

of Turkish or Mongolian origin, or whether they were local inhabitants who has mastered Turkish or Mongolian. The first place among the Persian-speaking *kuttāb* was held by the *munshī al-mamālik*, who was in charge of the *dār al-inshā'* (the "State Chancellery"), a subsection of the Great *Diwān* (*diwān-i a'lā, diwān-i buzurġ*) directed by the grand vizier. In the different sections of the *munshī al-mamālik*'s chancellery, two classes of *kuttāb* were employed: the *munshīyān* whose task it was to draft documents, and the so-called *muḥarrirān* charged with preparing fair copies; among the latter very skilled calligraphers were found. The archives formed a separate department of the *dār al-inshā'*.

The nomination of secretaries was probably reserved to the grand vizier. The *kuttāb* in general, and the *munshī al-mamālik* specifically, were expected to be trustworthy, to be masters of protocol and to possess both stylistic and calligraphic qualities. In the religious administration, mainly concerned with the maintenance of the religious law and the interests of pious foundations, a number of *kuttāb* were also to be found, e.g. the *kātib-i dār al-ḥadā'* (secretary of the supreme court) and the *mu'arrikh-i ḥudjādī wa-ḥabālāt*, an archivist who kept a permanent register of legal evidences and contracts of sale.

We may draw conclusions about the organization of the chancelleries in Timūr's time from the situation under his successors. In their time, specific linguistic expressions continued to indicate the difference between the various groups of *kuttāb*. Under Husayn Bāyqarā, the secretaries of the so-called "Turkish *diwān*" had the title of *bakḥshī* or *nīwisandagān-i turk*. This *diwān* dealt with affairs concerning the army and the Turkish subjects. Distinct from them were the *wazīrān* or *nīwisandagān-i tādjīk*, the Persian speaking *kuttāb*, who were the secretaries of the *diwān-i māl*, the "Persian *diwān*", responsible for finances and the affairs of the non-Turkish population. On no account could a *kātib* of the Turkish *diwān* be called *wazīr*. It seems that relations had been similar under the Turcoman dynasties, as may be deduced from a remark of Ḥasan Rūmlū, a *ḫizībāsh* chronicler, who says that one of his ancestors had served as *bakḥshī* under the Aq-Koyunlu.

Under the Ṣafawids also, the head of the State Chancellery was called *munshī al-mamālik* (under the Timūrids, as well as having this title, he is said to have also been called *sāhib-diwān-i inshā'*). The Ṣafawid administration was characterized by a duality in the civil service—the State Chancellery and the Treasury—, which had already existed before. Each single department of the Ṣafawid treasury (*daftar-ḫāna*), which was headed by the *mustawfī al-mamālik*, consisted of the financial section proper and a chancellery. The *lashgar-nīwis*, head of one of the most important subsections of the *daftar-ḫāna*, corresponded to the *Il-Khānid* and *Djalāyirid* *ūlūgh bitikī-yi mamālik*. He was the paymaster of the troops of the provincial governors and also of the court and provincial officials, and had an imposing chancellery at his disposal. On the other hand, the *dār al-inshā'*, the State Chancellery of the *munshī al-mamālik*, was in charge of the state correspondence such as diplomatic letters and all kinds of charters. When under 'Abbās I a special royal administration (the *sarkār-i ḫāṣṣa-yi sharīfa*) was set up at the side of the already existing governmental administration, a special chancellery had of course to be created

## ii. IN PERSIA.

From the fall of the *Il-Khāns* to the end of the Ṣafawids.

A characteristic change of the *kātib*'s position, already noticeable under the *Il-Khāns*, took place in the successor states of Mongol Persia. The Mongolian and Turkish terms remained to some extent the same as before, although not necessarily with the same meaning. New terms were of course also introduced, partly for institutions that continued as such or were slightly modified. Fluctuating usage, in which obsolete and current expressions were used simultaneously, makes understanding of the technical terminology difficult. It goes without saying that here only the most important outlines can be sketched of a development which has not yet been studied sufficiently.

The great number of secretaries in the *Djalāyirid* administration should be related to two different facts: the tripartite division of the administration into a military, a civilian and a religious section on the one hand, and the specific ethnic composition of the army, most of the soldiers being Turks or Mongols, on the other. Following the *Il-Khānid* tradition, there thus existed, especially in the military administration, a class of secretaries especially knowledgeable in Turkish or Mongolian. It was their task to translate into these two languages original documents probably written in Persian, and in 'Irāq also in Arabic. Though counted among the *kuttāb*, they were called by the Turkish term *bitikī*, probably to distinguish them from the Persian-speaking secretaries. The most important secretary in the military administration was called *bitikī-yi aḥkām-i muġhulī* or *kātib-i muġhulī-nīwis*. But the continuance of *Il-Khānid* usage brought about the fact that even the secretary of the governmental financial administration, who served under the *mustawfī al-mamālik* or state treasurer, was counted among the *bitikīyān*, with the title of *ūlūgh bitikī-yi mamālik*. However, the local financial secretaries who served under him did not belong to the *bitikīyān*. It is still dubious whether the last-mentioned were in fact

for this purpose. A number of duties were transferred from the *munshī al-mamālik* to the head of the new chancellery, the *wāki'a-niwīs* or *madjlis-niwīs*. In the course of the 11th/17th century, the *madjlis-niwīs* surpassed the *munshī al-mamālik* both in rank and sphere of competence. Moreover, the *madjlis-niwīs* enjoyed to a much greater extent the confidence of the ruler. Only in so far as the number of the subordinate *kuttāb* was concerned was the *munshī al-mamālik* superior to the *madjlis-niwīs*.

A handbook of administration, the *Tadhkirat al-mulūk*, shows that in the early 12th/18th century, 28 *kuttāb* were subordinate to the *munshī al-mamālik*: one *munshī-yi dīwān* who prepared drafts, and 27 *muharrirān* who wrote out the fair copies. In the chancellery of the *madjlis-niwīs*, the *raḡam-niwīs-i dīwān-i a'lā* corresponded to the *munshī-yi dīwān*; he was assisted by three assistants. In this chancellery a further six *kuttāb* were also employed, among whom was a registrar and a *nāma-niwīs*, who was most probably responsible for the fair copies of the diplomatic letters (*nāma* or *maktūb*). Thus ten *kuttāb* were subordinate to the *madjlis-niwīs*. The *daftar-khāna* too was influenced by the division of the administration into a governmental and a royal demesne sector. Although the division within the *daftar-khāna* was not complete, the interests of state and crown were assigned to different subsections. Under the Ṣafawids, charters were occasionally written in Turkish, but nothing is known about a classification of the *kuttāb* according to linguistic criteria.

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