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A Turkic-Persian Decree of Timurid Mīrān Šāh of 800 AH/1398 CE

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A Turkic-Persian Decree of Timurid Mīrān Šāh of 800 AH/1398 CE

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This paper presents the philological analysis of one of the Ardabīl documents: An Uigur-Turkic decree of the Timurid prince Mīrān Šāh, dated to 800 AH/1398 CE. It is the oldest of the Timurid Uigur-Turkic decrees thus far known, and the only one accompanied by a Persian summary. It attests to the patronage of the Timurid rulers for the Safavid Order in Ardabīl, and offers significant information on the administration, chancellery, taxation, and many other aspects of the early Timurid rule, and merits further investigation from the historical viewpoint.

Keywords: Uigur-Turkic, bilingual decree, Timurid, *soyurghal*, Safavid Order

I. Introduction

This paper presents the philological analysis of the Turkic-Persian document, a decree issued in 800 AH/1398 CE by the Timurid prince Mīrān Šāh. This document had been formerly in the archive of the shrine of Šayḫ Ṣafī al-Dīn in Ardabīl, and now is preserved in the National Museum of Iran (MMI) under the inventory number s.25924 (r.504). The catalogue of the Ardabīl documents (FABṢ, 125) introduces it as:

> **Date:** 800 AH; **Type of document:** Decree (*ḫukm*); **Language:** Uigur (*Uyġūrī*); **Originality:** The original [i.e., not a duplicate]; **Size:** 13.7 × 28.2 cm; **Contents:** Concerning the abandoned properties (*matrūkāt*) left by Ḫāǧǧī Ibrāhīm who was a slave (*ġulām*) of Ḫwāǧa Ǧamāl al-Dīn, which has now become the grant (*suyūrġāl*) for Ḫwāǧa Ǧamāl al-Dīn and exempted from taxation; **Issuer:** Abū al-Fatḥ Amīrānšāh; **Note:** Summary (*ḫulāṣa*) of the contents of the Uigur text is written in Persian on the reverse side of the document.

The explanation above is confirmed by both of the Turkic and the Persian text presented below. The recto side has sixteen lines of the Turkic decree in the Uigur script issued by *Miranš-a kürägän*, who is undoubtedly identified as Mīrān Šāh (~ Amīrān Šāh, ca. 1367–1408), the third son of Tīmūr (< M. *Temür*; see note T1). On the verso is written a Persian text of seven lines, the contents of which basically correspond to that of the Uigur-Turkic decree. In fact it lacks the name of the issuer, which FABṢ supposedly supplemented with the incised Arabic legend *Abū al-Fatḥ Amīrānšā* of the black round seal stamped on the end of the Uigur-Turkic text on the recto. Still more, as FABṢ defines the Persian text as "summary (*ḫulāṣa*)," it is not a precise translation of the Turkic text. As will be clarified in the notes below, their contents partly differ from each other and,

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even more importantly, they have a different date.

Although several problems remain (e.g., identification of personalities such as Ǧamāl al-Dīn Ardabīlī or his servant Ḥāǧǧī Ibrāhīm), this decree undoubtedly has great significance as historical evidence of Timurid rule of Āẕarbāyǧān at the end of the fourteenth century and Timurid patronage of the *ṣūfī*s of the Safavid Order of Ardabīl. We hope that our preliminary investigation will offer scholars of Timurid history a basis to further research this document comprehensively and rigorously from various aspects.

This paper is composed of three parts: First, Dai Matsui presents the philological edition of the Uigur-Turkic decree; second, Ryoko Watabe deals with the Persian summary on the verso side; an additional note by Hiroshi Ono follow them, to discuss the value of the document from the viewpoint of Turco-Persian historiographical research and the early history of the Safavid Order.

II. Uigur-Turkic Text

1. General Description

The Uigur-Turkic decree (*sözüm* < T. *söz* "word; decree") presented here is older than the three by the Timurid rulers thus far known (see the additional note by Ono below). Even expanding our view to the overall Chaghatay-Turkic text materials in the Uigur script of the Timurid period, it is the oldest next to the rock inscription at Karasakpaj in Kazakhstan, which was recorded in 793/1391 in memory of the march of the dynastic founder Tīmūr against the Jochid ruler Toqtamïš (Poppe 1940; Sertkaya 1977, 7–8; Grigor'ev, Telicin and Frolova 2004; *Turks*, 202–203, 413).

This Uigur-Turkic decree of Mīrān Šāh basically follows the so-called Mongol decree format (cf. Sugiyama 1990, 1–4; BT XVI, 165–166; Matsukawa 1995b, 40–41; PUM, 16; cf. Kim 2010, 61–78): It begins with (1) *Intitulatio* as *miranš-a kürägän sözüm* "Mirān Šāh *kürägän*, my word" (cf. note T1), and the following two lines are indented in his honor; (2) *Inscriptio* as *šyx ǰamaludin-i ardavul* = Šayḫ Ǧamāl al-Dīn Arabīlī in line T2; (3) *Narratio* in lines T2–7, to confirm the ownership of Ǧamāl al-Dīn on every village in Ardabīl left from Ḥāǧǧī-Ibrāhīm; (4) *Dispositio* and *Inscriptio* in lines T8–12; (5) Closing formula including the date and the place of issue in lines T12–16. Although it lacks *Publicatio* such as local rulers, governors, military commanders and officials, on the whole, its format is parallel with the Mongol decree format, which was adopted in other Timurid Uigur-Turkic decrees.

The Uigur-Turkic inscription of Tīmūr at Karasakpaj, mentioned earlier, was written horizontally, following the Arabic text. Thus, we may well assume that the horizontal writing of the Uigur script was a custom in the early Timurid chancellery. Although it is impossible to confirm which direction, horizontally or vertically, the decree of Mīrān Šāh was written, its ductus does not eliminate the possibility of horizontal writing.

The directions of the Arabic legends of the two seals on the recto may suggest horizontal writing. The black round seal (ø 2.5 cm) on the end of the Uigur-Turkic text has a legend *Abū al-Fatḥ Amīrānšā*, as mentioned earlier. Besides it, in the blank area before indented lines T2–3, there is another small black seal in waterdrop-like shape (1.2 × 1.5 cm). It shows the incised legend comprising the name of the issuer Mīrān Šāh, as well.[1]

This manner of stamping two seals on the recto —— a larger one on the end and a smaller one

before lines T2–3 —— is identical to that of the Uigur-Turkic decrees of Šāh Ruḫ (Deny 1957) and ‘Umar Šayḫ (Melioranskij 1905). In particular, both seals on the former have been fully deciphered as comprising the name of the issuer Šāh Ruḫ (Deny 1957, 255). This stamping manner relates to the fact that the Timurid rulers used two kinds of seals: *muhr-i kalān* “the great seal” (or *muhr-i ḫāṣṣ* “the royal private seal”; later paraphrased as *muhr-i buzurg* “the great seal”) and *muhr-i parwāna* “the seal for royal permission” (Kawaguchi 2007, 261–263). Thus, we would regard the small seal in waterdrop-like shape as *muhr-i ḫāṣṣ* “the royal private seal” (or *muhr-i kalān* “the great seal”) of Mīrān Šāh, and the larger round one on the end as his *muhr-i parwāna* “the seal for royal permission” to confirm the validity of his decree.[2]

According to an anonymous Persian *Synoptic Account of the House of Tīmūr*, Mīrān Šāh’s signet ring (*muhr-i anguštarī*) had the legend *Abū al-Fatḥ Mīrānšāh* (Thackston 1989, 240; Kawaguchi 2007, 150), which exactly matches the legend of the larger round seal of the present decree. However, the round seal should be too large to be put on the prince’s finger, while the size and shape of another small seal is suitable for *muhr-i anguštarī* “the signet ring.” For the present, we can suppose that the *Synoptic Account* confused information in any reason, and that “the great seal (*muhr-i kalān*)” or “the royal private seal (*muhr-i ḫāṣṣ*)” of the Timurid ruler should be originated from the signet ring (*muhr-i anguštarī*), even though later it became in custody of the particular official, *muhrdār* “seal-keeper” (cf. Kubo 1997, 158; Kawaguchi 2007, 261–263).

This Uigur-Turkic decree offers toponyms *Ardavul* (lines T2 and T4) and *Aṣïz känṭ-i* (line T15), or terms on taxation and administrative systems such as *milkän-ä* (line T8), *ṭivan-γa čïqï(š) mal* (line T10), and *ṭivan biḍkäči* (line T12–13), historical significance of which is briefly explained in the notes concerned.

2. Text

In the edition below, I basically adopt the system of SUK, which integrated transliteration and transcription of the Uigur script.

Major modifications from the common system for Chaghatay-Turkic are as follows: The long vowels (*ā*, *ī*, *ū*) of Arabo-Persian origin are transliterated simply with ***a***, ***i***, ***u*** ; *aleph* (’) = *a* and *ä*, but not for *e* (= *Y*) ; ***u̯*** = *-W-* (not *-WY-*) for *ü* in the first syllable ; ***ḍ*** = *D* for *t* ; ***ṭ*** = *T* for *d* ; ***ṣ*** = *S* for *z* ; ***ẓ*** = *Z* for *s* ; ***γ***, ***x***, ***ǰ*** (= *Č*, not used in SUK) in place of *ġ*, *ḫ*, *c* (= *ǧ* = *j*) ; ***v*** = *V* distinguished from ***w*** = *W* ; *[abč]* for supplement of totally damaged letters ; *(abč)* for partly damaged but legible.

T 1 miranš-a kür(ä)[gän] sözüm
2 buu šyx ǰamaludin-i ardavul

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[1] I am grateful to Prof. ‘Imād al-Dīn Šayḫ al-Ḥukamā’ī for his kind permission to cite here his reading of the legend: *Amīrānšāh* / ..... / *al-‘izza li-llāh* (or *li-llāh ta‘ālā*) “Amīrān-Šāh / ..... / Glory to God (*or* may He be exalted)” (from the bottom to the top). He has already introduced the seal in his presentation “Tāğ-i muhr wa kārburd-hā-yi wīža-yi ān” at the 7th European Conference of Iranian Studies (Cracow, September 7–10, 2011).

[2] Two Mongolian decrees issued by the Chaghatai Khanate in the late fourteenth century (BT XVI, Nrn. 71, 74) have a similar stamping manner: Both are stamped with a larger vermilion seal on the upper end, and a smaller black one on the bottom end. The former may correspond to *muhr-i parwāna* “the seal for royal permission,” while the latter to *muhr-i ḫāṣṣ* “the royal-private seal” of the Timurid. Comparative studies of the chancellery systems of the Chaghatai Khanate and the Timurid as its successor deserve further investigation.

3 -nïng (a)ǰi ibrayim aḍlïγ
4 qul-ï-ṭïn qalγan ardavul tụmän-i
5 -ṭä näkim känt-i ïsïγ suyï sa(r)[a](y)
6 asbabï bolẓ-a šyx ǰamaludin-γa
7 barẓ yïl-ṭïn bašlap bärilṭi
8 näkim milkän-ä-si bolẓ-a
9 yïl sayu šyx (ǰ)amaludin alzun
10 ṭivan-γa čïqï(š) malïn yïl
11 -ṭa rast bilä ṭivan-γa
12 ǰuvab bärzün ṭep ṭivan
13 biḍkäči-lär aḍïn-ṭa niša bäribiz
14 barẓ yïl ṣulqada ay-nïng
15 bir äskidä aṣïz känṭ-i-ṭä
16 biḍilṭi

3. Translation

1 Mīrān Šāh *kürägen*, my word:
2–7 As for every village in the *tümän*-district of Ardabīl and bathhouse, house and [other] implements [there], which were left by the servant, named Ḥāğğī-Ibrāhīm, of this Šayḫ Ğamāl al-Dīn Arabīlī, they have been given to Šayḫ Ğamāl al-Dīn from the year of the Tiger onward.
8–9 As for any owner-allowance (*milkänä*) [from them], Šayḫ Ğamāl al-Dīn shall take [it] every year.
10–12 He shall pay the state taxes for the *dīwān* (*ṭivan-γa čïqïš mal*), annually and properly, to the *dīwān*.
12–13 [Thus] saying, we, the *dīwān*-secretaries, provide the certificate (*niša(n)*) in his (i.e., Mīrān Šāh's) name.
14–16 On the first old (= the twenty-first day) of the month of Ḏū al-Qa'da [of] the year of the Tiger, in Aṣïz Känṭ-i, [this certificate] was written.

4. Notes

T1: *Miranš-a* or Mīrān Šāh, given the "throne of Hülegü Qan (*taḫt-i Hūlākū ḫān*)" by his father Tīmūr (< M. *Temür*), was appointed to be the ruler of Āẕarbāyğān in 1396 (Barthold 1958, 32–33; Roemer 1986, 93; Herrmann 1974, 508–509; Woods 1984, 333). The Uigur transcription of his name as *miranš-a* (in gold ink!) is also found in the Uigur-Turkic diplomatic correspondence of Timurid Abū Sa'īd (r. 1451–1469) of 1468 (Kurat 1940, 197; Ono 2002, 98).

As is well known, T. *kürägän* (~ P. *kūrkān ~ kurkān*) is a loanword of M. *güregen* "a son-in-law," which had been in use as a title for the husband of a Chinggisid princess since the Mongol period (TMEN I, Nr. 340; Herrmann 1974, 499; Ono 2002, 105; Özyetgin 2005, 79). Mīrān Šāh was qualified for the title *kürägän*, since he was married to two Chinggisid princesses: The first was Ūrūn Sulṭān, a daughter of Soyurγatmïš, who was the Ögödeid puppet ruler supported by

Tīmūr; and the second was Säwin-Beg (> P. *Siwīn Big*), a granddaughter of the Jochid ruler Özbeg (Barthold 1958, 32–33; Kawaguchi 2007, 50–51).

For T. *söz* "word" and then "order by another than the emperor (M. *qaγan* = P. *qān* ~ *qā'ān*)," and the distinction between *sözüm* "my word," *sözümüz* > P. *sūzumūz* "our word," and *sözi* > P. *sūzī* "his word," see TMEN IV, Nrn. 1290–1292; Herrmann 1974, 498f.; Sugiyama 1989, 1–2; Ono 2000, 153; Ono 2006, 28, as well as the additional note by Ono below.[3]

This decree by Mīrān Šāh does not refer in the *Intitulatio* to the puppet Chinggisid ruler, by whom the legitimacy of Timurid rule was to be authorized; nor do the other Uigur-Turkic decrees thus far known (cf. additional note by Ono below). From the philological viewpoint on the format, we may note the *Intitulatio* of two Persian decrees of Mīrān Šāh, of 796/1394 and 798/1396, in which his name is preceded by the name of the puppet Chinggisid ruler, Sulṭān Maḥmūd (r. 1388–1402): *Sulṭān Maḥmūd ḫān yarlīġindīn Amīrānšāh kurkān sūzimīz* "By the edict of Sulṭan Maḥmūd ḫān. Amīrān-Šāh *kürägän*, our word" (Herrmann 1974, 504–505; Woods 1984, 332; Kawaguchi 2007, 31).

T2, *šyx ǰamaludin-i ardavul*: "Šayḫ Ǧamāl al-Dīn of *Ardavul*," corresponding to *Ḫwāǧa Ǧamāl al-Dīn Ardabīlī* in the Persian text on the verso: The Arabic title *šayḫ*, which was rendered in the Uigur script as *ŠYX* = *šyx* ~ *š(a)yx* ~ M. *šiγ* ~ *š(a)iγ* (Melioranskij 1905, 09; Arat 1939, 299, 302; Ono 2000, 128, 138; Arat 2006, pl. CXVI; Cleaves 1953, 61–62),[4] is replaced into P. *ḫwāǧa* in the verso, for the reason of which see note P2c. The *-Y* = *-i* after *Č'M'LWDYN* = *ǰamaludin* (< Ǧamāl al-Dīn) should be the *iżāfa* to denote "of (*Ardavul*)" (cf. Eckmann 1966, 103).

At a glance, the face of the letters for *Ardavul* seems *''RD'KWL*, though the stroke like *-K-* can be regarded as *-V-*, similarly to *-V-* in *TYV'N* = *ṭivan* < P. *dīwān* (see note T10a). While the Uigur-Mongolian form *''RD'BYL* = *Ardabil* is attested in the decree of the Ilkhan Abū Sa'īd of 725/1325 (Herrmann and Doerfer 1975b, 343), we can regard *''RD'VWL* = *Ardavul* here as its variant or the Uigur-Turkic appellation for Ardabīl, which is often referred as *Ardawīl* in Arabic sources, e.g., *Ḥudūd al-'Ālam* of the late tenth century, Ibn-Baṭṭūṭa's *Riḥla* of the mid-fourteenth century, and *Ḏikr Nasab Mašā'iḫ Ardawīl* of the late fifteenth century (Minorsky 1970, 394; Yajima 1997, 390; Morimoto 2010). Also notably its Armenian appellation is *Artavēt* or *Artavēl* (EI[1] I, 425; EIr II, 357–365, "Ardabīl i. History of Ardabīl" by C. E. Bosworth).

T3, *(a)ǰi ibrayim*: Obviously corresponding to P. *Ḥāǧǧī Ibrāhīm* on the verso. See Sugahara 2007, 24–25, for the Uigur transcription with *aleph* for initial spirant *ḥ* of A.-P., such as *ḥāǧǧi* > *aǰi* here. The personal name A.-P. *Ibrāhīm* > T.-M. *İbrayim* in the Uigur script has been well attested from the Ilkhanid period onward (Cleaves 1953, 29, 67; Sugahara 2007, 197f. and 397f.; Arat 1939, 299; Ono 2000, 143).

T4a, *qul-ï*: T. *qul* "servant, slave" here corresponds to P. *ġulām* on the verso.[5]

T4b, *ardavul tṷmän-i*: "*Tümän*-district of Ardavul" = P. *tūmān-i ardabīl* on the verso. See

[3] T. *sözümüz* has not been found in the Uigur-Turkic official decrees of the Mongol period and afterwards, while the word itself had been surely existed as a term for "word, letter" in the Old Uigur texts recovered from Dunhuang and East Turkestan. See Moriyasu 2011, 49 and fn. 28; Sertkaya 1999, 258; VOHD 13,22 #552.

[4] On the other hand, the form *Š'YX* = *šayx* is also attested (Ono 2000, 123; Sugahara 2007, *passim*). Recently Miya (2014, 23–24) tentatively proposed the Uigur-Mongolian form as *Š'YYQ* = *šayiγ* (< P. *šayḫ*) on the verso side of the Persian decree of Jalayirid Sulṭan Aḥmad of 773/1372, though it should be modified into a common Turkic personal name *S'VYN'* = *Sävinä* or *S'VYNČ* = *Sävinč*.

note T2, for the identification of T. *Ardavul* to P. *Ardabīl*.

In the Mongol Empire, T. *tụmän* ~ *tümän* = M. *tümen* (> P. *tūmān*) "ten thousand" was originally used as a military term for a unit of ten-thousand nomadic soldiers or its commander, then was adopted for a regional-administrative division in Iran and Mā-warā' an-Nahr under Mongol rule (Barthold 1958, 8–9; Honda 1967 = Honda 1991, 122–123; Kawamoto 2000, 38–56; cf. Matsui 2003, 58–59). The geographical work of Iran under the Mongol rule, *Nuzhat al-Qulūb*, mentions the nine *tümän*-districts of Āẕarbayğān, including the *tümän*-district of Ardabīl (NQ, 83; Kawamoto 2000, 49).

T5, *näkim*: ~ *nä kim* "whoever, everyone" then "whatever, any, everything" (ED, 774). Cf. *nägü kim* ~ *nägü-si kim-i* "whatever, any" in Old Uigur (SUK RH04, Ad03, Em01, WP06, Mi01). The continuous form *näkim* = *N'KYM* in the Uigur script is attested in, e.g., the Wien manuscript of *Qutadγu bilig* (QB, 46, line 5; cf. Arat 1947, 122) and the Uigur-Turkic decree of the Ottoman Sultan Mehmet II (Arat 1939, 299, 301).

T5–6, *ïsïγ suyï*: "Hot water" corresponds to P. *ḥammām* "bathhouse" on the verso. We may note that Mongolian-Chinese bilingual decrees of the Mongol period frequently attest M. *qalaγun usu(n)* ~ *qala'un usu(n)* "hot water" = Chin. *yu-tang* 浴堂 ~ *yu-fang* 浴房 "bathhouse" (e.g., Poppe 1957, 93; Junast 1991, *passim*; Tumurtogoo 2010, 165, 176).

T6, *bolẕ-a*: ~ *bolsa* (< v. *bol-* + conditional), meaning "as for" (Eckmann 1966, 159) here as well as in line T8.

T7, *bärilṭi*: "(It was) given." In lines T12 and T13 too, the verb for "to give" is rendered with *P'R-* = *bär-*, not with the usual form in Old Uigur *PYR-* = *bir-* (or *ber-* in more precise pronunciation). For Chaghatay-Turkic vowels /ä/ and /e/ in the Uigur script, see Sugahara 2007, 26–27; cf. also Ono 2006, 33.

T8, *milkän-ä*: The Uigur-Turkic summary attached to an Arabic *waqf* deed of 726/1326 by Šaraf al-Dīn Aḥmad b. Čaqïrča shows a sentence as *awli ṭivani at-liγ känt-ni mäsir-ä-läri birlä malï milikän-ä-si birlä män čaqïrča oγlï axmaṭ waqb qoydum* "I, Aḥmad son of Čaqïrča, put (i.e., donated) a village named *Awli-Dīwanī* together with its promenade (*mäsir-ä* < P. *masīra*), its property and its *milikänä* for the *waqf*" (cf. *Turks*, 137, 401). Here *milikänä* = *MYLYK'N-'* is undoubtedly one and the same term with our *milkän-ä* = *MYLK'N-'*.

For *milikänä* in Aḥmad's *waqf* deed above, A. Temir gave a reading *malikane* "Liegenschaften" (Temir 1960, 232–233; Temir 1964, 146), seemingly relating it with *malikâne* (~ *mālikāne* < P. *mālikāna*) "a fief, an estate of crown land conveyed conditionally to a private owner; state land held in fief by private owner; large estate" in the Ottoman lexicons (TrEL, 1660; TrE, 728). However, his interpretation should not be immediately applied to the contexts of this decree of Mīrān Šāh, which defines *milkänä* (~ *milikänä*) as to be taken "annually" by Šayḫ Ğamāl al-Dīn, i.e., as any kind of revenue or due.

Here it is noteworthy that P. *mālikāna*, from which T. *mālikāne* was derived, has the usage as "due paid to the landlord by those cultivating the land" (Lambton 1988, 358) or later "an annual or

[5] In the *Rasūlid Hexaglot* of the fourteenth century, two attestations of T. *qul* correspond to P. *banda* (Golden 2000, 111, 266). Cf. Kubo 2014, 146, 148, for the substitution between *bayrï banda* and *bayrï qullar* "ancestral servants" in the Timurid sources.

monthly allowance paid to a *zamīn-dār* by the person who occupies his land, whether it be the State or a *ğāgīr-dār*" (Steingass 1892, 1143). Moreover, in the revenue collection system of Pre-Ottoman Anatolia, i.e., of the Seljuq Sultanate of Rum and manor *beylik*s (even under the Ilkhanate) as well as the Aq-Qoyunlu Dynasty, the term P. *mālikāna* ~ T. *mālikāne* was designated for various kinds of dues and royalties (basically tithe on the harvest) paid to the owner of the land (or other estate) by the cultivator (or utilizer), and it was in contraposition to *dīwānī* (or *ḥāsil-i dīwānī* ~ *ğānib-i dīwānī* ~ *wāğib-i dīwānī* ~ *ḥiṣṣa-yi dīwānī*) "the state taxes" (Beldiceanu-Steinherr 1976; İnalcık 2006, 120; Peacock 2010).[6] This *mālikāna* as a kind of revenue from the estates may well tally with *milkänä* in this decree as a category of due or royalty other than *ṭivan-γa čïqïš mal* "the state taxes (to be paid) to the *dīwān*" of line 10 (see note T10b).

Moreover, we find P. *bahra-yi mālikī* ~ *bahrača-yi mālikī* "allotment for landowner (*mālik*)" in contraposition to *mutawağğih-i dīwān* ~ *māl wa mutawağğihāt wa ḥuqūq-i dīwānī* "the *dīwān*-taxes; the state taxes (to be paid) to the *dīwān*" mentioned in the Ardabīl Persian documents of the Post-Ilkhanid period (PUM, 72; cf. also PUM, 167, Urkunde XXIV of 771/1369; PUM, 184, Urkunde XXIV of 785/1383). From the viewpoint of functional comparison, we can safely identify those "*dīwān*-taxes" with *ṭivan-γa čïqïš mal* "the state taxes to the *dīwān*" in this decree, and consequently we may consider that *bahra-yi mālikī* ~ *bahrača-yi mālikī* can be also an equivalent of *milkänä* in this decree: The nominal transition or substitution of *bahra-yi mālikī* (~ *bahrača-yi mālikī*) into *mālikāna* would be reasonable from the sematic point of view.

Summing up, we can interpret T. *milkänä* in this decree of Mīrān Šāh as "owner-allowance," which was to be paid annually to the owner of the estates and corresponds to P. *bahrača-yi mālikī* as seen in the Ardabīl manuscripts and P. *mālikāna* in Pre-Ottoman Anatolia. Then, Temir's interpretation as "estates" for *milikänä* (~ *milkänä*) in Aḥmad's *waqf* deed would be acceptable, if we consider that *milikäna* as "owner-allowance" was derived from *milikäna* of the same form but meaning "the private estate owned by the landowner (to be charged owner-allowance)." On the other hand, *milikäna* could mean "private estates (to be charged owner-allowance)" as Temir supposed for the attestation in Aḥmad's *waqf* deed: It may be noted that it composes a hendiadys with the term *mal* < A.-P. *māl* "property, goods," which also designate "state taxes; normal taxes" paid to the *dīwān*, as so is in this decree.

However, the spellings as *MYLK'N-'* = *milkänä* or *MYLYK'N-'* = *milikänä* in the Uigur script is still open question. Those spellings suggest the first syllable should have been *mi-* or *me-*, but not *ma-* ~ *mä-* suitable for P. *mālikāna*.[7] Also unlikely is that *milkänä* ~ *milikänä* (~ *melikänä*) developed into *mālikāne* in the Ottoman lexicon. If *milkänä* ~ *milikänä* might be a loanword of any Persian vocabulary other than *mālikāna*, the most preferable form for its etymon would be **milkāna* (= *milk* "possession; ownership; property; private estate" + adj. *-āna*), which has never been attested in Persian lexicons.[8] Besides, P. *malikāna* > T. *melikâne* "kingly, royal, majestic" (TrE, 751) could be the candidate too, but it does not semantically consist with *bahrača-yi mālikī* in the contemporary Ardabīl documents as mentioned above.

[6] Here I would express my gratitude to Dr. David Durand-Guédy, for his kind suggestion about *mālikāna* in the pre-Ottoman period.

[7] For the development Persian /ā/ into Turkish /e/ see Stein 2006, 146–147, though P. *mālikāna* > T. *melikänä* is not registered.

T10a, *ṭivan*: = *TYV'N* < A.-P. *dīwān* "the *dīwān*, ministry, chancery, government office." For the history and function of A.-P. *dīwān* in the Iranian Plateau, see EIr VII, 432–438, "Dīvān" by F. De Blois; especially for the *dīwān* of the Timurid, see Kubo 1997, which is mentioned in notes T12–13 and P5.

Rather clear writing *TYV'N* = *divan* in the Uigur script is found in the Mongolian decree of Abū Sa'īd of 725/1325 (Herrmann and Doerfer 1975b, 341). Contrarily, the face of the letters here seems to be *T'Y'N* ~ *T'V'N*, though the second stroke like *aleph* or *-R-* after the initial *T-* should be regarded as *-Y-* written like in the final form, as should the attestations of lines 11 and 12. Similar writing is found in line 2 of the Uigur-Turkic *soyurγal* decree of Šāh-Ruḫ: Now we can safely place *TYV'N* = *ṭivan* instead of *ṭäväṅ* by Ono (2006, 32–33), who correctly related it to A.-P. *dīwān*, modifying *toyon* (~ *toyïn*) "Buddhist monk" by Deny (1957, 259). It should be noted that the Uigur-Turkic *soyurγal* decree of Timurid 'Umar-Šayḫ of 1493(?) offers another form *TYW'N* = *ṭiwan* < A.-P. *dīwān* (Melioranskij 1905, 02–03, 010, with facsimile).

T10b, *ṭivan-γa čïqiš malïn*: T. *čïqiš* (dev. n. < v. *čïq-* "to go out"), meaning basically "outflow, output, expense, expenditure," is frequently attested as a taxation term in the decrees of the Jochid Khanate (Özyetgin 1996, 169; Özyetgin 2004, 71–73). T. *mal* (+ acc. > *mal-ïn*) is a loanword from A.-P. *māl*, meaning "basic taxes, state tax" to be paid to the *dīwān*: In the Mongol period, it consisted of the land tax (T.-M. *tsang* ~ *sang* = A.-P. *ḫarāǧ*) and the sales tax (T.-M. *tamγa* > P. *tamġā*) (Honda 1961, 100–103 = Honda 1991, 282–287; Kawamoto 2000, 40–41; Matsui 2005, 74–79).[9]

From the context, here *čïqiš mal* should compose a hendiadys generally for various taxes to be paid to the *dīwān* as the chancellery, in contraposition to *milkänä* "owner-allowance" to be paid to Šayḫ Ǧamāl al-Dīn as the landowner. That is suggested by the Persian phrase on the verso: P. *ānča ḥiṣṣa wa rasad-i dīwān bāšad* "what is the share and revenue (*ḥiṣṣa wa rasad*)" would correspond to T. *čïqiš*, while P. *mālī* (~ *māl*) to T. *mal(ïn)*. Besides, we find a parallel phrase, *ṭiwan-γa čïqar är türlüg mal-ï* "every (*är* ~ *här*) kind of tax (*mal-ï*) to go (= be paid) to the *dīwān*" in the Uigur-Turkic decree of 'Umar-Šayḫ (Melioranskij 1905, 03–04). Cf. notes T8 and T12.

T11, *rast bilä*: "With righteousness, justness" then "properly, rightly": For *rast* ~ *rāst* < P. *rāst* "right, straight," see VWTD III, 712; Eckmann 1966, 311. Cf. *köni-lik birlä* "with propriety; rightly, properly," attested in a Turkic decree of Jochid Toqtamïš (Özyetgin 2000, 173).

T12, *ǰuvab bärzün*: T. *ǰuvab* is a variant of *ǰavab* < A.-P. *ǧawāb* "answer, reply." For v. *bär-* (~ *ber-*) "to give," see note T7. Here *ǰuvab bär-* "to give answer, to reply" should mean "to respond, to be responsible," as well as P. *ǧawāb dādan* "to answer, to be responsible" (Steingass 1892, 375) or *ǧawāb guftan* "to pay (taxes)" as attested frequently in the Ardabīl Persian documents of the thirteenth–fourteenth century (PUM, 92, 108, 131, 138, 167, 171, 175).

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[8] It is still noteworthy that P. *milk* "private estates" was one of the five categories of the land ownership in the Ilkhanid Iran along with P. *ḫāṣṣa* or *īnǧū* (< T. *inčü*) "crown land," *dīwānī* or *dālāy* (< M. *dalai* "sea, ocean") "state land," *waqf*-land, and *yurt* "nomadic pasture" (Honda 1959, 44–45 = Honda 1991, 246–250; Kawamoto 1991, 69; Lambton 1991, liii). Kawamoto pointed out that the reading P. *mulk*, e.g., by Fragner 1986, 499–524, is not acceptable in such classification.

[9] However, it may be noted that *Muršid fī al-Ḥisāb*, a fiscal manual of the thirteenth century Iran, offers a division into *al-māl* "the basic tax," *al-tamġā* "the sales tax," and *al-qupčūr* "the *qupčūr* (P. ~ T. *qupčïr* < M. *qubčiri*) poll tax." See Watabe 2011, 26.

Consequently, this Uigur-Turkic decree firstly guarantees Ǧamāl al-Dīn the annual revenue of the owner-allowance (*milkänä*), and secondly orders him to "respond to (i.e., pay) the state taxes (*čïqiš mal*) (to be paid) to the *dīwān*." However, the Persian text on the verso prohibits the *dīwān* from requesting "any tax (*mālī*) which should be its share and revenue (*ḥiṣṣa wa rasad*)." Thus, the contents of both texts contradict each other.

To resolve the contradiction, we may tentatively consider that the exemption of the state taxes to the *dīwān* (T. *ṭivan-ɣa čïqiš mal* ~ P. *mālī*) was finally decided during the ten days between the date of the Uigur Turkic decree and that of the Persian summary (see note T14–15). The lack of the term *soyurɣal* "imperial grant" in the Turkic decree may lend support for it: The recognition of the properties given to Ǧamāl al-Dīn as *soyurɣal* (> P. *suyūrġāl*, as in the verso) too may have been confirmed and established (by the *dīwān*?) meantime. In any case, this problem should be revisited from the viewpoint of the Timurid chancellery practice.

T12–13, *ṭivan biḍkäči-lär*: For the Uigur transcription *ṭivan* for A.-P. *dīwān*, see note T10a.

Similar to "secretaries, scribes (P. *bitikčiyān* < T. *bitigči* ~ *bitkäči*)" in the Persian decrees from Iran (cf. PUM, *passim*), *ṭivan biḍkäči-lär* ~ *dīwān bitkäčilär* "the *dīwān*-secretaries" is enumerated in the *Publicatio* of the Turkic decrees of the Jochid Khanates (Özyetgin 1996, 106; Özyetgin 2000, 172; Özyetgin 2009, 391; Ono 2013, 67), or abbreviated simply as *ṭivan-lar* ~ *ṭiwan-lar* "to the officials of the *dīwān*" in the *Publicatio* of the Timurid Uigur-Turkic decrees (see note T10a).

Some have remarked that the later Timurids had a dual system for the central government, *dīwān-i tuwāčī* "the ministry of military affairs" and *dīwān-i māl* "the ministry of finance." In this decree of Mīrān Šāh, T. *ṭivan* in lines 10 and 12 and P. *dīwān* on the verso (line 5) should correspond to the latter (see note P5).

However, it is unlikely that *ṭivan biḍkäči-lär* "the *dīwān*-secretaries" here were affiliated directly to "the *dīwān* of finance (*dīwān-i māl*)" as the central government of the Timurid dynasty: Here, they wrote and issued this decree "in the name of (*aḍïn-ṭa*)" Mīrān Šāh, who was appointed to the ruler of Āẕarbāyğān, and geographically in *Aṣïz Känṭ-i*, to be identified most probably to 'Azīz Kandī in East Āẕarbāyğān Province of Iran (see note T15). Consequently, they were likely the secretaries closest to Mirān Šāh, and their *ṭivan* = *dīwān* should be the private government for the appanage of Mīrān Šāh, or otherwise the provincial government of Āẕarbāyğān covering the *tümän*-district of Ardabīl.

Here "the *dīwān*-secretaries" are mentioned as the scribes of this Turkic decree in the Uigur script issued by the Timurid prince Mirān Šāh. That reminds us of the so-called Uigur masters/secretaries (*baḫšī(-yi) Ūyġūr* ~ *baḫšiyān-i Ūyġūr*) as mentioned frequently in the Timurid sources. Originally, T. *baxšï* (< Chin. *bo-shi* 博士) was a Buddhist title for "scholar, master, teacher." It was borrowed into Mongolian and Persian and later given another meaning "secretary," especially in Islamic Western Turkistan and Iran, reflecting the historical situation in which many Uigur Buddhist monks served the Chinggisid royal family not only as teachers (T. *baxšï* > M. *baɣsi* ~ P. *baḫšī*) but also as secretaries to draft Mongolian and Turkic documents in the Uigur script.[10] In the court of Tīmūr (r. 1370–1405), *baḫšī-yi Ūyġūr* or *baḫšiyān-i turkī-dān "baḫšī*s well acquainted with Turkish" also existed. They were experts in Turkic languages and literatures and, together with

[10] See, e.g., TMEN II, Nr. 724; ED, 321; EIr III, 535–536, "Baḵšī" by P. Jackson.

bitigčis ~ *bitkäčis* "secretaries," most likely engaged in drafting and writing decrees or various kinds of administrative documents, especially in the Uigur script (Kubo 2012, 48–49). Moreover, we find several sources on the *baḫšīs* and *bitigčis* in charge of the granting of *soyurγal* for the J̌alayir tribe under the Timurid, suggesting that the *baḫšīs* mainly concerned the administration of the Turco-Mongolian nomadic tribes and *dīwān-i tuvāčī* "the ministry of the army inspector" (Kubo 2012, 50–51). Thus, the tasks of *baḫšī-yi Ūyġūr* (or simply *baḫšī*) may well be the same as those of *ṭivan biḍkäči-lär* here, who composed the royal decree in the Uigur script concerning the matter of the granting of *soyurγal*, as revealed by the Persian text on the verso (cf. notes P4b and P5). One may also remark that some of the Turkic decrees of the Jochid Khanates were drawn up by scribes bearing the title *baḫšī* (Özyetgin 1996, 115; Grigor'ev 2004, 52, 70, 114; Özyetgin 2009, 392; Kubo 2012, 45).

In any case, this Uigur-Turkic decree offers the most significant information for historical studies on the chancellery practice of *dīwān* in the early Timurid period, which should be revisited from various perspectives in the future.

T13a, *niša*: ~ *nišan* "Certificate, document." As is well known, P. *nišān* "sign, mark, signal, seal, stamp" was borrowed into Turkic and Old Uigur as *nišan* "sign, signature, sign mark" opposed to *tamγa* "seal, stamp." T. *nišan* was further borrowed into Mongolian to mean "sign, signature" as well as "seal" (Cleaves 1955, 42–43; Ligeti 1971, 148). In the Mongolian decrees, *nišan* was frequently used in phrases as *nišandu bičig* ~ *nišadu bičig* ~ *ništu bičig* "document or certificate with the seal (stamped)," through which *nišan* came to mean "document, certificate of decree (with seal)" (Weiers 1967, 30–33; Kara 2003, 29; cf. BT XVI, 217).

The Timurid rulers inherited *nišan* as the term for "document or certification (with seal)" in their chancellery practice, as is well shown here and in the *soyurγal* decrees of Šāh-Ruḫ and 'Umar-Šayḫ. The attestations of *nišan* in the Timurid Uigur-Turkic decrees have been read variously as *nšn* ~ *nišn* ~ *niša* ~ *niš* (cf. Deny 1957; Ono 2006; Ono 2014, 71). From the viewpoint of orthography, we should adopt *NYŠ'* = *niša*,[11] with only two exceptions in 'Umar-Šayḫ's decree, *nišan* in line 9 and the corruption as *NYN* (or possibly *NŠ'* = *n[i]ša*) in line 12 (Melioranskij 1905, 02). This form *niša* might be understandable with the Mongolian derivation *niša* ~ *niš* < *nišan* as seen in *nišadu* ~ *ništu* (< *nišandu*) "with the seal (stamped)," as the final *-N* frequently disappears in Mongolian. Even so, the form of *niša* has not been registered in any Turkic lexicons (cf. VWTD III, 701–702; Eckmann 1966, 307); The Uigur-Turkic decrees of the Jochid Khanate show *nišan* = *NYŠ'N* rather clearly (Özyetgin 1996, 227).

T13b, *bäribiz*: Or *bär[i]rbiz*? In any case, it should be a mistake (or colloquial corruption?) for *bärirbiz* ~ *bärir-biz* "we give (< v. *bär-* ~ *ber-*)."

T14–15: Though lacking the numeral count of *hiǧrī*, we may date *barẓ yïl* "year of the Tiger" here to 1398 CE, the year of *wu-yin* 戊寅 "*wu*-Tiger" (= the 31st year of *Hong-wu* 洪武 era), as suggested by the date of the Persian text on the verso, 800 AH.

We find the Uigur transcription as *ṣulqada* = *SWLX'D'* (< A. *Ḏū al-Qa'da*) also in the Uigur

[11] As for the attestations of *niša* = *NYŠ'* in lines 7 and 12 of the decree of Šāh-Ruḫ, the final stroke *-Š'* with a long tail of *aleph* written continuously is distinguishable from a single *-Š* (in *altmiš*, *barmiš* and *beš*) with a shorter tail: A similar form *NYŠ'* = *niša* is found also in line 10 of the decree of 'Umar-Šayḫ.

colophon of *ʻAtabat al-Ḥaqāʼiq* of 884/1480 (Arat 2006, 27 and pl. CXVI); Another Uigur form *SWL-X'''D'* = *ṣul-qaʼada* is attested in the colophon of *Laṭāfat Nāma* of 893/1488 (cf. Gandjeï 1964, 162 and facsimile).

T. *äski* "old" here apparently corresponds to M. *qaγučin* ~ *qaučin* (> pl. *qaγučid* ~ *qaučid*) "old," as in the *Rasūlid Hexaglot* (Golden 2000, 266). The Mongolian term was used to date the later days of a month, as opposed to M. *sine* "new; a day of the first ten days of the lunar month" (Lessing 1960, 711). In spite of the considerably many attestations, there has been a dispute over how many days belonged to M. *qaγučin*, in other words, the fifteen of the latter half (16^{th} – 30^{th}) or the last ten days (21^{st} – 30^{th}). Although the latter opinion, regarding it as the last ten days, has been mostly accepted, it is still based on the elimination method (e.g., Mostaert and Cleaves 1962, 49–54, Ligeti 1971, 149–150 and GWM, 109–110; cf. Matsukawa 1995a, 114).

However, we should turn to the information previously presented by A. Temir, who introduced the Arabic-Mongolian bilingual *waqf* deed (K_2 as designated by him) dated to "the 20^{th} day of Šawwāl month of 670" in the Arabic text, and to *bečin ǰil ǰunu terigüten sara-yin qoyar qaučid* "the 2^{nd} old (day) of the first month of summer (= the 4^{th} month) (of) the year of the Monkey" in the Mongolian text (Temir 1959, 6, 152, 159). The former Islamic date corresponds to 20 May 1272 CE, and to 22 IV 1272 of the year of *ren-shen* 壬申 "*ren*-Monkey" (or the 9^{th} of *Zhi-yuan* 至元 era) in the Chinese lunar calendar. Thus, we can date M. *qoyar qaučid* "the 2^{nd} old (day)" in K_2 to the 22^{nd} day of the lunar month, and consequently *qaγučin* in the Pre-Classical Mongolian too should be basically placed on the last ten days (the 21^{st} – 30^{th} day), so should T. *äski* here.

Now the decree of Mīrān Šāh in Turkic was drawn up in the Uigur script on 21 Ḏū al-Qaʻda 800 AH, which corresponds to 5 August 1398 CE, and to 23 VI 1398 in the Chinese lunar calendar, ten days earlier than 1 Ḏū al-Ḥiǧǧa 800 (= 15 August 1398 CE), when the Persian text was added on the verso.

T15, *aṣïz känṭ-i*: This place of issue may be identified with ʻAzīz Kandī, a small village ca. 150 km to the southwest of Ardabīl, ca. 65 km to the west of Miyāna, and ca. 90 km to the southeast of Tabrīz, on the way to Sulṭānīya.

T16, *biḍilṭi*: "(This certificate) was written." The stroke between the final two letters, *-T- and -Y*, is stretched long down for spacefilling.

The closing formula of the Mongol edicts and decrees of the thirteenth–fourteenth century consistently use the active voice M. *bičibei* < v. *biči-* "to write" (e.g., BT XVI, 166; Junast 1991, *passim*; Tumurtogoo 2006, 324; Tumurtogoo 2010, 140), while the Turkic decrees of the Timurid and the Jochid Khanates use the passive voice *bitildi* (< *bitil-* < v. *bit-*) ~ *yazïldï* (< *yazïl-* < v. *yaz-*) "(this certificate) was written" as frequently as *bitidi* / *bitidimiz* (< v. *bit-*) "he/we wrote" (Özyetgin 1996, 207; Özyetgin 2009, 392).[12]

(Dai Matsui)

[12] For the attestation of *bitildi* in line 13 of the decree of ʻUmar Šayḫ, Ono (2014, 72) proposed a correction as *PWDWLDY* = *büḍüldi*. However, the writing as *PYTYLDY* = *bitildi* can be confirmed in the facsimile attached to Melioranskij 1905.

III. Persian Text

1. General Description

Seven lines of the Persian text are written tightly in the centre of the sheet, in small-hand of *Ta'līq* script, which was commonly used in administrative documents of the Mongol period. The text, which runs diagonally downward to the left, does not follow the general format of Persian decree whose lines should go upward in their end. Thus it looks like a simple memorandum, not an official decree.

In the bottom right of the paper, we find three black, round seals stamped upside down. Their legends may well indicate that this document was registered as evidence to confirm that the estates granted to Ǧamāl al-Dīn were now the property of the Šayḫ Ṣafī al-Dīn shrine or the Safavid Order.[13]

Following the title *mażmūnī ānki* "the contents [of the decree is] that," the *Narratio* comes to lines 2–3. After line 4, however, the contents are not a completely verbatim translation of the Turkic text. As the most important difference, we can point out the confirmation of the property given to Ǧamāl al-Dīn Arabīlī as *suyūrġāl* (< M. *soyurɣal*) and the exemption from any tax (*mālī*) of the *dīwān*, of which the Turkic decree had ordered payment (see notes P4b, P5 and T12). Moreover, the date of the Persian text may well suggest that it was not written as the exact and simultaneous summary of the Turkic decree, but was attached to confirm the additional grant of tax exemption for Ǧamāl al-Dīn ten days after the issue of the Turkic decree (cf. notes T12 and T14–15).

The Persian text seems to be composed on the basis of the regulations of Persian administrative documents, as we come across formulas to grant immunities similar to those in administrative documents of the fourteenth century (see note P6a). Even so, it does not follow the basic format of the Persian decrees from the thirteenth–fourteenth century, as it lacks the formula of *Publicatio* as *[....] bi-dānanad kī* .... "[the addressees of the decree] should know that ...." and the commonly used phrase of the *Corraboratio* as *i'timād namāyand* "they should trust" (cf. PUM, 16, 19).

Furthermore, we may pay attention to the noticeable difference in usage of the term *suyūrġāl* between this text and another decree by the same issuer in 798/1396 (Fekete 1977, 63–65; Woods 1984). The latter uses the term *suyūrġāl* in its basic sense of "favor; reward" as *suyūrġāl farmūdīm* "we rewarded" (in line 6), while in our text it was applied in the formula "as the eternal *suyūrġāl*," which became common in the later periods in the Turkoman dynasties and the Safavid dynasty (see note P4b).[14] From such a viewpoint, our text can be an important sample in the chronological

[13] Of the three seals, the upper one of the two put vertically in the left is not decipherable, while the one beneath has the legend *fawważtu amrī ilā Allāh* "I have entrusted my matter to God." The last one, stamped alone in the right, has *waqf ḥaẓīra muqaddasa Ṣafawiyya* "the endowment of the Safavid sacred shrine." These seals are found also in other documents from the shrine of Šayḫ Ṣafī al-Dīn: E.g., FABṢ, 114–115, s.25863 (r.443) (= PUM, Urkunde XVI), s.25864 (r.444) (= PUM, Urkunde XVII), s.25865 (r.445) (= PUM, Urkunde XIX). Beneath the seal in the right is written a mark in the shape of the Arabic numeral "9." A similar mark is found in other Ardabīl documents: E.g., "19" is written beside the seals of the shrine in s.25862 (r.442) (= PUM, Urkunde V), s.25863 (r.443) and s.25865 (r.445) mentioned just above. The records of the estates donated to the shrine of Šayḫ Ṣafī al-Dīn are collected and compiled in *Ṣarīḥ al-Milk* by 'Abdī ('Alī Qiwāmī Šīrāzī) in the sixteenth century (Gronke 1993, 18-24; Zayn al-'Ābidīn 'Abdī Bīg Nawīdī Šīrāzī, *Ṣarīḥ al-Milk: Waqf-nāma-yi Buq'a-yi Šayḫ Ṣafī al-Dīn Ardabīlī*, ed. by M. Muḥammad-Hidāyatī, Tihrān, 1390 AHS). In this paper, however, we have to postpone the comprehensive investigation of the relation between this document and the entirety of the estates endowed to the shrine of Šayḫ Ṣafī al-Dīn.

[14] Lambton notes that it is not always easy to decide whether the term *suyūrġāl* is being used in the Ilkhanid and Timurid sources in the sense of "favor" or more specifically as a provincial grant (Lambton 1997, 732).

development of the format of *suyūrġāl* decrees in the Persianate chancelleries.

2. Text

The diacritical points not attached in the original manuscript are supplemented in the edition below.

١ مضمـــونی
٢ انک متروکات حاجی ابرهیم کی غلام خواجه جمال الدین اردبیلی بوده
٣ از دیه و حمام و سرای و اسباب در تومان اردبیل از ابتدای بارس ییل
٤ بقرار هود بری و سیورغال ابدی از آن خواجه جمال الدین مذکور باشد
٥ دیوانی آنچه حصه و رسد دیوان باشد مالی طلب ندارند و بر خواجه
٦ جمال الدین مقرر و مسلم دارند تحریرا فی غرة ذی حجة حجة ثمانمائة هجریة
٧ رب اختم بالخیر

P1 mażmūnī
2 ānki matrūkāt-i Ḥāǧǧī Ibrāhīm kī ġulām-i Ḫwāǧa Ǧamāl al-Dīn Ardabīlī būda
3 az dīh wa ḥammām wa sarāy wa asbāb dar tūmān-i Ardabīl az ibtidā-yi bārs yīl
4 ba-qarār-i hūd burī wa suyūrġāl-i abadī az ān-i Ḫwāǧa Ǧamāl al-Dīn-i maẕkūr bāšad
5 dīwānī ānča ḥiṣṣa wa rasad-i dīwān bāšad mālī ṭalab na-dārand wa bar Ḫwāǧa
6 Ǧamāl al-Dīn muqarrar wa musallam dārand taḥrīran fī ġurra Ḏī Ḥiǧǧa ḥaǧǧa ṯamānimi'a hiǧrīya
7 Rabbi iḫtim bi'l-ḫayr

3. Translation

1 The contents [of the Uigur-Turkic decree on the recto side is] that:

2–4 The abandoned properties (*matrūkāt*) in the *tümen*-district of Ardabīl which were left from Ḥāǧǧī Ibrāhīm, who was a slave (*ġulām*) of Ḫwāǧa Ǧamāl al-Dīn Ardabīlī, containing a village, bathhouse, house and implements must be included in the properties of above-mentioned Ḫwāǧa Ǧamāl al-Dīn as the *hūd burī* and eternal *suyūrġāl* from the beginning of the year of the Tiger (*bārs yīl*).

5–6 [Officials of] the *dīwān* must not request any tax which should be the share and allotment (*ḥiṣṣa wa rasad*) of the *dīwān* and must make [the *suyūrġāl* holder's rights] fixed and stable (*muqarrar wa musallam*) for Ḫwāǧa Ǧamāl al-Dīn.

6 [This decree was] written in the first [day] of Ḏū al-Ḥiǧǧa of the year of eight hundred of the hijri calendar.

7 Lord, complete [this] with goodness.

4. Notes

P1, *mażmūnī*: The stroke between *-M-* and *-W* is stretched to fill most of the line P1.

P2a, *matrūkāt*: It means "anything left behind one (either when leaving a place or dying)" (Steingass 1892, 1158) or "the estate of a dead person" (LN, 17798). According to Islamic law,

matrūka lands are regarded as common lands (Khadduri and Liebesny 1955, 181). Here it is declared that the properties that had not belonged to anyone's legal ownership after the late owner Ḥāğğī Ibrāhīm's death were transferred to Ḫwāğa Ğamāl al-Dīn, who was his master.

P2b, *Ḥāğğī Ibrāhīm*: > T. *aǰi ibrayim* on the recto (see note T3).

P2c, *Ḫwāğa Ğamāl al-Dīn Ardabīlī*: = T. *šyx ǰamaludin-i ardavul* on the recto (see note T2). Here Ğamāl al-Dīn is attached with a title *ḫwāğa*, instead of *šayḫ* (> T. *šyx* ~ *šayx*) on the recto. In Persian sources in the fourteenth century, the title *ḫwāğa* was generally applied to notables or high-ranking officials such as *wazīr*s "ministers" or *ṣāḥib-dīwān* "chief financial officer," while the leaders of the *ṣūfī* order were usually attached with *šayḫ* (cf. Ḫaṭīb-Rahbar 1354 AHS; DK II, 291–297). However, it seems that, particularly in Central Asia, the *ṣūfī*s were commonly mentioned with the title *ḫwāğa*: The early Naqšbandī Order was called "the Order of *ḫwāğa*s (*ḫwāğagān*)," and the Persian inscription in memory of the establishment of a *ḫānqāh* at Qara-Qorum of 742/1341–1342 refers to the fourteen *ṣūfī*s of the Kubrawīya Order (in lines 34–37), seven of whom were attached with the title *ḫwāğa* (Uno, Muraoka and Matsuda 1999, 49; Isogai and Yajima 2007, 125, 145–146). Thus, we may suppose that the title *ḫwāğa* also could be commonly applied for *ṣūfī*s, while the honorable leaders among them were distinguished with the title *šayḫ*.

P3a, *tūmān-i Ardabīl*: = T. *ardavul tụmän-i* "*tümän*-district of Ardavul." See note T4b.

P3b, *bārs yīl*: < T. *bars yil* "the year of the Tiger."

P4a, *hūd burī*: The word between *ba-qarār-i* and *wa* can be deciphered as *HWD BRY* = *hūd burī* ~ *hūd barī*. In fact the letter for *B-* has the double diacritical points, though it must be one and the same word as what has been commonly read as *hūdabarī* and interpreted as a term to mean "the eternal grant needless to renew," used in the conjunction with *suyūrġāl* (< M. *soyurɣal*) in the fifteenth–sixteenth century (Lambton 1997, 732; cf. also note P4b). Comparing with other examples of the continuous *-DB-* or *-DY-* of cursive *Ta'līq* script in our document (e.g., *ARDBYL* = *Ardabīl* and *DYH* = *dīh* in line P3, and *DYWAN* = *dīwān* in line P5), we can observe the writing here is clearly separated as *HWD BRY* = *hūd burī* ~ *hūd barī*, which suggests that the term consisted of two elements.

For the etymon of P. *hūd-burī* ~ *hūd-barī*, scholars have accepted M. *hüdebüri* "bridal gift, dowry for noble ladies" (< v. *hüde-* ~ *üde-* "to escort bride; to see off, send off; to accompany a person to the point or place of parting" + deverbal noun *-büri*) proposed by Doerfer (TMEN I, Nr. 396; Woods 1984, 335; cf. Lessing 1960, 995; GWM, 44). However, the separated writing as *HWD BRY* may well suggest other etymon consisted of two elements. Regarding this issue, H. Ono, who has revealed that P. *hūd burī* ~ *hūd-barī* should be derived from M. *hod büri* ~ *od büri* "all years; for permanent years; eternal(ly)" (Ono 2007), is preparing a detailed article.

P4b, *suyūrġāl*: The basic meaning of this term, derived from M. *soyurɣal*, was "favor" or "reward granted by the ruler to someone (sometimes of a hereditary nature)" (TMEN I, Nr. 228), and came to designate various grants; a grant of land or its revenue, or immunities from taxes (Lambton 1997, 731-732; İnalcık 2006, 19-124; Paydaş 2006; Ölmez 2010). The phrase of "as the eternal *suyūrġāl* (*ba-qarār-i suyūrġāl-i abadī*)" is similar to the formulas of rewarding *suyūrġāl* in the edicts of the Aq Qoyunlu and the Safavid periods, "in the manner of eternal *suyūrġāl* (*dar waǧh-i suyūrġāl-i abadī*)" (cf. Busse 1959, 151-153; Martin 1965, 180-181, 189-190). Cf. also

note T12, for the absence of the term *soyurγal* in the Turkic decree on the recto.

P5: The beginning word of the line, *dīwānī* "of the *dīwān*, belonging to the *dīwān*," should be the subject of the sentence, while the verb of the sentence has the plural form *ṭalab na-dārand* "they should not require." We may be allowed to suppose that any word for "officials" or "deputies" (for example *nuwwāb*) should have been written before *dīwānī* but was omitted, unless we find an indisputable attestation of *dīwānī* alone for "the officials of the *dīwān*" in contemporary Persian sources.

During the reign of Sulṭān Ḥusayn Bayqarā (r. 1469, 1470–1506), the central administration of the Timurids in Herat had two *dīwān*s to divide responsibility for state affairs: One was *dīwān-i tuwāčī* "the ministry of the army inspector (< M. *toγači ~ to'ači*)," which was responsible for military affairs, and the other was *dīwān-i māl* "the ministry of finance," which took charge of financial affairs. However, the latter was often mentioned simply as *dīwān*, and was also referred to as *dīwān-i a'lā'* "the supreme *dīwān*" (Kubo 1997, 150–160). The *dīwān* in the present text should be related to the *dīwān-i māl* or the local office of fiscal administration in Ardabīl under its control (cf. also note T12–13).

A. *ḥiṣṣa* "part, share, lot" (Steingass 1892, 422) appears in the Persian sources of the Mongol period in the sense of a share of land revenue allotted to the governmental tax or land owners' allotment. In his decree (*yarlīġ*) on the cultivation of wastelands, Γazan Qan (> P. Ġāzān Ḫān) gave orders that "from the lands belonging to the *dīwān* (*dīwānī*) and the crown lands (*īnǧū*), the determined share (*ḥiṣṣa*) must go to the *dīwān* and from the private lands (*milkī*) to the land owners (*mālik*)" (ǦT/Rawšan II, 1529). P. *rasad* is a Persian synonym of A. *ḥiṣṣa*.

This sentence means that because Ḫwāǧa Ǧamāl al-Dīn's estate, inherited from the late Ḥāǧǧī Ibrāhīm, was granted tax immunity, the *dīwān* was prohibited from requesting the taxes that had been levied on the estate. Cf. also notes T10b and T12, for the direction in the Turkic text that Ǧamāl al-Dīn should respond to "state taxes to the *dīwān*."

P6a, *muqarrar wa musallam*: "Fixed and stable." Especially the latter term, *musallam*, in conjunction with *mu'āf* "pardoned, exempted," is used in the formula of confirmation of the immunities from taxes in the sense of "being free from state control" (İnalcık 2006, 121). DK offers three samples of decrees on *mu'āf* and *musallamī* (DK III, 277–283), which contain formulas to assure that the recipient has the permanent rights that do not require the renewal and can be inherited by their descendants.[15] Thus, *muqarrar wa musallam* here should imply that the permanent immunities from taxes was confirmed on Ḫwāǧa Ǧamāl al-Dīn's estate.

We come across M. *muqarar* "fixed; determined (amount of money)" < A.-P. *muqarrar* in the Mongolian-Persian bilingual decree of Jalayirid Šayḫ-Uways (Herrman and Doerfer 1975a, 75), and A.-P. *musallam* "approved, fixed" was transcribed in the Uigur script as *MWSL'M = muslam* in the decree of 'Umar-Šayḫ (Melioranskij 1905, 012, though reading *musallam*). Moreover, the correspondence between P. *muqarrar wa musallam* > M. *muqarar musalam* "fixed and stabled" is attested in an unpublished Mongolian-Persian bilingual decree of 761/1360 of the Ardabīl

[15] "Not to request a renewed order every year (*har sāl ḥukm-i muǧaddad na-ṭalaband*)" (DK III, 279); "After his lifetime for his children and descendants through generations... (*ba'd az imtidād-i muddat-i ū awlād wa a'qāb-i ū rā mā tawāladū wa tanāsalū ...*)" (DK III, 281); "Anyone who changes this goodness will be cursed and expelled eternally (*taġyīr kunanda-yi īn 'ārifa mal'ūn-i abadī wa maṭrūd-i sarmadī bāšad*)" (DK III, 283).

manuscripts.[16]

P6b, *Ḏī Ḥiǧǧa ḥaǧǧa*: Following the month name *Ḏī Ḥiǧǧa* (~ *Ḏū al-Ḥiǧǧa*), *ḤǴH = ḥaǧǧa* "year" (LN V, 7762) is used in place of the common word *sana* "year." It constitutes a perfect homonymic pun (*taǧnīs-i tamm*) with the preceding *ḤǴH = Ḥiǧǧa*: The Persian decree of Amīr Ḥusayn of 704/1305 adopts the similar way of dating as *Ḏū al-Ḥiǧǧa ḥaǧǧa 'arba' wa sab'mi'a* "Ḏū al-Ḥiǧǧa of the year of seven hundred and four" (PUM, 87, 89).

P7, *Rabbi iḫtim bi'l-ḫayr*: This short prayer is used as the *Apprecatio* and aligned left in the final line. Similar attestations are found in the Ardabīl Persian documents of the thirteenth–fourteenth century (PUM, 26–27).

(Ryoko Watabe)

IV. Additional Note

There are very few decrees in proportion to the Persian, Turkic, and other sources of the Timurid period. Covering only the documents that proclaim the decree's style as *sözümiz* or *sözüm* following an issuer's name, we can find just over ten documents (Fragner 1980). There are many more Persian chronicles and *inšā* manuals of the Timurid period in existence than those of the Aq Qoyunlu, a contemporary Turkoman regime. However, there are many fewer of their decrees in the *sözümiz* style than those of the Aq Qoyunlu. Under these circumstances, it is significant for us to have discovered a new document of the Timurid period, that is, the earliest Uigur-Turkic decree we can find. This decree is as significant as the well-known *yarlïġ* of Toqtamiš styled *sözümiz* decree of 795/1393.

If this decree of Mīrān Šāh is classified as a *sözümiz*-styled decree, the Uigur-Turkic documents in this style total four or five cases, including the following decrees[17]:

(1) Šāh Ruḫ's decree of 825/1422 (Deny 1957; Ono 2006)
(2) Abū Sa'īd's decree of 873/1468 (Öz 1938–1940; Kurat 1940; Ono 2002)
(3) 'Umar Šayḫ (Bābar's father)'s decree of 898/1493 or 886/1481(?) (Melioranskj 1905; Ono 2014)

As mentioned above, this decree of Mīrān Šāh issued in August 1398 CE is the oldest and the only one from Mīrān Šāh dating back to the fourteenth century.

On the other hand, most of the Persian documents in the *sözümiz* style of the Timurid period are also the decrees from the fifteenth century, including the founder Tīmūr's one. The only exception is the Persian *sözümiz* decree also issued by Mīrān Šāh in 1396 CE, which is the oldest document of the Timurid period. Thus, to the best of our knowledge, only two documents of this

[16] MMI s.25947 (r.527) (= FABṢ, 129). 'Imād al-Dīn Šayḫ al-Ḥukamā'ī, Dai Matsui and Ryoko Watabe are now preparing the edition of this decree.

[17] A decree of 'Umar Šayḫ (SI Uig.1) is archived at St. Petersburg Institute of Oriental Manuscripts of the Russian Academy of Sciences, and another Uigur-Turkic document with the sequential number is also there (SI Uig. 2). Unfortunately, it is very difficult to decipher the content of the latter document, but it is highly possible that the decree is also from the Timurid period, because it resembles 'Umar Šayḫ's decree closely in writing style and structure. Including it, now, there are four decrees of the Timurid period except for the bilingual decree of Mīrān Šāh presented in this paper.

period, one in Turkic and one in Persian, date back to the fourteenth century, and both were issued not by Tīmūr Kurgān but by his son Mīrān Šāh. As for the relationship between the issuing of Persian and Turkic decrees, we should consider it inclusively with a sociocultural view to religious and literary texts, including *Taẕkirat al-Awliyā*, *Mīrāğ Nāma*, *Qutadɣu Bilig*, and some poetry, in addition to the *sözümiz*-styled decrees mentioned above. Thus, this matter goes beyond the scope of our present study.

These decrees of Mīrān Šāh and of ʻUmar Šayḫ show that not only the emperor ruling a state but also his princes and local ruler from the Timurid families issued a decree personally (MMI, s.25924 (r.504); Fekete 1977, Nr. 1; Melioranskij 1905). Moreover, this decree and Šāh Ruḫ's show that the same person issued both Persian and Uigur-Turkic decrees (MMI, s.25924 (r.504); Fekete 1977, Nr. 1; Deny 1957; Herrmann 1971). The Safavid Order, which Ṣafī al-Dīn Isḥāq established by the succession of the *sūfī* order of his master Šayḫ Zāhid (d. 1301 CE), transformed into political power with a military force after Šayḫ Ǧunayd and his son Ḥaydar in the fifteenth century and formed the Safavid dynasty as a state regime under Šāh Ismāʻīl in the early sixteenth century. In the period of the Safavid Order as a religious order, before Ǧunayd's time during the turbulent late fifteenth century, according to the historical documents and chronicles, the successive leaders of the order, from the founder Ṣafī al-Dīn (d. 1334 CE) to Ṣadr al-Dīn Mūsā (d. 1391–92), Ḫwāğa ʻAlī (d. 1427 CE), and Šayḫ Ibrāhīm (d. 1447 CE), were under the patronage of the contemporary rulers, the Ilkhanid Sulṭān Abū Saʻīd, the Chupanids, the Jalayirids, and the Timurid dynasty.[18]

Unfortunately, we cannot determine the exact background of Š(a)yx ǰamaludin (corresponding to P. *Ḫwāğa Ǧamāl al-Dīn Ardabīlī* on the verso), the addressee of this decree, who can be perceived as a party of the Safavid Order, and Ḥağğī Ibrāhīm, who is referred to as T. *qul* ~ P. *ġulām*. This remains to be solved. His *laqab* or honorific title of Šayḫ and *nisba* of *Ardabīlī* that imply that he was a member, and this decree is one of the so-called "Ardabīl documents."

The matter of this decree remains the subject of debate. Therefore, I would like to await further study on this document.

(Hiroshi Ono)

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[18] Presented here, as an example of the decrees, is the Jalayirid Sulṭān Aḥmad's charter to Ṣadr al-Dīn in 773/1372. This decree has been researched several times so far, and recently N. Miya has published a study deciphering it from a new perspective (Miya 2014). As another example, there is a source showing that Tīmūr gave an audience to Ḫwāğa ʻAlī and made a contract of the *waqf* with him, but it is believed that this description is based on a fictitious story created in the sixteenth century (Horst 1958). However, this does not mean that Tīmūr's relationship with Ḫwāğa ʻAlī was also fiction.

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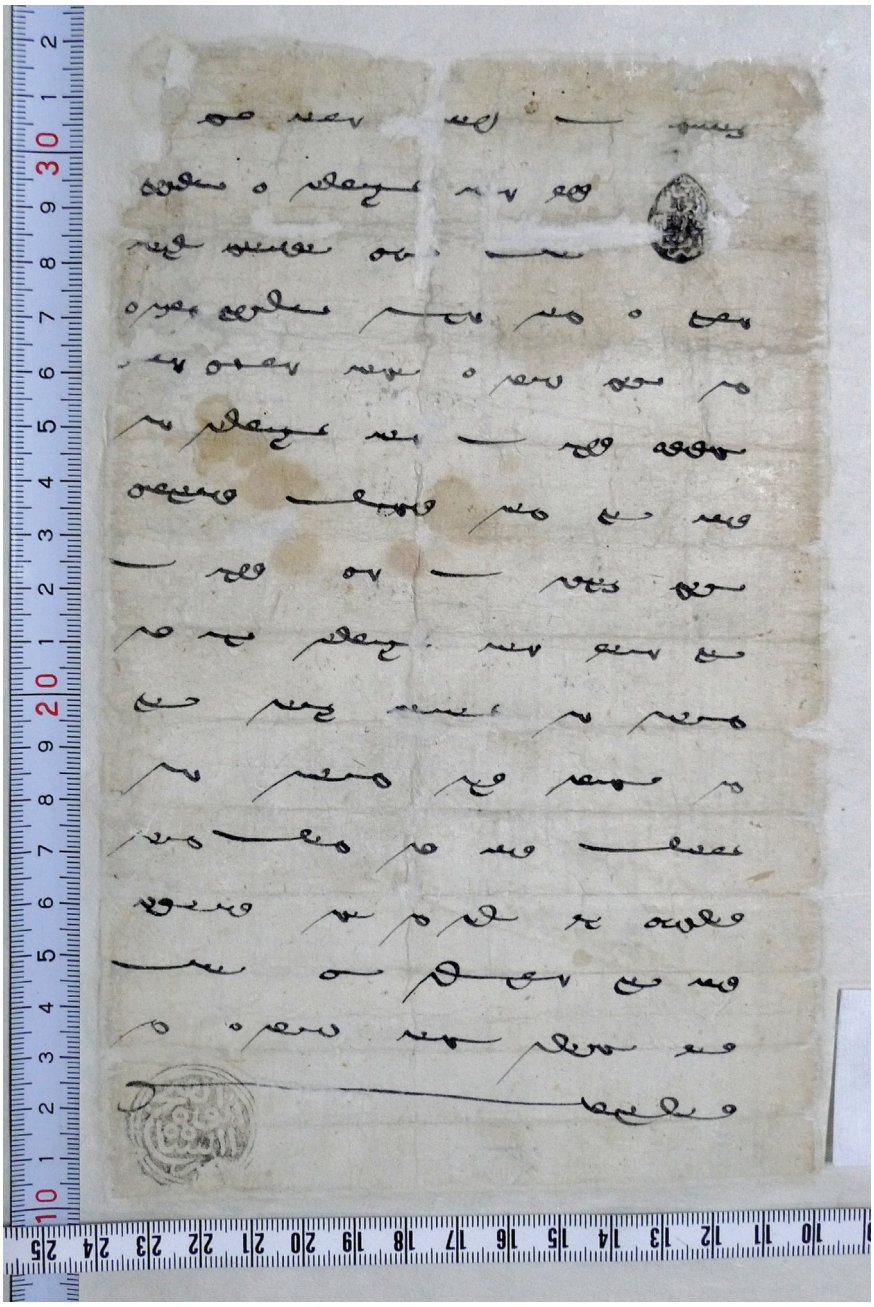


Fig. 1: MMI s.25924 (r.504) Recto

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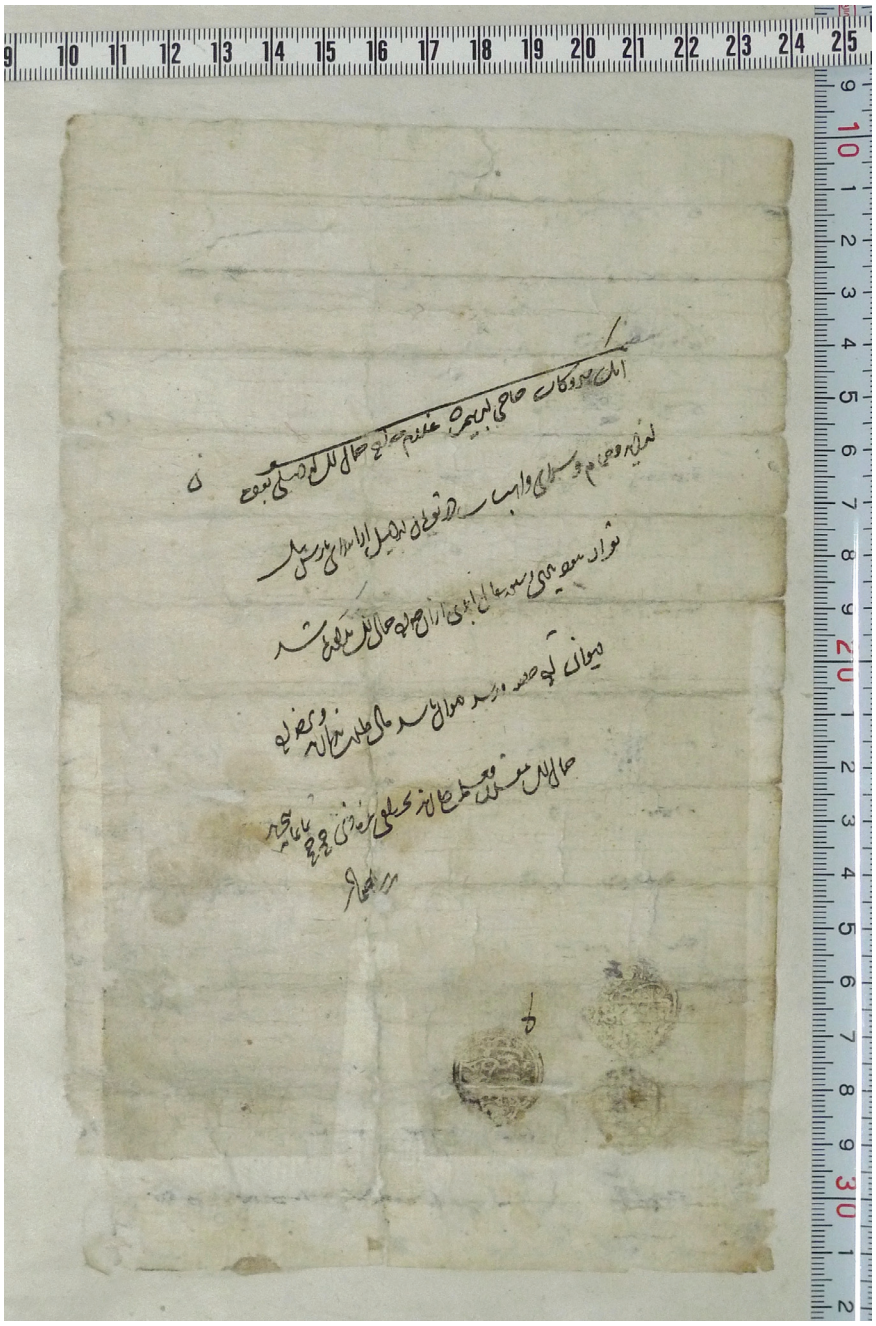


Fig. 2: MMI s.25924 (r.504) Verso

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