

# International Journal of the Society of Iranian Archaeologists

Vol. 2, No. 3, Winter-Spring 2016

---

**Director-in-Charge:**  
Seyed Mehdi Mousavi

**Editor-in-Chief:**  
Kamyar Abdi  
Editor@soia.org.ir

**Managing Editor:**  
Hamed Vahdati Nasab

**Managing Assistant Editor:**  
La'yā Aliniā

**Typesetting and Layout:**  
Mehrnoush Zādeh Dabāgh

**Executive Manager & Cover Designer:**  
Shahin Aryamanesh

**Date of Publication:**  
June 1, 2016

**Published by:**  
The Society of Iranian Archaeology

**Address:**  
No. 316, School of Humanities,  
Tarbiat Modares University,  
Tehran, Irān, P.O. Box: 14115-139

**Web Address for manuscript submission:**  
<http://www.journal.soia.org.ir>

*International Journal of the Society of Iranian Archaeologists* is published biannually in English Language. Each volume includes articles related to History, Archaeology, Anthropology and Iranian Linguistics, covering the entire range of Iranian cultural sphere, especially Irān, Afghanistan, Central Asia, South West Asia, and the Caucasus as well as papers pertaining to theoretical and methodological interests. Articles must be submitted electronically.



**Scientific advisory board:**

Geoffrey A. Clark (Arizona State University, USA)  
John Curtis (Irān Heritage Foundation, UK)  
Vesta Sarkhosh Curtis (British Museum, UK)  
Kent V. Flannery (University of Michigan, USA)  
Ernie Haerinck (Ghent University, BELGIUM)  
Frank Hole (Yale University, USA)  
Derek Kennet (Durham University, UK)  
Philip L. Kohl (Wellesley College, USA)  
C.C. Lamberg-Karlovsky (Harvard University, USA)  
Sadegh Malek Shahmirzadi (Tehran University, Irān)  
Seyed Mansour Seyed Sadjjadi (IsIAO, ITALY-Irān)  
Naomi F. Miller (University of Pennsylvania, USA)  
Holly Pittman (University of Pennsylvania, USA)  
Mark M. Pollard (University of Oxford, UK)  
Christopher J. Tuplin (University of Liverpool, UK)  
Josef Wiesehöfer (Kiel University, GERMANY)  
Henry T. Wright III (University of Michigan, USA)  
Guillermo Algaze (University of California-San Diego, USA)  
Margaret Cool Root (University of Michigan, USA)  
Reinhard Bernbeck (Free University, Berlin, GERMANY)  
Melinda A. Zeder (Santa Fe Institute, USA)  
Susan Pollock (Free University, Berlin, GERMANY)

**Editorial board:**

John R. Alden (University of Michigan, USA)  
Abbas Alizadeh (University of Chicago, USA)  
Thomas Barfield (Boston University, USA)  
Sheila Blair (Boston College, USA)  
Alireza Hejebri Nobari (Tarbiat Modares University, Irān)  
Barbara Helwing (German Archaeological Institute, GERMANY)  
Barbara Kaim (University of Warsaw, POLAND)  
Roger J. Matthews (University of Reading, UK)  
Hekmatollah Mollasalehi (Tehran University, Irān)  
Seyed Rasoul Mousavi Haji (University of Mazandaran, Irān)  
Marek Jan Olbrycht (University of Rzeszów, POLAND)  
Deborah Olszewski (University of Pennsylvania, USA)  
Marcel Otte (Université de Liège, BELGIUM)  
Christopher P. Thornton (National Geographic Society, USA)  
Lloyd Weeks (University of Nottingham, UK)  
Mohammad Ebrahim Zarei (Bu-Ali Sina University, Irān)

# International Journal of the Society of Iranian Archaeologists

Vol. 2, No. 3, Winter-Spring 2016

---

## Table of Contents

<b>INAUGURAL ADDRESS</b>	<b>ii</b>
<b>KAFTATI AND KAFTARI-RELATED- CERAMICS IN SOUTHWEST IRAN AND THE PERSIAN GULF</b> Cameron A. Petrie, Mojgan Seyedin, Alireza Askari Chaverdi	<b>4</b>
<b>IRAN AND THE BRONZE AGE METALS TRADE IN THE PERSIAN GULF</b> Lloyd Weeks	<b>13</b>
<b>ANCIENT MARITIME TRADE IN THE PERSIAN GULF: THE EVIDENCE OF SASSANID TORPEDO AMPHORAS</b> Hossein Tofighian	<b>26</b>
<b>THE SASANIAN 'MARE NOSTRUM: THE PERSIAN GULF</b> Touraj Daryaei	<b>40</b>
<b>A SEQUENCE OF PERSIAN PORTS: ISLAMIC ARCHAEOLOGY IN THE PERSIAN GULF</b> Donald Whitcomb	<b>47</b>
<b>PERSIAN DOCUMENTS IN THE NATIONAL ARCHIVES (TORRE DO TOMBO) OF PORTUGAL AND THEIR IMPORTANCE FOR THE HISTORY OF PERSIAN GULF IN THE 16<sup>TH</sup> -17<sup>TH</sup> CENTURIES</b> Nader Nasiri-Moghaddam	<b>54</b>
<b>THE SHI'A ORIGINS OF THE 12TH CENTURY 'UYUNID MADRASAH ABU ZAIDAN (SUQ AL-KHAMIS MOSQUE) ON BAHRAIN</b> Daniel T Potts	<b>66</b>
<b>ABSTRACTS OF PAPERS IN PERSIAN</b>	<b>88</b>



# Persian Documents In The National Archives (Torre Do Tombo) Of Portugal And Their Importance For The History Of Persian Gulf In The 16<sup>th</sup> -17<sup>th</sup> Centuries

Nader Nasiri-Moghaddam  
Université de Strasbourg

Received: August 18, 2014

Accepted: October 8, 2014

**Abstract:** In the National Archives of the Torre do Tombo in Lisbon, the Persian documents of 16<sup>th</sup>-17<sup>th</sup> centuries are selected and preserved, in general, under a large category, called before “Cartas Orientais” or “Documentos arábigos” and, currently, “Documentos Orientais”. This collection forms a part of the funds of the “Manuscritos da Casa dos Tratados”. Some of these documents pertain to the Portuguese, in continuation of their policy of expansion in the Indian Ocean and the Persian Gulf in early 16<sup>th</sup> century who had reached the island of Hormuz, situated at 6 km from the Iranian coast. This great transit market of the Persian Gulf had then a population of approximately 40.000. Called until the 13<sup>th</sup> century “Jarun”, the island of Hormuz belonged to Iran and the rich “kingdom” of this island had for centuries depended on the central government of Iran. As for its kings, called in Persian sources *volât-e Hormuz*, they were until then the vassals of the Persian monarch. But, with the arrival of Portuguese, they became subordinates to Portugal. This paper deals with some of the documents from National Archives of the Torre do Tombo that deal with interaction of the kingdom of Hormuz and the Portuguese.

**Keywords:** National Archives of the Torre do Tombo, Island of Hormuz, Portuguese.

## Introduction

In the beginning of the 16<sup>th</sup> century, while the founder of the Safavid dynasty, Shāh Esmā‘il I (1501-24) was fighting all over Iran in order to consolidate his control over the country, the Portuguese, in continuation of their policy of expansion in the Indian Ocean and the Persian Gulf, reached the island of Hormuz, situated 6 km from the Iranian coast. This great transit market of the Persian Gulf had then a population of approximately 40.000. Called until the 13<sup>th</sup> century “*Jarun*”, the island of Hormuz belonged to Iran and the rich “kingdom” of this island had for centuries depended on the central government of Iran. As for its kings, called in Persian sources *volât-e Hormuz*, they were until then the vassals of the Persian monarch. But, with the arrival of Portuguese, they became subordinates to the latter. Preoccupied with his struggles against the Ottomans, Shāh Esmā‘il I could only protest, thought in vain, against this violation of his territory. How did this domination come about and in which conditions did it continue more than a century (1507-1622)? Questions to which the Persian chroniclers do not provide any answers in detail, either as regards the consideration towards the honour of the Safavid dynasty, or by their indifference to the minor events in remote areas of the Persian Gulf. Indeed, contrary to the Portuguese sources that are a mine of information about this subject, the Persian historians

of the time mention only in a few words the Portuguese seizure of Hormuz. In this penury of Iranian sources, it is certain that the Persian documents of the National Archives of the Torre do Tombo in Lisbon occupy an important place in research on the presence of the Portuguese in the Persian Gulf.

For this reason, since November 2003, in the framework of research on the Luso-Iranian relationships in the 16<sup>th</sup>-17<sup>th</sup> centuries, a project sponsored by the “Fundação para a Ciência e a Tecnologia” in Lisbon, the present author has undertaken an exhaustive study of these documents.<sup>1</sup> The present study, while showing the furtherance of the different stages of this study, provides a part of results obtained. These subject matters will complete the final work that will be finished and presented in the form of a book in 2007 for the occasion of the 500<sup>th</sup> birthday of the relations between Portugal and Iran.

1. This project is directed jointly by professor Adel Sidarous, Directeur of Research in “*Instituto de Investigação Científica Tropical*” (ICT) in Lisbon, and Mrs Dejanirah Couto, Professor at “*École Pratique des Hautes Études*” (EPHE), in Paris.

Nader Nasiri-Moghaddam  
Université de Strasbourg, France  
Nasiri@unistra.fr:

## 1. «Documentos Orientais»

### 1.1. State of the collection

In the National Archives of the Torre do Tombo in Lisbon, the Persian documents of the 16<sup>th</sup>-17<sup>th</sup> centuries are selected and preserved, in general, under a large category, called formally “Cartas Orientais” or “Documentos arábigos” and, currently, “Documentos Orientais”. This collection forms a part of the archive of the “Manuscritos da Casa dos Tratados”. The catalogue of the Archives presents the collection of the “Documentos Orientais” in the following way:

*Documentos em caracteres árabes (SR)*

*Dimensão: 2 mç.*

*Data descritiva: séc. XVI*

*Âmbito e conteúdo:*

Os documentos são provenientes das praças de África e do Oriente, nomeadamente de Ormuz e reportam-se às relações com as entidades locais. Inclui três fragmentos em hebraico.

*Nota de publicação:*

LOPES, David, *Textos em Aljamia portuguesa. Estudo filológico e histórico*. Lisboa: Imprensa Nacional, 1940. 2<sup>a</sup> edição.

SOUSA, Fr. João de, *Documentos arabicos para a historia portuguesa copiados dos originaes da Torre do Tombo*. Lisboa: Academia Real das Ciências, 1790.

Os documentos em língua persa, árabe e turca foram publicados sem tradução por YAKUM, Jalad.<sup>2</sup> *A questão de Ormuz (...): Irão e Portugal*. Teerão, H. 1354.

*Notas:*

É o número 891 do “Núcleo Antigo”.<sup>3</sup>

We see that the “Documentos Orientais” are composed of two “Maço”: the first one relates to the Indian Ocean, particularly the Persian Gulf; the second concerns essentially the relations between Portugal and the North Africa. The “Maço I” was composed in origin of 97 documents (47 in Arabic, 45 in Persian, 3 in Turkish and 2 in Hebrew). But, in 1954, two years after an identification, undertaken by late Jean Aubin, five Arabic documents (numbers 12, 15, 16, 55 and 56) of this collection were transferred to

the “Maço II” that contains only the documents in Arabic language.

In 1994, these two “Maço” were separately microfilmed: Mf. 457 (Maço I) and Mf. 687 (Maço II). There is also another microfilm, made in 1998 (Mf. 2506 P.), that contains only the documents of Maço I. At first sight, one can imagine that this is a duplicate of the microfilm n°457. But, we compared them and noticed that the second is more complete because it contains the images of the back of all the documents; what is not the case in the first microfilm (Mf. 457). It is necessary to mention here that our study is based on this second microfilm as well as on the consultation of the originals. The Direction of the Archives of the Torre do Tombo allowed us in the course of our research to consult the originals of the entire Persian documents. Here, we thank the late Jean Aubin for authorization to closely examine closely the documents and to obtain the information about their state of conservation, their dimensions and a lot of other details which we could not have raised by consulting only the microfilms.

In 1952, as it has been already mentioned, the “Documentos Orientais” were identified from the point of view of the language by the late Jean Aubin. Concerning this identification and the classification, carried out for the first time by Jean Aubin, who later wrote:

En procédant, en 1952, à un premier inventaire des “Cartas Orientais” relatives à l’Océan Indien, j’obtins un nombre de documents [...]. Toutes les pièces, qui étaient conservées soigneusement mais non classées, furent numérotées au crayon. J’affectai des chiffres aux documents ou aux fragments de documents, à mesure qu’ils m’étaient communiqués. Ces cotes [...] n’ont d’autre mérite que de servir à retrouver les pièces, aucune logique n’ayant pu présider à leur établissement ; de plus, les identifications provisoires que j’établiss alors, dans des conditions d’examen défectueuses et hâtives, sont plus d’une fois à rectifier.<sup>4</sup>

### 1.1. Studies undertaken on the collection

For the first time, at the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, a selection of around fifty of the documents in Arabic language of the “Documentos Orientais” of the Torre do Tombo was published with Portuguese translation, by Fr. João de Sousa in a volume of 190 pages.<sup>5</sup> This Franciscan monk of Syrian origin, who then occupied the post of the official

2. The name of Jalad YAKUM is a misprint and its undoubtedly Jahāngir Qā'em-Maqāmi, the author of: *Asnād-e farsi, 'arabi va torki dar ārshiv-e mellī-ye Porteghāl dar-bāra-ye Hormuz va Khalij-e Fārs. Jeld-e yekom — madkhal : mas'ala-ye Hormuz dar ravābet-e Irān va Porteghāl* [Persian, Arabic and Turkish Documents in the National Archives of Portugal relating to Hormuz and the Persian Gulf. Volume 1: Prelude: the question of Hormuz in the relations between Iran and Portugal], Tehran, 1354/1975.

3. *Guia Geral dos Fundos da Torre do Tombo*, Primeira Parte Instituições do Antigo Regime, volume I, Administração Central (1), Lisboa, 1998, p. 88 ; Maria do Carmo Jasmíns Dias Farinha & Maria do Fátima Dentinho Ó Ramos, *Núcleo Antigo Inventário*, Lisboa, 1996, p. 79.

4. Jean Aubin, « Les documents arabes, persans et turcs de la Torre do Tombo », *Mare Luso-Indicum*, II, Centre de recherches d'Histoire et de Philologie de la IV<sup>e</sup> section de l'École pratique des Hautes Études, Paris, 1973, p. 186.

5. Fr. João de Sousa, *Documentos arabicos para a historia portuguesa copiados dos originaes da Torre do Tombo com permissão de S. Magestade e vertidos em portuguez por ordem da Academia Real das Sciencias de Lisboa por Fr. João de Sousa correspondente de Numero da mesma Academia, e interprete de Sua Magestade para a Lingua Arabica*, Lisboa, 1790.

interpreter at the court of Portugal, had poorly read or badly understood some passages in the documents.<sup>6</sup> He has also misidentified the majority of the dates, deformed the proper names and spread thus through his texts, the misreading and the misinterpretation.<sup>7</sup> Fr. João de Sousa did not touch the Persian documents and only mentioned that they relate to the relations between the courts of Shāh Esmā‘il Safavid and Dom Manuel (1495-1521).<sup>8</sup> However, among these documents, that come mainly from the Persian Gulf, none emanates from the chancery of the Safavids.

In spite of the deficiencies and errors in Fr. João de Sousa's work, it was necessary to wait until the 20<sup>th</sup> century in order for the researchers to study the "Documentos Orientais": in December 1914, during a session in the Academy of Sciences of Lisbon, the distinguished Portuguese Arabist scholar David Lopes addressed the insufficiencies of Fr. João de Sousa's work.<sup>9</sup> Later, in 1930, he collaborated with Father Georg Schurhammer, who by helping the work of Fr. João de Sousa proceeded to a beginning of classification of oriental documents of the Torre do Tombo. They identified 46 Arabic documents almost dating all from the reign of Dom Manuel (1495-1521).<sup>10</sup> In 1931, during the International Congress of Orientalists, Father Georg Schurhammer briefly presented the Portuguese archives' importance to the Orientalists.<sup>11</sup> And, the following year, he published his precious report the *Zeitgenössischen Quellen zur Geschichte Portugiesisch-Asiens und seiner Nachbarländer zur Zeit des Hl. Franz Xaver (1538-1552)* in which he also paid attention to some Persian documents concerning the Indian Ocean.<sup>12</sup> During a twenty years period, from 1934 to 1953, a team of researchers, specialists from Morocco, published in *Les sources inédites de l'Histoire du Maroc*, the documents of archives and libraries of Portugal. Several of these documents were from the "Manuscritos da Casa

dos Tratados".<sup>13</sup> Among these documents, some already published by Fr. João de Sousa, came from the collection of the "Documentos Orientais".<sup>14</sup> According to the editors of this new publication, "the transcriptions and translations of Fr. João de Sousa are so erroneous that they cannot, in any case, be used by historians".<sup>15</sup> Nevertheless, when towards the end of years 1960 Father Schurhammer published the list of three hundred thirty-four letters belonging to first half of the 16<sup>th</sup> century in oriental languages or in Portuguese translation of the period, for the Arabic documents, his work rested again, partly, on the erroneous edition of Fr. João de Sousa.<sup>16</sup>

If the studies on the Arabic documents of the collection of "Documentos Orientais" go back to more than two centuries, on the other hand, research on the Persian documents of this collection are recent. Indeed, there are only some thirty years since the late Jean Aubin paid attention to the importance of Portuguese archives' documents for the history of the Indo-Islamic world of the Indian Ocean in 16<sup>th</sup> century. He therefore took the initiative for the preparation of a critical edition of these new sources. soon, however, he confronted the difficulties of this task, he renounced this idea and decided to proceed otherwise. The following passage by Jean Aubin teaches us more explicitly the reasons for this decision:

En eux-mêmes ces documents orientaux n'ont qu'une signification incomplète. Quiconque prétendrait les utiliser sans posséder la culture historique qui, seule, fonde les jugements s'aventurerait à commettre les plus graves méprises, et ce qui est pire à les répandre. Même sans s'élever au-dessus de l'humble niveau du déchiffrement, c'est bien souvent la connaissance intime du contexte historique, plus encore que l'intuition philologique, qui guide la lecture de textes hérissés d'incorrections grammaticales et d'allusions obscures. Le sens littéral et la portée exacte de chaque pièce n'apparaissent qu'à la lumière d'un commentaire approfondi, ce qui implique un constant et minutieux recours à la documentation parallèle en portugais, infiniment plus abondante, non moins objective, et malheureusement encore en majeure partie inédite.

C'est pourquoi j'ai renoncé à accomplir sous sa forme simple [...] une édition critique de tous les documents accompagnés de reproductions en fac-similé. Comme la collection des «Cartas Orientais» intéresse l'histoire de l'Océan Indien depuis Mozambique

6. Jean Aubin, *op. cit.*, pp. 183-184.

7. *Les sources inédites de l'Histoire du Maroc. Première série : Dynastie Sa'adienne. Archives et bibliothèques de Portugal*, Paris, 1934, tome I, p. iv, note 1.

8. Fr. João de Sousa, *Vestigios da lingua arabica em Portugal*, Lisboa, 1789, p. vii.

9. Academia das Ciências de Lisboa, *Boletim da segunda classe*, vol. IX (1914-1915), pp. 26-27. David Lopes had also studied, towards the end of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, eight letters in Aljamia (Portuguese written in Arab characters), drawn from a separated notebook, preserved in the fund of the "Manuscritos da Casa dos Tratados". See David Lopes, *Textos em Aljamia portuguesa. Estudo filológico e histórico*, Lisboa, 1897.

10. Jean Aubin, *op. cit.*, pp. 185-186.

11. G. Schurhammer, « Die Wichtigkeit der portugiesischen Archiv für die Orientalistik », dans les *Actes du XVIIIe Congrès International des Orientalistes*, Leyde, 1931, pp. 162-163.

12. Georg Schurhammer, *Die Zeitgenössischen Quellen zur Geschichte Portugiesisch-Asiens und seiner Nachbarländer zur Zeit des Hl. Franz Xaver (1538-1552)*, Leipzig, 1932. This edition made the object of a reedition updated in *Bibliotheca Instituti Historici*, vol. XX, Rome 1962 (= Georg Schurhammer, *Gesammelte Studien*, I).

13. *Les sources inédites de l'Histoire du Maroc...*, *op. cit.*, tomes I-V (en six volumes), Paris, 1934-53.

14. *Ibid.*, tome I, pp. 178, 234, 249, 316, 362, 370 ; tome II, pp. 16, 19, 41, 348, 459, 495, 500.

15. *Ibid.*, tome II, p. 17, note 1.

16. Georg Schurhammer, « Orientalische Briefe aus der Zeit des Hl. Franz Xaver (1500-1552) », in *Euntes docete*, XX (1968), pp. 255-301.

jusqu'à Malacca, il ne m'a semblé ni possible d'en ramasser la matière en une seule livraison, ni souhaitable d'attendre que l'ensemble soit prêt pour mettre à la disposition des historiens ces matériaux ignorés. Les documents seront donc publiés au fur et à mesure que s'élaborent, au Centre d'Études islamiques et orientales d'Histoire comparée, les recherches auxquelles ils se rapportent.<sup>17</sup>

Two Persian and two Arabic documents of the "Documentos Orientais" were published, in all, by Aubin.<sup>18</sup> Nevertheless, this first step made the light on this collection and has always served as a model for other researchers coming from others horizons.

Among the Iranians, the late Jahāngir Qā'em-Maqāmi was the first who showed interest in "Documentos Orientais". A colonel of the Imperial Army of Iran and a doctor in history, he discovered the Persian documents of the Torre do Tombo, first, through the researches of Jean Aubin, then, during a scientific mission to Portugal (September 1972 - March 1973), commissioned by the Imperial Army of Iran. He obtained a microfilm of these documents. Qā'em-Maqāmi published his first results, between 1974 and 1975, in the historical journal of the Army *Barrasi-hā-ye tārikhi* (Historical Research).<sup>19</sup> Then, in 1975, he published them in a first volume, devoted to the kingdom of Hormuz in the 16<sup>th</sup>-17<sup>th</sup> centuries.<sup>20</sup> In this work, he referred to the documents presented in the appendices, which would be, according to him, published soon in a second volume. But, this volume never appeared. In fact, the work of Qā'em-Maqāmi on documents, that is, his own reading of them, remained in the shape of some articles, published between June 1977 and September 1978 in the last issues of the *Barrasi-hā-ye tārikhi*. In this series of articles, Qā'em-Maqāmi presented a selection of 46 documents, including 41 in Persian and 5 translated from Arabic into Persian, extracted from the book of Fr. João de Sousa, all coming from "Documentos Orientais" of the Torre do Tombo.<sup>21</sup> This reading of documents is important;

17. Jean Aubin, *op. cit.*, p. 187.

18. Jean Aubin, *op. cit.*, pp. 183-214.

19. Jahāngir Qā'em-Maqāmi, « Mas'ala-ye Hormuz dar ravābet-e Irān va Porteghāl », *Barrasi-hā-ye tārikhi*, IX/3, (Mordād-Shahrivar 1353 / Aug.-Sept. 1974), n°52, pp. 211-280 ; IX/4, (Meh-Ābān 1353 / Oct.-Nov. 1974), n°53, pp. 247-286 ; IX/5, (Āzar-Dey 1353 / Dec. 1974-Jan. 1975), n°54, pp. 225-258 ; IX/6, (Bahman-Esfand 1353 / Feb.-March 1975), n°55, pp. 187-220 ; X/1, (Farvardin-Ordibehesht 1354 / April-May 1975), n°56, pp. 201-250 ; X/2, (Khordād-Tir 1354 / June-July 1975), n°57, pp. 205-242.

20. Idem, *Asnād-e Farsi, 'Arabi va Torki dar ārshiv-e melli-e Porteghāl dar-bāre-ye Hormuz va Khalij-e Fārs. Jeld-e yekom — madkhal : mas'ale-ye Hormuz dar ravābet-e Irān va Porteghāl* [Documents persans, arabes, turcs dans les Archives Nationales du Portugal concernant Ormuz et le golfe Persique. Premier volume — prélude : la question d'Ormuz dans les relations entre l'Iran et le Portugal], Tehrān, 1354/1975.

21. Idem, « Asnād-e fārsi, 'arabi va torki dar ārshiv-e melli-ye Porteghāl darbāra-ye Hormuz va Khalij-e Fārs », *Barrasi-hā-ye tārikhi*, XII/2, (Khordād-Tir 2536 / June-July 1977), n°70, pp. 123-164 ; XII/3, (Mordād-

nevertheless, as it contains the mistakes and especially many the misprints that mislead in error the researchers. A second edition, revised by the author, never appeared because, on the one hand, the Islamic Revolution in 1979 put at end to the publication of *Barrasi-hā-ye tārikhi*. On the other hand, because of the problems of health, Qā'em-Maqāmi died a short time after the Revolution before having he had chance to undertake a second edition of his readings of the documents in a book as a second volume for his first work.

It is interesting to know that in 1990, after Qā'em-Maqāmi had passed away, the Iranian ministry of Foreign Affairs published the whole of his works on Hormuz in a collection entitled *Majmua-ye maqālāt-e Khalij-e Fārs*.<sup>22</sup> Thirty papers by twenty-two researchers are presented in this book of 976 pages on the Persian Gulf. The work of Qā'em-Maqāmi on the "Documentos Orientais", was not revised. Consequently, it contains the errors and the misprints of the first edition. Furthermore, this new edition presents in an often-illegible manner the facsimiles of documents that were reproduced much better in the first edition. This publication thus does not have any advantages except that of offering to the readers the whole researches of Qā'em-Maqāmi about the Persian Gulf according to the Persian documents of Torre do Tombo.

In addition to misreading and the misprints in his edition, Qā'em-Maqāmi's work poorly identified some documents. One of them is recently published in a study undertaken by Muzaffar Alam and Sanjay Subrahmanyam.<sup>23</sup> This work presents four Persian documents (D.O. n°8, 17, 30 and 31) of the Torre do Tombo concerning Gujarat. The transcription of the documents in this study is not always faithful to the originals. Furthermore, when one compares the transcriptions with the originals (reproduced in facsimiles at the end of the article) one notices some inaccuracies in the reading, particularly for document number 31.

To finish this part, it should be specified that, besides the Persian documents of the collection of the "Documentos Orientais", there is also in Torre do Tombo a very small number of documents in Persian language which are dispersed in other collections or classified under the same mark as their Portuguese translations of time. Three of

Shahrivar 2536 / Aug.-Sept. 1977), n°71, pp. 161-208 ; XII/4, (Meh-Ābān 2536 / Oct.-Nov. 1977), n°72, pp. 193-214 ; XII/5, (Āzar-Dey 2536 / Dec. 1977—Jan. 1978), n°73, pp. 221-254 ; XII/6, (Bahman-Esfand 2536 / Feb.-March 1978), n°74, pp. 189-224 ; XIII/1, (Farvardin-Ordibehesht 2537 / April-May 1978), n°75, pp. 191-218 ; XIII/2, (Khordād-Tir 2537 / June-July 1978), n°76, pp. 255-286 ; XIII/3, (Mordād-Shahrivar 1357 / Aug.-Sept. 1978), n°77, pp. 235-280.

22. *Majmua-ye maqālāt-e Khalij-e Fārs* [recueil d'articles sur le golfe Persique], éd. Centre d'études sur le golfe Persique au ministère iranien des Affaires étrangères, Tehrān, 1369/1990.

23. Muzaffar Alam & Sanjay Subrahmanyam, "Letters from a Sinking Sultan", in L. F. Thomaz (ed.), *Aquém e Além da Taprobana*, 2002, pp. 239-269. Il s'agit du doc. n°2, présenté dans l'article. (IAN/TT, Doc. Orien. Mç I, n°17).

these documents have recently been made the subject of a study undertaken by Mrs. Dejanirah Couto.<sup>24</sup> Due to the importance of these pieces, they are also taken into account in the present study.

## 2. Selective presentation of the documents

In this part, a selection of thirteen Persian documents of the collection of the "Documentos Orientais" as well as two other documents in Persian language, preserved in the collection "*Cartas dos Vice-Reis e Governadores da Índia*" in the Archives of the Torre do Tombo, will be presented. These documents that pertain the Persian Gulf, have a special importance for the history of the relations between Iran and Portugal in 16<sup>th</sup>-17<sup>th</sup> centuries. This is why they appear in this presentation.

The fifteen criteria were chosen for this presentation in order to provide the most data concerning the statement of the documents, their contents, etc. When some criteria such as the name of the sender or the recipient or the date do not figure on a document, they are mentioned between two hooks [ ] if the document is well identified.

**Reference:** IAN/TT/DO, Mç. I, n°6

**Type of the document:** letter

**Sender:** Dom Francisco da Almeida, the viceroy of India (1505-09)

**Recipient:** Abu al-Mozaffar Sayf al-Din Abā-Nasr-Shāh, the king of Hormuz (1505-15)

**Date:** 8 ziqa'da [ 913 / March 10, 1508 ]

**Length:** 88 cm.

**Width:** 20.5 cm.

**Number of lines:** 39 (text) 2 (border) 1 (in Portuguese)

**Ink:** black

**Paper:** «*nokhodi*» (buff), pasted and restored back, folded in two, damaged and in some places are torn and words lack

**Back of the document:** the word "*Soltāni*" in Persian

**Note by Aubin:** « N° 6, doc. *Persan*, Le Vice-roi au roi d'Ormuz – se plaint de n'avoir pas reçu de réponse à l'un de ses envois. Le litige avec le Capitão est résolu et des gens de Jarun qui avaient été arrêtés ont été libérés. Le roi d'Ormuz peut être assuré que si le Capitão est coupable il sera jugé par le Roi du Portugal. Quatre navires chargés de captifs musulmans sont arrivés aux Indes ; les captifs ont été libérés. Le roi d'Ormuz doit traiter en toute confiance avec l'ambassadeur qui lui est envoyé ».

**Summary:** By this letter, the viceroy of India asks the king of Hormuz to preserve the good relations with Portugal. He explains to him that because of bad behaviour of Albuquerque, the other Portuguese captains left him and returned to Goa and Albuquerque was obliged to go

24. Dejanirah Couto, « Trois documents sur une demande de secours d'Ormuz à la Porte Ottomane », in *Anais de História de Além-Mar*, vol. III, Lisboa, 2002, pp. 469-493.

alone to Sokutreh. The viceroy promises to make punish Albuquerque for his behaviour. He asks the king of Hormuz to send the gifts to the king of Portugal and to inform the later more and more of the state of Hormuz in order to preserve the good bilateral relations. He also mentions that the Moslem prisoners all were released. They have taken the way of return to Hormuz. According to Dom Francisco da Almeida, a Portuguese captain named "Semaldin" will arrive from Goa as a messenger and he will give the news to the king of Hormuz. It is thus necessary to believe in his words.

**Bibliography:** Jahāngir Qā'em-Maqāmi, « Asnād-e fārsi, 'arabi va torki dar ārshiv-e melli-ye Porteghāl darbāra-ye Hormuz va Khalij-e Fārs », *Barrasi-hā-ye tārikhi XII/2*, (Khordād-Tir 2536 / June-July 1977), n°70, pp. 128-132 ; *Das Relações entre Portugale e a Pérsia*, pp. 11-12 (Cartas, III, p. 295-7, TT: CC. 1-7-56, TT: DO. 1-6).

**Observation:** —

\*\*\*\*\*

**Reference:** IAN/TT/DO, Mç. I, n°11

**Type of the document:** letter

**Sender:** Khāja 'Atā', the vizier of Hormuz (1505-12)

**Recipient:** Afonso de Albuquerque, the commander of the Portuguese warships in the Indian Ocean and the Persian Gulf, the future governor of India (1509-15)

**Date:** [Jamādi al-awwal 914 / August-September 1508]

**Length:** 47 cm.

**Width:** 18.5 cm.

**Number of lines:** 28 (text), 15 (border), 1 (in Portuguese)

**Ink:** black

**Paper:** «*nokhodi*» (buff), damaged, some places are torn

**Back of the document:** two lines in Portuguese

**Aubin's note:** —

**Summary:** After having sent the two letters in Persian of the viceroy of India to Albuquerque, the latter apparently refuses to admit that they are from the viceroy. This is why, in the present letter Khāja 'Atā' mentions that these two letters are from the viceroy and his envoy can confirm it. Then, Khāja 'Atā' specifies that it will be impossible for him to pay the sum of 15000 *ashrafi* by way of tax. If all occurs well and that Hormuz makes well its trade one can hope that the king will pay something but, since the arrival of the Portuguese and the damages caused, it is not possible at the moment to pay this tax. Khāja 'Atā' specifies that he will make known to the viceroy all the damages caused by Albuquerque. He also mentions that he had just received another letter from the viceroy with the seal of the king of Portugal. He is ready to show it to Albuquerque or to his envoy. Khāja 'Atā' accuses Albuquerque to have no good intentions about Hormuz otherwise when he arrived at Hormuz last year he would have listened to Khāja and after taking the money he should have left and not to remain in Hormuz for five month and have ended up starting a war. He says that henceforth he will negotiate with the viceroy



of India because in spite of his absence, the latter is a friend of Hormuz, whereas Albuquerque has not upheld his promises towards the king of Hormuz despite remaining in the region. Then, he tells that the four Portuguese captains who left Albuquerque to go to India were faithful to their king, because they saw that Albuquerque was working towards the destruction of Hormuz. According to Khāja ‘Atā’, it was for this reason that several Portuguese soldiers had left Albuquerque in Qalhāt when this locality was besieged by Albuquerque. Khāja ‘Atā’ continues this letter by mentioning that he is not afraid to fight against Albuquerque. He finishes this letter by specifying that he has prepared for a possible Portuguese attack and proposes to Albuquerque to send someone to see them. For proving to Albuquerque that this letter is from Khāja ‘Atā’, the latter places his seal at the bottom of the letter. Here is the content of the seal: “Ānka Shāh rāst banda-ye jāni, hast bi-shak, ‘Atā’ Soltāni”. Translation: The person who is the servant of the Shah (king of Hormuz) and ready to sacrifice himself (for the Shah) is, without any doubt, ‘Atā’ Soltāni.

**Bibliography:** Jean Aubin, «Les documents arabes, persans et turcs de la Torre do Tombo », *Mare Luso-Indicum*, II, Centre de recherches d’Histoire et de Philologie de la IV<sup>e</sup> section de l’École pratique des Hautes Études, Paris, 1973, pp. 194-199 ; Jahāngir Qā’em-Maqāmi, «Asnād-e fārsi, ‘arabi va torki dar ārshiv-e melli-ye Porteghāl darbāra-ye Hormuz va Khalij-e Fārs», *Barrasi-hā-ye Tārikhi*, XII/2, (Khordād-Tir 2536 / June-July 1977), n°70, pp. 142-146 ; *Das Relações entre Portugale e a Pérsia*, p. 18 (*Comentários* I, fol. 83 r-v).

**Observation:** This is the only letter of Khāja ‘Atā’ among the “Documentos Orientais” that carries his seal. Therefore, it is an important document that makes possible to know the contents of the seal of Khāja ‘Atā’.

\*\*\*\*\*

**Reference:** IAN/TT/DO, Mç. I, n°13

**Type of the document:** letter

**Sender:** Khāja ‘Atā’, the vizier of Hormuz (1505-12)

**Recipient:** Alfonso de Albuquerque, the commander of the Portuguese warships in the Indian Ocean and the Persian Gulf, the future governor of India (1509-15)

**Date:** [Jamādi al-awwal 914 / August-September 1508]

**Length:** 38.5 cm.

**Width:** 18.7 cm.

**Number of lines:** 14 (text), 1 (in Portuguese)

**Ink:** black

**Paper:** «*nokhodi*» (buff), back is restored and pasted

**Back of the document:** two lines in Portuguese

**Aubin’s note:** —

**Summary:** In this letter, Khāja ‘Atā’ complains about the behaviour of Albuquerque. According to Khāja, the Portuguese viceroy of India, Dom Francisco da Almeida has sent a letter in which he warned Albuquerque and other Portuguese captains not to intervene in the affairs

of Hormuz neither to take the boats of Hormuz. However, according to Khāja ‘Atā’, Albuquerque did not comply with these instruction. The second letter of the viceroy, addressed to the king of Hormuz, Sayf al-Din Abā-Nasr which also carried the seal of the king of Portugal, had not been taken seriously by Albuquerque. Khāja ‘Atā’ and the king Sayf al-Din had just received two other letters in Persian from the viceroy, Dom Francisco da Almeida by the intermediary of his envoy Khāja Amir and a group of peoples coming from Cananor. Khāja sends them to Albuquerque and asks him to return them to him once he read the letter. Khāja ‘Atā’ also mentions that he will send somebody by a boat towards Goa in order to inform the viceroy of the actions of Albuquerque and to tell him that he [Albuquerque] has become “harām-khār-e” (traitor) of the king of Portugal.

**Bibliography:** Jean Aubin, «Les documents arabes, persans et turcs de la Torre do Tombo », *Mare Luso-Indicum* II, Centre de recherches d’Histoire et de Philologie de la IV<sup>e</sup> section de l’École pratique des Hautes Études, Paris, 1973, pp. 191-195 ; Jahāngir Qā’em-Maqāmi, «Asnād-e fārsi, ‘arabi va torki dar ārshiv-e melli-ye Porteghāl darbāra-ye Hormuz va Khalij-e Fārs», *Barrasi-hā-ye Tārikhi* XII/2, (Khordād-Tir 2536 / June-July 1977), n°70, pp. 140-141 ; *Das Relações entre Portugale e a Pérsia*, p. 17 (*Comentários* I, fol. 82 r-v).

**Observation:** This letter is signed: ‘an qowl [dictated by] ‘Atā’ Soltāni.” This signature shows that contrary to some Iranian and European studies, the exact name of the vizier of the king of Hormuz was ‘Atā’ (gift) and not ‘Attār (druggist).

\*\*\*\*\*

**Reference:** IAN/TT/DO, Mç. I, n°29

**Type of the document:** letter

**Sender:** Mohammad-Shāh I, the king of Hormuz (1522-34)

**Recipient:** Dom João III, the king of Portugal (1521-57)

**Date:** [938-40 / 1532-34]

**Length:** 110 cm.

**Width:** 21.5 cm.

**Number of lines:** 21 (text)

**Ink:** black

**Paper:** «*nokhodi*» (buff), back is restored and pasted

**Back of the document:** the note of Aubin

**Aubin’s note:** «N° 29 de Muhammad Šāh, roi d’Ormuz (1521-1534) à D. João III. se plaint des exigences financières des Portugais qui approuvaient son État menacé par les princes des coutvent iraniens»

**Summary:** By this letter the king of Hormuz wishes to make known to the king of Portugal about the bad economic situation of his kingdom. According to him, there is in the “Feitori” (Portuguese commercial office in Hormuz) a document, signed by Albuquerque and António de Saldanha, according to which in the case of economic

problems the king of Hormuz pays only 25000 *ashrafi* for the annual tax and his kingdom would be protected by Portugal against a possible attack. The king specifies that for the past two-three years, because of contact with Gujarat and Konbā'i (two localities in India), no product had arrived at the shopping centre of Hormuz (Banksār). Consequently, he wishes to pay only 25000 *ashrafi*. This letter reveals that the annual tax of Hormuz had not been paid for some time. The king asks the Portuguese protection against a possible attack by the governor of Lār, a region in the south of Iran, in general, under the authority of the governor of Fārs. The troops of the governor of Lār, according to the king, had arrived in Nakhlestān and in Bostān, in the south of Iran and they intended to take boats to attack Hormuz. With this letter in hand, the king of Hormuz sends a copy of the document that existed in the "Feitori" with the certificate of the Portuguese captain António da Silveira de Meneses and other important Portuguese personalities at Hormuz. This letter carries the seal of the king: "Mohammad-Shāh Ibn Abā-Nasr-Shāh".

**Bibliography:** Jahāngir Qā'em-Maqāmi, «Asnād-e fārsi, 'arabi va torki dar ārshiv-e melli-ye Porteghāl darbāra-ye Hormuz va Khalij-e Fārs», *Barrasi-hā-ye Tārikhi* XII/2, (Khordād-Tir 2536 / June-July 1977), n°70, pp. 159-164; *Das Relações entre Portugale e a Pérsia*, p. 173, (TT: DO. 1-29).

**Observation:** In the same connection, an Arabic letter was sent to the viceroy of India on behalf of the king of Hormuz (D.O. Mç I, n°81). Another Arabic letter in the same connection was addressed to the king of Portugal by Ra'is Sharaf al-Din, then vizier of Hormuz. It is presented in the book of De Sousa, pp. 188-90. These two letters are not dated.

\*\*\*\*\*

**Reference:** IAN/TT/DO, Mç. I, n°32

**Type of the document:** letter

**Sender:** Dom Francisco da Almeida, the viceroy of India (1505-09)

**Recipient:** Khāja 'Atā', the vizier of Hormuz (1505-12)

**Date:** 8 [ziqa'da 913 / March 10, 1508]

**Length:** 52 cm.

**Width:** 20 cm.

**Number of lines:** 33 (text), 1 (border), 1 (in Portuguese)

**Ink:** black

**Paper:** «*nokhodi*» (buff), back is restored and pasted, a small part is torn

**Back of the document:** two lines in Portuguese and the note of Aubin

**Aubin's note:** «N° 32 Persan. Lettre de D. Françisco d'Almeida à «Cojeatar» vizir d'Ormuz. (date 1508) (voir un autre exemplaire de cette lettre dans la collection)»

**Summary:** By this letter, the viceroy of India asks Khāja 'Atā' to maintain good relations with Portugal. He explains to him that because of bad behaviour of Albuquerque,

the other captains left him and returned to Goa and Albuquerque was obliged to go all alone to Sokutreh. The viceroy promises to punish Albuquerque for his behaviour. He asks the vizier of Hormuz to send the gifts to the king of Portugal and to maintain good relations by informing him more and more about the state of Hormuz. He also mentions that the Moslem captives were all released. They have taken the way of return to Hormuz. According to Dom Francisco da Almeida, a Portuguese captain named Semaldin will arrive from Goa as a messenger and will give to the vizier of Hormuz the news. It is necessary therefore to believe in his words.

**Bibliography:** Jahāngir Qā'em-Maqāmi, «Asnād-e fārsi, 'arabi va torki dar ārshiv-e melli-ye Porteghāl darbāra-ye Hormuz va Khalij-e Fārs», *Barrasi-hā-ye Tārikhi* XII/2, (Khordād-Tir 2536 / June-July 1977), n°70, pp. 133-139 ; *Das Relações entre Portugale e a Pérsia*, p. 12, (Comentários I, fol. 82 v).

**Observation:** —

\*\*\*\*\*

**Reference:** IAN/TT/DO, Mç. I, n°35

**Type of the document:** decree

**Sender:** —

**Recipient:** —

**Date:** 1<sup>er</sup> rabi' al-sāni 973 [= October 26, 1565]

**Length:** 146 cm.

**Width:** 29.5 cm.

**Number of lines:** 18 (text)

**Ink:** black and the proper names are written gilded; there are also two seals that are equally gilded

**Paper:** «*nokhodi*» (buff), moistures' trace in all the borders, the document is preserved in a plastic protection (pouch not open)

**Back of the document:** the black seal of the vizier of Hormuz Nur al-Din Sharaf and the note of Aubin

**Aubin's note:** «N° 35, Ormuz, daté de Rabi II 973»

**Summary:** By this decree, the king of Hormuz Farrokh-Shāh I (1565-82) who had just seized power, confirms the method of the payment of the tax to the Portuguese, established for the first time in 1541 by Mozaffar al-Din Salghor-Shāh II (1534-41). In this decree, the king is indebted to the king of Portugal whose captain in Hormuz, Dom Pedro de Sousa, had played an important role in his arrival to the power. According to this decree, this method should be eternal.

**Bibliography:** Jahāngir Qā'em-Maqāmi, «Asnād-e fārsi, 'arabi va torki dar ārshiv-e melli-ye Porteghāl darbāra-ye Hormuz va Khalij-e Fārs», *Barrasi-hā-ye Tārikhi* XIII/3, (Mordād-Shahrivar 1357 / Aug.-Sept. 1978), n°77, pp. 271-280.

**Observation:** —

\*\*\*\*\*

**Reference:** IAN/TT/DO, Mç. I, n°36

**Type of the document:** letter

**Sender:** Rāshed Ibn Ahmad, the vizier of Hormuz (1529-33)

**Recipient:** Dom João III, the king of Portugal (1521-57)

**Date:** [939 / 1532-33]

**Length:** 80.5 cm.

**Width:** 27 cm.

**Number of lines:** 37 (text), 12 (border)

**Ink:** black

**Paper:** «*nokhodi*» (buff), back is restored and pasted, a small part is torn and some words lack

**Back of the document:** one line in Portuguese and the note of Aubin

**Aubin's note:** «N° 36 Persan du roi d'Ormuz date entre 1533 et 1536»

**Summary:** While making recommendation about the Portuguese captain of Hormuz António da Silveira de Meneses, Sheikh Kamāl al-Din Rāshed Ibn Ahmad Masqāti who was just appointed vizier of Hormuz, explains the economic situation in Hormuz and promises to make more profit for Portugal at Hormuz, more than it was made during the time of Ra'is Sharaf. The taxes levied in each region is mentioned in this letter. He accuses Ra'is Sharaf and the former Portuguese captains of Hormuz of corruption. According to him, the current captain António da Silveira de Meneses is an honest person who does not think about filling his pockets. The Portuguese viceroy of India Nuno da Cunha is also a good person, according to Sheikh Rāshed. He received nothing neither from Ra'is Sharaf who was ready to pay for his relaxation, nor from Khāja Ebrāhim who had plotted against the Portuguese. Then Sheikh Rāshed promises, during his mandate, to make profits for Portugal much more than before. He mentions that his 15 years old son is also as the vizier of Qalhāt, in the service of the king of Portugal. Sheikh Rāshed specifies that with the agreement of the Portuguese Captain of Hormuz, he has just sent one of his other sons to Jolfār for the administration of this region. This letter teaches us equally that the Portuguese viceroy of India, Nuno da Cunha sends his brother Simão da Cunha to Bahrain in vain to put his hand on this region.

**Bibliography:** Jahāngir Qā'em-Maqāmi, «Asnād-e fārsi, 'arabi va torki dar ārshiv-e melli-ye Porteghāl darbāra-ye Hormuz va Khalij-e Fārs», *Barrasi-hā-ye Tārikhi* XIII/1, (Farvardin-Ordibehesht 2537 / April-May 1978), n°75, pp. 200-207 ; *Das Relações entre Portugale e a Pérsia*, p. 173 (*Comentários* I, pp. 179-180).

**Observation:** The sender of this letter has been wrongly identified by Jean Aubin (see his note).

\*\*\*\*\*

**Reference:** IAN/TT/DO, Mç. I, n°45

**Type of the document:** letter

**Sender:** Ra'is Sharaf al-Din, the ex-vizier of Hormuz (1521-29)

**Recipient:** [Someone who had a high level at the Court of Portugal]

**Date:** Thursday 1<sup>st</sup> rajab [951 / September 18, 1544]

**Length:** 28 cm.

**Width:** 20.5 cm.

**Number of lines:** 13 (text), 4 (border)

**Ink:** brown

**Paper:** «*nokhodi*» (buff), different stains, some places are almost deleted, back is restored and pasted

**Back of the document:** the phrase of «Azhar men al-shams»

**Aubin's note:** «N° 45 Persan» (note being reproduced on the file)

**Summary:** By means of this letter, Ra'is Sharaf al-Din requires somebody who has a high level at the Court of Portugal to ask the king to forgive him in order that he might be able to return to Hormuz. He says that at the time of drafting of this letter he is more than 65 years old and he has two sons one of whom is in the service of the king of Hormuz and another is in the service of the king of Portugal in India.

**Bibliography:** Jahāngir Qā'em-Maqāmi, «Asnād-e fārsi, 'arabi va torki dar ārshiv-e melli-ye Porteghāl darbāra-ye Hormuz va Khalij-e Fārs», *Barrasi-hā-ye Tārikhi* XII/3, (Mordād-Shahrivar 2536 / Aug.-Sept. 1977), n°71, pp. 206-208.

**Observation:** In the beginning of this letter, Ra'is Sharaf says that he has been in Portugal for several years. This letter is dated Thursday 1<sup>st</sup> *Rajab*. Seeing that Ra'is Sharaf spent 15 years in exile from 1530 to 1545 and that during this period twice the 1<sup>st</sup> *Rajab* is Thursday: 1536 and 1544. It is therefore probable that this letter dates to 1544, because its author says that he is in Portugal for several years.

\*\*\*\*\*

**Reference:** IAN/TT/DO, Mç. I, n°66

**Type of the document:** letter

**Sender:** Rāshed Ibn Ahmad, the vizier of Hormuz (1529-33)

**Recipient:** Dom João III, the king of Portugal (1521-57)

**Date:** [938-39 / 1531-32]

**Length:** 81 cm.

**Width:** 24 cm.

**Number of lines:** 27 (text), 7 (border)

**Ink:** black

**Paper:** «*nokhodi*» (buff), back is restored and pasted, document is damaged by insects.

**Back of the document:** three lines in Persian: “azhar o men al-shams va anvar men al-qamar, banda-ye kamtarin bandagān Rāshed Ibn Ahmad, and the note of Aubin

**Aubin's note:** «N° 66 Persan Ormuz Lettre de Rāšid b Ahmad»

**Summary:** Through this letter, Rāshed Ibn Ahmad points out how faithful he is to the king of Portugal. He explains also that Ra'is Sharaf al-Din wanted to arrest him, in agreement with the Portuguese Captain of Hormuz Cristóvão de Mendonça (1528-31). But a day before his

arrest, the governor of India Nuno da Cunha (1529-40) arrived and after having studied the situation, brought with himself Rāshed Ibn Ahmad to Hormuz. He proposed to him the post of vizier. Rāshed Ibn Ahmad accepts this post only in order to serve the king of Portugal. Then, he explains that his enemies have attacked his house and burned it down. But since the arrival of the Portuguese Captain of Hormuz António da Silveira de Meneses (1532-35) every thing is in order. The economic situation of Hormuz is improving. Rāshed Ibn Ahmad therefore feels more reassured.

**Bibliography:** Jahāngir Qā'em-Maqāmi, «Asnād-e fārsi, 'arabi va torki dar ārshiv-e melli-ye Porteghāl darbāra-ye Hormuz va Khalij-e Fārs», *Barrasi-hā-ye Tārikhi XIII/2*, (Khordād-Tir 2537 / June-July 1978), n°76, pp. 268-273.

**Observation:** —

\*\*\*\*\*

**Reference:** IAN/TT/DO, Mç. I, n°71

**Type of the document:** letter

**Sender:** Mohammad-Shāh I, the king of Hormuz (1522-34)

**Recipient:** Dom João III, the king of Portugal (1521-57)

**Date:** [938-39 / 1531-32]

**Length:** 68.5 cm.

**Width:** 23 cm.

**Number of lines:** 13 (text), 8 (border)

**Ink:** black

**Paper:** «*nokhodi*» (buff), back is restored and pasted.

**Back of the document:** one line in Arabic : «Azhar men al-shams va anvar men al-qamar» (this line appears in the top of the document), one line in Portuguese, fragments of two seals of Mohammad-Shāh and the note of Aubin.

Aubin's note: «N° 71 Persan Ormuz lettre de Muhammad Šāh à D. João III»

**Summary:** By this letter, the king of Hormuz asks the king of Portugal to reduce the annual tax. In the last part of the letter, he makes a recommendation about the Portuguese captain of Hormuz António da Silveira de Meneses who had just taken up his functions in Hormuz. According to the king of Hormuz, the inhabitants are happy about this nomination because, this Portuguese captain is kind to them and the merchants are satisfied about the actions of Selveira.

**Bibliography:** Jahāngir Qā'em-Maqāmi, «Asnād-e fārsi, 'arabi va torki dar ārshiv-e melli-ye Porteghāl darbāra-ye Hormuz va Khalij-e Fārs», *Barrasi-hā-ye Tārikhi XIII/1*, (Farvardin-Ordibehesht 2537 / April-May 1978), n°75, pp. 215-218.

**Observation:** —

\*\*\*\*\*

**Reference:** IAN/TT/DO, Mç. I, n°73

**Type of the document:** letter

**Sender:** Mozaffar al-Din Salghor-Shāh II, the king of Hormuz (1534-41)

**Recipient:** Dom João III, the king of Portugal (1521-57)

**Date:** [944-45 / 1537-38]

**Length:** 120 cm.

**Width:** 21.5 cm.

**Number of lines:** 54 (text), 8 (border)

**Ink:** black

**Paper:** «*nokhodi*» (buff), back is restored and pasted, some words lack, some parts are torn.

**Back of the document:** the note of Aubin.

**Aubin's note:** «N° 73 Ormuz, lettre du roi Salghur Šāh Abā Nasr (1534-1541)»

**Summary:** In this letter, Salghor-Shāh complains to his vizier Ahmad Ibn Rāshed and requests the king of Portugal to allow him to appoint someone else as his vizier. He also says that as soon as he learnt the news concerning a possible attack by the Ottomans, he constructed the fortifications for which he spent 200 *lak*. He asks the king of Portugal to dismiss a person named Esfandiār who is probably the translator and to appoint someone else in his place. Then, he explains how Ahmad Ibn Rāshed, Esfandiār, Mollā Dāvud and sailor named Sharaf al-Din (who has not anything to do with Ra'is Sharaf al-Din) wanted to cheat in the commercial affairs and not to pay the taxes to the Portuguese. Then, he mentions that he sends this message by his servant of confidence "parda-dār". At the end of his letter, he solicits the administration of the custom house of Hormuz "Banksār". He promises to gain much more for Portugal. This letter carries the seal of the king of Hormuz: Salghor-Shāh Ibn Abā-Nasr-Shāh Ibn Shangal-Shāh. In the border, the king adds that the vizier and his friends have taken all in their hands and only the administration of the Hotel of the currency, the Tavern and the brokers remains for him. He asks that the answer to his letter should be given as soon as possible and that it is brought by his servant of confidence the "parda-dār".

**Bibliography:** Jahāngir Qā'em-Maqāmi, «Asnād-e fārsi, 'arabi va torki dar ārshiv-e melli-ye Porteghāl darbāra-ye Hormuz va Khalij-e Fārs», *Barrasi-hā-ye Tārikhi XIII/3*, (Mordād-Shahrivar 1357 / Aug.-Sept. 1978), n°77, pp. 257-264.

**Observation:** —

\*\*\*\*\*

**Reference:** IAN/TT/DO, Mç. I, n°76

**Type of the document:** letter

**Sender:** [Probably the elder of the sons of Ra'is Sharaf al-Din]

**Recipient:** Ra'is Sharaf al-Din, the ex-vizier of Hormuz (1521-29)

**Date:** [951 / 1544-45]

**Length:** 81 cm.

**Width:** 24 cm.

**Number of lines:** 35 (text recto), 30 (border recto, some lines lack), 37 (back text), 37 (border back, some lines lack)

**Ink:** black

**Paper:** «*nokhodi*» (buff), degraded and torn, several words and lines missing

**Back of the document:** text in Persian

**Aubin's note:** «N° 76 Persan, (il serait bien qu'on fixe les morceaux de marge avec papier collant transparent)» (note figurant sur le dossier)

**Summary:** This letter, written by one of the son of Ra'is Sharaf al-Din, evokes briefly the politic, economic and family events that took place in Hormuz and Bahrain. The son of Ra'is Sharaf explains that during the absence of his father the financial situation of the family became increasingly difficult. Especially, more recently some members of the family asked their share of the inheritance in the properties of Ra'is Sharaf in Bahrain. Then, he gives the news concerning the friends of Ra'is Sharaf some of whom had just died. Through this letter one learns also that probably Ra'is Sharaf had three wives and several children including at least five sons that are mentioned in this document. According to the author, his cousins had, for three years, occupied important posts in Jarun (Hormuz). In a passage the author mentions that Ra'is Sharaf had been away from the family for fifteen years. At the end of the letter, he notes that the king of Hormuz, Fakhr al-Din Turān-Shāh V (1542-64), was then in Goa. He also says that a new viceroy of India recently arrived in Goa. Dom João de Castro (1545-48) who was also the governor of India.

**Bibliography:** Jahāngir Qā'em-Maqāmi, «Asnād-e fārsi, 'arabi va torki dar ārshiv-e melli-ye Porteghāl darbāra-ye Hormuz va Khalij-e Fārs», *Barrasi-hā-ye Tārikhi* XII/6, (Bahman-Esfand 2536 / Feb.-March 1978), n°74, pp. 203-216.

**Observation:** This is another important letter in this collection throwing light on the situation of the family of Ra'is Sharaf during his exile.

\*\*\*\*\*

**Reference:** IAN/TT/DO, Mç. I, n°77

**Type of the document:** letter

**Sender:** Mozaffar al-Din Salghor-Shāh II, the king of Hormuz (1534-41)

**Recipient:** Dom João III, the king of Portugal (1521-57)

**Date:** [947 / 1540-41]

**Length:** 263 cm.

**Width:** 20 cm.

**Number of lines:** 112 (text)

**Ink:** black

**Paper:** «*nokhodi*» (buff), some lines are deleted, back is pasted and restored, in the form of roller (*tumār*)

**Back of the document:** one line in Arabic: "Besm al-Allāh al-Rahmān al-Rahim" and the note of Aubin.

**Aubin's note:** «N° 77 Persan, lettre de Salghurshāh b. Abā Nasr Šāh, frère et successeur de Muhammad Šāh (+1534)»

**Summary:** In this letter, Salghor-Shāh explains how

since his return from Goa, he was obliged to take as vizier Ahmad Ibn Rāshed who was then 15-16 years old. Then, he explains that from this nomination all went from bad to worse. Hormuz is now in a dismal situation economically and politically. The vizier spreads in the whole system corruption and some Portuguese captains are his accomplices. The vizier and his friends have struck a similar deal with that of the king and they falsify documents. The king who does not have any more authority, asks for the suppression of translator's post because this one is equally in cahoots with the vizier. According to the king of Hormuz, one does not need more official translator in Hormuz because everyone speaks Portuguese. In the rest of the letter, the king explains others actions of his vizier who only thinks of filling his pockets at all costs. According to the king, if this situation continues nothing thus will remain of Hormuz that is then in danger. The king mentions that he has sent several letters to Lisbon with the aim of being ensured that at least one will arrive at the Court of the king of Portugal because his vizier prevents the letters of the king of Hormuz or his envoys of confidence to reach Portugal. This letter is signed by the king: "Banda-ye kamtarin khedmat-kar Salghor-Shāh Abā-Nasr-Shāh".

**Bibliography:** Jahāngir Qā'em-Maqāmi, «Asnād-e fārsi, 'arabi va torki dar ārshiv-e melli-ye Porteghāl darbāra-ye Hormuz va Khalij-e Fārs», *Barrasi-hā-ye Tārikhi* XIII/3, (Mordād-Shahrivar 1357 / Aug.-Sept. 1978), n°77, pp. 237-256.

**Observation:** —

\*\*\*\*\*

**Reference:** IAN/TT/CVRI, n°82 (*Núcleo Antigo 876 Cartas dos Vice-Reis e Governadores da Índia n°1 a 190*)

**Type of the document:** letter

**Sender:** Ra'is Sharaf al-Din, the vizier of Hormuz (1521-29)

**Recipient:** Abu al-Nasr Amir Salmān, Pāsha et Commandant en chef de l'armée ottomane à Bassora

**Date:** [932-33 / 1526-27]

**Length:** 60 cm.

**Width:** 20 cm.

**Number of lines:** 32 (text), 4 (border)

**Ink:** Black

**Paper:** «*nokhodi*» (buff), the document is in good condition

**Back of the document:** seven lines in Persian, the seal of Ra'is Sharaf al-Din and a word in Portuguese

**Aubin's note:** —

**Summary:** By this letter, Ra'is Sharaf al-Din complains of the Portuguese domination in Hormuz, Jarun (Gombrun) as far as India. He says that on several occasions he wanted to go to Mecca in order to send from this town a report to the Ottoman Sultan "Soleymān Shāh" and to ask him for military assistance against the Portuguese. But, he heard that the troops of the Sultan arrived at Jeddah; this is why he waited days for the arrival of these soldiers in Hormuz

where the Portuguese were already in the process of escaping. He had even prepared an army of the volunteers to come to the assistance of the Ottomans. However, Sheykh Rāshed Masqati who had become friend and accomplice of the Portuguese, encouraged them to remain. Ra'is Sharaf requires that the Turkish troops arrive at Hormuz without delay. He says that he is ready to pay the allowances of this expedition. He also mentions that he is ready to pay 500 *tomāns* for the head of Rāshed Masqati, accomplice of the Portuguese and the assassin of the brother of Ra'is Sharaf, according to this letter.

**Bibliography:** Dejanirah Couto, «Trois documents sur une demande de secours d'Ormuz à la Porte Ottomanne», in *Anais de História de Além-Mar*, vol. III, Lisboa, 2002, pp. 469-493 ; Jahāngir Qā'em-Maqāmi, «Asnād-e fārsi, 'arabi va torki dar ārshiv-e melli-ye Porteghāl darbāra-ye Hormuz va Khalij-e Fārs», *Barrasi-hā-ye Tārikhi* XII/3, (Mordād-Shahrivar 2536 / Aug.-Sept. 1977), n°71, pp. 179-184.

**Observation:** —  
\*\*\*\*\*

**Reference:** IAN/TT/CVRI, n°86-A (*Núcleo Antigo 876 Cartas dos Vice-Reis e Governadores da Índia n°1 a 190*)

**Type of the document:** letter

**Sender:** Lohrāsb Ibn Mahmudshāh (one of the rivals of Ra'is Sharaf al-Din, the vizier of Hormuz from 1522 to 1529)

**Recipient:** Dom João III, the king of Portugal (1521-57)

**Date:** [934 / 1527-28]

**Length:** 41 cm.

**Width:** 21 cm.

**Number of lines:** 28 (text), 4 (border)

**Ink:** black

**Paper:** «*nokhodi*» (buff), the document is in good condition

**Back of the document:** two lines in Persian that give us the name of the author: “Banda-ye kamtarin gholāmān, mokhles-e bi-shobha, Lohrāsb Ibn Mahmudshāh”

**Aubin's note:** —

**Summary:** By this letter, Lohrāsb Ibn Mahmudshāh, who presents himself as a devotee of the king of Hormuz and the king of Portugal, explains how he succeeded in putting his hand on the letters of Ra'is Sharaf al-Din, addressed to the Ottomans asking them for military assistance against the Portuguese. According to Lohrāsb, these letters were brought to Qalhāt by Shojā' al-Din, a Ra'is Sharaf's-servant who gave them to Kamāl Pir Hoseyn Lāri in order that the latter might write another in the same way. But, Lāri kept them and did not return to Shojā' al-Din and showed them to Lohrāsb. Ra'is Sharaf, whom some time later was sent to Goa, brought Lāri with him to convince him to return the letters, but, Lāri, before his departure, gave the letters to Lohrāsb who awaited the departure of someone of confidence to take them for sending them to Portugal. The trustful person is a Portuguese whose name figures in the form of “Entāni” in the document. He swears

to show the letters only to the king of Portugal.

**Bibliography:** Dejanirah Couto, «Trois documents sur une demande de secours d'Ormuz à la Porte Ottomanne», *Anais de História de Além-Mar* III, 2002, pp. 469-493 ; Jahāngir Qā'em-Maqāmi, «Asnād-e fārsi, 'arabi va torki dar ārshiv-e melli-ye Porteghāl darbāra-ye Hormuz va Khalij-e Fārs», *Barrasi-hā-ye Tārikhi* XII/3, (Mordād-Shahrivar 2536 / Aug.-Sept. 1977), n°71, pp. 168-172.

**Observation:** “Entāni” the Portuguese whose name figures in this document is, in fact, António Tenreiro, the famous traveller and informer of D. João III. Tenreiro travelled in this period between India, the Persian Gulf and Portugal. See Dejanirah Couto, «Trois documents sur une demande de secours d'Ormuz à la Porte Ottomanne», *Anais de História de Além-Mar* III, 2002, pp. 475-476.

### 3. Conclusion

The Portuguese occupation of Hormuz, as mentioned in the introduction, continued for more than one century. From this long period, we have inherited approximately fifty documents in Persian language how housed in the National Archives of the Torre do Tombo in Lisbon. The number is admittedly limited in comparison with the Portuguese documents of the time that are in an innumerable quantity. Nevertheless, this small collection is very precious because it reveals the other side of the coin about the Portuguese presence in Hormuz. These Persian documents make it possible for the researchers to have another point of view that can complete or sometimes differ from the writings of the Portuguese chroniclers. As we showed in this work, the Persian documents of the Torre do Tombo treat essentially the question of Hormuz in the 16<sup>th</sup> century. They reveal in the camp of Iranians of Hormuz the plots that facilitated a lot the task of the Portuguese. The letters concerning Ra'is Sharaf al-Din, vizier of Hormuz from 1521 to 1529, clarify the new aspects in the biography of this mysterious personality of Hormuz who was sent into exile to Lisbon for a long period (at least fifteen years) and who was even imprisoned in Portugal.

The comparison between the Persian documents of the Torre do Tombo with their Portuguese translations of the time — obviously unequal, according to the quality of the translators or according to the importance consented to the approached subject — will allow us to evaluate the level of the reciprocal comprehension that existed at the time between the Iranians of Hormuz and the Portuguese. It will be also useful, even necessary, for the correct deciphering of the documents in the two languages. However, this task will be difficult and a tough one because, above all, for reading the Portuguese translations of the time, the knowledge of the language is not enough and it is also necessary to know to decipher their Gothic handwriting of the 16<sup>th</sup> century. This competence asks several years of

experience in the deciphering of the Portuguese documents. On the other hand, a lot of these Portuguese translations are dispersed now in various funds of the Torre do Tombo. It is necessary therefore to spend, perhaps, years to be able to find them, assuming that they exist.

## References

- Academia das Ciências de Lisboa,  
1914-1915 *Boletim da segunda classe*. vol. IX.
- David, L.,  
1897 *Textos em Aljama portuguesa. Estudo filológico e histórico*. Lisboa.
- Dejanirah, C.,  
2002 Trois documents sur une demande de secours d'Ormuz à la Porte Ottomane. In *Anais de História de Além-Mar*, vol. III, Lisboa, pp. 469-493.
- Fr. João de Sousa,  
1790 *Documentos arabicos para a historia portugueza copiados dos originaes da Torre do Tombo com permissão de S. Magestade e vertidos em portuguez por ordem da Academia Real das Sciencias de Lisboa por Fr. João de Sousa correspondente de Numero da mesma Academia, e interprete de Sua Magestade para a Lingua Arabica*. Lisboa.  
1789 *Vestigios da lingua arabica em Portugal*. Lisboa.
- Georg S.,  
1931 Die Wichtigkeit der portugiesischen Archiv für die Orientalistik. dans les *Actes du XVIIIe Congrès International des Orientalistes*, Leyde, pp. 162-163.  
1962 *Die Zeitgenössischen Quellen zur Geschichte Portugiesisch-Asiens und seiner Nachbarländer zur Zeit des Hl. Franz Xaver (1538-1552)*. Leipzig, 1932. Cette édition fit l'objet d'une réédition mise à jour dans la *Bibliotheca Instituti Historici*, vol. XX, Rome 1962.  
1968 Orientalische Briefe aus der Zeit des Hl. Franz Xaver (1500-1552). in *Euntes docete*, XX (1968), pp. 255-301.
- Guia Geral dos Fundos da Torre do Tombo*,  
1998 Primeira Parte Instituições do Antigo Regime, volume I, Administração Central (1), Lisboa.
- Jahângir Qâ'em-Maqâmi,  
1974/1353 Mas'ala-ye Hormuz dar ravâbet-e Irân va Porteghâl. *Barrasi-hâ-ye Târikhi*, IX/3, (Mordâd-Shahrivar 1353 / Aug.-Sept. 1974), n°52, pp. 211-280.  
1974/1353 Mas'ala-ye Hormuz dar ravâbet-e Irân va Porteghâl. *Barrasi-hâ-ye Târikhi*, IX/4, (Mehr-Âbân 1353 / Oct.-Nov. 1974), n°53, pp. 247-286.  
1974-1975/1353 Mas'ala-ye Hormuz dar ravâbet-e Irân va Porteghâl. *Barrasi-hâ-ye Târikhi*, IX/5, (Âzar-Dey 1353 / Dec. 1974—Jan. 1975), n°54, pp. 225-258.  
1975/1353 Mas'ala-ye Hormuz dar ravâbet-e Irân va Porteghâl. *Barrasi-hâ-ye Târikhi*, IX/6, (Bahman-Esfand 1353 / Feb.-March 1975), n°55, pp. 187-220.  
1975/1354 Mas'ala-ye Hormuz dar ravâbet-e Irân va Porteghâl. *Barrasi-hâ-ye Târikhi*, X/1, (Farvardin-Ordibehesht 1354 / April-May 1975), n°56, pp. 201-250.  
1975/1354 Mas'ala-ye Hormuz dar ravâbet-e Irân va Porteghâl. *Barrasi-hâ-ye Târikhi*, X/2, (Khordâd-Tir 1354 / June-July 1975), n°57, pp. 205-242.  
1975/1354 *Asnâd-e farsi, 'arabi va torki dar ârshiv-e melli-e Porteghâl dar-bâre-ye Hormuz va Khalij-e Fârs. Jeld-e yekom — madkhal : mas'ale-ye Hormuz dar ravâbet-e Irân va Porteghâl [Documents persans, arabes, turcs dans les Archives Nationales du Portugal concernant Ormuz et le golfe Persique. Premier volume — prélude : la question d'Ormuz dans les relations entre l'Iran et le Portugal]*, Tehrân.  
1977 Asnâd-e fârsi, 'arabi va torki dar ârshiv-e melli-ye Porteghâl darbâra-ye Hormuz va Khalij-e Fârs. *Barrasi-hâ-ye târikhi*, XII/2, (Khordâd-Tir 2536 / June-July 1977), n°70, pp. 123-164.  
1977 Asnâd-e fârsi, 'arabi va torki dar ârshiv-e melli-ye Porteghâl darbâra-ye Hormuz va Khalij-e Fârs. *Barrasi-hâ-ye târikhi*, XII/3, (Mordâd-Shahrivar 2536 / Aug.-Sept. 1977), n°71, pp. 161-208.  
1977-1978 Asnâd-e fârsi, 'arabi va torki dar ârshiv-e melli-ye Porteghâl darbâra-ye Hormuz va Khalij-e Fârs. *Barrasi-hâ-ye târikhi*, XII/4, (Mehr-Âbân 2536 / Oct.-Nov. 1977), n°72, pp. 193-214.  
1977-1978 Asnâd-e fârsi, 'arabi va torki dar ârshiv-e melli-ye Porteghâl darbâra-ye Hormuz va Khalij-e Fârs. *Barrasi-hâ-ye târikhi*, XII/5, (Âzar-Dey 2536 / Dec. 1977—Jan. 1978), n°73, pp. 221-254.  
1978 Asnâd-e fârsi, 'arabi va torki dar ârshiv-e melli-ye Porteghâl darbâra-ye Hormuz va Khalij-e Fârs. *Barrasi-hâ-ye târikhi*, XII/6, (Bahman-Esfand 2536 / Feb.-March 1978), n°74, pp. 189-224.  
1978 Asnâd-e fârsi, 'arabi va torki dar ârshiv-e melli-ye Porteghâl darbâra-ye Hormuz va Khalij-e Fârs. *Barrasi-hâ-ye târikhi*, XIII/1, (Farvardin-Ordibehesht 2537 / April-May 1978), n°75, pp. 191-218.  
1978 Asnâd-e fârsi, 'arabi va torki dar ârshiv-e melli-ye Porteghâl darbâra-ye Hormuz va Khalij-e Fârs. *Barrasi-hâ-ye târikhi*, XIII/2, (Khordâd-Tir 2537 / June-July 1978), n°76, pp. 255-286.  
1978 Asnâd-e fârsi, 'arabi va torki dar ârshiv-e melli-ye Porteghâl darbâra-ye Hormuz va Khalij-e Fârs. *Barrasi-hâ-ye târikhi*, XIII/3, (Mordâd-Shahrivar 1357 / Aug.-Sept. 1978), n°77, pp. 235-280.
- Jean Aubin  
1973 Les documents arabes, persans et turcs de la Torre do Tombo. *Mare Luso-Indicum*, II, Centre de recherches d'Histoire et de Philologie de la IVe section de l'École pratique des Hautes Études, Paris, pp. 183-214.  
2000 Cojeatar et Albuquerque. In Françoise Aubin (Ed.), *Le Latin et l'Astrolabe*, tome II, Lisbonne – Paris, pp. 149-196.
- Les sources inédites de l'Histoire du Maroc. Première série : Dynastie Sa'adienne. Archives et bibliothèques de Portugal*,  
1934-53 Tomes I-V (en 6 vols.), Paris, .
- Majmua-ye maqâlât-e Khalij-e Fârs [recueil d'articles sur le golfe Persique]*, éd.,  
1999/1369 Centre d'études sur le golfe Persique au ministère iranien des Affaires étrangères, Tehrân.
- Maria do Carmo Jasmins Dias Farinha and Maria do Fátima Dentinho Ó Ramos,  
1996 *Núcleo Antigo Inventário*. Lisboa.
- Muzaffar Alam and Sanjay Subrahmanyam,  
2002 Letters from a Sinking Sultan. In Thomaz, L. F. (Ed.), *Aquém e Além da Taprobana* pp. 239-269.

تاریخ دریافت: ۱۳۹۳ / ۶ / ۱۱

تاریخ پذیرش: ۱۳۹۳ / ۷ / ۱۶

**چکیده:** رومیان برای نشان دادن دریای مدیترانه به عنوان بخشی از امپراطوری روم از عبارت *mare nostrum* («دریای ما») استفاده می‌کردند. این مقاله در پی آن خواهد بود که با استفاده از منابع مکتوب و باستان‌شناختی نشان دهد جایگاه خلیج فارس برای پارسیان ساسانی به همان صورت دریای مدیترانه، «دریای ما» برای رومیان بود. ساسانیان خلیج فارس را بخشی از امپراطوری خود در نظر می‌گرفتند و از آغاز سلسله‌ی ساسانی در قرن سوم میلادی، تلاش نظام‌مند و دامنه‌داری برای اعمال چیرگی خود بر آن داشته‌اند.

**واژگان کلیدی:** دریای ما، خلیج فارس، ساسانیان، امپراطوری روم

### یک توالی در بنادر ایرانی: باستان‌شناسی دوره اسلامی در خلیج فارس

دانلد ویتکامب

دانشگاه شیکاگو

تاریخ دریافت: ۱۳۹۲ / ۱۰ / ۲۰

تاریخ پذیرش: ۱۳۹۶ / ۱۱ / ۵

**چکیده:** پژوهش‌های باستان‌شناختی در شناخت ما از جغرافیای تاریخی و الگوی استقرار بنادر کرانه‌های خلیج فارس نقش مهمی ایفا کرده‌اند. این مسأله در دوران اسلامی و پیش از اسلام، اثرگذارتر است؛ زمانی که برخی از نوشته‌های جغرافیدانان عرب، استقرارهای این کرانه را گواهی می‌دهند و شواهد باستان‌شناختی را تقویت می‌کنند. مقاله‌ی پیش رو به بررسی این مدارک و دلالت‌ها بر تفوق سیاسی از سوی شمال، سواحل ایرانی یا به طور خاص از استان فارس می‌پردازد و بی‌ثباتی اقتصادی یا افزون بر آن، بی‌ثباتی زیست‌محیطی که به انتقال تفوق در میان این بندرگاه‌ها انجامید را بررسی می‌کند.

**واژگان کلیدی:** خلیج فارس، استان فارس، جغرافی‌دانان عرب، دوران اسلامی و پیش از اسلام

### اسناد فارسی در بایگانی ملی (تُر دُ.تُمبو) پرتقال و اهمیت این اسناد در تاریخ خلیج فارس در قرون ۱۶ و ۱۷ میلادی

نادر نصیری مقدم

دانشگاه استراسبورگ

تاریخ دریافت: ۱۳۹۲ / ۱۱ / ۵

تاریخ پذیرش: ۱۳۹۳ / ۷ / ۱۶

**واژگان کلیدی:** اسناد فارسی قرون ۱۶ و ۱۷ م. در بایگانی‌های ملی «تُر دُ.تُمبو» در لیسبون، به طور کلی در مجموعه‌ای گرد آمده و نگه‌داری شده‌اند که تا پیش از این «اتلس شرقی» نامیده می‌شد و امروزه «اسناد شرقی» خوانده می‌شود. این مجموعه بخشی از زیربنای «مانوسکریپتس دا کاسا دُس تراتادُس» را تشکیل می‌دهد. برخی از این اسناد مربوط به پرتغالی‌ها هستند که در پی سیاست گسترده قلمرو خود در اقیانوس هند و خلیج فارس در آغاز قرن ۱۶ م، به جزیره هرمز دست یافتند که در فاصله ۶ کیلومتری از ساحل ایران قرار دارد. در آن زمان، این گذرگاه بزرگ خلیج فارس جمعیتی تقریباً برابر با ۴۰,۰۰۰ نفر داشت. جزیره هرمز که تا قرن ۱۳ م. «جارون» خوانده می‌شد، به ایران تعلق داشت و «پادشاهی» ثروتمند این جزیره وابسته به دولت مرکزی ایران بود. چنان‌که پادشاهان آن که در منابع فارسی «وولات هرمز» نامیده می‌شدند، خراجگزار پادشاه پارس بودند؛ اما با آمدن پرتغالی‌ها، به تابعان پرتغال تبدیل شدند. این مقاله به برخی از اسناد بایگانی‌های ملی تُر دُ.تُمبو می‌پردازد که درباره برهم‌کنش پادشاهی هرمز و پرتغالی‌ها هستند.

**واژگان کلیدی:** بایگانی‌های ملی تُر دُ.تُمبو، جزیره هرمز، پرتغالی‌ها

### ریشه‌های شیعه در مدرسه عیونی ابو زیدان (مسجد سوق الخميس) در قرن ۱۲ میلادی در بحرین

دنیل تی. پاتس

دانشگاه نیویورک

تاریخ دریافت: ۱۳۹۳ / ۱۲ / ۱۱

تاریخ پذیرش: ۱۳۹۴ / ۲ / ۲۲

**چکیده:** این پژوهش تاریخ آنچه را که به طو سنتی به عنوان قدیمی‌ترین مسجد بحرین شناخته می‌شود، مد نظر قرار می‌دهد. علاوه بر بازنگری دانسته‌های مربوط به تاریخ معماری بنا، توجه خاصی به کتیبه‌ها شده است که حدوداً ربع قرن پیش از این به کوشش لودویک کالوس منتشر شده‌اند و بی‌تردید بر ماهیت شیعی مسجد دلالت دارند. علاوه بر آن، این نوشته‌ها به وضوح ماهیت شیعی سلسله عیونی را که در شرق عربستان سعودی امروزی حکومت می‌کردند، نشان می‌دهند.

**واژگان کلیدی:** بحرین، خلیج فارس، مسجد، مدرسه، تشیع.



## چکیده‌ی مقالات به زبان فارسی

اواخر هزاره سوم پ.م. شناخته شده است. اگرچه نگاهی به مدارک مکتوب، شواهد باستان‌شناختی و باستان‌فلزشناختی از سراسر حوزه خلیج فارس، سامانه بدهستان پیچیده‌تری را نشان می‌دهد که نه تنها از منابع مواد خام و مسیرهای تجاری، بلکه از سیاست و جنگاوری، سنتهای فن‌آورانه‌ی تولید و بازیافت، ایدئولوژی‌های مصرفی نخبگان و قواعد اجتماعی که ارتباطات تجاری را ایجاد و از آنها پشتیبانی می‌کنند، تأثیر می‌پذیرفته است. اما همچنان بخش مهمی از کار، اثبات سهم مؤثر احتمالی نظام‌های سیاسی ایرانی بر این سامانه، برای انجام باقی خواهد ماند.

**واژگان کلیدی:** خلیج فارس، تجارت فلز، عصر مفرغ، فلات ایران، شبه جزیره عربستان، بین‌النهرین

### تجارت دریایی در خلیج فارس: شواهدی از آمفورهای اژدری ساسانی

حسین توفیقیان  
پژوهشکده‌ی باستان‌شناسی میراث فرهنگی

فرهنگ‌خادمی ندوشن

دانشگاه تربیت مدرس

تاریخ دریافت: ۱۳۹۰ / ۱۰ / ۲۰

تاریخ پذیرش: ۱۳۹۲ / ۲ / ۲۵

**چکیده:** بررسی‌ها و کاوش‌های باستان‌شناختی اخیر در آب‌های نزدیک کرانه‌های خلیج فارس و دریای عمان صدها قطعه سفال متعلق به دوره‌های پارسی و ساسانی را آشکار کرده‌اند که شواهدی بر بازرگانی دریایی در منطقه هستند. بقایای سفالین بازیابی شده، از گونه‌ها و اندازه‌های گوناگون هستند که دیواره داخلی بسیاری از آنها با قیر طبیعی اندود شده است؛ روشی که آنها را در برابر آب عایق می‌کرده است. شکل‌های متمایز آنها نه تنها برای انتقال با کشتی به خوبی متناسب‌سازی شده، بلکه برای انتقال مایعات مناسب بوده است. مقاله‌ی حاضر در تلاش است تا به بررسی کوزه‌های اژدری به دست آمده از سواحل ایران بپردازد و ارتباط میان این یافته‌ها با فرهنگ‌های همسایه را نشان دهد.

**واژگان کلیدی:** خلیج فارس، پارسی، ساسانی، آمفورا، تجارت دریایی

### «دریای ما» ساسانیان: خلیج فارس

تورج دریایی

دانشگاه کالیفرنیا

### سفال‌های کفتری و مرتبط با کفتری در جنوب غرب ایران و سواحل خلیج فارس

کمرن. ای. پیتری

دانشگاه کمبریج

مژگان سیدین

پژوهشکده‌ی باستان‌شناسی میراث فرهنگی

علیرضا عسکری چاوردی

دانشگاه شیرازی

تاریخ دریافت: ۱۳۹۳ / ۹ / ۲۶

تاریخ پذیرش: ۱۳۹۳ / ۱۲ / ۷

**چکیده:** هموندگان سفال کفتری تاکنون به هزاره‌های سوم و دوم پ.م. تاریخ‌گذاری شده است؛ این تاریخ‌گذاری، بر اساس نتایج بررسی‌ها در حوزه رود گر و کاوش‌هایی است که در تل ملیان، یا به عبارت دیگر شهر باستانی انشان انجام شده‌اند. کاوش‌های بسیاری نشان داده‌اند که ظروف سفالی کفتری یا مرتبط با کفتری، در گستره‌ی وسیعی پراکنده‌اند که محوطه‌هایی در بخش‌های گوناگون فارس، در شبه‌جزیره بوشهر و در کرانه‌های خلیج فارس را دربر می‌گیرد. این مقاله به بازرنگری شواهد مربوط به مواد فرهنگی کفتری و در ارتباط با کفتری در جنوب غرب ایران و حوزه خلیج فارس می‌پردازد. پس از آن، نتیجه‌گیری درباره اهمیت گاهنگاری و پراکندگی این یافته را مطرح می‌کند؛ اهمیتی که برای درک ما از برهم‌کنش میان جنوب غرب ایران و مناطق دیگر مشارکت‌کننده در سامانه تجارتی خلیج فارس دارد. سامانه‌ای که در اواخر هزاره سوم و اوایل هزاره دوم پ.م. فعال بود.

**واژگان کلیدی:** سفال کفتری، انشان، خلیج فارس، تجارت.

### ایران و تجارت فلز در عصر آهن در سواحل خلیج فارس

لوید ویکس

دانشگاه نیوانگلند

تاریخ دریافت: ۱۳۹۴ / ۷ / ۳

تاریخ پذیرش: ۱۳۹۴ / ۸ / ۱۲

**چکیده:** پژوهش‌های باستان‌فلزشناختی در امارات متحده‌ی عربی و عمان نشان داده‌اند که جوامع محلی عصر مفرغ تولید مس را در ابعاد بسیار وسیع بر عهده داشته‌اند، که خود مدرک مستحکمی برای شناسایی این منطقه به نام سرزمین مگن است که در منابع بین‌النهرینی به عنوان فراهم‌آورنده‌ی اصلی مس در

# International Journal of the Society of Iranian Archaeologists

Vol. 2, No. 3, Winter-Spring 2016

---

## Guide for the bibliography:

### Articles:

#### single author:

Alperson-Afil, N.,

2012 Archaeology of Fire: Methodological Aspects of Reconstructing Fire History of Prehistoric Archaeological Sites. *Earth-Science Reviews* 113 (3-4), 111-119.

#### Double author:

Agustí, J. and D. Lordkipanidze,

2011 How “African” Was the Early Human Dispersal Out of Africa? *Quaternary Science Reviews* 30 (11-12), 1338-1342.

#### Several authors:

Bradtmöller, M., A. Pastoors, B. Weninger and G. Weniger,

2012 The Repeated Replacement Model—Rapid Climate Change and Population Dynamics in Late Pleistocene Europe. *Quaternary International* 247, 38-49.

#### Article in Books:

Caspari, R. and M. H. Wolpoff,

2013 The Process of Modern Human Origins: The Evolutionary and Demographic Changes Giving Rise to Modern Humans. In: Smith, F. H., & Athrn, J. C. (Eds.), *The Origins of Modern Humans: Biology Reconsidered*, 2nd ed. Wiley, Hoboken, NJ, pp. 335-391.

#### Books:

Lewin, R.,

2004 *Human Evolution: An Illustrated Introduction*. 5th ed. Blackwell Scientific Publications, Oxford, England.

#### Websites:

Hawks, J. D.,

2013 The Denisova-Sima de los Huesos Connection. John Hawks Weblog, Posted 04 December 2013 ([http://johnhawks.net/weblog/reviews/neandertals/neandertal\\_dna/sima-de-los-huesos-dna-meyer-2013.html](http://johnhawks.net/weblog/reviews/neandertals/neandertal_dna/sima-de-los-huesos-dna-meyer-2013.html)).



مجله بین‌المللی انجمن علمی باستان‌شناسی ایران

علمی - پژوهشی

شماره استاندارد بین‌المللی: ۲۴۲۳-۳۴۱۲

سال دوم، شماره ۳، زمستان ۱۳۹۴ و بهار ۱۳۹۵

صاحب امتیاز: انجمن علمی باستان‌شناسی ایران

مدیر مسئول: سید مهدی موسوی

سر دبیر: کامیار عبدی

دستیار سردبیر: حامد وحدتی‌نسب

ناشر: انجمن علمی باستان‌شناسی ایران

هیأت تحریریه:

حامد وحدتی‌نسب (دانشگاه تربیت مدرس، ایران)، کامیار عبدی (پژوهشگاه علوم انسانی و مطالعات فرهنگی، ایران)،  
جان آر. آلدن (دانشگاه میشیگان، آمریکا)، گیرمو الغازه (دانشگاه کالیفرنیا-سن‌دیگو، آمریکا)، عباس علیزاده (دانشگاه  
شیکاگو، آمریکا)، توماس بارفیلد (دانشگاه بوستون، آمریکا)، شیلا بلر (کالج بوستون، آمریکا)، مارگارت کول روت (دانشگاه  
میشیگان، آمریکا)، علیرضا هژبری نوبری (دانشگاه تربیت مدرس، ایران)، باربارا هلوینگ (مؤسسه باستان‌شناسی آلمان،  
آلمان)، باربارا کایم (دانشگاه ورشو، لهستان)، راجر متیوز (دانشگاه ردینگ، انگلستان)، حکمت‌الله ملاصالحی (دانشگاه  
تهران، ایران)، سید رسول موسوی حاجی (دانشگاه مازندران، ایران)، مارک اولبریخت (دانشگاه رزشو، لهستان)، مارسل  
اوت (دانشگاه لیژ، بلژیک)، کریس تورنتون (انجمن ملی جغرافیا، آمریکا)، لوید ویکس (دانشگاه ناتینگهام، انگلستان)، دبورا  
الژوسکی (دانشگاه پنسیلوانیا، آمریکا)، محمد ابراهیم زارعی (دانشگاه بوعلی همدان، ایران)

مدیر داخلی: لعیای عالی نیا

حروف چینی و صفحه‌آرایی: مهنوش زاده دباغ

مدیر اجرایی و طراح جلد: شاهین آریامنش

نشانی نشریه: تهران، خیابان جلال‌آل‌احمد، دانشگاه تربیت مدرس، دانشکده علوم انسانی، شماره ۳۱۶

تلفن: ۰۲۱-۸۲۸۸۴۶۰۲

صندوق پستی: ۱۳۹-۱۴۱۱۵

نشانی الکترونیکی: [vahdati@modares.ac.ir](mailto:vahdati@modares.ac.ir)

قیمت: ۲۰۰۰۰ تومان

نشریه بین‌المللی انجمن علمی باستان‌شناسی براساس نامه شماره ۱۷۱۷۰۶/۱۸/۳ مورخ ۱۳۹۴/۰۸/۱۹ کمیسیون محترم  
نشریات علمی کشور، وزرات علوم، تحقیقات و فناوری موفق به کسب درجه علمی-پژوهشی شده است.

حقوق کلیه مقالات برای انجمن علمی باستان‌شناسی محفوظ است. این نشریه در پایگاه اطلاعاتی زیر نمایه می‌شود:  
پایگاه اطلاعاتی انجمن علمی باستان‌شناسی به نشانی اینترنتی: [www.journal.soia.org.ir](http://www.journal.soia.org.ir)