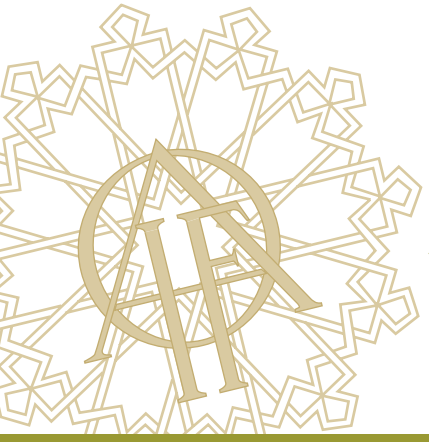
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AnIsl 25 (1991), p. 203-240

Ahmet Zeki Validi Togan, Gary Leiser

Economic Conditions in Anatolia in the Mongol Period; introduction et traduction par Gary Leiser.

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Gary LEISER

ECONOMIC CONDITIONS IN ANATOLIA IN THE MONGOL PERIOD *

BY

AHMET ZEKI VALIDI TOGAN

(Translation)

TRANSLATOR'S PREFACE

Presented below is a translation of Ahmet Zeki Validi Togan's (d. 1970) article "Moğollar devrinde Anadolu'nun iktisadī vaziyeti" in *Türk Hukuk ve Iktisat Tarihi Mecmuası*, 1 (1931), 1-42. This was the first modern attempt to investigate the economic history of Anatolia under Mongol rule, roughly 1243 to 1340 A.D. Curiously, very little work has been done on this subject in the six decades since this study appeared. In fact, the only major work in 60 years to examine the economic history of Anatolia under the Mongols and, as far as I can determine, consider even part of Togan's article is Claude Cahen's *La Turquie Pré-Ottomane* (Istanbul, 1988). The present article, which brought to light several primary sources, has thus remained the starting point for research on the economic conditions in Anatolia under the Mongols. Despite its inherent importance in this respect, this article has been almost inaccessible to all but a few determined readers of Turkish. There are two reasons for this. First, the journal in which it appeared ceased publication after the second issue (1939). Second, Togan's style is somewhat "archaic" compared to modern Turkish, for he wrote before the language reform movement really got under way in Turkey. This was also the time of the transition of Turkish from the Arabic to the Latin alphabet, when the Latin orthography for many words was not yet firmly established. In short, even if one could find the article, it was difficult to read. Altogether, a translation into a Western language is easily justified.

It must be stressed, however, that this translation is not meant to imply that all of Togan's assertions, conclusions, and generalizations will be readily accepted today. Although it represents a benchmark in the field, this article does reflect the "state of the art" around 1928. Modern specialists in Il-khānid coinage, for example, will no doubt take issue with some of the author's conclusions, as does Mr Steven Album to whom I am indebted for critical comments on an earlier version of this translation. In addition to making Togan's article more accessible, this translation is, in fact, intended to facilitate the criticism of its contents.

* This paper is based on a communication entitled "Anadoluda Moğol hākimiyeti" {Mongol rule in Anatolia}, which was read at a meeting of the Turkistan and Āzarbāijān Learned Society on 9 March 1929.

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It should be mentioned that, to a certain extent, Togan meant this article to supplement W. Barthold's study " Persidskaya nadpis na stene Aniyskoy mecheti Manuche " [The Persian inscription on the wall of the Manuchehr Mosque in Ani] in the fifth volume of *Aniyskaya Seriya* (St. Petersburg, 1911). This study was also published in Turkish in *THITM*, 1 (1931), 135-159, under the title " Ilhanılar devrinde malī vaziyet " [Financial conditions in the Ilḫānid period]. Togan refers to the original Russian as " Ani ". W. Hinz translated Barthold's article into German as " Die persische Inschrift an der Mauer der Manūčehr-Moschee zu Ani " in *ZDMG*, 101 (1951), 241-269.

In the course of the present article, Togan promised several more studies on the economic history of Anatolia in the Mongol period, but he apparently only published " Reşideddin'in mektuplarında Anadolu'nun iktisadī ve medenī hayatına ait kayıtlar " [References to the economic and cultural life in Anatolia in the letters of Rašīd al-Dīn], *Istanbul Üniversitesi Iktisat Fakültesi Mecmuası*, 15 (1953-1954), 32-50.

While the study of the economic history of Anatolia in the Mongol era has generally been neglected in the past half century, research on the economic history of Mongol Iran has made considerable progress. Iran was, of course, much more central to the Mongol Empire than Anatolia and it was under much firmer Mongol control. In any case, the economic life of Iran and Anatolia under the Mongols was closely related, so the modern research on Iran is important for understanding what occurred in Anatolia. This point is made by Togan himself. It is not possible to list here all the publications on Iran that are relevant Togan's article. Suffice it to mention the following : J. Masson Smith and F. Plunkett, " Gold Money in Mongol Iran ", *JESHO*, 11 (1968), 275-297; J. Masson Smith, " The Silver Currency in Mongol Iran ", *JESHO*, 12 (1969), 16-41; Michael Bates, " Islamic Numismatics, " *Middle East Studies Association Bulletin*, 13 (1979), n. 2, pp. 1-3; Stephen Album, " Studies in Ilkhānid History and Numismatics ", *Studia Iranica*, part I, 13 (1984), 49-116, and part II, 14 (1985), 45-76; I.P. Pertrushevsky, " The Socio-Economic Conditions of Iran under the Īl-Khāns " in J.A. Boyle ed., *The Cambridge History of Iran* (Cambridge, 1968), V, 483-537; Ann Lambton, " Mongol Fiscal Administration in Persia ", *SI*, 64 (1986), 79-99, 65 (1987), 97-123, and *idem*, *Continuity and Change in Medieval Persia* (Albany, NY, 1988).

Finally, let me state that I have attempted to translate Togan's article into idiomatic English. His style, however, does not always make for easy transition from topic to topic. I have also indicated in the translation the most recent editions of the texts to which the author refers and I have recast his footnotes, which are sometimes rather opaque, according to modern practice. All additions to the text and notes, except for corrections of minor oversights and typographical errors, have been placed in braces.

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TRANSLATION OF THE ARTICLE

I

Before discussing this subject, a few words of explanation are in order concerning the fiscal and economic systems of the Mongol-Ilḫānid state.

Although information exists which would be of use in describing the fiscal system of the Mongol state, it has not yet been thoroughly studied and is in a state of some disorder. Even the conclusions of the scholars who have tried to clarify this confused information, with respect to determining the basic standard of the Mongal fiscal system and the value of Mongol coinage, need to be reexamined. Among these conclusions are those of A.K. Markov and W. Barthold who believe that the basis of the Iranian Mongol financial system was the silver *dīnār*. Both state categorically that the Ilḫānids did not use gold coins for commercial transactions. Instead, they were only struck to be used for gifts and ceremonial purposes [1]. Barthold relies on Rašīd al-Dīn who refers in one place {[*Jāmiʿ al-tawārīḫ*, for work on this text, see for example John Boyle, *The Successors of Genghis Khan* [New York, 1971]} Topkapî MS, f° 323*b*) to large gold coins of 100 *miṭqāls* called « درست » (درستهای طلا), and a Byzantine source cited by J. von Hammer-Purgstall (*Geschichte der Ilchane* {Darmstadt, 1841-1843}, II, 159). However, Ġazan's statement چون درحق کسی انعامی فرمایم اورا ازان درستهابد هیم does not indicate that gold coins were made only for gifts. These words do not pertain to all gold coins. There is a misunderstanding here. Ġazan's aforesaid statement, " I am going to give some of these *durust* {" perfect " a coin of the best standard} to a man on whom I am going to bestow a gift, " does not pertain to all gold coins, but only to large beautiful " *nümune paralar* " {" mode " coins} weighing 100 *miṭqāls*. Rašīd al-Dīn is simply praising their beauty

(وفرمود تادرستهای طلاهریك صد مثقال زدند وبخطوط تمامت ولایات نام خود برانجاسکة زد تادرهمه مواضع چون بخوانند دانندکی ضرب اوست وایات قرآن واسامی دوازده امام عه . م . برآن سکة منقوش است وسکهٔ بغایت خوب ولطیف چنانك هرکسکی بیابد اورادل ندرهرکه بکذارد وخواهدکی البته نکاه دارد وفرمودکی جهت اوازه چون درحق کسی انعامی فرمایم اورا ازان درستها بدهیم) .

The Byzantine author Pachymeres, who is cited by Hammer (p. 205), simply says, " among them {*i.e.*, the Ilḫānids} are gold coins called *casaneus* which are of high grade. " This statement only shows that Ġazan's gold coinage was readily accepted. It cannot be evidence for the conclusion that this money " was struck only for ceremonial purposes. "

There is considerable evidence to prove that both silver and gold were used in commercial transactions in the Mongol period. Indeed, the prevailing standard was the gold standard. It disappeared during financial crises but reappeared when conditions

1. Markov, *Katalog djelairidskihi moneti* {St Petersburg, 1897}, p. LXXX; Barthold, " Persidskaya nadpis, " p. 18, hereinafter referred to as " Ani. "

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improved. According to Rašīd al-Dīn, the gold that disappeared during the economic crises and disorders in the reigns of Arġūn and Geiḫatu reappeared after Ġazan's reforms. In fact, all business transactions were conducted with it

(... وبیش ازین جهت انك زر سرخ در بازار هانادر افتادی واکر قدری درآوردندی آنراصد مشتری پیدا شدی .. این زمان در بازار هابردست هرروستایی چندان زر سرخ می کرددکه نهایت ندارد وتمامت معاملات بدان میکنند) .

While mentioning the expenses of Ġazan at the assembly ⌊*kurultay*⌋ at Ūjān, Rašīd al-Dīn clearly distinguishes gold from silver خریطهای زر سرخ ونقره جدا جدا باوزان مختلف . We also find references to 300 *tümens* of gold coins (زرنقد) ⌊for the council?⌋ and, in another place (fol. 299*b*), to 10,000 and 20,000 gold coins (زرنقد) for travel expenses. He also uses this expression for the taxes collected from the people (fol. 315*b*, زرنقد ازرعایا میسنانند). There are further references to " 1,000 *tümens* of gold " with regard to Šams al-Dīn ⌊Juvainī⌋ during the time of Abaqa (fol. 153*b*) and to " 20 *tümens* of gold " and " 250 *tümens* of gold " in the work entitled *Tasliyyat al-iḫwān*, ⌊extracts published in Mīrzā Muḥammad Qazvīnī's edition of ʿAṭā' Malik Juvainī's *Ta'rīḫ-i Jahān-Gušā* [London, 1912-1937]⌋ which ʿAṭā' Malik Juvainī wrote about his own life. There is even the phrase

درضمیر آباقاخان چنان نشانده بودندکه این توفیرات زرنقدی ستکه بخانه برده ام ودر زیر زمین دفن کرده

in Qazvīnī's edition of *Ta'rīḫ-i Jahān-Gušā*, introduction, I, pp. مد ، مه, which means, " they told Abaqa Ḫān that I brought a lot of money, namely, 20 *tümens* in gold, to my home ⌊*ḫāna*⌋ and buried it ". In Vaṣṣāf, *zar* (gold) and *dīnār* (*i.e.*, silver *dīnār*) are always mentioned separately (⌊*Tajziyat al-amṣār*⌋ Bombay ed. ⌊1852-1853⌋, pp. 336, 337, 349, 362, 384, 390, etc., « تومن زر » ; p. 368, « خزائن زر ودینار » ; p. 436, « اخراج زر ودینار »). A penalty of 15 *tümens* of gold was imposed on the Turkmen and " Šūl " ⌊tribesmen⌋ who revolted at one time in the province of Fārs. According to the accounts of Rašīd al-Dīn and Vaṣṣāf, the cruelties of the *basqaqs* ⌊provincial revenue officials⌋ in the province of Fārs were for the most part unprecedented. Vaṣṣāf cites a verse of a folksong ⌊*türkü*⌋, which was probably in the language of the Turkmen of Fārs, on the tyrannous demands of the tax collectors. He wrote it in the following manner من جان چقرم التون ایچون * اشم من ورایم من آلیم. This should be translated, " I would give up my life for gold, my task is to strike and take ". In other words, the tax collectors demanded taxes or " fines " from the people in the form of gold. There is also Persian poetry about these tax collectors, namely, وکه ادأ طلا چهرة شان زر مضروب * بوجه طلغمشان سیم غم شده مسبوك, in which it is said that they demanded *ṭilā* ⌊redgold⌋ and *ṭalġam* silver from the people. In another place (p. 123), when mentioning the payment of 500 *tümens*, Vaṣṣāf says that سه صد تومن زر عیار were surrendered.

A document which definitely shows that gold and silver were used together in Ilḫānid territory is a work called *Saʿādatnāma*, which ʿAlā-i Tabrīzī wrote on the financial affairs of the Ilḫānids of Iran. A unique copy of this work, which I shall discuss below, was found by me in the Yusuf Ağā Library in Konya (registered in the library's MS index under the title *Inšā'-i fārisī*, with the number 1756 ⌊now see Mirkamal Nabipour, *Die*

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beiden persischen Leitfäden des Falak ʿAlā-ye Tabrīzī über das staatliche Rechnungswesen im 14. Jahrhundert [Göttingen, 1973]). In this work, the « طلاً » and « طلغمه » accounts are placed side by side in the lists of expenses. In fact, dues were collected in mixed gold and silver coins or in mixed property and livestock. Among the Arabs, the coins were converted to *dirhams* or *miṯqāls* and the animals to horses or sheep. The author says that in his time the financial officials did not like this system and that every category of money and goods was recorded separately in the Mongol system (fol. 49*a*),

دیکر هروقت که اصناف نقود مختلف وانواع مواشی محرر تفصیل دهد در عرب مشهور آنست کی نقود مختلف را بدرهم یامثقال جمع کنند ومواشی را برأس همچون اسب وکوسفند .. واستاذن صنعت استیفا آنرانمی پسندند بلکه امثالی چنین جمعهارا بعد دصنف یا بلفظ کماذکر اوبین یاز نبشند واکر حکم بحسب اعتبار مغول جمع مختلفان یکی ازین ارقام خمول را باز نبشد آنرادر حشوذکر کند ودر بارز بعدد صنف کما ذکر اوبین باز نبشد وثبت کند .

He also gives some examples, for instance on fol. 57*b*,

صورت مصارف وصوغ

جمعا

على خراج فلان الدين الصراف — فى تاريخ كذى

النقود

صنفان

الرابح

الطلا * الطلغمه

ماية مثقالا — الف دينار

As I shall discuss further on, the word *zar* does not always mean gold. In many places, it is simply used to mean "money." For example, in ʿAlā-i Tabrīzī, fol. 75*b*, we find the following :

فائده دوم آنست کی چون در برات یاورق هم زر رابح وهم اجناس بیاید وزر رابح را تفصیل بسیار باشد وقتها باشدکی چون ناظر بران برات یا ورق نکاه کند (76*a*) وتفصیل رابح بسیار باشد نظر اوباجناس نیاید واز درجهٔ اعتبار ساقط شود درمقام طریق رفع آن اشتباه این باشدکی کاتب زر رابح واجناسرا برهم کیرد ودر بارز هرد وذکر عدد وصنف بنویسد بعد ازان « رابح » را برمیان نبشند وتفصیل آن عدد زر رابح کتر بنویسند .

Then, under the term *rābiḥ*, the number of *dīnārs* or the amount of sheep, soap, wood and so forth is recorded. When it is necessary to specify that the money is gold, the words *ṭilā, aḥmar* {"red" in Arabic}, or *surḫ* {"red" in Persian} are used.

II

In the Mongol period, the terms *dirham, miṯqāl, dānaq, dīnār, bāliš,* and *tümen* are used in the silver and gold money accounts. It is rather difficult, however, to determine the real meaning and value of these terms, and especially the relationship of gold and silver coins to each other with respect to their values. One person who provides information on the economic conditions in Iran and Anatolia in the Mongol period is Ḥamd

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Allāh Mustawfī Qazvīnī, one of the financial officials of Sultan Abū Saʿīd. E. Blochet, G. Le Strange and Barthold have analyzed or touched upon the material that Ḥamd Allāh and others have provided on the budget of the Ilḫānids of Iran. The financial account in Ḥamd Allāh's list is shown in *dīnārs* and *tümens*. Barthold was the first to prove that the *dīnārs* in this list were silver *dīnārs*.

Despite certain changes and transformations that I shall describe later, the silver *dīnār*, which was called the *dīnār-i Tabrīzī* or *dīnār-i rābiḥ* of the Mongols, basically consisted of six silver *dirhams*. During the reign of Ġazan, the weight of this *dīnār* was definitely set at three *miṯqāls*. While mentioning the terminology of Ġazan's coinage, Rašīd al-Dīn says the following (f° 323 *b*) :

کچون پیش ازین هردرمی چهار دانك می زدندی وبی انك مصلحتی در ضمن آن باشد بنیم ونیم دانك کردندکی هیچ عقدی نیست . این زمان نیم مثقال راست بزنند وانج نیم ونیم دانك مغشوش بود نیم مثقال طلغم صافی میباشد وچون اعتبار زر ونقره بمقدار عیارست هرکس که نیم ونیم دانك مغشوش دارد وبیك درم خرج میکند صافی کردانیده تانیم مثقال کند وبهمان یك‌درم خرج کند وچون احتیاط رفت نزدیك بکاربود وزیادت زیانی نه مردم برغبت سه مثقال ونیم نقره‌کی بیش داشت بسه مثقال مضروب مسکوك بدل میکردند... وحکم بران جمله فرمودکی اکردردست انواع زرهای مغشوش موجود بود واین زمان حکم آنست کی هیچ آفریده بغیر از طلاو طلغم معامله نکندوانك نشناسد بدیکری نماید تا احتیاط کند وچون چنین باشد هیچ قلابی زرقلب نزند چه محقق داندکی ازوی نخواهد ستدکی همه احتیاط میکنند ودرین مدت کی چنین امری معظم در تمامت ممالك جاری کشت ومحتاج نبودکی کسی‌را بکشند وچنان تمشیت پذیرفت کی در جمیع ممالك بغیر از سکه وعیار مذکور هیچ سکه وعیار دیکر نیست وفرمود تانقرة مسکوك نیز بوزن خرج کنند سه مثقال بیك دینار رایج تا هیچ آفریده نبرد وچون در تمامت ولایات متساوی کشته مردم آسوده حال شده اند .

The Egyptian historians al-Nuwairī ⟨*Nihāyat al-ʿarab*⟩ and al-Qalqašandī [2] also provide information to the effect that the *dīnār-i Tabrīzī* and *dīnār-i rābiḥ* consisted of six *dirhams*. Furthermore, the statements of al-Aqsarāyī ⟨*Musāmarat al-aḫbār*, ed. Osman Turan [Ankara, 1944]⟩ and Ḥamd Allāh ⟨*Nuzhat al-qulūb*⟩ corroborate each other in this matter. According to al-Aqsarāyī, 200,000 Mongol *dīnārs* were equal to 1,200,000 Seljuk *dirhams*. While comparing the money of Sāsānid Iran with that of the Mongols, Ḥamd Allāh refers to the Mongol *dīnār* as the *dīnār-i rābiḥ* and says that one gold *dīnār* of the Seljuks (*zar-i surḫ*) was the equivalent of two *dīnārs* and two *dānaqs*, that is, 2.33 ⟨*dīnārs*⟩, in Mongol money (Bombay ed., p. 132) [3]. By this Seljuk *zar-i surḫ*, he meant the *dīnār-i surḫ ʿawwāl* used in Baghdad, which was 12 *dirhams* [4]. One Mongol *dīnār* equalled six

2. *Ṣubḥ al-aʿšā* ⟨Cairo, 1915⟩, IV, 422.

3. The Bombay edition of this book has many mistakes. I have corrected the copy of the 1894 ⟨or 1898?⟩ edition in my possession by comparing it to numerous manuscript copies.

4. In Ḥamd Allāh 800,040,000 *dīnār-i ʿawwāl* = 400,020,000 Mongol *dīnārs*. In the MSS, « هفتاد » is mistakenly written in place of « هشتاد ». Furthermore, in the tax bill given there, 21,500 red gold pieces of the Seljuk period are mistakenly shown as the equivalent of 50,000 *tümens* in the Mongol period. This should definitely be « پنجاه هزار تومن » and not « پنجاه هزار دینار » because one gold Seljuk *dīnār* was three silver Tabrīz *dīnārs* and two *dānaqs*, that is, 14 *dānaqs*, which would be 21,500 × 14 = 50,166 ⟨*sic*⟩.

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dirhams in the accounts that he cites on p. 133, from the time of ʿUmar and al-Ḥajjāj, and on p. 170, from the time of the ʿAbbāsid caliph al-Muqtadir (Barthold has shown Ḥamd Allāh's mistakes in calculating the Sāsānid and Seljuk accounts with gold). ʿAlā-i Tabrīzī uses *dānaq* as a standard of weight and describes the *dīnār* in like manner, saying (fol. 60*a*),

دینار باصلاح اهل دیوان عبارتست ازشش دانك وهریك دانك چهار تسو وهریك تسو چهار جو .

The definition of *dānaq* found here is certainly that of the term that was generally used in the government {*dīwān*} and financial {*istīfā'*} institutions of the Ilḫānid state. One encounters this in other contemporary works [5]. From the list that I shall add at the end of this article, which I have cited from Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-ʿUmarī on the salaries of Ilḫānid officials, we shall be able to see more clearly that *tümens* and *dīnārs* were calculated according to the Tabrīzī *dīnār* of six *dirhams* in the official departments of the Mongol government. This author also records that Abaqa gave ten *tümens* to a man as a gift [6], that Geiḫatu gave three *tümens* to another man as a gift, and that these *tümens* were recorded as *dīnārs* of six *dirhams* [7]. We can deduce from this that the aforesaid calculation was used throughout the history of the Ilḫānid state. The silver *dirham* of Ġazan, which has come down to the present time, was two grams and 150 milligrams and the average weight of the silver *dīnār* was 12 grams and 900 milligrams. In other words, it had the value of three gold francs or three *qirāns* of today's Iranian money.

The standard of measure in Mongol gold money was the *miṯqāl*. This is confirmed by the information provided by ʿAlā-i Tabrīzī. In all of his accounts (fols 37*a*, 55*b*, 57*b*, 58*b*, 69), he writes *miṯqāl* for gold (*ṭilā*) and *dīnār* for silver (*ṭalġam*). Vaṣṣāf (p. 349) indicates that Ġazan's {standard of} coinage "was a *miṯqāl* of gold which was equal to four *dīnār-i rābiḥ*, that is, silver *dīnārs* — and one *miṯqāl* of pure silver was equal to one *dīnār*"

(طلاً جایز ونقرهٔ طلغم تسلیم نواب خزانه دارند . هرمثقالی طلا مساوی چهار دینار رابح وهر مثقالی طلغم موازی دیناری وتعیین ضرب این نقود درسایر ممالك ایلخانی سمت عموم یافت) .

The last sentence must be « هرسه مثقال طلغم موازی دیناری » but in the manuscripts that I have seen, it is always written as « هر مثقال طلغم . » In any case, one *miṯqāl* of gold was equal to 12 *miṯqāls* of silver.

5. For example, *Miftāḥ al-ḥisāb*. ʿAlī Jamšīd al-Kāšī, Esad Efendi MS. 3195, fols 15*b* :
« واهل السیاقة والمعاملات بل العامة استعملو الدوانیق والطسوجات والشعیرات ، دانق اربع طسوج والطسوج اربع شعیرات . »
See also H. Sauvaire, "Matériaux pour servir à l'histoire de la numismatique et de la métrologie musulmanes," *JA*, {7th series, 19} (1882), I, 72, II, 80, 172 {*sic*, pages do not match pt. II}.

6. {*Masālik al-abṣār*} Topkapı, Ahmet III MS. 2797, II, 295, {now edited by K. Lech as *Das mongolische Weltreich* [Wiesbaden, 1968]}
« وامر (اباقا) له بعشرة توامین عنها ماية الف رابح بستماية الف درهم . »

7. *Ibid.*, V, 296,
« فامر (کیخاتو) له بثلاثة توامین وهی ثلثون الف دینار بماية الف درهم . »

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In the Mongol period, only the word *dīnār* or the expressions *dīnār-i rābiḥ*, *dīnār-i surḫ*, *dīnār-i aḥmar*, and *dīnār-i zar-i naqd* were used. Sometimes the attribution *dīnār-i surḫ* is referred to as the Baghdad *dīnār-i ʿawwāl*, as is the case for example in Ḥamd Allāh (p. 132), or is used to mean " Mongol gold *dīnār* ". These expressions refer not only to coins of one *miṯqāl* of gold but also to larger weights. Of the Ilḫānid gold coins which have been published to date, the 4.401 to 6.923-gram coins struck in Tabrīz and Baghdad in the name of Hülegü and Abaqa, and the 6.5-gram coins of Ġazan in Baghdad, bear the inscriptions *ḍuriba hāḏā 'l-dīnār* or *ḍuriba hāḏā 'l-dīnār al-mubārak* [8]. Furthermore, the 8.7-gram gold coins of Ġazan and the 8.5-gram gold coins of the Jalāyirids were also called *dīnārs*. In my opinion, the largest Ilḫānid gold *dīnārs* were probably the large gold coins weighing three *miṯqāls* (12.750 grams), which were worth 12 *dīnār-i rābiḥ* at the time of Ġazan and Öljeitü (Mübarek Galib, *Meskūkāt-i* {*kadīme-i islāmiyye kataloğu, mülūku cengiziyye ve*} *'l-ilḫāniyye* {Istanbul, 1318}, p. 63), or about 36 gold francs. This type of gold *dīnār* was the counterpart of the *som* in the *ulus* {coalition of tribes subject to a ruler, his territory} of Jochi. In the *ulus* of Jochi, one-third *miṯqāl* of silver was called a *dānaq*, and 108 *dānaqs of* silver were equal to a *som* weighing 36 *miṯqāls*. This *som* had the value of 36 francs, each *miṯqāl* of silver being equal to a gold franc. In other words, during the reign of Ġazan one *miṯqāl* of gold was equal to four *dīnār-i rābiḥ* (or 12 *miṯqāls* of silver), as Vaṣṣāf says, and coins of three *miṯqāls* of gold, being equal to 12 *dīnārs* (or 36 *miṯqāls* of silver), were used in the Golden Horde.

The basis and value of the coinage used throughout the Mongol state was uniform. At the beginning, the basis for the western *ḫānates* was probably the *yasîk/bāliš* {" pillow ", applied to an ingot of gold or silver}. The *bāliš* was also readily accepted among the eastern Mongols but was used very little in Ilḫānid territory. According to Rašīd al-Dīn (fol. 253*b*), in the last days of Abaqa, the chief vizir, Ṣāḥib Šams al-Dīn Juvainī, gave the gold *bāliš* to someone whom he sent to Anatolia. Ġazan himself distributed one hundred " red gold *bāliš* at the Ūjān assembly (Rašīd al-Dīn, fol. 299*b*). According to Vaṣṣāf (p. 22) and Juvainī (I, 16), the gold *bāliš* was equal to 500 *miṯqāls* of gold and 2,000 paper *bāliš*. In other words, one *miṯqāl* of gold was equal to four pieces of paper money. Thus, by Ilḫānid calculation, this meant one silver *dīnār*. According to Vaṣṣaf (p. 22) and Juvainī (I, 16), each *bāliš* of gold or silver weighed 500 *miṯqāls* (two and a half kilograms). In the east, at the time when Kubla Ḫān ascended the throne, one *bāliš* had the value of 2,000 silver *dīnārs* (*i.e.*, one *miṯqāl* of gold was again equal to four silver *dīnārs*). According to Juvainī, in the city where he was (Baghdad), a silver *bāliš* weighing 500 *miṯqāls* had the value of 75 *dīnār-i ruknī*, each of which had the value of four *dānaqs*, that is, one silver *bāliš* was 300 *dānaqs*. Therefore, the *dānaq* mentioned by Juvainī was 1.66 *miṯqāls* and the *dīnār-i ruknī* was 6.64 *miṯqāls* of silver, which was approximately one *dīnār-i ʿawwāl*. In the eastern Mongol Empire during the reign of Kubla Ḫān, one

8. E. Drouin, « Notice sur les monnaies mongoles », *JA*, {9th series, 7} (1896), pp. 515, 520; S. Lane-Poole, {*Catalogue of Oriental Coins in the British Museum* (London, 1875-1890)} X (additions to V-VII), 89, 95.

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piece of paper money was equal to ten *dīnārs*. In the Mongol Empire, bills of ten *dīnārs* must have been a common form of exchange. When an attempt was made to use paper money in Iran during the time of Geiḫatu, this money was printed in denominations of one half *dirham* to ten *dīnārs* (Vaṣṣāf, p. 272).

Generally, large amounts of Mongol currency were calculated by *tümens* or ten thousands. The eastern Mongols used the *bāliš tümen* (Vaṣṣāf, p. 506). In Iran, the "*dīnār tümen*" was used. When this expression was used, it meant strictly the silver *dīnār tümen*, but when "*tümen-i zar-i surḫ*" or "*tümen-i dīnār-i aḥmar*" was mentioned, the meaning was gold *dīnār tümen*. When "*tümen-i zar*" was used, it must have simply meant "money" or the silver *dīnār tümen* based on the gold standard. While speaking about the taxes collected in 'Irāq al-'Ajam during the time that Bahā' al-Dīn Juvainī was governor {*mutaṣarrif*}, 'Aṭā' Malik Juvainī says in his *Tasliyyat al-iḫwān* that 600 gold *tümens* were equal to six million *dīnārs* (ششصد تومان زرکه شش هزار هزار دینار باشد). Mīrzā Muḥammad Qazvīnī understands this *dīnār* to be the gold *dīnār*, but he is mistaken. Vaṣṣāf says (p. 336) that the revenue from the *mamālik-i barr u baḥr*, that is, the territory of Fārs, was 200 *tümens* of gold (دویست تومان زراز توفیرات مقاطعهٔ بروبحر) and that the jewelry tax on the coast was 1,500 *man* of pearls. In another place (p. 349), he says that the taxes for three years, 1298-1300 A.D., for this region amounted to 1,000 *tümens* of gold (هزار تومان مقاطعه) and that a charge of 45 *tümens* was levied against Šīrāz. As for Ḥamd Allāh (p. 170), he records that the revenue from *bilād-i Fārs* was 287 *tümens* and 1,200 *dīnār-i rābiḥ*, and the tax of Šīrāz was 450,000 *dīnārs*. This would agree with Vaṣṣāf. Furthermore, Vaṣṣāf records that 185 *dīnārs* = 61 *dīnārs* and four *dānaqs*, a pair of oxen, and seed = were collected from each *faddān* of arable land leased from the treasury and that in years of famine the government valued at six *dīnārs* a donkey-load of wheat that could not be found for 30 *dīnārs*. There is no doubt that these calculations were made in silver *dīnārs*. In addition, the "100 *tümens* of gold" (p. 384, هرسال زیاده ازصد تومان زرمتوجهات آنست) regarding the expenses of Šanbī-Ġāzānī, and the 20,000 *tümens* from the *zakāt* tax introduced by Ġazan, of which four *tümens* of gold (p. 389) were sent to the province of Fārs and another amount (p. 39, "12 *tümens* of gold") was sent to Mecca, must all have been silver *dīnārs* shown at their gold equivalent.

During the time of Tīmūr, *tümens* of silver money were calculated according to Ilḫānid *dīnārs* of six *dirhams* each and were circulated with *dīnārs* called *kepekī dīnārs*, which were named after the Chaġatay Ḫān Kepek (1310-26 A.D.). [9] {Ruy Gonzales de} Clavijo

9. Pétis de la Croix, E. Quatremère, P. Saveliev and Charmay, and J. von Hammer-Purgstall read the name of this *ḫān* as "Kopak /Küpek". Quatremère referred to a MS. in which he found the form کپکی marked with the vowel sound *ḍamma* (*Notices et extraits {des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Nationale du Roi}*, XIV {which is the work *Maṭla' al-sa'dain* of 'Abd al-Razzāq al-Samarqandī, 1843}, 74, but in Ibn Baṭṭūṭa {*al-Riḥla*} (turkish trans. {Istanbul, 1333-1335}), I, 418, this name has been combined with the word at the end of the verse ماشا فی ای صورة رکبك, so it must certainly be read "Kebek",

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indicates {*Narrative of the Embassy to the Court of Tamerlane at Samarcand, A.D. 1403-1406*, trans. from the Spanish by Le Strange [London, 1928]} that the *dirhams* (aspres) that Tīmūr demanded from the Christians in the city of Sivas and the town of Pekkeric {or Bogarich} near Erzincan were equal to half a Castilian real [10].

These *dirhams* must also have been the same as the Tabrīz *dirhams*. In addition, the money that Tīmūr demanded from Mardin is described by Ibn ʿArabšāh as " 100 *tümens* of silver *dirhams*, each *tümen* being 60,000 (*dirhams*) " [11].

Accounts in *tümens* of *kepekī dīnārs* are found in all histories and documents from the time of Tīmūr [12].

III

The history of Ilḫānid coinage and the changes in its values and the role of gold in these changes are subjects which essentially have not been addressed. Rašīd al-Dīn, in reference to Ġazan's reform of the coinage, says that both gold and silver money were based on a certain standard. According to certain documents in our possession, the gold standard prevailed throughout the Mongol monetary system even though it was used less than silver. While studying the {various} crises and revolutions, and the changes in the coins and their values {which took place} under these circumstances, we certainly must examine the coins themselves and conduct chemical analyses. This is the most reliable approach, but one which has not yet been attempted.

In the event, we know that the Ilḫānids experienced financial crises during the reigns of Arġun and Geiḫatu. Ilḫānid historians provide considerable information on this. The material written on this subject at the end of the Ilḫānid period must be used with caution, however.

It was the custom of Orientals to be unanimous in their praise of a contemporary ruler or statesman and to refer to the time prior to him as a period of terrible conditions. This contrast is always exaggerated. Ḥamd Allāh says that conditions in Anatolia were extremely bad before the appearance of Ṣāḥib Faḫr al-Dīn Qazvīnī and only he was able to rectify the situation and, thus, Anatolia became the envy of other countries (*Ta'rīḫ-i*

that is, " Kepeḫ ". Ibn Baṭṭūṭa adds that the wife of Özbek Ḫān had such a name, which he vocalizes as " Kepek " and translates as نخاله . Furthermore, Schiltberger writes the name of Toktamiš's son Kebek as " Tchebek " {*Reisebuch*, Eng. trans. as *The Bondage and Travels of Johann Schiltberger .. 1396-1427* [London, 1879]} and it is written as كيباك on some coins (Ch. Frähn, *Über die Münzen der Chane vom Ulus Dschutschi's {oder des Goldenen Horde* [St Petersburg and Leipzig, 1832]}, p. 33.

10. Šaraf al-Dīn al-Yazdī, *Zafernāme* (Calcutta, 1887-1888), II, 561, hereinafter referred to as ZN; Quatremère, *Notices et extraits*, XIV, 74, 303; ʿAbd al-Razzāq al-Samarqandī, {*Maṭlaʿ al-saʿdain*}, Esad Efendi MS. 2128, fols. 311*b*, 312*b*.

11. {*ʿAjā'ib al-maqdūr*}, edition of the Russian Academy, pp. 140, 149.

12. Egyptian edition of 1305 {Cairo}, pp. 48-49,

فطلب منه فى مقابلة الامان من الدراهم الفضة ماية تومان كل تومان ستون الفا .

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Guzīda, pub. ed. {London, 1910}, p. 485 « وملك روم‌را محسود ممالك كردانيد »). On the other hand, al-Aqsarāyī and the sources used by the author {Müneccim-başî} of *Jāmi' al-duwal* state that this man simply brought Iranian, Armenian and Georgian officials to Anatolia and that he continuously plundered and completely crushed the people. While praising Ġazan, Rašīd al-Dīn describes the disorders and financial crises of the reigns of Arġun and Geiḫatu and refers very somberly to the economic life of their reigns. It would appear from a study of the coinage and records dating before Ġazan that it would certainly not be correct to generalize about the 40 years of the Ilḫānids prior to that ruler as Barthold has done, for he was deceived by Rašīd al-Dīn. At that time, different coins were found in Rūm (Anatolia), Kars, Kirmān, Georgia, and Mardin; and according to Rašīd al-Dīn, the Rūm *akcha* was considered to be the soundest of all of them, but the specie holding the highest position was Mongol gold. Ġazan's monetary reform did not result in a completely new monetary system. He struck gold coins of a high standard of purity to replace the debased money of the time of Arġun and, especially, Geiḫatu, and other gold coins of poor quality, like the gold of Hurmuz. He also replaced the debased silver with pure silver *dirhams* and *dīnārs*. In addition, he eliminated the autonomous provinces along with their separate coinage and made all currencies uniform. Apart from these measures, the monetary system was more or less as it had been. Before and after Ġazan, there was a certain contention in Iran between the *dirham* and *dīnār* system used in the *uluses* of Chaġatay and Jochi and the " Ilḫānid system ", which had originated from it and from the systems which had prevailed in Iran before the Mongols. In this respect, Ġazan merely gave special attention to Iranian and Ilḫānid traditions. Furthermore, the striking of *durusts* weighing 100 gold *miṭqāls* might not be an innovation peculiar to Ġazan. Such *durusts* were known in other places, like Kashmir [13]. After Tīmūr occupied Damascus, he struck gold and silver *tankakjas* {*sic*} (تنكجات زرونقره) weighing 10, 50, and 100 *miṭqāls* and distributed them throughout his state [14].

The Byzantines called the Ilḫānid silver *dīnār* the " casaneus ". It was named after Ġazan because he fixed the value of this coinage. The doubt about the value of Ilḫānid silver money before Ġazan does not prove there was a loss of confidence in the value of this money among the Mongols {Togan's meaning here is unclear : " *Gazandan evvel Ilhanī tip gümüş para kîymetinin tereddüdü Moğollardaki kîymetinin tereddüdünü göstermez* "}. The reign of Arġun had witnessed the development of an Ilḫānid commercial fleet. Sometimes the government tax accounts in Vaṣṣāf are all shown as " gold ". On the subject of the circulation of paper money during the reign of Geiḫatu, Vaṣṣāf says that this money was issued as the equivalent of gold (p. 272, چاورد عوض زر روان كردانند) and that, in place of this paper money, gold money was taken from the treasury for transactions abroad and given to representatives of the southern Iranian commercial fleet which did business with foreign countries (p. 273, وتجار بحار ملك فارس راكه

13. ZN, II. 164, امرای ديوان اعلی مقرر فرموده اندكه سی هزر اسب وصد هزار درست زر هرايك بوزن دو مثقال ونيم از اكشمير نسق نمايند .

14. *Ibid*, II, 336.

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We shall cite below a source concerning (مسافران ومجتازان بلاد یاغی اند زربدهند وچاو ازایشان ستانند) the collection of taxes in the form of gold money in Anatolia during the reign of Batu. From one passage in Pachymeres, it appears that, during the period of Ġazan, transactions with the Byzantines were in gold, that is, in Ġazan's gold currency [15].

As far as we can tell, the standard of value in the commerce and in the Mongol and Uighur tax systems in Ilḫānid territory was exactly the same as that in {the rest of} Mongol territory. The market was in the hands of Mongol "*ortaqs*" {partnerships, companies} which conducted thriving commercial relations with the Oriental countries. Rašīd al-Dīn mentions that banking was controlled by these *ortaqs,* that they gave credit to merchants of modest means who became their virtual slaves, and that only in Ġazan's time did Muslims have any hope of being saved from this humiliation (fol. 330*b*,

کسانی‌که درین مدتها زر بسود میدادند کثر مغول واویغور بودند وهرآینه مدبران چون زر بسود کیرند مقبل چکونه توانند شد وعاقبة الامر از ادا عاجز می آمدند وبازن وبچه در ذل اسیری ایشان کرفتار می ماندند. وبمین معدلت پادشاه اسلام خلد ملکه [*i.e.*, Ġazan] آن مذلت از اهل اسلام مندفع کشت ... وربا ومعاملات نامنصفانه کمترشد ویقین حاصل شدکه زودتر بکلی آن شیوه برافتد ...).

We known that among these *ortaqs* were men who worked in the Mongol government and that they used the *bāliš*. Furthermore, one must assume that the paper money (*ch'ao*) of the eastern Mongols was exchanged among them. In my opinion, the paper money of the eastern Mongols must have been in circulation among the Mongols and Uighurs in Ilḫānid territory before 1294 A.D., as it was in the Golden Horde. If not, Geiḫatu and the great Mongol leaders would certainly not have ventured to put into the market money which had never been in circulation. It was only as a result of the gradually spreading financial crisis during the reign of Geiḫatu that these banknotes suddenly multiplied and local Iranians who were not Mongols could have gone bankrupt when forced to use them. The currency reform carried out by Ġazan was, in fact, aimed at reforming the financial system, but after his death the coinage returned to the previous systems in the various Mongol countries, as was the case in the Golden Horde (when the silver *dirhams* of one-half *miṯqāl* reverted to one-third *miṯqāl*). Around the second quarter of the fourteenth century A.D., the financial system of the Ilḫānids of Iran experienced a new period of crisis. The standard of value became confused and probably changed from gold to silver. At the end of the period of Öljeitü, importance was given only to the form and standard of silver coins. In Abū Saʿīd's reign, gold coinage completely lost its continuity. During this period, gold *dīnārs* of a half *miṯqāl* (2.125 gr.), one *miṯqāl* (4.250 gr.), two *miṯqāls* (8.500 gr.), and three *miṯqāls* (12.750 gr.), were used. Later, however, the weights of these gold coins became so unreliable that sometimes it was not possible to determine if a *dīnār* were one or two *miṯqāls*. The discontinuity in the weights of Abū Saʿid's gold money can clearly be seen in the following list [in grams] provided from Markov's work (*Djelairidskihi moneti,* p. LXXXI) :

15. G. Bratianu, *Recherches sur le commerce génois dans la Mer Noire au XIII^e siècle* (Paris, 1929), pp. 322-323.

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1.101	5.600	6.804	7.970	8.350	8.650	10.300
2.125	5.700	7.257	8.100	8.359	8.680	
3.045	6.200	7.300	8.164	8.375	8.900	
4.017	6.250	7.450	8.175	8.488	9.265	
4.211	6.500	7.900	8.229	8.610	10.200	

We must search for the secrets of the fall of the Ilḫānid state not on the romances of Baġdād Ḫātūn and Dilšād Ḫātūn, as even some European scholars have done by following the medieval Iranian historians, but in certain economic changes such as the disappearance of the old Mongol standard in both Iran and the Dašt-i Qīpchaq. This was no doubt caused by the breaking of the economic bonds between the eastern and western Mongol states as a result of events in Central Asia. The most important factors in this were Tīmūr, who united most of the three Mongol nations ⌈*ulus*⌉ toward the end of the century, and the formation of the Tīmūrid state. I do not wish to exaggerate this crisis, however, despite these great political changes. Those who went from the provinces of the Ilḫānid state to Mecca in order to perform the pilgrimage were regarded as the richest men in all the Muslim countries. They even filled the mouths of sleeping Arabs with silver *dirhams*. When they arrived, the Meccan money changers lowered the price of exchangeable currencies and their money fetched a high price [16]. The unparalleled silver money crisis which began in Egypt in the second half of the fourteenth century A.D. [17] did not appear with the same force in any of the *ḫānates* or *beyliks* within the Ilḫānid state.

IV

When one examines the material on the financial system, coinage, credit, taxes and state commercial affairs of the Mongols, and especially the Ilḫānids, one is struck by how it all resembles contemporary European systems rather than those of other Muslim peoples, above all the Arabs. Among the noteworthy practices in this respect were that the ruler was able to ensure the fineness of his coinage and, as Rašīd al-Dīn says (fol. 323*a*), retain the minting of money as a government monopoly by placing symbols on the coinage which were difficult for ordinary people to duplicate. In addition, commercial companies called " *ortaqs* " carried out transactions by means of " checks ", government " letters of credit " ⌈*havale*⌉ and patents ⌈*berat*⌉. Mongol and Uighur capitalists, who monopolized the business of giving credit to merchants and other people, exploited the use of interest like modern bankers and enslaved small merchants to themselves. Furthermore, during the periods of Arġun, Geiḫatu and Ġazan in particular, the tax problems of the province of Fārs, for example, and the questions of raising or lowering its

16. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, C. Defrémery and B. Sanguinetti ed. ⌈Paris, 1853-1859⌉, I, 403, Turkish ed. ⌈Istanbul, 1333-1335⌉, I, 184.

17. Sauvaire, " Matériaux ", ⌈*JA*, 7th series, 19 [1882]⌉, I, 302-317 (information cited from al-Maqrīzī).

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taxes were examined by commissioners or a special council in the presence of the sultan. They carefully drew up accounts (budgets) which were refined down to not only the *tümen* and *dīnār* but also to the *dirham* and *dānaq* (for information on these matters, see Vaṣṣāf, pp. 236, 349, 363). Altogether, we could claim that, in the Mongol period, a radical change took place in the economic thought of Iran and probably the entire Muslim world. This is quite clear in the works of Ilḫānid historians like Rašīd al-Dīn, ʿAbd Allāh Kāšānī, Ḥamd Allāh, and Vaṣṣāf. The latter two authors tried to learn about economic conditions in earlier times as well as their own. According to both writers, if the revenue of a country were high, this indicated that its government was just. While discussing the sultanate of Ġazan, Vaṣṣāf provides information on the revenue of earlier Muslim rulers (pp. 440-446), citing figures that he found in Qudāma b. Jaʿfar {apparently his *Kitāb al-Ḫarāj*}, the *Fārsnāma* [of Ibn al-Balḫī], and other works. According to Vaṣṣāf, the revenue of Iraq during the reign of Caliph ʿUmar was 160 million *dirhams* because of his justice and efficient organization, but during the reign of Muʿāwiya it dropped to 50 million because of his oppressive régime and under al-Ḥajjāj fell to 17 million. Ḥamd Allāh recommended looking at the budget figures of a country when it was governed by ʿUmar in order to learn if he were oppressive, as the Shīʿīs said, or just, as the Sunnīs claimed (*Nuzhat al-qulūb*, p. 133). Neither of the aforesaid writers had the necessary means, of course, to learn the financial conditions under the early dynasties. Consequently, Ḥamd Allāh, for example, mistakenly believed that accounts were kept in gold in Sāsānid, ʿAbbāsid and Seljuk times and tried to prove that the world was gradually coming to an end. Nevertheless, the ideas of these two writers about the special historical facts that could be learned from a study of economics are worthy of note.

ʿAlā-i Tabrīzī's work entitled *Saʿādatnāma*, the manuscript of which, as I mentioned, was found in Konya, is very important. As Kātib Chelebī says, this book was composed in the year 700 {1300-01 A.D.} on the orders of Ġazan's vizir, Saʿd al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Tāj al-Dīn ʿAlī al-Sāwajī, in order to teach his son, Šaraf al-Dīn, the science of finance and accounting {*maliye, istīfā ilmini*}. The second part of this work, which mainly concerns the art of accounting, is very important (fols 35-95). Here we find an explanation of the financial terms used in Vaṣṣāf. According to what we understand from this book, the Mongol financial system of the Ilḫānids was administered in Arabic by Iranian comptrollers {*mustawfīs*}. The author mentions seven ledgers which were used to keep track of income and expenses (دفتر جامع ، دفتر مقرر ، دفتر اوارجه ، دفتر خرج مقرر ديوان ، دفتر قانون، دفتر توجيهات ودفتر روزنامج) and indicates that they were recorded in Kāšān *tümens*. ʿAlā-i Tabrīzī wrote this work for beginning students of accounting. On folios 50*a* and 95*a*, the author recommends that those who wished to supplement this summary work should study his book entitled *Qānūn al-saʿāda* كل براصول است مشتمل استيفا در كه السعادة قانون كتاب) (وصد معظات محاسبات. It is well-known that works on accounting problems were also written in the time of the Jalāyirids and Tīmūrids. Unfortunately, none of these works have come down to us. According to information provided by Kilisli Rifat and Ismail Saib, such a work written by ʿIwād Falakābādī Ḥulwānī existed among the books of Halis Efendi. However, it was lost among the books and property sequestered and sold by

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his heirs. This is especially to be regretted because this copy was in the author's own hand. ('Iwād Falakābādī was a contemporary of the lexicographer Fīrūzābādī. The authorization {*icazetname*} to teach linguistics that Fīrūzābādī gave to 'Iwād Falakābādī is recorded at the end of the copy of the *Takmilat Tāj al-luġa li-'l-Ṣuġānī*, MS. 1522 in the Köprülü Library. I am indebted to Kilisli Rifat for the information recorded in this manuscript). Nevertheless, it is very likely that similar works will be discovered in the libraries of Istanbul and Anatolia.

This work of 'Alā-i Tabrīzī was copied in the Anatolian writing style {*Anadolu yazîsilel*} in 815 {1412-13 A.D.} in Bursa. Judging from the careful and accurate way in which it was written, it was undoubtedly copied by someone who specialized in Iranian Ilḫānid finances. This could indicate that the Ottoman government learned about financial affairs during its Bursa period from works composed at the time of the Mongols of Iran.

The disastrous effects that the nomadic Turkish tribes (among whom were very few true Mongols) had on the civilized countries in western Asia in the Mongol period are well-known. However, despite all the imprecations heaped upon them by their contemporary neighbors, we find that construction continued in western Asia and far outpaced whatever destruction occurred. Mongol rule resulted in the economic advancement and enrichment of Iran and Anatolia. We can prove this by means of the budgets and financial records from that time. Before the Mongols, Iran and Anatolia were in a state of economic anarchy. Every region had its own coinage and tax systems. This was a period of gradually intensifying financial crisis. In the Mongol period, the obstacles to the expansion of trade were eliminated. There was one monetary system, one method of taxation, and the same commercial laws and financial system prevailed everywhere. Before the Mongols, there was a crisis of silver coinage. For this reason, Islamic silver coins no longer travelled to Europe after the beginning of the eleventh century A.D. According to the research of Barthold, this silver crisis spread from the east to the west. The various phases of this silver money crisis can only be determined, however, by a chemical analysis of the coinage of the dynasties which ruled Iran and western Asia before the Mongols. Such an analysis has only been done so far, in 1926, in Baku on the coinage of the Šarvān-Šāhs in Āzarbāījān during the years 575-653 {1179-1255 A.D.}. Although this was a very fragmentary analysis, it showed clearly that the silver crisis worsened in the course of the century. The percentage of silver in the coinage for the aforesaid [*sic*] years was as follows : 10.755, 9.342, 3.083, 0.265, 1.551, 0.177 [18].

In order to end this crisis, gold coins began to be struck in the eleventh century A.D. in Anatolia, Syria and Iran. These coins were called " *dīnārs* " (or even *bizants*) because they were made on the Byzantine pattern. This, however, did not solve the monetary

18. *Izvestiya Azarbayjanskago Komiteta okhrani pamiataikov straini, isskusatava i prirodi* (= Azkomstaris), nr. 3 (1927), 59-62 {not further identified, Proceedings of the Āzarbāījān Committee for the protection of the monuments of the country, art and nature}.

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crisis, because the main reasons for it were the conflicting economic needs of the Muslim countries, the gradually diminishing power of these countries and, in this respect, their inability to reach a political union. The great transformation that began in Mongolia at the beginning of the thirteenth century A.D. completely broke the barriers between the Far East and the Western countries. Economic and cultural contacts were immediately established in a rather revolutionary manner and became increasingly close. This transformation, which began in order to satisfy the needs of merchants from central and eastern Asia (Ḫwārazmians, Uighurs, Chinese) developed in its own natural way. From the very beginning, it stressed the importance of properly organizing international finances and commercial relations. This was truely the fruitful result of the efforts made by the Uighurs, Ḫitai, and other civilized elements (including the Turks and Tajiks from western Turkestan), rather than the nomadic Mongols, who actually were responsible for this transformation.

It is well-known that the influence of the Mongol-Uighur financial system was even felt in Egypt, which never fell under Mongol rule. The Ayyūbid *dirhams,* the content of which had been only one-half or one-third silver, were reformed in the reign of the Mamlūk Sultan Baybars and were struck with a silver content of 70 percent (*bunduqiyya, darāhim ẓāhiriyya*) [19]. The same influence was felt in India and later in Europe.

According to Professor Bratianu, it is very significant that the economic measures that regulated commercial relations in eastern, central and western Asia were coincident with the occupation of Beyoğlu (Pera {in Constantinople}) by the Latins. As the Mongols advanced toward the Bosphorus from both directions, close contacts were established between the Genoese and the Ilḫānids of Iran on one hand, and between the Dašt-i Qipchaq Mongols and the Venetians on the other. For the Genoese, the caravan road going from Ayas at the port of Iskenderun to Tabrīz via Sivas, Erzincan, and Erzurum was important, although the lack of security on land made the sea route preferable [20]. Customs duties were very light. W. Heyd has determined that for the journey between Ayas and Tabrīz a total of 203 *dirhams* in customs duties was paid for one animal-load of goods, of which 153 were given to the government and 50 to the Mongol (probably Qaramānid) brigands [21] (in fact, it was paid to guards for protection from brigands, A. Togan) [22]. In 1276 A.D., the Genoese established a commercial consulate in Sivas (Gabire de Savasto) [23]. A similar consulate was also opened in Tabrīz in 1304 A.D. According to Bratianu, the wealth of the country of the Mongols attracted the Italian merchants [24]. The transfer of the Muslim center of commerce from Transoxiana to the

19. Al-Maqrīzī, *al-Nuqūd al-islāmiyya,* al-Jawā'ib ed. in *Ṯalāṯa rasā'il* (Cairo, 1298), p. 14.

20. *Recherches,* pp. 158-159.

21. *Histoire du commerce du levant au moyen-âge* {1885; rpt. Paris, 1923}, II, 111.

22. Rašīd al-Dīn, fol. 322*b*,
بعد ازان فرمود (غاران) تادر تمامت ممالك راهها نهر موضع كه مخوف باشد راه داران معين نشينند نهر چهار سردر ازكوش كه باربسته كاروان باشد نيم اقچه وبهر دوسر شتر نيم اقچه باسم باز ستانند وقطعا زيادت نكيرند .

23. Bratianu, *Recherches,* pp. 166-198.

24. *Ibid.*, p. 182.

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region of the Black Sea, namely, to the Ilḫānid capital, Tabrīz, and Mongol actions which were favorable to people of various religions, including Christians and Jews, encouraged the development of commercial relations between Europe and the Mongols. Because of their rivalry with Egypt and the Mamlūks, the Ilḫānids gave considerable attention to improving relations with European countries. The special gifts they sent to the kings of Sicily, France and England were also significant for the development of trade.

Some of the Genoese in Tabrīz were in the service of the Mongols. The Oriental scholars at Marāġeh benefited from the Genoese who, in turn, learned about charting the seas from these scholars. The Ilḫānids gave the Genoese positions in their navy. In 1289 A.D., Arġun and his chief vizir, the Jew Sa'd al-Dawla, sent Genoese master craftsmen to Baghdad and instructed them to build ships that could be used at Aden to prevent Egyptian trade with India [25]. Furthermore, the Genoese equipped ships for Arġun to use against the pirates in the Quban region and the Caucasus. Trade in the Black Sea and with the Kingdom of Trebizond grew in importance. There was an economic agreement between Tabrīz and Trebizond. By means of the Genoese, commercial relations were established between Tabrīz and the Crimea. There exist Italian promissory notes {*senet*} that were used between Tabrīz and Kefe {Theodosia} in 1289 A.D. [26] Notarized documents belonging to the Genoese at Kefe have come down to us and generally show that the Mongol economic system was a compelling factor in the great development of Black Sea trade. An observation of Barthold's is noteworthy with regard to the history of Ilḫānid-Mongol-European relations. As a symbol of Iranian influence at that time, he has drawn attention to the manner in which the word *chek* was more widely adopted in the Middle Ages by Europeans than by Muslims outside Iran [27]. This word entered Europe not according to its Arabic pronunciation of *şakk* (صك), but according to its Persian pronunciation of *chek* (چك). The use of this Persian form in European languages before the Mongol period is unknown. The advance of the Turkmen tribes toward Constantinople via the Ankara-Eskişehir-Edrimit, Eskişehir-Iznik, and Bursa roads was a consequence of the economic relations between Iran and Europe that developed in the Mongol period.

V

The part of Anatolia that was directly under Mongol administration consisted of the provinces to the east of a line running from present-day Zonguldak to Bolu, Eskişehir, Kütahya, Afyon, Beyşehir, Larende {Karaman} and Mersin. Before the appearance of

25. Bratianu, *Recherches*, p. 188; G. Ferrand, (Note) « Une navigation européenne dans l'océan indien au XIV^e^ siècle, » *JA*, 11th series, 20 (1922), 307.

26. Bratianu, *Recherches*, p. 189.

27. Barthold, *Musulmanski Mir* {St Petersburg, 1922}, p. 25; Iran, Tashkent, pp. 30-32 {reference unclear, perhaps the same work}.

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Hülegü, the Seljuks of Rūm were subject to the *ḫāns* of the Golden Horde. For the people of Anatolia, Batu was the ruler of the world (" *pādişāh-i rūy-i zemin* ") and they paid taxes to his officials [28]. At first, the Mongols left the financial and economic affairs of Anatolia to an autonomous governor {*muhtar*}; but after the establishment of the Ilḫānid state, they gradually reduced his autonomy.

The Mongols struck coins in Anatolia as early as the time of Hülegü. Under the Ilḫānids, all the mines there were made a state monopoly. Nevertheless, it appears that the Mongol economic system was not imposed in that country until 1277 A.D., at the start of Abaqa's Egyptian campaign. After Abaqa returned from this campaign in the same year and went to his summer quarters in Ala-Dağ in eastern Anatolia, he appointed prince Qongqurtai governor-general of " *mamālik-i rūm* " and sent Ṣāḥib Šams al-Dīn Juvainī there as well (17 September) to undertake public works, win the hearts of the people, and organize the tax system. Commenting on this, Rašīd al-Dīn states that until that time there had been no special tax {*tamġa*} for *mamālik-i rūm* and that Ṣāḥib Šams al-Dīn Juvainī imposed one for the first time [29]. The Mongol forms of taxation consisted of the following : 1) *qalan* levied on land, 2) *qubchur* levied on livestock in the territories of the nomads, and 3) *rusūmāt* {customs charges} and *tamġa* and *bāj* {taxes, tolls} in the modern sense, all of which were levied on city dwellers, especially the merchants.

In addition to the material on Mongol taxes collected by Quatremère (*Histoire des Mongols* {Paris, 1836}, p. 256) and Barthold (" Ani ", pp. 24-44), let me mention that Juvainī provides information on the decisions that were made concerning taxation upon Möngke Qa'an's accession to the throne on pages 78-79 of the third volume of his still incompletely published work and that Rašīd al-Dīn discusses this as well on pages 313-314 of the Blochet edition of his work. It appears from these and other references, from the decrees of the Golden Horde, and from the documents concerning commercial transactions found in East Turkistan in the Mongol period (W. W. Radloff began the publication of these documents and S. Je. Malov completed this task in 1928, *Uigurische Sprachdenkmäler* {Leningrad}) that there was a uniform tax system in the Mongol domain. The state tax, which was levied according to the wealth of the people, was in the form of money (*qalan, qîlan*) in settled areas — 1-11 *dīnārs* in China and Transoxiana, 1-10 *dīnārs* in Iran (according to Rašīd al-Dīn, 1-7) — and livestock, one percent, from the nomads (*qubchur*). From the Uighur documents, it seems that the terms *qalan* or *qîlan* for the taxes on arable lands and gardens and *qubchur* for the taxes taken from nomads had preserved their old meanings in Turkistan (Radloff-Malov, *qalan*, pp. 17, 30-32, 50,

راجهت استمالت رعیت وقهر اعدا وضبط مملکت روم فرستاد صاحب انجارفت وشهرهای خراب رابحال عمارت باز آورد ودر ممالك روم تمغاکی معهود کی نبود بنهاد . In the copy sent to me by my colleague Molla Ṣadr al-Dīn Taškandī, which he made from the Mašhad MS, we find « ودر ممالك روم تمغا کی معروف نبود بنهاد », p. 47.

28. Al-Aqsarāyī, *Musāmarat al-aḫbār*, Ayasofya MS. 3143, p. 87, باتجو نویین ونوییان دیکر انکورك وخراج نویین وغیرهم از حضرت پادشاه روی زمین باتو ایلچیان آمده اند ونویین اعظم بایجوی رسد ویرلیغ آورده اندکه باقیاق زرکه بخزانهٔ پادشاه داذی بود بر سانند .

29. Rašīd al-Dīn, fol. 251*b*, صاحب شمس الدین

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56, 131; *qubchur* [according to Radloff, *qopchîr*], pp. 9, 57, 90-92, 111, 146). The term *qubchur* was used to mean both of these taxes among the Ilḫānids, as was *qalan/qûlan* in the Golden Horde (Rašīd al-Dīn, fol. 318*a*; {Abdullah Battal, "Sāhib Giray Han yarlîğî" [The *yarlîğî* of Ṣāḥib Giray Ḫān)}, *Türkiyat Mecmuası*, 2 {1928}, 94). According to Rašid al-Dīn, the *qubchur* of the villagers was collected twice a year; the first within twenty days following the vernal equinox, and the second within twenty days following the autumnal equinox. The *qubchur* of the nomads was collected at the beginning of the {Persian new} year, that is, within twenty days of the vernal equinox. Rašīd al-Dīn uses *qubchur* as a synonym for *tamġa* with the meaning "*ḫarāj wa wujūh al-'ain*", which corresponds to Blochet's "*capitation impôt*" (p. 314, note). In 'Alā-i Tabrīzī, the taxes that are the equivalent of the *tamġa* are also generally called *qubchur*. While describing the "Avarice" {*sic*} account book, he tells how different kinds of taxes were recorded in it (fol. 90*a*)

حق انست کی مقرر اموال هرجا اعتبار یست بعضی آنست کی بادراك ارتفاع تعلق دارد آنرا بوقت ادراك در وجه نهد وبعضی آنست کی بمعاملات تعلق دارد همچنانك تمغا کی آنرا بقسط توان دروجه نهاد وبعضی آنست کی از رعایا بدو سه قسطمی توان ستدن چنانك قوبجور کی آنرا بنسبت آن قسط دروجه باید نهاد وتا ضرری برعامل ورعایا نیفتد وحسارتی حادث نشود .

In his description of *defter-i müfred*, he explains how « حساب مال وقوبجور ولایتی » and « حساب تمغای ولایتی » were to be recorded in this account book. Prior to Ġazan, the Mongols not only collected *tamġa* from city dwellers, but they also wanted *qubchur*. Rašīd al-Dīn reports, for example, that before Ġazan the Mongols were very oppressive in their demands for overdue taxes from the people of Tabrīz, that the Mongol "ambassador" demanded *qubchur* from them in addition to these outstanding taxes, and that this caused people to flee their homeland (fol. 314*a* واضعاف قوبجور بتعهدازایشان بستدند). Ġazan abolished such irregularities. He ordered that only the *tamġa* tax be collected—in somewhat greater amount — from the city dwellers and that they be exempted from the *qubchur* tax. Ḥamd Allāh attributed this policy to the vizir, Ḫwāja Ṣadr al-Dīn [30]. Later, in the reign of Abū Sa'īd, this law was usually not respected. Indeed, Abū Sa'īd had to distribute an edict {*ferman*} throughout the realm forbidding the *amīrs* from collecting both *tamġa* and *qubchur*. He had inscriptions to this effect made in stone and iron and they were placed in public view. Such edicts were found in Persian on the wall of the city mosque of Ani and in Armenian on the gate of that city's fortress. These edicts have been studied by N. V. Khanykov, M. Brosset, and Barthold. Another copy of such an edict in Anatolia is found on the gate of the citadel of Ankara. An unreadable photograph of it was published by Mübarek Galib (*Ankara* {Istanbul, 1341}, II, plate 2) and

30. *Ta'rīḫ-i Guzīda :*
وچون اکثر بلاد عراق بواسطهٔ مقرری قبجور خراب شده بود ومردم جلأ وطن کرده بمرتبهٔ که در قزوین نماز جماعت جمعه حاصل نمی شد خواجه صدر الدین قبجور را از شهرها برداشت وتمغا مکرر کرد وازین تدبیر مال مضاعف حاصل می شد ومردم در اسایش وراهها ایمن شده .

as in the Ayasofya MS. 3072. In the *Gibb Memorial Series* edition, which is a facsimile edition of a MS. having many gaps and mistakes, « علفخوار » is written instead of « قبجور » and « بلاد عجم » instead of « بلاد عراق » p. 542.

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Q. de Jerphanion (*Mélanges d'Archéologie Anatolienne* [Beirut, 1928]). Mübarek says that he could not read the inscription (p. 4, note). A photograph that was later taken by P. Wittek was generally legible, however. The Mongol government in Anatolia set up this inscription in accordance with the order of the *pādiṣāh-i aʿẓam ḫallada 'llāhu mulkahu* on *awwal-i āḏār*, 730, or 12 April 1330 {*sic*, *awwal-i āḏār* = 1 March, on this date cf. Wittek, "Ankara'da bir Ilhanī kitabesi" [An Ilḫānid inscription in Ankara], *Türk Hukuk ve Iktisat Tarihi Mecmuasî*, 1 [1931], 161-164, who reads this passage slightly differently}. It states that the people of Ankara (Ankūriyya) had previously complained about the collection of the *qubchur*, that henceforth only a fixed city *tamġa* would be recorded in the account books (نقود جنس مال که در دفتر ثبت کنند که تمغا شهر باشد); and that those who took « قوبجور وتمغا محدث » ، « قو بجور وعشر محدث » would be cursed by God. It ends with the Koranic verse « فمن بدله بعدما سمعه ». These last words are also found in the version of Ġazan's edict cited by Rašīd al-Dīn (fol. 318*a*,

مأخوذات تمغا بموجبی که هر یك علی حده مناسب هر ولایت بر ظهر نوشته شده بر لوح نویسند وبر در هر موضعی کی بدان تمغا مخصوص باشد نهند تابدان موجب بقسط برسانند هیچ آفریده بدعت ورسم محدث نهند ومقاطعان بهانهٔ آنك تمغا زیادت کرده ایم زیادت از مأخوذات لاجرم هر کس کی تغییر وتبدیل کند در لعنت : fol. 319*a*؛ نستانند ورسم محدث نهند وسخط خالق وخلایق باشد فمن بدله بعد ما سمعه فانما اثمه علی الذین یبد لونه ان الله سمیع علیم) .

The tax systems, like the economic systems that were established in the Mongol period, remained in effect within the borders of the great Mongol state until the end. *Tamġa* survived in Turkey as *damga* and in Russian as *tamujni*, both of which had the same meanings as the original Mongol term. The words *qîlan* and *qîla* have survived among the Turks of Āzarbāījān and the Bashkurts with the meaning of "land tax". We know from an inscription found on the gate on the market side of the great mosque in Niğde that the system of collecting *qubchur* in sheep continued in Anatolia until the time of Mehmet II. I learned from Fuad Köprülü that this inscription had previously been published by Halîl Edhem in *Tarîh-i ʿOsmānī Encümeni Mecmuasî* {"Karaman oğullarî hakkînda vesaik-i mahkūke" [Inscriptions of the Qaramānids]} (nr. 14 [1328], 873). It was installed in 1469-1470 (874 A.H.) on the orders of the last Qaramānid *ḫāns*, Pir-Ahmet and Qāsim. The late Ottoman historians describe the Qaramānids as constituting a Turkmen state which struggled against Mongol rule in Anatolia in the most forceful manner, but their own histories (Šikārī {see Rudi Lindner, *Nomads and Ottomans in Medieval Anatolia* [Bloomington, Indiana, 1983], pp. 145-147}) state that they were, in fact, subject to the Mongols and were more friendly and loyal to them than anyone else. The latest documents concerning the Mongol *qubchur* system belong to them. It is rather curious that the Niğde inscription is in Persian and in virtually the same spirit as the aforesaid well-known Mongol tax edict {apparently Ġazan's} and the other inscriptions, and that the Ilḫānids again used the term *bidʿa* (وقبجور اغنام که ازین بدعتها) for this non-canonical method of taxation and cursed those who did not respect the edict (ومن سعی فی ابطاله فعلیه لعنة الله وملائکته). In Turkistan, the *tamġa* and *qubchur* taxes were described by other terms, but I think this occurred after the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries A.D.

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VI

The geography of Ḥamd Allāh, which was written in 1336 A.D. and entitled *Nuzhat al-qulūb,* contains the budget for 1336 for all Ilḫānid countries except Ḫurāsān. The section of this budget concerning Asia Minor is very important, for it shows specifically which provinces and cities of this region were, in fact, subject to the Mongols in the Ilḫānid period. It is difficult to use this text because the author was not consistent in listing the cities in alphabetical order; and in the various manuscripts of this work these names are frequently misspelled. Furthermore, it is not possible to get a clear understanding of this material from Le Strange's edition or translation of this work. Consequently, I tried to determine properly the information on Anatolia by comparing the manuscripts of *Nuzhat al-qulūb* found in Istanbul. Perhaps one day I shall publish my fully collated text of this budget. But for now, I shall give only the figures it contains and try to list the provinces in geographical order instead of alphabetical order. The texts that I used were the following :

1) Nuruosmaniye MS. 2992, copied by someone from Iṣfahān in 1080 {1669-1670 A.D.}, = A; 2) Nuruosmaniye MS. 3036, = B; 3) the Bombay edition of 1893 A.D., = C; 4) Ayasofya MS. 2131, a fine copy made by a certain ʿAlī Tabrīzī in 1072 {1661-1662 A.D.}, = D; 5) Büyük Müze Library MS. 534, incomplete, = E; 6) Fatih Camii MS. 4518, a fine copy dated 887 {1482-1483 A.D.}, = F; 7) Le Strange edition and translation in the *Gibb Memorial Series,* = G and GT, respectively; 8) the copy of Reisülküttab Mustafa Efendi found in the Evkaf Müzesi, MS. 575, = H; 9) Esad Efendi MS. 2505, dated 1229 {1814 A.D.}, = I; 10) and the Lala Ismail Efendi MS. 230 in the Hamidiye collection, dated 1008 {1599-1600 A.D.}, = J. Among the other works that were used here was F. Taeschner's *Das anatolische Wegenetz* (Leipzig, 1924), = Taesch.

In addition to the material that Ḥamd Allāh provides on central and eastern Anatolia, which he calls "*mamālik-i rūm*", I have also included his data on regions that now lie wholly or partially in Turkey, namely, Greater Armenia and Aḫlāṭ, Lesser Armenia, Diyār Bakr and Diyār Rabīʿa.

According to Ḥamd Allāh, it appears that the general tax bill for *mamālik-i rūm* was 3,300,000 *dīnārs.* Part of this amount was levied from certain provinces as shown below :

	dīnārs		*dīnārs*
1) Erzurum (ارزن الروم)	222,000	3) Bayburt [32]	21,000
2) Tercan [31]	15,000	4) Erzincan	332,000

31. C : شهره ; F : ذيرجان ; D : دبرجان ; : ديوجان; Taesch., II, 8, ترجان ديرجان .

32. Thusly, in B; in A, D, H : باهرت ; in C : بايرت .

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	dīnārs		*dīnārs*
5) Karahisari Kuğuniye [33]	blank	13) Gab [41]	21,100
6) Kemah [34]	435	14) Karahisari Behram Şah [42]	11,600
7) Harput [35]	215,000	15) كدوك [43]	16,500
8) اراك ? [36]	10,800	16) Toz-Ağaç [44]	90,500
9) Divriği [37]	40,300 [38]	17) Kîr Şehri	57,000 [45]
10) Sivas	not shown	18) Karahisar ber sih merhelei Kaysariyya [46]	25,000
11) Niksar	187,000 [39]		
12) Kumenat [40]	14,000		

33. بحدود اقنهر ارزنجان This is certainly قراحصار كغونيه, which is mentioned on p. 534 of {ʿAzīz b. Ardašīr Astarābādī's} *Bazm u razm* {Istanbul, 1928} (probably also on pp. 313, 317, 475, 477). This would be at the border {?} of اشقر اوره سی between Erzincan and Sivas. See Taesch., II, 2, 8. Le Strange believes it to be Şebin Karahisar. According to Ahmet Tevhit, *Meskūkāt-i islāmiyye kataloğu* {Istanbul, 1321}, IV, 439, who cites Āşîk Chelebī (*Manāẓir al-ʿawālim*, Ayasofya MS. 3466, fol. 234*b*), and Halīl Edhem, {"Merzifonda Pervāne Muʿīn al-Dīn Süleymān namına bir kitābe" [An inscription in Merzifon in the name of Pervāne Muʿīn al-Dīn Süleymān]}, *Türk Tarih Encümeni Mecmuası*, 7 {1333}, nr. 43, p. 49, كوغونيا = « قره حصار شرق ».

34. Thusly, G; C : كاخ .

35. G : خرپرت ، حريرت ، حمربيرت ; C : حررت H : سربرت .

36. It is stated آبش ازفرات وهوايش بسردی مايل حاصلش غلة واندك ميوه‌باشد .
In many MSS, this city's tax is confused with that of Ermenak, which follows it., e.g., C.

37. Thusly, G; A, D, H : دوبرلو ; C : رويركی .

38. D : چهل هزار دينار .

39. D, 187,300 and confused with Niğde.

40. قومنات the old "Pont-Jumana" on the Yeşil Irmak near Tokat, Ch. Texier {*Asie Mineure, description géographique, historique et archéologique* [Paris, 1862]}, Turkish ed. {Istanbul, 1339-1340}, III, 114. Cf. *Bazm u razm*, pp. 198, 279, 296.

41. According to Le Strange, the "Gab" between Tokat and Zile. Müneccim-başî, *Jāmiʿ al-duwal*, II, Esad Efendi MS. 2103, fol. 283 : واليجاق نويين فی ناحية كاب من توقات .

42. Taesch., I, 243. Subject to Çorum north of Yozgat. Cf. *Bazm u razm* pp. 253, 527.

43. According to Le Strange the "Gaduk" north of Kayseri. Cf. *Bazm u razm*, pp. 300, 385, 505.

44. Thusly, G; A, B, D : طور اغاچ; C : طورغاچ. According to Le Strange, it is next to Haci Bektaş between Ankara and Kayseri or near Afyon Karahisar. A place with this name near Akşehir is mentioned regarding the uprising of Jimrī (oral communication from Mükrimin Halil Yınanç). Cf. Ibn Bībī, {*al-Awāmir al-ʿalā'iyya*, Persian abridgement in} Th. Houtsma ed., {*Recueil de textes relatifs à l'histoire des Seldjoucides* (Leiden, 1889-1902)}, IV, 281.

45. H, 27,000 *dīnārs*.

46. According to Le Strange and Taeschner, Develü Karahisar. Müneccim-başî, *Jāmiʿ al-duwal*, II, Esad Efendi MS. 2103, fol. 384*b*, قلعة دولو بقرب قيسارية, 385*b*,

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	dīnārs		*dīnārs*
19) Kaysariyya	140,000 [47]	23) Niğde	41,500
20) Zamandu [48]	14,600	24) Karahisari Yevaş [51]	14,000 [52]
21) Develu [49]	40,300 [50]	25) Lu' lu'e [53]	{blank}
22) Aksaray	51,000		

قد جمع (ای جمری) جمعاً عظیما بنواحی قراحصار الدولة وفی یومنا مشهور بدوه لی قره حصاری.

In al-Aqsarāyī's *Musāmarat* and Aflākī's {*Manāqib al-ʿārifīn*}, قره حصار دولة is definitely Afyon Karahisar. See Ismail Hakkî {Uzunçarşîlî}, Afyon *Karahisar*, ... *Kitabeler* {Istanbul, 1929}, pp. 4, 10. Jimrī's headquarters was there. In Müneccim-başî, قلعة دولو and دولی قره حصاره cannot be two separate cities.

47. GT, 104,000 *dīnārs*.

48. According to Le Strange, it is the present-day Aziziye east of Kayseri on the Zamantı River (formerly the Greek Tzmanti). In Evliyā Chelebī {*Seyāhatnāme*}, ضمانی, Taesch., table 49.

49. A, C : ذولو.

50. D, GT, confused with the dues of Harput.

51. قره حصار یواش is قرا حصار بواسی بحدود نیکده in al-Aqsarāyī's *Musāmarat* (Ayasofya MS. 3143 p. 158) and is on the road from Niğde to Tarsus; *Bazm u razm*, p. 278, قره حصار یواس. If this word is in fact یوراس ، یراش, it might be identified with Ivris, which is 20 km. south of the present-day Niğde Ereğli. Cf. Carl Baedeker, {*Konstantinopel und das westliche Kleinasien* [Leipzig, 1905]}, p. 297.

52. GT, 4,800 *dīnārs*.

53. W. Ramsay, ("Cilicia, Tarsus, and the Great Taurus Pass,") *Geographical Journal*, 22 (1903), pp. 401, 404, and Le Strange, {*The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate* (London, 1903}, pp. 135, 152, show the location of Lu'lu'e (the Byzantine Lulum or Loulon) to be presently around Buzantî. According to Ibn Ḫurradāḏbih's description (text, 150 {*Kitāb al-Masālik wa 'l-mamālik* [Leiden, 1889]}) {see Le Strange, p. 134}, this must be north of the pass {Cilician Gates} through Bolkar Dağî connecting Tarsus with Konya. On « معسر الملك » (Ulu-Kişla), it states على حمة لؤلؤ والصفصاف وتصير الى معسر الملك وقد قطعت الدرب واصحرت. Concerning the affair of Šaraf al-Dīn b. Ḫaṭīr, al-Aqsarāyī writes that while going from Niğde to Tarsus and Syria, one goes first from Niğde to "Karahisar Yavaş" and then جانب معدن to Lu'lu'e. It must be around present-day Hoca Oluk, which is roughly north of this fortress-like pass which was probably associated with the present-day mine in Bolkar Dağî. The sources that Hammer used show this city to be part of Cilician Armenia (Turkish ed., I, 73). Ḥamd Allāh is satisfied with merely saying the following about this city : هوایش بسردی مایل وغلف زار بسیارد دار وشکا رکاه بیحد وشمار. Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-ʿUmarī says, ومع نواب بیت جنکیز خان بالروم ثلثه معادن فضة احدها باراضی مدینة لولوه والثانی باراضی مدینة لمس (کمش) والثالث باراضی مدینة باحرت قال (ای شیخ حیدر العریان السبر حصری) وهی الی ان فارقها فی حدود سنة ثلاث وثلثین وسبعمائة عماله مستمره العمل یخرج الفضة الخالص بها.

Ayasofya MS. 3416, fol. 98*a*. While mentioning the province of Šujāʿ al-Dīn Uğrlu, which was west of the Torgutids (who had a state that was subject to the Mongols at the time of Temür-Taš), he indicates that

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	dīnārs		*dīnārs*
26) Ermenak	7,000	32) Koçhisar [57]	27,000
27) Konya	not shown	33) Kastamonu	15,000
28) Akşehir	135,000	34) افسك ? [58]	5,000
29) Eğridir [54]	4,000	35) زرفرلو ? [59]	40,300 [60]
30) Sivrihisar [55]	25,000	36) زيارت بازار ?	1,600 [61]
31) Ankara [56]	72,000		

These amounts total 1,915,134 *dīnārs*, which means that 1,384,866 *dīnārs* of the full amount of 3,300,000 are lacking. Ḥamd Allāh mentions the names of a few cities for which he gives no figures. These include Sivas and Konya. The shortfall in *dīnārs* must lie with these cities.

لؤلؤ (Cod. {?} لوليا) and كش شهر (Cod. لس سار) were cities belonging to him (fol. 104*a*) and says وهذه كس شهر هى ذات معدن تخرج منه الفضة هذا ما ذكره بلبان (الجنوى) واما ما ذكره العريان فانه قال تخرج من لوليا وقد تقدم ذكره . While discussing the Germiyānids, he states that they had their own silver mine which was even more important :

وله مدينة كش شارای مدينة الفضة وهى غير ما بايدى بيت جنكيز خان وهو معدن كثير التحصيل جليل الفايده جزيل العايده اعظم من الذى بايدى بيت جنكيز خان واجود فضة

(fol. 106*a*). Was this mine, which was near Kütahya, Seyid Ömer or was it around the town of Gümüş in Güney Dağî? The name of the province that had the third mine that was directly controlled by the Mongols is written as « بابرت . » If we read this as " Bayburt ", then this mine must be today's Gümüşhane. In fact, the English embassy that was sent to Ġazan in 1292 A.D. mentioned in their report that Gümüşhane was an important locality together with Sivas (Bratianu, *Recherches*, pp. 173, 178). In my opinion, the يمش بازار (see Ismail Galib, *Takvīm-i meskūkāt-i selçukīyye* {Istanbul, 1309}, p. كا) and لس بازار, that is, Gümüş-Bazar, which are barely legible on Mongol coins, must be this place, for there is also a لؤلؤه on their coins. But where is كس شهر, which is a separate place from لؤلؤه in the country of Šujāʿ al-Dīn Uğrlu? There were probably two mines in Bolkar Dağî. These mines were monopolized by the Mongol government and it guarded them with a special garrison. The "*kütüval*" of one of these places seized Šaraf al-Dīn b. Ḫaṭīr and turned him over to the government (al-Aqsarāyī, *Musāmarat*, p. 158).

54. C : اكردول .

55. C : شهرى حصار ; A, D : شعرى حصار ; B, H : سو حصار .

56. Ḥamd Allāh believes that عموريه and انكوريه are the same while الكوريه and Ankara are different. He mentions Ankara instead of عموريه as being in the fourth clime.

57. Written as قوشحصار . It must be Koçhisar between Tosya and Bolu. H : كوشحصار .

58. Thusly, in A and D; C : اقبيك .

59. Thusly, in C; A, D : ررفرلو .

60. H, 20,000 *dīnārs*.

61. H, 14,000 *dīnārs*.

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The tax of Lesser Armenia, or the Kingdom of Sīs, is given as only three *tümens* or 30,000 *dīnārs*. The general tax bill for Greater Armenia and Aḫlāṭ is 390,000 *dīnārs*. This bill was divided in the following manner :

	dīnārs		*dīnārs*
1) Aḫlāṭ	51,500	10) خرسرمت ولو قیامات ? [67]	16,600
2) ابتوك ? [62]	1,000	11) هنکاماباد ? [68]	900
3) Arciş	80,000	12) سلم ? [69]	7,200
4) ارسوك [63]	13,600	13) عین	15,000 [70]
5) Ala-Tağ	6,500	14) کبود	4,300
6) Bargiri [64]	25,000	15) Malazgird [71]	14,000
7) بیان ? [65]	16,000	16) Van and Vastan	53,400
8) خرادین ? [66]	5,300	17) Alaşgird [72]	7,000
9) Hoşap	1,000		

This amount totals 317,800 *dīnārs*, so 72,200 *dīnārs* of the full bill of 390,000 are lacking.

The total tax bill of Diyār Bakr and Diyār Rabīʿa is given as 1,925,000 *dīnārs*. It was divided in the following manner :

	dīnārs		*dīnārs*
1) Mosul	328,000	10) جزیرهٔ ابن عمر ? [79]	170,200
2) Irbil	22,000	11) خانی وسیون ? [80]	171,000
3) Arzan	275,000	12) Harran	blank
4) Amid [73]	30,000	13) Hasankeyf	82,500
5) باصیده ? [74]	4,300	14) Habur	blank
6) ناظر نوح ? [75]	15,000	15) Ra's al-ʿAyn	blank
7) برطلی ? [76]	10,200	16) Raqqa = Collinicus	blank
8) جسار ? [77]	blank	17) Urfa	blank
9) برازیح ? [78]	14,000	18) Siirt	46,500

62. GT, Abtut, unknown; H : ابتوط.

63. H : بر کنار نجیرهٔ اخلاط وجای عظیم سخت نیکوست ; GT, Armuk, unknown; probably ارجك.

64. Thusly, in GT; C : نهرکوی; H : سیر کیزی.

65. GT, Bayan, unknown.

66. GT, Ḫaradin, unknown; H : خراوین.

67. H : جوهربت وتوفیانات ; GT, Ḫarmaramt and Luqiamat, unknown.

68. GT, Hangamabad, unknown.

69. GT, Salam, unknown.

70. H, 7,200 *dīnārs*.

71. C : بلاد جرد.

72. ولا شجرد. GT : unknown (why?).

73. C : ایمسو.

74. GT, Basbdah.

75. GT, Batar-Nuh, unknown.

76. GT, Bartalla.

77. GT, Jasar; H : جار.

78. Thusly, in H; G : تواریخ ; GT, Bawazij.

79. Thusly, in H; C : جریرة; GT, Jazirahi ibn ʿUmair.

80. H : جانی وسیوان ; GT, Hani and Siwan, unknown.

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	dīnārs		*dīnārs*
19) Sanjar	147,500	24) Keremelis [81]	11,200
20) Sūq al-samānīn	blank	25) Mardin	236,200
21) ʿAqr	27,400	26) Muş	69,500
22) ʿImadiyya	68,000	27) Mayyāfāriqīn	224,000
23) Qirqisiyya = Circesium	blank	28) Nasibin	blank

Instead of 1,925,000 *dīnārs* for Diyār Bakr and Diyār Rabīʿa, this totals 1, 782,000 *dīnārs*, so that 132,700 are lacking. The differnece must lie with the cities for which no amounts are given.

VII

If we sum up these accounts, in 1336 A.D. the budget for Turkey, excluding the western provinces of Anatolia and including certain provinces of present = day Syria and Iraq, was 3,300,000 *dīnārs* + 30,000 + 390,000 + 1,925,000 for a total of 5,645,000 *dīnārs*, that is, 16,935,000 gold francs ⟦cf. Cahen, who questions the date of 1336 for these figures, *La Turquie*, p. 314⟧. The revenue in that year from Āzarbāījān (2,384,000 *dīnārs*), Arrān and Mūğān (303,000), Šarvān, Kustāšfī (113,000), Abḫāz and Georgia (1,202,000) totalled 4,002,000 *dīnārs*, that is, 12,006,600 gold francs. With regard to their size, Āzarbāījān and southern Caucasia, which were much smaller than Anatolia and Diyār Bakr, produced a very large revenue. Cities whose budgets were between 180,000 and 300,000 *dīnārs* included Erzincan, Erzurum, Harput, Niksar, and Akşehir in Anatolia; Bargiri in Armenia; Arzan, Mardin, and Mayyāfāriqīn in Diyār Bakr and Diyār Rabīʿa. Although their (individual) revenue is not given, Sivas and Konya were certainly exceptional cities, for their shares together came to 1,384,866 *dīnars*. Genoese sources confirm, in fact, the importance of Sivas at that time [82]. As for the budget of the capital, Tabrīz, and its districts, which were in Āzarbāījān, it was 1,390,000 *dīnārs*, that is, 4,170,000 francs. According to the economic data that Barthold cites from W. Sombart, this was slightly more than the budget of the Kingdom of England in 1300, which was 4,000,000 francs, and much more than that of France in 1311, which was only 3,000,000 francs (" Ani ", pp. 22-24; ⟦cf. Turkish translation, p. 147⟧). In other words, the budget of a city like Tabrīz was equal to that of England.

Compared to the earlier years of Ilḫānid rule, does the budget for Anatolia for 1336 show an expansion or decline in the economy? Or, is it in any way exceptional? In order to answer these questions, one must examine the conditions in the Ilḫānid state as a whole. In 1336, the revenue bill for the rest of Iran, exclusive of Ḫurāsān which had a completely separate budget, was as follows : the region of Fārs, 2,871,200 *dīnārs*; Kirmān, 676,500; Ḫuzistān, 325,000; Šabānkāra, 266,100; and Kurdistān, 200,000. The

81. H : کربلیس .

82. Bratianu, *Recherches*, pp. 158 ff.

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total amounts for ʿIrāq al-ʿArab and ʿIrāq al-ʿAjam are not specifically given. Ḥamd Allāh himself is content with stating that the budget for ʿIrāq al-ʿArab in 735 ⟨1334-1335 A.D.⟩ was a little more than 3,000,000. The amount for ʿIrāq al-ʿAjam is lacking in all the texts that I examined (for example, in G, سی وپنج تومان بجامع الحساب). If we add together the bills of the provinces of ʿIrāq al-ʿArab, the total comes to 3,260,515; and the total for the provinces of ʿIrāq al-ʿAjam comes to 2,421,800. With the exception of Ḫurāsān, the budget for the entire Ilḫānid state in 1336 was 19,668,315 *dīnārs,* or 59,004,945 gold francs, of which about 29,000,000 came from regions within modern Turkey, Āzarbāījān, and the southern Caucasus, and 30,000,000 from other regions of the state.

As far as we can determine, this figure for 1336 came about as a result, on the one hand, of the economic development of the Ilḫānid state in general and, on the other, as a result of the transfer of wealth from the southern regions of the country to its northern regions. Let me explain. According to Ḥamd Allāh, the revenue from Iran was only 17 million *dīnārs* prior to Ġazan ⟨1295-1304 A.D.⟩, but thanks to his justice it rose to 21 million (p. 132). The same writer says that after Ġazan a great many provinces were pillaged by the army because of various disturbances and the lack of order and, consequently, this revenue dropped to half of what it had been during the reign of Ġazan (واکنون همانا نیمهٔ آن نباشد چه اکثر ولایات ازین تحکمات وتردد لشکرها برافتاده است دست اززرع برداشتند). These words must pertain to the year 1339 A.D., when he wrote his book, for on the same pages the author reports that the revenue of the country decreased because of the confusion following the death of Öljeitü ⟨1317 A.D.⟩, that agricultural land went out of production, and that the budget for ʿIrāq al-ʿArab in 1336 A.D. was more than three million, but it fell because of the subsequent oppression of its governors (حقوق آن ملك درسنهٔ خمس وثلثین خانی سیصد وجند تومان رابح بوده ازان نیز بسبب ظلم حکام بسیار منکسر میشد). We have mentioned above that in 1336 the general tax dues for Iran, excluding Ḫruāsān, amounted to 19.6 million. The budget for 1336 was clearly less than Ġazan's budget. The complaints of Iranian historians against the Mongol army concern mainly southern Iran. Indeed, the province of Fārs suffered the most under the Mongols. According to Vaṣṣāf's account, the revenue of this region was the same in the time of Ġazan as it was in the time of Arġun, or perhaps had declined a little (Vaṣṣāf, pp. 335, 349, 363). Ḥamd Allāh reports (pp. 170-171) that the budget of "*barr u baḥr-i mamlakat-i fārs*" for 1336 was recorded as 2,871,200 *dīnārs* in the tax ledger. This country could not, in fact, pay its taxes. The situation of ʿIrāq al-ʿArab must have been relatively better. Ḏahabī and Rašīd al-Dīn provide very important information on the public works that were undertaken in this province during the time of Hülegü, Abaqa, and Ġazan. Ḏahabī states that, by digging irrigation canals from the Tigris at great expense, the uncultivated area stretching from "Anbār" to Kūfa and Najaf was developed, about 150 new villages were established, and the revenue of the country increased, indeed, this country became more prosperous than it had been in the time of the ʿAbbāsid caliphs (Juvainī, *Ta'rīḫ-i Jahān-Gušā,* I, introduction, pp. لب - لا). Rašīd al-Dīn mentions the canal called "Nahr-i Ġazanī", which Ġazan brought from Karbalā, and the revenue derived from

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it (fol. 303); and the canal called " Nahr-i Ġazanī suflā ", which the same ruler brought from Mašhad Sayyid Abū 'l-Wafā around Sīb and Wāsiṭ (fol. 289). He also says that the population increased and that land which had previously been valued at 100 *dīnārs* rose in price to 1,000 *dīnārs*. In 1336, the budget for Baghdad was 800,000 *dīnārs*; for Nahr-i 'Īsā, 876,000 *dīnārs*; for Wāsiṭ, 448,000 *dīnārs*; and for Baṣra, 441,000 *dīnārs*. This shows that the cities of 'Irāq al-'Arab maintained their former importance in the Mongol period. There is no doubt, however, that the center of wealth had shifted from there to the areas around Tabrīz, Erzincan and Sivas. While the budget of Baghdad was 800,000 *dīnārs*, the revenue of Tabrīz, which had no economic significance before the Mongols, rose to 1,400,000 *dīnārs*. We know the events which made it impossible for the province of Baghdad to pay the taxes that were levied on it. Indeed, in 1270 A.D. a commission composed of Ilḫānid Mongol officials investigated the problem of the inability of the people to pay taxes that year and exempted 'Irāq al-'Arab from about 2.5 million *dīnārs* in taxes (introduction to *Ta'rīḫ-i Jahān-Gušā*, I, p. ۵۰; Vaṣṣāf, p. 97). The records concerning the economic conditions of Anatolia and its taxes indicate that the revenues from this region gradually increased. According to Badr al-Dīn al-'Ainī, when the Mongols first appeared, the tax from " Rūm " was only 360,000 *dirhams* in cash, 10,000 sheep, 1,000 oxen, and 1,000 horses (⌊*'Iqd al-jumān*⌋, Veliyeddin Efendi MS. 2392, p. 155). Later, according to al-Aqsarāyī, in the time of Bayju Noyan, the tax from *mamālik-i rūm* was 20 *tümens* (= 200,000 *dīnārs*, that is, 1,200,000 *dirhams*). This was the tax until 1256 (654 A.H.). At the beginning of the sultanate of Ġazan, the revenue from *mamālik-i rūm* was only 60 *tümens* (600,000 *dīnārs*) of " *māl-i maqṭū'* " ⌊fixed revenue⌋ (Rašīd al-Dīn and Müneccim-başî). Müneccim-başî writes that in 1295 A.D. Ġazan divided *mamālik-i rūm* into four parts; gave them to Pervaneci Mehmet Bey, Vizir Jamāl al-Dīn, Kamāl al-Dīn Tiflīsī, and Defterdār Šaraf al-Dīn as 60-*tümen maqṭū's*; and that these men were more oppressive than the previous *mustaḥṣils* ⌊tax collectors⌋ (II, 574). Ḥamd Allāh (*Ta'rīḫ-i Guzīda*, p. 486) says that Vizir Ḫwāja Faḫr al-Dīn Aḥmad Rākūšī Tabrīzī collected the tax of *mamālik-i rūm* by selling *amlāk-i dīwānī* ⌊state property⌋ to *arbāb-i manāṣiba* ⌊notables⌋ and that the treasury benefited greatly from this. He adds that if the *mulkiyyat-i dīwān* of Anatolia had remained as it had been previously, no public works would have been possible. If the governors did not know that they would remain for long in one place, their only concern was to plunder the region under their authority and quickly fill their pockets. He says that this, in fact, was the case for all places connected with the *Dīwān*. Müneccim-başî and Ḥamd Allāh must both be talking about the same subject here. This would mean that the development and enrichment of Anatolia would belong to the time that local historians, including al-Aqsarāyī, described as the worst period of Mongol rule.

It is well known that, at the beginning of the Mongol invasion, the people of Āzarbāijān abandoned their lands to the newly arrived Turkish and Mongol elements and scattered in various directions. This did not, however, result in a loss of population for Anatolia or Āzarbāijān. On the contrary, the population of this region increased very rapidly.

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Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-ʿUmarī states that when the Mongol state collapsed, the *beyliks* in western Anatolia made no attempt to escape from Mongol government and recover their independence, (Ayasofya MS, fol. 115*a*

ثم لما آن لدولة چو بان وبنيه الزوال وكان منهم ما كان ، قويت امرأ الاتراك بالروم وانتعشت قواهم ثم هم الى الآن على هذا الحال على كثرة اضطراب امر المغل وتفرق اهوايهم فى هذه المدد كلها ومع هذا ما استطاع احد من امرأ الاتراك ان يلتفت الى شئ مما بايديهم من الروم لا ولا ارتجاع شى مما كان تمر تاش بن چوبان قدابان ملوكه وافتتحه واستضافه الى ما بيده).

Taking note of this reference, Barthold believes that the attachment of the people of Anatolia to the Mongols was related to the economic development of the country, especially at the time of Temür-Taš {1317-1328 A.D.} ("Ani", pp. 23-24). We have shown, however, that the economic development of Anatolia must have been continuous even before the government of Temür-Taš. At the time when southern, and especially south eastern, Iran went bankrupt and was plundered, the population as well as the revenue probably increased gradually both before and after Ġazan in the northern and north western regions where the Ilḫānid Mongols and Turks settled.

VIII

In the course of doing research for this article, I examined the mathematical manuscripts in the libraries of Istanbul and came across a very important work on the Ilḫānid methods of fiscal administration and book keeping. This work, which is listed in the index of the Ayasofya Library as MS. 2756 under the title *Kitāb fī 'l-Ḥisāb,* was written by ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad b. Kiyā,[83] who was related to the Kārkiyā'ī family of Māzandarān, between 1340 and 1367 A.D. After his death, it was completed by the vizir of the Kārkiyā'is, Falak al-Maʿālī, and acquired the name *Risāla-i falakiyya.* Later, between 1450 and 1463 A.D., this work was revised by a third person who added an introduction and certain details to the first part {now see W. Hinz, ed. *Die Resāla-ye falakiyya* [Wiesbaden, 1952]}. According to the writer of the introduction, who had a thorough knowledge of the arts and sciences of his time, the original author, ʿAbd Allāh, grew up in Tabrīz. The work is composed of 139 folios. As is clear from their dates, documents written between 735 and 765 {1334-1363 A.D.} were incorporated in the first version and others written between 840 and 884 {1436-1480 A.D.} were incorporated in the second. It is obvious from this work that Māzandarān and Gīlān, which were described in particular by Egyptian and Syrian writers as not being subject to the Ilḫānids, were, in fact, completely subject to the Mongol state and its system of economic administration. Furthermore, this work shows that the budget of 1336, which I discussed above, was by no means exceptional. Indeed, it was an integral part of the fiscal system that was uniformly respected in the Ilḫānid state.

83. The descendants of Kiyā-Afrāsiyāb. See Ẓahīr al-Dīn Marʿašī, *Ta'rīḫ-i Ṭabaristān,* ed. B. Dorn {St Petersburg, 1850}, p. 350.

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Various documents from the Ilḫānid period reveal that the taxes which were collected in the form of cash, livestock, agricultural products and property were inspected and analyzed with information that was found in the *Dīwān-i Buzurg* {Great *Dīwān*}. There was probably statistical data in the *Dīwān-i Buzurg* on the population, livestock, and agriculture of all provinces. In the *Risāla-i falakiyya,* there are examples of accounts of livestock and agricultural products. This work also provides more detailed information on the account books {*defters*} that we learned about from the work of ʿAlā-i Tabrīzī (fols. 51*a*-99*a*). Indeed, it completes this information while discussing the *jāmiʿ al-ḥisāb defters* {sic} (fols. 78*a*-87*a*). It also includes a summary of the Iranian budget for 1349-1350 A.D. Here we find the major cities of each country, the method used to collect the tax (*muqāṭaʿa* {tax farming of revenue of a district for a fixed sum} or *ḍamān* {revenue farm}) the person to whom tax collection was assigned for each country; and the amount of the tax. It shows the total budgets of Ḫurāsān, Māzandarān and Gīlān, which are lacking in Ḥamd Allāh, and also gives the general tax bill for ʿIrāq al-ʿAjam and Fārs. As for Anatolia, this work reveals that a number of important *beyliks* in western Anatolia were among the countries from which taxes were collected. These *beyliks* included those of the Qaramānids, the Aydînid Umur Bey and the Ottoman Bey of Bursa, Orhan. They were part of the Ilḫānid territory of the *ujat* {marches} and were subject to Tabrīz. This material is certainly an important addition to the evidence showing that the Qaramānids and *uj* beys of İn-Önü and Bursa were considered to be within the Mongol sphere of government in the fourteenth century A.D. The *Risāla-i falakiyya,* like the work of ʿAlā-i Tabrīzī, needs to be studied and fully published. Here we shall cite only the information it contains on the regions of *mamālik-i rūm,* Armenia, and Diyār Bakr :

Fol. 90 b : ولایت ارمن

فی عهدة عبد المسیح النصرانی علی حسب المقاطعة . بموجب الحجة المسجلة عنه العین الصحیح؟
احدی واربعین الف[84] بالتومان اربع تومان
وجه مذکور از موضعی که ذکر می رود حاصل شده است:
بر کری . اخلاط . ارجیش . بلاس (بتلیس؟) . ملازکرد. حتوس (؟).

Fol. 91 a : ولایت دیاربکر عربی

فی عهدة خواجه عزالدین الموصلی علی حسب المقاطعة والضمان. – بموجب الحجة المسجلة عنه
ثلثمایة واربعین الف بالتومان اربع وثلثین تومانا
دینار
وجه مذکور ازمواضعی که ذکر می روذ حاصل است:
ماردین . اربیل . حوی (موش = حوش Fol. 77 a). میافارقین .
رأس العین . سنجار . حران . محدود حاصهٔ دیار بکر عربی تمام شد .

84. These numbers are written in the *siyāqat* script.

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Fol. 93 a :

ممالك روم المحروسة

على عهدة خواجه نجم الدين جوبنى على حسب المقاطعة والضمان . بموجب الحجة المسجلة عنه
ثلاث الف (؟) بالتومان ثلثماية تومان
(الف آلاف؟)
وجه مذكور از موضعى كه ذكر ميرود حاصل ميشود :

الوسطانية [85] :

امد (آمد؟) . مجنكرد . كيغى . سپهر (اسپر؟) . منورس؟ .
دبرجان . طرابزون . اتراك ولات ارزن الروم .
ارزنجان . كماخ . خربرت . ملاطيه . جمسكزاك .
دفركى . بابرت . سيواس . نكسار . قيصرية .
دوهلو . توقات . اماسيه . مرروان [86] . عثمانجق . Fol. 93 b :
انكوريه . قنقريه . آقسرا . قونيه . اقشهر .
سفر الحصار . قراحصار . قراجه طاغ . معدن كش بازار [87] .

الاوجات :

قرامان . اولاد حميد . طغزلو . امور بيك
كرميان . اورخان . كردوپه بولى [88] . قسطمونيه
اكريدر . سينوب . محدوده اوج تمام شد

This bill was drawn up at the beginning of 751 (March, 1350) upon confirming that the taxes for 750 were handed over to the state treasury by the tax collectors. Over the tax dues for each province the word *ḥāṣil* {revenue} was written in red ink. This document is worthy of note. It coincides with the time in which Togha-Temür, who struck coins in his own name in various Anatolian cities, was the Bey of Erdene in Anatolia. In another place in this work (fol. 57*a*), the tax bill (مقرر اموال الديوانية) of the province of Diyār Bakr (Sinjār, Ra's al-'Ain, Mayyāfāriqīn, Muş, Mosul, Irbīl) in 1430 A.D. is given.

IX

Here we should also like to add the information on the salaries of the state officials in Ilḫānid territory provided by Ibn Faḍl al-'Umarī, who cites them from Niẓām al-Dīn

85. This must mean central Anatolia.

86. مرزوان = Merzifon.

87. It is noteworthy that this Gümüş-Pazar is listed with Karaça-Dağ (probably between Afyon and Eskişehir).

88. Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-'Umarī, كردله ; Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, Turkish ed., I, 350, كردى بولى ; H. A. Gibbons, {*The Foundation of the Ottoman Empire* (Oxford, 1916)}, Turkish ed. {Istanbul, 1928}, pp. 267, 269, Kürede and Boli.

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al-Ṭayyārī (T {*sic*, reference unclear, not Taeschner}, II, 279; A, fols. 66-67*b*). This information is also partially included in al-Qalqašandī's *Ṣubḥ al-aʿšā*[89] {= Q below} :

وحدثنى هذا الفاضل نظام الدين ابو الفاضائل يحيي بن الحكيم الطيارى بكثير من احوال هذه المملكة وقواعد ملوكها وترتيب جنودها وجيوشها فما حدثنى ان السلاطين بها لا التفات لهم الى امر ولا نهى فى البلاد ولا فى متحصلات الدخل والخرج فيها بل الوزير هو حامل هذه الاعباء وله التصرف المطلق فى الولاية والعزل والعطا والمنع لا يشاور السلطان الاعلى ما جل من المهمات وفى ما قل من الامور بل هو السلطان حقيقة وصاحب البلاد معنى واليه ترجع الامور كلها واليه عقدها وحلها فاما امر الجيوش والعساكر فالى كبير امرأ الالوس وهو المسمى بكلارى بك اى امير الامرء كما كان قطلو شاه مع السلطانين محمود غازان واخيه محمد خدابنده وجوبان مع خدابنده ثم بعده مع ولده السلطان بوسعيد بهادر خان وهذا القايم الآن الشيخ حسن بن حسين بن آقبغا مع قانه السلطان محمد بن طشتمر بن اسنتمر بن عنبر جى[90] وامرأ الالوس اربعة بكلارى بك وحكام دولة : هذا السلطان امرأ الالوس وهم اربعة اكبر هم بكلارى بك وهو امير الامرأ كما كان قطلو شاه عند غازان وجوبان عند خدابندا ثم عند ابى سعيد وهولآ الامرأ الاربعة لا يفصل جليل أمر الابهم فمن غاب منهم كتب فى اليرليغ وهى المراسيم كما يكتب لوكان حاضراً ونائبه يقوم عنه وهم لا يمضون امرا الا بالوزير والوزير يمضى الامور دونهم ويامر نوابهم فتكتب اسماؤهم والوزير هو حقيقة السلطان وهو المنفرد بالحديث فى المال والولاية والعزل حتى فى جلائل الامور كما كان بكلارى بك يتحدث فى امر العسكر بمفرده فاما الاشتراك فى امور الناس فبهم اجمعين وليس للامرأ فى غالب ذلك من العلم الا ما علم نوابهم

al-Qalqašandī. From *al-Taʿrīf* :

وثلثة آخر ويسمى هولا ألاربعة امرأ القول ويشترط ان يكون هولآ هم الذين تكتب اسماؤهم فى اليراليغ والفرمانات بعد اسم السلطان ثم بعد اسم الوزير ولا يتوقف فى كتابة اسم من الاسماء ممن هو غايب منهم عن الاردو بل تكتب اسماؤهم كلهم حضر منهم من حضر وغاب من غاب وكل ذى سيف لا يخرج امره عن القايم بهذه الوظيفة التى هى امرة امرأ الالوس وكل ذى قلم ومنصب شرعى لا يخرج عن الوزير وطبقات الامرأ اعلاها النوين وهو امير عشرة آلآف ثم امير الف ثم امير ماية ثم امير عشرة هذه طبقات رتبهم لا نقص فيها ولا مزيد عليها وعامة العسكر لا تزال اسماؤهم فى دواوينهم على الافراد بل كل طايفة عليهم فى الديوان فارس معين اذا رسم له بالركوب ركب منهم العدة المطلوبة .

وسالت الفاضل ابا الفضايل يحيي بن الحكيم عن مقدار عدة الجيش فقال اما المنزل فى دواوينهم فما يبلغ عشرين تومانا واما اذا ارادوا ركبوا بثلاثين تومانا وما يزيد عليها وهم اليوم اليوم (يعنى بعد موت ابى سعيد خان) فى انبثاث شمل وشتات آرآ لا يلتيم لهم جمع ولا يضمهم وفاق . قلت له فكم من مقدار ما لهؤلا من الارزاق فقال اما ما هو مستقر لهم فى دواوينهم من زمان هولا كو فلا يرضى احد من كبارهم به ولا باضعاف مرات واما الصغار فما يتجاوز منهم ما استقر له قلت فكم هو المستقر فى الديوان وبكم تقنع كبارهم الآن فقال المقرر من قديم لكل نويين امير تومان تومان وهو عشرة آلآف دينار رابج[91] عنها ستون الف درهم واما اليوم فما يقنع النوين الا بخمسين تومان وهى خمسة الف دينار رابج عنها ثلاثة آلآف الف درهم ومن خمسين تومان الى اربعين تومان واما كبيرهم بكلارى بك فالذى استقر لجوبان ثم

89. *Ṣubḥ al-aʿšā*, IV, 423-426. This author used Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-ʿUmarī's *Taʿrīf {bi 'l-muṣṭalaḥ al-šarīf* (Cairo, 1312)}.

90. T, A : عرجى ; Q : غبرچى ; al-ʿAinī, *ʿIqd al-jumān* {Veliyeddin Efendi MS. 2374-2396}, events for the year 737 {1336-1337 A.D.}, محمد بن عنبرجى ; Mīrḫwānd {*Rawḍat al-ṣafā*} and Ḫwāndamīr {*Ḥabīb al-siyar*} : Muḥammad b. Toh-Qutluğ (Yol-Qutluğ, C. d'Ohsson, {*Histoire des Mongols* [The Hague and Amsterdam, 1834-1835]}, IV, 723) b. Esen-Temür (in d'Ohsson, Qoyjı) b. Mengü-Temür b. Hülegü.

91. T : رايج ; A, Q : رابح . Both of these are correct, but in the official Ilḫānid government financial account *rābiḥ* is used. In the Topkapı MS. written in Rašīd al-Dīn's own time, in ʿAlā-i Tabrīzī, and in *Risāla-i falakiyya,* it is clearly written as رابح .

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لمن بعده ثلث ماية تومان وهى ثلاثة آلآف الف دينار عنها ثمانية عشر الف الف درهم مع ما يحصل لكل من امرأ الالوس الاربعة من الخدم الكثيرة فى البلاد جميعها عند تقريرات الضمان بها على ضمانها . قال (اى يحيى بن الحكيم) واما امير الالف ومن دونه فلا يتجاوز احد منهم مقررة القديم فى الديوان لامير الالف الف دينار رابح عنها ستة آلآف درهم . واما امير الماية والعشرة وكل واحد من العسكرية اى الجند فماية دينار عنها ست ماية درهم لا تفاوت بينهم هذا هو المقرر الجارى من قديم وانما تبقى مزية امير الماية او العشرة انه يأخذ لنفسه شيئاً مما هو للعسكرية ولكل طايفة ارض لنزولهم توارثها الخلف عن السلف منذ ملك هولاكو هذه البلاد وفيها منازلهم ولهم بها مزدرع لاقواتهم لكنهم لا يعيشون بالحرث والزرع . هذه جملة مما هو لعساكر ايران مما ازداد ومما هو مستقر فى الديوان واما الخواتين فالذى لهن آلان منه ما يبلغ للخاتون الواحدة [92] مايتا تومان وهو الفا الف [93] دينار رابح عنهما اثنا عشر الف درهم وما دون ذلك الى عشرين تومان وهو مايتا الف دينار عنها الف الف [94] ومايتا الف درهم . وقال لى الفاضل ابو الفضايل يحيى بن الحكيم وهذا قد يزيد وينقص واما الوزير فله ماية وخمسون تومانا وهو الف الف وخمسماية الف دينار رابح عنها تسعة آلآف الف درهم قال ولا يقنع بعشرة اضعاف هذا فى تقارير البلاد واما الخواجكية من ارباب الاقلام فمنهم من يبلغ فى السنة ثلاثين تومانا وهى ثلثماية الف دينار عنها الف الف وثمانماية الف درهم .

ثم قال والذى للامرأ والعسكرية لا يكتب به مرسوم لان كل طايفة ورثت ما لها من ذلك عن آبايها وهم على الجهات التى قررها لهم هولاكو لم تتغير بزيادة ولا نقص الا اكابر الامرا الذين حصلت لهم الزيادات فانه فى ذلك الوقت كتب لهم بها بامر القان اصدرها الوزرأ عنه ومن الخواتين من اخذ بما له او ببعضه بلادا فهى له [A 69b; T. 282; Q].

واما الادرارات من المبلغ والقرى فانها تبقى لصاحبها كالملك يتصرف فيه كيف شأ من بيع وهبة ووقف لمن اراد والمعايش لمدة الحياة لاغير والمرسومات والانعامات قال وهى ما لا يحصى قال ومن هولآ المستوفين من له الضبط على اتساع اقطار الممالك قال واما وظيفة القضاة فعادة هذه المملكة ان يكون بها فى صحبة السلطان قاضى قضاة الممالك وهو يولى فى جميع المملكة على تنائى اقطارها الا العراق فان لبغداد قاضى قضاة مستقل بها وفى بلادها جميع عراق العرب وقال لى قاضى القضاة ابو محمد الحسن الغورى ان آخر ما استقر له ست قرى وتومان عشرة آلآف دينار فى السنة .

This translates as follows {this is more of a very detailed summary than a literal translation; a few things are left out and Togan attempts to integrate logically the information in all the above texts} :

Al-Fāḍil Niẓām al-Dīn Abū 'l-Faḍā'il Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥakīm al-Ṭayyārī gave me considerable information on the conditions of this country [the Ilḫānid state], on the regulations issued by its rulers, and the organization of its army. Among the things he told me was that the rulers {*salāṭīn*} there do not become personally involved in the administrative and financial affairs of the countries subject to them. Instead, these matters are in the hands of the vizir. He has absolute authority with respect to financial matters and appointing and dismissing officials. He only consults with the sultan over the most important issues. In other affairs, he is the real sultan.

As for the army, it is under the command of the *beylerbeyi* who is the highest ranking *amīr* of the *ulus*. This position was held by Qutlugh-Šāh under Ġazan and Ḫudā- Banda [Öljeitü], and by Choban under Ḫudā-Banda and Abū Sa'īd. It is presently held by al-Šaiḫ Ḥasan b. Ḥusain b. Aq-Buqa [Jalāyir] under Sultan Muḥammad b. Taš-Temür b. Esen-Temür b. 'Anbarjī. The *amīrs* of the *ulus* are four : one is the *beylerbeyi*. He

92. Q : للخاتون الواحدة فى السنة .

93. Thusly, in A, G footnote; T : الف لف .

94. Thusly, in Q; Cod : الفان الف .

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and the other three are called "*qol*" *amīrs*. On *yarlîğs* and *fermans*, the names of these four *amīrs* follow the name of the ruler {sultan}. The name of the vizir follows the names of these *amirs*. When these *amīrs* are absent from the ruler's headquarters, their names are still signed [Q : by their representatives]. The *beylerbeyi* approves all appointments to military positions and the vizir selects all religious {*šarʿī*} and government functionaries [Q : but they participate jointly in issues concerning the country as a whole]. The highest ranking *amīr* is the "*noyin*" who commands 10,000 men. Then come the *amīr* of 1,000, the *amīr* of 100 and the *amīr* of 10. The ranks in the army are no more and no less than these. The names of all the men in the army are recorded in *dīwāns*. Indeed, there is a special officer {*fāris*} in the *Dīwān* for each section. When he is given the order to mount the troops, he readies the required number.

I asked the aforesaid Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥakīm about the size of the army. He said, "the standing army as recorded in the *dīwāns* does not exceed 20 *tümens* [200,000]. But if necessary, 30 or more *tümens* could be mobilized. Now [that is, following the death of Abū Saʿīd], the army is in a state of disorder and disarray." I asked Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥakīm how much their salaries were and he said, "previously, beginning with the reign of Hülegü, the salaries were specified and confirmed in the *Dīwān*. Each *noyin*, who was the *amīr* of a *tümen*, received 10,000 *rābiḥ dīnārs*, that is, 60,000 *dirhams*. But now the *noyin* is not satisfied with less than 40 or 50 *tümens*, that is, 500,000 *dīnārs* or 3,000,000 *dirhams*. As for the *beylerbeyi*, his salary was set in the time of Amīr Choban and has remained in effect at 300 *tümens*, that is, 3,000,000 *dīnārs* or 18,000,000 *dirhams*. Furthermore, the four *ulus beys* also receive a share of the taxes collected in the provinces, and participate in arranging the *ḍamāns*. The salary of the *amīrs* of 1,000 and officers of lower rank does not exceed the amount that was previously specified in the *Dīwān*. The salary of an *amīr* of 1,000 is 1,000 *dīnārs*, that is, 6,000 *dirhams*. The salary of an *amīr* of 100, an *amīr* of 10 and individual troops is only 100 *dīnars*, or 600 *dirhams*. In other words, there is no difference in salary among the lower ranking officers and men. This is the system that has been in effect for a long time. However, the *amīr* of 100 and the *amīr* of 10 now take a share of the money that goes to their troops. Each section of the army has certain lands [*iqṭāʿs* {Togan's term, not in text}] on which to live. Since the time of Hülegü, these lands have been inherited by each generation in succession. The troops have their homes there. The food that is necessary for them to live comes from these lands, but they do not live by agriculture. These are the salaries of both the standing army and the other troops {who could be called up} in the army of Iran. As for the women, they receive an income ranging from, 200 *tümens*, which is 2,000,000 *dīnārs* or 12,000,000 *dirhams*, to 20 *tümens*, which is 200,000 *dīnārs* or 1,200,000 *dirhams*. But one can receive more or less than this.

"As for the vizir, his salary is 150 *tümens*, that is, 1,500,000 *rābiḥ dīnārs* or 9,000,000 *dirhams*. But he is not satisfied with ten times as much. There are government officials known as *ḫwājakiyya* [*i.e.*, Iranian secretaries and civil servants] whose salary is 30 *tümens*, that is, 300,000 *rābiḥ dīnārs*, meaning 1,800,000 *dirhams*. In this country, salaries, which are given for life, *timars* and *zeamets* {these are Togan's terms, meaning,

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respectively, small and large " fiefs "; in the text we find only *al-marsūmāt,* " pensions "}, and other grants [*suyurgal*] are innumerable [95]. Grants in the form of cash or villages are considered the property of the owner. He can dispose of this as he likes; give it as a gift or set it aside as an endowment {*waqf*}. The *iqṭāʿs* {Togan's term; in the text, " that which they possess ", *i.e.*, lands which} have been given to the *amīrs* and soldiers are not used in place of the *suyurgal* {*marsūm* in the text} because they have long since been considered hereditary property. This system was established in the time of Hülegü and has no provision for change, neither for expansion nor contraction, except for the great *amīrs.* Despite the large size of the Ilḫānid state, its control and administration are in the hands of capable financial officials {*mustawfīyīn*}.

" With respect to the salaries of the *qāḍīs* {judges}, it is customary for the chief *qāḍī* to be in the company of the ruler. He has jurisdiction over all parts of the state except ʿIrāq al-ʿArab, because Baghdad has its own chief *qāḍī.* The chief *qāḍī* Abū Muḥammad al-Ḥasan al-Ġūrī said that the salary which was recently allotted to him was six villages {*iqṭāʿs*} and 10,000 *dīnārs* in cash each year ".

The system of providing compensation to military and civil officials in the country of the Ilḫānids was established in the reign of Möngke Qa'an for the entire Mongol state. Those who most closely followed this specific system of compensation were the eastern Mongols, especially during the time of Kubla Ḫān and Tīmūr. We have no information on the system of compensation in the *ulus* of Chaġatay before the time of Tīmūr. With regard to the *ulus* of Jochi, we have only a short passage which Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-ʿUmarī cites from ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Tarjumān al-Ḫwārazmī. It mainly concerns Ḫwārazm and reads as follows (T, 273; A, 62*b*) :

متى صارت هذه المملكة بعد ملوك الخوارزمية الى بنى جنكيز خان استمروا بعساكر خوارزم على حالهم على اقطاعاتهم وكل من كان بيد آبآيه شيء هو الان بيد أبنائه . والامرا منهم لهم بلاد منهم من يعمل بلاده فى السنة مايتى الف دينار رابحا وما دون ذلك الى ماية الف دينار رابح واما الجند فليس لاحد منهم الا نقود تؤخذ على النطع وكلهم سوا لكل واحد منهم فى السنة مايتا دينار رابح .[96]

This translates as follows :

> After this country [Ḫwārazm] passed from the possession of the Ḫwārazm-Šāhs to the descendants of Chingiz Ḫān, the soldiers of Ḫwārazm preserved their former *iqṭāʿs* [*i.e.*, from the time of the Ḫwārazm-Šāhs]. What had been in the hands of the fathers was now in the hands of the sons. The *amīrs* in the *ulus* of Jochi [or in Ḫwārazm] had *iqṭāʿs* that produced a revenue ranging from 100,000 to 200,000 *rābiḥ dīnārs* per year. As for the men in the army, they were all given the same amount, that is, 200 *rābiḥ dīnārs* of pure silver coins each year.

95. On the terms *idrārāt, marsūmāt, maʿišāt, kirek-yaraq, mawājib, suyurğamisāt,* and *waṣāʾif,* see *Risāla-i falakiyya,* fol. 30*a,* and ʿAlā-i Tabrīzī, fols 53 ff.

96. W. Tiesenhausen, *Recueil de matériaux relatifs à l'histoire de la Horde d'Or* {St Petersburg, 1884}, pp. 223, 224.

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The Mongols adhered very closely to the practice of giving *iqṭā's*. This system was reconfirmed under Chingiz, Möngke and Hülegü. When Hülegü marched into Iran, he gave Tabrīz and Marāġeh as *iqṭā's* to the soldiers of the *ulus* of Jochi who were in his army. This matter became a subject of continuous dispute between the *ulus* of Jochi and that of Hülegü. Nevertheless, the *iqṭā'* revenue of these places was given to the sultans of the *ulus* of Jochi. It was Ġazan who definitely took these two cities away from them [97]. According to the campaign chronicles of Tīmūr, indeed, also the book of travels of Evliyā Chelebī, the *iqṭā's* that were established in the time of Hülegü remained in effect until fairly late times. The information inserted in Rašīd al-Dīn (fols 327*a*-30*a*) and *Risāla-i falakiyya* on the subject of the army's *iqṭā's* in Anatolia at that time needs to be studied and compared to the traditions of the Russians, Ottomans and Ṣafavids. For now, we can say that the salaries of civil servants and military officers in Anatolia and the rest of the Ilḫānid state reached, in gold francs, [98] the following amounts from the time of Hülegü to the time of Sultan Muḥammad and Šaiḫ Ḥasan Jalāyir, who were contemporaries of Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-'Umarī :

	Per Year	*Per Month*
Beylerbeyi	9,000,000	750,000
Noyin, the *amīr* of a *tümen*, before 1340 A.D.	30,000	2,500
Noyin, in the 1340s	1,500,000	6,500
Amīr of 1,000	3,000	250
Amīr of 100, 10, and soldiers	300	25
Women (*ḫātūnlar*, the great *ḫātūn*)	6,000,000	500,000
Minor *ḫātūn*	60,000	5,000
Head vizir	4,500,000	375,000
Chief civil servants	900,000	75,000
Qāḍī 'l-quḍāt whose salary was the same as the earlier salary of the *amīr* of a *tümen*	30,000	2,500

Munši' Muḥammad b. Hindūšāh [99] records among the information that he gives on the organization of the Ilḫānid and Jalāyirid states that only for 1360 A.D. was the

97. *Ibid.*, pp. 217-218 (information from Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-'Umarī).

98. For information on the contemporary purchasing power of the *rābiḥ dīnār*, which was used in the Ilḫānid state, and on its rate of exchange with the gold coinage of Egypt, Byzantium, India, North Africa and Genoa, see my article " Monğol ülkelerinde para sistemi " [The monetary system in the Mongol countries], apparently never published].

99. On this author's work, *Dastūr al-kātib fī ta'yīn al-marātib*, see Hammer, *Geschichte der goldenen Horde* [Pest, 1840], p. 192; Flügel, Hammer-Handschriften, pp. 171-177 [reference unclear, cf. G. Flügel's *Die arabischen, persischen, turkischen Handschriften der kaiserlichen und koniglichen Hofbibliothek*

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annual salary of the *ulus beyi* 100,000 *dīnārs* (ده تومان) and the salary of the *mustawfī 'l-mamālik* {chief revenue officer} 25,000 dīnārs according to the old system. The salaries of other officials are not given. Addressing the people in the *Dīwān,* he simply writes that "such and such" amount of *dīnārs* would be given each year according to the established budget (چندین دینار ، کذا دینار). Muḥammad b. Hindūšāh, however, lists one by one the officials who received a salary from the state budget. He also mentions persons who received salaries from sources outside the state budget, such as the *'ulamā'* {religious scholars} and *šaiḫs* {leaders of mystic brotherhoods} who were supported by *waqfs*; or those who derived their livelihood from the villages and markets.

Those who received salaries from the budget were the *ulus beyi, tümen beyi, amīrs* of 1,000, 100, and 10, *ülke beyi* (governor), *yarguçî* (head of the law court), *daruğa* (شحنه, chief of the garrison, commander {cf. Lambton, "Mongol Fiscal Administration," *SI,* 64 [1986], 80, nt. 2}), *basqaq* (governor and tax collector), *baḫşî* (Mongolian and Turkish for "secretary"), provincial governors, director of the mint, *bükavul* ({commissariat official} intendant), *yasavul* (inspector of the army), *yurtçî bey* {official in charge of setting up camp}, *bularguçî,* vizir, vicegerant, comptroller and financial officials, *uluğ bitikçi* {chief scribe, accountant}, *nāẓir-i mamālik* {head of comptroller office}, *mušrif-i mamālik* {similar to previous position}, *munši'-i mamālik* {chief secretary}, assistant vizir, *defterdar-i mamālik* {head of treasury}, *tutkavul* (gendarme), chief (police), *qāḍī 'l-quḍāt,* and *qāḍī.* [100] Those who received salaries from *zakāt* {obligatory alms}, *'ušr* {tithe} or *waqfs* were *naqīb al-nuqabā'* {chief of the 'Alids}, director of *waqfs,* professors of law (*mudarris*), preachers {*ḫaṭīb*}, jurists, the heads of dervish lodges {*hanekah şeyihleri*}, directors of hospitals, secretaries of judges, *zakāt* collectors, prayer leaders {*imāms*}, and muezzins. [101] As for the *muḥtasib* {supervisor of the market place}, money was collected for him from shops and vendors. [102] A certain salary was also set aside for the *kervansalars* and *tutkavuls* who provided security for commercial caravans when they were on the road. The money for their salaries was collected from the caravans and paid by the government. [103] It appears from the edicts (*yarlîğ*) which were issued concerning the officials whose salaries came from the budget that the Jalāyirid sultans adopted the practices of the Ilḫānids as the basis for their salaries. Indeed, it was clearly recorded that salaries which were established according to the Mongol account books had to be increased each year. It was also recorded whether or not an official wanted the revenue of a certain place instead

zu Wien [Vienna, 1865]}; and Catalog {*sic*}, I, 235; Ch. Rieu, {*Catalogue of the Persian Manuscripts in the British Museum* [London, 1879-1883]}, *Supplement* {London, 1895}, p. 122; {P. Melioransky, "O Kudatku Bilike Chingiz khana," [On the *Kutadgu Bilig* of Chingiz-Ḫān]}, *Zapiski Vostochnago Otdyeleniye,* 13 (1900), 015. There are excellent MSS in Istanbul, e.g., Ayasofya MS. 3869.

100. Ayasofya MS. 3869, fols. 177*b*-211*a*.

101. *Ibid.*, fols. 212*b*-25*b*.

102. *Ibid.*, fol. 219*b*.

103. *Ibid.*, fol. 208 : جماعت کروانیان رسمی که معهوداست واز دیوان مقرر شده وصورت آن برلوحی که منقوش ومعلق است نوشته بی زیادت ونقصان با او جواب کویندتا او بدیوان رساند دیکری درکار او دخل نکند.

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of cash, and if this were permitted [104]. There is no doubt that very serious attention was given to adhering to the system of salaries that was established in the budget of the Ilḫānid state.

In addition to this, there are lists of personnel and their salaries in ʿAlā-i Tabrīzī (fols 65-66, 85-88, 91-98) and *Risāla-i falakiyya* (e.g., fol. 77). These lists will be the subject of a separate study {apparently never published}.

Fol. 197*a* : مقرر ومسلم دارند اصحاب دیوانی بزوك واز دیوان برانجا حوالتی نکنند ومزاحم نشوند مرسوم یا ساولی که بموجبی که دفاتر دیوان بر کیت آن مشتمل است سال بسال با أوجواب کونید واز نقص وتنقیص مختزز ومجتنب باشند .

On *uluğ bitikçi*, see fol. 196*a* : ومرسوم مالی ورسوم خارجی که این منصب را مجری ومقرر باشد ودر دفاتر بنام الغ بتکجیان سابق ممضی ومثبت شده بر همان قرار با او وکما شتکان او جواب کویند وبروات بر مواضعی اطلاق کنند که ارادت او با شد .

On *mustawfī 'l-mamālik*, see fol. 194*a* : وهر سال از اصل مال ومتوجهات دیوانی مبلغ بیست هزار دینار زر رایج با رسوم خارجی که معهود مستوفیان بوده با او ونواب وکماشتکان او که در هر طرف از اطراف ولایات باستیفا تعیین کرده باشد جواب کویند واکر اورا ارادتبا شد که بمتوجهات مواضع مرجو الحصول مقاصه ومستفرق کردانیده سال بسال ازانجا تصرف نماید برآن موجب بتقدیم رسانند واجابت ملتمس او لوازم شمرند .

104. Ayasofya MS. 3869, fol. 183: اصحاب دیوان مرسومی که بنام بخشی کاتب مغولی نویس که در دفاتر مغولی مقرر بوده باشد سال بسال با او جواب کویند .

And on *bükavul*, fol. 185*b* : اصحاب دیوان بزرك مرسومی که بنام بو کاول مقرر باشد ودر دفاتر مثبت با او جواب کویند .

And also : اصحاب دیوان مرسوم بکاولی بموجبی که دفاتر مثبت ومسطور باشد با او جواب کویند وچیزی قاصر نکنند بنام او مقرر کردانید .

And on fol. 186*a* : اصحاب دیوان مرسوم بوکاولی در دفاتر ثبت کنند وچنان سازند که سال بسال از موضعی مرجو الحصول بدو واصل کرد وبفراعت خاطر بدین حطیر قیام تواند نمود تا محمدت پیوندد .

On *yasavul*, see fol. 186*a* : اصحاب دیوانی بزرك مرسومی که در دفاتر بنام یاساول مجری ومقرر باشد سال بسال بر مواضع مرجو الحصول حوالت کنند تا باسانی بدورسد واکر در عوض مرسوم موضعی دیوانی باتمغا التماس کنند تاتصرف کرفته هرسال مرسوم خوداز مباشران آن موضع وتمغا استیفا نماید ملتمس او مبذول داشته.

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