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A MONGOL DECREE OF 720/1320 TO THE FAMILY OF SHAYKH ZĀHID

By V. MINORSKY

§1. Introduction
§2. The Zāhidī and Ṣafavī families
§3. The split in the Zāhidī family
§4. *Dramatis personae* in Abū-Sa'īd's decree
§5. Geography
§6. The ispahbads of Gīlān

TO BORIS MILLER

§ 1. INTRODUCTION: BACKGROUND AND SOURCES

THROUGH the kindness of Professor F. W. Cleaves I am in possession of an offprint of his important article 'The Mongolian documents in the Musée de Téhéran'.[1]

The first two documents are only insignificant fragments, but Document III, which consists of eight pieces and two endorsements, is nearly complete and full of personal and geographical names. It is a decree issued in the name of the last ilkhan of Persia, Abū-Sa'īd (716–36/1316–35), and bearing the date 720/1320 (according to Pelliot: September 1320).

Here is Professor Cleaves's summary of its contents:

'It had been reported by the *šiγ* Badaradin Abul Maqmad Maqmud that, although, by virtue of an edict, he had, in the place of his father the *šiγ* Čamaladin, sat on the *sujada* of the *šiγ šaqid* Ibrayim and had been appointed over the *qaγas-a-yin wayb-ud*,[2] his elder brother, Šamsadin Maqmad, not letting him approach, took his edicts and writs and let the foundation go to wrack and ruin. Judging this to be an illegal act, Busayid Baγatur Qan decreed that Šamsadin Maqmad should restore whatever edicts and writs he had taken and whatever he had misappropriated from the terms of the foundation. He further decreed that the *šiγ* Badaradin Abul Maqmad Maqmud should, as formerly, sit on the *sujada*.'

We learn that Professor Cleaves's work on the document lasted six years (p. 3), and that he was able to examine the original on the spot.[3] His decipherment leaves far behind the very brief remarks which Pelliot added to the photographs of the Tehran documents which he published in 1936.[4] Despite this progress, the decipherment still leaves certain points undecided. More precision is to be expected from a repeated examination of the original, and, still more, from a careful study of the Muslim background, which lay beyond Professor Cleaves's immediate task.

The contents of the document are twofold: in the first place it sets forth

[1] *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, vol. 16 (June, 1953), Nos. 1 and 2, pp. 1–107.

[2] As suggested by Professor Henning: وقف خاصه. The Mongol *-aγa-* indicates only the length of *ā*. The practical meaning of the term *khāssa* in this case remains to be discussed. Were the estates assigned to the shaykhs from the ilkhan's own treasury?

[3] See pp. 4–5, 66.

[4] *Āthār-e Īrān*, I/1, 1936, pp. 37–44.

the decision of Abū-Sa'īd khan in a contest of two descendants of a shaykh concerning their rights of succession, and secondly it confirms the immunity from taxes and levies secured to the estates in question. The first part has some definite interest for the history of Persia and finds its explanation in the available sources. The second part has very numerous parallels in the documents already known and explored.

A. For the historical background two hagiographical works are of special importance:

(*a*) *Ṣafvat al-ṣafā'*, an account of the life and miracles of Shaykh Ṣafī al-dīn Isḥāq, founder of the Ṣafavī order (d. 724/1334). This *vita* was written towards 750/1349 by Tavakkulī b. Ismā'īl, known as Ibn-Bazzāz (cf. Minorsky in *E.I.*), and based on the recollections of Ṣafī al-dīn's son and other contemporaries.[1] The book was printed in Bombay in 1329/1911. cf. Rieu, *Persian Catalogue*, i, 345. A summary of its contents was submitted to the 23rd Congress of Orientalists, in August 1954, by Mr. B. Nikitine.

(*b*) *Silsilat al-nasab-i Ṣafavīya* written by Shaykh Ḥusayn Zāhidī for Shāh Sulaymān (1077–1103/1667–94); published in Berlin in 1343/1924; for contents see E. G. Browne, *JRAS*, July 1921, pp. 395–418. Shaykh Ḥusayn, a descendant of Ṣhaykh Zāhid, the *murshid* of Shaykh Ṣafī, makes ample use of the *Ṣafvat* but underlines the rôle of his own family and brings the account down to his own time.

B. The second part of the document forms a parallel to the grants which, in somewhat later times, became known under the term (of Mongol origin): *soyūrghāl*.[2] This term is absent from our document and this confirms Belenitsky's conclusions that it first appeared only in the second half of the 14th century, though the practice certainly goes back to a much older period, at least to Seljuk times. The interdiction to the government officials to 'enter' the estates of the beneficiary bears a striking resemblance to similar formulas used during the Middle Ages in Western Europe and in Russia.[3]

[1] Faḍlī Isfahānī, author of the *Afḍal al-tavārīkh*, written *circa* 1026/1617, see Eton College Library M179 (on the binding: 278, vol. 1), fol. 2a, declares that among his other sources he used the *Maqāmāt va-maqālāt*, otherwise called *Siyar-i ṣūfīya* and included (?) in the volume (*safīna*) known as *Qara-majmū'a*—which Ṣafī al-dīn himself completed up to the year of his death (735/1334). See Minorsky, *Tadhkirat al-mulūk*, 1943, p. 113.

[2] The questions concerning this important institution have been discussed several times: I. P. Petrushevsky 'On immunity in Azarbayjan in the 17th to 18th centuries' (in Russian), Истор. Сборник Ак.наук С.С.С.Р., IV, 1935, p. 58; Minorsky, 'A Soyūrghāl of Qāsim Aq-qoyunlu', *BSOS*, IX/4, 1939, pp. 927–60; A. Belenitsky, 'On the formation of the institution called *soyūrghāl*' (in Russian), Историк-Марксист, 1941, No. 4, pp. 43–58: the earliest mention of *soyūrghāl* found under 779/1377–8, see Nizām al-dīn Shāmī, ed. Tauer, 77; Sharaf al-dīn Yazdī, I, 289 (I am thankful to the Library of the University of Glasgow for the communication of this article); Petrushevsky, 'Sketches of the feudal relations in Azarbayjan and Armenia in the 16th–19th centuries' (in Russian), Leningrad 1949, see ch. IV '*soyūrghāl* and *mu'āfī*', pp. 145–83); A. K. S. Lambton, *Landlord and Peasant in Persia*, 1953, *passim*, see Index.

[3] The Latin formula *absque introitu judicum*. 'Toute l'immunité est comprise dans ces trois mots,' remarks Fustel de Coulange, *Les origines du système féodal*, 1890, p. 368. Pavlov-Silvansky, 'Feudalism in ancient Russia' (in Russian), 2nd ed. 1923, p. 32: 'а волостели мои в околицу его не въѣзжают'.

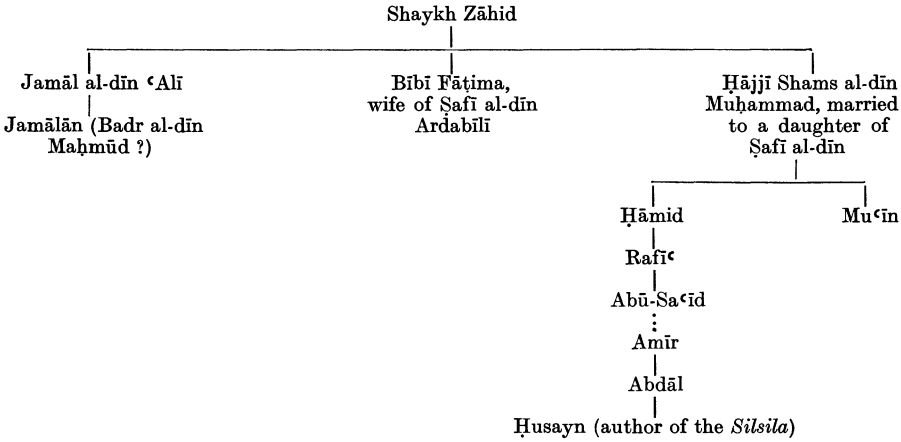
It is only by studying the lists of exemptions conferred on the holders of the *soyūrghāls* and similar fiefs that one will be able to establish the exact meaning of the Mongol text. For example, it seems very likely that the words *aban choban*, which Prof. Cleaves (p. 32) takes for personal names, refer to some restraints on the activity of shepherds tending their flocks in the neighbourhood of the estates. Consequently, the translation 'let them, subjugating Aban Cuban, not take anything whatever,' will have to be revised accordingly.

In his commentary the translator has profited by several good suggestions made to him by Prof. W. B. Henning. The latter has established the forms of several terms used in Muslim administration,[1] made a good hit in defining the area to which the document refers (p. 98: 'the region of Tālish-Mūqān') and remarked (p. 66) the importance of the term **sajjāda*, 'prayer carpet', as pointing to some religious order to which the beneficiary of Abū-Saʿīd's decree must have belonged.

§ 2. The Zāhidī and Ṣafavī families

It is in this latter direction that my personal contribution will chiefly go. No sooner had I taken a look at the names than it occurred to me that the grantees must be members of the family of the well-known shaykh Tāj al-dīn Ibrāhīm Zāhid (615–700/1218–1301), the spiritual guide of the still more famous founder of the Ṣafavī order, Shaykh Ṣafī al-dīn Isḥāq (650–735/1252–1334).

Here is their genealogical tree:



The families of Shaykh Zāhid and Shaykh Ṣafī were separate. The pedigree of the former is fantastic. According to the *Ṣafvat*, p. 51, Shaykh Tāj al-dīn

[1] It is difficult to make further suggestions without knowing the possibilities which the Mongol palæography offers. *Qarja/xarja* (pp. 26, 30) is probably *kharj* 'sustenance', cf. *ʿĀlam-ārā*, 194: the money previously received as *pīshkash* was given to the commanders sent to Gilan by way of 'subsidy to (their) sustenance' (مدد خرج). *Keyenüwes* (p. 28), despite the expected plural, may be **kād-nuvēs*, some official in charge of the census (*kad-khudā* suggested on p. 63 sounds different at the end).

Ibrāhīm was the son of Raushan-Amīr, son of Bābil, son (?) of Shaykh Bundār al-Kurdī al-Sanjānī (or *al-Sinjānī*). Elsewhere, p. 12, the same source affirms that the Sanjānī Kurds, led by a king issued from Ibrāhīm Adham,[1] conquered Azarbayjan at the time when the population of Mūqān, Arān, Alīvān, and Dār-i Būm [2] consisted entirely of unbelievers, whom the conquerors converted to Islam. Nothing is known of the proselytizing activities of the Kurds at an early date.[3] To complete the fairy-tale character of the story, the *Ṣafvat* adds that a king of the *jinn* gave a *jinn* girl to Shaykh Bundār and she bore him a son, Bābil.[4] Shaykh Zāhid was born at Siyāv-rūd and his mother was from the village of Bahrālāla (?) in the highlands of Gilan. His teacher was Shaykh Jamāl al-dīn, specially sent to Gilan for this purpose by Shaykh Shihāb al-dīn of Ahar.[5]

Shaykh Ṣafī claimed the origin of his ancestors from ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib, but there is some uncertainty about it (cf. *Ṣafvat*, 11, 21). His ancestor in the seventh generation, called Fīrūz-shāh, is said to have been a rich man. He first lived in Gilan, on the outskirts of the forests, at a place called Rangīn, and then the Kurdish kings (already mentioned) gave him Ardabil and its dependencies. Ṣafī al-dīn's brothers were rich merchants trading in Fars and Hurmuz, see *Ṣafvat*, 12, 18.

Shaykh Zāhid married twice : of his first marriage he had a son Jamāl al-dīn [6] ʿAlī ; then at the age of seventy he married the young daughter of an Akhī-Sulaymān, who bore him first a daughter, Bībī-Fāṭima, and then a son, Shams al-dīn Muḥammad. Shaykh Ṣafī married Bībī-Fāṭima and thus became affiliated to the family of his murshid, whose successor he became.

§ 3. The split in the Zāhidī family

Even the hagiographical sources cannot conceal the split which ensued in Zāhid's family. The *Silsila*, 100, says that in the days of his father Jamāl al-dīn

[1] On the semi-legendary life of this ascetic, who was born in Balkh, lived in Syria and died some time between 160 and 166/776–81, see R. A. Nicholson in *E.I.*

[2] From *Ṣafvat*, 73, one may understand that Alīvān was Barzand (half-way between Ardabīl and the Araxes). Otherwise Alīvān is only known in the ancient Armenian Geography as a canton of Pʿaytakaran, see *BSOAS*, xv/3, 1953, p. 513. *Dār-i būm*, which occurs in a *qaṣīda* of Qaṭrān (see below p. 524), may be another name of *Dār-i marzīn*, which is mentioned in the *Nuzhat al-qulūb*, p. 82, as one of the dependencies of Ardabil. The confusion of *būm* and *marz* may be due to the common hendiadys *marz-u būm*. Generally speaking *Dār-i marz* is Gilan, and *Dār-i marzīn* must have lain in its neighbourhood.

[3] The story of the Sanjān may be some remote echo of the Rawādī Kurds who ruled in Tabriz (*circa* 373–463/956–1070), see Minorsky, ' Studies in Caucasian History ', 128, 167–9. On their expedition to Ardabil see below, p. 524. The *Nuzhat al-qulūb*, 76 (tr. 79), mentions in Tabriz a gate and a quarter called Sanjān.

[4] Might not the story be connected with the well-known saying *al-akrād ṭāʾifatun min al-ajinna*, ' the Kurds are a tribe of *jinns* ' ?

[5] Shihāb al-dīn's mausoleum in Ahar is an imposing building. In 1905 I was told in Ahar that its (?) date was 731/1330. He himself must have died considerably earlier. The author of the *Tārīkh-i Shaykh Uvays* (*circa* A.D. 1360), ed. J. B. van Loon, The Hague 1954, p. 2, called Abū Bakr (a Sunni !) al-Quṭbī al-Ahrī, must have belonged to Shihāb's family.

[6] Who may have received his *laqab* in honour of his father's murshid Jamāl al-dīn, see above.

reached a mature age (*shaykhūkha*) and had a white beard, so that ' some short-sighted people assumed that Shaykh Zāhid should appoint him as his successor ; they were ignorant of the fact that in these matters blood relationship (*pidar-farzandī*) has no importance.' The division came to a head when Zāhid felt the approach of death. At that time the shaykh was in the north, at Sūr-m.rda, situated at one day's distance beyond Old Maḥmūd-ābād [1] and at eight days from Ardabil, *Ṣafvat*, 73. [*Sūr-māhī*, a kind of fish in the Kur.]

The people of Gushtāsfī [2] wanted his resting-place to be in their territory ; Jamāl al-dīn ʿAlī wanted him to be buried ' in Chomaq-ābād in Mūqān and Dashtāvand, for the reason that (this place) had many possibilities for settlements (*ʿimārat*) and agriculture '. The Shaykh himself was supposed to prefer his native Siyāv-rūd. To this end he sent a messenger to Kalkhorān (immediately north of Ardabil) where Ṣafī al-dīn was at that time, and the rider covered the distance of eight days in one day, and on the following day brought Ṣafī al-dīn with him. Many people were watching the roads in arms, apparently unwilling to see Zāhid leave them, but Ṣafī al-dīn, ' without anybody's knowledge,' seated the Shaykh in a boat and took him to Lankoran, and thence in a litter (*miḥaffa*) carried him to Siyāv-rūd. Apart from Ṣafī al-dīn there was no one in the room in which Zāhid died and he gathered his master's last instructions (*Ṣafvat*, 74). Thus, according to the Ṣafavid sources, he became the successor of his murshid, whereas the eldest son of the Shaykh went to live near his father's mausoleum, ' where his children remain to this day ' (*Silsila*, 101).

Of Jamāl al-dīn's children none is mentioned in the hagiographical sources, except in a story of Shaykh Zāhid's grandson called *Jamālān* (' Jamālid '), whom Ṣafī al-dīn once seated above Dimishq-khwāja when he came to see him in the latter's house (tent) in Qarabagh, *Silsila*, p. 96. This Jamālid is said to have been travelling to the royal camp in order to ' promote an affair ' (*tamshiyat-i muhimmī*). He may have been the Badr al-din mentioned in Abu-Saʿīd's decree.

§ 4. *Dramatis personae* in Abū-Saʿīd's decree

There is no doubt that our Mongol document, dated 720/1320, refers to the change of leadership on the *sajjāda* of Shaykh Zāhid, rightly referred to by his real name **Ibrāhīm*.[3] ' Čamaldin ' is Shaykh Zāhid's eldest son Jamāl al-dīn. The Mongols, more respectful of the rights of bodily parentage,[4] than of the

[1] This Maḥmūd-ābād was later submerged by water. Consequently it is different from the present-day Maḥmūd-ābād (*M.-āvār*) lying some 20 km. N.W. of Lankoran.

[2] *The Nuzhat al-qulūb*, p. 92 (tr. 94), mentions Gushtāsfī as a *district* of Arrān, near the estuaries of the Araxes and the Kur, ibid., pp. 212, 218. This definitely points to the neighbourhood of the present-day Sāliyān. See Khanykoff in *JA*, 1862, xx, 62, on the ruins called ' Gershasip ' (*Gushtasip) 7 km. north of Sāliyān. On a mound called ' Koursengua ' Khanykoff found a tomb-stone dated 732/1331 ; cf. also P. Semenov, *Slovar Rossiyskoy Imperii*, 1873, iv, 379.

[3] It is strange that in the Mongol decree Zāhid is called *šaqid*, i.e. **shahīd* ' a martyr '. This term may stand here in the general meaning of ' the late '.

[4] cf. the story of an Armenian princess in Minorsky, ' Studies ', 156.

claims of mystical affinity, restored the rights of Jamāl al-dīn's son *Badr al-dīn Maḥmūd,[1] whose elderly father must have died in the interval.

Who was then Shams al-dīn Maqmad (i.e. *Muḥammad*, in popular pronunciation *Mahmad*) ? In the document (p. 29) Badr al-dīn calls him *aqa minu* ' my elder brother '. This looks wrong for we know that *Shams al-dīn Muḥammad* was the name of Shaykh Zāhid's younger son borne to him by his young wife, after she had given birth to Bībī-Fāṭima, the future spouse of Ṣafī al-dīn. Our document does not distinctly say that Shams al-dīn intended to occupy the *sajjāda*, but only that he detained the documents of the vaqfs and that he usurped the fruits of the estates. It is highly improbable that in the same family the nephew could have borne the exact name and *laqab* of his uncle, especially as the latter was hardly on good terms with his eldest brother. All things considered, I believe that : (1) Shams al-dīn was the *uncle* of Badr al-dīn and (2) that his action may have been concerted with his brother-in-law, Shaykh Ṣafī al-dīn.[2] Perhaps the misunderstanding could be attributed to the mistake of the scribe who wrote *aqa*, instead of *abaqa*, ' a paternal uncle '.

Our document seems to underline and complete the picture of the struggles for Shaykh Zāhid's *sajjāda*. It shows that the rise of Shaykh Ṣafī al-dīn, the ancestor of the famous dynasty of Persia, was a complicated affair and provoked the opposition and intervention of the Mongol rulers.

§ 5. Geography

The geography of Abū-Sa'īd's decree presents considerable difficulties and it must be studied in conjunction with the hagiographical sources containing a prodigious mass of details but still very insufficiently explored.[3]

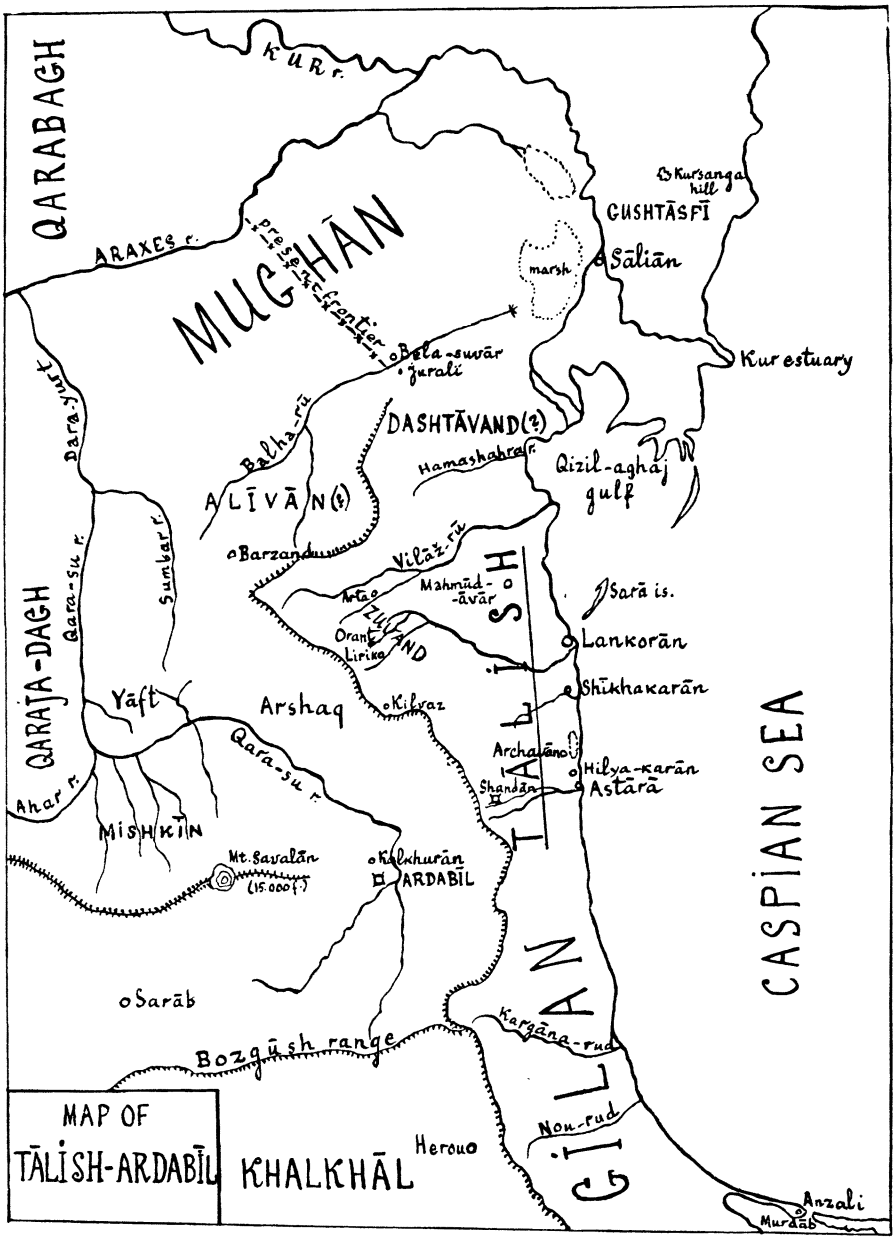
Hilya-karān and Siyāv-rūd. It is reported in the biographies of Shaykh Ṣafī al-dīn Isḥāq that, in search of a religious guide (*murshid*, Indian *gūru*), he went to Fars, and there it was suggested to him that the most appropriate man of saintly life was Shaykh Zāhid living in the ' Gilan of Sipahbad ', in a house facing the sunrise and standing on the very shore of the Caspian sea, see *Ṣafvat*, 22, *Silsila*, p. 20. For four years Ṣafī al-dīn tried to locate this residence, until one of his friends found Shaykh Zāhid in the village Hilya-Karān (*Silsila*, 20 : *Ḥilya-garān ' makers of embellishments ') in the district Khān-B.lī, in Gilan. In an article published in 1930 [4] B. V. Miller has suggested the identification

[1] His *kunya* ' Abul-Maqmad ' is a puzzle. It cannot be ' Abul-Muhammad ' for the name *Muhammad* takes no article. The mistake may be of the ignorant Mongol scribe who disfigured many Arabic terms, but as on pp. 29 and 30 the same *kunya* is spelt *Abul-Mqd*, it is likely that some different name was originally meant (Abul-Muʿīn ?).

[2] Despite the respect he (previously ?) showed to the Jamālid (see above, p. 519). The story of the *Silsila*, 98, about the visit of Abū-Saʿīd to Ardabīl (?) suggests that Shaykh Ṣafī was on rather cool terms with the *īlkhān*. He did not hurry to meet the latter and only sent him some roasted meat by his servant.

[3] What precious material the *Ṣafvat* contains is shown by the mention of a Georgian raid on Ardabil (after 600/1203), which is confirmed by the Georgian sources, see Khanykoff, ' Le sac d'Ardabil vers l'année 1209 ', in *Mélanges Asiatiques*, I, 580–3.

[4] Ученые записки Инст. народов С.С.С.Р., I, 199–228 (now reprinted in an abridged form in B. V. Miller, Талышский язык, 1953, 254–62).


QARABAGH
KUR r.
ARAXES r.
MUGHĀN
Present-day frontier
Bela-suvār
Jarali
Kursanga hill
GUSHTĀSFĪ
Sāliān
marsh
Kur estuary
Dara-yurt
Balha-rūd
DASHTĀVAND(?)
Hamashahr r.
Qizil-aghaj gulf
ALĪVĀN(?)
Barzand
Vilāz-rūd
Sumbar r.
Qara-su r.
QARAJA-DAGH
Mahmūd-āvār
Sarā is.
Artae
Orank
Lirika
ZUVAND
Lankorān
Shīkhakarān
Yāft
Arshaq
Kilvaz
Archavāno
Hilya-karān
Shandān
Astarā
Qara-su r.
Ahar r.
MISHKĪN
Mt. Savalān (15,000 ft.)
Khalkhurān
ARDABĪL
Sarāb
Bozgūsh range
Kargāna-rud
Nou-rud
Herouo
MAP OF
TĀLISH-ARDABĪL
KHALKHĀL
TALISH
CASPIAN SEA
Anzali
Murdāb

of Hilya-karān with the village called on the Russian map Gilakeran (Гилякеран with the usual substitution of Russian г for the foreign *h*) and lying some 30 km. to the south of Lenkoran and some 5 km. to the north of Astārā. The *Ṣafvat*, p. 23, and the *Silsila*, p. 22, mention also another residence of Shaykh Zāhid, Siyāv-rūd, where he was born and buried.[1] In fact his mausoleum is shown in the village Shīkhakaon (*Shīkh-karān) lying some 8 km. to the south of Lankoran and some 5 km. from the Caspian. This location is also supported by the story (ibid., 89) of how Zāhid was evacuated from Sūr-m.rda (see above, p. 519). But despite the assurances of the sources, *Ṣafvat*, 23, *Silsila*, 74, that this was the place hinted at by Ṣafī al-dīn's interlocutor in Fars, the position of Hilya-karān on the coast seems to be truer to the description. Some confusion in the sources is not excluded.

Khān-B.lī. The *Ṣafvat*, p. 23 (followed by the *Silsila*, 93–9), affirms that this region (between Lankoran and Astārā) belonged to the district called Khān-B.lī. This ancient name [2] is also attested in the *Ḥudūd al-'Ālam* (written in 372/982), as that of one of the parts of Gilan (in the broad sense of the term, *Ḥudūd*, § 32, 25). In my commentary, ibid., 391, I thought that it corresponded to Mūghakān mentioned in its place in Muqaddasī, pp. 372–3, and identified it with Bila-suvār,[3] on the Perso-Russian frontier in Mūghān. In the light of the *Ṣafvat* (though written four hundred years later), this location seems to be wrong. We might perhaps assume that Khān-B.lī was the name of the whole territory between Astārā (in the south) and Mūqān (in the north), but the existence of the intermediary territory Dashtāvand, mentioned both in Abū-Sa'īd's decree and in the *Ṣafvat* stands in the way of such a surmise (see below, p. 523).

Ūranqād. Furthermore, the later *Silsila*, pp. 98–9, after the name Khān-B.lī adds twice : ' which has now become known as Ūranqād.' It is not clear to which period this ' now ' belongs. The name sounds Mongol and reminds one of the Uryanqat tribe which figures in Rashīd al-dīn's list, ed. Berezin, *Trudï V.O.*, VII, 114, 186. The great general Sübedey-bahādur, who together with Jebe-noyon raided Persia, wintered in the Mūqān steppe and marched round the Caspian sea (A.D. 1220–3), was an Uryanqat. It is unlikely that a Mongol tribe could have settled on the hot and humid coast of Lankoran [4] and, should we have in view this particular region, we can think only of some chiefs who may have been connected with it.

[1] *Ṣafvat*, p. 74 (*Silsila*, 89) : the dying Zāhid was carried to Siyāv-rūd ' to the place where now stands the blessed mausoleum of the shaykh '. cf. B. V. Miller, loc. cit., 1930, p. 21 (with references to I. N. Berezin and I. Azimbekov).

[2] ' The house of B.lī '. بلی was a Daylamite name; see, for example, the name of Marzubān's father-in-law, Miskawayh, II, 133.

[3] Bela-suvār is now an important frontier settlement. According to the *Nuzhat*, 90 (tr. 92), ' it was built by a Būyid amir whose name was *Pīla-suvār*, i.e. " a great horseman " '. In fact *pilla* in Gilakī means ' great '. Several Daylamite amirs whose names are spelt in Arabic بلسوار *Bila-suwār (?) are mentioned in Miskwayh, I, 402, II, 12.

[4] A branch of the Uryanqat was called ' the woodsmen Uryanqat ' and lived to the east of Lake Baykal. Even for them the conditions of the Lankoran jungle would have been unbearable.

On the other hand, Ūranqād is definitely associated with a more northerly region on the outskirts of the steppe of Mūqān, superbly suited to the nomad life. In the testimonial signed by the Ṣafavid Shaykh Ḥaydar (dated 888/1483) it is declared that ' Jūra and Mājūra (of ? and ?) the community (*jamā'at*) of Mājūra, and Ūranqād and the community of Ūranqād, from the days of old until now, have belonged to (the family of) Quṭb al-dīn Abū Sa'īd, son of Shaykh Rafī' al-dīn, son of Shaykh Ḥāmid, son of Shaykh Shams al-dīn Zāhidī (i.e. Shaykh Zāhid's son) and on the day of partition fell to his lot,' see *Silsila*, 103. In the decree of Shāh Tahmāsp (dated 966/1559), ' the arable lands (*mazra'a*) of Jūra, Mājūra and Ūranqād in the territory (*ulkā*) of Mūqanāt ' are again recognized as the perpetual *soyūrghāl* of the Zāhidī family, see *Silsila*, 105. In these documents the distinction is made between the areas and settlers, but Jūra, Mājūra, and Ūranqād are mentioned as *one* group of territories and communities.

In a story relating to the time of Shaykh Ṣafī (*Silsila*, 94) it is further reported how the Shaykh once came ' to the neighbourhood (*ḥavālī*) of Mūqān', where he sensed ' the odour of Shaykh Zāhid ' (*būy-i Shaykh Zāhid miyāyad*) [1] and said : ' Perhaps it is Ḥājjī Shams al-dīn '. His acolyte galloped to ' the village Jūraq and Mājūraq [*sic*] belonging to Ḥājjī Shams al-dīn ' and actually found him there.

In a still earlier story already quoted (v.s., p. 519) Jamāl al-dīn suggested for the burial place of his father ' Chomaq-ābād in Mūqān and Dashtāvand '. It is possible that even جوماق, which we have derived from **chomaq* ' a cudgel ', is only a mutilation of جورق **Jūraq*. In any case these two stories do not pretend to enumerate all the possessions of the Zāhidī family but only refer to some definite places in the region of Mūqān. The references cannot be taken as a hint at Ūranqād being isolated from Jūra-Mājūra.[2]

Dashtāvand. The combination in the last story of Mūqān and Dashtāvand is interesting, for this is the only parallel to the passage in Abū-Sa'īd's document, in which (p. 27) orders to protect the rights of Badr al-dīn are addressed to the Mongol authorities in ' Gilan, Dashtavand, Gushtasbi, Aran and Muqan '. In this enumeration Dashtāvand stands between Gilan (in the broader sense) and Gushtāsfī (Sāliyān, see above, p. 519). As the name indicates (*dasht* ' a plain '), Dashtāvand most probably designated the lowlands of Northern Tālish, between, say, the basin of the Vīlāž and the river of Bila-suvār (Balhā-rūd, or Bājarvān, see *Nuzhat*, 91). The enumeration of the authorities suggests that the estates (*vaqfs* ' religious endowments ') of the Zāhidī family were scattered over a large area. On the other hand one is tempted to admit that the unexpected use of the Mongol language in our document had something to do with the

[1] Meaning by that, of course, the presence of his spirit or emanation.

[2] The village Jurali, immediately south of Bila-suvār, must owe its name to the tribe Jūra.

region where there were purely Mongol elements and representatives, most probably on the outskirts of the Mūqān steppe.[1]

Judging by the names, the group of Jūra, Mājūra, and Ūranqād seems to be separate from the villages Kenleče (Ganlaja ?), Sidil (Šitil ?) and Aradi (Anadi, Nanadi ?) which were given to the Zāhidīs by Malik Aḥmad, whose identity we now propose to explain.

§ 6. The ispahbads of Gilan

No detailed record seems to be extant of a principality which for a long time existed on the territory between Gilan and Mūqān (Mūghān) and whose rulers had the title of *ispahbad*, or *sipahbad*.

According to Ibn Khurdādhbih (who wrote not later than in 272/885), p. 119, Mūqān belonged to a certain Sh.kla. Towards 326/936, the *isfahbadh* of Mūqān, Ibn-Dalūla, sided with a rebel chief of Gilan, Lashkarī b. Mardī, and opposed the Kurdish ruler of Azarbayjan, Daysam ibn-Ibrāhīm (or *ibn-Shādhlūya*), see Miskawayh, *Eclipse*, I, 399–401. His headquarters seem to have been on the northern bank of the Araxes and we cannot say whether he was of the same family as the later sipahbads ' of Gilan ', whose activities centred more to the south, in Tālish (the southernmost district of the Soviet republic of Azarbayjan).

The late A. Kasravi discovered in the *dīvān* of the poet Qaṭrān a curious ode on an expedition which the Rawādī ruler of Tabriz, Vahsūdān (*circa* 416/1025–59) sent to Ardabil, under the leadership of his son Mamlān. As a result, a fortress was built in Ardabil and the sipahbad of Mūqān had to submit to the conqueror.[2] The Rawādīs, though originally of Arab descent, were at that time characterized as Kurds,[3] and as already suggested (p. 518), the episode may have been the source of the later stories about the invasion of the *Sanjānī* Kurds led by descendants of Ibrāhīm Adham.

In later Seljuk times we hear of a Nuṣrat al-dīn Abul-Muẓaffar Ispahbad Kiyā Livāshīr, to whom Khāqānī dedicated several poems,[4] in which he praised his liberality and mourned his untimely demise. In a threnody written after his death (p. 181) he says farewell to Shandān and Archavān, of which the former is an ancient fortress (north of the Astara river) [5] and the latter a village lying

[1] One can place on record a passage in *Ṣafvat*, 17, according to which, when the young Ṣafī went on pilgrimage to Mount Savalān, a *Turk* shouted to him ' in the Mongol [*sic*] language '. The *Nuzhat*, 83, mentions the winter-quarters of some Mongols in Darāvurd, on the lower course of the Ardabil river, near the Mūghān steppe.

[2] Kasravi, *Pādshāhān-i gum-nām*, II, 1308–1929, pp. 94–5. The poet says : ' (Mamlān) had not yet started on the campaign (*ghazā*), when misfortune fell on the heads of the defeated, from S.mnān'. Kasravi restored **suniyān* ' people of Siunikᶜ ' (in which case we have to understand that the north-western neighbours of Mūqān contributed to the defeat of the rebels to whom the ' amir of Mūqān ' had given protection). See Minorsky, ' Studies ', Index, under Siunikᶜ.

[3] See Minorsky, ' Studies in Caucasian history ', p. 115.

[4] See *Dīvān*, ed. ʿAlī ʿAbd al-Rasūlī, Tehran 1316/1937, pp. 140, 308 (*marthiya*), 574, 634, 781.

[5] Mentioned in Ḥamdullāh's *Nuzhat al-qulūb*, 81 (tr. 84) as having been one of the strongholds of Bābak. In the author's time its district paid a considerable sum of revenues (85,000 dinars) to Ardabil. [I have heard it suggested in Persia (1954) that the author's name should be read **Ḥumadallāh*.]

some 7–8 km. to the N.W. of Astārā. This may have been only a splinter of the ancient territory of the sipahbads, but the fact is that in it they survived even in the days of the Mongol ilkhans.

The *History of Uljāytū* (Bib. Nat., sup. persan 1419, fol. 39b), quoting the description of Gilan by one Aṣīl al-dīn Muḥammad Zauzanī (at the time of the arrival of Hulagu, *circa* 654/1256), also names Shandān as the capital of the sipahbads (*mustaqarr-i sarīr-i mamlakat-i sipahbad*).

According to the *Ṣafvat*, 22, when Ṣafī al-dīn was inquiring in Fars about the whereabouts of Shaykh Zāhid, he was told that the latter lived in the part of Gilan belonging to the Ispahbad (*Gīlān-i Ispahbad*). It further tells (p. 38) how Shaykh Zāhid interceded in favour of Malik Aḥmad Isbahbad of Gilan, when Ghazan fell foul of him and arrested him, and (p. 45) how Malik Aḥmad entertained the shaykh.

According to Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū, ed. Khān-Bābā Bayānī, Tehran 1317/1938, p. 12, at the time of Uljāytū's campaign in Gilan (706/1307), the Sipahbad's name was Rukn al-dīn Aḥmad (probably the same Malik Aḥmad) and he served as a guide to the troops of Amir Chopan. Consequently it becomes probable that the Malik Aḥmad mentioned in Abu-Sa'īd's decree (p. 32 : *Melig Aqmad*) as having given the three villages (Kenleče, Sidil, and Aradi) to Badr al-dīn Maḥmūd was the same local ruler.[1]

W. B. Henning seeks the three villages granted to Badr al-dīn Maḥmūd in the basin of the Vīlāž-rūd in the northern part of Tālish, and in fact the name Aradi sounds very much like the present-day Arat (in Mongol ' people ').[2] Such a hypothesis would lead us to admit that the sipahbad's writ went so far north as the Vīlāž-rūd, which, at present, forms the northern frontier of the Tālishī-speaking population with their prevailing neighbours, the Azarbayjan Turks. The local toponymy suggests that the Iranian Tālishī dialect originally spread considerably further north and, if the sipahbad was actually the ruler of the Tālish people, nothing stands in the way of his making assignments of lands on the Vīlāž-rūd and the outskirts of the Mūqān steppe. But, generally speaking, the centre of the sipahbad's purview is to be sought much more in the south near Shandān and Archavān, i.e. exactly near the home of Shaykh Zāhid. In view of this consideration I should, also quite tentatively, compare *Aradi* with *Orand* (*Ārand ?) on one of the headwaters of the river of Lankoran.[3]

[1] Qāsim al-anvār, who lived in 757–837/1356–1433 and was closely connected with the Safavid family, tells in one of his poems (Bib. Nat., suppl. persan 707, f. 208b) a story about the sipahbad of Gilan Jalāl al-dīn Ḥusayn who was issued from a sayyid family and whose throne (*takht*) was in Astārā.

بود در کیلان سیّد زادهٔ نیک مردی مقبل آزادهٔ

مملکت را کرده پاک از سیر (؟) وشین با لقب نامش جلال الدین حسین

[2] The tentative identification of the two other names by Henning Kenleče > Xalijali and Sidil > Issi seems far-fetched, and it is even possible that the three villages did not form one territorial group. [I see that the original Russian map gives ARTA].

[3] Orand belongs to the mountainous district Zuvand which seems to have known better days. In 1927 a treasure-trove consisting of 500 Byzantine coins was found at Veri in the same region.

We do not know whether the later governors of Astara still continued the line of the ispahbads. Tālish is several times mentioned in Safavid times as a centre of dissidence. Under 946/1539 the *Aḥsan al-tavārīkh*, ed. Seddon, p. 293, mentions the revolt of Amīra Qubād, ruler of Astārā. The government troops moved to Arjavān, and, in a battle, 800 of Qubād's men were killed. His successor, Bayundur-khan Tālish, in 975/1567 took part in the government operations against the ruler of Gilan, Khān-Aḥmad, ibid., 438. According to the ʿĀlam-ārā, 196, during the final conquest of Gilan (in 988/1588) Bayundur-khān, with other rulers, waited on the government commander at Rasht, but ' internally they were discontented with the intervention of the Qizil-bash amirs in Gilan '. From this one might infer that, despite his Turkish name, Bayundur-khan belonged to the (ancient ?) local family.

Even after the conquest of Northern Tālish by the Russians (1813) the family of the Tālish-khans [1] maintained some special rights but the degree of its connexion with the ancient sipahbads would require painstaking investigation.

The identification of the beneficiaries of Abū-Saʿīd's decree is important for seeing this document against a proper background, and in the meantimes it throws an additional light on the struggle which accompanied the rise of Shaykh Ṣafī al-dīn. Geographically too, the comparative study of the local toponymy has elucidated some points previously obscure, or even unknown.[2]

Annex

The form of the document

The terminology of Document III which is called in Mongol *jarligh* (Turkish : *yarlïq*) is saturated with Islamic elements, but its style is direct and devoid of the usual Persian redundance.

1. The initial formula *üge manu* ' our word ', which follows the name of Abū Saʿīd, corresponds to the Turkish *sözimiz* which was used even in Persian documents and survived in Persia down to Shah Tahmāsp.[3] It is possible (though Prof. Cleaves, p. 15, doubts it) that before this formula there stood the invocation to God, similar to that of Document I, in which—in a most unorthodox way—' the might of the Everlasting Heaven ' is combined with reliance in the Prophet Muhammad and ' the Great Fortune Flame ' (*sic*).

2. The governors of certain marches, to whom the decree is addressed, are enumerated.

3. A brief statement of the submission made by the plaintiff is quoted (in his own words).

They were *all* struck at the time of Michael VII Ducas (1067–78) and Nicephore III (1078–81). As suggested by V. M. Sïsoyev, Baku 1929, the coins may have been obtained by some local chief serving in Asia Minor. [Earlier, in 1910, another very rich treasure-trove was found in Belabur, west of Lankoran. It contained Byzantine gold coins of Alexis Comnenus (1081–1118), etc.]

[1] Affiliated, I suppose, to the noble families in Persian Talish.

[2] cf. Minorsky, *Lankorān*, *Mūqān*, and the supplement on *Mūqān* in *E.I.*

[3] See Minorsky, *Soyūrghāl*, *BSOS*, IX/4, 943 ; Minorsky, *Tadhkirat al-mulūk*, p. 199.

4. Without reference to any investigation or any decision of a court, the sovereign asks rhetorically : ' if it be true, how of his own volition (the usurper) has thus acted illegally ? ', and orders the plaintiff to be restored in his rights as successor to the *sajjāda* of Shaykh Ibrāhīm, in accordance with the conditions of the vaqf (*sharṭ-i waqf*).

5. There follows the enumeration of immunities and privileges of the vaqf.

6. Then the names are enumerated of certain persons called to protect the interests of the grantee, and of a special envoy sent to that effect. Those who would oppose the decree are threatened with punishment.

7. Finally comes the date (720/1320) and the place (Sulṭāniya) of the completion of the document.

8. The endorsement (*verso*) contains the names of four high dignitaries whose counter-signs or seals are, however, absent.[1] At the bottom of the page there is a very short summary of the contents of the decree certified by the signature of the scribe called Birus (*Fīrūz ?).

Of the four dignitaries the first *Ukečin could not be identified and the second, as suggested by Prof. Cleaves, may be the amir Daulat-shah who died in 1330. The third name is that of Dimishq-khwāja (son of Amir Choban whose position in the early part of Abū-Saʿīd's reign was paramount). In 725–6 Dimishq is said to have assumed the duties of the vazir but in 727/24 August 1327 he was executed, and his death was followed by the extermination of the Choban family, see *Tārīkh-i guzīda*, 708. Our document shows that even in 720/1320 Dimishq's name stood alongside that of the vazir ʿAlī-shāh. If the ' Jamālid ' mentioned in the story of the *Silsila*, 96 (see above, p. 519) is identical with the beneficiary of our *jarligh*, Dimishq must have known him personally. The fourth signatory is the well-known vazir Tāj al-dīn (Abul-Ḥasan) ʿAlī-shāh (Tabrīzī), who was the cause of the execution of his famous colleague Rashīd al-dīn in 718/1318, see *Tārīkh-i guzīda*, 603. He himself died a natural death in 724/1324.[2]

20 October, 1954.

27, Bateman St., Cambridge.

[1] In his article, ' A Chancellery Practice of the Mongols ', *Harvard JAS*, Dec. 1951, 493–526, Prof. Cleaves has discussed the methods of validating official documents by the Mongols, but I have had some difficulty in following the intricacies of the system. Was our Document III unfinished, or was the scribe responsible for having acquainted the four dignitaries with the content ? The meaning of the term *üjig* discussed by Prof. Cleaves in another article, *HJAS*, Dec. 1952, pp. 478–9, also seems to need some further elucidation.

[2] On his mosque in Tabriz see V. Tiesenhausen's interesting quotation from al-ʿAyni's *ʿIqd al-jumān*, see *Zapiski V.O.*, 1886, I, 115–8.