

The refugee princes (Yār Moḥammad Mīrzā, Šīr-afkan Mīrzā, Arab Moḥammad *atālīq*, and their companions), reached Herat safely. After a few days rest, they proceeded to Isfahan, where they were received with great kindness by the Shah. Their subsequent history will be related at the appropriate place.

The Events of the Year of the Ox, Corresponding to the Year 1009-10/1601-02, the Fifteenth Year of the Reign of Shah 'Abbas

New Year's Day this year fell on Saturday 16 Ramazān 1009/21 March 1601, and the Shah celebrated the holiday in the usual fashion. Shortly after the festival, the refugee Uzbek princes reached Isfahan, their retinue numbering about three hundred in all. At the Shah's order, they were welcomed to the capital by all the emirs, principal officers of state, and the general populace; they were given a reception at the Naqš-e Jahān palace, and afterward allotted pleasant accommodations in the capital. The Shah also made them a cash grant of one thousand Iraqi *tomān* in gold, to cover their living expenses. On top of this, they were supplied with gifts in kind: sheep, cooking oil, rice, grain, and the like.

The following day, the Uzbek princes presented their modest gifts to the Shah. Among them was a valuable diamond which had formerly been a votive offering donated to the shrine of the Imam Reżā at Mašhad. When the Uzbeks occupied Mašhad and looted some of the shrine ornaments, this diamond had been appropriated by 'Abd al-Mo'men Khan; after the death of the latter, it had found its way into the possession of Yār Moḥammad Mīrzā, who now handed it back to the Shah. The Shah, recognizing that it was a votive offering, gave it to the *šads* and the *'olamā* to hold in trust for the shrine. The *'olamā* sanctioned the sale of the diamond, so that with the proceeds good lands might be bought and the revenue from these lands used for the benefit of the shrine. The diamond was therefore taken to Istanbul, priced by expert diamond merchants, and sold.

The Shah arranged for the Uzbek princes to take up residence at Qazvin, and assigned them certain desirable properties in that area so that they might have some income to defray their expenses. The Shah hoped that, if it was the will of God, they might one day be restored to their territories with the assistance of Safavid officers.

An auspicious event which occurred this year was the birth of the Shah's second son, Esma'il Mīrzā.

The Shah's Solemn Pilgrimage to Mašhad

The Shah had vowed to make the pilgrimage to Mašhad from Isfahan, and this year he set out from the Naqš-e Jahān palace to fulfill his vow. The first day, he went as far as the village of Masjed-e Tūqī, and from there to Dowlatābād-e Barḡār, a distance of three *farsaks* from the city. The Shah decreed that any of the emirs, principal officers of state, court attendants, and *moqarrabs* who wished to make the pilgrimage with him could ride; no one was compelled to walk, because the vow the Shah had made applied to himself alone. So the court attendants, *moqarrabs*, and footmen accompanied the Shah, organizing regular spells of guard duty for themselves. When they got tired of walking, they mounted their horses, but two or three of them walked the whole distance.

Two court attendants, Moḥammad Zamān Sultan Bāyandor Torkmān, known as Kāvālī, and Mehtar Salmān, the master of the royal wardrobe, and a group of Eṣfahānīs consisting of Mīrzā Hedāyat-ollāh, the grandson of Najm-e Šānī,¹ and three friends, measured out the road using a rope twelve thousand cubits, or one regulation *farsak*, in length.² The chief astrologer attached to the royal household, Mowlānā Jalāl Yazdī, kept a tally of the distance traveled each day, so that the total distance from Isfahan to Mašhad might be accurately computed in regulation *farsaks*.

The procession then set off, the Shah going on foot. Pausing only for short rests, he reached Mašhad in twenty-eight days and performed the rites of pilgrimage. This done, he repaired to the royal palace in the Čahār Bāg. The chronogram of this event, composed by the author, is: "On foot from Isfahan to Mašhad."³

Since the advent of Islam, no prince has achieved such a feat—a feat that would be difficult for anybody to accomplish. The *Rowzat al-Šafā* tells the story of the pilgrimage on foot made by the Byzantine emperor Heraclius from his capital, Constantinople, to Jerusalem.⁴ Heraclius was a Christian emperor who took no cogni-

¹Vakīl under Shah Esmā'il I. Killed at battle of Čojdovān in 1512 (see Savory, "The Significance of the Political Murder of Mīrzā Salmān," pp. 181–191).

²The length of the *farsak* (Old Persian *parasang*; Greek Παράσαγγος) varied widely depending on time and place. It is reckoned today to be approximately equivalent to 4 miles.

³*Ze eṣfahān piāda tā be-mašhad*, which gives 1009/1600–01, the correct date.

⁴In the year 7/628. Heraclius was celebrating his victory over the Persians the previous year at Nineveh.

zance of the mission of the Prophet Moḥammad. He walked barefoot, but servants spread brilliantly colored carpets beneath his feet as he walked, and strewed flowers and aromatic herbs in his path. The emperor treated the journey as a pleasure trip. He was accompanied by his boon companions and walked only a short distance each day, so that it took him two months to cover a distance normally traversed in twenty days. The Shah, on the other hand, carried on with blistered feet, enduring all sorts of hardships, and did not depart from the customary stages along the way. What a difference between the two!

The Shah spent that winter at Mašhad, devoting himself to religious observances during the sacred months of Rajab, Ša'bān, and Ramažān 1010/December–March 1602. On the most holy days of these holy months, namely, on Thursday nights, the night on which Moḥammad received the call to his prophetic mission,⁵ the Day of Opening,⁶ the Day of Assignment,⁷ and the Night of Power,⁸ the Shah kept vigil from early evening until sunrise, performing various menial tasks at the shrine such as snuffing the candles.

Various Events Which Took Place in the Winter Quarters at Mašhad

Moḥammad Ebrahim Khan, the Shah's vassal at Balk, had died, and Bāqī Khan had seized control there without the Shah's having had any say in the matter. Since then, the Shah had secretly hoped he would be able to some extent to bring Bāqī Khan to his senses, and to install there the two Uzbek princes who had taken refuge with him. At this point, Bektāš Khan, the governor of Marv, reported that Bāqī Khan had made friendly overtures to him, had declared his friendship for the Shah, and had asked for two Tūbčāq horses. Although the Shah was highly annoyed by Bāqī Khan's coup at Balk, he instructed Bektāš Khan to respond in a friendly manner, and he sent Bāqī Khan several fine horses and other gifts. Bektāš Khan, after getting the Shah's approval, named Beyrām 'Alī Ostājlu, an intelligent and eloquent young man, as ambassador to Bāqī Khan. Beyrām 'Alī Beg was received with great honor by Bāqī Khan at

⁵27 Rajab.

⁶15 Rajab, on which day the gates of heaven, or the gates of the Kaaba, are said to be open.

⁷15 Ša'bān. So called because it was the day on which assignments were made for subsistence allowances.

⁸Ramažān, the night on which the Koran is said to have descended from heaven.

Bokhara and sent back with suitable presents for the Shah.

The Shah decided to tell Bāqī Khan frankly what he had in mind, and he chose as his ambassador Jān Moḥammad Beg, the former *divānbeḡī* of Bāqī Khan's brother, Dīn Moḥammad Khan, who had been taken prisoner by Safavid forces at the battle of Tūn in 1001/1592-93, and had been an honored guest at the Safavid court ever since. The Shah instructed Jān Moḥammad Beg to talk to Bāqī Khan along the following lines:

Everyone is aware that there has never been anything but conflict between the Uzbek house of Jānī Beg and the Safavid house. When fortune willed that Moḥammad Ebrahim Khan should fall into our hands, we took no advantage of this but, in order to acquire a good name, changed our policy from enmity to one of friendship. We assisted the survivors of the house of Jānī Beg and installed Moḥammad Ebrahim at Balk; in return, he agreed to be our vassal. When Moḥammad Ebrahim Khan unfortunately died, you acted improperly in occupying Balk without consulting us. We emphasize that we have no territorial ambitions in Balk. But two scions of the house of 'Abdollāh Khan, kinsmen of Moḥammad Khan, survive and have taken sanctuary with us. I earnestly desire that Balk and its dependencies, the former domains of Moḥammad Ebrahim Khan, be placed in their hands. You, your father, and your brothers owe much to the patronage of 'Abdollāh Khan. God has willed that the fortunes of 'Abdollāh Khan's house should be in disarray, and that the supreme power in Turkestan and Transoxania should devolve upon you. In consideration of the favors you have received from your former patron, 'Abdollāh Khan, and as an act of generosity and justice, you should extend your sympathy and clemency toward these scions of his house, should call them your sons and your brothers, should bestow upon them Balk and all districts this side of the Oxus, and should yourself be satisfied with Transoxania and Turkestan, which God has given you, and should thank God for this gift. You should not begrudge these princes your paternal and

fraternal affection, so that they may regard you as their father or elder brother and may obey you accordingly.

If you comply with my wishes in this regard, your action will be pleasing unto God and will bring you renown on earth. In addition, we shall regard you as our brother, and shall render you whatever assistance may be required in any particular circumstances. On the other hand, if you reject my friendly and well-intentioned advice, refuse to accede to this plan, and insist on opposing it, the matter is in God's hands, because I am resolved to assist these princes.

Jān Moḥammad Beg was well received at Bokhara by Bāqī Khan and was enrolled in the ranks of his trusted emirs. He wrote a letter to the Shah in which, after the usual formalities, he quoted Bāqī Khan's reply on the subject of the princes:

Yār Moḥammad Mīrzā and a group of nobles who were afraid of me laid hold of those princes and carried them off to Iran against their will. I have nothing but the most paternal feelings toward them. Whenever you care to send them to Transoxania, I will take them under my royal wing and will allot them fiefs in whatever place may be appropriate, as I have done in the case of my own brothers and sons.

Privately, Jān Moḥammad Beg reported to Bektāš Khan's retainers, who had accompanied him to Bokhara, that Bāqī Khan had no intention of handing over Balk to the princes. Bāqī Khan hoped the Shah would send the princes to Transoxania, so that he could provide for their subsistence and deal with them in whatever manner seemed in the best interests of his realm. Jān Moḥammad Beg further advised the Shah that Bāqī Khan was not to be trusted, and that it would be neither generous nor chivalrous to send the princes to Transoxania. The Shah decided to attack Balk; he issued mobilization orders, and summoned Shah Kāja, Yār Moḥammad Mīrzā, and their companions from Qazvin.

The Conquest of Bahrain by Allāhverdī Khan

In former times, the kingdom of Qaṭīf⁹ and Bahrain was ruled by

⁹The maritime district west of the promontory Al-Qaṭar.

independent Arab governors. Hamdollāh Mostowfī, the author of the *Nozhat al-Qolūb*,¹⁰ wrote that Bahrain was a Persian island, a center of the pearl-fishing and coral industry, ten *farsaks* in length by five in width. The pearls gathered at Bahrain are said by experts to be superior to those fished in other oceans.¹¹ In the course of the centuries, this rich area fell into the hands of Tūrānshāh b. Salḡor Shāh, the ruler of Hormūz, and from that time the rulers of Hormūz always maintained a governor at Bahrain. In the reign of Salḡor Shah b. Tūrānshāh Šānī, in 922/1516-17, thirty-one years after the birth of Shah Esmā'il I,¹² a force of Portuguese occupied the islands dependent on Hormūz. Hoodwinking the agents of the ruler of Hormūz, they got a foothold on the island of Hormūz itself and fortified the citadel at Kūt.

In the course of time, they strengthened their hold on this region and gained control of most of the trade in the area; the Frankish captain, who was the commandant and governor of this fort, became more powerful than the governor of Hormūz himself. As a result, the Portuguese intervened in Bahrain also, at a time when Farroḡshāh, the governor of Hormūz, had just died, and his son Fīrūzshāh was acting in his stead. Rokn al-Dīn Mas'ūd was governing Bahrain on behalf of his brother, Ra'īs Šaraḡ al-Dīn Loṭfollāh, who was the vizier of Hormūz and held the real power there. With the assistance of his brother, who was a trusted official of both the former and the new ruler of Hormūz, Rokn al-Dīn Mas'ūd had become virtually independent governor of Bahrain; afraid of the power of the Portuguese, he sought help from a relative of his in Fārs, Kāja Mo'in al-Dīn Fālī. The latter sent a report to Allāhverdī Khan, the *beglerbeg* of Fārs, who, since Bahrain was a dependency of Fārs and its present rulers were usurpers, decided to seize the opportunity to conquer the island. He therefore sent to Bahrain under the command of the Kāja a force of Fālī musketeers renowned for their bravery and marksmanship, ostensibly to aid Rokn al-Dīn Mas'ūd but in reality to take possession of the island.

One night, just before daybreak, Kāja Mo'in al-Dīn Fālī and his cousin Ra'īs Maṣṣūr, with a group of men, burst without ceremony into the women's quarters of Rokn al-Dīn Mas'ūd's house and slew

¹⁰See Le Strange's translation, p. 185.

¹¹Curzon, ii, p. 457, states: "Generally speaking, the Bahrein pearls are not so white as Ceylon pearls, but are larger and more regular in shape; while they are said to retain their lustre for a longer period."

¹²Deducting 31 (lunar) years from 922 gives 891. Shah Esmā'il I was born in 892/1487.

him and several of his relatives and retainers in one of the bedrooms. His men rushed to his defense but, finding the governor dead, did not press their attack, and Kāja Mo'in al-Dīn and his men were able to stand their ground. At this point they received unexpected reinforcements. Emir Yūsuf Shāh, the brother of Emir Kamāl Barāṅḡar, had been returning from the pilgrimage to Mecca when he had been set upon by brigands and robbed. Allāhverdī Khan had instructed him to take a detachment of Barāṅḡar musketeers to Bahrain with the object of seizing the robbers and recovering his property and, incidentally, assisting Kāja Mo'in al-Dīn if the latter had managed to carry out a coup at Bahrain.

Emir Yūsuf Shah, making the search for his stolen property the pretext, set off for Bahrain with a group of Barāṅḡar troops noted for their valor. He reached Bahrain at the critical moment when Kāja Mo'in al-Dīn and his cousin had killed the governor and were standing at bay against his troops, and he succeeded by various stratagems in getting inside the city and joining forces with Kāja Mo'in al-Dīn. With the help of these reinforcements, the men from Fāl and Asīr gained the upper hand over their adversaries. They slew a few of their leaders, but the rest were treated in a conciliatory manner and returned to their daily tasks. Thus this fair region, which exemplified the Koranic verses, "He had made the two bodies of water flow; they will meet . . . there came forth from them pearls and coral,"¹³ became another jewel in the Shah's crown.

The news of the capture of Bahrain caused both the governor of Hormūz and the Frankish captain to send troops to recover the island, and several engagements were fought on land and on sea. Although both Kāja Mo'in al-Dīn and Mīr Yūsuf Shah were wounded in these encounters and subsequently died, the troops of Fārs were eventually victorious, and the attackers abandoned their attempts. Allāhverdī Khan sent a governor to Bahrain to take charge of the administration and strengthen the citadel.

The Conquest of Lār This Same Year

As readers will know from the detailed histories of the kings of Iran, the governors of Lār are descended from a certain Gorgīn Mīlād, who was appointed governor of Lār in the time of the Kayānīd monarchs; his descendants have held hereditary sway over that

¹³Koran, 55:20, 23.

region since that time. At times when there was no effective central government, the governors of Lār increased their power and exacted tribute from neighboring regions. During periods of strong central government in both pre-Islamic and post-Islamic times, particularly during the Sasanid period, they were subject, after a fashion, to the central government; at other times, they did as they pleased.

The first Muslim governor of the area was Jalāl al-Dīn Īraj b. Key-Qobād, who became a convert to Islam in the caliphate of 'Omar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz.¹⁴ Since the establishment of the Safavid dynasty, the governors of Lār have been tributaries of the Safavid shahs, with the title of *amīr-dīvān*. When Shah Tahmasp came to the throne, Nūr al-Dahr b. Ebrāhīm Kān b. Anūšīrvān, known as Shah 'Ādel, was governor of Lār. He died during the reign of Sultan Moḥammad Shah and was succeeded by his son, Mīrzā 'Alā al-Molk, whom Sultan Moḥammad Shah entitled Ebrahim Khan the Second. After the accession of Shah 'Abbas, when the Shah marched to Fārs to deal with the rebellion of Ya'qūb Khan, Ebrahim Khan should have taken advantage of the proximity of the Shah to visit him, congratulate him on his accession, and pledge his allegiance to him. But, allowing himself to be persuaded by his *mīr-e dargāh* (minister of court), he failed to do so. The Shah was angered, and his anger was increased by Ebrahim Khan's subsequent procrastination and promises that were never fulfilled.

Finally, the ill-treatment meted out to the Shah's officials who had gone to Lār to collect the tribute, and the discovery that the Khan was levying extraordinary taxes on merchants and travelers passing through his territory, gave the Shah the excuse he needed. He ordered Allāhverdī Khan to lead a punitive expedition against Lār. When this force neared Lār, Ebrahim Khan hastened to apologize for his past sins and promise better conduct in the future. The Shah considered it expedient to recall Allāhverdī Khan. Ebrahim Khan behaved himself for the rest of the year, but the following year he resumed his former activities, making extraordinary levies on merchants and travelers, who protested strongly against the actions of his officials and agents and against his inability to check them.

The Shah sent Allāhverdī Khan a second time to punish those responsible and to return the money to the merchants. This time, on the approach of Allāhverdī Khan, Ebrahim Khan hastily gave the

¹⁴The caliph 'Omar II, 99-101/717-720.

merchants their money back, and again begged for forgiveness. Allāhverdī Khan ordered him to demonstrate the sincerity of his profession of loyalty by coming to meet him; without this, he said, he could not return. Ebrahim Khan, not daring to come, looked to his defenses. Allāhverdī marched to Lār and blockaded the city. Qāzī Abu'l-Qāsem, a man of noble family at Lār, demonstrated his love of the Shah by coming over to Allāhverdī Khan with his brother. Ebrahim Khan, frightened by their defection, sent his commander in chief, Nowšād, with a few men to Allāhverdī Khan's camp to try and prevent the defectors from carrying out their plan. Allāhverdī Khan discovered that the envoys from Ebrahim Khan were wearing mail under their robes, and this evidence of treachery led him to arrest them. Ebrahim Khan's panic now increased. When Allāhverdī Khan succeeded in bribing many of his troops and the townspeople of Lār, he retreated from the city to a nearby fort built against the mountainside. Allāhverdī Khan occupied the city, and his men began to push forward breastworks up to the walls of the fort.

Ebrahim Khan then sued for quarter, which was granted, and he and a number of dignitaries of Lār emerged from the fort and submitted to Allāhverdī Khan, who treated them hospitably and sent them on to the Shah. Allāhverdī Khan put to death a few ringleaders at Lār, but treated the rest of the populace with kindness. The garrison of the fort had no choice but to surrender. Allāhverdī Khan left the citadel and the city in the hands of his officers, and entrusted the civil administration to Qāzī Abu'l-Qāsem. Ebrahim Khan, his dependents, and the rest of his house were taken to Shiraz and relieved of their money and property.

The news of these two conquests, both in the same year, reached the Shah at Mašhad as he was preparing to make preparations for his attack on Balk. Allāhverdī Khan was richly rewarded and summoned to join the Shah at Mašhad with the army of Fārs. He joined the royal army early the following year at its mobilization area at Bādġīs near Herat, bringing with him his prisoner Ebrahim Khan and the contents of the treasuries of Lār. One of the most valuable items was a crown, studded with pearls and rubies, known as the "crown of Key-košrow," which was an heirloom of the rulers of Lār.

Lār originally had another name. The story goes that, when the Kayānīd monarch Key-košrow appointed Gorgīn Milād governor of Lār, he renamed the city Lār after his son and heir, and gave Gor-

gīn the "crown of Key-kosrow," which was handed down by the rulers of Lār from that time onward. The story is also told that Gorgīn Mīlād, when he reached Lār, consulted the astrologers, both local experts and those with a national reputation, regarding an auspicious hour for him to enter the city. It is said that he waited seven years before the astrologers found a day which was compatible with his horoscope and free from all sinister astral implications. After waiting outside the city walls for seven years, Gorgīn Mīlād entered the city at the appropriately auspicious moment. Since then his line has ruled there for nearly four thousand years in unbroken succession. Lār has never been subjugated by foreign rulers, who have always been satisfied with tribute.

Yet another story alleges that some ancient Persian philosopher cast a spell on the place which has protected its soil from the tramp of alien armies. At all events, by divine decree this spell was now broken, and Lār became a province of the Safavid empire. Since the histories of the ancient kings of Iran are full of fabulous tales of this sort, I thought I would include the stories of the crown, the forecasting of the auspicious hour, and the spell, but I will not be answerable for the truth of any of them!

The Shah decreed that Ebrahim Khan should accompany him on the expedition to Balk, in the custody of Allāhverdī Khan. In the course of this expedition, Ebrahim Khan died of a sickness that affected many of the troops. He was an able youth of simple habits, a lover of poetry, well versed in all the customary sciences, an expert musician; but he lacked statecraft. In his early adolescence, he became an opium addict. He was thirty-five years old when he died, and with him died his ancient line.

The Beginning of the Year of the Tiger, Corresponding to 1011/1602-03, the Sixteenth Year of the Reign of Shah Abbas

New Year's Day this year fell on Wednesday, 26 Ramazān 1010/20 March 1602.

Jān Moḥammad Beg had reported from Bokhara that Bāqī Khan would not surrender Balk without a fight, and this was confirmed by other persons arriving from Transoxania. Bāqī Khan had sent a force of Qepčāq and other tribes subject to the Uzbeks to the Jijaktū and Meymana region, and it was reported to the Shah that the Khan, in his assemblies, had uttered vain boasts about his intention to avenge his brother's death. These reports enraged the Shah and reinforced his resolve to attack Balk. He sent *qūrčīs* to deliver the mobilization orders, and gave orders that three hundred cannon and mortar, and ten thousand musketeers, were to accompany this expedition.

One army corps, under the command of 'Alīqolī Khan Šāmlū and Qarčaqāy Beg, a *golām* of the royal household, was directed to the Meymana and Jijaktū region, an area in which the Uzbek tribes traditionally spent their summers, with orders to ravage the area. After their departure, the Shah, after invoking the aid of the Imam Rezā and spending a few days hunting in the Mašhad area, marched to Herat. There he was met by 'Alīqolī Khan and Qarčaqāy Beg, who had carried out their raid in the Jijaktū region, slaughtering any persons among the Uzbek and other tribes who resisted them, and carrying off their women and children as captives. These officers presented the heads of the slain, the captured weapons, and several thousand prisoners to the Shah. After promenading in the gardens at Herat for a few days, the Shah moved to summer quarters at Bādġīs, where for two months he waited on the mobilization of his army and the organization of the artillery. Yār Moḥammad Mīrzā, Shah Kāja, and their companions arrived from Qazvin, and the Shah gave them whatever equipment they required. Jahāngīr Sultan was honored with the title of khan, and Yār Moḥammad Mīrzā was named as his guardian (*atālīq*). Jahāngīr Khan was equipped with royal letters of appointment conferring on him the governorship of Balk, and Yār Moḥammad Khan was instructed to send orders to the tribal chiefs in the area and arouse their expectations of receiving royal favors.

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