

AYATI (Avareh), Abdolhossein. TARIKH-e YAZD (ATESH KADEH YAZDAN = God's Firetemple) Yazd; Golbahar Press, 1317.

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Final Words on the Khan Family. Mirza Jafar-e Monshi did not write in the Tarikh-e Khan-e Bozorg (which is unpublished, but written at the request of Amir Moayyed Abdorreza Khan) about the capture and murder of Abdorreza Khan and of the second government of Shahzadeh Mohammad Vali Mirza. I must depend on the memories of old people since I have no book to refer to. Navab-e Vakilottowlieh (Mir Sayyid Mohammad-e Razavi, son of Mir Sayyid Hasan-e Navab Razavi) who was alive in the time of Amir Moayyad, says: Abbas Mirza, son of ~~Fath~~ Fath Ali Shah on the way to Kirman took Amir Moayyed with him. The latter, Abdorreza Khan, understood that the former wanted to kill him. It is said that he struck down a flying pigeon with his sword near Kirman, and that Abbas Mirza remarked to a companion that Amir Moayyad wanted to show off his skill. The companion then remarked to Amir Moayyad that this was not the place to show off, but that rather he should conduct himself humbly and meekly. Amir Moayyad replied: I know they want to kill me, and I want to tell them that they will not kill an unskilled man and that when he is taken they cannot lie meekly. At any rate, Abbas Mirza went to Khorassan from Kirman and took Amir Moayyad with him. There the successor to Astaneh (the officer in charge of the vaqfs of Imam Reza) realizing Abbas Mirza's intent hinted to Amir Moayyad that the dome of Imam Reza was a good shelter, that he should keep himself there motahassen () and if possible not leave. Amir Moayyad either did not understand or did not chose to be motahassen in the shrine. He was sent to Teheran. From the fact that Abbas Mirza wrote to Mohammad Vali Mirza asking that if he pardoned him, he would give Yazd to him and 100,000 tomans in money, that he, Abbas Mirza did not really want to have Amir Moayyad killed. Shahzadeh Mohammad Vali Mirza pardoned Amir Moayyad, but the women did not accept and killed him, we don't know exactly how.

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Son of Amir Moayyad. Like other Khans, Abdorreza Khan had many children, but of his sons, only Mohammad Ibrahim Khan is recorded in history. This son was an artist and was exiled to Ardebil. In the time of Mohammad Shah he was freed and then made Governor of Kashan.

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PAHLAVAN IBRAHIM was called Pahlavan Panbeh because in his youth he was a hallaj. He was from Taft, travelled to Teheran where Nasredin Shah saw him perform and liked him and made him his special yasaval. Mohammad Abdol says that when he and Pahlavan Panbeh were famous some other Pahlavans came to the capital to wrestle with the Pahlavans of the capital. The Shah ordered Pahlavan Panbeh to represent the capital and he selected Mohammad Abdol. The match occurred in Meidan-e Arg with a large number of spectators including the Shah. Pahlavan Panbeh began the match and in the second hour Mohammad Abdol became victorious, and the Shah threw him some coins. At present while there are Pahlavans from Yazd and Taft, they have not the importance of these Pahlavans.

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MOHAMMAD ABDOLLAH. The last revolt in those times was that of Mohammad Abdollah, a yaghi (luti), after the time of Amir Moayyad. Since all the people feared him the year of his revolt became a reckoning marker for Yazdis: the Year of Mohammad Abdollah (sal-e Mhd Abdollahi). This was before the famine of 88. Finally he was killed. He is not to be confused with the Pahlavan Mohammad Abdol.

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MASJID-e MULLA ISMAIL. This is one of the important mosques of Yazd, and although it lacks such decorations as tilework it is a tall and well constructed building, and after the Masjid-e Jome and Mir Chaq Maq is the most important mosque in Yazd. It was built by Haji Mulla Ismail Aqda'i in the time of Fath Ali Shah; he was son of Abdul Malek of Haji Malek Aqda'i and was born in 1109 (08) in Aqda. He completed his education in Najaf. A student of Sharif -ul-ulama and Bahr-ul-olum, he became Marja-e Taqlid and the greatest Ayatolla in his time.

AYATI, A.

He went from Najaf to Mashad in 1208. When after that he visited his family in Yazd, the people invited him to stay in Yazd promising to obey his fatwas. He was a skilful poet and wrote a small book on the art of poetry. He repaired the Mohsenieh School (Zir-e Da Minar); he mad a farm in Push Kuh called after him Mazreh Axond which is well engineered and 300 persons work there; he also built the mosque and his tomb is nearby. He died in 1230 and his grave was put in the tomb as are the graves of other members of his family. His books are all unpublished, among them 6 on fāqh, Dar Adab-o-Sonan, Haqaiqolasul.

GOVERNORS OF YAZD IN THE TIME OF NASRADIN SHAH:

1274-5	Sartip Khan; his minister was Mirza Shafia II	(2 years)
1276	Sahel Divan Shirazi	(1 year)
1277	Eatemad ud Dowleh	(1 yr)
1278	Heshmat ud Dowleh	(1 yr)
1279	Majdeud Dowleh	(1 yr)
1280-8	Mohammad Khan-e Vali	(7 years)
1281 87	Abolfath Mirza Moayyad Dowleh	(1 year)
1288-90	Eskandar Khan-e Kurd	(2 years)
1290	Nezam al Molk	(1 year)
1291	Hossein Qoli Khan-e Mafi (Sad ul Molk = Nezam os Sultaneh	(2 years)
1293-97	Mohammad Khan-e Vali (second time)	(4 years)
1297-303	Ibrahim Khalil Khan Zell os Sultan	(6 years)
1303	Moadel ul Molk Shirazi	(2 years)
1305	Mostafa Qazi Khan Arab Saham os Sultaneh	(1 year)
1306	Imad ud Dowleh	(1 year)
1307	Eqbal ul Molk	(1 year)
1308	Hossein Mirza Jalal ud Dowleh, son of Zell os Sultan	(2 years)
1310-13	Mahmud Aqa and Mirza Mohammad Vazier Yazdi	(3 years)
1313-14	Jalal od Dowleh (second time)	(2 years)
1314:	Nasradin Shah was killed.	

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Of the 24 governors named, only Mohammad Khan-e Vali pleased both the people of Yazd and the Government. He was twice governor of Yazd for seven and four years respectively. A good man, just, holy and pious, he tried to make Yazd habitable. Building Bazar-e Khan is one of his good works. Without that bazaar and Pahlavi Street, Yazd would be nothing. Both Caravanserai-ye Vali and Masjid-e Vali were built by him, as were a small mosque in the Governor's house, the Qanat-e Mehdiabad, the post office building, Bagh-e Khan (Bagh-e Naserieh) situated two farsaxs from Yazd and three farsaxs from Taft. From Farvardin til Aban the road to Taft is very busy and this garden is a useful half-way stop. But of how it was ruined I will tell under the Constitution.

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YAZD IN THE CONSTITUTIONAL PERIOD. At the beginning of the constitutional period, Yazd was in a ferment of party building and different ideas. There were believers in democracy, there were believers in aristocracy, those who supported parties and those who opposed parties. Some of the ahle amameh (i.e. axonds) and kolah (i.e. people) were mojahed. At any rate societies were being formed everywhere and it was unusual for a Governor to last more than one year.

The Government of Moazzam os Sultaneh Kashani and the killing of Haji Mohammad Taqi Mazar and his brother Abul Qassem and Sayyid Reza Jati Moazzam os Sultaneh came to be governor of Yazd in 1325, the second year of the Constitutional Government. He was Governor for four months. Before him, Haji Mohammad Taqi Mazar, a constitutionalist, had invited the people to freedom and had dealings with the English consulate. Opponents of the constitution encouraged his brother Abol Qassem to kill him which he did in Ramazan of 1325. Abul Qassem then took refuge in the Imamsadeh Jafar.

Ayati.

When Maazzam os Sultaneh became Governor he appointed Sayyid Reza Luti to be Darughah (Rais-e Nazmieh) of Yazd. Sayyid Reza had a record; he had killed several people; and when Moazzam os Sultaneh ordered him to take Abol Cassem out of the Imamzadeh, he did so and killed him in Rabiolavval 17, 1326. This caused a revolt: riflemen from Taft came to Yazd and asked the Governor for Sayyid Reza. Moazzam us Sultaneh could not bring calm and finally ordered his coach to leave town. When the coach was brought he declared that women would proceed himself. The people realized that he intended to put on a chador and keep safe in the guide of a woman (i.e. put Sayyid Reza in a chador). The people agreed to the rule of precedence but ~~she~~ insisted that each woman be searched. Finally Moazzam os Sultaneh had to give up Sayyid Reza. The latter came out with a Quran in hand saying Hamshahriha bala ghiratan! but the people did not listen and killed him, especially those who had brothers or fathers killed by Sayyid Reza. After this the people refused to accept Moazzam us Sultaneh as governor.

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The thrid important ~~revolutionary~~ revolt in Yazd at the time of the Constitution was that of Mohammad the master builder and Amir Aazam. Ostad Mohammad was brave and bold and rebuilt the minarets of Amir Chaq Maq. He seemed to fear nothing and the people urged him to lead a revolt which he did. For one month he lead a free government. But then he began to extort money from the merchants. Some Taftis helped him. Amir Aazan was sent to Yazd to throw him out, and Ostad Mohammad retreated to Taft. Amir Aazan bombarded Taft and Ostad Mohammad ~~ran~~ fled to Herat and Marvast. After a few years he was captured and hanged, but the people of Taft suffered for in those days if some one like Amir Aazan won a victory he took revenge on his opponents' supporters. This was the situation in Yazd around the time of the Constitution; only the name was freedom, but really it was lawless chaos. A court was erected in Yazd but it closed after six months or a year.

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In fifty years there were 24 changes of Governor, but from 1325 - 1345 there were 30 changes of Governor. Strangely enough, Mashallah, son of Nayeab Hossein Kashi the thief was Governor of Yazd for two months. There were also Bakhtiari and Qashqai governors for 3-6 month periods. Although I know all their names, it is not necessary to list them.

Moshir ud Dowleh was off and on chief of taxation in Yazd and sometimes took the Governor's place. He wanted to make Yazd habitable and so built qanats, farms, baths, mosques, abambers, and mills. He built 25 baths in Yazd and its villages; wherever he initiated a settlement he first built a bath, a mosque, a husseyneya and an ahambar. He made qanats for Ahamadabad, Esmatabad, Amirabad, and repaired the qanats of Barjin and Hasanabad-e Humeh, made Taqlabad, etc. He repaired the Bagh-e Naserieh built by Khan-e Vali, making the water which had nearly dried up better than it had been originally. When Zeigham od Dowleh became Governor of Yazd, he ordered that Moshir be brought from his village of Ahmadabad to Bagh-e Naserieh, and there fined him 12,000 tomans without reason. The money was extracted cruelly with ~~physical punishment~~, and because of this treatment Moshir sold the garden after Zeigham od Dowleh was deposed for he needed the money. This Moshir ul ~~Hawalek~~ was a grandson of Mirza Jafar-e Monshi and son in law of Mirza Mohammad-e Vazi. (cf. Tarah-e Isphahani) ~~by~~ Mirza Jafar Monshi wrote abook about the history of Yazd and is especially good on the Khans and elite of Yazd--it is unpublished and kept in Vaziri library: Tarikhe Khan-e Bozorg/

Ayati

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The government of Entezam ul Molk Arab Ameri and the killing of Haji Mullah Reza. Entezam ul Molk became Governor of Yazd after Moazzam us Sultaneh in 1326. He was the son of Soham os Sultaneh Abab. Haji Mullah Reza was a religiously educated man from ~~Yazd~~ a village of Meybod, and a constitutionalist. * He made a dasteh-like group of sinch-zani to invite the people to freedom, for which he also composed poems, a line of which is:

Ma bandeh-e Xodaim

We are the servants of God

Mashruteh-ra Fedaim

We are devotees of the Constitution

He collected more than 1000 people of the villages and came to Yazd. Another dasteh came under Sayyid Yahya Baluka from Majmerd. They went to Shahzadeh Fazel. When, however, Entezam ul Molk learned that the opponents of the Constitution had bombarded the parliament, he exiled Haji Mullah Reza from Yazd to Mashad. After a few days news of his death was received in Yazd. It was said that Imam Reza had not invited him, for he was killed in Saghand. Entezam ul Molk also exiled the Shahzadeh Fazeli sayyids to other cities for their part in the constitutionalist agitations, e.g. Sayyid Abul Qassem Musavi.

Many Yazdis were constitutionalists, e.g. Mullah Abdol Karim Mesgar, and Aqa Sayyid Hassein Tehrani were two leading axonds who spoke out for freedom and Constitutional Government. Mullah Abdol Karim was briefly Member of Parliament. When finally Mohammad Ali Shah fled, the big battle was split into smaller ones among the ~~sharq~~ various parties: democrat, tashkili, zedd-e tashkili.

Of the great religious families famous in Yazd in the Qajar times-- Sheikh Mohammad Hassan Sabzevari, Aqa Mirza Ali Tork, Aqa Mohammad Jafar Kirmani, Mirza Mohammad Taqi, Mirza Mohammad Reza Kermanshahi, Haji Mulla Baqer Ardakani--all had died by this time except Mir Sayyid Ali Hayeri. He was a freedom lover, and his son Hayerizadeh campaigned for the constitutional Government. /the latter died 27 Aban 1350/.

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REZA SHAH visits Yazd. Poem: on the luckiness of the people of Yazd: Thank the Lord for our luck/ that the pious king has come. Reza Shah was the first king to visit Yazd since Shah Ismail II, Nadir Shah, and Karim Khan Zand. Possibly Fath Ali Shah made a brief visit also to Yazd and stayed in Barin Qaleh. Reza Shah visited Yazd in the fifth year of his reign: 1309. At that time Yazd was not very developed: it had only one new street from Narin Qaleh (the Governor's house) to the house of Sadrulhokama where the Banki Melli was located. That street had been built in the time of Sadid ul Molk, Governor of Yazd and was some 150 - 200 meters long. But when Reza Shah came to Yazd, they expanded it to Bagh-e Melli and put a falakeh in the center. It was named in his honor Pahlavi Street. Reza Shah stayed in Najafabad, one farsax from Yazd and met first the religious leaders, then the merchants, and gentlemen and directors of offices. Most of his talk was about new buildings and so on. He entered Yazd through lines of riflemen and soldiers. The students greeted him with flowers. Reza Shah called Yazd a golestan, and since then Yazd is known as Golestan-e Pahlavi. He stayed in the house of Sadrulolama.

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It rained while Reza Shah was in Yazd and the people took this as a good omen.

Moshir ul Mowalek who was Member of Parliament of Moassenan when he learned that Reza Shah planned to stay in Yazd no more than one night, sent a builder and architect to Aqda to repair his house there, paint the doors and prepare to receive Reza Shah. Reza Shah left Yazd for Kashan and stayed in the house of Moshir in Aqda. In Yazd Reza Shah saw the arts of Yazd such as goldsmithing and silk cloth and encouraged the Yazdis.

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Poem of Shakuhi ...

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Sayyid Ziauddin, son of Sayyid Ali Aqa Mujtahid Yazdi, was like his father a constitutionalist. He owned 3 newspapers in Teheran: Sharq, Barq, Rad. He became prime minister in 1399 but lasted only 3 months.

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CULTURAL ORGANIZATION OF YAZD. It is imperative that one tell about how Yazd is changing under Reza Shah; every day a new useful building is built. Pahlavi Street which was expanded when Reza Shah came to Yazd and other streets --the eastern and western streets are being built. Till now Yazd had no government owned school. The schools were in rented buildings, but now the Vezerat-e Maaref, whose name is now changed to Farhang, is building a school called Iranshahr in a good location, a building to last for 1000 years.

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Iranshahr High School was at first a six-room school; in the second year of the Pahlavi reign (1306) it became a high school. Ahmad Taheri was its director and it was in a merchant's house rented by the ministry. In 1315 the ministry gave the office in Yazd money to build a high school: 1 million rials. Completed in 1317 it was under the term of Mr. Rad Seresht, the head of the Farhang office. (fn: if I did not write these names politely with their appropriate Khan, Mirza, etc., it is because the Parliament and Kingdom has made a law that such words are to be abandoned, and only the word jenab to be used to official dignitaries. The Minister of Education, Ismail Merat came to Yazd in Azar 6, 1317 to open the building. At the same time a newly built school was opened in Taft near Shah Vali.

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There are 86 schools and high schools in Yazd of which 42 are government, and 44 are private. Irandoxt Girls High School is a good one; its director is Mrs. Eshrat Nasirian. The government has also instituted some night schools for old people and this has been going for two years. The Parvareshgah for orphans was established by the mouqafat of Sheikh Ahmad.

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ZOROASTRIAN CULTURAL ORGANIZATIONS. The Zoroastrians as I have mentioned number more in Yazd than in other cities; some farm in the villages of Yazd. They were lovers of education even before the Persian Revolution. In Qajar times they were not always left in peace. After the Constitution, and especially after the coup d'etat of Reza Shah they increased their educational efforts.

~~Khe~~ Khosrovi High School is the first high school in Mahalleh Pusht-e Khan Ali built by them after the schools in town and the villages. It was at first a small school of the old style built by Kei Khosrow Mehreban Rustam in 1268 Khorshidi; for that school he had donated some of his property to the Zoroastrian Society of Bombay. In 1301 it was changed into a new school by its director Pashutanji Dastur. In the time of Reza Shah it was expanded by Faramarsji Master, and he made a high school. This high school has 13 subsidiary schools in the villages and so it must be called the Kei Khosrovi group, all built by Kei Khosrow.

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The Marker Group. This was started in 1301 Khorshidi by a Zoroastrian of Bombay named Peshutanji Dosabhai Marker. Do not think that he was particularly rich. He gave almost all he had to this project, a sum of 100,000 tomans or 2 lac rupes and this was all he had in the Bank of Bombay. It is in any case a fine memorial for him. The school was built outside of town, a pretty building of 6 classrooms for the elementary school and 3 classrooms for the high school. There is also place for 40 orphans. There are facilities to study tailoring, weaving, stockings and socks by hand, carpentry. A second part of the school is in Mahallah Xalf-e Khan Ali and is composed of 6 classrooms for the elementary school and 4 classrooms for the high school; this is for Zoroastrian girls. The Marker Organization is run on money from the Zoroastrian Society of Bombay, the director of which is Soroush Por Lohrasp Teherani.

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The Zayeshgah-e Bahman was built with the money of Gushtasp Pur-e Xodadad-e Xodkollah-e Kuche Biuki. It is an excellent building opened in Azar 1316 in the name of Reza Shah. Gushtasp built this maternity clinic and the Sir Ratan Tata Dispensary and eleven schools in the villages in the name of a deceased son, Bahman. Dr. Khosravi is the director of both the maternity clinic and the dispensary.

Ayati

Izad Peyman High School was built in the time of Reza Shah but previously it had been a small school in Khalf-e Khan Ali. It became a high school in 1306. Miss Briti had made a school for Parsi girls in 1282 in Khalf-e Khan Ali; after a couple of years Miss Moore and then Miss Aidin became director. Miss Aidin was a skilful woman, and made a second school for Muslim girls in 1300. Then she asked for help to build a big building and when this was built she combined the schools and high schools so the girls study there from age 4-5 to 20.

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Khosravi School. This was built by Khosrow Shah-e Jahan in 1285. Before there had been a maktab, but at the time of Pahlavi it became new style. Its student body grew from 80 to 180 students, and the school is supported by the daughter of Khosrow Shah Jehan, Simindoxt, the wife of Arbab Sohrab Keyanian with the help of her husband. She added another building onto the school in 1313.

THE ECONOMY OF YAZD. The importance of economics is known and educated persons such as Adam Smith have written treatises about it; most of the wars in the West are for economic reasons. The principle of economics is the substitution of iron and wood for workers; this has been done in advanced countries, but unfortunately not in Iran. This was only begun in the reign of Reza Shah.

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Herati and Derakhshan Factory. Aqa Hossein Ali Herati, son of Haji Abol Qassem was born in Yazd in 1262 Khorshidi. He was an honest merchant and decided to build a factory under the stability brought by Reza Shah. He bought machinery from Germany in 1312 and built the factory together with the Bahram (Zoroastrian) brothers. The machines were put in the building which is called Derakhshan Factory; they were bought by Ostad Gohlon Sanati. This factory has 1140 spindles (wool) for thin thread, 458 for thicker thread, and 15 machines for weaving. It employs 200 to ~~200~~ workers. (290).

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Ostad Gholam Sanati. Because I introduced his name, I want to say a bit more about him and his good works. He is a craftsman, clever and decisive, altho not educated and the son of a barber. He began to weave as a child, became skilful and soon himself opened his own factory. He was also talented in other ways: he made an electric lamp when there was still no electricity in Yazd, and he used this for the first time in the coronation festivals for Reza Shah in Bagh-e Dowlatabad. As he knew about weaving machines, Mr. Herati selected him to go to Europe with Haji Abol Qassem Gorji, and Bahram and brothers (Baradaran). He executed that well and is now manager of the Derakhshan factory, and is skilful not only in running the factory but also in dealing with foreign buyers.

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Having set up the Derakhshahn Factory with the help of Bahram and brothers, Herati decided to make another factory in 1314 (two years after Derakhshahn) nearby. This factory has 3200 spindles to spin cotton, and 250-300 workers. Mr. Herati became ill and died a year later leaving it to his sons Mchammad Aqa and Kazem Aqa.

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Mr. Gorji's Factory. I mentioned that Haji Abol Qassem Gorji went with Sanati to Europe. The Gorji brothers are merchants. Haji Abol Qassem had been to Europe and knew the language. He went to buy machines to weave stockings and shirts, and bought the machinery at the same time Sanati was buying for Derakhshan. He built his factory in the building of Sayyid Ali Akrami. Although this factory is not as important as other factories, it is useful to the economy of Yazd. Also Mr. Gorji is a pious and honest man. He is the son of Haji Mohammad Hossein Gorji, a good merchant, who is remembered by the people still many years after his death.

EQBAL Factory is the best new factory built in Yazd by important merchants. A company was formed in 1310 Khorshidi for spinning, and the Bank-e Melli was a partner. It took three years to build the factory and the Bank-e Melli did not want to partake in the venture despite the efforts of the merchants. In 1313 it was ready. At first the property was worth 2500,000 rials, but gradually it rose to 5070,000 rials. It began with 4200 spinning spindles, and then 2800 were added. It has a Mercerization machine with 7000; makes thread #2 tile#60; and has 2

Machines: 4200 spinning & 250 mercerization

Ayati

WATER COMPANY AND ARTESIAN WELLS. Everyone knows that Yazd does not have enough water. For a long time now people have been talking about artesian wells. It is a problem which must be tackled since Yazd has many dried up areas and cannot produce food for more than 4 months need. Sadly it was all talk and no action, but happily now that we are publishing this book, I hear that the people have made a society for action. Eghal Factory held a meeting and its director, Mr. Koroghly, tried to push the work. The people, knowing Mr. Koroghly to be an honest man, gave. Even I bought four shares, each at 1000 rials, although I was poor. They elected a governing committee in Aban 1317 consisting of Mr. Koroghly, Malekottajjar, Aqa Sayyid Abbas Fazeli, Mohammad Sadeq Rahimi, Gholam Hossein Askari Kamran, Haji Abdolkhaleq Rad, Allahvardi Behmardi (Zoroastrians). I hope that this will make the lot of Yazd more comfortable and pray for the King.

425 Health of Yazd. No one seems to realize the importance of health. Ever since the buildings of Sayyid Iuknadin and Sayyid Shamsaddin called Daroshshafa and Baitoladvieh fell down some 500 years ago, people did not care for public health and no one built hospitals and public buildings like that. Only the Christians built a hospital some 30 years ago (Mariz xane Morsalinin). Until the time of Reza Shah who changed the name of the Sekhieh office to Behdari Office and tested doctors not allowing unqualified ones in. In his time many hospitals were built and skilled doctors began to practice. Also in Yazd the Pahlavi Hospital was built, the chief of which was Dr. Mohammad Taheri. The Government has also selected a site for a big hospital. Of the skilled doctors in Yazd are the following: Dr. Mohammad Taheri (Sr. and Jr.), Dr. Hushmand, Dr. ~~Karim~~ Moayyed, Dr. Hafezi.

426 The Abambers of Haji Sayyid Hossein Khavidaki, a rich but childless camel owner. After his death, in the first years of the Pahlavi reign his will was carried out and two abambers were built at either end of Mahalleh Kalf-e Khan Ali, each with two entrances, one for Muslims and one for Zoroastrians. The care taker of the one was Haji Alinaqi Tajer who used 120,000 rials to construct the abambar. The caretaker of the other was Haji Mohammad Hossein Barxordar, the large, honest merchant of Yazd. He also had another abambar built in Khavidak. It is said that when he was in the desert with his camels, he became very thirsty and made a vow that if he did not die of thirst and if God would make him rich, he would build abambers.

427 In these years two Ayatollahs died: Aqa Sayyid Yahya Musavi and Ayatolla Hayeri. Aqa Sayyid Yahya died 11 years ago in Yazd and Ayatolla Hayeri died 2 years ago in Qom. Aqa Sayyid Yahya born in Yazd in 1263 son of Aqa Sayyid Kazem and a granddaughter of Mullah Ismail Aqdaii who built the mosque. He began his studies at age 12 and when to Khorassan to study mathematics in 1283. He returned to Yazd 3 years later and proceeded on directly to Najaf. He met Aqa Sayyid Mohammad Kazem-e Yazdi, the greatest Ayatollah after Mirza Shirazi, and studied religion under him while teaching him mathematics. He also studied in the madresseh of Mirza Shirazi in Samarra. He also studied with Sheikh Mohammad Hassan Kazemini. And he himself soon became important. His teachers gave him ejazeh and he began to write books. Towards the end of his life he became poor and slowly came to Yazd where he began to teach in 1296. He was a master of the religious leaders in his time and towards the end of his life the Government allowed him to intervene in politics. He wrote five books about religious problems. He died in 1346 in Yazd, and his grave is in the Imamzadeh Jafar. His eldest son is Sayyid Mohammad Ayatollahi, chief of the Registry Office.

428 Haji Sheikh Abdol Karim Hayeri was from Mehrjard-e Meybod. His father was a farmer, Mohammad Jafar. He was born in 1276 and as a child was eager to study. He began studying in Ardekan and then came to Yazd where his teacher was Mir Sayyid Ali Modares. Then he went to the school of Aqa Sayyid Yahya.

Ayati.

Sometimes he also went to hear Sultanlolama. He lived in Madresseh Khan. He went to atabat (Karbala, Najaf, Kazemein, Samarra) and met there most of the religious teachers. He studied mainly under Mqa Sheikh Ali Yazdi, and then Mirza Shirazi. He rose quickly and was given ejazeh to go to Sultanabad (Arak) and there he began to teach. The people of Arak asked him to go to Qom which he did. He repaired the Madresseh Feizieh-e Qom and colled more than 1000 students giving them means to study. Then he built a hospital with the money of Haji Sahamaddowleh-e Araki. This was most useful during the Qom flood. He died in 1315 (?). This Arabic poem by me in abjad is the date of his death: qad daxalal Hayer Abdol Karim

قَد دَخَلَ الْهَيْطَ عَبْدُ الْكَرِيمِ
/Also on his tomb is the verse: ladal Karim halla zeifen abdahu. Abdol Karim means "slave of the merciful god", and thus the poem means: the slave of the merciful god went to merciful god as guest/.

429 Golbahar Publishing House and Book Seller was made in 1305. They bought printing presses in 1312. Mr. Modarreszadeh is the manager. Previously two other publishers existed in Yazd but they were not important: Shir Kuh, and Komsar.

430 The villages around Yazd such as Shahrbabak, Abarqu and "ain have some old buildings but sad to say I don't know about them all so I just write briefly...

431 It is possible that Marvast with a bit of effort could turn into a big town. Marvast is vaqf. Two dongs (2/6) of Marvast is vaqf /probably for Astan-e Qade/ and I have written about this in my magazine Namakdon. Navvab-e Vakil had some of the contracts and the chief of the Health Dept of Shahrbabak found a vaqfnameh dated 1164 on brown paper. It was made vaqf by a woman called Bibi Marzieh (Sadrol Hajieh), the daughter of Sadr-e Isphahani. Navvab Razavi was the manager of the vaqf. The contract which Mr. Navvab-e Vakil has has 10 signatures. If it is true that the people of Marvast bought one of the two copies and destroyed it, it is good the the vaqfah (vaqf maker) made two. I wont say anything about Ali Asghar-e Qombay who was opposed by the people on behalf of the vaqf and we dont know where he is.

432 Husseineya Naqshin is a pretty building said to be built by a grandson of Khan-e Bozorg with the help of the people of Pusht-e Bagh.

433 Now Arbab Kei Khosrow Shahrokh is the leader of the Zoroastrians and their member of Parliament (Majles Shura); he is a good man. Arbab Xodaram is a member of the society.

There is a family in Yazd called Xoshnevis, the head of which is Ahmad Xoshnevis, an educated man.

Saraye Khajeh and its water storage is less than 200 years old.

LITERARY SOCIETY OF YAZD. When the writer returned to Yazd in 1315, Mr. Mohammad Mehdi Radseresht was the head of the Education Office. He invited some of the peets to make a literary society, and this was done in the home of Mr. Farsad. It has been going for 3 years and Mr. Farsad is the head of the society.

131

DARASHAFA (داراشفا) = ("hospital"). When Amir Shamsaddin was minister, he ordered Kajeh Shmasaddin Tazigui to build a darashafa in his name in Yazd. The latter put up a medium sized building and then sent the plan and accounts to Amir Shamsaddin. The Amir became angry and retorted that the latter had built a building according to his own (lower) status. Shamsaddin Tazigui also became angry and built then a large building for the hospital plus pharmacy and lunatic asylum; and then he sent the plan and accounts to the Amir. SHAMSIEH SCHOOL & FORT MOSQUE. Since Amir Shamsaddin had the darashafa built, the surrounding mahalleh has been called Darashafa [Abedi; and is still so called 1971]. Strangely, and unfortunately, despite having many vaqfs dedicated to it, only the name remains: the building no longer exists. This mahalleh has a mosque called Masjid-e Fort which I believe has been rebuilt. Shamsieh is the name of a school in the name of Amir Shamsaddin where he was also buried. The daughter of Kajeh Rashidaddin Fazlullah was the wife of Amir Shamsaddin; when Amir Shamsaddin died in Tabriz, ten years after the death of his father Sayyid Ruknaddin, she ordered his body brought from Tabriz to Yazd and buried in the Shamsieh School; and she ordered marble from Tabriz for his grave. This building has since fallen into ruin. *Mamqufat (pl. of mamqufet - had been vaqf-ed)

ouqaf = pl. of vaqf

134

SAYYID GOL-e SORX (SHARAFADDIN ALI). Sharafaddin Ali was the administrator under Sayyid Ruknaddin who completed the Masjid-e Jame building. [Abedi; his tomb is now the Ziaratgah, Sayyid Gol-e Sorx].

136

RASHIDODDIN FAZLULLA & RASHIDIEH. Kajeh Rashidaddin Fazlullah, who was the father-in-law of Amir Shamsaddin, is the Fazlullah, the doctor, of whom the histories write. He was much admired by the kings of the Changizi (Mongol) family. When he came to Yazd for the first time he made friends with Sharafaddin Ali Yazdi. The latter had a large library and gave him whatever book he asked for. This library may perhaps have been that of S. Ruknaddin since we have no record of other libraries in the histories of Yazd. When he returned to Tabriz, Kajeh Rashidaddin Fazlullah wanted to make Sharafaddin Ali Yazdi Governor of Yazd since he so liked him, but when the official order to implement this desire arrived in Yazd, Sharafaddin Ali had died. Sharafaddin Ali had a son called Majdoddin, and he became Governor of Yazd in his father's stead. He repaired the kuches of Yazd and paved them with stones. Still today we have these stone paved kuches of those days. During his story stay in Yazd Rashidaddin Fazlullah build the Rashidieh School, and also several other buildings which we only know by name; they were all destroyed by flood. He was eventually killed by Sultan Abu Saïid; his enemies had told Sultan Abu Saïid that Kajeh Rashidaddin had either not properly diagnosed the illness of Sultan Xodabandeh Aljaito or had killed him with poison. At that time Sultan Abu Saïid was 16 years old and Kajeh Rashidaddin was about a hundred years old; Sultan Abu Saïid later experienced remorse for this execution.

37

Sheikh Dada Mohammad and Mahalleh Sheikhdad. I have already briefly mentioned that Sheikh Dada Mohammad was a famous Sufi gnostic, one of the most famous gnostics of the seventh century. Hafez, the poet, was one of his admirers; Hafez even came to Yazd on occasion to meet his beloved morshed, and ask his help. In the biography books he is called Sheikh Taqiuddin Mohammad; but there are many things about Dada. In any case such men as he were very important in history. Sheikh Dada came from Isphahan and settled in a mahalleh of Yazd which then came to be called, and is now still so called, Sheikh Dada or Sheikh-dad. He build several khanegah in Yazd, Ardekan and elsewhere. He was very long-lived and died when Mohammad Mozaffer was born (in 700). He was buried near his khanegah in Sheikhdad; and many persons of the Mozaffar family were buried near him. His tomb is not surrounded with any particular decorative distinctions, although the histories say there used to be such.

INDEX OF BUILDINGS IN THE EIGHTH CENTURY. There was so much building during the seventh, eighth, and ninth centuries of qanats, gardens, schools, mosques, khaneqahs, etc., that we might think that the people did nothing else but build. (1) MASJID-e RIG was built in the 8th century by Amir ~~Masjud-e Rigi~~ Mo'inuddin-Ashraf who was one of the Sayyids of the Oreizi Family. Half of its dome was destroyed in the flood of 760 of which I will speak. Some six months thereafter, one Xajeh Haji Jam Paied paid three thousand dinars (dinar-e kapaki) to repair it. (2) Masjid-e Sarab-e No was also built by Amir Mo'inaddin Ashraf who made Jalaluddin Ashkezari the xatib (reader of the xotbeh) and motavalli (keeper and chief of the vagf) of this mosque in 798. (3) Madrassah Ziaeiieh was built by Ziauddin Hossein, the father or grandfather of Sharafaddin Ali. (4) Sayyid Jamaluddin Bakhari, the teacher in the Madresseh Ziaieiieh, built a bath in front of the school, and many vagf supported it. (5) Xajeh Kamaluddin Abolmaali, minister of Mohammad-e Mozaffar, dug a qanat in Farasha Taft in 720 and brought water to Yazd. Mahalleh Balmiri is in his name, and perhaps the tomb of Shah Kamal is his. (6) Sharafaddin Hossein, the father of Amir Ashraf built the Hosseinian School where he and some of his family were buried. (7) Xajeh Ruknaddin Said, the minister, built Sayedieh School in 762. (8) Shahaboddin Qassem, an important man, built Shahabieh School in 737. (9) The mother of Shah Yahyah built the Xatunieh School in 787. (10) Shah Yahyah built Naeratieh School in 789 [Abedi: Shah Yahyah was called Nosratuddin and so his school was named ~~Nosrat-e Rigi~~ Nustatieh]. (11) Amir Ghiasuddin, one of the Agile Sayyids built the Ghiussieh School in Mahalleh Sar-e Rig in 767. (12) Abu Eshaq Amir Ali, son of Ghiasuddin built Ishaqieh School in 740 which now is in Mussallah Jadid. (13) Abdulqader, son of Xajeh Kamaluddin Mohammad ibn Sadid, built Qaderieh School in 734 (fn: Abdulqader was a skillful calculator, and Sultan Abu Said invited him to Tabriz to calcula of Xajeh Alishah; he was able to do the entire national accounts in one night. Xajeh Alishah having made a miscalculation of 100 tomans committed suicide being afraid of his own fault. Strangely, that night Abdulqader died of gripe (stomacheache). This coincidence became famous all over Iran. (14) Mohammad ibn Mahmud Amir Akhor (chief of stable) built Amir Akhorieh School in 759. (15) Xajeh Ziauddin Dadiyan built Ziaeiieh School in 788. (16) Xajeh Alikhan built Qathieh school in 732. (17) Xajeh Abul Maali built Bolmiri School in 787. (18) Asiladdin Mohammad Agili built Asilieh school in 787. he was of the progeny of Aqil ibn Abu Taleb [Abedi: all of the Aqili Sayyids are descended from the progeny of Aqil, the son of Abu Taleb, the brother of the first Imam]. (19) Haji Emaduddin the minister built Imadieh School in 787. (20) Xajeh Zeinaddin built Bavardieh School in 793 with the inheritance (tarakah = ers) of Amir Shamsaddin. (21) Sultan Qotbaddin built Sultanieh School. (22) Atabeh Sam built Atabeki School. (23) Moezzaddin Atabek Keikavus built Moezzieh School. [21-23 = Atabekan] (24) Mahmud Shah son of Mohammad Mozaffar built Mahmudieh School. In any case about 100 schools, 200 tobs and Khaneqahs and 12 mosques were built in Yazd in the eighth century.

Begin of KINGDOM OF MOZAFFARIAN. The first thing which kindled hope in the heart of Amir Mohammad was a dream; he had seen a sun materialize from the house of Atabeg Aladin and come and attach itself to his collar; the sun had then divided into several parts. He told Sheikh Dada Mohammad (the great gnostic) about the dream. Sheikh Dada told him: you will receive obtain the government from the Atabakan and you and your family will then hold the government for a period of years equal to the parts of the sun you have seen. After that dream, Amir Mozaffar was successful in everything he tried. He left Jusefshah in 685 and went from Sistan to Kirman where he was much beloved in the court of Sultan Jalauddin Sorghtamesh Qarakhata. Then he came to Yazd and Meybod. Finding the leaders of Yazd not to be very good, he returned to the court. He met Amir Mohammad Jushi, a famous ruler; and the latter took him to the court of King Arghun Khan who liked him and gave him the job of Yasavoli and abudaji (ياساولي وابداجي). When Arghu Khan died, Keikhatu Khan succeeded him, and he also liked Amir Mozaffar. It was reported that Afrasiab, son of Atabeg Yusefshah had raised a rebellion in Lurestan. Keikhatu raised a large

army to fight him. Amir Mozaffar asked the king for permission to fight at the head of the army; the offer was accepted and Mozaffar went to Lurestan at the head of the army, and since he and Afrasiab were friends he could make peace without fighting. Keikhatu Khan was very pleased and raised up Amir Mozaffar's position. Keikhatu Khan died and Amir Mozaffar went to the court of Ghazan Khan (the Muslim king) in 694. Ghazan Khan gave him the government of Hazreh and Raifur, giving him the drum, flag, kurkeh (?), Daizeh (?), Tashrif (?), sword and club. Amir Mozaffar married a daughter of a ruler in Hazreh and Amir Mohammad, the first of the Mozaffarian kings, was born from this marriage on Jamadiassani 15, 700. Ghazan Khan died in 703 and was succeeded by Aljaito (or Sultan Mohammad Xodabandeh). Again the position of Amir Mozaffar was raised and he was made keeper of roads from Ardestan to Kirmanshah and Luristan, Herat and Marvast and Abarqu, and was given the Government of Meybod. When Oljaito went to Gilan he took Amir Mozaffar with him. In that time Xajeh Rashiddadin Fazlullah (about whom Iraj Afshar has written an 11 pg. pamphlet called *حواجہ رشیدالدین فضل اللہ و یازد* published by Daneshgah, Teheran--Abedi) had been ill treated by Oljaito, and Sayyid Jalaluddin Kashi, an assistant of Xajeh, made peace between them. In 707 the king thanked Amir Mozaffar, and the latter went to Yazd and from there to Shiraz. At this time Amir Mohammad was 7 years old and accompanied his father to meet the king on his return from Baghdad in 711. ~~Their meeting was in Giluyeh~~ They went from the mountain Giluyeh and met the king in Yourt Khanaqein near Baghdad. The king then allowed them to return to Meybod. As they approached Shiraz for the second time they received a message from the king that the people of Shabankareh had rebelled and that they should go and fight them. Amir Mozaffar went, fought, and was victorious. He fell ill, being very tired; just as he began to recover his enemies put some poison in his abgusht and he died on Ziqadeh 13, 713. His body was brought from Shabankareh to Meybod and he was buried in a school he had constructed. A son and two daughters survived him: one daughter by his wife Khatun Tajik and one daughter and the son by Khatun Turk. He gave one daughter to his nephew Amir Badraddin Abu Hakr and from that marriage were born Shah Sultan and Amir Haji. His other daughter was the mother-in-law of Sultan Ahmad.

144 Amir Mohammad was 13 years old when his father died. His enemies attempted to intrigue with Xajeh Rashiduddin Fazlullah to gain his grounds and gardens. He went to the court of Oljaitu Sultan with his uncle's son Amir Badruddin and his eldest sister who was the wife of Amir Badruddin. Along the road they met some dangerous Nekrudarian group. Amir Mohammad told his sister to relax; some of the women with them put on male clothing and joined the fight: they killed some and took the heads to the court. Oljaitu was very kind to Amir Mohammad and appointed him to succeed his father as chief of Meybod and keeper of the roads. Oljaitu died in 716 and was succeeded by Abu Said Bahadur Khan.

145 (Taken from Tarikh-e Jafari:) A man who was called Abu Moslem Khorassani was the Pahlavan of the capital. He heard that Sultan Abu Said liked Mohammad-e Mozaffar and became jealous. One day in the company of the king he gave his bow to Amir Mohammad and told him to make the drawstring taut. Amir Mohammad replied that as the bow was very slight wit was better to add to it his own bow; he then drew both of them together, and the people cheered his feat. Then Amir Mohammad gave his bow to Abu Muslim to make the string taut; the latter tried but could not and became ashamed and replied: it was very easy, tomorrow we will lift a bag of straw with the head of a spear. The next day they placed a bag of straw in the square. Amir Mohammad came to lift it with the spear but the spear was broken; he was angry and lifted it with the foot of the spear carrying the bag to the edge of the square where he threw it behind him; he was cheered. The Amir then came on foot and kissed the stirrup of the king asking him: please order that the bag be opened. When it was opened an animal was found inside weighing 60 mann, and the king understood the trick of Abu Muslim. Amir Mohammad was given 200 horsemen and sent to govern Meybod. He repaired the castle of Meybod and began to build other buildings

46
 END OF ATABEGAN GLORY. In the Tarikh-e Gozideh it is written that Amir Mohammad was Governor of Meybod in 717 and that he was also keeper of the roads. He sometimes kept company with educated persons. Around this time Morteza Azam Sayyid Azadaddin Yazdi (the father of Sayyid Jalaluddin) had returned to Yazd after being Governor of Fars. He foreseeing that the kingdom was in its final days wanted to remain in Yazd, but because he had no orders to this effect, the chiefs of Yazd and Amir Mohammad began to raise forces to expell him. Sayyid Azad returned to the court and this marks the beginning of the reign of the Mozaffarian Family. At this time Amir Keikhosrow, son of Mohamad Shah Alikhu and a grandson of Xajeh Abdullah Ansary (the great gnostic who wrote the book of monajot called Monajot-nameh--Abedi), who had been Governor of Fars, Kirman, and Shahankareh, came to Yazd and became friends with Atabeg Haji Shah, son of Atabeg Yusef Shah. Amir Keikhosrow had heard that Amir Mohammad, living in Meybod, had a superb horse in his stables, and went to ask to use that horse. Amir Mohammad was hospitable and gave him the horse. In Nain there was an argument between Atabeg Haji Shah and the secretary of Amir Keikhosrow about a beautiful boy who was with Amir Keikhosrow; they fought and the secretary was killed. Amir Keikhosrow wanted to seek revenge with the help of Amir Mohammad. Amir Mohammad cautioned against such direct proceedings, suggesting that the king be informed. Amir Keikhosrow informed the king and the king ordered him and Amir Mohammad to seek revenge. There followed a battle and the Atabeg fled, and so the government went out of his family.

47
 In 718 Amir Mohammad went to meet the Padeshah-e Saïid who gave him the Governorship of Yazd, and this made the people of Yazd happy. The Nekudarian, a rebellious group from Seïstan who had turned to brigandry on the roads, and were led by one Nowruz, had come to Yazd. They were enemies of Amir Mohammad for he had previously defeated them. Amir Mohammad was ready for them and with 60 troops stopped them in Houz-e Malek near Mehriz. It was a vigorous battle and Amir Mohammad was injured and his favorite two horses were killed; for the Nekudarian were more than 60. One of the Nekudarian leaders, Amir Gorbeh, was captured; and Amir Mohammad followed the brigands to Galugah-e Bafq (some 10 farsakhs). The following day Amir Mohammad hung the head of Nowruz on the neck of Amir Gorbeh whom he put in a cage and sent to the court of the king. The Nekudarian returned a couple of times led by Amir Tuman, and battle was joined between Yazd and Meybod. Amir Mohammad fought in this battle as well and killed many including Amir Tuman, sending the heads to the king in Tabriz. The Nekudarian still returned, but finally Amir Mohammad put an end to them after fourteen years of fighting.

48
 In 725 Amir ~~Mozaffar~~ Mohammad was 25 years old and sired a new son named Sharaffaddin Shah Mozaffar. The histories speak well of him. After another four years Amir Mohammad married again (729). The histories say that he went to Kirman to marry Qotbagh Khanom, daughter of Sultan Qotbaddin Shah Jahan son of Sutlan Jalaluddin Sorghtamesh son of Sultan Qotbaddin...Qarakhata. The daughter and her father had gone to Shiraz as they were relatives of Kurduchin family; and Amir Mohammad went after them to Shiraz for the xastegari (engagement). They accepted him and gave him the daughter. Amir Mohammad send a party to bring the bride to Yazd and ordered the people to go out as far as Abarghu to meet the bridal party.

149
 Shah Shoja was born on Wednesday Jamadissanieh 21, 733 (Tarikh-e Gozideh).

In 734 Amir Mohammad went to the court of King Saïid with his eldest son. The king was hospitable and gave them many gifts including 100000 dinars in gold; the court engourage became jealous. During the winter the king went to Baghdad and at the time Baghdad Khatun was resident in Baghdad. Baghdad Khatun liked Amir Mohammad. Amir Mohammad went to Najaf on pilgrimage and then returned to Baghdad. He then returned to Yazd and began to build an number of buildings. He built Baghdadabad-e Mehriz in the name of Baghdad Khatun. (From Habibossiar) Baghdad Khatun was the lovely daughter of Amir Chupan Salduz who married Amir Sheikh Hassan Gurkan in 723. Sultan Abu Saïid fell in love with her, and turned poet. Now it was customary among the Changizian (Mongols) that when a Khan was in love with one of their wives the husband must leave his wife so that she could marry the khan. Sultan Abu Saïid

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told Amir Chupan of his love. Amir Chupan did not ask his daughter to leave her husband but instead sent Baghdad Khatun and his son-in-law to QarahBagh and asked Sultan Abu Saïd to come to Baghdad. But this did not end Abu Saïd's love. Malek Nasratuddin Saen, a minister, advised Sultan Abu Saïd that the Chupanians had been the ruler too long, and that Abu Saïd should become king instead. Amir Chupan and his son Demeshqajeh were killed. Sultan Abu Saïd was still in love and sent a message to Amir Sheikh by Qazi moharak ordering him to leave Baghdad Khatun. He left and Sultan Abu Saïd married her.

51 I said previously that Mehriz or Mehrigard was built by Mehr Negar, the daughter of Anushiravan. In the time of Sultan Abu Saïd a large ganat was dug there in the name of Baghdad Khatun and with the help of Mohammad Mozaffar.

52 Amir Mohammad was in Yazd when he heard of the death in 736 of Sultan Abu Saïd. He did not allow Saïd Azaduddin to come to Yazd and began to build defenses. He began to dig a moat around the Castle of Meybod and ordered his son Shah Mozaffar to remain in charge there. He himself stayed in Yazd and began to repair the city and castle, and in fact he more or less rebuilt the city. His second son Amir Qotbaddin Mahmud was born in 737.

53 In Shiraz the sons of Amir Mahmud took control, the eldest being Amir Jalaluddin Masud and the younger being Sheikh Abu Eshaq of whom the poet Hafez wrote in his poems. Sheikh Abu Eshaq decided to take Yazd. As he approached, Amir Mohammad went to meet him on the farsakh outside Yazd and with his army brought Sheikh Abu Eshaq hospitably and politely into Yazd. Sheikh Abu Eshaq was ashamed and asked forgiveness from Amir Mohammad, pleading that he was not politically minded and that it had been at his brother's request that he had come to Yazd. Finally he moved on to Kirman but was not victorious there either and so returned to Yazd with an army of korts saying that he was on his wayback to Shiraz. But he sent his army little by little into Yazd so as to create a revolution. Amir Mohammad understood the trick and took his men captive. Then he sent his son Shah Mozaffar from the right and Shah Mahmud from the left against the Sheikh, and the Sheikh was helpless. Sheikh Shahahoddin Ali Baemran, the Sheikh-ul-Islam of Yazd went to exhort Sheikh Abu Eshaq towards peace, which the latter accepted and withdrew towards Shiraz.

54 Amir Mohammad then heard that Amir Pir Hussein was planning to go to Shiraz to take that city from the hands of Amir Mahmud Shah's sons, and was hoping to enlist Amir Mohammad's aid as they had previously been friends. But Amir Mohammad delayed and did not help him for he was suspicious of him and his friendship. Amir Pir Hussein wrote letters and sent messengers reminding him of their friendship. They met in Estakhr. Amir Masud, son of Amir Mahmudshah, when he heard of this alliance ran away to Kazarun. Amir Pir Hussein asked Amir Mohammad to follow him. Amir Masud and his army ran before the onslaught and Amir Mohammad came to take Shiraz but the Shirazis resisted and Amir Mohammad was victorious only after a battle. When he took Shiraz he began to demolish the buildings. Qazi Majdeddin Ismail, a religious leader, composed this short poem and sent it to him:

The powerful men of the world hurt their enemies
But why do you hurt your friends?

Amir Mohammad understood and came inside Shiraz and the people came to meet him. After a few days, Amir Mohammad was master of Shiraz and Pir Hussein went elsewhere. In the same year, 740, Amir Mohammad went to take Kirman which was ruled by Sultan Qotbaddin, son of Malek Naseruddin and his father for the previous 35 years, and which no one had been able to take. But when Amir Mohammad came to Kirman, Qotbaddin left Kirman and fled. Amir Mohammad gave Kirman to his son Shah Shoja, and dispersed his army to rest.

57 Oddly, many victories of Amir Mohammad coincided with the birth of one of his sons. Thus Shah Yahyah was born after the victory of the Castle of Bam. After taking Kirman, Amir Mohammad decided to take Bam. This was a large castle, well fortified, called Qaleh-e Suleiman, and was the seat of Akhi Shoja of the same family as Abu Muslim Pahlavan-e Khorassani, the friend of Sultan Abu Saïd. With such powerful connections, Akhi Shoja was not submissive, and it took 4 years and the loss of many men

before Amir Mohammad was able to reduce Bam. On the first day of victory, Amir Mohammad learned that his son Shah Mozaffar had a new son: this was the 14 Moharram 744. Amir Mohammad ordered the Quran to be brought before him: when it was opened it fell open at the ayah: and God blessed you with a child named Yahya. And so Amir Mohammad named his new grandson Yahya and called him Nosratuddin. Then Amir Mohammad went on a campaign against the Arabs of Herat, Marvas, Sahn-e Rudan and Shahr-babak who were carrying on highway robbery, and he was victorious.

Sultan Emaduddin, one of the young men of this family who was killed young, was born in 741 at the time of the second big victory of Amir Mohammad in Kirman. When Amir Mohammad took Kirman, Sultan Qotboddin hoped to retake the city and went to Khorassan where he asked the aid of the Malek of Herat, promising the latter the income of the city. Malek of Herat ordered Malek Davud to give aid with a large army. They came quietly towards Kirman so that they were undetected until they were 4 farsakhs from the city. Amir Mohammad called a council and the men present suggested that to prevent a destructive war in the city it might be best for Amir Mohammad to withdraw. Amir Mohammad went to Anar and the Khorassan army came to Kirman uneventfully. Amir Mohammad told Amir Pir Hossein about this, and began to raise an army among the people of Yazd, Meybod, Bafq and Bahabad. Without waiting for Pir Hossein he returned to Kirman and joined battle at the dor of the Charsuq and was victorious; the army of Khorassan fled. It was at this time that Amir Mohammad heard of the birth of Sultan Emaduddin: he admired Sultan-ul-ulama Emaduddin very much and had built a khanegah for him in Kirman, and so he named his son after him. (Emaduddin Ahmad Faqih was a famous poet and religious leader).

158 Something had happened between Pir Hossein and Amir Mohammad so that the former feared the latter, and for this reason he did not ~~ask~~ ask the aid of Amir Mohammad in fighting Sheikh Abu Eshaq and Malek Ashraf. Instead he went to Tabriz to seek the help of Amir Sheikh Hassan Tamutash, but the latter imprisoned him instead. Amir Pir Hossein had left Isphahan in the hands of Sheikh Abu Eshaq hoping that this would keep him happy (742), but Sheikh Abu Eshaq was sincere with nobody, and was ambitious to build up his own power. So he allied himself with Malek Ashraf when the latter raised rebellion in Iraq and Fars. He then tricked Malek Ashraf saying that he would precede the latter into Shiraz and get the people to welcome the insurgents. Instead he raised an army against Malek Ashraf killing many of the latter's troops and the rest fled. In this way he retook Shiraz. Malek Ashraf was very angry and demolished every place situated along the road. When he came near Nain, Amir Mohammad heard of him, having just returned to Yazd from Bam in 744. He sent his sons Shah Mozaffar and Shah Sultan to Nain and they defeated Malek Ashraf despite the fact that he had an army of 20000 soldiers.

159 We have said that after the victory of Kirman Tajoddin Iraqi came to meet Amir Mohammad. He was trusted by Amir Mohammad and became his minister, but secretly he was a friend of Sheikh Abu Eshaq. When Amir Mohammad took the castle of Sirjan from Shamsaddin Qazi Sāan, it was agreed that the latter attach himself to Amir Mohammad's entourage, and Amir Mohammad's son Emadaddin become kotoval (keeper) of the castle. Tajoddin suggested to Amir Mohammad that now would be a good time to send Shams to Shiraz to make peace with Sheikh Abu Eshaq, and Amir Mohammad so delegated Shams with many offers. When Shams arrived in Shiraz he forgave his mission and befriended Sheikh Abu Eshaq against Amir Mohammad, becoming his minister, and with another minister, Ghiasaddin Ali Yazdi, planning a revolt against Amir Mohammad. When Amir Mohammad learned that the Tajoddin had been the cause of this intriguing, he ordered his execution. Tajoddin made a poetic plea: Excuse Tajoddin Iraqi/ That you are called the great King. Amir Mohammad pardoned him and gave him a last chance, but when he became convinced of his traitorousness had him killed.

160 *isols of veracity (2)* Amir Sheikh Abu Eshaq after the war of Malek Ashraf was an independent king in Shiraz. He issued coins in his own name and had the xotbeh read in his own name. He then began to fight the Al-e Mozaffar, and went to Kirman in 748 with a large army. Along the way he demolished everything on the road. When he came to Sirjan, he found

that Amir Mohammad's Governor of Yazd, Amir Ali Daraki, had been negligent, and he was able to take the castle. About 1000 persons were killed. Amir Sheikh proceeded towards Kirman. In Bahramjard, 15 farsakhs from Kirman, he heard that Amir Mohammad had raised a large army against him. Amir Sheikh sent Amir Zahiruddin Ebrahim Savah to sue for peace. Amir Mohammad accepted, and Ebrahim became the minister of Amir Shbikh, but not for long. He was killed, and Amir Sheikh decided to try to take Kirman again. Amir Mohammad, despite a bad foot, engaged with 1500 horsemen in battle and was victorious in the first attack. Shams who was leading Amir Sheikh's army was killed and his forces fled. Amir Sheikh prepared another army to seek revenge. This time Amir Mohammad had gone out of the city of Kirman, and the forces of Amir Sheikh did much damage to the city. In the affair, Amir Abu Bakr Akhtaji, the Pahlavan of Amir Sheikh, was killed; this cooled Amir Sheikh's zest and he decided to return to Shiraz. Suddenly he changed his mind and came to Yazd. There he demolished the new gardens of Amir Mohammad in Baghdadabad-e Mehriz-e Yazd. When he proceeded on towards Yazd he heard that Amir Mohammad awaited him in Yazd with a large army. Avoiding the engagement he returned to Shiraz by way of Taft visiting much injury on the people along the way.

Amir Mohammad was victorious in all his wars. Only in the desert of Xavan did he receive seven wounds, and Pahlavan Alishah gave him his horse and rescued him. Amir Mohammad was engaged in fighting until Sheikh Abu Eshaq eventually was killed. Xajeh Qonamoddin Mohammad was the minister of Mohammad Mozaffar (Amir Mohammad) in 750 and was the most capable minister of the Al-e Mozaffar.

162 In 751 Sheikh Abu Eshaq began to fight against Al-e Mozaffar for the first time. He sent a large army towards Yazd. Shah Mozaffar was in Meybod. Shah Mozaffar brought his family to Yazd and began to collect an army, and when Sheikh Abu Eshaq arrived battle was joined. Sheikh Abu Eshaq laid siege to Yazd for a long time, but eventually retreated to Shiraz where he remained the entire winter. That winter visited Yazd with great famine and many died. So it went till 40 days after Noruz. Then Sheikh Abu Eshaq sent an army in 753 under Amir Keiqobad and Amir Beik Chakaz but Amir Mohammad was again victorious.

163 HAIR OF THE PROPHET. For some time Amir Mohammad had heard that a hair of the Prophet of Islam was in the hands of Morteza Azam Sayyid Shamsaddin Ali Bamz. Amir Mohammad wanted this hair very much and was willing to give anything in exchange but Sayyid Shamsaddin was not willing. When Amir Mohammad was going to Bam, S. Shamsaddin came to him and told him that he had seen a dream the previous night: the prophet told me to give his hair to you. Amir Mohammad was very glad and composed a poem... Amir Mohammad wanted to give something in exchange but S. Shams. did not accept, so Amir Mohammad vowed something for the children of S. Shamaddin. Since that time the hair is in Kirman.

When the army of Shiraz was defeated, Amir Sheikh called together the important personages of Shiraz telling them about the battle and warning them that Amir Mohammad would come to create trouble in Shiraz, and asked their advice. Azadaddin Mowlana Abdorrahman el Abaji, the leading mujtahed, answered that the best solution was peace. Sheikh agreed and deputed the Mawlana to meet with Amir Mohammad. The Mawlana set out and on the way ran into Shah Mozaffar in Sirjan and together they went to see Amir Mohammad whom they found in the desert of Arzuyeh and Bard. Amir Mohammad treated the Mawlana well giving him 50,000 dinars and another 10,000 dinars for his friends. When however the Mawlana raised the question of peace, Amir Mohammad demurred pointing out that Amir Sheikh had eight times breached his promises, and that now only the sword could lie between them. Mowlana went back to Amir Sheikh hopeless. Amir Sheikh sent him once again to Amir Mohammad. They met on the Neiriz road and went together to Shabankareh. Talk of peace was useless. In Safar 754 Amir Mohammad came to Shiraz, and Amir Sheikh came out to fight him 5 farsakhs from the city. Amir Mohammad was victorious and took Shiraz. Unfortunately for him his son Shah Mozaffar died after an illness in Shiraz; the body was brought to Meybod to be buried in the school and burial place of Al-e Mozaffar. He was 28½ years old. Only one son remained: Shah Yahya.

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After being defeated Sheikh left Shiraz and went to Isphahan where he was taken in, and lived with Mir Miran, gathering a small entourage around him. Amir Mohammad followed him and besieged the city. As it was very cold, he went to Lorestan with his children and ordered Shah Sultan, his nephew to take Isphahan. The people of Isphahan tired of Amir Sheikh and in the spring came to help Shah Sultan. Sayyid Jalal Mirmiran ran off to Kashan with his family, leaving Amir Sheikh alone. The kotaval of the Tabarak Castle gave it up to Shah Sultan, and Amir Sheikh sought refuge in the house of the Sheik-ul-Islam although this did not help him much. The Sheikh ul Islam allowed him to stay but then in remorse told Shah Sultan of Amir Sheikh's whereabouts. Amir Sheikh was taken prisoner and put in the Tabarak Castle. Amir Mohammad came back from Lurestan victorious and sat in Shiraz until he heard of Sheikh's capture and ordered him brought to Shiraz. Amir Sheikh was sent with a guard of 100 horsemen, and when he arrived Amir Mohammad made a celebration to which all the people were invited. Amir Mohammad put as his first question to Amir Sheikh: did you kill Haji Xarab? Amir Sheikh answered: yes, I gave the order that he be killed. Amir Mohammad replied, in that case it is fair that I give you to the sons of Haji Xarab for revenge. He handed the Amir Sheikh over to the sons of Haji Xarab, and the eldest of them slew him with a sword. Remarkably, Amir Sheikh made two poems before his death about life. Amir Sheikh Abu Eshaq was killed in 758.

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Mohammad Mozaffar after taking Fars, Iraq, Lurestan, killing Amir Sheikh, and taking Qom, Kashan, and Borujerd, took Sultankeh and Tabriz. He went on the membar and read the xotbeh in his own name. Motazedo Bella, the Caliph heard of him, and sent the mandate of kingdom from Egypt for him, calling him Mabarezaddin. Mohammad Mozaffar had coins issued in his own name, and was called rais-e meā (رايس ماه) by gnostics. The last victory of Mohammad Mozaffar was over Akhijuq. When Jani Khan died and his son Paribeik went to Qapchaq, Akhijuq wanted to take Azarbaijan and collected an army of 30000 soldeirs and marched on Tabriz. Mohammad Mozaffar was in Isphahan and sent 12,000 men under sons Shah Shoja and Shah Mahmud against him. The two armies met in Dasht-e Kordan, and that of Mohammad Mozaffar was victorious. The enemy fled and Mohammad Mozaffar ordered his sons to pursue them until ~~the~~ Nakhjonam.

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Mohammad Mozaffar was an ill tempered man, used bad language, and injured many including his sons. Shah Sultan was badly treated by him when he went to Tabriz; Sultan had hoped to be rewarded by his mother's brother for the defeat of Amir Sheikh, but Borhanoddin, Mohammad Mozaffar's minister, told the king that Shah Sultan had taken property in Iraq without asking permission first, and Mohammad Mozaffar became angry telling the minister to take away Shah Sultan's property and this was done in a party that Sultan had arranged for Mohammad Mozaffar. The same minister also caused ill will between the king and his sons. Shah Sultan instigated the sons to react against the king by telling them that he intended to imprison them and proclaim their victory in the name of Shah Yahya. Shah Sultan Shah Mahmud and Shah Shoja decided to blind the king which they did on 19 Ramazan while he was reading the Quran in the Castle of Tabarak. They then sent him to the White Castle. Mohammad Mozaffar wanted revenge and appealed to the keeper of the castle, but after 20 days he was unable to act. Shah Shoja went to see his father, treated him deferentially, and asked his pardon, promising to restore him to his former position. When they went to Shiraz, Shah Shoja treated his father deferentially and obeyed him, but when at the instigation of several people Mohammad Mozaffar decided to imprison Shah Shoja and give the kingdom to his small son Sultan Bayazid and make Shah Yahya the comander of the army, Shah Shoja acted first sending his father to Garmsir Castle. There Mohammad Mozaffar fell ill. Shah Shoja send him to Bam for his health but there he died in 765. His body was returned to Meybod for burial in the Mozaffarieh School near his father's grave. He was 65, having reigned for 40 years, 22 years in Yazd, 13 in Iraq and Kirman and Azarbaijan, 5 years as king of all Iran. Sadly, even when Shah Shoja was king, numerous persons were blinded: Shah Sultan, his aunt's son, his own son Sultan Shebli, etc. He was short lived.

1 SUMMARY OF VICTORIES AND BLDGS OF MOHAMMAD MOZAFFAR. Amir Mohammad took Kirman in 741, Fars in 745, Isphahan in 754, Azarbaijan in 759. He built many buildings and perhaps the histories have not included all of them. His villages are: Mobarezabad, Turkabad, Shahabad, Badrabad, Khatunabad, Aliabad, Zarch (rebuilding), Mozaffarabad, Deilamabad, Ahmadabad, Baghdadabad, Sultanabad, Mohammadabad, and Mahmudabad. Most of these are still inhabited, and these villages were less expensive than his building of city walls, moats, etc. Historians say he had found the treasure of Yazdegird.

71 YAZDEGIRD'S TREASURE. Tarikh-e Jafari and Jadid talk of four treasures of Yazd, and say that Mohammad Mozaffar found one of them. It is somewhat difficult to believe this as the story is myth-like...but possibly he found it when digging the moat. I do know that two such treasures were found in the Qajar period in Yazd, and I even saw the second of these. This second one was a found in Mahalleh Lard-e Keivan in a man's room: it was a pot of Sassanian coins. Mirza Mohammad-e Vazir, father-in-law of Moshir-ul-mamalek, was the chief of budget in Yazd, and he and some other persons sealed the pot and sent it to Zel-us-sultan. The first one, however, I did not see, but I believe it. It was found in the time of Navvab-e Mirza Mohammad Sadeq Masallai, the grandfather of Navvab-e Aqa Hossein by a man named Mullah Abbas of Mahalleh Kasnavieh. Mullah Abbas was a tenant of Navvab, and one of his friends dissuaded him from showing the treasure to the Navvab; instead the two of them secretly took it to Baghdad. Nothing was heard of them thereafter: presumably they died and someone else used the treasure. When the wife of Mullah Abbas became hopeless that he would return she showed a few jewels which Mullah Abbas had lost to Navvab and told him that the treasure had been a pot full of jewels and a statue of a head. In that time there were two Musallas (*1200*) in Yazd: atiq (old) and jadid (new). Navvab was from Musalla Atiq. Musalla Atiq is ~~in Yazd~~ ^{in ruins}, only it has a dome now built in the fourth or fifth century. Musalla Atiq had been situated outside the city, because all musallahs were built in the desert.

74 SHAHZADEH FAZEL [whom Zoroastrians believe to be a son of Yazdegird] This tomb has been of importance for about 600 years, but the family tree of the saint is not known. The grave was found in the time of Al-e Mozaffar when they were digging the moat. One day the diggers came across a body and Amir Mohammad came to see it. An engraved stone was also found which said Fazl ibn Ali (*فصل بن علی*). The people think he is an imam-zadeh, but I think he is the brother of Sahl ibn Ali [Abedi: another well-known tomb in Yazd]; and they are both of the family of Fazl ibn Sahl, the minister of Maman, the Abbassid Caliph, & The family of Hassan, the father-in-law of Mamun. They had come to Yazd where they set up a minor independent government [cf also Sorushian: Farhang-e Behdin]. They are thus Iranians, Sahl Ibn Ali and Fazl ibn Ali.

5 SHAH MAHMUD & SHAH SHOJA. Amir Mohammad was yet living when Shah Mahmud and Shah Shoja began to fight, and when Amir Mohammad died, the family wars began in earnest. Shah Mahmud was victorious in 765, and a peace treaty was made, although Shah Shoja remained disaffected until Shah Mahmud died. Shah Yahya came to Yazd and took the government from Shah Mahmud. When Shah Mahmud died in 776, Shah Shoja wrote this poem: It was an argument between me and my brother/For crown and kingdom/We divided the earth in two parts/Under ground for him, and above ground for me. Sultan-o-veis Jalayer made the following poem for Shah Shoja: Oh Shah Shoja/Dont think you are the heritage of Mahmud/ You will be but a couple of days on earth/ You will meet him under the earth.

YAZD & SHAH YAHYA. Shah Yahya was the son of Shah Mozaffar son of Amir Mohammad, of whom the poet Hafez wrote: Ya Yahne Mozaffar Malek-e Alem-e Adel. He was bold & artistic. He married the daughter of his uncle Shah Shoja who was called Padesha Khatun. While Shah Shoja was king, he was imprisoned in Qahamdaz Castle; but Shah Yahya bribed the castle keeper and was able to do what he liked. He made the castle his capital and collected many followers against Shah Shoja. He raised a rebellion and fighting went on for a long time until peace was made and Shah Yahya became Governor of Yazd. But

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another uncle of Shah Yahya, Shah Mahmud, was then Governor of Yazd, and Bahauddin was his deputy governor. Bahauddin wanted to prevent Shah Yahya from coming to Yazd, but Shah Yahya took the city, and there began to build palaces, qanats, gardens. He built mills and baths in Taft, Ahrestan and Nainabad. He also built a market in Yazd called Bazar-e Gombad (which now is in ruins). He built the village of Fathabad which now is called Dehnow. He built a bazaar and a Payab (پایاب) in Mahalleh Qalah Kohne, and also in Musalla Jadid. That market and Payab are still called by his name. When Shah Shoja heard of these works, he suspected that Shah Yahya intended to establish an independent kingdom. Shah Shoja ordered Xajeh Qapamoddin, a minister, to move against him from Abarghu; but peace was made and on the grounds that Shah Yahya was his son-in-law allowed him to continue as Governor of Yazd. Some time later, Shah Yahya again felt the impulse to be king and built some new buildings in his name, the name of his brother Shah Hossein, and his aunt Khara Khatun and his son Sultan Ibrahim. Then he made Sayyid Ruknaddin his minister. (fn: this Sayyid Ruknaddin was Ruknaddin II; also famous and important. He built the village of Ruknabad which had two waters, one of which was salty; this salty one is now dry. He also built Jalalabad or Dezak, and Jamalabad near Ezzabad. He had some gardens in Banadk0e Sadat called Vaziri gardens, and a bath in Yazd called Hammam-e Vazer in Mahalleh Shah Abol Qassem. Also a water storage near Masjed-e Vazer, and the mill of Vazir in Kashkeno. Some Sayyids of Musavi-e Vaziri now living in Yazd are grandsons of Sayyid Ruknaddin the Second. Also in Banadk, Mr. Vaziri, one of the great religious preachers is from this family.) When Shah Shoja was fighting in Azarbaijan, Shah Yahya tried to take advantage, but Shah Shoja took Azarbaijan and returned to punish him sending soldiers to join battle. Shah Yahya tried a trick; he told the soldiers to wait and he would send a message to Shah Shoja asking his uncle why he wished to fight, lets make peace instead. The enemy soldiers accepted this truce program and relaxed. Shah Yahya attacked them at night, causing them to flee. Shah Shoja was angered and decided to come himself to punish Shah Yahya, but he could not really kill him as he was his son-in-law. When he came to Yazd, Shah Yahya sent his wife and sister to meet Shah Shoja; the women and other women cried and asked Shah Shoja for peace. Shah Shoja gave in to their wishes and retreated. After his death Shah Yahya raised a rebellion, fighting for the succession against Mojaheduddin. Strangely the Isphahanis allied with Shah Yahya and invited him there. Thus he became king of Yazd and Isphahan. Then with the help of his uncle Sultan Bayzid he decided to take Fars. Mojaheduddin fled Shiraz. Shah Yahya was greedy and some 20,000 people finally came to his palace in 887 and complained that they had invited him to Isphahan, and now wished him to return to his own city, and so he went back to Yazd. Shah Yahya was not destined to keep Yazd, for Teymur finished off the Mozzafarids. Even Shah Shoja when he heard about Teimur had written to him asking him to keep his sons safe, but Teimur killed them all during the years 795-799. Al-e Mozaffar family had ruled for 100 years, 50 independently and 50 as vasaals. Musalla Jadid was built by Shah Yahya, originally for horse racing and games. Shah Yahya turned it into an Idgah (آیدگاه) /Abedi: presumably a place of prayer during Id, a word no longer in use/ and called it a Musalla. Iskendar, son of Omar Skeikh repaired it and put some doors on it and added rooms, and put a chahr-taqi in the middle (چهار تاقی). This Musalla is now used for Namaz-e Id. Its lower part, called Ishaqieh, was built by Mirza Eshaq Beik in the time of Shah Abbas (not the famous one) and Mirak Bek Sharbatdar-e Shahi tiled the doors in 832. The tile work contains the inscription: dowlat-e Abbas Shah yad ke dar ahdevay. Meikadeh ha shad xarab. Mabadoha shad bana. (Brought happily to memorialize the time of Shah Abbas because in his time wine cellars were broken and mosques were built). Then Mirza Sadra the grandsons of Modarressies in Yazd completed the lower school and taught there; his sons and grandsons succeeded him as teachers there /to the present--Abedi/. This Shah Abbas is not well known since he lived in the time of the family of Teimur.

usqallah
of
Yazd

is wine
vs
mosque

181 NASRATIEH School was built by Shah Yahya and called Nasratieh after his other name, Nasratuddin. His mother also built a school called Khatunieh but she was unable to complete it because while the tiles were still being made, Amir Teimur began his attack. Teimur ordered Shah Yahya and his son Sultan Jahangir and other sons and grandsons to be taken to Shahreza where they were killed, and their heads were to be buried in his school in Yazd.

ABSHAHI is so called because Shah Yahya during one of the wars with Shah Shoja had ordered all the waters of Taft and other places to be brought to the moat of Yazd so as to stop the Shirazis. The water was then called Abshahi.

82 IMAMZADEH JAFAR was probably built in the eighth century. Possibly it was built at the order of Imamzadeh Jafar for himself in his time and at first was a small tomb. At first there was a marble stone engraved with his name, the names of his fathers, and his date of death. When Kajeh Eshaq, son of Kajeh Hassan Khorazmi began to repair the tomb, he enlarged it and changed the engraved stone to tilework on which he wrote the ayah tathir /Abedi: "Innama Yoridullah le Yozheba Ankomorrejs a Ahlal Beit va Yatahherokom Tatkira":
 الامير يار الله ليذهب عنكم الرجس اهل البيت ولظهوركم تطهيرا
 This ayeh is about the family of the Prophet, and when an axond wishes to speak about the family of Mohammad he begins with this ayeh. Then he built a wall around the tomb. Amir Moinaddin Ashraf built a Sabat (room) at the door of it and added a biography in tilework of Imamzadeh Jafar and also put up a Saqaxaneh (water fountain). In 798 Sayyid Sadraddin Vazir bought a piece of land and added to the tomb; he himself was buried there, and his son Amir Qotbaddin repaired his father's burial place /Abedi: we have a kuche in Yazd called Kuche Mirqotb/. Also he repaired the tomb and added to it a mosque. Amir Ghiasoddin Ali, executed in Herat for the murder of Morteza Ali (845) also is buried here. Kajeh Pir Mohammad-e Qomi and Sheikh ul Islam who were Sheikh Dadai Darvishes built a room there. Kajeh Ahmad Farrosh bought land behind the tomb and built a school and a darvish house in 854. Kajeh Mayinaddin Ali, the minister, built a mosque and a payab (water channel) in 859. Sheikh Haji, the father of Sharafaddin built a water storage there, but unfortunately all these were ruined during the floods in Yazd, which in 860 destroyed all the buildings except the tomb of the Imamzadeh. The following year the Yazdis began to repair the buildings, and after 100 years the buildings were restored as they had been, and with new minarets.

Khaneqahs were built by the sons of Sheikh ~~Dad~~ Taqiaddin Dada in Yazd, Ardekan, Meybod, Hatadar, Bondarabad, Majumerd (7 all told), and the decorations were given by the Al-e Mozaffar. All are no longer in existence although they had many vaqfs. Sheikh Taqi had four sons: (1) Sheikh Ali was successor of his father and there is a myth about his travels to Mecca; (2) Mahmudshah Qotbaloinia was a friend of Mohammad Mozaffar; (3) Abu Bakr Shah who is the subject of some stories in books; (4) Mohammad Shah who was trusted by the Mozaffar family as master of their vaqfs. He was the final successor of Sheikh Taqi, for after his death the family of Sheikh Ali Baliman became gotb of the dervishes. Sheikh ~~Dad~~ was buried in Mahalleh Shakhdad. Sheikh Ali Baliman was buried in Bidakhavid, a village of Yazd's Pushtkuh area. Also Bondarabad has a beautiful burial place of great darvishes.

185 UNDER THE TIMURIDS. Yazd experienced bad times after the Al-e Mozaffar family: wars and famines for 50-60 years. There was the revolution of Haji Abdari Khorassani, the wars of Shahzadeh ~~Bakr~~ Bahar, Amirzadeh Xalil, Sheikh Jalaluddin Mohammad, and Ahmad Moghol.

The revolution of Haji Abdari: after the end of the Mozaffarid rule, Amir Tamuk-quchin became Darugheh (Governor) of Yazd. He went to aid the army of Amir Timur when the latter's army was going to Qapchaq. His forces met the latter's at Darband-e Behdasht and helped it to take the castle of Sirjan. His absence from Yazd gave the partizans of the Mozaffariids an opportunity to revolt against Timur. And so the standard of revolt was raised by Haji Abdari Khorassani. He and seven friends attacked some Timurids during the night killing some, and the rest fled; they took their property. STEP by step the revolution gained force. Sultan Mohammad, son of Abu Said Tabasi,

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who was a gentleman and an important personage aided the revolt and was selected to be king of Yazd. Some 2000 persons came to accept his kingdom, and began to collect an army and things for war. When the news reached Isphahan, a large army was sent to Yazd. Haji was skillful in shabixun (شب‌خون = a war in the night without the enemy knowing, ie sneak attack) killing 300 and taking 200 prisoner whom he brought to Yazd and executed and built a minaret with their heads. The enemy fled but returned with Sakhlu people of Ardestan and Nain. Haji divided his army into 4 parts and had each part attack from a different direction, killing many of the enemy and again building minarets with the heads. (fn: there is a mahalleh between Salsabil and juy-e Horhor called Kallah Monar or Qatlgah (site of murder).) Timur's army returned to Isphahan and reported what had happened. But Haji did not stop at killing only them; he also began to kill enemies in Yazd. In one day he killed 40 important persons of Yazd, one of whom was Mir Sadruddin Morteza, a great gentleman. When Pir Mohammad-Omar Sheikh, the eldest son of Timur, heard the news of Yazd, he set out from Shiraz for Yazd with a large army. Pir Mohammad, understanding the cunning of Haji, moved with caution. Haji wanted to surprise them at night when they came to Taft, but failed and when suddenly the enemy attacked him was killed, he and many of his followers. The son of Abu Saïd Tabasi gathered an army, closed the gate of the city and did not let Omar Sheikh and his army enter. Omar Sheikh besieged the city for 14 months, and was reinforced by Pir Mohammad-e Jahangir with 15000 persons, Shah-e Shahan with 10,000, and Iskandar Sheikhi and Shah Qara and Shavikhak each with troops. Histories say that there were two time slots each day for fighting. Hunger eventually defeated the city. Bread became very expensive: 120 dinars/mann (fn: dinar = 120 toman); and the people began to eat their animals and even other human beings. Every day children and women were lost, their bones only later to be found in one's house. Sheikh Taqiuddin (possibly Omar Ostadan) who was a gnostic and good man asked the army to let children and women leave the city; this was allowed. Every day Sheikh Taqi came to the gate (Darvazeh Qatrian) furthest from the army and opened it to let out some children and women. He had a dervish house (khaneqah) in one of the villages around Yazd. Sheikh Taqi instructed his friends to take the children and women to his khaneqah and feed them for 3 days, and then send them to Bondarabad. But eventually the army did not let Sheikh Taqi send out the children and women. The enemy soldiers were digging a tunnel (naqb) and suddenly inside the city the enemy soldiers emerged from the city and took the city. The son of Abu Saïd Tabasi fled at night during Ramazan 799 from Darvazeh-e Kashkeno. Some of his friends heard him go and went after him taking him prisoner 2 farsakhs away; Haji Ghavvas killed him and took his servant captive. Omar Sheikh gave him a reward and ordered him to kill the servant as well. Amir Timur when he heard of the victory appointed Qujin to become Governor of Yazd again and to build a castle, and he built the Narin Qalah which now in the east of town is the place of the Governor and the municipal offices, which the people call Narenge Qalah. The castle was completed in 808 in the time of Iskandar, son of Omar Sheikh. Another building put up was Darolfath in 805 by Xajeh Ghiasuddin Semnani when he was minister in Yazd at the news of Timur's victory in Ottoman country

- 93 AMIR CHAQ MAQ was twice Governor of Yazd, first briefly and then from 899-912. His wife gave some decorations to the Masjid-e Jome. The Amir Chaqmaq mosque is the best mosque of Yazd after the Masjid-e Jomeh; it was built in the 9th century (841)..
- 194 Amir Chaqmaq also constructed other things: markets, mosques, tombs, karavansara, baths, mills, wells, khaneqah, and a large palace to invite Safualuddin Beigeh Sultan, the daughter of Baisonghor, granddaughter of Amir Timur, also called Mohd-e-alya. In the course of history, several women have been of service to Yazd. First was Mehrnegar, the daughter of Anushiravan; then Arsalan Khatun-e Saljuqi; Fatemeh Khatun, the wife of Amir Chaqmaq; and Mohd-e-alya invited by Amir Chaqmaq to Yazd. She came to Yazd with Amir Mohammad Mirak, son of Amir Chaqmaq and Fatemah Khatun, Amir Chaqmaq's wife.

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Mahd-e Olya was pleased with the Yazdis and bought many clothes woven in Yazd; she also ordered her friends to buy Yazdi-made cloth. The market of Yazdi cloth was good. Her brother Amirzadeh Mohamad was eager to see his sister and so he sent some of his aides to Yazd to invite her to Qum. These aides made up a caravan of camels to carry things and cloth. Amir Chaqmaq put the Government in the hands of his son Amir Mohammad Mirak and himself accompanied the Mahd-e Olya to Qum. He returned to Yazd after a month. He and his wife stayed in Kooy (=mahalleh) Behok, which thereafter became known as Mahalleh Amir Chaqmaq. Fatimeh Khatum had her own burial place built in front of the Amir Chaqmaq mosque. The people think that the tomb in front of the Amir Chaqmaq mosque is an imamzadeh; no grave is to be seen in it, the grave being level with the ground, for people in that time did not think the grave had to be higher than the ground, like the belief of Wahhabies.

.99 AMIR SHAMSADDIN MOHAMMAD MIROK was the eldest son of Amir Chaqmaq who occasionally took his father's place as Governor of Yazd; and succeeded his father after the latter's death for 3 years. As the waqfs of Amir Chaqmaq were in his hands (the mosque) he made gardens and houses and sabat (small bazar) around the Governor's house and waqf-ed them for moazzen and reader of Quran. The village on the road to Khorassan, called Deh Mohammad, was also built and waqf-ed by him.
p. 199: re. Chah-xaneh (well house) of Amir Chaqmaq; p.200: re. Amir Ghiasaddin Ali.

:01 SHARAFUDDIN ALI YAZDI. Although I will speak of him in the section on poets, it is necessary to know that there were a number of people in the history of Yazd by the name Sharafuddin Ali; of these three are important. The first is Sayyid Gol-e Sorkh, a great Sayyid, religious and well-educated, a member of the family of Sayyid Ruknadin (the great one), who lived at the end of the 6th century and the beginning of the seventh, as we know from his tombstone. [Abedi: his tomb is now a ziaratgah in Mahalleh Sayyid Gol-e Sorkh. There is a story about his strange doings in Jome Mofidi]-the tomb is just outside the Darvazeh Sar-e Cham. The second is Sharafuddin Ali, son of Sheikh Haji; Sheikh Haji was a lover of the great Sufis: Sheikh Ali Baliman, Sheikh Andayan, Sheikh Dada Mohammad. Sharafuddin was the writer of Zafarnameh-e Teimuri [Abedi: the well-known history of the time of Teimur Gurkan] and was one of the best educated persons of his time. He was also a poet, and some of his poetry is cited in history books, e.g. Habibossiar and Tarikh-e Gozideh (by Hamdullah Mostowfi). It is said that he was a great lover of Sufis like his father. Sometimes he served in the burial place of Sheikh Andayan. He himself became a great gnostic, so great that some thought him greater than Shah Namatullah, but he himself was very humble and respectful of the grandsons of Shah Nematullah. His Khanegah was situated near the buildings of Shah Vali in Taft, which mahalleh is now called Mahalleh khalf-e Khanegah. [khalf = ~~back~~ back; e.g. Pusht-e Bagh = Khalf-e Bagh; Pusht Khan Ali = Khalf Khan Ali]. He was invited by Sultan Ghiase Teimuri to his court. He refused at first saying he had not accepted the invitations of other kings and wished to remain near the grandsons of Shah Nematullah. Sultan Ghias sent gifts and a caravan to fetch him and he went. When he came to Qum, the King ordered all the educated persons, judges, and gentlemen to go and meet him. The King treated him with respect, giving him servants, gifts, and money. When he returned to Yazd, the king made him Governor of Taft. Dowlatshah says in his book Tazkerah (Biographies of poets) that Sharafaddin Ali Yazdi was beloved to Ibrahim Sultan, son of Shahrokh Bahador. He solved problems of the learned men of Iraq and Fars, and the king asked him to write the history of the Timurid Family. Sharaffadin Ali wrote the Zafar Nameh when he was old. Some of the histories say he was Governor of Fars and Iraq and that he stayed in Taft at the end of his life. It is said that as a youth he saw a darvish in Yazd and followed him out of Yazd to Tabriz and then to Baghdad. He then went to Egypt and Hejaz where he lived for a while. He performed the Haj and then returned to Yazd. He also travelled to Turkestan and met Olagh Beik there and also Shahrokh Mirza.

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He opposed Ahmad Moghol's revolt attempting to prevent Amirzadeh Bahar from coming to Yazd as Governor. Sharafaddin came to Yazd from Taft with Amir Nuraddin, and they invited the people to help against Ahmad Moghol. Bahar returned the favor giving them Taft to rule. Again Ahmad Moghol led the opposition to Bahar; all the gates of Yazd were closed for 45 days against the army of Ahmad. Sharafaddin and Amir Nuraddin again came to Yazd to help Bahar. Suddenly an army arrived from Shiraz, and Ahmad and army fled. He died in 858 and is buried in a place called Sharafieh located near Mir Chaqmaq Abedi: in the Sharafaddin Ali Library of Yazd nothing is written about the third such named personage

The minaret of Takieh-e Abedi: takaya ~~hosseinieh~~ Hosseinieh Mir Chaqmaq. Aqa Mohammad Rashti, a Yazdi gentleman, says the Takieh was built by his father, Haji Abul Qassem Rashti, a large merchant who did much for Yazd. Thus Takieh Mir Chaqmaq is not more than 1½ centuries old. The tops of the minarets fell down and no one could repair them. Finally Ostad Mohammad Banna who led a revolt at the time of the Constitutional Government and ruled Yazd for 40 days rebuilt them with the property of Haji Aqali-e Attar.

202 FARAJ-e BAD AZ SHEDDAT (Goodness after Badness). In 859 Yazd rejoiced and the people were pleased with the two daughters of the king. The story: Amirzadeh Khalil was very ambitious and eventually gained the Governorship of Yazd, but only briefly, and he fled to Kirman fearing a revolt in Yazd. For 18 days Yazd was without a Governor. At this time Amirzadeh Qandan, a kind military man, came to Yazd. Amirzadeh returned to Yazd but the people refused him entry, allying themselves against him with Amirzadeh Qandan and Shahzadeh Mohammad Sultan who was on his way to Shiraz. Amir Qandan appointed Mahmud Kark Tareq Governor of Yazd and then Pir Badaq succeeded him. During those two years two of the king's daughters came to Yazd, the one being Gamharshad. She had heard of the impoverishment of the Yazdis through the Timurid wars. She came from Khorassan to Yazd together with Amir Tarkhani, Amir Semnani, (the latter being Shamsaddin Vazir), Amirak Ahmad Qassem (son of Amir Mahmud Shah), Sultan Baizid Timuri, and some others, by the Tabas road. She stayed in the house of Morteza Aazam Ghiasaddin Ali at the entrance to the Qaderieh School. When Shahzadeh Abdullah heard of her arrival he sent her gifts. The people of Yazd enjoyed her stay and gradually became rich. Gold and silver were very cheap: gold was 900 dinar/mescal, and silver 200 dinar/mescal. After two months she went to Iraq. Other histories also record her travels. She and Shahzadeh Abdullah met each other in Kobinalang where he and Abulmozaffar Jahanshah made peace, and Shahzadeh Abdullah married the daughter of Jahanshah. At this time Ahmad Moghol came to Yazd and Jahanshah heard of the tribulations of Yazd and Aberghu and sent an army against him, and he left. Sheikh ul Islam Aazam was made Governor of Yazd, named Mohammad Jallaudin.

204 Amir Maqsud became Governor of Yazd after Shahzadeh Babar until he had a fight with Amir Shahvali. He appealed to the court about Shahvali's rebelliousness, and the court sent an investigator. He reported that the Yazdis liked Shahvali, and Amir Maqsud was deposed, but Shahvali was not installed; but Haji Qanbar became Gov. of Yazd. Haji Qanbar Jahanshahi, called Nu'in Azam was a good Governor. He built the Haji Qanbar Market in 861; and ruled a long time. His name is on a tile in the Jome Mosque--A

05 855-58 were a bad time for Yazd. The battles of Shahzadeh Abdullah, son of Ibrahim Sultan and Mohamad Sultan and Shah Mahmud (all Timurid Family members) on Yazd, Kirman, Shiraz, Yazd. Shamsaddin Mohammad Mirok allied with Shahzadeh Abdullah against Shahrokh; Shahrokh pardoned him for the services of his father. In 856 Shahrokh died. Mohammad Sultan then ordered the chiefs of Yazd to collect from every person in Yazd 20 dinars kapoki to be used for an army. Xajeh Jalaluddin Morshed who was the chief of the budget pleaded that the Yazdis were not able to pay this, but he and Xajeh Imadaddin were ordered to collect the money: 700 tomans were collected. 857 was not a good year for Yazdis. 858 was famine and many died including Shamsaddin Mohammad, the father or uncle of Mullah Abdullah, the author of Hashieh (Logic).

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- 210 Another King's Daughter. Among the great women who have done good for Yazd such as Khara Khatun, the daughter of Mohammad Mozaffar and Padesha Khatun, the wife of Shah Yahya, is Shahzadeh Khaunjan Bigom, ~~xxx~~ a good and kind woman. She came to Yazd in 859 from Kirman. The market of Yazdi silks was good. She stayed in the house of Amir Ghiasuddin Ali. When she saw the famine and hunger of the people, she had Sultan Azaduddin bring her wheat from Kirman to give to the Yazdis. During Id-e Qorban she made a party at which she fed 30,000 people. She also distributed gold and silver. She also had Meidan-e Saadat (no longer in existence) mad the place of Yazdi wrestlers, and she put some gold and silver in a squash which she hung in the square and whoever shot it with an arrow could take the gold and silver. ...Her aide was Pur Badaq Khan Golabi Neshan. Eventually she went to Shiraz.
- 212 Index of 9th century Buildings. (9) Masjid-e Jaqubi dated 875 in Mahalleh Yaqubi. (10) Masjid-e Jadid in Kuche Bahruk, built by Amir Xezr Shah who also built a khaneqah and a tomb called Morshedieh. It was the place of dancing dervishes, customs which came from Ottoman and India to Iran. (12) Mosque of Saraye Karavansera Khajeh, built by Mirshah el Hosseini Estarabadi in 990. Saraye Xajeh is the best Tajer Neshin of Yazd. It is older than 500 years. The mosque was rebuilt by order of Mirza Alinaqi Vaqosaati.
- 211 860 - flodd in Yazd.
- 216 There was a graveyard in the nineth century only for old persons, near Bagh-e Kamal Kashi. We know nothing about it except the name af some of the buried persons:...
- 219 OLD TIMERS. (1) Haji Mirab. His is well; cf about him in Namakdan Magazine (Ayati's). (2) Hossein Baba Khan. I saw him in the tomb of Sayyid Fath, and asked how old he is. He said 117-118 years. I asked him what he remembered about history, and he told that he had been the master of building the Bagh-e Vali (Naserieh) and had been katkhoda in the Government of Ibrahim Khalil Khan. He is well and will live 10-20 more years. (3) Esfandiar Khoramshahi. Cf his photo in Namakdan with his 84 year old son. He died 135 years of age but not by natural death. (4) Hokmullah is 106 years old, has 19 children. (Picture of him with two children:) these are his last children. Miss Aidin, the English lady, is the chief of Izadpaiman School, and helps them. Ettelaat Newspaper was written about him. Hokmulla likes these little children more than his others. I asked if he wished to marry, and he replied if there is a beautiful girl, of course, His house is outside the city, and he comes and goes each day. He walks more than 2 farsakhs a day. He went to India in his youth and studied magic (shobadah = nirang) there. I brogght a cinema machine from there which in those days was called cheragh-e aks. After showing pictures once or twice the holy men called me kaffir, and I ran off to Teheran. I met Naseraddin Shah and showed him my cinema and told him its story and he composed this short poem for me: Qaele. la elaha ellalla: saken-e Yazd hast Hokmulla.
The believer of la ilaha illalla has come from Yazd.
- (5) Mullah Hossein Xadem. The keeper of the Jome Mosque. He is a little man, well, and each day climbs the minaret to call the azan. He sings nicely. He says his food all his life has been bread and yogurt. (6) Hossein Mehrizi lives in Esmatabad Mehriz, and is older than the old persons of Yazd. He said when Mohammad Shah was King the mules of my uncle were taken to carry the things of Mohammad Shah from Tabriz to Tehran when I was 17-18 years old. I went to Tabriz with my uncle. So he is 125-6 years old. He said his food had always been bread and yogurt and 5 sirs garlic in a week. (7)...
- 223 Palaces and poems about them. (1) Bagh-e Lala by Lala Savab, helper of Atabakan of Y (2) Bagh-e Mohammad Mirak by Amir Shamsaddin Mohammad son of Amir Chagmaq, in front of Bagh-e Lala; it was excellent with palaces; cf poems of S. Jalaluddin Jafari in his histo (4) Bagh-e Garshashi by Aladdowleh Gashashb son of Abu Jafar Kalenjar. It was somewhat fallen down and Shah Yahya repaired it and built more and a mill near it. (4) Bagh-e Sabat, also repaired by Shah Yahya. The poems of Saadi were written there, and Sultan Jehangir built a rest house nearby (son of Jehangir) and a zoo;...etc.

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TENTH CENTURY...was a century of progress in the world...

229 SHAH NEMATOLLAH VALI born Rajab 22, 730, and died Rajab 22, 834 at age 104. The date of his death is given by the word Jannatol Ferdows (جنت الفردوس). He probably lived several years in Yazd and Taft, but the only evidence of this is the existence of the Shah Vali buildings. Some people insist that even the buildings themselves were built by Shah Vali, and by his grandson Abulvali. Some of the buildings were built by Shah Sufi, Shahzadeh Abdullah, Mir Miran, Abul Baq, Shah Khalilullah III, and Shah Nuraddin. Possibly Shah Vali did have some buildings in Taft which fell into ruin and were rebuilt by his grandsons. All of the buildings now however are from Safavid times.

When Shah Nematollah died in Mahan, his successor Shah Khalilullah was invited by Mirza Shahrokh to come to Herat. He left the khaneqah of Mahan and went to Herat where he became the companion of Mirza Shahrokh. This friendship roused the jealousy of others and an argument broke out between Shah Khalilullah and Firuzshah. Shah Khalilullah returned to Kirman; and then he took his two sons Shah Mohabbullah and Shah Habibullah and travelled to India, where he took up residence in Deccan, and where he became popular with the local rulers. He died and was buried in the Deccan; his burial place is called Khalileh. His eldest son, Shah Nurullah also died there; and so he was succeeded by Shah Shamsaddin who lived forty years and had three sons: Jalaluddin, Taqiuddin, Badruddin. Taqiuddin had two sons: Shah Khalilullah II and Shamsuddin. Shah Khalilullah II was killed in Herat, as is written on his grave stone in Taft; his body having been brought from Herat to Taft to be buried in the burial place of Shah Vali. He was killed in 925 ~~1000~~ which in abjad is shahid-e Herat (شہید ہرات). Shah Habibullah who, as I said, went with his father to India, had 73 children: 41 of them died before puberty, and of the 32 who survived past puberty 17 were sons and 15 daughters. Shahzadeh Abdullah and Shah Sufiullah were two of these sons, and it was they who came to Yazd and built the mausoleum in Taft; perhaps they repaired the place of their grandfather and lived there. Zahiruddin Ali, son of Shah Nuraddin, also came from India to Yazd; he returned with his father to India, visiting Yazd once more on his way to Mecca; he returned to the Deccan and died there, and was buried in Khalileh. His son, Naimaddin Nematollah II then took over the role of guiding (ارشاد) the people. Naimaddin had a son named Shah Nuraddin who was a favorite of Mirza Jahanshah, ruler of Azarbaijan. He married a daughter of Jahanshah, and rose in importance as Mirza Jahanshah had only that one daughter and so he gave her much. Shah Nuraddin came to Yazd with his wife, and when Amir Hassan Beik Binedar killed Jahanshah, Shah Nuraddin became his heir. Binedar, the independent king, invited Shah Nuraddin to Shiraz so as to get the property of Jahanshah from him; but when the latter arrived, Binedar liked him so much that the issue was never raised and Shah Nuraddin returned to Yazd happily.

232 SHAH ISMAIL, FIRST SAFAVID KING, early 10th century. Shah Ismail was the son of Sultan Heidar who had become khalif after the murder of his brother Sultan Alishah. He was only 7 when Sufis of Iran began to listen to him, and they paid respect to his grandfather Shah Sufi. When he was 16 he revenged the murder of his father Shirvanshah and took Shirvan. He then took Azarbaijan and proclaimed himself king. Next he took Fars and Iraq and in 913 went to Mosul where he began to fight Aladdowleh Zalqadr. Shah Ismail determined to end the fragmentation into small kingdoms and to unify the country. When he went to Nejad, the religious leaders asked him to establish Shiism in Iran. Sayyid Mohammad Kamuneh, an important man from Iraq came to the Baghdad Dome Mosque to read the xotbe on behalf of the king, according to the Shia method. Shah Ismail then went to fight the Mashashaei in Khusistan since they had begun a new religion; he killed them all. ??

MINISTRY OF AMIR NEZAMUDDIN YAZDI. Amir Nezamuddin was a son of a daughter of Shah Nematollah Vali of Yazd; his name was Abdul Baqi Mirza; clever, educated, likeable.

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He met Shah Ismail in Iraq and the latter liked him and made him minister. Some history writers even say that Shah Ismail wanted to give him the kingdom, but that of course is an exaggeration. He became prime minister for 2-3 years when Amir Nezam and Sayyid Mohammad Kamuneh and Mir Sayyid Mohammad Sharif were all killed in the Chaldoran War of 917, the war between Shah Ismail and Sultan Salim Osmani. During his ministership he built in Taft the Suffah-e Safa to the east of the Shah Vali buildings.

235 SHAH TAHMASH AND NEMATULLAH-e BAQI. Shah Ismail died in 930 AH and Shah Tahmasb, his son, became king. Nematullah Baqi, the son of Abdul Baqi Mirza Amir Nezamaddin Sadr, a beautiful and artistic lad, went to Isphahan and there met Shah Tahmasb. The latter liked him and gave him in marriage Navvabeh Xanesh Xanom, the daughter of Shah Ismail and sister of Shah Tahmasb; and Nematullah also became Governor of Yazd. In Yazd he put up a number of excellent buildings: the Governor's House behind Meidan-e Shah near the building of Amir Ghiasuddi Ali, this Divankhaneh he called Abbasieh; gardens, qanats, and the mosque Masjid-e Shah Tahmasb; a meidan called Meidan-e Shah behind the present Meidan-e Shat. The meidan is no more, but the mosque still exists with a marble plaque inscribed with reductions in taxation and vaqfs. His first son was Sanjar Mirza, and the second Amir Ghiasuddin Mohammad (Mir Miran). There were several Mir Miran in Yazd's history but little is said in the histories of them. One was Sayyid Jalaluddin who died in the time of Abu Eshaq and who is written up in the biographies of the latter. Another was Mir Ghiasuddin Mohammad about whom the poet Vahshi-e Bafqi was written. But this Mir Miran, who was some 100 years later, is the most important. The historical book, Alfi, says that his only inheritance shared with his sister Parypeikar Khanom, from his father, was 40 lacs Indian rupees. Mir Miran made a qanat in Taft called Ghiasabad; now Ghiasabad is the first mahalleh of Taft coming from Yazd or the last one from Pushtkuh. It has about 1000 population all of whom use the Ghiasabad water. Mir Miran lived in Yazd and Taft all his life, and built some Khaneqahs. His mother, Khanesh Khanom, died in Isphahan in 990 and was buried there.

399 PART III: YAZD FROM SAFAVID UNTIL PAHLAVI TIMES

Chapter 1: Safavid until end of the Afghans

MADRESSEH SAFAVIEH in Meidan-e Khan was the first building of the 11th century AH, and was built by the first of the two persons called Mirza Shafi Vazir in Yazd. The second to hold this title was in the time of Nasraddin Shah and was the assistant of Khan-e Hakim. But this first one was Governor of Yazd in the time of Shah Sultan Suleiman Safavi. He was a wealthy and good man who built a number of buildings. The date 1002 along with the name Suleiman Mirza is inscribed on the Madresseh Safavieh; but 1002 was in the time of Shah Abbas: perhaps the building was begun in the time Shah Suleiman but not completed until Shah Abbas.

ASTROLOGER (MONAJEM BASHI) of Yazd in 1002. Mowlana Jalaluddin Mohammad, one of the Astrologers of Yazd, became important in the first years of the 11th century for solving the fate of Shah Abbas; and for this he became the court astrologer. The story as it is given in Alamaraye Abbasi is as follows. In 1002 all the astrologers came to the conclusion that in this year one of the Eastern kings would die, and probably this would occur in Iran. All of them cast Shah Abbas' horoscope in the first ~~quad~~ quad. This frightened the court. The king heard of the prediction. All set out to find a solution; and Mowlana Jalaluddin Mohammad was successful. He ordered that someone already condemned to die be given to him, and that this person must be substituted for Shah Abbas, that he must change places with Shah Abbas as king of Iran for 3 days of the first ~~quad~~ quad, and that on the third day the king must be killed, i.e. the new king instead of Shah Abbas. Shah Abbas was pleased with the plan and ordered Ostad Jusef Molhed to stand in his place. (Molhed=Ismaili). This Ostad Jusef was a follower of Darvish Khosrow Naqtavi, an Ismaili who had

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set himself up in Qazvin as the harbinger of Truth. Darvish Khosrow wrote a book called Bayan taking off from the Quranic sentence: arrahman allamal Quran, khalaaqal ensan allamahol bayan and he called his followers letters of hie (حیه). ^{الرحمن علم القرآن خلق الانسان علمه البيان} [NB the similarity with the Bahais: hie, the book bayan, and use of arrahman as justification]. Qazvin was the center of these Malahedah (Ismailis). Since Ostad Jusef was one of the closest followers of Darvish Khosrow, he had been incarcerated and condemned to death. He was installed as king for 3 days, during which Shah Abbas joked with Jallaluddin Mad pointing out that as king Ostad Jusef could have him king, which frightened the astrologer. But after 3 days Ostad Jusef was killed, Shah Abbas was installed again as king, and Jalauddin became the Monajjem Bashi of the king.

SHAH ~~MOBIBULLAH~~ III marries royally. Shah Khalilullah III was the son of Amir Ghiasaddin Mirmiran and also married into the Safavid family. Mirmiran died in the first years of the 11th century, and his son Shah Khalilullah succeeded to his job and property. Amir Ahmad Razi, the author of Haft Eqlim, wrote of him that "Amir Ghiasuddin Mirmiran is one of the great chiefs of Iran who succeeded his grandfathers, and has built many edifices..." Shah Khalilullah inherited this position of importance, and married Navvabeh Safieh Sultan (Sultan Bigom), the daughter of Shah Ismail II. Mirmiran had another son named Mansur, who however died in youth as did soon thereafter his wife; their grave in Taft is called Mansurieh. Now this burial place is only a mound of mud. Shah Khalilullah became Governor of Yazd after his father, and he and his wife were kind to the people, esp. to the poor. ⁹² Vahsh, the poet of Bafq-e Yazd has immortalized Shah Khalilullah in his poems. While Shah Khalilullah was Governor of Yazd, Shah Ismail went to Shiraz, and Shah Khalilullah invited him to Yazd. When he came to see his daughter, Shah Khalilullah entertained him well, and for the honor which thus accrued to Yazd and Shah Khalilullah, Shah Ismail treated Yazd well. Shah Khalilullah died probably in 1016. Although he had two sons, his brother Sulaiman Mirza became Governor, and he too died soon. He was succeeded by his son Shah Abulhoda, and his son Shah Abulhaqa, the latter having much honor in the time of Shah Abbas.

⁹³ MASJID-e SHAH VALI in Taft is a large mosque without much decoration aside from a marble stone with a flower vase engraved on it, and a beautiful door. It was built in 1067 by Shah Abolvali, son of Shah Abolhaqa. The Governorship of Yazd at this time occasionally went out of the family of Shah Nematullah. Shah Abolvali went to Mecca and then to Ispahan where he met Shah Abbas and gave the latter his own composition which pleased the king. Shah Abbas gave him the Governorship of Yazd. Shah Abolvali came to Yazd and began building; his services for Yazd were greater than all the grandsons of Shah Nematullah. He made a nice garden in Ahrestan which he named Mehrabad; he repaired the qanats of Mehriz and Mobarakabad-e Meybod. He repaired the Governor's house. He built the Masjid-e Shah Vali in Taft, ~~at the~~ At the door of ~~which~~ Masjid Shahzadi is a grave dated 1074, the grave of Salim Hafez, and the mosque predates it. If it were not for the trees, one could see the dome of the mosque from everywhere in Taft.

⁹⁴ The square of Shahvali is a large Husseinieh, near the Bazaar-e Taft, behind the river in the middle of Taft. There is a naql in the Husseinieh. Now in the time of his Imperial Majesty, Reza Shah, many of these customs are finished. The date of the Husseinieh and naql are not known but it must be approximately the same date as the nearby mosque. One day the people will not know anything about naql and naql bandi (the cloth and mirror decoration of the naql) and naql bardari (the carrying of the naql). Naxls is an old custom originally having to do with flowers, natural and artificial flowers used in marriage and mourning ceremonies; it was also used for the casket of a dead person. The present customs were begun in Safavid times to mourn Hossein in the first ten days of Moharram. Yazd has two large naxls: Amir Chaqmaq and Meidan-e Shah; Taft also 2: Shahvali and Garmsir. The custom

was to begin to decorate the naxl on the 5th of Moharram to be ready for Ashura. On it was placed some shaddeh () or standards of wood, iron, and cloth; also large mirrors, iron poniards, termeh shawls, etc. Twelve persons rode on it playing cymbals, reading Quran and poems of Mohtasham-e Kashani. Then a large number of people, placing cloths on their shoulders began to carry the naxl in the afternoon. This was done three times by order of a leader. They would carry the naxl 7 or 9 or 11 times from north to south and from south to north, each time some 500 steps. The philosophy behind this is penance for the unkindness of the people of Kufa to Hussein for not escorting the funeral of Hossein. But it is not a good custom; perhaps it came from India; Reza Shah has prohibited it.

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Waterstorages built in the Safavid times. Dar hameh chizi honar-o-eib hast. (There is good and bad in everything. If the Safavids had some defects such as encouraging naxl bardari and the arguments of Heidari and Nemati*, yet their period was the great period of waterstorage building in Yazd, e.g. Vaqt-o-Saat has an abambar built in the time of Shah Sultan Hossein which is still in working order and which has its date inscribed, which in abjad is 'Laan bar Qatel-e Hossein-e Ali!' (Curse on the murder of Hossein, son of Ali! لعنة بر قاتل حسين علي); abambar of Bagh-e Gandom in Mahalleh Bagh-e Gandom which was built in 971 and on tile is written in abjad: ruzi-e up bovad ab-e Kasar (his daily water is water of Kasar); abambar of Charsuq built in 1033 which has a stone on which is written that 15 jurreh of water of Khiaban were vaqfed for this abambar, and the date written in abjad is benush ey del ke ab-e zendeganist (drink oh friend for it is the water of life) =1033; abambar of Godalpe Musalla built in 1040, in abjad: taqi rah bordi bar ab-e Baqa (oh taqi you found the water of life. I will speak of the waterstorages of Haji Sayyid Hossein which are new towards the end of the book. Unfortunately many of the date tiles of the waterstorages have fallen off and are lost.

*fn: possibly the Sufis who followed Sultan Heidar, the father of Shah Ismail, were called Heidari, and the people who followed Shah Nematullah were called Nemati. The argument persisted among the populace until Qajar times. Some people think the names come from the name of Mohammad and Ali, but this is wrong.

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MIR JALALUDDIN HASSAN. The Governorship left the family of Shah Nematullah after Shah Abulvali, and Yazd became subject to the injustices of foreign governors. One of the good governors was Mir Jalaluddin Hassan who went to Ispahahan and promised to guarantee payment of the tax if he could collect it from the people gradually. He was rich and occasionally the arrangement worked to his personal disadvantage but he did not care, for he enjoyed the popularity of the people. He died in 1084. His son Jalaluddin Hassan succeeded his father as Governor and was succeeded by two sons Sultan Heidar and Mohammad Said. But after them the Safavids ended the family position. /the word governor is not used for Jalaluddin Hassan--probably they were chiefs of tax and security/

In Safavid times the job of kalantar was important, especially the kalantar of the Zoroastrians. And there was competition for the job which involved sending gifts to the king. For sometime a man named Zeinulabedin Brom Ispahahan became kalantar of Yazd, but he was deposed by rivals, and he became poor. His son however was clever: he invented an oil pressing machine and became rich, and he, this Khalilullah, gave the invention to Shah Tahmasb who gave him the Governorship of Yazd. He was kind and kept the job 20 years. His son succeeded him and had the job for 18 years; this son was Shahmira, educated and popular at court. He bought the house of Minbashi in Mahalleh Xalf-e Khan Ali and rebuilt it. He also made the Bagh-e Bigomi in Mehriz and gave it to Haji Mohammad Saleh-e Bafqi. Haji Mohammad Saleh was an honest and religious educated man. Mirza Tura, son of Shahmira went to the court of Shah Abbas II and found much favor there, but did not become Governor, becoming ill and dying near the king. The king ordered the body to be buried in Mashad.

MIR MIRAN III. & BIKTASH KHAN. As I have said already, after Abulvali nobody of the family of Shah Nematullah became Governor of Yazd. But being governor was in their mind and they tried. Mirmiran III married his daughter to Bektash Khan-e Afshar. In the Tarikh-e Alamaray-e Abbasi it is written that Aliqoli Beik Shamlou Qurchi became Governor (darugheh) of Yazd, and some war, e.g. that of the Qezelbash, caused some Zolqadr to be captured and others to seek refuge under Biktash Khan. In anycase, Biktash Khan for a long time coveted the Governorship of Yazd and Kirman. He was an enemy of the Governor of Fars, and very often the Zolqadr would attack Yaqub Khan, the Governor of Fars, then retreat to Biktash Khan; after resting for a while they would return to the attack. Bektash Khan was proud, addicted to opium, but did not drink wine. After smoking opium he would say 'I am no less a man than Mohammad-e Mozaffar; Mohzmmade Mozzafar was Prince of Meybod and then king of Iran...' His father in law (Mirmiran) encouraged him. Finally Becktash decided to first take Shiraz and then Yazd, making Mirmiran Governor of Yazd. He hoped for the support of the Zolqadr, but they did not help him. Yaqub Khan sent 12,000 men to Yazd. Before the battle Aliqoli Khan and Bektash Khan had a quarrel, and then Yaqub Khan's army appeared. At first Bektash Khan was successful in the battle but suddenly, perhaps it was time to smoke his opium or he was tired, he ran away to his father-in-law's house. Yaqub Khan sent men after him. Mirmiran suprisingly neither protected him nor facilitated his escape to Kirman but delivered him to his enemies who killed him. The people disliked Mirmiran for this and the ambitions of the house of Nematullahi became hopeless after this.

53 During the Afghan revolt, Yazd had a difficult time, and only one man, Mirza Enayat Sultan, stood by Yazd. He really is a credit to the khans of Yazd. He has been written about in the Tarikh-e Jome Jafari (also called Tarikh-e Khavanin-e Yazd) written by Mirza Jafar Monshi (Tarab Isphahan) who is also the author of Tarikh-e Vassaf about Enayat Sultan. Enayat Sultan lived in Bafq some years and so came to be called Enayat Sultan Bafqi. His grandfathers were important in the Safavid times. He himself was important in the time of Shah Sultan Hossein, the last Safavid and became Minbashi at court. He was brave, bold, writer, poet, artist. He came to visit his properties in Yazd from Isphahan in 1118. Then he went to live in Bafq. After a year he returned to Isphahan.

55 In 1131 the Afghans began to attack Kirman, and the Kirmanis asked and received aid from Enayat Sultan. He raised an army in Bafq and sent it under his son Mirza Fakhruddin. He tried hard against Kuchak Khan-e Afghan, with a battle some 5 farsakhs from Kirman. Fakhruddin was victorious: some Afghans were killed and some fled. Fakhruddin had not rested before a letter from his father reached him that the people of Sirjan and some of Kirman were planning a revolution, and Fakhruddin was to try to suppress this. A second victorious battle occurred in Baghin-e Kirman. Enayat Sultan then heard that Kuchak Khan-e Afghan and some people of Seistan had taken the castle of Bam and wanted to come to Kirman. He called a meeting of Kirmanis who begged him that Fakhruddin was the only one who could protect them. But meanwhile Ismail Khan, the chief of a group of Afsharis, and a friend of Fakhruddin, had been instigated by some Kirmanis to go to the aid of Kuchik Khan and the Seistanis, so Enayat Sultan returned to Bafq. Ismail Khan came to Kirman and caused destruction. The people of Kirman then heard of a new Afghan force hund Mahmud Mirvace Ghahyeh was coming from Qandahar and they sent to Bafq pleading excuses and begging his help. Enayat Sultan sent his son Fakhraddin with horsemen from Kubanan to Kirman; he arrived in Kirman in Zigaadeh 1131 and became Governor of Kirman for a year until his enemies decided to kill him. Ismail Khan and Vali Khan were among the plotters and invited him to one of their houses in 1132; Fakhruddin accepted but when he went he did not yet even eat anything before a rifle shot in the head killed him. Enayat Sultan determined on revenge, but as Mahmud had arrived in Kirman, the Yazdis persuaded him not to go. A Kirmani poet: zihajjah faghan bud o moharram afghan (afghan means both afghan people but also groaning; faghan is an equal of afghan). Mahmud went back

to Qandahar and returned in 1133 after a year. This time he came with an army of Hazareh and Baluchi and afghans to Kirman. He wrote a letter to Enayat Sultan in Yazd and ordered him to obey him: if you obey you may be Governor of Yazd, if not give the city to my messenger and go wherever you wish, if not be ready for war. Enayat Sultan answered: if you give such orders on authority of the Government of Iran I am ready to obey but you must show me your orders from the king; if you speak for yourself then I do not obey you; it would be better for you to leave this affair and go back to your own land; if not I am ready for war. Mahmud became angry and ordered Khadadad Afghan to go to Yazd with 1000 horsemen. The Kirmanis meanwhile found the opportunity to fortify themselves in their castle. Enayat Sultan met Khodadad's forces near sunset in the desert of Mohammadabad-e Chahok. The battle was joined in the morning, and Enayat Sultan was victorious; and Khodadad was killed. Enayat Sultan's forces pursued the fleeing defeated forces, taking 300 prisoners. The survivors reported to Mahmud who was preparing to march on Isphahan.

59 Mahmud was killed by Ashraf-e Afghan who became king. Ashraf was afraid of no one except Enayat Sultan. The latter fought the Afghans for 5 years. Ashraf sent an army every year to Yazd, but each time Enayat was victorious. But the fifth time the Afghans were victorious. They went first to Taft and massacred the people. Enayat Sultan continued fighting the Afghans another 7 months, but the people became tired and sued for peace. Enayat saw that he would not be victorious and surrendered. He was taken to Isphahan where he and all his family, except two children, were killed. Those two were nephews called Mohammad Momen and Mohammad Taqikhan, aged about 10 or 11. They became important in their lives, especially the latter who became Khan-e Bozorg.

MIRZA JAFAR OREIZI was of the family of Imamzadeh Jafar, a brave man and follower of Enayat Sultan. When the Afghans came he happened to be working in a garden outside the city. The Afghans were told about him and 12 men were dispatched to take or kill him. He killed them all. Then he put all their heads in an abba and went to meet Enayat Sultan, but then Enayat Sultan was killed in 1142.

AYATI, Abdol Hossein. ATESH-KADEH HAZDAN. Yazd Gol Bahar Press 1317.

YAZD AFTER THE DEATH OF KARIM KHAN ZAND. Mohammad Taqi Khan had protected Yazd by pleasing the members of the Government and sending gifts to the king which at times tended to impoverish him but he could recoup. When Karim Khan died in 1193 the battle for succession affected Yazd adversely for Yazd became a cross-roads of Zand soldiers, and Taqi Khan suffered under these conditions, which saw the militia of Ali Naqi Khan, son of Sadeq Khan-e Zand pitted against Ali Morad Khan; and the attack of Jafar Khan-e Zand on Yazd instigated by Mohammad Ali and Lotfollah Khan-e Aqdai. Taqi Khan and his sons tried to defend Yazd. This is recorded in Tarikhe Jafari. In any case the situation of Yazd after Karim Khan's death was not good.

ASAR-e MOBARAKEH AND THE ASARI FAMILY. There is much talk that there are some relics of the Prophet in Yazd, and that some had been possessed by Mohammad Mozaffar and some by Khan-e Bozorg. I do not know if there is any truth to this talk, but I suspect it is correct and not likely to be a myth since there is a family in Yazd called Asari who are true sayyids and a large family. Of them Haji Mir Sayyid Ali Asari and his son Mirza Mohammad Ali Asarizadeh in Teheran are well known currently. Mirza Mohammad Ali has an honourable heritage on both sides as he is the son of Haji Mir Sayyid Ali, and the son of a daughter of ~~Mirza~~ Aqa Mir Sayyid Hossein Mirza Soltan al ulama who was the grandson of Mirza Suleiman who was called Mujtahid-e Motlaq and lived in the time of Fath Ali Shah. He was one of those educated men whom Mohammad Vali Mirza had ordered to write religious books. His grandson Soltan-al-ulama was also an important mujtahid. In any case the Asari family is so called since they are supposed to have some relics of the Prophet in their possession. Khan-e Bozorg who had many children ~~intermarried with many~~ made marriage alliances with many families in Yazd of which one was the Asari Family. I spoke to many of the Asari family and they all affirmed that the family had some such relics, specifically hair, but also other things. But since they did not say that they themselves had seen these other reliquaries they probably only have the hair. At first these items were in the possession of the Oreizi family of Sayyids /to which Mr. Vaziri of the Masjid-e Jome Library belongs/. If there is any truth to these stories, then of course the person who brought the relics to Yazd was Imamzadeh Jafar.

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DEATH OF MOHAMMAD TAQI KHAN, HIS CHILDREN AND BUILDINGS. Mohammad Taqi Khan died on 6 Shavval 1213 at the age of 84 after suffering the illness (). He had twenty-four sons and many daughters; the names of some of them are known: From his first wife; Haji Ali Naqi Khan; Haji Abdor Rahim Khan; Zein ul Abeddin. From another wife; Abdor Reza Khan. Governors who were his son or grandson were; Ali Akbar Khan, son of Mohammad Taqi Khan; Haji Ali Askar Khan, grandson of Gholam Hossein Khan-e Askari Kamran; Mohammad Hossein Khan; Nasruallah Khan son of Mohammad Hossein Khan; Ahmad Khan; Mohammad Ali Khan; Mohammad Ismail Khan; Mirza Mehdi Khan; Abdul Hadi Khan; Abdul Ali Khan; Mohammad Sadeq Khan; Mirza Mohammad Khan-e Mullah Bashi; Abutaleb Khan; Mohsen Khan; Hashem Khan. These are listed in the Jome Jafari of Khan-e Bozorg. Most of the nobles of Yazd are from the family of Khan-e Bozorg, e.g. the families of Navvabha^h and Akrami (Sayyid Mohammad, Sayyid Ali, Sayyid Hossein). Mohammad Taqi Khan built many useful buildings, one of which is the Qanat-e Dowlatabad which is ten farsacs long. It is said that the Bagh-e Dowlatabad is patterned after the Taq-e Kasra of Anowshiravan, the Sassanian King. It's marble stone has been brought from Maragheh of Tabriz as the Turan-pusht mine was not in operation at the time. One fifth of this qanat was made vaqf for the maintenance of Bagh-e Dowlatabad (one fifth = 416 jureh), and all the water is vaqf-e oladi for the children of Taqi Khan. He also built a building outside the garden which he called Behesht-e Aain, but it is now in ruins.

* but earlier he says
Navabs date from the time
of Nadir Shah - w. Sadr family fr
Aqa Mhd Ali Sadr-ul-Mamalek
Khoressani who
settled in Yazd when Nadir
Shah d.

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MEIDAN-e KHAN and MADRESSEH KHAN, QEISARIYE, all were built by Mohammad Taqi Khan. The Madresseh Khan is composed of two courtyards, the smaller one built by Mohammad Taqi Khan himself, and the larger one by his eldest son Ali Naqi Khan. The vaqf to support these two schools are: (1) all of Qaisariyeh (at the entrance to the Madresseh), (2) Bazaar-e Chitsazi behind Qaisariyeh; (3) some of the shops around Meidan-e Khan; (4) the water of Shamsabad; one shab-an-e ruz (1 day-night); (5) one shaban-e ruz of Gerd Faramarz water; (6) one shaban-e ruz of the water of Mariamabad; (7) one shaban-e ruz of Jadideh; (8) all of qanat-e Tehrah, which now only contributes one shaban-e ruz, the balance having been sold; (9) one shaban-e ruz of Abramaborakeh; (10) the water and grounds of Xiarag (which now is dry). His final good work was to build Jannatabad with an abambar near the Sayyid Gol-e Sorz Gate for the Khorassan travellers. MEIDAN-e SHAH was built by Khan-e Bozorg, but its lower part was built by Mohammad Taqi Khan.

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HAJI ALI NAQI KHAN. I have mentioned that Mohammad Taqi Khan had three sons by his first wife, the pride of the family, especially Haji Ali Naqi and Haji Abdor Rahim. Haji Ali Naqi Khan went to Mecca towards the end of Karim Khan's reign, and as he went in royal style he was called Ali Naqi Shah and poets adressed poetry to him; his travels thus brought glory to the family. Haji Ali Naqi Khan became Governor of Kirman in 1210. He rebuilt the city walls of Kirman which had been ruined by the Afghans and the Zands. He also invited back the people of Kirman who had fled to other cities; at that time Kirman had no more than 10,000 people. His first step was to control the price of bread, punishing some of the bakers who had given bribes to the previous governor and tried to bribe him as well. Nun be qeimat-e jun bud (Bread was the price of soul-life). He first accepted the money but then put them in the oven. There are a number of strange stories about him. When he went to pay his respects at the court of the Shah, one of the court retainers was impolite to him and so he punished him; the King asked why he had done this in his, the king's court, and the answer was that he was impolite to me: I can punish anyone whose station is lower than my own. It is also told that he used to go through Teheran leading seven horse, the same as the king; when asked about this by the king, he replied: I am your servant; if I am big and important, it is proof of your greatness and importance. The greatness of a master is demonstrated by the greatness of the servant. In 1214 he became Governor of Yazd, under the court of Fath Ali Shah. He began to dig qanats and build buildings. He first repaired the qanat-e Hammatabad and built buildings for the village, but he died before he could complete this work; presumably he wanted to build an entire new city there. In Yazd he also built a number of buildings: the Divan Khaneh with its stables and a number of excellent house which now are in the hands of a number of his descendants. Bagh-e Ali Naqi Khan in Taft in the Mahalleh Deh-e Now. Towards the end of his life he contracted dropsy and Fath Ali Shah allowed him to come to Teheran for medical aid. He went there but died there in Zihajjah 1219, six years after his father. He had no children. The vaqfs for the larger courtyard of the MADRESSEH KHAN which he built were listed by his motavalli (vaqf director), Zein ul Abedin Khan as: (1) one taq water of Tehra; (2) Bazarche Kafashi, now called Bazar-e Kashigari, containing 30 stores; (3) one store in Caravanserai Iard-e Bajvardi; (4) six ninths of five stores situated to the west of Meidan-e Khan; (5) 39 jureh water of Mariamabad and Jakubi.

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YAZD AND THE MHD TAQI KHAN FAMILY IN THE EARLY QAJAR PERIOD. I have already said that Mohammad Hassan Khan was the first to raise the Qajar standard but that he was killed by the Zand family, and that his son Aqa Mohammad Khan was kept in Shiraz by Karim Khan-e Zand. When Karim Khan became old and sick, he escaped Shiraz and claimed the throne. The Khan-e Bozorg Family was among his favorites for they had helped him; on the other hand he was unhappy with the situation in Kirman and forbade anyone to repair Kirman. But after a year when the people of Kirman had become tired of revolt and had asked Mohammad Taqi Khan to intervene with Aqa Mohammad which he did by letter, Aqa Mohammad excused them and gave Kirman to Mohammad Taqi Khan to administer. Mhd Taqi Khan sent his eldest son as Governor.

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HAJI ABDOR RAHIM KHAN was the second son of Khan-e Bozorg and became Governor of Yazd after his brother. He had another claim to fame besides being the son of Khan-e Bozorg: he had married a daughter of Vis Morad Khan-e Zand, a big man in the royal Zand family. Haji Abdor Rahim Khan was an artist as well as being brave and bold. He served also as Governor of Kirman and showed his bravery when Lotfollah Khan-e Zand approached Kirman. Also when Zaki Khan came to attack Yazd with 40,000 horsemen, he was ordered by his father to protect Yazd and Abdor Rahim Khan was the victor. He was kept for some time in the court of Fath Ali Shah as a hostage against any thought Khan-e Bozorg might have of trying to claim the throne himself. Although he ruled briefly in Yazd, he did several services there; he built ten qanats and two cheshmeh (springs), thus making more qanats than the other Khans; four of these qanats were named Rahimabad: (1) Rahimabad near Yazd half of which water is used in Yazd and half of which is vaqf; (2) Rahimabad-e Bafq; (3) Rahimabad-e Olia in Bahabad; (4) Rahimabad-e Sofla; (5) Baqerabad in Bafq named for his son; (6) Mohammadabad-e Bafq; (7) Taherabad-e Bahabad; (8) Mehrabad in Bafq; and the other two are now dry; the two springs are in Nuq-e Rafsijan. The rule was that the motavali for the vaqf of Khan-e Bozorg should have been his eldest son, but since the other brothers had no male heir, this duty fell to Abdor Rahim Khan and the vaqfs have remained in the family up to the present: i.e. Mohammad Sadeq Khan-e Rahimi and his four brothers, all sons of Mohammad Hossein Khan, son of Mohammad Taqi Khan, son of Mohammad Sadeq Khan, son of Haji Abdor Rahim Khan. The religious school situated in BAZAAR KHAN was built by Haji Abdor Rahim Khan and is supported by two shaban-e ruz water of Rahimabad. That he was deposed was his own doing, for he first failed to help the tax collectors when they came to Yazd, and he failed to answer when summoned to Teheran, and then when Ibrahim Khan, the Governor of Kirman came towards Yazd, he thought he was coming to take him prisoner and so fled himself to Teheran where he was imprisoned for a long time.

Shoja os saltaneh came to Yazd to be Governor; his assistants were Mirza Musa and Mohammad Zaman. He was replaced by Shahzadeh Mohammad Vali Mirza, son of Fath Ali Shah. Finally the king pardoned Abdor Rahim Khan and the latter returned to Yazd but without occupation. He died in 1237 during the cholera epidemic as did his two sons.

378 ZEIN UL ABEDIN KHAN, the third son of Khan-e Bozorg became Governor of Yazd before his elder brother Haji Abdor Rahim Khan. This was because Haji Abdor Rahim was as I have mentioned kept hostage in the court of Fath Ali Shah and only was allowed to come back to Yazd when Zein-ul-abedin died. Zein-ul-abbedin built some useful buildings and in general the people liked him; but he was dangerous when angry and died in a fit of anger while punishing someone.

379 MOHAMMAD VALI MIRZA became Governor of Yazd in 1236, having previously served as Governor of Khorassan. Cf. Mirza Jafar-e Monshi's History of Khan-e Bozorg for an account of the religious ulama in his time, where are mentioned: Aqa Sayyid Ahmad Ardakani, Aqa Sayyid Abul Hassan Firuzabadi, Mirza Suleiman-e Mujtahid (grandfather of Mir Sayyid Hossein-e Mirza), Mirza Ali Naqi Imam, etc. These were commissioned by Mohammad Vali Mirza to write religious books. Monshi also tells about his buildings, e.g. the Madresseh Shahzadeh in Bazar-e No dated 1240, which now has become a hospital (Pahlavi Hospital) /and now 1970 is the gada-xane (poor house). He also built the following rabat (rest houses): rabat-e Saghand, Rabat-e Aliabad-e Mehriz, Rabat-e Dehshir, Madresseh-e Bafq near the Masjid-e Home, a mosque near the Governor's house of Yazd; a mosque near the Caravanserai Khan was built by Mahd-e Olia, his mother.

380 Curiosity: most of the history writers mention the birth in Bafq in 1237 in the time of Mohammad Vali Mirza of a child with two heads, 4 hands, two feet, one penis and one anus. He was the subject of much poetry. His date in abjad is:

freak = اگرچه خلققت

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REVOLT OF ~~MOHAMMAD~~ MOHAMMAD QASSEM KHAN GORJI. Abdor Reza Khan, the son of Mohammad Taqi Khan, was always with Shahzadeh Mohammad Vali Mirza, and was called Amir Moayyed. In 1243 news came that Mohammad Qassem Khan Gogji was revolting and was marching on Yazd with a large army. Mohammad Vali Mirza fled to Teheran, going first with his family to Bagh-e Dowlatabad and ordering that Amir Moayyed take over the reigns of Government; he left his family in Yazd and went with friends to Teheran. Mohammad Vali Mirza although he had some good points was acquisitive and rude and so had injured people first in Khorassan and then in Yazd; the people of Yazd did not like him. When he went to Teheran, his father, Fath Ali Shah gave him an army to return to Yazd and punish Mohammad Qassem Khan. The people did not think that the king would return him to Yazd for they had complained against him, but hearing of his intended return, they went to the Governor House asking Abdor Reza for help and some even said that if he did not intervene they would rape the wife of Mhd Vali Mirza. So Abdor Reza Khan sent the wife and children of Mhd Vali Mirza to Teheran under the care of his brother Mohammad Ali Khan. When they came as far as Nohgonbad they heard of the arrival of Vali Mirza and so Mhd Ali Khan left the family with Mohammad Karim, his head groom, and returned to Yazd to bring the news to his brother. Meanwhile Mhd Qassen Khan had sent a letter via Abbas Qoli Mirza to Abdor Reza Khan saying: we are proceeding from Kirman to take Isphahan and if you wish to be Governor of Yazd, you should give us sufficient money for us to give Yazd to you. Abdor Reza Khan answered: Yazd is the property of the Prince; it is neither mine nor yours to give away. He then ordered the people to come inside the city walls and had 8-9000 riflemen ready. When he heard that Qassem Khan had placed their Atashkhaneh in Qaleh Shams 4 manzel from Yazd, he ordered (1) that all supporters of Qassem Khan in the city have ear, nose, hand and tongue cut off; (2) sent some spies to Qassem Khan in the guise of peace mediators; (3) sent 3000 men in readiness for battle. When they came to the enemy castle a battle was engaged and lasted 3 hours. Abbas Qali Mirza fled to Kirman with 12,000 soldiers. Qassem took refuge in the castle of Bam with 15,000 soldiers and the rest ran away elsewhere. The guards of the Atashxane gave their things to the soldiers of Abdor Reza and also fled. The Kirmanis did not allow entrance to Abbas Qali Mirza and so he stayed in a garden outside Kirman; and he then sent a letter by messenger to his uncle, Hassan Ali Mirza, the Governor of Fars asking him to intercede. Abbas Qassem Khan was injured by the people of Bam and fled to Seistan and so the story ends.

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SHAH SHOJA GOES TO KIRMAN AND ABDOR REZA BECOMES GOVERNOR OF YAZD. When Mohammad Vali Mirza met his wife in Nain and understood the situation, he did not come to Yazd, for he learned that Abdor Reza Khan would not let the Rim return. At that time Shaja os Saltaneh had come back from the Russian wars, and was being sent with 15,000 soldiers to put down the revolt in Kirman. He met Mhd Vali Mirza in Ardestan and confirmed the order that the latter return to Teheran. When the people of Yazd heard of the arrival of Shoja os saltaneh they became sad and afraid, and sent important men such as Haji Sayyid Mehdi and ^Haji Sayyid Ibrahim to Jugand and tried to get the ulama of Isphahan to try to insure that the Shoja os saltaneh not come to Yazd. By messenger and letter they lobbied, and finally it was learned that Shoja os saltaneh was to stay in Yazd only one night. Amir Moayyed ordered the Bagh-e Dowlatabad made ready and ordered the people go greet him, but himself did not go. It was soon learned that Amir Moayyed had acted prudently for Shaha os Saltaneh had intended to imprison him; when the latter had failed in his ruse he ordered an attack, but the Amir Moayyed was prepared for battle having already put his riflemen in their pits; after 5 hours, 46 killed and 50 wounded and 500 of Shajsos salteneh's soldiers captured, battle was adjourned til the next day and again the latter was not victorious. An order came from Teheran during the battle to leave the Government in the hands of the Amir Moayyed and to go to Kirman. And so Amir Moayyed became Governor of Yazd after 2 months of effort though even before that in Teheran Navab Mirza Abdul Hai and ^Haji Rojabali Mujtahid were lobbying in his behalf. The Yazdis were happy and Qazai the famed poet of Yazd made a eulogy in his honour.

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A Zoroastrian called Nowshiravanji came from India to Yazd in 1332-3 and stayed in Qassemabad-e Yazd; he had with him a Pahlavi book written on deerskin. He was engaged in its translation and Aqa Mohammad Rashti went to see him and asked for the translation of the part about Yazd, and this is what it says: Re. the founding of Yazd, the Mobeds say that some people were travelling from Balkh to Fars in Pishdadian times. When they came to Yazd which was then only desert they were thirsty; but there they saw a cow and a lion associating peacefully. Behind this pair they saw a spring and pomegranate trees and apples. Malaks in the form of birds flew out from a cave and sang Yazdan, Yazdan. The travellers fell to the ground and prostrated themselves worshipping and praying. They sent word to the Shah who sent his son to Yazd with holy fire from the fire temple of Fars, and the son built a fire temple called Atashkadeh Yazdan. The Mobeds came here to pray as did also Kei Khosrow (who refused to become king) who prayed here until his occulation (he did not die). Alexander allowed those of his older captives whom he spared to come to Yazd. Ardeshir Babakan says that he came from Kirman to Yazd and worshipped there for fourteen days, and caused the temples of 7 star magicians to be replaced with fire temples; and ordered there to be an annual three day feast in the Spring. Until the end of the reign of Anushiravan the people here were good and did not tell lies; but they have left this way and for four years now there is little left of the good religion, and the new religion in which people stand as in military formation is spreading. There used to be 24 firetemples but now there are only four.

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Isa Khan Afghan and Nadir Shah. I have already mentioned that after the murder of Mirza Enayat Sultan-e Bafqi, Yazd became part of the Afghan realm. Ashraf-e Afghan ordered Isa Khan who was of his family to be the Governor. Isa Khan thinking that the Afghans would control Iran for a lengthy time, made the Narin Qalah the capital of his government. But his rule was finished after a year; for the fighting with Enayat Sultan lasted four years and some months and in the sixth year of the Afghan invasion Nadir Shah made the counter-revolution. Nadir first attacked Khorassan taking it from Malek Mahmud Sistani; but Ashraf Afghan counter attacked. Finally after four years of war in Mehmadust, Sar-i Darah-e Khan, and Murcheh Khort, and Zarqan-e Shiraz, Ashraf was killed and Nadir was victorious. Nadir Shah delegated the rule of Yazd to the family of Shah Tamasp; and so Isa Khan fled. Fazlali Berik-e Aqdai became the Governor of Yazd. After a year Mirza Hassan-e Naini succeeded as Governor, and then a year later in 1146 Mirza Razi Khorasani became Governor of Yazd. Nadir Shah excused the Yazdis from taxes for three years as a reward for their efforts against the Afghans

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Aqa Mohammad Ali Sadrol Mamalek Khorassani was a loyal supporter and companion of Nadir Shah. He served as Nadir Shah's ambassador to the Ottomans and pleased the Shah greatly with his service towards settling difficulties between the two realms. He accompanied Nadir Shah on all his travels including the one to India. After the assassination of Nadir Shah, he settled in Yazd and founded a big family of which the SADR and NAVVABS are descendants. Sadr-ul-ulama who went to Teheran as a member of the Constituent Assembly and died in the time of Reza Shah was a grandson. Navvab Aqa Hassan, the uncle of Navvab Aqa Hossein, member of Parliament, is another descendant; as also Navvab-e Shairifi. Navvab Aqa Hassan was also a religious leader and many considered him to be a mujtahid. Sadr-ul-mamalek was a friend of Mirza Mehdi Khan, and we can still find letter of Mirza Mehdi Khan and Nadir Shah in their family's homes.

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Nadir Shah visits Yazd. It appears from the book of Montazam-e Naseri that Nadir Shah went to Khorassan by way of Yazd in 1159, and even in another place quotes Mirza Mehdi Khan that in 1158 when Nadir Shah was going from Isphahan, he sent Mirza Mehdi Khan and Mostafa Khan ahead, himself following via Yazd and Kirman for the second time. But the Yazdis did not go to call upon him as he did not stay in Yazd.

- 355 Mohammad Reza Beik Araj Isphahani's Governorship was oppressive for Yazd; he tried to collect the 3 years taxes which the King had said need not be paid, and his methods of tax collection, according to the Tarikh-e Khan-e Bozorg, was cruel even to women and children. When Araj was replaced by Najafqoli Beik Turk things did not improve, and the people decided to punish the Governor themselves. They killed him. After an initial period of fear of Nadir Shah's reaction, Gorgin Khan-e Gorji who had helped Najafqoli be governor but had eventually become estranged and had gone to Taft, came and killed twelve of the murderers of Najafqoli who also had done other evil deeds; and he then wrote to Nadir Shah, and himself took over the duties of Governor. It was an eight year ~~year~~ period that the Yazdis were oppressed. Nadir Shah was killed in 1160 near Quchan on the same night (11 Jamadiossani) as Najafqoli was killed in Yazd.
- 356 After Nadir Shah's death, Lutfali Khan replaced Gorgin Khan as Governor of Yazd. When he heard that Ali Qoli Khan-e Afshar, the brother's son of Nadir Shah, had become king and had appointed Alam Khan Governor of Yazd and was sending him with 200 turkish troops he decided to resist, but was killed in the battle. Alam Khan thus became Governor; he was neither polite nor kind, and there are many stories about his foolish deeds.
- 357 Mohammad Momen Khan and Mohammad Taqi Khan. I have already told that only two nephews of Enayat Sultan were safe from the Afghan wars because they were children. They returned from Isphahan to Yazd and went to live in Bafq: Mohammad Momen Khan and Mohammad Taqi Khan. The Name Jafari (Tarikhe Khan-e Bozorg) says they were children of Mohammad Baqer Khan, the famous noble of Yazd and Bafq. Mohammad Momen Khan became Governor of Kirman under Nadir Shah, but was deposed. He was a kind man and when Najafqoli Beik Turk extorted money from the Yazdis he stopped it by offering to pay whatever was needed himself, to save the Yazdis from unfair exactions. Najafqoli's helpers decided to avail themselves of this offer but were somewhat embarrassed to do so and decided to procrastinate for a month, and during that month the Governor was killed. Mohammad Momen Khan is of the family of Momen Hossein whom I mentioned in the chapter on Poets.
- 358 Aqa Mohammad Taqi Khan (Khan-e Bozorg). His father was Mirza Mohammad Baqer and his mother was Fatimeh Bigone, the sister of Enayat Sultan and Aqili Sayyid Khan-e Bozorg was born in Bafq in 1129. After his captivity in Isphahan and return to Yazd he began to study science in Bafq and remained there until the time of Alam Khan, the Fool. He was 30 years old at that time; he was then invited by some important personages such as Mirza Ismail Kalantar, Mir Sayyid Morteza Vazir, Morad Ali Beik Bander and brothers to help with a dispute against Alam Khan the Governor. Mohammad Taqi Khan came with ~~for~~ seventy horsemen and stayed in the house of Mirza Azim, the famous Sayyid, in Malamir. First he dealt with Haji Taqi Javadaqi the Kalantar of Sheikh Dad. Alam Khan and his men then took fright and put salt on the castle steps so as to make a silent escape. Khan-e Bozorg thus became master of Yazd. A meeting was held and request formulated to ask Adel Shah to appoint Khan-e Bozorg Governor, but by the time the messenger reached the king he had been assassinated. Shahrokh Mirza had replaced him and the messenger gave him the letter and he accepted the nomination of Khan-e Bozorg. The augher of the Tarikh-e Khan-e Bozorg says that the people made a festival in their gladness.

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KARIM KHAN ZAND came to Yazd in 1172 with his brother Mohammad Zaki Khan, and stayed in Bagh-e Dowlatabad, which had just been built by Khan-e Bozorg. Enemies of Khan-e Bozorg spoke to Karim Khan about the former's property and glory. Karim Khan was thus encouraged to ask for gifts from the Khan who gave him all his property. Thus he became poor but retained his honour. When Khan wanted to punish Mohammad Hassan Khan who had revolted 40 days after the Khan came he had no means. Karim Khan took Khan and Navvab Mirza Abdolali with him to Teheran, and appointed Mirza Ismail Kalantar to be Governor instead; and the latter came from Aqda. His appointment led to revolution. He plotted to keep Khan-e Bozorg from returning to Yazd and when this news was carried to the latter, Khan-e Bozorg ordered the two chief tax collectors of Yazd, Adineh Sultan and Rajab Ali Sultan to not allow Kalantar to leave Yazd. So when the Khan returned, the Kalantar found himself both unable to fight and to run away; Khan punished him severely so that he was sick for a long time. When he recovered he sent a message to Shahrokh Khan-e Taghra, Governor of Kirman, to come to Yazd and I will help you against Khan-e Bozorg. The latter came with an army, but was unable to accomplish his ends. Shahrokh ordered Ruhi, the servant of Kalantar, to find a way of gaining entrance to the city; Ruhi selected the wall of the Gate Sayyid Gol-e Sorx, digging a hole there and thus getting inside and opening the gate of Koshkeno; the army gained entrance to the city. Khan-e Bozorg sent 30,000 horsemen to Mahmudabad (half a farsac from Yazd) and a messenger to Karim Khan in Shiraz. 40,000 horsemen came from Shiraz within two weeks led by Ali Morad Khan, Xoda Morad Khan-e Zand, Khosrow Khan-e Makry, and Sayyid Ali Khan-e Arab. They found Shahrokh in control of Yazd, appropriating all of the Khan; he had also constructed towers around the castle of Mahmudabad so as to be able to shoot into the castle, not realizing that Khan had left for Nadushan with his forces. With the arrival of the army from Shiraz, Shahrokh fled to Kirman during the night. On the way he decided to plunder the Castle of Bahabad which belonged to Khan, not reckoning with the riflemen there; and he was killed in the venture. Xoda Morad Khan became Governor of Kirman and Khan-e Bozorg, Governor of Yazd again by order of Karim Khan. The people of Yazd and Kirman rejoiced for Shahrokh was a bad tempered man and it is said that he considered the killing of a mosquito and an human being equally. It is told that a grocer once complained to Shahrokh that a slave had taken some yogurt without paying for it; Shahrokh had the slave's belly ripped open when the slave denied it to determine if there was yogurt in the belly, which there was. Shahrokh was satisfied, saying that had he not found yogurt in the belly he would have killed the grocer.

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Mir Rafi Khan-e Arab-e Ameri. The Ameri Arabs were famous for their boldness; they lived in the villages of Barzavand, near Ardestan; some lived in Biabanak, Jandaq, Tabas, Semnan, Bamghan, and Ardokan. During the Afghan revolt, they were led by Mir Rafi Khan, son of Shamshir Khan. With Aqa Mohsen-e Vakil or Raaya in 1166 he tried to take Yazd and came as far as Ardekan, where Khan-e Bozorg ordered horsemen of Bafq to stand against him. They found that he had become friendly with Musa Beik-e Dehabadi and the Arabs of Ardekan; so Khan-e Bozorg decided to write to Azad Khan, the big man and his friend; meanwhile he went to Bafq. Mir Rafi Khan came to Yazd and made himself Governor, which post he held for 45 days. He began to repair the walls which had been destroyed in the time of the Afghans. An army then arrived under Shahbaz-e Donbali from Azad Khan and Khan-e Bozorg came with more horsemen. Rafi Khan thought that the Yazdis supported him and invited the leading Yazdis and asked of them: if you want my government please promise me your support; if you don't want my government and you will deliver me to the enemy let me know now so I can go back the way I came. The people did not answer. The question was repeated. The people did not answer. A third time the question was repeated. Mullah Ali Naqi Kaxoda answered: it is better you go back the way you came because I am afraid you will be hurt and that will embarrass me. Mir Rafi Khan understood and immediately took flight leaving all behind for Khan-e Bozorg. A year later Ameri (Rafi Khan) returned to Yazd in 1167, deciding to attack by night, but he made a mistake and went to Ahrestan instead of Yazd. He then decided to shelter in the castle of Xeirabad and sent a man to the door of the castle to ask for fire

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in the Zoroastrian dialect. The people in the castle thought he was a Zoroastrian and opened the door. The army took advantage of this and entered the castle. A man of the castle who was a new convert to Islam and a supporter of Khan-e Bozorg ran to the city to tell Khan-e Bozorg. Mohammad Taqi Khan rounded up his riflemen, and with his brother Momen Khan led an army to the city gates. The horsemen went out of town and hid. When Rafi Khan led his night-time attack he could not force an entrance to the city, and wanted to retreat, but at that moment the cavalry of Khan-e Bozorg opened fire and struck three of the enemy leaders. Near morning they carried the bodies into town and Mohammad Taqi Khan recognized one of them as Rafi Khan, near death. The army of Rafi Khan fled when they learned of their leader's fate. But Mohammad Ali Khan, brother of Rafi Khan, decided to take revenge. In 1169 he came to Yazd with a large army, and stayed in the castle of Abrandabad. But rain and snow came to Yazd at that time and so he was not able to do what he wanted. For forty days it rained and snowed, and he was kept within the castle. Twice he sallied forth from the castle and came towards the Malamir Gate, but some of his soldiers were killed. The third time he despaired of victory. He retreated and vowed not to try again. Rafi Khan had a son called Khanjan Khan who wanted to try to take Yazd in revenge, but he died before he had a chance.