passages from Dutch reports in MS., Sloane, 1912, fol. 70a. Joan Cunaeus (1651), fol. 120b: Hubert de Laresse, on whom see Chardin, IV, 129, etc. Some of Kaempfer's transcriptions look as if they were misread from an European MS.; p 80, *Tesjik agasi* (instead of *Eshik-aghasi*, cf. Chardin, V, 356), though p. 48: *Isjik*, p 86, *Tsjahetsji* (instead of *chahetsji*). Such mistakes would have been impossible in dictation or in copying from a Persian text. Kaempfer's transcriptions in Arabic characters are his own reconstructions out of his faulty Latin forms.

⁵ MS. Sloane 2908: 11 folios of very large size (memorandum + 4 smaller folios (Turkish grammar). F. 11v. bears the colophon: In obsequium clarissimi viri et domini E. Kaempfer medici peritissimi nec non erusdem fidelissimi amici D. D. pristae (sic) in Hispan Persidis regia 22 sept., 1684, humillimus servulus R. du Mans, residentiae nostrae 38 anno. [Kaempfer, *o.c.* 221, says that among the staff of the Embassy there was Nobilis dominus Pristaffus, juris-consultus, legationis Mareschallus, mox redux in Russiam contra Turcos chiliarchae honorem meritus] The colophon of the grammar is 20 Apr. (?), 1684.

⁶ In any case Kaempfer knew *Le couronnement de Soleiman*, see Meier-Lemgo, p. 185.

stayed 8 months with the Bishop of Babylon and, after the latter's death, spent 3 years at Isfahan, where he acted as a kind of diplomatic representative. "En cette qualité j'avais les entrées au Palais, j'assistais à toutes les audiences que le Roy donnait, et j'avais ma place à ses festins." Sanson remained in Persia till some time after August, 1691, which date is found in his book, p. 130. Shah Sulaymān gave him a letter to be presented to the King of France, and at the latter's invitation Sanson wrote a record of his experiences. His little book (264 pages in 16 mo) was published in Paris in 1695. Schaefer in his *Introduction to Du Mans*, p. cvi, is certainly unjust to Sanson when he says that his book "ne donne aucun renseignement que l'on ne trouve dans Tavernier, Thévenot et . . . Bedros Bedik."¹ There is some common stock of data on Persian administration in all the European travellers, probably going back to some official "Almanac of Persia," but in the details Sanson speaks from personal experience and in general has a much better understanding of the system than, for example, Tavernier.

To these four authorities one would like to add the Dutchman C. LE BRUN, who sojourned in Persia in 1703-4. He was allowed to draw a portrait of Shah Sultān-Ḥusayn (Fig. 85), but otherwise seems to have had little contact with the Court.² Being a clever and observant man, Le Brun has some interesting details on the Shah, the officers of the crown, Persian money, etc.

The series of European sources on the Safavid period has been recently increased by the publication of *A Chronicle of the Carmelites in Persia*, 1939. This extensive work (1376 pp. in 4°) is a most painstaking study of the archives of the Order during the period of 1585-1806. The anonymous author merits all our admiration for his achievement, but the documents themselves have only a limited scope. The events of the outer world penetrated into the specific atmosphere of the Mission³ like the rays of the sun refracted by the surface of the waters. Interesting facts are scattered throughout the long narrative but from the point of view of our special interest the Carmelite records contain no systematic information similar to that contained in the books previously mentioned.

§3. THE TADHKIRAT AL-MULŪK

(a) *The Circumstances of its Compilation*

A series of disasters on the eastern frontier of Persia marked the reign of the last Safavid Sultān-Ḥusayn. In 1118/1706 the Ghilzā'i Afghans⁴ of Qandahār killed the local governor-general Shāh-navāz khan. The latter's nephew, Khusrau-khan, met a similar fate in 1123/1711. The qurchi-bashi Muḥammad Zamān khan died in Mashhad during his expedition to the East. His successor Ja'far-qulī khan Ḥātīmī was killed by the Abdālī Afghans of Herat, who also defeated the beglarbegi of

¹ Tavernier is valuable as a traveller, but somewhat vague as an observer. De Thévenot writes in a pleasant style and is exact, but his stay in Persia (between 1664 and 1667, with considerable interruptions) did not last long enough. B. Bedik's *Cehil-sutun*, Vienna, 1678, in spite of its size (474 + 6 pp.), is very superficial and highly "Oriental Christian" in tone (cf. Art. X: de fabuloso et mendacissimo libro Coran). These three authors give very little information on Persian institutions.

² See p. 265 of his *Travels*, which we quote in the English translation of 1759.

³ Numerous pages are occupied by reports on "conversions" of dying Muslim children and squabbles with Armenian "schismatics."

⁴ On their probable origins from the Turkish Khalaj see my article in the *BSOS*, IX/1, 1940.

Mashhad Manšūr khan, Shāhsevan. The new commander-in-chief, Faṭḥ 'Alī khan Turkmān, after short-lived successes, lost his life at the hands of the Abdālīs, and the latter came to besiege Mashhad. Šafi-qulī khan Turkistān(?)-oghli was now sent to Khorasan. He successfully repelled an Uzbek invasion in 1129/1719, but was finally defeated by the Abdālīs and fell in battle. Nothing came of the Shah's long stay in Qazvīn and Tehrān (1129-1133/1719-21): instead of leading an army to Khorasan, he dismissed his Prime Minister, Faṭḥ-'Alī khan Daghestānī, and had him blinded and his property confiscated. Out of the proceeds a new expedition was equipped, under Ismā'īl khan Khānazād, an inefficient man who achieved no success; during a mutiny he was attacked by the notables of Mashhad and deposed on 10 Muḥarram 1135/23 October, 1722.

The Shah returned to his capital on 29 Rabī' 1133/28 January, 1721, and, before the year was over, on 22 October came the news of the surrender of Kirman to the Ghilzā'ī Maḥmūd. On 19 Jamādī I, 1134/6, March, 1722, a battle was lost by the Shah's courtiers in the neighbourhood of Isfahan. The seven months' siege began. An appalling famine, graphically described by eye-witnesses,¹ reduced the inhabitants to the last extremity, and on the 11 Muḥarram, 1135/23 October, 1722, the mild and incapable Shah, accompanied by his court, rode out to the Afghan camp in Farāḥābād and placed his royal diadem (*jīgha*) on the head of his former vassal Maḥmūd. Thus suddenly was the whole fabric of the Safavid kingdom brought to an inglorious end.²

The Sunnī Ghilzā'īs, until then only provincial chieftains under the orders of a governor-general (*beglarbegī*), were entirely unprepared for their new responsibility. The great and ancient country, which they were called upon to rule, possessed a long administrative tradition, had professed the Shī'a creed for over two centuries, and was inhabited by many races of which one could have only a vague idea in Qandahār.

The new occupants of the Safavid throne had an urgent need to acquire some practical knowledge of the machinery whose levers they had so unexpectedly seized, and to this circumstance we owe the coming into being of the *Tadhkirat al-mulūk*, which is a manual of administration intended to edify a semi-barbarian usurper. Its anonymous author says that he prepared his work "by the supreme order."³ The date is pretty clear from the statement on the monetary situation: the first Afghan usurper, "Shah Maḥmūd," assassinated in Sha'bān 1137/April-May, 1725, is spoken of as dead (f. 39a) and the book, "hurriedly compiled," was undoubtedly presented to his nephew and successor Ashraf (1137-42/1725-9). The richly decorated first pages and the excellent hand of the scribe give the impression that the MS. is the original copy of the Memorandum.

The central administration of Persia had been utterly shattered by siege, famine and privations, and the author mostly uses the past tense for his explanations of the working of the state machinery. He states that none of the qualified scribes in several departments were any longer available (ff. 29b, 40b, 68a, 69b); that some of the provinces had not submitted (f. 39a); by way of example, he refers to the prosperity of Safavid days (f. 39b). Naturally he speaks with great reserve of the

¹ *Zubdat al-tavārikh*. ff. 207b, 208b; Krusinski and Petros di Sargis Gilanentz, ed. Patkanov, 1870.

² See Z.T. and Hanway's very complete account, 1753, III, 1-255.

³ Cf also Conclusion, f. 107b, where the author uses the expression, "this slave makes a submission."

former kings (f. 38a: "the former Shah"), but his feelings may be traced in such involuntary slips as f. 35a: *salāṭīn-i khilāfat-makīn*. One detail is indicative of his social relations, if not of his family connections: he is hostile to the powerful Majlisī family and shows his preference for Aqā Jamāl Khwānsārī (f. 2b).

The author is fully versed in the arcana of Safavid chanceries. He uses official sources,¹ and now and then introduces what looks like his personal recollections or traditions heard, such as his remarks on the origin of the office of the Mullā-bāshī (f. 3a), the first appearance of white eunuchs (f. 31b), fluctuations in the standard of coins (f. 38a), etc. The fact that on the last subjects he goes into considerable technical detail might suggest that he was associated with the financial department and, perhaps, especially with the Mint.

(b) *The Contents of the T.M.*

The works of Du Mans, Chardin, Kaempfer, Sanson and Le Brun give a good idea of the Persian administration in the seventeenth century. They are very helpful for the understanding of the *Tadhkirat al-mulūk*, as, *vice versa*, the latter enables us to test the accuracy of the European investigators. But the value of the Persian work by far exceeds its usefulness as a parallel to the European works mentioned above. Where the latter merely describe, the *Tadhkirat al-mulūk* gives the *ipsissima verba* of Persian administrators. The short manual contains many items not otherwise known (cf. the paragraph on the Mu'ayyir al-mamālik and the Mint, the system of fees, etc.), and, what is particularly interesting, gives numerous statistical appendices on the salaries, military forces kept in the provinces, revenue and expenditure. Such data were surely considered confidential, and it is noteworthy that the MS. is supposed to have come to light in the private library of the Ottoman Sultans. Some ambassador, or other able agent, may have secured the precious MS. for objects of more direct utility than the increase of theoretical knowledge on a neighbouring country.

The divisions of the book are not very carefully observed. In his brief Introduction the author says that his work consists of four chapters and a conclusion. Yet the chapters are five, and the conclusion, said to be in three parts, has in fact only two divisions, of which the latter has two subdivisions. The plan of the book is as follows:

INTRODUCTION.

CHAPTER I. On the religious authorities, in 5 paragraphs.

CHAPTER II. A short notice on the "amīr of the marches," i.e. the governors of the great provinces (*mamālik*), is followed by a list of the 14 great amirs resident at the capital and styled '*ālī-jāh*, most of them being members of the King's Council.

CHAPTER III enumerates the dignitaries having the rank of *muqarrab*. The latter are divided into two categories: the first (*muqarrab al-khāqān*) consists of eunuchs and 8 civil dignitaries; the second (*muqarrab al-ḥaḍrat*) has two subdivisions: (a) four officials belonging to the class of masters of ceremonies and door-keepers, and (b) 18 officials being heads of the various *buyūtāt* (Divisions and Workshops) of the Royal Household.

¹ *Sar rushta-yi muhrdār-i sābiq* (f. 41a); *nuskha-yi rusūmāt* (f. 87b), *ṣāhib-tauḥīd-i sābiq* (89a), *mushrif-i buyūtāt* (89a).

CHAPTER IV. On the staff of the financial administration. In the first division, the functions of the closest collaborators of the Nāzīr-i buyūtāt (Ch. II, §6) are defined, a trio consisting of the Vazīr, Mustaufi and Mushrif of the Royal Buyūtāt. The second division enumerates 18 similar wheels-within-wheels of the principal government offices (that of the Grand Vazīr, those of the four corps composing the Army, etc.).

CHAPTER V explains the activities of the 14 officials ('*ummāl*') specially associated with the affairs of the capital and its district.

Even this summary of contents shows that the anonymous author concentrates his attention on the central organs of government and that the organisation of the provinces is described very briefly in the introduction to Chapter I. To some extent this defect is remedied by the Annexes grouped under the CONCLUSION, which is one of the most important parts of the book:

In its PART I the complicated system of remuneration of 80 higher officials is described; the latter's list is useful for checking and completing the data of the five chapters of the book.

PART II is very important as giving a very detailed list of provincial governors, with the amount of their emoluments and the number of their armed attendants.

PART III tabulates the Budget of the Safavid kingdom. It first specifies the Revenue and then the Expenditure. These tables, though somewhat involved, are of outstanding importance for the study of Persian economics.

II. PROLEGOMENA

A. SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC BACKGROUND OF THE SAFAVID STATE

Not until all the available sources have been properly scrutinised, and more material, similar to the *T.M.*, discovered, shall we be able to get to the bedrock of social and economic conditions under the Safavids. This task will have to be undertaken by the coming generation of scholars. Here we shall tentatively sum up the conclusions, or even mere impressions, suggested by the *T.M.* and its contemporary sources.

Logically one should begin with the basis of the social pyramid, but this is not the clearest part of the picture and so we shall start from the top.

(a) *The Shah*

It is not enough to say that the Safavid monarchy had sprung up as a theocracy. Such was, for instance, the origin of the Muslim community in Medina but, if Muhammad was only an apostle delivering messages from God, Shāh Ismā'il and his immediate ancestors considered themselves as hereditary and living emanations (*mazhar*) of the godhead.¹ In this regard they can only be compared to the leaders of such extremist Shī'a sects as the Ismā'ilis, the Nuṣayris and the Druzes. Between Mekka and Ardabil there is almost as much difference as between Calvin's Geneva and the Lhasa of the Dalai-lama. Towards A.D. 1500 the royal power was reborn

¹ See Minorsky, *Khaṭā'ī* in *E.I.* and *The Poetry of Shāh Ismā'il* in *BSOS*, X/4, 1942, pp. 1006-53. The *divān* of Shah Ismā'il gives incontrovertible proofs that he considered himself as God incarnate.

in Persia with the full prestige of its magic origin. Even European contemporaries were aware of the supernatural prerogatives of the Shahs, although they did not fully realise the sources of these theories and beliefs. A Venetian contemporary of Shah Ismā'il's rise states that "de ceulx de sa cour et de ses subjectz il est adoré (*sic*) comme prophète."¹ A Venetian merchant who was in Tabriz *circa* A.D. 1518, remarks: "This Sophy is loved and revered by his people as a God and especially by his soldiers, many of whom enter into battle without armour expecting their master Ishmael to watch over them in the fight." The Venetian envoy d'Alessandri (A.D. 1571) confirms that Shah Tahmāsp's subjects "worship him not as a king, but as a god, on account of his descent from the line of Ali."² Chardin, V, 233, explains the extreme submissiveness of the Persians to the Shah in everything by their belief that "c'est Dieu même qui le demande par sa bouche."³ Speaking of the profits made by the Tushmal-bashi (§100) in distributing the remains of the King's food, Chardin writes, V, 350: "C'est un effet de la créance qu'ont les Persans, que leurs rois ont des dons surnaturels; que ce qu'ils touchent est béni, et que leurs mains influent des vertus particulières comme celles de la guérison, par exemple, dans les choses bonnes à boire et à manger qu'ils touchent," etc.⁴

To become operative this religious conception of kingship required the credulity of the semi-nomad Turcoman tribes, which carried the Safavids to the throne.⁵ But as the squabbles of this praetorian guard began to shake the foundations of the state, the further evolution of the royal power took place in the struggle against these very supporters of the first hour. Shah 'Abbās succeeded in crushing his tribal henchmen by opposing to them his new "slaves," recruited chiefly among Georgian and other Caucasian converts. Appeals to the feelings of *shāhī-sevamī*,⁶ so common under Shah Tahmāsp, are hardly ever heard of under the later Safavids. Taking advantage of his strengthened position, Shah 'Abbās reduced the power of most of the hereditary rulers of Gilan, Mazandaran, Luristan, etc. The religious aberrations, which were too closely connected with the time of tribal feudalism, are henceforth relegated to the limited circle of the Sufi guards. Sanson, who lived in Persia during the last years of Shah Sulayman's reign, makes the following curious statement, p. 41: "Les Sophis estaient autrefois en grande vénération, mais ils sont maintenant dans le dernier mépris. . . . Leurs Religieux ne servent plus que de Portiers,

¹ Dr. Rota's *La vita del Sophi*, Venice, 1508, French translation published by Schefer, in *Du Mans*, p. 264. M. Sanuto, IV, 191 (sub Dec. 1501): e lui (Ismā'il) dice che mio padre non era mio padre, ma lui era mio schiavo; et lui dice esser instesso Dio.

² Hakluyt Society, 1873, II, 206 and 223

³ See *Ahsan al-tavārikh*, 152, on the execution of the governor of Shiraz Sanson, iii, 131 reports the story of the Divan-begī whom Shah Sulayman ordered to behead with his own hands his friend the Qurchi-bashi. The latter hearing the order "souhaitait une longue vie au Roy et ne forma aucune plainte de son mauvais sort." Sanson concludes, 136: "Les Perses sont tellement entêtés de l'infalibilité de leur Prince qu'ils reçoivent ses arrêts comme des oracles venus du ciel"

⁴ Cf. Figueroa, 324, on a woman who recovered by eating of the jam which Shah 'Abbās sent to the Spanish Ambassador. In Persia these practices had an obvious meaning, deeper than their European parallels which were rather remote survivals of the ancient beliefs. Between the years 1660 and 1664 the English King Charles II touched with his hand 23,000 persons suffering from scrofula ("King's Evil"), Marc Bloch, *Les rois thaumaturges*, Strasbourg, 1924, p. 377 See *ibid.*, 132, the official notice dated Paris, 1657: "on fait a sçavoir a tous qu'il appartiendra que Dimanche prochain jour de Pasques, Sa Majesté touchera les Malades des Escrouelles."

⁵ See Annex II

⁶ See Minorsky, *Shāh-sevan*, in *E.I.*

d'Huissiers, et d'Executeurs de Justice", cf. *ibid.*, 102. Under the last Safavid king the official creed was reduced to the simple form elaborated by the level-headed doctors of the Shi'a rite.

With the creation of the new troops directly depending on the Shah the question of their upkeep comes to the fore. To preserve an independence secured after so many struggles, the Shahs strive to strengthen their private treasury. Although in principle the whole of the state lands belonged to them,¹ in practice the conflict between the Dīvān and the Khāṣṣa (v.i.) acquires a daily increasing importance. The Shahs wish to enrich themselves and so their Khāṣṣa sprawls over more and more provinces. The unruly feudalism of the tribes and local dynasties is replaced by centralisation. The idea of personal patrimony prevails over that of the community. The Shahs are now the largest capitalists; they amass goods in their Buyūtāt; they attract and court European merchants, they use their Armenian subjects as their trading agents for disposing of the chief exportable commodity, namely silk.

The details of the process are still obscure, but the difference between the beginning and the end of the Safavids strikes the eye. 'Abbās I marks the turning point in the transformation of a tribal feudalism into a "patrimonial" absolutism. But while the old stimulus which held together the Safavid state in its earlier days had become entirely discredited, the new tendency, being too exclusive and egoistic, was incapable of rousing anybody's enthusiasm. And so, when the external crisis came, the state collapsed for lack of social cohesion.

(b) Ruling Classes

In a special excursus (Annex II) we shall trace the origins of the "unique party" brought into existence by the Safavid propaganda. At this place we shall consider only the further evolution of the dominant class as attested by some new facts.

Nobody seems to have paid attention to the extremely valuable lists of higher officials, under Shah TAHMĀSP A.D. 1524-76,² in the *'Ālam-ārā*, 104-24, under 'Abbās I (A.D. 1587-1629), *ibid.*, 761-7, and under Shah Ṣafī (A.D. 1629-42), in the *Khuld-i barān*, ff. 137b-158b (printed text, pp. 251-99).

Under SHAH TAHMĀSP the amirs are enumerated in their tribal groups. First come the Turcoman clans Shāmlū, Ustājilū, Turkmān, Rūmlū, Dhul-qadr (*Dulghadīr), Afshār, Qājār, Takkalū and Khinislū³; to these nine clans must be added the Chaghatay, evidently a Turko-Mongol group or family from Central Asia (employed chiefly in Khorasan). The Turks are followed by Iranian tribesmen and mountaineers: Tālīsh,⁴ Kurds: Rūzakī,⁵ Siyāh-Manṣūr, Pāzūkī, Ardalān, Chigani,⁶ and Lurs: 'Abbāsī (Fayli). After these amirs come two Shaykhāvand, i.e., descendants of a

¹ See Annex III.

² On the beginning of the Safavid state see Annex II.

³ The latter, connected with Khinis (Khnuis) in Armenia, must have been Turcomans. The enumeration is of course only approximate. See Annex II.

⁴ The Tālīsh speak an Iranian dialect but may be a mongrel race. Among the present-day Shāh-sevān Turcomans of Mughan there is a clan called Tālīsh-Mikeyli.

⁵ The tribe of the khans of Bitlis, see *Sharaf-nāma*.

⁶ Towards the end of the Safavid rule the Mukri Kurds became prominent: Muhammad-'Alī khan accompanied Tahmasp II in his flight from Isfahan and later was appointed by him Vazir-i a'ẓam and commander of the 'Irāq troops, *Z T.*, f. 210b.

side branch of the Royal Safavid family. Last in the list stands an Arab family: Kamūna.¹

In all, there were 114 amirs registered in the books of the Supreme Divan, and this was the tribal aristocracy from which commanders of troops, governors and high officials were recruited. Out of the total of 114, Iskandar-munshi quotes by name only seventy-two "notables (*mu'tabarān-va-buzurgān*) of each class (*ṭabaqa*) and each tribe (*oymāq*)." In this abridged list, the *qizil-bash* stand for 56 places, the Chaghatays for 3, the "Kurds" for 10, the Shaykhāvands for 2, and the Arabs for 1, which amounts to 59 dignitaries of Turkish origin as against 13 non-Turks. Ten of the latter also belonged to the tribal aristocracy.

Closely connected with the amirs were their officers and retainers, concerning whom the '*Ālam-ārā*, 106, has the following passage: "at the time of Shah Tahmāsp's demise, there were six thousand exalted *yüz-bashis*, holders of offices, *qurchis* and other officers on the staff (*mulāzimān*) of the Court, namely, there were 4500 *qurchis* and 1500 other officials, such as *qürchiyān-i dash* (?), *yasāvuls*, *bukāvuls*, etc. Among them there were distinguished *yasāvuls* and *qürchis*, as well as *Eshik-āqāsīs*, *Yasāvul-bashis* of *qūr* and *dīvān*, *Mir-shikārs* and *Tüpchī-bāshīs*. In each category and lot there were many who deserved to be amirs, and though they were not honoured with the rank of amirships, yet in esteem they did not yield to the amirs. Each of them had efficient (*kār-āmadanī*) servants, from 5 to 50 in number. Consequently, there were 6000 of them on the staff of the Royal Household (*khāṣṣa*), but their attendants and servants, who were not properly registered, were approximately 20,000 or more. The fame of the *qurchis*' valour was such, that in any action in which there was a hundred of them they were equal to a thousand of other denominations."

An entirely different class of aristocracy were the Tājiks ('*Ālam-ārā*, 117: *ba-Tājikiya bayn al-jamhūr mashhūr*), the old Persian families, hereditary repositories of learning, letters and clerical skill.² These filled the offices of the financial department, acted as lesser members of the administration, controllers, clerks, doctors, astrologers, artists and skilled artisans. Among them there was a sprinkling of fully assimilated Turcomans.

The numerous class of the clergy were closely allied to the "Tājiks." The Arabic blood of some of the sayyids and divines had no political implications and, as a whole, the clergy represented the Iranian tradition. The sudden change from the Sunna to the Shī'a under Ismā'il I came as a hard blow to many divines: several of them were persecuted and forced into exile.³ Economically the clergy was closely associated

¹ Said to be a family of sayyids and naqībs of Najaf Sayyid Sulaymān Kamūna (Kammūna?) was governor of Ḥilla under Ismā'il I. It is curious that in 683/1284 a Jewish scholar, 'Izz al-daula b Kammūna of Baghdad, wrote a book which brought him into conflict with the Muslims; he had to flee to Ḥilla, where his son was secretary, see W. J. Fischel, *Jews in the Economic and Political Life of Mediaeval Islam*, 1937, p 134. Under the last Safavid, the *Z T*, f. 203a, mentions a Ja'far khan Ḥātūmi, said to be a descendant of Ḥātīm Ṭayy, and regarded as a royal prince (*nisbat-i shāh-zādagr ādshī*)

² With regard to them della Valle, 759, uses the Turkish term *tāt*, "a non-Turk," which in a Turkish mouth has a pejorative shade of meaning, see Minorsky, *Tāt in E I*. He recognises, however, that the Tāts represent the "ancient Persian race," which is nobler than the (Turcoman) Qizilbash, the latter being "a race of adventitious elements, who since a short time elevated themselves by force."

³ Muṣṣḥ al-dīn Lārī's *Mu'āt al-advār*, Add. 7650, has some facts characterising the oppositional tendencies of the religious émigrés, fol. 231.

either with the bureaucrats (especially in the judicial activities), or with the landed gentry (either in administering the *vaqfs*, or in the capacity of land-owners).

Concerning the private land-owners we know very little. Some of them lived in the capital and were admitted to the court. The *‘Ālam-ārā* says, 122: "There was at the Court another category of noblemen belonging to the Tājik class; some of them tried to serve (*rāh-i khidmat dāshtand*) and, although they did not attain any important posts, they acted as advisers at the royal assemblies and made themselves conspicuous by participating (in discussions)." The author quotes the names of a sayyid of Qum who was an important land-owner (*ṣāhib amlāk va raqabāt*), and of another gentleman of Kirman; both were spoken of as candidates to the post of Grand Vazir but never obtained it.¹

On the whole the picture of the society under Tahmāsp is a direct continuation and development of the situation obtaining in Persia under Shah Ismā‘il or even under his Turcoman predecessors.²

A very different situation was created by the far-reaching reforms of SHAH ‘ABBĀS I. Chardin, V, 224-5, very appropriately says that, in order to unify the kingdom which was split up among various vassals, Shah ‘Abbās had to conquer it "as if it were a foreign land." He used this "right of conquest" to crush the old troops and the ancient families of the country, and, having done so, subdued the clergy and even his "people" by mixing the latter with other nations and creeds.¹ He concludes, p. 290: "il n'y a point de noblesse en Perse, non plus que dans tout l'Orient, et l'on n'y porte de respect qu'aux charges, aux dignités, au mérite extraordinaire, et particulièrement aux richesses." With still more cruel methods, the work of levelling the aristocracy was continued by Shah Ṣafi, that Persian Ivan-the-Terrible.

Let us see now how these changes are reflected in Iskandar-munshi's invaluable "Who's who." This time his list is characteristically divided into two parts:

A. The first enumerates the members "of the exalted Qizil-bash tribes and of the oymāqs which are under the Qizil-bash tribes." It consists of 5 sections: (a) The first place is occupied by 'Isā khan Shaykhāvand, who sprang from a branch of the Safavid family and was related by marriage to the King.³ (b) Then follows the list of the well-known Turcoman tribes: Shāmlū (clans: Begdīlū, 'Abdillū, 'Arabgīrlū, Nīlqāz), Ustājīlū (clans: Kangarlū and Sharafī), Dhulqadar (clans: Sōklān (?), Shamsaddīnlū, Ḥājījar, Qorughlū), Qājār (clan: Igirmi-dört), Afshār (clans: Imānlū, Alplū, Usāllu), Turkmān (clans: Pornāk and Ordāklū), Ispīrlū, Rūmlū (clan: Qoyla-Ḥiṣār), Qarā-dāghlū, Bayāt, Tālish,⁴ Alpā'ūt, Qazāqlū, Jāgīrlū and Bāyburtlū. (c) The third section enumerates the Kurds and Lurs: 'Abbāsī-Faylī, Ardalān, Bakhtiyārī, Chigānī, Dumbulī, Siyāh-Manṣūr, *Zangana, Shaqāqī, Sūrla (?), Garrūs, *Kulyā'ī, Kala-gīr, Jastānī. (d) The fourth section, headed Chaghatāy, comprises

¹ A study of provincial histories (Shīrāz, Yazd, Kāshān, Qum, etc.), which contain long chapters on local families, will throw much light on the subject.

² See Minorsky, *Review*, p. 175.

³ On the Shaykhāvand and their oppositional tendencies, see *‘Ālam-ārā*, 242, and the accurate P. della Valle, *Viaggi*, Brighton, 1843, II, 763 (on the libels spread about 'Abbās I's birth by "i male affetti, e particolarmente i Sceichavendi di Ardebil, che poco bene gli vogliono").

⁴ V.s., p. 14 and Annex II.

oymāqs of eastern origin, such as Yaqqa-Turkman-i Sā'in-khānī,¹ etc. Single tribal names quoted under this heading are: Girāyli, M.ch.ki, Tūkālī, Qara-bayāt, Jalāyir, Qumrī (?), *Jaun-ghurbān, Qarā-bāsh, Ghūrī and Jamshīdī.² (e) The fifth section consists of "various other tribes which do not belong to the Qizil-bash oymāqs": Muqaddam, Lak-i Salmāsī, Zunūzī, Sil-sūpūr (originally highwaymen from Asia Minor), Bāydār (in Georgia),³ maliks of Sīstān (claiming to be of Şaffārid origin) and Afghāns (of Qandahār).

B. The second category consists of "the amīrs who are ghulāms of the Court," and it is explained that, in the reign of 'Abbās I "a large number of this category obtained the grace of Islam and the happiness of serving at this court; most of them, from their childhood, had grown up under the shadow of his Majesty's favours, and having become acquainted with his worthy ways, had acquired the capacity of becoming amirs and occupying the posts of khans and sultans. Therefore, when some of the Qizil-bash amirs and of the governors of the State provinces (*mamālik*) passed away, while among their oymāqs there was nobody worthy to hold the high office of amīrship, one of the ghulāms of the Private Household (*khāssa-yi sharīfa*), distinguished among his colleagues by his justice, experience, valour and devotion to His Majesty, was appointed to be the amir of the said tribe and military force,⁴ and the governor of that region (*ulhā* < Turk. *ölgä*). In the enumeration which follows, the first place is occupied by Imām-quli-khan, who succeeded his famous father Allāh-verdī khan (an Armenian convert),⁵ as beglarbegi of Fars and its dependencies, with the authority to appoint his subaltern governors. His son Şafi-quli succeeded the hereditary khan of Lār,⁶ and his brother Dāvūd supplanted the Qājār chief in the important chieftainship of the Qājār tribe. Another Şafi-quli ("the Georgian") was governor-general of Baghdad and even mutavallī of the Shī'a sanctuaries of 'Irāq. Astarābād and Mashhad were governed respectively by Khusrau-khan and Manūchīhr khan, the Georgians. Qazaq-khan, "Charkas," combined the office of governor-general of Şirvan with the chieftainship of the Qizil-bash tribes of Qaramānlū and *Khunūslū. Farrukh-khan ruled over Darband and the Qizil-bash tribes of Rūmlū and Bayāt. Other ghulāms had taken the place of the hereditary chiefs of Chapni, Chamishgazak, Afshār-i Iydālū, Pāzūkī, Javānshīr-i Otuz-iki, etc., and become governors of the latter's fiefs.

The *'Ālam-ārā* enables us to gauge with great precision the meaning of the innovations:

1. Out of the total of 89 amirs, 74 still belonged to the Qizil-bash tribes, only 15 being ghulāms⁷; consequently 20 per cent. of the high administration had passed

¹ Mahdī-khan in his *Tāvīkh-i Nādirī*, says that Sā'in-khānī Turcomans were subjects of Khwārazm, but lived near Astarābād. Cf. *Ḥabīb al-Siyar*, III, part IV, 367.

² The last two must be Iranian tribes

³ The fief of the sultan of Bāydār extended between the rivers Kur, Khram and Algeti.

⁴ *Qoshūn-va-lashkar*: the term *qoshūn* may refer to the Turcoman cavalry and *lashkar* to the subsidiary local troops (infantry?).

⁵ P della Valle, 273, specially enumerates "Imam-culi chan di Sciraz, che e di razza armena, del paese de' Georgiani, Isuf chan di Scervan, figluolo di Armeno; Ferdun chan di Esterabad, Circasso; Carcicà beig generalissimo, figluolo di Armeno cristiano, e così infiniti altri."

⁶ Lār was conquered by Allāh-verdī khan in 1010/1601, *'Ālam-ārā*, 425.

⁷ The corresponding numbers of the *'Ālam-ārā* are: 93, 72 and 21, but we take the numbers of the amirs as actually found in the text

to new elements owing their rise not to their origin but to personal merit and the confidence of the Shah.

2. The number of Qizil-bāsh tribes had considerably increased; some smaller clans and families received individual posts, the intention probably being to dilute the influence of the great tribes. Some regrouping of clans was taking place: the clans of 'Arabgīrlū and Nilqāz are said "to be included at present" in the great and faithful tribe of Shāmlū, "that top-line of the catalogue of the oymāqs." Only the Shāmlū and the Dhulqadar each controlled seven administrative posts, while the majority were content with one or two governorships.

These important statistics reflect the situation at the death of 'Abbās I (A.D. 1619), who so profoundly changed the foundations of the Safavid power.

Under his grandson SHAH ŞAFĪ the changes go still deeper. The following tendencies come to light in the data of the *Khuld-i barīn*:

- (a) the dignitaries are no longer quoted under their tribal headings;
- (b) the majority of high officials is perhaps still Turcoman, but among them several are qualified as *ev-oghli*, i.e., brought up at the Court, v.i., p. 127;
- (c) at the head of the new troops (*qullar*) stood a Georgian prince, Khusrau-mīrzā, who later reigned in Georgia under the name of Rostom, while the Shah officially called him *Akhavi-īm*, "My brother." We also know that the office of *dārūgha* of Isfahan (§17) was nearly always held by Georgian princes. Of the Tufangchi-bashis it can only be said that their appointments bore no relation to their tribal appurtenance;
- (d) among the dignitaries, some newly converted Armenians are conspicuous, such as the Amīr-shikār Khusrau-sultān (*az ghulāmān-i jadīd al-Islām*) and the Shīrachī-bāshī Amīr-beg Armani (*ghulām-i khāṣṣa*), who was succeeded by his son Şafi-quli.¹

The infiltration of Caucasians into Persia is a highly important phenomenon which profoundly modified the social basis of the ruling classes. The decisive factor in this process was 'Abbās I's campaigns in Transcaucasia. Iskandar-munshi estimates the result of the raid into Kakhetia in 1025/1616 at 60-70,000 killed and 100-130,000 young captives of both sexes abducted to Persia: "since the beginning of Islam no such event has been heard of," *Ālam-ārā*, 635.² As time went on Persia became brimful of Caucasian elements. Says Chardin, V, 307: "Le sang des Géorgiens s'est fort répandu dans la Perse, non seulement à cause que les plus belles femmes en viennent, et que chacun en veut avoir, mais parce qu'Abbas-le-Grand et ses successeurs ont pris plaisir à mettre les Géorgiens dans les emplois et depuis qu'ils ont conquis la Géorgie, ils en ont tiré une infinité de gens, qu'ils ont si bien avancés qu'à présent la plupart des charges sont dans les mains de gens originaires de la Géorgie." Tavernier (Book V, ch. X) goes so far as to suggest that "le sang ne s'est

¹ Quite independently Olearius, 667 (Engl. tr., 272), was struck by the fact that at his time "there was hardly any (officer of the court) who could make ostentation of but ordinary parentage." He scans the biographies of the dignitaries to confirm their low birth, or their Caucasian origin.

² Georgians were settled in Mazandaran, near Isfahan, etc. Several villages in Firaydan still speak Georgian. The village of 'Abbāsābād, on the Khorasan road is Georgian, but in 1934 I was told on the spot that only one very old woman could remember some Georgian.

rendu beau en Perse que par le mélange des Géorgiens de l'un et de l'autre sexe avec les Persans."

With his usual perspicacity Chardin, V, 228, felt the danger of the situation, "car les Géorgiens et les Ibériens, à qui l'on donne l'état de gouverneur, étant presque tous esclaves d'origine et de véritables étrangers dans le gouvernement, ils n'ont nulles liaisons, soit dans le royaume, soit entre eux-mêmes, etc." The Georgians changed their religion with extraordinary sans-*façon*,¹ but Islam too sat lightly on their shoulders. No sooner did the Russian ambassador A. P. Volinsky leave Persia (1718) than the "chief commander of Persian troops" (*qullar-âqâsi?*), who was the Georgian prince Vakhtang, son of Leon, sent to him an emissary to say that at heart he still remained a Christian.² In short the Caucasians and especially the Georgians occupied in Persia a position similar to that of the "Khorasani" amirs at the court of the later Mughals. The fact that these latter elements were not fully assimilated proved fatal at the moment of Nâdir-shâh's march on Delhi.³ Under the weak Shah Sulţân-Ĥusayn, the internal contradictions of the Safavid "diarchy" had become a similar source of debility and decline.⁴

(c) *Middle Classes*

The available sources throw no light on the number and position of the petty land-owners (*khurda-mâlik*). In any case, the expansion of the demesnes, the large number of Endowments, and the system of *tiyûl* set strict limits to the development of private initiative.

Neither is much known about the town bourgeoisie. As already said, the Shah was the largest capitalist. The merchants traded exclusively for cash,⁵ but money was scarce. Most of it found its way into the Treasury, where it was hoarded (Chardin). A nefarious influence on credit and the money market was exercised by a multitude of Indian usurers (in Isfahan alone there were over 10,000 banyans!). 'Abbâs I prevented them from settling in Persia, but Shah Şafi was bribed by their presents with the result described by Chardin, IV, 64, in the following terms. "Ces Indiens, comme de vraies sangsues, tirent tout l'or et tout l'argent du pays et l'envoient dans le leur, de manière que l'an 1677 que je partis de la Perse on n'y voyait presque plus de bon argent: ces usuriers l'avaient fait entièrement disparaître."⁶ The Indians doubled their stock-in-trade within 18-20 months. Ordinary Persian merchants made a profit of 30-40 per cent. yearly. They were a prosperous and enterprising class. Some of them had representatives simultaneously in China and in Sweden, Chardin, IV, 167. An idea of the amount of the stock-in-trade and hoards possessed by the merchants is given by the story found in the *Z.T.*, f. 208b: During the siege of Isfahan by the Afghans the author Muĥammad Muĥsin was

¹ Cf. Kaempfer, 240, whose passage is too strong to be quoted even in the original Latin.

² Cf. also Minorsky, *Tiflis* in *E I*. Cf. *A Chronicle of the Carmelites*, 568, on the desire which the Divan-begî Khusrau-khan (=Leon) expressed in 1707 to be admitted secretly into the Catholic Church

³ See J Sarkar in W. Irvine, *Later Mughals*, 1922, II, 313.

⁴ Under Sulţân-Ĥusayn, some recrudescence of Turkish influence seems to have taken place at the court, cf *Z T.*, f. 208a, on the new "cabinet" of Muĥammad-quli khan Shâmlû.

⁵ Using in mutual payments bags of 50 tumans in silver, Chardin, IV, 170

⁶ Down to the beginning of the twentieth century India was draining from Persia great masses of silver.

commissioned to carry out a door-to-door search for food. At the Maydān-i Shāh, in the house of a trader in precious stuffs (*naqshīna-furūsh*), he discovered hidden 14 bags weighing each 100 Tabriz maunds, or more. The bags proved to contain new 'abbāsi coins (*zar-i 'abbāsi-yi tāza-sikka*).¹ M. Muḥsin's companions, pressed by hunger, were greatly disappointed by the useless find and refused to take any of the money. 1400 maunds of silver = 89,600 mithqāls, were worth 1792 tomans (1 'abbāsi being equal to 1 mithqāl, and there being 50 'abbāsis in a toman). Nevertheless, on the whole, the amount of Persian trade could not be called vast. Mines were still undeveloped, and the staple exports consisted of silk, brocades, carpets, some precious stones (turquoise), camel wool, tobacco, dried fruit, etc., Chardin, IV, 162-6.

The most important article was silk.¹ According to Chardin, the yearly export of silk amounted to 22,000 bales (each of 276 pounds), of which the Dutch took *circa* 2000 bales. Le Brun, 313, states that the Shah was obliged by a contract to deliver yearly to the Dutch East India Co. 100 bales of silk, each to contain 408 pounds, Dutch weight. The silk was then made up in lesser bales and despatched to Batavia *via* Gombrun. In return, the Company had to deliver 1200 chests of sugar, each of 150 pounds, which was all consumed in Isfahan. The Shah levied 1/3 of the produce of the silk as his royalty and then endeavoured to dispose of it through his agents, principally Armenians, Du Mans, 183. The latter held also in their hands all the trade in cloth, Chardin, VII, 367. In these cases of practical monopoly the profits made by Armenians usually remained in Persia,² but it was not so with foreign companies and merchants, whom the Shah especially patronised. They certainly secured for Persia an opening on the European markets, but in the meanwhile exported the proceeds of their transactions out of the country.

(d) Working Class

Towns, and especially Isfahan, had various classes of artisans³ organised into mediaeval guilds (*aṣnāf*). They possessed elected representatives (see *T.M.*, §§76, 79), but the latter's competence seems to have been rather restricted, except in the cases when they had to call up their guildsmen for carrying out *corvées* for the King.⁴ These services formed an important prerogative of the Shah, who had most of the work in the palace done without charge. The guilds which were not responsible for personal work had to pay a levy called *kharj-i padshāh*. In the provinces there flourished some traditional crafts which were also drained into the court channels (cf. f. 49b).

¹ Persia's silk trade would merit a special study. There was much political intrigue regarding the route which the silk was to follow. *via* Aleppo (supported by the English "Levant Co."), *via* the Persian Gulf and round Africa (supported by the East India Co.), and *via* Russia (supported by the Muscovy Co.), see Sir W. Foster, *England's Quest of Eastern Trade*, 1933. In his instructions to A. Volinsky (1715) Peter the Great enjoined his envoy to emphasise by every possible means the advantages of the waterway through Russia in order to divert the trade from Aleppo. [On this point the forged document called "Testament of Peter the Great," makes a particularly gross error.]

² See, however, on the wealth amassed by the Catholic family of Shermazan partly established in Italy, *The Chronicle of the Carmelites*, pp. 1358-62.

³ See their lists in Du Mans, 195-211, and Chardin, IV, 95-151.

⁴ Chardin, IV, 93, but cf. VI, 119, on the *corvées*.

A privileged class of artisans were those belonging to the Royal Workshops (§§32-49). Each workman had a letter-patent of his appointment in which the amount of his salary was indicated.¹ The highest paid workmen had a salary of 800 écus, i.e., 55 tomans (!) and their food, but there were others who received only 70-80 francs, i.e., under 2 tomans yearly (plus their food). Each three years the salaries were raised, or in some cases a present (*in'ām*) was given amounting to a whole year's salary. Presents were also given to the workmen who did some particularly good work or offered the King a master-piece. The food (*jīra*, "keep") given to the workmen was by the plate, or half-a-plate or a quarter-of-a-plate.² A "plate" consisted of everything necessary for subsistence and could feed 6-7 persons. In money such a grant amounted yearly to 8-900 livres, i.e., about 20 tomans, and one could receive the equivalent of the *jīra* in cash.

The salaries were paid once a year after a "review" (*sām*) held in the summer. The usual form of payment was in assignments, and one of the workmen, acting on behalf of his colleagues, had to collect the amount on the spot. In the process of collection the workmen lost from 5 per cent. to 10 per cent. of the sums due to them.

A considerable advantage was that the workmen were kept for life and never dismissed; in case of illness or diminished capacity for work their salary was not reduced, and they received free treatment from the Court doctors and chemists. No sweating system was applied to the workmen, who might work for their own benefit four times as much as for the King. Chardin saw jewellers who had had no orders from the King for 3 or 4 years.³ The workmen who had to follow the Court on its travels were given camels and horses, but they easily obtained permission to stay at home,⁴ or, alternately, were granted leave after 6-12 months' absence. The children of the workmen were taken into service at the age of 12-15 years, and after their fathers' death received their salaries.

European artisans were the object of special patronage and prospered in Isfahan.⁵

Of the peasants, the most numerous class forming the basis of the Persian polity, we are unfortunately not adequately informed.⁶ Theoretically, the peasants enjoyed personal freedom (?), but they did not possess land. They either rented it or entered into a kind of association, either with the Shah's representatives, or with private owners.⁷ The leasable lands were few and lay mostly in the neighbourhood of large towns, being used for growing vegetables, i.e., for crops less subject to the uncertainties of ordinary agriculture. The rent of such market-gardening lands around Isfahan reached 30 écus (6600 dinars or 0.66 toman), and more, per 1 jarīb (measuring

¹ Chardin, VII, 329-34 Cf Or. 4935, No 9b: appointment of an *ayāqchi* to be under the orders of the *Lala-yi ghulāmān*, with a salary of 2 tomans per year.

² Here Chardin's data, almost entirely coincide with Du Mans, 26, v.1, p. 153.

³ Chardin's idyllic picture seems to refer particularly to the highly qualified jewellers with whom he was best acquainted professionally.

⁴ In the critical moments of Tahmāsp II's struggle with the Afghans, the workmen (*'amala-yi kārkhānaqāi*) were thrown against the enemy, *Z T*, f 211a.

⁵ Cf. Kaempfer, 175, on the seven French goldsmiths and specialists in enamel-work "familias suas Regio stipendio sustentantes lautissime." According to the same author, 129, they depended on the Nāzir-i Buyūtāt. The watchmakers had no special workshop but were assigned to that of the armourers.

⁶ Our chief guide is Chardin, V, 380-93.

⁷ Chardin says nothing about the peasants of the *vaqf* lands.

less than an arpent). In our text the terms *ijāra*, *musta'jir* ("lease, tenant") possibly refer to this kind of exploitation.

The other system (*muzāra'a*), which was almost universal, consisted in an association of the owner and the labourer in the partition of the harvest. Although the formula of *'avāmil-i panjgāna* does not seem to be recorded in contemporary sources, the doctrine which it covers is undoubtedly of great antiquity and by its simplicity must have influenced Persian practice at all times. It assumes that five factors are responsible for agricultural produce, viz., land, water, seeds, labour and oxen, and that the distribution of produce between the owner and the labourer is to be carried out in proportion to their responsibility for the said factors.¹ The formula has in view chiefly irrigated lands, for on "dry" lands the harvest would have to be divided only into four parts. The theory was seldom applied to the letter and in practice the shares varied considerably. Chardin, V, 384, 392, states that a seigneur "ordinarily" received 1/3 of the produce of the land and animals, except for fruit trees from which he had 1/2-2/3, and for wood from which he had 2/3. Kaempfer, 91, is more explicit as to the share of the peasant in the neighbourhood of Isfahan. If the King gave seeds and water, while the peasant contributed oxen, manure, personal work and additional servitudes (*'avāriḍ?*), the peasant received 1/3 of the harvest and the King 2/3. If the King supplied oxen and tools and remitted the servitudes ("servitia divani"), the peasant's part fell to 1/4,² and if the King provided also the labour (?), that share did not exceed 1/8. From rice, millet, cotton, beans, fenugreek, melons and pumpkins the peasant, even if he did everything by himself, received 2/5. From opium, his share was equal to 55/140 ("55 partes papaverini proventus, in centenas et quadragenas divisae"?). In the case of melons, etc., the peasant's contribution was not in kind but in money, according to the current price, with the additional 15 per cent.; corn was delivered in kind but also with a surtax of 1½ mahmudī per 100 maunds (each = 9 Brabant pounds). On top of all this, the King's part was augmented by a fresh 2/100 tax payable in cash.³ Even with such additional charges the basic arrangement was not too unjust, but the state of the peasants was considerably worsened by the corvées imposed by the landlord. Says Chardin, V, 390: "Il les emploie a des ouvrages qu'il fait faire sur les lieux, edifices, jardins et autres, ou bien il faut que le village lui donne par jour tant de gens sans aucun salaire. Il se fait donner des voitures pour rien par ces paysans. Il se fait nourrir par eux tant de jours quand il est sur les lieux, et quelquefois il convertit la nourriture en argent. Ses receveurs, ou les intendants qu'il envoie, sont traités de même, et il met encore d'autres taxes semblables." It appears, *ibid.*, 387, that such vexations⁴ were much more felt on the lands belonging to the Shah or held by the grand dignitaries of the State,⁵ then on those of private owners.

In spite of this statement, Chardin, *ibid.*, 387-90, was greatly impressed by the cunning wiles which the peasants used in order to obtain a diminution of their

¹ Karim Sendjabī, *Essai sur l'économie rurale et le régime agraire de la Perse*, Paris, 1934, pp 192-4.

² Cf. f 83b. *chahār-yak-i nasaq*

³ These taxes did not apply to privately owned lands (*arbābī*) which were lightly assessed *per jugerum* (*jarīb?*), though the tax was sometimes considerably aggravated by the financial authorities.

⁴ *Carmelites*, 116: expenses on King's guests exacted fourfold from peasants.

⁵ It is right to be remembered that the holders of *tiyuls* had a right of jurisdiction over the peasants, v 1., p. 28.

liabilities, under the pretext of bad crops. According to him they were sometimes encouraged by financial agents themselves who had more profits in re-estimating the crops than in applying the established rule of partition. Consequently the agreement between the lord and the peasant was "une source intarissable de fraude, de contestation et de violence ou la justice n'est presque jamais gardée." Chardin concludes with a rather unexpected statement, which he himself finds singular, that in such conflicts "le seigneur est celui qui a toujours (*sic*) du pire et qui est lésé." In the same vein, he gives the following picture of the condition of Persian peasants, *ibid.*, 391: "Ils vivent assez à leur aise, et je pus assurer qu'il y en a d'incomparablement plus misérables dans les plus fertiles pays de l'Europe. J'ai vu partout les paysanes persanes avec des carcans d'argent, et de gros anneaux d'argent aux mains et aux pieds, avec des chaînes qui leur pendent du cou sur le nombril, ou sont passées tout le long des pièces d'argent, et quelquefois des pièces d'or. On voit les enfans parés de même, avec des colliers de corail au cou. Ils sont, hommes et femmes, bien chaussés et bien vêtus; ils sont bien fournis de vaisselle et de meubles; mais, en échange de ces aises, ils sont exposés aux injures, et quelquefois à des coups de bâton de la part des gens du roi et des vizirs, quand on ne leur donne pas assez tôt ce qu'ils demandent, ce qui s'entend des hommes seulement; car pour les femmes et les filles, on a des égards pour elles partout dans l'Orient, et il n'arrive jamais qu'on mette la main dessus."

Behind this curious oscillation of Chardin's judgment may lie the comparison which the clever observer could not fail to draw between Persia and pre-revolutionary France, where the condition of the peasantry was intolerable.¹

(c) *Causes of Decline*

We have seen the stages of the final disruption of the Safavid state, under the blows of military failures (v.s., p. 9). The social and economic background of Persia which we have tried to outline should now enable us to find the causes of the spectacular fall of the Safavids. The subject needs a detailed investigation, but we shall not shirk the responsibility of summing up the more conspicuous factors:

(a) The complete disappearance of the basic theocratic nucleus round which Shah Ismā'il had built up his state, without the substitution of some other dynamic ideology.

(b) Great opposition between the old and the new elements in the Persian military class.

(c) The disturbance of the equilibrium between the *mamālik* and *khaṣṣa*, the expansion of the latter having diminished the interest of the service classes in the cause which they were supporting.

(d) The irresponsible character of the "shadow government" represented by the harem, the Queen Mother and the eunuchs.

(e) The degeneration of the dynasty whose scions were brought up in the atmosphere of the harem, in complete ignorance of the outside world.² Shāh Sulṭān-

¹ Taine, *Ancien Régime*, Livre V, Chapter I (especially the quotations in ° III).

² *Z.T.*, f. 210a: during the siege of Isfahan it was decided that one of the princes should escape from the capital and bring reinforcements from outside. The Shah's eldest son, Sulṭān-Mahmūd, was brought out of the harem and placed on a throne (as the heir apparent?) "He took fright at the multitude of men and at the tumult (*qachqurāy*) of the people of Isfahan, for he had never been outside. . . . When the meeting was dissolved (*bar-ham-khurda*) he got up and returned to the harem." His candidature had then to be given up.

Ḥusayn was undoubtedly a mild-natured man, but even his historiographer, M. Muhsin, does not throw any veil over his ineptitude, *Z.T.*, 203a: he begins by stating that the Shah was "very clement, modest, eschewing sin and adorned with the embellishments of probity and rectitude; he strove for what was dictated by auspiciousness, was self-restrained and pious." Then he records his boundless liberality towards the divines, to whom he lavishly distributed pensions, soyūrghāls, etc. The courtiers, by collusion, received important grants for visiting the Holy Places. They acquired great independence and handled important affairs. "Most of the time the Shah spent in the company of divines, sayyids, the Ḥakīm-bāshī, the Mullā-bāshī, discussing literary problems and poetry, the preparation of dishes and medicines, while the ordaining of the state affairs¹ was left to the amīrs, who hated each other." Much more caustic in their judgments were the foreigners. The Dutchman Le Brun, who was in Isfahan in 1704, notes the Shah's passion for building and hunting (venery) and proceeds: "he indulges himself to such a degree, in the gratification of every unruly and inordinate passion that he is perfectly regardless of state affairs, and the welfare of his subjects, and through his vicious example there is but little justice administered throughout all his extensive dominions. Licentiousness reigns in every part and the most vicious meet with no control." The Persians openly declare that "they have nothing of a king but the bare name." The Russian envoy, A. P. Volinsky (*circa* 1718) described the Shah as a typical product of harem education. "The present head is such that instead of being above his subjects, he is his own subjects' subject; I believe that seldom can one find such a fool among commoners, to say nothing of crowned heads."² The ambassador's judgment was not obscured by his personal grudge against the Persians, for at that very moment the shrewd Afghan, Mīr Vays, kept as hostage in Isfahan, came to the conclusion that the attack on Persia which he was meditating would present no difficulty.

B. SINGLE QUESTIONS OF STATE ORGANISATION

(aa) *Dīvān-i Mamālik and Khāṣṣa*

It is a moot question how the idea of the State, if ever distinctly realised, was expressed in Safavid terminology. Perhaps the term *daulat* (f. 22b) was the nearest equivalent, for the meaning of "happiness," which it also contains, allowed this cloak to be thrown over the whole fabric under the "felicitous ruler." On f. 10 *mamlakat* is used in the same general sense of "realm," but it usually has a special meaning, particularly as a plural, *mamālik-i mahrūsa*. Our source, f. 8b, once speaks of "the *vilāyats* of the God-protected *mamālik*," indicating thereby that the notion *mamālik* was distinct from that of a purely territorial division expressed by *vilāyat* (ff. 16b, 18a). Generally speaking, *mamālik* were the "state provinces" administered through the *Dīvān-i mamālik*, as distinguished from the *Khāṣṣa*, "demesnes." On f. 7a, *mamlakat*, in this special sense, refers to one of the "mamālik."

In a well-known passage of his *Turkestan* (p. 227) Barthold says: "throughout the whole system of the eastern Muslim political organisation there runs like a red thread the division of all the organs of administration into two main categories, the *dargāh*

¹ The text is corrupt at this place.

² Solovyev, *Istoriya Rossii*, 2nd ed., IV, 665.

(palace) and *divān* (chancery).” In terms of financial administration, the funds controlled by these two branches were called *māl-i khāṣṣa* (?) and *māl-i maṣāliḥ*, see *Rāhat al-ṣudūr*, 372. Under the Mongols, the division of the administration and finances into *injū* (“demesnes”) and *bidūn* or *dalay* (“State Treasury”) was still more clearly defined. In his memorandum on taxation *Naṣīr al-dīn*, p. 779, distinguishes between *māl-i khāṣṣa* and *māl-i maṣāliḥ-i pādshāhī*, the term *pādshāhī* standing for “kingdom.” The *khāṣṣa* of Safavid times is only a development of *injū*, and under the later Safavids there is a distinct tendency towards a further extension of the “demesnes” to the detriment of “state” administration.¹

Chardin, V, 249–79, has made a deep study of the subject.

The majority of the provinces of Persia called *mamālik*² were placed under governors of different degrees (*beglarbegi*, “governor-general,” *khān*, “governor,” *sultān*, “deputy governor”). These officials were appointed for life (*ibid.*, 255) and received special instructions (*ibid.*, 265) concerning their duties, the amount of revenue to collect, etc. They sent to the capital only limited sums of cash, but considerable stocks (*bārkhāna*) of local products for the King’s table and raw materials for the Royal workshops. Their activities were controlled by *vazīrs*³ and by the intelligence officers of the *Vāqī’a-nivīs* (§17), *ibid.*, 258, 260, appointed from the capital and independent of the local authority.⁴ For the rest, the governors enjoyed great freedom. They collected local revenue and used local resources for assignments to their subordinates among whom there were considerable contingents of armed attendants.

The supervision of the *mamālik* provinces was concentrated in a special *Divān-i mamālik* and, although in practice it could hardly be construed into a “State” administration entirely distinct from the direct interests of the King and His Court, the permanent character of appointments and the governors’ close connection with their provinces gave certain guarantees to the population of the regular work of the administrative machine. It was thought that the governors, acting as they did chiefly in frontier regions, were interested in the welfare of their territories exposed to external danger, *ibid.*, 279. The Persians, *ibid.*, 253, pointed out the advantage of the system of autonomous governors who consumed in a province what they collected in it.⁵

The *khāṣṣa* branch of administration was frankly that of the Royal Household. Its accountability was kept at the *Divān-i khāṣṣa* whose head was the *Mustaufi-yi khāṣṣa*. To some extent, the latter seems to have been subordinated to the *Mustaufi al-mamālik* (§18), and consequently to the Grand *Vazīr* (§6), but in fact the whole of the *Khāṣṣa* was controlled by the prevailing *Nāzīr* (§11). The territories under the *Khāṣṣa* were administered by the King’s stewards (*vazīrs*).⁶ Says Chardin, V, 276:

¹ Cf D’Ohsson, *Histoire des Mongols*, IV, 97. In spite of the spelling *dilār* found in the *Tāvīkh-i guzīda*, GMS, 554, 557, Rashīd al-dīn, ed Jahn, 305, writes *dālāy* [B.M. Or 16,688, f. 265b: *d lāy*], which most probably is connected with Mongolian *dalay*, “ocean.” Prof W. Kotwicz kindly suggested to me, as a parallel to this surmise, the title *dalay-khan*, i.e., “the oceanic, universal Khan of all the state.”

² Chardin, V, 250 *pays d’état*

³ Chardin apparently has in view the financial agents under the *Mustaufi al-mamālik* and not the *vazīrs* of the *Divān-i Khāṣṣa* controlling the demesnes

⁴ Indirectly they were controlled by the representatives of the *Ṣadr* (§2), in charge of the *vaqfs*.

⁵ On the magnificence of the provincial courts see Chardin, V, 255. The governors had their own workshops (*buyūtāt*).

⁶ The terms *dābrū*, *mutaṣaddī*, used in our text, probably refer to their subordinates.

“the government of the ‘intendants’ is held in Persia to be very detrimental to the kingdom and capable in time of ruining it through intolerable extortions by which they oppress the provinces, while they behave everywhere like people whom nothing can satisfy.” They obtained their places by currying the favour of the courtiers and the harem, to whom they advanced money which they themselves had to borrow at a considerable discount¹ As a compensation, they hurried to bleed the common people, feeling convinced that their protectors would hush up any protests coming from that quarter. It was the general opinion, *ibid.*, 253, that the khāṣṣa system impoverished the country by draining into the Shah’s coffers the money which ought to have circulated in the country. Fars especially is quoted as a case in point, for here the change of the system had reduced the population by 80,000.

Chardin affirms that the practice of the khāṣṣa administration² was first introduced under Shah Ṣafī by his Grand Vazir Sārū-Taqī, “Red-haired Taqī.”³ This thrifty eunuch explained to the King that the time of wars being over there was no need to spend money on governors who kept a large number of troops and had their own provincial courts. His advice was followed and the province of Fars was the first to be “annexed” by the King.⁴ ‘Abbās II abolished governorships in the inner part of Persia, as well as in the provinces where there was no fear of war, such as Qazvin, Gilan, Mazandaran, Yazd, Kerman, Khorasan (?) and Azarbayjan (?), *ibid.*, 251.⁵

No doubt that in his paragraph on the Khāṣṣa Chardin has unmasked one of the basic evils of administration which contributed to the fall of the dynasty.⁶

(bb) *Immunities, Assignments and Fees*

Persian money circulation was necessarily limited both on account of the weakness of the commerce⁷ and of the difficulty of transportation of larger sums. Gold coins, combining high value with small bulk, were struck only on solemn occasions (v.i.,

¹ An evil against which Ghazan-khan had to take drastic measures by abolishing interest on loans, Rashīd al-dīn, ed Jahn, p 313. On the contrary, on Shah Tahmāsp’s usury see d’Alessandri, 222.

² Meaning by this not its creation (v.s. *inju/dalay*), but the gradual absorption of whole provinces in the Khāṣṣa

³ On his career, see ‘*Ālam-ārā*, 786, *Khuld-i barīn*, f. 137b (printed text, p 260), Chardin, VII, 302-15.

⁴ Already under the Mongols Fars was *inju*. The historian Wassāf, 435, gives many details on the revenue of this province. Olearius, 271, who visited Shah Ṣafī’s court enumerates the places which had no khans and were governed by dārūghas as follows a part of Georgia, the cities of Qazvin, Isfahan, Kashan, Tehran, Mashhad, Kerman, Ormuz. No soldiers were maintained in them and their taxes went to the king.

⁵ This list has no claim to accuracy. In another passage, V, 381, Chardin enumerates “le pays de domaine” as follows. Parthia (=Khorasan?), Fars, part of Kerman, Hyrcania (=Mazandaran), part of Media and “Esteboonat.” As the author explains that the last name covers “more than half of ancient Chaldea” (i.e., of Khūzistān?) it is probable that what he really means is “Behbehān” and not “Istahbānāt” of Fars. An indirect but more exact indication of the localities withdrawn from the Divan administration can be gathered from the list of towns under the jurisdiction of the Ṣadr-i Khāṣṣa, f. 4a.

⁶ Kaempfer, 88, is less definite. Speaking of the beglarbegis, etc., he remarks. *horum autem status, magnificentiam imitando Regiam, omnes propemodum exhaurit redditus Provinciae, quam quisque gubernat; exceptis, qui in nonnullis Regio aeriario reservati sunt.* Kaempfer, 140, particularly refers to “the province of Shīrāz,” as being governed by a vazīr of the Khāṣṣa.

⁷ Chardin, V, 416, states that “il n’y a ni assez de commerce, ni assez de mouvement dans le pays pour réduire aisément tout en argent.”

p. 129). Foreign gold penetrated into Persia chiefly in the form of Venetian ducats,¹ probably in payment for silk exported by Armenian merchants.² Silver currency suffered from occasional adulterations, as well as from counterfeiting.³ The money entering the Royal Treasury was hoarded and hardly ever reappeared in circulation. Chardin, V, 429, calls the Treasury "un vrai gouffre, car tout s'y perd et il en sort très peu de chose." Of the hoarding by private persons we possess a significant example in the story quoted on p. 20. Indian money-lenders were particularly responsible for the withdrawal of good coins from the commerce, v.s., p. 19.

This situation considerably affected the methods of Persian administration. As a Frenchman, Chardin several times expresses astonishment that the farming out of the state resources was well-nigh unknown in Persia, and that in its stead the taxes were collected directly by the government representatives ("régie"). But the French system presupposed the existence of large reserves of ready money. The scarcity of the latter also accounts for the specific system of remuneration of Government troops and officials. The Treasury proceeded chiefly by granting various exemptions or by issuing "assignments" on local resources controlled by the Government.

The best known of the terms referring to "immunities" from taxes and levies⁴ is *soyūrghāl*. It had a perpetual and hereditary character and, by its virtue, the area held by the grantee formed a kind of autonomous enclave within the state territory. By its origins the *soyūrghāl* seems to have been connected with an obligation for the beneficiary to have in readiness a stipulated number of troops. In later times, the *soyūrghāls* were often connected with religious endowments, as hinted at in §87.⁵ The evil of the *soyūrghāls*, which the kings distributed with much arbitrariness, was fully realised by the responsible authorities, but the interests at work were too mighty for anything to be done. We know of a catastrophic end of the tentative efforts made under Sultan Ya'qūb Aq-qoyunlu to suspend the *soyūrghāls* at Isfahan and Shiraz.⁶

As to the other forms of immunities, called *mu'āfi* and *musallamī* (ff. 11b, 90a, 96a) it is difficult to say yet in what they differed from the *soyūrghāl*.⁷ The term *ulkā* (**olgā*), which occurs in our text on f. 108a, apparently applies to a territory "held" by a particular clan, cf. *'Ālam-ārā*, 100 (thrice).

¹ Du Mans, 33, Chardin, V, 432.

² Father Pacifique de Provins (1628) reports in his *Voyage*, ed. 1645, p. 409, that when Armenians brought with them "sequins et piastres" (each = 58 sols) they took them to the "Secque [?] or Mint" which paid them some interest. The coins received a Persian imprint and the King gained some benefit from this operation. The King's coins never left Persian territory because they were nowhere (?) accepted except by weight [Secque=ital. *zecca* "Mint"]

³ Kaempfer, 53 in order to spite the Uzbek embassy, 3000 tomans were struck in coins containing only 1/4 of silver. In 1684, out of 30 000 tomans deposited at the Treasury only 300 were found in due form. In November, 1685, the old money was suddenly abrogated but in its stead the Master of the Mint introduced new debased money, for which misdeed he was blinded by the king's order.

⁴ Comparable to mediaeval *beneficia*

⁵ See Minorsky, *A soyūrghāl*, in which five similar documents of 1417, 1488, 1498, 1559 and 1702 A.D. are analysed. In Rashīd al-dīn, ed. Jahn, the term *soyūrghāl* does not occur, and *soyūrghamīshī* means only "favourable reception, favours."

⁶ *Tārīkh-i Amīnī*, ff. 165-6; also see below, p. 29: on *tiyūls*.

⁷ An exemption given in 773/1372 by Ahmad Jalāyir to Shaykh Šadr al-dīn of Ardabil refers to an ancient *musallamī* based on a *muqarrar-nāma-yi dīvān*, in practice it looks very similar to a *soyūrghāl*, cf. H. Massé, *Jour. As.*, July, 1938, pp. 465-8.

Much more general and frequent was the system of *tiyūl*¹ which corresponded to the *iqṭā'* of earlier times.² *Tiyūl* was given only for limited periods. It was of two categories: either it was a regular accompaniment of an office and was transferred to each subsequent holder of it, or it was granted by the king through the Divan, presumably for the life time of the recipient.³ For the first (*istiṣvābī*) category we have a number of examples in *T.M.*, §§88, 89 (in the latter case the *tiyūl* was combined with a governorship).

Not quite clear is the relation between the grantees and the population on the territory of their *tiyūl*. Both in Seljuk and Mongol days the principle was maintained that the fief-holders had only the right to collect the revenue due to the King's Treasury, without interfering with any other rights of the population. In the famous passage of the *Siyāsat-nāma*, ed. Schefer, p. 28, Niẓām al-mulk resolutely says that "the holders of *iqṭā'* must know that they have no other power (*az farmān*) over the peasants but to levy the legal taxes (*māl-i haqq*) which have been assigned (*havālat*) to them, and this in a gentle way. After the collection of the said (dues) the peasants will remain secure with regard to their bodies, property, wives and children." Ghāzān khan's equally famous law of 703/1303 concerning military fiefs also stipulates that the *iqṭā'dārs* "should not say: 'The peasants of these places have been given to us by virtue of *iqṭā'*; they are our slaves (*asīr*).' The military have no other power over the peasants than to see that they cultivate their fields and to take from them the [legal] share in kind and the divan revenue (*lashkariyān-rā bar ra'āyā ziyādat az ān hukm nīst ki īshān-ra ba-zirā'at-i dāh-hā-yi khud dārand va bahra-yi māl va mutavajjahāt-i dīvānī ba-rāstī az-īshān sitānand*); and further: "if the members of the army take from the peasants more than is specifically indicated in the General Register of taxes . . . they will be guilty,—for we have not given the peasants to the army (*agar mardum-i cherīk nīz ziyādat az ān-chi ba-daftar-i qānūn dar-āmada va mufaṣṣal nivīshā shuda az ra'āyā chīzī sitānand: — va ra'iyat-rā-ki ba-cherīk nadāda-īm . . . īshān nīz gumāhkār shavand*)." ⁴ Such theories on the rights of the *tiyūldārs* were recognised down to the Persian Revolution when *tiyūls* were finally abrogated, but we know that the powerful fief-holders at all times contrived to circumvent the theoretical distinctions and limitations, so as to transform their holdings into a more permanent ownership and even to assume some seigniorial rights on them. Olearius, 673, confirms that the assignees collected the taxes (Tribut) and had the rights of jurisdiction over the peasants, except that of capital punishment ("ausgenommen in Hals Sachen"). Very characteristic too are Chardin's remarks on the contemporary practice. He writes, V, 418, that the lands assigned for salary "are not under the inspection of the King's men; they are like the property

¹ This form is confirmed by Chardin, V, 416. *tyoul*, and Kaempfer, 97. *tyuul*, but the present Persian pronunciation is *toyūl*. The term means "something allotted, assigned," and is derived from the Oriental Turkish verb *ty-māk* (= Ottoman Turkish *değmek*), "to fall to someone's lot." Cf. Minorsky, *Tiyūl* in *E I* (where the remarks on *soyūrghāl* are to be amended).

² The term *iqṭā'* is exceptionally found in our text on ff. 71b, 90a and 96a, each time together with *soyūrghāl*, *mu'āfi* and other terms referring to acts of particular royal benevolence. Although we have no means of distinguishing between *tiyūl* and *iqṭā'*, the latter in Safavid times may have had a more honorary character without a special connection with "services," while *tiyūl* was meant to be a form of salary.

³ Even with a hope that his heirs might be appointed to maintain the *tiyūl*, Chardin, V, 420.

⁴ *GMS*, ed. Jahn, p. 306-7, 309; Br. Mus. Or. 16,688, ff. 266a-267a. Cf. d'Ohsson, *Histoire des Mongols*, IV, 426.

("comme propres") of him to whom they are given. In the matter of revenue he deals as he wishes with the local inhabitants, as is the case of our 'bénéfices' in Europe." Kaempfer, too, 98, defines *tiyūl* as "pagi, praedia, vel fundi, qui dantur ministris Regiis, ut durante servitio, eorum possessione (*sic*) at annonâ gaudeant." Chardin, p. 419, quotes the right of a *tiyūldār* to live on local resources when he visits the land assigned to him, and to mulct disturbances (*nizā*).¹ Consequently, the *tiyūl* of Safavid times included some definitely seigniorial rights. Financially, one of the appreciable advantages in numerous cases was the difference between the official estimation of the *tiyūls* and the real revenue collected by the grantee.² The abuses with the *tiyūls* were numerous, but any attempt against the interests of the powerful caste were doomed to failure. Chardin, V, 419, states that Shah Sulaymān's famous Grand Vazir Shaykh 'Alī khan³ never dared to carry out his intention to revise the system of assignments.

The assignments called *barāt* were mere drafts for collecting some revenue due to the government. Their value and security considerably increased if they were *hama-sāla*, i.e., if the beneficiary was perpetually assigned on the same source of revenue. Less appreciated were the *yak-sāla* renewed yearly.

Apart from regular salaries (*mavājib*), there existed different classes of special allowances, enumerated in great detail in the Conclusion of *T.M.*, v i., p. 151. Our source gives us also a sufficiently clear idea of the complicated system of fees (*rusūm*, *dūshullūk*) established in favour of various classes of officials and consisting of some percentage, either deducted from the disbursements made by the Shah and the Treasury, or added to the amount of presents made to the Shah.

(cc) *Royal Buyūtāt*

In the absence of capitalistic industry, Safavid kings, similarly to their predecessors and contemporaries,⁴ had to secure the production of certain necessities and *objets de luxe* at the workshops of their own household. Many of these *buyūtāt* were simply domestic departments, such as the kitchen, scullery, various stores, stables, kennels, etc. There were, however, some *buyūtāt* which were run like real state-owned manufactories. Our source mentions a weaving mill (*sha'r-bāf-khāna*),⁵ two Tailoring Dts., the Mint consisting of seven departments, the Arsenal, etc.

Chardin, VII, 329-34, says that the *Nāzir-i buyūtāt* (§11) was the superintendent of the "Workshops," while the Director General of the latter, as well as of the "intendants de ce qui se fait pour le roi, en ville et à la campagne" was called "erbab tahvil, comme qui dirait seigneur *de la mise et de l'emplette*." As explained below,

¹ In 1905, in a mountain village near Marand, I was engaged in a conversation with the Governor's gholām, who was accompanying me. Suddenly my interlocutor's attention slackened while he seemed to take a deep interest in the shrill voices of two women having a discussion up the nullah. The gholām vanished but soon returned breathing contentment. "Fined them both," he said to me. Chardin, V, 419, must refer to a similar right of the *tiyūl*-holders. The mutilated term *purzi al-nezāh*, which he uses, may represent something like *farḍ al-nizā*.

² In more detail, v 1, p. 152.

³ Of the Kurdish family Zangana.

⁴ For Mongol times see Rashid al-dīn's description of the arsenal, ed. Jahn, pp. 336-9, for India, Ibn Hasan, *oc*, 236. The Mughal sultans had 36 *kārkhānas*. V.i., p. 135.

⁵ Du Mans, 195, explains *sha'r-bāf* as "ouvrier en toile d'or, d'argent et de soie à haute lice," but this may be a mistake for *zarbāf*, "brocade," Chardin, IV, 152.

p. 110, Chardin must have in view the *Mustaufi-yi arbāb-i tahāvīl* (§51). Each workshop was administered by four persons: (a) "un intendant qu'on appelle chef du métier qui s'y fait," (b) un syndic qui est le plus ancien ouvrier de la maison, (c) un mochef ou écrivain qui tient compte des ouvriers et des ouvrages donnant les matières par compte, et les recevant de même, et (d) un huissier." In the terms of our source (§§127-163), (a) is *ṣāhib-jām*, (b) *ustā*, "master," (c) *mushrif*, (d) probably *kilīd-dār*. With regard to (b) only occasional references are found in the text as, for example, in the description of the Mint, where it is said that the Mu'ayyir al-mamālik appointed the "masters of the seven shops."¹

Chardin counts thirty-two workshops (*T.M.*, f. 20a: thirty-three), each with some 150 workmen, more or less, e.g., there were 180 tailors but only 72 painters. The annual expenditure of the Workshops amounted to 5 million [écus?], i.e., *circa* 350,000 tomans. Some workshops, as the dye-works and the silk factory,² had been abolished and replaced by a system under which linen to be dyed was sent into the town, and silk and gold thread ("fil trait") were issued for the making of all kinds of textiles, brocades and carpets, the *buyūtāt* administration paying for the work at a fixed tariff. This practice of *tahvīl-i aṣnāf* is referred to on ff. 99b and 101a. Carpets were also made in the country by workmen to whom the King gave lands and who paid their rent in the produce of their hands.

(dd) *Military Forces*

The Safavids were the direct successors of the Turcoman dynasties of the Black Sheep and the White Sheep, with whom they had manifold relations. Not improperly the early Safavid state may be considered as the third stage of the Turcoman dominion in Persia.

The military force of Shah Ismā'īl with which he defeated the Aq-qoyunlu Alvand and Murad was organised like that of his enemies,³ i.e., on purely tribal principles, even the Šūfī life-guards being designated after their clans. The deficiencies of this system, as compared with the modernised Ottoman organisation, were made abundantly clear in the unfortunate battle of Chaldiran (A.D. 1514). Very soon, too, the Shāhī-sevan tribes, which formed the backbone of the army,⁴ manifested their praetorian nature: individual tribes supported their own candidates to high offices, resisted the suggestions of their rivals and often came to blows with them in the Shah's presence.⁵ As such conditions endangered the existence of the state, Shah Tahmāsp began to disband and disperse the unruly tribes, but the fundamental reform was accomplished only under 'Abbās I, who diminished the number of tribal forces and side by side with them created new troops, armed with up-to-date weapons and fully dependent on the central government. Like the Ottoman janissaries, the

¹ On the contrary the "master of the butchers" (f. 51a) seems to be not a member of the *buyūtāt* but a representative of the butchers' guild (cf 81b), possibly identical with the syndic (*kādkhodā*), cf 81a.

² Chardin, V, 414; "le roi . . . fait travailler la soie qu'il reçoit pour son droit". . .

³ On the Aq-qoyunlu army see my article, *A Civil and Military Review in 1478*, BSOS, X/1, 141-78.

⁴ See below Annex II: Supporters of the Safavids.

⁵ *Aḥsan al-tavārīkh*, p. 235 (year 937/1530): during a brawl in the Royal Dīvan two arrows came to hit the Shah's crown!

Shah's new regiments were recruited chiefly from the converts to Islam (Georgians, Armenians, etc.), who were free from the drawback of tribal allegiance.

Unluckily for us, local sources so far known contain no record of the reforms and their date. In his letter of 22 April, 1619, P. della Valle says that the corps of musqueteers was created by Shah 'Abbās "a few years ago" on the advice of Sir Anthony Sherley.¹ Purchas, who personally knew Robert Sherley, also wrote enthusiastically (1624): "The prevailing Persian hath learned Sherleian arts of war, and he which before knew not the use of ordnance, has now 500 pieces of brass and 6000 musketeers; so that they which at hand with the sword were before dreadful to the Turcs, now also in remoter blows and sulphurian arts are grown terrible."

On the other hand, the persons of Sir Anthony's immediate entourage do not seem to connect the development of "sulphurian arts" in Persia with their master's stay in the Shah's dominions during the rather short period of six months.

Sir Anthony's interpreter Angelo, who left Persia with him, declared in Rome (28.xi.1599) that Shah 'Abbās could mobilise up to 100,000 horse armed with bows, arrows and scimitars. "In addition he has 50,000 arquebusiers, also armed with scimitars. . . . At one time he did not use arquebusiers, but now he delights in them and takes great care to procure them; he also has some cannon, having captured many pieces from the Tartars; moreover there is no lack of masters to manufacture new ones, these masters have turned against the Turk and have come to serve the King." According to Sir Anthony's major-domo, who wrote in French (A. Pinçon?): "Infantry is held (in Persia) in poor esteem. Quite recently they have acquired some arquebuses." Particularly frank is the testimony of G. Mainwaring, another of Sir Anthony's companions: "(The Persians) are very expert in their pieces or muskets; for although there are some which have written now of late that they had not the use of pieces until our coming into the country, this much must I write to their praise, that I did never see better barrels of muskets than I did see there; and the King hath, hard by his court at Aspahane, above two hundred men at work, only making of pieces, bows and arrows, swords and targets."²

Sir D. Ross is non-committal about Sir Anthony's achievements, *ibid.*, p. 20, but, apart from the testimony just quoted, we have direct indications that the use of fire-arms was known in Persia long before Shah 'Abbās. Thus the *Aḥsan al-tavāriḫh*, 368, records the use of guns and muskets (*tūp-u-tufang*) by Shah Tahmasp's ghāzīs during the siege of Arjīsh in 959/1552. Still more curious is the description of Persian arms given by d'Alessandri (towards A.D. 1571). Apart from swords and lances, he refers to arquebuses "which all the soldiers can use." He confirms that Persian arms "are superior and better tempered than those of any other nation" and then proceeds: "the barrels of the arquebuses are generally 6 spans long, and carry a ball less than 3 ounces in weight. They use them with such facility that it does not hinder them in drawing their bows, nor in handling their swords, keeping the latter hung at their saddle-bows till occasion requires them. The arquebus then is put away behind the back, so that one weapon does not impede the use of another." Very interesting too is Alessandri's indication that the Ottoman prince Bāyazīd who sought refuge with Tahmāsp in 966/1559 brought with him 30 pieces of artillery.³

¹ P 759 "milizia moderna ed inventata da questo re, non molti anni fà a persuasione di don Antonio Serley inglese chi gliela mise in considerazione"

² Sir E D Ross, *Sir A Sherley and his Persian Adventure*, 1933, pp 29, 163, 222.

³ *Aḥsan al-tavāriḫh*, 411, mentions only *tufang*, "muskets"

Consequently the percolation of fire-arms into Persia began long before Shah 'Abbās, whose reform consisted in the creation of special corps recruited among entirely new classes. This was a task of considerable magnitude which grew out of the social and political evolution of Persia and hardly out of occasional promptings from outside.

Owing chiefly to della Valle, pp. 476, 759-68, and Chardin, V, 292-332,¹ we possess a good picture of the military organisation under Shah 'Abbās and his successors. In the seventeenth century the army consisted of two main categories of troops:

A. The "State" troops were a survival of previous times and were paid in assignments on lands administered by the governors under the Dīvān-i mamālik. They were of two categories:

(a) A regular militia (mounted?) was maintained by the governors on the spot. Our source calls them *mulāzimān*, "attendants," and gives a detailed list of their numbers and distribution, v.i., p. 161. The total given is 58,289.

(b) Another standing corps of troops were the *qurchi*,² who represented the old tribal cavalry. They looked like walking arsenals, armed as they were with bows, lances, swords, daggers and battle-axes, and with shields as a protective weapon. The original headdress of these doughty Turcoman warriors, after which they were called *qizil-bash*, "Red-heads," was a red cap instituted by Shah Ismā'il's father for his adherents.³ But on expeditions they wore helmets (?) with mail protectors down their cheeks.⁴ Long moustache was a characteristic feature of the *qurchis*.

From the fact that in 1586 30,000 Qizil-bash were fighting the Turks in Tabriz, G. B. Vechietti inferred that the Persians might mobilize up to 60,000 Qizil-bash troops, see *Eng. Hist. Review*, 1892, p. 318.

In 1617-23 della Valle counted 70,000 Qizil-bash of whom 50,000 were paid and 20,000 had no pay. Some of the first category were serving under the governors, while 12,000, called *qorchi*, and commanded by the Shah's relative 'Isā khan (?) beg Shaykhāvand formed a corps of "praetorians." According to Chardin the *qurchis* were originally 60-80,000, but Shah 'Abbās reduced their number to 30,000⁵ and re-armed several regiments with muskets to serve as mounted infantry (*sic*), *ibid.*, V, 302.

B. The new troops raised by Shah 'Abbās and paid "by the King," i.e., apparently from the Khāṣṣa (v.s.) were of three kinds:

(c) The *tufangchi*, "musketeers," were the mounted infantry armed with muskets, swords and daggers. They were recruited among sturdy peasants and consequently represented the pure Iranian element of the army. According to della Valle, 759, the corps of *archibugheri* was created not a long time before 1619. In the beginning they were recruited locally and were placed under their centurions (*yuz-bāshī*), but

¹ Cf. also Du Mans, 154-9, and Kaempfer, 70-8.

² The true pronunciation must have been *qorchi*, in Mongolian, "an archer," from *qor*, "a quiver," see Poppe, *Muqaddimat al-adab*, Leningrad, 1938, p. 445. Cf. della Valle, 766. *covci*

³ This *tāj* of red velvet was shaped like a small kettle narrowing downwards; its sides formed twelve scallops in memory of the Twelve Imams; in the centre of its top there was a point somewhat similar to a chess pawn, see Chardin, V, 300, and Atlas, pl. XXIX; Kaempfer, 71, and plate to face p. 36 (right bottom corner)

⁴ Chardin, V, 300: "Le pot en tête, avec des pièces de maille qui tombent sur les joues," see a Persian miniature in *J.R.A.S.*, July, 1921, to face p. 421, where Shāh 'Abbās and his dignitaries wear the *tāj*, while the soldiers returning from an expedition against the Uzbeks wear the helmet.

⁵ Kaempfer, 71: hodie vix 15,000 vel 20,000.

later we hear of the existence of a *tufangchi-bāshī*. They were meant to be infantry but Shah 'Abbās gradually provided them with horses. Della Valle and Chardin agree on their numbers being 12,000.

(d) The *qullar*, "slaves" (f. 12b: *ghulāmān-i khāṣṣa-yi sharifa*) were armed like the qurchis, but instead of the lance had a musket. This cavalry corps was recruited¹ among the natives of northern countries (Georgia, Caucasus, and even Muscovy, either brought to Persia at an early age, or born of parents established in Persia. Being mostly of Christian origin, they were converted to Islam in the first or second generation. According to della Valle there were 30,000 *quls*, but of these only 15,000 were soldiers. Chardin puts their number at 10,000. He says that the name *qul* did not connote any diminished degree of freedom¹ in comparison with the other troops, and adds that Shah 'Abbās, who was particularly fond of this picked corps called them his "mounted janissaries."

(e) Although the *Aḥsan al-tawārīkh*, p. 368, records the use of guns and musket (*tūp-u-tufang*) by the *ghāzīs* of Shah Tahmāsp as early as 959/1552, Artillery was not a popular arm in Persia. Minadoi (who wrote in 1588) remarks that the Persians "have not yet adopted the use (of artillery), more on account of their obstinate belief that it is a shame to use such cruel engines against men than because of their inability to fabricate them or their deficiency in material to cast them." During the Balkan campaign in 1011/1603 Shah 'Abbās was accompanied by 300 cannon (*tūp-u-ḡarbzān*) and 10,000 musketeers, *Ālam-ārā*, 427-8. However, della Valle states, p. 476 that the Persians chiefly used the ordnance captured from enemies, and Figueroa, 263 adds that Persian artillery was manipulated by Europeans "and particularly by the Portuguese." All the travellers agree that the chief Persian objection to artillery was that the guns hampered the swift evolutions of their cavalry.

According to Chardin, the gunners were at first 12,000 strong, but since the loss of Baghdad in 1048/1638 their contingents were diminished and finally 'Abbās I abolished the corps. When its commander died in 1655, no successor to him was appointed. The fact is unprecedented in military annals,² but in the last years of the Safavid dominion the Artillery must have been restored in its rights for it is mentioned as a part of several expeditions sent to Khorasan under Shah Sulṭān-Ḥusayn; see *Z.T.*, ff. 104b2, 206b2.

C. In addition to the five corps already mentioned there existed in Chardin's time two smaller corps:

(f) The 200 Sufi were the life-guards of the Shah. They belonged to the special Safavid order (cf. §19) and were quartered in the alley leading from the Ala-qāḡ gate towards the King's apartments, close to the *tauḥīd-khāna*, v. i., p. 126. They wore special caps ("bonnets de souahy"?)³ and were recognisable by their awe-inspiring moustaches sticking out at right angles from their faces, Kaempfer, pl. a

¹ In our source *ghulām* is used as an equivalent of *qul* (*qullar*), cf. §57. On the contingent from which the *qullar* were principally recruited, v. 1, f. 32b. The expression *yūs-dah* ("hundreds and "tens") seems to refer to the smaller subdivisions of the *qullar* corps.

² In fact artillery was long a neglected arm in the English army. Speaking of the famous ordnance of 15 Feb., 1645, by which a regular and standing army was created, Hon. J. V. Fortescue, *A History of the British Army*, 2nd ed., 1910, I, 216, remarks: "the truth seems to be that the English were behind the times in respect of field artillery; and indeed we hear little of guns, except siege-cannon, during the whole period of the Civil War. English military writers of the period rarely make much of artillery in a pitched battle." For the scanty information of the previous periods see *ibid.*, I, 112, 119, 122-3, 171.

³ Apparently **souphiy* = *sūfi*.

p. 175, No. 2. They were armed each with a sword, a dagger and an axe carried on the shoulder.

(g) The 600 *jazā'irī* guards were raised for the first time under 'Abbās II in 1654. They wore pointed caps of cloth ("semblables à des capuchons") and broad sashes of red cloth, with silver clasps, and were armed with swords, daggers and muskets of particularly large calibre, all inlaid with silver. According to Chardin, the *jazā'irīs* were under the orders of the Tufangchi-aghāsi ("le colonel-général des mousquetaires") but our f. 61a suggests some connection of the *jazā'irīs* with the *ghulāms*.¹ As the *jazā'irīs* were permanently on guard at the Gate of the palace, they were called *keshīkchi*, "watchmen" (from Mong. *keshīk*, "a part > a watch").²

To conclude our survey we have to mention three other categories of auxiliary troops of which passing mentions are found in our text.

(h) The Ghāzīs of the Pāzūkī tribe (f. 129a) formed a category of "militant" supporters of the dynasty, similar to the "šūfīs" (f). The original homes of these Kurds were near Kīghī and Alāshkert in the region to the north of the lake of Van. Sharaf al-dīn, I, 328-334, first says that they had "no definite religion," and then deprecates their heresy (*rafā-va-ihād*), i.e., some extremist variation of the Shī'a. The history of the Pāzūkī, torn between Turkey and Persia, is highly involved. The tribe became scattered in many regions: remnants of it are now found in the neighbourhood of Tehran.³ The Kurdish Pāzūkī and Kalhur were the opposite numbers of the Turcoman Shāhi-sevans (Qizil-bash). They were certainly not a large corps for in the budget they stand for 2.777 tomans as compared with 25.572 of the qurchis and 18.261 of the *ghulāms*.

(i) (k) The terms *cherīk* and *yāsāqī* (f. 66b) are both of Mongolian origin. Under the Qājārs, the *cherīk* were local levies or militia,⁴ and there is every probability that such was the case in Safavid times too. The equivalent of *cherīk* in Arabic is *hashar*. The other term *yāsāqī*⁵ occurs also in the chapter on Revenue under the heading: "revenue in kind" (f. 123b), as well as in the chapter on Expenditure (f. 127b). There were 500 *yāsāqī* men of the Kurdish tribe Kalhur, all of whom seem to have been allotted to the amirs (f. 128a). These Shī'a Kurds were a class of auxiliary troops serving, as it seems, with their own equipment, for otherwise they would not have been treated as an "asset" in the budget (f. 123b). The *Ālam-ārā*, 466, says that in 1013/1604 Shāh 'Abbās I ordered the "white-beards" to prepare lists (*tafšīl*)

¹ Kaempfer, 74, counts 2000 *jazā'irīs* and says that they are under the exclusive command of the Eshik-aghāsi-bashi, "supremus aulae Mareschallus," cf. *ibid*, 207. This last statement agrees with Du Mans, 25.

² These *keshīkchi* must be distinguished from the noblemen sleeping in the *Keshīk-khāna* (note ad §9). The *hamīsha-keshīk*, mentioned under the Musketeers and Artillery Department, ff. 63b and 65a, may have been the members of these two corps seconded to the King's gate, but the exact meaning of the term is still doubtful. In 1720, 3000 *ghulām-ī habashī* (?) *hamīsha keshīk* accompanied Ismā'il Khānazād on his expedition to Mashhad and received daily keep (*jīra*), see *Z.T.*, 206a2.

³ Near Khānābād, see Brugsch, *Die Reise d. K. Preussischen Gesandtschaft*, 1863, I, 337. Mas'ūd Geyhān, in his *Jogh'rāfiyā-yi mufasssal*, II, 111, counts 100 families of Pāzūkī near Khānābād.

⁴ *Cherīk* < Mongolian *tserig*, "a warrior," but in Persian texts *cherīk* means "army in general," cf. Rashīd al-dīn, ed. Jahn, 306 and *passim*. In Juvaynī, II, 197: *cherīk-i-piyāda*, "the *cherīk* serving on foot" obviously refers to non-Mongol elements.

⁵ *Yasaq* (= *yasa*) means "order, law, tribute." In Russian ЯСАК refers to the tribute in furs paid by Siberian tribes.

of the families of their tribes, so that each category (*ṭabaqa*) having means should equip (*saranyām*) yāsāqī men to join the Royal army, "as religious zeal required it." *Ibid.*, 468, the author says that the troops ('*asākīr*) of Khorasan were ordered to come on yāsāq to Āzarbāyjān (*mutavajjih-i yāsāq-i Ā.*). In Sulṭān-Ḥusayn's farmān of 1113/1702, the grantee of a soyūrghāl is requested to provide "seven men all ready (*safarkash*) to the Shah's call and service (*ba-jār-va-yāsāq-i shāhī*).¹ It appears from our source, f. 66b, that the "rolls" of the yāsāqīs had to be sealed by the Lashkar-nivīs.²

As pointed out by della Valle, 767, the number of troops often increased or decreased: Shah 'Abbās did not like paying superfluous staff; moreover, in the wars of the earlier part of the reign losses in men were considerable. All told, the army had 70–80,000 combatants, of whom 40–50,000 could be actually used on a campaign. From the total of 70,000, della Valle seems to exclude some 30,000 horse stationed on the frontiers. Thus the number of the military drawing pay rises to 100,000 and, with the retainers and followers (of whom the noblemen kept 50–100), the grand total would reach 200–300,000.³

According to Chardin, V, 314, the total of the army left by 'Abbās I was 120,000 men, among whom the three new corps stood for 50,000, whereas the provincial troops amounted to 70,000, to say nothing of the King's guards ("la maison du roi") numbering *circa* 10,000.⁴ The decadence began under 'Abbās II and the effort to uphold the efficiency of the army in the beginning of Sulaymān's reign was only short-lived: the soldiers were forgetting their business and considered their pay as a gratuity without a counterpart.

If we combine the total of provincial troops as given in the *T.M.* with the strength of the other contingents as indicated in Chardin, we shall obtain the following result:

(a)	59,496
(b)	30,000
(c)	12,000
(d)	10,000
(e)	abolished
(f)	200
(g)	600

112,296

but most of these troops existed only on paper. During a review held in 1660 'Abbās II discovered that the same arms, horses and men passed before him 10–12 times, Chardin, V, 315, 323. Kaempfer, 73, evaluated the number of troops at

¹ See Minorsky, *A soyurghal*, p. 959. Cf. also, *Ḥabīb al-siyar*, III/3, 237, where Uzun-Hasan dismisses the yāsāqīs of Khorasan and the Turcomans of Āzarbāyjān, who had been with the Timurid Abū-Sa'īd.

² These levies could not be identical with the corps of *yasaqchi*, whose business, according to della Valle, 766, was to regulate the march of the army and to guard the roads; their insignia were arrows, stuck in their turbans, their chief wearing a golden arrow.

³ Sir Thomas Herbert, ed. 1665, p. 320, gives an exaggerated estimate of "300,000 horse and 70,000 foot or Musquetoons," but he adds that "such force (the Shah) can readily advance, but seldom exceeds 50,000." His source, as shown by Sir W. Foster, is de Laet.

⁴ The *Z.T.*, 2062, mentions a *qoshūn-i rikābī* sent on an expedition to Khorasan. This corps apparently corresponded to that "standing army which (Uzun Hasan) always kept as a guard about his person," and to which C. Zeno gives in Italian the curious name "porta," see Minorsky, *Review*, p. 169.

90,000 with a caustic reserve "qui, si in armis non prostant, in chartis tamen et catalogis rationum inveniuntur."

Our source refers only *en passant* (f. 8b) to the commander-in-chief of the army (*sīpah-sālār*) and from Chardin, V, 322, we learn in fact that this high post, usually held by the governor of Media, i.e., Āzarbāyjān, was abolished and, whenever a war broke out, only a *sardār* was nominated *ad hoc* and for the time being.¹

The officers in the various categories of troops had the Turkish titles of *min-bashi* "master of a thousand," *yüz-bashi* "master of a hundred," and *on-bashi* "master of ten men." In the Artillery department (§14) are mentioned *jārchis* and their chief called *jārchī-bāshī*. *Jarchī* means in Turkish "a herald, a public crier, an announcer." Possibly the *jarchis* were a kind of liaison officers between the commander and the men. In a document of Aq-qoyunlu times,² *jarchis* "shouted" the orders to the troops. The correspondence and accountancy were entrusted to professional *vazirs* and *mustaufis*, §§55-62.³

¹ It is to be hoped that some scholar will publish the text of B.M. Add. 7655, which contains a detailed story of the Georgian general Rustām-khan, who combined the titles of *sīpahsālār* and *beglarbegi* of Āzarbāyjān (1044-52/1634-42), cf. *Khuld-i barīn*, p. 290, and Olearius, 274.

² Minorsky, *Review*, 154, 160

³ On *yasāvulān-i qūr*, v 1, p. 117.

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§145. " " ghānāt	§160. " " stables
§146. " " mīva-khāna	§161. " " qahva-khāna
§147. " " sharbat-khāna	§162. " " naqqāsh-khāna
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| (a) Tabrīz | |
| (b) Chukhūr-i Sa'd | 4. Dār al-marz |
| (c) Qarā-bāgh | |
| (d) Shīrvān | 5. Kirmān |
| 2. Khorāsān: | 6. 'Irāq |
| (a) Herat | |
| (b) Mashhad | 7. Kurdistān |
| (c) Qandahār | |
| (d) Marv | 8. Fārs |

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(a) Revenue (divān and khāṣṣa):

Kirmān	Āzarbāyjān
Khūzistān	Gīlān
'Irāq	Shīrvān
Fārs	

Expenditure (divān and khāṣṣa):

Tiyūl and hama-sāla	Soyūrghāl, etc.
Taḥvīl	

ENGLISH TRANSLATION

A MEMORIAL FOR KINGS

IN THE NAME OF GOD, MERCIFUL, CLEMENT

PRaise be to God who hath guided us to the rules of righteousness and led us to the firm foundations (*ḍarwābiḥ*) of fortitude and prayer. And peace be on the most honoured of the creatures and the best of the inhabitants of Heaven and Earth, namely, on Muḥammad, [as well as] his family and his companions through whose sanctity (*muwālāt*) prayers are accepted (2a) and through whose grace demands are responded to.

But to proceed: the present is an epitome called "A Memorial for Kings," and containing the regulations (*dastūr al-'amal*) of the service of each one of the officials (*arbāb-i manāsiḥ*) of the Exalted Court (*dargāh-i mu'allā*) as practised in the time of the Ṣafavī monarchs (*salāṭin*). By the supreme order (*al-amr al-a'lā*) they are here submitted briefly and hurriedly. They consist of four [read: five!] chapters (*bāb*) and a Conclusion.

CHAPTER I

ON THE FUNCTIONS OF THE MULLĀ-BĀSHĪ AND [OTHER] SHARĪ'AT AUTHORITIES IN THE CAPITAL, IṢFAHĀN, IN FIVE PARAGRAPHS (*FAṢL*)

§I. The MULLĀ-BĀSHĪ¹ is the head (*sarkarda*) of all the mullās. In earlier times of the Ṣafavī monarchs this title (2b) [belonged to] no definite charge but usually the most learned of the scholars (*fuḍalā*) of the time [was] virtually the Mullā-bāshī and, at the Royal assemblies (*majlis*), had a definite place near the throne, none of the scholars and sayyids sitting nearer than he in the King's presence. [The said distinguished scholar] did not interfere in any affairs except by soliciting pensions (*vazīfa*) for students and men of merit, by removing oppression from the oppressed, by interceding for the guilty, by investigating problems of the Sacred Law and by giving consultations (*ta'līm*) in law-suits and [other] affairs [ruled by] the Sharī'at. Towards the end of SHĀH SULṬĀN-ḤUSAYN's time a scholar MĪR MUḤAMMAD BĀQIR by name,² although in learning (3a) he fell short of his contemporary ĀQĀ-JAMĀL,³ rose to the rank of Mullā-bāshī, and in view of his friendly relations (*muṣāḥabat*) with the King founded the madrasa of Chahār-Bāgh and became mudarris in it. He also operated (*dād-u-sitād*) with the lawful (*ḥalāl*) sums and the King used to send to him the sums offered as pious contributions (*birr*) or as alms, in order that he should

¹ Henceforth we omit in translation the stereotype words. "On the functions of . . . His duty is . . ."

² The famous restorer of the Shī'a orthodoxy Muḥammad Bāqir Majlisī died in 1110/1699 (chronogram: *ḥuznun wa ghammun*).

³ See Commentary.

distribute them among deserving people. After [M. Bāqir's] death, one called MULLĀ MUḤAMMAD ḤUSAYN¹ became the Mullā-bashi and, apart from teaching in the aforesaid madrasa, started many practices (*umūr*) which [later?] Mullā-bashis were in the habit of perpetrating (*murtakib*).

§2. The ṢADR-I KHĀṢṢA VA 'AMMA. The prerogatives of the charge entrusted (*mutlaq*) to the Ṣadr (3b) are briefly as follows: Appointment of Islamic judges (*hākīm-i shar'*) and managers of the Endowments of the class *tafvīdī*,² and the leadership (*rīsh-safīdī*) of all the [persons called] sayyid, 'ulamā, mudarris, shaykh al-Islām, pīsh-namāz, qāfī, mutavallī, hāfiz and of the rest of the servants of sacred tombs, schools, mosques and shrines (*biqā' al-khayr*). Under him are the vazīrs, the mushrifis and the mustaufis (§72) of the Endowments, with the rest of the lower staff (*'amala*) of that department (*sarkār*), such as scribes, washers of the dead and grave-diggers. Without the presence of the Ṣadr-i a'zam (*sudūr-i 'izām*),³ the 'ālī-jāh Dīvān-begī can not try the four capital offences (*dīvān-i aḥdāth-i arba'a*), namely, murder, rape (*izāla-yi bīkr*), breaking of teeth and blinding; nor do the other Shari'at judges interfere with the [trial] of the said offences (4a). The Shari'at affairs of the *sarkār-i fayd-āthār*⁴ belong exclusively to [the competence] of the ṢADR-I KHĀṢṢA and the Ṣadr-i mamālik does not interfere with them. The special functions of each one [of the ṣadrs] are briefly as follows. On Saturdays and Sundays the 'ālī-jāh Ṣadr-i Khāṣṣa, jointly with the Dīvān-begī, sits at trials in the Keshik-khāna of the 'Ālī-qāpū.⁵ In the Maḥall⁶ of Īrān, the Ṣadr-i Khāṣṣa appoints the Shari'at judges of Yezd, Abarqūh, Nāyīn, Ardistān, Qūmisha, Natanz, Maḥallāt, Dilijān, Khwānsār, Burūrūd (= Burburūd, or Burūjird?), Firaydan, Rār, Mizdaj, Kiyār, Jāpalāq (spelt: *Chāplaq*), Jurfādaqān (= Gulpāyagān), Kamara, Farāhān, Kāshān, Sāva, Māzandarān, Astarābād (4b), Giraylī, Ḥājijlar, Kabūd-jāma; in the enumerated vilāyats the affairs appertaining to the Ṣadr-i Khāṣṣa's competence used to be (*mīshuda-and*) looked into by the Ṣadr's deputy (*nā'ib al-sadāra*) and other representatives (*mubāshirīn*). [On the other hand] the 'ālī-jāh Ṣadr-i Mamālik has the power to appoint the Shari'at judges and the managers of such Endowments as sacred tombs, schools, mosques, etc., in the whole of the God-protected Provinces (*mamālik*), namely, in Āzarbayjān, Fārs, 'Irāq, Khorāsān, except in the localities enumerated under the Ṣadr-i Khāṣṣa's name. At some periods of the Ṣafavī monarchs, the office of the Ṣadr-i Khāṣṣa and 'Āmma (5a) was entrusted to one single person. Briefly speaking the appointment and dismissal of the managers of the Endowments, if the latter are [of the class] *tafvīdī*, belongs to the Ṣadrs, *khāṣṣ* and 'āmma; if [however] they are [of the class] *shar'ī*, neither the Shari'at judges, nor the Ṣadrs have any right of interference with them, but whomever the founder of an endowment has legally (*shar'an*) appointed manager (*mutavallī*) and proxy (*ṣāhib ikhtiyār*), he will be

¹ See Commentary.

² Appointed by personal preference.

³ I.e. the Ṣadr-i khāṣṣa? V.1, f. 4a.

⁴ Cf. §§73, 82 and v.1., p. 146

⁵ This was the main entrance to the Palace from the Great Maydan. To judge by the name of a similar gate existing in Tabriz, the original form must have been *ala-qapu*, in Turkish "a particoloured, or gaily painted gate," cf. Sanson, 56: *Alla-Kāpi*, wrongly explained as "la porte de Dieu." However, *'ālī-qapu* "Exalted Porte," as confirmed by Chardin's mistaken interpretation, IX, 226: "'porte d'Aly," was a common sublimation of the meaning. See § 31.

⁶ Maḥall seems to be the technical term for the provinces under the Royal Khāṣṣa and especially those lying in the neighbourhood of the capital Cf. ff. 72a, 92b.

the manager, and changing him is contrary to the sacred and immaculate (*batūl*) Sharī'at.

§3. The QĀDĪ OF THE CAPITAL, IŞFAHĀN. The rule was such that, except on Fridays, he stayed at his house, giving decisions (*tashkhiṣ*) on Sharī'at actions brought up by people, in conformity with the Glorious Law (5b) and the Splendid Creed (*sharī'at-i gharrā va-millat-i baydā*). Since the time of SHAYKH JA'FAR QĀDĪ, [the practice has been] that the conservation of the property of the absent and orphans was entrusted to whomever the Qāḍī [chose] and, in any action on which the Qāḍī has given a written decision according to the Sharī'at, the civil authorities (*dīvāniyān*) carry out the decision and do justice to the right person.

§4. The SHAYKH AL-ISLĀM of the capital, Işfahān. The said [official], at his own house, tried the Sharī'at actions, ordering what was in conformity with the law (*ma'rūf*) and forbidding what was prohibited. In his presence divorces were proclaimed according to the Sharī'at; conservation of the property of the absent and orphans mostly fell to the Shaykh al-Islām, but later (*ba'd az ān*) was entrusted to the qādis.

§5 (6a). The QĀDĪ-'ASKAR. In olden days he sat at the Dīvān-begī's keshīk-khāna and gave decisions according to the Sharī'at in affairs concerning the victorious army, but since the Şadr was appointed in Işfahān and it was established that the Dīvān-begī in the Şadr's presence should look into the Sharī'at litigation of God's slaves, the comings of the Qāḍī-'askar to the keshīk-khāna have been abandoned. Towards the end of the Şafavī dynasty, the business of the Qāḍī-'askar was limited to the following functions: the military authorities (*'asākīr*) used to submit to the Qāḍī-'askar's seal the copies of raqams for their salary (*savād-i arqām-i tankhwāh-i mavājīb*) which [for collecting the amount] were sent to the provinces (*mamālīk-i mahrūsa*), and so long as the said copies of the raqams belonging to the military (*qoshūn*) (6b) were not sealed by the Qāḍī-'askar the beglarbegīs and provincial governors did not give them credit and pay the amount.¹

CHAPTER II

THE GREAT AMIRS ENJOYING THE TITLE OF 'ĀLĪ-JĀH

THIS Chapter consists of an introduction and 14 paragraphs.

INTRODUCTION

The ranks (*tafdīl*) of the Persian amīrs are in principle (*muṭlaqan*) of two categories:

A. To the first belong the amīrs other than those residing at court (*daulat-khāna*); they are called "amīrs of the frontiers" (or "marches," *sarḥadd*). This category is subdivided into four classes, viz. vālī, beglarbegī, khān, sultān. From the point of view of rank (7a) and importance, the vālīs are higher than the beglarbegīs, the latter higher than the khāns, and the latter higher than the sultāns. On every frontier which is the residence of a beglarbegī, the governors in the neighbourhood

¹ Somewhat connected with spiritual activities is also §19.

of his province (*mamlakat*) are subordinates and assistants (*gol-begī*)¹ of the beglarbegī of the said region; on the latter's report they are appointed and dismissed. In the same way the sultāns of every frontier obey the khāns of their frontier. The vālīs in the [State] provinces (*mamālik*) of Iran are four, whose names follow in the order of their importance and dignity (*sharaf*). The first is the vālī of 'Arabistān, who is higher and more honoured than his colleagues, on account of his belonging to a sayyid family, his valour and the number of his tribes (*il-va-'ashīrat*). (7b) After him comes the vālī of Luristān-i Faylī who, on account of being a Muslim is more honoured than the vālī of Georgia. The parts of Georgia (*Gurjīstānāt*) belonging to Iran are Kartlia (*Kārtlī*), Kakhetia (*Kākhūt*) and Tiflis. After the vālī of Georgia comes the vālī of Kurdistān whose residence is at Sinanduj. After him comes the ruler of the Bakhtiyārī tribe who in former days enjoyed great esteem and respect.

There are 13 beglarbegīs in Iran, namely, those of 1. Qandahār, 2. Shīrvān, 3. Harāt, 4. Āzarbayjān, 5. Chukhūr-i Sa'd, 6. Qarabāgh and Ganja, 7. Astarābād, 8. Kūh-Gūliya, (8a) 9. Kirmān, 10. Marv-i Shāh-i jahān [*sic*], 11. Qalamrau-i 'Alī Shakar, 12. Mashhad, the Sacred and Exalted, 13. The capital (*dār al-saltāna*), Qazvīn.

B. The second category are the amīrs belonging to the gate of the palace (*dar-i daulat-khāna-yi mubāraka*), who all appear at the Shāh's court and of whom each is honoured with a special charge. The object of the present treatise (*risāla*) is to define (*thabt*) the specific functions of every one of them and of the other officials (*arbāb-i manāshīb*) of Isfahān. Be it known that of the amīrs residing at the court, four² are called "Pillars (*arkān*) of the Mighty State," namely: 1. Qūrchi-bāshī, 2. Qullar-āqāsī, 3. Eshīk-āqāsī-bāshī, 4. Tufangchī-āqāsī.

These four persons, together with the Grand Vazīr, the Dīvān-begī (8b) and the Vāqī'a-nivīs, making a total of seven persons, had since early times constituted the body of "council amirs" (*umarā-yi jānqī*), but towards the end [of the reign] of Shāh Sultān-Ḥusayn, the Nāzīr, the Mustaufī al-mamālik and the Amīr-shikār-bāshī took part in some assemblies (*maǰma'*). And if the council (*jānqī*) meets for the purpose of sending the Sipah-sālār to some place on the frontiers (*aṭraf*), his presence at the council is a necessary condition.

§6. The 'ālī-jāh GRAND VAZIR OF THE SUPREME DIVAN (having the title of) I'timād al-daula of Iran, is the most important of the Pillars of State and of all the amirs of the court and provinces (*vilāyāt*) of the God-protected State (*mamālik?*). (9a) Without his ta'liqa³ no operation is possible with any Divan revenues (*māliyāt-i dīvān*) or with the sums sent to the Treasury and other Būyūtāt (*vujūhāt-i infādāh-yi khazāna⁴ va ghayra-yi (sic) buyūtāt*) from the whole of the provinces of Iran or from the capital, Isfahan. The raqams ("letters patent") for the appointment to charges and the verso (*dīm*, "inside"?) of all the raqams [in general] must of necessity bear the seal of the Grand Vazīr, and secondly the Royal seal called *mīhr-āthār* (v.i., §26). The Vazīr must display extreme care in developing (*taufīr*) and increasing the Divan

¹ Chardin, V, 256, calls the khans under the orders of beglarbegi *ghulām-begī*, and, as *ghulām = gul*, we might read *gul-begī*, "chief of the slaves, servitors." However, our reading *gol-begī*, "chief of a wing" (cf. Ottoman *gol-orāu*, "the wing of an army corps") is confirmed by Sanson, 45: "col-beguis, c-à-d. kans de bras, ou d'appui."

² But see §6

³ Chardin, V, 339: "contre-scel."

⁴ In the MS. *mfādāhī* is usually spelt *infādāhī*.

revenue, and in collecting (*ḍabt*) all the sums coming from the [State] Provinces (*mamālik*) and other sendings (*infādiyyāt*, sic). If anyone neglects or transgresses either the Law representing Right and Reason,¹ or the customs established by long practice (*muṣtamārā*), or the usages of the realm (*mamlakat*), or the rules of righteousness, he must be prevented (*mamnū*) from so doing, and if the amirs and Pillars of State (9b) commit unlawful acts, in spite of the Grand Vazir's orders and interdictions and in disregard of them, the Grand Vazir submits the matter to the throne and carries out whatever the King's sacred order may be. And as regards Divan officials (*mulāzimān*), [even] though by word of mouth the order (*raqam bil-mushāfaha*) of their appointment has been² given, and [even] though the senior officer (*rīsh-safīd*, "white beard") of the respective category (*ṭabaqa*) has presented his report on it, so long as the Grand Vazir's *ta'līqa* has not arrived, the *raqam* of appointment and employment (*khidmat va mulāzamat*) is not issued. If a *raqam* is written on the strength of a memorandum (*risāla*) of one of the muqarrabs (v.i., Ch. III, Ab), so long as its verso³ has not been sealed by the Grand Vazir, it cannot be sealed by the Royal *mīhr-āthār* seal. As regards petty commissions (*khidamāt*), [such as] appointments (*ta'yīn*) of scribes in the Royal Secretariat and the Private Household (*daftar-khāna-yi humāyūn va khāṣṣa*), (10a), or of workers (*amala*) in the Royal workshops (*buyūtāt-i ma'mūra*) which are not worth being submitted to the King, the *raqam* of employment and appointment is issued on the strength (*az qarār*) of a *ta'līqcha*⁴ of the Grand Vazir, following (*bar tibq*) the approval (*tajvīz*) by the 'ālī-jāhs Mustaufi al-mamālik and Nāzir-i buyūtāt, and the muqarrab al-khāqān Mustaufi-yi Khāṣṣa,⁵ and the matter need not be reported to the King.

The accountancy papers (*nuskhajāt-i muḥāsabāt*) of the Divan agents and payers (*mu'addiyān-i hisāb*) throughout the provinces (*vilāyāt*) [referring to?] the beglarbegis, governors, sultāns, vazīrs, tahvildārs of higher and lower class (*kull va juz'*), stewards, collectors (*mutaṣaddiyān va ḍābiṭān*), etc., are filed (*daftarī*) only on receipt of the Grand Vazir's *ta'līqa*, after which the exalted Mustaufi (10b) closes the account and delivers a final discharge (*muḥāsaba mushakkkhaṣṣ va muḥāsā hisāb*).⁶

If for some creditable (*hisābī*) reasons a diminution (*nuqṣān va kasr*) appears in the Divan revenue and, in the Grand Vazir's presence, the tax-payers (*mu'addiyān-i hisābiya*) report [the facts] and show that they merit attention and endorsement (*muvajjah va maḥkūm bihī numāyand*), then, in order to solicit the blessings of the subjects and to secure their tranquility and the prosperity of the realm (*mamlakat*), the collection of the former sum (*jam'-i qadīm*) is considered an injustice, and the acknowledgment of deficit a reasonable procedure, and a *ta'līqa* of alleviation (*takhhīf*) is issued. The secretaries (*kuttāb*) of the Secretariat of the Supreme Divān and [of that?] of the Royal Khāssa (*daftar-khānā-yi divān-i a'lā va khāṣṣa-yi sharīfa*) act on the strength of the said document and make a corresponding (*ba-hamān sharḥ*)

¹ I.e. the Islamic Law. What follows refers to Common and Customary Law.

² The negation (*na-shuda*) in this passage seems to be a mistake for **shuda*. The meaning is clear. See a similar passage on f. 25a.

³ *Dimn-i raqam*, literally "inside"

⁴ Mis-spelt in the MS.

⁵ Probably the Mustaufi-yi khāssa's signature accompanied that of the Nāzir, and in the "Divan" appointments the Mustaufi-yi mamālik counter-signed the recommendation of the senior officer of the respective Dt, cf §7, etc.

⁶ *Muḥāsā* appears to be a Persian corruption of *muṣāfāt*.

entry in the books of standing enactments (*daftar-i khulūd*),¹ writing off the sum as a deficit (*ba-muqṣām 'amal minumāyand*).

The guard-house (*kešhik-khāna*) at the Daulat gate was especially built for the Divan (11a) of the Grand Vazir to enable all the people to report to him what important (*vājib al-'arḍ*) matters they had. The divan accountancy (*nuskhajāt-i divānī*), vouchers for office expenditure (*asnād-i kharj-i daftarī*), final discharges (*mufāṣṣā*) of the heads of departments (*ṣāhib-jam'ān*), keepers (*tahvildārān*), collectors (*tahṣildārān*) and the ta'līqas for higher and lower appointments are presented to the seal of the Grand Vazir, after which, what he has ordained (*muqarrar*) is carried out.

All the amirs sit beside one another in accordance with their rank and in conformity with the regulations of the Paradisiac assemblies, and it is not the custom that anyone, with the exception of the amirs, dignitaries, great mustaufis, khans of exalted rank, vazirs and ṣāhib-raqams (11b) should sit in the Guard House.

§7. The RUKN AL-SALTANAT AL-QĀHIRA, the 'ālī-jāh QŪRCHĪ-BĀSHĪ is the most important of the amirs who are the Pillars of the Brilliant State. He is the senior officer ("white beard") of all the tribes and oymāqs of the God-protected provinces. The tiyūl, hama-sāla and the sums (*tanekhvwāh*) due to the qurchis on the divan staff (*mulāzim*) are first confirmed and approved by the QŪrchi-bashi and then submitted to the Grand Vazir, after which the amount is received. The appointment of valis, governors, sultans, yūz-bashis, and the assignment of tiyūls and salaries to all the qurchis were graciously accorded [by the King] on a submission (*'arḍ*) of the QŪrchi-bashi and the presentation of a ta'līqa by the Grand Vazir (12a). The QŪrchi-bāshī, who is the senior officer (*rīsh-safīd*) of his department (*sarkār*), after due enquiry, used to decide (*qaṭ'va faṣl*) all the affairs relative to the qurchis. The QŪrchi-bashi is the most important of the Pillars of the Mighty State. The raqams and orders concerning appointments, salaries, tiyūls, hama-sāla and grants (*in'ām*) of the said staff, i.e. of all those employed in the ranks (*muntazim dar silk*) of the exalted corps of qurchis received the [Royal?] *ṭughrā*² and the seal of the QŪrchi-bāshī. The records of the muster (*nuskhajāt-i sār*) of the qurchis were presented to the King (*khidmat-i ashraf*) by the Vazir and Mustaufi of the same department in the presence of the QŪrchi-bāshī (cf. f. 59b). The latter is one of the "council amirs." (12b).

§8. The RUKN AL-DAULA, the 'ālī-jāh QŪLLAR-ĀQĀSĪ is the most important of the Pillars of the State after the QŪrchi-bāshī. He is the senior officer (*rīsh-safīd*) of all the ghulāms of the Royal Household (*sarkār-i khāṣṣa-yi sharīfa*). The tiyūls, salaries both hama-sāla and payable in drafts (*barātī*), as well as grants (*in'ām*) of all the ghulāms were first approved (*tajvīz*) by the Qullar-āqāsī and then decreed (*raqam*) by the Grand Vazir, after which the amount (*tanekhvwāh*) was received. Offices of vālī, governor, yūz-bāshī (centurion) and mīn-bāshī (commander of a thousand), as well as tiyūls, salaries (*mavājib*) and grants were graciously accorded [by the Shah] (*shafaqat*) to the ghulāms, on a submission of the Qullar-āqāsī and a ta'līqa (13a) of the Grand Vazir. The affairs relative to the ghulāms were investigated

¹ This term occurs in Qāsīm b Jahāngīr's farmān, cf Minorsky, *Soyūrghāl*, p. 930, line 15: *raqam-i in 'atīya-rā dar daftar-i khulūd muḥabbat gardanīda*, and seems to refer to some special register for "lasting" and final decisions. In this connection cf. the term *mukhallad* used *ibid*, line 14, and in Sultān Ya'qūb's farmān, *ibid*, p. 954

² Cf. f. 40b.

and decided by the Qullar-āqāsī who is the senior officer of the said department. The raqams and orders (*ḥukm*) relative to employment (*mulāzamat*) of the gḥulāms, and the salaries, tiyūls, hama-sāla and grants of the above-mentioned corps, after having received the *tughrā* and the seal of the Qullar-āqāsī received the raqam of the [Grand Vazir]. The records of the muster (*nuskha-yi sān*) of the gḥulāms were submitted to the King by the Vazir and the Mustaufi of the said department in the presence of the Qullar-āqāsī (cf. f. 61b). The latter is one of the "council amirs" (v.s., f. 8b).

§9. The ESHĪK-ĀQĀSĪ-BĀSHĪ (13b) of the Supreme Divan is the senior officer (*rīsh-safīd*) of all the aides-de-camp (*yasāvulān-i ṣuḥbat*), eshīk-āqāsīs of the Divan, eunuchs (*āqā*), door-keepers (*qāpūjiyān*) of the Divan, yasāvuls and public announcers of the Divan (*jārchī*). To his competence belong the affairs of the members of assemblies (*jamā'at-i majlis-nishīn*), the maintenance of order (*nasāq*) among them and the ordering of the places of those who sit and stand in the assembly, from the highest to the lowest. If anything contrary to rule happens in the procedure of an assembly, the responsible person is the Eshīk-āqāsī-bāshī. Similarly to the dispositions (*dastūr*) regarding the amīrs who are the senior officers of the qūrchis and the gḥulāms, the above mentioned 'ālī-jāh is the senior officer of all the āqās.¹

With regard to the salary, tiyūls and hama-sāla of his subordinates (*tavābīn*) he makes submissions (14a) and if they are signed (*mumḍā*) by the Grand Vazir the raqam is issued. He approves (*tajvīz*) and seals the statements concerning the candidates (*kayfiyāt-i 'avaḍ?*) who are desirous to take service in place of those who are changed, as well as statements regarding salaries payable in drafts (*mavājīb-i barātī*), hama-sāla and tiyūls. The raqams of appointment and increase of salary (*mavājīb*) of his subordinates, as well as orders (*ḥukm*) for tiyūls, hama-sāla and salary payable in drafts receive the *tughrā* and the seal of the Eshīk-āqāsī-bāshī. The Lashkar-nivīs of the Supreme Divan (§63) and the Zīr-u-sar-khaṭṭ-nivīs of the Supreme Divan (§64) [act as?] mustaufis to the department of the Eshīk-āqāsī-bāshī. Whenever the latter mustered (*sān-rā mulāḥaza*) his subordinates, or sent them on an expedition (*safar*) (14b) the Sar-khaṭṭ-nivīs and the secretaries (*muharrirān*) of the department wrote the records of the muster (*nuskhajāt-i sān*) and the Lashkar-nivīs read them in the presence of the Eshīk-āqāsī-bāshī; whatever the latter ordered with regard to them the Lashkar-nivīs (§63) and the Sar-khaṭṭ-nivīs inscribed under the [respective] names.

Whenever presents were brought to the Kings on the occasion of Naurūz, etc., the PĪSHKASH-NIVĪS of the Royal Private Department (§124) made a detailed list (*tafṣīl va siyāha*) of everything, with the exception of various foodstuffs offered to the Private Department, and handed the register (*tūmār*) to the Eshīk-āqāsī-bāshī. As for the foodstuffs brought as presents they belong to the competence (*sar-rishta*) (15a) of the 'ālī-jāh Nāzīr of the Buyūtāt. The latter appoints a supernumerary (?) scribe (*idāfa-nivīs*) who collects (*jam'*) the presents as indicated in the register, and according (*ba-munāsabat*) [to their nature] delivers them (*tahvīl*) to the heads of departments (*ṣāhib-jam'*), while the mushrifis of the shops register (*'amal*) them in their day-books (*rūznāmāhā*).

¹ *Aqā* would usually mean "eunuch," but here it may refer to the whole staff of the "gentlemen" mentioned above. V.1., p. 118.

The Eshīk-āqāsī-bāshī announces (*i'lām*) the ceremony of baise-pieds¹ [in connection with the new] appointments (?) and [during it] directs the officials and other persons commanded to attend the Paradisiac assembly (*maǧlis-i bihīshī-āyīn*), as to the kissing of [His Majesty's] feet; that is entirely the business of the Eshīk-āqāsī-bāshī, and no one else has any connection with it.

§10. The 'ālī-jāh TUFANGCHĪ-ĀQĀSĪ is the senior officer of the mīn-bāshīs, yūz-bāshīs, jārchīs, couriers (*rīkā*) and all the musketeers (*tufangchī*).

The tiyūls, hama-sāla (15b), salaries payable in drafts and grants of all the subordinates (*tavābīn*) of the Tufangchī-āqāsī, are [first] approved and certified by the latter and [then] receive the raqam of the Grand Vazir, after which the amount (*tankhhwāh*) is obtained (*bāz-yāft*). [The Tufangchī-āqāsī reports on] the promotion of tufangchīs and jārchīs to the rank of mīn-bāshī, yūz-bāshī and jārchī-bāshī, on the appointments of the tufangchīs, and on tiyūls, hama-sāla and salaries and, in conformity with (*bar ītibq*) this report, the Grand Vazir issues a raqam after which [the demand] is graciously granted and the royal letters patent (*raqam-i ashraf*) are issued. The Tufangchī-āqāsī ascertains the matters concerning the tufangchīs and gives his decision (*tamyīz va tashkhiṣ*) thereon. The raqams and orders relative to employment (*arqām va aḥkām-i mulāzamat*), tiyūls, hama-sāla (16a) sums payable in drafts and grants to the tufangchīs are under the *tughrā* and seal of the Tufangchī-āqāsī. The records of the muster (*nuskha-yi sām*) of the Musketeers are read to His Majesty by the Vazir and the Mustaufi of the Tufangchi Dt., in the presence of the Tufangchī-āqāsī (cf. f. 63a).

§11. The business of the 'ālī-jāh NĀZIR-I BUYŪTĀT ("Superintendent of the Royal Workshops") was as follows. In the beginning of the year he issued a *ta'līqa* to the effect that through the agency of a special delegate (*ba-muḥassilī-yi aḥādī*) and having recourse to the competence (*vūqūf*) of the heads of the departments (*ṣaḥīb-jam'*), the Mushrif of the Buyūtāt (§52) should approximately evaluate the six months' expenditure of the Royal Household, deduction made of the credit (*bāqī*) in money and kind, and of the permanent annual contributions of goods (*ajnās-i hama-sālaǧāt*) which, in virtue of raqams, were to be supplied (*infādḥ*) from provinces (*vilāyāt*) (16b). The Vazir of the Workshops (§50) read this estimate to the Nāzīr-i buyūtāt and acquainted him with it. Then the said Vazir wrote [a report] on the estimate to the I'timād al-daula and the Nāzīr put his seal to it to say that the Mushrif evaluated the six months' expenditure of the Workshops of the Private Household at such-and-such a sum; therefore he should command (*muqarrar*) that the muqarrab al-khāqān the Chief Treasurer (*ṣaḥīb-jam'-i khazāna-yi 'āmīra*) should pay (*muhimm-sāzī*) the estimated sum (*vajh*) to the heads of the departments against their receipts (*qubūd al-wāṣil*). The latter presented their receipts to the Treasurer and obtained (*bāz-yāft*) the [respective] sums. Of the goods which the heads of the departments had to buy, some were of the kind for which (17a) the price was fixed once a year. And it was a rule that the Nāzīr of the Workshops commissioned one of his subordinates to convene the Vazir of the Workshops, the Muḥtasīb al-mamālik, the Mustaufi of Isfahān (§82) and the elders of the guilds (*ṣimf*). They all sat together and fixed the price of goods in conformity with the interests (*ṣarfa*) of the Dīvān,

¹ Sit venia verbo !

putting the samples of the commodities under seal. The schedule of prices (*qimat-nāmcha*) sealed by the officials (*ma'mūrīn*) and the Nāzīr-i buyūtāt was communicated to the heads of the departments, so that whatever goods became necessary during the year for the consumption of the Private Household, they should buy them in conformity with the samples under seal, and for the consignments sent to them (*az bābat-i taḥvīlāt-i khud*) they should pay (*muhimm-sāzī*) to the owners the price indicated in the schedule. (17b) There are some other goods for which the Şāhib-nasaq (v.i. f. 80a) has month by month to receive contracts (*iltizām*) from each of the elders [of the guilds] and to hand them to the Muhtasib al-mamālik. The latter kept (*dābt*) them and, on that basis, prepared lists of prices (*tas'ir-nāmajāt*) which, in due course (*ba-mumāsabat*), he presented to the Nāzīr of the Workshops, [who?] made enquiries as to the truth of the statements. If he understands that some of the goods have been quoted at exaggerated prices, he diminished them so as not to cause any injustice and not to provoke any bad feeling (*bad-du'ā'ī*); [the list] is then handed to the heads of the departments, in order that the Mushrifs of the Workshops should draw up (*qalamī*) the purchase documents in proportion to the expenditure (*ikhrājāt*), deduction being made of the debit (*bāqī*) [in the accounts] of the heads of the departments; [on the other hand] the written schedule of prices is augmented by 1/20 [=5 per cent.] of fees (*rusūmāt*). After the Nāzīr has sealed the document, (the sum) is credited for its purpose (*ba-kharj-i khud mujrā*). (18a).

The Nāzīr enjoins (*qadaghan*) the Mushrifs to draw up every month a document summing up their daily entries of the allowances (*rūz-nāmajāt-i muqarrarī-hā*), on the basis of the allowances which has been reported to the King and has become a [legal] document ('*ard va sanad guzashta bāshad*'), with the addition (*iḏāfa*) of the expenses for the Royal Private Household, assemblies (*majlis*), guests and other similar occasions. Such documents, under the seal of the Nāzīr of the Workshops, are entered in the day-books (of the mushrifs?). Every month the day-books must be presented to the Vazir of the Workshops in order that he may compare (*muqābala*) them with [other] documents and endorse (*khatt*) them; then the Nāzīr seals them and they are remitted to the Mustaufī of the Arbāb-i taḥvīl who checks (*mushakkkhaş*) the credit and debit (*jam' va kharj*) of the heads of the departments. As regards the workshops of foodstuffs (*kārkhānajat-i khurākī*) (18b) their credit and debit were half-yearly checked (*mushakkkhaş*) by the Mushrifs and yearly by the Mustaufī for, in case of delay (*pas uftad*) in the examination of the day-books and documents, enormous losses might be yearly caused to the Private Household. In cases when a hama-sāla was assigned on provinces (*vilāyāt*) the Nāzīr appointed a special delegate (*muḥaşşil*) who went on the spot to collect (*vusūl*) and send (*infādh*) the goods. If for some reason the goods were not sent to the Workshops (*Buyūtāt*) the heads of the departments used to submit to the I'timād al-daula a statement sealed by the Nāzīr of the Workshops and obtain a substitute ('*avaḍ*') from the Treasury or from the other sums belonging to the Divan and spend it in the same way as [they would have spent the goods] in kind (19a).

Once a year the Nāzīr of the Workshops musters the workmen of the Workshops, approves (*tajvīz*) their salaries and gives them leave (*rukḥṣat*). The Nāzīr buys every kind of goods at a proper time, suitable for the interests of the Divan, and stores them (*munabbar sāzad*) making sure that, if the prices were to rise during the

year, there should be no loss to the Dīvān. Once a year the Nāzīr examines the camels to see whether they are fat or lean, weak or broken down (*isqāt*). At the beginning of autumn, he instructs the CHIEF ARCHITECT to consider what buildings need repairs and issues sums (*tan̄khwāh*) as required by the interests (*ṣarfā*) of the Divan.

Whenever the King graciously gives (*shafaqat*) someone a present or a robe of honour (*khal'at*), it is necessary that [the grant be embodied] in a document (19b) written by the I'timād al-daula and sealed by the Nāzīr. As regards the textiles which, according to the rule, are usually issued for the clothes of the Royal Private Household and for the robes of honour (*khilā'-i fākhira*) of the amirs, etc., at the beginning of the year the Nāzīr writes a ta'līqa and the I'timād al-daula issues a raqam; then the Nāzīr's subordinates (*tavābīn*) start for the [special] localities (*ulgā*), thence to send textiles to the capital. The Nāzīr must take dispositions concerning bath-houses and ice-stores (*yakhchāl*), as well as concerning the supply of fuel (*hīma*) for the [Royal] Kitchen, etc., all in proper time and in accordance with the annual norms (*ikhrajāt-i sāliyāna*). He must also provide (*saranjām*) barley and straw for the horse and camel stables (*tavāyil va shuturkhān*, sic). He must daily inspect the quality and quantity of the material used (*ikhrajāt*), the food of the Private Household and of the servants (*khādīm*),¹ in order that store-keepers (*taḥvildārān*) (20a) should not issue goods of inferior quality.

The Nāzīr enjoins the Keepers and the workmen of the Workshops not to take away (*kashand*) or appropriate the property belonging to peasants (*ra'iyat*) and poorer classes (*faqīrān*), nor to buy anything without the owner's consent, which might provoke bad feeling, but to pay the price according to the established norms (*mushakkkhaṣ*). No kind of expenditure (*ikhrajāt*) may be made in the Workshops without the Nāzīr's knowledge. No one of the King's ghulāms or attendants (*mulāzimān*) may take anything from the Workshops without the Nāzīr's ta'līqa. The said Nāzīr is the head of the three-and-thirty departments of the Royal Workshops and has full powers (*ṣāhib-ikhṭiyār*) over them. He is the senior officer of the heads of the departments (20b) and even [the affairs of?] the Amīrākbur-bāshī and the Jabbadār-bāshī, and the presentation of reports on the demands (*matālib-i mustad'āyāt*) of the majority of the heads of the departments belong to the competence of the Nāzīr of the Royal Workshops.

§12. The 'ālī-jāh muqarrab al-khāqān DĪVĀN-BEGI is one of the great amirs. The regulations (*dābiṭa*) concerning his duties (were) that four days a week, jointly with the Ṣadr, he used to come to the Keshik-khāna which had been (*būda-ast*) assigned to the Dīvān-begis. There, directed (*ba-hukm*) by the Sadr (v.s. f. 4a), he interrogated (*bāz-khwāst*) those guilty of the four capital crimes, namely, murder, rape, blinding and breaking of teeth. They also used to control (*mī-rasidand*) tribunals of other legal authorities (*arbāb-i rujū'*) of the God-blessed provinces (21a) and tried cases of oppression and transgression (*zulm-va-ziyādāt*), and civil actions (*tatab-i tan̄khwāh*) between townsmen and peasants, for sums exceeding 4-5 tomans.² To the Dīvān-begi's competence appertains the execution of Shari'at decisions and the maintenance of order (*nasaq*) in the town so that the weak should not suffer from the strong any oppression or transgression [of rights]. When plaintiffs complained of

¹ Or, eunuchs.

² For lesser cases v.i., f. 79b.

acts of violence and oppression, or of the four capital crimes, etc., committed in the environs of the town, i.e. at a distance not exceeding 10-12 farsakhs, the Divān-begī wrote a *ta'liqa-yi bayādi* explaining the plaintiff's statement and addressed it to the *qurchi-yi ajrlu*,¹ or some other (21b) of his subordinates (*yā-ghayra-yi tābinān*) to make an inquiry (*ghaur-rasi*). If the plaintiff was from some distant district, the rule was such that in cases (*muqaddima*) of murder caution-money (*iltizām*) of five tomans (was obtained) from the plaintiff [cf. f. 67b], then the Divān-begī and the Munshī-yi Divān (§23) wrote a *ta'liqa*, and an order (*hukm*) was issued [cf. f. 39a]; the [collection] of the amount of the guarantee was entrusted (*abvāb-jam'*) to the above mentioned (?) special delegate while the order [itself] was registered in the books. The procedure (*dād-u-sitād*) [with the said caution money] was as in the case of other taxes (*vujūhāt?*) (cf. §65).

On two other days of the week, the Divān-begī used to try at his own house the civil cases of common law (*da'vāhā-yi hisāb-i 'urf*). And in either of the tribunals where the Divān-begī was active (*mutavajjih*), whenever the case concerned the Divān revenue, or whenever the party (22a) was one of the civil servants (*arbāb-i qalam*) subordinate to the Grand Vazir, he transmitted [the cases] to the Grand Vazir. Similarly when one of the parties was a *qurchi* or a *ghulām*, or a member of some other victorious force, or a workman of the Workshops, [the case] was submitted to the senior officer of the respective department (*sarkār*). But with regard to other townfolk or villagers, especially when the case did not involve Divān property (*māl-i dīvāni*), the Divān-begī examined the case himself and gave his decision (*qaṭ'-va-faṣl*).

If some people came from the provinces to the Exalted Camp (*ordu*)² with complaints against the *beglarbegis*, governors or *sultāns* and, without reporting their cases to the Grand Vazir, reported them to the Divān-begī, the latter (22b) made an inquiry into each one's complaint and reported the circumstances to the King, and then the case was examined (*ghaur-rasi*) in the manner best suited to the interests of the state (*daulat*) and to the rules (*dābiṭa*) accepted in the kingdom.

§13. The 'ālī-jāh AMĪR-SHIKĀR-BĀSHĪ is one of the amirs of high rank. All the falconers (*qūshchīyān*) are subordinated (*tābin*) to him; the confirmation of their employment, reports ('*arḍ*) on their affairs and demands of grants (*in'ām*) on their behalf depend on the said amir. The statements of their requests [concerning?] money (*tankhwāh*), *tiyūl* and *hama-sāla* are first approved (*tajvīz*) by the said amir and then submitted to the Grand Vazir's *raqam* (23a) after which the sums are paid up. Every year a sum is paid from the Royal Secretariat (*daftar-khāna*) for the engagement (*taḥṣīl*) of falconers (*qūshchīyān*) nominated (*ta'yīn?*) by the Mīr-shikār-bāshī. When the sum is received the Amīr-shikār-bāshī distributes it among his subordinates according to the usual practice.

§14. The 'ālī-jāh TŪPCHĪ-BĀSHĪ is the senior officer of the *ytiz-bashis*, *mīn-bashis*, *tūpchis* and *jār-chis* of the artillery department (*tūp-khāna*). The *tiyūls*, salaries,

¹ Chardin, VII, 421, mentions "le palais du yuz-bachi, ou capitaine des cent gardes, qu'on nomme *Agellou*, c'est à dire, Montagnards, pour donner à entendre qu'ils sont fiers et intrépides." The derivation is wrong: *ajrlu* means "the one receiving a pay (*ajr*)."
The *ajrlu* were probably picked *qurchis* used as a kind of gendarmerie for special commissions.

² I.e. to the Court. The term *ordu*, a survival of the Mongol epoch, was out of date at the period when the Šafavid kings resided at their capital of Isfahan. Cf. f. 42b.

hama-sāla, [sums payable in] drafts and grants (23b) [of all] of the Tupchi-bashi's subordinates are approved by the Tupchi-bashi and on the ground [of this approval] a raqam is issued by the Grand Vazir, after which the sums are received. The commissions of mīn-bashis and yūz-bashis over the tūpchis, and of jārchis-bashis [over?] the artillery jārchis, as well as [the commissions] of their subordinates and the specification of the salaries, tiyūls and hama-sāla of all this staff are graciously confirmed [by the king?] on the ground of the Tūpchi-bashi's reports. After the Grand Vazir has written a ta'liqa, the Royal (*ashraf*) raqam is issued. The Tūpchi-bashi duly examined the affairs regarding the tupchis and the royal artillery (*tūp-khāna-yi mubāraka*) and took decisions. The orders concerning the employment (*arqām va ahhām-i mulāzamat*), tiyūls, hama-sāla, sums payable in drafts and grants of the artillerymen were (24a) presented to the Tupchi-bashi's signature and seal. The muster rolls (*nuskha-yi sām*) of the artillerymen were read to his Majesty by the Vazir and the Mustaufi of the Artillery Department in the presence of the Tupchi-bashi (cf. f. 65a).

§15. The duty of the 'ālī-jāh MĪRĀKHOR-BĀSHĪ-YI JILAU is to be present when the King (*navvāb-i kāmyāb*) examines the horses of the stables of the Private Household, or the animals (*davābb*) sent to the stables as a present, etc., or when His Majesty rides the horses of the Private Household (*jilauhā-yi khāṣṣa*). The maintenance of order in the stables¹ and the appointment of the marshals (*mīrākhōrān*), grooms and water-carriers of the stables belongs to his competence. He writes ta'liqas of appointment of the above mentioned staff, as well as of the jilaudārs² of the Private Department, servants (*khādīman-va-khwāja-sarāyān*),³ ghulāms and other lower staff (*'amala*). After the inspection rolls (*tavāmīr-i sām*) of the said staff have been considered (*mulāhaza*) by the Nāzir of the Workshops (*sic*), they are submitted to the confirmation (*ba-taṣdīq andāzand*) of the Mīrākhōr-bashi. With the exception of the jilaudārs of the Private Household who are confirmed by the Jilaudār-bashi, the rest (*tatīmna*) of the lower staff (*'amala*) of the stables mentioned above, together with farriers and veterinaries are confirmed by the Amīrākhōr-bashi, and then (24b) presented to the Grand Vazir's raqam after which the money (due to them) is paid.

§16. The duty of the 'ālī-jāh MĪRĀKHOR-BASHI-YI ṢAḤRĀ is to consider every year jointly with the Superintendent of the animals (*nāzīr-i davābb*) the contingent of the studs (*'arḍ-i ilkhā*) of the Private Household and the foals (*mitāj*) and, having in hand the inspection rolls (*tūmār-i 'arḍ*) compiled by the Mushrif, to report to the Department of the Arbāb-i taḥvīl. The money for the fodder (*'alīq*) and other needs of the studs is given according to the usual practice (*ma'mūl*), on the basis of the estimate of the Mushrif, approved by the Amīrākhōr-bashi-yi ṣaḥrā and the Superintendent of the animals. The maintenance of order in the reservations (*qoruqāt*) belongs to the competence of the said amīr. The appointment of amīrākhōrs, district chiefs (25a), grooms and other attendants of the studs depends on his approval and confirmation.

§17. On the 'ālī-jāh muqarrab al-khāqān MAJLIS-NIVĪS-I MAḤFIL-I BIHISHT-ĀYĪN ("Recorder of the King's audiences"). The duty of the Recorder (*vāqi'a-nivīsān*) is

¹ According to Chardin, V, 457, there were three royal stables in the capital.

² *Jilaudārs* are grooms of a higher rank riding ahead of their masters. Chardin, V, 488.

³ Hardly eunuchs?

to draw up replies to the letters addressed to the Kings of Iran by [other] kings, and raqams concerning ranks and employment (*manāšib-va-mulāzamāt*), as well as concerning the hama-sāla and tiyūls issued on the ground of the books of standing enactments (*az dafātir-i khulūd?*).¹ Every order (*raqam*) which the King gives by word of mouth, and which is (technically) called *mushāfaha*,² is transmitted to the Vāqi'a-nivīs, whether it has been [recorded] in a ta'liqa of the Grand Vazir,³ or the amirs and courtiers communicated something in their memoranda (*ba-risāla-yi khud*) with the formula (*gayā*): "by the supreme command" (25b). Such raqams become operative⁴ [only] with the Vāqi'a-nivīs's knowledge and with the ṭughrā [which he traces] in ink (*qalam-i midād*) (?).⁵ The tracing on the raqams of a ṭughrā in black ink (*ba-qalam-i siyāhī?*) is the prerogative of the Vāqi'a-nivīs and others have nothing to do with it.⁶ The Vāqi'a-nivīs is one of the "council amirs" (*umarā-yi jānqī*) and one of the King's companions (*anīs-va-jalīs*) at private and general assemblies. Petitions and detailed reports (*fusūl*) despatched by the amirs and governors from the God-protected provinces to the foot of the throne are all sent by the King to the Majlis-nivīs in order that he should read them to Him in a private or a general assembly, and draw up (*qalamī*) replies to them. When a raqam has to be issued, special scribes (*raqam-nivīs*) under the Vāqi'a-nivīs's orders write it from his rough draft (*yād-dāšt-i musavvada*) (26a). The answers to the (governors') reports are written by the Vāqi'a-nivīs in his hand under each point (*taht-i har faṣḥ*) following the tenor of the King's orders, and then registered in the register (*sar-rishta*) of the Vāqi'a-nivīs.

The staff of the Vāqi'a-nivīs used to consist of ten persons:

Scribes of raqams and the registrar (<i>sar-rishta-dār</i>) of raqams	..	7 persons
[Namely:]		
Scribe of raqams of the Supreme Divan, his three assistants		
(<i>ba-komāk-i ū</i>) and registrar of raqams	.. .. .	5 persons
Scribes of the raqams which are issued from drafts in the registers		2 persons
[Moreover] were employed (26b) on secretarial and other work at		
the Vāqi'a-nivīs's discretion (<i>ḥasab al-ṣalāḥ</i>) and on his behalf		3 persons
[namely:] employed at the Vāqi'a-nivīs's discretion	.. .. .	2 persons
Letter writer (<i>nāma-nivīs</i>)	.. .. .	1 person

Reports on the petitions presented to His Majesty⁷ belong to the Vāqi'a-nivīs's competence. If, in official reports (*dar 'arḍ-i manāšib?*), etc., there were some matters inspired with concern for the common weal (*daulat-khwāhī*), [such matters], in case they corresponded to the interests of the State, were given credit and support (*i'tibār-va-i'timād*).⁸ Every year a sum of 30 tomans was given in cash (*tanākhwāh*) from the revenue (*vujūhāt*) of Isfahan for the purchase of paper for raqams, for

¹ V s, f. 10b

² V s, f. 9b

³ Perhaps: "whether it has been endorsed with the formula *az qarār-i ta'liqa*," cf.

⁴ Liter. "pass" The text is not very clear *ba-iṭṭilā'-va-ṭughrā[-yi] qalam-i midād-i vāqi'a-nivīs arqām-i madhkūr miguzarād*.

⁵ This category of documents (cf. also f. 42b) seems to be distinct from the documents on which the ṭughrā was traced by the Munshī al-mamālik (f. 40a)

⁶ Cf. p. 42b

⁷ The sentence is cut into two by the enumeration of the staff.

⁸ Cf. this formula at the end of official documents, Or. 4935, No Xa.

registration (*thabt*) and for the register books of the Vāqi'a-nivīs's office (*sar-rishṭa-yi dafātir-i ān*). Whenever the Vāqi'a-nivīs wished to report a matter on his own, or somebody else's behalf, he went without hindrance (27a) into the King's presence, be it in a private or a general assembly and reported the matter. The Majlis-nivīs has the exclusive right to read to the King any petitions submitted by whomsoever it might be, and to write replies to them; for this reason the Vāqi'a-nivīs is called Majlis-nivīs. Among the civil officials (*arbāb-qalam*) there is no person, except the Grand Vazīr, who stands higher in service and nearer [to the throne]. Since the days of old, the Vāqi'a-nivīs used to sit in the King's presence, be it in private or general assemblies, and during the consideration of minor or major affairs the word of the Vāqi'a-nivīs (27b) and his suggestions were relied upon (*manāṭ-va-mu'tabar*).

§18. The 'ālī-jāh MUSTAUFĪ AL-MAMĀLIK belongs to the number of the great amirs. His activities (*shughl-va-'amal*) are very important ('*azīm*). All operations (*dād-va-sitad*) with the Divan revenue on the territory of the God-protected provinces (*mamālik*) must be carried out in accordance with the instructions (*ruskhajāt*) which the Mustaufi al-mamālik writes from his office to all the provincial agents ('*ummāl*); the latter must depend on (*mustanād-i khud*) these documents and operate in strict conformity (*bi-dūn-i kam-va-ziyād*) with them. All the *tiyūls* and *hama-sāla* of the Governor Generals, khans, governors and sultāns, all the fees (*rusūmāt*) of the vazirs, mustaufis and kalāntars, the salaries of the civil and military (28a) officials, pensions (*vazā'if*), soyūrghāls, etc., become operative and the money is paid out [only] when the official schedules have been sealed by the Mustaufi al-mamālik.¹ The Grand Vazīr² does not operate (*dād-u-sitad*) with the Divan revenue (*māliyyāt*) without the confirmation (*tašdīq*) of the Mustaufi al-mamālik. The latter's approval is a condition of credit and trust (*manāṭ-i i'tibār va i'imād-ast*) in revenue affairs.

The scribes of the Supreme Divan are appointed after approval by the senior officers of the interested departments (*rīsh-safīd-i har sarkār*) and the confirmation³ of the Mustaufi al-mamālik. The Nāzīr (§§52 and 97?), the Head Clerk (*dārūgha-yi daftar*) (§54), the Šāhib-taujīh (§66), the Dābiṭa-nivīses (§65), the Keepers of avāraja [books] (§70), etc., are all under (*juz'*) the Mustaufi al-mamālik.

As regards the revenues (*vujūhāt*) of the Private Department (*sarkār-i khāṣṣa*) and those entrusted to the Keepers (*arbāb-i taḥāvil*), operations (*dād-u-sitad*) with which [respectively] belong to the competence (28b) of the Mustaufis of the Private Department and [of] the Arbāb-i taḥāvil (cf. f. 46a), whatever sums the Mustaufi al-mamālik allots (*rasād rasānad*) to them, they pay out the amount (*tanḵhwāh*). With the exception of the raqams for pensions, exemptions (*mu'āfiyāt*), etc., of the Private Department, all the other raqams of employment (*arqām-i mulāzamat*) and orders for payment of money (*aḵkām-i tanḵhwāh*) of all the employees,—whether the sums pass (read: *biguzarad*) through the Divan office (*daftar-i dīvān*) or through the Private Department, or through the Arbāb-i taḥāvil,—must be sealed by the Mustaufi al-mamālik.

The latter prosecutes (*bāz-khwāst*) in cases of offences committed by the secretaries

¹ *Va kayfiyāt-i daftari-ki ba-muhr-i mushār-īlayh rasāda bāshad* in this sentence *ku* is not a relative pronoun but an enclitic conjunction "as."

² *Vuzarā-yi dīvān-i a'lā*?

³ The places of *tajvīz* and *tašdīq* are inverted in the text.

(*muḥarrir*) of the Divan office. All the mustaufis of the God-protected kingdom are appointed with his approval (*tajvīz?*).

List (*kitāb*) of the clerical staff of the said department under (*dar khidmat*) (29a) the Mustaufi al-mamālik:

Five *ṣāhib-raqams* under the Mustaufi al-mamālik's orders appointed to the Divan service by *raqams* (*ḥasab al-arqām mulāzīm-i dīvān*). Their duties were to consider and to check (*taṣḥīḥ*) statements (*ḥayfiyāt*), *raqams* and orders regarding employment, [payment of] money, *hamasāla*, *tiyūl*, pensions, exemptions (*mu'āfiyāt*), *soyūrghāls* and the rest of the correspondence belonging to the activities of the office (*dād-u-sitad-i daftarī*). Whatever was correct, was presented to the Mustaufi al-mamālik's seal and signature, but if the matter was incorrect (*khilāf-i ḥisāb*), an official (*daftarī*) reply was written and [the matter] referred back (*raād*) to the writer (*ṣāhib kāghadh*).

For the purpose of information and co-ordination (*ham-qalamī*) of the other departments of Expenditure (*sarkārāt-i kharij*), the scribes of the KHĀLIṢ DT. (*sarkār-i khāliṣ*), which office is under the orders (29b) of the Mustaufi al-mamālik, used to register the *raqams* of appointment and employment and the orders (*aḥkām*) referring to *tiyūls*, *hama-sāla*, sums payable in drafts, grants, *soyūrghāls*, exemptions (*mu'āfiyāt*) and other items (*vujūhāt*) coming under the purview of the activities of the office.

There used to be [in the department] 4 secretaries of whom no one is now available (*maujūd*), or is alive (*dar qayd-i ḥayāt*).

§19. The duty of the KHĀLIṢ AT-KHULAFĀ¹ is to follow the rule (*dastūr*) established in the time of SHAYKH ṢAFĪ AL-DĪN IṢHĀQ, namely, to gather in the *tauḥīd-khāna*, every Thursday evening, *darvishes* and *ṣūfis* and (30a) to keep them repeating, by way of loud *dhikr* (*dhikr-i jalī*), the pious formula: *lā ilāh illā'llāh*; on Thursday evenings, he distributes to the *darvishes* bread, sweetmeats (*ḥalwā*) and food, and, on other occasions, bread and the customary food. There are also two *khalifas*, a head-servant (*khādīm-bāshī*) and several servants (*'amala*) of the *tauḥīd-khāna*. *Khalifas* are also appointed throughout the God-protected kingdom for the maintenance of lawful practices and for the prohibition of unlawful (*munkar*) ones. The appointment is made by a *ta'liqa* of the [Khalīfat al-]khulafā, on the strength of which a royal *raqam* is issued.

CHAPTER III

ON THE OFFICES OF THE MUQARRABS HAVING THE TITLE OF MUQARRAB AL-KHĀQĀN, OR MUQARRAB AL-ḤAḌRAT

THE chapter consists of two divisions (*maqāla*) of which the first treats of the functions of the *muqarrabs* who, on account of their special proximity to the throne (30b) and of their rank of service are styled *muqarrab al-khaqan* and are divided into two categories (*nau'*). [The second division treats of the persons called *muqarrab al-ḥaḍrat*, v.i., fol. 43b.]

¹ In view of the semi-religious character of this office this paragraph might have come under Chapter I, but for the chasm there was between the Shari'at and Suni-ism.

DIVISION A: THE MUQARRAB AL-KHĀQĀNS

Category (a): the KHĀWĀJA-SARĀ (palace eunuchs), holders of offices.¹ At first, in the time of the earlier Šafavid monarchs, there were no white palace eunuchs, and consequently whoever among the black eunuchs was the most clever and capable, and had the most merits (*lāyiqtar*) in the King's service, was appointed SENIOR EUNUCH (*rīsh-safīd*) of the Exalted Harem. This chief and lord commanded (*amr-u-nahy*) all the black eunuchs. The reports which the frontier amīrs sent to the Eshīk-āqāsi-bāshī, or those sent by the amīrs resident at the court to the Harem were first handed to the Eshīk-āqāsi-bāshī of the Honorable Harem (31a) who has a guard-house (*keshīk-khāna*) of his own. This official (§28) passed them on to the chief of the Harem eunuchs, and the latter presented them, inside the Harem, to the King and brought back the reply. [Then] the Eshīk-āqāsi-bāshī summoned the amīrs to the Keshīk-khāna and personally declared to them how the king had decided in reply to the reports.

Another important palace eunuch who in his dignity, rank and esteem was an equal to the chief of the Harem was [called] the ŠĀHIB-JAM' OF THE ROYAL TREASURY (§32) and all the cash and [other precious] objects belonging to the Treasury that were in the outer and inner part of the palace (*andarūn va bīrūn*) were entrusted to him. The KEEPER OF THE KEYS OF THE TREASURY was also a black eunuch, subordinate to the Šāhib-jam' of the Treasury. All the lower staff ('*amala*') (31b) of the Treasury was under the orders of the Treasurer and enjoyed great independence and esteem.

In the time of the late SHĀH 'ABBĀS, one hundred white Georgian ghulāms were castrated and one of them who was the most esteemed among them, was made their Yūz-bāshī ("Centurion"). Another Centurion was appointed over the black eunuchs and to him were subordinated one hundred black eunuchs.

Until the time of SHĀH SULṬĀN-ḤUSAYN the Centurion of the white eunuchs was IBRĀHĪM-ĀQĀ, and the Centurion of the black eunuchs ILYĀS-ĀQĀ; each had a house in the precincts (*dar dawr*) of the Harem² [and lived] with proper pomp (*dastgāh*). As it appears from the register books (*sar-rīshṭa-yi dafātir*), they themselves, with their respective subordinates, had definite *tiyūls* and salaries (32a). The post of Nāzīr (*naẓārat*) and the Directorship of the Arsenal (*jabbādār-bāshī-garī*), which in the days of the earlier Safavids belonged to the Qizil-bash muqarrabs, in the days of Shah Sulaymān and Shah Sulṭān-Ḥusayn were transferred to the white eunuchs. For a period of time MAḤMŪD-ĀQĀ was first Director of the Arsenal, and the Nāzīr. After his death the directorship of the Arsenal passed to the white eunuch ISMĀ'IL-ĀQĀ,³ whereas the duties of Nāzīr returned to the Qizil-bash. The post of Master of the Wardrobe (*mīhtarī-yi r.kīb-khāna*, sic) was also held by important eunuchs. Personal attendance on the King (*khīdmat-i nazdīk*) and the holding of the towel-sheath (*qābliq-i dastmāl*) is a privilege of the Master of the Wardrobe (*mīhtarān-i rikāb-khāna*) (§43).

¹ On simple khwāja-sarā, v s. 24a

² Cf Chardin, VIII, 133

³ The *Z T.*, f 210a, says that when Ṭahmāsp-mīrzā was appointed Heir-apparent, Muḥammad-āqā, Centurion of the ghulāmān-i khāssa was attached to his person as a tutor (*lala*). Muḥammad-āqā refused to accompany his ward in the latter's attempt to run the Afghan blockade, and his place was taken by Ismā'il-āqā Jabbādār-bāshī, who successfully took Ṭahmāsp to Qazvīn

The ghulāms of the Private Household¹ stand behind the King (32b). They had a special tutor (*lala*). The ordinary (*sāda*)² small ghulams, so long as they had no beards (*mutahā nabūdand*), had a special tutor and a special teacher who educated them. When they became grown up and their beards appeared they entered the *yūzdah*³ and were placed under the quillar-aqāsīs.⁴

Category (b): comprises the muqarrabs who are called muqarrab al-khāqān but are not eunuchs. This category consists of eight paragraphs.

§20. The muqarrab al-khāqān ḤAKĪM-BĀSHĪ is the senior of all the doctors of the Royal Household and, being the companion of the King's general and private assemblies, (33a) he used to enjoy great love and affection. His business is to give medical care to the most sacred person of the King,—may our souls be a redeeming sacrifice of his blessed name! Feeling the King's pulse is his exclusive prerogative. The salary, grants and employment of the doctors are approved, reported and signed (*mumḍā*) by the Ḥakīm-bāshī, and the Grand Vazir and the Nāzīr of the Workshops act in accordance with [his indications]. The CHIEF CHEMIST (*'attār-bāshī*, cf. §163) of the Royal Household is one of the Ḥakīm-bāshī's subordinates. The Ḥakīm-bāshī has the right to interdict medical practice [even] to the doctors not belonging to his staff (*ghayr-i mulāzīm*) if they do not possess [due] knowledge. If any one of the vālīs or beglarbegīs (33b) applies for [the appointment of] a doctor from the Royal staff, or if a sipahsālār or sardār, on his nomination, wants a doctor, the appointment of the doctors is made by the Ḥakīm-bāshī. In the time of the late King, apart from the former Ḥakīm-bāshī MĪRZĀ RAḤĪM,⁵ who drew a hama-sāla salary (*mavājib-i hama-sāla*)⁶ of 400 tomans, the other (*sā'ir*) doctors attached to the Divan were 68 in number and a sum of 1796 tumans and 6366 dinars, consisting of hama-sāla and sums payable in drafts (*barātī*) was assigned to them.⁷

§21. Similarly to the medical staff, the muqarrab al-khāqān MUNAJJIM-BĀSHĪ (34a) is daily present at the palace (*dar-i dawlat khāna*) in order to make his suggestions in case the Sovereign or the muqarrabs should order him to ascertain a felicitous hour (*sā'at-i sa'd*) for the beginning of an affair or for starting on a journey, or for putting on, and cutting out new clothes (§34). On [the occasion of] solar and lunar eclipses and on the King's birthday the Qūrchi-bāshī and other amirs used to bring alms (*taṣadduq*) before the radiant glances [of His Majesty]. Sometimes under the earlier [Šafavid] monarchs [these sums] were distributed to meritorious persons by the most learned (*afḍal*) and pious (*aṣlah*) of the contemporary scholars present at the Exalted Court; on some other occasions, the distribution was made by the Chief Astrologer, but since the appointment of the Mullā-bāshī (§1) it has been he who

¹ Here in the sense of "young eunuchs"

² I e non-eunuchs.

³ *Yuz*, "one hundred" in Turkish; *dah*, "ten" in Persian? Perhaps the meaning is that the ghulams were incorporated in the units of "hundreds" and "tens"? Even now Persians say *yūz-bāshī* but *dah-bāshī*

⁴ Perhaps the singular is meant here (§8). These ghulāms did not necessarily choose a military career

⁵ Under Sultan-Ḥusayn, Mīrzā Raḥīm was one of the principal intriguers who in A D 1720 provoked the fall of the Vazīr-i a'ẓam Faṭḥ-'Alī khan. He also was in the Shah's suite during the latter's surrender to the Afghan Maḥmūd in 1722, cf. *Z T*, ff. 206a and 208a.

⁶ Evidently in the technical sense of *hama-sāla*, and not only "yearly."

⁷ But cf. f. 128a 4 998 t. 1300 d.

distributed the above mentioned sums. (34b) Briefly [we may say that] the distribution of [propitiatory] alms to meritorious people, on the occasions of eclipses and the King's birthday, is to some extent connected (*bī-nisbat-nīst*) with the Munajjim-bāshī and the Mullā-bāshī.

§22. From ancient times until now the duty of the muqarrab al-khāqān MU'AYYIR AL-MAMĀLIK ("Controller of Assay") has been [to see] that masters (*ustādān*) possessing knowledge and experience should produce (*ba-itmām rasānand*) in the Mint gold and silver of a definite standard (*'ayār*) and weight without any fraud (*ghall va ghashsh*), and that the moneyers in the service of the Divan should imprint (*manqūsh*) on it the stamp [previously] submitted to the radiant looks [of His Majesty], and so silver and gold [should be] coined. As the glory and efficiency of the Royal affairs depend on the khuṭba and caliphal¹ coins (*sikka-yi khilāfat*) (35a), and as the reliability (*'itimād*) of coins was recommended to the Mu'ayyirs' attention, the chief (*ṣāhib*) of this service used to enjoy great confidence, esteem and respect. The Sovereigns of true succession (*khilāfat-makīm*) entrusted all affairs regarding the Mint to the Mu'ayyirs. The latter were admitted to all the general and private assemblies and, whenever they had some matters to submit (*dar 'arḍ-i maṭālib*), they were not prevented from the honour of kissing the carpet of the general and private assemblies. They presented their petitions orally and without any intermediary and the former Kings summoned the Mu'ayyirs whenever they wished the Mint to execute some service or commission (*rujū'*). Even if someone else, apart from the Mu'ayyir al-mamālik, [acted as] Ḍarrābī-bāshī ("Master of the Mint"), the right of the Mu'ayyir to appoint and dismiss (35b) the Ḍarrābī-bāshī (§48) and the Mushrif was considered as valid and dependable (*munāṭ va mu'tabar?*). [The right] to appoint, dismiss, punish and call to account (*bāz-khwāst*) the moneyers, engravers, coin-experts (*ṣarrāf*), drawers of gold and silver thread (*zar-kash*), masters of the Nine Shops (*dastgāh*) mentioned below, and in general all the lower staff (*'amala*) of the Mint, belongs specially to the Mu'ayyir-bashi and other 'āmils can not interfere with it.²

(1) The foundry (*sabbākī*). The staff of this shop turn impure (*maghshūsh*) gold into pure (*khālīs*), and base silver (*kam-'ayār*) into pure by putting them into crucibles (*qāl*).

(2) In the shop of *qurṣ-kūbī* the genuine bullion (*qurṣ*) is beaten (*mīkūband*) in order to produce (*sākhtan*) gold [of necessary solidity].

(3) Ditto of *āhangarī*: after the completion of the previous operations (36a) the gold is shaped (*shumsh*) into forged bars (*mīl-i āhangarī*).

(4) Ditto of *charkh-kashī*: after the previous operation, gold and silver are drawn through a steel plate with holes (*hadīda-yi fūlād*).

(5) Ditto of *qaṭṭā'ī*: where gold and silver are cut for the production of coins (*sākhtan-i nuqūd*).

(6) Ditto of *kahla-kū'ī*³: where the pieces cut from the ingot (*shumsh*) are given the thickness of an *'abbāsī* or of a *panj-shāhī*.

¹ Here perhaps with reference to the title of the Safavid Kings *Khilāfat-makīm*, f. 35a.

² The end of the sentence comes on f. 36b, the enumeration of the nine divisions being inserted as a table.

³ *Kahla*, "a particle of gold or silver, a coin"; *kū'īdan*, *kūyistan*, "to beat, to thresh."

(7) Ditto of blanching (*safīd-garī*): where the surface (*chihra*) of money¹ is made refulgent (*safīd*, "whitened").

(8) Ditto of *takhs-h-kunī* ("sorting"?): (36b) where the 'abbāsīs which, judging by sight (*ba-mizān-i nazar*), are underweight are set aside and melted anew.²

(9) Ditto of *sikka-kunī*: where the masters striking coins are every day engaged in this work.

In accordance with the royal order, the dābiṭs,³ contractors (*musta'jirān*) and workmen (*'amala-va-fa'ala*) throughout the God-protected kingdom, as well as the people who draw precious metals (*zar-kashān*), goldsmiths, money changers (*ṣarrāf*), inlay workers in precious metals (*zar-kūb*), coppersmiths, etc., have no right to carry out operations (*dād-u-sitād*) [in precious metals] without the Mu'ayyir's knowledge, or that of his delegates, and must consider themselves as [agents] appointed and dismissed by him.⁴

The full standard (*tamām-'ayārī*) (37a) of the gold coming out of the crucibles (*khalās*) [must be] equal to the standard of an old ashrafi-yi du-butī⁵; the standard of the pure (*khalāṣī*) gold used for plating (*rū-pūsh*) silver must reach that of an old du-butī (coin). In the workshops producing (silver) thread (*naqda-sāzī*) gold used for plating is usually of 5 per cent. quality; when it is required that gold brocade (*zar-baft*) should be woven particularly rich in gold (*zarrīn-i sangīn*) the plating of the high quality is 10 per cent., and of the highest (*a'lā-yi a'lā*) 15 per cent.

The sign of silver of perfect standard (*kāmil-'ayār*) is that, when it comes out of the melting furnace (*kūra-yi qāl*), there appear on the surface of the ingot small excrescences (*shākhcha*) in the shape of bubbles; therefore pure silver is called *shākhhdār*. The perfect standard consists in the following: if 100 mithqāls (37b) of the *shākhhdār* silver be melted,⁶ the loss (*kasr*) does not exceed the amount of 4/6 to 1 mithqāl.

The [part of the] produce (*hāṣil*) which the Ḍarrābī-bāshī [acting as?] dābiṭ and taḥvīldār, takes over (*dabt*) for the Royal Household (*sic*) is called *vājibī* (seignorage). The *vājibī* which was (levied) by the Divan (*sic*) department from the gold and silver minted at the Mint was formerly as follows:

gold	30 dīnārs	per mithqāl
silver	2 dīnārs	„ „

But later (*thānīyan*) the Mu'ayyirs, in order to meet the requirements (*ba-jihat-i kifāyat*) of the Divān department (*sic*), gradually increased the amount of the *vājibī* and established the practice (*istimrār*) of

gold	50 dīnārs	per mithqāl
silver	5 dīnārs	„ „

¹ *Zar* means both "gold" and "silver."

² *Mīguzārānā*, read: *mīgudāzānā*?

³ Collectors, receivers on behalf of the Treasury? Cf. 37b.

⁴ The text is not quite clear. Perhaps we are to understand that the Government enjoins its agents, etc., to see that goldsmiths, etc., should not trade without a licence from the Mu'ayyir-bashi?

⁵ Du-butī, "with two idols"? i.e. probably with figures on both faces. Scott-Waring, *A Tour to Sheeraz*, London, 1807, Chap XXXIII, p 128, mentions Venetian du-butīs (each worth 6.5 piasters), and Du Mans, 33, confirms the popularity of the Venetian gold: whenever the King visited one of his subjects he was presented with "un plat plein de Sequins, car icy ils ont fort devotion aux medailles de Venize, mesmes toutes nos Arméniennes, par parade, s'en entourent le visage." [It is possible that *du-butī* is a popular etymology for *ducat*?].

⁶ *Biguzārānā* read: *bigudāzānā*, as above, f. 36b.

In the year when the former (*sābiq*) Shah¹ was starting for Qazvīn the weight of an 'abbāsī was fixed at 7 dāngs.² (38a) After his return from that journey and before the siege of Isfahan the Mu'ayyir al-mamālik Muḥammad 'Alī-beg,³ in order to increase (*taufīr*) [the resources of] the Divan department and the emoluments (*irṭifā'āt*) of the Private Household, after a report to the Shah, diminished the weight of the 'abbāsī by one dāng and struck 'abbāsīs of 6 dāngs. He then added the additional 1 dang of silver to the *vājibī* (seignorage). From that date down to the ninth month of the year in which SHĀH MAḤMŪD ascended the throne⁴ the *vājibī* of the Mint, in agreement with the rule established under the former Shah, was taken over and sent [to the Treasury] (*dabī va infādh*) as follows:

minted gold	50 dīnārs per mithqāl
silver	33½ dīnārs, 1 tasūj and 2 sha'īrs per mithqāl

The former *vājibī* [of silver] was 5 dīnārs [and the new increase amounted to] 1/7 mithqāl, i.e. 28½ dīnārs, 1 tasūj and 2 sha'īrs (38b) When it was reported to SHĀH MAḤMŪD that the weight of an 'abbāsī at 6 dāngs devaluated (*bī-qadr-u-bī-vaq'*) the Royal currency (*sikka-yi pādshahān*), he ordered, in Ramaḍān of the year of the Hare,⁵ that the 'abbāsī should be coined by the Mint at the weight of 5 shāhīs and of 9½ dāngs,⁶ and that the *vājibī* of gold and silver for the Private Household should be taken as below, and that the difference [in seignorage]⁷ should be eliminated:

gold	.. .. .	per mithqāl as before
minted	.. .. .	50 dīnārs
rū-pūsh-ī naqda	.. .. .	100 dīnārs
silver	.. .. .	per mithqāl
minted	.. .. .	10 dīnārs
naqd (?) and silver in rings (<i>halqa</i>)	.. .. .	16 dīnārs

For this reason the popularity (*ravāj*) of the five-shāhī coins became such that after being struck they were carried to the outlying provinces (*ba-aṭrāf*) (39a) and they are current (*ravāj dārad*) even in the towns which have not submitted. Counterfeiting (*qullābī*) gives no profit if the coins are to be struck at this weight of metal (*zar*).

At present the coins of His Majesty (*navvāb-ī kāmyāb-ī aqdas-ī ashraf-ī a'lā*) are: five shāhīs weighing 9½ dāng, as at the time of SHĀH MAḤMŪD, and gold ashrafīs struck according to the ancient norm at 4½ dāng, and God be praised, they enjoy

¹ After the numerous failures of the Persian army in Khorasan (A.D. 1706-19), the amirs decided that the Shah himself should raise an army for the East. Sultān-Ḥusayn left Isfahān on 27 Rajab, 1129/7, July 1719, and arrived in Qazvīn on 27 Sha'bān/6 August. Squabbles among the courtiers delayed his further movements for three years. He left Qazvīn on 1 Dhul-Ḥijja 1132/4 October 1720 and, after a fresh delay in Tehran, where the Vazīr-i a'zam Fath 'Alī khan was deposed and blinded, he returned to his capital on 29 Rabī' I, 1133/28 January, 1721, hardly nine months before the news came of the capture of Kerman by the Afghans, cf *Z.-T.*, ff. 203a-206a.

² I.e. 1½ mithqāls.

³ The *Z.-T.*, f. 210a: Muḥammad 'Alī-beg *Mu'ayyir (spelt: *Mu'tamid*) al-mamālik, known as "Shanba," was attached to the person of the Heir-apparent Tahmāsp, but does not seem to have accompanied him in his escape to Qazvīn. Ḥusayn 'Alī-beg Mu'ayyir al-mamālik, who played an active role in Tahmāsp's negotiations with the future Nādir shah, cf. Mahdi-khan, *Tārīkh-i Nādirī*, ed. 1286 H., p. 19, may have been a relative of Muḥammad 'Alī-beg.

⁴ In Ramaḍān 1135/June, 1723, for Mahmūd ascended the throne on 11 Muharram 1135, cf R. S. Poole, *The Coins of the Shahs*, p. xlix.

⁵ Ramaḍān of the lunar year 1135 (5 June-4 July, 1723).

⁶ I.e. having the value of 5 shāhīs and weighing 9½ dāngs.

⁷ Introduced at the period preceding Ramaḍān 1135.

great popularity and prestige in Isfahān and in all the outlying provinces (*aṭrāf*) of the God-protected kingdom.

During the reign of former monarchs the whole of the profits from the *vājibī* of the Mint [was as follows]: in the best years, when merchants brought from outside masses of *qurūsh*¹ coins and when, at the time of particular prosperity (*'ayn-i ma'mūrī*) of Isfahan, 400 workers (39b), all present, were daily employed in the Nine Departments of the Mint, and the fabrication of [plated] silver thread (*naqda-sāzī*?) and copper coins (*fulūs-kārī*?) was farmed out (*vjāra*) for 500 to 600, or 700 tumans, the farm-holder,² on behalf of all the farm (given to him by) the Divan, used to send to the Treasury 1000 ashrafis and 100 *dastaja-kila* [*sic*],³ which at the [given] rate were worth 250 tumans approximately, and moreover, used to pay 350 tumans as salary to the Mu'ayyir, the Ḍarrābī-bashi and other persons of the Private Household who were in possession of drafts (*arbāb-i ḥavālāt*). Apart from the above mentioned sum, nothing else was sent to the Treasury. From ancient times until now, one sixteenth of the sum entering⁴ the Private Household has been assigned (40a) to the Mu'ayyir al-mamālik.

§23. The duty of the muqarrab al-khāqān MUNSHĪ AL-MAMĀLIK ("State scribe") is to draw in red ink and liquid gold (*āb-i ṭalā*) the ṭughra⁵ on all the King's missives (*parvānajat-i mubārak-i ashraf*) and on [documents referring] to employment, *tiyūl*, hama-sāla, amount of salary, as well as on the orders (*ḥukm*) sent by the Divān-begi, in the following way:

He writes the formula *ḥukm-i jahān-muṭā' shud* on orders given by the Divān-begi [cf. f. 21b].

He writes: *farmān-i humāyūn shud* on orders for payment of money (*tankhwāh*), on applications for employment and on [orders for] *tiyūl*, hama-sāla and *soyūrghāl* of the military;

He writes *farmān-i humāyūn sharaf-i nafādh yāft* on replies to letters (*javāb-nāma*), and on *mithāls* [cf. *infra* 72b].

The affiliation diplomas (*shajara*) of the sufis⁶ and *soyūrghāls* granted [to them] (40b) are written by the Munshī al-mamālik.

In his secretariat (*dār al-inshā*) he had 28 persons subordinated to him:

1 munshī-yi divān,
27 scribes of the secretariat,

but actually none of them is in existence.

The tracing of the ṭughrā in liquid gold and red ink is done by the pen of the Munshī al-mamālik and by no one else. He is one of the muqarrabs of the Court forming the Pivot of the World and one of the select (*bāz-yāftā*). [members] of the

¹ Turkish piastres

² I.e. the farm-holder of the Mint, different from the farm-holder of *naqda-sāzī* and *fulūs-kārī*?

³ Perhaps some kind of medals, or especially large coins (*muhr-i ashrafī*). Vasmer, in *Islamica*, VI/2, 1933, p. 138, refers to a 2 t gold coin of 1101/1609 weighing 711 grains. One hundred of such coins may have been worth 250 t on the market.

⁴ As seignorage

⁵ The text suggests that the *ṭughra* was not the signature of the King but one of the substitute formulas enumerated hereafter

⁶ Cf. §19. *Shajara* is a document establishing the chain of murshids through which the sufi has received his instruction

private and general assemblies. To his prerogatives belong: approval of employment and salaries of the scribes (*muharrir*) and redacteurs (*munshī*) of the secretariat, and [appreciation] of their manners (*ahlyat*) and capacities. In the times of [the former] sovereigns the State Secretaries were beloved and respected and possessed various accomplishments (41a).

§24. So far as it appears from the register of the former muqarrab al-khāqān the KEEPER OF THE AUGUST SEAL (*muhrdār-i muhr-i humāyūn*), in olden times, he possessed a *tiyūl* on the district of Qum, etc., first to an amount of 364 tumans, and later 1360 tumans and 5361 *dinārs*. Sometimes the *tiyūl* was suspended (*dābt*) and, in its place, some governorship (*iyālat-va-hukūmat*) was given to the Muhrdār; at other times the office was given in the usual way without a *tiyūl*. At present the Cynosure of the World (*qibla-yi 'ālam*) has granted the office, under the previous conditions, to the muqarrab al-khāqān (41b) ALLĀH-DĀD BEG. [The Keeper's] functions are considered among the great posts, and he is [admitted] to sit in the King's Paradisiac company.

In olden times the duty of the Muhrdār was to appose the August Seal of which he was the keeper, to the raqams [by which] *vazīrs*, *mustaufis* and *kalāntars* [were appointed] and those referring to *soyūrghāls*, exemptions (immunities) and *tiyūls*, given to *amīrs*, *governors*, etc.,—after these documents had been registered in the books. He apposed the seal inside (?) the raqam in a corner of the title.¹

Of late (*dar avākhir*) this rule (*dābīta*)² has not been maintained (*maḍbūt*) and the Keeper of the Seal seems to (*balkī*) have been collecting his fees (*rusūm*) as a registration fee (*tašdīq-i daftarī*) [cf. §98].

§25. On the functions of the muqarrab al-khāqān (42a) the KEEPER OF THE "SHARAF-I NAFĀDH" SEAL.

His duty is to appose the small (*kūchik*) seal called *sharaf-i nafādh* ("[for] the honour of legalisation") opposite the August seal, in the inside corner of the raqams and orders,³ appointing *amīrs*, *vazīrs*, *mustaufis*, *lashkar-nivises* and all the major and minor officials at the Exalted Camp (*ordū*) or in the God-protected provinces of Iran.

Even though (*chinānchī*), in order to escape (*mudāfa'a*) the payment of established fees, the officials had not presented their letters-patent (*raqam-i manṣab*) to be sealed by the Keepers⁴ of the Seal, the latter [used to obtain] from the register (*sar-rishta*) of the Taujih Division (*dafātir-i taujih*, v.i., 69b) of the Supreme Divan exact statements (*mushakkkhaṣ va mu'ayyan*) with regard to the established fees [belonging to] them, give these statements to the Division of Drafts issued by the Divan (*ba-qalam-i arbāb-i havālat-i dīvānī*) and receive the equivalent from the sums allotted [to the said officials] (*vujūh-i mu'ayyana*). [In this way], whether the letters-patent were sealed by the seal (42b) kept by the Muhrdār, or not, the latter collected his permanent (*mustamarrī*) fees.

The fees (*rusūm*) of the Keeper of the Small Seal are as follows: in the guise

¹ *Ba-muhr-i ihābt-i muhr-i humāyūn. . . dar ḡimn-i arqām dar-gūsha-yi 'anwān muhr mīnumūda.*

² This sentence belongs to the beginning of the paragraph where the Muhrdār's emoluments are described.

³ *Gūsha-yi ḡimn-i arqām-rā dar barābar-i muhr-i humāyūn ba-muhr-i kūchik-i sharaf-i nafādh muhr numāyad.* Cf Annex IVc.

⁴ Perhaps only §25 is meant here.

(*ba-ṣiḡha*) of "the dūshulluk of 835 dīnārs [per tuman?] levied [on salaries] during the first year" he collected (*qabḍ-va-akhḍh*):

From what is levied on the letters-patent of valis, governors and other major and minor officials of the God-protected province: 303 qāz-begī¹ per toman;

From soyūrghāls and exemptions: 520 dīnars per toman.

In the subsequent years—as also in the case of the August Seal (§24),—the dūshulluk is no longer levied (*muḡaddadī na-dārad*).

§26. On the functions of the muḡarrab al-khāqān INKHORN HOLDER OF THE SEAL OF THE SUN-LIKE SIGNET-RING (*davātdār-i muhr-i angushtar-i āftāb-āthār*).

While the Vāqī'a-nivīs² traces a ṭuḡhrā on the *bayāḍī* and *daftarī* raqams, this official presents them to the seal called "mihr-āthār"³ (43a). His yearly salary is 30 tumans and, for the amount corresponding to his 6 months' pay, he enjoys a tiyūl.⁴ He also receives fees of 100 dīnārs per tuman of the estimated (*bar-āwardī*) income (*madākkhil*) of the amirs, governors, etc., during the first year of their appointment; from the raqams giving employment he collects a dūshulluk of 50 dīnārs per tuman; from the raqams referring to payment of cash or to leases (*ijāra*) he receives 25 dīnars per tuman. In public (*āmm*) assemblies he stands (*istāda mīshavad*) in the row of the *qūrchiyān-i yarāq*, next to the senior (*qadīmī*?) *davātdār*, who is the *Davātdār-i parvānajāt* (§27).

§27. On the functions of the muḡarrab al-khāqān INKHORN HOLDER OF THE RAQAMS, HUKMS AND PARVĀNAS on which the 'ālī-jāh Munshī al-mamālik traces (43b) a ṭuḡhrā. The function of apposing seal to these documents belongs to the said Keeper of the Inkhorn. He has a salary of 30 tumans and a tiyūl to the amount of 6 months' [pay].⁵ From the raqams giving employment he receives a dūshulluk of 50 dīnārs [per tuman]; from those referring to payment of cash (*tanḡhwāh*) and passing through the Division of State (*sarkār-i mamālik*), as well as from the leases (*ijāra*) of the same department he also receives officially (*zāhir*, "openly") half-a-shāhī per tuman. At the assemblies he stands in the row of the *qūrchiyān-i yarāq*, next to the *qūrchi-yī sadaq* (?), where the Keeper of the Small Seal (§25)⁶ used to stand as well (*istāda mīshud*).

DIVISION B: THE MUḡARRAB AL-ḤAḌRATS.

It is subdivided into two categories (*sinf*). Category (a) contains four paragraphs (*faṣl*) (44a).

§28. The muḡarrab al-Ḥaḍrat ESHĪK-ĀQĀSĪ-BĀSHĪ OF THE HONOURABLE HAREM.

This office is entrusted to men of older age and service (*pīrtar va qadīmītar*), enjoying more respect at the Royal Court and endowed with qualities of prudence (*salāh*), piety (*tadayyun*) and truthfulness. This official used to remain day and night at the gate of the Harem. The gate-keepers (*qāpūchī*) and eshīk-āqāsīs of the Harem are his subordinates and follow his orders. The keeping of order (*nasaq*) in

¹ 1 qāz-begī = 5 dīnārs = 1/10 chāhī = 1/2000 toman, Chardin, IV, 182.

² We cannot say whether this category of documents was different from that on which the Munshī al-mamālik, f. 40a, drew his ṭuḡhrās. It is possible that there were documents endorsed both by the Vāqī'a-nivīs and the Munshī al-mamālik.

³ Cf. f. 9a.

⁴ But see §102.

⁵ But see §101.

⁶ Is it a mistake for the official mentioned in §26?

the Harem, and commands and prohibitions (*amr-va-man'-va nahy*) to strangers and outsiders belong specially to the competence of the Eshik-āqāsī-bāshī-yi haram. He confirms the salary and employment of his above-mentioned subordinates.

§29. (44b) The YASĀVULĀN-I ŞUĤBAT ("Aides-de-camp") could be only the sons of respected amirs and, in olden times, they were but 8 or 9 in number. In private assemblies, they function on behalf (*ba-jā*) of the Eshik-āqāsī-bāshī, and, in public assemblies, they stand opposite (*barābar*) the Sovereign, while the actual duties (*khiḍmat*) are carried by the Eshik-āqāsīs. They are under the orders of the Eshik-āqāsī-bāshī of the Supreme Divan who confirms their salary and employment.

§30. The group of the ESHĪK-ĀQĀSĪ-YI MAJLIS ("Ushers of the assemblies") consists of sons of amirs or of other respected gentlemen (*āqāyān*), worthy (*liyāqat*) to serve in the King's presence (45a). They (?) serve at public assemblies and are under the orders of the Eshik-āqāsī-bāshī of the Divan who confirms their salary and employment and gives them instructions as to what to do and what not to do (*amr-va-nahy*).

§31. The QĀPŪCHĪS ("Gate-keepers"). Among them there are two appointed Head Gate-keepers: the Qāpūchī-bāshī of the Divan and the Qāpūchī-bāshī of the Private apartments (*khalvat*); each has a large staff. The Head Gate-keeper of the Divan controls the Daulat-khāna-yi maydān ("State-rooms overlooking the Square"), the side adjoining the Kitchen and the side of the Four-ponds (*Chahār-haud*), while the Head Gate-keeper of the Khalvat [controls] the Private apartments.¹ They and their staff are under the orders of the Eshik-āqāsī-bāshī of the Divan who confirms their salary and employment and gives them instructions as to what to do and what not to do (45b).

Each yasāvul-i şuḥbat, or eshik-āqāsī, is styled *muqarrab al-ḥadrat*.

Category (b) refers to the Şāhib-jam'an-i buyūtāt ("Heads of services in the Buyūtāt, i.e. in the departments of the Royal Household"), and has eighteen paragraphs (*faṣl*) and two *dābiḥas* ("headings").

(α) First *dābiḥa*: on the functions of the Şāhib-jam's ("Heads of Departments") of the Royal Treasury and other Buyūtāt (Departments, Workshops).

Briefly, their business is as follows: whatever the Mushrifis may estimate as necessary for the yearly expenditure (*ikhrajāt*) of their workshops, both as regards cash and goods (*jins*), is put down by the Şāhib-jam's in a specification (*tafṣīl*) or a report (*arīḍa*) which they bring to the Nāzīr of the Buyūtāt. After a proper enquiry has been made, and the deficit (*bāqī*) and surplus (*fāḍil*) of everything have been ascertained, (46a) the Vazīr of the Buyūtāt, on behalf of the Nāzīr, writes a report to the Grand Vazīr, and, in conformity with the ta'liqa endorsed (*raqam*) by the latter, the Şāhib-jam's of the workshops prepare receipts (*qabḍ*) and receive the sums (due to them). So long as the receipts of the Şāhib-jam' have not received the signatures (*khatt*) of the Vazīr of the Buyūtāt (§50) and the Mustaufī of the Arbāb-i tahāvīl (§51), as well as the seal of the Nāzīr, nothing is issued on their presentation (*taḥvīl ba-īshān dāda namīshavad*).

(β) Second *dābiḥa*: on the functions of each of the Şāhib-jam's of the Royal Buyūtāt, in 16 paragraphs.

¹ The *daulat-khāna-yi maydān* seems to refer to the hall above the 'Āli (*ala*, "motley, gay")—qapu Gate (v s., f. 4a).

§32. THE SĀHIB-JAM' OF THE ROYAL TREASURY [has the title] of muqarrab al-khāqān (v.s., f. 31a). All the cash sums (*anqād-i vujūhāt?*) of the God-protected provinces and of the capital (46b), Isfahan, belonging to the Divan Department were remitted to this Sāhib-jam'. If some of the governors (*'ummāl va hukkān*), or agents (*mubāshir*) of the State revenue (*māliyyāt*) were late with the sums to be sent (*vujūh-i infādihī*) to the Treasury, the Sāhib-jam' of the Treasury delegated (*muhāṣṣil*) to his subordinates the recovery (*vuṣūl*) of the said sums and sent them to the provinces. When the sums due (*vujūh-i tahvīlī*) were recovered, he took delivery of them (*abvāb-jam'-i khud*). As regards the revenue (*vujūh-i māliya*) from the Isfahan guilds (*aṣnāf*) and contributions (*madād*) to the cost of [government] hospitality, 3000 tomans in all, the Grand Vazirs MUḤAMMAD MU'MIN KHAN and SHĀH-QULI KHAN,¹ each in the time of his office (*'amal*), entrusted their collection to the chief of their staff (*tābīn-bāshī*). Then ĀQĀ KAMĀL Sāhib-jam' of the Treasury presented a report to the former sovereign and deputed his trustee (*mu'tamad*) HĀJJĪ MAHDĪ-KHAN (47a), who every year collected the whole amount and sent it to the Treasury. Equally to be remitted to [the Sāhib-jam'] were the more valuable objects (*anfas-i ajnās*) of the Royal Household, such as jewels, precious textiles and presents consisting of books, sable marten (*samūr*) furs, gold embroideries and other rare (*tuhfa*) objects.

The Sāhib-jam' of the Treasury enjoys great esteem and power, and the KEEPER OF THE KEYS OF THE TREASURY is also one of the respected eunuchs of the palace (v.s., f. 31a).

§33. On the *jabbā-khāna* (arsenal). The JABBĀ-DĀR-BĀSHĪ is one of the Sāhib-jam's of high rank. All the lower staff (*'amala*) of the Jabbā-khāna is under his orders and, [as] senior officer of the department, he approves (*tajvīz*) the salary and employment of each member of the staff (47b). The Mushrif of the Jabbā-khāna is also a respected officer; all the sums remitted (*tahvīlī*) to the munitions stores (*qūr-khāna*), arms and implements of war (*ālāt-va-adavāt-i harb*), bejewelled or plain, lead and powder, must be delivered to the Sāhib-jam' with the knowledge (*iḥṣālā'-vasar-rishṭa*) of the Mushrif of the department. The Jabbā-dār-bāshī appoints keepers (*tahvīldār*) for all kinds of munitions (*ajnās-i qūr-khāna*) kept in the Jabbā-khāna of Khāh (?), in that of Erīvān, and in other provincial fortresses possessing munition dumps (*qūr-khāna*), and the provincial governors comply with (his requests) and treat him with due regard (*tamkīn va tauqīr*). The Jabbā-dār-bāshī is one of the highest muqarrabs and dignitaries of the court.

§34. The muqarrab al-ḥadrat SĀHIB-JAM' (48a) OF THE ROYAL (*khāṣṣa*) TAILORING DEPARTMENT (*gaychāji-khāna*). His duties are such as are explained below under two points (*daf'a*).

(a) The first point is on the supply (*tahvīl*) of goods which concern the Sāhib-jam' in question, and among which are His Majesty's own (*khāṣṣagi*) garments. The

¹ Ridā-qulī khan in his *Supplement* to the *Raudat al-ṣafā*, jld VIII, enumerates Sultān-Husāyn's Grand Vazirs in the following order 1. Shāh-qulī khan, son of the famous Kurdish Grand Vazir to Shah Sulaymān, Shaykh-'Alī khan Zangana; 2. Muḥammad Mu'min khan Shāmlū; 3. Mīrzā Ṭāhūr Vahīd, author of a history of 'Abbās II, who seems to have retired in 1120/1708 (?), see Rieu, *Supplement*, p. 41a, 4. Fath-'Alī khan Dāghestānī b. Alqās-mīrzā b. Ildırım khan Shamkhāl, blinded on 7 Safar 1133/8, December, 1720, see *Z T.*, 205b; and 5. Muḥammad-qulī khan Shāmlū who previously held the office of Qurchi-bashī and who accompanied the Shah to the Afghan camp on 11 Muḥarram 1134/23, October, 1782.

procedure is as follows: the Šāhib-jam' of the Royal Treasury delivers to the Royal (*khāṣṣa*) Qaychāchi-khāna the precious textiles chosen for the cutting (*qat'*) of garments in the Private Household. At the hour fixed by the Chief Astronomer (§21) and reported by him to His Majesty, the head tailor, in the presence of a trustee (*mu'tamad*) of the 'ālī-jāh Nāzir, of the Šāhib-jam' of the Tailoring Department and of the Mushrif, begins cutting (*qat'*). Finally (*hāṣil*) the clothes are sewn (48b) and, together with the other finished clothes kept in the said department, are placed in the care (*tahvīl*) of the above-mentioned Šāhib-jam'. The same applies to the textiles [which are destined] to be given as in'āms, or as robes of honour (*khal'at*), and to those acquired by purchase. The procedure of purchasing textiles in the said department is as follows: the Nāzir convokes experts and, with their help (*vuqūf*, "knowledge") fixes the prices and has them seal the lists of prices (*qimat-nāmcha*). On the strength of this document the purchase is registered (*qalamī gardād*). By this method the prices of Kāshān stuffs etc., are established; a receipt (*qabā al-vāṣil*) is written and included in the lists of goods to be sent [to the capital] (*ḍimn-i tavāmīr-i infādh*) and [the sum] is credited to the vazirs and governors (*ba-kharj-i vuzarā mujrā māgardād*). Precious (*sangīn*) stuffs (49a), as occasion arises (*ba-munāsabat*), are also placed in the care of the same Department. The robes (*qabā*) which are tailored for the great amirs as "precious khal'ats" and have the significance of a qabā that has been worn by the king (*hukm-i qabā-yi pūshīda dārad*)¹ are also kept in this Department. The same applies to sable-marten (*samūr*) furs and to "londra."²

(b) The second point is on the subordinates of the said Šāhib-jam':

tailor	ironer (<i>utū-kash</i>)
stocking-maker (<i>jūrāb-dūz</i>)	cotton carder (<i>hallāj</i>)
maker of trousers (<i>chaqshūr-dūz</i>)	cleaner (<i>sāf-kun</i>)
sewer of londra	hat-maker

§35. The ŠĀHIB-JAM' OF THE AMIRS' TAILORING DEPARTMENT (*qaychāchi-khāna-yi umarā'ī*). His duties and the rules (*dābiqa*) of his Department are as follows. The robes of honour which are given to governors, vazirs, kalāntars, mīn-bāshīs and yūz-bāshīs, as well as to other persons not having an amīral status, (49b) and which are tailored in Kāshān and Iṣfahān are deposited (*tahvīl*) in the said Department. If a qabā, or an overcoat (*bālāpūsh*) have been granted as a robe of honour (*khal'at*), the rule is that whoever has heard the oral order (*mushāfaha*) from the King, writes a petition to the Grand Vazir. After this petition has been endorsed (*raqam*) by the [Grand] Vazir, [subsequently to] the approval (*tajvīz*) of the Nāzir, the said garments are issued from the above mentioned Department. When it is intended to grant someone a coronet of honour (*tāj-i vahhāj*) the latter is prepared in the said Department out of gold braid (?) on a gold lining (*az zarbaft-i būm-i zar?*), etc.; then it is taken delivery of (*jam'*) by the said Department and (finally) issued [to the grantee].

§36. The duties of the FARRĀSH-BĀSHĪ-[YI] MASH'ALDĀR-BĀSHĪ³ are resumed under two points (50a):

¹ A robe "from His Majesty's shoulders."

² Du Mans, 248: *londré*, and Chardin, VII, 367: *londra*, explained as "English cloth." In Johnson's Persian Dictionary: "red cloth." The name is derived from *London*, Italian *Londra*.

³ This Persian construction seems to mean: "The farrāsh-bashi who is the mash'aldār-bashi." Consequently the officer was in charge of furniture and lighting. But v.1., §§44 and 45.

(a) The objects in his care (*tahvīlāt*) are:

carpets and rugs	brown (<i>būr</i>) felts
felt cushions and mattresses	<i>mīlak</i> ("tacks"?)
tents with accessories	<i>mīhqālī</i> (cotton stuff?) ²
tallow burners (<i>pih-sūz</i>)	chintz (<i>chīzī</i>)
candlesticks	<i>dālbūr</i> (?)
napkins of tambour work (<i>sūzanī</i> ?)	<i>lonḍra</i> (English cloth)
wax	copper basins (<i>tashī</i>)
candles	window paper (<i>kāghaz-i panjara</i>)
melted tallow	glue (<i>svīsh</i>)
soap	paper lanterns (<i>fānūs</i>)
ropes	<i>mūchak-dān</i> (?) ³
tape (<i>navār</i>)	<i>yurt-hā-yī chūbī</i> (felt huts on wooden frames?)
fimsy (?) felts of different colours ⁴	<i>kajāva</i> (travelling boxes), with their covers
tapestry woven carpets (<i>gilīm</i>)	

(b) The staff under the Farrāsh-bāshī:

tent-makers	candle lighters
sewers of <i>lonḍra</i>	farrāshes
lamp lighters	box makers (<i>sandūq-sāz</i>)

§37. The ŞĀḤĪB-JAM'Ī MĪVA-KHĀNA, etc., is in charge of products (*ajnās*) appertaining to the Fruity Department: melons (50b), cucumbers, grapes, pomegranate juice, tamarind, greens (*sabzī*), apricots and any other fruit, as well as of vessels (*zurūf*) of gold, silver and copper, in the numbers required. The delivery of products is taken (*bāz-yāft*) as explained under the Ḥavīj-khāna.⁴ The expenditure both fixed and additional is also according to the rules of the Ḥavīj-khāna.

§38. The ŞĀḤĪB-JAM'Ī GHĀNĀT ("Butchery Department").⁵ Any sheep brought [to the department] must be slaughtered in the presence of the Nāzīr's delegate: their meat, fat tails, raw grease, heads, feet, liver and skin are all taken delivery of and registered (*tahvīl-va-dabṭ*). Whenever there are no sheep in the department, and they have to be bought from the market, the purchase is made [on the basis] of the monthly price as fixed (*tas'īr*) by the Şāhib-nasaq, the Muḥtasib al-mamālik and the elders of the guild (51a) and certified by the Nāzīr's seal—lest the Divan should sustain any loss. As regards lambs and whatever is necessary for the consumption of the Private Household and servants, the Master (*ustād*?) of the butchers submits a list of prices [for delivery] by contract (*ba-qayd-i iltizām*), so that the expenditure be made accordingly.

§39. The ŞĀḤĪB-JAM'Ī ĀBDĀR-KHĀNA (Department of refreshing drinks), etc., in charge of decanters (*tung*), drinking-bowls (*jām-i ābkhurī*) made of gold or silver (*az ālāt-i ṭalā va nuqra*?), etc., washing bowls (*maṭhara*), *ḥusaymī* (leather bottles), bags for carrying snow, utensils appertaining to ice-stores, pails [etc.].

§40. The material in charge of the ŞĀḤĪB-JAM'Ī SHUTUR-KHĀN (Camel Stables) consists of horse blankets (*jul*), saddle cloths (*takaltū*), bags (51b), felts, halters (*afsār*), cords (*rīsmān*), etc. Once a year the Nāzīr, jointly with the Vazīr of the

¹ *Namad-i t.nka* (?) *-yī alvān*. *Tunuk*, "thin, fimsy." In the special sense *tunuka* means "short trousers worn by wrestlers," probably so called on account of their material.

² Translated tentatively. Cf. Russian МИТКАЛЬ, "calico"

³ "Holder for whisks"?

⁴ This § is left out in the text, but cf. §144.

⁵ Evidently: *ghan* = *gan*, in Turkish "blood," cf. Kaempfer, 123.

Buyūtāt considers the camels and gives his opinion on them (*nīk-u bad mīnumāyad*) (cf. f. 56a). When a camel dies it is written off (*khary*) from the Šāhib-jam's register with a mention of its brand (*tamqā*). The latter is impressed with a hot iron (*ba-ātash*) in the Nāzīr's presence.

§41. The ŠĀHIB-JAM' OF THE COFFEE DEPARTMENT has in his charge coffee pots of gold, silver, copper, *qarā-āftāba*(?), coffee roasters (*qahva-biryān-kun*), cups (*piyāla*) and trays.

§42. The inventory entrusted to the care of the KEEPER¹ OF THE ROYAL BUILDINGS consists of carpets, cushions, felts, jājīms, curtains for niches (52a). The beating and sweeping of carpets is the duty of the SARĀY-DĀRS.

§43. The ŠĀHIB-JAM' OF THE RIKĀB-KHĀNA ("Master of the Robes") keeps the linen (*rukhhūt*) of the Royal bath-house with its accessories, His Majesty's blankets, cushions (*nāzbālīsh*), bolsters (*pushtī*) and clothes, travelling bags made of calf skin (*mafrash-i talāfīn*),² in which the servants' paraphernalia are packed on a journey, shoes (*kafsh*), top-boots (*chakma*), socks, prayer carpets (*jānamāz*) and their accessories.

§44. The ŠĀHIB-JAM' OF THE LIGHTING DEPARTMENT (*mash' al-khāna*)³ and the Music band (*naqqāra-khāna*) keeps torch-holders (*mashā'il*) made of gold, silver and copper, fat of sheeps' tails (*dunba*), tallow, lamp oil, melted fat (*yuzghāla*), wicks (*navāla*),⁴ large kettledrums (*kūs*), small kettledrums (*naqqāra*), long trumpets (*karranā*), straight trumpets (*nafīr*), oboes (*surnā*) (52b) and the accessories of the band. The staffs of the band and of the lighting department are under the Mash'aldarbashi's orders, and yearly receive (*bāz-yāft*) their salary on the basis of the roll (*tūmār-i sān*), which has been sealed by the Nāzīr and approved by the I'timād al-daula's raqam.

§45. The SĀHIB-JAM' OF THE STOREHOUSE (*anbār*)⁵ keeps barley, straw, clover (*yūmja*) and grass of cereals (*qašīl*)⁶ destined for the fodder (*alīq*) of the stable (animals) and of the caravan of mules (*qaṭār-i astarān*), as well as horse blankets (*juḥ*), light covers (*pīrāhan*), saddle-girths (*tang*), halters (*afsār*), **qapṭurgha* bags,⁷ hobbles (*pā-band*), buckets, horse-shoes, nails, lariats (*kamand*), shovels (*pārū*), felt for covers, nose-bags (*tūbra*) and the lighting material of the stables.

§46. The SĀHIB-JAM' OF THE STABLES (*iṣṭabl*) (53a) is in charge of the horses, mules and asses of the department.

§47. The SĀHIB-JAM' OF THE KING'S SHARBAT-KHĀNA is in charge of the belongings of the department: vessels of gold, silver, china, glazed ware (*kāshī*) and copper, as well as crystal sugar, candy sugar (*qand*), medicinal herbs (*aqāqīr*), coffee, tobacco,

¹ *Taḥvīldārān* must be interpreted as referring to one single officer.

² The word *talāfīn*, also found in Ottoman Turkish, is of Russian origin ТЕЛЯТА, "calves."

³ V.i., p. 138, on the confusion in the duties of §36 and §44.

⁴ *Navāla* means either "a portion of food" or "a wad." Here probably it refers to pieces of cotton burning as a wick in oil or tallow.

⁵ Or *Anbārdār-bāshī*.

⁶ Chardin, III, 374: "herbe légère et pleine d'eau pour purger les animaux au printemps."

⁷ Spelt: *q nī.rgha*. Undoubtedly **qapṭurgha*, "a large and deep bag," see Radloff, *Versuch*, II, 428. In Mongolian, *qapṭurgha* means "a pocket," see *Muqaddimat al-adab*, ed. Poppe, 285, *ibid.*, 444: *qajjarghan*, "a bag" (after Ibn Muḥannā).

glass; tops, tubes (*sar-va-nay*) and other accessories of hookas; *halīla* (myrobolam), *āmula* (*embilica officinalis*) and other preserves (*murabbāyāt*); lemon-juice, rose water, etc., spirits (*'araq?*), pickles (*turshī*), perfumes, etc. With regard to the allowance (*muqarrarī*) of the Private Household, (Royal) attendants (*khādim*),¹ muqarrabs and [other] staff entitled to daily rations (*jīra-khwār*), the said Šāhib-jam', in his daily expenditure, follows (*mujrā*) the norm originally established (*rūz-i avval sanad-i mahkūm-bihī shūda bāshad*) (53b). Whatever additional expenditure he may have daily, is effected (*mujrā*) by a voucher which every day is to be rendered operative (*mahkūm-bihī*), and without a voucher he does [*not] put anything down to his expenditure.

§48. The ḌARRĀBĪ-BĀSHĪ, "Master of the Mint" (cf. §22), must see that the moneymen (*ḍarrābī-hā-yi sikkā-zan*) strike coins (*sikka-kārī numāyand?*) according to the standards (*daštūr*) established for the ashrafī and 'abbāsī, so that these coins should possess no defects and no one of the Mint staff (*ḍarrābīyān*) should tamper (*khīyānat*) with them. He must be on the look-out and, wherever a forgery occurs, inform the ŠĀHĪB-NASAQ. In case of minor offences he makes an enquiry (*bāz-khwāst*) and punishes the offender, but if the offence is a major one and necessitates a report (*gunjāyish-i 'arā*), (54a) he presents a report to His Majesty (*navvāb-i humāyūn*) and what the latter decrees (*muqarrar*) is carried out by the Dīvān-begi. He must also see that *naqda* should be produced nowhere except at the Mint, and not tolerate that coins (should) be struck of debased metal (*zar*). The Ḍarrābī-bāshī is the keeper (*tahvīldār*) of the sums belonging to the Divan: the Mushrif of the Mint, by the order and with the knowledge of the Mu'ayyir al-mamālik, remits (*abvāb-jam'*) the amount of *vājībī* ("royalties") to the Ḍarrābī-bāshī. Daily he² presents his day-book (*rūz-nāmcha*) to the Mu'ayyir al-mamālik [who?] every month confirms the state of his accounts (*ḥisāb-i ū-rā "ḥasab al-vāqī" tashkḥiṣ dihad*). The scribe (*nivīsanda*), whom the Mu'ayyir al-mamālik (54b) appoints as a colleague (*ham-qalam*) to the Mushrif, checks [the accounts] in order that there may be no discrepancy as to the sums remitted to the Ḍābit³ and that the Treasury may sustain no loss. Appointment and dismissal of the Mint staff and the mushrif is a prerogative of the Mu'ayyir al-mamālik (cf. f. 35b).

§49. The duty of the ŠARRĀF-BĀSHĪ of the Royal Treasury is as follows. When the ashrafīs and silver (*zar-i safīd*) are brought to the Treasury from the provinces or (in payment of) taxes (*vujūhāt*), the Šāhib-jam' [of the Treasury] (§32) takes delivery (*bāz yāft?*) of them, while the Šarrāf-bāshī and the šarrāfs, in the presence of the Šāhib-jam', the Mushrif and the payer (*mu'addī*), or the latter's delegate, examine and sort (*šarrāfī*) [the coins]. They place them in bags which they seal and remit to the Šāhib-jam'. The money [may then] be issued for any expenditure under orders (55a). Whatever gold (and silver) coins prove to be false or of weak quality (*zabūn*), are put aside and handed (*taslīm*) to the owner.

¹ Perhaps "eunuchs." But see above, f. 30a.

² The Ḍarrābī-bāshī?

³ I.e. the Ḍarrābī-bāshī himself, acting as a Collector of the sums due to the Government, cf. f. 37b.

CHAPTER IV

ON FINANCIAL OFFICERS [AND SECRETARIES]

THIS chapter consists of two Divisions (*maqṣad*).

DIVISION I.—On the functions of the Vazir of the Buyūtāt, the Mustaufi of the Keepers (*arbāb-i taḥāvil*) and the Mushrifis of the Royal Buyūtāt. It is subdivided into three paragraphs.

§50. The duty of the 'ālī-ḥadrat VAZIR OF THE BUYŪTĀT is as follows: whatever expenditure (*akhrājāt*) occurs in the Workshops (*kār-khānaḡāt*) of the Royal Private Household (*khāṣṣa-yi sharīfa*), the subordinates of [the Nāzīr],¹ under the latter's instructions (*qadaghan*), present to the Vazir daily, weekly and monthly vouchers and day-books, relative to the said expenditure (55b). The Vazir, jointly with a scribe who draws his salary from the Private Household, collates and checks (*muqābala-va-muvāzana*) the documents and, [if he] is satisfied (*khavāṭir-jam' numūda*), endorses them (*khatt guzāshṭa*)² and presents them to the Nāzīr's seal, so that no delay prejudicial to the Private Household occurs in the writing (*nivīshṭan*) of the day-books and vouchers. On the days of festivals (*a'yād*) or assemblies, the Nāzīr confirms [how] much food, sherbet (*afshura*), turshī, etc., should be prepared for consumption and the Vazir of the Buyūtāt considers [the list], makes his reckonings, takes a copy [of the list] and keeps it (*dabt*) until the voucher arrives, to see that there should be no more expenditure mentioned than what was really supplied (*āvarda-and*).

When some transaction (*dād-va-sitād*) takes place in the Buyūtāt (56a), so long as the paper has not been endorsed by the said Vazir, the Nāzīr does not appose his seal to it. Without the Vazir's presence, the Nāzīr does not revise the rolls of the lower staff (*sān-i 'amala*), examine the camels (cf. §40) or fix the value of the textiles sent [to the Court, **infādḥ*]. The price of the goods, textiles, etc., purchased in Iṣfahān for the Buyūtāt is fixed by the Nāzīr in the presence of the Vazir of the Buyūtāt and of the experts. Were the Nāzīr to associate someone else with the Vazir in [the discharge of] the latter's duties, this would be considered an abuse (*khīyānat*), violence (*taqallub*) and encroachment (*taṣarruf dāshtā khāhad būd*). The salaries of the Buyūtāt staff, as the latter appears at the roll-call (*dar-sān*), is given on the basis of the schedules (*tūmār*) endorsed (*khatt*) by the Vazir of the Buyūtāt, sealed (56b) by the Nāzīr and [confirmed] by the I'timād al-daula's raqam. Those of the staff who happen to be on missions or on leave, after their return, receive the salary according to the statement (*kayfiyāt*) which, as usual (*ba-dastūr*), has passed through the [three instances], namely, *tajvīz*, *raqam* and *khatt*.³

§51. The business of the MUSTAUFĪ OF THE KEEPERS (*arbāb-i taḥāvil*) is to keep a clear register (*sar-rishta-yi munaqqah*) of any cash, gold and silver objects, objects set with jems, sable-marten furs, textiles, garments, camels, horses and goods which, for some reason, are entrusted to the Ṣāḥib-jam's, so that the Dīvān property should

¹ *tavābīn-i mushār-ilayh*, evidently of the Nāzīr, not of the Vazir

² Initials them?

³ Logical order *khatt*, *tajvīz*, *raqam*

sustain no loss. Every month he collects the Mushrif's day-books (57a) and in the form used in the keepers' registers (*ba farh-i sar-rishta-yi arbāb-i tahāvil*) draws up an account (*muhāsaba*) to (*bar*) the Šāhib-jam's. Following the rules of accountancy (*qānūn-i hisāb*) he ascertains the debit and credit (*bāqī-va-fāḍil*), and without the Nāzīr's seal, does not legalise anyone's expenditure (*chizi ba-kharj-i aḥādī nanivīsād*).

§52. The duty of the MUSHRIF'S OF THE ROYAL BUYŪTĀT is to keep up to date the day-books and vouchers of their respective workshops, for any delay (*pas-anāzād*) in the preparation of the day-books may cause great prejudice to the Private Household. If the šāhib-jam's and the delegates [laying up stocks?] (*muhāssil*) fail to present [the accounts] of expenditure and vouchers to the Mushrif's, the latter must inform the Nāzīr of the Buyūtāt who then appoints someone to bring the vouchers to them. Without a voucher the Mushrif's (57b) must not, under any pretext (*zabānī*), include in the day-books any single dīnār or any single maund of goods. The vouchers endorsed or sealed by a non-competent person (*ghayr-i šāhib-kār*) must be sent back. So long as a šāhib-jam' has still (*pīsh-dāshta*) a credit (*bāqī*) of money or goods [on his account], that sum or account must not be included in next year's estimate (*bar-āvarā*).¹

DIVISION II.—On the functions of the vazīrs and mustaufis of the Royal Secretariat (*daftar-khāna*), who are in charge of the income (*jam'*) and expenditure, and on those of the Dārūgha, 'Azab-bāshī, etc. Divided into 20 paragraphs.

§53. The duties of the muqarrab al-hadrat al-'aliyya al-'aliya NĀZĪR OF THE ROYAL SUPREME SECRETARIAT (*daftar-khāna-yi humāyūn-a'lā*) are to seal after verification: raqams referring to employment (58a), subventions (*madad-i ma'āsh*), exemptions (*mu'āfir*), soyūrghāls, pensions (*vazā'if*), orders (*hukm*) for hama-sāla, tiyūl and cash (*tanḳhwāh*) of the whole of the government staff ('*asākīr*)² as well as raqams for the appointment of officials, and the single sheets³ of the accounts (*afrād-i muhāsabāt*) of the 'āmils in all the God-blessed provinces, through whatever office they may pass. And also to clear (*mafrūgh*) the accounts [received by] all the provincial 'āmils from vazīrs, stewards (*mutasaḍḍī*), tenants (*musta'jir*), collectors (*dabīṭān*) and agents (*mubāshir*) of the Divan revenue (*māliyyāt*). This is the special occupation of the said Nāzīr.

He used to have nine scribes of the Divan staff, of whom eight registered and endorsed (*khatt*) the raqams, orders (*hukm*) for hama-sāla and payments of cash, as well as certificates (*taṣḍīqāt*) for (?) hama-sāla, etc. (58b), which pass through various departments. The ninth scribe (§126?), after verification, endorses accounts, raqams, orders and certificates and traces *shud*⁴ on them as they pass [through the office].

§54. The duties of the DĀRŪGHA OF THE SECRETARIAT (*daftar-khāna*) are to maintain order (*nasāq*) in the whole of the Secretariat and [if necessary] to punish the 'azabs (§68) and other lower staff ('*amala*) of the Secretariat. Claims and disputes

¹ I.e. his credit for the next year is diminished by that amount?

² Cf. the scope of the terms *lashkar-navis* (§63) and *ordū* (f. 22a).

³ I.e. sheets referring to any single subject, cf. Chardin, V, 450.

⁴ Under the seals on the back of various kinds of farmans, endorsements are found such as: *qalamī shud*, *mulāhaza shud*, cf. f. 71b, etc. Our author must refer to these formulas. This is clear from an entry found in Or. 4935: "*khufū'i*" va "*shud-hā*" *ku bar pushi-i in si farmān kashīda shuda-ast*, etc.

(*da'vā*) between the said staff must be settled in his presence. He used to seal the inside¹ of all the orders and raqams relative to appointments, cash, tiyūl, and hama-sāla, as well as the raqams of employment of all the [ranks of] the victorious army ('*asākīr-i manšūra*), as well as the receipts (*vaṣl*) of raqams and orders. He used to prosecute (*pāy-i ḥisāb miyāvarā*) all the 'āmils of the Divān (59a), such as vazīrs, contractors, dābiṭs, mutasaddīs and mubāshirs of State revenue whose accounts are cleared (*tafrīgh*) and verified (*tashīh*) by the Nāzīr of the Secretariat (§53).

§55. The duty of the VAZIR OF THE QURCHIS DEPARTMENT is to seal the statements (*kayfiyāt*) and certificates concerning the presence [of the qurchis on duty] and [their] service on campaigns, as well as the records (*nuskhajāt*) which the Sipah-sālārs and Sardārs used to issue with regard to the veterans of the staff (*mulāziman-i qadīmī*, cf. f. 44a). After the issue of the raqam of the Grand Vazir and the approval (*tajvīz*) of the Qūrchī-bāshī,² an endorsement was made in the Qurchi Department that [the order] should become operative (*ma'mūl*) without hindrance (*māni*). The vazīrs also endorsed the rest of the statements (*kayfiyāt*) of the said Department (59b) regarding the qurchis, yūz-bāshī, yasāvulān-i qūr, etc., and kept (*dābt*) the rolls (*ṭavāmīr*), certificates and testimonials of employment of the yūz-bāshīs, yasāvulān-i qūr, qūrchiyān-i yarāq and young (*jadīdī*) qūrchīs. They wrote and addressed (*qalamī-va-'invān*) the raqams of employment, additional tiyūls and salary of the said staff. They seal the inside (*dimn*) of orders and raqams for salary, tiyūl, hama-sāla, grants (*im'ām*), money payable in drafts, [as well as the inside of] statements (*kayfiyāt*).

On the roll-call day (*rūz-i sām*) of the Qūrchīs the said Vazir, jointly with the Musta'fi of the Department read to the King, in the Paradisiac assembly, the records (*nuskhajāt-i sām*), the amount of tiyūl, salary, hama-sāla (60a) and personal allowance (*nafarī*)³ of the staff mentioned.

§56. The MUSTAUFĪ OF THE QURCHIS DEPARTMENT has four scribes from the Divan staff. His duty is duly to keep the files of the individual allowances [of each man] (*sar-rishā bar nafarī?*), the date of the raqam of his appointment, the amount of salary, grants, tiyūl, hama-sāla, claims (*ṭalāb*) and absence from duty (*ghaybat-i keshīk*). Official documents, certificates of presence and absence, certificates (*nuskhā*) of dismissal (*ikhraj*) and death (**mutavaffā*, v.i., 62a), remain with the said Musta'fi. The scribes (*nivīsanda*) of the said Department used to make the respective entries (*dābt*) and duly communicate them to the scribes of the Revenue Department (*ba-qalam-i kuttāb-i sarkār-i jam'*) in order that they should register (*dābt*) for the Divan the share of salary (*rasād*) due to the dismissed (**ikhrajīyīm*), the days of absence, the supplement (60b) on joining a campaign (*tafāvut-i vurūd-i safar*), together with the hama-sāla and tiyūl [which had been granted] to the persons who have died (*mutavaffā*) [since]. The preparation of statements (*kayfiyāt*) concerning claims [for] cash, tiyūls and hama-sāla, the registration of orders and raqams for tiyūl and salaries, either hama-sāla or payable in drafts, to the corps (*jamā'at*) of Qūrchīs, as well as of the raqams of their employment was the duty of the scribes *

¹ *Dimn*, "verso"?

² Logically *tajvīz* should come before *raqam*. Ditto in §§57, 59 and 61

³ Cf. f. 69b: *qadr-i nafarī-yr qoshūn*, and Kaempfer, 89; salārī quantitas, but the meaning of *nafarī* varies at places.

of the said Department; after registration [the documents] were presented for the endorsement and seal of the Mustaufi of the Department.

§57. The duties of the VAZIR OF THE GHULĀMS DEPARTMENT [are as follows]. The statements and certificates (concerning the) presence [of the ghulams on duty] and [their] service on campaigns, as well as the records which used to be issued by the Sipahsālārs and Sardārs with regard to the veterans (61a) were confirmed by a raqam of the Grand Vazir and approved (*tajvīz*) by the Qūllar-āqāsī and [then] endorsed in the said Department, in order that they should become operative (*ma'mūl*) without hindrance (*māni'*). The rest of the statements relative to the claims (*ṭalab*), hama-sāla, tiyūl and the salary of the yūz-bāshīs, ghulāms and yasāvulān-i qūr, ghulāms and jārchīs armed with *jazā'irī*¹ (*jazā'irī-andāz*), etc., were also sealed by the Vazirs of the Ghulāms. The rolls (*tūmār*), certificates (*taṣḍīqāt*) and records referring to the employment of the yūz-bāshīs, yasāvulān-i qūr and other younger (*jadīdī*) ghulāms were kept (*dabī*) by the said Vazirs. They used to write and address (*qalamī-va-'invānī*) the raqams relative to employment, additional tiyūls and salaries of the said corps (*jamā'at*). They also used to seal statements (61b) concerning the salary, tiyūl, hama-sāla, grants and money payable in drafts, as well as the inside (*dīmn*) of the raqams and orders of employment, tiyūl, hama-sāla and claims of the said staff.

On the roll-call day of the ghulāms the said Vazir, jointly with the Mustaufi of the department, read to the King, in the Paradisiac assembly, the records (*nuskhajāt*), prepared for the occasion, [containing] the amount of tiyūl, salary, hama-sāla and personal allowance (*nafarī*) of the said corps.

§58. The MUSTAUFĪ OF THE GHULĀMS DEPARTMENT had five secretaries² belonging to the Divan staff. He faithfully kept (*durust mīdāshṭa*) the individual files (*sar-rishṭa-yi nafarī?*),³ mentioning dates of issue of raqams of employment, amount of salary (62a), grants, tiyūl, hama-sāla, claims and (periods of) absence from, and presence on duty (*keshīk*). Official documents (*asnād-i daftari?*), certificates of presence or absence, records of dismissals and deaths (*nuskhajāt-i ikhrāj va mutavaffā*) were kept by the Mustaufi of the Department and [his] secretaries (*muharrir*) and in accordance with them, [data] were communicated to the Revenue Department (*ba-qalam-i sarkār-i jam' mīdāda-and*) to enable [the official of the latter] to register for the Divan the share (*vasād*) [due to?] the dismissed [ghulāms], the days of the ghulāms' absence and the supplement [due to them] on joining a campaign (*tafāvut-i vurūd-i safar*). The secretaries of the Department had to prepare statements of claims (*kayfiyāt-i ṭalab*), cash, tiyūl and hama-sāla, and to register the orders, raqams and statements regarding the tiyūl and salary of the said corps. When these documents were written and registered they were endorsed and sealed (62b) by the Mustaufi.

§59. The duties of the VAZIR OF THE MUSKETEERS (*tufangchī*) were as follows. When the statements and certificates regarding the presence [of the Musketeers on duty] or [their] service on campaigns were written, or when the records [issued]

¹ Muskets of very large calibre. The jazā'irī corps was under the orders of the Tufangchī-bashī, v.s., p. 34.

² But cf. f. 64a.

³ Here *nafarī* seems to stand for the adjective "individual."

by Sipahsālārs and Sardārs with regard to the veterans [were drawn up], they were submitted to the raqam of the Grand Vazir and the approval of the Tufangchī-āqāsī and [then] endorsed by the Vazir of the Musketeers' Department, so that, without hindrance, they should become operative in the said Department. The said Vazir also endorsed the other statements of the said Department [regarding] the musketeers, yūz-bāshīs, mīn-bāshīs, jārchīs, etc. (63a). The rolls, certificates and records [regarding] the employment of the said mīn-bāshīs, yūz-bāshīs and jārchīs were kept by the said Vazir, who wrote and addressed (*qalamī-va-'invān*) the raqams of employment, additional tiyūls and salary of the said corps. He also sealed the inside (*ḍimn*) of raqams and orders of employment and salary, as well as the statements on salary, tiyūl, hama-sāla, grants and money payable in drafts.

On the roll-call day of the Musketeers the said Vazir, jointly with the Mustaufi of the Department, read to the King, in his Paradisiac assembly, the records (*nuskhajāt-i sār*) containing mentions of the amount of tiyūl, salary, hama-sāla and personal allowance (*naḡarī?*) of the said staff.

§60. The MUSTAUFĪ (63b) OF THE MUSKETEERS DEPARTMENT has four secretaries belonging to the Divan staff. His duty is to keep faithfully the files containing individual items (*naḡarī?*), the date of issue of the raqam of employment, amount of salary, grants, tiyūl, hama-sāla, claims and hamīsha-keshīk (?).¹ The Mustaufi and the secretaries kept the files (*asnād-i daftari*), certificates of presence and absence and records (*nuskha*) concerning dismissals and deaths, and in conformity with them, communicated data to the Revenue Department in order that a record (*ḡabī*) should be kept for the Dīvān of the share of salary due to the dismissed, of the days of absence and of the supplement on joining a campaign. The said scribes have to prepare statements of claims [for] cash, tiyūl (64a) and hama-sāla and to register the orders, raqams and statements [regarding] the salary, hama-sāla, [money payable] in drafts, etc., of the said corps. These documents, when written and registered, were endorsed and sealed by the said Mustaufi.

The post of Mustaufi of the said Department has always belonged to the Mustaufi of the Ghulāms Department and [the] four secretaries² are employed [simultaneously] in the two departments (cf. §112).

§61. The duties of the VAZIR OF THE ROYAL TŪP-KHĀNA (artillery) are as follows. Whenever statements, certificates concerning the presence [of the gunners on duty] and [their] service on campaigns [were prepared], or records (*nuskhajāt*) concerning the service of veterans were issued by the Sipahsālārs and Sardārs, they were submitted to the Grand Vazir's raqam (64b) and the Tūpchī-bāshī's approval, and then the Vazir of the Tūp-khāna endorsed them, in order that, without hindrance, they might become operative in the said Department. The Vazir also endorsed other departmental statements relative to the gunners, mīn-bāshīs, yūz-bāshīs, jārchīs, etc. He kept the rolls, certificates and records concerning the employment of the mīn-bāshīs, yūz-bāshīs, jārchīs and other younger *gunners.³ The Vazirs used to write and address the raqams of employment, additional tiyūls and salary of the [artillery] corps and to seal the inside of the raqams and orders of employment, salary and tiyūl,

¹ Time spent at the King's guard-house? Cf. §63.

² But see §58.

³ Instead of *tufangchīyān-i jaḡāḡī* read *tūpchīyān-i ʔ*.

as well as statements concerning salary, *tiyül* (65a), *hama-sāla*, grants and money payable in drafts.

On the roll-call day of the gunners the said Vazir, jointly with the Mustaufi of the Department, read to the King (*navvāb-i ashraf*), in his Paradisiac assembly, the records mentioning the amount of *tiyül*, salary, *hama-sāla* and personal allowance (*nafarī*?) of the said corps.

§62. The MUSTAUFİ OF THE ARTILLERY DEPARTMENT had under his orders three or four secretaries of the Divan staff. His duty is to keep the files [containing] individual items (*nafarī*), date of issue of the raqams of employment, amount of salary, grants, *tiyüls*, *hama-sāla* and claims relative to (?) *hamisha-keshik*.¹

The files, certificates (65b) of presence and absence, and records (*muskhajāt*) concerning dismissals and deaths were kept by the said Mustaufi and the secretaries of the Department, and, in accordance with them, [data] were communicated to the Revenue Department, in order that a record might be kept (*dabī*) for the Dīvān of the share of salary due (*rasād*) to the dismissed, of the days of absence, and of the supplement on joining a campaign. The secretaries of the Department had to write statements of claims [for] cash (*tankhwāh*), *tiyül* and *hama-sāla*, and to register the orders, raqams and statements concerning *tiyüls*, salary, *hama-sāla*, [money payable] in drafts (*barātī*), etc., of the said corps. These documents, when written and registered, were endorsed and sealed by the said Mustaufi.

§63. The LASHKAR-NIVĪS OF THE SUPREME DIVAN is the vazir of the Department of the Āqāyān (cf. f. 13b), falconers (*gushchī*), ushers (*yasāvul*) and door-keepers (*qāpūchī*) (66a) both of the Divan and the Harem (*dīvān [va?] haram*, v.i.), etc. He stamped with his seal statements of *tiyül*, *hama-sāla* and grants of the above-mentioned staff, as well as the raqams and orders of salary, [money] payable in drafts and *hama-sāla* of all the great Amirs, beglarbegis, governors (*hukkām-i kīrām*), sultans and khans, both resident at the court and on the frontiers; the raqams of appointment of the said persons, as well as of all the exalted 'āmils and mustaufis, officials (*aşhāb*, add: *manāşib*) and senior officers (*rīsh-safīd*) of higher and lower ranks, of secretaries of the Secretariat [of State], vazirs and mustaufis of the frontier [provinces], doctors, astrologers, *nāzirs* and *kalāntars*; raqams and orders concerning claims [of?] money of the amirs, courtiers (*muqarraban-i dargāh*), Āqāyān (?), falconers, ushers, door-keepers of the Divan and of the Harem, the heads of departments (*şāhib-jam'*) (66b), mushrifis, workmen of the Royal Buyūtāt, other than the *ghulāms*; and (finally) the raqams and orders of *soyūrghāl*, exemptions, leases, pensions and the rolls of *yasāqis*² and levies (*cherīk*). The Lashkar-nivīs writes the raqams of employment of the said persons.

Whenever a Sipahsālār or a Sardār sets out [on a campaign], a deputy (*nā'ib*) of the Lashkar-nivīs is sent with him in order to keep a true register of (*bar*) presence and absence, of the personal appearance [of the men] (*chihra-nivīsī*) and of the amount of their salary—which register is forwarded to the Exalted Court. The [Lashkar-nivīs] keeps the individual files (*sar-rishta-yi nafarī*) of the amirs, governors and sultans of the frontier [provinces].

¹ *Ṭalab-ı hamisha-keshik* (under §60: *ṭalab-va-hamisha-keshik*), "applications for being appointed to the Life-Guards" or "claims resulting from being on guard at the Palace"?

² Bound service men.

On roll-call days the officials (*jamā'atī*) (67a) connected (*dād-u-sitād*) with the Department of Sar-khaṭṭ, jointly with the Sar-khaṭṭ-nivīs, used to read and write muster records (*nushhajāt-i sān*).¹

§64. The SAR-KHAṬṬ-NIVĪS OF THE SUPREME DIVAN is the colleague (*sharīk*) of the Lashkar-nivīs in all the [latter's] affairs,—except in the writing of raqams of employment of all the said officials (*mulāzimān*), in the sealing of the statements, raqams and orders of the persons which are enumerated above (*mufaṣṣala-yi ma'rūda*) and belong to the purview of the Lashkar-nivīs, and in the sending of delegates to accompany the Sipahsālārs and Sardārs. He is the Mustaufi of the Department of the Aqāyān, etc. (v.s., §9). [The preparation of?] all the orders and raqams of the officials and 'āmils, the statements of claims [for?] money of the above-mentioned staff, and the keeping (*dabṭ*) of personal files (67b) [with] the amount of tiyūl, salary, hama-sāla and money payable in drafts, [belong to his duty]. After the statements have been written, confirmed and registered, the raqams and orders referring to the appointments (*manāṣīb*), tiyūls, hama-sāla, etc., of the said staff are endorsed by the Sar-khaṭṭ-nivīs.

§65. The duties of the DĀBIṬA-NIVĪS are as follows. With the exception of the sums (*vujūhāt*) entered (*jam'*) in the Private Household or in the Avāraja Department, [all the rest] of products (*maḥṣūlāt*) and rents² [collected by] the Divan in all the provinces, as well as road-taxes (*vujūh-i rāhdārī*), [taxes on] the tobacco trade, *taqabbulāt* (?), *jihāt-i 'amal-kardī-yi mamālīk*, *chūpān-begī* (duties on cattle?), caution-money accruing from summonses (*iltizāmāt-i manāfi'-i iḥḍār*, cf. f. 21b), poll-tax of Indians (*sarāna-yi Hunūd*), duties on cattle-markets (*sūq al-davābb*), fees (*rusūm*) of the officials of the Supreme Divan (68a)—are dealt with (*dād-u-sitād*) in the department of the Dābiṭa-nivīs, now entrusted to MĪRZĀ ABUL-ḤASAN. The department had 15 scribes (*nivīsanda*), of whom 4 are actually alive, while the 11 others died during the siege of Iṣfahān, or after it, and most of them have left no [successors].

§66. The duties of the 'ālī-ḥaḍrat ṢĀḤIB-TAUJĪH OF THE SUPREME DĪVĀN are as follows. He must audit (*ham-qalam*) all [the accounts of] the divisional chiefs (*arbāb-i qalam*) of the Expenditure Departments (*sarkārāt-i kharij*) and endorse and seal any kind of business done in the Secretariat (68b). He used to have 12 secretaries, each of whom kept the register (*sar-rishta*) of a branch (*ṣinf*) of the army (*'asākīr*), etc. All the raqams, orders and parvānas regarding appointments (*manāṣīb*) in the Supreme Divan, employment (*mulāzamat*), tiyūls, salary, hama-sāla, exemptions, soyūrghals, pensions, etc., whether they concern the Divan or the Private Department, or the [department of] the Keepers, etc., must be registered in the Ṣāḥib-taujīh's department. All the accountancy (*muhāsabāt*) of the God-protected provinces,—with the exception of that of the Ṣāḥib-jam's of the Royal Buyūtāt and of that of the Keepers of the Buildings (§42), which are prepared in the Department of the Keepers (§51?),—must be confirmed (*taṣḍīq*) in the Ṣāḥib-taujīh's department. The accountancy records (*nuskha-yi muhāsabāt*) (69a) of all the payers (*mu'addī*?) and Keepers of the Private Department referring to operations [carried out] on the strength of raqams and orders, must be certified in the said Department. Similarly all the official statements (*kayfiyāt-i daftari*) must be

¹ This sentence belongs to §64.

² *Mustaqallāt* read *mustaghallāt*.

confirmed by the *taujiḥ* [Department] of the Supreme Divan and a *b.r.khī*¹ written from the said Department. Certificates of hama-sāla, etc., must be all registered and endorsed by the Ṣāhib-taujiḥ and the secretaries of the Department.

The files (*sar-rishta*) of the instructions regarding the fees (*rusūmāt*) of the officers (*manāṣīb*) of the Supreme Divan, and of the instructions concerning the collection of the *chūpān-begi* and other levies (*vujūhāt*) [described as] *sā'ir al-vujūh* belong to the same Department. The instructions issued by His Majesty (*dastūr al-'amal-i navvāb-i gīti-sitān*) were (69b) kept in the same Department and, should at any moment (*dar 'aṣrī*) necessity for an enquiry (**tahqīqī?*) arise, the said Department writes that the instructions are infringed, and that no one should suffer oppression (*ziyādātī*). The amount of personal allowances in the army (*qadr-i nafarī-yi qoshūn?*)² and the emoluments (*madākhil*) of provincial governors are known (*zāhīr*) through the said Department. Most of the secretaries (*muḥarrir*) of the said Department are no [longer] in existence.

§67. The duty of the ARCHIVIST OF THE ROYAL SUPREME SECRETARIAT (*daftar-dār-i daftar-khāna-yi humāyūn-i a'lā*) is to endorse (*ba-khatt-i ū mīrasād*) the raqams and orders of vazirs and mustaufis, as well as the soyūrghāls, exemptions (*mu'āfī*) and [orders for] salary in cash (*tankhwāh-i mavājīb*) of the aides-de-camp (*yasāvulān-i ṣuḥbat*), ushers (*eshīk-āqāsī*) and Aqāyān (v.s., §9). The files (*dafātīr*) of the previous years, which were consulted only occasionally, were kept in the stores (*anbār*) of the Secretariat (70a). The Archivist was in charge (*tahvīl*) of them and kept them in order (*dabṭ*).

§68. The 'AZAB-BASHI is the senior officer (*rīshsafīd*) of the 'azabs and farrāshes of the Royal Secretariat. The files which are not stored are entrusted to him, and if some files (*dafātīr*) were lost, he was responsible for the loss. According to the rules (*dastūr*) the register of raqams and orders (*daftar az raqam*) was endorsed by him.

§69. The duties of the DĀBIṬ-I DUSHULLUK-I VAKĪL were as follows: when the raqams of salaries, etc., pass through the Royal Secretariat he collects (*bāz-yāft*) in cash the dūshulluk of the Vakīl (70b) belonging to the Supreme Divan (§85) to the amount (*ān-chī-rā*) corresponding to the regulations (*dastūr*) and practice (*ma'mūl*). He [registers] the cash money in his files (*sar-rishta*); for those who do not pay in cash (*naqd muḥimm-sāzī*) the sum is deducted (*vaḍ'*) from their credit (*az hashv-i ṭalab*) and towards the end of the year the amount of their liabilities (*qadr-i ān*) is fixed and the sum received from the Secretariat and appropriated (*abvāb-jam'-i khud*) [by the Dābiṭ] who pays it out for any established purposes. The Dābiṭ in his own hand makes a note inside the raqams that the dūshulluk has been collected.

§70. The duty of the AVĀRAJA-NIVĪSES ("Keepers of avāraja-books") is to inscribe names in the *kayfiyāt-i haqā'iq-i daftari*.³ On the accountancy documents (*muḥāsabāt*) of the contractors (*musta'jir*), collectors (*dābiṭ*), stewards (*mutasaddī*) and other agents (*mubāshir*) of the Divan revenue, (71a) they [make endorsements, namely] they write on their expenditure vouchers [the word:] *nusikha* ("deleted")⁴

¹ According to Vullers, I, 215, *barkhī* means. (a) "an offering, a sacrifice," (b) "a compensation" (*ān-chī dar 'avad-i chīzī ba-kasī dīhanā*) Consequently the formula had the meaning of "given up" or awarded (as compensation)."

² Or the contingents of the army?

³ Probably some schedules to be filled in.

⁴ *Dar asnād-i kharj-i īshān "n s kh" va dar afrād "ba-muṭāla'a" mīmvisanā*, cf. *infra* 72b

and [opposite] single items (*afrād*) the word: *ba-muṭāla'a* ("considered"). The parvānas of hama-sāla, tiyūl, etc.,—after their contents (*ḥayfiyāt*, "schedules") [have been approved] by a raqam of the Grand Vazir and by the Mustaufi al-mamālik,—are taken over and addressed (*ḍabṭ va 'invān*) by the Avāraja-nivīses. According to the regulations, they also [perform the same formalities with] the raqams and parvānas which are issued [on the basis] of official drafts (*musavvada-yi daftarī*), [to the following persons]: to the amīrs and vazīrs resident on the frontiers or in the provinces, in whose care [the collection of] revenue has been placed, as well as to the governors, kalāntars, mustaufis, lashkar-nivīses, maliks and "white-beards" of tribes (*īl*), clans (*oymāq*), and other [land] divisions (*maḥāll*) in their possession, whether the said persons be amīrs resident at the Royal Court (*darb-i dawlat-khāna*) (71b) or on the frontiers, or [belong to any] other category (*ghayra*) of dignitaries. [Namely] the Avāraja-nivīses inscribe on the drafts (*musavvada*) [of the said documents the formula] *qalamī* ("written"), and on the [original?] raqams and parvānas [addressed to] the said persons the formula: *mulāḥaza shud* ("considered"), and then register them. [Consequently] they keep the files (*asnād*), write [?] "*qalamī*" on [the drafts of] the raqams and parvānas and make entries in the registers (*dar thabt-hā khatt miguzārānd*), in order that the document may become operative (*sanad-i daftariyān gardād?*).¹ Whenever an iqtā', or a soyūrhāl, or musallamiyāt (?), or exemptions, or a subvention (*madaad-i ma'āsh*), or parvānas referring to accounts (*parvānajāt-i ḥisābi?*) are issued, they act in the same way.

CHAPTER V

ON THE FUNCTIONS OF EACH OF THE 'ĀMILS ('UMMĀL) OF THE CAPITAL, IŞFAHĀN

THE Chapter contains 14 paragraphs (*faṣl*).

§71. The duty of the VAZĪR OF THE FAYḌ-ĀTHĀR DEPARTMENT² is to administer (*nasaq*) estates and fields (*amlāk va zirā'at*) and to secure the prosperous state (*ābādī*) of gardens (72a), rentable property (*mustaghallāt*), mills and underground canals. The estimated amount of crops (*vajh-i ray'*) from the Maḥāll³ and rentable property, as well as from other revenue accruing (*ḥāṣil*) from the endowments (*mauqūfāt*) of the said department must be collected from peasants and tenants (*musta'jir*) with the Vazir's knowledge and under his seal, and employed [by him] for established purposes. The Vazir must exert himself for the prosperity of the Maḥāll and the increase of agriculture.

§72. The duties of the MUSTAUFĪ OF THE ENDOWMENTS (*mauqūfāt*) of the God-protected provinces (*mamālik*) are as follows. All the vazīrs, mustaufis, managers (*mutaṣaddī*), mutavallis and mubāshirs of the endowments both of the Khāṣṣa and Divan Departments must submit their accounts to the Endowments office (*daftar-i*

¹ That it should become "an official document for the members of the Secretariat"?

² "The department bearing vestiges of abundance."

³ The term *maḥāll* refers to the countryside of Işfahān and the districts under the Khāṣṣa, cf. f. 4a.

mauqūfāt). The said Mustaufi endorses (*khatt*) the accounts (72b), writes the word "deleted"¹ on the expenditure documents and to each one [of the above-mentioned staff] delivers a final discharge of accounts (*mufāṣā-ḥisāb*, sic), as well as written instructions (*tavāmīr-i nasaq*) that they should operate (*dād-u-sitād*) accordingly. When raqams and daftari mithāls (*amthila-yi daftari*)² were issued, it was from the drafts [compiled] at the Endowments office that the raqams were written by the secretaries, and the mithāls by the special scribes (*mithāl-nivīs*). After the Dārūgha of the Secretariat (§54?) had sealed them, [the said Mustaufi] used to seal and endorse them inside [the text].

§73. The duty of the VAZIR OF THE CAPITAL, IṢFAHĀN, is to administer (*nasaq*) the Maḥāll-i khāliṣa,³ and to collect (*dabt*) some revenue (*vujūhāt*) [from?] the shops, so that no place in the said Maḥāll remains neglected (*bī-nasaq*) and without cultivation. He gives whatever he considers necessary for the good state (*nasaq*) of cultivation (73a) to the tenants (*musta'jir*) and peasants, in the guise (*ba-'invān*) of seeds⁴ and [other] encouragements, and [later] recovers it (*bāz-yāft*) at the time of the harvest (*dar raf'-i maḥṣūl*). He finds (*ba-ham rasānād*) managers (*dābi?*) and tenants for the rentable property of the Royal Private Household, and sees that no prejudice is sustained by the Private Household. He [also] finds peasants for every place where there are none and promotes its cultivation. He acts with particular care in the collection (*dabt*) of the Divan taxes.

With regard to the revenue (*vujūhāt*) of Iṣfahān controlled by the Mustaufi of Isfahan (§82), the said Vazir endorses (*raqam?*) the receipts (*asnād-i taḥvīl*) of the Heads of the Buyūtāt, [the documents] of hama-sāla of the said [Buyūtāt], as well as the other documents. The Mustaufi keeps (*dabt*) these (?) documents and, on the strength of (*ba-mūjīb*) barāts sealed by the Vazir, the Kalāntar and the Mustaufi, [drafts] are circulated (*ḥavāla*) and cashed (*bāz-yāft*).⁵

If [somewhere], in view of some earthly or atmospheric calamity or . . .⁶ (73b) there is call for a survey of the harvest (*dar raf'-i maḥṣūlāt* . . . *bāz-dīd*), report is made to His Majesty, or to the Grand Vazir, after which it is decreed that the vazirs and 'āmil, jointly with the Estimator of Crops (*rayyā'*, §83), the Surveyor (*massāḥ*) and experienced secretaries (*muharrir*) go to the district in question, examine the situation (*bāz-dīd*) and fix the estimate (*qarār-i ray'*). Then the customary *akira*, which is the share (*rasād*) of the peasant, is deducted; the remainder is taken over (*dabt*) on behalf of the Divan, entrusted to the care (*taḥvīl*) of the peasants and stored (*munabbar*) in the Maḥāll; then a keeper (*taḥvīldār*) is appointed and the amount (*tanakhwāh*) [is placed at the disposal?] of the officials operating with Divan drafts (*arbāb-i ḥavālat-i dīvān*).⁷ [See f. 75b.]

¹ *Nuskha kashīda*, read: "nuskha"? Cf. *supra* 71a.

² The text suggests that the particular feature of these mithāls was that they were issued from the drafts which were kept in the office, perhaps on account of their more specified or individual contents

³ Perhaps. the part of the Maḥāll which formed *khāliṣa*. See the commentary.

⁴ Spelt *bar* but see, to the copyist's honour, f. 75a.

⁵ The word *baravāt*, "drafts," seems to have been written out of its place.

⁶ An identical phrase occurs on f. 75b, line 8; cf. §83. The syntax is shaky! The usual calamity is the insect *sen*. Cf. Chardin, V, 385; *sym*, and S. H. Taqizadeh in *BSOS*, IX/2, 1938, pp. 321-5.

⁷ I.e. the grain may be disposed of, for payments to the creditors of the Government.

The said Vazir's duty is to gather peasants, to increase (*taufīr-va-takthīr*) cultivation, to repair buildings, underground canals, shops and houses [on the?] *khāliṣa* lands, to protect the peasants against violence and oppression from any side and (74a) to appoint petty chiefs (*ru'asā*), with the knowledge of the Kalāntar. The Vazir of Iṣfahān spent the collected money on the urgent needs of the Divan.

At the end of the year, with documents in hand, he presented [the accounts] to the raqam of the Grand Vazir. On this basis, the Mustaufi¹ examined and checked his accountancy documents and fixed his credit (*bāqī*) or deficit (*fādīl*). After the Grand Vazir had issued his raqam, a record (*nuskha*) of the operations ('*amal-kard?*') [of the Vazir of Iṣfahān] was sent to the Mustaufi of the Private Household who carried out ('*amal*') any deductions (*bāz-yāft?*) [indicated] and remarks on the accountancy (*diqqat-i ḥsābī*).² Several Divan officials used to be appointed to be under the said Vazir (74b) and to render [him] official assistance. So long as the record on the survey (*nuskha-yi bāz-dād*) of the Mahāll has not been [approved] by the Grand Vazir's raqam, it has no legal force (*manāṭ-i i'tibār nabūda*) and no action on it is taken at the offices. When the district is surveyed, a trustworthy person is appointed from the Supreme Divan, in order that the 'āmils³ and other officials may carry out their survey in his presence. ✓

§74. The duty of the VAZIR OF THE "INTIQAĪLĪ" DEPARTMENT is to administer (*nasaq*) the estates (*amlāk*) and fields (*zirā'at*) and to keep up (*ābādī*) gardens, rentable property, mills and underground canals. The estimated sums from the crops (*vajh-i ray'*), at every place, are collected (*bāz-yāft*) from the peasants and tenants with the knowledge and under the seal of the said Vazir. Whenever a place is neglected (*bī-nasaq*) and left without cultivation, (75a) whatever is necessary for keeping the fields in good form is advanced to the peasants from the revenue of the Department, in the form of seed (*bidhr*), encouragements and subventions (*ma'ūmat*) to agriculture, and then recovered at harvest time. The Vazir finds managers (*dābī*) and tenants (*mustajir*) for rentable property (*mustaghallāt*) and does not let the Private Household suffer any prejudice. He finds peasants for the places where there are none and promotes the cultivation thereof.

If, at harvest time, in view of some terrestrial or atmospheric calamity or (*yā-inkā*)⁴ . . . (?), it becomes necessary to inspect a district, the matter is reported to His Majesty or to the Grand Vazir, and then it is decreed that someone of the subordinates (*tavābīn*) be appointed to proceed to that district, jointly (75b) with the vazirs, 'āmils, the Estimator of Crops, the Land-Surveyor and experienced secretaries. In accordance with the practice, they inspect [the district] and give their decision. After deduction of the peasants' *akira* the remainder of the crops is taken over for the Divan.

The Vazir must exert himself to increase cultivation, to repair buildings, underground canals, shops and houses on [the lands belonging to the categories] of *khāliṣa* and *vaqfi*, to protect payers (*mu'addiyān*),—so that no one should cause them violence or oppression,—and to appoint [petty] chiefs. On the strength of his commission

¹ A comparison with the parallel passage on f. 76a shows that the Mustaufi of the department (§82) is meant here.

² This meaning results from ff. 76a, 76b and 83b.

³ Spelt 'ml?

⁴ Cf. *supra*, f. 73a.

(*ba šīgha-yi tahvīl-i khud*), he has the power (*mukhtār*) to take from the Mustaufi of [his?] Department (§75) any amount which he considers necessary for the mentioned purposes and to spend the money on urgent official needs. At the end of the year, having the accountancy documents in hand, he submits them to the Grand Vazir's raqam (76a) and on this basis the Mustaufi of [his?] Department operates with his accounts. The record of the Vazir's operations (*'amal-kard*), having been approved by the Grand Vazir's raqam, is sent to the Mustaufi of the Private Household who gives effect (*'amal*) to any deduction or remark (*bāz-yāfti va-diqqati*) which there may be.

§75. The special duty of the 'ālī-ḥaḍrat MUSTAUFĪ OF THE SAID [i.e. "intiḳālī"] DEPARTMENT is to draw (*ḥavāla*) and to assign (*iqlāq*) [the revenue] from crops and rentable property (*mustaghallāi*) and to clear and fix the accounts of the peasants and of the payers of the revenue accruing to the Divan or to the Endowments (*vujūhāt-i divān va vaqfi*) and collected (*dabṭi*) by the said Vazir [of the "intiḳālī" Dt.?). He has a number of scribes (*nvīsanda*) suitable to his requirements; they are on his staff (*juz'-i ū-yand*), and, without his knowledge and his seal, no operation (76b) in the matters entrusted to him (*mutavajjahāt*) is possible. After the fixation of the prices (*tas'ir*) in [the month of] Saḡittarius (i.e. November), which every year is carried out by 'āmil and officials according to the customary rule (*dastūr*), the accounts of all the peasants and payers are closed in the books, and final receipts (*mufāšā-ḥisāb*, sic) are issued to the payers, under the Mustaufi's seal. Every year the Mustaufi, in conformity with the documents, such as (*chinān-chi ki*) have been submitted to the Grand Vazir's raqam, writes a record of income and expenditure (*muskha bar jam'-u-kharj*) for the [sums] entrusted (*mutavajjahāt*) to the said Department. This report is presented to the Private Household and, if there be any observations on the accounts (*sukhan-i ḥisābi*) or remarks on [the keeping of] the books (*diqqat-i daftarī*) the Mustaufi of the Private Household carries them out.

§76. The 'ālī-ḥaḍrat KALĀNTAR appoints the wardens (*kaḍkhudā*) of the [town] wards and the elders of the guilds (77a). The inhabitants of each ward and each village and [the members] of each guild (*šinf*) appoint among themselves the person whom they consider sure and trustworthy; they draw up a testimonial for him and fix a salary for him (*dar vazh-i ū*). Having had [the document] legalised by the Naqīb's seal (§79) they bring it into the Kalantar's presence and obtain (*bāzyāft*) from him a certificate (*ta'līqa*) and an honorary robe for [their nominee], who thereafter begins to administer (*ratq-u-fatq*) their affairs.

In the course of the first three months of each year the Kalāntar and the Naqīb (§79) appoint someone to convene all the guilds (*ašnāf*) and bring them to [the house of] the Naqīb of Isfahan. Everyone's assessment (*bunīcha*) is certified under the Naqīb's seal, and [the result] (77b) is brought up to the knowledge (*sar-rishṭa*) of the Kalāntar. After this, by means of drafts sealed by the Vazir, the Kalantar and the Mustaufi, the sums which according to the books (*az daftar?*) are due to the Divan (*mutavajjahāt-i divāni*) from every one [of the guilds?] are drawn upon and split into parts (*ḥavāla-va-muḥaṣṣaš*)¹; the Kalāntar draws them (*taujīh*) within every guild in accordance with the bunīcha; and the collectors (*muḥaṣṣil*) of the Divan collect [the sums] accordingly.

¹ The equivalent of this expression on f. 81a is: *taqsim va taujīh*.

Several members of the Divan staff used to be under the Kalāntar's orders (*tābīnī*) for official assistance (*khidamāt-i dīvānī*). The Kalāntar's business is to examine and sum up (*tamyīz va tashkhhīs?*) the deliberations which the guilds hold among themselves concerning the amount of the bunīcha and other affairs pertaining to their profession (*kasb-va-kār*), in order that a practice should be established consistent with right, reason and the customs of the country (*mamlakat*). When a complaint has been brought to the Kalāntar about someone being guilty (78a) of violence and oppression towards the ra'yyat ("peasants and artisans"), it is the Kalāntar's duty to act as the latter's proctor (*mudda'ī*). If he can himself obtain redress, all is well; if not, he reports the case to the representatives of the Divan (*vukalā-yi dīvānī*). He must prevent the powerful (*aqviyā*) from wreaking violence and oppression on the weak (*du'afā*) for [otherwise such arbitrariness] might result in discontent (*bad-du'ā'ī*). The Kalāntar must constantly strive to improve the condition of the ra'yyat in order to secure [their] prayers for the sacred person [of the King].

§77. The DĀRŪGHA OF IŞFAHĀN is under (*juz'*) the Divan-begi (§11). His duty is to guard the town inside and outside, so that no one (78b) may commit outrages (*khilāf-i hisāb*) and oppression or start brawls (*nizā'*); the Darugha prohibits whatever is against the Sharī'at, such as courtesans, wine, gambling, etc., in order that no one may acquire such habits. But [if somebody commits these faults], the Dārūgha punishes him, prevents him from continuing and exacts for the guilty fines proportionate to their offences. When three hours have passed of the night, the Dārūgha first spends an hour at the Qaysariya gate,¹ then, with the suite appointed to be under his orders, mounts and patrols each night some part of the town, while his patrolling officers (*ahdās*) and subalterns perambulate some other part, and at the time when the naqqāra plays,² he returns home.

It was a custom (79a) to attach (*tābīnī*) to the Dārūgha [representatives of] the Departments of the Qūrchis, Ghulāms, Āqāyān, Musketeers and Artillery men, who served as the Dārūgha thought best. In the way which he considers appropriate or necessary, he appoints them to each of the wards of Işfahān, under the direction of one of them whom they call *sar-dasta*. Day and night, they remain in that ward and guard it and watch over it, in order that no one should commit any act of oppression, or an outrage or anything contrary to the Sharī'at. They report to the Dārūgha whatever happens in the ward, and the Dārūgha investigates and establishes the facts and calls [the guilty] to account (*bāz-khwāst*). Every night the said staff patrol their ward.

The rule was such (79b) that in smaller litigations (*da'vāhā-yi kam*) up to the sum of 5 and [even] 12 tumans,³ whether in town or in the villages, the Dārūgha was responsible for the summonses (*iḥdār*), while the Divan-begi sent summonses for higher sums. The general regulation (*dābiḥa*) between the Dīvān-begi and the Dārūgha is such that the Dīvān-begi may intervene (*dakhl*) in whatever the latter may do, but, after the matter has reached the Divan-begi, the Dārūgha has no more (*dīgar*) say (*dakhl*) in the matter.

¹ *Qaysariya*, "Market of expensive textiles" on the northern side of the Royal square, Chardin, VII, 357.

² The *naqqāra* played at 2 a.m.

³ V.s., f. 21a.

The patrolling officer (*aḥdās*) technically called MĪR-SHAB ("Prince of the Night") is under (*juz*) the Dārūgha; he too, with his staff, patrols the wards at night and, if a theft occurs at night, the Mīr-shab reports it in the morning to the Dārūgha. Whenever a theft has taken place (80a) and the Mīr-shab has recovered the property (stolen), he levies $\frac{2}{6}$ of it, which, according to the custom, is his right; the rest of the property, namely, $\frac{4}{6}$ of it, must be returned by him to the owner, with the knowledge of the Divan-begi and Dārūgha. Should he not succeed in catching the thief, he asks for a delay, and if after that he has not [got hold of the offender] he pays a compensation (*gharāmat*) for the stolen goods from his own property (*'ayn al-māl-i khud*).

§78. The duties of the 'ālī-ḥadrat MUḤTASIB AL-MAMĀLIK. Every month the Ṣāhib-nasaq obtains from the elders of each guild an undertaking (*iltizām*) concerning the prices of the goods [in which they deal]. Having satisfied himself [as to the accuracy of the document] he seals it and hands it to the Muḥtasib al-mamālik (80b). The latter must confirm every point of it and send it to the Nāzīr of the Buyūtāt. The latter too considers it and, if he feels satisfied, seals it and passes it on to the Heads of the Departments (*ṣāhib-jam'*), in order that, in accordance with it, the Mushrifis may draw up the documents (*asnād*) for the goods to be bought. As regards the prices (*tas'irāt*) of the goods sold by the traders (*aṣṇāf*) to the inhabitants of the town, if any of the professional merchants (*ahl-i hirfa*) eludes the Muḥtasib's regulations (*qarār-dād*), the latter makes him *takhta-kulāh*, that he may serve as an example to others. The Muḥtasib al-mamālik appoints Deputies (*nā'ib*) everywhere in the God-protected provinces. In every place, (81a) the traders, month by month, sell goods to the people in accordance with the Deputy's certificate [of prices], so that tranquillity may reign among the peasants (*ra'iyyat*) and the inhabitants and residents [of towns], and that the latter may pray for the most sacred person of the King.

§79. The duty of the NAQĪB is to fix (*tashkhiṣ*) the assessment (*bunīcha*) of the guilds (*aṣṇāf*). In the first quarter (*si-māha*) of each year he appoints someone to convene the syndics (*kaḍkhudā*) of each guild. To (their) mutual satisfaction he fixes the bunīcha of each [guild] in conformity with the Law (*qānūn*), Right, Reason and the customs and rules of the realm (*mamlakat*). [To that effect] he writes a roll (*tūmār*), seals it and commits it to the Kalantar's department (*sar-rishta*) in order that the Divan dues (*mutavajjahāt*) from each guild may be divided and drawn (*taqsim va taujih?*) in that year in the manner indicated (81b). Moreover, when a guild appoints [any one] master (*ustād*), it recognises the said man's qualifications (*ustādī*). [This document] after legalisation (*mu'tabar sākhta*) is carried to the Kalāntar from whom a certificate (*ta'līqa*) is obtained (*bāz-yāft*). The Naqīb also appoints the elders of darvishes, (street) performers (*ahl-i ma'ārik*) and so on.

§80. The duty of the MĪRĀB of the capital, Iṣfahān, is to appoint the supervisors of the irrigation canals (*mādī-sālār*), to clean (*tanqiya*) the canals and rills (*jadāvīl*), to conduct the surplus water (*āb-i zā'ida*) of the [Zāyanda-rūd] river to the whole of the district (*maḥall*) of Iṣfahān irrigated from the river, according to [the rights] of each place (*maḥall*). He must see that the peasants of any place do not trespass (*ziyādātī*) (82a) on those of another district with regard to the shares of water (*haqqāba*). He must prevent the powerful from trespassing on the weak with regard to the shares of water. Whatever discussions and quarrels arise between the landowners (*arbāb*)

and the peasants¹ of a district with regard to the shares of water, the investigation and settlement (*tamyiz-va-tashkhiṣ*) of cases belong to the Mīrāb's competence and in every case he must carry out (*ma'mūl*) [the decisions] with the confirmation and approval (*taṣdīq va tajvīz*) of the Vazīr, the Kalāntar and the Mustaufi (v.s., 77b).

§81. The duty of the 'ālī-ḥadrat MUSTAUFĪ OF THE "FAYḌ-ĀTHĀR" DEPARTMENT (v.s., §71) is to keep the register of revenue and expenditure (*sar-rishta bar jam'-va kharj*) of the Mahāll [of Iṣfahān?], gardens, mills, rentable property and whatsoever belongs to the said Department (82b). He keeps the documents referring to revenue and expenditure, endorsed (*raqam*) by the Vazīr of the said Department (§71); he pens (*qalamī*)² contracts (*sharī-nāmcha*) and drafts (*barāt*); he examines (*tanqīh*) the accounts of the peasants, tenants and other payers of māliyyāt of the said Department and issues to them final receipts under his seal.

§82. The duty of the 'ālī-ḥadrat MUSTAUFĪ OF IṢFAHĀN is to draw (*ḥavāla*) and to assign (*iḥlāq*) the revenues (*vujūhāt*) and the crops and to examine and fix (*tanqīh va tashkhiṣ*) the accounts of the peasants and the payers of the Divan revenue collected (*dabṭī*) by the Vazīr of Iṣfahān (§73). The Mustaufi has four scribes under his orders. Without his seal no operations (*dād-u-sitād*) are possible with (the said) revenue and crops (83a). Every year, in conformity with the regulations and custom, the 'āmils and deputies (*ma'mūrīn*) fix the current prices (*tashkhiṣ-i tas'ir*) for the month of Sagittarius, i.e. November, after which the accounts of all the peasants and payers are closed in the books (*dar daftar mafrūgh*) and a receipt of final settlement (*mufaṣṣā-hisāb*) is given to the payers under the Mustaufi's signature. The preparation of rolls of summonses (*tavāmīr-i taujīh?*) of men with donkeys (*marḍ-i ulāghdār*), men with picks, etc., who must be distributed among the community (*bar sar-i jam'*), is also done in the office of the [Mustaufi?] of Iṣfahān after which the summonses are sealed by the 'āmils. Every year, the Mustaufi of Iṣfahān prepares a record (*nuskha*) of income and expenditure for the revenue and crops of the Mahāll under the control (*dabṭī*) of the Vazīr of Iṣfahān, doing this on the basis of the accountancy documents [approved] by the Grand Vazīr's raqam. This record (83b) is then sent to the Private Household and if there be any observations on the accounts (*sukhan-i hisābi*) or remarks on book-keeping (*diqqat-i daftarī*) the Mustaufi of the Private Household (§109) carries them out.

§83. The duty of the CROP-ESTIMATOR (*rayyā'*) of Iṣfahān is as follows. Every year, when it has been decreed that the crops of the district of Iṣfahān are to be examined, either in view [of the collection] of the "quarter" prescribed by the regulations (*chahār-yak-i nasaq*), or [in view of the fact that they are] of the category to be surveyed, or on account of some earthly or atmospheric calamity, the Rayyā', jointly with the 'āmils and officials appointed for the survey, sets out for the countryside. In the presence of the 'āmils and officials, he takes samples (*'alāmat*) of the crop, which are then weighed and, on that basis, the 'āmils estimate (*bar-āvard*) the total harvest and the part belonging (*abvāb-jam'*) to the peasants and [other] taxpayers (84a). When the record (*nuskha*) of inspection has been approved by the Grand Vazīr's raqam, it becomes operative (*mahkūm bihi*) and, on that basis, the

¹ Instead of *ra'ā* read: *ra'āyā*.

² Or perhaps: makes the endorsement "*qalamī (shuā)*."

secretaries of the Department make in their registers (*sar rishṭajāt*) a repartition (*ābvāb-jam'*) among the payers and close the accounts (*muḥāsaba mafrūgh*).

§84. The duty of the MANAGER (*MUTAṢADDĪ*) OF THE GARDENS is always to see to the prosperous state of the gardens belonging to the Divan. [In this task] he must show all the necessary diligence and, at every season, plant trees and grow flowers. As often as possible (*akḥar-i auqāt*) he must grow (*sar-anjām*) and present to His Majesty some gay flowers and first fruits, [thereby] to prove his good services. If a gardener on duty (84b) commits a fault, he punishes and dismisses him, reporting the matter to the Nāzīr of the Buyūtāt, and appoints a new candidate (*'avaḍ*). So long as the Manager has not approved the services [of his subordinate] no fee (*marṣūm*) or keep (*jīra*) is given to a gardener or to a donkey-driver (*kharkār*) employed in the gardens. Every season, the Manager must send to the assemblies *gul-tafta-hā-yi gul*.¹

CONCLUSION

ON THE SUMS AND AMOUNTS OF SALARY AND FEES OF THE DIGNITARIES OF THE EXALTED COURT; ON THE INCOME (*MADĀKHIL*) AND THE NUMBER OF SERVICE MEN (*MULĀZIM*) OF THE AMIRS RESIDENT ON THE FRONTIERS OR IN THE PROVINCES OF IRAN, [AND BRIEFLY ON THE REVENUE AND EXPENDITURE OF IRAN].²

This Conclusion is subdivided into three Parts (*maqāla*).

PART I

ON THE SALARY AND FEES OF EACH ONE OF THE GREAT AMIRS AND DIGNITARIES OF THE EXALTED COURT

§85. The VAKIL ("deputy") OF THE SUPREME DIVAN (Vice Grand Vazir) (85a). During the time of abeyance (*ta'tīl*) of his office, a Dābiṭ (86g) was appointed for the collection of his "dushulluk," of which 1/20 (*dah-nīm*) was attributed to the Dābiṭ. No special salary was provided for the Vakil of the Supreme Divan, and his fees (*rusūmāt*) levied per tuman are such as shown under each item.³

from the ikhrājāt ⁴	126 d.	1½ dg.
from the cash (<i>tankhwāh</i>) paid to the amirs, muqarrabs and eunuchs	192 d.	
from the tiyuls, etc., granted to the amirs: a. from tiyūl ..	357 d.	
b. from haṣṭa-sāla	238 d.	
from the grants (<i>in'ām</i>) given to the amirs and the persons not being on the staff; from the soyūrghāl, mu'āfi, salaries, musallamī and haqq al-sa'y of the 'āmils	714 d.	

¹ *Gul-tafta* must refer to nosegays, or more probably to those "carpets of flowers" which the Persians prepare by arranging flowers (without the leaves) very tightly in a dish.

² The words in square brackets have been supplied from f. 107b. The headings of Conclusion are out of order. Later, the author forgets that there were to be three Parts and treats Part III as a second section of Part II. We shall keep to the logical tripartite division.

³ t. = toman; d = dīnār; dg = dāng (= 1/6 of a dīnār), + = *va ḥasvī*, "odd."

⁴ V.s., f. 16a: perhaps from the expenditure (*ikhrajāt*) referred to on f. 130b.

§86. The VAZIR OF THE SUPREME DIVAN [=Grand Vazir] has no salary. The following *rasm al-vizāra*, etc., grants and fees are allotted to him (85b):

rasm al-vizara, etc., fixed from the Mahāll (v.s., §71):			
rasm al-vizāra	803 t.	3000 d. +	
annual grants (<i>in'ām-i hama-sāla</i>):			
cash	20 t.		
the rest in kind: a moiety of	7 t.	7000 d.	
fees per tuman:			
from leases by way of <i>ḥaqq al-qarār</i>		500 d.	
from <i>tiyūls</i>		330 d.	
from <i>hama-sāla</i>		220 d.	
from grants to the amirs and the persons not belonging to the staff, from <i>soyūrghāl</i> , <i>mu'āfi</i> , <i>musallamī</i> , salary, <i>ḥaqq al-sa'y</i> of the 'amils		714 d.	
pro memoria (<i>baydā</i>)		blank	

§87. The ṢADR-I A'ZAM receives a tithe (*'ushr*), and 1/20 of all the *soyūrghāls*¹; the "rights" of management (*ḥaqq al-taūliya*) and (86a) supervision (*ḥaqq al-nazāra*) are allotted to him from some districts belonging to the Endowments. MĪRZĀ ABŪ ṬĀLIB, at the time of his tenure of office, received 1360 t. by way (*ba-ṣiḡha*) of subsidy (*madad-i ma'āsh*) and annual allowance (*muqarrarī*).

§88. The QŪRCHĪ-BĀSHĪ, the QŪLLAR-ĀQĀSĪ, the TUFANGCHĪ-ĀQĀSĪ and the TŪPCHĪ-BĀSHĪ, [as well as] their Vazirs,² levy each, from their subordinates the following fees:

the Senior Officers (<i>rīsh-safīd</i>):			
from grants, fixed salary (<i>qarār va mavājib?</i>) and <i>tiyūls</i> ..		500 d.	
from the cash (<i>tankhwāh</i>) given as <i>hama-sāla</i> and <i>yak-sāla</i> ..		100 d.	
the Vazirs:			
from grants, fixed salaries (<i>qarār-i mavājib</i>) and <i>tiyūls</i> ..		100 d.	
from the cash of <i>yak-sāla</i> and <i>hama-sāla</i>		10 d.	

Their salaries and *tiyūls*³ are as shown under respective heads (86b):

The Qūrchi-bāshī held Kāzarūn (spelt: <i>Kādharān</i>) as a <i>tiyūl</i> , while he also used to receive as <i>ḥaqq al-taūliya</i> ..	100 t.		
[as well as?] ⁴	1391 t.	7200 d. +	
The Qūllar-āqāsī held Gulpāyagān, without specification of amount (<i>bi-lā mablagh</i>).			
The Tufangchī-bāshī most usually held the district (<i>ulkā</i>) of Abarqūh	711 t.	5300 d. +	
The Tūpchī-bāshī held the district of Shaft	500 t.		

89. The ESHĪK-ĀQĀSĪ-BĀSHĪ of the Dīvān used to have the governorship of

¹ A total of 3/20, or 15 per cent. ?

² The meaning of this paragraph is that in the sums levied on the salaries of the staff both the Senior Officers (i.e. Qūrchi-bāshī, etc., themselves, cf. f. 12a) and their Vazirs had certain shares. Therefore we must insert **va* before *vuzarā-yn īshān*.

³ I.e. of the Qūrchi-bāshī, etc., but not of their Vazirs.

⁴ Perhaps: "the whole to the amount of 1391, t. 7200 d. +

Ray as well as a detachment of troops (*qushūn-i muqarrarī*),¹ and he still has the following fees as well (87a):

from the presents (*pīshkash*) brought to the Exalted Court a tithe is levied, which is divided between him and the Pīshkash-nivīs (§124);
from the branding (*dāghāna*) of camels: 1 head (*nafar*) out of 50;
from lambs and calves: 1 head out of 50.

§90. The ESHĪK-ĀQĀSĪ-BĀSHĪ OF THE HAREM used to have 300 t. of salary.

§91. The AMĪRĀKHOR-BĀSHI-YI JILAU had a salary of 182 t. 4000 d.+

The following fees are established in favour of the Amīrākhor-bashi, [his] Taḥvildār and lower staff (*amala*), [though] each one's share is not defined:

from what anyone offers as a present (*pīshkash*) and from what is given as a grant (*in'ām*) a [tithe **dah-yak*] is levied and from [this] tithe 2/10 [i.e. 2 per cent.] are allotted to the Mushrif;
from what is given as salary 1/20 is levied (*bāz-yāft*); from [this] 1/20, 2/10 [i.e. 1 per cent.] goes to the Mushrif and the rest [i.e. 4 per cent.] to the Amīrākhor and the lower staff (87b).

§92. The [AMĪRĀKHOR-BĀSHĪ-YI] ŞAHRĀ has a salary of 80 t. which [in practice?] is estimated (*barāvārdī*) at 127 t. 5000 d.+ . In the existing record (*nuskha*) of fees the [respective data] have been briefly mentioned under the heading "Amīrākhor-bāshī," without specification of the *jilau* and *şahrā* [divisions]. From the context (*qarīna*) it appears that [the fees on] whatever is given from the stables appertain to the Amīrākhor-bāshī-yi şahrā. The fees accruing to the Stable from presents and grants are levied in the following way, as confirmed by the Mushrif:

from presents, per head [of the animals presented] ²	.. .. .	3000 d.
from grants: ditto	.. .. .	5000 d.

(88a) Of the sum levied (*dabf*) on presents and grants a distribution is made as follows:

[Amīrākhor?]	.. .. .	3000 d.
Şāhib-jam' (§46)	.. .. .	3000 d.
Mushrif	.. .. .	2000 d.
jilaudārs	.. .. .	2000 d.
the grooms of the districts (<i>bulūk</i>) belonging to the Private Household and [those of the?] Storehouse (§45)	.. .. .	1000 d.

When Bedouin ARABS, the SHARĪFS OF MEKKA, the inhabitants of the sacred places, the SHĀHĪ-SEVANS and guests bring presents, they do not give any dūshulluk and from the grants (*in'ām*) given to them dūshulluk is not levied.

§93. The DĪVĀN-BEGĪ has a salary of 500 t. and a tiyūl of 15 t. estimated (88b) [in practice] at 92 t. 3845 d., so that the total attributed to him was 592 t. 3845 d. and sometimes reached 1000 t. (Moreover), he has fees from mulcts [to the amount] of 1/10.

¹ I.e. probably a number of *mulāzımān* like the other governors.

² Rather: per toman of the 10 per cent. levy on the estimated value! But cf. §100.

§94. The AMĪR-SHIKĀR-BĀSHĪ had a salary of 800 t., as well as tiyūl,¹ etc., and the following fees:

as a substitute (<i>der 'avāḍ</i>) of the <i>ṣādān</i> (* <i>ṣayyādān</i> ?) of Shīrvān ² a lump sum of	100 t.
in the form (<i>ba-ṣiḡha</i>) of fees belonging to the Mīr-shikār of Gilān (<i>dār al-marz</i>), he has by way of a grant	150 t.
annual grant (<i>in'ām</i>) from ³ the Armenians of Julfa (Jūlāhī)	50 t.
from the prisoners kept in Iṣfahān	20 t.
by way of administering (<i>dārūghakī</i>) the butchers, vendors of cooked heads (<i>kalla-paz</i>), sellers of fowls, keepers of pigeonries (<i>kabūtār-parrān</i>), (89a) makers of falconry gloves (<i>bahla-dūz</i>), etc., he also had a non-specified sum of fees.	

§95. The NĀZĪR OF THE ROYAL BUYŪTĀT has a salary, tiyūl and hama-sāla to the amount of 360 t. 1000 d.+, as well as the following fees:

- a. as written by the former Šāhib-taujīh:
 from what the *gārāk-yaraq* collect (*ba-'amal mī-āvarand*), 220 d. per toman is levied as a fee, and the Nāzīr's share in it is 100 d.
 from the 1/20 on purchases (*ibtiyā'*) a sum of 10 t. 500 d. is levied, and the Nāzīr's share (*rasād*) in it is 50 d.
- b. as certified by the Mushrifis of the Buyūtāt as being the practice:
 from the 1/20 on the purchase price of goods the Nāzīr has 1/20;
 from the salary and allowances (*marṣūm*)⁴ paid to the soldiers in cash (*naqd*), per tuman (89b) 366 d. 4 dg.
 from the assigned goods given to the soldiers as [a part of] their salary (*ajnās-i barātī-ki ba mavājib-i 'asākīr dāda shavad?*) 1/20 is levied, and in this 1/20 the Nāzīr's share is 1/10 [i.e. 1/2 per cent.]⁵;
 from what is sent (*infādḥ*) from the spot by Vazirs, etc.⁶ he has an established fee of 1/100 of the price;
 from the 1/10 of grants and from the 1/20 of presents the Nāzīr also receives fees.

§96. The NĀZĪR OF THE ANIMALS had a salary of 150 t.; from the purchase of horse blankets (*jul*) and harness (*yarāq?*) for BĀBĀ-SHAYKH 'ALĪ's stables⁶ 1/20 was the customary (levy), from which sum the Nāzīr received 1/10.

§97. The NĀZĪR OF THE SECRETARIAT (*daftarkhāna*) had *225 t. 6800 d.+ of fees and salary.

¹ Chardin, II, 383, says that the Amīr-shikar, "a ses appointements tirés sur les revenus d'Abhar."

² *Ṣādān* (?) seems to be a mis-spelling for **ṣayyādān*, "hunters, fishermen" It is very possible that the Amīr-shikār received the cut sum of 100 tomans as an equivalent or substitute (*'avāḍ*) for some levies on the famous fisheries of Shīrvān (at the estuary of the Kur).

³ In'ām is a grant from a superior (the Shah!) to an inferior, but here *in'ām* is obviously used for "presents" (*pīshkash*)

⁴ V.i., under §§127 and 131. *Ajnās-i barātī*: probably the goods to be collected on the spot, for which bonds were issued to the soldiers.

⁵ Evidently contributions in goods (textiles, etc.) collected on the spot.

⁶ According to Chardin, V, 364, the Shah had three stables: one for the horses of 60 tomans and more; one for those of 60-12 t. and one for those of a lesser price. Chardin does not give their names. Cf also on the stables of Šāhib al-zamān, *ibid.*, V, 457.

(a) According to the ancient rule, he received.

from leases, per tuman	14 d.	3½ dg.
from the amount (<i>tankhwāh</i>) payed to the amīrs	2 d.	
from tuyūls	7 d.	
from hama-sāla	4 d.	4 dg.
from grants to the amīrs and the persons not being on the staff, as well as from soyūrghāls, salaries, etc.	14 d.	

(b) In the last times it has been established by a raqam [that the Nāzīr's fees should be], per tuman:

from fixed salaries	50 d.
from the amount of hama-sāla and yak-sāla	20 d.

§98. The KEEPER OF THE AUGUST SEAL once a year received (90a) a sum of 30 t. as a "cost of the cord for the seal"; he also has fees, per tuman:¹

from the tiyūl of the amīrs	260 d.	
from the grants to the amīrs and to the persons not being on the staff, as well as from the soyūrghāls, mu'āfis, iqtā's, salaries and haqq al-sa'y of the 'āmils	520 d.	
from the amīrs' hama sāla	133 d.	2 dg.
from the cash of the amīrs' salaries	66 d.	2 dg.

§99. The KEEPER OF THE "*sharaf-i nafādh*" SEAL receives [fees], per tuman:²

from the tiyūl of the amīrs, from the salaries and haqq al-sa'y of the 'āmils, from the fixed salary of the amīrs	315 d.	
from the hama-sāla salary of the amīrs.. .. .	157 d.	3 dg.

§100. The TŪSHMĀL-BĀSHĪ received 315 t. 600 d.+ as salary, tiyūl [and] hama-sāla, (90b) as well as the following fees:

from every head of slaughtered sheep	20 d.
ditto from a lamb	10 d.
from a lambskin	10 d.
from the fees on the purchases of the [Royal] Kitchen, from each 100 d.	60 d.

§101. The DAVĀTDĀR-I AĦKĀM receives 24 t. 2000 d. of salary and tiyūl, as well as the fees, as specified below:³

from leases, per tuman	18 d.	1½ dg.
from the tiyūls of the amīrs, muqarrabs and āqāyān.. .. .	25 d.	
from the hama-sāla of the amīrs, etc.	16 d.	
from the sums payable in barāts	8 d.	2 dg.
from the grants to the amīrs and the persons not being on the staff, and from the soyūrghāls and haqq al-sa'y of the 'āmils	50 d.	

§102. The DAVĀTDĀR-I ARQĀM has 43 t. 1000 d.+ of salary and tiyūl, and fees on the [same] rate (*dastūr*) as the Davātdār-i aĥkām.⁴

¹ But see §24.

² But see §25.

³ But see §27(?).

⁴ But see §26(?).

§103. The MUḤTASIB AL-MAMĀLIK had 50 t. of salary, and local (*maḥallī*) fees (91a) to the amount of 253 t. 3000 d.+, as specified below:

Qazvīn	16 t. 1100 d.	Fārs	5 t. 3463 d.
Hamadān	17 t. 370 d.	Qapānāt	4 t.
Kīrmān	3 t. 7000 d.	Khoy	1 t. 5000 d. (?)
Mashhad	12 t.	Garmarūd	7 t.
Ardabīl	21 t. 1200 d.	Angūr	1 t.
The capital, Tabrīz ..	60 t.	Sarāb	5 t.
Māzandarān	10 t.	Muqānāt	4 t.
The borough of 'Abbā-		Zunūz	0 t. 5000 d.
sābād, Ganja, Erī-		Marand	1 t. 5000 d. (?)
vān, Ūrūmī	12 t. 5000 d.	The community of Javān-	
		shīr and Otuz-iki ..	Blank

§104. The DĀRŪGHA OF IṢFAHĀN receives fees, under different titles, from 300 t. to 500 t.

§105. The DĀRŪGHA-YI DAFTAR-KHĀNA (91b) used to have in the days of old 57 t. 8000 d.+ of salary and tiyūl but, in the reign of SHĀH ḤUSAYN, the tiyūl of BISTRĀM-ĀQĀ, the amount of which was estimated at 200 t., was attributed to him; his local fees [from provinces?] were 73 t. 7430 d., and he also had fees, as specified below, per tuman:

from leases	5½ d.
from the amount paid to the amīrs	2½ d.
from their tiyūl	7½ d.
from their hama-sāla	5 d.
from the grants to the amīrs and the persons not on the staff, from the soyūrghāl, etc.	15 d.

§106. The DĀRŪGHA OF THE FARRĀSH-KHĀNA had a tiyūl of 10 t. 3760 d. He had also 95 t.+ of fees from the tailors, painters and other guilds (*aṣnāf*), (92a) and levied them [personally].

§107. The MUSTAUFĪ AL-MAMĀLIK had [the fees] specified below and the [customary] fees of his office (*rasm al-istifā*):

rasm al-istifā from the [Isfahān] district	302 t. 9058 d.
rasm al-ḥisāb from accounts per tuman	30 d.
from the tiyūl of the amīrs, muqarrabs and eunuchs	45 d.
from the hama-sāla of the amīrs, etc.	30 d.
from the amount payable in drafts (<i>tanḳhwāh-i barāṭī</i>) to the amīrs, muqarrabs and āqayān	15 d.
from the grants to the amīrs and the persons not being on the staff, from soyūrghāl, etc., ḥaqq al-sa'y of the *'āmīrs ¹	90 d.

§108. The MAJLIS-NIVĪS has a fixed allowance (*muqarrarī*) and a subvention to the cost of living (*madad-i ma'āsh*): 300 t.

and fees from the estimated sums of the tiyūl and hama-sāla of the amīrs, etc., per tuman	200 d.
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¹ Spelt: 'ml.

a sum of (blank) representing the cost of 30 dastaja of English (*iklī-sī*) paper (92b) was assigned to him as a grant from the revenue of the district [of Isfahān] collected (*ḍabtī*) by the Vazīr and Mustaufī of Isfahān (§§73, 82) [v.s., f. 26b 30 t.]

§109. The MUSTAUFĪ OF THE ROYAL HOUSEHOLD [See Commentary on §18], in earlier times, had a *rasm al-hisāb* of 30 d. per tuman, which was distributed between him and [his] secretaries in proportion of 4/6 to 2/6. Later the *rasm al-hisāb* payable to him and the secretaries was fixed at 45 d., the rest of the fees [received by him] from the Mahāll-i Khāṣṣa [v.s., §71] follows the schedule (*ba-āstūr*) of the Mustaufī al-mamālik [§107].

[A sum¹ of 21 t. 5000 d. cash and 2129 maunds in kind, in old weight (*ba vazn-i sābiq*) was assigned to the Avāraja-nivīses of Gīlān (*Gīlānāt*) (93a) and Isfahān in guise of local (*maḥāllī*) fees.]

§110. The MUNSHĪ AL-MAMĀLIK had a salary of 153 t. 7000 d.+.

he also had fees from the tiyūl of the amīrs, muqarrabs and āqāyān, per tuman	25 d.
from the hama-sāla	16 d. 4 dg.
from the grants to the amīrs and the persons not being on the staff, from soyūrghāl, etc.	50 d.
from the amount [paid to] the amīrs and muqarrabs	8 d. 2 dg.
from leases	18 d. 1½ dg.

§111. The VAZĪRS OF THE QŪRCHĪS, GHULĀMS, TUFANGCHĪS [and TŪPCHĪS] had the following salaries:

Vazīr-i qūrchī	100 t.	Vazīr-i tufangchī	50 t.
Vazīr-i ghulām (93b)	100 t.	Vazīr-i tūpchī	50 t.

[Moreover], each of them had the following fees:

from the grants, tiyūls and fixed salaries (<i>qarār-i mavājib</i>) per tuman	200 d.
from the amount of yak-sāla or hama-sāla	45 d.

§112. The MUSTAUFIS OF THE QURCHIS, GHULĀMS, TUFANGCHIS AND TUPCHIS had salaries as follows:

Mustaufi-yi qūrchi	50 t.
Mustaufi-yi ghulām va tufangchi ²	30 t.
Mustaufi-yi tūpchī	30 t.
they also had fees from fixed salaries (<i>qarār-i mavājib</i>), grants and tiyūls, per tuman	100 d.
from the amount of hāma-sala or yak-sala	25 d.

§113. The DĀBIṬA-NIVĪS had a salary estimated at 89 t. 3500 d.+ , and (94a) local fees amounting to 19 t., as well as fees, per tuman:

from the tiyūl of the amīrs, muqarrabs and āqāyān	11 d. 1½ dg.
from the grants to the amīrs and the persons not being on the staff, as well as from soyūrghāls, etc.	22½ d.

¹ This passage evidently belongs to f. 95b

² There was only one Mustaufī for the two Departments, cf. f. 64a.

from the hama-sāla of the amīrs, muqarrabs, as well as āqāyān	7½ d.
from the [sums payable in] drafts (<i>barāṭī</i>)	3 d. 4½ dg.
he also had <i>rasm al-ḥisāb</i> , per tuman	30 d.

§114. The ṢĀḤĪB-TAUJĪH had a salary of 20 t. and local fees to the amount of 2 t. 2500 d.

[fees]:	
from leases, per tuman	22½ d.
from the amount of the salary of the amīrs (<i>tankhwāh-i mavājīb</i>) (94b) from the military	3 d. 4½ dg. 20 d.
from the tiyūl of the amīrs, muqarrabs and āqāyān	11 d. 1½ dg.
from the tiyūl of the qūrchīs, ghulāms, tufangchīs, tūpchīs	50 d.
from the hama-sāla of the amīrs, etc.	7½ d.
from the hama-sāla of the qūrchīs, etc.	50 d.
from the grants to the amīrs and the persons not being of the staff	22½ d.
from the grants to the qūrchīs and other military	50 d.
from the soyūrghāl, mu'āff, etc.	22½ d.

§115. The AVĀRAJA-NIVĪS OF 'IRĀQ had a salary of 14 t. and local fees of 55 t. 1000 d.

[fees]:	
from leases, per tuman (95a)	8 d. 1 dg.
from the tiyūl of the amīrs, muqarrabs and āqāyān	11 d. 1½ dg.
from their hama-sāla	7½ d.
from the grants to the vazīrs and the persons not being on the staff, as well as from the soyūrghāl, etc.	22½ d.
from the amount [paid to] the muqarrabs and āqāyān	3 d. 4½ dg.
he also had a <i>rasm al-ḥisāb</i> per tuman	15 d.

§116. The AVĀRAJA-NIVĪS OF ĀZARBĀYJĀN had a salary of 50 t., the rest of his fees as in 'Irāq. His local fees (95b) have been appropriated (*dabt shud*) by the Dīvān.

§117. The AVĀRAJA-NIVĪS OF FĀRS has a salary of 15 t. he also had local fees from the extra(?) revenue (*khārij al-māl*) of the province (*maḥāll*) of Fārs 103 t. 7000 d. + the rest of his fees as in 'Irāq.¹

§118. The AVĀRAJA-NIVĪS OF KHORĀSĀN had a salary of 15 t. local fees 68 t. 6000 d. + the rest of his fees as under 'Irāq.

§119. The AVĀRAJA-NIVĪS OF MINES. Salary: 20 t. The rest of his fees as in 'Irāq.

§120. The LASHKAR-NIVĪS has a tiyul of (96a) 3 t. 1250 d. + [fees]:
from leases per tuman 15 d. 1½ dg.

¹ Here ought to follow the passage on f. 92b.

from the amount of yak-sāla of the amirs, muqarrabs and āqāyān	8 d. 2 dg.
from the salary of muqarrabs, yasāvuls, etc., except (<i>sivā</i>) the workmen of the Buyūtāt	40 d.
from the tiyūl of the amirs, muqarrabs and āqāyān	25 d.
from the hama-sāla of ditto	16 d. 4 dg.
from the grants to the amīrs and the persons not on the staff..	50 d.
[from] the salary and ḥaqq al-sa'y of the 'āmils	50 d.
from the soyūrghāl, mu'āfi, musallamī and iqtā' (96b)	50 d.
from the presents from which a tithe is levied (<i>bāz yāft</i>): from the total (ten-tenths) of the sum levied, one-tenth went to the Lashkar-nivīs and the Sar-khaṭṭ-nivīs.	

§121. The SAR-KHATT-NIVĪS used to have a salary of 12 t. and the following fees, per tuman:

from leases	5 d. 4 dg.
from the amount of yak-sāla [paid to the] amirs and muqarrabs from the amount [paid to] the āqāyān, muqarrabs and yasāvuls	3 d. 4 dg.
from the tiyūl of the amirs, etc.	20 d.
from the hama-sāla of ditto	8 d.
from the grants to the amīrs and the persons not on the staff, as well as from the soyūrghāl, mu'āfi, salary and ḥaqq al-sa'y of the 'āmils (97a)	5 d. 2 dg.
from the presents, as under Lashkar-nivīs.	16 d.

§122. The KESHĪK-NIVĪS (two persons): Salary 37 t.

§123. The SCRIBE OF THE BAQĀYĀ: Salary 20 t.

§124. The PISHKASH-NIVĪS: Salary 15 t. From the tithe levied on the presents he has 1/10 [i.e. 1 per cent.].

§125. The DAFTAR-DĀR: Salary 9 t. and local fees 21 t. 6300 d. [fees]:

from leases, per tuman	2 d. 4½ dg.
from the amount [paid to] the amīrs	1 d. 1½ dg.
from the tiyūl (97b) of the amīrs	3 d. 4½ dg.
from the hama-sāla	2½ d.
from the grants to the amīrs and the persons not on the staff, as well as from the soyūrghāl, etc.	7½ d.

§126. The SCRIBE OF THE NĀZĪR'S OFFICE (*nivīsanda-yi nazārat*, cf. f. 58b?): Salary 19 t.

[fees] from leases, per tuman 1½ d.

§127. The MUSHRIF OF THE ROYAL TREASURY:

from the tithe on the grants and robes of honour and from the 1/20 on presents, per tuman	3000 d.
from the 1/20 of the fees on purchases (<i>rusūm-i ibtiyā'</i>), per tuman	133 d. 2 dg.
from the salaries and perquisites (<i>marṣūm</i>) paid in cash, per tuman	60 d.

from the assigned goods (98a) forming [part of] the soldiers' pay (<i>ajnās-i barātī-ki tankhwāh-i 'asakir shavad</i>) 1/20 is levied, and per tuman of the collected sum the Mushrif receives	3000 d.
from the value (<i>qimat</i>) of the goods sent [from the spot by] the vazirs, 'amils and <i>gārāk-yarāqs</i>	1/100
from the produce of the weaving mill (<i>ajnās-i sha'r-bāf-khāna</i>)	1/200

§128. The MUSHRIF OF THE QAYCHĀCHĪ-KHĀNA-YI UMARĀ'Ī:

from the tithe [on the value] of the robes of honour, per tuman collected	1200 d.
from the sendings (<i>infādh</i>) of the vazirs and 'amils	1/100
from the 1/20 on purchases, per tuman collected	133 d. 2 dg.

§129. The MUSHRIF OF THE ĀBDĀR-KHĀNA:

from the sendings (<i>infādh</i>)	1/100
from the 1/20 on purchases per tuman collected (98b)	133 d. 2 dg.

§130. The MUSHRIF OF THE LIBRARY: Used to be paid similarly to his colleague of the Ābdār-khāna.

§131. The MUSHRIF OF THE QAYCHĀCHI-KHĀNA-YI KHĀṢṢA:

from the sendings (<i>infādh</i>) of the vazirs and 'amils	1/100
from the 1/20 on purchases	133 d. 2 dg.
from the 1/20 on presents, robes of honour and assigned goods (<i>ajnās-i barātī</i>)	1966 d. 4 dg.

§132. The MUSHRIF OF THE ḤAVĪJ-KHĀNA, KITCHEN [cf. §133?], POULTRY-YAR (*murgh-khāna*) and SCULLERY (*ayāghī-khāna*), who was one single person¹: Salary 30

from grants	2/100
from the salaries [of the subordinates?]	1/100
from the 1/20 on purchases (99a)	2 dg.

[Moreover] he receives every day as his keep (*jira*) one plate (*qāb*) of food in the morning and one in the evening, 6 breads *du-khāṣṣa* and 6 [breads?] *kharjī*.²

§133. The MUSHRIF OF THE KITCHEN:

from the tithe on the sheep given as grants	20 d.
from the 1/20 on purchases	2 dg.

He also had an allowance (*rusūmī*) of morning and evening meals.

§134. The MUSHRIF OF THE MĪVA-KHĀNA, QŪR-KHĀNA AND GHĀNĀT, all the three Departments being under supervision (*ishrāf*) of one man: Salary 20 t.

from presents	1/100
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¹ But see §133.

² Chardin, VII, 387, says that four kinds of bread were made in the Royal bakery: "le pain de feuille, qui est mince comme du parchemin, le pain cuit sur les cailloux, qui est grand comme un grand bassin d'argent, et est très blanc et très bon; le petit pain qui est au lait et aux œufs et le pain ordinaire, qui comme les autres, n'est pas si épais que le petit doigt." *Du-khāṣṣa*, "Superior A" may refer to the first kind; *kharjī* is "ordinary."

from grants, from 100 dīnārs collected 2 d.
 from the 5 dīnārs [per tuman levied on] consignments¹ to the
 guilds (*taḥvīl-i aṣnāf*) making military outfit (*yarāq?*) (99b) 1/20 of a dīnār
 from the 1/20 levied on the salary [of the staff?] 1/10
 from purchases 2 dg.

§135. The MUSHRIF OF THE SHARBAT-KHĀNA: Salary 35 t.

from sendings (*infādh*) 1/100
 from the 1/20 on purchases, after deduction of 2/10 belong-
 ing to the Nāzīr and the Mustaufi of the Keepers (§51) 2 dg.

he also received fees on presents and grants.

§136. The MUSHRIF OF THE SHA'R-BĀF-KHĀNA: Salary 15 t.

from each tuman of the collected fees² he had 33 d. 2 dg.

§137. The MUSHRIF OF THE FALCONRY (*qūsh-khāna*): Salary (100a) 60 t.
 4900 d.+ . He has some fees from the 1/20 levy on the food (*tu'ma*) of dogs and
 hunting birds (*javārīh*).

§138. The MUSHRIF OF THE TŪP-KHĀNA: Salary 20 t.

from the 1/10 levied as a fee on [the cost of?] manufacture
 of gun-powder (*bārūt-sāzi?*) he had per tuman 266 d. 4 dg.

§139. The ŠĀḤIB-JAM' OF THE ROYAL TREASURY: (a) as written in the Record
 [of fees] (*nuskha*), the fees assigned to him were as follows:

each collected toman of fees [representing] the tithe on grants and the 1/20 on
 presents, was distributed as follows:

Sāhib-jam'	.. .. .	3000 d.	'azabs	300 d.
Mustaufi of the Keepers	.. .. .	1000 d.	Mushrif	3000 d.
Keeper of the keys	.. .. .	2400 d.	(blank) (100b)	

ditto [representing] the 1/20 on purchases:

Nāzīr	1000 d.	Mustaufi of the Keepers	1000 d.
Mushrif	2366 d. 4 dg.	Šāhib-jam'	5363 d. 2 dg.

ditto [representing] the 1/20 on the salary in kind (*jīnsī-ki ba mavājīb dīhand*):

Šāhib-jam'	.. .. .	3000 d.	Keeper of the keys	2400 d.
Mustaufi of the Keepers	.. .. .	1000 d.	'azabs	300 d.
Mushrif .. .. .	.. .. .	3000 d.		

(b) Whereas (?), according to what the Mushrif (himself) has put down (*ba-qalam
 dāda*) the fees were levied (*bāz-yāft*) as follows:

from each tuman of the salaries in cash (*naqd*), 200 dīnārs are levied, of which
 20 dīnārs are taken (*dabī*) for the Private Department, and, of the remaining
 sum, 120 d. are assigned to the Šāhib-jam';

from the goods sent (from the spot) by the gārāk-yarāqs, vazīrs and 'āmils
 (*'amala?*) to the amount of 1/100 and from the sendings (*infādh*) of the
 sha'r-bāf-khāna 1/200 (101a).

¹ We have to translate *taḥvīl-i aṣnāf*, "consignments, remittances to the guilds," in view of
 the parallel passage on f. 101a.

² Something left out?

§140. The ṢĀḤIB-JAM' OF THE RIKĀB-KHĀNA: Salary 489 t. 1000 d. +; annual grant (*in'ām-i hama sāla*) 50 t.; fees as follows:

Mode (*daf'a*) I: according to ḤASAN-BEG'S¹ regulations (*dastūr*):

from presents, etc., taken over (<i>tahvīl bāshad</i>)	1/100
from the tithe on grants: Ṣāhib-jam'	30 d.
cutter (<i>qaychāchī</i>)	50 d.

from what is consigned (*tahvīl*) to the guilds (*aṣnāf*) for the fabrication (*sar-anjām*) of military outfit (*yarāq*) [cf. f. 99b] and from what is given as salary to anyone (*harkas*), four parts (*ḥissa*) of the tithe constitute the quota (*rasād*) of the Ṣāhib-jam'.

Mode II: according to the [practice] of the days of the late (*jannat-makān*) [King]

from the robes of honour given to any one, 1/10 of the real (*vāqi'*) value is levied and distributed as follows: (101b)

dūshulluk, per tuman	1000 d.
workmen of the qaychāchī-khāna	550 d.
Tahvīldār [=Ṣāhib-jam'?]	240 d.
Mushrif	120 d.
Keeper of the keys	20 d.
Mustaufi of the Keepers	40 d.
'azabs	120 d.
pīshkhidmat	30 d.
rikābdārs: equally divided (<i>'alā al-sawīya</i>)	450 d.
[section of] būqcha-bāfi:	100 d.
Keeper of the keys	33 d. 2 dg.
'azabs	66 d. 4 dg.

§141. The ṢĀḤIB-JAM' OF THE ROYAL (*khāṣṣa*) QAYCHĀCHĪ-KHĀNA AND KHAYYĀṬ-KHĀNA (Cutting and Tailoring Department): Salary 40 t.; fees as follows:

from the 1/10 of the dūshulluk levied on robes of honour,
from the 1/20 (?) on salaries and from the 1/20 on the presents (102a):

Nāzīr of the Buyūtāt	100 d.
Mustaufi of the Keepers	90 d.
Ṣāhib-jam'	399 d. 2 dg.
Mushrif	196 d. 4 dg.
Keeper of the keys	33 d.
pīshkhidmat	25 d.
'azabs	162 d. 2 dg.
from the 1/10 on purchases:	1000 d.
Nāzīr of the Buyūtāt	100 d.
Mustaufi of the Keepers	100 d.
Ṣāhib-jam'	533 d. 2 dg.
Mushrif	266 d. 4 dg.
from what the *gārāk-yarāqs remitted to the Workshops against a receipt	
Ṣāhib-jam'	1/100
Mushrif	1/100

¹ I.e., of the Aq-qoyunlū King Uzun-Ḥasan (A.D. 1466-78).

§142. The ŠĀHĪB-JAM' OF THE FARRĀSH-KHĀNA: Salary 70 t. 3241½ d.
The following fees used to be assigned to him:

from the 1/10 on purchases: (102b)	.. .. .	1000 d.
Nāzir	.. .. .	100 d.
Mustaufi of the Keepers	.. .. .	100 d.
Šāhib-jam'	.. .. .	533 d. 2 dg.
Mushrif	.. .. .	266 d. 4 dg.
from the 1/20 on presents	.. .. .	1000 d.
'azabs	.. .. .	200 d.
Šāhib-jam'	.. .. .	533 d. 2 dg.
Mushrif	.. .. .	266 d. 4 dg.
from the 1/20 of the salary in kind and from the tithe on grants:	.. .. .	1000 d.
Nāzir	.. .. .	100 d.
Mustaufi of the Keepers	.. .. .	100 d.
Šāhib-jam'	.. .. .	533 d. 2 dg.
Mushrif	.. .. .	266 d. 4 dg.

§143. The ŠĀHĪB-JAM' OF THE ZĪN-KHĀNA ("Saddlery") used to receive: Salary 60 t. 5846 d. The following fees were assigned to him:

from the tithe on grants and the 1/20 on presents (103a)	.. .. .	1000 d.
Šāhib-jam'	.. .. .	500 d.
Mushrif	.. .. .	200 d.
zīndārs and jīlaudārs	.. .. .	200 d.
'azabs	.. .. .	100 d.
from the 1/20 of what is given as salaries and from what [is spent] on purchases	.. .. .	500 d.
Nāzir	.. .. .	50 d.
Mustaufi of the Keepers	.. .. .	50 d.
Šāhib-jam'	.. .. .	263 d. 4 dg.
Mushrif ¹	.. .. .	133 d. 2 dg.
from what is consigned (<i>taḥvīl</i>) by the vazirs and gārāk-yarāqs 1/10 is levied:	.. .. .	100 d.
Nāzir	.. .. .	100 d.
Šāhib-jam' ²	.. .. .	1 d. (?)
Mushrif	.. .. .	100 d.
Mustaufi of the Keepers and the 'āmil despatching the goods, by moieties (<i>bil-munāṣafa</i>)	.. .. .	200 d.

§144. The ŠĀHĪB-JAM' OF THE ḤAVĪJ-KHĀNA used to have a salary of 15 t. and the following fees:

from the 1/10 on presents	.. .. .	100 d.
Nāzir	.. .. .	10 d.
Mustaufi	.. .. .	10 d.
Šāhib-jam'	.. .. .	26 d. 4 dg.
Mushrif and 'azabs in equal parts (103b) (<i>bil-musāvāt</i>)	.. .. .	53 d. 2 dg.

¹ Probably 136 d. 2 dg.

² Perhaps: 100 d., or even 200 d. as the Šāhib-jam' usually had twice as much as the Mushrif.

from [each] 100 tumans of sendings of the vazirs and 'āmils,
4 tumans were divided in equal parts between the Nāzīr,
the Mustaufi, the Šāhib-jam' and the Mushrif

from the 2/10 on purchases	100 d.
Nāzīr	10 d.
Mustaufi	10 d.
Šāhib-jam'	53 d. 2 dg.
Mushrif	26 d. 4 dg.

§145. The ŠĀHĪB-JAM' OF THE GHĀNĀT used to have a salary of 8 t. 7004 d., and the following fees were assigned to him:

from [what is]¹ brought in kind to the Royal Household, from what the 'āmils send (*infādḥ*) in cash (*naqd?*) or [from what is spent] on the purchase of sheep, 2/100 are levied and divided in equal parts between the Šāhib-jam' and the Mushrif (104a).

§146. The ŠĀHĪB-JAM' OF THE MĪVA-KHĀNA has a salary of 20 t., and the following fees:

from the tithe on grants and the 1/20 on presents:

Nāzīr	800 d.
Mustaufi	900 d.
Šāhib-jam'	3800 d.
Mushrif	1800 d.
'azabs	1800 d.
Keeper of the keys and Dushullukī ²	1000 d. ³

from the 1/20 of what is given as salary, per tuman

Nāzīr	1000 d.
Mustaufi	800 d.
Šāhib-jam'	3933 d. 2 dg.
Mushrif	*1963 d. 4 dg.
Keeper of the keys	330 d.
pīshkhidmat	250 d.
'azab[s]	1320 d.

§147. The ŠĀHĪB-JAM' OF THE SHARBAT-KHĀNA used to have a salary of (104b) 34 t. 6900 d., and the following fees:

from what the 'āmils, etc., have included (*dar juz'*) in their purchases and sent (*infādḥ*), 2/100 are levied and divided in equal parts between the Šāhib-jam' and the Mushrif:

from the 1/20 on purchases:

Nāzīr	5 d.
Mustaufi	5 d.
Šāhib-jam'	26 d. 2 dg.
Mushrif	300 d. 2 dg.
from the tithe on grants:	100 d.
Nāzīr	10 d.
Mustaufi	10 d.

¹ Perhaps animals are meant in this case.

² Probably the Keeper of the keys acted as collector of dushulluk.

³ The total of this column is 10,100, instead of 10,000.

Şāhib-jam' (105a)	..	..	..	..	..	..	40 d.
Mushrif	..	..	..	..	..	..	30 d.
'azabs	..	..	..	..	..	..	5 d.
Keeper of the keys	..	..	..	..	..	..	5 d.

§148. The ŞĀHĪB-JAM' OF THE SHARBAT-KHĀNA OF GHĀNĀT (?)¹ used to have a salary of 10 t. and fees from the 1/20 on purchases and from the 1/100 on sendings, as specified (*tafsīl*) under the Private Household (?).²

§149. The ŞĀHĪB-JAM' OF THE AYĀGH-KHĀNA (*sic*): Salary 14 t. 9896 d.; fees assigned to him were as follows:

from sheep skins, heads and livers	20 d.
from lamb ditto ³	10 d.

§150. The ŞĀHĪB-JAM' OF THE SHĪRA-KHĀNA: Salary 100 t. Annual grant 12 t. fees were assigned to him as follows: (105b)

from the tithe on grants and the 1/20 on presents	100 d.
Nāzir	10 d.
Mustaufi	10 d.
Şāhib-jam'	35 d.
Mushrif	35 d.
lower staff (' <i>amala</i>)	10 d.
from the 1/20 on purchases	50 d.
Nāzir	10 d.
Şāhib-jam'	40 d.

§151. The ŞĀHĪB-JAM' OF THE SHUTUR-KHĀN: Salary 20 t.

§152. The ŞĀHĪB-JAM' OF THE HĪMA-KHĀNA: Salary 8 t. Fees were assigned as in the Ḥavij-khāna [§144].

§153. The ŞĀHĪB-JAM' OF THE SAQQĀ-KHĀNA: Salary 19 t. 0740 d. Fees belonging to him were:

from the 1/20 on purchases	4 dg.
from the tithe on grants, from 100 dinars (106a)	80 d.

§154. The ŞĀHĪB-JAM' OF THE MASH'AL-KHĀNA: Salary 12 t. Fees assigned to him were:

per tuman of the price of purchased goods (<i>jms</i>) ..	266 d. 4 dg.
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§155. The ŞĀHĪB-JAM' OF THE ZARGAR-KHĀNA: Salary 5 t. 6000 d. +

the [fee for the] scrutiny (*dīdānī*) of the jewellery (*javāhur*) in Isfahan belonged to him, and the fees were divided between the Nāzir and the others as follows:

Nāzir	1000 d.
Mustaufi of the Keepers	1000 d.
Şāhib-jam'	5303 d. 2 dg.
Mushrif	2366 d. 4 dg.

¹ Evidently different from §§145 and 147. But what relation has a sharbat-khāna to the butchery department?

² Perhaps with reference to §147.

³ *Ayagh* in Turkish means "a foot, or a goblet" Kaempfer, 125, quotes *ayagh-khāna* as a synonym of "*chīni-khāna*."

Provinces.	madākhil.		Men.
	tumans.	dīnārs.	
*Chors	1.168	9640	700
Gāvarūd (?)	257	7050	100
Qappānāt (<i>sic</i>)	822	5560	188
Vargahān (109a)	195	9500	85
Garmarūd	136	0890	25
tribe of Adarbā (?)	310	2550	150
Hashtarūd and Ṭābtāb	119	6532	115
M.d.k (*Mukrī?)	729	3709	1179
Lāhijān (109b)	874	5390	590
Dunbulī tribe	319	9096	141
Ūjarūd	510	2095	70
Abdāllū (?)	88	5723	100
Sarāb	845	1706	9
Shaqaqī tribe (110a)	326	2022	319
Zunūz and the fortress of *Qarnī-yarīq	455	5280	150
Mishkīn	136	9856	60
the irrigated part (<i>anhār</i>) of the arable lands of Mughānāt	2.202	2222	50
fortress of P.sh.k	57	5090	15
sultān of Lak of Salmās (110b)	349	3748	100
Qara-aghāch of Tālish	216	8352	40
Īnāllū shāhī-sevans	1.130	0980	80
Sultāniya and Zanjān	1.660	2059	873
(b) <i>Beglarbegi of Chukhūr-i Sa'd and dependencies</i> [total]	25.910	6326	
Beglarbegi (111a)	20.539	0000	2860
Governors of:			
tuman of Nakhchivān	3.461	4346	799
Mākū	580	2888	150
Zārūzbīl (?)	438	4675	200
Ṣadarak	65	4358	54
fortress of Bāyazīd (111b)	306	3487	100
Shādīlū tribe	20	0000	30
Dunbulī Kurds	10	0000	40
*Maghāzberd	115	6572	54
(c) <i>Beglarbegi of Qarābāgh and dependencies</i>	[25.536]	6326]	[4287]
(112a) Beglarbegi of (?) the lords of Qarābāgh known (?) as Kākhet ¹	24 726	0978	
Governors of:			
Zagam	5.998	5980	1200
Barda'	3.792	2735	515

¹ The text is out of order, v.1, p. 166. Possibly the reference to Kākhetia is to be connected with the following item: "governor of Zagam." Zagam (in Georgian Dzagh) is in the present day Zakatali district.

Provinces.	madākhil		Men.
	tumans.	dīnārs.	
Akhtābād (?)	852	5930	700
Javānshīr (112b)	2,102	8000	832
Bergūshāt	341	2750	300
Qarā-aghāch	636	5434	210
Lori and Pambak	1,545	8434	550
Arasbār and the Bāyazīdlū tribe ..	601	8345	300
district of Samāvī [*Somay] and Tergavar ¹	300	2945	47
	[16,472	0553]	[6084]
(d) <i>Beglarbegi of Shīrvān and dependencies (113a)</i>			
Beglarbegi	21,983	9033	2581
Governors of:			
Sāliyān, Qubba, Qulhān [of whom]:			
Sāliyān	3,342	3845	} 860
Qubba	7,700	0000	
Aresh and Shekkī	8,476	2465	355
Bāb al-abvāb of Darband	6,487	3955	1600
Alp'ūt (113b)	8,084	4727	230
Bādkūba	500	0000	100
Chamishgazak and Aghdash	1,002	6195	30
KHORĀSĀN.			
(a) <i>Beglarbegi of Herat and dependencies.</i>			
Beglarbegi of Herat and dependencies (114a)	15,277	6034	2682
Governors of:			
Mārūchāq	3,267	5531	97
Farāh	4,989	6873	603
Khwāf (114b)	1,434	2624	271
Jām	*1,682	0220	500
Bālā-Murghāb	883	3466	100
Panj-dih	958	4673	150
Bādghīs (115a)	109	6151	30
*Karokh	442	3737	199
Dūrmī (?)	450	7091	500
Ghūr	103	1600	30
Tūn (115b)	1,290	3100	300
	[15,611	5066]	[2780]
(b) <i>Beglarbegi of the sacred Mashhad and dependencies.</i>			
Beglarbegi	7,443	9195	670
Governors of:			
Sarakhs	2,099	3024	437
Nīshāpūr (116a)	2,170	8300	719

¹ The last three items look entirely out of place under Qarābāgh, unless the Beglarbegi had some personal or financial rights in the regions lying so far west.

Provinces.	madākhil		Men.
	tumans.	dīnārs.	
Turshīz	994	2972	616
Abīvard	3.588	7828	550
Āzādvar	139	3533	21
Nasā (116b)	2 812	0337	555
Sabzavār (whose governor (is) the vazīr of the whole of Khorasan ¹ ..	1,302	1151	272
Isfarā'in	918	7208	130
Hwruz-va y.sākū (?)	216	7353	45
Durūn (117a)	2.923	3329	1320
Turbat	379	4701	55
B.zāvandaq	117	1287	50
(c) Governor (sic) of Dār al-qarār Qandahār and dependencies.	[25.106	0218	5440]
Beglarbegi (117b)	blank		1123
Governors of:			
Zamīn-dāvar and Ghūriyān ..			463
cash (<i>naqd</i>)	2.015	0306	
trees (<i>ashjār?</i>), originally without indication of the sum (<i>bi-lā ma-</i> <i>blagh</i>)	8 331 ²		
Kūshk	1.847	8920	199
tribes (<i>il</i>) of K.rī, Lūka, Bādghīs, Tīmūri, 'Alī-Khwāja [and?] Mīr 'Arif Balūch: salary (<i>mavājib</i>)	30	0000	
(d) Beglarbegi of Marv, etc. (118a). Beglarbegi of Marv	7.193	6140	2352
(e) Governor of Sīstān	1 291	4980	1000
ASTARĀBĀD. <i>Beglarbegi of Astarābād and dependencies.</i>			
Beglarbegi	10.553	4860	1503
Governors of (118b):			
Gira'i district (<i>ulkā</i>)	1 406	0145	500
Hājjar	659		320
Jalāyir	72	7000	100
K.rā-chūpī and the bulūk adjoining the steppe (<i>rū-yi šahrā</i>) (119a) ..	200	0000	30
Goklān, etc.:			
Goklān [Turcomans]	blank		
Yamūt [Turcomans]	blank		
	[12.891	2005	2453]

¹ Literally: "governor of S and vazir of the whole of Kh" The term *vazīr* apparently indicates that the official acted on behalf of the Royal Khāssa.

² Trees, not tomans?

Provinces.	madākhil		Men.
	tumans.	dīnārs.	
DĀR AL-MARZ (Gīlān), etc. ¹			
Governors:			
Gaskar	5.052	5354	1200
Kohdom	1.207	4943	200
Rān-e kū (119b)	3.903	6947	a. 450 b. 100
Tonekābon	2.142	5040	575
KIRMĀN ²		blank	blank
'IRĀQ.			
<i>Beglarbegi (120a) of Qalamrau [Hamadān]</i> <i>and dependencies.</i>			
Beglarbegi of Qalamrau	7.779	9755	700
Governors of:			
Garrūs, district of Zarrīn-kamar and Ṭ. qānmin (?)	973	9917	140
district of Hashtādjuft: sometimes (<i>daf'a</i>)	227	4740	57
sometimes		without indication of the sum	
Harsīn (120b)	328	3900+	150
Other independent amīrs: ³			
governor of Kalhur	3.271	4000	1000
Khawār and Simnān	2.180	2015	500
Sāva and Hāva [Āva] (121a)	1.309	2093	250
district (<i>ulkā</i>) of Rayy	1.862	7550	150
KURDISTĀN, etc.			
<i>Beglarbegi</i>		blank	1000
Governors of:			
Khorkhora (121b)	362	7000	blank
Javānrūd	1.100	0000	100
*Avramān	1.100	0000	100
? ⁴	2.300	0000	200
Luristān-i Feylī		blank	blank
Bakhtiyārī (122a)	3.370	3320	361 ⁵
district of *Bāna		without indication of the sum	50
FĀRS.			
<i>Beglarbegi of Kūgīlū and dependencies.</i>			
Beglarbegi	12.000	0000	2000
Governors of:			
[Kūgīlū?]	6.747	7562 ^{2/3}	500
Bahrayn (122b)	3.839	0000	899

¹ No mention of a beglarbegi! According to Sanson, 45, there was a vazīr at Rasht.² V.i, p. 170.³ *Umarā hi tābīn nīstand.*⁴ These items may refer respectively to Avromān-i Luhūn (western) and Avromān-i Takht (eastern).⁵ Note: "on campaign in 'Irāq'"

Provinces.	madākhil		Men.
	tumans.	dīnārs.	
Zaydābāt	1.833	5313	600
Sarvistān	1,343	5002	150
Daurāq	5.877	7450	478
Bandar-i mubāraka-yi 'Abbāsī (123a.)	4.860	0000	1078
Dashtistān ¹	2.000		200
Vālī of 'Arabistān		blank	blank
Sumayram	1.045	6108½	150

[PART III]²BRIEF ACCOUNT OF REVENUE (123b) AND EXPENDITURE OF THE PROVINCES
(VILĀYĀT) OF IRAN

(A) REVENUE

T₂

Cash	785.623	8809
Kind: mūmiyā: 8½ maunds 80 mithqāls. falcons: 4 dasts. yāsāqī men: 500 men.		

(a) ADMINISTRATION³ OF DIVAN

Cash and money substitute for taxes in kind (<i>qīmat-i jins</i>) ..	608 652	3403
Kind: mūmiyā: 8½ maunds 80 mithqāls. falcons: 4 dasts. yāsāqī (124a) men: 500.		
Account of the Avāraja of 'Irāq. ⁴		

Account of the Mines:

Cash	1.423	0200+
Kind: mūmiyā: 8 maunds 80 mithqāls.		
I. KIRMĀN [cash:]	17.713	7000+
Account of the Avāraja of Khorasan	5.176	6000+
" " Dābiṭa	7.542	2900+
" " Khāṣṣa	3.432	4700+
" " Mines (124b)	1.223	0800+
" " Avāraja of 'Irāq	339	2500+
	[17.713	6900]

¹ The last four items certainly *not* under Kūgīlū.

² In his haste, the author has forgotten his announcement, f. 84b, that the Conclusion will consist of three parts, and has treated Part III as a second section of Part II.

³ In this paragraph *sarkār* has got to be translated in two different ways. The large headings *Sarkār-i divānī* and *Sarkār-i khāṣṣa* are "Administration of D and Khāṣṣa," while the items under them refer to various "accounts" into which the sums were paid.

⁴ See under Kirmān, Khūzistān, 'Irāq.

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2. KHŪZISTĀN [cash:]	117.629	5850
	falcons: 4 dasts.		
Account of the	[Āvāraja of?] Khorasan	92.582	6300+
" "	Khāṣṣa	5.255	6100+
" "	[Āvāraja of?] Iraq	207	4700+
" "	Keeper: (<i>arbāb-i taḥāvil</i>): cash	405	6000
	falcons: 4 dasts.		
		[98.451	3100]
(b) ADMINISTRATION OF KHĀṢṢA, ETC. (125a)			
Private Household	.. .. .	*176.224 ¹	5489
Account of the Keepers	.. .. .	746	6916
		[176.971	2405]
3. 'IRĀQ [cash:]	.. .. .	213.416	6058
	Men: 500.		
Account of the	Avāraja of 'Irāq		
	cash:	126.768	1000+
	yāsāqī men: 500.		
Account of the	Khāṣṣa (125b)	66.552	0304+
" "	Dābiṭa	19.423	4500+
" "	Mines	821	1300+
" "	Keepers	251	5800+
		[213.616	2904]
4. FĀRS.			
Cash and money substitute for kind	.. .. .	142.001	3000+
Kind: mūmiyā: 8½ maunds 70 mithqāls.			
Account of the	Avāraja of Fārs	76.464	3000+
" "	Dābiṭa	37.158	2800+
" "	Khāṣṣa	26.189	4000
" "	Keepers	39	5000
" "	Dābiṭa [bis?] (126a)	15.003	2400+
" "	Mines	4.178	0000+
		[159.032	7200]
5. ĀZARBĀYJĀN [cash:]	.. .. .	161.969	8400+
Account of the	Avāraja of Āzarbayjān	126.437	6900+
" "	?	2.177	*4902+
" "	Dābiṭa	26.826	0400+
" "	Khāṣṣa	6.156	*5802+
		[161.597	8004]
6. DĀR AL-MARZ (Gīlān) (126b) [cash:]	.. .. .	*69.102	7000+
Account of the	Khāṣṣa	68.198	9000

¹ Read so instead of 186 224: the right amount results from the total revenue minus the total of the Divan Administration.

ENGLISH TRANSLATION						107	
Account of the Dābiṭa	..	..	..	..	..	10	0000
„ „ Mines	;	..	..	..	..	907	7900+
						[69 116	6900]
7. SHĪRVĀN [cash]	..	..	..	..	..	63.784	8900+
Account of the Dābiṭa (127a)	..	..	..	..	..	8.477	2100
„ „ Khāṣṣa	..	..	..	..	..	849	0500+
„ „ [Avaraja of] Āzarbayjān	..	..	..	..	..	49.860	9400+
„ „ Mines	..	..	..	..	..	4.547	6800
„ „ Keepers	..	..	..	..	..	50	0000
						[63.784	8800]

B. EXPENDITURE (*kharij*)

Table III

Cash	..	..	..	..	..	*625.273	6000+
Other: yāsāqī men of Kalhur: 500.								
ADMINISTRATION OF DIVAN	..	..	..	..	..	507.400	6300+
„ „ KHĀṢṢA (127b)	..	..	..	..	..	*117.873	9300+
						[625.274	5600]	
TIYŪL AND HAMA-SĀLA SALARY.								
Cash	..	..	..	..	..	491.896	5700
Other: yāsāqī men of Kalhur tribe: 500.								
Tiyūl and substitute (<i>'avaq</i>) for tiyūl:								
Cash	..	..	..	..	..	375.366	3000+
Other: yāsāqī men of Kalhur tribe: 500.								
Hama-sāla salary	..	..	..	..	..	116.530(?)	2400+
						491.896	5400+	
[namely?]:								
1. Representatives of H.H. the Grand-mother, etc.:	..	..	..	2.191	6300		
Deputy (<i>vakīl</i>) of the honourable Grandmother	..	..	..	2.000	0000		
Ditto of the Navvāb Maryam-begum ¹	..	..	..	191	6300		
				2.191	6300			
2. Amīrs and Governors:								
Cash (<i>naqā</i>)	..	..	..	396.792	0000+		
yasāqī men: 500.								
tiyūl and its substitute:								
cash (128a)	..	..	..	349.500	4300+		
hama-sāla salary	..	..	..		blank		
yasāqī men: 500.								

¹ Shah Sulaymān's favourite aunt Sanson, *o.c.*, 125, has a long story how, having lost her first husband, the Ṣadr, she fell in love with the Qūrchi-bāshī Sārū-khan (towards A.D. 1691). Shah Sulṭān-Ḥusayn was put on the throne at her suggestion (*ḥasab al-khwāhish wa ṣalāḥ-i Maryam-begum*), see *Z.T.*, f. 205a.

3. Farrāshes	5.956	5000+
tiyūl	4.404	4800+
salary	1.552	0300+
	<hr/>	
	[5.956	5100]
4. Yasavulān-i ṣuḥbat, eshikāqāsis of the Harem and the Divan, āqāyān ..	4.721	7420
tiyūl	2.746	4000+
salary	1.975	2300+
	<hr/>	
	[4.721	6300+]
5. Doctors [but cf. f. 33b]	4.998	1300+
tiyūl	1.076	4700+
hama-sāla salary	3.921	6500+
	<hr/>	
	[4.998	1200]
6. Workers (<i>'amala</i>) of the Buyūtāt ..	6.542	1000+
tiyūl	1.289	5300+
salary	5.252	5300+
	<hr/>	
	[6.542	0600]
7. Yasāvuls (128b)	1.587	1700+
tiyūl	378	7380
salary	1.208	3000+
	<hr/>	
	[1.587	0380]
8. Artillery men	1.942	5000+
tiyūl	434	1300+
hama-sāla salary	1.508	3700
	<hr/>	
	[1.942	5000]
9. Qūrchis	25.572	6700+
tiyūl	4.473	1100+
salary	21.089	5300+
	<hr/>	
	[25.562	6400]
10. Ghulāms	18.261	5200
tiyūl	6 378	5500+
salary [129a]	11.882	9700+
	<hr/>	
	[18.261	5200]
11. Tufangchīs, rikās and other categories (<i>tavā'if</i>) comprised under tufangchīs	21.960	3300+
salary	21.701	9700+
12. Ghāzis of Pāzūkī tribe, etc.: hama sāla	2.777	5850
13. Garrisons (<i>mustahfiz</i>) of fortresses in the ports of Fārs, etc.	2.124	8700+

14. Other people, Georgian women (' <i>aurāt</i>), etc.	7.892	1700+	
<i>tiyūl</i> (129b)	1.524	3500+	
hama-sāla salary	6.367	8200+	
	[7.892	1700]	
			[503.320 9170]
TAḤVĪL	40.391	4569	
Şāhib-jam's of the Buyūtāt	33.447	5500+	
Staff (' <i>amala</i>) of studs (<i>ūlkhī</i>): perquisites (<i>marsūm</i>), etc.	943	9000+	
Governor of Bahrayn, for buying pearls	1.000	0000	
Others: to Muḥammad Şālih, maker of camphor candles, etc.	1.092	5300+	
	[36.483	9800]	
SOYÜRGHĀL, ETC. (130a)	93.032	5000+	
soyūrghāl and mu'āfi	36.777	8800+	
<i>vazīfa</i> ("pensions")	5.361	9700+	
Muqarrarī, madad-i ma'āsh and madad-i kharj of the Chengizid Rustam-khan, etc.	9.414	0000	
grants	3.120	2400+	
badal-i ijāra	321	2800+	
cost and expenditure (<i>qīmat va ikhrājāt</i>) of the musallamī silk ikhrājāt: (130b) subsidy (<i>ma'ūnat</i>) to agriculture, hire of lodgings for guests (<i>kirāya-yi manāzil</i>), etc., ḥaqq al-sa'y to officials, bird seed (<i>chīna</i>), tips for water (<i>ḥaqq al-shurb?</i>), fuel for ḥammām, etc.	23	6800	
zakāt: khums, alms, lighting of the mosque, "right of manage- ment" of the Overseer of the tombs of the Khāqān-i Şāhib-qirān and the Navvāb-i Ṭūbā-āshiyān ¹	5.140	4300+	
substitute for the tithes of the ports, [namely] the quota falling to the lot (<i>rasād?</i>) of the Europeans (<i>firang</i>), English (<i>Ingīs</i> , sic) and Portuguese (<i>Portogāl</i>) ²	blank		
	[67.235	1100+]	

Finished the Book
with the assistance of God, the generous Giver.

¹ The Safavid kings had all special post mortem titles: Ismā'il I: *khāqān-i Sulaymān-shāh*; Tahmāsp: *Shāh-i jannat-makān*, Muḥammad Khudā-banda: *navvāb-i Sikāndar-shāh*; his wife: *navvāb-i marhūma*. The first title mentioned in our text must belong to 'Abbās II for this King re-introduced the use on the coins of the title *shāhib-qirān*, "Master of the auspicious conjunction," see R S Poole, *The Coins*, LXVIII, LXXVIII. The second title belongs to Shah Sulaymān, see *Z T*, Or 3498, f. 175a.

² The reference is to the half of the revenue of the Bandar-'Abbāsī custom house ceded to the English for their help in 1622, as well as to the half of the revenue of Bandar-Kong promised to the Portuguese for the cession of Bahrayn, v.i, p. 181. But is it by way of euphemism that these payments are called '*avaḍ-i 'ushūr?*'

COMMENTARY

SINGLE OFFICES

CHAPTERS I-V consist of 84 paragraphs, each recording the duties of an official, and sometimes those of his colleagues and subordinates as well. In the section on salaries (Conclusion, Part I), 28 additional officials are referred to,¹ which brings our list up to 112 items. Our record with regard to higher offices of the Central Administration is presumably complete, but from Chardin and Kaempfer we learn of the existence of a few more officials of middle and lower rank.²

The data of the *T.M.* on the provincial and military organisation are scantier and here European sources form a most welcome supplement to our text.

CHAPTER I.

SPIRITUAL POWERS

THE general tendency of the Safavids with regard to Islamic institutions was to hamper their activities by increasing the number of law-courts, by creating confusion as to the extent of their jurisdiction and by bringing the divines under the pressure of temporal powers.³

§1. The office of MULLĀ-BĀSHĪ was easily overlooked by European authorities, for, according to the *T.-M.*, the title was first officially conferred on Muhammad Bāqir Majlisī by Sulṭān-Ḥusayn, who ascended the throne in 1105/1694. Indeed, we learn that under Shāh Sulaymān the official position of Majlisi was that of Shaykh al-Islām. M. B. Majlisi died at the age of 73, on 27 Ramaḍān, 1110/29 March, 1699. The office of Mullā-bāshī survived down to Nādir-shāh's time. Thanks to Muhammad Kāzīm's newly discovered *Kitāb-i Nādirī*, we now have confirmation of the fact that the Mulla-bashi Mīrzā 'Abdul-Ḥasan was executed on the eve of Nādir's election (March, 1736) for having been overheard to say: "Everybody is in favour of the Safavid dynasty." In his stead, Nādir appointed Mullā 'Alī Akbar, who took part in an embassy to Constantinople.⁴ In later times the title seems to have been applied chiefly to the teachers of the Princes.⁵ On some prerogatives of the Chief Astrologer encroached upon by the Mullā-bāshī, see f. 24a.

We have mentioned above (p 11) the strange dislike of the author for MĪRZĀ M. BĀQIR MAJLISĪ, the all-powerful restorer of the Shī'a orthodoxy, whom his homonym biographer Muhammad Bāqir Khwānsārī calls *Maulānā . . . al-bahr al-muḥīṭ al-'aql al-basīṭ al-'adl al-wasīṭ*, etc., see *Rauḍāt al-jannāt*, Tehran, 1306/1886, p. 118. Of the other theologians referred to in §1, AḠĀ JAMĀL AL-DĪN B. ḤUSAYN KHWĀNSĀRĪ died on 26 Ramadan, 1121/29 November, 1709, *ibid.*, p. 155. MĪR

¹ Their functions are discussed in appropriate places under the respective paragraphs of Chapters I-V. See their table on p 38. One official (*sāhib-nasag*) is several times referred to in the text (ff 17b, 50b, 53b, 80a), but his functions are not specified.

² Cf on the *mihmandār-bāshī*, Chardin, V, 372, Kaempfer, 82; Sanson, 38. Under the Qājārs the *mahmandars* were appointed *ad hoc* in each individual case.

³ Chardin, VI, 55, and especially 71, on the enforcement by the King of the 'Urf in all the cases when the latter conflicted with the *Shari'at*. Cf. pp. 119, 120.

⁴ Lockhart, *Nadir-shah*, 101-2.

⁵ Towards 1905 the buffoon of a governor of Kirman figured in the rolls as *mullā-bāshī*; see A. Y. Miller, *Mahat Kerman. oblasts*, St. Petersburg, 1909, p. 141.

MUHAMMAD HUSAYN B. MİR MUHAMMAD ŞALİH KHĀTŪN-ĀBĀDĪ died on 23 Shawwāl, 1151/3 February, 1739. His mother was a daughter of M. B. Majlisī, and he inherited his grandfather's influence, *ibid.*, 198 (margin). According to the author of the *Zubdat al-tawārīkh*, the Vazīr-i A'zam Fath 'Alī khan was blinded in 1133/1720 on the suggestion of the Mullā-bāshī Muhammad Husayn. This may be one of the "bad practices" to which our author refers towards the end of §1.

§2. The functions of the ŞADRS underwent a considerable evolution during the rule of the Safavids. For the earlier period we have a record in the *Ālam-ārā*, 107, which¹ sums up their duties as follows: "they must introduce (*taqdīm*) the sayyids and the 'wearers of turbans' and act as deputies in their affairs, administer the Endowments and pay out the sums for Shari'at purposes (*ma'ārif*)." Under Tahmāsp there were always two Sadrs, but their division into *khāṣṣa* and *'amma* is not yet recorded.

Chardin, VI, 46, calls the Sadr "le grand pontife," similar to the Mufti of the Turks, and says that he is the chief of the "chambre des comptes (*dīvān*) de l'église." Originally the Sadr was called *Şadr-i mauqūfāt*. 'Abbās II, desirous of diminishing the power of the Sadr, left the post vacant for 18 months after he had appointed the Sadr to be his Prime Minister. Sulaymān separated the sadrs, *khāṣṣa* and *'amma*,² of whom the first was entrusted with the Endowments of the kings and the latter with those of private persons. The Sadr-i *khāṣṣa* had a higher rank than his colleague. At assemblies he sat on the king's left, the place on his right being occupied by the Grand Vazir. The Sadrs were usually called *navvāb*, Sanson, 19, Kaempfer, 98, and they often married royal princesses. Very curiously Sanson, 200, states that the Sadr had the power to allow renegades to return to Christianity if they found the Islamic law too exacting for them.

Our text must be understood in the sense that there were two distinct spiritual chiefs: Şadr-i *khāṣṣa* and Şadr-i *'amma* (otherwise: *Şadr-i mamālīk*); occasionally only the two offices were united in a single person. It is distinctly stated that the representative of the Shari'at in the Dīvān-begī's tribunal was the Şadr-i *khāṣṣa*. The territorial definition of the latter's competence undoubtedly follows the general lines of delimitation between the Dīvān and the *Khāṣṣa* and is very useful for the commentary on the budgetary part of the *T.M.* (v.i., p. 163). As regards the leadership of all the divines and the administration of the Endowments, our source follows the *Ālam-ārā*, but the point on the presence of the Sadr at the Dīvān-begī's tribunal illustrates the Safavid tendency to abate the independence of the Islamic clergy (v.s., p. 110).

§3. Chardin, VI, 54-5, places the QĀDĪ after the Shaykh al-Islām, adding that the judicial functions of the two were badly delimited, although in practice this led to no great inconveniences, the court of the Dīvān-begī being considered as the instance of appeal. "Le cazy a peu de pouvoir (en Perse) depuis quelques siècles, qu'on a pris à tâche de l'abaisser, afin qu'il ne fit plus d'ombrage à l'autorité politique, comme il faisait auparavant." The object was attained by creating the offices of the Sadr and of the Shaykh al-Islām "qu'on a autorisé aux mêmes fonctions que la charge du cazy mais qui sont en plus haute considération, à cause du crédit auquel ceux qui en sont revêtus parviennent ordinairement par la grandeur de leurs alliances," i.e. by their marriages with Royal princesses.

¹ À propos of the disgrace which befell the sayyids of Uskūya under Shah Tahmāsp, cf. *Aḥsan al-tawārīkh*, 301-2.

² According to Kaempfer, 98-100, this happened in 1670. In 1680 Sulaymān had the Sadr-i *khāṣṣa* beaten on the soles of his feet on a false accusation, and in the interval administered the pious foundations himself.

The Qādi's jurisdiction extended especially to wills, marriages and divorces, *ibid.*, 97, cf. Sanson, 24, Kaempfer, 101. Chardin, VI, 84, speaks of a special *bayt al-mālji*, "prévôt de la maison du bien irréclamé," but our text suggests that the Qādi was the official responsible for the conservation of the property of the absent and orphans, i.e. that he was in charge of the *bayt al-māl*.

§4. Our text confirms the confusion between the attributes of the SHAYKH AL-ISLĀM and the Qādi, but contrary to the *T.M.*, Chardin, VI, 53, affirms that the Shaykh al-Islām, owing to his credit at the Court,¹ was considered "comme le premier et le plus juridique tribunal." This difference of opinion may be explained by some personal merits of the contemporary holder of the office or by some new meandering of the religious policy of the Safavids (v.s., p. 110).

§5. This paragraph too indicates gradual changes in religious institutions. Originally the QĀDĪ-'ASKAR must have been a kind of chaplain to the army, and we learn from the *Jahān-ārā*, f. 192a, that in this capacity the author's grandfather accompanied Uzun-Ḥasan's army to Tiflis (in 1476), and was the first to recite the Islamic creed in that Christian town.² Under the Safavids the Qādi-'askar acted as the Sharī'at adviser to the Divān-begi, but in these functions was supplanted by the Ṣadr. Towards the end of Safavid rule the Qādi-'askar was reduced to the insignificant position of a registrar of soldiers' claims.

CHAPTER II.

ON THE GREAT AMIRS

IN a short but valuable introduction the author first outlines the provincial administration, on which we learn much more from Part II of the Conclusion, and then speaks of the Pillars of the State residing in the capital.

A. Among the BORDER AMIRS ("Wardens of the Marches") the highest rank was represented by the four VĀLĪS. They all belonged to ancient families of hereditary rulers and, in spite of their incorporation in the Safavid state, enjoyed practical independence. Their revenue was not included in the budget and, apart from military assistance, they owed their suzerain nothing but tribute disguised as gifts.

The valis of 'Arabistān were sayyids of the Musha'sha' family and resided at Ḥawīza in Khūzistān. Their activities can be traced from A.D. 1436 down to our own times, see Minorsky, *Musha'sha'* in *E.I.* (Supplement).

The vālīs of northern Luristān ruled between A.D. 1184 and 1597, and, although at the latter date Shāh-verdi khan was executed by Shāh 'Abbās, the family tradition was carried on by the vālīs of the diminished territory of Pušt-i kūh (to the west of the upper Kerkha), see Minorsky, *Lur-i Kūchik* in *E.I.*

The vālīs of Georgia were the lawful kings of the ancient Bagratid dynasty. Already Ismā'īl I and Tahmāsp led several expeditions to Georgia. The period of Safavid suzerainty was interrupted by the Ottoman conquest (A.D. 1578-1603), but Shāh 'Abbās reoccupied Transcaucasia. He placed on the throne of Kartlia Bagrat VI, a convert to Islam, and decimated Kakhetia; some 60-70 thousand people

¹ Like the Sadrs, the Shaykh al-Islams often married royal princesses, Chardin, VI, 55.

² In the Ottoman judicial system the Qādi-'askar occupied the highest place, cf. Hammer, *Des Osman Reichs Staatsverfassung*, II, 378. The term *qādi-'askar* replaced *ṣadr* under Murād I. Muḥammad II nominated two qādi-'askars, one for Rumelia and one for Anatolia; during campaigns each qādi-'askar had to accompany the Sultan within the territory under his jurisdiction, but finally the judge of Rumelia eclipsed his colleague.

were killed and 100-130 thousand captives were carried off to Persia, see 'Ālam-ārā, 635. Since then, down to the second period of Ottoman dominion (1723-34), Georgia remained a vassal state to Persia, while, in compensation, the rôle of the Georgian element in internal Persian affairs became very conspicuous. The important office of governor (*dārūgha*) of Isfahan was usually held by a Georgian prince; Georgians were appointed to governorships, and in the harems Georgian influence was paramount, v.s., p. 18, and cf. Minorsky, *Tiflis* in *E.I.*

The valis of Kurdistan of the Ardalan family resided at Senna (Senanduj). The origins of the dynasty go back to Timurid (?) times.¹ Under 1035/1625 the 'Ālam-ārā styles Khān Ahmad khān *ba-istiqlāl hākīm-i Ardālān va mutasarrif-i mulk-i maurūth va beglarbegi-yi Shahrāzūl*. The last representative of the dynasty was replaced by a Qajar prince in 1868, see B. Nikitine, *Les valis d'Ardalan*, in *Revue du Monde Musulman*, XLIX, 70-104, and Minorsky, *Senna* and *Sīsar* in *E.I.*²

The Bakhtiyari tribes, of Lur origin, occupy the territories of Lur-i Buzurg,³ see Minorsky in *E.I.*, which between A.D. 1155 and 1423 were ruled by atabeks of the Faḍlavī dynasty whose capital was at Mālamir. It was probably in Safavid times that the elevation of the local khans began. They never rose to the rank of vālī, but their importance became evident after the fall of Nādir shāh's dynasty, when 'Alī Mardān khān (A.D. 1750-4), under the title of vakīl, usurped power for a short time.

✓ The beglarbegis were Governors-General individually appointed by the central government, although in special *casēs* the sons could hope to succeed their fathers. A detailed list of beglarbegis and their deputy governors is given in Conclusion, Part II (ff. 107b-123b). Qazvin as the seat of a beglarbegi is quoted only on f. 7b. ✓

B. The functions of the AMIRS RESIDING AT THE COURT form the particular object of the *T.M.*, f. 8a. Lists of the highest dignitaries of state are also found in contemporary European sources,⁴ with but insignificant variants. The term *janqī* used for the Council of State points to the Mongol or Timurid origin of the institution.⁵ Chardin, V, 237, says that there was no Council of State in Persia similar to the European institution. Only in case of war did the Shah convene his principal officers, and on such occasions auguries were taken from the book "Karajamā," supposed to have been written by Shaykh Ṣafi.⁶ However, "les grands ne laissent

¹ This family name is apparently derived from some Turkish rank. A borough in the Bakhtiyari country is called Ardāl. In Persian usage *ardāl* (*ardāl*) applies to some kind of aide-de-camp. Its derivation from English "orderly" is imaginary.

² Chardin, V, 256, says that the governors of Sīstān had the title of vālī. Khondamir, *Ḥabīb al-Siyar*, II, 125, gives "the vālī of Sīstān" the title of *shahryār*. Their family claimed to be of Ṣaffārid and even Kayānid (!) origin. In 1723-4 Malik Maḥmūd Sīstānī assumed royal prerogatives in Mashhad. The *Aḥsan al-tavāriḫh*, 188, calls Choha-sultan *vālī-yi Kalhur*, but *ibid.*, 208, Dhul-ḥijārah (Musullu) is called *hākīm-i Kalhur*, cf. *Sharaf-nāma*, II, 174: *hākīm-i Kalhuristān*.

³ 'Ālam-ārā, 762 *Lur-i Bakhtiyarī*, very probably the term Bakhtiyari, which is not found before the Safavids, is derived from the name of some chief

⁴ Du Mans, 14-25; Chardin, V, 333-79, 451-3 and *passim*, Kaempfer, 60-140, Sanson, 19-47.

⁵ *Janqī* is a Mongolian word meaning "a knot," *Muqaddimat al-adab*, 98, 201. In Chardin, V, 239, it is found mis-spelt: *ichengun*. The term *janqī* frequently occurs in the *Z.T.*, cf. f. 203: *guftugū-va-jānqī*, A.D. 1711, after Mīr Vays's revolt in Qandahār; f. 205: *janqī-va-maṣlahat*, A.D. 1717, after the defeat of Ṣafi-quli khān near Herat. Cf. *Zafar nāma*, II, 502.

⁶ The author of the *Aḥḥad al-tavāriḫh* (Vol. I, Eton College Library, Ms.M.172, f. 2b) mentions as his first source the *Maqāmāt va- Maqālāt* of Shaykh Ṣafi al-dīn, i.e. the extraordinary events of the life of his ancestors and his own down to 735/1334; he wrote them in Persian and Turkish, in a book (*saḥīfa*) called *Qarā-majmū'a* and gave them the title of *Siyar-i ṣūfiya*. This must be the book referred to by Chardin. According to Tarbiyat, *Dānshmandān-i Āzarbāyjan*, 1314/1935, p. 234, the only copy of the *Qarā-majmū'a* is in the treasury (*khazāna*, "library") of the Safavid kings; some quotations from it are found in the anthology of a certain Gharībī.

pas de conférer des affaires ensemble, ce qui se fait journellement soir et matin à la porte du Sérail dans un appartement destiné à cela, qu'on appelle Kechic Kané, c'est à dire, la maison de la garde. . . . Ils confèrent de tout ce qui arrive d'important, et à quoi il faut que le roi donne ordre. Le roi envoie d'ordinaire les requêtes qu'il a reçues, afin d'avoir l'avis des ministres sur ce qu'on y doit répondre, et les mémoires des affaires sur lesquelles il faut aussi avoir leur avis."¹ Sanson, 138, says that all the decisions are taken in the King's Council, and expresses a high opinion on the capacity of Persians to deliberate: "ils donnent aux affaires toute l'attention qu'elles méritent et ne forment pas leurs décisions que sur des réflexions exactes."

The Council of Ministers rose to a particular importance in periods of interregnum. During the earlier part of the Safavid dominion the representatives of the unruly Shāhī-sevan tribes struggled in arms for their candidates. Shah 'Abbās had selected as his successor his grandson Sām (=Šāfi)-mīrzā, but the latter was in Isfahan when the Shah died in Mazandaran, and the ministers, with the participation of the Šūfī organisation (§16), prepared and sealed a document confirming the succession, 'Ālam-ārā, 737. Very interesting is Chardin's account, IX, 425-67, of the deliberations held by the Ministers before they voted for the future Shāh Sulaymān. The latter's eldest son Sulṭān-Ḥusayn was nominated at the indication (*hasab al-ṣalāḥ*) of the Princess Maryam-begum who made the amirs, the khwāja-sarās, the khans and the chiefs seal a document of agreement to this lawful succession.

At the Safavid court there existed an established ceremonial to which the 'Ālam-ārā, 758, refers as *tartīb-i muqarrar va āyīn-i ma'hūd-i qizil-bāsh*, but apparently the personal prestige of the holders of offices could influence and modify to their advantage the order of precedence. Very probably the list of the *T.-M.* follows the fixed rules of the administrative hierarchy. On the other hand, the European sources (Olearius, Du Mans, Chardin, Kaempfer, etc.) echo in their enumeration more casual factors of time and political combinations. With particular care, Chardin, IX, 423-4, describes the order in which the dignitaries were seated at the meeting which was to decide the succession to Shah 'Abbās II.

On the right sat the Grand Vazir and below him the ministers referred to in our §§8, 11, 12, 15 and 20. On the left sat the Tufangchi-aqasi (§10) and below him Nos. 17, 13 and 21, and the two chief eunuchs, while the Eshik-aqasi-bashi (§9) and, slightly behind him the Mihtar (f. 32a) were apparently standing between the Grand Vazir and the Tufangchi-aqasi. This order (excepting Nos 17 and 13) more or less corresponds to the enumeration of the *T.M.*, although we cannot account for the absence from the meeting of such important dignitaries as No 7.

The title *'ālī-jāh*, which only the fourteen highest dignitaries enjoyed under the Safavids, became degraded under the Qājārs so as to be applied only to the lowest ranks of officers and civil servants, such as messengers, village headmen, etc.

§6. The GRAND VAZIR, usually called in our source: Vazīr-i a'zam-i dīvān-i a'lā, was naturally among the Pillars of the State (*rūkn al-daula*), but he alone was called I'timād al-daula, a title which under the pen of Europeans took the form of *Athemadoulat*, Du Mans, 17, etc. Under the early Safavids, these titles do not occur, and the highest dignitary of state is usually called *Vakīl*. After the accession of the youthful Ismā'il in 907/1501, his former tutor, Ḥusayn-beg Lala was appointed *vakīl-i nafs-i nafs-i humāyūn*, i.e. "His Majesty's personal Lieutenant" or Vice-Roy, *H.S.*, III/4, 341. In 913/1507 his title was transferred on to Najm al-dīn Mas'ūd, who was commissioned to "carry on the administrative and financial affairs (*mulk-u-māl*), his rank being placed two degrees (*pāya*) above the other amirs, *ibid.*,

¹ Ministerial activities were greatly hampered by another unofficial council held in the Harem by the Queen mother, the principal eunuchs and the more influential favourite wives, *ibid.*, V, 240.

349.¹ After him Najm-i Thānī united the ranks of vakīl and amīr al-umarā, *Ahsan al-tavārikh*, 107, 111. In 920/1514 Shāh-Ḥusayn Isfahānī was raised to the "high rank of vakīl in the affairs of the divān-i vizārat," *A.T.*, 177. His successor, Jalāl al-dīn Tabrizī, who contented himself with the title of "independent vazir," was burnt alive by his rival amīr al-umarā, *ibid.*, 184. Under Shah Tahmasp we again hear of a vakīl, Ma'sūm-beg Šafavi,² issued from a side branch of the royal house, *A.T.*, 443, 'Ālam-ārā, 118, 761.

In comparison with the vakīl, the vazir is usually mentioned in the second place, e.g. in 907/1501, simultaneously with the nomination of Ḥusayn-beg Lala, Mirzā Zakariyā was appointed to be "vazīr and šāhib-divān." Under 'Abbās I the title of vakīl is no longer recorded, and the promotion of the vazir to the first place indicates the tendency of the kings to eliminate any reference to the excessive prerogatives of a Vice-Roy.³

As the power of the qizil-bash amirs had been crushed, the Grand Vazirs' authority was no longer contested, and Chardin, V, 430, who refers chiefly to the time of Shah Sulaymān, goes so far as to say: the kings of Persia are only for show ("pour la montre"), whereas the real kings are the Grand Vazirs.⁴

Our source *grosso modo* describes the situation after 'Abbās I. According to it, the duties of the Grand Vazir may be summarised as follows: he confirmed all the official appointments, from the highest ranks to the lowest; he administered the state finance and controlled all the operations with the revenue; he checked the legality of procedure of all the officials of the state. Kaempfer, 61, recalls another important prerogative of the Grand Vazir, that of foreign policy, including negotiations with ambassadors, the signing of treaties, etc. (but *v.i.*, §17).

However, in practice even the Grand Vazir's authority was checked and balanced by the clever devices of the bureaucratic system. We shall examine here his relations to the Nāzīr-i daftar-i humāyūn, the Mustaufī al-mamālik and the Nāzīr-i buyūtāt.

With regard to the first, Chardin, V, 341, writes: "Le grand-visir a un contrôleur qui porte le titre de nazir, ou surveillant, lequel est mis par le roi et qui sert à ce ministre de premier secrétaire. Les autres grandes charges en ont aussi un de même."⁵ Nothing suggesting "surveillance" appears from our §53, except in the sense of business routine. The Royal Supreme Secretariat (*daftar-khāna-yi humāyūn-a'lā*), of which this Nāzīr was the head, was the Grand Vazir's secretariat; but the fact remains that the acts had to be checked and endorsed by the Secretary General, Chardin V, 446.

Among his other duties the Grand Vazir acted as the Minister of Finance; but in this field his chief coadjutor was the Controller General (*Mustaufī al-mamālik*, §18). The *T.M.*, f. 28a, suggests that without the latter's approval (*tašdīq*) the Grand Vazir did not take any action with the Divan revenue.⁶

¹ *A.T.*, 107. wrongly *amīr al umarā*, but 110, rightly *vakīl*.

² Shah Tahmāsp called him 'amū oghli "cousin."

³ In later times we hear of a *vakīl al-daula* (*sic*) under the weak Tahmāsp II in 1135/1722, *Z.T.*, ff. 210b, 211b. After Nādir Shah's death the "Protector" 'Alī Mardān khan Bakhtiyārī (A.D. 1750-2) and the "Regent" Karīm khan Zand (A.D. 1752-79) were called *vakīl*, see R. Stuart Poole, *The Coins of the Shahs of Persia*, 1887, pp. LIII-LV.

⁴ Cf. also V, 339. "nul acte du roi, à quelque sceau qu'il soit passé, n'est valide qu'avec le contre scel du visir"; V, 440. "le premier ministre a inspection sur toutes les deux (chambres des comptes)," i.e. divān i mamālik and divān-i khāssa.

⁵ This latter circumstance makes it sometimes difficult to distinguish between various nāzīrs, e.g. the Nāzīr referred to on f. 28a seems to be the special nāzīr to the Mustaufī al mamālik (?).

⁶ Less clear is the functioning of the office of the Mustaufī-yi khāssa, on which the *T.M.* gives little information (§109, cf. p. 123).

Somewhat more complicated were the relations of the Grand Vazir with the Nāzīr-i buyūtāt (§11). By virtue of the dual system of Safavid administration, the Grand Vazir was properly the head of the Divan (*mamālik*) branch of the administration, while the Nāzīr-i buyūtāt administered the Khāṣṣa branch ("Private Dt.," Demesnes).

According to the *T.M.*, f. 9a, the Grand Vazir controlled all the Divan revenue as well as "the sums sent to the Treasury and other Buyūtāt from the whole of the mamālik and from the capital of Isfahan." This statement, if accurate, leaves out of his control the revenue from the Khāṣṣa. On the other hand the Mustaufi al-mamālik, who belonged to the Grand Vazir's administration, seems to have held a paramount position with regard to the Departments of Khāṣṣa and Tahāvīl. Chardin says that, as the King had interests in the affairs of the "State" Dt., the Nāzīr looked into them, while the Grand Vazir for his part went through the accounts of the khāṣṣa administration. In this case, the Grand Vazir's presence was considered as a guarantee to the population against the proceedings of the khāṣṣa agents who might have cloaked their own high-handedness with the King's name. Chardin¹ only hints at these contacts, which probably were never couched in too rigid formulas, much being left to the personal tact and respective importance of the two Ministers.

The Grand Vazir had no fixed salary (§86), but he had an assignment in the guise of *rasm al-vizāra*, f. 85b, as well as some "annual grants." The amount of fixed pay both of the Ṣadr and Qurchi-bashi was higher than his, but this disadvantage seems to have been largely made up for by the important "fees" attributed to him.

From §85 we learn of the existence of a Vakīl of the Supreme Divan whose office was temporarily in abeyance, although the fees belonging to it continued to be collected by a Dābit (§69) appointed *ad hoc*. It is possible that this Vakīl of the Supreme Divan (not *Vakīl-i nafs-i nafis*, or even *Vakīl al-daula*!) was a Vice-Prime Minister, acting in the interim or during the absence of the Grand Vazir.²

A considerable reshuffling of the highest offices of State took place under the Qājārs. The title of I'timād al-daula had fallen into disuse and the dignitary in charge of his duties received the title of Ṣadr-i a'zam, now disconnected from the religious functions described under our §2. Meanwhile, the office of the Vakīl-i Vazīr-i A'zam, which, as just stated, was in abeyance under the Safavis (§85), was resuscitated under the appellation of Qā'im-maqām "Locum tenens," and its holder was attached to the heir apparent whose residence became Tabriz. In case of illness of the Ṣadr-i a'zam the Qā'im-maqām was summoned to Tehran to act in his stead. The immediate assistants of the Ṣadr-i a'zam and of the Qā'im-maqām were now styled Nāzīr, while the governors who accompanied other Princes Royal appointed rulers of provinces, were surnamed Vazīrs.³

§7. The QŪRCHĪ-BĀSHĪ, "Chief of the qurchis," was next in dignity to the Grand Vazir.⁴ Our source calls him "the most important of the *amirs* who are Rukns," but the Grand Vazir was the most important of all the Rukns.⁵ In earlier times, when Persia possessed no regular troops, the Qurchi-bashi was practically the Minister of

¹ V, 346. "Comme (le Nazir) entre avec le grand-visir dans les affaires de l'état, à cause de l'intérêt du roi, qui y est toujours mêlé, le grand-visir entre aussi avec lui dans les comptes que lui rendent les intendants des provinces, les administrateurs du domaine, les commis du roi, et tous ceux généralement qui manient les biens du prince dans tout le royaume."

² Somewhat puzzling is his place in the enumeration (§85) before the Grand Vazir (§86)

³ On these and other similar changes of titulature, under the Qājārs, see G. Drouville, *Voyage en Perse*, Paris, 1825, II, pp. 5-16.

⁴ Kaempfer, 70, agrees with the *T.M.*; if Chardin, V, 341, says that the Divan-begi ranks second, he refers only to the civil administration. ⁵ [I.e. under 'Abbās I.]

War of Persia, and his usual title seems to have been *amīr al-umarā*. Ḥusayn-beg Lala (v.s.) evidently combined the offices of vakīl and amīr al-umarā, for he lost the former in 914/1508 and the latter in the following year. Under 'Abbās I the prerogatives of the amīr al-umarā were curtailed by the creation of the new troops and the *T.M.* calls him the senior officer ("white beard") of all the tribes of Iran, but not of the other armed forces. The *Carmelite Chronicle*, p. 468, also points to the eclipse of the Qurchi-bashi by calling him (A.D. 1604) "general of the old militia." None the less the Q.-b. carried great weight in public affairs and Sanson, 30, applied to him the French title of "Connétable."¹ Very interesting is the prerogative of the Q.-b. to submit the candidatures even of such high officials as vālis, but, in view of the similar passage in §8, it must have had a restricted application, viz. only in those cases where the candidates belonged to the corps of qurchis. The rights of the Q.-b. with regard to the appointment and salaries, and the "muster" of the subordinates, apply *mutatis mutandis*, to the other heads of military and civil departments.

On the Qurchi-bashi's emoluments see §88 and on his staff see §§54, 55, 111 and 112. A general characteristic of the qurchis as a military force has been given above, p. 32. Under this heading it remains for us to mention some special classes of qurchis who, as it appears, were lent by the Qurchi-bashi to various departments.

Our text refers to the King's arm-bearers (*qūrchiyān-i yarāq*) (ff. 43a, 43b, 59b), including the *qurchi-yi sadaq* (f. 43b), who stood around in Royal assemblies. A very full list of this group is given by P. Bedik, 245, who indicates the objects in the charge of single qurchis:

mandil qorchisi	..	turban	giyim (spelt <i>gheim</i>)-q.	coat of mail
qilich-q	..	.. sword	pahla-q	.. .. gloves
khanjar-q.	..	.. dagger	chakma-q.	.. .. top boots
kamān-q.	..	.. bow ²	bashmaq-q.	.. .. shoes
sadaq-q.	..	.. quiver (cf f. 43b)	jām-q.	.. .. cup
nayza-q	..	.. spear	hazier (?) -q.	.. .. trappings ³
qalqan-q.	..	.. shield	jilau-q	.. .. reins

The *qūrchi-yi ajrlū* (f. 21b) formed a small corps of 100 men with functions similar to those of a Gendarmerie, cf. Chardin, VII, 421.

Less clear is the position of the *yasāvulān-i qūr*, whom our source (ff. 59b, 61a) mentions both in the corps of qurchis and in that of qullar. One of the meanings of *qūr* is "munitions," and one might imagine that these officers served as a connecting link with the Jabbā-khāna (§33). On the other hand, Sanson, 193, affirms that "Kaur Ysaouls," numbering 2,000, who were subordinated to the Qurchi-bashi, were agents of the executive power and served on horse-back ("huissiers a cheval"). They guarded the environs of the palace at night; they kept the crowds at a distance when the Shah went out for a ride; they secured "silence" at the Divan-begi's tribunal; they carried out executions, confiscations of property, personal arrests of Khans, etc. It is curious that Sanson seems to overlook the existence of ordinary qurchis.

¹ A trace of the old conception is found in the history of Shah Šafi, *Khulā-i barīn*, p. 257, in which the Q.-b. still opens the list of dignitaries, the Vazīr-i 'A'zam coming at the second place. It is curious too that when, after the execution of Faṭḥ 'Alī Qājār, Nādir formed a government, the functions of Vazīr-i 'A'zam were conferred on Mirza Aqvām, while Nādir himself assumed the rank of Qurchi-bashi, after the deposition of Tahmasp II, this title was replaced by that of Navvāb-i Iskandar shān, *Z.T.*, ff. 212b, 215.

² Du Mans, 24, uses a parallel Turkish expression *oq yag qurchisi*, "qui garde l'arc et la flèche du Roy."

³ I strongly suspect this strange word of being a mis-spelling of *ōzāngū*, "stirrup"; cf. du Mans *zengou-qurchi-si*, "qui tient l'estrié pour monter." Chardin, V, 366, places the *ōzāngū-qurchisi-dāshī* under the Amīrākhōr, adding that he always rides ("marche"?) close behind the King and has a staff of ten stirrup-holders, v i, p. 120.

According to Olearius, ed. 1656, p. 672, *Jasaul Kor* "Reise-Marschall" rode before the king and cleared the way through the crowd. He belonged to the Eshik-aqasi-bashi's Dt. and had under his orders another yasavul. The latter was employed for various commissions, such as the binding of captives, etc.

§8. On the corps of QULLAR and JAZĀ'IRĪ, v s., pp. 33-4. It is interesting that the Turkish term *qul-lar* is used indiscriminately with the Arabic *ghulām*, and that the *ghulāms* are specially associated with the Khāṣṣa.

§9. For ESHĪK-AQĀSĪ-BĀSHĪ, literally "Head of the masters of the threshold," Chardin, V, 357, suggests the French equivalent of "chef des maîtres de la cour" or in mediaeval Latin, "caput ostiariorum." Kaempfer's translation, 207, seems more appropriate materially: Magnus Aulae Mareschallus. The functions of the Eshik-aghāsi-bashi were twofold; at the council meetings and public functions he acted as the great master of ceremonies; on the other hand, he was in charge of the door-keepers, guards and *aqāyān* (cf. §§29-31).¹ His headquarters were in a hall of the principal entrance to the Palace, the Ālā-qāpī, Chardin, VII, 369. One of his duties was to sleep at the gate, but in fact he only came there to place sentries, *ibid.*, V, 358. His jurisdiction extended only over the outer part of the palace down to the Harem gate. The command near the latter belonged to an amir of lesser rank called ESHĪK-AQĀSĪ-YĪ HĀRAM (§28), whose activity must have been co-ordinated with, if not subordinated to that of the Eshik-aghāsi-bashi.² On the Lashkar-nivīs and Sar-khaṭṭ-nivīs acting as the Vazir and the Mustaufī in his department, v.1., §§63 and 64. On the prerogative of the Eshik-aghāsi-bashi to collect an additional 10 per cent. on the value of presents offered to the king, v.s., f. 87a.

§10. On the tufangchīs, v.s., p. 32. On the staff of the TUFANGCHI-AQASI, v.i., §§III-2.

Twice in our text (ff. 15a and 129a) subalterns called *rikā* are associated with the Tufangchi Dt. The dictionaries explain *rikā* only as "a staff-bearer (*chūbdār*) from whose bonnet wool is hanging down" (Vullers, II, 98). European travellers do not agree as to their duties. According to Olearius they were armed with "pole-axes," were always on guard about the king's person and sometimes acted as common executioners. Kaempfer, 209, calls them runners (*cursores*), adding that they marched ahead of the royal cortege and with their axes reduced walls and enclosures which might have hampered the progress. According to Du Mans, 32, *rikās* were the footmen (*valets de pied*), whom the dignitaries kept at the palace gate to inform them of the King's outings, which is definitely not the case of §11. In view of the fact that the *rikās* were halberdiers one might suppose that they were identical with the *ṣūfī* guards described above, p. 33, but Kaempfer speaks of them separately.

§11. The NĀZĪR-I BUYŪTĀT, "Superintendent of the Royal Workshops,"³ was the Superintendent General of the whole of the King's Household. Chardin, V, 345, calls him "le premier ministre du souverain, le surintendant de ses finances, le grand économiste de son domaine, de ses revenus, de ses biens meubles et immeubles, de tout ce qui entre dans son trésor, et de tout ce qui en sort." In fact the Nāzīr was the head of the *khāṣṣa*, *ibid.*, 344, and even looked into some affairs of the *divān*

¹ As suggested above, p. 47, the latter term would normally refer to eunuchs; but a broader use of it is suggested by f. 44b where the ushers are said to be sons (!) of *aqāyān*, etc. On f. 79a the *aqāyān* figure along with the military. Apparently the *aqāyān* formed a special class of "gentlemen" having a rank inferior to the amirs, muqarrabs (f. 90b), yasāvuls and eshik-aqāsīs (ff. 69b, 128a, but see 96b!).

² On the channels through which communications with the Harem took place see f. 30b. If indeed the eunuchs were controlled by §9, the subordination to him of §28 was inevitable.

³ On them, v.1., pp. 119, 134

administration, jointly with the Grand Vazir, v.s., p. 116. In view of his association with the affairs most directly interesting the King, the Nāzīr was a powerful minister. Under 'Abbās II the holder of this office, who was the King's favourite, had encroached so much on the prerogatives of the Grand Vazir that the latter ignored many of the affairs which officially came under his purview.

The Nazir had under him 33 different *buyūtāt*, alongside such purely domestic departments as the King's kitchen, scullery, various stores, etc., there were also departments which represented small factories, see §§34, 35 (tailoring departments), 136 (weaving mill), 155 (jewellery), etc. The Buyūtāt are only partially enumerated in Chapter III, Category (b), with some additions in the list of salaries (Conclusion, Part I). Du Mans, 21-4, Chardin, V, 349-56, and Kaempfer, 120-31, mention a number of additional departments.

In earlier times it happened that only a part of the Buyūtāt ('*Ālam-ārā*, 120₈: *akīhar-i buyūtāt*, 120₁₄: *ba'dī az buyūtāt*) was placed under the Nāzīr's orders, but, with the growth of the importance of the Khāṣṣa, his competence extended beyond his immediate subordinates. Our source (f. 20b) records, for instance, the dependence on him of the Royal Stables (§15), ammunition dumps, etc. It is to be assumed that at least the corps of musketeers, qullar and jazā'irī (v.s., p. 32) maintained by the Khāṣṣa, were very closely controlled by the Nāzīr. In conformity with the general policy of the later Safavis, the office of Nazir was withdrawn from the qizil-bash amirs and entrusted to the more subservient eunuchs (f. 32a). The famous Sārū-Taqī, castrated by 'Abbās I's order, became, under Shah Ṣafī, Nazir, and finally Grand Vazir. To his suggestion Chardin ascribes the decisive encroachments of the Khāṣṣa on the Divan.¹

Very interesting is the information given by the *T.M.* on the system of control over the expenses of the King's Household. Chardin confirms that on the whole it worked satisfactorily.²

As was the case in other branches of administration, the Nāzīr's nearest assistants were his vazīr, his mustaufi and his mushrif (§§50-2). All the heads of the departments in the Workshops (*ṣāhib-jam'*, §31) were under his orders, and through them he controlled the numerous staff of workmen, cooks, attendants, etc.

§12. The DIVAN-BEGI was the Lord High Justice. His duties as described in the *T.M.* were fourfold:

(a) Sitting jointly with the Ṣadr at the Keshik-khāna he tried the major crimes, committed in any part of the Kingdom.³ The Ṣadr was supposed to give orders for the application of the Qor'ānic law, but the fact that he did so in the Divān-begi's tribunal shows whose influence was uppermost. The Keshik-khāna in question, according to Chardin, VII, 369, was an entrance hall at the principal gate (*Ālā-qāpī*) of the Palace, opposite another hall, occupied by the Eshik-aqasi-bashī (§9).⁴

(b) The Divan-begi⁵ controlled all the Shari'at courts, and quite especially acted as the executive power for the decisions of the Shari'at courts. This latter prerogative was another powerful means for the civil administration to keep the divines well in hand.

(c) On two days of the week he himself in his house⁶ tried civil cases, with the

* ¹ Chardin, V, 250, VII, 304, '*Ālam-ārā*, 766 in fine, *Khuld-i barān*, f. 137b.

² V, 348 "la concussion, la malversation et les autres fraudes ne sont pas faciles à faire, dans le royaume de Perse, à ceux qui ont la surintendance des biens du souverain"

³ *Aḥdāth-i arba'a*. Kaempfer, 80: in foro ejus quattuor crimina.

⁴ At another place, V, 342, Chardin says that the Grand Vazir performed some duties in this second hall (?), see f. 10b.

⁵ Perhaps jointly with the Ṣadr.

⁶ Chardin, VII, 465, near the Gate of Lombān.

exception of those in which administrative authorities were involved. In this tribunal customary law (*urf*) was applied, and Chardin speaks in great detail of the importance of this branch of judicature for the non-Muslim part of the population, VI, 75, insisting on the fact that between the written (i.e. Qor'anic) law and the supreme civil power "il n'y a jamais de conflit de juridiction . . . le droit *ourf* comme le plus fort, l'emportant sur l'autre sans la moindre résistance." Our f. ga clearly distinguishes between the Shari'at and "the habits, usages and rules of rightfulness." In the provinces the representatives of the *urf* were the governors.

(d) The Divan-begi was a court of appeal for the whole kingdom and received complaints against the highest authorities. "On appelle à lui de toutes parts du royaume," *ibid.*, V, 342.

All this shows the importance of the duties of the Divan-begi. Amid the conflicts and rivalries of various religious courts he, having the support of the King, easily asserted his paramount rights.

§13. The importance of the office of AMĪR-SHIKĀR-BĀSHĪ ("Grosvenor") may have been a survival of Turkish and Mongol times, when hunting was not only a distraction but an important part of the commissariat. The participation of this amir in the *jānqī* council (f. 8b) was probably due to some personal reasons. The importance of the office is illustrated by the fact that under Shah Sulṭān-Ḥusayn the Shikār-bāshī, Fath 'Alī khan Turkman was promoted sardār of Khorasan, *Z.T.*, 204a. The powerful chief of the Shah's pages (*yūz-bāshī-yi ghulāmān-i khāṣṣa*),¹ on being reinstated after a disgrace, was appointed Amīr Shikār-bāshī, *ibid.*, 206a. On the Amīr shikār-bāshī's salary see §94. Under his orders were the Qūsh-khānā-āqāsī ("Head Falconer"), the Sagbān-bāshī ("Master of the Kennels") and some 1000 hunters throughout the kingdom, Chardin, V, 366, cf. our §137.

§14. This paragraph seems to contradict Chardin's statement that the whole of the ARTILLERY DT. was abolished towards A.D. 1655. In fact, we know that it was active in Shah Sulṭān-Ḥusayn's expeditions to Khorasan, v s., p. 33. However, even the amount of the Tupchi-bashi's salary (§88) points to his reduced importance in comparison with his colleagues.

§§15 and 16. There were two AMĪRĀKHOR-BĀSHĪS,² "Masters of the King's Stables" the one of *jīlau* and the other of *ṣahrā*. The word *jīlau* is of Mongolian origin,³ and means "a halter, a rein by which a horse is led"; in Modern Persian *jīlau* (> *jolou*) is used as a preposition "before." *Jīlaudār*, "Holder of the Rein," is the groom riding before his master, as if leading his horse. In the present case, AMĪRĀKHOR-BASHI-YI JILAU is the official responsible for the King's mounts. On his salary see §91; according to Chardin, his emoluments were 50,000 écus (=3.333 tomans²), a considerable part of which consisted of his levies on the horses presented to the King, or given by him. The Amīrākhor-bashi had a very numerous staff ("un nombre presque infini de gens"). As his department was very closely associated with the court, the appointments in it were controlled by the Nāzīr-i buyūtāt (§11). Under the Amīrākhor-bashi's orders were (Chardin, V, 366): the *jīlaudār-bashi*, "First Equerry in permanent attendance on the King," the *zīndār-bashi*, "Keeper of saddlery," the *özāngī-dār-bashi*, "Head of the stirrup-holders," riding immediately behind the King's horse, and finally 30 footmen ("valets de pied du Roi").

The AMĪRĀKHOR-BASHI-YI ṢAHRĀ was the superintendent of the "outdoor (*ṣahrā*) stables," i.e. of the Royal Studs. On his inspection tours he was closely

¹ V.s., f 32a.

² Chardin, V, 363: "le grand-écuyer."

³ Poppe, *Muqaddimat al-adab*, 439 *jolā* (after Ibn-Muhanna, ed. Istanbul, 1338, p. 225), "a halter."

associated with the NĀZIR-I DAVĀBB (§96) who, according to Kaempfer, was the inspector of the King's pack-animals (jumentorum Regiorum). This official belonged to the Khāṣṣa branch of administration for the *Ālam-ārā*, 76, calls him *Nāzīr-i davābb-i khāṣṣa-yi sharīfa*. His salary was even higher than that of the Amirakhor-bashi-yi sahrā. Chardin, VII, 302, refers to a Nāzīr-i chārpā, "intendant du pied fourché qui reçoit le droit de toutes les bêtes à cornes qui se consomment dans les villes du royaume," which is a different matter. At another place Chardin, V, 364, who knows only one Amirakhor-bashi (cf. under §92) says that there was a special "Nazir of the stables" who countersigned all the orders of the Amirakhor-bashi, and had an office in which all the expense of the stables was controlled. Chardin's data are somewhat confused, and apparently neither of the two quotations refers to the Nazir-i davābb. On a *Ṣāhib-jam'* of the stables see §160.

§17. The MAJLIS-NIVĪS was also called VĀQĪ'A-NIVĪS.¹ He was a very important officer and according to Chardin, V, 343, acted for the Grand Vazir during the latter's absences. As in the assemblies he sat on the King's left, he was often styled *vazīr-i chap*, while the Grand-Vazir was called *vazīr-i vāst*, "Minister of the Right."

It is possible that his various titles pointed to a combination of several offices originally distinct. The functions of this officer were threefold.

To judge by the title of Majlis-nivīs, "Recorder of the King's assemblies," he had to record the proceedings of the audiences. If so, his functions were akin to those of an official historiographer. The latter is not otherwise mentioned in our source. Rieu, *P.C.*, 189b, speaking of the career of the historian Muhammad Ṭāhir Vaḥīd, says that in 1055/1645 'Abbās II appointed him "Majlis-navīs, or court-historiographer,"² but this interpretation may be based on mere etymology. From Catholicos Abraham, tr. Brosset, 312, we know that A.D. 1736, Nādir-shāh commissioned Mīrzā Mahdī to be his "historiographer." We do not know what Persian title is meant in this case; in the Preface of his work (completed after Nādir's death) M. Mahdī vaguely speaks of himself as being *az chākarān-i huḍūr va ba-dabt-i viqāyi ma'mūr*.

On the other hand, the Majlis-nivīs was the King's private secretary. Sanson, 35, calls him "le seul secrétaire d'état," and Kaempfer, 79, "magnus secretarius status."³ The Majlis-nivīs had to put into due form the orders issued by the King. As the latter usually gave them by word of mouth (*bil-mushāfaha*), they were to be confirmed either by means of a ta'līqa of the Grand Vazir or by means of a risāla ("epistle") of one of the amirs, using the formula *ḥasab al-amr al-a'lā*. In each case the order was handed to the Vāqī'a-nivīs in whose Dt. it was transformed into a regular raqam. On f. 42b the raqams submitted to the Vāqī'a-nivīs are called *bayādī* and *daftari*.⁴ On them he traced a tughrā in black ink.⁵

The well-known Turkish term *tughrā* was applied in Turkey to the pieces of elaborate calligraphy containing the Sultan's name and forming his emblem, see Deny in *E.I.* This use was unknown in Persia. It is true that in a document of early Safavid times,⁶ *tughrā* means an autograph signature (or letter?), and autograph endorsements are also found on later documents, see Or. 4935, No. VII ('Abbās II),

¹ Chardin translates this latter title as "écrivain des choses qui surviennent"

² From which he later rose to be Grand Vazir, Rieu, *Supplement*, 40b

³ As such he must be distinguished from the Nāzīr-i daftari-humāyūn (§53), who was the Grand Vazir's coadjutor, and from the Munshī al-mamālik (§23), who was principally the State Calligrapher, v.i., p. 132

⁴ *Bayādī*, "fair copies," may refer to standardised documents written in ready forms, and *daftari* to the documents the drafts of which had to be prepared in the office (?). See Annex V.

⁵ The terms *qalam-i mudād* and *qalam-i siyāhi* seem to be identical.

⁶ *Silsilat*, p. 104: issued by Shaykh Ḥaydar in 888/1483.

but judging by the hints found in the *T.M.* (§23 and f. 40a), the tughras were formulas certifying the Shah's will and inscribed by the dignitaries specially appointed (namely, §§17 and 23). Our source contains no indications as to the place of the Vāqī'a-nivīs's tuḡhrā, but Or. 4935, No. XII, has an endorsement on the verso (in black ink) running as follows: (a) *ḥasab al-amr al-a'lā*, (b) *az qarār-i nivishṭa-yi . . . I'timād al-dawla*, (c) *bar ṭibq-i nivishṭa-yi 'ālī-jāh-i muqarrab al-khāqān-i Majlis-nivīs-i majlis-i bihishṭ-āyīn*. This formula may be the tughra in question. On the tughras "in gold and red" traced by the Munshī al-mamālik see §23.¹

The third important prerogative of the Vāqī'a-nivīs was to be a rapporteur to the King. He read to His Majesty the reports of the Governors and all kinds of petitions and communications, and drew up the King's replies to them. Chardin, V, 258, 343, reveals the important fact that there were Vāqī'a-nivīs in all the provinces, and that the Vazīr-i chap was their head and consequently played the rôle of the *Ṣāhib al-barid* ("Master of the Post") of the days of the 'Abbāsīd caliphs. He went to see the King whenever he wanted. As he answered the letters of other kings to the Shah, kept the treaties and knew the precedents of diplomatic relations, he was an important link in the negotiations with foreign ambassadors. He registered their comings and goings, the object of their missions, etc. He must have had considerable archives, but it is not clear which were the quarters occupied by him and his numerous staff.

In §108 his fixed emoluments are put at 330 tomans, but Du Mans, 18, thinks they might have run into a thousand.

§18. It is difficult to find a European equivalent for the title of MUSTAUFĪ AL-MAMĀLIK. The Grand Vazīr, under whose orders he was acting, was the real Minister of Finance, but in fact most of the technical financial activity, such as accountancy, audit and preparation of the budget,² lay on the shoulders of the M.-m. French travellers usually call the offices of the Mustaufī al-mamālik and of the Mustaufī-yi khāṣṣa, "chambres des comptes." Chardin, V, 439, in a rather vague passage, calls the M.-m. "président au premier chef de toute la chambre" et, pour ainsi dire, le premier mobile de cette grande machine," while Kaempfer, 83 and 88, refers to the two Mustaufis respectively as "Questor Régni (Questor) Regis."

In the first instance the M.-m. controlled the activities of the mamālik branch of administration; but our source indicates that the Mustaufī-yi khāṣṣa (§109) and the (Mustaufī-yi) arbāb-i taḥāvil (§59 and f. 46a), at least in dealing with certain sums allotted (*rasād*) to them, depended on the Mustaufī al-mamālik, and that in general the majority of operations with the revenue, irrespective of the branches of administrations, needed the seal of the Mustaufī al-mamālik.

The principal officials under the Mustaufī al-mamālik were: Nāzīr (§56?), Dārūgha-yi daftar-khāna (§54), Ṣāhib-taujīh (§66), Dābiṭa-nivīs (§65), and the Keepers of the avāraja books (§70). Among the scribes are specially mentioned the scribe of

¹ 'Abbas Eghbāl in *Irān-i imrūz*, 1319, No. 10, p. 25, quotes some dictionaries deriving *tuḡhrā* from Turkish **Turqa* or *Turghay*, "bow" (doubtful!). *Tuḡhrā* is explained as "a bow-shaped script" (*bar shikl-i kamān*) used in the top of farmans before the *basmala*. The script was shaped like "a bow with an arrow."

² According to the *Ālam-ārā*, 766, a scheme of budget of the "state" administration (*nushka-yi tashkīṣ-i jam'-va-kharj mamālik-i mahrūsa*) which was adopted "as instruction and law by the Royal Secretariat" (*quḍva-va-qānūn-i daftar-khāna-yi humāyūn*) in 'Abbās I's time was elaborated by the Mustaufī al-mamālik Hātim beg Ordūbādī and his successor Āqā Mīrzā 'Alī.

³ V, 447 "chef de la chambre" (but VII, 471, wrongly "le secrétaire de l'empire"). This refers only to the Daftar-khāna-yi mamālik as the Mustaufī-yi khāṣṣa was the head of a parallel chamber

the *khālīs* department and the *Nivīsanda-yi baqāyā*, "Scribe of the arrears" (§123).¹ Both Chardin, V, 439, and Kaempfer, 89, agree as to the principal divisions of the Mustaufi's office. Chardin enumerates three of them: that of *khulāsa*, that of *taujūh* (§66) and that of the *Lashkar-nivīs* (§63), plus two controlling officials: Nāzīr (f. 28a) and Dārūgha (§54). We shall mention each division at its place, but the first of them which has no special paragraph in the *T.M.* must be discussed here.

Our source (f. 29a) refers to a special *sarkār-i khālīs*, the object of which, according to the description, was to prepare short notices on appointments and payments for the benefit of the other offices dealing with Expenditure. The division may have had the functions of an Official Gazette. Both Chardin (*deftér cané colaseh*) and Kaempfer (*cholaseh*)² clearly refer to Persian *khulāsa*, "essence, excerpt," and Chardin's definition of the functions of this office does not contradict the destination of *sarkār-i khālīs* as explained in the *T.M.* More probably, however, the European observers were let into error by the similarity of the terms *khālīs* and *khulāsa*, for document IXb of Or. 4935 bears on the verso the registration both of a *daftar-i khālīs* (No. 1) and of a *daftar-i khulāsa* (No. 4). Consequently the two offices were distinct, though we cannot yet discriminate between their functions.³

The Mustaufi al-mamālik controlled the appointments of all the mustaufis (f. 28b), and wrote instructions to the financial agents (*ummāl*) in the provinces (f. 27b), but there are no indications in our text concerning the mustaufis of the military departments, etc. (§§56, 58, 60, 62, 72) being under his orders.

Our source does not describe the activities of the MUSTAUFĪ-YĪ KHĀṢṢA (§109), but through Chardin and Kaempfer we know that his department was organised exactly on the same lines and with the same divisions as that of the Mustaufi-al-mamālik. According to Chardin, the two administrations, though equally controlled by the Grand Vazir,⁴ were entirely distinct, but we must remember what Chardin adds on the overlapping of the competences of the Divān and Khāṣṣa in general, v.s., p. 116, and particularly with regard to the activities of the mustaufis, V, 440. Kaempfer, 88, agrees with our source in admitting some subordination of the Mustaufi-yī khāṣṣa to his colleague (quodammodo subordinatus). Chardin, V, 435, says more cautiously: "le bureau des registres du royaume [*mamālik*] est le premier en rang; mais l'autre [*khāṣṣa*] a plus d'autorité, à cause de l'étendue de son ressort." These remarks confirm the general evolution of Persian institutions in the later Safavid period when the Khāṣṣa was working havoc in the mamālik administration. The office of M.-khāṣṣa may have been a comparatively recent foundation for neither under Tahmāsp, nor under 'Abbās I does it figure in the detailed lists of officials, see *'Ālam-ārā*, 119, 766. It is very probable that the M.-khāṣṣa controlled the expenditure of the army, or at least of the new corps created by Shah 'Abbās.⁵

¹ According to the *'Ālam-ārā*, 119, under Tahmāsp I there were two separate officers, *Mustaufi al-mamālik* and *Mustaufi al-baqāyā* ("M. of the arrears"). One of the holders of the latter post was promoted to the dignity of M. al-mamālik.

² Chardin, V, 436: "ce bureau est comme le journal du domaine: c'est le lieu des registres de la recette et de la mise journalière, et c'est où les billets d'assignation se gardent." Kaempfer, 89: "camera Cholaseh generales ducit rationes acceptorum et expensorum in Dominis."

³ Chardin, V, 441: "c'est un labyrinthe dont on ne saurait sortir que ces chambres des comptes," etc.

⁴ Chardin, V, 440: "le premier ministre a inspection sur toutes les deux."

⁵ Chardin, V, 440-1, rather vaguely says: "Dans la chambre des comptes de l'état on tient registre des officiers et des troupes de chaque province (sic). . . . Dans le bureau du domaine on tient les mêmes comptes: ainsi la chambre du domaine sait tout ce qu'il faut payer à chacun et combien chaque corps [sic] d'officiers, de soldats, de domestiques et d'artisans doit recevoir par an."

The mustaufis mentioned in §§75, 82 and probably 81, belonged also to the purview of the Mustaufi-yi khāṣṣa.

The *‘Ālam-ārā*, 664, and 671, contains two curious passages which throw much light on the position held by the Mustaufi al-mamālik and on the official procedure in more exceptional matters requiring audit. The first passage records the accusations of misuse of public funds (*tadyī-i māl-i dīwānī*) which the Grand Vazir Mirzā Abū-Tālib and the Mustaufi al-mamālik Qivāmā Muḥammadā¹ Isfahānī levelled against each other in 1029/1619. The case having been brought up before Shah ‘Abbās the latter ordered the Ṣadr (sūdūr-i ‘izām) to conduct an enquiry with the Yasāvul-i suḥbat (cf. §29) Kalb-‘Alī-beg Shāmlū as the secretary (*ba-sarkārī?*).² The commission (*dīwān*) met at Farahābād (of Mazandaran). Qivāmā submitted in detail what he had to say and the Grand Vazir wrote an answer to each point. The Shah understood that the matter was nothing but a case of personal enmity and caused the procedure to be closed.

Two years later fresh recriminations broke out between the same Qivāmā and Khwāja Muhammad Ridā Fidavī, who for ten years had held the office of Financial Agent (*vazir-va-‘āmil-i umūr-i dīwānī*) in Āzarbayjān and Shīrvān. The Mustaufi al-mamālik made difficulties in passing the accounts (*tanqīh-i muḥāsabatī*) of his subordinate and put large sums to his debit (*bāqī*). The Divan examined the controversy, and the matter was reported to the Shah, who convinced himself that there was a large debit. On his part Fidavī retorted that what appeared as debit was in fact available on the spot (*dar mahall*), as attested by the detail of the accounts (*muḥāsaba-yi juz’*) and the confirmation (*tasādiq*) of the scribes. The Shah, while showing a perfect knowledge of accountancy, ordered the Divan to put (*‘amal kardā*) the said items of taxes (*vujūh*) to Fidavī’s debit (*tankhwāh-i bāqī*), and to draw them (*havāla*) on the payers (*mu‘addiyān*).³ If anyone had an objection, or if Fidavī’s deputies (*vakīl*) had collected (*giriftā*) the sum, the matter was to be cleared (*tashkhiṣ*) between them, while in the case of there being no objections, the sums were to be paid. Thus the matter was closed, but in the course of the discussion in the Shah’s presence, Qivāmā and Fidavī accused each other of various malversations, and the Shah became somewhat suspicious of the scribes of the Daftar-khāna. Several of them were arrested, and among others Āqā-‘Azīz Isfahānī, avārajānivīs (§70) of Khorasan. As he was an opium addict, the Shah ordered Timur-bek Yasāvul-i suḥbat Ev-oghli, who carried out the arrest, not to give him any opium. Timur-beg took pity on Āqā-‘Azīz, but the latter refused to infringe the Shah’s order, as coming from “our Murshid (*sic*) and Valī-ni‘mat.” The Shah, pleased with such loyalty, abrogated his order, but decided that each one of the guilty parties should remit an appropriate fine to the special collectors (*farākhur-i ḥāl chīzī ba-rasm-i tarjumān ba muḥaṣṣilān dihand*), and that Fidavī’s deputies should proceed to the Secretariat, ascertain there all the cases of malversation or negligence and finally present a report thereon. Khwāja Muḥammad Ma’šūm, who was mustaufi of Āzarbayjān on behalf of Fidavī, and was a specialist in accountancy (*rāṭiq-i fātiq-i ḥisāb*), together with Khwāja Malik

¹ The forms in *-ā* are common in the names of learned men, divines, etc. It is likely that this *-ā* is a contraction of the title *āqā*. Nowadays *ā* (<*āqā*) is used in addresses before the names of divines, etc.

² Hardly “under the chairmanship” of a Yasāvul-i suḥbat.

³ Here evidently “tax-payers”

Aḥmad Isfahānī, who was Qivāmā's objector (*muqarrir-va-mu'ānid*), went to the Daftar-khāna, and, having appointed a scribe (*nivīsanda*) to each department, began their investigation into the accountancy of the previous years and the arrears (*baqāyā*). For six months they acted with full powers (*sāhib-iqtidār*); but in the meantime Qivāmā Muḥammadā died, as it was thought, of poison, and the procedure came to nothing (*'āṭil*). It appears, *ibid.*, 673, that while the audit was being carried on, Qivāmā still attended to his duties.¹ Iskandar-munshī humorously explains these departmental squabbles by the influence of the planets Mercury and Jupiter (*ihtirāq-i 'Uṭārīd va ruj'at-i Mushtarī*), which in Muslim opinion are concerned with clerical pursuits.

§19. The curious office of the KHALĪFAT AL-KHULAFĀ is a survival of the basic organisation of the early Safavids, very similar to the single party of a modern totalitarian state. The religious and civil authorities carried on their activities under the all-pervading control of the adherents of the Sufi order founded by the great ancestor of the Safavid family Shaykh Ṣafī al-dīn Ishāq (d. 735/1334). For a long time the order combined its mysticism with sunnite orthodoxy, but under Shah Ismā'il's grandfather Junayd extreme Shī'a ideas had crept into the organisation,² and the new secret doctrine promoted the successors of Shaykh Ṣafī to the position of living embodiments of the godhead.³ This evolution further consolidated the order and resulted in the political triumph of Ismā'il. Having attained the throne, the Safavids found themselves at the head of a double administration, as kings, they inherited the system of government of their predecessors (chiefly the Aq-qoyunlu), as the supreme heads of their original order, they claimed the blind obedience of their Ṣūfīs.⁴ In ordinary times the common administration sufficed, but as soon as an internal crisis broke out the Safavids appealed to the feelings of "shāhī-sevani" of their adherents,⁵ and the conflicts were settled in the atmosphere of the superior discipline of the single party.

The office of the Khalifat al-khulafā served as a special secretariat for ṣūfī affairs. Our source confirms the interesting fact that the Khalifat al-khulafā, acting on behalf of the King, appointed his representatives to the provinces.⁶ As the Sufis were Qizil-bash and mostly Turks,⁷ the Khalifat al-khulafās were also members of the

¹ Qivāmā is spoken of with sympathy by Iskandar-munshī, who utilised the historical materials collected by him

² Something similar happened to the Bektashī order, after its amalgamation with the Ḥurūfīs; see E. G. Browne, *L.H.P.*, III, 370, 374. J. K. Birge, *The Bektashī Order*, 1937, 61, has not shattered the idea of their association.

³ See Shah Ismā'il's *Divān* of poems written under the takhallus of *Khatā'ī* (cf. Minorsky in *EI*) and the accusations levelled against Tahmāsp by the Uzbek 'Ubayd-khan, *Aḥsan al-tavārīkh*, 231. See in more detail, Minorsky, *The Poetry of Shāh Ismā'il*, in *B.S.O.S.*, X, 4, 1942, 1006-53.

⁴ When the infant Ismā'il I was still in hiding, the nucleus staff of the order—a *khalīfat al-khulafā*, an *abdāl*, a *dāda*, a *khādim*—were in attendance on him, besides his *lala*, "governor, tutor"; see the anonymous history of Ismā'il, in *J.R.A.S.*, 1896, pp. 20, 33.

⁵ See Minorsky, *Shāhī-sevān*, in *EI*. Cf. also Bellan, *Chah Abbas*, Introduction (not entirely in focus), and Hinz, *Iran's Aufstieg*, 22.

⁶ The *T.M.* calls these deputies *khalīfa*, and from a story reported in the anonymous history of Ismā'il we learn of the existence of a second class of initiates called *pīra*, "elders". The title, which is a derivation from the usual Persian *pīr*, seems to belong to the Caspian provinces. A similarly formed term, *amīra*, is common among the Gilan rulers. The term *khalīfat al-khulafā* (see once on f. 30a), very common in Safavi times, is only an abridgement of *khalīfat al-khulafā*, but possibly, in the polite speech, the use of it was extended to some ordinary khalīfas.

⁷ Chardin, VII, 370, insists on the fact that no one can enter the corps of the ṣūfī guards "who is not of their blood and race," hunting thereby at the connection of the ṣūfīs with the Turcoman tribes.

tribal caste. Through the Khalīfat al-khulafā and the sūfis the Shahs controlled not only the forces to which in the first place they owed their advent to power, but also the vast network of their adherents scattered throughout the dominions of the Ottoman sultans.¹ At the time of Shah Tahmāsp, the *‘Ālam-ārā*, 105, mentions Ḥusayn-quli Khulafā Rūmlū, “who held the office of Khalīfat al-khulafā in the capital and, though he was not ‘master of a band and a banner,’ he was highly respected; he gave advice and was consulted. The sufis coming from Diyarbakr and from all parts of Asia Minor to the foot of the Shah’s throne were entirely obedient to him (*iābi-i ū*).” Among the simple khalīfas the *‘Ālam-ārā* refers to 2 Shāmlū amirs, 1 Turkman, 2 Zulqadar and 1 Chaghatay.

In Isfahan, the sufis held their gatherings on Thursday nights in the *tauhīd-khāna* which was situated in the alley just inside the principal gate of the palace.² The lodgings of the sufi-guards (v.s. p. 33) were situated in the same neighbourhood. The sufis kept watch over the said gate (“la porte impériale”), as well as over the outer walls of the palace, and accompanied the Shah on his outings. The persons who sought refuge at the gate of the Palace had to persuade the sufis, and the latter derived considerable benefit therefrom.

‘Abbās I succeeded in curbing his praetorians (*qur’cha*) and, in order to counter-balance them, created a new corps similar to the Ottoman janissaries (v.s., p. 33). A corollary of this reform was the decline of the sūfis, but even at the death of the king in 1629, the theory, according to which the Shah was the *murshid-i kāmīl* of his adepts, was fully recognised, and the ministers invited “all the khulafā, sūfis, murīds and the adepts of this holy (*vilāyat-āthār*) house” to sign a certificate (*vathīqa*) concerning the appointment of the Shah’s successor, and all acted in conformity with the principle of the “pīr and murīd.” Also see above the case of Āqā-‘Azīz, p. 124.

Later kings had no interest in encouraging the activities of the sūfis closely connected with the tribal policy and now opposed to the state interest. This is fully reflected in Sanson’s statement on the changed position of the sūfis, v.s., p. 13. Under the last Safavid, Mīrzā M. Bāqir Majlisī, whose energy was directed towards the consolidation of the Shī’a orthodoxy, tried to abate the mystic vagaries of the earlier period, and subjected the Sufis to persecution.³ The anodyne character of the activities of the Khalīfat al-khulafā, as described in our texts, reflects the outcome of his policy.

It is noteworthy that the Khalīfat al-khulafā, coming at the end of the list of the higher civil officials, is treated separately from the Islamic spiritual powers. In fact the principles which he represented were as distinct from orthodoxy as were those of the shamans and lamas surviving at the court of the Muslim ilkhāns of Persia.

CHAPTER III

ON THE MUQARRABS

No clear-cut distinction can be discovered between the two categories of dignitaries composing the second class, except that the muqarrab al-khāqāns were probably more intimately associated with the person of the King (cf. f. 40b, ultima). Contrary

¹ See Danon, *Un interrogatoire d’hérétiques musulmans en 1619*, in *Journal Asiatique*, April, 1921, 281–93, on the Safavid propaganda in Asia Minor.

² In Chardin, VII, 371, *tauhīd-khāna* is mis-printed as *taous-cané* (1) but rightly explained as “maison de culte.” The *khādim-bāshī* was apparently in charge of the attendants (*amala*) of the *tauhīd-khāna*.

³ Browne, *L H P.*, IV, 104. The point needs special investigation.

to expectation, the title of muqarrab al-khāqān accompanies the higher rank of 'ālī-jāh under §12. On the less important title 'ālī-haḍrat, v.i., see pp. 139-40.

A. THE MUQARRAB AL-KHAQANS

Category (a): *The khwāja-sarā*

In this paragraph are described the eunuchs holding higher offices, as distinguished from the simple *khwāja-sarā* referred to occasionally, as on f. 24a. The reference to the origin of white eunuchs is very curious. Chardin, V, 378, and VIII, 133, says that white eunuchs were not admitted to the women's quarters, the service in which was reserved to their black colleagues, probably as being more repulsive in appearance. [On the *khwāja-sarā*, cf. p. 114, line 19.]

The Royal Treasury was controlled by the Nāzīr of the Workshops (§11), but even he could not enter the halls where the money and jewels were kept by the KEEPER OF THE TREASURY (§32), who in Chardin's time was the eunuch Āqā Kāfūr, "le plus brutal, le plus rude et le plus laid personnage qu'on puisse voir," V, 433.¹ The ARSENAL (§33) was another field of activity for the eunuchs, who were supposed to make up in stinginess what they lacked in other passions. By NAZĀRAT our author means the office of Nāzīr-i buyūtāt (§11). A celebrated predecessor of Mahmūd-āqā was Sārū-Taqī, who under Shah-Şafī rose even to the high post of Grand Vazīr. On the MIHTAR OF THE RIKĀB-KHĀNA see commentary on §43. The CENTURIONS of the eunuchs were men of great importance. Under the weak Sulṭan-Husayn, the influential Aḥmad-āqā Yūz-bāshī-yi ghulāmān-i Khāṣṣa went to such lengths as to abuse the Grand Vazīr, *Z.T.*, f. 205b, cf. p. 120.

Our source suggests that there were two categories of young ghulāms: eunuchs ("ghulams of the Private Household") and "non-eunuchs" (*sāda*). Chardin, V, 470, 479, in his description of the solemn assemblies, says of the former: "Derrière [le roi] sont rangés neuf ou dix petits eunuques de dix à quatorze ans, les plus beaux enfants qu'on puisse voir, richement vêtus, qui font un demi-cercle derrière lui, et qui semblent de vraies statues de marbre, tant ils sont immobiles, tenant les mains sur l'estomac, la tête droite et les yeux arrêtés." These pages knelt down as they served meals to the King.

The "ordinary" (*sāda*) ghulāms were the young candidates, or pages specially educated for the King's service. Chardin, V, 308, says that there were 1000-1200 young men having the honorary name of *ghulām-i shāh*. These "King's own slaves or servants," according to their particular capacities, were later distributed among various administrations, and gradually rose to independent posts. The Turkish term *ev-oghli*, "son of the house," very frequent under 'Abbās I and his successors,² undoubtedly refers to this category of ghulāms brought up in the Palace.³ The headquarters of the young ghulāms were in a house with the queer name of *Khāna-yi Gāv*, Chardin, VIII, 38.⁴

The tutors (*lala*) of the two categories of young ghulāms were separate. They were

¹ On the great influence in state affairs of the eunuchs Mubārak and Kāfūr, cf. Kaempfer, 202.

² Several villages bearing the name of Ev-oghli exist in Persia (north of Khoy) and Transcaucasia. In Rieu's *Persian Catalogue*, I, 389a, read the name of the author of a Collection of State papers, Ev-oghli (instead of *Ev-oghli*).

³ From the young ghulāms properly so called must be distinguished the young noblemen who in the company of the young Princes received a particularly careful education, v.i., p. 133.

⁴ There is some confusion between this place and the Ambār-i ghulāmān, *ibid.*, VII, 388, where the soldier-ghulāms (v.s., p. 33) received their food. Kaempfer, 132, is possibly wrong when he explains that in this "hospitium mancipiorum" Georgian boys, etc., were taught "ut servire Majestati possint."

officers of considerable standing. In 1029/1620 'Abbās I commissioned the Lala-yi ghulāmān-i sarkār-i khāṣṣa Muhibb 'Alī khan (a non-eunuch) to report on the possibility of turning off the head-waters of the Kārūn into the Zāyanda-rūd, *'Ālam-ārā*, 674. In Shah Sulaymān's time, we hear of an Āqā Latīf (a eunuch) who was Lala-yi ghulāmān-i sarkār-i khāṣṣa, see Or. 4935, No. 9B.

Category (b) comprises a group of trusted officials attending on the Shah.

§20. The HEAD PHYSICIAN of the King was in fact the superintendent of the whole profession. Chardin, V, 168, evaluates the emoluments of the doctors in the Shah's pay at 2,500,000 livres (= over 55,555 tomans), to say nothing of occasional presents, etc. This sum, twenty-five times superior to what is indicated in the *T.M.*, must be greatly exaggerated, although our source appears to leave out the expenses of the Khāṣṣa. The chief risk of the Ḥakīm-bāshī's profession was to lose his property and freedom in case of the decease of his august patient. In this connection Chardin, X, 89, and Kaempfer, 82, quote the experiences of the two principal doctors of 'Abbās II. Yet their treatment indicates an advance on Mongol times when the King's physicians had their very lives in pledge.

In some relation to the Ḥakīm-bashi stood the 'Aṭṭār-khāna, the "Chemists' D." (§163). Kaempfer, 124, says that medicines for the use of the King and the courtiers were prepared "à Pharmacopaeo Regio sub directione Archiatri." He also records the existence of a Parhīz-khāna in which various dietary decoctions and juleps were prepared.

§21. Chardin, V, 169, points to a close connection of the ASTROLOGERS with the Doctors, the former's advice being asked for before carrying out the latter's prescriptions. Astrological superstitions were considered one of the causes of the decay of the Persian army. The astrologers, "rendered shy by their profession," the eunuchs and the ladies were the principal pacifists: "ils dissuadent de la guerre tant qu'ils peuvent," as a military chief said to Chardin, V, 324.

§22. The section on the activities of the MU'AYYIR AL-MAMĀLIK contains a mass of valuable and precise information. The author's familiarity with the subject may indicate that he was personally connected with the Mint. Still more curious is his tendency to diminish the extent of the King's profits from the Mint, in the heyday of Safavid dominion (f. 39b). Behind such insistence one might suspect a desire to reduce the responsibilities of the Mu'ayyir in office, or even of a candidate *in spe*!

Our text shows that the Controller of Assay was much more than a mere Warden of the Mint (*ḍarrābi-bāshī*) (§48).¹ Occasionally the two offices were separated, the Mu'ayyir always maintaining the supreme control. The matter which gave much importance to this officer in the eyes of the Shah was the payment of seignorage from the Mint. Its amount depended on the standards of currency, and the fixation of the latter was a delicate task, for on the one hand it was desirable to squeeze out as much profit as possible, and on the other, a debasement of coin might upset the market and even provoke trouble.² The Mu'ayyir-bashi had agents throughout Persia who controlled the production (?) of precious metals.

¹ I translate "Controller" and not "Master" in order to avoid the English associations. At the English Royal Mint, the King's Assay master came in rank and in pay after the Warden and the Master of the Mint, and was a technical controller of the standard fineness of bullion; the Rev. R. Ruding, *Annals of the coinage of Great Britain*, 3rd ed., 1840, I, 38.

² In Great Britain the profits arising from coinage were seignorage, moneyage, shere or remedy (i.e. admission of some inevitable percentage of underweight), the difference between the tower pound (for purchases of bullion) and the troy pound (for coined bullion), and some small deviation from the authorised "indenture." Ruding, 92, thinks that these items "constituted no unimportant part of the revenue of our early monarchs," though their exact amount cannot be now evaluated. Nor is it now possible to estimate the expenses of workmanship.

Some similar rights belonged to the ZARGAR-BĀSHĪ, head of the Jewellers Dt. (§155). Our source suggests that he levied some fees for the scrutiny of jewels in Isfahan. According to Chardin, V, 356, whose professional testimony is particularly trustworthy, the Zargar-bashi, inspected all the work done in the Jewellers' Dt. (v.s., p. 21), fixed the price of the jewels and controlled all the jewellers and goldsmiths of Isfahan. He collected 2 per cent. on the jewels sold to the court and 1 per cent. on those sold in town. His chief income was from the 5 per cent. fee which he collected on the gold and silver exported from, and imported into Persia ("qu'on transporte hors du royaume"). The Zargar-bashi had free admittance to the Palace.

We shall now proceed with the detailed analysis of §22.

The process of coining.—The description of the nine stages through which the precious metals went before taking the shape of a coin is the more valuable because neither Chardin nor any other contemporary travellers, as it seems, give any description of the Persian Mint. Even the *Āyīn-i Akbarī*¹ is of little help as a parallel for the explanation of our text.

For a long time there had been very little progress in the methods of the Mints. The time-hallowed process of making money was as follows: "first it was cast from the melting-pot into long bars; these bars were cut with shears into square pieces of exact weight; then with tongs and hammer they were forged into a round shape; after which they were blanched, that is, made white and refulgent by nealing or boiling and afterwards stamped or impressed with a hammer to make them perfect money." At this last stage the sole expedient employed was "to fix one die firmly in a wooden block, and to hold another one in the hand as a puncheon; when by striking the latter forcibly and repeatedly with a hammer the impression required was at length worked up." In France the power of the screw was applied to coinage about the middle of the 16th century. In England the invention was introduced in 1561, but still concurrently with the ancient method which was not definitely given up before 1662. It was not until 1788 that Boulton devised the first machine replacing the screw operated by hand; see Ruding, I, 67. In view of this chronology, it is no wonder that the processes described in our text correspond to the ancient process of coinage.

Standards of precious metals and weight of coins.—As regards the standard of gold, it seems that the term *du-butī* refers to Venetian ducats ("sequins," v.s., p. 27). The traditional form of gold currency is clear from the terms *ashrafī-yi kuhna-yi du-butī* (or *du-butī-yi kuhna*). Chardin, IV, 182, says that gold coins were struck only on solemn occasions (such as the King's accession to the throne, the New Year, etc.) and had the character of medals ("sont comme les jetons en France, n'ayant pas de cours parmi le peuple"). The basic weight of the ashrafī was 4 1/2 dangs, i.e. 3/4 mithqāl,² but there were found both fractions of an ashrafī and some particularly large coins called *muhr-i ashrafī*,³ to which the strange denomination *dastaja-kula* (f. 39b) may refer.

For the gold used for plating silver there was a gradation of standards of 5, 10 and 15 per cent.

The current money was silver "lequel est, ou doit être, au titre de la monnaie

• ¹ *Āyīns*, 4-9, accompanied by illustrations of various processes of the Imperial Mint, see plates I-III in Blochman's translation.

² See R. S. Poole, *The Coins of the Shahs of Persia*, 1887, pp. 1-72, 265-73. a gold coin of Ismā'il I 0.744 mithqāl, ditto of Sultān-Ḥusayn 0.70 m., ditto of Tahmāsp II 0.685 m.

³ *Ibid.*, a coin of Khudā-banda weighing exactly 1 m., ditto of 'Abbās 1.67 m. Vasmer, *Zur Münzenkunde d. persischen Schahs*, in *Islamica*, VI/2, 1933, 137-81 (using H. L. Rabino's new materials), 138, describes a coin (of 2 tomans?) weighing 10 m

d'Espagne, mais en diverses villes on en baisse le titre," Chardin, IV, 181. Kaempfer, 53, particularly refers to Hawīza (v.i., p. 173) as the only trustworthy mint (*solam adulterum experiem*).¹ Besides the capital of the Vālis of Khūzistān, Kaempfer mentions Nakhchewan, Erivan and Tabriz, whose governors had the right of striking money. This list, however, could be considerably increased.² The basic silver coin was the 'abbāsī introduced under 'Abbās I, which weighed officially 1 mithqāl = 6 dangs = 4.64 grammes = 71.60 grains troy.

Seignorage and its fluctuations.—Our author quotes some apparently first-hand data on the fluctuations of the rates of seignorage (*vājibī*). He considers four periods: (A) earlier Safavid, (B) later Safavid, (C) before the siege of Isfahan by the Afghans, and (D) under the Afghan Maḥmūd. The seignorage in dinars per mithqāl¹ was as follows:

		(A)	(B)	(C)	(D)
Gold	Minted	30	50	50	50
	Special quality	—	—	—	100
Silver	Minted	2	5	33 9/16 ³	10
	Special quality	—	—	—	16

The ashrafis were much more stable than silver money and the seignorage from them remained within the limits of 30–50 dinars. According to Vasmer, *o.c.*, the ratio of gold and silver in Safavid times was 15.83:1. This ratio is more or less reflected in the rates of seignorage at the normal periods (A) and (B).

With regard to the 'abbāsī (= 200 dinars) the normal seignorage of 2–5 dinars represented a modest rate of 1–2.5 per cent. Consequently Chardin, V, 398, comes close to the truth when among the Shah's seignoral rights he mentions the 2 per cent. levy on the coins.⁴ At another place, IV, 187, he remarks that "le droit de monnayage (en Perse) est plus gros qu'en pays du monde, car il y va à 7 1/2 per cent." This "droit de monnayage" may, however, refer to the cost for private persons of having their bullion coined, i.e. to something quite distinct from seignorage.

Shortly before the period (C) the weight of the 'abbāsī, from 6 dangs = 1 mithqāl was raised to 7 dangs = 1 1/6 m.,⁵ but then (period C) the additional 1 dang of silver was taken off the weight and added to the King's share. As the value of the 'abbāsī at seven dangs remained 200 dinars, the addition to the former seignorage was

¹ Cf. *Musha'sha'* in *E.I.*, Supplement. The historian of this dynasty mentions some difficulties experienced by Sayyid Faraj-Allāh (towards the very end of the seventeenth century) who sent to Isfahan a consignment of money without the Shah's sanction. Le Brun, 313 (French original, 226) confirms the fact that only *mahmūds-yr Ḥavīza* were accepted in commerce, the merchants paying for them 1–6 per cent. above their intrinsic value.

² R. S. Poole, *o.c.*, 1–54, describes the coins struck, under Sulayman, in Isfahan, Ganja, Tabriz, Nakhchevan, Hamadan, Rasht and Qazvin, and under Sultān-Ḥusayn, at Isfahan, Tiflis, Tabriz, Ganja, Erivan, Kashan, Mashhad, and Nakhchevan.

³ 1 mithqāl = 24 tasūj (or nukhuds) = 96 sha'irs. More likely the reading is "33 1/2 d., 1 tasūj, 2 sha'irs," amounting to 33 54/96, or 33 9/16 d., than "33 dinars, 1/2 tasūj, 2 sha'irs," amounting to 33 4/96, or 33 1/24 dinars.

⁴ The seignorage (*exitus lucri*) of the earlier Kings of England arising from the coinage of silver was from 2.5 per cent. (A.D. 1222) to 3.75 per cent. (A.D. 1300). Under Elizabeth a pound weight was coined into £3 (or even £3 2s.) out of which the Queen retained 1s. 6d. to 1s. 10d., the expenses of coining being 8 to 16 pence; the remainder was paid out to the merchant owner of the bullion. Consequently the seignorage amounted to 2.5 per cent. or slightly more; Ruding, *o.c.*, 88–93.

⁵ We can only guess the reasons, such as the cheaper cost of silver, or an increase of alloy.

reckoned as $200 : 7 = 28 \frac{4}{7}$ dinars, and the total amount of the King's emoluments became $5 + 28 \frac{4}{7} = 33 \frac{4}{7}$ d,¹ i.e. *circa* 16 per cent. of the nominal value of the 'abbāsī. This extraordinary measure was undoubtedly taken in the throes of the crisis caused by the Afghan invasion. But it is a mystery how such an expense could have been borne by the coin the weight of which was meanwhile reduced from $\frac{7}{6}$ to $\frac{6}{6}$ of a mithqāl, unless its standards were debased. The words of our text that the new 'abbāsī "devaluated the Royal currency" clearly hint at the disastrous results of this debasement.

Maḥmūd's reform (D) consisted in the increase of the weight to $9 \frac{1}{2}$ dangs, i.e. $\frac{19}{2 \times 6} = 19/12$ mithqāls, parallel to the raising of the nominal value of the 'abbāsī to 5 shāhīs = 250 dīnārs. If we disregard the obscure question of the standard, the amount of metal to each dinar was, in mithqāls:

$$\begin{aligned} \text{Period C} \quad \dots \quad & \frac{1}{200} = 0.005 \\ \text{Period D} \quad \dots \quad & \frac{19}{12 \times 250} = 0.006 \end{aligned}$$

This represented a return to normal, and the lowering of the seignorage from $33 \frac{4}{7}$ d. to 10 dinars rendered possible an improvement of the standard. Consequently we can accept the statement on the popularity of the new coins. In the author's words counterfeiting (*qullābī*) became no more profitable "with the weight of metal (*zar*) in the coins." In this case, the term *qullābī* must evidently be taken only in the sense of unauthorised issue of money by private persons desirous to pocket the profits which the official Mint makes in striking coins inferior to their nominal value.²

The statements of our source relating to the period after 1130 H. can be checked by the available numismatic data, as found in R. S. Poole's catalogue.³

(a) An inedited ashrafi of Maḥmūd weighs 3.48 grammes = 53.7 grains, i.e. roughly 0.75 mithqāl, as before.

(b) During the period from 1129 to 1133 H. the weight of an 'abbāsī from 1 mithqāl (= 71 grains) was raised to $\frac{7}{6}$ mithqāl (= 83 grains), but in 1133 brought back to 1 mithqāl. In R. S. Poole's catalogue the following weights in grains are found:

1130	67.7-76.1-83.5	1133	67.1-83.2
1131	82.1-83.2	1134	83.3-82.4
1132	80.3-83.9-79.2		

During 1130 the weight gradually rises from under 1 mithqāl to full $\frac{7}{6}$ mithqāl. The latter weight persists during the subsequent years, but in 1133 falls to the underweight of a mithqāl, the high weight of *circa* 83 grains being still maintained (1133 and 1134) at the provincial mints of Tabriz and Nakhchevan.

¹ In the author's terminology, "1/7 mithqāl" is described as "28 1/2 dinars, 1 tasūj, 2 sha'irs." This expression is misleading because 1/7 was not deducted from the *weight* of 1 mithqāl but from the *value* of 200 dinars. As regards the weight, 1/7 was deducted not from 1 mithqāl (= 6 dangs), but from $\frac{7}{6}$ of a mithqāl.

² This case is different from a pure falsification (*qalb-zanī*) of coins, which, on the contrary, would become more alluring if the basic coins were full weight and had more value. Such falsification, however, was easier to control and was subject to heavy punishment.

³ Before the evacuation of the collection of the British Museum, in 1939, I could only rapidly examine some of the additional late Safavi and Afghan coins.

(c) The Afghan usurper Mahmūd first continues the tradition of 'abbāsī of 1 mithqāl,

1135 71-69.5-69

but the British Museum possesses an 'abbāsī of his of the new type of 9 1/2 dangs (= 114.3 grains). The coin (not yet described) weighs 113.8 grains, which is very close to the standard. The improvement did not last long, for the abbasis of the later part of Ashraf's reign revert to the 1 mithqāl type

1141 70.5

§23. The title of the MUNSHĪ AL-MAMĀLIK is already attested in Mongol times, Rashīd al-din, ed. Jahn, p. 158. It might be best translated as "Secretary of State" had not the Majlis-nivīs (§17) a better claim for such an appellation. Chardin, V, 451, translates the title as "écrivain du royaume" and "State Scribe" seems to be the safest equivalent in English.

The Munshī al-mamālik opens the list of the innumerable clerical staff of the Safavi administration, which was a busy world of red tape making endorsements, inscribing sacramental formulas, affixing seals and collecting fees.

Chardin, V, 452, enumerates six important Secretaries and Keepers of the State Seals:

(1) *Munshī al-mamālik* (§23) whose business it was to expedite the documents concerning the empire in general, or the provinces, and submitted to the Great Seal.

(2) *Raqam-nivīs* (our §27), concerned with the King's orders along the Divan line of administration.

(3) *Hukm-nivīs*, to whose competence belonged the documents submitted to the Small Seal, either of the Divān or the Khāṣṣa branch.

(4), (5) and (6) were the keepers of the seals, evidently corresponding to our §§24, 25 and 26.

In spite of considerable parallelism, our text does not exactly cover Chardin's definitions. For more details on seals see Annex IVc.

There is no doubt that the Munshī al-mamālik was an important dignitary, for he was a confidential member of Royal assemblies and had a considerable staff. He was in charge of at least a part of the Shah's correspondence (§23 refers to documents called *parvāna*, *javāb-nāma* and *mithāl*), but it is not easy to draw a clear line between his functions and those of the Vāqī'a-nivīs (§17). There may have been some difference in the classes of documents submitted to either of them. As regards the term *tughrā*, its meaning has been commented on under §17. The *tughrās* "in gold and red" (not in black!) traced by the Munshī al-mamālik must be precisely the formulas *hukm-i jahān mutā'*, etc., enumerated in our text. An example of these endorsements is found, for example, before the text of Or. 4935, No. X. The term *tughrā* may also cover certain benedictory formulas containing the names of God, 'Alī and the Imāms standing at the top of some farmāns. We have to assume that the *tughrās* of §17 were inscribed on the verso, and those of §23 on the recto of the documents.

§24. The KEEPER OF THE AUGUST SEAL, as Chardin explains, V, 453, was not responsible for the actual keeping of the seal, which was usually entrusted to the care of the King's Mother. On Fridays the documents, already sealed by the ministers, were sent to the gate of the harem, where the box with the state seals was also produced. As the documents were read to the King, the "Keeper" moistened the appropriate place and presented the seal which the King affixed thereto. The

Muhrdār's office, a very remunerative one, appears a mere sinecure, but he may have had some function as a "minister without portfolio." On his fees see §98.

§25. The KEEPER OF THE SMALL SEAL did not enjoy the right of sitting in the King's presence (provided f. 43b is exact). On his fees see also §99.

§§26, 27. The INKHORN-HOLDERS were dignitaries of much lesser rank. Their salaries were very moderate and at public assemblies they had to stand in the row of the arm-bearers. On their emoluments see §§101 and 102. As §102 undoubtedly belongs to §27 (*Davātdār-i arqām*) it appears that contrary to the heading of §27, the Davātdār of the Signet-ring (§§26 and 101) was sometimes called *Davātdār-i aḥkām*. If our identification of the tughrā drawn by the Vāqī'a-nivīs (§17) is right, the seal of the signet-ring (§26) is perhaps the oval seal figuring immediately under the endorsement on verso of Or. 4935, No. XII, etc. According to Chardin, V, 451, "the Davātdār" was always near the King with an inkhorn in his cumberband and paper inside his coat, ready to take down orders. This seems to refer not to our §§26, 27, whose duties consisted in affixing seals, but to some scribe on the staff of the Munshī al-mamālik (f. 40b).

B. THE MUQARRAB AL-ḤADRATS

This class of officials consisted of trusted servants, though not intimately associated with the person of the King.¹ They are divided into two categories: in the first are placed various officers under the Eshīk-āqāsī-bāshīs (§§9, 28), and in the second, the heads of the departments of the Royal Khāṣṣa, depending on the Nāzīr-i buyūtāt (§11).

(a) *The staff of the Eshīk-āqāsī-bāshī*

§28. The ESHĪK-ĀQĀSĪ-BĀSHĪ OF THE HAREM only controlled the "threshold" of the Harem and had no part in the more spectacular activities of his colleague of the Divan (§9). To the latter he must have stood in a somewhat subordinate position. It is characteristic that the Lashkar-nivīs (§63) of the Divan acted also for the personnel of the Harem.

§§29, 30. The word YASĀVUL comes from Mong. *yasa*, "law, order," and refers to officials enforcing order in the King's presence. In Safavid times the YASĀVULĀN-I ṢUHBAT apparently held the position of the present day aides-de-camp. The two passages from the *Ālam-ārā* quoted on p. 124, indicate the employment of the yasāvulān-i suhbat on more important missions as persons enjoying the Shah's confidence. Chardin, V, 361, calls them "huissiers d'honneur," and says that during ceremonies they carried painted and gilt staffs.

The yasāvulān-i suhbat were recruited among the sons of the noblest amirs. Thanks to Sharaf-khan's *Sharaf-nāma*, I, 450, we have a glimpse of the education of the young noblemen admitted to the company of the Princes in the Royal Harem. They were entrusted to the care of tutors of experienced piety and morals. As they grew up, they were taught all kinds of military exercises, including polo. Even painting was a part of their syllabus, for Shah Tahmasp used to say that this art "straightens the man's tastes" (*ṣalīqa-rā bar-rāst mīkumād*).

This system of education hardly applied to the YASĀVULĀN-I MAJLIS,² who were less distinguished. The yasāvuls of both descriptions were under the orders of the Great Master of Ceremonies (§9), but while the Y.-suhbat stood before the King, the Y.-majlis went about the hall to transmit the King's orders. Kaempfer, 85, 175, seems to confuse them with sufi guards.

¹ There may have been some other categories too, cf. the Nāzīr-i daftar-khāna-yi humāyūn (§53).

² On the education of ordinary ghulāms see above, p. 127.

§31. The entrance of the Harem being watched over by §30, the other entrances were entrusted to the GATEKEEPERS, of whom the one controlled those leading into the part of the palace open to the public, and the other guarded the access to the reserved apartments. The term *daulat-khāna-yi maydān* must refer to the halls situated by the chief gate, the so-called *Ala-qapu*, "Motley, or gaily painted gate" (usually called '*Āli-qapu*'). This gate occupied a central position in the front wall of the palace which formed the western side of the great Maydan. The Kitchen gate was situated at the south-western end of the wall, and that of "the Four Ponds" at its north-eastern end. Consequently, the Gate-keeper looked after all the front-wall entrances. In all, there were five entrances, but the position of the two others is not quite clear. The Harem was on the southern side of the Palace. *Bāgh-i khalvat* ran along the northern side of the triangle formed by the Harem, between the latter and the *Bāgh-i Chihil-sutūm* which occupied the north-eastern corner of the palace, see Chardin, VII, 386-7 (the chief, but not a very explicit authority), Kaempfer, 178 (a valuable plan) and E. E. Beaudoin, *Ispahan sous les grands Chahs*, forming No. 10 of the second year (1932²) of the review *Urbanisme* (numerous plans and croquis).

(b) *The Šāhib-jam's*

These officers were the Heads of the various Departments or Workshops (*buyūtāt*) composing the Royal Household, and controlled by the Nāzīr-i buyūtāt (§11).¹ The author first describes the routine followed by the Workshops in obtaining credits and then enumerates single divisions. At the head of each department there was a Šāhib-jam' under whose orders, or perhaps at whose side, stood a Mushrif "inspector" (§52). Part of the latter's business was to draw up an estimate of credits necessary for the department. A report in that sense was submitted to the Head of the Private Household (Nāzīr, §11). After scrutiny of the estimate, the Vazir of the Workshops (§50) embodied it in a report to the Grand Vazir (§6) without whose endorsement no credit was valid. As soon as the Grand Vazir's ta'liqa had been obtained, the Šāhib-jam' prepared receipts which were countersigned by the Vazīr-i buyūtāt (§50) and the Mustaufi-yi arbāb-i tahāvīl (§51), and sealed by the Nāzīr (§11). Then only the receipts could be presented for payment.

In the list of officials of the Rikāb-khāna (f. 101b) the term *tahvīldār* appears at the first place, where we should expect *šāhib-jam'* (cf. §43). The *Ahsan al-tavārīkh*, 178, explicitly refers to the Mihtar Shah-quli rikābdār, i.e. the holder of the office described in §43, as *tahvīldār-i rikāb-khāna*. The *tahvīldār* of the Royal Buildings (§42) also figures in the series of *šāhib-jam's*. Consequently the terms *šāhib-jam'* and *tahvīldār* are two equivalents and this explains the queer title of *Mustaufi-yi arbāb-i tahāvīl* (§51): belonging to the official who was undoubtedly the Mustaufi of the Šāhib-jam's [Arabice *arbāb-i tahāvīl* = Persice *tahvīldārān* (cf. f. 19b in fine)].²

According to our author (f. 20a) there were 33 buyūtāt or kārkhāna, cf. f. 18a (departments, workshops) included in the Royal Household, but his data referring to them are scattered and incomplete. More detailed indications are given under §§32-59. To some other divisions reference is made only in the paragraphs enumerating the salaries and fees of their heads (§§139-69) and mushrifs (§§127-38). In the

¹ The *buyūtāt* were situated inside the palace at the end of the avenue beginning at the main entrance. Chardin, V, 372. "Quand on passe droit par l'allée où conduit le portail, on parvient à un grand perron, au haut duquel on trouve de grands corps de logis de tous côtés, qui sont ces magasins du roi, ou galeries qu'on appelle *kar Khané*, c.-à-d. *maison d'ouvrage*, parcequ'on y travaille pour le roi et pour sa maison."

² However, the *tahvīldār*s appointed by the Jabbādār-bāshī (§33) were so to say sub-*šāhib-jam's*. Cf. also §91 on a *tahvīldār* attached to the Amīrākhōr.

following table we have tried to systematise these data. In all, there are 34 items in our list. Some of them possibly refer to secondary divisions which more often were joined to other departments (cf. §152).¹

	Şāhib jam's.		Mushrifs.	
	Offices.	Salaries.	Offices.	Salaries.
(a) Treasury, etc				
Treasury	32	139		127
Darrābī-bāshī	48		f. 54a	
Sarrāf-bāshī	49	164		
Zargar-bāshī		155		
Misgar-bāshī				132
(b) Military, etc.				
Arsenal	33			
Artillery				138
(c) Food (cf. f 18a: Kārkhānājāt-i khurāki)				
Kitchen		159		133
Butchery	38	145		
Fruit	37	146		134
Vegetables		144		132
(d) Drinks and Medicines.				
Ābdār-khāna	39	157		129.
Saqqā-khāna		153		
Ayāgh-khāna		149		
Sharbat-khāna	47	147		135
Sharbat-khāna-yī ghānāt		148		
Qahva-khāna	41	161		
Shīra-khāna		150		
'Attār-khāna (f. 33a)		163		
(e) Clothes.				
Tailoring Dt. khāssa	34	141		131
Ditto umarā'i	35			128
Wardrobe	43	140		
Sha'r-bāf khāna				136
(f) Furniture, lighting, etc.				
Farrāsh-khāna	36	142		
Mash'al-khāna	44	154		
Hīma-khāna		152		
Keepers of buildings	42			
(g) Arts, etc.				
Library		158		130
Painting Dt		162		
(h) Animals, stables.				
Stables	46	160		
Anbār	45			
Zīn-khāna		143		
Shutur-khān	40	151		
Qūsh-khāna				137

We shall now consider the duties of the principal şāhib-jam's in the order of §§.

¹ Chardin, V, 499, VII, 329, counts 32 kārkhāna and Kaempfer, 120-131, over 50 buyūtāt, many of the latter being apparently only subdivisions, such as *yoghurt-khāna* (Dt. of curdled milk), *chōrāk-khāna* ("bakery"), etc. Cf. also Du Mans, 18-24. At the Mughal court there were 36 kārkhāna, but they were maintained chiefly for purposes of State, and not merely for the convenience of the Household, Ibn Hasan, *o.c.*, 236. The Janissary corps in Turkey had 34 *khāna*, each with 25-30 artisans, recruited among the Janissaries and placed under a non-commissioned officer called "master" (*ustā*); cf. d'Ohsson, *Tableau de l'Empire Ottoman*, 1824, VII, 323

§32. As stated on f. 31a both the TREASURER and his Key-keeper were eunuchs enjoying high esteem. The interesting point is that the Treasurer not only kept the sums and objects remitted to the Treasury, but also acted for the recovery of the remittances which were overdue.

§33. The DIRECTOR OF THE ARSENAL was also a eunuch (f.32a). Among the different classes of his subordinates Kaempfer, 124, mentions *chilingarān* "locksmiths," *kārdgarān*, "cutlers," *paykāngarān*, "makers of arrow-heads," *bārūt-sāzān*, "makers of gunpowder," *ālāsh-bāzān*, "fire-workers." On the other hand the MISGAR-KHĀNA (§156) seems to have formed a separate Dt. According to Kaempfer, it produced various kinds of copper vases, but its artisans were so expert as to use the processes of Jewellers. This reference is most probably to the famous copper work of Isfahan (chiselled vases, trays, etc.).

The Central Arsenal of Persia (*qūr-khāna?* but Kaempfer, 168: *jabbā-khāna*) was situated in the ancient fortress near the northern (eastern?) wall of Isfahan,¹ but, according to Chardin, VII, 328, the arms were manufactured at the Jabba-khāna situated near the Kitchen-Gate, in the S.E. of the palace. Of the two provincial arsenals, that of Erivan was intended for operations against the Ottomans; the whereabouts of that of Khāh are not known.

§§34, 35. The spelling of the Turkish term *qaychāji* is unusual, as scissors are called in Turkish *qaychi*. Of the two TAILORING DEPARTMENTS, the first provided for the needs of the King and his harem, and also issued to the amirs robes of honour of a more precious kind, meant to have been worn by the King himself;² the second department issued presents of lesser value, which apparently were of three different kinds: *bālāpūsh* "overcoat," *qabā* "coat," and *tāj* ("coronet"?). The various head-gears under the Safavids call for a special investigation. The *tāj-i vahhāj*, as described in §35, is probably identical³ with the *tāj* which Sanson, 39, saw on the head of the Mihmāndār: "c'est un gros Bonnet couvert de brocard qui a une pointe qui s'élève sur le haut; il y a plusieurs aigrettes sur les bords, dont le bas est garni d'or émaillé, et le haut est rempli de plumes de hérons et de grues." Sanson adds that this bonnet "consecrated to the Twelve Imams" (!) was worn on solemn occasions by the Qizilbash and khans but not by the "Tat" (i.e. non-Turcoman) officials. Heron feathers seem to have been an additional distinction. The origins of the latter go back to Mongol times when the princes wore special hats with feathers (*örbelge*), and the noblemen long feathers on the back of their head-dress (*otagha*). The latter term is found in the *Ālam-ārā*, 122: under Shah Tahmasp one of the Tājik vazirs received as an exceptional distinction an *otāqa-yi ablagh* (*sic*) "a variegated feather."⁴

§36. There was undoubtedly some confusion as to the duties of the FARRĀSH-BĀSHĪ and the Şahib-jam' of the MASH'AL-KHĀNA (§44), as stated in our source. One might suppose that the Farrāsh-bāshī acted as chief of the torch-lighters, while

¹ Chardin, VII, 483, calls it *Qal'a yi tabarruk*, cf. Kaempfer, 49 and 168: *Kalar berruk* (*sic*), but in fact the old Iranian name of the fortress was *Tabarak*, see *Zafar nāma*, I, 432, *Ālam ārā*, 287.

² Alessandri I, 218, says that Shāh Tahmāsp daily changed his clothes fifty times and then distributed them at ten times their value.

³ On the contrary it was different both from the ordinary sufi *tāj* (v s., p. 33), which was of red velvet, and from the *tāj-i tūmār*, "pileus circumligatus," Kaempfer, 44, which must have been a turban: pileus quidam singulari figura quo et ipsum [regem] coronari diximus et magnates ornari in sollemnissimis conviviis, ex aureo panno consutus et cimeliorum ordimibus magnifice obvolutus," see fig. to face p. 36.

⁴ In Mongol times owl feathers on the hat must have been a distinctive sign of royal falconers, see Rashīd al dīn, ed. Jahn, 342. [In the Life of Shah Ismā'īl, Camb. Univ. Lib., Add. 200, f. 25b, *ablaq* is used in the sense of some embellishment of the headgear.]

the Šāhib-jam' was responsible for the keeping of the material. More probably, however, our text reflects some temporary combination of offices. In the chapter on salaries (§§142 and 154) the Šāhib-jam' of the Farrāsh-khāna and his colleague of the Mash'al-khāna are treated separately. The Farrāshes, "carpet-spreaders, tent-pitchers,"¹ were the attendants at the King's palace and camp. The Farrāsh-khāna possessed a *dārūgha* (§106) who must have been in charge of the personnel. Different from the farrāshes were the *sarāy-dārs* employed only in the palaces and for rougher work (§42).

§§37, 38, 100. Only indirectly (in the section of salaries (§§100, 133) does our source refer to the department of the TŪSHMĀL-BASHI,² but Chardin, V, 349, quotes this "chef des intendants de cuisine," or "le premier maître d'hôtel du roi de Perse," in the first place among the Nāzir's subordinates. This officer was the superintendent of the King's kitchens and of "all that depended thereon." His charge was important in view of the display of ceremony ("à cause du grand manèment") attached to it. The Tūshmāl-bashi marched at the head of the King's viands the whole way from the kitchen up to the table. When the King was with his ladies the T.-b. led the procession to the gate of the Harem. At the public assemblies he acted as the taster of the food, which duty he performed at the entrance to the hall. During the whole meal he remained standing, and when the food was cleared away he had the right to thrust his knife into any plate previously served to the King and send it wherever he liked. The privilege must be appreciated in the light of the belief in the supernatural powers of the Šafayid kings: the T.-b. must have derived some definite advantages from the operations with the food consecrated by his Master's touch. Kaempfer, 124, 245, who gives a very graphic description of the prandial ceremonies, calls the Tushmal-bashi "supremus dapifer et culinae regiae inspector," and along with him mentions the real cooks (*āshpaz*).

As indicated before, the T.-b. must have had a special authority over the buyūtāt concerned with food. Of the latter there must have been many departments besides the fruitery and butchery described in our text, cf. also a reference to the ḥavij-khāna (§144). Chardin, V, 351-4, and Kaempfer mention the bakery (*chöräk-khāna*), the pastry department (*ḥavvāḡi*), the *yoghurt*-dairy, the pickles department (*turshī-khāna*), etc. All these buyūtāt had this in common that their products in great part were supplied by the provincial governors who periodically sent to the Court caravans (*bār-khāna*) of first-fruits or specialities of their provinces, see Du Mans, 22, 152, Chardin, V, 352.

§§39, 41 and 47 were in charge of water, coffee and refreshing drinks, as well as of the appropriate vessels and utensils. To their number must be added the *saqqā-khāna*, "water carriers Dt." (§153) and the *ayāgh-khāna* "Dt. of goblets" (§149), alias *chīnī-kāsa-khāna*, "Dt. of china," in which, in spite of its name, gold and silver vessels were also kept and taken care of, Kaempfer, 125. In this case Turkish *ayagh* is used in the older sense of goblet.³ The wine-cellar (*shīra-khāna*) receives but a

¹ Olearius, 274 "who makes the fire"; Du Mans, 157 "tendeurs de pavillons."

² The word *tūshmāl* is Mongolian *tusimel/tūshmel*, "a trusted man, an official," see Vladimirtsov, *Obshchestvennyy stroy mongolov*, 1934, pp. 139-40. The "taster" was naturally a confidant *par excellence*. At present *tūshmāl* is used in Persia only with reference to the chiefs of Lur tribes, among whom Mongol institutions were introduced in the fourteenth century, see Minorsky, *Lur-i buzuḡ* in *E I* Karīm-khan Zand (of Kurdish origin) was contemptuously called by his opponents "tūshmāl Karīm."

³ In a collection of Persian documents belonging to the Br. Museum (Or. 4935, No. IXb) there is an order (dated 1078/1667) by which the Shah appoints an *ayāghchī* to be under the Lala-yi ghulāmān with a salary (*marṣūm*) of 2 tomans per year.

passing mention in our source (cf. §150), though we know how liberally wine flowed at the drinking bouts in the "paradisiac assemblies" to which foreign ambassadors, merchants and even artisans were invited, cf. Chardin, III, 184, V, 474, Tavernier, Book V, ch. 5.¹ The only concession to the convention was that the divines who attended Royal assemblies retired as soon as they understood that the King wanted wine to be brought and music to be heard, Chardin, VI, 51.

§40. The camel stables are constantly referred to in our source as SHUTUR-KHĀN (not *khāna*). The camels under the care of the Šāhib-jam' must have been those intended for the direct use of the Court while the Nāzir-i davābb (§§16, 96) controlled the studs and the contingents of pack animals belonging to the State (?). The fixed salaries of the Šāhib-jam', as well as of his colleague of the horse stables, were of a modest nature, see §§151, 160.

§42. In conformity with the author's use, the plural TAḤVĪLDĀRĀN, referring to the series of the successive holders of the office must be translated as a singular, and the term interpreted as an equivalent of šāhib-jam'. Chardin, X, 36, speaks of a "jeune seigneur qui avait en cour la charge d'arbab-tahvil [= taḥvildār, cf. §51], c.-à.-d. chef contrôleur de tous les bâtiments du roi et des maisons d'Isfahan." The *sarāy-dārs* were the servants attached to the palaces and handling the furniture. In rank they were certainly inferior to the farrāshes (see §36).

§43. *Rikāb*² means "stirrup," but in the present case it refers to the King's Wardrobe (perhaps on account of the travelling kit which accompanied the King on his excursions). The importance of the salary of the Šāhib-jam' (§140) suggests that he was the same dignitary as the MIHTAR-I RIKĀB-KHĀNA referred to in the section on eunuchs (f. 32a). European authorities call him simply *Mihtar*.³ His functions were far more important than those of a simple Master of the Robes, for this white eunuch was admitted into the King's closest intimacy. He helped him to dress and at the assemblies stood at his right. His distinctive mark was a small casket fixed to his sash and containing handkerchiefs, medicines and perfumes which the King might suddenly need.

§44. On some confusion between the competence of the Farrāsh-khāna and that of the Mash'al-khāna, v.s. under §36. According to Chardin, V, 369-72, this Head of the Torch-bearers was in charge both of the lighting and the heating of the Palace (cf. §152) and this double office brought him a considerable income. For some unknown reason he also controlled the NAQQĀRA-KHĀNA, i.e. the band of strident trumpets and drums performing at sunset and at 2 a.m. from the balcony of the Royal Gate. Du Mans, 24, and Kaempfer, 87, mention a *CHALIJI-BASHI, "Master of Musicians," who was in charge of the more melodious servants of the Muses, as well as of dancing girls, etc. ("saltatrices, recitatores, luctatores").⁴ In view of the general functions of the Mash'aldār-bashi, the Chaliji-bashi must have depended on him. In fact, the most lucrative part of the Mash'aldār-bashi's prerogatives was

¹ Chardin, VII, 375, speaks with much enthusiasm of the hall of the *shīra-khāna*: "il n'y a rien de plus riant et de plus gai que cette infinité de vases, de coupes, de bouteilles de toutes sortes de formes, de façons et de matières, comme de cristal, de cornaline, d'agate, d'onyx, de jaspe, d'ambre, de corail, de porcelaine, de pierres fines, d'or, d'argent, d'émail, etc., mêlés l'un parmi l'autre, qui semblent incrustés le long des murs, et qui tiennent si peu qu'on diroit qu'ils vont tomber de la voûte" See also his Atlas, pl. XXXVIII.

² F. 32a: *rakīb* with *imāla*. **rikīb* (?) is already attested in the *Shāh-nāma*. Kaempfer mis-spelt this form as *'iqīb*.

³ Chardin, V, 377, 471: "grand chambellan," Tavernier, V, ch. 5: "grand maître de la Garde-Robe" *Z.T.*, f. 205b, refers to *Muhammad Riḍā āqā-yi khwāja mihtar-i rakht*.

⁴ Chardin, VIII, 61, describes a house whose inmates were Indian players of horns and other big instruments, whom 'Abbās II had brought from Qandahār.

connected with his general supervision of every class of public entertainers,¹ as well as of all the disreputable places and professions. There were in Isfahan 11,000 registered courtesans and 1500 women practising more or less privately.² The latter, as more interested in secrecy and tranquillity, were particularly exploited by the Mash'aldār-bashi's henchmen, Chardin, V, 371. His agents collected fines on gamblers even in the remotest corners of cemeteries and ruined houses, Du Mans, 113.

Sanson, 100, gives a curious explanation of the reason why the Mash'aldār-bāshī was in charge of these levies: Shah 'Abbās being shocked with the idea of collecting "l'argent provenu du commerce infâme, ordonna, comme pour le purifier, qu'il soit employé à un usage où il passerait par le feu, c'est à dire qu'on en tirerait la dépense des flambeaux, des illuminations, et des feux d'artifices qui se font chez le Roy." At all events the Mash'aldār-bāshī acted on behalf of the Shah, v.i., p. 182.

§§45, 46. Being buyūtāt of the Royal Household, these departments were under the Nāzir but practically there must have existed some connection between them and the Amirākhor-bāshī (§16), as may be gathered from ff. 20b and 88a, cf. also §40.

§48. The ḌARRĀBĪ-BĀSHĪ was the real Master of the Mint, under the orders of the Controller of Assay. From f. 35a it appears that the latter could combine the two offices. On f. 37b the Ḍarrābī-bāshī is also called *dābi* and *tahvildār* of the royalties, by which is meant that he himself put aside and kept the sums due to the Treasury. Both the D.-bāshī and the Mushrif of the Mint were official persons, but the Controller of Assay appointed his own secretary to re-check the amount of royalties. The D.-bāshī must be distinguished from the *musta'jir*, "farmholders," to whom the minting of coins and the fabrication of *naqda* were sometimes farmed out (f. 39b). Says Olearius, 223: "The King farms out the Mint to private persons who gain most by it and share stakes with the money-changers. . . . (The latter) are obliged to bring all foreign money to the public Mint."

§49. The ṢARRĀF-BĀSHĪ not only controlled the good quality of the coins but possibly acted as a channel for draining gold into the Treasury. According to Father Pacifique de Provins, *Le Voyage*, ed. 1645, p. 409, the King gave 2-3 sols of profit to the persons who brought sequins to the changers (*sarrāf*). The latter carried the sequins to the King who had them melted and transformed into vases.

CHAPTER IV

ACCOUNTANTS AND SECRETARIES

HAVING enumerated the highest spiritual authorities (Ch. I), the highest dignitaries of State and Court (Ch. II) and the *muqarrabs* supposed to be within the reach of His Majesty's glances (Ch. III),³ our author passes on to the secretaries and accountants somewhat screened from the rays of the Royal Sun by the shadow of their immediate chiefs. In Division I reference is made to the central staff of the Royal Household (*khāssa*) helping the Nāzir-i buyūtāt to control the expenses of his departments. Under Division II are grouped the secretaries, accountants, auditors, etc., belonging to the Divan branch of administration. In the whole chapter only the Nāzir of the Secretariat (§53) is called *muqarrab al-ḥaḍrat* and two officials (§§50 and

¹ But see f. 81b on the Naqīb's attributions

² Kaempfer, 96 solus Ispahanensium syllabus meretricum harum 15 000 numerat, quae tributum solvunt 6000 tomanorum.

³ Though this is hardly true with regard to some of the sāhib-jam's.

66) are given the special title of *'ālī-ḥaḍrat*¹; it is not clear to what appellations the rest of the officials (§§51-70) were entitled.

DIVISION A

§50. As the Nāzīr-i buyūtāt (§11) had engrossing administrative duties, the VAZĪR-I BUYŪTĀT assisted him in auditing the expenses of the various departments of the Royal Household. Chardin, V, 347, calls him "intendant, dont la charge est principalement de connaître de ce que le roi doit, et en tenir compte,"² and thinks that, being appointed by the King, he was a kind of observer even with regard to his own chief, the Nāzīr-i buyūtāt, cf. also *ibid.*, VIII, 62.

§51. As his title shows, the MUSTAUFĪ-YI ARBĀB-I TAḤĀVĪL acted as mustaufi with regard to cash, goods and raw material entrusted to the "keepers" of the Royal Household. As already stated, the term *arbāb-i taḥāvil* (a clumsy product of official scholarship) is an equivalent of the Persian *taḥvildārān* (cf. §42). Consequently the said Mustaufi was the accountant controlling the property³ distributed through the different Buyūtāt of the Royal Household. Chardin, V, 347, apparently refers to our §51 when he says that the second officer who, being under the Nāzīr's orders, in fact controls him, is called "erbab taḥvil" (*sic*). He is also inexact in explaining that he is "un contrôleur-général des dépenses le quel estime et apprécie tout ce qui se fait et s'achète pour le Roi."

§52. Each department of the Buyūtāt had a Šāhib-jam' (v.s., f. 45b) and a MUSHRIF, "Overseer." The former was the Head of the Department responsible for its general activities; the latter was the Inspector dealing with the administrative routine. The Mushrif prepared estimates for the credits necessary for their Departments (f. 45b). They kept the day-books of the expenditure with vouchers for each item. This obligation was so strict that a Mushrif could appeal to the Nāzīr-i buyūtāt if the Šāhib-jam' failed to present a voucher. This detail is characteristic of the ingenious system of control adopted in all the branches of Safavi administration. The Heads of the Departments had to act in close conformity with their collaborators, whose appointment was confirmed by the Grand Vazir, and even by the King. Says Chardin, V, 348: "Il est aisé de concevoir que la concussion, la malversation, et les autres fraudes ne sont pas si faciles à faire dans le royaume de Perse à ceux qui ont la surveillance des biens du souverain." Kaempfer, 120, who gives a detailed enumeration of the Buyūtāt (*officinae Domus Regiae*) calls the mushrifs "calculatores . . . qui officinarum consumptiones, accepta et expensa annotant, subductasque earum rationes quolibet mense censendas reddunt Superintendenti. . . ."

DIVISION II

§53. The NĀZĪR-I DAFTAR-KHĀNA-YI HUMĀYŪN-I A'ĪLĀ, who had a staff of nine scribes, was the head of the "Royal Supreme Secretariat" which, as it seems, took charge of raqams by which the Grand Vazir confirmed nominations, allowances, payments, etc. The Nāzīr himself had to perform certain bureaucratic formalities on the documents subjected to the Vazīrial raqam.⁴ Chardin thought that the Nāzīr, appointed by the Shah, controlled the activities of the Grand Vazir, but such an idea

¹ Cf also in Chap. V, §§75, 76, 78, 81 and 82.

² Which hardly hits the mark of our §50.

³ Chardin, V, 347, defines the practical meaning of *taḥvil*, "tout bien en coffre."

⁴ It is probable that the documents themselves (or at least the more important part of them) were drawn up in the Dt of the Majlis-nivīs (§17) and calligraphed in the *Dār al-mshā* of the Munshī al-mamālik (§23).

cannot be accepted without considerable reserve, v.s., p. 115. Very astonishing is the fact that the Nāzīr, as well as the Dārūgha of the Secretariat (§54) are mentioned (f. 28a) among the Mustaufī al-mamālik's subordinates. This indicates that the *daftar-khāna-yi humāyūn-i a'lā* was regarded as a department of the Divān-i a'lā. In this connection we may remember that the scribes under the Nāzīr belonged to the Divan staff (f. 58b). No travellers seem to mention the special quarters of the Secretariat and it is possible that the latter was housed under the roof of the Divan, f. 10b. On the archives of the Daftar-khāna, see §67.

§54. DĀRŪGHA, in Mongolian "chief," is a common administrative term. Judging by the *Aḥsan al-tavārīkh*, 489 (v.i., p. 185) it was applied to governors in general, but in later times was more particularly used as the title of the governor of the capital (§77). On the other hand, in large government departments the head clerks controlling the staff were also called *dārūgha*. Such were the *dārūgha* of the Farrāsh-khāna (§106) and the *dārūgha* of the Secretariat. The amount of the latter's salary (§105) shows that he was of considerable rank. His close association with the Nāzīr of the Secretariat appears from f. 59a, but he was subordinated to the Mustaufī al-mamālik (f. 28a). A *dārūgha-yi daftar-khāna* is mentioned (f. 72b) in connection with the activities of the Dt. of Endowments, but we cannot definitely affirm his identity with §54.

§§55 and 56, 57 and 58, 59 and 60, 61 and 62 refer respectively to the VAZĪRS and MUSTAUFĪS of each of the four great military corps. Each pair (vazīr and mustaufī) had the same attributes as the other three, but our author speaks of them separately, slightly varying the terms of his uncouth definitions. Each pair was attached to the respective commanders of the four corps (§§7, 8, 10 and 14) and assisted them in secretarial work and accountancy. It is noteworthy, however, that on review days both the vazīr and mustaufī presented their report directly to the King, in the Commander's presence. This curious detail is altogether in keeping with the general tendency of Sāfavi administration of balancing the powers of departments and introducing semi-independent controllers into each of them.

Our text is somewhat hazy in its technicalities and does not enable us to draw an absolutely clear distinction between the functions of a vazīr and a mustaufī.¹ We hear nothing of the staff of the vazīrs, while each mustaufī had several scribes belonging to the "Divan service." The vazīrs acted as secretaries and auditors, prepared documents of appointment, etc., and had the prerogative of sealing or endorsing a number of orders, certificates and statements, etc. The mustaufīs were chiefly accountants and recorders. We hear of their seals only on claims for salaries but not on documents of appointments. They prepared *kayfiyāt* ("statements"), i.e. probably some kind of schedules to be filled in with figures and individual data, kept the files up to date and informed the Divan of the changes occurring in the position of the members of the particular corps. This last detail suggests that the mustaufīs attached to the four arms were connected with the general organisation of *istifā* controlled by the Mustaufī al-mamālik (§18). Less clear is the subordination of the vazīrs, but it is probable that they were the eyes of the Grand Vazīr in the military corps. The comparative importance of the vazīrs and mustaufīs is reflected in their salaries. the former had 100 (or 50) tomans, while the latter only 50 (or 30) tomans (§§111, 112), though it is difficult to appraise the amount of their additional fees.

§§63, 64. The LASHKAR-NIVĪS and the SAR-KHAṬṬ-NIVĪS were respectively the

¹ Nor do contemporary European observers seem to have penetrated deep enough into these arcana.

vazīr and the mustaufi of the Eshik-āqāsī-bāshī's department (§9). Consequently their relation was similar to that of any of the pairs of §§56-57, etc. However, the Lashkar-nivīs wrote and sealed the raqams of appointment of the whole staff of the Divan branch of administration, from the great Amirs down to the workmen of the workshops. His salary was small (§120), but he must have had a very large additional income from the fees collected on the documents passing through his hands. The fact that he kept the personal files of the governors probably gave extra weight to his prestige.¹ We have seen above that the four principal corps of the army had their own vazirs and mustaufis, but the Lashkar-nivīs appointed his own representative to armies engaged on expeditions. Originally this privilege may have had some connection with his title of "Army-scribe," though *lashkar*, in later official speech, referred both to the military and court staff, cf. Chardin, V, 437.

The SAR-KHAṬṬ-NIVĪS (or *Zir-u-sar-khaṭṭ-nivīs* as he is called on f. 14a) was associated with the Lashkar-nivīs as a mustaufi to a vazir, but practically their association was limited to affairs directly belonging to the Eshik-āqāsī-bāshī's department. The salary of the Sar-khaṭṭ-nivīs was higher than that of the Lashkar-nivīs (§121), but the rate of his fees was much more modest.

Both Chardin, V, 437, and Kaempfer, 89, consider the office of the Lashkar-nivīs as the third division of the Dīvān[-i mamālik]. Their descriptions of it agree very closely with our source and testify to the accuracy of their observations. Chardin calls the office in French "la chambre de rôle des domestiques," but for the rest Kaempfer's crisp Latin is more to the point: "Camera Leskernuwiis albo excipit à Rege stipendia merentes, videlicet ministros, aulicos, milites, opifices et servos; notans proprium cujusque nomen, locum natalem, mansionem, functionem et salarii quantitatem, et quicquid ad rationem indies solvitur vel praecipitur, ad assem notans, et cum solvendorum calculo subducens. Praeterea matriculam tenet Archi-Satraparum, quos appellant Beglerbegi, cum recensione primariorum ministrorum, et numeri quoque militum, quos singuli, vel pro statu suo, vel pro Rege et Regno sustinent. Eadem exarat bullas stipendiales (Bestallungs-Brieffe) pro iis, qui recipiuntur in servitium summi Principis; Unde etiam haec Camera appellari solet Defterchoneh serchaat." Chardin misheard the latter term as "Defter serkar."

§65. The DĀBIṬA-NIVĪS was under the orders of the Mustaufi al-mamālik (f. 28a). In the enumeration of the šāhib-daftars, the *Ālam-ārā*, 121, mentions a "Mustaufi-yi-māl, whom they call at present Dābiṭ [*Dābiṭa]-nivīs or Mufrada-nivīs." In explaining the functions of this official we have no help from European sources which do not mention him, unless they confuse him with some other official.² Even though the class of the Dābiṭa-nivīs's salary (§113) is only a medium one, the number of scribes attached to him indicates the importance of his activities. The technical meaning of *dābiṭa* appears to be "collecting of revenues."³ The paragraph on *dābiṭa* is then rightly followed by that on *taujih* (§§65 and 66, and similarly 113 and 114), the latter term being very close in meaning to "expenditure." According to *T.M.* the official dealt with all the revenue, with the exception of what passed through the Private Dt. and the *avāraja* books (cf. §§115-119). In the table of revenue (ff. 123b-127a) the totals of the great provinces are divided into the following items: *avāraja*, *dābiṭa*, *khāṣṣa*, *arbāb-i taḥāvīl* and mines. The three last classes being

¹ It is possibly from such registers that Iskandar-munshi has extracted his most valuable lists of amurs (v s, p. 14). He refers to *thabṭ-i daftār-i dīvān-i a'lā*.

² Perhaps with the head of the *daftār-khāna-yi khulāṣa*, which Chardin, V, 436, describes as "le lieu des registres de la recette."

³ From Arabic *dābiṭa*, "he seized > he collected," cf. *dābiṭ*, f. 37b, and *dābiṭ*, f. 54b. This meaning must be distinguished from *dābiṭa*, "a rule, a regulation," cf. ff. 20b, 41b, 79b.

quite apart, the decisive distinction is between *avāraja* and *ḍābiṭa*. One might surmise that the *avāraja*-books registered the land taxes based on some kind of survey, while the *ḍābiṭa* stood for any other kind of revenue. In fact §65 is particularly interesting as giving a list of the sources of revenue controlled by the *Ḍābiṭa-nivīs*. In Chardin's terminology they would be called "seignorial." A detailed analysis of them is given below on p. 176.

§66. The *ŞAHİB-TAUJİH* was under the Mustaufi al-mamālik's orders (f. 28a). Our author, interested principally in the routine of signatures and endorsements, gives no clear idea of the duties of the *Şāhib-taujīh*. Chardin, V, 436, calls his office "régistre des économes ou de ceux qui font la dépense, parceque c'est dans ce bureau que [les billets d'assignations] se délivrent pour le paiement des gages et pour les autres dépenses. On y tient de plus un régistre général des revenus du roi, en forme d'état ou de journal, car on trouve là-dedans le revenu du roi établi en détail, le lieu, où il est situé, en quoi il consiste, et qui en sont les possesseurs ou les administrateurs, etc. On y trouve les augmentations et les diminutions qui arrivent au revenu chaque année; les débiteurs, et le compte de chacun en particulier, avec les assignations données sur chacun d'eux; de sorte qu'il se peut dire que l'on tient dans ce bureau tous les grands livres du domaine." Kaempfer, 89, very closely follows Chardin: "Deftershoneh Tausjeh ex libris Mustaufi Chasèh commentarios format possessionum, praetensionum et redituum Regis. Eadem indices tenet patrimonialium locorum; unius cujusque proventum notat, ac soluti solvendique rationes supputat: Praeterea refert in Catalogum nomina locorum, qui creditoribus, et quo nomine, assignandi veniant, ut, ad ejus tenorem, hujus Camerae Director Sahebtausjeh formare suas, quas vocant, Assignationes possit, quae ipsae valorem deinde fortiuntur ex subscriptione Quaestoris [i.e. Mustaufi] Elmemaalik; sigillo insuper Regni Praesidis, imò pro re natâ, ipsius interdum Majestatis confirmandae." It appears then that the Office of *taujīh* was the Pay Department and, as the majority of payments were carried out through assignments issued to payees on lands and other sources of revenue, the *Şāhib-taujīh* could be considered as Master of Assignments. This interpretation may find a support in the etymological meaning of *taujīh* "to direct, to address." A subsidiary piece of evidence as to the meaning of the term is found in two passages referring to the activities of the municipal authorities; at one place the levies from the guilds are said to be *havāla-va-muḥaṣṣaṣ* (fol. 77b), and at the other *taqsīm-va-taujīh* (f. 81a). As *muḥaṣṣaṣ* corresponds to *taqsīm*, *taujīh* and *havāla* must be also convertible terms, both meaning that something is "drawn on somebody," an appropriate term for payment by assignments.¹

Whatever the principal functions of the *Şāhib-taujīh* might have been our text shows that his office carried out a series of other registering and auditing operations of an engrossing character. Chardin's view of the *Ş.-t.*'s office as a kind of ledger of the State finance, is supported by f. 42a, where it is explained how attempts to evade taxation were frustrated by reference to the books of the *Taujīh* division.

Among other duties, the *Şāhib-taujīh* kept the "Royal instructions" defining the tariffs of various casual levies and saw that they should not be arbitrarily increased. It is difficult to say to which particular king the term *navvāb-i gīṭī-sitān* on f. 69a refers. *Prima facie* one should think of Shah Ismā'īl, but we know nothing about his enactments. Down to the time of Shāh Tahmāsp the financial regulations of Uzun-Ḥasan were still current,² and our author mentions them once (f. 101r). On the

¹ The rather disappointing list of technical terms contained in Br. Mus. Or. 7721, f. 11b, says: "*taujīh* means to disperse (*mutafarruq*) the amount (*vajh*) of something; and as this operation is done in the *taujīh* office, the latter has been called accordingly."

² See Minorsky, *A Civil and Military Review*, 142.

other hand, under 'Abbās I, the author of the *'Ālam-ara*, 405, quotes the *dastūr al-'amal* of Shah Tahmāsp.

§67. As it appears, the principal duty of the DAFTĀR-DĀR was the keeping of the archives of the Royal Secretariat but, as usual, this officer had also to endorse a number of documents belonging to the Eshik-āqāsī-bāshī's department, etc. He had his share of emoluments in the *rusūm* levied from the amirs, etc. (§125).

§68. The 'AZAB-BASHI was in charge of the lower personnel of the Secretariat, apparently under the orders of the Dārūgha-yi Daftar-khāna (§54). The 'azabs¹ must have been a kind of "commissionaires" or "registering officials"; the farrāshes (cf. §36) acted as office boys and were used on errands.

§69. We learn from §85 that this DĀBIṬ ("Collector") was appointed during the abeyance of the office of the VAKĪL-I DĪVĀN-I A'LĀ in order to collect the fees appertaining to the said office. Our § illustrates the system of collecting the dūshulluk, on which v.i., p. 157.

§70. The term *avāraja* (*avāraj*, *avāra*) is a very old term of Islamic (and probably Sasanian) accountancy. 'Abdullāh Khuwārizmī in his chapter on the terms used in dīvān practice² says that *qānūn al-kharāj* is the original (document) on which the taxes are based, and adds: "*avāraj* is the Arabic form of *avāra*, meaning in Persian 'what is taken out, transferred' (*al-manqūl*), because into (the *avāraj*) is transferred from the *qānūn* what single men owe, and it is fixed in the *avāraj* what (a man) must pay by instalments until the sum due has been paid off (*yustaufā*)."³ There existed also a term *ta'rij* explained as a Persian (!) word meaning "order" (*al-nizām*), "because it is like a rough copy (*sawād*) reduced to regularity (*'aqd*) with regard to a number of items the sum of which it is desired to know. And I think," says Khuwārizmī, "that it is the (grammatical form of) *taf'īl* from the word *avāraj*, . . . because *ta'rij* produces regularity similar to that of an *avāraj*: while under each name are entered the instalments (*dafa'āt al-qabḍ*), they are written in regular rows (*masfūfan*) so as to facilitate their addition (*'aqd*) for an account. And thus a *ta'rij* is done." Khuwārizmī, 78, further says: "*avāra* is what is registered (*yutḥbat*)³ at the end of a letter from a taxation document (*nuskha-'amalin*) or from some other letter, either incoming or outgoing."

These cryptic passages suggest that *avāraj* was a book or a document relative to the payment of taxes by individual payers, and in which the instalments of the payments were inscribed in an order convenient for making additions (*'aqd*).

Arabic dictionaries give a simpler definition of *avārija* as "a register, a book of income and expenditure" and also (under *wraj*) "registers, books in which taxes paid are entered." Persian dictionaries explain *avār*, *avāra*, *avāra*, *avāraja*, etc., as "a book of scattered [i.e. individual?] accounts" (*daftar-i hisābhā-yi parāganda*), or as "a book of receipts and expenditure," Vullers, I, 55.⁴ Arabic and Persian

¹ Literally. "bachelors." In the Ottoman army there was a corps of 'azabs.

² *Mafātīḥ al-'ulūm* (end of the 4th/10th century), ed. Vloten, pp. 54 and 78.

³ Probably "a reference" to the files.

⁴ Or. 7721, f. 11b, among other explanations of *avāraja*, compares it with Persian *āvāra*: "a tramp who having come out of his home becomes distraught (*parāganda*)," adding that "the *avāraja* is prepared out of the (data of the) *qānūn* book which having come out of their home have become scattered in this daftar (i.e. the *avāraja* book)." Similar explanations are found in the treatise on accountancy *Bahr al-jawāhrr fi 'ilm al-dafātr* by 'Abd al-Vahhāb b. Muḥammad Amin al-Shāhīnshāhī al-Isfahānī, Tehran (?), 1271, p. 83: "*Avāraja*: some say it is from *waraja*, which means 'to collect and to spend (*jam' va kharj*)'; others say that it is an arabicised form of *āvāra*, which means 'to be scattered,' and as the book of *avāraja* is taken out (*manqūl*) of the book of *qānūn*, it seems that the latter was the house and the day-book (*rūznāmcha*) (lived) in (that) house, then it was extracted from it and scattered in the *avāraja* book" !

explanations seem to have preserved a trace of the original etymology. My friend Prof. H. W. Bailey has communicated to me (4.viii.1939) several Middle Persian passages which show that *advarē* > *ēvarē*, cf. *Frahang i Pahlavik*, 38-9, may be a derivative of *vark-*, "to draw (out)" and have the meaning of "what is taken out, excerpt."

The Avāraja-nivīses were under the Mustaufi al-mamālik's orders (f. 28a). In our text the term Avāraja-nivīs stands in the plural and, in fact, in §§115-119 reference is made to the Avāraja-nivīses of the four great divisions of Persia ('Irāq, Āzarbāyjān, Fārs, Khorāsān) and an Avāraja-nivīs of the Mines. Moreover, on f. 92b the Avāraja-nivīses of Gilān and Isfahān (= 'Irāq?) are mentioned. Several of these officials are again enumerated on ff. 124a-127a.

The revenue of 'Irāq, Fārs, Āzarbāyjān, to a great extent, figured under their own avāraja, but a striking fact is that under the items of a province figure also some sums of the avāraja of other provinces. For example, in the total revenue of Kirmān (f. 124a) there are included items headed "avāraja of Khorasan," "avāraja of 'Irāq," etc. This suggests that possibly the avāraja books served for certain transfers also: some of the Kirman revenue may have been ear-marked for the budget of Khorasan,¹ unless the procedure is to be explained by some arcana of financial routine. A hint at the competence of the *avāraja* Dt. is its distinction from the *ḍābiṭa* Dt. (ff. 67b and 124a-127a). Both belonged to the Divān-i mamālik but as the *Ḍābiṭa-nivīs* was specially (?) concerned with royalties and casual revenue (v.s., p. 142) from the whole of the mamālik, we have to assume that the keepers of the avāraja books registered revenue from State lands. If the *qānūn*, mentioned in the explanation of the term avāraja, is connected with the general cadastral survey,² avāraja seems to refer to the books destined to control the application of the *qānūn* to some definite areas.³ The business of the avāraja-nivīses must have had in view the collection of taxes on State lands (*mamālik*) by Governors, etc., which explains their registering the correspondence with the officials "in whose care [the collection] of revenue is placed" (f. 71a), etc. Unfortunately §70 is very badly drawn up; the author drowns the general idea in an ocean of highly technical remarks on the routine of the *avāraja-nivīses'* work.

At the first place comes their duty "to inscribe names in the *kayfiyāt-i haqā'iq-i daftarī*." This obscure expression (cf. f. 70b) may refer to the registration in some kind of schedule or general index.

Secondly, they made various endorsements on the documents presented by the agents of the Divan revenue.

Thirdly, they took over (*ḍābiṭ*) and addressed the *parvānajat* relative to *tiyūl*, *hama-sāla*, etc. (or perhaps wrote on the documents the formula: *ḍābiṭ-va-'invān?*).

Fourthly, they checked and registered the *raqams* and *parvānas* addressed to provincial authorities in charge of the collection of revenue.

All this is hardly an adequate résumé of the activities of the avāraja-nivīses who were no simple scribes, as the amount of their salaries clearly indicates (§§115-119). From the '*Ālam-ārā*, 119₁₁, we know that at some periods, under Tahmāsp I, there was no Mustaufi al-mamālik, his functions being divided between the *avāraja-nivīsān-i daftar-khāna*, each of whom "was the mustaufi of his own Department."

¹ Rather than vice-versa, in view of the respective importance of Kirman and Khorasan. In Tahmāsp I's time there was an avāraja-nivīs of "Khorasan and Kirman" and an avāraja-nivīs of "Āzarbāyjān and Shīrvān," cf. '*Ālam-ārā*, 121.

² Cf. Minorisky, *Review*, 142, on the *qānūn* of Uzun-Ḥasan.

³ Or to some particular sources of revenue, e.g. mines.

CHAPTER V

ON THE 'ĀMILS OF ISFAHĀN

THIS chapter enumerates the local authorities of Isfahan who did not belong to the central organs of administration.

The officials described in §§71-75 and 81-2 are of the classes of vazīrs and mustaufīs. With the exception of the Mustaufī of Endowments (§72), the others come in pairs (§§71 and 81, 73 and 82, 74 and 75), as under §§55-64. The text is not sufficiently detailed to enable one to discriminate between the provinces of these three groups.

§§71, 81. SARKĀR-I FAYD-ĀTHĀR ("Department marked with vestiges of abundance") is a roundabout appellation to which our source gives no clue, except that from f. 4a we learn that it belonged to the competence of the Šadr-i khāṣṣa. In the *'Ālam-ārā*, 119, there is an indication that a certain Mīrzā Shukrullāh, who under Isma'īl II had become Grand Vazīr, was appointed by Muhammad Khodā-banda to the *vizārat-va-mumayyazī-yi Khorāsān* and in the meantime to the *tauliyat-i sarkār-i fayd-āthār*. If this expression means that he became the Mutavallī of the sanctuary of Imām Riḍā in Mashhad, the identity of *sarkār-i fayd-āthār* with the estates of the Mashhad sanctuary would be established. It may be added that Muhammad Muḥsin in his *Zubdat al-tavārikh* (f. 205b) states that in 1132/1720 he was in attendance on the Nāzīr of the Cathedral Mosque of Mashhad and enjoyed the rank of vazīr "in the same department," whereas in the Introduction to his book completed in 1154/1741 he calls himself *mustaufī-yi sarkār-i fayd-āthār* (cf. §81).¹ M. Muḥsin had certainly risen in rank since A.D. 1720, but his connection with his former service may have continued. The difficulty is that §§71 and 81 figure in the chapter entitled "Āmils of Isfahan," and refers to the "Maḥāll." As under the sources of revenue of the *fayd-āthār* Dt. reference is made to endowments (*mauqūfāt*), it is possible that this administration controlled the local revenue assigned to the Mashhad sanctuary which the Kings of Persia held in particular respect. This impression is corroborated by the fact that the following §72 also treats of endowments. Contrary to the other pairs of vazīrs and mustaufīs, the officers of §§71 and 81 were direct managers of the lands under their administration, acting, as it appears, under the supervision of the Šadr-i khāṣṣa (§2).

§72. Our author gives few details of the ENDOWMENTS. In §2 it is explained that in the cases when their managers had not been appointed from the outset, in conformity with the benefactor's will, they were appointed by either of the two Šadrs, in accordance with the character and the geographical situation of the vaqf (v.s., f. 4a). There existed a single Office of Endowments, both for the Khāṣṣa and Mamālik, and a numerous staff of vazīrs, mustaufīs, mushrifīs, etc., but of the latter only the MUSTAUFĪ-YI MAUQŪFĀT-I MAMĀLIK has a paragraph devoted to him in our text. His duties, as usual (cf. §§75, 81, etc.), comprised both accountancy and clerical work. It is not clear what relation the Dārūgha-yi Daftar-khāna (f. 72b) had to the correspondence of the Office of Endowments.

Kaempfer, 99, speaks of a Vazīr-i mauqūfāt who in case of the Šadr's death used to be appointed to take charge of the latter's office. On the other hand, Chardin, VI,¹ 61, mentions only the Mustaufī-yi mauqūfāt "qui est un lieutenant des sadrs faisant leur fonction en leur absence, comme je l'ai vu pratiquer à la fin du règne d'Abbas

¹ Rieu's interpretation, *Supp. P.C.*, p. 24, as "Mustaufī of Nadir shah" misses the point.

II." Chardin says that the *daftar-i mauqūfāt* was organised like the civil "chambres de comptes" (i.e. divans) and had two divisions (bureaux), "l'un pour les biens khāṣṣa, ou legs royaux, l'autre pour les biens légués par les particuliers," which explanation may be inexact in view of our text in which the distinction between the two Ṣadr̄s followed the lines of the two branches of civil administration. In practice the difference between their provinces was geographical.

§§76-80 refer to the civil administration of Isfahan but they also throw some light on the provincial organisation in general for *mutatis mutandis* Dārūghas, Kalāntars, Muhtasibs, Naqībs and Mirābs existed in all large centres.

§§73, 82. To the province of these two officials belonged the KHĀLIṢA LANDS, a term which in Qājār times had the meaning of "Government property, State lands." Unexpectedly, in our text *khāliṣa* seems to refer chiefly to demesnes of the khāṣṣa branch of administration: the Vazīr was to see that no prejudice was done to the Khāṣṣa (f. 73a); the report on the Vazīr's operations was submitted to the Mustaufi-yi khāṣṣa (f. 74a); the Vazīr endorsed the receipts of the Buyūtāt-i khāṣṣa (f. 73a). All this suggests that the produce of the *khāliṣa* lands was remitted to the King's Household. It must be remembered that according to the *Ālam-ārā*, 252, "most of the estates (*amlāk*) of the vilayat of Isfahan were the Khāṣṣa of Shah Tahmāsp and were his private possessions (*khāṣṣ*)." Nevertheless, the Vazīr of Isfahan collected the Divan taxes (f. 73a) and used the produce for the needs of the Divan (f. 74a). Such a contradiction might be explained by a loose terminology of our text, the term *Divān* in §73 standing perhaps for the Divan-i khāṣṣa (?).

Generally speaking, the Vazīr of Isfahan, similarly to his colleague of §71, was the manager of the khāliṣa, an "intendant" in Chardin's terms.¹

The formalities of the survey of crops (more briefly f. 73a) are described by Chardin, V, who explains that peasants were sometimes encouraged in their complaints by the "intendants" themselves because the latter made more profit out of unexpected contingencies than from a regular collection of taxes.

The Mustaufi (§82) was responsible for the accountancy of the Vazīr's administration and meanwhile controlled the legality of the proceedings, for "without his seal no operations were possible."

As in the case of the other Persian administrations, we are still unable to trace the origins and the development of the khāliṣa (in the present day connotation). The state-lands must have existed at all times, but their composition and the causes which contributed to their formation varied at each epoch. It is now believed in Persia that the later stock of *khāliṣajāt* came into being under Nādir-shah (A.D. 1736-47), who confiscated a large number of endowments both as a financial and political expedient to abate the clergy which was still attached to the memory of the pious Shī'a Safavids.² As it is known, the list of state lands compiled under Nādir (the so-called *raqabāt-i Nādirī*) is still consulted by the financial agents. Nādir's successor 'Alī-shah (1747-8) was surnamed 'Ādil ("the Just") for the good reason that he restored some of the endowments

¹ V, 380. "Les terres de domaine sont le bien propre et particulier du roi: une partie sert d'apanage à des charges; sur une autre sont assignés les gages de la plupart des officiers et domestiques de sa maison, et la paye des troupes que le roi entretient; une autre partie est aliénée par des donations à temps ou à vie, qui continuent quelquefois de père en fils à plusieurs générations; le surplus est en économie ou régie, dans les mains des visirs, ou intendans, qui font valoir le bien du roi, chacun en sa province."

² The *Rauḍāt al-jannāt*, 199, describes Nādir's proceedings as *nār saṭwa hādihā'l-mal'ūn*, "the fire of assault of this accursed (man)."

abolished by Nādir. The Qājārs greatly increased the stock of khālišajāt by confiscating the property of their predecessors and of the dignitaries fallen into disgrace. See Jamāl-zāda, *Ganj-i shāyagān*, Berlin, 1338, p. 138, and K. Sanjābi, *Essai sur l'Economie rurale*, 1934, p. 94.

§§74, 75. Our text does not enable us to clear up the competence of the INTIQAĪ Dt. The attributions of the Vazir almost word for word follow those of §73, with the only addition of *vaqfi* lands to the *khāliša* (ff. 75b and 76b). Like the Vazir of Isfahan he apparently belonged to the khāšša branch of the administration. According to K. Sanjābi, *Essai*, p. 95, under the Qājārs the term *intiqaī* was applied to the state lands (*khālišajāt-i intiqaī*) assigned to individuals. On this analogy we might assume that the Intiqaī Dt. controlled the khāliša lands assigned ("transferred") to divines, officials, etc. It is quite possible, however, that in our case the term *intiqaī* refers to the lands "transferred" to the Khāšša from the Mamālik administration.¹

§§76, 79. The paragraphs on the KALĀNTAR and the NAQĪB (of Isfahan) sum up the latter's duties quite satisfactorily: the Kalāntar appointed the katkhudās, contributed to the repartition of taxes among the guilds, formulated the desiderata of the latter, protected the ra'yyat (peasants, or rather lower classes), etc. Chardin, VI, 79, appositely remarks that the meaning of *kalāntar* corresponds to that of mayor (from Latin *maior*), in French "prévôt de ville" (but VIII, 14: "prévôt des marchands"). Kaempfer's explanations, 141, are very close to our text: praefectus enim est, civitati datus, ut pro salute civium vigilet. . . . Is jura et causas civium defendit in judiciis, et ne ultro vires et aequitatem à Gubernatore graventur, impune obstat. Servitia forensia [scil. *corvéés*] quae vocant, et onera quaevis, tum consueta, tum extra ordinem civium imposita, pro facultate singulorum distribuit; curat censuum et reddituum publicorum collectionem, et similia."

The *T.M.* does not say much as to the organisation of the guilds (*šinf*, plur. *ašnāf*), except as regards the adjustment of taxes (*bunīcha*) (ff. 77a, 81a),² and the confirmation of the heads of the guilds (f. 77a) and masters (f. 81b). From f. 77b one can gather that the guilds held some professional meetings, but Chardin, IV, 93, asserts that the guilds never met and that their organisation was quite loose. The guilds owed certain *corvéés* to the King and those which were exempt from this duty paid a money substitute instead (*kharij-i shāh*), *ibid.*, 95. By *bunīcha* is probably meant a schedule according to which the global sum to be collected from the guilds was distributed among the single guilds and contributors.³

The Kalāntar's salary is not mentioned. As he represented public interests more than the authority of the State, it would have been natural for his emoluments to consist of fees levied on the guilds and wards of Isfahan.

The NAQĪB (§79) was a deputy and assistant of the Kalāntar. Most probably both had to be chosen from among the local notables, though we know nothing of the

¹ Cf. what Chardin, V, 251, says on the transfer of numerous lands from the *divān-i mamālik* to the *divān-i khāšša*.

² Thévenot, 165: Tous les Corps de métiers payent chacun au Roy une certaine somme d'argent, qui est prise sur tous les artisans de chaque métier, chacun d'eux estant taxé à proportion de ce qu'il gagne."

³ For another use of the term see Stack, *Six months*, II, 259, who writes that on the way from Forg (Fars) to Sirjān he met with a method of assessment and distribution of the land revenue "by reference to a *bunīcha* or imaginary assessment, which, being multiplied by a certain figure, gives the real assessment of the village. The *bunīcha* (or *foundation*) is usually stated in tomans, and the land revenue is got by taking so many *qirāns* per *qirān*, or so many *shāhī* per *shāhī*," cf. A. Miller, *Mahat Kerman. oblasti*, 138.

system of their election. As regards the appointment of the elders of street performers, etc., the Naqīb's prerogative touched very closely those of the Mash'aldār-bashi (§44).¹

§77. On the term *dārūgha*, v.s., §54. The DARUGHA OF ISFAHAN was the appointed Prefect of Police with some judicial attributions. This latter circumstance may explain his subordination to the Divan-begi (§11). In the *Z.-T.*, f. 203a, the titles *dārūgha va hākīm*, "darugha and governor," are joined together. The Dārūgha had considerable emoluments ranging from 300 to 500 tomans (§104),² and the office certainly afforded many opportunities for further enrichment. In later Safavi times the post was regarded as an exclusive prerogative of the members of the Georgian royal family (f. 7b). In Chardin's time, V, 334, VII, 319, the dārūgha Prince Iskandar-mīrzā, son of Shāhnavāz-khan of Georgia, occupied the house of the late Grand Vazir Sārū-Taqī. The above-mentioned passage in the *Z.-T.* refers to the Georgian Prince Khusrau-khan, who, after the murder of his uncle Shahnavāz-khan by the Afghans, was appointed in 1123/1711 sipahsālār on the Qandahār front and at the same time *vālī-yi Gurjistān*, i.e. from the Georgian point of view, king of Georgia, v.s., p. 112.

The Darugha's lieutenants are called in our text (ff. 78b and 79b) *ahdās*, and this form is confirmed by Father Ange de Saint Joseph's *Gazophylacium Linguae Persarum*, 1684, p. 370: *ahdās* "asas-bashi, duzd-gīr, shab-gard, sulṭān al-layl, capo di sbirri, circitor, prévôt." Chardin explains *atas* (V, 263) and *ahtas* (VI, 78) as "prévôt de la nuit" and "chevalier du guet," while Kaempfer, 84, gives *akhdāth* (*sic*, in Persian characters), "achdas . . . dominus carceris qui cum lictoribus suis noctu urbem permeantibus obvios grassatores . . . captivos ducit."³ This consensus of the sources precludes the possibility of the readings *ahvās* or *asas*. Persian scribes, misled by the pronunciation in their language of *th* as *s* spelt the word with *s*, but the right form must be *ahdāth*, abbreviated from [sāhib-]*ahdāth*, cf. Dozy, *Supplément*, 258: "préfet de police, celui qui est chargé de faire cesser les troubles." One used to say *kāna 'alā ahdāth Basra* "il était préfet de police à Basra." Cf. the use of *ahdāth* on f. 3b.

The practice of attaching members of various services to the principal executive departments is also illustrated by the reference to *ajrlu qurchis* under the Divan-begi's orders (f. 21a).

The "King of the Night" appointed watchmen to guard the markets, etc., and probably had a ramified organisation of informers, cf. Chardin, VI, 78: "padcha cheb."

§78. The charge of the MUHTASIB is an old Islamic institution and there exist a number of manuals on his professional activities.⁴ Our source dwells particularly on his duty to supply lists of current prices for the guidance of the King's Private Dt., and to control the general markets.

The punishment called *takhta-kulāh* ("the wooden hat") is described by Chardin,

¹ The *T.M.* says nothing about the *mahk al-tujjār* who probably was elected by the merchants themselves. According to Chardin, V, 262, such "prévôts des marchands" existed in all the towns. According to Le Brun, 291, the chief of the merchants had to decide on mercantile proceedings and also inspected the weavers and the tailors of the Court. Something quite different was the purely honorary title of *Tājir al-mahk* (?) which Shah Sulaymān conferred on Chardin, V, 289.

² Confirmed by Chardin, V, 265: "300 tomans d'appointements qui sont 13.500 livres."

³ Cf. also Thévenot, 195: *aatas* "chevalier du guet"; Le Brun, 292: *aghdaas*, "chief of the watch which patrols the streets."

⁴ See in the last place G. S. Collin et E. Levi-Provençal, *Un manuel hispanique de Hisba*, Paris, 1931, and Ibn al-Ukhuwwa's *Ma'ālim al-qurba*, edited by R. Levy, *G.M.S.*, 1938 (cf. Gaudefroy-Demombynes, in *Jour. As.*, juillet, 1938, pp. 449-57).

VI, 129, as "une manière de pilori ambulant," applied to dishonest merchants using false measures: "on leur passe le cou dans une grosse planche de bois comme celle de nos piloris. Ils portent cette planche sur les épaules avec une clochette au devant. On leur met sur la tête un haut bonnet de paille, et on les promène dans leur quartier, où la canaille les charge de mille huées." Chardin adds that the more usual form of punishments were the fines and bastinadoes on the soles of the feet. Kaempfer, 142, gives a slightly different description of the *takhta-kulāh*: "mitra cuprea [?], ampla et profunda adeo ut caput humerosque operiat, utrinque à lictoribus in aequilibrio tenenda in ora seriem exhibens tintinnabulorum et unam caudam vulpinam."

Chardin, V, 263, in his description of provincial administration takes the NĀ'IB for a simple "chef de police."

The official called ŠĀḤIB-NASAQ turns up several times in our text in connection with the lists of current prices (ff. 17b, 50b, 80a) and counterfeiting of coins (f. 53b). No further indication of his functions could be found but he seems to have been a purely executive officer. In Qājār times the Nasaqchi-bashi was the Chief Executioner.

§80. The MĪRĀB was a highly remunerated official whose emoluments were evaluated by Chardin, IV, 100, at 4000 tomans per annum, apart from benefits made by his staff. Kaempfer, 84, knows the terms *mādī* (principal channels) and *jadval* (subdivisions of a *mādī*).¹

§83. The duties of the CROP ESTIMATOR (*rayyā'*) are connected with the operations described on ff. 73b and 75a. The Surveyor (*massāh*) was his colleague in the field-work. Chardin, V, 383-8, describes the procedure in the case of the crops being damaged by hail, drought, locusts and the insects which he calls *sim* (read: **sen*)² "Lorsqu'il s'agit des biens du roi, l'usage ordinaire des intendans est de donner des commissaires aux villages pour examiner l'affaire sur les lieux." Chardin apparently refers to the *rayyā'*. This latter term which is unknown in Arabic must be an artificial derivation from *ray'*, "revenue arising from the increase of land," etc. (Lane).

§84. It is not clear why the CHIEF GARDENER who reported to the Nāzīr-i buyūtāt (§11) figures at this place instead of being included in the list of the Buyūtāt (§§32-49).

CONCLUSION

PART I

(A) SALARIES OF THE CENTRAL ADMINISTRATION

- (a) Regular salaries
- (b) Rates of salaries
- (c) Fees
- (d) Distribution of fees

The enumeration in the present chapter leaves out some of the offices described in the previous chapters, but, on the other hand, completes the list by the addition of some new items. In the following table, the sign → points to the principal § in

¹ See now on this question Ann K. S. Lambton, *The Regulation of the Waters of the Zāyande Rūd*, in *Bull. S.O.S.*, IX/3, 1938, pp. 663-73. The term *finjān*, "a water-clock, hour-glass," mentioned in this article, p. 672, must originally have referred to the practice explained in Chardin, IV, 98 "on met sur le canal qui conduit l'eau dans le champ une tasse [*pingān* > *finjān*] de cuivre, ronde, fort mince, percée d'un petit trou au centre, par où l'eau entre peu à peu, et lorsque la tasse va au fond, la mesure est pleine, et on recommence, jusqu'à ce que la quantité d'eau convenue soit entrée dans le champ. La tasse est d'ordinaire entre deux à trois heures à s'enfoncer. Cette invention sert aussi à mesurer le temps en Orient." ² V.s., p. 79.

which the same office is described. The offices recorded for the first time are marked with an asterisk. The numbers in square brackets [] after * refer to §§ with which the additional items are more or less connected.

85 *[6]	105→54	125→67	145→38
86→6	106 *[36]	126→53(?)	146→37
87→2	107→18	127→52 (32)	147→47
88→7, 8, 10, 14	108→17	128→52 (35)	148 *[note, p. 99]
89→9	109 *[18]	129→52 (39)	149 *[note p. 99]
90 *[28]	110→23	130 *(cf 158)	150 *[39]
91→15	111→55, 57, 59, 61	131→52 (34)	151→40
92→16	112→56, 58, 60, 62	132→52 (100)	152 *[44]
93→12	113→65	133→52 (100)	153 *[39]
94→13	114→66	134→52 (37)	154→44
95→11	115→70	135→52 (47)	155 *[22]
96 *[16]	116→70	136→52 (*)[v s. p.29]	156 *[33]
97→53	117→70	137→52 (*)[13]	157→39
98→24	118→70	138→52 (61-2)	158 *[cf. 130]
99→25	119→70	139→32	159 *[cf. 100]
100 *[37]	120→63	140→43	160→46
101 *[26]	121→64	141→34	161→41
102→27	122 *[9]	142→36	162 *[v s., p. 133]
103→78	123 *[18]	143 *[15]	163 *[20]
104→77	124 *[f. 14b]	144 *[132]	164→49

Consequently, the salaries of Nos. 1, 3-5, 19-22, 28-31, 33, 35, 42, 45, 48, 50-1, 67-69, 71-76, 79-86 are lacking in our text, while officials not previously referred to appear under §§85, 96, 100-1, 106, 109, 122-4, 126, 130, 132, 136-7, 143-4, 148-150, 152-3, 155-6, 158-9, 162-3. For the 14 categories of lower ranks, the totals for each department are given on ff. 127b-129b.

The general problems of salaries are separately considered on pp. 25-7, and in this place we shall only examine the details of the various kinds of regular and irregular pay which the officials drew from either of the *Dīvāns*.

(a) Regular Salaries

Perhaps *qarār-i mavājib* (§§99, 111, 112 but 88: *qarār-va-mavājib*), which we translate "fixed salary," represents the basic schedules of the officials' pay, although in Table III a more general term *madākhil*, "emoluments," is used with regard to the Governors.

The *in'āms* were grants or rewards¹ of a more exceptional character given probably for some special reason, but the Grand Vazir (§86), who had no definite salary, had a yearly *in'ām*. Du Mans, 26, states how much the persons in Government pay depended on the King's liberalities, "espérant toujours quelque fortune, commission, présent du Roy, qui ne leur manque pas de trois ans en trois ans." He adds that usually the *in'ām* is equal to a whole year's pay, so that he who receives 10 tomans will have 20 tomans that year.² The *madad-i ma'āsh*, "aid for sustenance,"³ in the case of the *Şadr-i a'zam* (§17) reached the enormous sum of 1360 tomans (cf. also §108: 300 tomans). Another variety of *madad* was *madad-i kharj*, f. 130a. The *muqarrarī* which is quoted (ff. 86a, 130a), together with *madad-i ma'āsh*, etc., must have been also a kind of subvention (but on f. 18a *muqarrarī* is used in a different

¹ Such was also the Indian use of the term; Moreland, 93.

² At this place Du Mans may have in view only the lower staff.

³ As regards the Indian usage, see M. Sadiq Khan, *A Study in Mughal Land Revenue System*, *Isl. Cult.*, XII/1, 1938, 61-75 "another particular class of rent-free landholdings solely granted for the payment of religious endowments was known variously as *madad-i ma'āsh* or *milh*."

sense). The *vazīfa* (f. 130a) was apparently a charitable or compassionate allowance, which in Indian practice was paid in cash; Moreland, 278.

Various officials had special perquisites belonging to their offices. Thus the Grand Vazir (§86) had a *ḥaqq al-vizāra*, as the "perquisite" of his office; the Nāzir-i buyūtāt (§95) a *ḥaqq al-nazāra*; the Šadr and the Qurchi-bashi (§§86-7) a *ḥaqq al-taūhiya*, "perquisite of management"; the 'Amils (§98, etc.) a *ḥaqq al-sa'y*, "perquisite of exertion." On *marsūm* v.i., note 2, and p. 155, note 2.

The name of the *rusūm-i maḥallī* would suggest that they should come under the paragraph on fees, but as our source evaluates this special kind of fees in lump sums, cf. §§103, 113-8 (cf. f. 93a) and 125, it appears that these levies, assigned on some particular district or town, formed a regular addition to the pay of the officials mentioned.

We now come to the complicated system of paying the salaries.

Chardin, V, 415, compares the Shah's Treasury to an abyss (v.s., p. 27): "au lieu de payer en argent,¹ le roi paie en assignations sur provinces." This passage cannot be interpreted too literally. Some salaries were certainly paid in cash, as confirmed by §95: "salary and allowance paid to the soldiers in cash (*naqd*)"; cf. §139.² More ambiguous is the meaning of the term *tankhwāh*, which on f. 26b clearly stands for "cash" (cf. ff. 11b, 19a, 40a, 93a, and perhaps 98a), but often refers to the whole of the emoluments (ff. 12b, 15b, 19a) or to the produce of yak-sāla, hama-sāla and drafts. In such cases we render *tankhwāh* by "sum, amount," in order to avoid too much precision, e.g. *t.-i mavāḡib* (§114), "the amount of salary," *t.-i umarā* (§125), "the amount [paid] to the amirs."³

It is true, however, that in the majority of cases the salaries and allowances were paid in assignments.

The highest kind of the latter were the *soyūrghāl*, of which we spoke above, p. 27. The beneficiary acquired the right to collect the government dues from the lands assigned to him and practically became their hereditary holder.

The usual and favourite system of assignments was called *tiyūl*.⁴ The grantees, so long as they held a definite office (cf. §§88, 89), or were in possession of a special document, collected the government dues from the districts and lands assigned to them, cf. above, p. 28.

A great advantage connected with *tiyūls* (v.s., p. 29) was that the official evaluation of the revenue was considerably lower than its real amount. In §§92 and 93 the *tiyūls* nominally worth 80 and 15 tomans were estimated (*barāvārdī*) as bringing to their beneficiaries correspondingly 127 1/2 and 92 1/3 tomans. Chardin, V, 417, heard that in some cases the income was 50 times higher than the nominal sum. Kaempfer, 97, records as a particular feature of the *tiyūl* that the assigned villages bring to the grantee a profit higher than his salary ("usum fructum stipendio maiorem"), namely, double in the majority of places, but fivefold near Isfahan, sixfold near Kāshān and Shīrāz and, in some places, eightfold.

Less profitable were payments in *barāt*: the payee received from the Government a draft on a source of income or on some debtor of the Treasury and he collected the amount either personally or through an agent. The better class of *barāts* were the

¹ Kaempfer, 98, speaking of the Government officials, says: Inter hos pauci sunt qui a provinciarum Directore aliquo, rarissimi qui ex Regio aeriario mercedem ["cash"] nonnumquam accipiunt. However, Chardin, VII, 332, admits that workmen of the Buyūtāt, instead of victuals (*jīva*, "keep"), could receive their value in cash.

² Cf. also §§95 and 127: *marsūm*, payable in cash

³ In Indian practice, *tankhwāh* was "an assignment of lands, or order on the Treasury for the payment of a stipend, salary, etc.," but Indian interpretation of terms hardly ever applies to Persia.

⁴ Usual Persian pronunciation *toyūl*.

hama-sāla, i.e. annuities assigned on the same source or person.¹ Much less convenient were the *yak-sāla* granted only for the given year, Chardin, V, 420. The payee had great difficulties when his *barāts* were drawn on several scattered places and Shāh 'Abbās II sought to obviate this embarrassment by ordering that this practice should be admitted only in cases when the claims were above 55 tomans, *ibid.*, 422. The collection of money, especially in the case of smaller sums, was done through special delegates who charged 5 per cent. on the sums collected in Isfahan, and 10 per cent. on those collected at a distance exceeding one day's journey.

Allowances in kind were regarded either as a substitute for a part of the salary or as an addition to the latter.

Several times payments in *ajmās-i barāti* are referred to in our text (ff. 89b, 98a, 98b),² especially in the case of soldiers (f. 98b). We must take it then that a part of the salaries was paid in bonds on goods (grain, cloth?) forming part of the Government supplies.³

We hear that the Grand Vazir (f. 85b) had an annual grant in kind to the amount of 3 t. 8500 d. (?); that the Šāhib-jam' of the qahva-khāna had a grant of 2000 maunds of wheat in shāh-weight (f. 106b); that the Šāhib-jam's of the Treasury and the Farrāsh-khāna, in company with their colleagues, levied 1/20 on the salaries in kind (*jinsī-ki ba-mavājib dihand*, ff. 100b and 102b); that the Mushrif of the Havij-khāna (§132) had a daily *jira* ("keep") of two plates of food and of 12 breads of two different kinds (cf. also §133) and that the gardeners and the day labourers had also some *jira* (f. 84b), etc.

Du Mans, 26, describes the *jira* in more detail,⁴ saying that some officers had their keep in addition to their pay ("leur vivre outre leur paye"); they were given raw and cooked food which they could carry home if they chose. The *jira* contained a plateful (or sometimes half a plateful, or a quarter) of bread, meat, rice, spices, butter, pepper, wood [*bois*, perhaps: **pois*, "peas"], onions and salt. The amount of a plateful was precisely known: so much of everything to prepare a pilau (in Persian: *polóu*). In connection with the annual tribute in kind (*bārkhāna*) which the Governors sent to the Court, Chardin, V, 395, remarks: "la maison du roi en est entretenue, et toute cette foule d'artisans à qui l'on donne la nourriture en espèce."

(b) Rates of Salaries

As our source does not indicate what sums the fees (v.i., p. 155) produced in each case, we can only compare the amounts of fixed salaries. We shall, consequently, enumerate the more typical annual salaries,⁵ dividing them into three categories:

- (a) high: above 500 tomans.
- (b) middling: from 100 to 500 tomans.
- (c) low: under 100 tomans.⁶

¹ Kaempfer's interpretation of the *hama-sāla* is different. He says, 97, that it consists in assignments on villages which, contrary to the *tryül*, bring to the grantee an income equal to his salary, "qui proventum suo hospiti saltem reddunt salario aequalem" (?). He distinguishes *hama-sāla* from *barāt*

² F. 16a: *ajmās-i hama-sālayāt*.

³ In general, payment in goods was practised by the Shah on a large scale. Chardin, V, 414, says: "les marchandises qu'on offre le plus communément sont les turquoises, de la soie, des brocards d'or, des tapis d'or et de soie, du lapis lazuli. Le roi a de pleins magasins de tout cela, car, comme il n'affirme point ses biens, et qu'il fait travailler la soie qu'il reçoit pour son droit, ses magasins regorgent toujours de telles nippes" ⁴ Cf. Chardin, VII, 332.

⁵ The author used different sources for the salaries and fees of the same officials, in the text (§§24, 25, 26, 27) and in the chapter on salaries (§§98, 99, 101, 102).

⁶ Some idea of the parity of Persian money is given by the following quotations. According to Sir T. Herbert, 1 toman = £3 6s. 8d.; according to della Valle, 768, it was equal to 10 sequins;

Chardin and Kaempfer speak of the amount of salaries in very rare cases and, for comparison's sake, we have only the data of Du Mans, 14-26. The Capuchin author, with some contempt for matters of this world, uses the Persian verb "to eat" (*khurdan*) in connection with the emoluments of the dignitaries, e.g. "sept ou huit cents tomans mange cet office."

§§	T.M.		Du Mans
<i>First category :</i>			
6	Grand Vazir	823 ¹	1000 (?)
7	Qurchi bashi	1491	1000-1500
2	Sadr-i a'zam	1360	
13	Amir-shikār	1050	500-600
10	Tufangchi-bashi	711	1000
13	Rikābdār (Mihtar)	539	?
12	Divān-begī	500	3000-4000
14	Tupchi-bashi	500	2000
8	Qullar-aqasi	?	1000-1500
<i>Second category :</i>			
20	Hakim-bashi	400	1000 ²
11	Nāzir-i buyūtāt	360	3000-4000 ³
13	Majlis-nivīs	330	1000
100	Tushmāl-bashi	315	200
18	Mustaufī al-mamālik	302	600
78	Muhtasib al-mamālik	303	
77	Dārūgha of Isfahan	300	
28	Eshik-aqasi of the Harem	300	
53	Nāzir-i daftar	225	200
15	Amirākhor-i jilau	182	700-800 ⁴
23	Munshi al-mamālik	153	
96	Nāzir-i davābb	150	
16	Amirākhor-i sahrā	127	
117	Avārja-nivīs of Fārs	118	
<i>Third category :</i>			
150	Şāhib-jam' of the Şhira-khāna	100	200
39	" " Ābdār-khāna	87	
111	Vazīrs	100-50	
65	Ābāta-nivīs	89	
115	Avārja-nivīs of 'Irāq	69	
143	Şāhib jam' of the Saddlery	60	
158	" " Library	50	
141	" " Tailoring Dt.	40	
162	" " Painting Dt.	30	
146	" " Fruit Dt.	20	
160	" " Stables	12	
145	" " Butchery	8	

¹ He had no definite salary and this sum represents only a part of his emoluments.

² Chardin, V, 168: all the doctors 55,555 t.

³ Perhaps 300-400?

⁴ Chardin: 50,000 écus = 3333 t. (?).

⁵ Kaempfer, 133, speaking of the Buyūtāt, says. "Pensiones annuae quibus gaudent Directores, secundum praefecturae gravitatem et dignitatem differunt. Quibus *Tahvil-dār, seu ut aliter vocantur *Şāhib-jam', i.e. liberi directoris et dispensatoris facultas collata est, 20 tomani, 30 aliis, aliis 40 tributū sunt. Magistro autem obscurioris officinae . . . 10-15 tomani persolvuntur."

Chardin reckons 1 t. = 455 livres tournois = 15 écus. Hodivala, *Historical Studies*, 197, takes for the seventeenth century 1 t. = 30 rupees, quoted by Vasmer, *Islamica*, VI, 1934, 138. See also the tables of parity in special dictionaries such as M. Postlethwayt, *The Universal Dictionary of Commerce*, 1774, (quoting Sir I. Newton's *Table of Assays*, etc.), *Encyclopédie méthodologique*, Vol. III, 1794, etc., and now the table of coinages in *A Chronicle of the Carmelites*, II, 773-7.

In spite of some obscurities, the data of our source are very valuable. In the absence of official documents, the European authors could give only very approximate estimates, except in the case of lower ranks where they had to deal with a large number of persons uniformly paid.

Table III estimates the general total of the cost of administration and army at 491.986 t. 5700 d., out of which 396.792 t. went to the "amirs and governors." Technically speaking the "amīrs" of the central administration were those enumerated in our §§6-18, whose fixed emoluments were *circa* 6047 t. If for simplicity's sake we count as "amirs" all the officials enumerated in our text, the total will rise to 11.683 t. 4245 1/2 d. Together with the Governors' emoluments (Table II), the sum will be

11.683	4245 1/2
301.532	4097 2/3
313.213	8343 1/6

This still leaves a wide margin (*viz.* 83,577 tom.) to the total of Table III, but we must remember the lacunae in our lists. In any case the items given in Table III are more reliable as emanating from the author himself. (V.i., p. 161.)

The *T.M.* gives only the general expense for the principal corps of troops, namely (f. 128b):

Artillery men	..	1.942	tomans
Qurchus	..	25.572	"
Ghulams	..	18.261	"
Tufangchis	..	21.960	"
		67.175	"

On the whole the expense for the regular army was conspicuously small, being slightly over 10 per cent. of the general expenditure. As the contingents were constantly changing, and as the proportion of officers of various ranks is unknown, we cannot further analyse the totals. Du Mans, 25, obviously exaggerates in saying that a *min-bashi*, "commander of a thousand," had 400-500 t. and a *yuz-bashi* "centurion" 100 t., but he is more accurate in his evaluation of the pay of a simple *qizil-bash* at 7-12 t.¹ According to Chardin, V, 316, the future soldiers were put on the rolls at the age of two, with a salary of half-a-toman per annum. The soldiers spent their time at their homes and their pay was only a subsidy to their needs. The troopers received about 400 livres (9 tomans), while they spent the double of this sum on clothing alone. In another place, V, 427, Chardin puts the pay of a soldier at 250 francs (*circa* 5 1/2 t.), and that of a non-commissioned officer ("bas officiers") at 300-400 francs (*circa* 7-9 t.). Even of these sums about a quarter went to the intermediaries who advanced money in exchange for the cheques in possession of the military. On f. 98a reference is made to "assigned goods forming the soldiers' pay," which has to be interpreted in the sense that a part (?) of the soldiers' pay was in kind and that it was assigned on some places where the commodities (grain, clothing?) were stored or produced.

(c) Fees

Another category of emoluments of officials were the fees levied on various kinds of revenue, expenditure and salaries. Our source calls them *rusūm*, "customary levies, perquisites."²

¹ In della Valle's time, p. 768, a trooper received yearly "no less than 5 tomans, equal to 50 sequins," which enabled him to exist comfortably.

² This term must be distinguished from *marsūm* payable in cash (ff. 89a, 97b and 129b).

The fees were of two kinds: those divided between several departments and those purely departmental, but one cannot trace this division systematically.

According to Chardin, V, 430, one had to pay a 10 per cent. duty on anything which one received from the Treasury; hardly ever did the King command the payee to be exempted from this tax, but sometimes only 5 per cent. were collected. One finds no trace of this general rule in our text, unless it is covered by some of the special cases which we are going to describe.

The strangest fees were those collected on the presents (*pīshkash*) offered to the King and the grants (*in'ām*) given by the King. The duty of the Pīshkash-nivīs (§124) was to register in a special book all the offerings brought to the court,¹ to estimate their price, and to lead those who carried them, to the King's presence. The donor had then to pay an additional sum of money evaluated as a percentage on the price of his gift. In our source the amount of this fee is evaluated either at 10 per cent. (§§89, 91, 120, 124) or at 5 per cent. (§§95, 127, 139, 141-3, 146, 150). The money collected was allotted in various proportions to definite classes of officials of the central administration.

Chardin has several pertinent passages on this curious habit and, in his evaluation, he must come near enough to the truth. He says, V, 359, that on the offerings to the King 11-18 per cent. were levied as fees, 10 per cent. going to the Nāzīr and the rest to other officers.²

The estimate was usually accurately made, for the donors did not want to pay more fees than they could help and, on the other hand, they were loath to depreciate the value of their gifts.

Chardin, V, 360, found particularly distasteful the fees which the grantees had to pay on the presents which they received from the King. Only exceptionally was the payment of these duties remitted to some Europeans (cf. also f. 88a), but usually even the ambassadors had to comply with the custom. Our source (§§91, 95, 127, 128, 139, 140, 142, 143, 147, 150, 153) sets at 10 per cent. the fees on the in'āms and robes of honour given by the King, but in practice they may have been heavier. Chardin, V, 406, considers the whole system of gifts as a kind of "tax on the wealthy" (*taxe sur les aisés*), by means of which the Shah extorted from the opulent governors, etc., the excess of their profits.

In case of official purchases, especially for the Royal Workshops, the bills were augmented by 5 per cent. and this additional charge was divided among the officers of the department in question, see §§95, 96, 127-8, 131-5, 139, 147-8, 150, 153-4, 157, 162. Under §141 these fees are evaluated at 10 per cent. (?) and under §144 at 20 per cent. (?)

To the same category belong the fees on the "sendings" (*infādāh*, usually spelt *infādā*), i.e. on the goods acquired on the spot by government agents (*vazīrs*, *āmils* and *gārāk-yarāqs*). Under §§95, 127-9, 131, 135, 148, 157 the levy is put down at 1 per cent., under §§145 and 147 at 2 per cent., under §144 at 4 per cent., and under §143 at 10 per cent. (?). Under §95 it is said that the fees were levied on the price, but it is not clear whether the "price paid" is meant, or whether the expression includes also the "market price" of the contributions collected in kind. A hint at

¹ Chardin, V, 376· there was no appeal against the value registered and, in case of underestimate, one had to pay the difference. On the persons exempted from the payment of such duties see f. 88a. [On the Pīshkash-nivīs, see f. 14b.]

² In III, 197, 221 (written earlier than the rest of the work) Chardin says: "ce droit est de 15 per cent. par constitution. Les abus qui s'y sont glissés l'ont fait monter à près de 25 per cent. Le grand-maitre-d'hotel [Nāzīr] en prend dix, lesquels de droit il faudrait qu'il partageât avec ses yessaouls [?] . . . mais il ne leur en donne presque rien. Les autres 15 per cent. sont pour les intendans des galeries ou magasins où le présent est consigné."

the latter sense may be found in §127, where it is stated that the Mushrif of the Treasury had 1/2 per cent. on the produce of the Sha'r-bāf-khāna, which was a "Royal Workshop" and could hardly be said to sell its produce.

There existed various fees on salaries. Some higher officials had shares in the fees levied on the emoluments of large categories of public servants. Other fees were collected by the chiefs on their staff's salaries, etc. As regards the first class, of fees we find in our text references to fees collected

- on the "cash paid to the amirs, [muqarrabs and āqāyān]" (§§85, 97-8, 101, 105, 110, 114-121, 125, 127);
- on the "tiyūls and hama-sāla granted to the amirs" (§§85, 98-9, 101-2, 105, 107-110, 113-121, 125);
- on the "sums payable in barāts" (§§101-2, 107, 109, 113);
- on the "grants given to the amirs and the persons not being on the staff [of the beneficiary in question]" (§§85-6, 97-8, 101-2, 105, 107, 109-10, 113, 121, 125);
- on the "soyūrghāls, mu'āfi, salaries, musallamī, ıqtā' and haqq al-sa'y of the 'āmils" (§§85-6, 97-8, 101-2, 113-120, 125, cf. §§99 and 107);
- on the "leases, by way of *haqq al-qarār*" (§§86, 97, 101-2, 105, 114-121, 125-6);
- on the "assigned goods" (§§127, 131), as well as on the "goods given as salary" 5 per cent. (§§139, 142).

It is more difficult to extract from our vague text the data on the fees collected within the individual departments. It is quite definite that fees "from the subordinates" were levied in the four military departments (§§88, 111 and 112?). Fees on soldiers' salaries and allowances are also referred to under §§95, 114, though the Nāzır-i Buyūtāt and the Şāhib-taujīh had but an indirect connection with the army. 1/20 of the fee on the deliveries of the guilds (f. 99b) was for some obscure reasons paid to the Mushrif "of the Fruit Dt., Arsenal and Butcher's Dt." (§134).

It seems that the levies on the horses presented to, or given by the King, were appropriated solely by the two Amīrākhors (§§91, 92) and their staffs, as we should also conclude from Chardin, V, 364, who evaluates at 50.000 écus (3333 tomans!) the income of the Amīrākhor: "le plus liquide de ces émoluments se tire du droit sur les présents de chevaux qu'on fait au roi, et de ceux que le roi fait, qui sont en grand nombre." One wonders whether the presents and grants referred to in §§142-8 were purely departmental or belonged to the general mass registered by the Pishkash-nivīs.

As an equivalent of *rusūm*, the term *dūshulluk* (?) is used in §§92 and 141 (fees on presents and grants). There existed a special Dābiṭ (§69) for the collection of the *dūshulluk* due to the Vakīl-i Dīvān-i A'lā. A more special use of *dūshulluk* is found on f. 42b, where it refers to the levy on salaries on the occasion of "first appointment to an office."

The term *dūshulluk* **dūshulluk*(?) is attested in a farmān of Sulṭān Ya'qūb Aq-qoyunlu of 893/1488, where two categories of it are mentioned: *hukmī* ("in virtue of a special order") and *ıstıṣvābī* ("appropriate to an office").¹ It is undoubtedly of Turkish origin but the etymology is not quite certain.²

¹ See Minorsky, *A Soyūrghāl*, pp. 954-6.

² *-lūk* is the suffix of appurtenance. The first part of the word is apparently formed on the pattern of such words as *ınyūl* (v s., p. 28) and *qaytūl*, "place for retreat > camp." **Dūshūl* (from *dūsh-*, "to fall, to come down") technically means "quartering, billeting," cf. *qonaq tūshūl* in the yarlıq of Timur Qutluğ, *Zap.V.O.*, III, 1888, p. 36. **Dūshūl* would be connected with the verb *dōshā*—"to spread carpets, etc." Would then our term refer to "something referring to billeting, or installation," or represent some fee for "treading on the carpet," comparable to the "denier à Dieu," which the French concierges exact from new tenants on their moving in?

The *local* fees of which we spoke above, p. 152, must be distinguished from *special* fees and presents to which some officials were entitled in their capacity of protectors or managers of definite social groups.

The best example is the Amīr-shikār who received considerable sums from Gīlān and Shīrvān, connected, as it seems, with the local rights of hunting and fishing. But apart from these he had fees from butchers, keepers of pigeonries, etc. (f. 88b) as their *dārūgha* ("manager"). The *m'ām* (?) which the Armenians of Julfā paid to him was evidently presented on similar grounds.¹ Moreover, the Master of the Hunt had a lump sum from the prisoners kept in Isfahan. The *Dārūgha* of the Farrāsh-khāna (f. 91b) levied personally fees from the tailors, painters, etc. The Mash'aldār-bāshī, v.s., p. 138, who was in charge of various kinds of entertainers, shared in their profits.

Some fees accompanied the performance of certain official formalities, such as the branding of camels (f. 87a), scrutiny of jewellery (f. 106a), or coins (f. 107a). The *Dārūgha* of Isfahan collected fines on offenders (f. 78b), the *Dīvān-begī* received a tithe of mulcts (f. 88b).

(d) *Distribution of Fees*

Our data on the distribution of "inter-departmental" fees are inadequate. For example, the produce of the levy "on the *tiyūls* of the amirs" was probably reckoned in toman and the shares of the beneficiaries were expressed in "so many" *dīnars* in the 10,000 *dīnars* of which a toman is composed. As the total of the shares known to us amounts only to 1730 *dīnars*, one has to imagine that the names of other beneficiaries have not been recorded in our source. However, mistakes in numbers are also frequent in our text. But even as it stands, our table sufficiently shows how numerous were the officials interested in the distribution, and how their shares reflected the degree of their comparative importance. The following table shows the number of *dīnars* which single officers had in the sum collected on the *tiyūls*:

Vakīl-i dīvān-i a'lā	357	Davātdār-i aḥkāṁ	25
Grand Vazir	330	Lashkar-nivīs	25
Muhrdār-i muhr-i sharaf-i nafādh ..	315	Dābita-nivīs	11 1/4
Muhrdār-i muhr-i humāyūn	260	Şāhib-taujīh	11 1/4
Majlis-nivīs	200	5 avārāja-nivīs, each ..	11 1/4
Mustaufi al-mamālik	45	Sar-khaṭṭ-nivīs	8
Mustaufi-yi khāssa	45	Dārūgha-yi daftar	7 1/2
Davātdār-i arqām	43	Nāzir-i daftar	7
Munshī-yi mamālik	25	Daftardār	3 3/4

Of the fees divided in a single Dt., §§139-47, 150, 155 give a good idea. The shares represent the number of *dīnars* per toman (= 10,000 *dīnars*) or part of a toman, assigned to the department. In the Royal Treasury (§139) each toman of the tithe on grants, of the half-a-tithe on presents and of the half-a-tithe on the salary in kind were distributed as follows:

Şāhib-jam'	3000
Mushrif	3000
Keeper of the Keys	2400
Mustaufi of the Keepers	1000
'azabs	*600
	10,000

¹ The Armenians seem to have had several "protectors," of whom the mightiest was the Queen-mother, Chardin, X, 16, and especially *A Chronicle of the Carmelites*, I, 464-5, 468, 476.

In a workshop, the major part of the fees went to its own officers; the higher departmental officers had smaller portions, though the total was high enough for they collected them from each of the subordinate workshops. For the respective position of the Şāhib-jam's and Mushrif it is characteristic that the former had usually a double share in comparison with the latter. The half-a-tithe on purchases in the Treasury (§139) was distributed as follows (some mistake in figures !):

Şāhib-jam'	..	..	..	5363	1/3
Mushrif	..	..	..	2366	2/3
Nāzir[-i buyūtāt]	..	..	..	1000	
Mustaufi of the Keepers	..	..	..	1000	
Total (wrong?)				..	9730

The tithe on purchases in the Farrāsh-khāna (§142):

Şāhib-jam'	..	..	..	533	1/3
Mushrif	..	..	..	266	2/3
Nāzir	..	..	..	100	
Mustaufi of the Keepers	..	..	..	100	
Total				..	1000

The tithe on the robes of honour in the Royal Tailoring Dt. (§141):

Şāhib-jam'	..	..	..	399	1/3
Mushrif	..	..	..	199	2/3
Nāzir	..	..	..	100	
Mustaufi of the Keepers	..	..	..	90	
Keeper of the Keys	..	..	..	33	
'azabs	..	..	..	162	1/3
Pishkhidmat	..	..	..	25	
Total (wrong?)				..	1009 1/3

PART II

A. SALARIES AND TROOPS OF THE PROVINCIAL GOVERNORS

(Table I)

Under some provinces (Tabriz, Chukhūr-i Sa'd, Qarābāgh), the enumeration of single governorships is preceded by the heading "beglarbegi of so-and-so and dependencies." As our author's habit is to give the total first, and then to enumerate the items composing it, we should think that the said heading sums up the emoluments of the beglarbegi himself and of his subordinate governors.

With regard to Chukhūr-i Sa'd this principle is confirmed by the facts. First comes the item "beglarbegi of Ch. and dependencies," then "beglarbegi" alone, then the governors:

Beglarbegi	..	..	..	..	20.539	0000
Governors	..	..	..	..	4.997	6326
Total calculated				..	25.536	6326
"Beglarbegi and dependencies"				..	25.910	6326

There is no doubt that the two totals, that calculated by ourselves, and that indicated

in the text, ought to coincide, and that the difference of 374 t. is due either to some item left out under the governors, or to some mis-spelling of the numbers, v.i., p. 173.

Under Tabriz, the position is as follows:

Beglarbegi	..	..	..	2 337	8317
Governors	..	..	..	29.914	9804
<hr/>					
Total calculated	..	..	..	32.252	8121
"Beglarbegi and dependencies"	..	..	..	34.234	4906 1/2

Here the discrepancy is more considerable (being 1981 t. 6785 1/2 d.), but the possibility of some error in the copying is not excluded. On the other hand, the beglarbegi's emoluments (2337 t. 8317 d.) are obviously too moderate and, even if we add to them the amount of the difference in our totals (= 4319 t. 5102 1/2 d.), the sum still appears insufficient for such an important beglarbegi, as compared with his colleagues. We must suppose then that the beglarbegi had some other special sources of income, but the point remains suspect.

Under Qarābāgh, things are decidedly out of order.

"Beglarbegi and dependencies"	..	..	24.726	0978
"Beglarbegi of (?) the lords of Kakhetia"	..	..	28.614	9435
Various governors	..	..	16.172	0552

The last two items, totalling 44.786 t. 9987 d., by far exceed the indicated total. It is possible that in "28.614" the number of thousands (spelt out *bīst hazār*) has been repeated by mistake from the preceding line. If so, the sum

Beglarbegi . . . of Kakhetia	..	..	*8.614	9435
Various governors	..	..	16.172	0553
<hr/>				
Total	..	..	*24.786	9988

becomes comparable with the total indicated. In any case "the beglarbegi of the lords of Kakhetia" makes no good sense, and we can suspect the scribe of some major mistake, v.i., p. 173.

Under Herat, the sum given under "beglarbegi of H. and dependencies," viz. 15.277 t. 6034 d. is slightly under the total of the emoluments of the 11 governors (15.611 t. 5066 d.). Consequently, the former can not represent a sum total for the whole of the Herat administration. The two sums quoted being too close to each other seem suspect,¹ but, as the things stand, we can only calculate the sum total for Herat as:

Beglarbegi	..	..	15.277	6034
Governors	..	..	15.611	5066
<hr/>				
			30.889	1100

Under the rest of the provinces, the sums of *madākhil* of the beglarbegis are mentioned separately, and the sum total must be obtained by calculation.

With regard to the number of service men, it appears that the totals, given either under "beglarbegi" or under "beglarbegi of so-and-so and dependencies," do not include the contingents of the governors. Consequently, even under Chukhūr-i-Sa'd, where some doubts might arise,² we have to come to the same conclusions.

After these explanations, we shall give the totals for the whole of the provincial

¹ Even the corresponding numbers of service men, resp. 2682 and 2780 are not very different.

² The respective totals being 2860 and 1427 men.

administration, the sums in square brackets having been calculated by ourselves and *in. standing* for incomplete data.

	Madākhl		Men.
NORTH-WEST			
Tabriz	34.234	4906 1/2	11.439
Chukhūr-i Sa'd	25.910	6326	4287
Qarābāgh	24.726	0978	6084
Shīrvān	57.577	0220	5856
	[142.448	2430 1/2]	[27.666]
NORTH-EAST			
Herat	30.889	1100	5462
Mashhad	25.106	0218	5440
Qandahār (in.)	3.892	9226	1785
Marv (in.)	7.193	6140	2352
Sistān (in.)	1.291	4980	1000
	[68.373	1664]	[16.039]
NORTH			
Astarābād	12.891	2005	2453
Gīlān (in.)	12.306	2284	2525
	[25.197	4289]	[4.978]
SOUTH-EAST			
Kirmān (in.)	Blank		Blank
CENTRE ('IRAQ)			
Hamadān ²	17.933	3970	2947
WEST			
Kurdistān, Luristān, etc (in)	8.233	0320	1811 (in)
SOUTH			
Fārs	39.347	1434 1/6	6055
'Arabistān (in.)	Blank		Blank
Great total	301.532	4109 2/3	59.496 ²

We must not forget that several items in our table are blank, and, above all, that the remuneration of the authorities in the capital of Isfahān and its district (*mahāll*) are treated separately. In the table of Expenditure (Table III) "amirs and governors" stand for 396.792 tomans. Considering the above mentioned blanks and the fact that the "amirs" are included in 396.792 t., the divergence between the latter item and the calculated sum total of Table I, viz. 301,532 t. 4097 2/3 d., is not incapable of being bridged over.³

B. NOTES ON ADMINISTRATIVE GEOGRAPHY

Apart from the interest of its financial and military data, Part II of the Conclusion is important from a purely geographical point of view. There is no geography of

¹ The important region of Isfahan is left out.

² Chardin's approximate numbers of provincial troops (V, 323), are hardly comparable with ours—

Kermānshāh	6000
Armenia (Chukhūr-i Sa'd?)	5000
Georgia	5000
Khorasan	8000
Qandahār	8000

³ The amirs of §§6-18, as far as it is possible to calculate, stand for 6047 t. (V.s., p. 155.)

Safavid times comparable to what the *Nuzhat al-qulūb* represents for the Mongol epoch,¹ and this lack of sure parallel texts renders difficult the identification of several districts and tribes.

The table purports to enumerate the "frontier governorships" but, even with this limitation, it is incomplete and does not entirely correspond to the list of beglar-begis of f. 7b. Its omissions very probably echo the gradual shrinking of the *mamālik* into which the *khāṣṣa* was making inroads, Chardin, V, 276-9. This would explain, e.g., the absence of details on Kerman, etc.

No central provinces administered from the capital are found in the list, but some details on them are found in Chapter V describing the administration of the central Maḥāll, in the occasional references to the *tiyūls* held by the "court amirs" (§§88, etc.) and in the list of "dioceses" under the Ṣadr-i Khāṣṣa (f. 4a). On the whole the table of the *T.M.* contains some 140 geographical names of which at least 20 are names of tribes. Some 30 more place names are scattered in the text. It may be useful to add that according to Sir T. Herbert, who probably echoes some official tradition of 'Abbās I's time, there were in Persia 90 walled towns and about 40,000 villages.

The list, which is more complete in the north than in the south, is instructive for the study of the frontiers of the Safavid state, but it is not easy to define the exact period to which it refers. It certainly has in view the time after 'Abbās I's death, and more especially after the Turco-Persian settlement of Muharram 1049/17 May, 1639.² The fact that on f. 7b Qazvīn is called *dār al-saltāna* does not necessarily point to the period before the transfer of the capital to Isfahan (A.D. 1599), for Herat, Tabrīz, Isfahān and Qazvīn enjoyed the title of *dār al-saltāna*, "residential city," while the King's actual residence was called *maqarr al-saltāna*.

Under the Sasanians, the territory of Erān was divided into four *padhgos*, after the four cardinal points, viz. Khwarāsān (east), Abhākhtar (north), Khwarvarān (west) and Nemroz (south).³ The existence of a central desert disuniting the Iranian provinces must have contributed to the survival of this geographical idea. Minadoi, 48, surveys the four sides of Persia, and Kaempfer, 134, believes that 'Abbās I had divided his kingdom into five parts. In fact, these were the old divisions plus the central province of 'Irāq with the new capital of Isfahan (since 1007/1599). With regard to taxation, Chardin, V, 439, confirms that Persia is divided into four "departments": 'Irāq, Fars, Azarbayjan and Khorasan. In the *T.M.*, the same divisions came under the special purview of the four *avārāja-nivīses* (§§115-118),⁴ and we have an indirect indication that the North was represented by their colleague of Gilan (92b).

A slightly modified idea must underlie the list of governorships in the *T.M.*:

- A. North-West: Āzarbāyjān and Transcaucasia.
- B. East: Khorāsān in the large sense.
- C. North: Caspian provinces.
- D. South-East: Kirmān (left in blank).

¹ Amīn Aḥmad Rāzi in his *Haft-iqlīm* (completed in 1002/1594) takes geography only as a pretext for his biographic notices of saintly persons; Muḥammad b. Maḥmūd Yazdī's *Mukhtaṣar-i mufīd* (Br.Mus 10.583) is a vague compilation without any sense of realities.

² The original text of the treaty is lost, its fullest resumé being found in the Ottoman historian Na'imā, I, 686 (Russian translation in Churikov, *Putevoy zhurnal*, SPb. 1875, pp. 649-51), and in the Persian historian Muḥammad Yūsuf's *Khuld-i barīn*, ed. Suhaylī Khwānsārī, pp. 220-7 (Persian and Turkish texts). *Grosso modo* the situation created by the treaty formed the basis of the Turco-Persian delimitation of 1913-4, with which I was closely associated in a previous avatar of mine.

³ See Marquart, *Ērānšahr*, 16, 94, and Christensen, *L'Iran sous les Sasanides*, 347.

⁴ The *a.n.* of Isfahan acting for 'Irāq

- E. Centre: 'Irāq.
 F. West: Kurdistān and Luristān.
 G. South and South-West: Fārs and Khūzistān.

Of these, A, B and C stand respectively for West, East and North; D and G represent the South, Kirman (left blank) being mentioned separately only for its special administrative position with regard to the Khāṣṣa. Kurdistān and Luristān (F), both being under their vālīs, ought not to figure in the table of governorships, and the fact that they are mentioned seems to point to that later stage when the Safavids began to curtail the rights of the hereditary chiefs. Consequently the fourfold, later fivefold, structure of Persia is not wholly obliterated in our table.

As suggested above, many lacunae in Part II are due to the fact that the localities omitted had been taken over by the khāṣṣa administration: Yazd, Sāva, Māzandarān and many districts of 'Irāq. Some overlapping of spheres, as in the neighbourhood of Astarābād (Gīraylī, Hājjiār, f. 4b and f. 118b), may indicate that the process of change was not yet completed.¹

In all, our source (f. 7b) counts four vālīs and 13 beglarbegis. The latter designation seems to have been introduced under 'Abbās I for, under Tahmāsp, the *'Ālam-ārā*, 100, refers to the governors simply as hākīm. According to Alessandri, 226, Persia was divided into 50 parts, each under a *sultān*.

The territories under the vālīs ('Arabistān, Luristān, Georgia and Kurdistān) are excluded from the statistics of Part II, which suggests that financially they were independent from the central authority. Kaempfer calls the vālīs "reguli." Some confusion under Qarābāgh (f. 111b) may indicate that the eastern part of Georgia (Kakhetia) was gradually encroached upon by Persian administration. In Kurdistān too (f. 121a) a "beglarbegi" is mentioned instead of the vālī one would expect.

The 13 beglarbegis enumerated on f. 8b were: in the north-west: Āzarbāyjān (= Tabrīz), Chukhūr-i Sa'd, Qarābāgh-and-Ganja, Shīrvān; in the north: Astarābād; in the east: Mashhad, Marv, Herat, Qandahār; in the south: Kirmān, Kūh-Gilūya; in the centre: Qazvīn, Qalam-rau-i 'Alī-Shakar (= Hamadān). Here again a comparison with ff. 107b-123a brings to light some changes, for Qazvīn is omitted in Part II,² and Kirmān is left blank.

In conclusion, we shall quote the list of provincial divisions by Father Sanson, which contains some hints not recorded in more official sources. The French traveller, *o.c.*, 43, counts ten³ Valis, those of Georgia, Luristān, Ḥavīza (= 'Arabistān), Bakhtiyārī, Zaytūn⁴-Ardalan (= Kurdistān), Māzandarān, "Charkaz,"⁵ Herat, Qandahār and Kirmān. He adds, however, that the "vālī" of Kirmān was replaced by a beglarbegi and that the same degradation was threatening Luristān. One of the prerogatives of the vālīs⁶ was to have a band consisting of *karanā*, "long straight trumpets," up to 12 in number, playing at sun-set and two hours after midnight,

¹ The list on f. 4a seems more up to date than the enumeration in Part II.

² In 1674 Chardin, II, 401, found in Qazvīn only a *dārūgha* with a salary of 600 tomans.

³ Some of the beglarbegis may have been called *vālī honoris causa*. Such was the case of the governor of Sistān, Chardin, V, 257, cf. p. 113, note 2.

⁴ Perhaps a mis-spelling of Senne (Senandej), cf. f. 7b.

⁵ Probably the Shamkhāl of Tarki, for in Persian parlance anything south of Darband is *Lazgī*, and anything north of it, *Chārkās*. Shah Tahmāsp was married to the Shamkhāl's daughter. Shāh Sulaymān was the son of a "Chārkās" slave girl. One of Shah Sultān-Ḥusayn's grand Vazirs was Fath-'Alī khan Dāghestānī b. Alqāsh-mīrza (*sic*) b. Ildirim-khan Shamkhāl, see Rīdā-qulī khan, *Rauḍat al-ṣafā-yi Nāṣiri*. Kaempfer, 139, also refers to the Shamkhāl: speaking of the valis of Georgia, Arabistan and Luristan, he says "quibus honoris gratia adnumeratur Waali Dagestaan."

⁶ A later report attributes to each of the four vālīs special duties at the Shah's coronation.

while the ordinary governors had to content themselves with drums, kettle-drums and oboes (*surmā?*).¹ The "khan-beglarbegis" were those of Tabrīz, Kors (Chors? Qars never belonged to Persia), Ardābil, Lār, Mashhad, Astarābād, Kermānshāh, Hamadān, Shūsh-tar, Kangia (*Ganja), Shamākhi (= Shīrvān), Erīvān (= Chukhūr-i Sa'd). The khans who were governors only of a town or a district were called "Col-begus (*gol-beg?*), c.-à-d. Kans de bras ou d'appui." There were two vazīrs ("vice-rois"): in Shīrāz and in Rasht,² and two sultāns: in Sultāniye (under Tabrīz) and in "Ouriguerd,"³ i.e. Burūjird (under Khurramābād).

A

The list starts in the north-west with the enumeration of the four governor-generalships, those of Tabrīz, Chukhūr-i Sa'd, Qarābāgh and Shīrvān. The term **Āzarbayjān** which stands before this enumeration refers perhaps to the whole of the four provinces, similarly to the "Khorasan" in the north-east, although such an abusive use⁴ of the term would be incorrect and not supported by geographical works. In fact, the province of the governor-general of Tabrīz alone covered most of the historical Āzarbayjān.

I. Under the *BEGLARBEGI OF TABRIZ* were the following districts, enumerated in a haphazard manner:

ASTARĀ on the Caspian, along the present-day frontier of Iran and the U.S.S.R.

MARĀGHA and the Muqaddam tribe, see *E.I.* To the south-east of Marāgha, our text mentions Angūr, i.e. Angūrān, lying in the basin of the Qizīl-ōzān, and for administrative purposes belonging to Zanjān, see *E.I.*

The AFSHĀR tribe was scattered all through Persia (v.i., Kūh-Gilū), but here our text refers to the part settled along the southern shores of the Urmiya lake, in the first place near Urmiya (see *E.I.*), cf. f. 91a, and also south of Marāgha, where Nadir-shah in 1730 was glad to find the "home" of his own tribe.

QARĀJA-DĀGH is the hilly tract of land along the southern bank of the Araxes, to the north-east of Tabrīz, see *Urm*, in *E.I.* Separately quoted is Vargahān, one of the districts of Qaraja-dagh, the other six being Arvandīl, Dizmār, Ḥasan-ābād, Ahar, Digla and Yāft.

CHORS, on the left affluent of the Qotur river, to the north of Khoy (ancient Armenian *Chvash-rot*). In 1904 I saw traces of important fortifications in Chors.

GĀVR.D—unknown. Gāvarūd in Kurdistān cannot be meant here. A district called Gāvdūl is mentioned in the *Ālam-ārā*, pp. 573, 575, among the dependencies of Marāgha, cf. *Nuzhat al-qulūb*, p. 87. It is the district having Malik-kandi for its centre

QAPĀNĀT—from the Armenian *kapān*, "a defile," north of Ordūbād, on the northern bank of the Araxes, cf. f. 91a. One would expect it to come under II (v.i.).

The tribe ADARBĀ (?), perhaps Āzarbāyjān, is too vague for identification.

HASHTARŪD lies on the north-eastern slopes of the Sahand mountain; the Ṭabtāb tribe does not seem to be known any more. *Ṭabtāb* (in Syriac, Arabic and Persian)

¹ Enumerating the amīrs of Shah Tahmāsp the *Ālam-ārā* says, 104, that most of them were *sāhib ṭabl-u 'alam-u khayl-u hasham*.

² These were the representatives of the Royal Khāṣṣa.

³ The form *Urigerd* is interesting for Sanson must have picked it up on the spot, *ibid.*, 218-22. Cf. *Zafar-nāma*, I, 586, 594, 812: *Vurūjird*. Herzfeld thinks that the original form was *Orodh-kard* ("Orodes fecit"), cf. **Orudicaria*, in *Tabula Peutingeriana*, XII, 2.

⁴ As an example of such special terminology may be mentioned that Zanjān and Sultāniya are placed under Tabrīz.

means "a (broad) polo-stick"; Dozy, *Supp.*, II, 21. The *Qābūs-nāma*, ed. 1312/1933, p. 95, uses in Persian the form *īābtāb*.

M.D.K (?), coming as it does before Lāhījān and maintaining a considerable number of troops, may be restored as *Mukrī*. The latter's absence in the list would be unexpected. Cf. Minorsky, *Sā'udj-bulak* in *E.I.*

LĀHĪJĀN, at this place, is the district on the Turco-Persian frontier, south of Ushnū.

The DUNBULĪ tribe, of Kurdish origin but Turkicized, was in possession of Khoy, see *Sharaf-nama*, pp. 310-7. Khoy is mentioned on f. 91a.

ŪJARŪD lies to the west of Russian Tālish and is watered by the rivers Barzand and Balharū.

ABDĀLLŪ is probably a better reading than 'Abdallū, in the *Ālam-ārā*, 762. The tribe was a subdivision of the Shāmlū.

SARĀB (*Sarāt* of Arab geographers) is a small district between Tabriz and Ardabil, cf. f. 91a.

The SHAQĀQĪ tribe, probably of Kurdish origin, but Turkicized, was scattered in the region between Mughān and Sarāb, see *Shakākī* in *E.I.*

ZUNŪZ lies in the mountains on a northern branch of the Marand river, cf. f. 91a. *QARNI-YARĪQ, "with split belly," may refer to some mountain stronghold in the neighbourhood (?). Homonymous places are found on the southern side of Salmās and south of Mount Ararat.

MISHKĪN—to the north-west both of Mount Savalān, and of Ardabil.

MUGHĀNĀT—the region along the lower course of the Araxes, see *Mūkhān* in *E.I.* (and also in the Supplement to *E.I.*), cf. f. 91a.

P.SH.K? Perhaps *Paswē*, a small but ancient fort to the south of the Urmiya lake, between Sā'uj-bulāq and Ushnū, cf. Yāqūt, I, 626: *Basway* → *Baswē*.

The LAK of Salmas are a southern Kurdish tribe, settled in the district of Salmās, see *E.I.*

QARĀ-AGHĀJ [of Tālish?]. A village of this name lies on the upper course of the Gök-tāpā river flowing through Prishib, in the northern part of Russian Tālish.

The INĀLLŪ, "shāhī-sevāns" still exist in the region of Sāva, see *E.I.*, whither they may have been transferred from the neighbourhood of Mughān and Ardabil. They are a part of the Turcoman tribe scattered throughout Persia and Turkey and usually coupled with the Afshārs, cf. *Anadoluda Türk ashiretleri*, Istanbul, 1930, pp. 100, 182. Ināllū are one of the five component parts of the Khamsa federation of Fārs (where their name is pronounced Inānlū and even Aynānlū, see Tumansky, *Ot Kaspiyskago morya*, SPb., 1896, p. 78). A subdivision of the Inānlū is called Afshār-ushaghī, Mas'ūd-Geyhān, *Joghrafīyā-yi muḥaṣṣal-i Irān*, II, 82.

SULTĀNIYA and ZANJĀN, properly speaking, lie outside Āzarbāyjān, cf. Minorsky, *sub verbis* in *E.I.*, but Sanson also places Zanjān under Tabriz. To Zanjān belongs the district of Angūr (Angūrān), on a tributary of the Qizil-ōzan, east of Sā'in-qal'a-yi Afshār, v.s., 164.

II. *CHUKHŪR-I SA'D* is a later geographical term, first attested in Ṣafavid times¹ and referring chiefly to the province of Erivan, cf. f. 91a, but the enumeration of its dependencies shows that the term had a wider range. According to the *Ālam-ārā*, 168, Qārs lies between Chukhūr-i Sa'd and Erzerum; *ibid.*, 558: Chukhūr-i Sa'd neighbours on Akhiskha (Akhāl-tsikhe). *Chukhūr* in Turkish means "a depression in the ground," and here evidently refers to the lowlands of the two banks of the Araxes, the Ἐραξηνὸν πεδίον of Strabo, XI, 527 and 531.

¹ Cf. *Mukhtaṣar-i Muḥīd*, f. 149b.

NAKHCHEVĀN—on the left bank of the Araxes, see *E.I.* Opposite Nakhchevān (on the right bank?) lay the fortress of 'Abbāsābād, f. gra, ceded to Russia in 1828 and later exchanged by Russia for Fīrūza on the Transcaspiian frontier, v.i., Fārūz.

MĀKŪ, on the right bank, to the south-west of Nakhchevān, and to the south-east of Mount Ararat, see *E.I.*

ZARŪZBĪL (?). A village Zarzibil exists in the south-eastern corner of the Gökchā (Sevan) lake.

SADARAK, in the district of Sharūr, halfway between Erivan and Nakhchevān.

BĀYAZĪD, in Turkey, south of Mount Ararat.

SHĀDĪLŪ, a Kurdish tribe, near Mount Ararat.

DUNBULĪ KURDS may be the part of the tribe (p. 165) which had escaped Turkicisation.

MAGHĀZBERD, a fortress on the western Arpa-chay, near the ruins of Ani, the farthest north-western point of Persian territory mentioned in the Turco-Persian treaty of A.D. 1639.

III. *QARĀ-BĀGH* is a term first appearing in the *Nuzhat al-qulūb*, and perhaps connected with some Turkish tribe now extinct¹ *Qarā-bāgh*, with its capital Shusha, lies between the Kur and the Araxes (ancient Arrān). On f. 7b *Qarābāgh* is coupled with Ganja which lies to the south of the Kur upstream from the *Qarābāgh* proper. Since the time of Tahmāsp-shāh, the government of Ganja and *Qarābāgh* belonged to the family of Ziyād-oghli Qājār, *Ālam-ārā*, 456, and only after the death of Nādir (A.D. 1747) did these two places form separate principalities. On f. 111b Ganja is not mentioned, but KAKHETIA, lying on the northern affluents of the Kur at a considerable distance to the north-east of Ganja, is somehow linked up with *Qarābāgh*. The easternmost Georgian kingdom of Kakhetia was devastated by Shah 'Abbās I after 1616, and in 1623 the Persian commander massacred, "as though at a battue," the Kakhetian levies collected for an expedition, see *Ālam-ārā*, pp. 635 and 719, and Minorsky, *Tiflis* in *E.I.* The Kakhetian king Theimuraz I went to KARTLIA (Tiflis) and reigned there A.D. 1629-64. Meanwhile Kakhetia was governed by the Shah's governors: Salīm (1657-9), Murtadā-'Alī (1659-64), Bejan (1677-83), Khānī (1683-88), 'Abbās-quli (1688-95) and Kalb-'Alī (1695-1703), whom the Georgian tradition calls "khans," see Vakhusht, *Geography of Georgia*, Russian transl. by Janashvili, note 384. Our obscure item seems to suggest that some sort of connection was established between these khans and the beglarbegi of *Qarābāgh*.²

ZAGAM lay in the northern part of Kakhetia, namely, in the present-day Zakatali district, where the maps still show a *Zagam* (circa 25 km. to the south of Zakatali).³ This is supported by the account of the *Ālam-ārā*, pp. 634 and 643. During his expedition of 1025/1696, Shah 'Abbās, coming from Tiflis, crossed the Qānuq (Alazan)

¹ See *Qarā-bāghlar*, north of Nakhchevān, *Qarā-bāgh* to the north of Urmiya, *Qarā-bāgh* west of Ghazni in Afghanistan, *arāghī-yn Qarā-bāgh* near Karmīna, see *Iz arkhiva sheykhov Jūybārī*, Leningrad, 1938, p. 458.

² Our source refers to the kings of western Georgia (Kartlia) only in the enumeration of the *vālīs*, f. 7b. The fact that they are omitted in the present paragraph indicates that financially they were independent and outside the budgetary provisions. However, Alessandri, 228, estimates at 20,000 ducats the tribute which the prince of Georgia (probably David, son of Luarsab) sent yearly to Tahmāsp I. Petrus Bedik (1678) refers, p. 255, to the beglarbegi of Shamākhī (i.e. of Shirvan, v.i.): "cui quasi subjungitur vice-rex Georgianorum Tifluz, qui regnum defendit ex Maris Nigri parte," but Bedik is an inaccurate source.

³ In Georgian sources *Zagam* is usually called "Bazar." The Russian ambassador Prince Mishetsky who visited Kakhetia in 1640-3, refers to the place as lying quite close to the north-eastern limits of King Teymuraz's dominions. On his return route from Gremi, he stayed at the "bazar of *Zagam*," and after a day's march reached the frontier village of Kakh (I owe this reference to Z. D. Avalishvili).

to its northern side where the Kakhetians sought refuge. The governor of Shirvan, who was closing in from the east, and who evidently followed the high road through Shekki, laid waste *Zagam*. Further, it is stated that the inhabitants of *Zagam* for fear of incursions from Daghestan, preferred to be moved to Māzandarān. This also points to *Zakatali* which was quite particularly exposed to Lezgian lawlessness.

BARDA', ancient Armenian *Parlav*, on the Terter river, north of Shusha and east of Ganja, cf. f. 91a.

**AKHTĀBĀD* (without dots) is found in the '*Ālam-ārā*, p. 635, on Shah 'Abbās I's route from Tiflis to the lake of Gökchā. Presumably it is Armenian *Akhpat* in the Borchalu gorge, downstream from Pambak.

JAVĀNSHĪR, on the upper course of the Terter. On f. 91a *Javānshir* is coupled with *Otuz-iki*, "the Thirty-Two [clans]," which is a well-known group of Turcoman tribes. When in 1013/1604 Amīr-Gūna crossed the Araxes by the bridge of Khudāfarīn, many of "the tribes (*īl-va-oymāq*) of Qājār and Turcomans (*tarakamāi*) of Otuz-iki, etc., of Qarābāgh became shāhī-sevān," '*Ālam-ārā*, 456. Traces of Otuz-iki are still found in the toponymy of the Javād district on the lower Araxes. The opposite number of the *Otuz-iki* were the *Yigirmi-dört*, i.e., the Twenty-Four Kurdish tribes of Qarābāgh, *Sharaf-nama*, I, 323.

BARGUSHĀT, a river flowing to the Araxes from the north (to the south of Garusi).

QARA-AGHACH, different from the homonymous place in Tālīsh (p. 165). There is a mountain and a village of *Qara-aghach* in eastern Kakhetia, to the south-east of Signakh, and to the south of the Alazan. Here in 1703-6 resided Īmān-qulī (= David, son of Irakli I), king of Kakhetia, see Vakhusht, *Geography of Georgia*, transl. by Janashvili, note 360.

LORI-PAMBAK, to the south of the Somkhetian Mts., on the headwaters of the Borchalu (*Debeda*) river which joins the Kur from the south. With some difficulty, one may imagine that Pambak was an outlying dependency of Qarābāgh, but the following two items are obviously inserted in a wrong place.

ARASBĀR-BĀYAZĪDLŪ. *Arasbār* means "the banks of the Araxes," *Bāyazīdlū* must refer to a tribe. The location of this item is uncertain: perhaps the reach of the Araxes where it flows past Igdir is meant here, but such a locality would naturally come under *Chukhūr-ī sa'd*.

**SOMĀY-TERGEVER* ought to figure under Tabriz: Somay, see Minorsky in *E.I.*, lies south-west of Salmās, and Tergever still further south, to the west of Ūrmiya.

IV. *SHĪRVĀN*, in the north-eastern part of Transcaucasia.

SĀLIYĀN, near the delta of the Kur.

QUBBA lies south of the Samūr, see *E.I.*, and *Qulhān* is its dependency.

ARESH-SHEKKĪ. The latter is an extensive region, to the south of the Caucasian mountains, adjoining Shirvan from the west. *Aresh* is the present-day *Khānābād*, on the road from *Nūkhī* to *Barda'*, to the north of the Kur.

DARBAND was under the Ottomans from A.D. 1578 to 1606, when it was reoccupied by Shah 'Abbās I, who restored its walls, see Barthold, in *E.I.* The governor of *Darband* was sometimes given the title of *vālī honoris causa*, v.s., p. 163, note 5.

ALPĀ'ŪT. There are several villages of this name in the south-west of *Shamākhī* and to the east of the *Gökchay* (a left affluent of the Kur). The name must refer to a tribe, or rather to the ruling family of a tribe, but its original meaning in Mongol is "the chief's subjects, estate owners."

BĀDKŪBA, i.e. "wind-swept," is a popular etymology of *Bākū*.

CHAMISHGAZAK-AGHDĀSH. The latter place lies north of the Araxes on the road from *Aresh* (v.s.) to *Gök-chay*. *Chamishgazak* is the name of a Kurdish *Shī'a* tribe of *Dersim* (south of *Erzinjān*), of which some 1000 families had entered Persian service,

see *Sharaf-nāma*, I, 163. Some of them were settled on the Khorāsān frontier. Those of Transcaucasia do not seem to have left any trace in the present-day toponymy.

B

Khorāsān is also taken in a large sense of "eastern provinces" and divided into four governor-generalships, those of Herat, Mashhad, Qandahār and Merv, with the addition of the governorship of Sistān.¹

1. The **HERAT** province comprised in the north all the southern part of the Murghāb basin: BĀLĀ-MURGHĀB, MARŪCHĀQ, PANJ-DIH, BĀDGHĪS (south of Kūshk); in the south GHŌR and FARĀH belonged to it; in the west it extended to TURBAT-[I SHAYKH-I JĀM?], KHWĀF, and even TŪN (on the edge of the central Persian desert). *K.r.j* is a mis-spelling for KAROKH, which lies to the north-east of Herat on the road to the Murghāb?² *Dūwmī* (*Dūrmī*?) could not be located.³

2. The **MASHHAD** province comprised the more northerly part of the present-day Khorāsān: SARAKHS, NĪSHĀPŪR, SABZAVĀR, ISFARĀYĪN, ĀZĀDVĀR (8 farsakhs east of Jājarm), and more towards the south: TURBAT[-I HĀYDARI] and TURSHĪZ (to the west of the latter). Very interesting is the indication that the governor of Sabzavār (f. 116b) was the Vazīr of the whole of Khorasan, which indicates that, parallel to the Divan administration, the Khāssa was spreading its tentacles through Khorasan, cf. Chardin, V, 252, 381.

On the northern slope of the Kopet-dagh the following districts were under Mashhad: ABĪVARD (8 km. to the west of the Qahqa railway station), NASĀ (near Bāgīr, west of 'Ashqābād) and DURŪN (between 'Ashqābād and Qizīl-Arvat). This region was evacuated by Persians after the death of Shah Ismā'īl and occupied by the ruler of Khwārazm. Later the Persians re-established their authority over it, but in 1593 the Uzbegs of Bukhārā occupied it till 1598, when Shāh 'Abbās reconquered the region down to Murghāb. In 1600 Abīvard, Nasā, etc., were entrusted to a vassal ruler. In 1614 Russian ambassadors coming from Khwārazm mentioned Durūn as the first town in the Shāh's territory. After Shāh 'Abbās the Persians could not control this zone, except in the time of Nādir-shāh, see Barthold, *History of Irrigation of Turkestan* (in Russian), p. 44.

B.ZĀVANDAQ (?) could not be identified. Coming as it does after Turbat, it seems to belong to southern Khorasan.

HŪRŪZ-VA-Y.SĀKŪ is a great puzzle. The latter place must be identical with *B.sā-kūh-i Mashhad-i muqaddas*, the (hereditary?) governorship of which was held in 1034/1629 by Shahvalī-Sultan Jalāyir, '*Ālam-ārā*, 743. From Mahdī-khan's *Tārīkh-i Nādirī* we know that from the very beginning of Nādir's career Tahmāsp-quli Jalāyir was his most devoted supporter. As Nādir was a native of Kūbkān in the region of Abīvard, the home of the Jalayirs was undoubtedly in the closest neighbourhood of Abīvard. I should read both *Y.sākū* and *B.sā-kūh* as **Nasā-kūh* and interpret it as "the uplands of Nasā." The first name *Hūrūz* might then be restored **Fārūz*, which, according to Yāqūt, III, 840, was a dependency of Nasā, and lay at a distance of 3 farsakhs from the latter. *Fārūz* (or *Bālūz*, Yaqut, I, 408) is the present-day Fīrūza, the well-known hill-station of 'Ashqābād. As Nādir's home lay in the mountains south of Abīvard, his Jalāyir friend must have hailed from the uplands of

¹ Balkh, the easternmost "quarter" of the ancient Khorasan is no more included in *T.M.*

² Karokh had a governor, see '*Ālam-ārā*, 763 (*K.r.kh*).

³ Possibly there is some confusion in the distribution of districts under the beglarbegis. The ends of the columns may have been entered by the scribe at wrong places Cf below f. 117a: Kūshk and B.zāvandaq.

the more westerly Nasā. The governorship of *Nasā-kūh and *Fārūz, one of the smallest of Khorasan, must have comprised the valley of Fīrūza and (probably) some part of Daragaz.

III. *QANDAHĀR*. For the first time Persians attacked Qandahār in A.D. 1535, but without success. The emperor Humāyūn, who took refuge with Shāh Tahmāsp, recaptured Qandahār with Persian aid and ceded it to Tahmāsp, but later occupied it himself. From 1556 to 1594 and from 1621 to 1657 Qandahār was again in Persian possession. Finally in 1648 'Abbās II took Qandahār and it remained in Persian possession until 1711, when the Ghilzā'ī Afghāns killed the governor, and finally invaded Persia and deposed the Šafavids.

ZAMĪNDĀVAR (near the junction of the headwaters of the Hilmand) naturally depended on Qandahār, but GHŪRIYĀN (older name *Būshanj*), lying downstream from Herat, is associated with Qandahār only by mistake. More naturally Ghōr (p. 168) might come under Qandahār, and Ghūriyān under Herat.

KŪSHK, by some mistake as in the preceding paragraph, might be the Kūshk affluent of the Murghāb on the present-day Russo-Afghan frontier. It is true that in connection with Qandahār the early Arab geographers mention a Qasr as the capital of the district Wālish (present-day Sībī, south-east of Quetta) and the *Hudūd al-'Ālam* translates Arabic *Qasr*, "castle," by Persian *Kūshk*. However, it is not known whether the name survived so late as the Safavid times, and whether in any case the Safavid possessions extended so far south.

The combination of tribes: K.RĪ, LŌKA (?), BĀDGHĪS, TAYMURĪ, 'ALI-KHWĀJA [and] MĪR 'ĀRIF BALŪCH, is obscure. It is possible that the governor controlled only the nomads,¹ and this would explain why Bādghīs is mentioned here a second time (v.s., f. 114b). Among the other names only Taymurī is clear. It belongs to one of the Chār-aymāq tribes occupying the region of Ghōr, but Taymurīs are also scattered along the present Afghano-Iranian frontier. The reading of K.rī is not sure: a place called Kurī lay at 3 farsakhs to the east of Tabas, at the junction of the roads from Yazd, Shūr and Nā'yīn, Ištakhri, 232,—which makes a long distance from Bādghīs. It is more probable then that K.rī stands for Kara'ī, a well-known Turkish tribe, now centering round Turbat-i Ḥaydarī, see Sykes, *Ten Thousand Miles*, p. 29, and also numerous in Kerman. Lōka(?) "a male camel"; a place called Lōka-Sang is shown in the Tagao Ishlan valley joining the Hari-rud from the south. On the whole, it seems that our item, together with Ghūriyān and Kūshk which precede it, belongs to the neighbourhood of Herat.

IV. The allowance of the beglarbegi of *MERV* was almost equal to that of his colleague of Mashhad and he had a force as strong as that of his colleague of Herat.

The Safavids took Marv after the battle in which Shāh Ismā'īl defeated Shībānī khan in 916/1510. However, the Uzbeks constantly plundered Merv and led off the population into captivity (in 1513 and 1567). In 1587 the Uzbeks openly took the offensive. In 1588 they occupied Herat and between 1592 and 1597 Merv remained in their possession, Barthold, *Irrigation*, p. 67.

C

Of the **Caspian provinces** only Astarābād and Gīlān (*Dār al-marz*) are mentioned. Māzandarān has been omitted because this province was taken over by Shah 'Abbās in 1005/1596, as a heritage from his mother's ancestors, and probably on that account was incorporated in the Khāṣṣa, cf. f. 4a, and Chardin, V, 251.

¹ In Persia such governors accompanying the tribes to their summer quarters used to be called *il-khānī*.

I. The tribes of *ASTARĀBĀD* (cf. f. 4a) are: the Turkish *GIRĀ'Ī* (usually *Girayli*, cf. f. 4b), see on them Melgunov, *O yuzhnom berege*, p. 181, and Rabino, *Māzandarān*, p. 127; *ĤĀJJĪLAR* are the inhabitants of the *Kabūd-jāma* district, to the south-east of *Gunbad-i Qābūs* on the left bank of the *Gurgān*, cf. f. 4b and Rabino, pp. 100, 129; nothing seems to be known as to the presence of the *JALĀYIR* in *Astarābād*,¹ though this tribe lived further east on the *Khorasan* frontier and its chief became a faithful ally of *Nādir-shah*, v.s., p. 168; the *K.RĀ-CHŪPĪ* (*Girā-chopī?*) are not mentioned either in *Melgunov* or in *Rabino*. The *Turcoman GÖKLĀN* occupy the middle course of the *Gurgan*, and their rivals *YOMUD*, the steppe immediately to the north-east of *Astarābād*.

II. The *DĀR AL-MARZ* (*Gilān*) was incorporated in *Persia* at the late date of 975/1567 and probably since then the *Khāṣṣa* had established its rights over it. According to *Sanson*, 45, a *vazir* resided at *Rasht*. This explains why the number of districts enumerated in our list of "State" provinces is so small: *GASKAR* lies to the west of the *Murdāb* lagoon; *KOHDOM*, on a canal of the *Safid-rūd* where the latter debouches from the mountains; *RĀNEKŪH*, in the mountains to the east of the *Chāhkarūd*.

TONAKĀBON is the intermediary district between *Gilan* and *Mazandaran*, see *Hudūd al-'Ālam*, p. 389. Moreover, on f. 86b *SHAFT* is quoted as the district assigned to the *Tūpchī-bāshī*.

D

Kermān in the south-east is left blank, either as being no military frontier, or because it was administered by the *Private Household*, though a *beglarbegi* of *Kermān* is mentioned on fol. 8a.

E

The term *Irāq* covers the central provinces of *Persia* between *Isfahan*, *Hamadan* and *Tehran*.

I. *ISFAHAN* with its dependencies formed a special *maḥāll* ("the district" par excellence) and had a special administration, see §§71-78. Indirectly we obtain knowledge of the composition of the *Mahāll* from the list of the places to which the *Sadr-i khāṣṣa* appointed judges. On the western edge of the *Central Desert* lie: *Yazd*, *Nāyīn*, *Ardistān*, *Natanz*, *Kāshān*, *Qum* and *Sāva*; towards *Fars*: *Abarqūh* and *Qūmisha*; north-west of *Isfahan*: *Delījān* and *Mahallāt*; along the road to *Sultānābād*: *Khwānsār* (*Khonsar*), *Gulpāyagān*, *Kamara* (chief-place: *Khumayn*), *Farāhān* (north of *Sultanabad*); west of *Isfahan*: *Rār*, *Kiyār*, *Mizdaj*, belonging to the *Chahār-mahāll*²; *Firaydan*, to the N.W. of the *Chahār-mahāll*; **Burbūrūd*,³ west of *Gulpāyagān*, near *'Alī-Gūdarz*; *Jāpalāq*,⁴ on the head-waters of the *Āb-i Diz*. *Abarqūh* and *Gulpāyagān* figure also on f. 86b as districts assigned to the *Tufangchi-bashi* and *Qullar-aqasi*, while the governorship of *Rayy* is stated to belong to the *Eshik-aqasi-bashi*.

¹ A village *Jalāyīn* (*sic*) near *Gurgān* is mentioned in *Ibn Isfandiyār's History of Tabaristan*, p. 208.

² *Rār* forms the eastern part of the *Chahār Maḥāll*, *Kiyār* lies to the S.W. of *Rār*; *Mizdaj* (*Ptolemy*, VI, 4, 3. *Mordia*) to the W. of *Rār*, see *Houtum-Schindler, Eastern-Persian Irak*, 1897, p. 127.

³ Palaeographically, it would be possible to read this name as *Burūjird* (*Zafar-nāma*, I, 586: *Vurūjird*), but the latter lies somewhat too far west, and *Sanson*, 218, says it was under *Khorramābād*.

⁴ The name cannot be Turkish *yabalaq* (*Eastern Turkish jabalaq*), "a kind of owl," for it is already in *I. Khurdādhbih*, 21.

II. The term *qalam-rav*, "jurisdiction, a province," is used here as a technical Šafavid term, for the province of *HAMADĀN*. Its complete form is *Qalam-rav-i 'Alī Shakar*,¹ which may have originated in the times of the Qara-qoyunlu who had some special links with Hamadān. The unusual name 'Alī Shakar is attested among the Qara-qoyunlu, see Munejjum-bashi, III, 159, *penult*.

GARRŪS lies on the road from Hamadān to Azarbayjān and a part (?) of its inhabitants speak a Kurdish dialect. Its chief place is Bijār. Zarrin-kamar is the administrative term of Šafavid times. The identity of Zarrin-kamar with Garrūs is also explained in the history of the vālis of Ardalān, *Hadīqa-yi Nāširi* by 'Alī-Akbar; see Minorsky, Senna in *E.I.* TUQĀNMĪN (?)—unknown (*Tughān-mir?).

HASHTĀD-JUFT—unknown.

HARSĪN, a side valley to the south of Bisutūn, is reckoned to Kermānshāh, cf. *Nuzhat al-qulūb*, 109.

KALHUR is a large Kurdish tribe which, roughly speaking, occupied the region between Māhī-dasht and Mandalī. In Safavid times there were three branches of the Kalhur, those of Palangān, Dartang (in Zohāb) and Māhī-dasht (west of Kermānshāh), *Sharaf-nāma*, I, 317-20. Like the other Shī'a Kurdish tribe of Pāzūkī, the Kalhur must have had some close relations with the Safavid court. We know (f. 127b) that the tribe supplied 500 yāsāqī-men, v.s., p. 34. Our text suggests that the governor of the Kalhur enjoyed an independent position. The Kalhur should come under Kermānshāh, but the latter province is not mentioned in our source. By the treaty of 999/1590 'Abbās I had to cede to Turkey the western provinces of Persia, and not before 1612 did he make good his rights to them. After 'Abbās I's death the expedition led by Khusrev-pasha penetrated up to Hamadān and only by the peace signed in 1639 Sultan Murād IV recognised the frontier which more or less forms the basis of the present-day delimitation. For some time, however, the situation in the region of Kermānshāh must have remained unsettled.

III. In the region of the present-day TEHRAN we find mentioned: Khwār and Simnān, Sāva and Hāva (read: *Āva*) and the district of Rayy. Tehrān² was gradually growing under the Šafavids. Pietro della Valle (1618) describes Tehrān as a larger city than Kāshān, and adds that its governor's jurisdiction extended to Firūz-kūh. Sir T. Herbert (1627) counted in Tehrān 3000 houses. However, in official use the name of the ancient Rayy (see *E.I.*) still eclipsed that of the future capital of Irān.

F

Western provinces. As we have seen, Kermānshāh, lying on the road of Turkish invasions, is not included in the table of administrative units, except for the Shī'a tribe of Kalhur. North of Kermānshāh is mentioned the province of Ardalān, and south of it, the highlands inhabited by Lurish tribes.

I. Up to the present day the province called Kurdistān is that which once was ruled by the vālis of *ARDALĀN*, whose capital was SENNA (or Senandej, cf. f. 7b). The fact that, contrary to fol. 7a, the ruler is called here beglarbegi (and not vālī) may hint at some attempt on the part of the Safavids to reduce the authority of the hereditary rulers, who, being exposed to Ottoman attacks, maintained an ambiguous attitude. In all there are 17 districts in the province of "Kurdistān," see *Senna* in *E.I.*

KHORKHORA, in the valley of a right affluent of the Jaghatū river which flows northwards to the Urmiya lake.

¹ Khanikoff on his Map, ZGE, XIV, 1863, gives *Shakar*, not *Shuhr*.

² See Minorsky in *E.I.* Rashīd al-dīn, ed. Jahn, 56, refers to Tehran under A.D. 1295.

JAVĀNRŪD, an important district occupied by the Jāf tribe. It lies to the south of the Sīrvān (Diyāla) and to the north-east of the Shāho mountains, see *Senna* in *E.I.*

AVROMĀN consists of two separate districts lying north of the Sīrvān. Avromān-i Luhūn lies to the south-west of the Avroman mountain and to the south-east of the Shahrazūr plain; Avromān-i takht lies to the east of the mountain. Both were governed by hereditary *sulṭāns* (captains). Our *Avromān must correspond to the first of them, and the second unnamed district, to the more important Avromān-i takht.

II. *LURISTĀN-I FEYLĪ*, to the south of Kermānshāh and Hamadan, more or less corresponds to the territory once ruled by the dynasty of Lur-i kūchik, see *E.I.*, i.e. to the present day Pusht-i kūh and the territories adjoining it in the west up to Khurram-ābād).

III. The *BAKHTIYĀRĪ* tribes, akin to the Lurs, occupy the highlands between Isfahān, Luristān-i Feyli and 'Arabistān, v.s., p. 113.

IV. *MĀBA* (?) may be *Bāna, an intermediary district between the southern Āzarbayjān and Ardalān. It is separately mentioned in the *Sharaf-nāma*, I, 320, but often stood in a vassal relationship to the vālīs of Ardalān.

G

Southern provinces. Kirmān having been previously mentioned (without details), the remaining provinces are Fārs and Khūzistān ('Arabistān), but practically only a minor part of this area was under the Divan administration. Shīrāz was one of the mainstays of the Khāṣṣa, v.s., p. 26, and the major part of Khūzistān was under the vassal Vālī of 'Arabistān.

I. The beglarbegi of *KŪH-GILŪ* is mentioned both on f. 122a and f. 7b. Kūh-Gilū is a territory stretching between Fārs, Khūzistān and the Bakhti-yāri country, *grosso modo* from its capital Behbehān (in the west) to Fahliyān (in the east), see Minorsky, *Luristān*, in *E.I.* About the beginning of the twelfth century, some new invaders pushed back into the Kūh-gilū the Iranian tribe of Shūl, which formerly lived in Central Luristan, see Minorsky, *Shūl*, in *E.I.* At an early date, perhaps under the Seljuks, a part of the Turcoman tribe of Afshar settled in Kūh-Gilū and became a source of numerous complications, see the '*Ālam-ārā*, 198-9 and 358 (under 1005/1597). The Shūls were finally absorbed by the Mamaseni Lurs, also a turbulent element. Kūh-Gilū is frequently mentioned in post-Safavid times as the spring-board of several Pretenders.

BAHRAYN was annexed by Persia in 1010/1602 when the ruler of the island Rukn al-dīn Mas'ūd proclaimed his independence of the ruler of Hormuz, who was a vassal of the Portuguese; to avoid the latter's vengeance Rukn al-dīn placed himself under the orders of Allāh-verdi khan, beglarbegi of Fars, '*Ālam-ārā*, pp. 423-4. Chardin, V, 257, while stating that lesser governors called *sulṭān* were under the orders of provincial governors, adds: "Mais quelquefois le roi les rend indépendants, et les fait relever de lui immédiatement sans aucune relation au can (khan), ou gouverneur du pays le plus proche, si ce n'est pour les affaires de la guerre. Tels sont les gouvernements du Bander-Rhique (*B.-Rīg*) sur le Golfe Persique, et de l'île de Bharin (*Bahrayn*) qui est proche de celui-là, lesquels relèvent du can ou gouverneur de Behebon." This latter clause evidently means that *normally* the two places would have been under Behbehān (Kūh-Gilū).

ZAYDĀBĀT, probably **Zaydānāt*, referring to the lower course of the Āb-i Shīrīn, which flows past Zaydān and Hindiyān, in the south-west of Kūh-Gilū, cf. *Hudūd al-Ālam*, p. 212.

SARVISTĀN lies south-east of Shīrāz, near the lake Mahārlū (ancient *Mahālūya*).

Like Bandar-i 'Abbāsī and Dashtistān it has nothing to do with Kūh-Gilū, but probably formed a local government.

DAURAQ is the present-day Fallāhiya in Khūzistān, and lies on the lower course of the Jarrāhī river. Under Tahmāsp I, Dauraq was in the occupation of the Qizilbash tribes of Kūh-Gilūya. Towards 1000/1591 Sayyid Mubārak, vālī of Arabistan, wrested it from them. In 1029/1619 the beglarbegi of Fārs conquered Dauraq, see *'Ālam-ārā*, 675. In the eighteenth century Dauraq was in the hands of the Arab tribe of Ka'b.

BANDAR-I 'ABBĀSĪ was created by 'Abbās I on the site of the old Gombrun in 1622, after the expulsion of the Portuguese.

DASHTISTĀN is the inland tract of territory stretching south-east of Bushire, behind the mountains of the coastal region.¹

II. The valis of 'ARABISTĀN belonged to the house of Musha'sha' and resided in Huwayza on the Karkha, see Minorsky, *Musha'sha'* in *E I*. After the death of Sayyid Mubārak in 1025/1616 the dynasty gradually declined. During the Afghan invasion, Sayyid 'Abdullāh played a disreputable rôle with his swaggering.²

III. SUMAYRAM lies on the central plateau to the north-east of Kūh-i Dīnā. Its special position is due to the fact that it is situated off the road in the frontier region of Isfahan and Fars.

In Central Fars, KĀZARŪN is referred to (f. 86b) as the district assigned to the Qurchi-bashi.

PART III

BUDGET

(A) REVENUE (Table II)

- (a) Totals: (α) per administrations.
(β) per provinces.
(γ) per sources
- (b) Heads of revenue.
- (c) Revenue according to Chardin.

There are considerable discrepancies in the figures of Part III. The author himself often quotes the amount of revenue, etc., with the addition of the words *va kasrī*, "so much odd." Such small numbers are omitted in the items, but they seem to be included in the totals, and this explains the difference between the sums given by the author and those obtained by the adding up of the items. In this case, the author's data should be preferred. A number of mistakes are attributable to the scribe who apparently left out and disfigured some numbers. The latter are spelt out throughout, but frequently *syşd*, "300" is spelt *shyşd*, and this leads to a confusion with *sh.shşd*, "600," etc.

The important table of Revenue has particularly suffered in the process of copying: it looks as if the scribe had before him an original written on large sheets,

¹ Neither B. 'Abbāsī, nor Dashtistān have any connection with the Kūh-Gilū

² On the other hand, the *Z.T.*, f. 207, records some reasonable suggestions for the defence of Isfahan made by 'Alī khan, "vālī of 'Arabistan." 'Alī khan, author of a history of the Musha'sha', was the rival of 'Abdullāh.

which he transcribed in bits, on pages of a smaller size. In this way the sequence of the columns has been disturbed, and so, for example, "Private Department" may have been inserted in the middle of "Provinces."¹

(a) *The Totals*

A close study of the Table shows that the data are meant to come in the following order:

(a) The grand total, in accordance with the author's system first to quote a total, and then the items composing it;

(b) The totals of the Dīvān and Khāṣṣa administration, the sum of which is equal to (a);

(c) The totals per provinces, the sum of which is also equal to (a).

The remarks on (a) and (b) can be easily verified:

Grand total ("payable in cash," etc).	785.623 t.	8809 d.
Divan	608.652 t.	3403 d.
Private Department ..	176 971	2405
	<u>785.623</u>	<u>5808</u>

Both totals coincide to a tuman.

In the enumeration of revenue by provinces (c) the items also follow the totals.

		As in text	As checked
KIRMĀN	17 713	7000+	17.713 6900
KHŪZISTĀN	117 629	5850	98.451 3100 (NB)
'IRĀQ ²	213.416	6058	213.816 2904
FĀRS	142.001	3000	159.032 7200 (NB)
ĀZARBĀYJĀN ³	161 969	8400+	161.597 8004
GILĀN	69.102	7000+	69.116 6900
SHĪRVĀN	63 784	8900+	63.784 8800
	<u>785.718</u>	<u>7008</u>	<u>783.513 3808</u>

The total per provinces (c) is meant definitely to arrive at the same grand total as the revenue of the two administrations (b). On the other hand, it must be understood that the items per provinces cannot serve for a comparative estimation of the local resources because they do not contain the considerable revenue of the Khāṣṣa, such as silk from Gilan.

The items mentioned under each province are usually headed "*sarkār* of so-and-so," which seems to indicate that the respective sums collected in the province were to be credited to some special departments (*sarkār*),⁴ such as "Khāṣṣa, mines, etc." One fact is particularly significant: while under 'Irāq, Fārs and Āzarbāyjān are mentioned the avāraja of the same provinces, under Kirmān and Khūzistān figure the avāraja of Khorasan and 'Irāq, and under Shīrvān the avāraja of Āzarbāyjān. The only explanation of this arrangement appears to be that the revenue of the last named provinces served to strengthen the cash boxes of other provinces and that these mutual accounts were settled through the avāraja books.

¹ The fact that the enumeration of provinces is interrupted by this item can not mean that the provinces which are referred to after "Private Department," were somehow connected with the latter, for 'Irāq alone with its 213.416 t. 6058 d. had more revenue than the Private Department.

² With the sums payable (?) to 'Irāq from the revenue of Kirman and Khuzistan the total of the 'Irāq revenue is 213 963 t. 3258 d.

³ With the sum payable (?) to Azarbayjan from the revenue of Kirman the total of Azarbayjan is 211.830 t. 7800 d.

⁴ Cf. p. 105, note 3.

The whole of the avāraja revenue shown in our text is:

		Avāraja of			
1.	KIRMĀN ..	Khorasan ..	5.176	6000+	
		'Irāq ..	339	2500+	
2.	KHŪZISTĀN ..	Khorasan ..	92.582	6300+	
		'Irāq ..	207	4700+	
3.	'IRĀQ ..	'Irāq ..	126.788	1000+	
4.	FĀRS ..	Fārs ..	76.464	3000	
5.	ĀZARBĀYJĀN ..	..	126.437	6900	
6.	GĪLĀN ..	Blank ..	Blank		
7.	SHĪRVĀN ..	Āzarbāyjān ..	49.860	9400+	
Total ..			477 856	9800	

The items figuring under *Khāssa* in the seven provinces correspond to the total of the *Khāssa*, as indicated under (b):

KIRMĀN ..	..	3.432 t	4700 d
KHŪZISTĀN ..	..	5 255	6100
'IRĀQ ..	..	66 552	0304
FĀRS ..	..	26.189	4000
ĀZARBĀYJĀN ..	..	6.156	5802
GĪLĀN ..	..	68.198	9000
SHĪRVĀN ..	..	849	0500
		176 634	0406

The other heads of revenue for each province are as follows:

	Dābiṭa		Mines		Keepers	
1. KIRMAN .	7.542	2900	1.223	0800		
2. KHUZISTAN ..					405	6000
3. 'IRAQ ..	19.423	4500	821	1300	251	5800
4. FARS ..	37.158	2800	4 178	0000	39	5000
	15.003	2400				
5. AZARBAYJAN ..	26.826	0400				
6. GILAN ..	10	0000	907	7900		
7. SHIRVAN ..	8.477	2100	4 547	6800	50	0000
Divan ..			1.423	0200		
Private Dt. ..					746	6916
114.440 5100			13 100 7000		1.493	3716

The totals per heads of revenue:

(a) Avāraja ..	477.856	9800
(b) Khāssa ..	176.971	2405
(c) Dābiṭa ..	114.440	5100
(d) Mines ..	13.100	7000
(e) Keepers ..	1.493	3716
783 862		8021

With the doubtful item under Āzarbāyjān, viz. 2177 t. 4902 d., the total is 786.040 t. 2923 d. The difference with the grand total (a) is again slight.

(b) *Heads of Revenue*

We can now examine in more detail the important question of "accounts" or "departments" (*sarkār*) under which the provincial revenue was collected, viz.:

- (a) Avāraja (with several subdivisions).
- (b) Khāssa.
- (c) Dābiṭa.
- (d) Mines (*ma'ādin*).
- (e) Arbāb-i taḥāvīl ("Keepers").

(a) The commentary on the AVĀRAJA was given under §70. Our table shows that, with the exception of considerably lesser items (b), (c) (d) and (e), the major part of the revenue passed through the avāraja books. It seems pretty certain that avāraja represented taxes levied in the provinces according to a definite assessment, and most probably, the land-taxes based on some kind of survey (cadastre).

(b) The sums figuring under KHĀṢṢA went into the King's Private Dt. However, the sum of 176.971 tomans could not represent the whole of the Khāṣṣa revenue. Chardin, V, 346, says that the King had numerous interests in the "provinces," and the amount mentioned may be only his share in the revenue of the Dīvān-i mamālik. Some provinces (Khorāsān, Astarābād, Māzandarān) are *not* mentioned in our budget. They are precisely those which, according to reliable European sources, were attached to and directly governed by the Khāṣṣa. We have to presume that their revenues were collected by the King's managers and formed extra-budgetary sums. In this case, our source does not enable us to form an idea of their amount.

(c) DĀBIṬA, v.s., §65, apparently stood for every kind of revenue which was not expressed in lump sums. Our source (f. 67b) definitely says that, "with the exception of the sums (*vujūhāt*) which entered the Khāṣṣa, and the Dt. of the Avāraja," the rest of products and rents was collected by the Dābiṭa Dt. This suggests that this Dt. was especially in charge of revenue in kind (*maḥṣūlāt*) and of the rents (*mustaghallāt*) from the more casual sources, such as were leased or farmed out¹ and could not be accurately estimated beforehand. §65 gives a useful list of some special taxes which were collected by the Dābiṭa-nivis.

(α) Road-taxes, v.i., p 180, paragraph *Ch*.

(β) Taxes on tobacco-trade. According to Chardin the tobacco-duties produced 1,000,000 livres (over 20,000 tomans). Sanson, 99, puts the produce of the "douane de tabac" much higher, namely, at 2,500,000 livres (*circa* 55,000 tomans).

(γ) *Taqabullat* possibly referring to some contracts for the Government, e.g. for the collection of maliyāt due to the Treasury, etc. The practice was certainly lucrative for the Z.T., f. 205a, in the account of Sulṭān-Ḥusayn's idle stay in Qazvin (A.D. 1719), attacks the amirs who neglected the interests of the state and "began to sell offices and to take contracts" (*manṣab-furūshī va taqabbul-guyftan*).

(δ) *Jihāt-i 'amal-kardī-yi mamālik* were the fees levied additionally to the original sum of taxes, as a compensation for the trouble of collecting them.² Such is the meaning resulting from the important passage in the *'Ālam-ārā*, 405:

After a successful campaign in Khorasan in 1007/1598 Shāh 'Abbās bestowed various kinds of favours on the population of 'Irāq and abolished the following levies. (a) the *chūpān-begī* (see below), which they used to pay to the amount of 20,000 tomans yearly; (b) the *'amal-kardī hukūkām* which, in addition to "the original sum of taxes in cash, to the profits (*manāfi*) of the holders of tuyūls and to the *dārūghakī*," the governors levied in a proportion of five to one (*yakī-rā panj*)³; these levies amounted to 50-60,000 tomans and were contrary to the ancient book of assessment (*qānūn-i qadīm*) and to the instructions (*dastūr al-'amal*) of Shāh Tahmāsp; moreover (c) the Shah relieved the taxes (*māl-va-manāl*) of Isfahan for one year, to the amount of 20,000 tomans.

¹ The term *musta'jar*, "tenant," pretty often occurs in our text, ff. 8a, 59a, 72a, 73a, in spite of Chardin, V, 383, who says that leases of lands belonging to the State were practised seldom and only in the neighbourhood of large towns where vegetables were grown. On the lease of fisheries, oil wells, caravansarais, etc., see Olearius below, p 179.

² The term *'amal-kardī*, "what has been accomplished, operations," occurs on ff. 74a, 76a.

³ Grammatically this is the only possible meaning of *yakī-rā panj*, but the proportion of the additional levy (500 per cent.) sounds exorbitant; no depreciation of money would account for it.

Under the Qajars a practice similar to the 'amal-kard bore the name of *tafāvūt-i 'amal*. On ff. 74a and 76a, the term *nuskha-yi 'amalkard* is found, which may refer to some record of such levies operated by the vazirs under the control of the Mustaufi-yi khāṣṣa.

(ε) *Chūpān-begi*, i.e. the tax on the animals corresponding to the *qopchur* of Mongol times, v.i., p. 180, paragraph Ca.

(ζ) *Ilizāmāt-i manāfi-i iḥdār*, apparently caution-money collected from plaintiffs in criminal cases, cf. ff. 21b and 39a.

(η) *Poll-tax* of the Indians, v.i., p. 180, paragraph Cf.

(θ) Duties on *cattle-markets*. According to Olearius, 669, the duty on such sales was: a horse or a mule 8 Groschen (Engl. tr. "15d.") an ass 4, a bull 1 Orthsthaler, a sheep 1 qazbegi = 9 Pfennigs (Engl. tr. "3d."), and there were hundreds of thousands of sheep sold.

This enumeration cannot be exhaustive but it indicates sufficiently the character of taxes under the *Dābiṭa-nivīs*, their produce not being fixed beforehand but depending on the year and the circumstances.

(d) We learn from the *T.M.* that there was a special *avārāja-nivīs* of MINES (§49). An item on Mines figures under the *Divan Dt.* (f. 124a), apart from similar items under separate provinces, but Mines and Khāṣṣa are distinguished throughout, and this does not allow us to infer that revenue from Mines fed exclusively the Private Department. With particular care our source records under the "Divan revenue in kind" (f. 123b): 8 1/2 maunds 80 mithqāls of *mūmiyā*, a kind of bitumen, the healing properties of which were highly appreciated in Persia.¹ According to Kaempfer, p.95, the following "mineralia" were exploited in Persia: *pearls* of Bahrayn (though in olden times they were found also round Ormuz); *turquoises* of Nishāpūr ("non omni tempore colligi à Regi indultae"); *gold* and *silver* found in several provinces, but not exploited in view of the prohibitive cost; *copper* from rich mines in Kirman had formerly to be tempered by copper from Japan²; some mines were also known in Khorasan; *lead* mixed with silver was found in Yazd and Kirmān; *iron*, in Khorasan and elsewhere; *steel* (*pūlād*), produced in Arzinjān (?)³ was not inferior to that of Golconda, *saltpetre*, *sulphur*, *mercury* and *antimony*, in Natanz and elsewhere; *salt*, obtained from mines or through evaporation, in all the provinces; *oil*, in Baku⁴ and, in lesser quantity, at Shūshtar (i.e. probably at the original site of the Anglo-Iranian Oil Co., at Masjid-i Sulaymān).

(e) The revenue under the *ARBĀB-I TAḤĀVĪL* was that received at the various stores, principally those of the Private Dt. To some extent it seems to correspond to the *infādḥāt* frequently mentioned in our source. They were the goods sent from the provinces by "vazirs, 'āmils and garāk-yarāqs" (f. 18a). While speaking of the *Buyūtāt*, our source (f. 16a) refers to the goods which used to be sent from the provinces annually (*hama-sālahāt*) in accordance with the raqams. On f. 18b again it is said that the Nāzir sent special delegates (*muhassil*) to collect and send the hama-sālah goods assigned on the provinces. On f. 19b it is recorded that the Nāzir's subordinates visited certain localities in order to send from thence textiles for the robes of honour to be issued to the amirs, etc. The *vazirs* mentioned in connection

¹ See Kaempfer, 516-24, who especially investigated the subject on the spot

² As in another passage, *Japan* must be a slip for *Georgia*, natural on the part of Kaempfer, who visited Japan

³ An evident mistake. Arzinjān in Armenia was lost to Persia after A.D. 1514. Arsinjān lies east of the ruins of Persepolis, but no other record of its industries seems to exist.

⁴ Olearius, 272, says that the springs of *nefte* were farmed out. According to Sanson, 98. "la douane de naphte" of Shamākhī (Shirvan) produced 1 000 000 livres, i.e. *circa* 22.000 tomans.

with such "sendings" (ff. 89b, 98a) must be the Managers administering the territories under the Khāṣṣa¹, the *'āmils* are either the officers in the district of Isfahan specially assigned to the Khāṣṣa, cf. f. 71b, or financial agents in provinces; under *gārak-yaraq* some special purveyors must be meant, possibly delegated by the Buyūtāt and possessing a special knowledge of the quality of goods.²

The goods assigned on some special localities were counted as taxes. From Chardin, VII, 330, we know that the King received carpets in payment of rent for the lands allotted to the carpet-weavers. It was natural that this kind of contributions, directly associated with the needs of the Royal Buyūtāt, should be registered separately from the rest of the revenue, and this explains the rubric of *Arbāb-i tahāvil*. Who was responsible for this Department? As already stated, v.s., p. 140, the term *arbāb-i tahāvil* must refer to the Heads of the departments (*ṣāhib-jam'ān*) of the Royal Workshops, but, in a more general sense, it may have been used for the whole staff under the Nāzir, whose business it was to receive and keep consignments of goods and raw stuffs intended to be used in the Royal Household.

To sum up, the amount of Persian State Revenue may be estimated in the region of 800,000 tomans. Outside this sum remains the revenue collected directly by the Royal Khāṣṣa. Nearly 22 per cent. of the State revenue apparently also went into the Khāṣṣa. The land-taxes (?) registered in the avāraja-books were responsible for 61 per cent. of the total; the levies coming under the heading of *dābiṭa*, for 14.5 per cent.; the revenue from mines, for 2 per cent., and the goods remitted to the Keepers for 1/5 per cent.

(c) *Revenue according to European Sources*

The amount of the Shah's revenue greatly interested all the visitors to his dominions but, in the absence of any official statistics and the secrecy obtaining in such matters of state interest, the estimates were purely hypothetical and their claim to veracity is limited to single details.

An estimate of Shah Tahmasp's resources belongs to Dr. Minadoi (A.D. 1558). He picked up his facts during a seven years' sojourn in Syria and Constantinople where there were observers watching the situation in Persia, but naturally hostile to the Safavids. Minadoi's estimate was much utilised by the contemporary writers. According to it the Shah's revenue amounted to "4-5,000,000 gold," but he finally raised it to 8,000,000 by imposing a compulsory rate of exchange. At the period of decline under Muhammad Khudā-banda, when much Persian territory was lost to Turkey, the revenue of Persia was only slightly superior to 2,000,000 ("gold").

According to the Venetian ambassador d'Alessandri, who visited Persia towards the end of Shah Tahmāsp's reign, the king's income amounted to "three millions of gold" (?). As "duties" were inexistent in Persia, the revenue consisted of the following items:

One-sixth of the produce of the land, of corn and other plants;

¹ Kaempfer, 139: Vaziri vocantur Gubernatores Dominiorum et Provinciarum earum quarum reditus sacrați sunt in Aulae militisque Regii sustentationem.

² The term is Turkish *garāh*, "necessary," *yaraq* in a general sense (from *yaramaq*, "to be useful") "an implement, an object possessing some utility." In a special sense *yaraq* means "arms." The compound stands then for "purveyor of necessary things, or of arms." Under 1004/1595, the *Ālam-āwā*, 352, records the appointment of Allāh-verdi-khan to Fārs: "it was decreed that every year he should take with him to Fārs 300 gholāms of the Royal Khāṣṣa and employ them for lesser posts (*khidamāt-i juz'*) in every vilāyat, in order that out of local revenue (*manāfi'*) they should supply (*saranjām*) arms and implements appertaining to service (*yaraq va asbāb-i yasāq*). *Ibid.*, 287: *āziqa va yaraq*, "food and arms." Olearius, Eng. tr., 211: "the *herek jerak*, or ordinary steward of His Majesty's Household" (?).

an annual payment of 66 pieces of gold (rather more than 4 sequins of gold) per 1000 "archi" (*jarīb?*), of which ten go to an ordinary field, so that one pays less than $\frac{1}{2}$ ducat for a field;
 5 per cent. of the rent of houses;
 a capitation of 5, 7 or 8 ducats on each house of Christians;
 a tax on animals: 40 sheep paid 15 bistī (=3 ducats), the male animals being excepted; a cow, 2 ducats, etc.

Vechietti (1586) evaluated Khudā-Banda's total revenue in peace-time at "5 million gold," the revenue of Isfahan being 32,000 tomans = 700,000 ducats (each of 10 reali), and that of Shiraz on the same scale.

In his careful compilation on Persia, de Laet (A.D. 1633), on the authority of one of his Dutch countrymen,¹ evaluates the revenue collected by Shah 'Abbās at 357,000 tomans, or 14,280,000 florins. This sum represented for the most part the produce of silk, the fruits of the gardens belonging to the Shah, some moderate custom revenues (*minuta portoria*) and the lease of caravansarais. In it was not included what the Shah received from various princes, lands and cities.

Sir Thomas Herbert, 330, possibly follows Minadoi in estimating Shah Tahmasp's revenue in 1560 at "8,000,000 crowns (?), from 50 sultans who farmed his income," and then de Laet, in saying that Shah 'Abbās "at this day from silk and other duties receives yearly above 9,000,000 [crowns?], 14,280,000 florins, some say 357,000 tomans which in ours is about 1,190,000 pounds sterling."²

Olearius, ed. 1656, pp. 668-70, who completed his work in 1639, heard an estimate of the Shah's revenue as being over 8,000,000 Reichsthalers (i.e. more probably 640,000 than 160,000 tomans).³ Of these, the revenue of Qandahār stood for 1,000,000 and was nearly equalled by those of Erivan and Babylonia (Baghdad). The environs of Isfahan yielded 40,000 Rth. Olearius also refers to the numerous tolls, the duties on silk, on the sale of animals, on baths and brothels, on the irrigation of gardens (9 'abbāsī on an area of 40 × 30 cubits), on the Armenians (100,000 men at 2 Rth. per head), etc., for some of which he quotes only the rates of assessment. He also mentions the lease of the fisheries of Gilan (25,000 Rth.), of oil-wells (4,000 Rth.) and of caravansarais, of which there were 24 in Isfahan alone, each bringing 200-300 tomans (yearly?).

The only European estimate which is based on a special study of Persian finance, made in the course of a long sojourn in the country, is that given by Chardin, V, 394-415. We shall analyse it in detail and supplement it by some contemporary data found in Kaempfer, Sanson, etc.

A. From the State territories, i.e. the great provinces (*mamālik*) in which the King possessed no lands,⁴ he received only some customary contributions (*rusūm*):

(a) Ordinary, consisting of a tax (?),⁵ or a definite amount of the best products of the country, e.g. butter of Kurdistan, wine and slaves of both sexes of Georgia, such sendings being called *bārkhāna-yi shāh*, "the King's caravan."

(b) Extraordinary, consisting of presents of the same kind, some rare objects and offerings for the New Year. Although this part of the sendings was registered

¹ P. 174: a quodam nostrorum accepi.

² Consequently, he takes 1 toman for £3 6s. 9d.

³ Olearius, 559, explains that the rate of 1 Rth. in Persia was 1 'abbāsī (= 1/50 toman), although in weight 1 Rth. was equal up to 4 'abbāsī. In Meissen currency ("Meissnische Müntze") 1 'abbāsī was equal to 8 groschen and 8 pfennigs.

⁴ "Le roi n'y a point de fonds en propre."

⁵ Kaempfer, 97, counts 5 abbāsīs, or "decem argenti drachmae, per jugerum" (*jarīb?*), while Sanson, 97, says: "Le Roy tire environ 15 sols . . . de chaque arpent."

by the Pishkash-nivīs and not by the Dīvān, in practice their amount was regulated by custom.

B. From the demesnes [*khāṣṣa*], of which the King was the seigneur, he collected all the revenue, i.e. 1/3 of every produce of the land (v.s., p. 23).

C. Seigneurial rights:

(a) Levies on herds. The King possessed few herds of his own, but through specially appointed *chobān-bāshīs* levied 1/7 of fleece and young animals (cf. *chūpān-begi*, ff. 67b, 69a); from the foals, 1/3 of their price was collected, but the latter was evaluated very low.

(b) The tax on silk and cotton was equal to 1/3 of the produce.¹

(c) The mines of metals and precious stones and pearl-fisheries belonged to the King,² but 1/3 of the produce was levied preferably, because (?) of the costliness of production ("mais on enlève le tiers préférablement pour les frais ou la dépense"?).

(d) The coins brought 2 per cent to the King, in addition (?) to what was levied for the salaries of the officials and the cost ("sans ce qu'on lève pour les gages des officiers et pour les frais"), v.s., p. 130.

(e) Taxes on water, the neighbourhood of Isfahan alone producing 4,000 tomans³ and the river of Fars ("Araxes," i.e. Polvar) 1000 t., Kaempfer, 96.

(f) Poll-tax on non-Muslim, both local and foreign.⁴ According to Du Mans, 46, the Jews and Armenians had to pay a *kharaḡj* or *jizya* of one "medical" [i.e. mithqal = 4.69 grammes] of gold per head of each adult male⁵; also Kaempfer, 96. The poll-tax of the Indians (f. 67a: *sarāna-yi Humūd*) must have produced considerable sums too for, according to Chardin, VI, 164, there were some 20,000 Indians in Isfahan alone (according to Kaempfer, 175, decies mille Indos ex Multhania).

(g) Tax on the shops (*bunīcha*) of the artisans and traders, of whom the latter paid a double amount (called by Kaempfer *tulliaar*?, i.e. apparently **mālīyāt-i tujjār*). On *bunīcha* see above, p. 148, and also Du Mans, 33, Tavernier, Book V, ch. 10, and Kaempfer, 96. The lump sum to be collected from a guild was distributed among its members by the Kalāntar, f. 77a. Chardin says that each shop had to pay 10-20 sous, i.e. 1/90-1/45 of a toman.

(h) Road tolls ("péages," *rāhdārī*), originally established for the remuneration of the road-guards, were increased in the later times so as to form a considerable item of state revenue (Kaempfer: "non contemnendam aerarii partem"). According to Olearius, Eng. tr., 272, "there is hardly any bridge or passage . . . but there is something to be paid."

(i) Custom houses were very imperfectly organised. Only in the Persian Gulf were the customs levied *ad valorem* (10 per cent.); on the other frontiers they were levied per loads, personal kit being exempted and each eleventh load free. Under 'Abbās II, the customs of Bandar-'Abbāsī and Kong produced 1,100,999 livres,

¹ Olearius, 668, estimates the duty on silk at 10 Rth. per bale, Gilan producing 8,000 bales, Mazandaran 2,000, Shirvan 3,000, Georgia and Armenia 5,000, Qarabagh 2,000, i.e. 20,000 in all, to say nothing of Khorasan. Consequently the duties exceeded 200,000 Rth. (or 4,000 tomans).

² See, however, f. 129b: the Governor of Baḡrayn had a credit of 1000 t. for buying pearls.

³ According to Olearius, 669: 16,000 Reichsthalers (possibly a mistake for 160,000 Rth. = 3200 tomans?).

⁴ Olearius, 669: 1,000,000 Armenians paying two Reichsthalers per head.

⁵ It appears from the interesting document XI in Or. 4935, that the Julfā Armenians living in Isfahan paid nearly 580 tomans as *vajh-i jizya-yi muḡia'i va rasm al-vizāra va rusūm-i dārūghahī*. "Julfā" in this case is not "a weaver" but "Julfā," cf. 'Ālam-ārā, 445. Thévenot, 216, says that the Jews (refractory to conversion) paid "un sequin par teste par an," while the Armenians, who had a Kalāntar of their own and a dārūgha appointed by the Shah, paid 500 t. yearly. V.i., p. 200.

circa 24,000 tomans, but under Shah Sulaymān they fell to 4-5000,000 livres (*circa* 10,000 t.), and it was not until 1674 that the Government made up their minds to farm them out, for 1,200,000 livres. According to Kaempfer, 93, who spent much time in the Persian Gulf, the customs levied on the Caspian sea produced little¹; more important was the produce of the southern ports, namely, Bandar-'Abbāsī, Bandar-Kong and Bandar-Rīg. The Europeans paid little. The English, as a compensation for their help in expelling the Portuguese, were exempted from import and export duties, and were moreover to receive half of the produce of the Gombroon custom-house,² though in fact they compromised at 1000 tomans, which amounted only to 1/5 of the total due to them. The Portuguese also enjoyed freedom of commerce, in return for their abandonment of the formerly occupied coasts; they also claimed half of the customs of Kong in view of the treaty by which they had ceded the island of Bahrayn and its pearl-fisheries (cf. our f. 130b). The Dutch succeeded in obtaining the privilege of annual free importation of a contingent of goods to the amount of 20,000 (in fact 25,000) tomans, and the transportation of these goods inland without any further examination, 10 per cent. being paid on the merchandise in excess of this norm.³ The French, in spite of their efforts to secure freedom from duties, were seldom successful, and other nations were never exempted from payment. The income of Gombroon (i.e. Bandar-'Abbāsī) was *circa* 10,000 t., that of Kong somewhat less, and that of Bandar-Rīg still less, for its bar was becoming inaccessible to loaded boats.

D. Casual revenue from confiscations and presents sent to the Court. It was a rule that anyone who had incurred the Shah's disgrace lost his property: "on lui ôte ses biens, ses esclaves, et quelquefois jusqu'à sa femme et ses enfants. . . . Toute la nature, pour ainsi dire se soulève contre lui; car souvent on lui refuse une pipe de tabac, et quelquefois un verre d'eau," Chardin, V, 285.⁴ To the same category of revenue belonged sums of money which the governors had to pay when the King sent them a robe of honour. This latter practice was so regular that Chardin, V, 406, considers it as a special "taxe sur les aisés," v.s., p. 136. Finally, under this heading must be mentioned the '*avārid-i dīvān*, i.e. the extraordinary subsidies ("aubaines") collected for the keep of Ambassadors, for public festivities and fireworks. V.s., p. 22, note 4.

E. Labour services (*corvées*) to which the artisans were bound, or a money substitute of the *corvées* (v.s., p. 20). Particularly onerous must have been the contributions of the professions engaged in building. According to Le Brun, 297, Shah Sultan Ḥusayn's passion for new palaces and gardens cost him nothing. "When he has an inclination to erect any new edifice, his will is made publicly known by sound of trumpets, that such as are attached to his interest may attend and contribute towards the completion of the intended building. Upon this general

¹ Sanson, 99, estimates the revenue from the "douane" of Gilan at 80,000 t.; perhaps putting into "douane" a broader meaning than only "custom house."

² Cf. Sir W. Foster, *England's Quest of Eastern Trade*, p. 312.

³ This is the tithe referred to on f. 130b.

⁴ Sanson, 110, and Kaempfer, 53, quote some striking cases of these changes of fortune. Chardin, V, 229, while describing the tyranny of the Shahs, says: "rien ne met à couvert des extravagances de leur caprice, ni probité, ni mérite, ni zèle, ni services rendus: un mouvement de leur fantaisie, marqué par un mot de la bouche, ou par un signe des yeux, renverse à l'instant les gens les mieux établis. . . les prive des biens, de la vie; et tout cela sans aucune forme de procès." However, the "flames of the august ire" fell almost exclusively on the heads of his courtiers. Says Chardin, *ibid.*, 231: "Mais après tout, hors du rang des courtisans et des plus grands seigneurs, je n'ai jamais vu ni entendu dire que le roi ait fait outrage personnel sur le champ et sans procédure."

summons, artificers of all sorts flock to the Court from all parts in order to offer their service, through loyalty, without any expectation, or hope of reward; nor do the *grandees*, or lords of the court, ever fail to send other workmen at their expense." As the *grandees* themselves drew most liberally on the labour services of their subjects, one need not imagine that the labour they procured for their sovereign caused them much expense.

Chardin insists on the great difficulty of estimating the absolute amount of the Shah's revenue, of which even the Ministers of State were not fully cognisant: "chacun sait ce qui est de son département, et guère davantage." According to Chardin, the principal embarrassments were that the sources of revenue in Persia were administered by the State (*en régie*) and not farmed out (as in France!), and secondly, that the system of assignments (*tiyūl*, etc.) withdrew many lands from the Government's control. With these reserves Chardin presents the result of his observations in the following table.¹

State lands (<i>circa</i> 100 000 per province) ²	.. ..	2 000 000 francs
Demesnes	.. ..	14.000 000 "
Namely		
Rasht over	.. .. 2.000 000 francs.	
Mazandaran	.. .. 600.000 livres	
Parthia (Khorasan)	.. .. 450.000 "	
Fars	.. .. 800 000 "	
Roll-tolls and customs duties	.. ..	6 000 000 "
Presents (<i>étrennes</i>)	.. ..	5-6 000 000 "
Tobacco duties (of which Isfahan stood for 100 000 livres) etc		1 000.000 livres

Total of the King's revenue: 32.000.000 livres = 700.000 tomans.

This calculation of a foreign observer represents a remarkable achievement for it comes close enough to the sum of 785,623 t. 8809 d. which is given in our confidential source. We must not forget, however, that our source gives only a part of the *Khāṣṣa* revenue and omits to mention the purely *khāṣṣa* provinces, which Chardin, on the contrary, includes in his estimate.

Kaempfer, 96-7, is much vaguer in taking the revenue from customs and from lands as being 400.000 tomans. Under the heading of "questus venerei vel mixti" he records 1000 tomans "quos Rex ex solis ducit lupanaribus," v.s., p. 139. This money was undoubtedly a weight on the conscience of the more sanctimonious kings. In 939/1532 Shah Tahmāsp, being 20 years old, caused the taxes (*vujūh*) from public-houses, gambling hells and brothels (*bayt al-lutf*) to be cancelled from the financial books (*dafātīr*), see *Ālam-ārā*, 95. It was no easy proposition, however, to checkmate vice, and Shah 'Abbās found a clever device to circumvent the moral difficulty, v.s., p. 139. For the rest of the revenue, Kaempfer remarks: "quod cetera ferant genera, accurate non licet assequi cum eandem quotannis mensuram non impleant."

(B) EXPENDITURE (Table III)

The table begins similarly to the other tables:

(a) Grand total of expenditure in cash.³

¹ Chardin, V, 412-3, counts now in *francs* and now in *livres*, the two terms equally referring to the silver coin of 20 sols. He usually reckons 1 toman = 45 5 livres = 15 écus, but on p. 413 he rounds up 1 toman to 50 livres.

² Probably the sums registered in the *avāraja*.

³ The items expressed "in kind" are negligible

(b) The totals of expenditure of the Dīvān and Private Departments, the sum of both being equal to (a).

Total cash	..	..	..	625 273	6000+
Dīvān Dept	.	..	.	507 400	6300+
Private Dept.	..	..	..	117 873	9300+
				<hr/>	
				625.274	5600+

(c) Opens with the total of the tiyūl and hama-sāla salary, followed by the enumeration of single items, for which the author's totals must be more reliable than the totals calculated on the basis of the scribe's copy, though the latter follow the former very closely.

(α) <i>Civil staff</i> :					
(1) Some princesses	..	..	..	2 191	6300
(2) Amīrs and governors	..	..	..	396.792	0000
(3) Farrāshes	..	..	..	5 956	5000+
(4) Yasāvulān-ı şuḥbat	..	..	..	4 721	7420
(5) Doctors	..	..	..	4 998	1300+
(6) Workmen	..	..	..	6 542	1000+
(7) Yasāvuls	..	..	..	1.587	1700+
(β) <i>Military staff</i> ,					
(8) Artillery men	..	..	..	1 942	5000+
(9) Qūrchis	..	..	..	25 572	6700+
(10) Ghulāms	..	..	..	18 261	5200
(11) Tufangchis, etc.	..	..	..	21 960	3300+
(12) Ghāzīs	..	..	..	2 777	5850
(13) Garrisons	..	..	..	2 124	8700+
(γ) <i>Others</i>	..	..	..	7.892	1700+
				<hr/>	
As calculated	..	..	..	503 320	9170+
As indicated	..	..	..	491.896	5700

(d) Under *taḥvīl* must be understood the sums credited to various officials for producing or acquiring certain commodities

As calculated	..	36.483	9800+
As indicated	..	40.391	4569

Under Revenue (Table II) the share of the arbāb-i taḥvīl is given as 1.493 t. 3716 d. and we have to conclude that the much more important sum of expenditure figuring under the present paragraph was covered by an additional allocation from the general budget.

(e) Under "soyūrghāl, etc." are combined various kinds of grants having the character of special favours (*soyūrghāl*, v.s., p. 27, *mu'āfi*, "exemption," *vazīfa*, "pension," *muqarrarī*, "regular subvention," *madad-i ma'āsh*, "subvention to subsistence," *madad-i kharj*, subvention to expenses," *musallamī*, v.s., p. 27), as well as *ikhrajāt*, representing "occasional and various disbursements," and *zakāt*, "alms of pious nature."

As calculated	..	67.235	1100+
As indicated	..	93 032	0500+

The items (c), (d), (e) are meant to specify the different classes of payments which go up for working the total (a):

Total (a)	..	..	625.273	6000+
Total of (c), (d), (e)			625.320	0769+

The calculated sum of (c), (d), (e), viz. 607.040 t. 0070 d. suggests that some of the items have been omitted by the scribe.

The earlier travellers know little of the expenditure of the Shahs. Alessandri, 226, does not go beyond stating that the expenditure "which actually comes from the treasury is very small," as the king has to pay only 5,000 qurchis, who act as body-guard; nor does he even pay them in money for he gives them uniforms and horses, putting on them whatever value he thinks fit in advance for their salaries.

Contrary to his valuable account of the Shah's Revenue, Chardin, V, 498, is very brief in estimating the Expenditure:

Kitchen and the "small" wardrobe	.. .	3 000 000
Workshops ("ateliers et galeries")	. . .	4 000.000
Household ("sa maison et tout son train")	. . .	10 000.000
Troops paid by the Shah	.. ..	13 000.000
Harem.. ..	.. ..	4 000.000
		34 000.000

Chardin omits to say in what currency he reckons this expenditure. Apparently he does it in livres tournois, in which case the total would be equivalent to about 750,000 tomans. This is an evident contradiction of Chardin's estimate of the balance which we shall consider below.

Kaempfer, 97, is entirely at a loss to estimate the annual expenditure of Persia and, in despair, winds up with an exclamation: *Quis ea determinabit?*

(C) BALANCE (Tables II and III)

To 785.623 t. 8809 d. of revenue our source counts 625.273 t. 6000 d. of expenditure, the excess of revenue over expenditure being 160.350 t. 2809 d., or *circa* 20 per cent. of the total revenue. From a purely financial point of view this is a very creditable achievement on the part of the responsible authorities, but the revelations of our source fall very short of what Chardin says in his book, V, 414, namely, that the Shah "does not spend a twentieth (*sic*) part of what enters his Treasury," and that therefore he is "le plus riche monarque de l'Univers."¹ On the other hand, Chardin reports a Persian saying that the Shah spends daily 1000 tomans while he receives 1200 tomans. This *vox populi* reflects truly enough the excess of the Shah's revenue over his expenditure, but in absolute figures (365.000 t. and 438.000 t.) it is surely an understatement.

No European was ever allowed to penetrate far beyond the threshold of the Shah's Treasury,² but some unexpected light comes from an Oriental source. In his "History of the Kurds," Sharaf-khan of Bitlis says that, on his appointment as *amir al-umara'-yi Akrad* he was commissioned by Shah Ismā'il II,³ to make an inventory of the Treasury and the other property (*bayt al-māl va sā'ir al-amvāl*) of Shah Tahmāsp (d. 15 May, 1576). The author insists on the extreme parsimony (*hirs*) of the late Shah,⁴ saying that, since Chingiz khan's time, no sovereign had ever

¹ According to Sanson, 102, the Shah, after deduction of expenses ("tous frais faits"), had every year 800,000 tomans, or 28 000 000 livres (this latter sum being wrong, for Sanson himself reckons 1 t. = 45 livres, cf. the customs of Gilan 80 000 t., or 3 600 000 livres).

² See Chardin, V, 430-3, on his visit to the Treasury: in *one* room he saw some 3000 bags containing 50 t. each.

³ *Sharaf-nāma*, ed. Veliaminov-Zernov, I, 453, II, 251-2.

⁴ The Venetian ambassador d'Alessandri, 217, 220, quotes striking examples of Tahmāsp's avarice. He bought textiles in Khorasan and Aleppo and then gave them in payment to the soldiers at ten times the value. He acted as usurer by giving his servants loans of 20-50,000 scudi at 20 per cent per year, whereas they lent this money at 60-80 per cent to the nobles of the Court awaiting rank and appointments, etc.

amassed such a quantity of cash money (*nuqūd*) and precious textiles, vases, etc., and then gives the following list:

Gold and silver in coins or "obliterated" ¹	380 000 tomans
Ingots (<i>khisht</i>) of gold and silver, each weighing 3000 mithqāls . .	600 ingots
Overcoats (<i>sar-pūsh</i>) of gold and silver [brocade]	800 pieces
Silk (<i>harīr</i>)	200 kharvārs
Robes (<i>jāma va farāja</i>) made of precious stuffs	30.000 pieces
Arms and equipment (<i>yarāq</i>), consisting of <i>jubba</i> (breast-plates), <i>jaushan</i> (coats of mail), <i>hajīm</i> (protective coats heavily padded with silk), <i>bargustuwān</i> (ditto for horses), all ready in the <i>jabba-khāna</i> (arsenal) for	30 000 horse
She-camels	3 000 heads
Arab mares	3 000 "
The Shah's own riding horses in stables	200 "
For memory	
Workshops and buyūtāt, such as kitchen, farrāsh-khāna, rikāb-khāna, etc.	
Taxes (<i>māl-va-kharāj</i>), at some places of Āzarbayjān, Shīrvān and Arrān, had not been collected for 7-9 years, having been left on the responsibility of the ra'iyat and tribu- taries (<i>ahl-i dhimma</i> , "Christians" ?).	

Certain important articles, like jewels, are not shown in Sharaf al-dīn's report. On the other hand, the taxes neglected for so many years were hardly an asset, and the liabilities were also considerable.² In any case, the matter-of-fact report which seems to cover the whole of the Shah's resources (viz. both Dīvān and Khāṣṣa), is far from countenancing Chardin's rose-coloured picture. Under Ismā'il II and Muḥammad Khudā-banda the Treasury had to pay the arrears of the army so that men without any distinction (*majhūl*) received 100-220 tomans in cash (*'ayn al-māl*).³ It is possible that 'Abbās I and his successors did increase the reserves of the Treasury. According to Olearius, 669, Shah 'Abbās left 3600 pounds of gold vessels (Engl. tr. 7200 marks). On the other hand, the new troops also required some additional expense, and surely the proportion of Revenue and Expenditure could not rise to 20:1.

Our analysis shows what a valuable source we possess in the *Tadhkirat al-mulūk*, which enriches our knowledge of Safavid Persia in a most conspicuous way. If our "budget" is not so explicit as we should like it to be, we should remember that even in Europe the idea of a rigorous budget (in the technical sense) belongs to very recent times.⁴

The resources of the Shahs of Persia can be best appraised by comparison with the revenue of a great European state. For the period round about the year 1700, roughly corresponding to the date of the *Tadhkirat al-mulūk*, A. Moreau de Jonnès⁵

¹ *Mutatallīs*, perhaps coins ready but not yet stamped?

² *Aḥsan al-tavārīkh*, 489, with some malice: "in the days of Shah Tahmāsp the tranquillity of the ra'iyat was perfect. His Majesty did not send governors (*dārūgha*), therefore, war was perpetually (!) going on among the ra'iyats of Azarbayjan. The army was so disposed towards the Shah that for 14 years he did not pay their salaries, and yet no one complained and they were assiduous in their service." On the situation in Azarbayjan, *ibid*, 455: some local rebels were masters of Tabriz for two years. These facts receive an interesting confirmation from the ambassador d'Alessandri's report

³ *Aḥsan al-tavārīkh*, 481, 503.

⁴ Cf H Sée, *Französische Wirtschaftsgeschichte*, Jena, 1936, II, 98.

⁵ *État économique et social de la France, 1589-1715*, Paris, 1867. The author gives the following items of the revenue in millions of francs: tailles, 90; capitation, 41; dixième (tithe), 50; gabelles, 41; aides, 28; domaines d'occident, contrôle, 40, douanes ou traites, 25; impôts divers, 50; totalling 365 million francs

estimated the annual revenue of the French treasury at 365,000,000 francs. The cost of collecting this sum represented an additional levy on the population amounting to 122,000,000 francs. Moreover, enormous sums were obtained from arbitrary expedients, such as the deterioration of coins, the introduction of paper money, the sale of offices, loans, confiscations, etc. For the period of 1700-1715 some 1,500 million francs were collected in this way, i.e. roughly 100 million per year (1 franc of the period representing 1.6 fr. of 1867). Consequently the amount yearly contributed by the French people was equal to $355 + 122 + 100 = 577$ million francs. Meanwhile France had a population of 19 millions, of whom 91 per cent. were proletarians.

The 785,623 t. of registered Persian revenue represent a sum of 35,745,846.6 livres, i.e. about 1/10 of the regular French taxation alone. At the beginning of the eighteenth century the Persian population could not exceed one-half of that of France and possibly was considerably lower. Nor can the data of the *T.M.* be as exhaustive as the French statistics. The lower classes suffered greatly from various kinds of exactions and corvées, yet the whole system could not compare with the extortions of the *ancien régime*, as definitely stated by Chardin, who was equally at home in the affairs of his own country and Persia.

¹ A comparison between the budgets of Persia and England is less easy. S. Dowell, *A History of Taxation and Taxes in England*, 1884, II, 65, thinks that at the end of the reign of William III (*circa* 1702), the produce of the revenue from taxes "may be taken at about four millions and a quarter. The interest of the debt was now 1,174,000 £. The average naval and military expenditure from 1698-1700 had been 1,299,000 £." In the second edition of the book, 1888, II, 62, the author estimates the revenue in 1702 as follows:

Land tax at 2 sh.	..	..	..	..	£1,000,000
Other direct taxes	..	..	..	..	250,000
Inland duties varying in different years: 1700 over					1,000,000
			1702..		1,400,000
Port duties: 1693	..	..	..	..	688,000
After the war	..	..	..	..	1,500,000
Stamp duties	..	..	..	..	94,000

Meanwhile the population of England was: in 1672, 5,500,000, and in 1712, 6,280,000, see Mulhall, *The Dict. of Statistics*, 1899, p. 444.

APPENDICES

[*Note.*—I have relegated to this section of the book some subsidiary matters which by themselves would merit detailed investigation and require much preliminary research in the sources. For the moment they can only be treated in a general way; but even such hints and suggestions may prove not unwelcome to the future explorers of Persian history.]

- I Turks and Iranians in Persia
- II The supporters of the early lords of Ardabil
- III Land-tenure in Persia
- IV. Routine of official instances.
- V. The language and style of the *T.M*
- VI An additional selection of literature

I

IRANIANS AND TURKS

From the beginning of the tenth century A.D. the basic fact of the social and political organisation of Persia has been the dual character of its population, namely, the opposition between the native Iranians (both the sedentary inhabitants of towns and villages and the semi-nomad mountaineers)—on one hand, and the Turk invaders and new-comers (either warriors or cattle-breeders)—on the other.

The establishment of a balance between the two elements was a trying problem of administration, but, in spite of the disparity of material force, the contest usually ended in the gradual absorption of the stronger Turks by the more cultured Iranians.

The stages of Turkish influx in Persia may be resumed briefly as follows.

In the beginning of the eleventh century the Ghuz (Turcoman) tribes, which had been gathering strength in Transoxiana, swept over Persia, occupied the regions most suitable for cattle-breeding and succeeded in Turkicising large areas in the North-West.

The Khwārazmian domination (1194–1220) was too short to bring any permanent changes and the Khwarazmian Turks¹ had to seek refuge as far as Asia Minor, Syria and Egypt.²

Nor did the Mongols affect the situation fundamentally. There was only a limited number of pure Mongols in the West; many of them fell in battle and the rest were rapidly assimilated by the local population. In any case, the Mongols strengthened the position of the Turks whom they found on the spot, either by adding to them some new Turkish elements of their army, or by supporting the Turks, who by their language and mode of life were looked upon as the Mongols' cousins.³ In Persia

¹ Most probably with an admixture of elements still speaking the ancient Iranian language of Khwarazm, the traces of which disappear only towards the end of the 14th century.

² On the extermination of 6,000 Khwarazmians in Tabriz in 621/1224, see I. Athir, XII, 272, cf. also d'Ohsson, III, 67. After the death of Jalāl al-dīn, great numbers of Khwarazmians gathered in upper Mesopotamia round Harrān (*bilādūhum wa hīya Harrān*), whence they were harassing Syria and behaving "like Tatars" until finally the Ayyūbid Ibrāhīm of Hims on one hand and Badr al-dīn of Mausil utterly defeated them in 638. A second time they were beaten on the Khābūr in 640; see Abul-Fidā, ed. Reiske, IV, 455–61, 469 (in the editor's note 310, Khwārazmians seem to be confused with Khorasanians). On the fugitive Kh chiefs to whom fiefs were allotted in Asia Minor, see Ibn Bībī, Persian text, ed. Houtsma, pp. 188, 191.

³ Ibn al-Athir, XII, 252, says that beyond Darband the Mongols were met by the Alāns and Qipchāq. The Mongols said to the Qipchāq "You and we are one race (*naḥnu wa antum jinsun wāḥidun*), but these Alans do not belong to you that you should help them, nor is your religion like theirs." The Qipchāq abandoned the Alāns, but later the Mongols turned against them.

proper, the Mongolian language did not survive,¹ nor have the Central Asian Turkish dialects left any considerable traces, except in the historical works of the period. The same can be said of the short domination of the Timurids whose Chaghatay Turkish met with no success west of Herat.

On the contrary, the domination of the two Turcoman dynasties, the Qaraqoyunlu and Aq-qoyunlu, drew back to the east the numerous tribes which, at the Seljuk period, had moved farther into Armenia, Upper Mesopotamia and Anatolia. This amounted to a reunion of parts of the same Ghuz nation and a further saturation of Persia with Turcoman elements. Whatever the role of the Safavids in the awakening of the national feeling of Persia,² the beginning of the dynasty can be represented, not inaccurately, as a third wave of the eastward movement of the Turcomans.³ The great majority of Shah Ismā'il I's supporters belonged to the tribes from Asia Minor, Syria and Armenia mixed with the tribes detached from the rival Qaraqoyunlu and Aq-qoyunlu. Even the *divān* of poems composed by Ismā'il under the *nom de plume* of Khaṭā'i⁴ is in Turcoman Turkish. From his time down to the last period of his successors this dialect was the language of the court.⁵

The old army of the Safavids (*qurchi*) was recruited among the Turcomans, "une vieille race de bons soldats, gens robustes et économes qui vivent à la campagne entre eux, sans se mêler avec les autres hommes, et qui sont ces pâtres ou bergers sarrasins, qui ont tant de fois changé l'état de la Perse. . . . Ce sont eux proprement qu'on appelle *Qızil-bash, ou têtes rouges."⁶ No contemporary European traveller seems to have sojourned among the Turcomans, but we may confidently accept that the ways of the Turcomans under the Safavids had not changed since 1474 when the Venetian ambassador Giosafà Barbaro wrote down his vivid impressions of Uzun Hasan's hordes.⁷ The Shah-sevans of Mughān, Sāva, etc. have preserved to our own time the habits and customs of their ancestors. As Chardin states, the Turcomans lived apart from the surrounding population. They were cattle-breeders migrating with their herds and flocks from the summer quarters to the winter ones. They were organised in clans and obeyed the call of their direct chieftains. They were no party to the national Persian tradition. Like oil and water, the Turcomans and Persians did not mix freely and the dual character of the population profoundly affected both the military and civil administration of Persia. It is true that the Safavids had converted their Turcoman adherents to their creed, but with their help, Persia as a whole had to be conquered. For some time to come the Shah's henchmen formed the privileged class of aristocracy and the long and painful process of their assimilation and absorption is the very nerve of the political evolution from Ismā'il I to 'Abbās I, which we have indicated in the Introduction.

¹ The only Iranian region in which some islands of Mongolians have survived is among the Hazāras, in the north-western corner of Afghanistan, see Ramstedt, *Mongolica*, Helsingfors, 1905.

² By its isolation from the loose context of "Islamic peoples"

³ V.s., p. 30.

⁴ See Minorsky, 'The poetry of Shāh Ismā'il, in *BSOS*, X/4.

⁵ Chardin, V, 30: "C'est par ce peuple (Qızil-bash) que la langue turquesque s'est si fort introduite dans la partie septentrionale de Perse et surtout à la cour qu'on y parle beaucoup plus Turquesque que Persan" Kaempfer, I, 144: "Lingua Aulae Turcica est nimirum stirpi Regiae vernacula, atque alia quam nationis, quandoquidem Ismael Sophi cum sceptrum capesseret, sodalitus Turcicae gentis suae stipatus, loqui eam non desit. Ex Atla mox ad praestantiores Persarum familias. . . ita dimanavit, ut pene nunc turpe sit in Persia viro alicuius nominis ignorare Turcicam" Both P. della Valle and du Mans compiled short manuals of the "Court Turkish."

⁶ Chardin, V, 299-300.

⁷ Hakluyt Society, Vol. 49, 1873, 6-8.

II

THE SUPPORTERS OF THE LORDS OF ARDABIL

When, towards the end of the thirteenth century A.D., we first come to know the lords of Ardabil, they are highly respected shaykhs leading a contemplative life, spending their time in prayers and fasting, and credited with supernatural powers. In the middle of the fifteenth century the Shī'a extremism creeps into the order and the young shaykhs consider themselves as the direct emanations of the godhead. They dream of holy wars and expeditions against the infidels and their activities, from militant, grow frankly military. Shah Ismā'il's grandfather, father and eldest brother had fallen in battle,¹ before he reaped the fruit of the new policy. He succeeded in founding a state by imposing a new religious and political creed on the local Iranian population and by further controlling the latter through a new class of tribal aristocracy.

The more important stages of this development are well known.² Many details are and will remain obscure but the available sources contain a mass of important side-lights which give us an idea of the growth of the Safavid propaganda and the elements out of which the fabric of the Safavid state was woven.

The well informed author of the *Tārīkh-i Amīnī*³ says that Shaykh Ṣafī was supported "by the amirs of the vilāyat of Tālīsh . . . and the magnates (*kubarā*) of Rūm (i.e., Asia Minor). The "army of Tālīsh . . . and the people of Rūm" are again mentioned under Shaykh Ṣadr al-dīn.⁴

The huge compilation called *Ṣafvat al-ṣafā* quotes numerous stories on Shaykh Ṣafī's canvassing among his murīds in the vast area round Ardabil. More interesting are the facts attesting his close relations to the Mongol amirs and noblemen, and quite particularly with the powerful Amir Choban.⁵

Under his grandson Sulṭān-'Alī, we have more direct indications of the threads drawn from Ardabil to the far-away Anatolia. When after his campaign in Asia Minor, Timur was passing through Ardabil,⁶ he told Sulṭān-'Alī to crave a boon. The Shaykh begged for the liberation of the prisoners of Rum, and Timur freed them all (*majmū'*) and appointed them to the service of the family of Ardabil. He also issued an order (*raqam*) to the rulers (*salāṭīn*) and governors of Rūm to the effect that the men whom he had freed "and who are the Sūfis of the Safavid family," wherever they be, should not be oppressed (*dast-andāz*) or prevented from visiting (*āmad-u-shud*) their Murshid; they must be exempted from payments to their

¹ See Hinz, *Aufstieg*, 47, 81, 88, 96. Some echo of Shaykh Ḥaydar's first expedition to the Northern Caucasus (1483) has apparently survived in the report of a black friar taken down by G. Barbaro, Hakluyt Society, 1873, p. 89.

² A number of points has been studied by Babinger, *Scherch Bedr ad-dīn*, in *Der Islam*, IX, 1921, and Seddon, *Ahsan'u't-tawārīkh*, II, 1934, 221-2. A good general survey is found in Hinz, *Irans Aufstieg*, 77-9. Ghulām Sarwar's *History of Shāh Ismā'il*, Aligarh, 1939, is helpful for tracing up single facts.

³ Bib. Nat., ancien fonds persan 101, ff. 121-122

⁴ It is noteworthy however that Ṣafī al-dīn's verses quoted in the *Ṣafvat al-ṣafā* and the *Silsila* are either in a local Iranian dialect or in Persian, but not in Turkish! See S. A. Kısraev, *Zabān-i bāstān-i Ādharbāyagān*, Tehran, 1304/1926.

⁵ *S.-Safā*, Bombay, 1329, 125, cf. also *Sharaf-nāma*, II, 132. This did not prevent the tyrannous Chobanid Malik-Ashraf from imprisoning Shaykh Ṣadr al-dīn, *Silsila*, 42.

⁶ This must have happened in Shavvāl, 806/April, 1404. *Zafar-nāma*, II, 573, merely mentions Timur's stay at Ardabil, but Timur's benevolence to all kinds of holy men is a well-known fact.

masters, as well as from government taxes (*vujūhāt-i ra'iyatī va taḥmilāt-i dīvānī*). Out of his own lawful money Timur bought fields and villages in the neighbourhood of Ardabil and allotted them as vaqf to the resting place (*mazār*) of Shaykh Ṣafī, which he recognised as a *bast* (asylum). He also made over to the Safavid family the land taxes (*kharāj*) of the said vilāyat. To those of the prisoners who expressed the desire to return to Rūm permission was granted to do so. Shaykh Sulṭān-'Alī (*janāb-i sulṭānī*) appointed his representatives (*khalīfa va-pīra*) to all the tribes (*oymāqāt*) and said: "let your comings and goings be not infrequent, for the advent (*khurūj*) of the righteous Duodeciman religion is nigh and you must be ready to sacrifice your lives."¹ To this version the *Silsilat*, p. 43, adds that the Anatolian prisoners were settled near the cemetery of Ganja-ba-kūl and their descendants became known as Ṣūfiyān-i Rūmlū.²

Much more definite is our information on the propaganda tours of Shaykh 'Alī's grandson and Shah Ismā'īl's grandfather.³ About A.D. 1448-56, Shaykh Junayd being expelled from Ardabil entered into relations with Sultan Murād II (A.D. 1421-51). He visited the still independent Qarāmān, then the Turcoman tribe of Varsaq in Cilicia, then Jabal-Arsūs in the northernmost part of Syria (near the Gulf of Alexandretta),⁴ then Jāniq (Samsun) on the Black Sea. He even carried out a raid on Trebizond but met with no success (A.D. 1456).⁵ Thereupon he moved to the region of Ḥiṣn-Ḳayfā on the Tigris and finally was invited by the Aq-qoyunlu ruler Uzun Hasan to Diyār-Bakr, where he spent three whole years (1456-9). Junayd married Uzun Hasan's sister and when "this news reached the farthest limits of Rūm and Syria, the khalīfas of the previous shaykhs became inclined to serve him," *Tarīkh-i Amānī*, f. 123b.

The propaganda concerning the divinity of Shah Ismā'īl's father, Shaykh Ḥaydar, is attributed by the same source, f. 125v, to "the ignoramuses of Rūm, that erring crowd of fiendish imagination" (f. 125v). Ḥaydar was supported by the khalīfas of his father, who were pouring in from all parts, while the "excessive obeisance of the men of Rūm" affected his morals unfavourable (f. 126r). During the preparation of his first expedition to Daghestan "a great number of men of Rūm, Tālish and Siyāh-kūh (= Qarāja-dagh)" gathered round him (f. 127r), and this levy is further described as "the blue-clad people of Tālish, the ill-starred people of Siyāh-kūh⁶ and the unclean lot from among the Shāmlū (f. 30a)." The last name most probably refers to Ḥasan-āgha Ustājalu, "who was one of the amirs of Shāmlū" (f. 139r). The desperate valour of "the infidel ṣūfis of Rūmī origin" is recorded in the description of Ḥaydar's last battle.

These quotations show that, although the shaykhs of Ardabil were supported by

¹ The anonymous history of Shāh Ismā'īl, Camb. Add. 200, f. 10b. The initial parts of this important source (= Br. Mus. Or. 3248) were published by Sir D. Ross in the J.R.A.S., April, 1896, 249-340. In the beginning of the account of Shāh Ismā'īl's reign the *Aḥsan al-tawārīkh* closely follows the same source.

² Camb. Add. 200, f. 18a, Ross, 18, confirms the existence in Ardabil of a *maḥalla-yi Rūmiyān* in which the boy Ismā'īl was hidden by a Dhul-Qadar woman.

³ The chief authority for these exploits is 'Ashiqpāshā-zāde, ed. Istanbul, 1332, pp. 264-7. In the story relating to Junayd's stay in Qonya, the author (or his source) uses the first person.

⁴ 'Ashiq-pāshā-zāde, 266, says that Junayd moved on among Turkish nomads (*yürükde yürürken*) and, on the road, plundered a certain Üzeyr-oghlu.

⁵ Hinz, *o.c.*, 29, 37.

⁶ The "blue-clad" people must be the peasants dressed in home-spuns. I could not ascertain who were the *gōkdolaq* whom Evliyā-chelebi, II, 290, met in Shirvan, and who have left some traces in the toponymy of the district. The referencé to the people of Siyāh-kūh (Qarājadagh) apparently hints at the local celebrity, Bābak.

the local elements of Tālīsh¹ and Qarāja-dagh, their most fanatic supporters were recruited among the Turcomans of Rūm (Asia Minor) and Shām (Syria).

After Ḥaydar's death, his son Sulṭān-'Alī played some part under the Aq-qoyunlu Rustam. In a battle which he fought victoriously against the latter's rival Baysunqur he had on his right wing Ḥusayn beg Shāmlū Lala and Rustam beg Qarāmānlū, and on his left wing Dada beg Tālīsh (= Abdāl 'Alī beg) and Khādīm beg Khalīfa, Camb. MS., 16a, Ross, 10. As the followers began to gather round Sulṭān-'Alī he became suspect. Feeling that his end was approaching he appointed Ismā'īl as his successor and sent him to Ardabīl with Ḥusayn Lala, Qara-pīrī beg Qājār, Abdālbeg and (?) Dada beg Tālīsh. In Ardabīl Ismā'īl was hidden by some relatives and faithful friends, and then taken by Rustam beg Qarāmānlū to the village of Karkān(?) in the Baghrow mountains.² On the advice of the faithful Mansūr beg Qipchāqī, Ḥusayn Lala, Qirīq (?) Sīdī 'Alī,³ Cholpan beg, Khādīm beg Khalīfa, Dada beg, Kōk-'Alī beg etc., the protection of the Governor of Rasht Amīr Ishaq was sought for Ismā'īl. He was escorted to Gilān by Rustam beg, Muhammadī beg Turkmān, the latter's brother Ahmadī and 80 ṣūfis. On the way through Tālīsh, Ismā'īl was hospitably treated by the governors of Tūl-i Nāv and Gaskar. As the governor of Rasht was not in a position to protect Ismā'īl, the ṣūfis took their ward to Lāhījān, where he was entrusted to the care of the governor Kār-kiyā Mirzā 'Alī. Ismā'īl stayed six years in Lāhījān, tiding over the period of internecine strife of the Aq-qoyunlu. The ṣūfis were flocking in from all sides, especially from Rūm, Qarāja-dagh and Ahar.⁴ Ismā'īl remained in touch with Ardabīl. Ḥusayn beg Lala, Khādīm beg [Khalīfat al-] Khulafā and Dada beg, who were in attendance on him, formed his little court.

At the age of thirteen, Ismā'īl decided to return to Ardabīl, and was accompanied thither by Ḥusayn beg Lala, Abdāl 'Alī beg Dada, Khādīm beg Khulafā, Rustam beg and Bayram beg Qarāmānlū, Ilyās beg Ayghūt-oghli (Khinislu) and Qara-pīrī Qājār. He travelled over Daylam and, on the road, ṣūfis from Shām and Rūm were joining the party. At the first muster held at Tārom, 1500 ṣūfis stood under his banner, Camb. MS., 27a, Ross, 26. No sooner did Ismā'īl reach Ardabīl, than he had to leave for the shores of the Caspian sea where he enjoyed the hospitality of Muḥammad beg Tālīsh.⁵

From Tālīsh Ismā'īl penetrated into the mountainous region of Qarabāgh (north of the Araxes). When, accompanied by 1000 men, he reached the neighbourhood of Lake Gōkchā-dāngiz (Sevang), some friendly advances were made to him by Sulṭān-

¹ By Tālīsh may be meant a region larger than the present area along the coast of the Caspian. According to the *Nuzhat al-qulūb* (written A.D. 1340), GMS, 84, Kalaybar (in Qarāja-dagh) has "a mixed population of Turks and Tālīsh," and that of "Gilān-ī Faḍlūn" consisted of 50 villages of Tālīsh. As suggested by B. V. Miller, *Uchen Zap.*, I, 1930, 199-228, the dialectal poems by Shaykh Safī, quoted in our sources, may be in medieval Tālīshī. The highlands of Tālīsh are occupied by the spirited tribe of Gālīsh, who sometimes took the highway Ardabīl-Astārā.

² Camb. MS., f. 188. The Baghrow range runs westward from Savalān Mt. and to the north of the Ardabīl-Tabriz road. Karkān is very possibly a mis-spelling of *Karkār, the latter being now the name of the river flowing down the northern slope of Baghrow to the south-west of Khīyov.

³ A sept of Afshars is called Qirīqlu.

⁴ Ahar is the new capital of Qarāja-dāgh, but here it is probably distinguished from the more northerly part of the district.

⁵ In the spring he spent a night at the house of Naushīr-beg Tālīsh, governor of Mūghān; Ross, p. 31.

Ḥusayn Bārānī, a descendant of the Qara-qoyunlu rulers,¹ but Ismā'īl distrusted him and passed on to Shūra-gel, where he was joined by Qarāja-Ilyās (of Bāyburt) and the ṣūfīs of Rūm. Over Qāqizmān (on the Araxes) he pushed on to Arzinjān, at which place he was met by 7,000 murīds and ṣūfīs belonging to the tribes of Ustājalu, Shāmlu, Rūmlu, Takkalu, Dhul-Qadar, Afshār, Qājār and Varsāq, as well as by the ṣūfīs of Qarāja-dagh. Among the leaders were Muḥammad beg Ustājalu, with 200 of his family and dependents, and 'Abidīn beg Shāmlu with 300 men. At about the same time Bayrām-beg Qarāmānī is mentioned as leading a detachment of Dhul-Qadar to the river Kur.²

At the decisive battle of Sharūr (907/1501) where Ismā'īl, with his 7,000 horse (see above), defeated the Aq-qoyunlu Alvand and his army of 30,000 horse, those supporters of the Shah whose origins are indicated were Bayrām-beg Qarāmānlu, Khulafā and Muhammad beg Ustājalu, 'Abdī beg Shāmlu, Qarāja Ilyās Bayburtlu and Pīrī beg Qājār, Camb. MS., 4rb, A.T., 59.

At the battle with Sulṭān Murād Aq-qoyunlu (near Hamadan, 908/1503) Ismā'īl disposed of 12,000 horse and was supported by the same amirs, with the addition of Manṣūr beg Qipchāqī, Yāgān beg Takkālū, etc., Camb. MS., 5ob, A.T., 66.

Soon after the battle, the "Turkmān" chiefs of Azarbayjan were defeated by Ilyās beg Ayghūt-oghli (Khmislū), A.T., 70, which fact may account for the subsequent increase of the "Turkmān" in Ismā'īl's suite.

Relations with the Dhul-Qadar had probably been established in Shaykh Junayd's time. In 193/1507, Ismā'īl led an important expedition against 'Alā al-daula, lord of Albistan. In 928/1522 a considerable number of Dhul-qadar having quarrelled with the Ottomans, joined the Shah, who sent a part of them to Herat and another part to Shiraz, Camb. MS., 18rb.

As a result of the expedition of 913/1507 Amīr beg Mauṣillu,³ the hereditary ruler of the tribe, rallied Ismā'īl. The tribe closely connected with the Aq-qoyunlu must have had its quarters near Mauṣil, but Amīr-beg was governor of Diyār-Bakr. The rest of the Mauṣillu who remained sunnī were defeated by Muḥammad-khan Ustājlu, Camb. MS., 74a, A.T., 58 and 93.

In the battle of Marv (916/1510) fought against Shaybak khan the commanders on the side of Ismā'īl were: Najm al-Thānī, Bayrām-beg Qarāmānī, Chāyān ("scorpion")-sultān Ustājalu, Dīv-sultān Rūmlu, Bādanjān-sultān Rūmlu, Ḥusayn beg Lala, Abdāl 'Alī beg Dada, Durmish khan and Zaynal khan Shāmlu, Amīr khan Mauṣillu, Mīrzā Muḥammad Tālīsh, Camb. MS., 111a, A.T., 117, 120. In this list we find mostly the same names and clans, with one notable exception: for the first time, a Persian Najm al-Thānī, by his real name Amīr Yār Aḥmad Khūzānī Isfahānī, plays an active part in military operations.⁴

In the battle of Chaldīran (920/1514) the Shah's generals were Durmish khan Shāmlu, Khalīl-sultān Dhul-Qadar, Ḥusayn beg Lala, Nūr 'Alī Khalīfa Rūmlu, holder of the tiyūl of Arzinjān (who in 918, with 3-4000 ṣūfīs and murīds of Rūm

¹ Camb MS., f. 30a, A.T., 25. *Sharaf-nāma*, II, 134, says that after the winter spent at Arjūvān Ismā'īl journeyed "towards Minkūl and entered the tribe of Ustājlu" which gave him 7,000 men. **Mīn-göl*, "A thousand lakes," see Minorsky, *Jour. As.*, juillet, 1930, pp. 107-11, lies at the sources of the Kur. It is possible that Sharaf-khān has telescoped here several episodes.

² See Camb MS, f. 32a, where "the high tribe of Shāmlu" is quoted before Ustājlu. A.T., 25-42, has reproduced this important passage, which is absent from the *Habīb al-siyar*, 397.

³ Sharaf al-dīn of Bidlīs was born in Persia of a daughter of this "Amīr-khan" b. Gulābī b. Amīr-beg Mauṣillū, *Sharaf-nāma*, I, 448.

⁴ He was called Najm No. 2 in honour of his predecessor Najm No. 1, and was killed in 918/1512.

cevastated Toqat), Khulafā beg, Khan-Muhammad Ustājalu, Chayan-sultān Ustājalu (with the troops of Diyārbakr). The centre was held by Amīr 'Abd al-bāqī, a former Šadr (of the family of the saint Shah Ni'mat-ullāh, of Kermān), Sayyid Aḥmad Kamūna, an Arab of Hīt (v.s., p. 15), and Amīr Sayyid Sharīf Shirāzī, a former Šadr, while the light advance guard was under the orders of Sārū-Pīra Qūrchi-bashi. Other amirs mentioned in the battle were Mantashā-sultān Ustājalu, Khīzr-āghā Ustājalu and Sultan 'Alī-mīrzā Afshār, *ibid.*, 136.

After this date many faithful amirs receive fiefs and governorships in the outlying provinces and their connection with the bulk of their respective tribes becomes problematic. We shall only add that the first Bahārlu of importance (of Qara-qoyunlu origin!), a former officer (*mulāzim*) of Dīv-sultān, is mentioned in the *Aḥsan al-tavārikh* under 922/1516.

These details shed much light on Ismā'il's methods in building up his might.¹

At the beginning he is supported by the local population of the region of Ardabil and the faithful Turcomans of Asia Minor, Syria and Cilicia. Gradually heads of other clans and especially those of the Armenian highlands (Erzinjan, Bayburt) are mentioned in his suite. Each expedition to the West brings him new supporters and even some clans having formerly belonged to the Qara-qoyunlu and Aq-qoyunlu federations are incorporated in the Safavid army. Finally purely Iranian supporters are rallied to the throne. Of them Najm II displayed much courage in the operations against the Uzbeks but fell victim of his fanaticism near Bukhara in November, 1512. Three divines of non-Turcoman origin were in charge of Ismā'il's centre at Chaldiran. They do not seem to have won any particular laurels but their presence at an important post symbolises the gradual widening of the basis of Shah Ismā'il's power.

The current lists of the tribes which were the mainstay of the early Safavids are only approximate. The most complete of them is that of Don Juan de Persia, who enumerates as many as 32 noble families and tribes (*linajes y naciones*) in whose hands the government is placed.² Don Juan's naive equations between them and the Spanish dukes, counts and marquesses (quoted *d.*, *c.*, *m.*) have some interest as indicating the comparative importance of the tribes:

1. Vstaxelu (*Ustājlu, Ustājelu), the most important of the tribes.
2. Xamblu (*Shāmlu), comparable in rank to the "mayordomo mayor."
3. Afxar (*Afshār), the high lords of justice.
4. Turcomanos (*Turkman), military commanders related by marriage to the kings.
5. Bayat (Don Juan's own tribe), most noble and comparable to dukes.
6. Thacalu (Takalu), *d.*
7. Harmandal (?), *m*
8. Dulgadarlu (Arabicised *Dhul-qadar*), very valiant men, *d.*

The other clans are only briefly referred to:

- | | |
|-----------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------|
| 9. Cacher (*Qājār), <i>d.</i> | 21. Griclu, <i>c.</i> (*Qiriqlu). |
| 10. Garamanlu (*Qaramanlu), <i>d.</i> | 22. Boschalu, <i>c.</i> (*Bozchalu). |
| 11. Bayburtlu, <i>c.</i> | 23. Acbifaquilu, <i>c.</i> (*Ā.-ā Māhi-faqihlū). |
| 12. Ispyrhlu (*Ispiru), <i>c.</i> | 24. Ambzalu, <i>c.</i> (*Hamzalu). |
| 13. Oriath (*Oryad), <i>c.</i> | 25. Solachlu, <i>c.</i> (*Solaqlu?). |
| 14. Chaushlu, <i>d.</i> | 26. Mamudlu, <i>c.</i> (*Maḥmūdlu). |
| 15. Assayshlu (*Ālam-ārā: Āsāyish-oghlu). | 27. Garachomaclu, <i>c.</i> (*Qara-chomaqlu). |
| 16. Chamizcaclu, <i>c.</i> (*Chamīsh-gazaku). | 28. Garagoinlu, <i>c.</i> (*Qara-qoyinlu). |
| 17. Sarozlachlu, <i>c.</i> (*Ā.-ā sirūz?). | 29. Cossı Boyezlu, <i>d.</i> (*Kose-Bāyızlu?). |
| 18. Carabachaclu, <i>c.</i> (*Qara-bajaqlu) | 30. Peyclu, <i>d.</i> (?). |
| 19. Barachlu (?), <i>c.</i> | 31. Ynazlu, <i>d.</i> (*Inanlu?). |
| 20. Cuumorilu, <i>c.</i> (*Qoyin-?). | 32. Cohequilu, <i>d.</i> (*Kūh-gilū? v.s., p. 172). |

¹ The tribal connection of the amirs of Tahmāsp, 'Abbās I and Šaffi has been studied above, pp. 14-9.

² I use the original edition of the *Relaciones*, Valladolid, 1604, p. 9b-10a; English transl. by Le Strange, 1926, pp. 45-6.

In this list the important groups are Nos. 1-6, 8 and 9, the remaining names referring to smaller subdivisions and clans. P. della Valle knew the book of D. Juan and a mullā promised him to look up in the King's archives (*nei libri del Re*) the names of the 32 tribes, but finally failed to do so, *ibid*, 864. The *‘Ālam-ārā*, v.s., p. 16, speaks *only* of the principal tribes, under which some of their subdivisions are mentioned.

From a MS. (probably the *Zubdat al-tavārikh* of *Kamāl-khān b. Jalāl, cf. Storey, *Pers. lit.*, 130), Sir John Malcolm, *Hist. of Persia*, Ch. XIV, quotes a list of 7 tribes, viz. Ustajlu, Shamlu, Takkalu, Bahārlu, Zulqadar, Qajar and Afshar. Munejjim-bashi's record, III, 182, contains 8 Turcoman tribes (Ustajlu, Shamlu, Takkalu, Rumlu, Varsaq, Dhul-qadar, Afshar, Qajar) plus the Sufis of Qarā-bāgh. Muḥammad Muhsin, *Z.T.*, f. 182a, gives the same list, omitting only the Varsaq (of whom in fact very few have been known in Parsia).¹

The names of the principal clans are either those of the old Ghuz (Turkman) tribes, cf. Mahmūd Kāshghari, I, 56, and Rashīd al-dīn, ed. Berezin, VII, 32-8, etc. (Afshar, Bayat, Dulghadir, Varsaq), or are derived from place-names with the aid of the possessive particle *-lu*.² The Safavids drained into their movement many western Turcoman tribes affected by the Shi'a propaganda and opposed to the Ottoman orthodoxy.³ Such is the origin of the Rūm-lu, Shām-lu, etc. Particularly interesting are the Tākkā-lū (see *Teke-eli* by Babinger in *E.I.*). In 1510 a dervish called Bābā-shāh-qulī, whose family had a long connection with the Safavis, Ross, 80, revolted against the Ottomans. The movement was supported by *murīdān-i khānadān*, i.e., the adepts of the house of Ardabil. After the death of the Baba, his turbulent supporters sought refuge with Shāh Ismā'il. The Tākkālū forfeited their rights after the revolt of Ulāma who in 937/1531 threw in his lot with the Turks; see *Aḥsan al-tavārikh*, 125-6 and 231.

The name of Ustājlu, or Ustājalu, is still obscure ("those of the little master"?). The tribe appears to have been connected with the Shamlu. Possibly their original ölgä lay somewhere in the region of Qars, see *Sharaf-nāma*, II, 134, cf. *A.T.*, 41, but in 913 their head Muhammad-khan b. Mirzā-beg Khalīfa, related to the shah by marriage, was appointed governor of Diyār-Bakr; Camb. MS, 73b.

The name of the Dhul-qadar is only an Arabic popular etymology for the original Turkish *Dulghadir*. The great principality of the tribe was at Albistān (north of Mar'ash), but most probably single clans were scattered throughout Armenia. In later Safavid and post-Safavid times the Dhul-qadar centred near Ganja.

The name Bahārlu must be connected with the borough Bahār (near Hamadan) which, according to the *Nuzhat al-qulūb*, GMS, 107, was the centre of the Iva Turcomans, one of the original 24 Ghuz tribes. The Iva were also active in the region to the west of the lake of Urmiya.⁴ It is probable that the tribe was affiliated to the Qara-qoyunlu federation, which possessed strong points both in Azarbayjan (cf. the

¹ Minadoi, 71, affirms that the right wing of the Persian army was held by the Ustajlu and the left wing by the Shamlu (Zambeluzes) together with the Takkalu (Tocaluzes), the latter not being considered good warriors. The centre was occupied by the king and the Afshars. The rear-guard was formed by the descendants of a Calirchan (?), and the vanguard by the "people of Garibdiler" (?) and the Chiaperis (*chapar*, "messenger, courier"?).

² Already P. Della Valle, p. 763, knew this fact.

³ See Babinger, *Bedr ed-din*, 1921, p. 78, Köprülüzade M. Fuad, *Anadoluda İslamiyet* (unfortunately unfinished).

⁴ Nasawi, *Sirat Jalāl al-dīn*, 126, 199, etc. A village Iva lies to the south of the road Ardabil-Tabriz. It is not impossible that the name of the large village Evoghli (N.E. of Khoy) is a later popular etymology for the less comprehensive Iva.

canton Qara-qoyunlu in Mākū) and in Hamadan, where finally the Qara-qoyunlu were defeated by the Aq-qoyunlu.

The names of the lesser clans are derived chiefly from place-names, from the names of the leaders (Ḥamzalu, Āsāyish-oghli) or from some nicknames (Qara-bajaqlu "with black thighs," Qara-chomaqlu "with black cudgels")

III

LAND-TENURE IN PERSIA

The problem of land-tenure in Persia is in itself a subject for a book. It cannot be solved on the basis of the so-called "Islamic institutions," which differed from country to country and, in our case, were only a juridical superstructure on the various local practices. Whatever the ancient Sasanian laws and the regulation of the earlier Islamic period might have been, one political factor dominates land-tenure in Persia, namely, the series of great Turco-Mongol invasions which occupy the period between A.D. 1000 and 1500. When so much depended on the good-will of rulers one could not expect the rights of individuals to crystallise into a stable system. Personal favours or confiscations often upset the existing rights, and the latter were bound to become attenuated and contingent.

In some cases the invaders may have re-adapted to their uses the precedents laid down by the spiritual power.

When in A.D. 1195 the Caliph sent 5000 horse to reoccupy some part of Iran evacuated by the Khwārazmshāh, the vazir Mu'ayyad al-dīn began to collect deeds (*qabāla*), saying that land (*zamīn*) belonged to the Caliph: "who is the person to have property" (*kasī ki bāshad ki milk dārad* (?)).¹ After the fall of the Caliphate such ideas could have been easily taken up by the secular rulers and exploited in their own interest. Under the Mongols "the rights which in Islamic law belonged to the Imam were being transferred to the infidel conqueror."²

These preliminary remarks must be kept in mind as a background to Chardin's observations on land-tenure in Persia under the Safavids. He distinguishes four categories of lands: (a) the state lands, which were the majority; they were in the temporary possession of the governors, who assigned a part of them to their own staff; (b) the demesnes, i.e. the Shah's own lands; of them some formed the appanage of certain charges and the others were assigned to the members of the Private Household and the troops maintained by the Shah; (c) the lands belonging to the Church, i.e. the endowments (*vaqf*) of the Shahs or private persons; (d) the lands "belonging" to private persons. Here comes the interesting point. The owners kept them in their possession (*tasarruf*) for 99 years, during which time they disposed of them as they pleased; at the end of this term the owners had to renew their rights ("on prend un nouveau bail") by paying a year's revenue to the King. On most of these lands the Shah levied a small annual rent ("tribut"), amounting to 40-50 sols per *jarīb*, while some lands were free even from this contribution.

Besides these categories of "lands being in use," there were the lands lying fallow. Those who wanted to occupy them needed a licence either from the governor, or from the Shah's representative ("intendant") according to the category of lands, v.s. (a) and (b). Chardin, V, 382, adds: "Mais parceque le roi est le maître du bien de l'état, et qu'il le peut rendre bien de domaine quand il lui plaît, au lieu que les gouverneurs des provinces n'en sauroient disposer qu'avec les intendans, qui sont les receveurs du

¹ *Rāhat al-sūdūr*, 381.

² Minorsky, *Naṣīr al-dīn Tūsī on Finance*, p. 780.

roi; on peut dire que toutes les terres qui ne sont pas tenues et occupées actuellement, ou qui ne sont pas en état de l'être, appartiennent au roi, en quelque endroit de l'empire que ce soit."

These explanations are not entirely explicit, but the fact that Chardin considers even the lands in private possession as being leased by their possessors (he uses the term "bail") indicates that the idea of absolute property was unknown in Persia.

F. Mochaver¹ follows Chardin in stating that under the Safavids "usufruct" (?) held the place of private property. "Cependant après les Séfévides ce droit de possession fut raffermi et se transforma de bonne heure [*sic*] en droit de propriété. Nous ne sommes pas en mesure de rapporter et d'expliquer le sens et la modalité de cette évolution, mais ce qui est certain, c'est que sous les Kadjars les terres faisaient indubitablement l'objet de toutes sortes d'aliénations et de transmissions conditionnées."

In this connection we should mention the little known episode of the promulgation by the Shah's Government in 1843 of the so-called "Mesures législatives."² Though an act of internal policy, the "Mesures" were prepared by a lengthy correspondence with the Imperial Russian Legation. The latter had been complaining that in cases of insolvency of Persian debtors, the rights of Russian creditors suffered loss. As a result of Russian representations, in Rabi' I 1249/July, 1833, the Heir Apparent 'Abbās-mīrzā, who at that time was in Tehran, addressed a raqam to the Amīr-Nizām of Āzarbāyjān to the effect that the procedure of *ghuramā* (i.e. a pro-rata payment to all the creditors) should no more take place to the detriment of Russian creditors. During the following 9 years the raqam was interpreted in the sense that Russian merchants had the first claim. In 1842 an Armenian died among whose creditors were both Russian and British subjects and H.B.M.'s Minister invoked the application of the "right of the most favoured nation." This led to some complications and the Russians suggested that the best substitute to the raqam would be some general measures against insolvent debtors, which would edict punishment for the latter and would prevent them from taking the *bast* (i.e. asylum in sacred places).

The Russian Government waived their claims to the raqam, but in the meantime the Russian Minister in Tehran submitted a project of new regulations to the Persian Prime Minister Hājji Mīrzā-Āghāsī, who commented on each point. Finally the identical drafts of the text elaborated by the parties were exchanged and the Hājji gave a promise that the regulations would be incorporated in farmāns to be sent to the governors. The text, dated 27 Shavvāl, 1259/22 November, 1843, was approved by H.B.M. Government in May, 1844, under which date it figures in Hertslet's Collection of Treaties.

The regulations consist of 18 paragraphs, of which §5 rules that a person having the intention of mortgaging (*bay'-sharī*) his immovable property must remit to the other party the deed (*qabāla va bunjāq*) of the property in question, and the Dīvān-khāna, before registering such a transaction, must ascertain that this condition has been complied with. After the text of the farmān Hājji Mīrzā Āghāsī, on his own initiative, added the following postscript: *āgar dar bāb-i faqara-yi panjum, ki māl-i ghayr-i manqūl dhikr shuda, mujaddadan irād mī-shavad ki dar Irān si kas bar qurā haqq dārad: avval Dīvān-i humāyūn-i a'lā, duyum mālik, siyūm ra'iyat; chinānchi mālik bi-khwāhad qarya-yi khud-rā bay'-sharī bi-guzārad, ba-jihat-i raf'-i guftugū bāyad pīsh az vaqt az Dīvān-i humāyūn-i a'lā va-ra'iyat idhn hāsil numāyad.* "Moreover, with regard to §5, in which immovable property has been mentioned, a reminder is

¹ *L'évolution des Finances Iraniennes*, Paris, 1938, p. 149.

² Based on a notice prepared by me in 1918.

again given that in Iran, three persons (i.e. parties) have rights on villages: 1. The Superior Royal Divan; 2. the possessor (*mālik*); 3. the peasants (*ra'iyat*). Should the possessor become desirous of mortgaging his village, in order to eliminate (any) discussions, he must previously obtain a permission from the Supreme Royal Divan and the peasants." The Persian Prime Minister, in spite of his well-known whimsicality, could not have derived his progressive theory from the air, but neither can its origin now be discovered, nor its application traced in practice.

Commenting on the document of 1844, Lorini, *La Persia economica*, p. 217, comes to the conclusion that, in terms of Roman law, the only "proprietor" in Persia is the Shah and that the feudal chiefs, private persons and religious corporations, enjoy merely the right of tenure depending on the Sovereign's good will (*l'arbitrio del Monarca*). Lorini's argument, however, seems to be only a re-statement of Chardin's theory.

More interesting is the text of a farman of Nāṣir al-dīn (Ramadan, 1303/June, 1886), quoted by Lorini, p. 486. In it the Shah enjoins his subjects "to exercise without fear, any right of property, i.e. of disposing of all their belonging, as it suits them best" (*esercitar qualunque diritto di proprietà, cioè disporre come loro meglio aggrada, di tutto ciò che loro appartiene*). Lorini does not quote the Persian original, but it is possible that the term "property" corresponds to Persian *milk* or *milkiyat*.

IV

ROUTINE OF OFFICIAL INSTANCES

- (a) Chardin on Persian Bureaucracy
- (b) Br.Mus Or. 4935.
- (c) Royal Seals.
- (d) Classes of Documents.

(a) *Chardin on Bureaucracy*

Safavid bureaucracy was a very complicated machinery, the object of which was to establish a minute control over the official proceedings, and on the other hand to give satisfaction to the holders of some sinecures. In the *T.M.* the knowledge of the wheels is often taken for granted and for a more exact picture of their working we have to depend on Chardin, V, 444-51.

A. In the cases of letters-patent and commissions, the order was as follows:

(a) Whoever had to submit a petition to the King did it personally and in writing. Petitions were freely accepted, even from amidst a crowd as the King was going out for a ride.

(b) At an early opportunity the application was read to the King by the Grand Vazir, or the Nāzīr (Grand Intendant). The King's decision was inscribed in the margin of the petition and the latter returned to the applicant or handed to the officer responsible for its execution.

(c) In the case of appointments and other more important affairs, the correspondence was sent to the Munshī al-mamālik (§23), who put the matter in due form, prepared a fair copy and transmitted it to the Grand Vazir.

(d) After approval, the Grand Vazir (§6) sent the document to the Vāqī'a-nivīs (§17) to be copied. This official made a proper endorsement ("le titre de l'expédition") in his own hand, e.g. if the order was addressed to every and all, he wrote in the blank under the first line: *ḥukm-i jahān-muṭā' shud*.¹

¹ See Or. 4935, No. Xb, where these words stand before the text and our §23. In Chardin's text, the places of §§23 and 17 are inverted: §17 should come under (c), and §23 under (d).

(e) The document was then sent back to the Grand Vazir, who took it to the King for the seal to be applied, after which the Grand Vazir countersigned it with his own seal.

(f) The document passed then into the hands of the Nāzīr-i Dīvān-i a'lā (§53, cf. Chardin, V, 341). If the document was sealed with the small State seal¹ the Nāzīr too countersigned it with his own seal and above the Grand Vazir's seal wrote: "par l'ordre exalté et inexprimable de la bouche de la haute majesté."²

(g) After this the correspondence was forwarded to the officer through whom the petition had been presented (v.s. b).

B. In the case of appointments to a governorship or a post of manager in the khāṣṣa, territories, the documents had to be registered in the respective dīvān ("chambre des comptes"), i.e. either in the Dīvān-i mamālik or the Dīvān-i khāṣṣa.

(a) The order, together with the original petition, etc., was carried to the respective Mustaufī (§§18, 109), who wrote on the verso: "qu'il soit enregistré."

(b) Then to the "régistre des officiers," i.e. to the *daftar-khāna-yi Lashkar-nivīs* (§63, cf. Chardin, V, 437), where the document was registered; namely, the formula "il a été inséré dans les registre du palais" (Or. 4935, No. I) was inscribed and under it the Lashkar-nivīs apposed his seal.

(c) Then to the "prévôt de la chambre," i.e. *dārūgha-yi daftar-khāna* (§54), who checked the text in accordance with the original petition and the draft of the order, made the endorsement: "il est droit" [*ṣaḥīḥ*, v.i., Or. 4935, No. XII] and apposed his seal.

(d) Then to the Nāzīr (i.e. Nāzīr-i daftar, §53), who made the endorsement "il est venu à notre vue" and apposed his seal.

(e) Then to the "bureau de la dépense" (*daftar-i taujīh*, §66), whose head made the endorsement "il a passé sous la plume" and apposed his seal.

(f) Then to the *daftar-i khulāṣa*, whose head made the endorsement "il a été noté" and apposed his seal.³

(g) Then back to the Mustaufī al-mamālik ("le premier président de la chambre," cf. Chardin, V, 439), who made the endorsement: "il a passé par les registres" and apposed his seal slightly above the other.

(h) After this the document apparently was sealed by the Grand Vazīr.

At all the instances through which a document passed copies of it were taken. Chardin, V, 449, admits that the ways of the Persian bureaucracy were long but, says he: ce que je puis assurer aussi c'est que tout y est tenu si exactement et dans un si grand ordre, qu'on y peut avoir en tout temps un compte net et exact de ce qu'on aura fait avec le roi, en quelque temps que ce soit."

In Chardin's Atlas, pl. XXX, there is a picture of the verso of a Persian order, showing the exact positions of the endorsements and seals described above. After the numbers we have added references to the stages of the procedure described under B. The seals come in the following order:

No. 1 (h)				No. 2 (g)
No. 7 (e)	No. 6 (c)	No. 5 (f)	No. 4 (d)	No. 3 (b)

¹ The documents under the Great Seal being excepted.

² Chardin's reference is apparently to the oral order technically called *mushāfaha* (f. 25a).

³ The formulas of (d), (e), (f) probably correspond to *mulaḥaza shud*, *qalami* and *ba-muṭāla'a* quoted on f. 71b, though with reference to the *avāraja-nivīs*

Nos. 1, 2, 3, 5 and 7 are elliptic, and Nos. 4 and 6 quadrangular. Each seal is accompanied by an appropriate endorsement¹ as described in Chardin's text and the names appearing on the seals in Chardin's inadequate transcription must be read as follows:

- No. 1. Shaykh 'Alī-khān, Grand Vazir (of Shāh Sulaymān).
- No. 2. Mirzā Kāzīm, Mustaufi-yi khāssa.
- No. 3. Muḥammad Ja'far, Sāhib daftar-khāna-yi Lashkar-nivīs.
- No. 4. Ismā'il-beg, Nāzir-i daftar-khāna.
- No. 5. Mirzā Kāzīm (?), Mustaufi-yi khulāṣa (?).
- No. 6. Gadā-'Alī beg, Dārūgha-yi daftar-khāna.
- No. 7. Muhammad Kāzīm (?), Sāhib-taujih.

(b) *The Documents of B.M.Or. 4935*

The surest means of ascertaining the practices of Safavid bureaucracy would be to examine the original documents, but this task cannot be thoroughly carried out at the present moment. The number of farmāns available in the S. Churchill Collection (B.M.Or. 4935, cf. Rieu, *Supp.*, 255) is not very large; endorsements made in very cursive hand are often illegible; and the decipherment is rendered still more difficult by the layers of protective paper now pasted on the verso of the documents.

So far as it is possible we shall indicate the principal features of the relevant farmāns.²

I. TAHMĀSP I, 948/1541: conferring the custody of the Qum shrines upon the Sayyid Shujā' al-dīn (copy!). After basmala: *yā Muḥammad, yā 'Alī*. In the margin: dedication to the saints buried in Qum. The Shah's name: *Abū Muẓaffar Tahmāsp bahādur soẓūmiz* (this Turkish formula no more used in later farmāns). Locus sigilli: *muhr-i humāyūn*. Verso: 4 endorsements; the first belonging to the Ṣadr is accompanied by the formula *marqūm shud*; the second belonging to the Majlis-nivīs: *thabt-i rūz-nāma-yi (?) dīvān-i a'lā*; the other two indistinct.

II. TAHMĀSP I, 961/1554: appointment of a Ṣadr to Shīrvān and Shakkī. Top: *al-mulk lillāhi* Seal: round, diameter 3 cms.; inner circle: *banda-yi Shāh-i vilāyat³ Tahmāsp*; outer circle: names of the 12 imams. Opening formula: *farmān-i humāyūn shud*. Verso: three small seals, the square one bearing *tavakkaltu 'alā'llāh*.

III. TAHMĀSP I, 972/1565: appointment of reciters of the Qur'an to his sister's tomb at Qum. Right top: dedication to the shrine. Seal: round, diameter 3.1 cms.; inner circle: *BShV Tahmāsp*; outer circle: names of the imāms. Initial formula *farmān-i humāyūn shud*.⁴ Right bottom: round seal, diameter 2.1 cms., *muhr-i musavvada-yi dīvān-i a'lā* (in the lower register). Verso: square seal with a top shaped as a triple cupola: *al-'abd Muḥammad Yūsuf al-Ḥusayn (?) b. Ḥusayn (?)* and other seals.

IV. MUḤAMMAD KHUDĀ-BANDA, 986/1578. Annual allowance to the mudarris of Isfahan. Seal: round with a top, diameter *circa* 3 cms.; in the top *'Alī [*ḥasbī] Allāh*; inner circle: *BShV*, outer circle illegible. Opening formula: *farmān-i humāyūn shud*. Verso: a seal, shaped similarly to the one on verso of III. Endorsements: *marqūm shud, muqarrar shud*, etc.

¹ Cf. Or. 4935, IXb and XII.

² Only their contents are indicated in Rieu's *Supplement*, pp. 255-6. In view of the evacuation of the MSS of the B.M. I was unable to consult the documents XIV and XV of Or. 4935 and some additional documents in Or. 4934 (No. 3. Ismā'il I) and Or. 4936 (No. 1. Sultān-Ḥusayn). We can only briefly refer to some other documents of the Safavid kings. On the 27 documents of the Vatican Archives see *A Chronicle of the Carmelites*, pp. 1347-57. On the nine documents in the Polish archives see H. S. Szapszal, *Wyobrazenia swiętych muzulmanskich*, Wilno, 1934, 26-48 (two documents reproduced). An important soyūrghāl of Sultān-Ḥusayn was described by N. V. Khanykov, in *Mélanges Asiatiques*, 1857, III/1, 70-4.

³ Further quoted: *BShV*. ⁴ Further quoted *FHSh*. Cf. f. 40a.

V. 'ABBĀS I, 1017/1609. Assignment of revenue to an amīr. Seal: round, diameter 4.5 cms.; inner circle indistinct (names of the imams). Opening formula: *FHSh: ān-ki chūn ḥasab al-ḥukm-i jahān mutā*.¹ Verso: a quadrangular seal with a shaped top (4.1 cms. × 2.8 cms.); under it a pair of small almond-shaped seals and, to the left, two other almond-shaped seals and three round ones.

VI. SHĀH ŠAFĪ (autograph), 1039/1630. Acceptance of a gift. Seal: quadrangular 1.8 × 1.8 cms.: *BShV, Šafī* 1038. Beginning: *muqarrar farmūdīm*.

VII. 'ABBĀS II, 1052/1642. Confirmation of protection to the Carmelite monks. Seal: as on VI: *BShV, 'Abbās*. Opening formula: *HJM*. In the margin, the Shah's autograph referring to the favours conferred by his grandfather (*jadd-i buzurġvāram*) and father (*shāh bābā-am*).

VIII. 'ABBĀS II, 1068/1658. Grant of annual pension to a divine. Seal (1.8 cm. wide, 1.7 cm. high) similar to that on VII. Opening formula: *HJM*.

IXa. 'ABBĀS II, 1071/1661. Tax on a waste land in Qum. Top: *al-mulk lillāhi* (in gold). Seal: round, diameter 3.9 cm.; inner circle *BShV, 'Abbās-i thānī*, outer circle, prayers for the Imams. Opening formula *FHSh*.

IXb. ŠAFĪ II = SULAYMĀN, 1078/1667. Appointment of a servant. Seal: round, diameter 3.1 cm. *muhr-i musavvada-yi dīvān-i a'lā, BShV, Šafī-yi thānī*, 1077. No opening formula. Verso. endorsement: *Huwa! Ḥasab al-amr al-a'lā az qarār-i nivishta-yi siyādat-va-vizārat-va iqbal-panāh-i 'azamat-va-jalālat-dastġāh-i 'alī-jāh (?) I'timād al-dawlat al-'aliyya al-'āliya al-khāqāniya bar-ḥibq-i nivishta-yi mutamad al-khāqāni-yi mazbūr ast*.² Small elliptic seal: *Muḥammad Mahdī b. Ḥabīb-allāh al-Ḥusaynī*. Five other small seals under endorsements: *thabī-i daftar-i khālīs shud; thabī-i daftar (?)*; *th.-i d.-i nazārat shud*; *th.-i d.-khulāṣa*; *th.-i d.-i tauḥīh-i dīvān-i a'lā*.

Xa. SULAYMĀN, 1079/1669. Appointment of a Shaykh al-Islām. Top (in gold): *Huwa-llāh subḥāna-hu. Yā Muḥammad yā 'Alī. Al-khāliq, jalla sha'nuhu*. Seal: round with a top shaped as a double cupola, 4.45 cms. high, 5.7 cms. wide; inscribed: *Ḥasbī Allāh* (top) and *BShV, Sulaymān*, 1078 (centre).³ Opening formula (in red): *farmān-i humāyūn sharaf-i nafādh yāft*.⁴ Conclusion: *va chūn parvānacha bamuḥr-i mihr-āthār-i ashraf-i arfa'-i aqdas-i amjad-i a'lā muzayyan va-muḥallā gardad i'timād numāyand*. Verso: endorsement (illegible) and oval seal: . . . *al-ḥaqq al-mubīn* (cf. XII verso). Seven other endorsements (*marqūm shud*, etc.) with seals: 4 round and 3 square.

Xb. SULAYMĀN, 1084/1679. Confirmation of a pension (*vazīfa*), payable from the vaqf of Princess Zaynab-begum by the *vazīr-u-mustaufī-yi mauqūfāt*. Seal: almond-shaped, 2.4 × 1.7 cm., surrounded by a gold halo: *BShDīn Sulaymān*. Beginning: *HJM* in red ink. Verso: 6 oval and round seals and one square seal, all small.

XI. SULAYMĀN, 1094/1683. Confirmation of the yearly dues payable by the Armenians of Julfa (Jūlāhī) in Isfahan to the amount of 580 tomans (*jizya, rasm-al-vizāra, rusūm-i dārūghakī*), of which Khwāja Avedik Kalāntar paid 35 tomans by way of consolidated *jizya, rasm al-vizāra, rusūm-i dārūghakī, zarīn-kārī (?)*, *pīshkash-i naurūzī, sar-shumār, khāna-shumār*, etc. Seal: quadrangular 1.8 cm. wide, 1 cm. high (plus a small "cupola" 0.5 high), inscribed *Bismillah BShV, Sulaymān*, 1077. Opening formula, *HJM*.

XII. SULTĀN ḤUSAYN, 1122/1710. Appointment of an European to the Arsenal. Recto: a square seal (1.7 × 1.2) with a top (0.5 cm.): *BShV, IIII H*. No opening formula. Verso: *Ḥasab al-amr al-a'lā, az qarār-i nivishta-yi vizārat-i*

¹ Further quoted *HJM*. Cf. f. 40a.

² V.i., XII.

³ For more details, v.i. seal (a).

⁴ Cf. f. 40a.

shaukat-u-igbāl-panāh, 'azamat-u hishmat-u ijlāl-dastgāh, shahāmat-u basālat-intibāh Rukn-i a'zam-i daulat-i khulāfat-bunyān, pāya-yi afkham (?) -i sarir-i salṭanat-i abad-tau'amān 'ālī-jāhī-yi I'tidād al-salṭanat al-sultāniya al-bahriya, Aṣaf-jāhī-yi I'timād al-daulat al-'aliyyat al-'aliya, bar-tibq-i nirshia-yi 'ālī-jāh-i muqarrab al-khāqāni-yi Majlis-nivis-i majlis-i bishisht-āyīn. Verso: endorsements and seals:

No. 1

No. 4

No. 3

No. 5

No. 2

No. 1 is an oval seal with *Lā ilāh illā'llāh al-mulk [lillāhi] al-haqq al-mubīn* (cf. *Xa* verso). No. 2—a small square seal accompanied by: *thabt-i daftar-i khulāsa* (?) *shud*. No. 3 ditto: *thabt-i daftar-i nazārat shud*. No. 4 ditto: *saḥīḥ* (?). No. 5: *thabt-i daftar-i taujīh-i dīvān-i a'lā shud*.

XIII. SULTĀN-HUSAYN, 1125/1713. Revenue of a shrine. Recto: a square seal, 1.2 × 1 cm. (top 0.5 cm.). Upper right corner. an apparently autograph endorsement by the Shah: *Shāh bābā-am . . .* (v.s, vii). Opening formula: *HJM*.

(c) Royal Seals

Chardin, V, 456, says that Shah had five seals and in his Atlas, pl. XXXI, presents the seals of Shāh Sulaymān.

(a) The first was a round turquoise with an excrescence on the top, the centre forming a smaller circle. Inside the top (see Atlas) was inscribed: "Dieu est ma suffisance" (= *Hasbī Allāh*). The inscription in the centre of this and all the other seals was *Banda-yi Shāh-i vilāyat, Sulaymān*, 1080, i.e. "The Slave of the King of Sanctity Sulaymān, 1080/1669," the "King of Sanctity" being 'Alī (and not the twelfth Imām as Chardin took it). The inscription running round the centre was as follows:

Jāmb-i har ki bā 'Alī na-nikūst
Har-ki kū bāsh man na-dāram dūst
Har-ki chūn khāk nīst bar dar-i ū
Gar firshia-st khāk bar sar-i ūst.¹

"He who is not on good terms with 'Alī,
 Whoever he be, I do not befriend him.
 He who is not like dust on his threshold,
 Let dust be on his head, even though he be an angel."

(b) Another large seal, also a turquoise, had a quadrangular form. Its inner square was inscribed like the centre of (a), but round it ran the names of the twelve Imams.

(c) The third seal, small and square, was a ruby and bore only the formula inscribed in the centre of (a) and (b).

(d) The fourth small seal was an emerald, which on Chardin's plate has the form of a shield with three points at the top and almond-shaped at the bottom, and bore the usual formula with a slight variation: *Banda-yi Shāh-i dīm, Sulaymān*, 1080 (cf. *Xb*).

(e) The fifth seal was entirely like (a) except for its round shape.

According to Chardin, V, 461, the seal (a) was used for all the affairs of the Dīvān-i mamālik ("les affaires de l'empire"), such as treaties, correspondence with foreigners,

¹ The text is faulty in Chardin, but the same inscription figures on Or. 4935, No. *Xa* and on Sultān-Husayn's seal, see Khanykoff in *Mélanges Asiatiques*, III/1, pp. 70-74. Chardin, V, 461, certifies that the great seals had served since 'Abbās I, only the King's name had been changed in due course (?). In fact, Olearius, 255, quotes the same couplet under Shah Šāfi.

orders ("commissions"), letters patent; (b) was used for the orders ("commissions") concerning the Khāṣṣa and (e) in military affairs, while the small (c) and (d) served in matters financial and bearing on the demesnes, as well as in appointments made in the Khāṣṣa Dt. and in the army. The square (b) was the most respected because it was properly the own seal of the Shah who wore it round his neck. The large seals (*sic*) were called *humāyūn*, while the small ones were surnamed *hukm-i jahān mutā'*, after the opening formula of the orders to the governors and Royal managers, to which they were apposed (v.s., f. 40a). One of the small seals was kept by the eunuch in charge of the Treasury.

This minute description enables us to identify some of the seals on the documents included in Or. 4935.

The seal (a) is represented on Xa (appointment of a Shaykh al-Islam!) and possibly on IV (allowance to a divine). The large square seal (b) seems to be lacking in our collection.

The small seal (c) is probably the square seal of VII (protection of Carmelites) and VIII (a pension), both opening with the formula *HJM*, as well as on VI (acceptance of a gift) opening with *muqarrar farmūdīm*. Similar to these seals are those of XI (Armenians), XII (appointment of an European), XIII (revenue of a shrine), although in these three cases the square seals have a small "cupola"-shaped top. Documents XI and XIII open with the formula *HJM*. The seal (d), judging by its legend, seems to be that of Xb.

The seal (e) is apparently the large round seal figuring on II (appointment of a Šadr), III (appointment to a shrine), V (assignment to an amīr), IXa (taxation of a land connected with the shrine of Qum), both on account of its size, the names of the imams and the formula *FHSh*.

Apart from these seals, the documents IXb (appointment of a servant) and III (in the margin) bear the seal *muhr-i musavvada-yi dīvān-i a'lā* which, not being properly a royal seal, served possibly to certify copies, or to indicate that a copy was being kept in the divan.

The *Tadhkirat al-muluk* enumerates four seals, but in their identification we come upon considerable difficulties.

(α) *Muhr-i humāyūn* (§24) may be (a) which on document Xa is combined with the small oval seal which we tentatively take for *sharaf-i nafādh*.

(β) *Muhr-i sharaf-i nafādh* (§25) was a small additional seal apposed jointly with (α). Possibly this is the oval seal 1.4 × 2.2 cm., which figures on the verso of the parvānacha Xa and on the verso of XII (though in this latter case it is combined on the recto with a small square seal!). Its legend (not quite distinct) is *Lā ilāh illā'llāh al-mulk [illāhī] al-ḥaqq al-mubīn*. Like (a) it stands on the middle perpendicular line of the document, but as the verso of a farmān always begins opposite the bottom of the recto and the endorsements run in the inverse direction to the principal text, this additional seal, in comparison to (a) stands at the other end of the document. Before it, is inscribed the formula *ḥasab al-amr*, etc., and the registration seals are beneath it. The parvānacha Xa begins with the formula: *farmān-i humāyūn sharaf-i nafādh yāft* (cf. f. 40a). The *muhr-i mihr-āthār*, which is mentioned in its conclusion (v.s.), would then refer to the cupola-shaped seal (a). Should our oval seal (verso) be the *sharaf-i nafādh* seal, the cupola-shaped seal (recto) should be *mihr-āthār*. But this would contradict §25, according to which we should expect a combination of *sharaf-i nafādh* with *humāyūn*. A further difficulty is that the oval seal is found also on the verso of XII which bears recto only the small seal (c). We have no means to solve these contradictions.

(γ) *Muhr-i angushtar-i āftāb-āthār* (alias *mihr-āthār*) may be the seal of Xb, round which a golden halo is traced by hand. This embellishment might explain the term *āftāb-āthār*, "with vestiges of the Sun." In Chardin's description it corresponds to the seal (d). The word *angushtar* points to the seal being a signet-ring. The fact that there was no "keeper" to it but only an "ink-horn holder," suggests that the seal was of secondary importance. According to our text this seal accompanied the *tughrā* drawn by the Vāqī'a-nivis, whereas

no such "tughrā" is distinguishable on Xb, which again makes a difficulty. It is safer then to stick to the identification (γ) with the small oval seal (v.s. Commentary on §26).

(δ) By the method of exclusion the Ink-horn Holder of the raqams (§27) should be connected with the seal (c), but we must repeat that our explanation of §§24-27 is still up in the air. Nondum liquet.

*

(d) *Classes of Documents*

Our source mentions various kinds of official documents:

raqam, a general term under which (f. 9b) even the King's oral orders were comprised (f. 9a, *raqam-i bil-mushāfaha*), the raqams for appointments had to bear the seal *mīhr-āthār* (cf. Xa and XII); some raqams were issued by the Grand Vazir (f. 83a);

hukm must have been administrative orders of lesser importance as they are mentioned at a second place in the title of §27. Even the salary of the *Davātdār-i aḥkāḥ* was much lower than that of his colleague of *arqām* (cf. §§101-102). We learn from f. 21b that orders (*hukm*) were issued in criminal affairs on the initiative of the Divān-begī, and from f. 39a that the formula *hukm-i jahān mutā' shud* was placed on "the orders given by the Divān-begī" (i.e. on his initiative?). In this case, documents V, VII, VIII, Xb, XI and XIII, bearing this formula, should be considered as judicial decisions, cf. also f. 21b;

mithāl, see ff. 40a, 72b: meaning uncertain; cf. p. 79, note 2.

parvāna, see ff. 43a, 68b; under this category come as well *parvānajāt-i mubārak-i ashraf*, "the Royal parvānas" (f. 40a) as *parvānajāt-i ḥisābī* dealing with accountancy.¹

Documents issued on the basis of drafts (*musavadda-yi daftari*) formed a special category of official correspondence. If they referred to revenue, the avāraja-nivīses had to inscribe special formulas both on the draft and the fair copy (ff. 71a, 71b). On f. 25b some raqams are referred to which were transcribed by the scribes from the rough drafts of the Vāqī'a-nivīs. In connection with the character of document IX, one might surmise that the seal (e) was used for the documents for which only a draft drawn up by some competent officer was needed and not a direct order of the Shah given by word of mouth (*mushāfaha*, ff. 9b, 25a, 40b). On f. 42b two categories of raqams are mentioned: *daftari* and *bayādī*; the former may have been those issued from musavvadas, while the latter ("fair copies") directly followed the King's order. The documents issued by the higher officials were called *ta'liqa* (Grand Vazir, f. 23b; Nāzīr, f. 20a; Divan-begī, f. 21b; Khalīfa, f. 30a). The Divan-begī's summons were called *ta'liqa-yi bayādī* (f. 21a).²

The distinction between all these categories is still obscure.³

V

LANGUAGE

The language of the *T.M.* is negligent and approaches the type of an official jargon intelligible to a limited group of initiated. The meaning of many terms which the author takes for granted could be ascertained only through the context, or merely hypothetically (see the Index). Moreover, some obscurity in the text is attributable

¹ In India "parvānachas" were "orders not requiring the King's seal," Ibn-Hasan, *o.c.*, 93. This does not apply to our Xa.

² In India the term *bayādī* was applied to confidential farmans folded up in such a manner that the contents could not be seen, see Ibn-Hasan, *o.c.*, 97

³ The whole procedure is far less clear than that of the Mughal court, cf. Ibn Hasan's elaborate chapter, "Farmāns," *o.c.*, pp. 92-106.

to the scatter-brained scribe who occasionally did not notice even such howlers as *zabī* (for *dabī*), *zarrābī* (for *ḍarrābī*), etc., to say nothing of the more conventional *mustaqallāt* (67b) (for *mustaghallāt*) and *infād* (for *infādḥ*).¹

Some misunderstandings result from the particle *va* now being omitted and now inserted parasitically: f. 65b *ṭalab-i hamīsha-keshīk* but f. 63b *ṭalab-va-hamīsha-keshīk*.

Plural is used now to denote the series of consecutive holders of an office: *vuzarā-yi dīvān-i a'lā* (f. 28a) and now to denote the plurality of the dignitaries of a similar denomination (f. 44b).

The word *ghayrh* (read *ghayre* < Arab. **ghayruhu*), in the sense of "the rest of," with the following *idāfat* is unusual.

Very curious are composite verbal forms perhaps influenced by parallel Turkish constructions, such as *istāda mī shud* (f. 43b), *agar miyāmada-and*, *mīnumūda bāshand* (f. 22a); *ṭasarruf dāshā khāhad būd* (56a).

Chinānchi for *chnānki* (76 b) is a very common mistake in Persian.

One should also note the colloquial use of the enclitic *ki* following the initial word of the sentence, in the sense of "because, namely" (Latin *enim*): *qullābī ki ṣarfa namīkunad*, "because forgery is of no profit" (39a). Such constructions are sporadically found in much earlier authors, see Rashīd al-dīn, ed. Jahn, 309: *va ra'iyat-rā-ki ba-charīk na-dāda-īm*, "rusticos enim exercitui non donavi."

The syntax of our author is definitely bad. As an example of involved construction one might quote the scheme of fol. 39a: *dar sāl-i a'lā ki tujjār qurūsh-i bisyār az atrāf miyāvardand va naqda-sāzi-va-fulūs-kārī*, *dar 'ayn-i ma'mūrī-yi shahr, ki chahār-sad 'amala-yi maujūdi . . . kār mīkarda-and*, *pānsad toman ba-ijāra mīdada-and ki mustā'jir . . . 250 toman . . . infād-i khazāna, va 350 toman-i dīgar rā . . . mīdāda-and* (sic).

The text teems with anacolutha. Fol. 70b: *Shughl-i īshān ān-ast ki dar kayfiyāt . . . ism nivīshān* (sic), *va dar muḥāṣabāt . . . "nskh," va dar afrād "ba-mutāla'a" mīnivīšand* (70b). Fol. 73a: *va dar raf'-i maḥsūlāt ki ba-'illat-i āfat-i ardī ya samā'i ya īn-ki bāzādī bāshad* (sic), *ba'd az 'ard . . . muqarrar mīgardad* (repeated on fol. 75a). Fol. 25a: *Va har gūna raqamī-ki pādshāh ba-zabānī muqarrar dārad . . . , yā īnki az qarār-i ta'līqa-yī . . . vazīr-i dīvān-i a'lā, yā īnki ba-qayd-i "ḥasab al-amr al-a'lā" umarā . . . ba-risāla-yī khud chīzi nivīshā, ba-vāqī'a-nivīs sīpārānd, ba-itīlā' va tughrā(-yī) qalam-i madād-i vāqī'a-nivīs arqām-i madhkūr miguzarad.*

Very common is the construction asyndeton in which the auxiliary verbs are left out, such as fol. 21b: *dīvān-begī ba-ḥaqīqat . . . rasīda ba-khidmāt-i pādshāh . . . 'ard* (sic), *va az-qarārī-ki maqrūn ba-ṣalāḥ-i daulat . . . mīdānasta, ghaur-rasī mīnumūda-and*; fol. 73b: *tatīmma . . . dabī, va tahvīl-i ra'āyā dar maḥāll munabbar, va tahvīldār ta'yīn, va tankhwāh-i arbāb-i ḥavālat-i dīvān mīshud*, fol. 75b: *tankhwāh bāz-yāft numūda ba-masārif . . . ṣarf, va . . . asnād dar dast dāshā, ba-raqam-i dīvān . . . rasānīda.*

VI. ADDITIONAL SELECTION OF LITERATURE

In addition to the books referred to in the list of abbreviations (pp. 3-4) and in the text, the following selection of works on the social and economic history of Iran may prove helpful to the readers. In it are incorporated some recent works on the adjacent countries which give useful parallels to our subject, indicate the methods of the present-day investigation and contain further bibliography. Purely static descriptions, such as consular and commercial reports, have not been included

¹ See also pp. 174 on the confusion in retranscribing the lists and tables of the original, and p. 173 on the spelling out of numbers.

in the list. The latter has no claim to completeness. In the present circumstances, even the fascicles of the *Noviy Vostok* containing articles on land-tenure in Isfahan and Sistan could not be consulted.

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The book (= Persian *Dastūr al-'amal*, "Regulations") epitomises the administrative make-up of the Georgian kingdom, strongly influenced by the institutions and terminology of the suzerain Persia. In its object it is identical to, and in its date slightly earlier than the *T M*. I could use only some insignificant fragments of the book translated for me by Z. D. Avalishvili. On the Georgian institutions in general see Introduction to Brosset's *Histoire de la Géorgie*. The late I. A. Javakhishvili's *Economic History of Georgia*, 1930 (in Georgian) is inaccessible to me.

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 ian *Dastuylamali* transcribes
 this term **dushalik* and ex-
 plains it as "gift of a donor"
 (?); this transcription suggests
 that the word is connected
 with *doshu*, "to spread (a
 carpet, a mattress)," possibly
 with a hint at "securing
 someone's comfort."]

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هزار و هفتصد و کسری
علا
پنجاه هزار و دویست و شصت و
یک نومان و پنجاه و دینار و کسری
ول

شهر
شهر و بیست و هفتاد و هشت
نومان پنجاهار و پانصد و کسری
مول
یازده هزار و هشتصد و هشتاد
دو نومان و نه هزار و هفتصد و بیست
و کسری

اولان
یک هزار و پانصد و هشتاد و هفت
نومان پنجاهار و هفتصد و دینار
و کسری

ول
سیصد و هفتاد و هشتاد و نومان
هفت هزار و بیست و هشتاد و دینار
و کسری

ول
یک هزار و دویست و هشتاد و نومان
و سه هزار و دینار و کسری
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فول و پنجاهار و پانصد و هفتاد
و بیست و پنجاهار و بیست و هفتاد
دو نومان ششصد و هفتصد و
کسری

ول
چهار هزار و چهارصد و هفتاد و
سه نومان و یک هزار و یکصد و دینار
و کسری
واجیه
بیست و یک هزار و هفتاد و نومان
نومان و پنجاهار و بیست و
دینار و کسری

بنو
و مواجب هر ساله

صفت
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و هشتصد و نود و شش
نومان و پنجاه و هفتصد

بنو
و عوض بنو

صفت
صد و هفتاد و شش
و پنجاه و بیست و یک
و شصت و شش

نومان و سه
هزار و بیست و پانصد نفر

و ک
نواب حله و غیره

دو هزار و یکصد و نود و یک
نومان و شش هزار و شصت و بیست

و ک
نواب حله و غیره
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دو هزار و بیست و یک
نومان و شش هزار و شصت و بیست

سا
عن رونیا فی ابل کلمر

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موا
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یکصد و نوزاد و نه هزار و صد
و سی و نومان و دو هزار و چهار
دینار و کسری

ا
و حکام

صد و نود و شش
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نود و دو نومان
و کسری

و کسری

و کسری

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بند مبارک عیاشی و غیره

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ساوه و حاوه

فلر و نوایین

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فلرو لادزان داخل

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کری دصبع و بیست و بیست و هفتاد و نومان

کری چهار هزار و هفتصد و چهل و بنیاد

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کی سیکلر
 کی سیکلر
 کی سیکلر
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لاونتا
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 هفت هزار و نود و دو و یک دینار

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 لادان
 نغز نغز
 عور
 لادان
 یکصد و سه نومان که هزار
 و ششصد و دینار

کلمه
 لادان
 دو لینگ و هفتاد و
 یک نغز
 لادان
 بیست و چهار دینار

کلمه
 لادان
 پانصد نغز
 لادان
 یکصد و هشتاد و سه
 نومان و دو لینگ و بیست
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 لادان
 یکصد نغز
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 هشتصد و هشتاد و سه
 نومان و سه هزار و چهار صد
 و شش و شش دینار

کلمه
 لادان
 یکصد و پنجاه نغز
 لادان
 یکصد و پنجاه نومان و
 چهار هزار و ششصد و هفتاد و سه

ک	پیکر	هراٹ
لازنا	داخل	پانڈہ ہزار و دو لیت و ہفتاد
	دو ہزار و شصت و نوا	دو ہزار و شصت و نوا
ک	چھاد دینار	ہفت تومان و شش درہمی
	مارچاق	چھاد دینار
لازنا	داخل	سہ ہزار و دو لیت و شصت
	نود و ہفت ہفت	و ہفت تومان و پچھتر و پانصد
ک	سی زبک دینار	سی زبک دینار
	فرہ	فرہ
لازنا	داخل	چھاد ہزار و ہفتاد و ہشتاد
	شصد و سہ ہفت	نہ تومان و شش ہزار و ہشتصد
ک	ہفتاد و سہ دینار	ہفتاد و سہ دینار

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	دو لیت و پونہ	و چھاد ہزار و ہفتصد و دینت
ک	ہفت دینار	و ہفت دینار
	بادکوبہ	بادکوبہ
لازنا	داخل	پانصد تومان
	صد ہفت	صد ہفت
ک	چشکونک و اغداس	چشکونک و اغداس
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هراٹ و نوابین

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لانا سبصل و بوزده نفس داخل شصد و پینت و شش فرمان دو هزار و پینت دو کربنار
 لانا صد و پنجاه نفس داخل زوز و قاعه قاریناف
 لانا صد و پنجاه نفس داخل چهار صد و پنجاه و پنجمان و پنجمان و دو دین هشتاد دینار
 لانا شصت نفس داخل مشکین
 لانا صد و پنجاه نفس داخل صد و سی و شش فرمان و نه هزار و هشتاد و پنجاه و شش دینار
 لانا پنجاه نفس داخل الکاء انهار من مزاد مع مغانات
 لانا پانزده نفس داخل قلعه پشک
 لانا پانزده نفس داخل پنجاه و هفتونمان و پنجمان و دو دینار
 لانا سلطان لک سلاطی

لانا پانصد و نود نفس داخل هشتصد و هفتاد و چهار فرمان و پنجمان و شصت و نود و پنجمان
 لانا صد و پنجاه و یک نفس داخل ایل دینکی
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 لانا هشتاد و شش نفس داخل پانصد و ده فرمان و دو هزار و نود و پنجمان
 لانا صد نفس داخل ابدا لوانا
 لانا منه نفس داخل هشتاد و هفتونمان و پنجمان و هفتصد و پینت و شش دینار
 لانا ننه نفس داخل سراب
 لانا هشتصد و پنجاه و شش فرمان و پنجمان و شش دینار داخل ایل شفا فی

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 پانصد دینار

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 و هفت هزار و پنجادینار

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لاذئان
هفت هزار و شصت و نونومان و سه هزار و هفتصد و چهل و هفت و بنیاد

لاذئان
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هشتصد و بیست و هشت نومان و چهار هزار و دو و بیست و شش

و حکام و مسالاطین و جعل مد اخل و مخارج ابران
پس تفصیل مد اخل مرا سرحد و نفری ملاذئان
مفترن هر و لایث را بقصیل جزو بدین موجب
بمعرض عرض مسبرسانند

ادریایک
بیکلر

نیز و نونومانی و چهار هزار و دو و بیست و هفت
چهار نومان و چهار هزار و هفتصد و شش و بنیاد

لاذئان
و بنم
دو هزار و سیصد و بیست و هفت و نونومان و هشت هزار و شصت و هفت و بنیاد
لاذئان
استانادا

و شصت و شش دینار و چهار دنانگ و از آنقاد
 صد يك رسوم داشته صاج جمع گناخانه پنجاه
 نومان موابج و از ناسمه چي و زر كوب و كاغذ
 كرو مغراض كرو مد تهب بلا شخص مبلغ رسوم
 داشته صاج جمع مطبخ نه نومان موابج داشته
 و رسوم مختص بنیست صاج جمع صطبل مبلغ
 دو اوزه نومان موابج و از پیش كش و انعام
 بترجي كدر تخت اسم امهر خور با بی نوشته شه
 رسوم داشته صاج جمع فهور خانه مبلغ پنجاه
 نومان موابج و دو هزار من كندم بوزن شاه
 انعام داشته و رسوم مختص نشاء صاج جمع

نقاشخانه مبلغ سی نومان انعام همه ساله و از ده
 نیم مصالح نقاشی از پازنده دینار و دو بیست و
 شش دینار و چهار دنانگ رسوم داشته
 صاج جمع عطارخانه مبلغ ده نومان موابج و از
 اینماع و انقاد بدستور سایر بیوناك رسوم
 داشته صراف باشی خزانه عامی مبلغ ده نومان
 موابج و از زرپی كدر خزانه او و ندم نومان این
 بیست دینار با زرافت بنیما بد و اگر در قلب
 برابد یا سبك باشد از عهد خرامت ان
 بیرون اید مقاله در هر دو ذكر موابج و بنویسند
 امراء سرحد و نفری ملا زمان هر يك از بیكاران

معلق با و بوده - صاججمع شعلخانه مبلغ دوازده

نومان مواجب و از نومان فتم جنس ایشاع

دویست و شصت و شش دینار و چهار دانگ

اذا و بوده صاججمع زوزک خانه مبلغ پنج نومان

و شش هزار و کسری مواجب و دیدنی جواهر صفا

با و بوده و برین موجب رسوم فتمابین ناظر و غیر

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ناطظ
یکهزار دینار
دو هزار دینار
دو هزار دینار
چهار دینار
شصت و شش دانگ
سردینار و دو دانگ
نخاز دانگ

صاججمع مسکر خانه مبلغ سی نومان مواجب دانه

صاججمع ابدار خانه مبلغ هشتاد و هفت نومان

و شش هزار و کسری مواجب ازده نیم ایشاع بیست

ما
ازده یک انعام و ده نیم پیشکش یکصد دینار
ناظظ
ده دینار
سی و پنج دینار

صاح
ده دینار
صاح
چهل دینار
صاح
چهل دینار
صاح
چهل دینار

صاججمع شترخان مبلغ بیست نومان مواجب

داشته صاججمع همه خانه مبلغ هشتاد و

مواجب و بدستور و حور و پنجاه رسوم داشته

صاججمع سفخانه مبلغ نوزده نومان و هفتصد

و چهل دینار مواجب و ازده نیم ایشاع چهار

دانگ و ازده یک انعام از یکصد دینار هشتاد

معلق

کلید دارد
چندینار

عزیزان
سوی دینار

صاحب جمع شرفخانه غانات مبلغ ده تومان مؤمن

واژده نیم اینباع و صد یک انفاد بنفصل

سرکار خاصه رسوم داشته صاحب جمع

ایخانه مبلغ چهارده تومان و نه هزار و هشتصد

و نود و شش دینار مواجب و ازیوشک و کله

و جگر کوسفند پست دینار و ازیوشک و

کله و جگر بر ده دینار و رسوم داشته صاحب

جمع شرفخانه مبلغ یکصد تومان مواجب و

دوازده تومان انعام هه ساله و برین موجب

رسوم در وجه او مفتر بود

و ش هزار و هشتصد دینار مواجب و برین موجب

رسوم در وجه او مفتر بود

با
اذا بخره قمار و غیره در جزو اینباع مؤذنه انفاد

نایند صد و با ازیافت و فمابین صاحب جمع و

و مشرف بالنا و اذ فمفث میشود

با
ازده نیم اینباع نایند

ناظر بنیاد
پشت و شش
سیصد دینار
و دوازده و دوازده

با
ازده یک انعام
یکصد دینار

ناظر بنیاد
سخت و شش
چهل دینار جمع

ده دینار
ده دینار
چهل دینار جمع

از صد ثومان افناد و زدا و عمال چهار ثومان
فما بین ناظر مستوفی و صاحب جمع و مشرف بالاعمال
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باید
دهیم اینیاع
صد ذینار

اظطر دهینار
دهینار
صاحب جمع غایب مبلغ هشت ثومان و هفت هزار

چهار ذینار مواجب و برین موجب رسوم در
دو وجه او مفتر بوده

باید
از جنبی که بر کار خاصه شریفه او رند و آنچه
عمال نفدا نفاد و کوسفند اینیاع نماید صد
موباذ یافت و فما بین صاحب جمع و مشرف بالاعمال

نیز

فتمت میشود

باید
از ده یک افنام و دهیم پیشکش

ناطصد دینار
مشتدینار
صاحب جمع
هزار و هشتصد
دینار

هشتاد و هشتصد
عزبان کلنگ
بکهار و هشتصد
بکهار و هشتصد
دینار

باید
دهیم آنچه مواجب دهند
بکثومان

اظطر
بکهار دینار
هشتصد
مشتدینار
مواجب صاحب جمع
هزار و هشتصد و نسی
دینار و دو دواک

بکهار و هشتصد
کلسه دار
بکهار و هشتصد
مشتدینار
دو دواک و نسی
بکهار و هشتصد
دینار

صاحب جمع شریفانه مبلغ سی و چهار ثومان و

این سند در روز بیستم ماه ذی قعدة سنه ۱۲۸۰ قمری در محضر جمعی از اعیان و اشراف این شهر و در حضور افاضه عالیجناب...

صاحبه و بود و جمع
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 بیخند و چندان
 بیت و چندان
 کلان
 بیخند و چندان
 کلان
 بیخند و چندان
 کلان

بکهن در دینار
 از ده نیم ایشاع
 ماطت
 بکهن در دینار
 از ده نیم ایشاع
 ماطت
 بکهن در دینار
 از ده نیم ایشاع
 ماطت

صاحب جمع فراخانه مبلغ هفتاد تومان و سه
 هزار و دویست چهل و یک ریال و نیم مؤاجب
 و بد بنویس رسوم در وجه او مقرر بوده
 ده نیم ایشاع
 بکهن در دینار

دوشال
 از یک تومان
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 بیخند و چندان
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 بیخند و چندان
 کلان

صاحب جمع بیخند و چندان نه خاصه و خیا لخانه چهل تان
 مؤاجب و برین موجب رسوم با زیافت می شود
 ده نیک و دوشالک خلف و دینم مؤاجب
 و ده نیم ایشاع

نادر

صاحب جمع و کما بخانه مبلغ چهار صد و هشتاد و نه تومان و یک هزار و کسری مواجب و پنجاه و نه تومان انعام همه ساله و بر بنهوجب رسوم داشته

موافق دستور حسن بیک

با اذینچه بانعام دهشتاد و نه بیک
ما صاحب جمع
ع و دینار

با اذینچه محمولات منافع تکرار می نماید
کنند و اذینچه مواجب هرگز دهند که از اذینچه
دهیم چهار دصته رسد ما صاحب جمع است

موافق زمان جنت مکان از خلعتی که بفرس دهند ده بیک فیه و ارضی با اذیناف و بر بنهوجب

نفسم همیشه

با اذینهم ایشاع بیروح ایضا

ناظر به هزار دینار
دو هزار و بیصد و شصت و شش دینار و چهار ذک

ارباب الغایه بیک هزار دینار
صاحب چهار صد و شصت و سه دینار و دو ذک

با اذینهم جنبی که بنواجب دهند بیروح ایضا

صاحب هزار دینار جمع
ارباب انظار و بیل یک هزار
کل دینار

سفر از دینار
کلید دار عربان
دو هزار و دهک نشیند دینار
حله دینار

فیلم داده بدین موجب رسوم با اذیناف منب نموده اند

با اذینچه نقد بنواجب دهند از یک تومان و دینار بیروح از اذینچه
و اذینچه بینه دینار بیهه سرکار خاصه شریفه ضبط میشود و
و اذینچه بکصد و دینار در وجهه صاحب جمع معترراست

با اذینحساش نقاد که بر ازان بود و ذواعله معتررا صد و بیک و
از اذینا دستور انظار صد بنهم معتررو بود

واز جمله ده بنم طعمه کلاب و جوارح قدری
 رسوم دارد مشرف نوپخانه مبلغ بیست
 نومان مواجب و از جمله ده بک رسوم بارط
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 آنچه در نسخه نوشته شده بدین موجب رسوم
 در وجه مشاوران مقرر بود و آنچه مشرف

باسبب آنکه تمام ده بنم پیش چو زبان رسوم که جمع شود

بدین موجب تعیین میشود

کلید
 دوهزار و چهارصد
 دینار

صاحب
 سه هزار و بیست

از باب القای
 یک هزار دینار

غزنیان
 سه هزار دینار

بیست و
 هفتصد

یک دینار و از آنچه بمواجب دهند از جمله ده
 بنم ده بک و از اینها دع و درنگ رسوم داشته
 مشرف شش پخانه سی و پنج نومان مواجب داشته
 و از آنجا صد بک و از ده بنم اینها دع بعد از
 وضع دود بک که مغلق بناظر از باب القای قبل
 دارد و در آنک در وجه مشرف مقرر است
 و از پیشکش و انعام نیز رسوم مقرر شده مشرف
 شش پخانه مبلغ یازده نومان مواجب و از آنکه موا
 رسوم که جمع شود سی و دینار و در آنک
 رسوم داشته مشرف نوپخانه مبلغ شصت
 نومان و چهار هزار و هفتصد و کسری مواجب

مشغول بمشرف مذکور است و هرگز و نیز بکتاب
 طعام صباح و بکتاب مسا و شش عدد نان
 دو خاصه و چهار عدد خرچی چیره داشته
 مشرف مبلغ از کسفتند که بانعام دهند از
 جمله ده بیک بیست دینار و از ده نیم اینیاع
 دو دانگ و از خوراک صبح و مسانه زسوی
 داشته مشرف میوه خانه و فوز خانه و غانات
 باشراف یک شخص معزز بوده مبلغ بیست ثوب
 مواجب داشته و از پیشکش صد بیک و از انعام
 ارضد دینار و دینار و از نخوی اضعاف که
 براف سرانجام نمایند از جمله بجد نیارده نیم

دینار و دو دانگ دوزخه او معتر است
 مشرف کتبا بنام شرح مشرف ابدار خانه رسوم
 داشته مشرف فیماچخانه خاصه از انعام
 و از او عمال صد و یک و از ده نیم اینیاع یکصد
 و سی و دینار و دو دانگ و از ده نیم پیشکش
 و خلعت و اجناس برای بکهنزار و هضد و شصت
 و شش دینار و چهار دانگ رسوم دوزخه او
 معتر بوده مشرف جوی خانه و مطبخ و درختها
 و ایاغخانه با یک شخص بود مبلغ سی ثوبان جنون
 و آنچه بانعام دهند صد و آنچه بواجب
 دهند صد بیک و از ده نیم اینیاع دو دانگ

برای که تنخواه عسا کر شود به ہم باذیافت و از جمله
 بکونمان که جمع شود سه هزار دینار و از اجناس
 افتاد و در ذوالعقال و کرکیزان صد پیک
 هفت و از اجناس شعر باغخانه صد پیم رسوم دارد
 مشرف فضا چخانه امرائی اذده پیک خلعت از بکونمان
 که جمع شود بکهنل اورد و دینت دینار و از افتاد
 و ذوالعقال صد و پیک و اذده پیم انبیاع پیک
 نومان جمع شود بکصد و سی و سه دینار و در
 دانک رسوم در وجه او مقررات مشرف
 ابداً تخانه از افتاد صد و پیک و اذده پیم انبیاع
 بکونمان که جمع شود از انجمله بکصد و سی و سه

سه دینار و چهار دانک و پیم و اذده سه ساله
 دو دینار و پیم و از انعام امر او جمعی که ملازم بنا
 و سپوزغال و غیره هفت دینار و پیم رسوم
 داشته نو پسند نظارت نوزده نومان متوا
 و از اجازات از فرار نومان بکد پینار و پیم رسوم
 داشته مشرف خزانه عامی اذده پیک انعام
 و خلعت و در پیم پیشکش از بکونمان که جمع شود
 مبلغ سه هزار دینار و اذده پیم رسوم انبیاع
 بکونمان که جمع شود بکصد و سی و سه دینار
 و در دانک و از مواجب و رسوم که نقد داده
 شود از بکونمان و مشرف دینار و از اجناس

دینا در سُوم داشته و رسوم پیشکش بشرح اسم
 لشکر نویسی است کَشِیک نویسان در نفر بوده
 و مبلغ سی و هفت نومان مؤاجب داشته اند
 نویسنده بغایا مبلغ بیست نومان مؤاجب
 داشته پیشکش نویسن مبلغ پانزده نومان حجت
 و از جمله ده یک که از پیشکش گرفته میشود
 بکن یک رسوم دارد دفتر دار مبلغ نومان
 مؤاجب و بیست و یک نومان و شش هزار نسیبه
 دینا در سُوم محلی و از اجازات افراد نومات
 از فراد و دینا و چهار دوانک و نیم از نخواه
 امر ایضا بکار و بکارانک و نیم و از قبول امر

و از پیشکش که ده یک با زیادت میشود از جمله ده
 ده یک ده یک در وجه مشارالیه و سایر
 خط نویسن مقرر بوده سرخط نویسن مبلغ دوازده
 نومان مؤاجب و از فراد نومات از اجازات
 بچندینا و چهار دوانک و از نخواه یکساله امر
 و مقرران سه دینا و چهار دوانک و از نخواه
 اقایان و مقرران و لایا و لایا بیست دینار
 و از قبول امر و غیره هشت دینا و از همه
 ساله ایضا بچندینا و دودوانک و از انعام
 امر و جمعی که ملازم بنا شدند و سپور غال و
 مغایق و مؤاجب و حق السعی عمال شانزده

و پنجاه دینار و کتبی بپول و از اجازات از قمار
 نومان هجده دینار و بکلانک و بیم و از نخواره
 بکسانه امر او مقریان و اقایان هشت دینار
 و در دوانک و از مواجب مقریان و سیالان و
 غیره سوی عمله بیونان چهل دینار و از بپول
 امر او مقریان و اقایان بیست و پنجدینار و
 از همه ساله امر او مقریان و اقایان شانزده
 دینار و چهار دوانک و از انعام امر او جمعی که
 ملازم بنباشند پنجاه دینار و سوم و مواجب
 و حق التعمیر عمال پنجاه دینار و از سپورغال و
 معافی و مسالی و اقطاع پنجاه دینار و سوم داد

ضبط شده او اوجه نویسی فادرس مبلغ پانزده
 نومان مواجب و بکصد و سه نومان هفت هزار
 کتبی از خادج المال حال فادرس و سوم محلی و سایر
 رسومات او بدست خور او اوجه نویسی عراقی هشت
 او اوجه نویسی خراسان مبلغ پانزده نومان جنوا
 و شصت و هشت نومان و شش هزار و کتبی
 و سوم محلی و سایر رسومات مشارالیه بدست
 او اوجه نویسی عراقی هشت و اوجه نویسی حد
 مبلغ بیست نومان مواجب و سایر رسوما
 او بدست خور عوارجه نویسی عراقی هشت
 لشکر نویسی مبلغ سه نومان و بکصد و دو بیست

بغاه

دوناك و نيم عسكاً كى بيسپت ديناوار واز پيول امر
 ومفتر بيان و اقايان يازده ديناوار و يك دانك نيم
 واز نيول فورچيان و غلامان و شتتچيان و نوچيان
 پيچاه ديناوار و از هه ساله امر و غيره هفت ديناوار
 و نيم و از هه ساله فورچيان و غيره پيچاه ديناوار
 و از انعام امر و جمعي كه ملازم بنا شدند و دويد
 و نيم و از انعام فورچيان و سا بز عسكاً كى پيچاه ديناوار
 و از سبوز قبال و مغافي و غيره بيسپت و دوزنيا
 و نيم رسوم داشته او اوجه نويسن عرف
 مبلغ چهارده نومان مواجب و پيچاه و پنجون
 دوهزار ديناوار رسوم محلي و از اجازات از فراد

نومانى هشت ديناوار و يك دانك واز پيول
 امر و مفتر بيان و اقايان يازده ديناوار و يك دانك
 و نيم و از هه ساله ايشان هفت ديناوار و نيم
 و از انعام امر و جمعي كه ملازم بنا شدند و سبوز
 و غيره بيسپت و دوديناوار و نيم و از تخواه مهربان
 و اقايان سه ديناوار و چهار دانك و نيم رسوم
 داشته و از فراد نومانى يازده ديناوار رسوم
 المنساب دوزجه او مفتر و بوده و از اوجه
 نويسن دد با پيچان مبلغ پيچاه نومانى مواجب
 و سا بر رسومات او بد سنورا و اوجه نويسن
 عراقى است و رسوم محلي و سا و اليه بجهت اير

مبلغ نوزده تومان رسول عملی و از بنو اول امراد مقربان
 واقایان از نومان مبلغ نازده دینار و یک دانگ
 و نیم و از اتمام امر او جمعی که ملازم نباشند و غیر
 و غیر بیست و دینار و نیم و از همه ساله امراد
 مقربان واقایان هفت دینار و نیم و از برای
 سه دینار و چهار دانگ و نیم رسوم و از فرار
 نومان سی دینار و رسم الحساب داشته حساب
 نوجیمه مبلغ بیست تومان مؤاجب و دو
 تومان و دو هزار و پانصد دینار و رسوم عملی
 و از اجازات از فرار نومان بیست و دو
 دینار و نیم و از شش ماه مؤاجب امراد سه دینار و چهار

و نسیجی نگاه نومان
 و نسیجی نگاه نومان
 و بنو اول و فرار مؤاجب از فرار نومان و دینار بیست
 و از شش ماه بکانه و همه ساله چهل و پنج دینار
 رسوم و دو وجه هر یک مقرر بود و مستوفی
 نوجیمی و غلام و فتنگی و نوجیمی بدین موجب جواب

نوجیمی نگاه نومان
 علام و فتنگی نگاه نومان
 و از فرار مؤاجب واقایان و بنو اول از فرار نومان
 یکصد دینار و از شش ماه بکانه و همه ساله
 مبلغ بیست و پنج دینار و رسوم داشته اند
 ضابطه نویسی مبلغ هشتاد و نه تومان و سه
 هزار و پانصد و کتبی مؤاجب بر او ردی و

از جویهاک نخال ضعیفی و زیر و مستوفی اضفها
 بانعام مفرد بوده مستوفی خاصه شریفه در
 سنوات سابقه از فرار نومان سوی دینار در رسم
 الحسای داشتند که فیما بین او و محرران چهار دانگ
 دو دانگ فتمت میشد بعد از آن رسم الحسای
 داشتند مشارالیه و محرران از فرار نومان چهار
 و پنج دینار مختص شده و سایر رسوم از خاک
 خاصه بدستور مستوفی المالک است و بلغ
 بیست و یک نومان و پنجاه دینار نقد و در
 هزار و یکصد و بیست و نه من جنس بوزن
 سابق رسوم محلی در وجه او اوجه نوپس کبابان

واصفهان مفرد بوده منشی المالک مبلغ
 یکصد و پنجاه و سه نومان و هفت هزار و کسری
 مواجب و اذینوار امرا و معتربان و اقایان از
 فرار نومان بیست و پنج دینار و از همه ساله
 شازده دینار و چهار دانگ و اذینوار امرا
 و جمعی که ملازم نباشند و سه و غالات و
 غیر پنجاه دینار و اذینخواه امرا و معتربان هشت
 دینار و ده دانگ و اذینواران هجده دینار و یک
 دانگ و نیم رسوم داشته و زیر فوجی و غلام
 و فتنچی برین موجب مواجب داشته اند و التی
 و زیر فوجی ^۱ _۱ یکصد نومان
 و یکصد نومان _۱ ^۱ غلام

رسوم داشته که با ذیابف می نمود. مستوره
المنالك بشرح جزو رسوم الاستيفاء و غیره

رسوم الاستيفاء داشته

رسوم الحساب
از محاسبات از فراد نومان سی
دینار

با
از هر شاه امر و غیره مبلغ
سی دینار

با
از نظام امر و جمعی که ملازم باشند
و سه هزار و غیره و حق التعمیر مسا
نود دینار

مجلس نویسی مبلغ سبصد نومان مفروضی و ممد

معاش داشته و از برادر بی پول و همه ساله

امرا و غیره از فراد نومان سی و پینت دینار رسوم

و مبلغ بیست سی دینجه کاخذ کل کل

هزار و کسری در قدیم منواجب و بیقول داشتند و
در زمان شاه حسین بیقول بسطام افاکه بر آورد

ان فریب بد و پینت نومان میشده در وجه

او مفرزشده بود و مبلغ هفتاد و سه نومان

و هفت هزار و چهار صد و سی دینار رسوم

محلی از فراد نومان بشرح جزو بنی رسوم داشته

با
از اجازات بچندینادینیم

با
از بیقول از هفت نومان و نیم
و هر ساله امر حاجت دینار

دار و عنقرضا شفا مبلغ ده نومان و سه هزار و

هفتصد و شصت دینار بیقول و بنود و بچندینا

و کسری از بیخیا طان و نفاشان و غیره اصناف

نومان و سه هزار و کسری بسوچ جزو رسوم داشسته

کراسان سه نومان وهفت هزار دینار

فوق هفتاد نومان هفتاد دینار

اردبیل بیست و یک نومان یکمتر از دینار

عباس آباد کجه ویزان واروقی و زاده نومان چهلزار دینار

فوق چهلزار نومان انکوی پانزده هزار دینار

سیلخ بکوزمان زینت و پنجهزار دینار

مغانا چهلزار نومان

انکوی سیلخ بکوزمان

زینت و پنجهزار دینار

همه ساله و بسوچ جزو رسوم داشسته

از این نواح مظهر از سنبل دینار دوسوم سفت نومان

دینار دوسوم سفت نومان

دوازده دینار دوازده دینار

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مبلغ سنی نومان قیمت بند مهر بیکر و از یک

نومان بدین موجب رسوم داد

امرا و رعیت و شصت دینار

امرا و رعیتی که ملازمین باشند

دسپودغال و معانی و اقطاع

موجب و حق التعمیر و اقطاع

مهر در آرزو فغان از بنو امرا

و موجب و حق التعمیر و فغان از بنو امرا

از فرا و نومان بی قصد و بازده دینا و از جنوا

همه ساله امرا بکصد و پناه و هفت دینا و نیم

رسوم داد نومان با شاهی مبلغ سیصد

پازده نومان شصت و کسری موجب و بنو

امرا فغان و در فغان و غیره

لیک قیمت مقر است و از ده

این اقطاع و ده نیم بیکر است

رسوم داد

مهر در آرزو فغان از بنو امرا

مهر در آرزو فغان از بنو امرا

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مهر در آرزو فغان از بنو امرا

از اجناس یزاق که موجب عساکر

فاده شود در نیم اوزان و از ده نیم

ده لیک ناظر بیکر کرد

ناظر و اب مبلغ بکصد و پناه نومان موجب و

از این بیاع جل و یزاق طو ابل با شصت عملی ده نیم معمول

و از جمله ده نیم ده پات رسوم داشته ناظر در فغان

مبلغ و رعیت و بیست پنج دینار و شش هزار

هشتصد و کسری رسوم و موجب داشته

موافق دستور قدیم از اجازت اد

تیمار چنانچه در بنیاد رسد طاعت نیم

و در تخمین امرا و در بنیاد و در بنیاد

دینا و همه ساله چهار دینار و چهار

دانگ و از اقسام امرا و رعیتی که ملازم

بنا شده و سبب زغال و موجب و

نیم چهارده دینا و رسوم داشته

و بهمه دوزان و غیره بلا تشخیص مبلغ نیز رسوم
 داشته ناظر یونات سبب و شش نومان و
 یکجز را در کتبی مواجب و بیول و همه ساله و برین
 موجب رسوم داشته

که صاحب نوجبه سابق نوشته

تا
 اذ چند گیران عمل می دارند
 یک نومان و دویست و بیست و بیاد
 رسوم یازدهت میشود و از آنجا
 یکصد دینار دست ناظر است

دفعه
 که مشرفان یونات نصب می نمودند که در جزو

تا
 اذ به نیمی بیایع فیست خاس
 ده نیک

تا
 اذ مواجب و رسوم حساب که
 فصل داده شود نومان سبب
 شصت شش دینار در چهار دانگ

مشتصد و چهل و پنج دینار میشود که مجموع
 مواجب و بیول یا بصد و نود و دو نومان و
 سه هزار و هشتصد و چهل و پنج دینار بوده
 باشد در وجه او مقرر بوده و در بعضی در نه
 هزار نومان داشته و از خرابی ده پیک رسوم دارد
 امیرشکار با شنی مبلغ هشتصد نومان مواجب
 و بیول و غیره و بدین موجب رسوم داشته و از
 تا
 در عوض صاحبان شروزان
 مقرر شده یکصد نومان

تا
 بیست و سه رسوم امیرشکار با شنی
 دارالریاضه انعام یکصد و پنجاه
 نومان

تا
 انعام همه ساله داشته جولای
 پنجاه نومان و از مجموع بیایان صنفان
 بیست نومان

سلاخان و کله نران و مرغ فروشان و کبوتر نران

وايچہ از پیشکش وانعام ضبط شود از پونمان بد
موجب شمت میشود و اغراب و شرفا مکروسکا

سه هزار دینار ضاحه هزار دینار حجم
دو هزار دینار رف لو داران

عیات غایات و جماعت شاهی سپون و جوی
که همانند اگر پیشکشی اورند دو شلک همند
انعامی بنز که با ایشان داده شود و شلک نا ازیانفت

دیوارت
یکی مبلغ پانصد نومان مواجب و پانزده نومان
بنول که بر او دیوان مبلغ دو نومان و سه هزار

صحر
مبلغ هشتاد نومان که بر او دیوان مبلغ پانصد
صد و و پست و هفت نومان و پنجاه و دو کس
میشود مواجب داد و در نسخه که بر سر سومات
نوشته اند رسوم در تحت امیر اخور یا شیخ مجلا
بلا میده جلو و محض افضیل داده اند بفریبه ظنا
میشود که ایچہ از اصطبل و هشت شعلق یا میرا
خورد با شی محض باشد و رسوم پیشکش وانعام
اصطبل را مشرف بصد بق نموده که بدینویجو جب
با زیانف میشود

نا از پیشکش و قرار داده
سه هزار دینار
انعام از قرار داده
پنجاه هزار دینار

اسم هر يك نوشته شده
 فوجي باش
 كه كاذبان بيقول او بوده و يك
 صد تومان حق التوبه بزي با
 فوجي با شيان بوده و هر يك
 شصت و نود و يك تومان هفت
 هزار و دويست دينار و كسري
 نقشه كافي
 كه اگوا و فوات الكا و ابروف
 با ايشان بوده هفتصد پانزده
 تومان و پنجاه و نود و شصت دينار
 و كسري

فولر اقا
 كه الكا و كفا بكار
 بلا مبلغ با ايشان بوده
 فوجي باش
 كه الكا و شفت با ايشان
 بوده پانصد تومان

ايشانك افسوق باشيان
 ديپ
 كه حكومت ري با ايشان بوده و فزون مضرت
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اومفترتاست

الوزارة وغيره كذا في حال معتبرين بوده

روزنامه هفتصد و شصت و شصت و شصت
وسه هزار و دویست و شصت

همه ساله که در بیست و نومان نقد
و نقد اجناس بوده که هفتصد و شصت و شصت
و هفت هزار و دویست و شصت

دسومان

از هزار نومان این شرح
اذا اجازات بصیغه حق الزاد
یا فصد دینار

جزوه
از قبول سصد و دویست و شصت
و از هزار ساله و دویست و شصت
فصد دینار

اذا انعام امر او جمعی کردلا زیر
بناشند و سه هزار نومان و شصت
دسلیتات و مواجب حق
الستی بحال هفتصد و شصت و شصت
دینار

دو وعظ

عشر و دویست و شصت و شصت و شصت
و حق التولیه

توق

و حق النظار بعضی از حال و دفعی در وجه التی

مفترت است مبرزا ابوطالب در ایام صلوات

بکهر زاد و سه صد و شصت نومان بصیغه

مدد معاش و مفترتی همه ساله داشته

فوری باشد

و قول افاسی و شنیکی افاسی و نوبی باشی روز

ایشان که هر یک از نو این خود بدین موجب دانند

دین شصت
از انعام و فراز و مواجب قبول
یا فصد دینار و از شصت و شصت
همه ساله و یک ساله که کند تا بد

و در
از انعام و فراز و مواجب و
قبول یکصد دینار و شصت
نخواه یک ساله و هفت
ساله دینار

و مواجب و قبول ایشان بخوبی است کرد و حق

که در آیام تعظیم منصب و کالت ضابطه بجهد

ضبط دوشالک او تعظیم و در نیم دوشالک در

وجه ضابطه مقرر کننده و مواجب در وجه و کمال

دیوان اعلیٰ مقرر نبوده و در سوماتان و از قرار

نومانی بشرح است که در بخش هرات نوشتند

از اخراجات بکشد و بپشت و
 بشش دنیا و کمال آنک و بیم
 از قبول و غیره امر از نیویرسید
 و بخاوهفت دنیا و از هر ساله
 دو بیت و سی هشت دینار
 و در
 از تقوا امر و مقربان و اقامان
 بکشد و نور و در دینار
 از اتمام امر و جمعی که مراد از آن باشد
 و سپور غالات و معانی و مواجب
 و سبب آن و حق السعی همان مفضل
 چهارده دینار

دیوان اعلیٰ که مواجبی ندارد و بشرح جزو

درسم الوزن و غیره و انعام و در سوماتان در وجه

نقصیر نموده باشد نسیب و اخراج و بجد است

ناظر بیونوات عرض و عوض تعظیم بنمایند و

نادام که منصف است بی نصیب بی خدمات نماید

مرسوم و چیزی باغبان و خرکاز باغات داده نمیشود

و در هر فصل کمال فقهای کل در هر مجلس حاضر

نار و خانه در ذکر و مبلغ و مقلد و مواجب و

در رسوم از باب مناصب در کاه معلی و مدخل

و قبل در ملازم امر سرحلات و ولایات ایران و

از مشتمل است بر سه مقاله مفضل و دیوان

نقصیل مواجب و در رسوم هر یک از امر اعظام

و از باب مناصب در کاه معلی و کمال بیون اعظم

که

نسخه باز بدید برضم و زید دیوان اعلی رسید و مکتوب
 به باشد که کتاب سرکار از انقضا در دسترس شما
 خود ابوالجمع مودبان و محاسبه مفرغ مینمای
 ضد چنانکه در بیان تفصیل شغل منصف
 باغات شغال و اینست که پیوسته منوجه
 آبادی باغات دیوانی بوده آنچه لافه سعی
 و اهتمامت بعمل آورده در هر فصل از فصول
 بغرض انبار و کلاکاری مشغول و اکثر اوقات
 از کلهای الوان و صیوه نوبت بجهت پادشاه سر
 انجام و بنظر رسانند و حسن خدمات خود را
 ظاهر سازند و باغبانی که در خدمت خود

خاصه در ساینده اگر سخن حجابی و در وقت دفتری
 داشته باشد مستوفی خاصه بعمل آورد فصل
 سیزدهم در بیان تفصیل شغل رباع دارالتلطئه
 اصنفهان شغل مشاوران است که در هر سال
 که مخصوصات طحال اصنفهان که بعضی بچهار زیاده
 سق و برخی باز بدید و بعضی بثلث افراط و
 باسماوی مفرغ شده باشد که باز بدید شود باقی
 عمال و مامورین باز بدید و از نه طحال بیکرود
 و علامت حاصل را در حضور عمال و مامورین
 گرفته وزن مهبود و عمال از انقضا در و در کل
 حاصل و ابوالجمع رضا با و مودبان و بعد از آنکه

عینشود و محاسبه کل رعایا و موذیان بعد از تحصیر
 لشعیر فوس هر سال که حال و مامودین موافق
 دستور و معمول مشخص نموده باشند در دفتر
 مفرغ و مفاضا حساب بمهر مستوفی بمورد
 داده میشود و مستوفی و نوشتن طوابع هر نوچینه
 مرد الاغ دارد و پیل دارد و نظایران که بر سر جمع
 باید نسیم شود آن بز در د فز اصفهان فلان
 بمهر عمال میرسد و مستوفی بر نو هر ساله
 بر جمع و خرج و جوهاث و محمولات خان طبط
 و ذر اصفهان از فزاد استناد حاسبه که بر شتم
 و ذر پروان اغل در سپیده باشد نوشته بکار

جمع و خرج را که در هر سرکار بر نو در رسم نموده باشد
 ضبط و شرطنامه و برات فلان نماید و محاسبات
 رعایا و مستاجران و غیره موذیان ما اثبات سرکار
 مزبور را بنفع داده مفاضا بمهر خود نشانه میدهد
 فصل فی اول مهر در بیان تفصیل شغل خالص حضرت
 مستوفی اصفهان حواله و اطلاقی و جوهاث
 و محمولات و بنفع و تخص محاسبات رعایا
 و موذیان و جوهاث دیوان ضبطی و ذر دراد
 السلطنه اصفهان محض مشا را الیه و چهار
 نفر نویند میاند که جز او ایند و بدو
 مهر مشا را الیه داد و مستند و جوهاث و محمولات

بر بزرگی زیادتی ننمایند و نکند از آن که از آن فواید
ضعف در باب حقایق زیادتی شود و بعضی مسائل
الیه است هر گونه گفتگویی و دعوی که بخصوص
حقایق از باب و دعای هر عمل یا بزرگی داشته
باشند بمنزله تشخیص آن با مشا و الیه است نصیحت
و تجویز و زبرد و کلا نزن و مستوفی در هر باب باید
معمول داد فضل این را هر دو بیان تفصیل
شغل عالی حضرت مستوفی سرکار فیض اثار شغل
مشا و الیه است که سررشته بر جمع و خرج
حال و باغات و طوابع و مستغلات و آنچه
متعلق بکار مزبور است نگاه داشته اند

و توجیه شود دیگر صنف که اسناد فقیرین
مینمایند باید نزد فقیر اشراف برضامندی
باشند بی آن شخص نموده و معتبر ساختند که کلا نزن
آورده تعلیفه بان یافت نمایند دیگر فقیرین بزرگ
سفیدان در ویشان و اهل معارف و امثال اینها
باشا و الیه است فصل چهارم در بیان تفصیل
شغل میراب دارالسلطنه اصفهان تعیین مادی
سلازلان و تنقیه آنها و جد اول و در سابقین
اب زاید و دینمامی خان اصفهان که از اب
دو دخانه شرب میشود موافق هر عمل میا و الیه
متعلق است و این که در غایبی عمل در باب حقایق

الممالک سپرد و نباشد مشا را ایبه نظر بجز فصل
 بر طبق آن نصد بیف ک کرده نزد خایلیا ناظر
 بیونات منفرد شد که ناظر ملاحظه و او نیز خاطر
 جمع کرده مهر و بضای جمعان میدهد که موقوف
 ان مشرفان استناد اجناس بنیاع فلی نمایند و
 در باب تشعیرات اجناس که اصناف میزد
 شهر میفروشند اگر احدی از اهل حرفه از فراد
 داد او نخلت نماید و از اخنه کلاه نماید تا
 موجب عبرت دیگران گردد و محاسب الممالک
 در عمالک محروسه همه جانایب تعیین مینماید
 که از فراد نصد بیف نایب مشا را ایبه اصناف

هر محل ماه بماه اجناس را ببردم فرود شدند تا باعث
 وفاه حال رعایا و مساکین و مؤظمین اینجا کشنده و
 خیر بجهت ذات اقدس حاصل شود فصل هفتم
 در بیان تفصیل شغل عالیحضرت نفیب خدمت
 مشا را ایبه تشخیص بنیجه اصناف است که هر سال
 دونه ماهه اول کسی تعیین و کند خدایان هر
 صنف را حاضر نموده برضای بکری بکری بر
 و فوق قانون و حق و حساب و معمول و دستور
 ملک بنیجه هر یک را مشخص و طوماری نوشته
 مهر نموده ببردشنه کلا نرسپا در د که منو حجاب
 دیوان هر صنف در اوقات از انفر از نسیم

مالی که بر شش بدست می‌ورد بعد از برداشتن
 دود آنک مال که موافق معمول حق و سنت نرفته
 مال اگر چهار دانگ بوده باشد باید با اطلاع دیوان
 بیکی و داروغه بصاحب مال رسانند و اگر در دوا
 بدست نیامد مهلتی طلب نموده هرگاه بعد
 از مهلت بدست نیامده باشد از عهده
 خرامت مال دزدی از عین المال خود بیرون
 آید فصل هشتم در بیان تفصیل شغل خالص
 محاسب المالک بعد از آنکه صاحب تنواریه
 بنام الثرام و شینت جناس از پیش سفیدان هر صنفه
 گرفته خاطر خود را جمع نموده مهس بمحاسب

بوده که دعویهای که ناچگونمان الی دوازده نون
 را هم از اینک که ذاصل شهر بادهات بوده داروغه
 احضار و زیاد بر این را دیوان بیکی احضار مینموند
 و ضابطه کلیه فیمابین دیوان بیکی و داروغه است
 که آنچه را داروغه بواند نمود و بیکی دخل مینموند
 کرد و بعد از آنکه دیوان بیکی رسید دیگر داد و
 دخل بران نیست و احلاس که اصطلاح او را
 بهر شب خوانند جز و داروغه و او نیز با جمعی که
 با خود داد و شبهها در محلات مشکوکه دزدی
 کرد در محلات واقع شود باید در دوزج عرض و اعلا
 رسانند و در خانی که دزدی واقع شده باشد و

مرتکب خلافت حساب و ظلم و نژاعی نکردند و امور
 خلاف شروع و فاحشه و شراب و قمار و سانس
 امور نامشروع را قدغن نمایند که کسی متوجه آن نشود
 و هر کجا متوجه آن کرد و او را تیب و ازان
 عمل منع و فرار خود ففضیله چرمه از کاهها کازان اذین
 نماید و شبها بعد از آنکه نه ساعت بگذرد
 اولاً آمدن ساعتی در دزدی فبصرت به توقف و بعد
 ازان باجمعی که بنا بدینی و مقرز اند سوار شده هر
 یکم شهر را خود و سب دیکر را اخلاس و
 سایر نوابین ایشان کرده ش و ذف نقان خانه
 خود را جفت نمایند و معمول بود که از سر کار

بیم

فویچی و غلام و انا بان و فشتکی و فویچی بنا بدینی
 داد و خد مشا را البه مقرز بود اند که حن و اخلال
 او بخد مات قیام و جماعت مذکور را بخوی که
 مناصب و ضرور دادند بیکر که یکی شخصی از ایشان
 که او را سردسته مینامند دزد هر محله از محله
 شهر بخوبین نمایند که در روز و شب دزدان محله بود
 بخافظت و محارست قیام نمایند که کسی مرتکب
 ظلم و خلافت حساب و نامشروعی نکورد و آنچه دزد
 اغله بوفوغ دسد چگونگی را بضرخ دار و غریب
 که او بنیز و تحبص و باذخواست نماید و هر شب
 انجماعت ان محله را کرده نمایند و حن و سب و

چیزی و غدی واقع شود بعد از آنکه بکلائز
 شک نمایند بر دمه اوست که از جانب رعیت
 مدعی شده اگر خود بوند دفع نمود فیها والا
 بوکلا. دیوانیان عرض نموده نکند که از آنجا
 برضعفا جبر و غدی واقع شده موجب بددعا
 گردد و همیشه باید در منقاص اصلاح خا
 دغایا بوده دعای خیر بجهه ذات اقدس و جو
 مفدس حاصل نماید فصل هفتم در بیان
 تفصیل شغل داروغه اصفهان مشا و البه جنو
 دیوان سبکی و شغل مشا و البه است که اصل
 شهر و خارج شهر را محافظت نمایند که چنگس

مهرسانند بعد از آن بموجب بروات مهر و نیز و
 کلائز و مستوفی مشو جهات دیوانی هر یک از
 دفتر حواله و محصص کلائز موافق نتیجه بنمایند
 صنف نوجیه و محصلان دیوانی از انفرادی تا
 مینمایند و چند نفر از کلائز دیوانی بنایند
 کلائز مقرر بوده اند که خدمات دیوانی را بنمایند
 و سانسند و نیز و تخصیص کنند کونی که اضافات
 در باب قذ و پنجه و سایر امور متعلق بکسب و
 کار خود بیاورند که داشته باشند بکلائز است
 که هر نحو که مسترون بحق و حساب و مغول ملک
 باشد از انفرادی عمل آورند و از هر کس که بر رعیت

با مشا را اینبه است این بخو که سکت هر محله و هر
 صنف و هر قریه هر کرا امین و معتمد دانند
 بنمایین خود نعیبن و رضانا چه باسم او نوشته
 و مواجبی در وجه او نعیبن نموده و بمهر نفیب
 معبر نموده مجذور کلا نثر او زده تعلیفه و
 خلعت از مشا را اینبه بجهت او باز یافت میتما
 بعد از آن منوجه رونق و فتق مهمات انها منکرود
 و در سه ماه اول هر سال هر سال کلا نثر و نفیب
 کن نعیبن و همگی اصناف را جمع نموده نزد نفیب
 دارالتلطنه اصفهان می برند و پنجه هر کس
 مختص و نفیب مهر نموده بزرگش کلا نثر

منوجهاک نمیشود ظاسبه کل رطایا و مودبان
 بعد از تشخیص نعیب فورس هر سال که خمال و مامون
 موافق دستور معمول مختص نموده باشند در روز
 مغزوغ و مفاضا حساب بمهر سنونی بمودبان
 داده میشود و هر ساله لشخه بر جمع و خرج منوجهاک
 سرکار میز بود از افراد استناد چنانچه که بر فرم وزیر
 دیوان اعلی در سپیده باشد نوشته بیکار و صفا
 و سائیده اگر سخن حسابی و وقت دفتری داشته
 باشد مستوفی خاصه بعمل می آورد فصل ششم
 در بیان تفصیل شغال حال حضرت کلا نثر نعیبن
 کلا نثر ایان محلات و در پیش سفیدان اصناف

و ساینده مستوفی سرکاراذا نفرارود و مخاسبات
 و ذوا و محال و بیاع و مناح و محرران صاحب
 عَمَل نَمَائِد و نشئه عملکرد اوزا بعد از رشم عالیجاه
 و وفوف بمحال در فتنه موافق معمول با دزد پد و قزاق
 و پزیرد بیوان اعلیٰ بعالیجاه مستوفی خاصه رشتا
 داده بعد از وضع اگر رعیت بنده بجهه دیوان
 ضبط مپشود و سعی در توفیر و تکید زانواع و غیر
 هرگونه باز یافتی و دقتی که داشته باشد شاره
 عمادات و فنوائت و دکا کپن و خانائت و خالصه
 الیه بعمل اود و فصل پنجم در بیان تفصیل
 و وفوف و مخافظت مودبان که احدی جیر و غفلت
 شغل عالیحضرت مستوفی سرکار در مزبور حواله و
 برایشان نکنند و تعیین در و سنا مختار است که
 اطلاق محضولات و مستغلات و تنفیخ و تخفیف
 هر قدر بجهه امور مزبور ضرور دزدکاران تصبیغه
 مخوبل خود از مستوفی سرکار با زیانف و بمصارف
 عمارات و فنوائت و دکا کپن و خانائت و خالصه
 ضرور دپته دیوانی صرف و در اخر سنا لاسناد
 حسابی در دست داشته برشم و در دیوان اعلیٰ
 و فوفی ضبطی و زیر مزبور مختص مشا الیه و
 نویسنده بعد از احتیاج نکاه مپسدادد که جزو
 او پند و بد و ن اطلاق و مشا الیه داد و ستد

خدمات دیوانی فہام میبموردہ اند و نسخہ بازید
 ظال تا اذام کہ برضہم ویزو دیوان اعلیٰ نرسبندہ، با
 مناسط احتیبا زبنودہ در دفا نزع عمل نمیشود و در
 چین بازید بحال معتمدی از دیوان اعلیٰ بچین
 میشود کہ در حضور او عمل و سایر امور بازید
 نمایند فصل چہارم در ذیبات تفصیل شغل
 و ذریسر کار و انفجالی شغل مشاور الیہ التت
 کہ نسق انلاک و ذراغات و ابادی باغات و
 مستقلات و طواہین و قنوات نمودہ وجہ دبیح
 ہر محل بمہر و اطلاع مشاور الیہ از دعا یا و سنا
 باز یافت میشود و محلی کہ فی نسق و ناعزوع باشد

آنچه بچہ نسق ذراغات ضرورند از مایات
 سرکار بعنوان بذر و مساعده و مؤنت ذراع
 برعیت داده در دفع محصول وجہ مساعده و
 مؤنت را باز یافت نمایند و بچہ مستغلات
 ضابط و مستاجر ہمسایب، نکلا از کہ نفصا
 لبر کار خاصہ شریفہ رسد و محلی کہ رعیت
 نداشتہ باشد رعیت ہمسایبندہ و ذراع
 نمایند و در دفع محصول محالی کہ بعلت افت
 از بی و سماوی باینکہ باز دیدی باشد بعد
 عرض بخدمت اقدس بازید دیوان اعلیٰ مقتر
 میگردد کہ احدی از ذوابین بغیبین و بافتاف

تعیین دروس با اطلاع کلاسه مشعلی بود بر است
 و در بر اصفهان سخن باذیافت نموده بمصادف
 ضروریه دیوان صرف و در آخر سال استادخانه
 دودست داشته و برشم دیوان و ذیبر اعلی
 و سائیده مشوقی از انفراد محاسبات او را
 تجویز و شیخ داده باقی و فاضل او را مشخص
 و نسخه عملکرد او را بعد از رسم خالجا و پذیرش
 اعلی نعالیجا مشوقی خاصه و سائیده هرگونه
 باذیافت و دقت حسابی که داشته باشد
 مشارالیه بعمل می آورد و چند نفر از ملازمان
 دیوانی بنا برین و ذیبر مقرر میبودند که بنشینند

با اینکه باذیبدی باشد بعد از عرض بخداست
 اقدس بود بر دیوان اعلی مقرر میگردید که و ذرا
 محال با اتفاق رباع و شاع و محترمان صاحب و فوت
 محال میبودی و فته باذیبدی و فرادبع داده بعد
 از وضع کسر معول که رسد رعیت است
 نتمه بجهه دیوان ضبط و تحویل رعایا در محال
 سبزو و تحویل از تعیین و شخواه از باب خوابالات
 دیوان میشود و جمیع نمودن رعایا و نویسنده
 تکثیر ذراغات و بختیم غار اذات و فوات و دکا
 و خانان و خالصه و محافظت رعایا که اذ
 احدی برایشان حیر و غدی و اذ فاع نشود و

ببین

خروج را نسخه کشیده مفاسط حساب و طول امیرینو
 بفریک داده که از انقضا و زاد و ستند نمایند و
 ارقام و امثاله دفری که رضا در پیشه بسته
 دفری و وفات محران ارقام و مثال نویسان مثلاً
 میوشنه اند و ارقام را بعد از مهره او و عن
 دفری خانه مهره نموده و در ضمن خط میکاشه
 فصل سیم در بیان تفصیل شغل و ذر و ارقام
 السلطنه اصفهان شغل مشاوره است که گفت
 حال خالصه و ضبط بعضی از جوها و در کابین
 بعهده اهتمام مشاوره است که عمل از محال
 بی لطف و ناز و نعمت نماید و آنچه بجهه لطف و ناز

مهر

صورت داده بعنوان بروز و مساعده بمسئله جود رعیت
 داده در دفع محمول با نایف نمایند و از برای
 منغلات سرکار و خاصه شریفه ضابطه و منج
 بهر سالی نه زراعت نمایند و در ضبط مایات
 دیوانی نهایت اهتمام بعمل آورد و جوها را صفا
 که داد و ستدان با مستوفی اصفهان است اسناد
 محویل صاحبان بیوتات و همه ساله دران و
 سایر اسناد را و ذر مشاوره رقم نموده مستوفی
 اسناد را ضبط و بموجب هر فوایه مهر و ذر و
 کلانتر و مستوفی حواله و نایف میشود
 و در دفع محمولات که بعلت اف او یعنی نایف

کند که انقضا را کار
 بر هر عمل که رعیت
 خدایه نموده رعیت
 برینده

و مستغلات و طوابع و فوات است و باید بجهت
 و اطلاع وجه ربيع بحال و مستغلات و غیر محال
 و فوفات سرکار مزبور از رعایا و مستاجران
 باز یافت شود و بمصادف مغرب و اصل ناخن
 حسن سعی خود را دادا بادی محال و نکیر زانها
 حاصل سازد دنیان ففصیل
 شغل مستوفی موفوفات ممالک محروسه شغل
 مشاورانہ انتت که وزرا و مستوفیان و منضات
 و متوفیان و مشاورین موفوفات خاصه و ممالک
 همگی محاسبه خود را بدفتر موفوفات رسانید
 مستوفی مزبور محاسبانرا خط گذاشته اسناد

و سرحد و غیره اعظام باشد در مسوودها فلی ورد
 ارقام و پروانجات انجماعت ملاحظه شد و بعد
 ثبت نمائند اسناد را ضبط و ارقام و پروانجات
 فلی ورد ثبتها خط میکنارند که سنده دفتر بان
 کرد و بعدین دستوزا کرافطاع و سپورغال و
 مستیات و معانیات و مدد معاش و پروانجات
 حسابی که ضاد کرد عمل نمائید با بحیث
 دزد که شغل مختص هر یک از عمال دارالتلطنه
 اصفهان و آن مشتمل است بر چهارده فضل فضل
 دنیان شغل و ذر سرکار فیض آثار شغل شاد
 الیه نسق اخلاک و ذراغات و ابادی باغات

وکیل زاکر بدیوان علی متعلق است اینچرا مؤلف
 دستور و معمول نقد با زبانت مینماید نقد
 داخل سررشته خود و آنچه نقد همسانی
 نکنند از خوشو طلب ایشان وضع و در آخر سال
 فلذاترا مشخص وارد دفترخواه با زبانت و ابواب
 جمع خود و بصر مصرف که مفرقه شود همسان میکنند
 و در ضمن از قلم بخط خود میکنند که در دو ستون
 با زبانت شد فصل مجله هر دو بیان شغل
 او را بعد نویسان شغل ایشان است که در کتب
 حقایق دفری اسم نوشتن و در وظایف ه
 متناجران و ضابطان و مصدبان و سایر اینها

مالیات دیوان در استناد خرج ایشان نسخ و در
 افراد بطالع مینویسند و پروا نجات همه ساله
 و بیول و غیره را بعد از آنکه کتب نجات آنها
 برشم و پذیرد دیوان اعلی و مستوفی المالک استناد
 را ضبط و محتوان مینویسند و بدستور ایضا
 ارقام و پروا نجات امرا و وزراء و سردار و ملا
 که مالیات ضبط ایشان مفرقه کردیده باشد و
 حکام و کلاتر و مستوفیان و لشکر نویسان و ملا
 و پیش سفیدان ایلات و ایوبان و غیره محال
 متعلقه با ایشان که بمسود دفتر صا در میشود
 باشد اعم از اینکه امراء در دب و نظایف مبارکه

ضبط بود که حقیقی که در عرضی ضرور شود
 از سرکار مزبور نوشته شود که بخلاف انفعال است
 و زیاده بی بر احدی واقع نشود و قدر نفی
 فثون و مداخل حکام غمناک محروم از سرکار
 مزبور ظاهر میشود و اگر محرزین سرکار مزبور چون
 نبینند فصل پانزدهم در بیان تفصیل شغل
 دفتر دار دفتر خانه همیون اعلی شغل مثال الیه
 است که ارتقام و احکام و ذرا و مستوفیات
 و سب و غالات و معافی و شجوه مواجب و آلات
 صحبت و الیشیک افا بیان و افا بان بجز او
 میرسد و در فایز سوات نامه که هدیه

رجوعی بالانها بوده بعضی اوقات رجوع میدهد
 و در اینها در دفتر خانه مضبوط بود بخوبی دفتر دار
 و ضبط در فایز مزبور با او بوده است فصل نهم
 در بیان تفصیل شغل عزیمت باشی و پیش سفید
 عزیمت و فرستادن دفتر است و دفاتی که در خارج
 اینا است بخوبی او و اگر دفاتی مغفود کند
 بازخواست آن از نشان الیه میدهد و بدست
 دفتر دار فایز و احکام بجز او میرسد فصل
 هفدهم در بیان تفصیل شغل ضابطه و شاک
 و کپل شغل مثال الیه است که ارتقام جز
 و غیره که در دفتر خانه همیون میکند و در و شاک

کل مودّیان و نحو بلذازان سرکار خاصه که بموجب
 اذقّام و احکام داد و شد شده باشد باید
 بنصیب پیش سرکار مرزبورد برسد و هم چنین کک
 کیفیات دفتری باید بنصیب پیش نوجیه دیوان
 اعلیٰ برسد و برخی از سرکار مرزبورد نوشته شو
 و بنصیب بیانات همه ساله و غیره باید بالتمام
 به ثبت و خط صاحب نوجیه و محرّزان سرکار
 مرزبورد برسد رز شده دستور در سومان
 مناسب دیوان اعلیٰ و دستور العمل خدچون
 بیکی و سایر وجوهات سایر الوجوه منعقد کرد
 مرزبورد دستور العمل نواب کتبی نشان در سر

و مهر نشان البه برسد و دوازده نفر محرّز داشته
 که هر یک از آنها صنیعی از عساکر و غیره را سر زشته
 داشته و کل اذقّام و احکام و پیر فایزات مناسب
 دیوان اعلیٰ و ملازمک و بیول و مواجب و همه
 ساله و معافی و سپوزغال و وظایف و امثال
 انها اعتماداً که از دیوان یا خاصه یا اذقّاب
 التّاقابل و غیره بوده باشد باید ثبت سرکار
 مرزبورد برسد و کل طاسبات فمالک محرّوسه
 سونی ضا ججهان بیوانات معمور و نحو بلذازان
 غمازات که در سرکار اذقّاب التّاقابل نوشته می‌شود
 بنصیب پیش سرکار مرزبورد میرسد و نسخه طاسبات

از وجوه مذکور در سرکار خاصه و اواجه
 جمع است نموده دیگر نماها در سرکار ضابطه نویسد
 داد و ستد میشود و خدمت مذکور بمیزان ابوال
 الحسن رجوع است و سرکار مزبور پانزده نفر
 نویسنده داشته که چهار نفر آنها با الفعل در
 و بزرگه نفر دیگر در اتمام محاصره و بعد از آن
 شده اند و از اکثری آنها کتبی باقی نمانده فصل
 چهارم در بیان تفصیل شغل غا بحضرت حتما
 توجیه دیوان اعلی شغل و اینست که کمال
 از باب قلم سرکار خراج هم قلم و هر قسم داد
 و ستدی که در دفتر خانه شود باید که بخط

نفری وفد و قبول و مواجب و همه ساله و برایش
 ایشانست و بعد از تخریر کیفیت^{تفصیلات} مثبت که خط
 و از قلم و احکام مناصب و بیولات و همه ساله ایجاد
 و غیر هم جماعت مزبور بخط نویسنده برسد
 فصل پنجم در بیان تفصیل شغل ضابطه
 نویسنده مثل و اینست که محضولات و
 و مستغلات دیوان تمام محالک محروسه و
 و جوه راهمادی و بنیاد کو فریبی و نقبت لایف
 و جهات عملکردی محالک و چوپان بیکر و الزامات
 منافع اخضار و سرانه هتود و سوق الدواب و
 رسومات از باب مناصب دیوان اعلی نویسنده

که داد و ستد ایشان با سرکار و سرخط است بافتن
 سرخط نوپس نسخه جات سنان میخواند و میبوشد
 فصل اول و دوم در بیان تفصیل مشغول سرخط
 نوپس دیوان اصل که بغیر از عجز از مقام ملازمت
 فاطمه ملازمان و مهر کفنیات و از مقام و احکام
 جماعت مفصله معروضه مختصر لشکر نوپس
 و فرستادن نایب بافتن سپه سالاران و
 سرداران دیگر در دهه امور بالشکر نوپس دیوان
 بزرگ و مستوفی شرکا را قایمان و غیرهم و همه
 احکام و ارقام از باب مناصب و عمال و کفنیات
 طلب و نخوابه جماعت معروضه و ضبط سرشته

جمان و مشرفان و عمله بوثات معیون که غیر ظاهر
 باشند و از مقام و احکام سپه و نظامات و معانی
 و اجازات و وظائف و طوایر پادشاهان و جریک
 بهر او میسریند و عجز را در مقام ملازمت جماعت
 مزبور و امثال اینها و فلی مینماید و در جریک
 سپه سالاران و سرداران نایب از جانب مشا
 رت بافتن ایشان روانه و سرزشته بر حصو
 و عیبت و جهر نوپس و قدر مواجب ایشان
 در دست داشته افزاز در کما معالی مینماید
 و سرزشته نفری امر و احکام و سلاطین خرد
 با مشارکت است و در روزهای سافطاعت

نسخه
کتاب نور منیر مطبوعه دارالانوار روم

دیوان حرم و غیرهم و کیفیات بنول و همه ساله
و انعام مشاوا بهتم و ادقاف و احکام مواجب
براق و همه ساله کل امر اعظام و سیکل سیکان
و حکام کام و سلاطین خوابین ذوقی الاخرم
درگاه معالی و سرحد و ادقاف مناصب جماعت
مربور و کل عمال و مستوفیان عظام و احطاب
و دبیر سمندان جزو کل و محرران دفتر خاند و
وزراء و مستوفیان سرحدات و الحیا و نجین
و نظران و کلان نوزان و ادقاف و احکام طلب و
نخواه امر و مقرران درگاه و اقایان و فوئخیان
و دبا و لان و قابو چیان دیوان و حرم و صاحب

حضور و غیبت و نسخات اخراج و متوقی نزدستو
موی لیه و محرران سرکار جمع سندانده اند که رسد
مواجب خراجین و اقام غیبت و نقاوت و رد
سفر با بجهت دیوان ضبط نمایند و مخیر کیفیات
طلب و نخواه و بنول و همه ساله و ثبت احکام
و ادقاف و کیفیات بنول و مواجب و همه ساله
و براق و غیره جماعت مربور با محرران سرکار
مربور و بعد از ثبت و مخیر بحظ و مهر مستوفی
مشاوا لیه مرسید فصلانی زانی در دیوان
نفضیل شغل لشکر نویسن دیوان اعلی که در بر
سرکار با فایلیت و فوئخیان و دبا و لان و قابو چیان

و بخورن عالجها. نوحی باشی و بز سرکار مزبور خط
 مینگذاشته که در سرکار مزبور بدو نمانعی معمول
 دادند و سایر کیفیتات سرکار مزبور از نوچیان
 و مبنی باشیان و بوزباشیان و جادچیان نوچانند
 و غیرهم زاینه و زوزدا، مزبور خط گذاشته و طلوع
 و صفت یقات و لختات ملازمت مینباشیات
 و بوزباشیان و جادچیان و غیره تفصیلاً در جدول
 زدوزدا، مذکور ضبط و ارقام ملازمت و
 اضافه و قبول و مواجب انجاعت را قلمی و عنوان
 میونشته اند و ضمن ارقام واحکام ملازمت
 و مواجب و قبول و کیفیتات مواجب و قبول و

و همه ساله و ارقام و شخوه بر این را مهتر مینمایند
 و در دوزسان نوچیان و بز مزبور با ارقام مستوف
 ان سرکار در مجلس هشت این در خدمت توابع
 اشرف لختات سان و قدر قبول و مواجب و همه
 ساله و فیزی جماعت مزبور را اینخوانند فصل
 بی هم در بیان تفصیل مشغل مستوفی سرکار
 مزبور که سه چهار نفر محرر ملازم دیوان داشت
 و مشغل مشاورانیه انتت که سررشته بر فیزی
 و نایب صد و ارقام ملازمت و قدر مواجب
 و ارقام و قبول و همه ساله و طلب هدیه کتبه
 و دست میزاشته و اسناد و فیزی و نصیحت

وهمه ساله و ثبت احکام و اذقاعم و کیفیت و نوابی
 وهمه ساله و برانی و غیره جماعت مزبور با محرران
 سرکار مزبور و بعد از ثبت و غیره مخطوطه مستور
 مشاوران بهر سپید و استنبهای سرکار مزبور
 همیشه با مستوفی سرکار غلامان بوده و چنان
 نفر محرر در هر دو سرکار ملازمتند فصل هفتم
 در بیان تفصیل شغل و ذریه و بیخانه مبارک شغل
 مشاوران است که کیفیت و مضایقات
 حضور و خدمت انفاد و بیخانات سپه سالان
 و سراران که در باب ملازمتان قدیمی نوشته
 مبدا بعد از وضع غایبانه و ذریه یوان اعلی

سرکار مزبور که چهار نفر محرر ملازم دیوان داد
 و شغل مشاوران است که سررشته بر نفری
 و نارنج صد و اذقاعم ملازمت و قدر مواجب
 و اذقاعم و بیول و همه ساله و طلب و همیشه ه
 کتیک در دست میباشند و استناد نفری
 و مضایقات حضور و غیبت و بیخانات اذقاع
 و مستوفی نزد مستوفی مومی البه و محرران سرکار
 مزبور مضایقات میباشند و از انفاد بیخانات سرکار
 جمع مهندانه اند که در سند مواجب اخراجین و ایام
 غیبت و نقاوت و دو سفر ایجهه دیوان
 طباطبائی و غیره کیفیت طلب و شغله و بیول

و نواب و مضبوط و لائحہ ملاتزم ہیں
 باشیان و پوزباشیان مذکور ضبط و ارقام
 ملازمت و اضافہ ہوں و مواجب الجماعت را
 قلمی و عنوان مینوشتنہ اند و ضمن ارقام و احکام
 ملازمت و مواجب و کیفیات مواجب و ہوں
 و ہمہ سالہ و انعام و نحوہ برای ما مہرہ ہنما بند
 و در دروزسان شفقیان و ذہر مزبور با تقاضا
 مستوفی انرا در مجلس ہبشت این در خدمت
 یاد شاہان لائحہ سان و قدر ہوں و مواجب
 و ہمہ سالہ و نفری جماعت مذکور را بخواند
 فصل ہشتم در بیان تفصیل شغل مستوفی

مستوفی مہرہ فصل ہفتم در بیان تفصیل
 شغل و ذہر شفقیان شغل شاہانہ اللہ
 کہ کیفیات و مضبوطات حضور خدمت
 انصار و لائحہ سپہ سالاران و سرداران کہ
 در باب ملازمان قدیمی نوشتنہ می شد بعد
 و ضم غالباً و ذہر دیوان اعلیٰ و مجوز عالیجاہ
 شفقچی اقاہی و ذہر سرکار مزبور خط میگذرانند
 کہ در سرکار مزبور بدو نمانعی معمول دارند
 و سایر کیفیات سرکار مزبور را شفقچیان و
 و پوزباشیان و مہرہ باشیان و حاجیان و
 غیرہم را بہر وزراہ سرکار مزبور خط گذرانند

انعام و بیوٰی و ہمہ سالہ و طلب و غنیمت و حضور
 کیشک دست میداشتنه و اسناد دفتری
 و ضبط یقات حضور و غنیمت و پنجاه پنج
 و منوقی نزد مستوفی ان سوکار و محرزان سوکار
 مزبور ضبط میشده و از انفراد بعلم کتاب
 سوکار جمع میداده اند که در سند مواجب خراج
 و ایام غنیمت و نقاوت و دود سفر یا بجهت
 دیوان ضبط نمائند و مخیر کیفیت طلب
 و سخّواہ و بیوٰی و ہمہ سالہ و ثبت احکام و اوقات
 و کیفیات بیوٰی و مواجب جماعت مزبور با محرزان
 سوکار مزبور و بعد از ثبت و مخیر بخط و مهر

مواجب و بیوٰی و ہمہ سالہ و انعام و سخّواہ بزرگ
 و ضمن ارقام و احکام ملازمت و بیوٰی و ہمہ
 سالہ و طلب جماعت مذکورہ و امهر منہ بموجب
 و دد و دوسان غلامان و ذہر مزبور با نقاوت
 مستوفی ان سوکار در مجلس هبشت این در دغد
 پادشاهان پنجاه شان و قدر بیوٰی و مواجب
 و ہمہ سالہ و نفی جماعت مزبور را پنجاه
 فصل ششم در بیان تفصیل شغل مستوفی
 سوکار غلامان که پنج نفر محرّم ملازم دیوان دشت
 آ) و شغل مشاورانیه که سررشتنه نفی و تاربخ
 صد و ارقام ملازمت و قدر مواجب و

و درود سفر را با همه ساله و بی‌ثبوتی که در وجه جماعت
 منوفی مقرر بوده بجهت دیوان ضبط نمایند و
 محضر کیفیت طلب و شتواه و بی‌ثبوتی و همه ساله و
 وثبت احکام و اذقاف بی‌ثبوتی و مواجب همه ساله
 و برای جماعت فورچیان و اذقاف ملاذمت
 ایشان با محترمان سرکار مزبور و بعد از ثبت
 بخط و مهر منوفی سرکار مشاور البه مبرسید
 فصل پنجم در بیان شغل و ذریه سرکار غلامان
 شغل مشاور البه است که کیفیات و مضامین
 حضور و خدمت انفار و لجنات سپه سالار
 و سرداران که در باب ملازمان فدایی نوشته

میشد بعد از رقم غایبانه و ذریه دیوان اعلی و
 محضر خانیگاه قوال اقباسی در سرکار مزبور خط می‌گذرانند
 اند که در سرکار مزبور بدون مانعی معمول دارند
 و سایر کیفیات طلب و همه ساله و بی‌ثبوتی و موا
 جبات ایشان غلام و دیساولان فور و غلامان
 و جارچیان جزایری اند و غیرهم را نیز در اذقاف
 مهر منموده و طوایم و مضامین کیفیات و لجنات
 ملاذمت بوزباشان و دیساولان فور و غیره
 غلامان جدیدی نزد و ذریه مذکور کون ضبط
 و اذقاف ملاذمت و اضایه بی‌ثبوتی و مواجب آن
 جماعت را قلمی و عنوانی مینویسند اند و کیفیات

مژبوردا از فورچیان و پوزباشیان و یسا ولات
 فورچیهسم را نیز و ذرافورچی خط کشا شده و طوبه
 و نصد بیفات و سخات ملازمت پوزباشیان و
 یسا ولان فورچوچیان جدیدی نزد زاملد
 ضبط و اذقام ملازمت و اضافریول و مواجب
 اجتماعت زانلی و عنوان میوشنه اند و ضمن احکا
 و اذقام مواجب و بیول و همه ساله و انعام و
 سخاه برای و کیفیتت را مهر بنما بد و در دوز
 سان فورچیان و پوزمژبور با قنای مستوفیان
 سرکار دزد مجلس هشت این دزد خد مت پادشاه
 سخات سان و قدر بیول و مواجب و همه ساله

مرد

و نفری جماعت مژبور را پمخا ند فضل چهار مر
 ددیپان ففصیل شغل مستوفی سرکار فورچیان
 که چهار نفر محرر ملازم دیوان دارد و شغل
 مشارالیه انتت که سر دشته بر نفری و تاریخ
 ضد و اذقام ملازمت و قدر مواجب و انعام
 و بیول و همه ساله و طلب و غیبت کشیک شد
 مباداشنه و اسناد دفری و نصد بیفات خصو
 و غیبت و سخات اخراج و مستوفی نزد مستوفی
 مشارالیه و نویسنده های سرکار مژبور ضبط
 و اذقامت با علم کتاب سرکار جمع مباداشنه
 که رسد مواجب اخراجین و اتمام غیبت و نفا

تخویرات
 مژبور

دیوانی از وزرا و منشا جرآن و ضابطان و منظر
 و بناشرا ن مائیات دیوانی زایی حساب می آید
 که مفتریب الحصره دفترخانه فخریغ و بیخج محاسبه
 ایشان نماید فصل پنجم در دنیان تفصیل شغل
 و ذریسوکا و فوریجی شغل مشا را اینه اتک کیکیا
 و نصد یفات حضور و خدمت اسفار و نظارت
 و سپه سالاران و سرداران که در باب ملازمان
 فدی می نوشته میشود و بعد از آن درم غایبانه و بز
 دیوان اعلی و بخویر غایبانه فوریجی باشی در سرکار
 مزبور خط میکند اشانه اند که در سرکار مزبور
 بدون مانعی معمول دارند و سایر کیفیات سرکار

میکند و در ایشان نیز ثبت و خط میکند از آن جهت
 فزاید بگرد و چنین محاسبات و ارقام و احکام و
 نصد یفات بعد از بیخج خط و شد میکند
 فصل ششم در دنیان تفصیل شغل زاد و غیره
 خانه شغل مشا را اینه اتک که در کف کل دفتر
 خانه و نسیب عزبان و سایر عماله دفتر با اوست
 و طلب و دعوائی که فیما بین عماله دفتر بود
 در حضور مشا را اینه باید قطع شود و ضمنیهای
 احکام و ارقام مناسب و بنخواه و بنول و هر
 و ارقام ملازمت کمال عمل کنند و
 وصل ارقام و احکام را هر چه بنویسد و کل عمال

بدون سند بگذرانید و بپس باز بزیاری داخل رود
 ناخجاث بنمایند و هرگاه استناد از غیر صاحبان کار
 خط و مهر گذاشته باشند بزرگ دارند و ملاذام
 که صاحب جعنان بانی ففدی و جنبی پیش داشته
 باشند از مبلغ و منفذ از داخل بر او دو سال
 اسپه نمایند مفصل ثانی در بیان تفصیل شغل
 و ذرا و مستوفیان جمع و خرج دفتر خانه هیون
 اعلی و داد و عده و عذب باشی و غیره و ان شملت
 بر بیست فصل فصل اول در بیان شغل مقرب
 المحضرت العلیه العالیه ناظر دفتر خانه هیون
 اعلی شغل مشارالیه است که ارقام ملازم
 و مدد معاش و معاینها و سپوز غالات و وظائف
 و احکام همه ساله و قبول و شخواه کل عساکر و ارقام
 مناصب از باب منصب و افراد محاسبات عمال
 کل ممالک محروسه که از هر دفتر خانه بشکند
 بعد از تصحیح بهر او میرسد و معزوغ نمودن سخا
 کل عمال ممالک محروسه از ذرا و منصفان
 و مستاجران و ضابطان و مباحث این مایات
 دیوانی شغل مختص مقرب المحضرت مشارالیه است
 و در دفتر محرر ملازم دیوان داشته که هفت
 نفر از اینجه ارقام و احکام همه ساله ناخجاث و شخواه
 و نصب و بقات و همه ساله و غیره که از سر کار است

تعمیرات
بنا

بطرح صاحب جعمان نوشنه باقی وفاضل هر
 پلک را موافق قانون حساب مشخص نماید و در
 مهر ناظر چیزی بخارج احدی ننویسد فصل پنجم
 در بیان شغل مشرفان بیونات معمور شغل مشرفان
 التنت که روزنا لحاظ واستناد کارخانه حاجات
 مشغله بخود را در روز بروز بنویسد و پس بنده
 که هرگاه در روزنا لحاظ پس افتد نقصان کل دیگر کار
 خاصه شریفه میرسد و چنانچه صاحب جعمان
 و محصلان اخراجات واستناد را با ایشان نتوان
 باید بناظر بیونات بگویند و غایبانه ناظر کس
 تعیین نمایند واستناد را با ایشان برسانند و مشرفان

ناظر در رسم اختمادالدوله رسپنده باشد داده می
 شود و جمعی که تجد مت و در خست رفته باشند
 بعد از حضور از فراد کیفیات که بدستور بخوبی و
 رسم و خط مشا را الهتم رسد مواجب کیزند فضل
 و قیوم در بیان تفصیل شغل مشرفان از باب
 القابل شغل التنت که آنچه بهرجهه از جهات
 از نقد و طلا الات و مروضع الات و نقره الات
 و سمود و افشه و ملبوس و شتر و در و اب و اجینا
 که بخوبی صالح جعمان شود شتر شنه منقحی دران
 باب در دست داد که مال دیوان از میان نرود
 و ماه نامه روزنا لحاظ را از مشرفان کرفته

واقع میشود تا دام که آن کاغذ بخط و زیر بیونان
 نرسیده باشد ناظر مهر نکند و شان عمله و عرض
 شران و قیمت افشانه آنفادی را ناظر بدوند
 حضور و زیر بیونان نه ببیند و اجناس و اقمشه
 و غیره که بجهت بیونان در اصفهان خرید شود
 ناظر بحضور و زیر بیونان و اهل خیرت باید
 قیمت مشخص نماید و هرگاه ناظر دیگر را در
 خدمت و زیر بیونان شریک و سهم نمایند البته
 خیانت و فتنای و ضرورت داشته خواهد
 بود و مواجب عمله بیونان جمعی که در شان حاکم
 باشند از فراد نوامیر که بخط و زیر بیونان و مهر

که و زیرمزد کو با یکفن نویسنده که از سر کاغذ خاصه
 موجب دارد مفاصله و مواز نه و خواطر جمع نمود
 خط کش داشته به نظر ناظر دهد که ناچیز در توشه
 روز ناچایات و اسناد واقع نشود که نقصان بیونان
 خاصه شریفیه برسد و در اینجا در روزها
 مجلس ایچه از طعام و اقتره و زرشکی و غیره صرف
 شود و ناظر نضد یوق کرد باشد که فلان قدر
 حاضر یا ذند و زیر بیونان ملاحظه و شماره و
 سیاهه برداشته ضبط نماید که در روزی که
 سند میرسد زیاده از ایچه او داده اند بخرج بیونان
 باشند و هرگونه داد و ستدی که در بیونان

اذ ذیهای فلاپی و ذیون باشد جدا کرده نشیلم
 صاحب ذمیتماید بایب حجام، وان شتمل است
 برد و مقصد مقصد اول ذیپان تفصیل شغل
 و ذی بیونات و مشورنی ارباب الخاویل و مشرفان
 بیونات معمر و وان شتمل است بر سه فصل
 فصل اول ذیپان تفصیل شغل خالجه حضرت
 و ذی بیونات خدمت مشاور الیه است که آنچه
 ارجاعات در کادخانه جات سرکار خاصه شریفه
 واقع شود اسناد و روزنامه جات انها را بعد سخن
 ناظر بیونات نویسن مشاور الیه و ذی روز و
 هفت هفت و ماه نما، بوذی بیونات برسانند

مغایله نماید که اختلافی در وجوب بخوبی ضابط
 هم نسبت به نقصان بنال دیوان نرسد و عزل
 و نصب ضرابی و مشرف نیز بخوبی معین الممالک
 مشرف است فصل هجدهم در بیان شغل ضراف
 باشی خزانة عامی مشاور الیه را خدمت است
 که آنچه اشرفی و ذی سفید از اولایات و وجوهات
 بخزانة عامی آوردند صاحب جمع با زیافت و مشاد
 الیه و صرافان در حضور صراف جمع و مشرف و مؤ
 یاب و کپل او ملا حظة و صرافینی و در میان کتبه
 کرده سرانرا مهس و بخوبی صراف جمع است که هین
 مصرفی که مشرف فرمائند داده میشود و آنچه

داشته باشد بخد مت نواب هبون عرض
 نمایند که آنچه مفتر کرده علیانیه دیوان بیکی
 بعمل آورد و اهتئاتم نماید که نقد سازی در
 ضرائحانه در جای دیگر ننمایند و نکندند
 که در مغشوش که کند و ضرابی باشی بخوبی
 مال دیوانست که مشرف ضرائحانه وجه واجبه
 بفرموده و اطلاع معبر الممالک ابوالجمع ضرابی
 باشی نموده و دروز بروز و زوجه فلی و بنظر
 معبر الممالک میرسانند و ماه بنام حساب او
 حسب الواقع فیخص دهد و نویسنده که معبر
 الممالک بغیب نموده که با مشرف هم فلم است

هر روز بخرج خود بخری نماید و آنچه اضافه هر روز
 دهد از ترا دسندی که هر روز محکوم به کرد
 بخری دارد و بدون سند چیزی بخرج خود بنویسد
 فصل هفدهم در بیان شغل ضرابی باشی مشاالله
 باید که شوجه باشد که ضرایبهای سکه در تن بسوزد
 مفتر در اشرفی و عیاسی سکه کار می نمایند بخود
 که عیب و علفی نداشته باشد و واحدی از
 ضرایبان خیابانی در سکه ننمایند و منقخص بود
 در هر جا فلانی هم رسد صاحب دستر ا مطلع
 ساخته هرگاه نفضیر جزئی نموده او را بازخواست
 و بنیبه و چنانچه نفضیر او عظیم و کجا این عرض

و آنچه متعلق بنفاس است و عمله نفاس خانه و مطبخه
 بنا یعنی شعله از آبش مفرات است که سال سال
 از فرار نور ما رساند که بمهر نظر و رفتن اخمنا داد الله
 رسد موجب باز یافت مینمایند فصل چهارم
 در بیان شغل صنایع بنا آنچه جو و کاه و بونجه
 و فصل که بجهه ذوات علیی طوایل و فطادان
 بوده باشد و آنچه جل و نیز آهن و ننگ و افشار
 و فطرغ و یابند و سطل و نعل و میخ و کسمند
 و بار و و مند و لایوش و نوبره و در شنای طویل
 بخوبی بنا دارد آبش میبود فصل پنجم در بیان
 شغل صاحب جمع اصطلاح آنچه است و استر

و الاغ که در سر کار بوده باشد بخوبی صاحب
 جمع سر کار مند که در پیش و فصل ششم در بیان شغل
 صنایع شیشه خانه معیون و شغل صنایع جمع مریز و راند
 که آنچه اجناس که متعلق بشریخانه است که بخوبی
 او شود ظروف طلا و نقره و چینی و کاشی و مس
 و شکر و قند و عفافیر و قهوه و نینا کو و شیشه
 و سوزن و غیره اسباب غلبان و هلیله و امده
 و غیر مریثات و آب لیمو و کلاب و غیره عرفها
 و زینتها و عطرها و غیره است و در باب غریبه
 خاصه و خادمان و مفریان و چیر و خادان از
 فرادی که در روز اول سند محکوم به شده باشد

وند و افتاد و در لیسان و آنچه مشغول بشتر داشت
 ابو ایجمع ضایع جمع سرکار مریوز مبدو و د سالی بکربه
 ناظر بر افت و وزیر یونات ملاحظه شتران
 و نیک و بدیها می نمایند و آنچه از شتران تلف
 شود از فراد تمنا بخرج ضایع بخری و تمنا زاد
 حضور ناظر بالاش مبدو زند فصل همه در بیان
 شغل ضایع جمع فهو خانه فهو انهای طلا و نقره
 و مس و فرا افتابها و فهو بزبان کن و پیاله و
 سینی بخوبل شازایه مبدو فصل از این همه
 دزدان بخوبل بخوبل از ان عازات بنا و کلات
 آنچه از فانی و نیکه و مند و جاجیم و طایفه پوش
 و غیره است بخوبل بخوبل از ان عازات و فانی نکاتند
 و جادوب کردن مشغول بر ایدار است فصل
 درین عهد در بیان شغل ضایع جمع و کلاتخانه و خوش
 حمام خاصه و آنچه مشغول بالانت و کلاف
 و ناز بالاش و پیشی مخصوص خاصه و لباس خاصه
 و مفر شهای طلا طین که در سفر است با بیان
 بسته مبدو و کفش و چکمه و جوزاب و جامان
 و آنچه مشغول بالانت فصل سیزدهم در بیان شغل
 ضایع مشغولانه و نقاش خانه مشا حل طلا و
 نفس و مس و دینه و سیه و دودغن چراغ و غیره
 و نواله و کوس و نقاش و کتر تا و غیره و سرن

بمهر نظر رسد این بیایع شود که نقصان بنمال
 دیوان نرسد و بره و آنچه بجهت صرف خاصه
 و خادمان احتیاج باشد آنرا از فضایات
 قیمت آنچه بصد الزام نوشته نشاید
 که از انفراد بخرج مجزی کزد فصل ششم
 در بیان شغل صنایع ابدخانه و غیره تنک و
 جام بخوری از طلا الایب و غیره مطهره و حینه و غیره
 و جوال پنج کشی و اسباب پنجگانه و دوچه بخوبی
 مشارالیه میشود فصل هفتم در بیان شغل
 صنایع شکر خان و اسبابی که بخوبی صنایع
 داده میشود و اسباب مزبور از جل و نکلن و جوال

خیاز انکوردت انار نمهندی سبزی زرد الو
 و غیره سبوها بالتمام است و ظروف طلا و نقره
 و من بعد از احتیاج خوب صنایع مزبور میشود و
 خوب بدستوری و بیخیز است فصل هفتم
 در بیان شغل صنایع غایت آنچه کوشند از
 هر جا آوردند باید در حضور معتمدان نظر کنند
 و کوشند و در نوبه و پیه خام و کله و پایه و
 جگر و پوست او خوب و ضبط شود و هرگاه کوشند
 در سرکار نباشد و کوشند از بازار بخرند
 هرگاه قیمت آن از فراد تغییر صاحب لنوف
 محاسب المالک و در پیش سفیدان صنف که

در هر دو مورد پیشتر مذکور است و در هر دو مورد اخیر است

باشد یا نچه اذنا ستهای دو خسته که دوسر کار
 مزبور جمع است بخوبی صا جمع مذکور مقررات
 دیگر افش افغانی و خلغنی و آنچه بیخ شود بیخ
 صا جمع مزبور مقررات است و طهری بیخ افش
 دوسر کار مزبور باین دستور است که باید با نچه
 ناظر از باب خبرت و بصیرت را حاضر و بود و فوفا پنا
 فیت مشخص و فیت ناچه را بعضی اهل خبرت و
 بر طبق آن سندانیناع فلی کرد و افش کلان
 و سایر و لا پات بدست مزبور مذکور فیت مشخص
 و انا نظر از دد ضمن نوامیر افش افش الو اصل فلی
 و بجمع و ذوا و عمال دیگر ذوا و اموال سبکین بنیز

مناسب دوسر کار مزبور بخوبی مپشود و فیا
 که کجهه امزای عظام خلغ سبکین دو خسته می
 شود حکم فیا می پوشیده دارد دوسر کار مزبور
 جمع است و سوز و لذت نیز بخوبی صا جمع
 مزبور مقررات است و فک میایم دوز ذکر باین صتا
 جمع مذکور خراط جویاب چاقوز لند
 انوکش حلاج صافکی کلان فصل جهان از جمله
 متران صا جمع فیا چخانه امزایست و بیان شغل
 و ضابطه سر کار مزبور است که خلغنی که بجمکام
 و ذوا و کلانتر و مین باشیان و بوز باشیان
 و سایر جماعه که دوز میثه امزایان شدند و دوز

جمع قحاجخانه خاصه و تفصیل شغل صاحب جمع برپور
 بموجب است که در دُخْت د و دُفْعَه نوشته میشود
 در دفعه اول در زبان بخوبی اجناس است که جنس
 جمع مزبور نسبت داد از آن جمله لباسها
 خاصگی پادشاهت باین طریق که نوشته
 نقیسه که بجهت پوشش سرکار خاصه بجهت
 قطع انخاب میشود صاحب جمع خزانة عامه بخوبی
 قحاجخانه خاصه نموده در معنی که بیجم باشی
 بعین و بعرض قدس رساند خباط باشی در
 حضور معتمد عالیجاه ناظر و صاحب جمع قحاجخانه
 و مشرف قطع و حاصل آن که آن لباس د و خت

بجوز پیش سفید سرکار مزبور است و مشرف خلیفه
 نیز معتمد و تمام وجوه بخوبی فوزخانه مبارک که از
 الات و ادوات حزب مکرر بخوار و غیره و سرب
 و بار و ط باطلاع و سر زشته مشرف سرکار مزبور
 بخوبی صاحب جمع مقرر و کل اجناس فوزخانه بجهت
 جنس خانه خاصه در جنس خانه ایوان و سایر قلاع
 و ولایات که در ذلها فوزخانه شاه میباشند جنس
 باشی بخوبی در تعیین و حکام و ولایات بتکلیف
 و بوقبول و بمنما بندگان و مشارالیه از جمله اعظام
 مقریان و معتمدین در کلاه پادشاهان میباشد
 فصل سیم از جمله مقریان مشرف الحضرت است

اصْفَهَان مَعْلُوقِ لِسْرِكَارِ دِيوَانَتِ بِخَوْبِلِ ضَا جَمْعِ
 خَرَانَهٗ عَامِرَهٗ مَعْفُورُ يُوَدُّ وَهَرَبِكْ اَزْ خَالِ وَحَكَا مُ وَ
 مَبَا شَهْرِيْنَ مَالِيَا تِ دِيوَانِيْ نَا خَيْرِ دَرِ وَجُوِ اَنْقَا دِي
 خَرَانَهٗ عَامِرِ مَبِهْوَدُوْنْدُ ضَا جَمْعِ خَرَانَهٗ بِجَهَهٗ وَصُو
 اَنْقَا دِيَا تِ خَرَانَهٗ نَوَابِيْنَ خُوْدُوْ رَا مَحْصَلِ وَبُو لَا يَا تِ
 فَرِيْ شَا دَهٗ وَجُوِ خَوْبِلِيْ رَا وَصُوْلِ وَابُو اِيْجَمْعِ خُوْدُوِيْ
 عَمُوْدُ وَوَجُوِ مَالِيَهٗ اَضْنَا فِ اصْفَهَانِ وَمَدِ دَخْرِجِ
 مَهْمَا نَا نْ كَدَسَهٗ هَزَارِ نَوِيْمَانِ مَبِشُوْدُ عَمَلِ وَنَمِنْ خَانِ
 وَشَا هٗ فِ خَانِ وَزِيْرِ اعْظَمِ هَرَبِكْ دَرِ اَبَا مِ عَمَلِ بِخَبِيْلِ
 نَابِيْ نِيْ يَابِشِيْ خُوْدُوْ مَعْفُورُ دَا شَتَهٗ بُوْدُوْدُ اَفَا كَا لِضَا جِ
 جَمْعِ بِخَدْمَتِ يَادِ شَا هٗ سَابِقِ عَرْضِ وَخَا جِيْ مَهْدِيْ خَانِ

مَعْنَمِدِ خُوْدُوْ رَا مَحْصَلِ وَهَرَبِيْ سَالَهٗ مَوْعِيْ اِيْنَهٗ نَمَامُ وَكَلَا
 وَصُوْلِ وَاَنْقَا دِيْ خَرَانَهٗ عَامِرَهٗ مَبِهْوَدُوْ وَ اِيْجَمْعِ اَنْفَسِ
 اِيْجَنَاسِ سِرْكَارِ خَا صَهٗ شَرِيْ هِيْ هٗ اَسْتِ خَوَا هٗ اَزْ
 جَوَاهِرِ اَبَا اَفْشَهٗ نَفِيْسَهٗ بِبِيْشَكْشِ اَزْ كَثَا بِ وَ سَمُوْدُ
 وَزِيْ بِيْفِ وَ سَابِقِ اِيْجَنَاسِ لِيْ سَابِقِ اَزْ نَخْفَهٗ دَرِ خَرَانَهٗ
 عَامِرِ بِخَوْبِلِ مِثْلِ دَالِيْنَهٗ مَعْفُورِ وَضَا جَمْعِ خَرَانَهٗ دَرِ
 خَفَا يَتِ اِيْجَنَابِ رُوْ كَلَا اَفْشَا دَا وَ كَلْبِيْدِ دَا دَرِ خَرَانَهٗ
 بِيْزِ اَزْ مَعْنَمِيْ رِيْنَ خَوَا جِهٖ سَرَا يَانَسْتِ فَصْلِ دِيْ فُوْ مَبِيْ
 دَرِ دِيْ بِيْ اِنِ جِيْ نَا خَا نَهٗ اَضْنَا جَمْعِيْ اِنِ عَظِيْمِ اَلشَا جِيْ
 يَابِشِيْ اَسْتِ كَدَكْلِ عَمَلَهٗ جِيْ نَا خَا نَهٗ نَابِيْ نِيْ اَوْ وَاوِيْ جِيْ
 وَبَضْبِيْدِيْ خَدْمَتِ هَرَبِكْ اَزْ عَمَلَهٗ سِرْكَارِ نُوْدُوْ

باطالانجام ایشیک افاسی باشی دیوان اعلیٰ است
 وهکی دیا ولان صحیف و ایشیک افاسیا نرا
 مغرب الحضرث مینویسند صنف دویم مثل
 بر ذکر شغل صا ججهمان بیونات وان شتمسنت
 بر ججه فضل و د وضا بطه ضابطه اولک دزیان
 شغل صا ججه خزانه عامره و سابر بیونات معمر
 مجلا خدنت ایشان است که اینجه بجهته خراج
 سالیانه هر کارخانه اذ نقد و جش اذ فرار برود
 مشرفان احتیاج داشته باشد تفصیلی با جزیه
 نوشته نزد ناظر بیونات اورد بعد از تخفیف
 لاندنه و تخصیص باقی و فاضل هر یک بقدر احتیاج

و ذر بیونات اذ جانب ناظر شرحی بخد مت و ذر
 اعظم قلمی اذ فراد تعلیفه که بر قسم عالیجا و ذر
 دیوان اعلیٰ رسیده صا ججهمان بیونات ازان
 فراد قبض نوشته بنخواه باذ بانف و فبوض صا ج
 ججهمان تا اذ ام که بخط و ذر بیونات و مستوفی
 ارباب الثواب و مهر ناظر نرسد مخویل با این
 داده نمیشود ضابطه اولک دزیان شغل هر یک
 اذ صا ججهمان بیونات معمر وان شتمسنت
 بر شا زده فضل فضل اولک شغل صا ججه خزان عامره
 است که صا ججه مزبور مغرب الخافان و اینجه
 نقد و جو هات مالک محروسه و اذ اذ السلطنه

ایشیک افاسی مجلس و در مجلس خام خدمت
 مینمایند و نابین ایشیک افاسی باشی و نصب بشی
 مواجب و خدمت و امر و نهی ایشان با ایشیک
 افاسی ^{باشی} نبوالست فصل چهارم در بیان فایوچی
 دوفایوچی باشی مفر است یکی فایوچی باشی
 دیوان و یکی فایوچی باشی خلوت و هریاب جمع
 کبیری نواین دارند امر و نهی در دو لنگانه مید
 و سمت مطبخ و سمت چهار حوض با فایوچیان بود
 و از خلوت مخفی فایوچی باشی خلوت و ایشان
 و نواین ایشان نابین ایشیک افاسی باشی دیوان
 و نصب بشی مواجب و خدمت و امر و نهی ایشان

لیا و لان صحبت و لیا و لان صحبت بغیر از امر
 زاده معبر و یکی کبی نبوده و در قدیم هشت نه
 نفر بیشتر نبوده اند در مجلس خاص ایشان نجای
 ایشیک افاسی باشی خدمت و در مجلس خام
 در برابر پادشاه ایشانده میشوند و خدمت مجلس
 ایشیک افاسیان می نمایند و همگی نابین ایشیک
 افاسی باشی دیوان اعلی و نصب بشی مواجب و خدمت
 ایشان بغیر از شاه مشا و رایه مشا و ایشیک افاسیان
 ستمر دزبان شغل ایشیک افاسیان
 مجلس جماعه مزبور در زاده و غیر از امر زاده از افان
 معبر هر کدام لیا و خدمت حضور دارند

اول دذبيان شغل مقرَّب الحَضْرَت ايشيك افايه
 بايشي حرم مخرم خدمت مزبور ابايجي كبر پيرنو و
 فذعي ترو دود د بار پادشاهي محرم ترو بصفت
 صلاح و ندين و زاسني اراسنه بوده اند و جيج
 مينموده اند و شب و روز دذو حرم حاضر بود
 فابوچيان حرم و ايشيك افايان حرم نابين و
 تابع و زمان اومياشند و سبق د حرم و امر و منع
 و نهي مردم اجنبى و بيكانه مخض ايشيك افايشي
 بابيشي حرم است و نضد بيقى موابج و خدمت
 نو اين مزبور با مقرَّب الحَضْرَت ايشيك افايشي
 مشار اليه است فصل تومر دذبيان شغل

ميكشد مهر خادان ان مخض و اندان مذكور است
 و مبلغ سوزومان موابج و ششماهه بيقول و اذ
 اوقام ملازمست پناه دوشلاك دارد و اذ اوقام
 شخواه كراذ سركار و ممالك ميكند و اذ اوقام
 سركار ممالك بنظر اهرازه توما في مبلغ بيم شاه
 باذ اوقام ميمتايد و جاي او كدمي است و انت
 كد دوصف فو و چيان براق دذو پهلوي فو و جيج شد
 كدمهر دار مهر شرف نفاذ بيقول ايشاد ميهند
 مفالذ و تومر اذ باب سيم دذو كجيجي كرايشان ميهند
 الحَضْرَت في نو اينند و ان ششملك بر ذوصف
 صنف اول ششملك بر چهار فصل فصل

مواجب و مساوی ششما هه ان بنول دارودواز
 براوردی مداخل امر او حکام و غیره که منصب
 بادشان داد میشود از هر نومانی مبلغ یکصد
 دنیا و رسوم دوزنسال اول میگیرد و از اوقام ملاز
 اذ فرار نومانی پناه دنیا در دوشلک ناز اوقام
 نماید و از اوقام نخواه و اجادات بفرار نومانی
 بیست و پنج دنیا میگیرد و در مجلس عام در نصف
 نورچیان بران در پهلوی دوانندار قدیمی که دوا
 دار پرو انداخت اینکاده میشود فصل ششم
 دوزیان شغل مغرب الخافان دوانندار اوقام و
 احکام و پروا نجات که عالیجا منشی الی اللطفا

داوان ضبط است میرسد با بنیر شبید رسوم
 منبری خود اخذ میبوده اند و رسوم مهر دار
 مهر شرف نفاذ بدین موجب است که بصیغه
 دوشلک هشتصد و سی و پنج دنیا در دوزنسال اول

انچه اوقام سبزو غالات

انچه اوقام یالت و حکومند

فمغایات ناز اوقام بیناید

و سایر نصاب جزو کل مالک

اذ فرار نومانی بیست دنیا

مخروسه با زیادت نماید از

هر نومانی سیصد و سه نایبی
 قبض و اخذ نماید و در دوزنسال اول بعد بدستور

مهر بیون دوشلک مجدهی نذار فصل هفتم
 دوزیان شغل مغرب الخافان دوانندار مهر لکش
 اوقاب اثر اوقام بیاضی و دوزنی را و افه نویا
 طغرا منکشند مشارا اینه بهر مهر اثار و سپید

اللَّهُ إِذَا ذُنِبَكَ شَفَعْتَ فَرُودَهُ انْدَ وَشُغْلُ مِثْلِ شَادِ
 إِلَيْهِ أَزْجَلُهُ مُنَاصِبِ عَظِيمِهِ وَجَلْسُنِ لَشِيرِ
 جَلْسِ بَهْشْتِ اِيْنِ اسْتِ وَشُغْلِ مُهْرِ دَارِي
 دَرْدَقِيمِ الْاَيَامِ اِنْ بُوْدَهُ كِهْ اَرْقَامِ وَذَا رُفْنَا وَ
 اسْتِنْفَا هَا وَكَلَا نَزْهِيَا وَبُوْرُغَا لَاتِ وَمَعَا قِيَا
 وَيُوْنَا نَحَاتِ اَمْرَا وَحُكَا مِ وَغَيْرِ ذَا بَعْدِ اَزْ نَدْتِ
 دَفَا نَزْ بِمُهْرِ نَدْتِ مُهْرِ هَمِيُوْنِ كِهْ نَزْدِ مُهْرِ خِرَا دَرِ نَزْدِ
 وَدَرْدُ ضَمْنِ اَرْقَامِ ذَرْدُ كُوْشَهْ عِنْوَانِ مُهْرِيْتِ هَمِيُوْدَهْ
 وَدَرَا وَ اَخِرَا اِيْنِ ضَا بِيْطَهْ مَضْبُوْطِ بِنُوْدِ بَلَكَا دَرِ سُوْمِ
 خُوْدَرَا اَزْ قَرَارِ نَضْبِ بَقِيْ دَفْتَرِيْ بَا زِيَا فِتْ مِي
 مَبْنُوْدِنْدَهْ فَصْلِ شُكْرِ مِ دَرِيَا نِ شُغْلِ مَقْرَرِ

الْمَخَافَانِ مُهْرِ خِرَادِ مِ مُهْرِ شَرَفِ نَفَا ذِ شُغْلِ مِثْلِ اَوَالِبِ
 اَلَسْتِ كِهْ اَرْقَامِ وَ اَخْطَا مِ اَمْرَا وَوَزَا وَ مَسْتَوِيَا نِ
 وَ لَشُكْرِ نُوْيَا نِ وَ قَا طِبَهْ اَزْ اِيَابِ مَنَاصِبِ جِرْوِ
 وَ كَلْ ذَا كِهْ دَرْدَا دَرُوِيْ مَعْلِيْ اَبَا غَمَا لَكِ مَحْرُوْسَهْ
 اِيْرَانِ نَعِيْبِيْنِ مِيْشِدَهْ كُوْشَهْ ضَمْنِ اَرْقَامِ ذَا دَرِ بَرَا بَرِ
 مُهْرِ هَمِيُوْنِ بِمُهْرِ كُوْجِيْكَ شَرَفِ نَفَا ذِ مُهْرِ نَمَا بَدِ وَ چِيَا
 صَا جِيَا نِ مَنَاصِبِ رَفْعِ مَنَصِبِ خُوْدِ رَا بِيْجِهَهْ مَدَا
 دَسُوْمِ مَقْرَرِ خُوْدَرَا اَزْ سُرُوشْنَهْ دَفَا نَزْ نُوْجِيَهْ
 دِيُوَا نِ اَعْلَى مَخْضُوعِ مَعْبِيْنِ وَ بِيْعِلْمِ اَزْ اِيَابِ خُوَا لَاتِ
 دِيُوَا نِ ذَا دَهْ عَوْضِ اَزْ وُجُوْ مَعْبِيْتَهْ بَا زِيَا فِتْ
 وَ اَرْقَامِ مَنَاصِبِ خُوَا هِ بِيْمُهْرِيْ كِهْ دَرْدَرِ مُهْرِ

بهر مهر داران ننبداده اند تصدق بنوم مقرر

فصل پنجم در بیان مفتربات خانان مهرداد
 مهر همپون از قراری که از سر رشنه مهرداد
 سابق معلوم میشود در زمان قدیم اولاً سبب
 شصت و چهار نومان و بعد از آن هزار و پصد
 شصت نومان و پنج هزار و پصد و شصت و یک
 دینار بنیول از حال تم و خیره داشته و در بعضی
 اوقات بنیول مزبور ضبط و در عوض ایاک و حکومت
 بادشان داده اند و در بعضی ایام بدستوری که
 که معمولست شغل مهرداری بدو بنیول داده
 شده و در این ایام مهرداری هم همپون
 قبله خالو بدستور سابق بمفتربات خانان

ایشان از منشی الممالک بنویسد و در نواین او در دار
 الاثنا بیت وهشت نفر بدین موجب بوده اند
 با منشی ^{باشی} _{عزیزان داد الاثنا بیت وهفت}
 بالفعل همچیک موجود نمیشد و طغرای اب طلا
 و سخی مختص فلم منشی الممالک و بد بکری نسبت
 ندارد و از جمله مفتربان در آباد کچی مدار و باز
 با فنکان خالص خاص و عام و نصف بق ملایز هفت
 و مواجب محرزان و منشیان دار الاثنا و اهلیت
 و قابلیت ایشان بمفتربات خانان مزبور متعلق است
 و همیشه در ازمنه سال قبلین پیشان ممالک
 معزز و محترم و بصفت کمال از آنده بودند

معتبر الممالك از فدییم الایام الی الان مقرر و مشرک

فصل چهارم در بیان شغل مغرب انا فانیست

المالک است شغل مشارالیه است که بر زبانها

ببارک اشرف و ملازم و بیول و همه ساله و مخول

مواجب و حکمهای که در بیان یکی مبدع هر یکی

منش الممالک لبرخی و اب طلا بدینو حسب

باب
که زنمان همیون شد میولید بر
احکام شقا و طلب ملازمتان و بیولک
و بیولغلا و همیون همیون
عناقر

باب
که حکم غنا غنا شد میولید
حکما فی است که در بیان یکی
بدهد

باب
که زنمان همیون شرف تقا و اوست
میولید در جواب نامها و شاکلا
که صد روز بدهند

طغرا میکلند و شجره صوفیان و سپوز غلالا

عمله موجودی دزده دستنگاه صرا بخانه هر زوزه

کار مینکرده اند پانصد تومان الی شصت و هفتاد

تومان با جان میداده اند که مننا جر از کل اجاره

دیوانی موازی بکهن اعداد اشرفی و یکصد

دستخه کله که فبث انها نخبیاد و دینت و بچاه

تومان بدینو حسب میولید انقاد خزانه عامر و

و سپصد و بچاه تومان دیگر را بموجب معبر

و ضرابی باشی و سایر از باب خوالا سرت کار خاصه

شریفه میداده اند و غیر از همان مبلغ فوف

چیزی انقاد خزانه عامر نمیشده و شازده بک

از وجه واصلی سرت کار خاصه شریفه در وجه

و در شهرهای که اطاعت نکرده نیز وراج دادند
 و لایبی که صرفه میبکنند که باین وزن در سکه
 نماید و الحال سکه توایب کامیاب اندس اشرف
 اصلی نیز پنجشاهی بوزن نند انک و نیم زمان شاه
 محمود و طلای اشرفی بدستور قدیم چهار دانگ
 و نیم سکه میشود و کمال وراج و رونق الحمد لله
 در اصفهان و تمام اطراف ممالک محروسه
 دارد و در عهد سلطنت سلاطین سلف کل
 منافع واجبی ضرایخانه در سال اغلی که تجارت
 بسیار از اطراف می آوردند و فله سازی
 و فلوس کاری در عین معنوی شهر که چهار صد

و چون بخانت شاه محمود عرض بود بود که وزن
 عتایی از فرادش دانک سکه را داشته باشد
 و بوضع میبکنند در شهر رمضان المبارک و شش ماه
 مفرود فرمودند که عتایی را در ضرایخانه بوزن پنج
 شاهی نردانک و نیم سکه نمایند و واجبی طلا و نقره
 طوقه ششالی برستور سابق
 سکوت و پونشده سکوت نقره حلقه
 پنجاه دینار صد دینار ده دینار شایز دینار
 بجهت سرکار خاصه ضبط شود و نقاشی بر طرف
 باشد و باین جهت وراج سکه پنجشاهی مجدی
 رسید که بعد از آنکه شدت باطراف میروند

وبعد از معاودت از سفر مزبور قبیل از ایام خاصه
 اصفهان محمد علی نیک معبر الممالک بجهت نویسی
 سرکار دیوان و نیز بدانشنخاع سرکار خاصه بخدمت
 شاه سابق عرض و بیک دانک از وزن عتاسی را
 که نموده عتاسی را شش دانک مسکوک و یک دانگ
 نقره اضافت از علائق واجبی نموده ازان نام پنج الی
 نه ماهه سال جلوس شاه محمود واجبی ضرب انخانه
 بهمان دست و شاه سابق بدین موجب ضبط و انقاد

مسکوک از قول و شغلا
 پناه دینار
 مسکوک از قول و شغلا
 از قول و شغالی میسر
 دینار و شش
 دینار و شش
 دینار و شش
 دینار و شش

شاهان را بکار دارند زیاد به برچهها در انک الی که شغلا
 که تهنیم زنسانند و خاصه صلی را که از ابی باشیاریت
 ضابطه و مخویل را راند و بجهت سرکار خاصه شریفه
 ضبط است نمائند واجبی بیک و بند و واجبی سرکار دیوان
 از طلا و نقره که در ضرب انخانه مسکوک و پشده و در سوز
 ایام بدین موجب بوده و معتبران ندید بجا بجهت
 از قول و شغالی می تبار
 کفایت سرکار دیوان برقد از واجبی افزوده طلا را
 از قول و شغالی پناه دینار و نقره پندینار است شمار
 داده بود و در زنسان که شاه سابق بفرز و پسر
 حرکت نموده و وزن عتاسی را هفت دانک معتر

که بیزان نظر عیاشی که در وزن زاهدان نموده مجتهد است که
 دستنکاه سکه کج
 استادان سکه کن هر وفزده بشغل سکه کنی اشغال
 مینمایند

شغل محض بمعبران و عمال دیگر را دخل بنیست
 و حسب اوقتم اشرف مفرق است که ضابطان و
 مستاجران و عمله و فغله نمالک محرومه و زده
 و ذرگران و ضرافان و ذرگران و مستکران و
 غیرهم بدون اطلاع و وقوف معبران و کماشنگ
 ایشان داد و ستد نموده خود را بعزل او معزول
 و بنصب او منصوب شناسند و تمام عیاری

طلائی که از خلاص بیرون می پنداشتند که عین
 با عیار اشرفی گفته دومی برابر باشد و عیار
 طلا خلاصی و پوش نقره باید بعیار دومی گفته
 رسیده باشد و ذر دستنکاه نقره سازی طلا
 و پوش صدیخ معمول و اگر ذریغف بسپاند زده
 سبک مفرق شود که نافه شود اعلی و اصدده
 و اعلی اعلی و اصدده بایزده و پوش مینمایند
 و علامت نقره کامل عیار است که از سطح فرض
 نقره بعد از بردن از کوزه فال شایخها بشکل جبا
 سر میزند و همین همه نقره خالص را شایخها میگویند
 و کمال خوبی عیار است که اگر قصد شغال از نقره

درد شنگاه افکنی بشکل میل افکنی شمشیر بنامند

دس شنگاه چرخ کبکی

بعند از افکنی عمله چرخ کبکی طلا و نقره را از

حدیده فولاد پرونی ککشد

دس شنگاه فضای

طلا و نقره را تا سخن نفوذ قطع مینمایند

دس شنگاه کتله کوبی

انچه از شمش قطع شده بجهت عیاسی و چینی بنامند

دس شنگاه سفید کوبی

عمله مذکور چرخ زرد اسپید کوبی مینمایند

دس شنگاه نخش کبکی

و شرفان مناط و معتبر مینامند اند و غزل و

نصبت و نسیب و بازخواست سگ کتله کبکی و

حکا کتان و صرافان و ذرکشان و اسفندان و

دس شنگاه مفصله ذیل و کمال عمله ضربان و

دس شنگاه ستاکی

عمله دس شنگاه مزبور و طلا مغشوش را بخلاص و

نقره کوب عیار را با بقال گذاشته خالص مینمایند

دس شنگاه فرض کوبی

فرض خالص را بجهت نا سخن زرد مینکوبند

دس شنگاه افکنی

بعند از آنکه فرض کوب کار خود را تمام نمود

فتمت پنهان نمودن ملخص اینکه در سنا پنهان وجه مضمر
 خوف و کسوف در درود مود بود بجای مستخیر
 بخت باشی یا ملامت باشی در نسبت نیست فصل پنجم
 در بیان شغل مقرب الخافات معبر الیها ان است
 شغل مشغول بمعبران اذ قدیم الایام الی الان است
 که استناد آن بوقوف و اطلاع ایشان طلال و نضرب
 بسیار در وزن معترف بدرون غل و غش در ضرایحانه
 با تمام در سنا پنهان که در نظر انبیا اثر پنهان
 که که گمان ملازم دیوانی منغوش نموده باشند
 در سیم رامت کونک و چون رونق در وراج امور
 سلطنت منوط بخطبه و سکه خلافت است

واعتماد سکه را بمعبران نموده اند این تخریب خطاب
 این خدمت در کمال اعتماد و اعزاز و احترام بود
 جمیع امور مشغله بضرایحانه در اسلام خلافت
 مکی بمعبران رجوع و محرم مجلس خاص و عام و
 در عرض مطالب از شرف بساط بوسی مجالی خاص
 و عام ممنوع نبوده مستند عینا ت خود را بدرون
 واسطه مشافهه عرض و پادشاهان سابق هرگز
 خدمتی و رجوعی بضرایحانه پیدا نشدند اند معین
 را بخصور طلب فرموده مرجوع مینماخته اند
 و اگر ضرایحی باشی بغیر معبردی بگری بوده نضرب
 بخوبی معبران را در عزل و نصب ضرایحی باشی

هر روز به دست خود اطباء بدرود و نماند حاضر بسیار شد
 که از یاد شاه و مقرران بجهت بنای امری و اخینار
 سفری و درخت نوب پوشیدن و بریدن تحقیق شد
 سعد فریاد عرض نمایند و در خسوف و کسوف
 و دوز مولود سالانین وجوه نصدق که فوری
 باشند و سایر امران نظر قناری برینا پند اند
 دوازده ابل از منته سالانین بعضی اوقات افضل و
 اصلح فضلا و عصر که در درگاه معالی حاضر بودند
 بمختصین فشم می نمودند و در بعضی اوقات هم
 باشند فشم منکر دند و زانجامی که مالا باشی
 بعضی شد و جوه مزبور و اموی الیه باهل السیما

استند غای طبیب از خدمت تو اب اشرف بنیلا
 یاسپه سالار و سرخرایی که بعضی شود طبیب
 شود طبیب خواهد بعضی طبیب بجایان است
 الیه مقرر میشود و اطباء زمان شاه سابق سو
 میرزا چشم حکیم نابی سابق که مبلغ چهار صد تومانی
 موجب همه شاه داشته موازی شصت و
 هشت نفر ملازم دیوان و یک هزار و هفتصد و
 نود شش تومان و شش هزار و سیصد و شصت
 و شش دینار در وجه اطبای سالار شاه ساله
 و تنخواه برای مقرر بود فصلی در قریه دزبان
 شغل مقرر انظاران مختص باشی شصت مشارالیه

۹۹۹

ایشان را می‌شوند، الله مخصوص ایشان است و ایشان
 سادۀ کوچک که تا ادام ملحق می‌شوند و در ایشانند
 الله مخصوص و معام مخصوص داشتند که ایشان را
 نزدیک می‌نمودند بعد از آنکه در ایشان بر می‌وردند
 و بزرگ می‌شدند، داخل یوزده و نواصی و اول ایشان
 می‌کشند نوع دوم از مغالۀ اول در بیان شغل
 مقرر است که داخل خواجۀ سرایان نیستند و ایشان را
 مقرر است ایشان بنویسند و این نوع مشتمل است
 بر هشت فصل فصل اول در بیان شغل مقرر
 ایشان حکیم باشی است مثلاً الیه در پیش سفید
 اطبای سرکار خاصه شریفه و این چنین

مجلس عام و خاص پادشاهان و معزز و مکرّم بود
 و شغل مثلاً الیه است که طبابت ذات اقدس
 و وجود مفسد س که حافظان فدای نام مبارکشان
 نماید و ملاحظه بنص بمشار الیه معلق دارند و
 بدیهی است نسبت ندارد و مواجیب و انعام و ملازم
 اطبای بصدیق و بخوبی و عرض مشاور الیه معصوم
 و ذی اعظم و ناظران بیوفات از انفسار معمول
 و عطا داری سرکار خاصه شریفه از جمله نواز
 طایفۀ مشاور الیه و منع اطبای غیر ملازم از شغل
 طبابت هرگاه و فوفی نداشته باشد بمعظم الیه
 معلق است و اگر احدی از اولاد و بیگانگان

خزانة تابع فرمان خزانة دار و در کمال استغلا و
 اعتبا بود. اند و در زمان شاه عباس ماضی
 صد نفر از غلامان کسری سفید را خواجه
 نمود. یکی که از همه مغربتر بود. بود پوزباشان
 نمود. اند و پوزباشی دیگر بجهت خواجه سرايان
 سپاه نغین و باو نیز صد نفر از بین از خواجگان
 سپاه داده تا زمان شاه سلطان حسین نوزباش
 افایان سفید بر بهم افایان پوزباشی افایان سپاه
 الباشا فایان بوده هر یک از پوزباشیان در دور
 حرم مخترم غارت و دست نکاهی و بیول و مولج
 معینی خود و نوایین ایشان بخوی که از سر شده

د فایان معلوم میگردد داشته شد و خدمت نظارت
 و جبا دارباشیگری را که در زمان سلاطین سلطه
 با مغربان و ثباتش بوده شاه سلیمان و شاه سلطان
 حسین بخواجهای سفید نفوذ بخش نمودند مدتی
 محمود افایان جبا دارباشی و ثباتناظر و بعد از
 فوت او جبا دارباشی کسری با استعمال افایان خوبه
 سفید و نظارت بفرمایان بر کشت و خدمت
 مهتری و یکب خانه نیز با خواجه سرايان مغرب
 بوده و خدمت نزدیک و نگاه داشتن فایان
 دستمال مخترم مهتران و کلب خانداست
 و غلامان خاصه و در بشت سر پادشاهان

خانه معینی دار داده میشده و ادیشك افاشك
 حرم برین سفید، خواجهای حرم داده مشا والیه
 داند دون حرم بنظر پادشاه و ساپنده، جوارا
 می و دوده و امرا از ادكشك خانه ادیشك لافه
 باشی طلب و خود بینكفنه که پادشاه در جواب
 عریضه چه نحو مغز فرمود و خواجه سرای حیر
 دیگر که در قدر و مرتبه و اخنیا و زابری با
 دپس سفید حرم مینموده، او را صا جمع خزانه عامر
 و كل نقد و حین خزانه اندرون و بیرون
 با و اخنیا مینموده اند و كلید دار خزانه
 خواجه سنیا، و نایب صا جمع خزانه و كل عمل

و در سه خدمت ادیشا از اقربان مطلقان مینویسند
 و این مشتملت بر دو نوع بود اول دو بیان
 خواجه سرايان صاحب منصب اولاد و از اذن
 سلاطین سالانه صفویه خواجه سرای سفید
 نبوده و از خواجه سراهای سنیا، هر کدام خاقلد
 زیر کز و خدمت پادشاهان لایق تر بوده اند
 دیش سفید، خواجهای حرم علیه عالیه نموده
 امروزه كل خواجه های سنیا، با دپس سفید
 و سر کرده میزور بوده عریضی که امراء سرحد نزد
 ادیشك افاشی باشیان مینموشاد، اولاد عریض
 بدست ادیشك افاشی باشی حرم مخم ککشك

در این کتاب و در این کتاب و در این کتاب

طیبه لا اله الا الله بطریق ذکر جعل اشغال و در
 شب جمعه نان و حلوا و طعام و در سائرا و اوقات
 نان و طعام مفروضی در ویشا نرا صرف مینمایند و
 دو نفر خلیفه و خادم باشی و چند نفر عمده نوحید
 و خلیفه در کل ممالک محروسه بجهت امر معروف
 و نهی منکر تعیین میشوند بعلت خلیفه خلفا تعیین و
 درم بر طبق ان شرف صد و وینماید بایب ستم
 در بیان منصب هر یک از مقرران که لفظ مغرب
 الخاقان و مغربا حضرت مختصر ایشا دنت وان
 مثنی است بر دو مقاله مقاله اول در ذکر
 شغل جمعی از مقرران که بسبب زیادتی فقرت

بهیچانجا مشا را اله و بجهت استحضار و هم نلی
 سایر کارا ذات خرج ارقام مناصب و ملازمت
 و احکام بنولات و همه سالیجات و نحواه بران و
 انعام و سپور و عالات و مغایفات و غیره و جوهرات
 داد و ستدی در قرا ثبت مینمودند و چهار
 نفر مخرب بودند که حال هیچک موجود و در دید
 حیات نیشین فصل چهارم از باب دوم در
 بیان تفصیل شغل خاقان خلیفه الخاقان است
 شغل مشا را اله است که بدستور زمان شیخ
 صفی الدین سخن در شبهای جمعه در ویشا ن و
 و صوفیان را در نوحید خانه جمع و بدک کلمه

عایطاه مستوفی المالك فقام دادند

صاحب

رفمان عایطاه مشاور الیه که حسب الامر ملازم

دیوان بودند بچمنصر و شغل و خدمت ایشان آن

بوده که کفیات و ارقام و احکام ملازمی و نحوه
و عهد سالجات و ببول و وظائف و معاویات و سایر

و غیره نوشتجاتی که متعلق بداد و ستند دفتری است

ملاحظه و بضمح نموده اینچه مقرون بحساب باشد

بمهر و بخت عایطاه مشاور الیه رسانیده و اینچه

خلاف حساب باشد جواب دفتری قلم و بصباح

کاخذ رد نماید محرران سرکار خلاصه که دفتری بود

بمستوفی خاصه و از باب الخط و ببل است اینچه مشاور
رسد رسانند ایشان بخواجه میدهند و ارقام ملازمی

و احکام بخواجه کل ملازمان اعتم از آنکه بخواجه از دفتر

دیوان و خاصه و از باب الخط و ببل نکند و سواى

ارقام و وظائف و معاویات و غیره سرکار خاصه
نتمه بمهر مشاور الیه برسد و بازخواست بفضیله

محرران دفتر دیوان با عایطاه مشاور الیه است

و مستوفیان جزو مالک محروسه بجنوب عایطاه

مشاور الیه باید تعیین نمود

کتاب

سرکار مزبور که بشغل محرر و خدمت

نصوری و وظایف و سپور خاگ و غیر هم و کیفیتان
 دقزی که بهم مشا را الهه رسیده باشد داد و شد
 و شجوه داده میشود و وز ذاء دیوان اعلی بدرون
 نصد بیق مشا را الهه از مائیات دیوانی چیزی داد
 و شدند می نمایند و در مائیات دیوانی نصبی
 و بخورن مشا را الهه مناط اعتبار و اعتمادات و خرد
 دیوان اعلی بعد از نصب بیق دیش سعید هر کار
 و بخورن مشا را الهه نقیب میشود و ناظر و ذار و غیر
 دقز و صاحب نوجب و ضابطه نقیب و اوارجه
 نویسان و غیر هم همگی جزو مشا را الهه و ادو جو
 سرکار و خاصه و اذایب الظا و بل که داد و سندان

ایشان مناط و معتبر بوده فصل پنجم از باب
 دویم در بیان تفصیل شغل غایطه مستوفی المائیات
 مشا را الهه از جمله امز اعظام و شغل و عمل مشا را الهه
 عظیم است و نماست مائیات دیوانی که در کمال
 ممالک محروسه داد و شد میشود باینها در فرار
 لجناتی که مشا را الهه از دقز نویسد و بعمال هر کار
 دهند میکنند خود ساسخه از آن فرادید و رفت
 زیاد و کم داد و سندان نمایند و نماست بخواه
 و همه سائیات بیکل بیکان و خوانین و حکام
 و سلاطین و در سومات و ذراء و مستوفیان و
 کلاژان و مواجب از باب فلم و سایر عماسا کز

واصفه نویسنه رسم نویسیان نویسنه و اوصافه نویسنه نقلی
 میمانایند و جواب فضول نا و اوصافه نویسیان در
 مخف هر فصل بشریحی که امر اشرف صادد کر که در خط
 خود نقلی و در سر زشده خود ثبت میمانایند و
 و نویسنه و اوصافه نویسیان ده نفر بدین نحو
 و عرابی که بخدا مت نویسنه اشرف داده شود ^{نویسنه} عرابی

دوم نویسیان و سر زشده داد از قافه
 هفت نفر

دوم نویسنه و نویسنه اشرف
 سه نفر که در کتب و کتب
 نقلی و سر زشده دارند .
 دوف نفر
 ارقام اند پنج نفر

که حسب اصلاح عالیه معظمه ایامه بخاربات

بر ساله خود چیزی نویسنه بواصفه نویسنه سپارزند
 باطلاع و طعنا فلم مذا و اوصافه نویسنه ارقام مذکور
 میگذرد و طعنا کشیدن ارقام بضم سبها مختصر
 و اصفه نویسنه و بدین یکی نسبت ندارد و عالیه
 مزبور از جمله امرا جانقی و انیس و جلیس مجالس
 خاص و عام و عرابی و فضول امرا و حکام که
 از مالک محروسه پیا به سر بر اعلی فرستاده
 پادشاه همگی را نزد مجلس نویسنه میفرستند که در
 خدمت اشرف فضول و عرابی را در مجالس خاص
 و عام خواندن جواب از اعلی میمانایند و آنچه را
 باید در ضم صادد شود از فراز باید داشت بمسئول

باشیان و مهتران و غیره عملاً ایلی موقوف بصدقه
 و تجویز خانیگاه مشا را ایه است فصل کی و ان می
 از باب دویم در بیان تفصیل شغل خانیگاه معرفت
 الخاقان مجلس نویس محفل بهشت این تفصیل شغل
 و افضه نویسان است که جواب نامه‌های که از پادشاه
 ایران نوشته شود و افضه نویسنانشانماید و افا
 مناصب و ملازمت و همه ساله و بنوی که از
 د فایز خلوص صادر شود و هرگونه روشنی که پادشا
 بزبانی معرفت داند که از افاضه می‌کوبند با
 اینکه از فرا و تغلیف خانیگاه و زبرد بتوان علی
 یا اینکه بعید حسب الامر اعلیٰ امر و معرفت

دیوان اعلیٰ رسیدنخواه میدهند فصل یازدهم
 از باب دویم در بیان تفصیل شغل خانیگاه امیر خود
 باشی صحرانگ خدمت مشا را ایه است که
 سال بسال با اتفاق ناظر در و اب عرض پنجگانه
 خاصه و نتایج آنها را ملاحظه و طومار عرض
 بخط مشرف در دست داشته لبر کار از باب نظر
 رسانند و علیق و ضروریات اینجانبی مدکور بایش
 معمول از فرا برد آورد مشرفان که بنصده بی و بخوب
 امیر خود باشی صحران و ناظر در و اب رسیدن باشد
 نخواه داده میشود و ضبط و نسق فوراً است
 بیا نگاه مشا را ایه دارد و تعیین امیر خود را

بر طبقی بخوبی عالیجاه مزبور بر رسم عالیجاه و ذریه پوان
 اعلی سید و نخوابه از ناف و خدمت مینباشند
 و یوزباشی تکریم و یوزباشیان و خازچی باشی تکریم و
 خازچیان و یوزباشیان و یوزباشیان و یوزباشیان و یوزباشیان
 و یوزباشیان و همه ساله کل جماعه مزبور بر طبق فرض
 عالیجاه مزبور شفقت و بعد از تعلیفه نمودن
 عالیجاه و ذریه پوان اعلی و رسم اشرف صادق و مینکند
 و امور معلف به یوزباشیان و یوزباشیان مباد که را
 عالیجاه شاه را به بحقیقت رسید و نیز و نیز
 میداده و از قدام و احکام ملازم و یوزباشیان و همه
 ساله و نخوابه از ناف و انعام جماعه مذکور بطغرا

دعوی

و مهر عالیجاه شاه را به میر سید و نسخه سان و یوزباشیان
 را و یوزباشیان و مستوفی سرکار مزبور در خدمت ایشان
 در حضور عالیجاه معظم الیه به عرض عرض مینباشند
 فصل در چهارم از باب دوم در بیان شغل عالیجاه
 امیرالخورباشی جلواست خدمت مشاور الیه
 است که در ضمن ملاحظه می نماید بعد از آن
 نصیب بقی عالیجاه امیرالخورباشی می اندازند عالیجاه
 مزبور سوای جلوزادان خاصه که جلوزادان باشد
 نصیب بقی مینماید ثمره عمده اصطبل تا که بشرح
 فوق عرض شده با نعل بندان و یوزباشیان ایشان
 نصیب بقی میکنند و بعد از آن بر رسم عالیجاه و ذریه

و مهر عالیجاه شاه را به میر سید و نسخه سان و یوزباشیان را و یوزباشیان و مستوفی سرکار مزبور در خدمت ایشان در حضور عالیجاه معظم الیه به عرض عرض مینباشند فصل در چهارم از باب دوم در بیان شغل عالیجاه امیرالخورباشی جلواست خدمت مشاور الیه است که در ضمن ملاحظه می نماید بعد از آن نصیب بقی عالیجاه امیرالخورباشی می اندازند عالیجاه مزبور سوای جلوزادان خاصه که جلوزادان باشد نصیب بقی مینماید ثمره عمده اصطبل تا که بشرح فوق عرض شده با نعل بندان و یوزباشیان ایشان نصیب بقی میکنند و بعد از آن بر رسم عالیجاه و ذریه

بجیفت شکایات مزایای رسیدن بخداست یا ائمه
 کیفیت شکایات ایشانرا عرض وافرادی که مقرر
 بصلاح دوزک و ضابطه مملکت میباشد دانسته
 غویبی مینموده اند فصل ششم از آداب دوزخ
 در بیان تفصیل شغل عالیه امیرشکارباشی است
 مشارالیه از جمله ابرار عظیم الشان و جمیع
 فوئحیان تاین مشازالیه و نضد بوق خدمت
 ایشان و عرض مطالب واستدعای انعام نواب
 است بعالیه امیرشکارالیه و آرد و کیفیت است
 طلب و سخاوت و قبول و هه ساله جماعت فوئح
 بعد از بخورن خالصانه مذکور در قسم عالیه و زنده

اعظم رسیدن سخاوت داده میشود و هر ساله
 مبلغی از فراد تعلیمت عالیه معظم الیه از
 دفترخانه همیون اعلی بصیغه تخصیص فوئحیان
 که موی الیه تعیین نموده باشد سخاوت داده
 میشود و بعد از وصول مبلغ مزبور و اعطای
 معرفی الیه فيما بین نوابین خود بدست نمود
 قلمت مینماید فصل هفتم از آداب دوزخیم
 در بیان تفصیل شغل عالیه فوئحی باشی است
 مشارالیه درین سفید بودباشیان و مینمایند
 و فوئحیان و جازیحیان فوئحانه است و قبول و
 مواجب و هه ساله و براف و انعام نوابین مشارالیه

ناپیدان نوشنه خودی بنمود و اگر خاص
 از حال بعید عرض شکایتی بنموده دستور
 چنان بود که در مقدمه مثل مبلغ پنجومان التزام
 غرض و دیوان یکی تعلیفه فلی و منشی دیوان
 هم تعلیفه فلی و بعد از آن حکم صادر و وجه
 التزام انوائجمع محصل میبود و حکم میبود در دفتر
 ثبت و بدستور سایر وجوه ذات و مستند
 و در دفتر دیگر از دوازده هفت و ده خانه
 خود بدخواهای حسابی عرفی برتسهند و هر یک
 از دیوانها تا که دیوان یکی منوجه میشد
 اگر دعوی در باب نایبات دیوان یا طرف

دعوی

دعوی از جمله از باب قلم نویسن و بر اعظم بود
 بخلاف و زرا، اعظم میفرستاده و هم چنین اگر
 احدی از طرفین دعوی فوزچی یا غلام یا سایر
 عساکر منصور و عملیه یونان بوده بر پیش سفید
 فرزند کار رجوع میهنوده و سایر سکنه اهل فر
 و ده یا مخصوص دعاوی که تعلق بمال دیوان
 نداشتند خود منوجه شدن قطع و فصل میداد
 و اگر جمعی از مردم و لایات بشکایت بیکدیگر
 و حکام و سلاطین خود بازدوی معالی می آمد
 اند و عرض مطلب خود را بوزراء اعظم نموده
 بدیوان یکی عرض میهنوده باشند دیوان یکی

ویرظام و زیادتی که واقع می‌شده و نتوانی که اهل
 شهر و دهات زیاده بر چهار پنج توانان بکند کرد
 داشته اند میر شهید اند و اجرای احکام شرعی
 و اجرای احکام شرعی و ضبط و تنقیح شهر که
 اذاف با برضعفاست و نتوانی فافع نشود نیز
 بدیوان پیکان متعلق است و جمعی که از ظلم و
 غدبی با اخذات اربعه و غیره بدیوان پیک
 شکایت می‌کردند اگر ظلم مزبور در حوالی شهر
 که مسافت آن بیش از ده دوازده فرسخ نبوده
 واقع می‌شده دیوان پیک تعلیمت بیاضیه بر
 طبق عرض فاضل بعهد فوری اجرا و غنیمت

امیر خورباشی و جیالادباشی و عرض مطالب
 مستند عیان کنی صانع جنان بناظر بیرونات غلق
 فصل هفتم از باب دسیم در بیان شغل طالبان
 مقرب نظامان دیوان پیک است مشارالیه از
 جمله امرای عظام و مظهره در منصب مزبور
 است که هر هفت چهار روز با تقاضا صدود
 بکشیک خانه که مخض دیوان پیکان بوده است
 امده احداث اربعه زا که جبارت اذوقل و زاله
 بگارت و کوز کردن چشم و شکستن دندان
 اذ کافکهازان بحکم صد و زبازخواست نموده
 بنا بر دیوانهای ادای رجوع کل مالک محروسه

مخط اعتماد الدوله و معترف نظر برسد و ايفاشته
 که مقرر است که بجهت ابناء خاصه شريفه
 و خلائق فاضل امرای و غيرهم سال بسال داده ناظر در
 اول سال تغليفه نوشتنه اعتماد الدوله و قسم
 کند و نوایین ناظر بالکاکافه انفاذ نمائند
 قدغن خانات و پنجها و آوردن همه زمستان
 بجهت مطبخ و غیره همگی زانایند ناظر در وقت خود
 بعد از اخراجات سالانه حاضر کند و جو و کاه
 بجهت اخراجات طوایل و شترخان سرانجام کند
 و در بروز بخوبی و بدی و کرد و زیاد اخراجات
 و طعام خاصه و خادمان رسید و بخورداران

اعتمادی

اجناس زیورین بخرچند دهند و ناظر قدغن نماید
 که بخورداران و عمل بیونات مال رعیت و غیر
 نکشند و نیزند و چیز پیرضای صاحب خرد
 نکند که بد دعا حاصل شود و فحیت مولود
 آنچه مشخص شد بدهند و هر قسم اخراجات
 که در بیونات واقع شود بدون اطلاع ناظر
 نباشد و احدی از غلامان و ملا و نایان
 بدون تغلیفه ناظر از کارخانه جات چیزی
 برند و غایبانه ناظر بیونات رعیت سفید و صا
 اختیار کمال سه و سه کارخانه بیونات
 معمر و رعیت سفید صا جمعان است

و سالی بکمر بنه سان عمله بیونات و بخورن بولجی
 و درخصت ایشان با ناظر بیونات است و هر چند
 دزد و ف خود که صرقه دیوان دیوان بوده باشد
 ناظر بخرم و متبرساتازد که اگر در عرض سال زرق
 در قیمت جناس هم نرسند نقصان بمال دیوان
 نرسد و سالی بکمر بنه شتر از ناظر پید بخافی
 و لاخری و ذبونی و اسقاط شتران برسند و در
 اول بابین بعضه معمار با شی کنند که ملاحظه
 نعم بر عماراتی که از لوازم باشد عمده بنیای
 صرقه دیوان شخواه بدهد و یاد شاه بفرست
 انعام و خلعت شفقت کند باید سندان

ششماه دیششماه مشرفان و سال بسال مستوفی
 جمع و خرج را مشخص بنمودند و هر کاره روز ناظر
 و اسناد بیرون مبلغهای کلی هر سال
 بر کار خاصه نقصان میرسند و بعضی که از لوا
 همه ساله مفرز بود ناظر محصل تعیین بنمود
 که بویالات و فقه اجناس را وصول و انقاد
 نمایند و هر کاره اجناس مزبور بجهتی از جهات
 انقاد بیونات نمیشد صاججان کیفیت بفر
 ناظر بیونات رسانید و زدا عتقاد الدوله برده
 عوض از خزانه یا سایر وجوه دیوانی بفرستند
 و بدستوز اجناس گرفته صرف بنمودند

صاحب مال نمایند و بعضی اجناس دیگر را ^{بیت} صاف
 بایست ماه بماه التزام از پیش سفید هر یک
 گرفت بجهت ائمه ائمه که سپارد که او التزام ^{سبب} مزبور
 ضبط و از روی آنها لشعیرا محلات نوشته بتمام ^{سبب}
 بناظر بیونات عرض و بجهت و افعان برسد
 و اگر دادند که بعضی اجناس را بیست زیاد نوشته
 بخوی که ظلی نشود و بدو غائی در ضمن آن نباشد
 که نموده تسلیم صنایع آن نمایند که مشرفان
 بیونات موافق اخراجات بعد از وضع بارش
 صنایع آن سندان بیناع باضماد به بنام
 بر ضمن لشعیرا بجهت فلی و ناظر مهر نموده بخرج

بود

خود مجری دادند و ناظر قدغن نمایند که مشرفان
 ماه بماه در زمان محلات مقریه یا اموافق مقریه
 که بخدمت پادشاه عرض و سندان کنند که شاه
 و اصناف بجهت خاصه شریفه و مجلس و مهمانان
 و غیره سواخ کردونی داده باشند در آن باب
 سندان نوشته به ناظر بیونات داخل در زمان
 نمایند و ماه بماه روزها محلات را بوز بیونات
 رسانند که در هر مدتی که با سندان مفاصله خط
 کاشانه ناظر مهر نموده بمسنونی ارباب ^{تجارت}
 سپارند که مشاوران به جمع و خرج صنایع
 را مشخص نمایند و آنچه کارخانه محلات خوراک است

فہمٹ شخص میبند و مقرّب بود کہ ناظر بیوناٹ
 بعضہ نابینی مقرّب منکر کہ و ذر بیوناٹ و محذب
 المالک و مستوفی اصفهان و دیش سفیدان
 صنف زاد یکجا حاضر سازد و ہکی لشتنہ فہمٹ
 اجناس بنا بر صرفہ دیوان شخص و منونہ اجناس
 مہر نمودہ و فہمٹ ناچہ راماموودین و ناظر بیونا
 مہس نمودہ بصاحب جعمان سپاوند کہ آنچه
 اجناس بجهہ اخراجات خاصہ دد عرض سال
 اجتناب شود صا جعمان اجناس را موافق نمونہ
 محوون خریداری و فہمٹ را از و ا و فہمٹ ناچہ
 مذکور از باب بخورلاک خود مہناس زنی

عنا جعمان مخیمتا بر آورد و و ذر بیوناٹ بر آورد
 مزبور را بناظر بیوناٹ بخواند و خاطر نشان منکر
 و و ذر بیوناٹ در همان بر آورد بخداست اعتماد اللہ
 چیزی میو بست و ناظر مہر منکر کہ کہ اخراجات
 ششماہہ بیوناٹ سرکار خاصہ را مشرفان بخلان
 مبلغ بر آورد نمودہ اند مقرّب را ذند کہ مقرّب الخ
 صاحب جمع خزانہ خامرہ وجہ بر آورد را از و ا از
 فیوض الواصل مہناسی صا جعمان نما بند و حتما
 جعمان فیوض را بصا جمع خزانہ سپردہ وجہ باز
 یافت مینمودند و صا جعمان اجناسی کہ بایست
 خریداری کنند بعضی اجناس بود کہ سالی بکرینہ

ساله و متخواه براتی وانعام جماعه مذکور بطغرا
 ومهر عالیا مشاد الیه میرسد و نهنه شان فتنگی
 و ذر بر و مستوفی سرکار زینور در خدمت اشرف
 در حضور عالیا معظم الیه بمعرض عرض برین
 فصل ششم از باب دویم در بیان تفصیل
 شغل عالیا ناظر به وثائق است و شغل مشا را لیه
 است که در اول سال تغلیفه مینوشت که
 مشرف بیونات اخراجات ششماهه سرکار خاصه
 شهریه را بمحصلی احدی بعد از وضع باقی
 نقدی و جنبی واجناس همه سالجات که از ولایت
 حسب ارقم مقرر بوده که اتفاقاً شود بود فوق

ساله و مواجب براتی وانعام کل ثوابین مشا را لیه
 بنصب بدیوق و مخورن عالیا معترتی الیه برشم عالیا
 و ذر بر دیوان اعلی در سپیده نخواه با زیاقت و خدمت
 مبرز باشنکری و یوزباشی کری و جارچی باشکری
 فتنگیان و جارچیان و بعضی بنجامه فتنگیان
 و بیول و همه ساله و مواجب ایشان که بر طبق
 عرض عالیا مشا را لیه برشم و ذر بر دیوان اعلی
 در سپیده باشد شفقت و درشم اشرف صادر
 مینگردد و امور منعلفنه به فتنگیان نا عالیا
 مشا را لیه بمحفظت در سپیده مبرز و لشکر
 میداده و اذقار و اخکام ملازم و بیول و همه

ناظر به نوات و مشارائنه اضا فر نویسی لغزین تباد
 که موافق طومار جمع و بمناسبت مخریبل صاحب جمعنا
 بهونات و مشرفان دوز و زنا چچه عمل بنماهند
 و اعلام پای بوس مناصب و پای بوس فرودن
 اذیاب مناصب و جمعی دیگر که در مجلس هبشت
 این مامور پیا بوس منکر دهند شغل مزبور محض
 عالیجاه معظم الینه و دیگران داخل و لسنینی بنش
 فصل پنجم اذیاب دویم دوزیان شغل
 عالیجاه نفنکی افاست اشث والیه دیش
 سپید بین باشیان و پوزباشیان و جارجیا
 و دیگران و قاطبه نفنکی استت و بیول و هم

نماید سخفات شان داسر خط نویان و محتران ان
 سرکار در نوشتنه و لشکر نویان در حضور عالیجاه
 مزبور بخوانند اند و حکمی که دیش سپید مزبور
 در زبان ایشان مینوشتند و پیشکس نویین
 در مخف انم ایشان مینوشتند و پیشکس نویین
 سرکار خاصه شریفه نیز باغبانانک پیشکشته
 نوروزی و غیره که بجهت یاد شاهان می و زده
 سوی اجناس خوراکچی که پیشکس سرکار خاصه
 مینمایند هکی را تفصیل و سببا هه عمده طوما
 انرا با عالیجاه اشک افاستی باشی مدیچر و اجناس
 خوراکچی که پیشکس می و زنده شده ان با عالیجاه

مزبوراً که غالباً و ذریعاً بر اعظم مضمی دارد و رسم
 صادر میگردند و کیفیت عوض جمعی که خواهند
 در عوض معوض عنه خود ملازم شوند و کیفیت
 مواجب براتی و همه ساله و بنویسند بخواهند
 مشارالیه و مهر و اوراق ملازم و اضافه
 مواجب نوآیین معظم البه و احکام بنویسند
 ساله و مواجب براتی ایشان بطغرا و مهر معظم
 البه بنویسند و لشکر نویس دیوان اعلی و وزیر
 و سرخط نویس دیوان اعلی مستوفی سرکار غالباً
 مذکور و در اوقات که غالباً مشارالیه سان
 نوآیین خود را ملاحظه یا بفریب ایشان نمایند

دیوان اعلی است مشارالیه و پیش سینه کتار
 لباس و لایح و ایشیک افسان دیوان و
 اقایان و قاپوچیان دیوان و لایح و چاقچاق
 دیوان و امور و نسق مجلس زجماحت مجلس پیشین
 و زینب نشین مجلس نشینان و ایننادگان مجلس
 اذ اعلی تا اذنی متعلق با ایشیک افسان باشی دیوان
 و اگر خلاف فاعده در زینب فواحد مجلس بنویسد
 اذ ایشیک افسان باشی با نخواست و بدستور
 امراء پیش سینه قوری و غلام غالباً مشارالیه
 پیش سینه کل اقایان و مواجب و بنویسند و همه
 ساله نوآیین غالباً مشارالیه بر طبق عرض غالباً

و ذاء اعظم شفقت ^{میشد} و امور متعلق بغلامان را
 در پیش سفید سرکار مرزبورد که خالچاه فولر افاست
 بجهت رسیدن فطع و فصل ^{مبارک} و ارقام
 و احکام ملازمت و مواجب و بنول و همه ساله
 و اتمام جماعت مذکور بطغرا و مهر خالچاه
 مشا و الیه بر رسم خالچاه مشا و الیه میرسند
 و نسخه سان غلامان را و زبر و مستوفی هر کار
 مرزورد و خدمت اشرف در حضور خالچاه
 معظم الیه بمعرض عرض میرسانند و خالچاه
 مرزور را از امر آجا یعنی است فصل چمان
 از باب دویم در بیان شغل ^{تفصیل} ایشان افاست

سپهر از باب دویم در بیان شغل رکن الدوله
 العلیه الغالبه خالچاه فولر افاست مشا
 الیه بعد از خالچاه فوری باستی عمده زین امر
 و ارکان دولت باهره و در پیش سفید فاطمه
 غلامان سرکار خاصه شریفه و بنول و بموجب
 همه ساله و بزایق و اتمام فاطمه غلامان بعد از
 بخور خالچاه مشا و الیه بر رسم خالچاه و زبر
 دیوان اعلی رسیدن شخواه باز یافت و خدمت
 ابانک و حکومت و بوزباشی کری و میت
 باشیکری و بنول و مواجب و اتمام فاطمه
 غلامان بر طبق عرض فولر افاست و تعلیفه

دیگر کجود ز کشتکخانه معمول نیست کز بشند
 شکایتم از باب دویم در بیان تفصیل
 شغل دکن السلطنه الفاهره عالیجاه فوزچی باشی
 مشاور البه عمده ترین امر اراکان دولت باهر
 وریش سفید فاطبه ایلات و اویمات ممالک
 محروسه و بیول و همه ساله و شخواه فاطبه فوزی
 ملازم دیوان بغداد بق و بجوز عالیجاه
 فوزچی باشی برشم و بزیر دیوان اعلی و سپه لشکر
 بازیافت و خدمت ایالت و حکومت و سلطنت
 دیوزباشی کری و بیول و مواجب فاطبه فوزی
 بر طبق عرض فوزچی باشی و غلبه و وزراء

اعظم

اعظم شفقت میدیده و امور متعلق بفوزچیان
 و ادب سفید سرکار میزبورد که عالیجاه فوزچی باشی
 بجهت رسیدن قطع و فصل پیاده و فوزچی
 باشیان عمده ترین دکان دولت فاهره اند و اویمات
 و احکام ملازمت و مواجب و بیول و همه ساله
 و انعام جماعت مذکور هر کدام که در سالک
 فوزچیان عظام منتظم باشند بطغرا و مهر
 عالیجاه مشاور البه میر سپه و لشکره سان فوزچی
 و بزیر و مستوفی سرکار میزبورد در خدمت اشرف
 در حضور عالیجاه معظم البه به عرض عرض بر
 و عالیجاه مذکور اراکان جابقی است فصلک

و ذراء اعظم بنام آكان شده اند كه خانه خلافت
 واجب العرض خود را بخداست و ذراء اعظم عرض
 توانست نمود و همچنين سخاوت ديوانى و استناد
 خرج دفتري و مفاضاى صا حب جمعان و
 مخولداران و مخضبلداران و تغليفات ناصب
 جزو كل بمهر و ذراء اعظم رسيد، بدانچه معرفت
 دارد معمول ميدارند و امر آهريك بزرگب مؤلف
 ربنه منصب خود در كشيكخانه بدستور مجله
 بهشت اين در قهلوئى بگريه نشيند و غير
 از امر آه و ارباب مناصب و مستوفيان عظام
 و خوابين عظيم الشان و و ذراء و صا حب رفعا

عظام مخاسبه مشخص و مفاضا حساب ميدهند
 و اگر نقصان و كسري در مالايات ديوانى بجبهى
 از جهات حساب به هم رسند كه در خدمت وزير
 اعظم مودبان حساب به موجه و محكوم به بناسند
 بجهت تخصيل دغاى خيرو نرفه حال رعاليان و
 ابادى مملكت چنانچه جمع فدايم را جبر و ادغاى
 نقصان را حسابى دانند تغليفه تخفيف داده
 كتاب دفترخانه ديوان اعلى و خاصه شريفه
 بتغليفه وزير اعظم مستند و همان شرح در
 دفاتر خلوت ثبت و بنفضان عمل بنمايند و
 كشيكخانه در دولت خانه را بجهت ديوانت

دولت قاهره در ادنکاب امر خلاف فاعله باهر
 وهی او ممنوع و منفاعند کنند بخد مت بندگان
 قبله عالمیان عرض و بدایچه امر اقدس شرف
 صد و رو بابدان افتراد معمول داد و جمعی ملامت
 دیوان میشوند که رسم بالمشافهه صادر کنند
 باشد و در پیش سپیدان هر طیفه عرض نمودن
 نماذام که بغلیفته و ذبیر اعظم نرسد در خدمت
 وملازمت داده نمیشود و اگر ذبیری رساله اهدا
 از مغزیان نوشته شود نماذام که ضمن رسم بهر
 و ذبیر اعظم نرسد بمهر مهر اناز متون بپیکر د
 و خد مات جزئیة و بعضی کتاب دفترخانه

همیون و خاصه و عملة بیونات معیون که قابل عرض
 بخد مت اقدس نباشند از فراد بغلیفته عالیا
 و ذبیر دیوان اعلی که بر طبق بخوبن خالیجات
 مستوفی الممالک و ناظر بیونات و معرب الخانات
 مستوفی خاصه صادر شده باشد در رسم ملامت
 و خد مت داده میشود و موقوف بعرض اقدس
 نیست و شیخات محاسبات عمال و مودیان
 حساب دیوانی کل و لایات ذبیر کل بیکار
 و حکام و سلاطین و وزرا و نحو پلداران جز
 و کل و منصوبان و ضابطان و غیرهم بعد از
 تغلیفته عالیا معظم الیه دفتری و سبوت

ووظیفه نویسن که مجموع هفت نفر پیشوندانند
 آیات داخل امراء جانفی بوده اند و در او خردندان
 شاه سلطان حسین در چند مجمع ناظر و مشورتی
 الممالک و امیرشکار باشی داخل شد و در آنجا
 بخصوص فرستادن سپه سالار دینعلی از طرف
 ممالک محروسه با حضور سپه سالار و در مجمع
 جانفی شرایط استفضل اول از باب دوم در
 بیان تفصیل شغل و ذرات اعظم عالیجا و در هر
 اعظم دیوان اعلی و اغنیاء الدوله ایران عمده ترین
 ارکان دولت و قاطبه امراء و کلاه معالی و در حد
 ولایات ممالک محروسه و زاد و سواد کل مایات

دیوانی و وجوهات انفادی خزانه عامه و غیره
 بیویات از کل ممالک ایران و ذوات السلطنه اصفهان
 بدون تعلیفه و امر عالیجا معظم الیه داده شد
 نمیشود و از قاصدین مناصب و ضمن کل از قاصد
 الیه نابذات و لا بمهر عالیجا معظم الیه رسید
 ثانیاً بمهر مهراتنا و قدس علی مرتضی کرد و باید
 در توفیر و تکثیر مایات دیوانی و طبقات
 وجوهات ممالک محروسه و انفاداتهای
 اهتمام نموده اگر احدی از قانون خو و حساب
 و امور مستقیم و معمول مملکت و ضابطه حقیقتاً
 نظف و نظارت نماید متنوع و اگر امراء و ارکان

لهم کومان می هم مروشا هی چخان یان می هم
 قلدو علی شکر می وان می هم شهد مُفدس معلی پیر می
 دا االتاسطنه فرزین نوع دویم دزد کر ازلار دیر
 دولت خانه مبار که همکی دزد دکلما جهانیان مشا
 حاضر و هر نیک بمنصب مخفی سراز میباشند
 که عرض از شویدا بن دساله نبت شغل مخض فرزند
 از ایشان وسایر از باب مناصب صفهان میباشند
 اولاً باید دانست که امراء دود دولت خانه چار
 ادکان دولت فاهرم میباشند اولت فوزچی باشی
 ذوقیم فولزاق استیم ایشیک افاسی باشی چها
 نشنچی افاسی و این چها ز نفر با و بزیر اعظم و دیوان

الشان نرانت و بعد ازان والی لرستان فیلی
 که باغبنا از اسلام اعزاز والی کرخستان است و
 ولایت کرخستانات معلفه با بران کرخستان
 کاد پهل و کاخ و نقلین است و بعد از مرزبه
 والی کرخستان والی کردستان است که کنت
 محل کتخا عایشان میباشند و بعد از او خاکرا اهل
 بخناری و دزد قدیم الانام کمال اعزاز و احترام
 داشته اند اما یکلو بیکیان عظیم الشان از ان چیز
 اولت فدها دی قیبر شیروان سپهر هرات
 چهارم اذ بانجان یخیم چخور سعد ششم
 فزابع و کجه هفتم ستر اباد ششم کوه کلو

و اعنبا و اوسپکر بیکیان مینا شنند و دین بیکیان^{ناده}
 زیاده بر خوانین و در هر سر حدی که بیکیان بیکی
 نشین است جمعی که در خوالی و اطراف مملکت
 او خاک میبشوند تا بیع و قول بیکی بیکی بیکی همان
 سمت و بعرض بیکی بیکی مغزول و منضوب می
 گردند و باین نسبت ساطا هفای هر سر حدی
 تابع خوانین همان سرحد میشانند و والی در
 ممالک ایران جهاد است که اساسی هر یک موافق
 اعنبا و شرف تر است^{نوشته} مبدی و اولی و الی
 عربستان که اعنبا و سپادت و شجاعت و ذی
 ابل و عشرت از اولیای دیگر بزرگتر و عظیم

بهر فاضلی عسکر نیز بیکیان و حکام
 و لایات سواد مزبور را اختیار و اعتماد نمود
 سخاوت بیاندازد باب دومی در بیان منصب
 هر یک از امراء عظام که لفظ عالیجاه مختص بایشان^{است}
 و آن مشتملست بر یک مقدمه و چهار جزء
 فصل مقدمه در بیان تفضیل امراء باین دانش
 که امراء ایران مطلقا بر دو نوع میباشند نوع
 اول امراء غیر ذولت خانه که ایشا ز امراء
 سرحد مینامند و این نوع بر چهار قسم است
 اول ولایت دومی بیکیان سیم خوانین
 چهار سلاطین اما ولایت دومی بنده منصب

دنیان شغل فاضی عسکر در قدیم الاتام
 فاضی عسکر در کشتیکانه دیوان بیکان بحکم
 شرعی عساکر منصور مبرسیده و بعد از آنکه
 صدر در داضفهان تعیین و مقررت شد که دیوان
 بیکی در حضور صدر و بمرافعه شرعیه عباد الله
 رسد آمدن فاضی عسکر تکشیکانه دیوان بیک
 متروک و شغل فاضی عسکر در اواخر زمان
 سلاطین صفویه مختصران شد که عساکر فاضل
 ماز سواد ار فام نخواست مواجب خود را که بمالک
 محروسه مفرشتانند بمهر فاضی عسکر برین
 و مادام که سواد ار فام نخواست مواجب فستوت

ملت بیضا مبرسید و ضبط مال غایب و بیم زاد
 بعد از زمان شیخ جعفر فاضی بزرگن فاضل صفها
 میشد رجوع مینمودند و هر دو خوانی را که فاضل
 حکم شرعی ازای نویسد دیوانیان اجروی و حی
 بمن له الخی مبرسانند فاضل چهارم در بیان شغل
 شیخ الاسلام دارالتلطنه اصفهان مثالیه
 در خانه خود بدخواهای شرعی و امر معروف
 و نهی زمنکرات مبرسید و طلاق شرعی زارد
 حضور شیخ الاسلام میدادند و ضبط مال
 غایب و بیم اغلب باشیخ الاسلام بود و
 بعد از آن بفضاه رجوع شد فاضل پنجم

باین شخص بود، مجازاً عزل و نصب میباشند
 موقوفات اگر نفویضی بوده باشد بصدود
 خاصه و عامه منعلق است و اگر شرعی باشد
 هیچ باین حکام شرع و صدور آمد خلقتی
 ان نیست بلکه شرعاً هر کس را و ارفاق و نافع
 منوی و صاحب اختیار فرار داده باشد مثلاً
 خواهد بود و بعبیر آن مخالف شرعی معتد
 بنویست فصل پیمرد زبیران شغل فاضول
 السلطنه اصفهان دستور آن بود که فاضلین
 بعبیر از جمعه در خانه خود بنشینند و غایب
 شرعی معروف و ارفاق قانون شرعی غرا و

و کربلی و خاجیلر و کیود جامد را صد رخصه
 نغین و امور منعلق بصد رخصه زاد و لا
 مفصله مذکور نایب الصدان و سایر مباشین
 صد رخصه منوجه میباشد اند خالیج
 صد و نمالک صاحب اختیار نغین حکام
 شرع و مباشین موقوفات از مزایات و مدار
 و مساجد و غیر هم از کل نمالک محروسه از
 اذر یا بجان و فادس و عراق و خراسان میباشد
 سوی ایچده در نغین اسم صد رخصه تفصیل
 یافته با صد و نمالک است و در بعضی از
 از منسه سلاطین صد رخصه خاصه و عامه

وامور شرعی س کا فیض انا ر متعلق مختص علیہا
صد و خاصہ اسٹ و صد و بمالک امد خلیہ
در ان نیست و مجلی از شغل مختصہ ہر پ ہ
بدینہ جو جیست عالیہ س
صد و خاصہ و دوشنبہ و یکشنبہ بادینہ
در کتب نگارنہ عالی قاپو بدینہ می نشیند
و در حال ایران حکام شرع بزد و ابرو و نابند
و ادرستان و فوشہ و نظرو محلات و دیگان
و خواند و برود و دوزین و دار و مزج
و کیا و چایلی و جزفا دقان و کمرہ و فوہان
و کاشان و خم و سار و ما زندان و اشراہاد

شرح و بیاشہرین اوقاف تقوی و پیشہ سندی
جمع سادات و علما و مددسان و شیخ الاسلام
و پیش نمازان و فضلاء و مولیان و حفاظ و سایر
خدمتہ مزادات و مدارس و مساجد و بقاع الخیر
و وزرای اوقاف و نظار و مشورین و سایر
علماء سرکار موقوفات و محترمان و غسالان و
حفاظان با اوست و دیوان احدات اربعہ
کہ عبارت از قتل و ازالہ بکارت و شکستن
دندان و کوز کردنت و غایطہ دیوان بکی
بدون حضور صد و غظام نمبر سدا حکام
دیگر شرع را مداخلت در احدات اربعہ نیست

همعصر خود کمتر بود بر شبه ملاباشی کسی سرزاید
و بشهرت مضاجبت مدرسه چهاو باغ زا بنا
که آشنه خود مدرسه مذکور کرده
و داد و ستد و جوهرات حلالا نیز بنمود
و جوهر بر و نضد فائز اباد شاه نزد او میفرستاد
که بمختصر نرساند و بعد از فوت او ملا محمد
حسین نامی ملاباشی شده و بغیر از دین
مدرسه نیز ببارامودی که ملاباشی از
ترتیب بودند قیام و اقدام داشت فصل پنجم
در بیان شغل صدقات خاصه و عامه مجلا
لازمه منصب مطلق صدقات تعیین حکام

ملاباشی کسی به منصب معینی نبود بلکه افضل
فضلا می حضرتی در معنی ملاباشی در مجلس
پادشاهان نزدیک بستند مکان معینی داشته
احدی از فضلا و سادات نزد یکدیگر از ایشان در
خدمت پادشاهان نمی نشستند و ایشان بغیر
از آنستند طاووظیفه بجهت طالب علمان و مختص
در دفع نعلی از مظلومین و شفاعت مفسرین
و تحقیق مسائل شرعی و تعلیم ادعیه و امور
مشروع و هیچ وجه بکار دیگر دخل نمیکردند
و در اواخر زمان شاه سلطان حسین میر محمد
بالقرام فاضلی بانکه در قضیت زانجام



الحمد لله الذي دلنا على قواعده الرشد
 وهما لنا الرضا والسرور والصدق
 والسلام على أشرف الرسل وأفضل
 أهل الأرض والسموات محمد وآله
 وأصحابه الذين بمولاهم فضل الصيقات



وغيركم في شجيرة الخيرات
 ابن خلاصه ايست ستمائت كره الملوكة
 شتمائت بزدهشور العمل خدمت هرايت
 ارباب مناصب در كاه مهال موافق از منه
 سلاطين صفوته كدر دابن وقت حسيب الانبي
 الاعلى بطر بوا حتمال واستخجال بموقف عمر
 ميهديت محو بيبت بزنجيار وغانمه بابايل
 دويبان شغل ملا باشي واهالي شرع دار السلطنة
 اضفهان و ارباب شتمائت بزنج فضل فضل
 اول دويبان شغل ملا باشي مشا اربابه سر كره
 تمام ملا لها و در دار منته ساهفه سلاطين صفوتيه

