از قراريكم مرقوم فلاه تخلف كننده . بعد انشاء المه بنده نشاه ولايت عباس ٢٤٠١ صلوات علی محمد رعلی د فاطعه وحسس و حسین رعلی و محمد و جعفر و موسی و علی و محد و علی و سس و الهدی و رو شعاه صغی رشاه عباس بزرگ و نساه طهماسب اجداد و آبای محترم [؟] خسرو کا مطریک طغوا شرمان از سادات مذکور مهر نموده اند

عالیجاه عزت مرسعادت همراه خلیل خان حاکم و فرمانفرمای عربستان و

بختیاری رمحال اربعه مرنمریدن را اعلام میدارد

بَانِكُهُ عَالِيجًا هَانَ مُعْدِسِي القَالِ مِعْلالِهِ السّادات الأطيابِ [؟] سيد رفضان و

سيد جمال الدين رسيد عبد الكريم كه در تريه [م] حيد رد؟

که مشهور است بباب حبیدر از قراس مزدج محال اربعه ساکنند از اولاد شیاه زاده

اعظم سید میراحمد میباشند که شجره

اصلی ایشان خط مهراتا بک الاعظم طیب الله تراه بوده با یک طغرا

فرامین [كذا] از سلاطیس جنت مكین [؟] بنظر رسید

که سادات مذکور از خراج سلطانی معاف و مرفوی القلم میبانسند و اظهار نبود ندکه طلب

ماليات ازايشان نوده اندبيع وآبا

باید که از قرار شعره و فرمان که در دست ایشان است رفتار و معمول شود

L6

- تخلف كننده بعنت خوا و نفرين رسول الله سزاوار است

ویک صد تومان نقد [ایم که وظایف ایشان است تسلیم ایشان نموده همه

L7

ساله قبص رسیدگنی در اینت نبود تسلیم ظرگذاران

دیوان نوده کوتاهی نشود و کسی مزامه سادات مذکور نشود که در

جوار جد جود آسوده خاطر باشند وجاروب کش آستانه

حيدر ابن مالك رضوان اليه باشد هركس مزاحم اينسان شود مورد سياست

L9

و ترجها ن خواهد تند بمهیع محال اربعه و سایرین آنانکه

در شیرها ذکر شده اندکو تاهی ندارند که باعث مونسنوس خدا و رسول

_L10

وبركت عباد است وتخلف كننده

لعنت حدا سزارا است تحريرًا من يوم النحيس عاشر شهر رسب الرجب

سنم اربع و اربعون من بعد الالف سنم ١٤٤

Farman, 15 Rajab 1144/13 January 1732.

He is God!

According to what is written, the contravenor . . [?] God willing.

Seal: The slave of the king of sainthood 'Abbas, 143 (1143)¹. The

blessings of God rest upon Muhammad, 'Ali, Fatimah, Ḥasan, Ḥusain, 'Alī,

Muḥammad, Ja far, Mūsa, 'Alī, Muḥammad, 'Alī, Ḥasan, and al-Mahdī.² [In the surround of the seal]

Shah Safi and Shah Abbas the Great and Shah Tahmasp, the revered ancestors and forefathers of the august Khusrau, have sealed a farman from the [names of the] aforementioned saints. [Written to the left of the seal]

Text: Khalil Khan, 4 Hakim and Farmanfarma of Arabistan and Bakhtiyari and Chahar Mahall and Faridan, of exalted personage, characterized by honor and prosperity, is informed that: the exalted personages having holy titles, the scions of the good sayyids, Sayyid Ramazan and Sayyid Jamal al-Din and Sayyic Abd al-Karim who live in the village of Haydar, which is known as Bab Haydar, a village of Mizdij of Mahall Arba ah, are the descendants of the great prince, Sayyid Mir Ahmad, whose basic genealogical tree signed and sealed by the great Atabak, may God make his tomb pleasant, together with a farman of the Sultans who dwell in paradise [i.e. are dead], has been brought to view, to the effect that the aforementioned sayyids are exempted and absolved from the sultan's kharaj. They have reported that people have demanded taxes from them without cause. People must act and perform in accordance with the genealogy and farman they possess, (Anybody who transgresses is worthy of the curse of God and the opprobrium of His Prophet.) and having delivered the 100 tumans of their pension take a receipt and hand it over to the Divan officials, and display no negligence. No one is to trouble the aforementioned sayyids,

sweep the Shrine of Haydar, 11 son of Malik, may God's grace be upon him.

Whoever troubles them shall be punished and fined. And on all Mahall Arba ah and the other people who are mentioned in their genealogy, let no shortcoming be shown, which will make God and his Prophet pleased and bring blessings upon God's servants. The transgressor is deserving of God's curse.

Written on the fifteenth day of the honored Rajab in the forty-fourth year 12 after 1,000, the year 144/13 January 1732.

I. NOTES

1143/144 has been read here as 1144 AH, but it could also be read as "1044;" moreover, 1044 is written out in words. The former is the more likely, for that date marks the first year of 'Abbas III's "reign;" he was the infant puppet of Nadir Quli Afshar, later Nadir Shah. 1044 falls in the reign of Shah Safi (r. 1629-1642).

² Ali . . . al-Mahdi. The names of the Twelve Imams and Muhammad and his daughter, Fatimah, the wife of the first Imam, Ali, and the mother of the second and third Imams.

Shah Safi, Shah Abbas, and Shah Tahmasp. Shah Safi refers to the eponymous ancestor of the Safavids and the founder of the Safavid order; Shah Abbas, to the greatest of the Safavid rulers (r. 1587-1629); and Shah Tahmasp (r. 1722-1732), to the father of Abbas III, who "issued" this decree. In addition, Shah Tahmasp, who was the son of the last Safavid ruler, Shah Sultan Husain (r. 1694-1722), and was the puppet first, of Fath Ali Khan, and then, of Nadir Quli, who deposed Tahmasp in favor of his infant son Abbas; both were

executed by Afshar orders in 1740 to forestall a Safavid restoration.

Khalīl Khan. Presumably, this Khalīl is <u>Abd al-Khalīl-about whom little</u> is known—son of Khusrau and father of <u>Alī Sālih</u> (See Appendix I, Document 2 and Genealogical Table) and thus in the Haydarī lineage of the Durakī Khans. By extrapolation, <u>Abd al-Khalīl</u> could have been living in 1144; furthermore, this document was included by the Durakī khans in their collection of documents that had been issued to them. (Mīrzā Mahdī Khan mentions two Bakhtiyārī hākims in 1144, however, neither is called Khalīl.) If the Khalīl mentioned in this Farmān is not the same period as <u>Abd al-Khalīl</u>, then the document was handed over by the Governor to one of the Durakī khans—either <u>Abd al-Khalīl</u> or his son <u>Alī Sālih</u>, to be implemented. Bābā Haydar, the shrine in reference, is in Mizdij, where these khans possessed tuyūls and land holdings (see Appendix II, Document <u>1</u>), and in the process of collecting their assessments had also collected, contrary to custom, a tax from the sayyids at Bābā Haydar.

Hakim and Farmanfarma. Title of the chief tax administrator and governor.

6Chahar Mahall and Faridan. These well-watered agricultural districts lie between the Zagros mountains, in this case the Bakhtiyari, and Isfahan. Chahar Mahall's four districts consist of Lar, Khiyar, Mizdij, and Ganduman. Faridan, a single district, is located to their north.

⁷Sayxid Ramazan, Sayyid Jamal al-Din and Sayyid Abd al-Karim. These sayyids are unidentifiable. Groups of sayyids are frequently to be found in the Zagros where they function as keepers of shrines and as mediators.

Mahall Arba ah. Syn for Chahar Mahall. Arba ah is the Arabic equivalent of the Persian Chahar, or four.

The Seal of the great Atabak. Conceivably, these sayyids possessed a document issued by one of the Atabaks (12th-14th centuries), possibly "Atabak" refers merely to some unidentified notable who attested to the authenticity of their genealogy.

The sultan's kharaj. The government's tax assessment. Sultan, in this era, could refer to the ruler, but more likely to the governor. Kharaj may specify a land tax, although in the eighteenth century this would represent an archaic use of the term; it probably designates a general tax assessment. The archaic use could also be explained if this document is indeed a nineteenth century forgery of an earlier document.

¹¹Shrine of Haydar. Baba Haydar, located ca. 15 miles to the west of present-day Shahr Kurd and the northern boundary of Mizdij.

12 See note 1, above.

II. THE DOCUMENT (Sardar Zafar collection)

This Farman measures ca. 33.4 x 21.4 cm. The front bears one seal (round and badly formed, ca. 5 cm in diameter), three invocations, and the text. The text is centered left, runs to the page bottom, but does not run to the left margin. This document is crude, certainly in comparison with Safavid ones, but not so in comparison with the Afshar documents issued to the Duraki khans and included here. The script is nastacliq. Two seals (unread) are found on the dorse.

Is this document a forgery, or a poor copy of an earlier document? It hardly conforms to known Safavid documents: there is no tughra, no indentation,

and the engraving on the seal is very crude. Was this document "copied" by a later Bakhtiyari leader seeking appointment in order to establish his family's links with Mizdij?

III. SIGNIFICANCE

- 1. This may be the first Abbas III document to be published; in addition, his seal has never before been recorded. The seal and the invocations emphasize continuity with a Shi and Safavid past; thus, indicate Nadir Quli's concern, indeed apprehension, for legitimacy.
- 2. This may be the first document issued to a Bakhtiyari, although the recipient is not identified as such, and records that Khalil Khan is a major governor. Documents issued 27 years later establish these khans as major land and tuyul holders in Chahar Mahall; since Khalil Khan is governor there he was most likely a magnate there as well. Indeed, his Bakhtiyari role may have begun from that position as civil and military leader-landlord.
- 3. Presumably Khalil had been appointed as governor earlier—he is addressed here as governor—by Nadir Quli; at an earlier stage, then, Nadir had sought to establish his power in Central Iran, far from his base in Khurasan, by linking it with local notables.
- 4. This document established the role of sayyids and the ruler's concern for their welfare; one of the qualities of Muslim rulership.