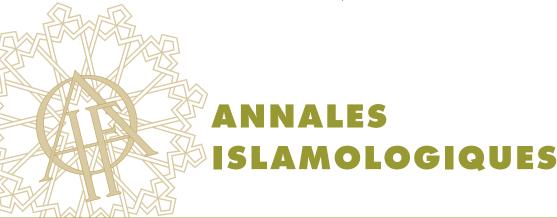
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Ahmet Zeki Validi Togan, Gary Leiser

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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 Mecmuasi, 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 Ilhānid 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 Āzarbāījān Learned Society on 9 March 1929. 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 Ilḥānid 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 Il-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.

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-Ilhānid 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 Ilhānids 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 \{ [Jāmi' al-tawārīb, for work on this text, see for example John Boyle, The Successors of Genghis Khan [New York, 1971] Topkapi MS, fo 323b) to large gold coins of 100 mitqāls called « درستهای طلا), and a Byzantine source cited by J. von Hammer-Purgstall (Geschichte der Ilchane Darmstadt, 1841-1843), II, 159). However, Gazan's statement چون درحق کسی انغانی فرمایم اورا ازان درستهابد هم 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. Gazan'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 mitqāls. Rašīd al-Dīn is simply praising their beauty

(وفرمود تادرسهای طلاهریك صد مثقال زدند و بخطوط تمامت ولایات نام خود برانجاسکة زد تادرهمه مواضع چون بخوانند دانندگی ضرب اوست وایات قرآن واسامی دوازده امام عه . م . برآن سکة منقوش است وسکه بنایت خوب ولطیف چنانك هرکسکی بیابد اورادل ندرهرکه بکذارد و خواهدگی البنه نکاه دارد و فرمودکی جهت اوازه چون درحق کسی انعامی فرماییم اورا ازان درسها بدهیم) .

The Byzantine author Pachymeres, who is cited by Hammer (p. 205), simply says, "among them {i.e., the Ilhānids} 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."

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

(... وبیش ازین جهت انك زر سرخ در بازار هانادر افتادی واكر قدری درآوردندی آنراصد مشتری پیدا شدی .. این زمان در بازار هابردست هرروستایی چندان زر سرخ می كرددكه نهایت ندارد و تمامت معاملات بدان میكنند).

While mentioning the expenses of Gazan at the assembly | kurultay | at Ūjān, Rašīd al-Dīn clearly distinguishes gold from silver خريطهاى 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. 299b), 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. 315b, زرنقد ازرعایا). There are further references to "1,000 tümens of gold" with regard to Šams al-Dīn | Juvainī | during the time of Abaqa (fol. 153b) and to "20 tümens of gold" and "250 tümens of gold" in the work entitled Tasliyyat al-iḥwān, | extracts published in Mīrzā Muḥammad Qazvīnī's edition of 'Aṭā' Malik Juvainī's Ta'riḥ-i Jahān-Gušā [London, 1912-1937] | which 'Aṭā' Malik Juvainī wrote about his own life. There is even the phrase

درضمير آباقاخان چنان نشانده بودندكه اين توفيرات زرنقدى ست كه بخانه برده ام ودر زير زمين دفن كرده

in Qazvīnī's edition of Ta'rīḥ-i Jahān-Gušā, introduction, I, pp. 466, which means, "they told Abaqa Han that I brought a lot of money, namely, 20 tümens in gold, to my home \hat{hana} and buried it ". In Vasṣāf, zar (gold) and dīnār (i.e., silver dīnār) are always mentioned separately (\(\frac{Tajziyat al-ams\(\bar{a}r\)}{\text{Bombay ed.}}\) Bombay ed. \(\frac{1852-1853}{\text{, pp. 336, 337, 349, 362,}}\) .(« اخراج زر ودينار » , p. 436 و خزائن زر ودينار » , p. 368 و تومن زر » , 384, 390, etc. A penalty of 15 tümens of gold was imposed on the Turkmen and "Šūl" \tribesmen\ who revolted at one time in the province of Fars. According to the accounts of Rašīd al-Din and Vassaf, the cruelties of the basqags provincial revenue officials in the province of Färs were for the most part unprecedented. Vassaf cites a verse of a folksong \tirk\vec{u}\tirk\vec{u}\tirk\vec{v}\tirk من جان چقرم التون demands of the tax collectors. He wrote it in the following manner This should be translated, "I would give up my life for gold, "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 in which ,وكه ادأ طلا چهرة شان زر مضروب * بوجه طلغمشان سيم غم شده مسبوك , in which it is said that they demanded tila | redgold | and talgam silver from the people. In another place (p. 123), when mentioning the payment of 500 tümens, Vassāf says that were surrendered. سه صد تومن زر عيار

A document which definitely shows that gold and silver were used together in Ilhānid territory is a work called Sa'ādatnāma, which 'Alā-i Tabrīzī wrote on the financial affairs of the Ilhānids 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

beiden persischen Leitfäden des Falak 'Alā-ye Tabrīzī über das staatliche Rechnungswesen im 14. Jahrhundert [Göttingen, 1973]. In this work, the "" and " 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 mitqāls 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. 49a),

دیکر هروقت که اصناف نقود مختلف وانواع مواشی محرر تفصیلی 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. 57b,

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 'Alā-i Tabrīzī, fol. 75b, we find the following:

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

Then, under the term $r\bar{a}bih$, the number of $d\bar{i}n\bar{a}rs$ 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 $til\bar{a}$, ahmar {"red" in Arabic}, or surh {"red" in Persian} are used.

II

In the Mongol period, the terms dirham, mitqāl, 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 Hamd

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 Hamd Allāh and others have provided on the budget of the Ilhānids of Iran. The financial account in Hamd 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 Gazan, the weight of this dīnār was definitely set at three miṭqāls. While mentioning the terminology of Gazan's coinage, Rašīd al-Dīn says the following (f° 323 b):

کچون پیش ازین هردرمی چهار دانك می زدندی و بی انك مصلحتی در ضمن آن باشد بنیم و نیم دانك کردندگی هیچ عقدی نیست. این زمان نیم مثقال راست بزنند و انج نیم دانك مغشوش بود نیم مثقال طلغم صافی میباشد و چون اعتبار زر و نقره بمقدار عیارست هرکس که نم و نیم دانك مغشوش دارد و بیك درم خرج میكند صافی کردانیده تانیم مثقال کند و بهمان یك درم خرج کند و چون احتیاط رفت نزدیك بكاربود و زیادت زیانی نه مردم برغبت سه مثقال و نیم نقره کی بیش داشت بسه مثقال مضروب مسکوك بدل میکردند... و حکم بر آن جمله فرمود کی اکر در دست انواع زرهای مغشوش موجود بود و این زمان حکم آنست کی هیچ آفریده بغیر از طلاو طلغم معامله نکندوانك نشناسد بدیكری نماید تا احتیاط کند و چون چنین باشد هیچ قلابی زرقلب نزند چه محقق داندگی ازوی نخواهد ستد کی همه احتیاط میکنند و درین مدت کی چنین امری معظم در تمامت ممالك جاری کشت و محتاج نبود کی کسی را بکشند و چنان احتیاط میکنند سه مثقال بیك دینار رابح تا هیچ آفریده نبرد و چون در تمامت و لایات متساوی کشته مردم آسوده حال شده اند .

The Egyptian historians al-Nuwairī | Nihāyat al-'arab| and al-Qalqašandī ² also provide information to the effect that the dīnār-i Tabrīzī and dīnār-i rābih consisted of six dirhams. Furthermore, the statements of al-Aqsarāyī | Musāmarat al-ahbār, ed. Osman Turan [Ankara, 1944]| and Hamd 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 rābih and says that one gold dīnār of the Seljuks (zar-i surh) 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 surh, he meant the dīnār-i surh 'awwāl used in Baghdad, which was 12 dirhams 4. One Mongol dīnār equalled six

- 2. Şubḥ al-a'šā {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 'awwāl = 400,020,000 Mongol dīnārs. In the MSS, ه فنتاد » is mistakenly written in place of

ر 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 » because one gold Seljuk dīnār was three silver Tabrīz dīnārs and two dānaqs, that is, 14 dānaqs, which would be $21,500 \times 14 = 50,166$ sic.

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

The definition of $d\bar{a}naq$ found here is certainly that of the term that was generally used in the government $\{d\bar{i}w\bar{a}n\}$ and financial $\{ist\bar{i}f\bar{a}'\}$ institutions of the Ilhānid 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-'Umarī on the salaries of Ilhānid 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 Geihatu 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 Ilhānid 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 *mitqāl*. This is confirmed by the information provided by 'Alā-i Tabrīzī. In all of his accounts (fols 37a, 55b, 57b, 58b, 69), he writes *mitqāl* for gold (*tilā*) and *dīnār* for silver (*talġam*). Vaṣṣāf (p. 349) indicates that Ġazan's {standard of} coinage "was a *mitqāl* of gold which was equal to four *dīnār-i rābiḥ*, that is, silver *dīnārs* — and one *mitqāl* of pure silver was equal to one *dīnār* "

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

5. For example, *Miftāḥ al-ḥisāb*. 'Alī Jamšīd al-Kāšī, Esad Efendi MS. 3195, fols 15b:

«واهل السياقة والمعاملات بل العامة استعملو الدوانيق والطسوجات والشعيرات ، دانق اربع طسوج والطسوج اربع شعيرات . »

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 توامين عنها ماية الف درهم . »

« فأمر (كيخاتو) له بثلاثة توامين ,7. Ibid., V, 296 وهي ثلثون الف دينار بماية الف درهم .»

17

In the Mongol period, only the word dīnār or the expressions dīnār-i rābih, dīnār-i surh, dīnār-i aḥmar, and dīnār-i zar-i naqd were used. Sometimes the attribution dīnār-i surh is referred to as the Baghdad dīnār-i 'awwāl, 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 mital of gold but also to larger weights. Of the Ilhanid 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 Gazan in Baghdad, bear the inscriptions duriba hādā 'l-dīnār or duriba hādā 'l-dīnār al-mubārak 8. Furthermore, the 8.7-gram gold coins of Gazan and the 8.5-gram gold coins of the Jalāyirids were also called dīnārs. In my opinion, the largest Ilhānid gold dīnārs were probably the large gold coins weighing three mitqāls (12.750 grams), which were worth 12 dīnār-i rābiḥ at the time of Gazan and Öljeitü (Mübarek Galib, Meskūkāt-i \kadīme-i islāmiyye kataloğu, mülūku cengiziyye ve\ 'l-ilhāniyye \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 mitgāl of silver was called a dānaq, and 108 dānaqs of silver were equal to a som weighing 36 mitqāls. This som had the value of 36 francs, each mitqāl of silver being equal to a gold franc. In other words, during the reign of Gazan one mitgāl of gold was equal to four dīnār-i rābih (or 12 mitgāls of silver), as Vaṣṣāf says, and coins of three mitgāls of gold, being equal to 12 dīnārs (or 36 mitgāls 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 handes was probably the yasîk/bāliš \" pillow ", applied to an ingot of gold or silver. The $b\bar{a}li\bar{s}$ was also readily accepted among the eastern Mongols but was used very little in Ilhanid territory. According to Rašīd al-Dīn (fol. 253b), in the last days of Abaqa, the chief vizir, Şāḥib 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. 299b). According to Vașṣāf (p. 22) and Juvainī (I, 16), the gold bāliš was equal to 500 mitgāls of gold and 2,000 paper bāliš. In other words, one mitād of gold was equal to four pieces of paper money. Thus, by Ilhānid calculation, this meant one silver dīnār. According to Vassaf (p. 22) and Juvainī (I, 16), each bāliš of gold or silver weighed 500 mitgāls (two and a half kilograms). In the east, at the time when Kubla Han ascended the throne, one bāliš had the value of 2,000 silver dīnārs (i.e., one mitgāl of gold was again equal to four silver dīnārs). According to Juvainī, in the city where he was (Baghdad), a silver bāliš weighing 500 mitgāls had the value of 75 dīnār-i ruknī, each of which had the value of four dānags, that is, one silver bāliš was 300 dānags. Therefore, the dānag mentioned by Juvainī was 1.66 mitgāls and the dīnār-i ruknī was 6.64 mitgāls of silver, which was approximately one dīnār-i 'awwāl. In the eastern Mongol Empire during the reign of Kubla Ḥān, 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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Economic Conditions in Anatolia in the Mongol Period; introduction et traduction par Gary Leiser.

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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 Geihatu, this money was printed in denominations of one half *dīrham* 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 surh" or "tümen-i dīnār-i aḥmar" was mentioned, the meaning was gold dinār 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 \mutasarrif\, 'Ata' Malik Juvainī says in his Tasliyyat al-ihwān that 600 gold tümens were equal to six million dīnārs (دينار باشد). شهصد تومان زركه شش هزار هزار دينار باشد). Mīrzā Muhammad Qazvīnī understands this dīnār to be the gold dīnār, but he is mistaken. Vassāf says (p. 336) that the revenue from the mamālik-i barr u baḥr, that is, the and (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 مقاطهه) 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 rābih, and the tax of Šīrāz was 450,000 dīnārs. This would agree with Vassaf. Furthermore, Vassaf records that 185 dinars = 61 dinars and four dānags, 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 dinārs a donkey-load of wheat that could not be found for 30 dinārs. There is no doubt that these calculations were made in silver dinārs. In addition, the "100 tümens of gold" (p. 384, تنست آنست regarding the expenses of Šanbī-Ġāzānī, هرسال زياده ازصد تومان زرمتوجهات آنست and the 20,000 tümens from the zakāt tax introduced by Gazan, of which four tümens of gold (p. 389) were sent to the province of Fars 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 Ilhānid dīnārs of six dirhams each and were circulated with dīnārs called kepekī dīnārs, which were named after the Chaġatay Ḥān 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 hān as "Kopak /Küpek". Quatremère referred to a MS. in which he found the form which he will be marked with the vowel sound damma (Notices et extraits and la Bibliothèque)

Nationale du Roi, XIV {which is the work Maţla 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 في اي صورة ماشا , so it must certainly be read "Kebek",

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 'Arabšāh 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 $T\bar{i}m\bar{u}r^{12}$.

Ш

The history of Ilhānid 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 Ilhānids experienced financial crises during the reigns of Arġun and Geihatu. Ilhānid historians provide considerable information on this. The material written on this subject at the end of the Ilhānid 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 Faḥr al-Dīn Qazvīnī and only he was able to rectify the situation and, thus, Anatolia became the envy of other countries (Ta'rīḥ-i

that is, "Kepeh". Ibn Baṭṭūṭa adds that the wife of Özbek Ḥān had such a name, which he vocalizes as "Kepek" and translates as Ji. 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 Ji. 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; 'Abd al-Razzāq al-Samarqandī, {Maṭla' al-sa'dain}, Esad Efendi MS. 2128, fols. 311b, 312b.
- 11. { 'Ajā'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 .

Guzīda, pub. ed. {London, 1910}, p. 485 « كرداييد»). 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 Gazan, Rašīd al-Dīn describes the disorders and financial crises of the reigns of Argun and Geihatu and refers very somberly to the economic life of their reigns. It would appear from a study of the coinage and records dating before Gazan that it would certainly not be correct to generalize about the 40 years of the Ilhānids prior to that ruler as Barthold has done, for he was deceived by Rašīd al-Dīn. At that time, different coins were found in Rum (Anatolia), Kars, Kirman, 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. Gazan'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 Argun and, especially, Geihatu, 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 Gazan, there was a certain contention in Iran between the dirham and dīnār system used in the uluses of Chagatay and Jochi and the "Ilhānid system", which had originated from it and from the systems which had prevailed in Iran before the Mongols. In this respect, Gazan merely gave special attention to Iranian and Ilhānid traditions. more, the striking of durusts weighing 100 gold mitgāls might not be an innovation peculiar to Gazan. Such durusts were known in other places, like Kashmir 13. After Timūr occupied Damascus, he struck gold and silver tankakjas {sic} (تنكجات زرونقره) weighing 10, 50, and 100 mitgāls and distributed them throughout his state 14.

The Byzantines called the Ilḥānid silver dīnār the "casaneus". It was named after Ġazan because he fixed the value of this coinage. The doubt about the value of Ilḥānid 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 kiymetinin tereddüdü Moğollardaki kiymetinin tereddüdünü göstermez"}. The reign of Arġun had witnessed the development of an Ilḥānid 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 Geiḥatu, Vaṣṣāf says that this money was issued as the equivalent of gold (p. 272, عاورد عوض زر روان) 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,

17 A

سافران و مجنازان بلاد یاغی اند زر بدهند و چاو 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 Ilhānid 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. 330b,

كسانى كه درين مدتها زر بسود ميدادندا كثر مغول واويغور بودند وهرآينه مدبران چون زر بسود كيرند مقبل چكونه توانند شد وعاقبة الامر از ادا عاجز مى آمدند وبازن و چه در ذل اسيرى ايشان كرفنار مى ماندند. و بمين معدلت پادشاه اسلام خلد ملكه [i.e., Ġazan] آن مذلت از اهل اسلام مندفع كشت ... وربا ومعاملات نامنصفانه كترشد ويقين حاصل شدكه زودتر بكلي آن شيوه برافتد ...).

We known that among these ortags 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 Ilhānid territory before 1294 A.D., as it was in the Golden Horde. If not, Geihatu 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 Geihatu 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 Gazan 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 mital reverted to one-third mital). Around the second quarter of the fourteenth century A.D., the financial system of the Ilhanids 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 Sa'id's reign, gold coinage completely lost its continuity. During this period, gold dīnārs of a half mitgāl (2.125 gr.), one mital (4.250 gr.), two mitals (8.500 gr.), and three mitals (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 mitaāls. The discontinuity in the weights of Abū Sa'id'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.

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 Ilhanid state not on the romances of Baġdād Ḥātūn and Dilšād Ḥātūn, 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 Timur, who united most of the three Mongol nations |ulus| toward the end of the century, and the formation of the Timūrid state. I do not wish to exaggerate this crisis, however, despite these great political changes. Those who went from the provinces of the Ilhanid 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 handes or beyliks within the Ilhānid state.

IV

When one examines the material on the financial system, coinage, credit, taxes and state commercial affairs of the Mongols, and especially the Ilhānids, 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. 323a), 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 Argun, Geihatu 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).

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 dinar but also to the dirham and danaq (for information on these matters, see Vassaf, 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 Ilhānid historians like Rašīd al-Dīn, 'Abd Allāh Kāšānī, Hamd Alläh, and Vassäf. 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 Gazan, Vassaf provides information on the revenue of earlier Muslim rulers (pp. 440-446), citing figures that he found in Qudāma b. Ja'far {apparently his Kitāb al-Harāi}, the Fārsnāma [of Ibn al-Balhī], and other works. According to Vassāf, the revenue of Iraq during the reign of Caliph 'Umar was 160 million dirhams because of his justice and efficient organization, but during the reign of Mu'āwiya it dropped to 50 million because of his oppressive régime and under al-Ḥajjāj fell to 17 million. Hamd Allāh recommended looking at the budget figures of a country when it was governed by 'Umar in order to learn if he were oppressive, as the Shī'īs 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, Hamd Allāh, for example, mistakenly believed that accounts were kept in gold in Sāsānid, 'Abbāsid 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.

'Alā-i Tabrīzī's work entitled Sa'ādatnāma, 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 Gazan's vizir, Sa'd al-Din Muhammad b. Tāj al-Dīn 'Alī al-Sāwajī, in order to teach his son, Šaraf al-Dīn, the science of finance and accounting *maliye*, istifā 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 Vassāf. According to what we understand from this book, the Mongol financial system of the Ilhanids was administered in Arabic by Iranian comptrollers {mustawfis}. The author mentions seven ledgers which were used to keep track (دفتر جامع ، دفتر مقرر ، دفتر اوارجه ، دفتر خرج مقرر دیوان ، دفتر قانون ، of income and expenses and indicates that they were recorded in Kāšān tümens. 'Alā-i دفتر توجيهات ودفتر روزنامج) Tabrīzī wrote this work for beginning students of accounting. On folios 50a and 95a, the author recommends that those who wished to supplement this summary work should (كتاب قانون السعادة كه در استيفا مشتمل است براصول كلي study his book entitled Qānūn al-sa'āda . It is well-known that works on accounting problems were also written in the time of the Jalayirids and Timurids. 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 'Iwad Falakabadi Hulwani existed among the books of Halis Efendi. However, it was lost among the books and property sequestered and sold by

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 \(\leftilde{icazetname}\right\) 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 Ilhānid 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{.

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 (Ḥwārazmians, 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, Ḥitai, 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 zāhiriyya*) 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 Ilhānids 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 *Talāta 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.} Rašid al-Din, fol. 322b,
به 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 و بهر دوسر شر نيم اقچه باسم باز ستانند وقطعا زيادت نكيرند.
23. Bratianu, Recherches, pp. 166-198.
24. Ibid., p. 182.

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 Ilhanids gave the Genoese positions in their navy. In 1289 A.D., Argun 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 Argun 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 Ilhanid-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 sakk (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.

 \mathbf{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}.

Hülegü, the Seljuks of Rūm were subject to the $h\bar{a}ns$ of the Golden Horde. For the people of Anatolia, Batu was the ruler of the world (" $p\bar{a}dis\bar{a}h$ -i $r\bar{u}y$ -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 Ilhānid state, they gradually reduced his autonomy.

The Mongols struck coins in Anatolia as early as the time of Hülegü. Under the Ilhānids, 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 \{tam\tilde{ga}\}\ for mamālik-i r\tilde{um}\) 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 \tam\tilde{ga}\ and \tilde{baj}\ \{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 Juvaini 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 transacactions 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, qilan) in settled areas — 1-11 dinārs in China and Transoxiana, 1-10 dinārs 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 qilan 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,

28. AI-Aqsarāyī, Musāmarat al-ahbār, Ayasofya MS. 3143, p. 87, انجو نويين و نويين و غير هم از حضرت پادشاه ديكر انكورك و خراج نويين و غير هم از حضرت پادشاه روى زمين باتو ايلچيان آمده اند و نويين اعظم بايجو مى رسد و يرليخ آورده اند كه باقياتى زر كه بخزانه پادشاه دادى بود بر سانند.

29. Rašīd al-Dīn, fol. 251b, ساس الدين

راجهت امتالت رعیت وقهر اعدا وضبط مملکت روم فرستاد صاحب انجارفت وشهرهای خراب رابحال عمارت باز آورد و در ممالک روم تمغاکی معهود کی نبود بنهاد . In the copy sent to me by my colleague Molla Sadr al-Din Taškandi, which he made from the Mašhad MS, we find و در ممالک روم p. 47.

56, 131; qubchur [according to Radloff, qopchir], pp. 9, 57, 90-92, 111, 146). The term qubchur was used to mean both of these taxes among the Ilhānids, as was qalan/qilan in the Golden Horde (Rašīd al-Dīn, fol. 318a; {Abdullah Battal, "Sāhib Giray Han yarliği" [The yarliği of Ṣāḥib Giray Ḥān)}, 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 "barāj 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. 90a)

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

and ال موال وقومجور والايتي » and wigned, he explains how « حساب مال وقومجور والايتي were to be recorded in this account book. Prior to Gazan, the «حساب تمغاي و لايتي» Mongols not only collected tamga from city dwellers, but they also wanted qubchur. Rašīd al-Dīn reports, for example, that before Gazan 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. 314a واضعاف قومجور بتعهدازايشان بستدند). Gazan abolished such irregularities. He ordered that only the tamga tax be collected—in somewhat greater amount — from the city dwellers and that they be exempted from the qubchur tax. Hamd Allāh attributed this policy to the vizir, Hwāja Sadr 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 tamga 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'rīḥ-i Guzīda:

وچون اکثر بلاد عراق بواسطهٔ مقرری قبجور خراب شده بود و مردم جلاً وطن کرده بمرتبهٔ که در قزوین نماز جماعت جمعه حاصل نمی شد خواجه صدر الدین قبجور را از شهرها برداشت و تمنا مکرر کرد و ازین تدبیر مال مضاعف حاصل می شد و مردم در اسایش و راهها 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 « بلاد عراق » instead of « بلاد عراق » instead of « بلاد عراق »

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 a'ṣam ḥallada 'llāhu mulkahu on awwal-i āḍār, 730, or 12 April 1330 |sic, awwal-i āḍār = 1 March, on this date cf. Wittek, "Ankara'da bir Ilhanī kitabesi" [An Ilḥānid inscription in Ankara], Türk Hukuk ve Iktisat Tarihi Mecmuasi, 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 (عن بالله المهادة على المهادة على المهادة على المهادة على المهادة المهادة

مأخوذات تمغا بموجبي كه هر يك على حده مناسب هر ولايت بر ظهر نوشته شده بر لوح نويسند و بر در هر موضعي كي بدان تمغا مخصوص باشد نهند تابدان موجب بقسط برسانند هيچ آفريده بدعت ورسم محدث نهند ومقاطعان بهانه أنك تمغا زيادت كرده ايم زيادت از مأخوذات لاجرم هر كسكى تغيير وتبديل كند در لعنت : fol. 319 α نستانند ورسم محدث نهند وسخط خالق و خلايق باشد فمن بدله بعد ما سمعه فانما اثمه على الدين يبد لونه ان الله سميع عليم).

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. Tamga 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 Azarbājjān 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 Nigde 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 Halīl Edhem in Tarīh-i 'Osmānī Encümeni Mecmuasi' \"Karaman oğulları hakkında vesaik-i mahkuke " [Inscriptions of the Qaramanids] (nr. 14 [1328], 873). It was installed in 1469-1470 (874 A.H.) on the orders of the last Qaramānid hāns, 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 Nigde inscription is in Persian and in virtually the same spirit as the aforesaid well-known Mongol tax edict {apparently Gazan's} and the other inscriptions, and that the Ilhanids again used the term bid'a (وقبجور اغنام که ازین بدعتها) for this non-canonical method of taxation and cursed those who did not respect the edict ومن سعى في ابطاله فعليه لعنة الله وملائكته). In Turkistan, the tamga and qubchur taxes were described by other terms, but I think this occurred after the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries A.D.

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 Ilhānid countries except Ḥurāsān. 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 Ilhānid 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 'Alī 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 Rabī'a.

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:

	dīn ā rs		dīn ā rs
(ارزن الروم) Erzurum (ا	222,000	3) Bayburt ³²	21,000
2) Tercan ³¹	15,000	4) Erzincan	332,000

^{31.} C : شهره ; F : ذيرجان ; D : دبرجان ; 32. Thusly, in B; in A, D, H : باهرت ; باهرت ; Taesch., II, 8, ترجان ديرجان .

	dīnārs		dīn ārs
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	⁴³ كدوك (15	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	
11) Niksar	187,000 ³⁹	Kaysariyya 46	25,000
12) Kumenat ⁶⁰	14,000		

This is certainly محدود اقنهر ارزنجان .33 which is mentioned on , قراحصار كغونيه p. 534 of | 'Azīz b. Ardašīr Astarābādī's | Bazm u razm {Istanbul, 1928} (probably also on pp. 313, 317, 475, 477). This would be at between اشقر اوره سي between Erzincan and Sivas. See Taesch., II, 2, 8. Le Strange believes it to be Sebin Karahisar. According to Ahmet Tevhit, Meskūkāt-i islāmiyye kataloğu (Istanbul, 1321), IV, 439, who cites Aşik Chelebi (Manāzir al-'awālim, Ayasofya MS. 3466, fol. 234b), and Halīl Edhem, " Merzifonda Pervane Muʻīn al-Dīn Süleymān namına bir kitābe" [An inscription in Merzifon in the name of Pervane Mu°īn al-Din Süleymān]{, Türk Tarih Encümeni Mecmuası, 7 {1333}, nr. 43, p. 49, كوغونيا = «قره حصار شرقى.»

34. Thusly, G; C : کاخ .

 $35. \; G: حمر بیرت ، حریرت ، خرپرت ; C: حمر بیرت ، H: صریرت .$

آبش ازفرات وهوایش بسردی مایل 36. It is stated حاصلش غلة واندك میوهباشد .

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: دو بر لو يركى; C: رويركى.

38. D : چهل هزار دينار .

39. D, 187,300 and confused with Niğde. 40. قرمنات the old "Pont-Jumana" on the Yeşil Irmak near Tokat, Ch. Texier

\{\text{Asie Mineure, description géographique, historique et archéologique [Paris, 1862]\{\}, Turkish ed. \{\text{Istanbul, 1339-1340}\}, III, 114. Cf. \text{Bazm u razm, pp. 198, 279, 296.}

41. According to Le Strange, the "Gab" between Tokat and Zile. Müneccim-başî, Jāmi al-duwal, II, Esad Efendi MS. 2103, fol. 283: رواليجاق نويين في 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 Bībī, \al-Awāmir Yinanç). Cf. Ibn al-'alā'iyya, Persian abridgement in Th. Recueil de textes relatifs Houtsma ed., 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, Jāmi al-duwal, II, Esad Efendi MS. 2103, fol. 384b, قلعة دولو بقرب قيسارية, 385b,

	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 19	$40,300^{50}$	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 حسار 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, قلمة دولو غره حساره 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 | , فياف , Taesch., table 49.

49. A, C: ذو لو

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

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 يواس ، يراش If this word is in fact ناس ، يوراس ، يراش 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 Buzanti. According to Ibn Hurradādbih'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 Daği connecting Tarsus with Konya. On «معسر الملك » (Ulu-Kişla), على حمة لؤلؤ والصفصاف وتصر الى معسر it states Concerning the . الملك وقد قطعت الدرب وأصحرت affair of Šaraf al-Dīn b. Haţīr, al-Aqsarāyī writes that while going from Niğde to Tarsus and Syria, one goes first from Niğde to "Karahisar Yavaş" and then to Lu'lu'e. It must be around جانب معدن present-day Hoca Oluk, which is roughly north of this fortress-like pass which was probably associated with the present-day mine in Bolkar Dağı. The sources that Hammer used show this city to be part of Cilician Armenia (Turkish ed., I, 73). Ḥamd Allah is satisfied with merely saying the following about this city: هوايش بسردي مايل Ibn .وغلف زار بسیارد دار وشکا رکاه بیحد وشمار ومع نواب بيت جنكنز ,Fadl Alläh al-'Umarī says خآن بالروم ثلثه معادن فضة احدها باراضي مدينة لولوه والثانى باراضي مدينة لمس (كمش) والثالث باراضي مدينة باحرت قال (ای شیخ حیدر العریان السبر حصری) و هی الى ان فارقها فى حدود سنة ثلاث وثلثين وسبعائة عماله مستممره العمل يخرج الفضة الخالص بها.

Ayasofya MS. 3416, fol. 98a. While mentioning the province of Šujā^e 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

18

	dīnārs		dīnārs
26) Ermenak	7,000	32) Koçhisar 57	27,000
27) Konya	not shown	33) Kastamonu	15,000
28) Akşehir	135,000	⁵⁸ ? افسك (34	5,000
29) Eğridir ⁵⁴	4,000	⁵⁹ ? زرفرلو (35	40,300 60
30) Sivrihisar ⁵⁵	25,000	? زیارت بازار (36	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.

وله مدینة کش شارای مدینة الفضة وهی غیر ما بابدی بیت جنکیز خان وهو معدن کثیر التحصیل جلیل الفایده جزیل العایده اعظم من الذی بایدی بیت جنکیز خان واحه د فضة

(fol. 106a). Was this mine, which was near Kütahya, Seyid Ömer or was it around the town of Gümüş in Güney Daği? 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 Gazan 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 مش بازار (see Ismail Galib, Takvīm-i meskūkāt-i selçukīyye Istanbul, 1309{, p. کا and لس بازار, that is, Gümüş-Bazar, which are barely legible on

Mongol coins, must be this place, for there is also a الأولاء on their coins. But where is which is a separate place from للا in the country of Šujā 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. Ḥaṭīr and turned him over to the government (al-Aqsarāyī, Musāmarat, p. 158).

. اكرىدول : 54. C

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

عوريه and انكوريه are the same while الكوريه and Ankara are different. He mentions Ankara instead of عبوريه as being in the fourth clime.

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

- 58. Thusly, in A and D; C: اقببك .
- 59. Thusly, in C; A, D: ررفرلو.
- 60. H, 20,000 dīnārs.
- 61. H, 14,000 dīnārs.

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

	dīnārs		dīnārs
1) Ahläț	51,500	⁶⁷ ? خرسرمت و لو قيامات (10	16,600
⁶² ? ابتوك (2	1,000	⁶⁸ ? هنکاماباد (11	900
3) Arciş	80,000	⁶⁹ ? سلم (12	7,200
⁶³ ارسوك (4	13,600	عين (13	15,000 ⁷⁰
5) Ala-Tağ	6,500	کبود (14	4,300
6) Bargiri ⁶⁴	25,000	15) Malazgird ⁷¹	14,000
⁶⁵ ? بيان (7	16,000	16) Van and Vastan	53,400
⁶⁶ ? خرادين (8	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 Rabī'a is given as 1,925,000 dīnārs. It was divided in the following manner:

	dīn ā rs		dīnārs
1) Mosul	328,000	⁷⁹ ? جزير ءً ابن عمر (10	170,200
2) Irbil	22,000	⁸⁰ ? خانی وسیون (11	171,000
3) Arzan	275,000	12) Harran	blank
4) Amid ⁷³	30,000	13) Hasankeyf	82,500
^{7/} ? باصیده (5	4,300	14) Habur	blank
⁷⁵ ? ناظر نوح (6	15,000	15) Ra's al-'Ayn	blank
⁷⁶ ? بر طلّی (7	10,200	16) Raqqa = Collinicus	blank
⁷⁷ ? جسار (8	blank	17) Urfa	blank
⁷⁸ ? بر از يح (9	14,000	18) Siirt	46,500

- 62. GT, Abtut, unknown; H : ابتوط .
- . ایمسو : 73. C ; بر کنار نحیر هٔ اخلاط و جای عظیم سخت نیکوست . 73. C
- GT, Armuk, unknown; probably ارجك.
 - . سير كيزى : H ; نهر كوى : 64. Thusly, in GT; C
 - 65. GT, Bayan, unknown.
 - 66. GT, Ḥaradin, unknown; H : خراوين .
- 67. H : جوهربت وتوفيانات ; GT, Ḥarmaramt and Luqiamat, unknown.
 - 68. GT, Hangamabad, unknown.
 - 69. GT, Salam, unknown.
 - 70. H, 7,200 dīnārs.
 - . بلاد جرد : 71. C

- 72. ولا شجرد. GT: unknown (why?).
- 74. GT, Basbdah.
- 75. GT, Batar-Nuh, unknown.
 - 76. GT, Bartalla.
 - 77. GT, Jasar; H: جار.
- 78. Thusly, in H; G: تواريخ; GT, Bawazij.
- 79. Thusly, in H; C : جريرة; GT, Jazirahi ibn 'Umair.
- 80. H : جانی وسیوان ; GT, Hani and Siwan, unknown.

	dīn ār s		dīnārs
19) Sanjar	147,500	24) Keremelis 81	11,200
20) Süq al-samänīn	blank	25) Mardin	236,200
21) °Aqr	27,400	26) Muş	69,500
22) 'Imadiyya	68,000	27) Mayyāfāriqīn	224,000
23) Qirqisiyya = Circesium	blank	28) Nasibin	blank

Instead of 1,925,000 dīnārs for Diyār Bakr and Diyār Rabī'a, this totals 1, 782,000 dīnārs, so that 132,700 are lacking. The difference 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 $3,300,000 \ d\bar{m}\bar{a}rs + 30,000 + 390,000 + 1,925,000 \ for a total of <math>5,645,000 \ d\bar{m}\bar{a}rs$, 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 Āzarbāijān (2,384,000 dīnārs), Arrān and Mūgan (303,000), Šarvan, Kustāsfī (113,000), Abhāz 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 Diyar 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 Rabī'a. Although their (individual) revenue is not given, Sivas and Konya were certainly exceptional cities, for their shares together came to 1,384,866 dinars. 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 Azarbāijān, 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 Ilhānid 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 Ilhānid state as a whole. In 1336, the revenue bill for the rest of Iran, exclusive of Ḥurāsān which had a completely separate budget, was as follows: the region of Fārs, 2,871,200 dīnārs; Kirmān, 676,500; Ḥuzistān, 325,000; Šabānkāra, 266,100; and Kurdistān, 200,000. The

^{81.} H: كربليس.

^{82.} Bratianu, Recherches, pp. 158 ff.

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 Ilhanid 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 Hamd Allah, the revenue from Iran was only 17 million dinārs prior to Gazan {1295-1304 A.D.}, but thanks to his justice it rose to 21 million (p. 132). The same writer says that after Gazan 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 Gazan (واكنون همانا نيمه ٔ آن نباشد چه اكثر ولايات ازين تحكمات وتردد لشكرها 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 Oljeitü \1317 A.D.\, that agricultural land went out of production, and that the budget for 'Iraq al-'Arab in 1336 A.D. was more than three million, but it fell because of the subsequent oppression of its governors .(حقوق آن ملك درسنه منس وثلثين خانى سيصد وجند تومان رابح بوده ازان نيز بسبب ظلم حكام بسيار منكسر مىشد) We have mentioned above that in 1336 the general tax dues for Iran, excluding Hruāsān, amounted to 19.6 million. The budget for 1336 was clearly less than Gazan's budget. The complaints of Iranian historians against the Mongol army concern mainly southern Iran. Indeed, the province of Fars 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 Argun, or perhaps had declined a little (Vassāf, pp. 335, 349, 363). Hamd Allāh reports (pp. 170-171) that the budget of "barr u baḥr-i mamlakat-i fārs" for 1336 was recorded as 2,871,200 dinārs in the tax ledger. This country could not, in fact, pay its taxes. The situation of 'Iraq al-'Arab must have been relatively better. Dahabī 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, Dahabi states that, by digging irrigation canals from the Tigris at great expense, the uncultivated area stretching from "Anbar" to Kufa 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 'Abbāsid caliphs (Juvainī, Ta'rīḥ-i

Jahān-Gušā, I, introduction, pp. لب الله الله. Rašīd al-Dīn mentions the canal called "Nahr-i Ġazanī", which Ġazan brought from Karbalā, and the revenue derived from

it (fol. 303); and the canal called "Nahr-i Ġazanī suffā", which the same ruler brought from Mašhad Sayyid Abū 'l-Wafā around Sīb and Wāsiţ (fol. 289). He also says that the population increased and that land which had previously been valued at 100 dinārs 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 Wāsit, 448,000 dīnārs; and for Baṣra, 441,000 dīnārs. This shows that the cities of 'Iraq 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 Ilhānid Mongol officials investigated the problem of the inability of the people to pay taxes that year and exempted 'Iraq al-'Arab from about 2.5 million dinārs in taxes (introduction to Ta'rīḥ-i Jahān-Gušā, I, p. 4; Vassāf, 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-Din al-'Aini, when the Mongols first appeared, the tax from "Rum" 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 dinārs, that is, 1,200,000 dirhams). This was the tax until 1256 (654 A.H.). At the beginning of the sultanate of Gazan, the revenue from mamālik-i rūm was only 60 tümens (600,000 dīnārs) of "māl-i magtū"; fixed revenue (Rašīd al-Dīn and Müneccim-başî). Müneccim-başî writes that in 1295 A.D. Gazan 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 magtū's; and that these men were more oppressive than the previous mustahsils {tax collectors (II, 574). Hamd Allāh (Ta'rih-i Guzida, p. 486) says that Vizir Hwāja Fahr al-Din Ahmad Rākūšī Tabrīzī collected the tax of mamālik-i rūm by selling amlāk-i dīwānī state property to arbāb-i manāsiba notables and that the treasury benefited greatly from this. He adds that if the mulkivyat-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 Hamd 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-Agsarāyī, described as the worst period of Mongol rule.

It is well known that, at the beginning of the Mongol invasion, the people of Āzarbāījān 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 Āzarbāījān. On the contrary, the population of this region increased very rapidly.

Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-'Umarī 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. 115a

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 نما بايديهم من الروم لا ولا ارتجاع شى نما 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 Ilhānid 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 Ilhānid 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-Hisāb, was written by 'Abd 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-Ma'ālī, 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, 'Abd 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 Ilhānids, 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 Ilhanid state.

83. The descendants of Kiyā-Afrāsiyāb. See Zahīr al-Dīn Mar'ašī, *Ta'rīḥ-i Ṭabaristān*, ed. B. Dorn {St Petersburg, 1850}, p. 350.

Various documents from the Ilhanid 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 *Diwān-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 'Alā-i Tabrīzī (fols. 51a-99a). Indeed, it completes this information while discussing the jāmi' al-hisāb defters sic! (fols. 78a-87a). 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 (muqāta'a {tax farming of revenue of a district for a fixed sum} or damān {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 Hurāsān, Māzandarān and Gīlān, which are lacking in Hamd Allāh, and also gives the general tax bill for 'Irāq al-'Ajam 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 Aydinid Umur Bey and the Ottoman Bey of Bursa, Orhan. They were part of the Ilhānid 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 În-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 'Alā-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:

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ولايت ارمن الصحيح؟
في عهدة عبد المسيح النصراني على حسب المقاطعة . بموجب الحجة المسجلة عنه العين الصحيح؟
احدى واربعين الف 84 بالتومان الربع ومان المده است :

بر كرى . اخلاط . ارجيش . بلاس (بتليس؟) . ملازكرد. حتوس (؟) .

Fol. 91 a :

في عهدة خواجه عزالدين الموصلي على حسب المقاطعة والضان . – بموجب الحجة المسجلة عنه اربع وثلثين تومانا وجه مذكور ازمواضعي كه ذكر مي روذ حاصل است :

وجه مذكور ازمواضعي كه ذكر مي روذ حاصل است :

رأس الدين . اربيل . حوى (موش = حوش Fol. 77 a) . ميافارقين .

ورأس الدين . سنجار . حران . محدود حاصه ويار بكر عربي تمام شد .
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84. These numbers are written in the siyaqat script.

Fol. 93 a:

ممالك روم المحروسة

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

الو سطانية ⁸⁵ :

ا مد (آمد؟) . مجنكرد . كيغى . سپهر (اسپر؟) . منورس؟ . دبر جان . طرابزون . اتراك و لات ارزن الروم . ارزنجان . كاخ . خربرت . ملاطيه . جمسكزاك . دركي . بابرت . سيواس . نكسار . قيصرية . دوه لو . توقات . اماسيه . مرروان 8. عثمانجق . اقتمر . اقتمر . اقتمر . قنقريه . آقسرا . قونيه . اقشهر . سفر الحصار . قراحه طاغ . معدن كش بازار 87 .

الاوجات :

قرامان . او لاد حمید . طغزلو . امور بیك كرمیان . او رخان . كردو په بولی ⁸⁸ . قسطمونیه اكریدر . سینوب . 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 hāṣil {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. 57a), the tax bill (مقرر اموال الديوانية) of the province of Diyār Bakr (Sinjār, Ra's al-'Ain, Mayyāfāriqīn, Muş, Mosul, Irbil) in 1430 A.D. is given.

IX

Here we should also like to add the information on the salaries of the state officials in Ilhanid territory provided by Ibn Fadl al-'Umarī, who cites them from Nizām 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-ʿUmarī, كردك ; 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.

al-Ṭayyārī (T $\{sic, reference unclear, not Taeschner\}$, II, 279; A, fols. 66-67b). This information is also partially included in al-Qalqašandī's Subh al-a'šā sigma = Q below $\{ : also = A + also = A +$

وحدثى هذا الفاضل نظام الدين ابو الفاضائل يحيى بن الحكم 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 والحرج 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 خى 90 خان وهذا القام الآن الشيخ حسن بن حسين بن آقبغا مع قانه السلطان محمد بن طشتمر بن استمر بن عنبر جى 90

وحكام دولة : al-Qalqašandī. From al-Ta'rīf هذا السلطان امرآ 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 اليراليغ وهى المراسيم كما يكتب لوكان حاضراً ونائبه يقوم عنه وهم لا يمضون امرا الا بالوزير والوزير يمضى الامور دونهم ويامر نوانهم فتكتب اساؤهم 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 الاشراك فى امور الناس فبهم اجمعين وليس للامرأ فى غالب ذلك من العلم الا ما علم نوابهم

وامرأ الالوس اربعة بكلارى بك وثلثة آخر ويسمى هولا ألاربعة امرأ القول ويشرط ان يكون هولاً هم الذين تكتب اسماؤهم فى اليراليغ والفرمانات بعد اسم السلطان تُم بعد اسم السلطان تُم بعد من الاسماء ممن هو غايب منهم عن الاردو بل تكتب اسماؤهم كلهم حضر وغاب من عضر وغاب من عاب وكل ذى سيف لا يخرج امره

عن القايم بهذه الوظيفة التي هي امرة امرأ الالوس وكل ذي 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 في دواوينهم على الافراد بل كل طايفة عليهم في الديوان فارس معين آذا رسم له بالركوب ركب منهم العدة المطلوبة.

وسالت الفاضل ابا الفضايل يحيى 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 انبئات شمل وشتات آرآ لا يلتيم لهم جمع و لا 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 و لا باضعاف مرات واما الصغار فما يتجاوز منهم ما استقر له قلت فكم هو المستقر فى الديوان و بكم تقنع كبارهم الآن فقال المقرر من قديم لكل نويين امير تومان تومان وهو عشرة آلآف دينار رابح أو عنها ستون الف درهم واما اليوم فما يقنع النوين الا بخمين تومان وهى خمسة الف دينار رابح أو عنها ستقر لجوبان ثم

89. Şubḥ al-aʿšā, IV, 423-426. This author used Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-ʿUmarīʾs Taʿrīf {bi ʾl-muṣṭalaḥ al-šarīf (Cairo, 1312)}.

90. T, A: عبر چي ; وا عرجي ; al-ʿAinī, ʻIqd al-jumān {Veliyeddin Efendi MS. 2374-2396}, events for the year 737 {1336-1337 A.D.}, عمد بن عنبر جي ; Mīrḥwānd {Rawdat al-ṣafā} and Ḥwāndamīr {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: رایج: A, Q: رایج. Both of these are correct, but in the official Ilḥānid 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.

لمن بعده ثلث ماية تومان وهي ثلاثة آلآف الف دينار عنها ثمانية عشر الف الف درهم مع ما يحصل لكل من امرأ الالوس الاربعة من الحدم الكثيرة في البلاد جميعها عند تقريرات الضان بها على ضهانها. قال (اى يحيي بن الحكم) واما امير الالف ومن دونه فلا يتجاوز احد منهم مقررة القديم في الديوان لامير الالف الف دينار رابح عنها ستة آلآف درهم. واما امير الماية والعشرة وكل واحد من العسكرية أى الجند فاية دينار عنها ست ماية درهم لا تفاوت بينهم هذا هو المقرر الحارى من قديم وانما تبقى مزية امير الماية أو العشرة أنه يأخذ لنفسه شيئاً نما هو للعسكرية ولكل طايفة ارض لنزولهم توارثها الحلف عن السلف منذ ملك هولاكو هذه البلاد وفيها منازلهم ولهم بها مزدرع لاقواتهم لكنهم لا يعيشون بالحرث والزرع. هذه جملة نما هو لعساكر ايران نما ازداد ونما هو مستقر في الديوان وأما الحواتين فالذي لهن آلان منه ما يبلغ للخاتون الواحدة 92 مايتا تومان وهو الفا الف 39 دينار رابح عنهما اثنا عشر الف ديم وما دون ذلك الحكيم وهذا قد يزيد وينقص وأما الوزير فله ماية وخمسون تومانا وهو الف الف وضماية الف دينار رابح عنها تسعة آلاف الف درهم قال ولا يقنع بعشرة أضعاف هذا في تقارير البلاد وأما الحواجكية من أرباب الاقلام فنهم من يبلغ في السنة ثلاثين تومانا وهي ثلثاية الف دينار عنها الف الف وثمانماية الف درهم.

ثم قال والذى للامرأ والعسكرية لا يكتب به مرسوم لان : [A 69b; T. 282; Q] 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 الجواتين من اخذ بما له أو ببعضه بلادا فهى له].

واما الادرارات من المبلغ والقرى فانها تبق لصاحبها كالملك يتصرف فيه كيف شأ من بيع وهبة ووقف لمن اراد والمعايش لمدة الحياة لاغير والمرسومات والانعامات قال وهي ما لا يحصى قال ومن هولاً المستوفين من له الضبط على اتساع اقطار المهالك قال واما وظيفة القضاة فعادة هذه المملكة ان يكون بها في صحبة السلطان قاضى قضاة المهالك وهو يولى في جميع المملكة على تنائى اقطارها الا العراق فان لبغداد قاضى قضاة مستقل بها وفي بلادها جميع عراق العرب وقال لى قاضى القضاة ابو محمد الحسن الغورى ان آخر ما استقر له ست قرى وتومان عشرة آلآف دينار في 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 Ilhānid state], on the regulations issued by its rulers, and the organization of its army. Among the things he told me was that the rulers \salātīn\ 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 Ḥudā-Banda [Öljeitü], and by Choban under Ḥudā-Banda and Abū Sa'īd. It is presently held by al-Šaiḥ Ḥasan b. Ḥusain b. Aq-Buqa [Jalāyir] under Sultan Muḥammad b. Taš-Temür b. 'Anbarjī. The amīrs of the ulus are four: one is the beylerbeyi. He

and the other three are called "qol" amīrs. On yarlīğs and fermans, the names of these four amīrs follow the name of the ruler $\{\text{sultan}\}$. The name of the vizir follows the names of these amīrs. 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 $\{\check{sar}\check{i}\}$ and government functionaries $[Q: \text{but they participate jointly in issues concerning the country as a whole]. The highest ranking amīr is the "noyin" who commands 10,000 men. Then come the amīr of 1,000, the amīr of 100 and the amīr of 10. The ranks in the army are no more and no less than these. The names of all the men in the army are recorded in dīwāns. Indeed, there is a special officer <math>\{f\bar{a}ris\}$ in the $D\bar{i}w\bar{a}n$ for each section. When he is given the order to mount the troops, he readies the required number.

I asked the aforesaid Yahyā b. al-Hakīm about the size of the army. He said, "the standing army as recorded in the diwans 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 Sa'īdl, the army is in a state of disorder and disarray." I asked Yahyā 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 rābih 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 damāns. 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 dīrhams. The salary of an amir of 100, an amir of 10 and individual troops is only 100 dinars, 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 amir 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 [iqtā's {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. for the women, they receive an income ranging from, 200 tümens, which is 2,000,000 dinārs 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 hwājakiyya [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 \text{these are Togan's terms, meaning,}

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 iqtā's |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 Ilhānid state, its control and administration are in the hands of capable financial officials |mustawfīyīn|.

"With respect to the salaries of the $q\bar{a}d\bar{t}s$ {judges}, it is customary for the chief $q\bar{a}d\bar{t}$ to be in the company of the ruler. He has jurisdiction over all parts of the state except 'Irāq al-'Arab, because Baghdad has its own chief $q\bar{a}d\bar{t}$. The chief $q\bar{a}d\bar{t}$ Abū Muḥammad al-Ḥasan al-Ġūrī said that the salary which was recently allotted to him was six villages $\{iqt\bar{a}'s\}$ and 10,000 $d\bar{t}n\bar{a}rs$ in cash each year ".

The system of providing compensation to military and civil officials in the country of the Ilhānids 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 Hān 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-'Umarī cites from 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Tarjumān al-Ḥwārazmī. It mainly concerns Ḥwārazm and reads as follows (T, 273; A, 62b):

متى صارت هذه المملكة بعد ملوك الخوارزمية الى بنى جنكيز خان استمروا بعساكر خوارزم على حالهم على اقطاعاتهم وكل من كان بيد آبايه شيءً هو الان بيد أبنائه . والامرا منهم لهم بلاد منهم من يعمل بلاده فى السنة مايتى الف دينار رابح واما الجند فليس لاحد منهم الا نقود تؤخذ على النطع وكلمهم سؤا لكل واحد منهم فى السنة مايتا دينار رابح . 96

This translates as follows:

After this country [Ḥwārazm] passed from the possession of the Ḥwārazm-Šāhs to the descendants of Chingiz Ḥān, the soldiers of Ḥwārazm preserved their former iqtā's [i.e., from the time of the Ḥwārazm-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 Ḥwārazm] had iqtā's 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*, *ma'išāt*, *kirek-yaraq*, *mawājib*, *suyurǧamisāt*, and *waṣā'if*, see *Risāla-i falakiyya*, fol. 30*a*, and 'Alā-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.

The Mongols adhered very closely to the practice of giving *iqtā*'s. This system was reconfirmed under Chingiz, Möngke and Hülegü. When Hülegü marched into Iran, he gave Tabrīz and Marāġeh as *iqtā*'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 *iqtā*' 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 *iqtā*'s that were established in the time of Hülegü remained in effect until fairly late times. The information inserted in Rašīd al-Dīn (fols 327a-30a) and *Risāla-i falakiyya* on the subject of the army's *iqtā*'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 Ilḥānid 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
<i>Amīr</i> of 1,000	3,000	250
Amīr of 100, 10, and soldiers	300	25
Women (hātūnlar, the great hātūn)	6,000,000	500,000
Minor <i>ḫātūn</i>	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 salar	у	
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 Ilḥānid and Jalāyirid states that only for 1360 A.D. was the

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

98. For information on the contemporary purchasing power of the *rābiḥ dīnār*, which was used in the Ilḥānid 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

annual salary of the *ulus beyi* 100,000 *dīnārs* (ده ترمان) 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). 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 šaiḥs {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 (شخنه, chief of the garrison, commander {cf. Lambton, "Mongol Fiscal Administration," SI, 64 [1986], 80, nt. 21), basqaq (governor and tax collector), bahşî (Mongolian and Turkish for "secretary"), provincial governors, director of the mint, bükavul ({commissariat official intendant), yasavul (inspector of the army), yurtçi bey fofficial in charge of setting up camp{, bularguçî, vizir, vicegerant, comptroller and financial officials, uluğ bitikci {chief scribe, accountant{, nāzir-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), qādī 'l-qudāt, and qādī. 100 Those who received salaries from zakāt {obligatory alms}, 'ušr {tithe} or waafs were naaīb al-nuqabā' {chief of the 'Alids}, director of waqfs, professors of law (mudarris), preachers \(\bar{batib}\), jurists, the heads of dervish lodges \(\bar{banekah seyihleri}\), directors of hospitals, secretaries of judges, zakāt collectors, prayer leaders \imams\, and muezzins. 101 As for the multasib {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 (yarliğ) which were issued concerning the officials whose salaries came from the budget that the Jalāyirid sultans adopted the practices of the Ilhānids 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-Ḥān]}, 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. 219b.

جماعت کروابیان رسمی که : 103. Ibid., fol. 208 معموداست واز دیوان مقرر شده وصورت آن برلوحی که منقوش و معلق است نوشته بی زیادت و نقصان با او جواب کویندتا او بدیوان رساند دیکری در کار او دخل نکند .

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 Ilhānid state.

In addition to this, there are lists of personnel and their salaries in 'Alā-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}.

وانی بزوك : Fol. 197a اصحاب دیوان : Fol. 197a مرسومی که بنام بخشی کاتب مغولی نویس که در دفاتر دورات بر کیت آن مشتمل مغولی مقرر بوده باشد سال بسال با او جواب کویند .

And on bükavul, fol. 185b : کونید و از نقص و تنقیص مرسومی که بنام بو کاول مقرر باشد و در دفاتر مثبت On uluğ bitikçi, see fol

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

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

اصحاب دیوانی بزرك : On yasavul, see fol. 186a بزرك و مقرر باشد مرسومی كه در دفاتر بنام یاساول مجری و مقرر باشد سال بسال بر مواضع مرجو الحصول حوالت كنند تا باسانی بدورسد و اكر در عوض مرسوم موضعی دیوانی باتمغا التماس كنند تاتصرف كرفته هرسال مرسوم خوداز مباشران آن موضع و تمغا استیفا نماید ملتمس او مبذول داشته.

مقرر ومسلم دارند اصحاب دبوانی بزوك : Fol. 197a واز ديوان بر انجا حوالتی نكنند ومزاحم نشوند مرسوم يا ساولی كه بموجبی كه دفاتر ديوان بر كميت آن مشتمل است سال بسال با أوجواب كونيد واز نقص وتنقيص مخترز ومجتنب باشند.

و مرسوم مالی و رسوم: On uluğ bitikçi, see fol. 196a: خارجی که این منصب را مجری و مقرر باشد و در دفاتر بنام الغ بتکجیان سابق ممضی و مثبت شده بر همان قرار با او وکما شتکان او جواب کویند و بروات بر مواضعی اطلاق کنند که ارادت او با شد.

On mustawfi 'l-mamālik, see fol. 194a: وهر سال از اصل مال ومتوجهات ديوانى مبلغ بيست هزار دينار زر رابح با رسوم خارجى كه معهود مستوفيان بوده با او ونواب وكاشتكان او كه در هر طرف از اطراف ولايات باستيفا تعيين كرده باشد جواب كويند واكر اورا ارادتبا شد كه بمتوجهات مواضع مرجو الحصول مقاصه ومستفرق كردانيده سال بسال ازانجا تصرف نمايد برآن موجب بتقديم رسانند واجابت ملتمس او لوازم شمرند.