تمربان خاک پای جواهر اسای مبارکت نشوم پیرخلام خانزاد سسسین تمکی بختیارس اولأسفدا وندجان اين بير مخلام سخا نه زادرا بقربان سخاك أسنانت نمايد تلاني نجفقاي سخاب محاجر الهما مامور تفرقه متشقائي وارد شدوست مغطمبارك تبله ماله روس العالمين فلارا زبارت نمودم مخصوص تغرقه أنجيه عكم فرموده اند از جان ورع دل اطاعت سعواهم نمود لاكن تمبله عالم را تسم سيدهم بسرمبارك مرتضى على عليه سلام بعرض سخا نه زاد رسيدكى بفوايند L4 سال سی سلل است شب روز خدمت رجان نشنانی میکنم بختیاری ا ۱ آن شارت L5 منل رمیت انجان نبوده ام سی یک مالئات از بختیاری گرمته داده ام L6 مفاص سساب در دست است سی یک قران باتمی ندارم سالی تشاریهاه L7 در مرسداصفهان می آیم مسغول نظم بختیاری وصول مالیات آنها هستم L8 شش ماه دیگر دا در عربستان ارستان در رکاب سکومت خدست L9 میکنم! سوار تفنگیجی درهوای گرم عربستان ازخود زهست وضرر را متحل L10 فينتسوم البته بقدريا نصد نفرا شرار امراب بدست بختياري به تمثل رسيده L11

صد نفر بختیای در سنگ ایراب کشته نسده است اگر بخواهم تفصیل	L12
بدهم مسارت است ترمرخانه زاد در بسراست اسفندیا رعلی قلی	L13
ودوملهران دررطاب مهارك سماس فشانى ميكنند إوجود اين هم خدمت	L14
خطرا خوش نميايدكم تسب روز از بى التغانى سرطار نواب الشرف والامعتندالدوله	L15
ارام ندانشه باشم همه رقت درمرارت بانتهم تمشيقائي در فارس خانه زاد	L16
در سنتان یکهاه راه صفرها نیدملانی آنها را تحریک کرده است	L17
كدخدايان منتفائي از فارس از راه يرد خراسان ميايند ملوان	L18
عارض میشوند نرطان هایون به آنها مرسمت میشود بروند عربستان سیرده	L19
سرط رنواب الشرف والاستنست الدوله بالسندخانه زاد بيه تقصير دارم كه إيد	L20
مقصرا شم نعلا كرم نعان بويراسمدي دربهبها ب مصنرت والاظل السلطان	L21
روحى مَدَ با محد مسين خال بيسرش نزاع ميكند سال بعد سركار نواب الشرف والاحسام السلطة	L22
ساكم میشود محدسسین بخال رفت شیراز نورمت کرد مالیات داد بعد سفاب معتمد الملک	L23
ا الم شدم مد سسین خان خدمت کرد بعد از بیهارسال سرطر معتمد الدر له	L24
حاكم شده است ميفرهايد	L25

سسین تملی از مرستان تحریک کرده است این	L26
ئز أم نشده انست البيه إرسال المحال ده هزار تومان	L27
معرابی برعیت مجانکی مکارد رسانیده اندیارسال اسکندرسان سرهنگ محامر دردی	L28
امد دید بخانه زاد سیم رحوی دارد که سیطر معتمد الدراه خانه زاد را سدمه ای م	L29
صيرنند سقصرميفرما يدخا نهزاد ادنا نوكرى صستم يعكونه ميتوانم مقابل اتماى محود سوال بواب	L30
نمايع بس خدا نكرده أمحر معضرت ظل السلطان وصحى تعلى التفات بشدوند بيم خاك بسر	L31
بكنم الوانطرف سيه تمدر إيد ملاحظه بكنم سرطرنواب الشرف والاحتسست العمله	L32
بى النفات نىتىدىد اسباب بداى خاندزاد را فراهم نياورد قبله عالم تصدق	L33
بفرمایند پیرشده ام سی سلاخدوست کرده ام دیگر تموه اینگونه سدمات را ندارم	L34
مرخانزادهم به آنفررسيده است تبليمالم را تمسم ميدهد به خالق عالم	L35
وبفرق تشط فته اميرالمومنين عليه سلام خانه زاد راكتراد بفرها يندمرخص	L36
نجف اشرف بشوم اگرجها روزی از عرخانه زاد باقی باشد شب روز	· ′L37
تبله عالم را دعاميكنم العمدللم برا در هست اولادهست همكي قابل و	L38

139 تربیت شده این دولت ا برمدت میها شند خدمت میکنند

L40 مجان مشلنی میکنند بحضرت اشرف سیهسلار اعظم عریضه عرض مودم

141 بخصوص مرخص نعف الشرف مرضى نفرمودند لابداين كونه

142 مسارت نمودم فوه راست وخدمت إ ديگر

143 نداریم بیر شده ام تصدی بغرهایند در نعف

التسرف ديماكو باشم سمكم سمكم تحبله بمالم است

L44 Nasir al-Din Shah's Reply Lines 1-36

Appendix IIIb Document 14-6

جمع باشيد/وهركز خيال/استعفا ارمندست كنيد/تحريران ٩٥

Ilkhani's Petition to Nasir al-Din Shah with His Reply

May I become the sacrifice of the blessed and jewel-like earth beneath your feet, the old slave, born in thy Household, Husain Quli Bakhtiyari.

First, may God sacrifice the soul of this aged slave born in thy household to the earth of thy threshold.

Second, Najaf Qulī Khan Muhājir, 1 commissioned to deal with the dispersed group of Qashqācī, 2 has arrived. I perused Your Majesty's letter with regard to the dispersed group and I shall gladly obey with soul and heart what you have commanded. I implore, however, Your Majesty, by the blessed head of Murtažā cAlī, upon Whom be peace, that you investigate what I have to say.

It is now thirty years that I have served and labored dutifully night and day, and I have transformed the unpuly Bakhtiyari into the likes of the peasants of Linjan. I have collected and submitted 31 taxes from the Bakhtiyari; the clearance of accounts are in hand, and I do not have 31 qirans outstanding on the tax account. I spend six months each year on the Isfahan marches, busy maintaining order among the Bakhtiyari and collecting their taxes. The other six months I am in Carabistan and Luristan in the service of the governor. With armed Bakhtiyari cavalry and musketeers I suffer toil and harm in the heat of Carabistan. Indeed approximately 500 Arab troublemakers have met their deaths at the hands of the Bakhtiyari. One hundred Bakhtiyari have been killed in fighting the Arabs. It would be presumptuous if I were to report the details [here].

The fruit of the life of this servant, born in thy household is two sons, Isfandiyar and CAli Quli. Both are in Tehran serving at Your Majesty's stirrup.

God will not be pleased that, notwithstanding all this service, day and night I find no peace from the disfavor I suffer from His Excellency, His Royal Highness Muctamid al-Daulah and that I am continually troubled.

[As an example of Muctamid al-Daulah's machinations], the Qashqaci are in Fars, I am in CArabistan, one month's traveling time away, and he says that I have incited them.

The Qashqaci headmen come to Tehran from Fars by way of the Yazd-Khorasan road [thereby placing themselves far beyond the edges of the Bakhtiyari] to complain. The royal command is granted to them to go to cArabistan to be entrusted to His Highness Hishmat al-Daulah. What shortcoming have I that I must be the one at fault?

Khudā Karam Khan Buir Ahmadī was in Bihbahān. His Highness Zill al-Sultān, may my soul be sacrificed for him, had a dispute with Muḥammad Husain Khan, his son. The next year His Highness Husam al-Saltanah became governor.

Muḥammad Husain Khan went to Shiraz, saw him, and paid the taxes. Then His Excellency Muctamid al-Mulk became governor, Muḥammad Husain Khan went to see him. Four years later His Excellency Mu tamid al-Daulah has become governor, and he is saying [that I], Husain Qulī, have stirred up this crisis from carabistān and this dispute has occurred. Of course [one must not forget] that from last year until now they have caused 10,000 tumāns damage to the peasants of Janakī Falard. Last year Iskandar Khan Sarhang Muhājir came and saw [the situation]. What has it to do with me and Muctamid al-Daulah should be attacking me and stating that I am at fault.

I am the lowest of Thy servants; how can I stand before my Master and debate. If, God forbid, His Highness Zill al-Sultan, may my soul be sacrificed for him, should become displeased with me, what a disgraceful condition I should be in. On the other hand, how much must I watch to see that His Highness Hishmat al-Daulah does not become dissatisfied with me and cause my good name to be blackened.

Your Majesty, bestow charity. I have grown old, and I have served for thirty years. I no longer have the strength to stand these blows. Moreover, my life has reached its end.

I implore Your Majesty by the Creator of the World and the Wounded Head of the Commander of the Faithful, upon Whom be peace, to free me and give me leave to go to Holy Najaf, 14 the Most Noble City. If a few days remain in my life, I will [spend them] pray[ing] for Your Majesty. Praise be to God that there are my brothers and my sons. They are wholly qualified and trained in the service of this eternal government. They will serve and sacrifice themselves.

I submitted a petition to His Excellency Sipahsalar Aczam 15 concerning leave to go to Holy Najaf, the Most Noble City. He did not grant me leave. Necessarily I have taken the liberty [to write to Your Majesty for] I no longer have the strength for leadership and service, because I have become old.

Give your charity and allow me to become one who prays [for you] in Holy Najaf, the Most Noble City. The command is your Majesty's.

Ilkhani,

We have considered your petition. We are truly very satisfied with the good order of your district and the fulfillment of your services. It is as you have written . . . you have served excellently . . . you must continue to do so. In fact this is only the beginning of your services and not the time for retirement and settling in a foreign country . . . [?]

In the matter of the Qashqaci and the petitions of Muctamid al-Daulah, do that which Sipahsalar Aczam telegraphed to you and wrote. In fact, whatever service is required of you, you must do it immediately. Muctamid al-Daulah, too, will surely report about your [good] service after this, and will be satisfied. Be assured of my favor to you and your sons, and never think of resigning from service.

Written in [?]
[12]95[1878]

I. NOTES

Najaf Quli Khan Muhajir. Unident., but Shah's investigative agent.

²Qashqa³ī disperson. Qashqa³ī <u>tafriqah</u>. In earlier documents, tafriqah would seem to indicate sanction for tribal movement (See Appendix II, Documents 2 and 14), but here it may not. Various Qashqa³ī groups—according to the "Kitabchah"—had fled to the Bakhtiyarī and had been given pastures and sanctuary by Īlkhanī. Their continued presence in Bakhtiyarī would have exacerbated relations with Farhad Mīrza Muctamad al-Daulah, the Governor of Fars, and with Qashqa³ī leaders.

³Linjan. The rich agricultural district along the upper reaches of the Zayandah Rud just before the highlands of Chahar Mahall and Bakhtiyarī. They were probably subject to frequent raids, and because of the distance to Isfahan with its governor forces, could probably do little more than to submit to the raiders.

⁴31 qirans. A trifling amount used by Ilkhani to emphasize his good administration and honesty.

⁵Arab wars. Reference to the incursions by the Banī Lam (See "Kitābchah" and Chapter V.)

6 Isfandiyar and CAlī Qulī. Ilkhanī's favorite and most capable sons.

⁷Mu^ctamad al-Daulah. Farhad Mīrza, the Shah's paternal uncle, Governor of Fars, and Ilkhani's greatest Qajar enemy and threat.

Khuda Karam Khan Buir Ahmadi. (See Document 2 and "Kitabchah".)

⁹Zill al-Sultan. Mas ud Mīrza, Nasir al-Dīn Shah's eldest son and Governor of most of Southwestern Iran. (See Chapter V and Chapter VI.)

At this time, Īlkhanī seems to rely on him as spokesman within the

Qajar court; later, of course, Zill al-Sultan executes Ilkhani.

', 10 Husam al-Saltanah. Sultan Murad Mirza, another of the Shah's paternal uncles.

12 Janaki Falard. Falard was a community in Northern Fars at the point where Qashqa i and Bakhtiyari (Janiki) summer pastures meet. Its taxes, collected by Ilkhani, were paid to the Governor of Fars. (See, "Kitabchah.")

13 Hishmat al-Daulah. Hamza Mīrzā, one of Nāsir al-Dīn Shah's paternal uncles.

II. THE DOCUMENT (Sardar Zafar collection)

This document--it measures ca. 31.5×22 cm--consists of a petition written in shikastah by $\overline{1}$ lkhani to Nasir al-Din Shah, who scrawls his matter-of-fact reply in the margins. The latter's portion only is dated [12]95/1878.

III. SIGNIFICANCE

- 1. Ilkhani begins his petition with the customary formula recognizing the Shah's authority and majesty, but then goes on to express his feelings regarding his service, his responsibilities, and exasperation. (See Chapter V.)
- 2. Ilkhani outlines his Qajar ties and his side of the various disputes in which he was involved, especially those regarding Farhad Mirza Muctamad al-Daulah.

¹¹ Muctamad al-Mulk. Unident.

¹⁴ Najaf. The shrine city where cali, the first Imam, is buried.

¹⁵ Sipahsalar A^czam. Mirza Ḥusain Khan.

- 3. Ilkhani expressed his confidence in his brothers and sons to carry on his dynastic concerns.
- 4. Ilkhani requests permission to resign and to go to Najaf. This probably represents an attempt on his part to force the issue. Sipahsalar had already turned him down, and he probably did so because he wanted to use Ilkhani as a means of checking the power of the two powerful governors, Zill al-Sultan and Muctamid al-Daulah. Ilkhani, if he were seriously desirous of stepping down, or if he hoped to resolve the various disputes, had no resource but to appeal over the heads of the Governors and to write the Shah directly.
- 5. Ilkhani clearly subordinates himself to the Shah and the other Qajars.
- 6. The Shah is direct in his response: "Yes, Yes, it will be straightened out." And in the next year, Ilkhani presents himself to the Shah at Court.