



## MS GULPÄYGÂNÎ 1246: A CONTINUATION TO THE ARDALÂN CHAPTER OF SHARAF-NĀMA

### DESTNIVÎSA GULPAYGANÎ 1246: BERDEWAMÎYEKE BEŞA ERDELAN A ŞEREF-NAMEYÊ

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#### Abstract

This paper studies a defective manuscript of the history of Ardalân which consists of 142 folios. The manuscript is part of the Gulpäygânî collection, held in the makhtûtât collection of the Gulpäygânî Library in Qum. It is an unknown continuation to the Ardalân chapter of the Sharaf-nāma which librarians sometimes called it muntakhab-i Sharaf-nāma ‘An Anthology of the Sharaf-nāma’ in their internal records. The aim of the present paper, however, is to track down its provenance by means of describing its physical characteristics and contents.

**Keywords:** Sharaf-nāma, Ardalân, Kurdish history, Kurdistan, Gulpäygânî

Ev vekolîn li destnivîseka mîretiya Erdelan vedikole ku ji 142 rûpelan pêk tê. Destnivîs beşek e li komnivîsa Gulpayganî, ku li gel destnivîsên din li pertukxaneya Qumê hatine parastin. Destnivîs berdewamiyeke nedîtî ye li beşa Şeref-Nameyê, ku di nivîsên navxweyî ya pertukxanan bi nave Muntexebê Şeref-Name tê nasîn. Amanca me ji vê vekolînê nasandina wê ye bi rêka nasandina taybetiyên fîzîkî û naveroka wê.

**Kilîtbêje:** Şerefname, Erdelan, Dîroka Kurdan, Kurdistan, Gulpeyxanî

#### 1. Introduction

This paper studies a defective manuscript of the history of Ardalân which consists of 142 folios. The manuscript is part of the Gulpäygânî collection, held in the *makhtûtât* collection of the Gulpäygânî Library in Qum. As far as I know, this is an unknown continuation to the Ardalân chapter of the *Sharaf-nāma* which very interestingly and mistakenly librarians sometimes called it *muntakhab-i Sharaf-nāma* ‘An Anthology of the *Sharaf-nāma*’ in their internal records. Of course, one can imagine that it is merely an independent book like the other chronicles of the Ardalân region. If so, why the author has copied precisely the same contents of the *Sharaf-nāma*? Why does he, then, continue his own Ardalân history precisely from the point that Sharaf Khān ended it? It is hard to be so confident about the point, but it remains to be a great possibility.

The aim of the present paper, however, is to track down its provenance by means of describing its physical characteristics and contents. Put together the present unpublished

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manuscript, Ardalân chronicle data available, as well as other unstudied manuscripts (see Ghirawî, 1972) make it possible to get significant material able to clarify some more peculiarities on the history of Ardalân, which is one of the most well-known and yet very little studied attribute of the Kurdish emirates.

Local chronicles of Ardalân discuss the historical, military, economic and religious conditions of specific Kurdish regions, though incidental information on world history can also be included. The earliest local chronicle of Ardalân is the so-called Chronicle of Malâ Muhammad Sharîf Qādî (written in 1214/1799-1800 or 1215/1800-01), which deals with the history of Persia, Islam, and especially the Qājārs. This chronicle is somewhat universal but its latter part is essentially local (Dehqan, 2009: 50-52). The closest chronicle of Ardalân to the manuscript in question is the less-known *Tārīkh-i Umarā-yi Ardalân*, written by Muhammad Ibrāhīm b. Malâ Muhammad Husayn Ardalānî in 1225/1810<sup>1</sup>(see Erdalanî, 1997). In his significant article, among other things, Mardukh mentions an inedited manuscript written by Ismā‘îl b. Malâ Muhammad Husayn Ardalān in 1243/1828 who, Mardukh says, is a brother of Muhammad Ibrāhīm the author of *Tārīkh-i Umarā-yi Ardalân* (Mardukh, 1992: 103-118). Another such work is the *Lubb al-Tawārīkh* composed by Khusraw b. Muhammad b. Manūchihr Ardalān, known as Musannif or Jawharî, in 1249/1833-34 (see Ardalān, 1977) (see Jawharî, 1833-34). The fourth one is that of Mastūra or Māh Sharaf Khānim which includes almost a chronography up to the year 1263/1847 (see Ardalān, 1946), extended by Mastūra's paternal cousin, ‘Alî Akbar Khān Waqāyî‘nigār to the year 1309/1891-92. Waqāyî‘nigār's chronicle, known as *Hadīqa-yi Nāsirīyya*, is indeed a continuation to the *Tārīkh-i Ardalān* or *Tārīkh al-Akrād* by Mastūra (see Waqāyî‘nigār, 2002). *Tadhkira-yi Hadīqa-yi Amān Allāhī* also includes a brief continuation to the chronicle of Mastūra (see Sanandajî, 1965). One other significant chronicle of Ardalān is *Tuhfa-yi Nāsirî*, written in 1319/1901, by Mīrzā Shukr Allāh Sanandajî, also known as Fakhr al-Kuttāb (see Sanandajî, 1996). The last two Kurdish chronicles are the *Tārīkh-i Kashshāf* (Ghirawî, 1972: 183-190) and the Chronicle of ‘Abd al-Qādir b. Rustam Bābānî, known as *Tārīkh-i Kurdistān* (see Bābānî, 1987).

The anonymous chronicle of Sanandaj, MS Gulpāygānî 1246, remains an important textual witness to the local chronicles of Ardalān since some of its readings are very detailed (if not unique). In addition to its different primary view, this chronicle is written in 1228/1813 and therefore should be considered as the second or at least the third chronicle of Ardalān, written before the Chronicle of Khusraw Khān. As one of the rare sources with a focused interest in the early history of Ardalān, the MS 1246 received no attention in modern scholarship. The author who presumably was a senior official of Ardalān, provides a series of accounts of Ardalān rulers, starting from Surkhāb Bayg and coming up to the rule of Amān Allāh Khān.

A basic theme in the footnotes given here is the encounter between Ardalān rulers and the Persians who joined them as both their enemies and friends. The habit of doing so is also fostered by the clarification of what is presented in the manuscript. There are, of course, contexts in which the Persian primary sources have a definite silence, or for the most part the reason was my knowledge which is so far from sufficient to add all possible Persian accounts.

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A theme on which I myself would not like to add a comment was the very famous political events (under the Safavids, Afshārs, Zands, and Qājārs) or even those Kurdo-Persian contacts reflected elsewhere.

To describe *al-hajj* without having performed it is risky! The manuscript under presentation accords with this judgement, and this must be taken seriously since as a possible official of Ardalān principality, the author has shown close insight into political events. On all this there is much more to be said, but it would require an edition of the text.

## I. Manuscript and Author

The Gulpāygānī collection, named after the scholar who sought and acquired it, was built up mainly between 1991 and 2004. The Great Āyat Allāh Muhammad Jawād Sāfi Gulpāygānī (born 1287AH) was a Shiite scholar of Gulpāygān (186 km north-west of Isfahān), having served as theologian by his demise in 1378 AH. A part of the Library is his own personal books, but it is the later generations of the family, especially Āyat Allāh Hājj Shaykh Lutf Allāh, which founded and extended the Library. Actually, it was established in 1991. Its goal described a reference library for the students of the Shiite theology (*tullab*) only, containing such books as may be necessary for their use. Established with the personal donations of the Gulpāygānī family, the Library was housed nearby the shrine of Ma'sūma, the sister of the eighth Shiite *imām*. The collection of more than 150, 000 items includes more than 120, 000 cataloged books and other print materials in several languages, more than 3000 mss. (e.g. Muhammad Sayf Munajjim Yazdī's *Zij Ashrafi*, dated 23 Rajab 702/21 March 1303), and many rare books (e.g. Avicenna's *al-Nijāt* and *al-Qānūn fi al-Tibb*, Rome 1593) (Ya'qūbī, 2003: 257-264).

Among the exhibits kept in the manuscript collection of the Library there is a defective one. Unfolding manuscript titled *Tārīkh-i Sanandaj* 'The History of Sanandaj', dated 1228/1813, contains a series of important materials and as an unknown source certainly is of special interest. It is unknown by whom and when the anonymous *Tārīkh-i Sanandaj* (shelf mark 1246, 142 fols.) was purchased (see 'Arabzāda, 1999). Since the first folios of the manuscript are lacking, the precise title of the work is unknown. Because of the lack of the original or a better name the manuscript is referred to as *Tārīkh-i Sanandaj*, *Tārīkh-i Hukmrānān-i Ardalān*, and even *Muntakhab-i Sharaf-nāma*. It has been dated by the year 1228/1813 without the month and the day. There are 17 lines per folio. The paper is a kind of *farangī* 'European' paper and the binding is of brown leather. From several scattered margins (→table), it is clear that Shāhrukh Awrāmī was in possession of the manuscript before it came to the Library.

In folio 94v., the owner says that he received the manuscript for its exchange with *Alf Layla wa Layl* 'Thousand Nights and One Night' (MS الف ليلة ليلة), the most famous Arabian collection of fairy-tales, which was in the possession of a certain person, named Kurdnizhād, who may have been Awrāmī's maternal relative. The last folio (fol.142v., and also fol.103v.) of the second part of the manuscript reveals that Awrāmī was 'son of Hājjī Awrāmī and son of Farīda Kurdnizhād'. From another marginal allusion (fol.15r.) produced by the owner we know that Shāhrukh Awrāmī, according to himself, was born in Sanandaj in 1953 (Bahādurwand, 2001: 47). This book was inherited to him on 27 October 1966. Of manuscript characteristics are chronograms in folio 19r. (→table).

Besides the Kurdish chronicle (fols.2r.-54r.) that we are interested in, the manuscript also formed a second section, including a collection of *maktûbât* of the same handwriting of the chronicle; incipit: *marhamatash dar shâm az akhtar u anjum tabaq tabaq*; fols.54v.-142v.). The compiler here included plenty of Qur'ānic *āyas*, poems, and proverbs. However, the author writes the Qur'ānic *āyas* in a different script, something like the *naskh*. The fols.62v.-63r., 64v., 66r., 67r., 88r., and elsewhere, include a number of useful correspondences, which are reproductions of Safavid and Qājārid letters made by great or unknown officials of the time (e.g. 'Abbās III, Mīrzā Muhammad Mahdī, Hājī Khān Chamishgazak Khurāsānī, Sultān Mahmūd 'Uthmānī, Mawlānā Muhammad Zakkī, Muhammad Qulī Khān Bīgdilī Shāmlū, 'Abbās Mīrzā Qājār, Safī Qulī Bayg Shāmlū, etc.), sometimes reflecting Perso-Ottoman frontier conflicts especially in Kurdistan. The allusions to the tribes of Jāf, Jawānrūd and others are typical of an increasing sense of disorder in the other parts of the manuscript (fol.117r.). Although it focuses on the ethical matters and political events, it also contains polemical notes against the Shiites. The theological polemic is primarily aimed against Ismā'īl I, the founder of the Safavid dynasty, and it contains a veiled criticism of all Shiites. The author also has showed a strict adherence to the Sunni Islam and the Rashidun or Rightly-Guided Caliphs (fols.82v., 88r.). Of course the motto 'Allāh Muhammad 'Alī', which refers to a trinity in Alevism, very rarely inscribed on the margins of the manuscript (fol.66r.) and clearly can indicate a Shiite trend of the scribes or owners of the manuscript.

The authorship of this continuation is impossible to determine. MS 1246 of the Gulpāyḡānī Library ends with '*tammāt shud dar yawm-i Jum'a 17 Rabī' I bi-khatt-i kamtarīn aqall al-'ibād asl-i Bāshmq̄ mustamand-i khāk-i khāndān-i Naqshband Sūfī Wiys Muhammadī b. Muhammad Zamān sākin-i Bāshmq̄ barā-yi nūr-i chashmī farzandī Mīrzā Ahmad niwishtam sana-yi 1287*', but this is very probably a reference to the scribe who prepared that copy rather than to the author. Even if we loosely accept his authorship of the second part of the manuscript, the real authorship of the first part, the Kurdish chronicle, remains uncertain.

In the margins of the folio 11r., we find a colophon written by Shāhrukh Awrāmī, the second owner of the manuscript, where he calls *Tārīkh-i Sanandaj* as *Kitāb-i Tārīkh-i Hukūmat-i Kurdistān wa Chigūnagī-yi* (MS چگونگی) *Hākīm-hā-yi Ān*. According to Awrāmī, it is Muhammad Wiys Muhammadī who wrote the chronicle in Rabī' I 1120/June 1708 or 1121/1709. In the folio 16r. there is another marginal note on the authorship of the book. Accordingly, 'Muhammad Wiys Muhammad is the book's author'. In the folio 105v., Awrāmī gives a different dating as *Ramadān al-Mubārak-i sāl-i 1227 sāl-i shamsī-yi khurshīdī* [sic] when Sūfī Wiys Muhammad Wiys Muhammadī finished the manuscript with his own handwriting. All these identifications of the author as Muhammad Wiys in the margins of the manuscript are from Awrāmī's hand. Needless to say that Awrāmī, among other mistakes, confused the scribe or at least the author of the second part with the anonymous one of the first one.

However, the chronicle's relationship to the second section cannot be completely rejected. More interesting are the fragments in the boards of the second section that consisted of portions of Kurdish political history where author speaks anonymously of himself (fols.71r., 112v.-113v.). It is hard to accept that this is another reference to the same author of the first section. As the author, however, had a good knowledge of the villages of Isfand Ābād and Bāshmq̄

(fol.81r.), it seems that at least some parts of the second section originate from the *qalam* of the first one.

Let us back to the first section and its authorship. The certain point is that the continuation of the Ardalân chapter of the *Sharaf-nāma* is anonymous. It has been incorporated into a larger compilation supplied with formal communications and other material by probably Muhammad Wiys Muhammad or another Kurdish intellectual of Persian Kurdistan.

Among the many references, a particularly fascinating allusion to the events of the year 1196/1782 is given by author when he speaks of himself as *rāqim-i hurūf* ‘author of these words’ (fol.37r.). Unfortunately, there is no mention of his name but from the context it is clear that the author was an eye witness and close attendant of Khusraw Khān II, involving in many political affairs of Ardalân at the time.

A different allusion given to himself in folio 42r., again as *rāqim-i hurūf*, reflect his significant political position in Ardalân and that Hasan ‘Alī Khān II sent him to Marīwān in order to prevent Salīm Bayg, the Bābāns and their Ottoman allies to attack against Ardalân.

## II. Contents

Material in the Ardalân chapter of the *Sharaf-nāma*, the most important Kurdish chronicle, is utilized in the first four folios of the manuscript (fols.2r.-3v.). The introduction of a framework for the geographical regulation of Ardalân districts and the historical background of the family (if any at all) is lost. As a defective manuscript, it begins with the rule of Surkhāb Bayg, explaining the role this Kurdish emir played in the struggle between Tahmāsb and his brother Alqās Mīrzā, when the latter took refuge in Ardalân. What here is given regarding Surkhāb Bayg, Muhammad Bayg, Sultān-‘Alī Bayg, Basāt Bayg, and Taymūr Khān is precisely the same of Sharaf Khān's words, but in the *Tārīkh-i Sanandaj* some names are rather the more popular Kurdish variants of more earlier local names. It is to be observed, for example, that our anonymous author, fol.3r., calls Mihrabān as Marīwān and gives the same name to the same country in the *Sharaf-nāma*. Unlike Sharaf Khān who says almost nothing about the rule of Haḷō Khān (perhaps since he ended *Sharaf-nāma* in 1005/1596-97), *Tārīkh-i Sanandaj*, as a continuation, provides a more detailed treatment of Haḷō Khān's career. Here have been found remain of Safavid unsuccessful expedition against Haḷō Khān, especially at Isfand Ābād, and his capture via a regional peaceful way conducted by Khān Ahmad Khān I, a trustworthy son of Haḷō Khān (Munajjim, 1987: 265). During the expedition of ‘Abbās I we find in the manuscript (fol.4r.) the name of ‘Alī (MS آلی) Bālī Bayg Zangana, who surprisingly is mentioned as the great ancestor of Shaykh ‘Alī Khān and great counselor of ‘Abbās I for the conquest of Ardalân (Matthee, 1994: 77-98).

According to *Tārīkh-i Sanandaj*, it was in 1015/1606-07 that ‘Abbās I officially made Khān Ahmad Khān I the ruler of Ardalân. From the text it seems that ‘Abbās I previously had given his sister, Zarrīn Kulāh Khātūn (MS از پرده نشینان سراقق حرم سرای), to him (fol.4v.). We see some details of Khān Ahmad's career which sometimes has not been so closely studied (Qazwīnī, 1988: 57), (Munajjim, 1987: 413). It is interesting that according to *Tārīkh-i Sanandaj*, the prompting by Shāhwardī Khān, a ruler of Luristān (see Sawānihnigār, 2010), aroused from an old enmity, finally incited Shāh Safī to blind Surkhāb Bayg, the beloved son of Khān Ahmad Khān I (Isfahānī-Barīn 1993: 239). This was the main reason why the latter rebelled against the Safavids and attached himself to the Ottomans. With the help of his new

allies, he even defeated the Safavid troops near the Lake of Marîwân (fol.5v.). After a second battle, Khân Ahmad handed Ardalân over to the Safavids and fled to Mosul where he died sometime later (fol.6r.). Shâh Safî with his new decision on Ardalân sent from Isfahân a division under Sulaymân Khân, a son of Amîr ‘Alam al-Dîn, son of Sultân ‘Alî, as the ruler of Ardalân, and he was a capable Kurdish commander who previously accompanied the shah during his Yerevan campaign. He demolished the castle of Hasan Ābād, the former center of Ardalân, and made Sanandaj as his capital. Because of him, the author says, the inhabitants of the country lived in prosperity for twenty years, and were free from worry. During his time he founded some establishments of charity.

What follows includes some scattered and disorderly notes. Instead of Ardalân, the more secondary districts received the attention of our author. According to folio 6v., ‘Abbās II gave the rule of Jawānrūd and Pālangān to Safî Khân Sultân Gūrānî and Murîd Wiys Sultân Kalhur, respectively. Khusraw Khân I took Marîwân and Suhrāb Sultân that of Saqiz.

It is likely that the author soon comes back to the history of Ardalân. Apparently, Sulaymân Khân was peacefully captured by ‘Abbās II and was in house prison in Isfahân (Isfahānî-Barî 1993: 284, 593). In the year 1068/1658, the shah appointed Kalb ‘Alî Khân as ruler of Ardalân (Isfahānî-Barî 1993: 284, 593). In 1089/1678, we suddenly hear of Khân Ahmad Khân II, son of Kalb ‘Alî Khân, who was the ruler of Ardalân for about two years (fol.7r.). At that time, Khusraw Khân I, the paternal uncle of Khân Ahmad Khân II, was ruling at Marîwân. Despite this relation, he showed ingratitude by several promptings. Shâh Sulaymân, therefore, gave the rule of Ardalân to Khusraw Khân I. The author was so impressed by this improvement that Khusraw Khân's situation changed from Marîwân to the more respected area of Ardalân. Perhaps his negative words declare the opposite local voice. The cruel Khusraw Khân I, the author says, had the blessing of the Safavid shah but was opposed by the Kurdish population. With several complaints against Khusraw Khân I, the shah finally hanged him after three years (fol.8r.) and made Taymūr Khân Ajarlū the *bîglarbaygî* of Ardalân for about five years. In 1099/1688, Khân Ahmad Khân II, son of Kalb ‘Alî Khân, was appointed as ruler of Ardalân.

When Sultân Husayn took the throne in 1105/1693-94, he bestowed the area upon Muhammad Khân, son of Khusraw Khân I. After six years, Sulāyman Bayg Bēbē extended his sway over Ottoman and Persian territories. For his rebellion and his battles against the Safavids (esp. on 6 Muharram 1110/14 July 1698) we here have a detailed hint (fol.8v.). Sulaymân Bayg of course was defeated and fled to Istanbul, but the enmity between Qāsim Sultân Awrāmî and Muhammad Khân resulted in the latter's dismissal. In 1113/1701-02, the shah appointed Muhammad Khân Gurjî (Kajbāf-Mîr Ja‘farî et al. 2011: 121) (of those Georgians whose position were strengthened under the Safavids) the new ruler of Ardalân (fol.9v.). During the time that the rule of Muhammad Khân lasted, he founded a caravanserai and a bazaar with a set of 66 chambers at Sanandaj.

The next Safavid representative in Ardalân, the author reports, was Hasan ‘Alî Khân, son of Mu‘min Khân (fol.10r.). After the death of Hasan ‘Alî Khân, Shâh Sultân Husayn made Husayn Khân the ruler who was, as his brother, a cruel one. Totally, Ardalân, according to *Tārîkh-i Sanandaj*, remained in the hands of foreigners for eleven years.

Under the following years, ‘Abbās Qulî Khân, son of Muhammad Khân, had become an important commander of Safavid army, showing bravery in the battles of Qandahār and Harāt.

In response to this, shah gave him the rule of Ardalân in 1122/1710 (fol.10r.). ‘Abbās Qulī Khān, who played a considerable part in Ardalân, was deposed (see Waqāyi‘nigār, 2002). ‘Alī Qulī Khān, son of Jihāngīr Khān, took his place in 1129/1717. Around the same time a fatal plague reached the gates of Ardalân and killed more than 80,000 individuals. After a short interruption, ‘Alī Qulī Khān ruled the area for a second time (1132/1720 to 1134/1722).

When the Afghāns took the central power of Persia, Ardalân was probably governed by local chieftains. Here the author gives a somewhat partial account of the Ottoman approach to the Safavid collapse. In 1136/1723-24, Muhammad Pāshā Bēbē occupied Ardalân (fol.12r.). This chapter also contains valuable notes on Qādī ‘Abd al-Karīm, the *mufīī* of Ardalân, who sought a short refuge in the court of Ahmad Sultān, in Istanbul. On his return to Sanandaj (1138/1725-26), Qādī ‘Abd al-Karīm extended the *masjid jāmi* and the *madrassa* of the town.

In folio 13r., the author mentions the political struggles of the Safavid survivors, especially Tahmāsb Qulī (or Tahmāsb II), son of Shāh Sultān Husayn. When Tahmāsb Qulī entered Sanandaj in 1142/1729-30, Ardalân was under the rule of Bābāns. This Safavid fugitive prince defeated them and made Subhānwirdī Khān ruler of Ardalân. After latter's accession, the Bābāns again entered the town (fol.14r.).

It is interesting to see that Subhānwirdī Khān was deposed and shah gave his place to Mustafā Khān, son of ‘Abbās Qulī Khān, the *wikālat* of which was granted to Nazar ‘Alī Bayg in 1146/1733-34 (fol.14v.). The battles between Tahmāsb Qulī Khān and Tupāl ‘Uthmān Pāshā and other Perso-Ottoman frontier conflicts, especially in Ādharbāyjān, are well covered in the next lines. At the end of 1146/1734, the author speaks of Subhānwirdī Khān who again took the governorship of Ardalân.

The Bakhtiyārī revolt that survive from the folio 15v. is lumped as the problems of Subhānwirdī Khān's governorship (Astarābādī, 1962: 280-283). In 1153/1740, he was a close attendant of Nādir Shāh and enjoyed latter's great attention and support when Ahmad Khān, the *wakīl* of Ardalân and a son of Subhānwirdī Khān, rebelled against his father. Nādir had also allowed Subhānwirdī Khān to extinguish a Kurdish Bilbās revolt (fol.16r.).

After the campaign of Dāghistān in 1155/1742 Nādir replaced Subhānwirdī Khān with Ahmad Khān who showed an abundant manliness and bravery in Dāghistān (fol.16v.).

Once the governorship of Ahmad Khān reached the situation of Ardalân becomes much darker, and some chaos within the principality is to be reported in the chronicle. As Ahmad Khān was unable to control the region, he fled to the court of Sultān Mahmūd (fol.17r.). With the help of Ottomans, Ahmad Khān battled Nādir, probably around Kars, but failed and again fled to Istanbul. After a second unsuccessful attack against Nādir, Ahmad Khān died in Edirne (fol.17v.).

Of the new rulers of Ardalân, after Ahmad Khān's revolt, are Subhānwirdī Khān, then Hājji Mawlāwirdī Khān Qājār Qazwīnī, and again Subhānwirdī Khān who had always his uses. In 1158/1745, Hasan ‘Alī Khān I received the rule of Ardalân, but Nādir dismissed him in the next year and gave his place to Subhānwirdī Khān who was in Qazwīn at the time (fol.18v.).

The demise of Nādir in 1160/1747 had an important impact on Ardalân. From the next paragraphs we can learn little about Ardalân. Much of our author's information on Nādir's successors and internal wars based on Persian works. In 1162/1749, Ibrāhīm Shāh finally appointed Hasan ‘Alī Khān I as the *wālī* of Sanandaj for two years. Here we can observe the struggle between Ardalân and Zands in which Hasan ‘Alī Khān I won the battle of Malāyir in

1163/1750 (fol.20r.). Insights into Hasan ‘Alī Khān's victorious attack on Imām Qulī Khān of Zangana, the ruler of Kirmānshāh, especially latter's fierce defeat at Bīlawar, are provided by our unknown author. It is interesting that Hasan ‘Alī Khān I and his troops have been given the Afghān and Ūzbak help, very possibly directed by central government.

There also survives a certain account of Bābān internal conflicts and the unnecessary role Hasan ‘Alī Khān I played in support of Sulaymān Bēbē (fol.20v.). How such interference to be problematic in the course of time can be seen from the next lines. Sulaymān Bēbē's rival, Salīm, who had the Ottomans as his supporter, make an expedition against Hasan ‘Alī Khān I and defeated the Ardalāns near Marīwān in Ramadān 1163/1750 (fol.22r.). Ample notes on the Bābāns in Sanandaj and their lootings are here mentioned. When the Bābāns were back Karīm Khān and the Zand troops decided to make a second expedition to Sanandaj in order to punish Hasan ‘Alī Khān I for his ignorance (fol.23r.).

With Karīm Khān's expedition, which caused numerous ruins and damages in Sanandaj, Hasan ‘Alī Khān I took refuge at the impregnable fortress of Qaratūra. Since the capture of Hasan ‘Alī Khān remained a matter of failure among Zand commanders, Karīm Khān made a new campaign in the Ottoman Kurdistan. By way of try to save his position a word has been said about the inauspicious relations between Hasan ‘Alī Khān and his new master: Āzād Khān Afghān. Of many hazards and problems connected with the fate of Hasan ‘Alī Khān I the author merely speaks of his killing in prison in 1164/1751 (fol.24r.). According to the vague accounts given in the text, he probably was killed by Salīm Bēbē, taking the revenge of latter's help to Sulaymān Bēbē.

In 1164/1751, a *khān* of Ūzbak, who had some troops in Marīwān, took a temporarily control of Sanandaj. This period regarded as lasting to 1165/1752 when Khusraw Khān II, son of Ahmad Khān, son of Shāhwirdī Khān, entered Sanandaj as its popular and influential local ruler and probably with the help of Āzād Khān (fols.24v.). In the next year Āzād Khān deposed Khusraw Khān II and sent Salīm of Bābān to Sanandaj and Sāwuj-Bulāgh. Under Salīm (about four years), Sanandaj came to be built more and more as a prosperous town (fol.25r.).

A flashback to the Safavids, with a variety of allusions to the Safavid princes who unsuccessfully rebelled against the Afshārs and Zands, is provided by the author. According to these lines, many Kurdish celebrities of Ardalān immigrated to Shahrazūr where they made a new life. Following this, the author makes several references to the struggles between Karīm Khān and Āzād Khān (fol.26r.).

Notable further notes are associated with Karīm Khān, his rising as the authority of Persia, and Khusraw Khān II who was Ardalān's ruler at the time. As a trustworthy attendant, Khusraw Khān II almost always accompanied Karīm Khān and especially played a crucial part in the defeat of Fath ‘Alī Khān Afshār (Kāshānī-Murād 1982: 218-219) (fol.26v.).

There are also some bad compositions by our author, among which the regional chaos, the killing of Muhammad ‘Alī Sultān of Bāna and his son Subhānwirdī Bayg, Sālih Khān of Marīwān and his brother Shīr Bayg, and the Bābān interferences in Ardalān, deserve to be singled out. Because of this chaos, Subhānwirdī Khān took the rule of Sanandaj nine times before his death in Hamadān in 1167/1754.

The author also refers to Karīm Khān, son of ‘Abbās Qulī Khān, who ruled Ardalān for one year. He died in Fārs in 1168/1754-55.

Several important areas of Ardalān political features have been passed over in silence but some unnecessary ideas have been said to give some scattered information about the Qājārs.

Then the author turned back to look in detail at the place of Khusraw Khān II in repairing Sanandaj's buildings and remaking Ardalān's unity, power, and authority (fols.27v.-28r.).

Besides the inherents of Khusraw Khān II, there were some disagreements. With the help of Sulaymān Bēbē, some Ardalān families, and Āzād Khān Afghān who took refuge in Shahrazūr, a great expedition was directed against Sanandaj and the fortress of Hasan Ābād. An auxiliary army from Hamadān, which commanded by Shaykh 'Alī Khān, forced Āzād Khān to flee from the region (fol.29r.).

From the later we learn in latter's seven years of rule, Sanandaj enjoyed a great prosperity (fol.29v.). There are several allusions to the Zand political history, of these, the most important are the rising of Muhammad Hasan Khān Qājār at Astar Ābād and Māzandarān, Karīm Khān's expedition against this Qājār official, and making Shīrāz the capital of Zand.

From fol.30r. to fol.30v. the author gives some details on Karīm Khān's relationship with the Bābāns. Then, he mentions 'Alī Khān who was employed by Karīm Khān as a new ruler of Ardalān. After one year, however, he was deposed. Khusraw Khān II, who was in Shīrāz at the time, once more received the rule of Sanandaj in 1180/1766-67 (fol.31r.). The political history of Ardalān in the years before 1180/1766-67 is little covered by our author.

In his second period of rulership, Khusraw Khān II ruled for eleven years and made many pious foundations and gardens. He constructed the Qishlāq Bridge that was in ruins from several years ago. When the Perso-Ottoman frontier conflicts, especially because of Basra, began, Khusraw Khān II as many other allies of Karīm Khān made an expedition against the Bābān in which the Ardalāns along with the troops of Garrūs and Marāgha were defeated. It was in 1191/1777 that Khusraw Khān II and the Zand army were able to send back the Ottomans (fol.32r.).

After a brief and confused account on the Perso-Ottoman frontier conflicts, especially in the Kurdish lands, the author cites Karīm Khān's demise in 1193/1779. The period spanning the later Zand kingship saw the emergence of several wars between the sons and brothers of Karīm Khān, and the revolt of Dhu al-Faqār Khān Afshār (Hidāyat, 2006: XIII/7165).

In the next lines, we again hear of Ardalān which received an elucidated attention. These comprises Khusraw Khān's military help to the Zand army, his help to Allāh Qulī Khān, ruler of Kirmānshāh (1194/1780), and some mentions of Sālih Sultān of Bāna, Darwīsh Sultān of Jāf and Jawānrūd, and Ridā Sultān of Awrāmān.

For the complaint of some Ardalān families and officials, Khusraw Khān II was replaced with Kihzād Khān, a son of Subhānwirdī Khān. After a while, Khusraw Khān II came back from Isfahān to Sanandaj and defeated his enemies, especially Muhammad Rashīd Bayg. He also imprisoned Kihzād Khān, but he was an honor to the *wālī* (fol.35v.).

Particularly next important events have been the declarations of unity with the Ottomans by Muhammad Rashīd Bayg who firstly fled to Zahāb and took the control of some villages in the Ottoman territories, but then changed his side and joined the Zand in Isfahān; though Khusraw Khān II and his followers, according to our author, plotted with the Zands against him.

Folio 37v. includes a word of warning: because of the enmity between 'Alī Mardān Khān of Zand and Khusraw Khān II, the latter lost his position for a while. Before Khusraw Khān II finally returned to his place in 1198/1784 Khān Ahmad Khān III, son of Khusraw Khān II, took the opportunity to rule over Ardalān for some times (fol.37v.).

The following lines will help to illustrate the military expedition of Allāh Qulī Khān, governor of Kirmānshāh, against Khusraw Khān II. The matter is in fact somewhat complicated by the fact that sons of Muhammad Rashīd Bayg were the main reason why Allāh Qulī Khān directed such a campaign against his own former friend and savior. Anyway he was defeated and killed by Khusraw Khān II in Sunqur (Kāshānī-Murād, 1982: 701-702) (fols.37v.-38r.).

The Zand internal struggles along with the battle of Khusraw Khān II and Ja'far Khān in Asad Ābād and Hamadān received then the attention of our author. After the defeat of Ja'far Khān (Isfahānī-Sādiq, 1987: 282-288), Khusraw Khān II resided in Hamadān for some days. It was in Burūjird that Muhammad Rashīd Bayg, the powerful rebellious rival of Khusraw Khān II, finally gave up and attached himself to the camp of the *wālī*, and received his forgiveness (fol.39r.).

Since Khusraw Khān II deliberately avoided any struggle with the central power, Tüysirkān, Asad Ābād and Sunqur were added to his domain. In Sha'bān 1204/1789-90, he was asked to present himself in Tehran where the victorious and respected *wālī* of Ardalān fell ill (fol.40r.). Likewise excellent are author's notes on the Bilbāsī revolt and Khān Ahmad Khān III, the successor of Khusraw Khān, who was killed (by a shut gun) at the battle of Bilbās (Hidāyat, 2006: XIII/330) (fol.40v.).

With the death of Khān Ahmad Khān III and the continual illness of Khusraw Khān II, the rule of Ardalān was given to Lutf 'Alī Khān (1205/1790-91) (Hidāyat, 2006: XIII/331). Better known for his successful expeditions against Shūshtar and Dizfūl, Lutf 'Alī Khān gradually reached a high authenticity (fol.40v.). He died in 1209/1794-95 (fol.41v.). His son, Hasan 'Alī Khān II, a brave and useful commander at the battles against the rebels of Huwayza and Kirmān was appointed as ruler of Ardalān. Hasan 'Alī Khān II marched from Kirmān to Sanandaj and made good use of Muhammad Rashīd Bayg and his influence in order to subjugate the area.

One of the pieces included in folio 42v. is about the early years of Amān Allāh Khān and his growing importance. A new chaos in Ardalān was caused for Muhammad Rashīd Bayg, a very influential regional person, resigned. When the latter died in Tehran, Hasan 'Alī Khān II completely lost his position among the people of Ardalān.

Obviously the central power was well advised to dismiss Hasan 'Alī Khān II when hearing regional discontent. Hasan 'Alī Khān's try to restore the situation merely made the shah pessimistic about him. He was sent to prison and Amān Allāh Khān I received the governorship<sup>2</sup>. When he entered Sanandaj in 1214/1799-1800, all officials and tribal chieftains paid homage to him (fol.44v.). Hasan 'Alī Khān's flight was not discovered until he reached Shahrazūr and took refuge among the Bilbās. His attacks to Ardalān was brought further into line under the auspices of Bilbāsīs. The revolt, however, does not survive for long. Amān Allāh Khān I captured him in Marīwān and dispatched him to Tehran.

A survey of Ardalān's internal conflicts, especially between Amān Allāh Khān I and unnamed sons of Muhammad Rashīd Bayg, is to be found in further paragraphs. As a result, the shah summoned him to a royal meeting. According to the author, all the complaints against Amān Allāh Khān I was baseless, so the complainants were forced to obey the *wālī*.

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<sup>2</sup> Besides several other detailed sources about the Great Amān Allāh Khān, the archives of Awqāf and Charity Organization, in Tehran, kept four (if not more) important documents on his career: Nos. 002/2; 328 A Kurdistan; 002/4; and 343 Kurdistan, dated from Safar 1220/May 1805 to Muharram 1231/December 1815.

With the decree of shah, Amān Allāh Khān I captured the sons of Muhammad Rashīd Bayg and killed them in Ramadān 1217/January 1803 (fol.47v.). Although little is known of the main reason, the influence of Muhammad Rashīd Bayg's family was very widespread and we may guess that Amān Allāh Khān I was unable to endure these rivals who enjoyed wide popularity in the area.

Some sympathetic notes regarding the annual travels of Amān Allāh Khān I to Tehran in order to give his homage to the shah and his soft policy towards Persian requests that made his political position stronger will be found in the folio 48r. The Persian shah, our author says, once called him the dearest ruler of Iran.

The relations of Amān Allāh Khān I and Bābān which had ‘Abd al-Rahmān Pāshā as its chieftain for that time, has also been the subject of a number of paragraphs, the most detailed being that of the folios 49v.-50r (Hidāyat, 2006: XIII/7592-7594). With the help of shah, Amān Allāh Khān I interfered in Bābān internal affairs, especially in 1221/1806 he even attacked on Ottoman governor of Baghdad, defeated the Ottomans, and gave rise to the rule of ‘Abd al-Rahmān Pāshā in Sulaymānīyya.

During a long residence of Amān Allāh Khān I in Tehran (Dhu al-Qa‘da 1221/January 1807), Muhammad Hasan Khān, his elder son, was appointed as viceroy of Ardalān (fol.51r.). In 1223/1808, Amān Allāh Khān I killed Muhammad Rahīm Bayg and Nazar ‘Alī Bayg. This was because they led an unsatisfactory revolt in Ardalān. He met the shah in Rabī‘ II 1223/June 1808 at the royal camp in Sultānīyya, but he was back in Sanandaj in Jumādā I of the same year (fol.52r.).

A considerable number of repeated phrases and very similar sentences regarding Amān Allāh Khān's travels to Tehran in order to pay his homage to the shah (most of which are from a flatteringly and tedious hand) are substantively given in the further paragraphs, especially for the years 1224-25/1809-10.

Although Persian plans for the occupation of Shahrazūr was defeated in 1225/1810 and Amān Allāh Khān I fled from Rawshan Afandī and ‘Abd al-Rahmān Pāshā to Marīwān and then Sanandaj, yet he and Prince Muhammad ‘Alī Mīrzā took another mission to Shahrazūr in Rajab 1226/August 1811 (fol.53r.). This time ‘Abd al-Rahmān Pāshā was defeated and captured. With the help of Amān Allāh Khān I and after dispatching his sons to the court of shah, ‘Abd al-Rahmān Pāshā was again made the ruler of Bābān (fol.53r.); though he soon was forced to flee from the Ottomans to Kirmānshāh (Hidāyat, 2006: XIII/7628-7630) (fol.53v.).

The last notes that are devoted to the reign of Amān Allāh Khān I have been confined to the latter's travel to Tehran in Dhu al-Qa‘da 1227/November 1812 and his return to Sanandaj in 1228/1813 (fol.54r.).

### Character Table

Showing the place of the various characteristics within the manuscript as a whole

MARGINALIA	chronicle: fols.4v., 11r., 15r., 16r., 23r., 26r., 29r., 41r., 42v.-44r., 47v., 48r., 51r., 52r., 54r.
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	<i>maktûbât</i> : fols.55v., 63v.-64r., 66r., 70r., 72r., 73r., 74v., 76r.-76v., 78v., 81r., 86v., 91r., 94v., 97r., 101v.-102r., 103v., 105v., 112v., 113v., 120v., 123v., 134v., 142v.
IMPRESSIONS & OWNERSHIP STAMPS	chronicle: fols.2r., 28r., 34r., 40v., 46r.
	<i>maktûbât</i> : fols.58r., 60v.-61r., 65r.-65v., 80v., 83r., 84r., 99r., 100v., 116r., 122r., 130r., 131r., 142v.
GEOMETRIC FIGURES	chronicle: fols.2v., 5r., 27v., 28v., 49v., 54r.
	<i>maktûbât</i> : fols.59r., 67r., 80v., 83r., 84r.-84v., 88r., 89r.-89v., 91v.-92v., 93v., 94v.-95v., 96v.-98r., 100r., 101r., 103r.-105r., 106v.-107v., 108v.-109v., 110v.-112v., 114r., 115r.-116r., 117r., 118r.-121v., 124v., 126v., 129v.-130r., 131v., 133r.-133v., 134v., 138r., 139r., 140r.-140v., 141v., 142v.

### Conclusion

Put together the present unpublished manuscript, Ardalân chronicle data available, as well as other unstudied manuscripts make it possible to get significant material able to clarify some more peculiarities on the history of Ardalân, which is one of the most well-known and yet very little studied attribute of the Kurdish emirates.

The anonymous chronicle of Sanandaj, MS Gulpâygânî 1246, remains an important textual witness to the local chronicles of Ardalân since some of its readings are very detailed. In addition to its different primary view, this chronicle is written in 1228/1813 and therefore should be considered as the second or at least the third chronicle of Ardalân, written before the Chronicle of Khusraw Khân. As one of the rare sources with a focused interest in the early history of Ardalân, the MS 1246 received no attention in modern scholarship. The author was a senior official of Ardalân who provided a series of accounts of Ardalân rulers, starting from Surkhâb Bayg and coming up to the rule of Amân Allâh Khân.

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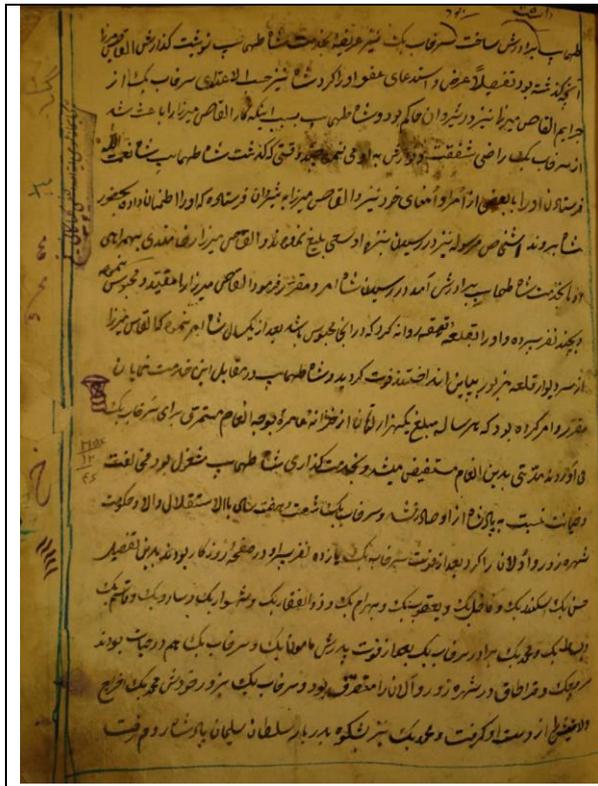
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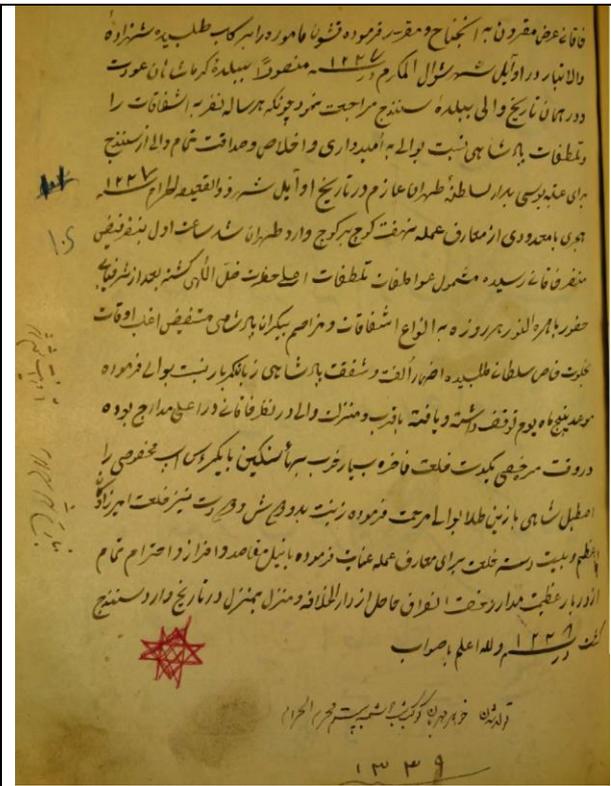
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fol.2r.



fol.54r.