

On the History of the Institution of the *Soyūrghāl*

I.P. Petrushevskii

Translated and annotated by

August N. Samie

Independent scholar

augustsamie@gmail.com

and

John E. Woods

Professor Emeritus, The University of Chicago

j-woods@uchicago.edu

[227]¹

The institution of the *soyūrghāl*, which replaced the earlier institution of the *iqṭāʿ* at the turn of the 15th century, occupies a prominent place in the process of feudal development in Central Asia, Iran, and several other neighboring countries. Researchers have discussed the subject of the *soyūrghāl*;² however,

- 1 <I.P. Petrushevskii, "K istorii instituta soiurgala." *Sovetskoe Vostokovedenie* 6 (1949): 227-47. The original article can be accessed at: http://www.orientalstudies.ru/rus/images/pdf/journals/sovetskoe_vostokovedenie_06_1949_12_petrushevsky.pdf.> The transliteration of Arabic, Persian, and Turkish titles and proper nouns in this translation follows the system of the *International Journal of Middle Eastern Studies* in place of the Russian forms used in the original article. Since this text was composed in a specific historical context, we have retained much of Petrushevskii's unique vocabulary without altering or updating the neologisms of his era to avoid compromising its original significance. Page references to the original article are enclosed in square brackets; additions to the text, notes, and bibliography are enclosed in angle brackets. We are grateful to Thomas Welsford for his careful editing of the article.
- 2 I.N. Berezin, "Ocherk vnutrennego ustroistva ulusa Dzhucheva." *TVORAO* 8 (1864): 428; N. Khanikov, "Lettre à M. Dorn." *Mélanges Asiatiques* v. 3, livr. 1 (1857): 71 ff.; Notes of Quatremère to his French translation of *Matlaʿ-i saʿdayn* of ʿAbd al-Razzāq Samarqandī (<Samarqandī, ed.: M. Quatremère, > *Notices et extraits de Bibliothèque du Roi* 14 (1843): 125 ff.); B.Ia. Vladimirtsov, *Obshchestvennyi stroi mongolov* (1934): 115; A.M. Belenitskii. "Obrazovanie instituta «suyurgal»." *Istorik-Marksist* 4 (1941): 43-58; V.A. Gordlevskii. *Gosudarstvo Sel'dzhukidov Maloi Azii* (1941): 69-70; A.Iu. Iakubovskii, "Timur." *Voprosy istorii* 8-9 (1946): 66-67; idem, "Cherty

not all of the aspects and forms of the institution have been studied. In this article, we will address the issues related to the spread and development of the *soyūrghāl*, based on materials of Azerbaijan and Armenia from the 15th to the 17th centuries.

During the 13th-14th centuries, the Mongolian term *soyūrghāl* (literally, “grant,” *пожалование*) seemingly signified, in the broadest sense, a sovereign’s grant to his vassal. It is in this broad sense that we come across it in the *yarliq* of Timūr Qutluḡ.³ In this case, there had been a “grant” (*soyūrghāl*) of the title/rank of *tarkhān*, which provided a vassal with several privileges, including freedom from taxes. In this same general sense of a grant, a form close to it, *soyūrghāmīshī*,⁴ was mentioned by Rashīd al-Dīn as feudal grants from Chinggis Khān and Hülāgū Khān [228] (1256-1265), the founder of the Mongol *ulūs* of the Hülāgūid Ilkhans.⁵ The question of the relation between the terms of grants, *soyūrghāmīshī* and *iqṭāʿ*, in that era⁶ cannot be considered fully resolved. Most likely, the first term refers to any grant at all—land, rank, or privileges in the broadest sense—and *iqṭāʿ* referring to a military fief (*военный лен*).⁷

obshchestvennoi i kulʹturnoi zhizni epokhi Aleshera Navoi.” In *Alisher Navoi* ed. AN SSSR (1946): 117 ff.; I.P. Petrushevskii, “K voprosu ob immunitete v Azerbaidzhane.” *IS* 4 (1935): 58 ff.; idem, “Vnutrennaia politika Akhmeda Ak-Koiunlu.” *Izvestiia AzFAN*, № 2 (1942); idem, “Gosudarstva Azerbaidzhana v XV v,” part 2, *Izvestiia AzFAN* 7 (1944): 89 ff; see also V. Minorsky. “A *Soyūrghāl* of Qāsim b. Jahāngīr Aq-Qoyunlu 903/1408,” *BSOAS* 10/4 (1939) (translation, text, and commentary); idem. *Tadhkirat al-Muluk*, Introduction (London, 1943): 27 ff; <see Doerfer (1963), № 228, vol. 1: 351-53.>

3 V.V. Radloff. “Iarlyki Toktamysya i Timur-Kutluga.” *ZVORAO* 3/1-2 (1851): 18-21, 28; <The word *soyurqal* appears multiple times in the *Secret History of the Mongols*, for example §§ 202, 203, 213, 214, 215, 219, 224, 266 and 279 with the sense of “favor” or “reward”.>

4 In Armenian of the Mongol period, this term was known in the form *uṇuulh2* with the meaning of a feudal grant [see Magakiia, trans. K.P. Patkanov, (1871): 80-1, note 36]; <see Doerfer (1963), № 229, vol. 1: 353-54>.

5 Rashīd al-Dīn, ed.: Y.N. Berezin *TVORAO*, 15 (1888), Pers. Text: 66, 77, 143; Raschid-Eldin, ed.: Quatrèmere, *Histoire des Mongols de la Perse*, texte persan (1836): 176, 216; <for other examples of the use of the term *soyūrghāmīshī*, see Rashīd al-Dīn (Rawshan and Mūsavī ed.: 122, 131, 211, 440, 451, 488, 537, 577, 663, 667, 976, 979, 983, 1037, 1038, 1079, 1097, 1104, 1106, 1114, 1129, 1130, 1157, 1165, 1257, 1270, 1314, 1319, 1320, 1321, and especially 1479-86 for the edict on allotting *iqṭāʿ*s to Mongol troops)>; Juvaynī, see V.V. Bartol'd, *Turkestan*, part 1. Texts: 108 <Qazvīnī ed., vol. 1: 58; for other examples of the use of this term, see Qazvīnī ed., vol. 1: 58, 73, 163; vol. 2: 216, 217, 222, 223, 228, 236, 237, 245, 253, 260; vol. 3: 70, 74>.

6 *Soyūrghāmīshī* denoted, for example, the appointment of the governor (*ṣāhib-dīvān*), see: Rashīd al-Dīn, the Istanbul Manuscript (photocopy of the Institute of Oriental Studies), f. 511. <Rawshan and Mūsavī ed. 1320>.

7 On *soyūrghāmīshī* as a grant of a locality as *iqṭāʿ* (military fief), see: Rashīd al-Dīn, the same manuscript, f. 653 <Rawshan and Mūsavī ed.: 1479-86>.

Sometimes the term *soyūrgḥāl* in the same general meaning of grant occurs in 16th-17th-century sources. Fūmanī mentions that around 943/1536 before the execution of the rebel and captive ruler of western Gilan,⁸ Muḥaffar-Sulṭān (Amīr-i Dībājī) of the Iṣḥāqid dynasty, Shāh Ṭahmāsp 1 pardoned the page (*ūshāq*—"youth") Shāh-Ḥātim Kuhdumī and "having released him from bondage and chains, he ordered him allotted a *soyūrgḥāl* in the amount of 100 *Tabrīzī tūmāns* and had him sent to the district of Kusir in Kirman."⁹ Ḥasan Beg Rūmlū said that Bābur-*pādishāh* (Timurid, founder of the Great Mughals in India, died 1530), "annually bestowed a *soyūrgḥāl* in the amount of 18,000 *Tabrīzī tūmān* on worthy people (*arbāb-i istiḥqāq*)."¹⁰ From these examples, it is not clear what the difference is between *soyūrgḥāl* and *tiyūl* as the award is only the right to an annuity. In their time, these facts gave V.F. Minorsky the basis to believe that *soyūrgḥāl* and *tiyūl* were two sides of the same phenomenon; Minorsky considered *soyūrgḥāl* the very act of granting, and *tiyūl* as the holding of an annuity.¹¹

However, these examples are not the norm. Sources from the 15th-17th centuries often called *soyūrgḥāl* a special kind of fief and even granted territory. Below we will consider the data from these sources. Now we note that in his later technical work (c. 1939), Minorsky departed from his previous interpretation, newly considering *soyūrgḥāl* as grant of any territory held as a military fief.¹²

The first mentions of *soyūrgḥāl* in a technical sense of a special kind of fief grant occurred under the Jalāyirid dynasty in the second half of the 14th century,¹³ although there are mentions by authors from the 15th century. Dawlatshāh says in his biography of Salmān-i Sāvajī, the court poet-panegyrist of the Jalāyirid Sulṭān-Uvays (1356-74), that Salmān, as [229] a reward for his *qaṣīda*, written in the imitation of the 12th-century poet Ṣaḥīr al-Dīn Fāryābī, received from the *sulṭān* and his mother, Dilshād-Khātūn, a *soyūrgḥāl* of two

8 بیه پس (Far Shore)—territory lying west of the Safid Rūd.

9 Fūmanī, *Tārīkh-i Gīlān*, MQ, vol. 3 (1858): 17-8; <Sutūda ed.: 26-7>.

10 Rūmlū, *Aḥsan al-tavārikh*, <vol. 12>, Seddon ed.: 238-39; see 376; <Navā'ī ed.: 314; see 483>.

11 V. Minorsky. "Tiyūl," *ET*¹, vol. 4: 800: <"Thus the favour of the monarch (*siyūrgḥāl*) constitutes the *tiyūl* of the beneficiary.">

12 V. Minorsky. "A *Soyūrgḥāl* of Qāsim Aq-Qoyunlu." *BSOAS*, 9/4: 944.

13 Zāhidī, *Silsilat al-nasab*, MS LGPB, Khanykov catalogue number 92, f. 53; Iranshāhr ed.: 42-43 mentions a grant of land in *soyūrgḥāl* by the Golden Horde khan Jānībeg to Shaykh Ṣadr al-Dīn Ṣafavī as early as 1357, but since this reference occurs in a 17th century source, it can be assumed that there could have been a transfer of later terminology to the general environment of the 14th century.

villages in the region of Ray.¹⁴ Shortly before the death of Salmān (which the poet mistakenly dated as 769/1367-8) having grown old and blind, the poet asked to retire and received from Sulṭān-Uvays (therefore no later than 1374) a *soyūrghāl* in the regions of Ray and Sava.¹⁵ Mīrkhvānd reports that during the reign of Sulṭān-Ḥusayn (1378-1382) his brother Aḥmad—thereafter *sulṭān* (1382-1410)—“went to Ardabil, which was his *soyūrghāl*.”¹⁶ The same author describes Sulṭān-Ḥusayn’s grants of *soyūrghāl* to his vassals.¹⁷

When the Jalāyirid state was destroyed by the confederation of Black Sheep Turkmen tribes (Qaraqoyunlu) in 1410, their leader Qarā Yūsuf Qaraqoyunlu, according to ‘Abd al-Razzāq Samarqandī, granted to Muḥammad, nephew of Amīr Biṣṭām-i Jāgīr, the districts of Ardabil and Khalkhāl as *soyūrghāl*.¹⁸ From the reports by the same author, we learn that Biṣṭām-i Jāgīr, the *amīr* of the nomadic Turkic Jāgīrlū tribe, had already ruled Ardabil;¹⁹ later, Biṣṭām-i Jāgīr joined with Qarā Yūsuf, who, consequently, only reaffirmed the grant made by Timur. ‘Abd al-Razzāq Samarqandī further reports on Qarā Yūsuf’s grant of *soyūrghāl*: after the victory of the Black Sheep over Sulṭān Aḥmad Jalāyir (1410), the Jalāyirid *amīr* Bābā-Ḥājji <Gāvṛūdī> entered the service of their leader, and Qarā Yūsuf “gave him (Bābā-Ḥājji Bek <Gāvṛūdī>) a district in the suburbs of [the citadel of] <Gāvṛūd> as *soyūrghāl*.”²⁰

Mīrkhvānd speaks in more detail about this last grant. According to him, Qarā Yūsuf “granted him (Bābā-Ḥājji) the village of Qal’a-yi <Gāvṛūd> along with dependent surrounding areas and 600 other villages (*qarya*) and arable land (*mazra‘a*) as *soyūrghāl* and decreed that Bābā-Ḥājji, when he found himself at the high headquarters (*orda*), should apply the seal in the *dīvān* (to papers), and dignitaries (*arkān-i dawlat*, “pillars of power”) should not resolve any important matters without his approval.”²¹ In this case as well, the grant was no more than a confirmation of Bābā-Ḥājji’s right to rule in this district. Bābā-Ḥājji, along with his brothers, sons, and *mulāzim* (that is, with his retainers) were taken into Qarā Yūsuf’s service and, as mentioned, was named keeper

14 Dawlatshāh, *Tazkirat al-shu‘arā’*, Browne ed.: 260; <‘Alāqa ed.: 458>.

15 Ibid.: 261; <459-60>.

16 Mīrkhvānd, *Rawzat as-ṣafā’*, lithograph, vol. 6: 1077; <Kiyānfār ed., vol. 5: 4472>.

17 Ibid.: 1075; <vol. 5: 4465>.

18 Samarqandī, *Maṭla‘-i sa’dāyān*, MS LGPB, Pers, new series number 83, f. 206b. See also the French translation of Quatremère: 144; <Shafi‘ ed.: 256; Navā‘ī, ed. vol. 3: 181; compare Ḥāfiẓ Abrū, *Zubdat al-tavārikh*, vol. 2: 506>.

19 Ibid.: MS, f. 187a; Quatremère, French translation: 135; <Shafi‘ ed.: 117; Navā‘ī, ed. vol. 3: 85 < Ḥāfiẓ Abrū, *Zubdat al-tavārikh*, vol. 2: 231>.

20 Ibid.: MS, f. 206b; Quatremère, French translation: 145; <Shafi‘ ed.: 257; Navā‘ī, ed. vol. 3: 182; compare Ḥāfiẓ Abrū, *Zubdat al-tavārikh*, vol. 2: 508>.

21 Mīrkhvānd, lithograph: 1278; <Kiyānfār ed. vol. 6/2: 5307>.

of the seals in the *dīvān* of the new conqueror. Thus, the *soyūrgḥāl* was contingent on service.

Mirkhvānd says that after the seizure of the lands of the Jalāyirids, Qarā Yūsuf tried to win over the military elite of these countries by giving them *soyūrgḥāls*, as well as horses, clothing and gold.²² The 16th-century author, Sharaf Khān Bidlīsī, describes a grant of *soyūrgḥāl* by Qarā Yūsuf to the ancestor [230] of the author, Amīr Shams al-Dīn, head of the Kurdish nomadic Rūzagī tribe, of Bidlis, Akhlat, Khinis, Mush and other districts in the south of Armenia and gives a copy of a charter, dated 10 Rabi' I 820 (27 April 1417).²³ We will deal with this document in more detail below.

All known cases of Qarā Yūsuf's grants of *soyūrgḥāl* were not new gifts, but only the confirmation of the right to rule in territories that were previously held by the above-mentioned *amīrs* or their ancestors. *Soyūrgḥāl* grants during the time of Qarā Yūsuf were of a hereditary nature; this is seen through the fact that—that although during the reign of Qarā Yūsuf's son and successor, Iskandar Qaraqoyunlu (1420–33), the *amīr* Shams al-Dīn was executed for communicating with the Timurid *sultān* of Central Asia and Iran, Shāhrukh, the transfer of all of Shams al-Dīn's belongings to his son and successor, Amīr Sharaf, produced no objections from Iskandar.²⁴

This was a period when the *soyūrgḥāl* started being used widely as a type of enfeoffment in the Timurid regions of Iran and Central Asia where the nobility managed to get grants of *soyūrgḥāl* over entire regions. According to 'Abd al-Razzāq Samarqandī, in the early years of Shāhrukh's reign (1405–47) alone different Timurid princes and *amīrs* were granted the districts of Sarakhs, Andkhud, Damghan, Uzgand, Hamadan, with Nihavand, and all of Luristan, Shiraz²⁵ and other territories.²⁶ In the 15th century, this type of fief was used in a number of regions in Western and Central Asia.

Soyūrgḥāls continued to be distributed in the lands of Turkmen Black Sheep *sultāns* (Qaraqoyunlu, until 1468) and White Sheep *sultāns* (Aqqoyunlu, until 1502). The energetic Ūzūn Ḥasan (1453–1478) was the first of the White Sheep *sultāns* to conquer Armenia and Kurdistan in the 1450s; after the defeat of the

22 Ibid.

23 Bidlīsī, *Sharaf-nāma*, Veliaminov-Zernov ed., vol. 1: 376–78; <Abbāsī ed: 492–94>.

24 Bidlīsī, *Sharaf-nāma*, Veliaminov-Zernov ed., vol. 1: 380–81; <Abbāsī ed.: 497>.

25 Samarqandī, *Maṭla'-i sa'dayn*, MS, respectively ff. 173a, 134b, 185a, 191b, 210a; <Shafī' ed.: 51, 103, 106, 142, 283; Navā'ī ed. vol. 3: 40, 75, 77, 104, 200>; Quatremère: 74, 120, 123, 156; <compare Ḥafīz Abrū, *Zubdat al-tavārikh*, vol. 3: 193, 204, 301, 556 (*bidū* [Amīrẓāda Bāyqarā] *arzānī farmūd*), 560 (*bidū* [Amīrẓāda Ibrāhīm-Sultān] *mufavvaẓ gardānīda*)>; cf. Mirkhvānd, lithograph: 1259, 1277; <Kiyānfār ed., vol. 6.2: 5266, 5300>.

26 For more on this, see the articles mentioned by A.Iu. Iakubovski and A.M. Belenitski.

Black Sheep horde in 1468, he took possession of Azerbaijan as far as the Kura River in the north, Mesopotamia, all of Iran, except Khurasan, and tried to rely on the Muslim clergy. Showing special respect to *qāḍīs*, the ‘*ulamā*’, and other members of the clergy, and building mosques and *madrāsas* in Tabriz and other cities, he additionally endowed members of the clergy with *soyūrghāls*.²⁷ His son, Ya‘qūb-*pādishāh* (1478-1490) “tried to strengthen the radiant Shari‘a and commanded allotments of *soyūrghāls* for *sayyids*, *qāḍīs*, and the ‘*ulamā*’.”²⁸ Thus, if *soyūrghāls* had previously been given to the military elite, they were now distributed to members of the clergy. But the very nature of *soyūrghāl* as a military fief in the 15th century still had not changed: from all *soyūrghāl* owners, the *pādishāh* required personal involvement in campaigns, along with a certain number of armed men.

Ūzūn Ḥasan, setting out in 881 (1476-7) on the campaign against Georgia, “brought along with him all those of the *sayyids* and *shaykhs*, who were men of the *soyūrghāl* (*ahl-i soyūrghāl*), and, having conquered the country of Gurjistān (Georgia), captured numerous prisoners, of which he gave a share to each of the *sayyids* and [231] *shaykhs*.”²⁹ He gave an especially large number of *soyūrghāl* to his grandson, Rustam-*pādishāh* (1493-96). According to the author of *Lubb al-tavārīkh*, Rustam “was a generous king; no one of the Aqqoyunlu and Qaraqoyunlu *sultāns* gifted as many *soyūrghāls* as he awarded to his people.”³⁰ Aḥmad-*pādishāh* Aqqoyunlu (1497), in accordance with his policy directed against Turkic military-nomadic elites (*amīrs*), announced an end to all the *soyūrghāls* issued by his predecessors, the permanent awards received by governors of *soyūrghāls* (*muqarrarīyāt-i arbāb-i soyūrghāl*), and only confirmed the privilege of *mu‘āfi*—freedom from taxes levied by the *dīvān*—to a few clergymen.³¹ But Aḥmad’s reign lasted only seven months, and after his death, in the fighting among rebel *amīrs*, there remained no traces of his reforms.

It is no exaggeration to say that during the rule of the White Sheep and Black Sheep dynasties *soyūrghāl* was the most common type of conditional

27 Qazvīnī, *Lubb al-tavārīkh*, MS, IV AN B-660, f. 140b; <Muḥaddiṣ ed.: 251>.

28 Khvāndamīr, *Ḥabīb al-siyar*, lithograph, vol. 3, part 4: 15; <Humāī and Dabīr-Siyāqī ed., vol. 4: 431>.

29 In the unpublished part of Rūmlū’s *Aḥsan al-tavārīkh* <vol. 11>, MS, LGPB, Dorn’s catalog, No. 287, f. 141a; <Navāī ed.: 566-67 (under the events of 882)>.

30 Qazvīnī, *Lubb al-tavārīkh*, MS, f. 142a; <Muḥaddiṣ ed.: 256>; Rūmlū, *Aḥsan al-tavārīkh* <vol. 12>, Seddon ed.: 15-6; <Navāī ed.: 27-8>.

31 Khvāndamīr, *Ḥabīb al-siyar*, lithograph, vol. 3, part 4: 21; <Humāī and Dabīr-Siyāqī ed., vol. 4: 443>. For more on this, see our article “Vnutrenniaia politika Akhmeda Ak-Koiunlu,” (*Izvestiia AzFAN*, 1942, No. 2; 2nd ed.; SSIA).

land-tenure. The examples mentioned above referred to *soyūrghāl* grants of large areas. We know, however, that *soyūrghāls* could be small areas, consisting of one to three villages, as seen from the message of Shāh-Dawlat concerning granting Salmān-i Sāvajī a *soyūrghāl* of two villages,³² and from the charter, three villages by the head of the Šafavīyya sufi-dervish order and leader of the city of Ardabil, Shaykh Ḥaydar Šafavī, in 888 (1483), to Shaykh Quṭb al-Dīn Zāhidī.³³

In order to gain a better idea of the character of *soyūrghāl* ownership in the pre-Safavid period, we will analyze the charter of the aforementioned Qarā Yūsuf 820/1417, given by the author of the *Sharafnāma*, apparently, as an abridgement. In the form that it has come down to us, the text is so precise and laconic that its best to quote it in its entirety.

Dearest children [of ours]—may God Almighty preserve them—and the *amīrs* of the *ulūs*, the *tūmāns*, the hundreds and thousands, the chiefs (*sardārān*), governor and financial officers (*ḥukkām* and *‘ummāl*), land-owners (*arbāb*), city elders (*kalāntarān*) and residents, notables (*a’yān*), headmen and village elders (*kadkhudāyān* and *malikān*) of Kurdistan in general, and the dignitaries, scholars (*ma’arīf*, that is theologians), and the people of note (*mashāhīr*), the natives and residents of Bidlis, Akhlāt, Mush, and Khinis along with associated and surrounding areas, should take cognizance of the fact that there is absolute loyalty, agreement of opinion [with us], unlimited diligence, sincere devotion and total reliance and confidence in him (“his side”—*janāb*), refuge of the amirate, dearest son [of ours],³⁴ greatest, most just and noble *amīr*, *amīr* of the *amīrs* of Iran,³⁵ Amīr [232] Shams al-Dīn Abū al-Ma’ālī—may God Almighty perpetuate the days of his power, triumph, dignity, and prosperity to the day of Judgement—and in whom we have the utmost confidence and trust. To serve our regal purposes it is necessary for us according to the previous [order], to distinguish him apart by bestowing various benefices and awards (*soyūrghālāt*) to the aforementioned *amīr* among his equals. Because of this, there are visible and obvious impressions of mercy and kindness from the *pādishāh* in the pages [of the book] of his living conditions. Presently, we granted him again the rights of control,

32 Dawlatshāh, *Tazkirat al-shu’ara*, Browne ed.: 260; <‘Alāqa ed.: 458>.

33 The document is given in Zāhidī, *Silsilat al-nasab*, MS 160; Iranshāhr ed.: 103-04.

34 Usual in the Mongol and post-Mongol period the form of addressing the emperor to his vassal.

35 Here “Iran” is a conventional reference to the concept of the state among the Qaraqoyunlu.

the emirship and ownership, land tax (*māl u jihāt*) and taxes for the *dīvān* (*ḥuqūq-i dīvānī*), from Bidlis, Akhlat, Mush, and other fortresses and dependent areas with surroundings, grounds and buildings that have been previously held (*taṣarruf*) by the aforementioned *amīr*. We granted him these things without intervention (*mudākhalāt*) and complicity (*mushāarakāt*) of other persons. This decree was issued on the grounds that, in respect to the aforementioned *amīr*, *amīrs*, governors (*ḥākims*) and rulers (*mutaṣarrifs*) would not intervene and would not enter (literally, “would not circulate”) the district (*bulūkāt*), terrain, winter pastures (*qishlāq*) and arable land (*mazāriʿ*) that previously belonged to the aforementioned *amīr* and would not constrain his peasants (*raʿyā*) or people (*mardumān* and *kasān*). Whosoever opposes the *farmān* (decree) will be dealt with. The duty of the *amīrs*, *sardārs*, dignitaries, and noble people (*aʿyān*), and indigenous people and inhabitants of Bidlis, Akhlat, Mush, and Khinis, places and arable land, castellans (*kutvālān*) and residents (*muqīmān*) of those places is that they always acknowledge him,³⁶ refuge of the emirship, son (of ours) as their own ruler (*ḥākīm*) and *amīr*; let them not shy away from his words, good deeds, and prudent orders and let them follow the path of obedience, submission and sincere devotion. In all judicial matters (*qazāyā*), responsibilities, and affairs let them recognize themselves as subordinate and dependent on the authorized representatives (*gumāshtagān*) of the aforementioned *amīr*. For whatever he addresses (to them), let them be submissive and let them handle the matter similarly everywhere (literally “all sides”). And when [the charter] is embellished with the high and noble sovereign’s seal, let them have faith in it. Written on 10 Rabiʿ al-Avval 820.³⁷

The privileges granted by the cited decree to the owner of a *soyūrghāl*, Amīr Shams al-Dīn, were similar to privileges granted to other owners of *soyūrghāls*. These privileges do not represent something completely new for the countries of Western and Central Asia. *Soyūrghāl* privileges seem to us as a further development of those feudal privileges that are associated with the old institution of *iqṭāʿ*. The institution of *iqṭāʿ* experienced significant evolution. As is known, *iqṭāʿ* in the eras of the Arab Caliphate, Saljuq, and Mongol rule are not the

36 Literally: the “trusted leaders (*gumāshtagān*) of this side (*janāb*)” is a technical expression meaning in this case the identity of Amīr Shams al-Dīn himself.

37 Bidlisi, *Sharaf-nāma*, Veliaminov-Zernov ed., vol. 1: 376-78; <Abbāsī ed.: 492-94; Mudarrisi-Ṭabāṭabāʾī, № 1, 20-2>. For technical reasons, the Persian text of the letter is not given, especially since it has been published. Our translation. <See Appendix, Document 1>.

same. Only under Mongol rule (1239-1340) did *iqṭāʿ* fully turn into a military fief associated with hereditary land ownership, cultivated (*ābādān*) and uncultivated land (*kharāb*), as well as irrigation facilities, and with the rights of tax immunity for the *iqṭāʿdār* (owner of *iqṭāʿ*). It is in this way that [233] the *iqṭāʿ* granted to officials of the Mongol army is depicted for us in the *yarliq* of 1303 by the Hülāgūid Mongol emperor Ghāzān Khān.³⁸

In the early 15th century, *iqṭāʿ* is mentioned as a kind of military fief,³⁹ but later, *iqṭāʿ* as an exact legal term disappears from official certificates and is retained only in narrative sources⁴⁰ as an archaic, purely bookish expression to designate different types of conditional land tenure, and in particular *soyūrghāl* and *tiyūl*. The very institution of *iqṭāʿ* gave way to *soyūrghāl* in the 15th century.

It is clear from Qarā Yūsuf's aforementioned charter (820/1417) which features of the *soyūrghāl* of that time coincided with the *iqṭāʿ* of the Mongol era and how it differed from this *iqṭāʿ*. A common feature of both the *soyūrghāl* and the Mongolian *iqṭāʿ*, is the privilege of tax immunity for the owner of the fief, but not for the dependent population in the fief territory: the owner was permitted to charge in his favor with *raʿyāt*, apart from the rent, also the portion of the land taxes (*māl u jihāt*, that is *kharāj*), which, along with other charges, was supposed to contribute to the state of the central government (*dīvān*). Common to both types of ownership is also the principle of heredity. True, in the *soyūrghāl* of Qarā Yūsuf, this principle is not explicitly specified, but it did not raise doubts among any contemporaries since the territory was assigned to Amīr Shams al-Dīn, which was in the possession of his ancestors,⁴¹ and managed after his death by his descendants, under the suzerainty of

38 Presented by Rashīd al-Dīn, in the unpublished part of *Jāmiʿ al-tavārikh*, Istanbul manuscript ff. 651-653; <Rawshan and Mūsavī ed.: 1479-86>. See also: I. Petrushevskii. "Khamdallakh Kazvini kak istochnik po sostial'no-ekonomicheskoi Vostochnogo Zakavakaz'ia." *Izvestiia Akademii Nauk. Otdelenie obshchestvennykh nauk* (1937): 332 ff. See also the very informative article by A.A. Ali-Zade, "K voprosu ob institute iktā v Azerbaidzhane pri il'khanakh." *Izvestiia AzFAN* 5 (1942): 19-23.

39 Samarqandī, *Matlaʿ-i sa'dāy*, MS 182a; Quatremère, French trans. 103; <Shafīʿ ed.: 83-84; Navāʿī ed.: 64>.

40 In the 16th century, the term *iqṭāʿ* is found, for example, in al-Ḥusaynī, *Tārikh-i ulchi-yi Niẓām Shāh*, Schéfer ed., vol. 2: 64, 83, 101; <Naṣīrī and Haneda ed.: 212, 232, 251>; in Bidlisī, *Sharaf-Nāma*, Veliaminov-Zernov ed., vol. 1: 289, 308, 309, 316, 355, and elsewhere; <Abbāsī ed.: 374, 397, 398, 406, 464>; in the 17th century, in Iskandar Munshī, *Tārikh-i ʿalam-ārā-yi ʿAbbāsī*, lithograph 78, 104, 235, 531, 532, 551, 644; <Afshār ed.: 103, 139, 362, 754, 755, 781, 914; additionally, see 650, 1040, 1060>; in <Mirzā Beg Junābādī>, *Rawzat al-Ṣafaviyya* (MS, IVR AN UzSSR, No. 26, f. 390b; <Ṭabāṭabāʾī Majd ed.: 277, 279>); in the 18th century in Shaykh ʿAlī Ḥazīn, *Tārikh-i ahvāl-i Shaykh Ḥazīn* (Belfour ed.: 154).

41 Bidlisī, *Sharaf-nāma*, Veliaminov-Zernov ed., vol. 1: 375; <Abbāsī ed.: 490-491>.

Qaraqoyunlu, then Aqqoyunlu, then Qizilbāsh *shāhs*, and then the Ottomans until 1531.⁴² Inheritance of the *soyūrghāl* was stipulated in the supported charter of the Ardabil Shaykh Ḥaydar Ṣafavī under the name of the descendants of Shaykh Zāhid (1483), mentioned above.⁴³ The hereditary character of grants is clearly visible in the *soyūrghāl* charter (published by V.F. Minorsky in 1939) of Prince Qāsim b. Jahāngīr of the Aqqoyunlu in 903/1498 addressed to his vassal, the ruler of the district of Egil (near Diyarbakır).⁴⁴

At the same time, *soyūrghāl* grants provided the owner greater rights than the *iqṭāʿ* of the Mongol period. According to the 1303 decree of Ghazan Khān about military *iqṭāʿ*, certain districts were allocated as *iqṭāʿ* for “thousands” (*hazāra*) of military officials, that is, for a particular [234] tribal group of nomads which supplied 1000 soldiers in the militia (*cherik*), and the grant charter was addressed to the *amīr* of the “thousands”, that is, of the hereditary head of the tribe and simultaneously the commander. The *amīr* of the “thousands” divided the territory of *iqṭāʿ* into shares and disbursed them through drawings. The power of the *amīr* of the “thousands” extended only to small fief areas of military officials, but not to the adjacent land of private landholders or to *waqf* land.⁴⁵ Meanwhile, the cited charter of Qarā Yūsuf subordinated, under Amīr Shams al-Dīn, everyone, without the exception of *amīrs*, feudal lords, nobles, clergymen (“scientists”, that is Muslim theologians), within a very wide area. The *soyūrghāl* territory of Amīr Shams al-Dīn, located in the south of Armenia to the west of Lake Van, was the largest of the Armenian principalities (Syunik) of the Nakharar period.⁴⁶ We have no information about the grant as *iqṭāʿ* of such vast territories during Mongol rule.

Then, Qarā Yūsuf’s charter provided Amīr Shams al-Dīn not only with tax, but also administrative and judicial immunity: none of the representatives of the central government or the neighboring rulers were allowed to interfere in the management of *soyūrghāl* territory or even to enter it.⁴⁷ The rights to

42 Ibid. v. 1: 437-447; <Abbāsī ed.: 562-573>; Rūmlū, *Aḥsan al-tavārikh* <vol. 12>, Seddon ed.: 238-239; <Navāʾī ed.: 313-314>.

43 Zāhidī, *Silsilat al-nasab*, MS f. 160; Iranshāhr ed.: 103-104.

44 V. Minorsky: 930 (from the text of the diploma: *انعامی مخلص بردوام و اکرامی مؤید مالاکلام*). Since this article provides a detailed commentary on the text of the letter, we do not consider here in detail the contents of this document; <see Appendix, Document 2>.

45 Rashīd al-Dīn, Istanbul MS, fols. 653, 656; <Rawshan and Mūsavī ed.: 1482 ff.>.

46 See the data on marriages on the “Military Literacy” (“Zora-Namak”), given in the book of N. Adonets, *Armeniya v epokhu Yustiniana* (1908): 251-265 (text and analysis of the “Military Diploma”).

47 The expression of the letter, “let them [the officials] stay away” *پیرامون نگردند* (literally: “let them not circulate”)—an expression, as we will see later, often found in charters of the 16th-18th centuries, is difficult to understand in accordance with the general

judicial analysis (*qazāyā*) of *ra'āyā* and, generally, people of *soyūrgḥāl* territory were given to Amīr Shams al-Dīn and *qāḍīs* assigned by him.⁴⁸ Owners of *iqṭā'* during the Mongol period enjoyed only tax immunity, but their land was not removed from the control of the officials of the central state apparatus; the latter not only had the right to enter the territory of military *iqṭā'*, but even had to be there annually for the audit and take away the *iqṭā'* shares from those soldiers who would have been handicapped (injured) in service or would not take the measures to cultivate their lands by the peasants attached to them (the lands).⁴⁹

But already in the Jalāyirid collection of official documents, *Dastūr al-kātib* (1360s, in Persian), in one of the grant charters given there, under the name of Malik Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad, we find the aforementioned formula of administrative immunity: *qalam* [235] *va qadam kutāh va kashīda dārand*, "let them restrain and curtail pen and foot."⁵⁰

Administrative immunity was the general principle for the *soyūrgḥāl*. This fact allows us to see, in the *soyūrgḥāl* of the 15th century, a further development of the institution of the *iqṭā'*. We noted earlier (in 1935) that administrative immunity is a feature of the *soyūrgḥāl*.⁵¹ Both *soyūrgḥāl*, and *iqṭā'* could be of different sizes.

The development of immunity, first fiscal, then judicial and administrative, was an expression of the process of growth of the military fief system and of feudal hierarchy. Large feudal landholding was the basis of immunity, and the

spirit of the document, other than the prohibition of access to immune territory. In the *soyūrgḥāl* document of Qāsim Aqqoyunlu of 903/1493, this prohibition was formulated more clearly: *قلم و قدم از آنجا کوتاه و کشیده دارند*, "[the officials'] pens and feet shall be curtailed and restrained from that place." (see V. Minorsky, pers. text: 930). See the same expression in the text of the *vaqf* document of Ya'qūb Aqqoyunlu in the name of the *mutavallī* of the Maṣūnī *madrasa* in Shiraz, the famous scholar Ṣadr al-Dīn Muḥammad, (dated 7 Dhū al-Ḥijja 893 AH/13 October 13, 1488), found in Fasāṭī, *Fārs-nāma-yi Nāshirī*, lithograph, 1313/1896: 82; <Mudarrisi-Ṭabāṭabāṭī, document № 22: 103>. This expression in from the 15th to the 18th centuries becomes the usual formula for such documents (see below).

48 The right of judicial immunity is clearly stipulated in the charter of Shāh 'Abbās I, dated 1009/1600-1 in the name of the trustee (*mutavallī*) of the *vaqf* property of the sanctuary (the tombs of Shaykh Ṣafī al-Dīn) in Ardabil, listed in Zāhidī, *Silsilat al-nasab* (MS, f. 171; Iranshāhr ed.: 109).

49 Rashīd al-Dīn, MS, fol. 653; <Rawshan and Mūsavī ed.: 1482 ff.>.

50 Nakhjavānī, *Dastūr al-kātib*, MS of the IV AN, without a number (compiled by V. Tiezenhausen, a copy of the Vienna MS, № 185) fol. 222b; <Ali-zade ed., vol. 2: 264; for other examples of this expression see also vol. 2: 52, 268, 271, 279, 312>.

51 See our article: "K voprosy ob immunitete v Azerbaidzhane v XVII-XVIII vv." in *IS*, no. 4, izd. Akad. Nauk SSR, 1935: 63-64.

charters granted by the central government were merely legal recognition of preexisting relations that had developed independently.

The *shāhanshāhs* of the Safavid dynasty continued to distribute *soyūrghāl* grants. Khvāndamīr mentions grants by the first Shāh of the Safavid dynasty, Ismāʿīl I, of an “appropriate *soyūrghāl*” to a Shaykh al-Islām.⁵² Mīr Yaḥyā al-Ḥusaynī, a chronicler from the mid-16th century, emphasizes the peculiar goodwill of Shāh Ismāʿīl I toward representatives of the Shiʿi clergy—*sayyids*, *qāḍīs*, theologians: “upon them and other ranks (служилых людей, “service workers” = <*sāyir-i ṭabaqāt*>).”⁵³ It is known that under this Shāh much land was distributed to the nobility of nomadic Qizilbāsh tribes that occupied the leading position in the feudal class in the new state. But in these awards, the expression *soyūrghāl* is less common than during the rule of the two Turkmen dynasties in the 15th century; during the first of the Safavids there is a notable desire of the central government more often to distribute awards without the right of immunity or non-hereditary grants <пожалования> with the right of tax immunity (*tiyūl*). Chroniclers record instances where Shāh Ismāʿīl I had taken away *soyūrghāl* territory from rebellious lords, who had unwillingly submitted to the Qizilbāsh and who still desired independence, and he transferred these territories to the representatives of the Qizilbāsh nobility, but with the rights of *tiyūl* instead of *soyūrghāl*.⁵⁴ Nevertheless, the distribution of *soyūrghāls* was far from over. Shāh Ṭahmāsp I distributed *soyūrghāls* to members of the clergy and bureaucracy.⁵⁵ Under this Shāh, at one time a prominent position was held at the court by *sayyid* Amīr Ṣadr al-Dīn Maḥmūd with his three brothers “from the Ḥusaynī *sayyids*,” (i.e. the descendants of the third Shiʿi Imām Ḥusayn). These *sayyids*’ claims for the highest positions in office caused their removal from court. Shāh Ṭahmāsp ordered them to live in their village, Oskū, and to engage in agriculture, forbidding them to come to court, but approving for them the *soyūrghāls* that had been previously granted to their ancestors.⁵⁶

52 Khvāndamīr, *Ḥabīb al-siyar*, lithograph ed., vol. 4, Part 3: 113; <Humāʿī and Dabīr-Siyāqī ed., vol. 4: 608-609>.

53 Qazvīnī, *Lubb al-tavārikh*, MS, 169b; <Muḥaddiṣ ed.: 289>; see also fols. 161b-162a; <Muḥaddiṣ ed.: 279> on the grants to the Shiʿite clergy of Arabian Iraq.

54 Ḥusaynī, *Tārikh-i ilchī-yi Nizām Shāh* (Schéfer, vol. 2: 99-101; <Naṣīrī and Haneda ed.: 248 ff.> on the Hazārjarīb district). The Hazārjarīb district annually gave 500 Tabriz tumans *māl u jihāt* and could contribute 1,000 horsemen and infantrymen to the army <Naṣīrī and Haneda ed.: 250>.

55 See, for example, Rūmlū, *Aḥsan al-tavārikh*, <vol. 12>, Seddon ed.: 375<-76>; <Navāʿī ed.: 483>.

56 Mīr Maḥdī Shīrāzī, edited by P. Horn, <Die Denkwürdigkeiten des Šah Ṭahmāsp I von Persien>, ZDMG 45.2 (1891): 289-90; Rūmlū, *Aḥsan al-tavārikh*, <vol. 12>, Seddon ed.:

[236] According to the account of Iskandar Munshī, when Baku nobility representatives revolted against Turkey and massacred the Turkish garrison (1606), Shāh ‘Abbās I “bestowed and distinguished them with mantles of honor (*khila*), grants and *soyūrghāls*.”⁵⁷

Also, after the taking of Shamakhī (summer 1607) by the Shāh’s troops, some of the “people of Shirvān” who had been held under Turkish dominion, comprising *sipāhī*, *tīmārīyāt*, *za‘īm*, (lords of *za‘īm*, i.e. the same as *tīmār*, but more extensive and of greater profitability; <*zu‘amā va arbāb-i tīmār*>), now switched to the Shāh’s service, having received the Shāh’s forgiveness. Several of those people were distinguished with “favours” by the Shāh, “each receiving a grant of *tiyūl* and *soyūrghāl*.”⁵⁸ During the reconquest of Darband held from the Ottomans by that same Shāh, *soyūrghāls* were granted to local nobility.⁵⁹

Under the Safavids, especially in the 17th and 18th centuries, we no longer encounter mention in sources regarding grants of *soyūrghāl*, at least new ones of such vast territories, which were bestowed in the 15th century by the Black Sheep, White Sheep, and Timurid *sultāns*. Safavid *soyūrghāls* were often relatively small land holdings.

What the *soyūrghāl* was under the Safavids can be judged by three characteristic documents contained in *Silsilat al-nasab*.

The first of these possessions was the agricultural lands of Jūr, Mājūr, and Ūranqād in the region of Mughan, which belonged to the descendants of the sufi-dervish Shaykh Zāhid. Shaykh Tāj al-Dīn Ibrāhīm al-Sanjānī, nicknamed Shaykh Zāhid, who died in the year 700/1300-1, for a period of 25 years was the “elder” (*pūr*) and “mentor” (*murshid*) of saint-shaykh Šafī al-Dīn Ishāq, who died in 735/1334, an ancestor of the *shāhs* of the Safavid dynasty. Direct descendants of Shaykh Zāhid were subordinate to the Safavids, but they still had prominent and honorable positions as *murīds* and vassals of the Safavids.

The Safavid *shaykh* Ḥaydar, who ruled Ardabil, gave one of the Zāhidīs, Shaykh Quṭbal-Dīn, a certificate (*vaṣīqah*), dated Rajab 888/5 August-3 September 1483,⁶⁰ stating that the lands of Jūra, Mājūra, and Ūranqād in Mughan would reach this branch of the Zāhidīs on the “day of partition”⁶¹ of estates among the descendants of Shaykh Zāhid, and would comprise the share (*bakhsh*) for one of them, Shaykh Shams al-Dīn Zāhidī. Descendants of the latter owned these estates as

301-302; <Navā’ī ed.: 389-91>; Iskandar Munshī, *Tārīkh-i ‘ālam-ārā*, lithograph: 107; <Afshār ed.: 144>.

57 Iskandar Munshī, *Tārīkh-i ‘ālam-ārā*, lithograph: 515; <Afshār ed.: 734>.

58 Ibid.: lithograph: 529; <Afshār ed.: 751>.

59 Ibid.: 516; <Afshār ed.: 734>.

60 Zāhidī, *Silsilat al-nasab*, MS 160; Iranshāhr, ed.: 103-104.

61 Ibid.: روز مقاسمه.

an inheritance,⁶² assigned to them by grant charters of the Safavid “*sulṭāns*,”⁶³ at the time the actual rulers of Ardabil; “and other high descendants ... of Shaykh Zāhid, according to the charter, in those lands mentioned by the law (literally, “the document”), received no share.” The expression *soyūrghāl* does not occur in this document but in a later document from 1559 the same estate is called *soyūrghāl*.

[237] The author of *Silsilat al-nasab*, Shaykh Ḥusayn, he himself descended from Shaykh Zāhid, says that after Ismāʿīl ʾī Ṣāfavi became *shāh*, “he ordered to award many decrees (*aḥkām*) regarding *muʿāfi*⁶⁴ estates (*amlāk*) of *soyūrghāl* of theirs (Zāhidīs) in the name of his predecessors Shaykh ʿAbd al-Vahhāb and Shaykh Sharīf, who were the contemporaries of that ruler.” Shāh Ṭahmāsp ʾ also issued a number of decrees about *soyūrghāl* rights and *muʿāfi* estates of the Zāhidīs in the name of their representative, who was the contemporary of this *shāh*.⁶⁵ From the decrees of Shāh Ṭahmāsp ʾ, the author of *Silsilat al-nasab* cites one *farmān* dated 996/1559 containing information on some of the new features of the *soyūrghāl* compared to those of the pre-Safavid era. Therefore, we present it here in full translation.

Such is the decree. The highest *farmān* ensured that the main (or “original”) land tax (*aṣl-i māl-u jihāt*) from the arable lands (*mazāriʿ*) of Jūr, Mājūr, and Ūranqād in the region of Mughan (*ūlkā-yi Mughānāt*), according to world-obeyed decree (of the *shāh*), is defined and approved as *soyūrghāl* to the descendants of the shaykh of God, Shaykh Zāhid—let his glorious tomb be sanctified—and there has been no change to that [grant]. And since our favor granted to them is marked by generosity, we have ordered the establishment of: the most glorious, just, and mighty, indicated by the title of *sulṭān* Abū al-Faṭḥ Bahrām Mīrzā⁶⁶—may God almighty extend his life—the representatives⁶⁷ and feudal lords⁶⁸ of the mentioned region and the tax farmers (*mustājirān*) from the arable lands of the region of Mughan, let them in no way require anything from the

62 Ibid.: ابا عنجد ارث مانده است.

63 Ibid.: بموجب سند سلاطين ماضي. In the same document, the names of the Zāhidī shaykhs who later owned the said *soyūrghāl* lands are mentioned: <Shaykh Quṭb al-Dīn Abū Saʿīd b. Shaykh Rafīʿ al-Dīn b. Shaykh Ḥāmid b. Shams al-Dīn Zāhidī>.

64 Tax exemption, tax immunity, see below.

65 Zāhidī, *Silsilat an-nasab*, MS 161; Iranshāhr ed.: 104.

66 The younger brother of Ṭahmāsp ʾ.

67 In this case, the deputies for managing Mughan of prince Bahrām Mīrzā, for whom the title of the ruler of Mughan was just an honorary and profitable sinecure.

68 In this sense, rural elders.

arable lands of their *soyūrgḥāl* (the descendants of Shaykh Zāhid) under the pretext of collecting growth (literally, “difference”, or *tafāvut*—I.P.), or the surplus (*tawfīr*) of the land tax (*māl u jihāt*), or charging any poll tax (*sarāna*). And if there ever were an increase in past, present, or future, let it be known, according to the original decree (*dastūr-i aṣl*), of their eternal *soyūrgḥāl* and eternal grant. And what of the amount above given as *tiyūl* to the most glorious and fairest brother of ours should be acknowledged as destroyed and the conditions for that (grant of *tiyūl*) clarified in detail. And the noblest treasurers (*mustawfiyān*) of the sublime *dīvān*, eliminating the amount from the articles of *tiyūl*, let them be recognized, according to this decree, by their *soyūrgḥāl* (the descendants of Shaykh Zāhid), giving due attention, that they beware of opposition, which is the basis for punishment. The *dārūgha*, *maliks*, and *tūshmāl*⁶⁹ should recognize [this grant], according to the content of the decree, and not make appropriations [on the *soyūrgḥāl*] for the purpose of collecting the taxes of *ikhrājāt*, *khārijyāt*, and *tawjihāt* under the pretext of abolishing tax benefits (*takhfifāt-i masdūda*), under any circumstances whatever the basis may be. Let them [the officials] shorten their pens and legs [from the *soyūrgḥāl*] and let them not hang around them. And if some amount were already collected, let them return it without any delay and excuse. Knowing the prohibitions of this matter, let them [238] not dodge the execution of this order, and let them not require the annual renewal of this order. And let them, pursuant to the execution of their responsibility, beware of complaints [descendants of Shaykh Zāhid]. Shāh Ghāzī,⁷⁰ recognizing the order according to the above statements, should not enter into the affairs of their (descendants of the Shaykh) *sarkār*⁷¹ and should not hang around [their lands]. And let them count [those lands]; excluded from the contracts (*muqāṭaʿa*) of *maliks* and tax farmers (*mustājirān*) of the arable lands of the region of Mughan. Written on 20 Jumādā II 966/30 March 1559.⁷²

69 Inferior agents of administrative and police authority.

70 The *Vakil* of Bahrām Mirzā.

71 In this value term, the ruler of the estates, more precisely, the person managing the income from them, since large-scale land tenure was not connected with a large land-owner economy, and the management of the estate mainly consisted of charging rent from community members and tenants.

72 Zāhidī, *Silsilat al-nasab*, MS 162-164; Iranshāhr ed.: 104-105. For technical reasons, we do not give the Persian text. Our translation; <see Appendix, Document 3>.

In this decree, we primarily encounter the double meaning of the term *soyūrghāl*. On the one hand, arable land is called *soyūrghāl* (i.e., the land itself),⁷³ and this was the everyday meaning of the term which became established by the 15th century. On the other hand, according to the official theory of the centralized monarchy, recognizing the state as the supreme owner of the land, the Safavid officials who constituted his decrees were trying to interpret the concept of *soyūrghāl* only as a grant for the estate owner's right to levy certain taxes to their advantage. This latter view was diligently defended by the civil bureaucracy, which was comprised in the Qizilbāsh state almost entirely of Persians. But this view was not recognized by the top of the feudal class, the military-nomadic Qizilbāsh nobility, and always remained a mere formal theory far from a reality. However, attempts were made to apply the theory in practice. And in this case the publication of Shāh Ṭahmāsp I's new decree confirming *soyūrghāl* privileges to the Zāhidīs was caused by the fact that financial officials (*ummāl*) and state tax farmers (*mustājirān*) of Mughan tried to interpret the Zāhidīs' *soyūrghāl* diplomas as stating that the shah granted these latter [= the Zāhidīs] the right to retain for their own use not all state taxes, but only those which had been in existence since ancient times; newly introduced taxes were subject, according to this interpretation, to be handed over to *dīvān* officials or tax farmers. It should be kept in mind that in the Qizilbāsh power, as a result of the increasing levels of taxation undertaken at times by the shah's central government in increasing the size of taxes, the land tax (*māl u jihāt*, otherwise *māl*, *bahra* or *kharāj*) also increased.⁷⁴ They distinguished between the primary the original (*aṣl*) *māl-u-jihāt* and subsequent increments and extra charges on top of this, denoted by the Arabic terms *tafāvut* (meaning difference) or *tawfīr* (meaning surplus). How significant these extra charges were is evident from the fact that only one of the regions of the Qizilbāsh power—Persian Iraq—at the end of the 16th century gave more than 50-60 thousand *tūmān* per year to the *shāh*'s treasury.⁷⁵ It is this type of "difference" that Mughan officials tried to collect from the Zāhidīs' *soyūrghāl* for the benefit of the treasury.

[239] The Shāh's decree forbids these fees, ordering officials to return even that which already had been collected from them. The decree stated that the "difference" should be considered as *soyūrghāl* to the Zāhids, like other taxes.

73 Zāhidī, *Silsilat al-nasab*, Iranshāhr ed.: 105; مزارع سیورغال ایشان; idem. MS, f. 162.

74 According to Iskandar Munshī, *Tārīkh-i ālam-ārā*, lithograph: 405; <Afshār ed.: 587>; during the 16th century, it grew by 1/5. The decline occurred under Shāh 'Abbās I.

75 Iskandar Munshī, *Tārīkh-i ālam-ārā*, lithograph: 405; <Afshār ed.: 587>; on the term *tafāvut*, see also. V. Minorsky: 956-957.

The author of the *Silsilat al-nasab* clarifies the meaning of the Shāh's decree thus: "The Shāh issued a confirmatory decree (*ḥukm-i ta'kid*) on this issue with the obligation that when state inspectors (*mumayyizān*) find a 'surplus' (or difference—*tafāvut*) in their (the Zāhidis') *soyūrgḥāl*, let them not hassle them on this account,"⁷⁶ that is let them not demand these "surpluses" for the treasury. It should be kept in mind as far as the shah's power was concerned, this was a concession not in favor of peasants but rather in favor of the owners of *soyūrgḥāl*, to whom passed the right to collect *tafāvut*.

The Shāh's decree forbids officials to levy other taxes in *soyūrgḥāl*: *sarāna*, poll tax;⁷⁷ *ikhrajāt*, established outlays for local treasury expenditures; *khārijyāt*, extraordinary fees of the same sort; *tawjihāt*, apparently a synonym for the term—highly conventional already since the time of Mongol rule—*mutavājihāt-i dīvānī*, which denotes the collection of all taxes levied in favor of the *dīvān* (treasury). A curious reference in the *farmān* was made to any privileges or "relief" in collecting taxes, apparently, by the Shāh's government, but then repealed (*takhfifāt-i masdūda*, literally meaning "obstruction of benefits"). Cancelling these benefits served the financial officials for the reason of bringing new requirements for owners of *soyūrgḥāls* and their *ra'āyā*.

Further, we see that Mughan financial officials, believing that the tax immunity of *soyūrgḥāl* owners did not extend to a number of taxes, permitted the possibility of transferring the right to levy these fees with the territories of *soyūrgḥāls* on the rights of *tiyūl*⁷⁸ of different people or the ruler Bahrām Mīrzā. The Shāh's *farmān* declared these awards of *tiyūl* invalid. The *farmān* confirms fully the rights of the owners of *soyūrgḥāls* not only regarding taxation, but also regarding administrative immunity: local officials were denied access to *soyūrgḥāl* territories, as is clear from the quoted text of the *farmān*.

For a clearer idea of the situation of the Zāhidis as powerful feudal lords, we must bear in mind that their wealth was composed not only of the income of their Mughan estates. From the time of Shāh Ismā'īl I, *mutavallī* (trustees) of the ancestral Safavid shrine—mosques with the tomb of Ṣafī al-Dīn and other Safavid shaykhs in Ardabil, who were at the same time administrators of huge *waqf* assets of this sanctuary—were appointed from the Zāhidī family.

The second of the characteristic *soyūrgḥāl* documents from the Safavid era is dated 1113/1701. This document makes it possible to trace the fate of *soyūrgḥāl* possession for at least a century. We are talking of a *soyūrgḥāl* belonging to the

76 Zāhidī, *Silsilat al-nasab*, MS, f. 161; Iranshāhr ed.: 104.

77 Levied on Muslims from the time of Mongol rule, under various names, contrary to Islamic law.

78 In this sense, the grant of rent or part of it from any territory.

family of zealous vassals of the Safavids, hereditary lords (*ḥākims*)⁷⁹ of the mining district of Qarādāgh (otherwise Qarājadāgh, “Black Mountain”) in southern (Iranian) Azerbaijan. Already in the 11th century⁸⁰ there were a large number of followers, [240] sufi *murīds* <disciples>, of the Safaviya order and its ancestral shaykhs, the Ardabil Safavids; among these *murīds* belonged, primarily, local feudal lords. Qarājadāgh sufis along with other Qizilbāsh tribes had supported Shāh Ismāʿīl I [against the Shīrvānshāh Farrukh Yāsār and Turkmen White Sheep *sultāns*] in 1499–1500.⁸¹ After the victory of Shāh Ismāʿīl I and the formation of the Qizilbāsh state, Qarādāgh *ḥākims* stayed in the family of Qarāja Ilyās,⁸² comrade of Ismāʿīl I. Members of this family continued to be regarded as dervishes, Sufis, and *murīds* of the Safavid *shāhs*, and they bore the rank of *khalīfa*, that is, “deputies” of the Safavids, the main shaykhs of the Safaviyya dervish order. Even under Shāh Ismāʿīl I, these Qarādāgh *khalīfas* were granted different *soyūrghāls* and immunities,⁸³ but the whole of the Qarādāgh area is not referred to as *soyūrghāl* anywhere in the sources. The *soyūrghāl* mentioned above was a small estate—as also, possibly, were the other *soyūrghāls* belonging to the family of Qarādāgh *khalīfas*.

In the second half of the 16th century, a representative of the family of Khalīfa-yi Anṣār,⁸⁴ a Qarādāgh *ḥākīm* and at one time a *beglerbeg* (high ranking official) of Shīrvān, played a prominent role at the court of Shāh Ṭahmāsp I. One of the sons of Khalīfa-yi Anṣār, Suhrāb Beg, brutally suppressed an uprising of artisans and the urban poor in Tabriz in 1573.⁸⁵ Another son of Khalīfa-yi Anṣār, Shāhvirdī Khān, *ḥākīm* of Qarādāgh during the conquest of the Azerbaijan in 1588, switched sides to the Turks, betraying the *shāh*.⁸⁶ For this, he and several members of his family were executed in 1603, after the expulsion of the Ottomans by the Qizilbāsh. Nonetheless, Maqṣūd Sulṭān, one of the representatives—loyal to the shah—of this very family was appointed the new *ḥākīm* of Qarādāgh.⁸⁷ This family, therefore, did not lose its hereditary rights

79 This name of the district, in its Persian form, Siyāh-kūh (Black Mountain), is already found in Ḥamd Allāh Qazvīnī (*Nuzhat al-qulūb*, Le Strange ed., vol. 1: 197, 223).

80 Petrushevskii: 239: “Eshche v XI v....”

81 Rūmlū, *Aḥsan al-tavārikh* <vol. 12>, Seddon ed.: 41; <Navāʿī ed.: 61>.

82 Rūmlū, *Aḥsan al-tavārikh* <vol. 12>, Seddon ed.: 35; <Navāʿī ed.: 53>.

83 Iskandar Munshī, *Tārīkh-i ʿālam-ārā*, lithograph: 622; <Afshār ed.: 882>.

84 Rūmlū, *Aḥsan al-tavārikh* <vol. 12>, Seddon ed.: 437; <Navāʿī ed.: 561>.

85 Rūmlū, *Aḥsan al-tavārikh* <vol. 12>, Seddon ed.: 455–57; <Navāʿī ed.: 587–90>; Iskandar Munshī, *Tārīkh-i ʿālam-ārā*, lithograph: 90–91; <Afshār ed.: 117–18>. For more on this, see: I.P. Petrushevskii. “Vosstanie remeslennikov v gorodskoi bednoty v Tebrize v 1571–1573 gg.” *Izvestiia AzFAN* (1942 № 3); idem., 2nd ed., SSIA, 1949.

86 Iskandar Munshī, *Tārīkh-i ʿālam-ārā*, lithograph: 271; <Afshār ed.: 406>.

87 Iskandar Munshī, *Tārīkh-i ʿālam-ārā*, lithograph: 622<–23>; <Afshār ed.: 882>.

to Qarādāgh and did not lose its *soyūrgḥāl* estates. The nomadic traditions in the Qizilbāsh state were so strong that the family of the Qarādāgh *khalīfas*, along with its feudal militia (*qoshūn*), was officially considered a special “tribe”. Among Qizilbāsh tribes, judging from information recorded by Iskandar Munshī,⁸⁸ the Qarādāghlī tribe occupied 8th place,⁸⁹ just after the seven major Qizilbāsh tribes.

The details here provided about the family of the Qarādāgh *khalīfa* may seem long and tedious, but they seem to us to be necessary in order to clarify one of the most characteristic features of *soyūrgḥāl* ownership: inheritance. We have noted above the 1701 *soyūrgḥāl* document—the *farmān* of Shāh Sultān-Ḥusayn—issued in the name of Bāyandur Sultān, the *ḥākim* of Qarādāgh, granting his son, Muḥammad Qāsim Beg, a *soyūrgḥāl* to the value of 6 *tūmāns* and 3,096 ½ dinars “from the article of *māl u jihāt* and other taxes (*vujūhāt*)” in the area of Dizmar in Qarādāgh. Judging [241] by the small size of the sum granted,⁹⁰ it may be that it was tax levied not from all of Dizmar, but from only one or a few villages of the district. The granting as *soyūrgḥāls* of amounts of income was a usual formula in Safavid *farmāns*: in practice, as is evident from the text of the charters, this formula signified and granted the very territory from which taxes were to be levied. The *soyūrgḥāl* was granted to Muḥammad Qāsim Beg under the condition of delivery to the *shāh’s* army of seven people armed and equipped from the residents of the *soyūrgḥāl*.⁹¹ In the text, we find such a place: “May the *kadkhudā* (village elders) and the *raʿyā* of the abovementioned *maḥāl*, recognizing the aforementioned sanctuary of eminence and grandeur (that is, Qāsim Beg) as the owner of the *soyūrgḥāl*, from year to year present to him *māl u jihāt*, fees (*vujūhāt*), divan taxes (*ḥuqūq-i dīvānī*) owing from them, and according to the same custom as they have fulfilled the necessary obligations towards preceding owners of

88 Iskandar Munshī, *Tārīkh-i ʿālam-ārā*: 761-764.

89 Iskandar Munshī, *Tārīkh-i ʿālam-ārā*, lithograph: 7<6>2; <Afshār ed.: 1086>.

90 Judging by the purchase deed in 1704, therefore, the Shāh Ḥusayn *farmān* mentioned above, in 1701, for the sum of 6 Tabrizi *tumans* at that time it was possible to buy an entire village (Erev. № 1/8).

91 The Persian text of the *farmān* was published with the French translation by N. Khanykov, “Lettre de M. Khanykov à M. Dorn, précédée d’un rapport de cet Académicien,” *Mélanges Asiatiques* (1857), vol. 3.1, texte pers.: 71-74, (French translation: 74-76). We do not give the complete text of the *farmān* here; it is cited and analyzed in our article “K voprosu ob immunitete v Azerbaidzhane v XVII-XVIII vv.” (*Is*, № 4, Akad. Nauk SSR, 1935: 58-67). About this document, see also: V. Minorsky: 958-959; <see Appendix, Document 4>.

soyūrghāl (*ṣāḥibān-i soyūrghāl*) and to the aforementioned dynastic line, neglecting nothing and concealing nothing.”⁹²

In general, the nature of *soyūrghāl* ownership in this *farmān* is depicted the same way as in the earlier documents that we have discussed. Note that here too, territory that has been granted is called *soyūrghāl*. In addition, in the text of the *farmān*, we find three features, sharply distinguishing *soyūrghāl* from the other type of conditional ownership, *tiyūl*, which was widespread under the Safavids.

1—The duty of the holder of the *soyūrghāl* to supply armed men to the *shāh*'s army implies the submission to his authority of villages that have been granted to him, whereas in the Safavid charters on the contents of *tiyūl*, such a right, at least officially, was not given [until the 18th century].

2—Unlike the *tiyūl*, the granting of this *soyūrghāl*—as well as any *soyūrghāl* in general—was hereditary. It is clear from the text of the *farmān* that, although upon an heir's accession to the ownership of a *soyūrghāl* it was required that the *shāhanshāh* reconfirm the grant, such reconfirmation was a mere formality. The order of succession was observed rather strictly, and only in the absence of a direct heir could a *soyūrghāl* pass laterally to relatives; neither the *shāh* nor the local *ḥākim* (*khān*) would change the order of succession. According to this *farmān*, the granting of the *soyūrghāl* to Muḥammad-Qāsim Beg was motivated by the fact that after the previous owner, Burhān al-Dīn, there remained no direct heirs (sons), as a result of which the *soyūrghāl* was granted by the *shāh* to the deceased's next of kin, Muḥammad-Qāsim Beg. This *farmān* [242] gives the names of six family members of the Qarādāgh *khalīfas* who owned this *soyūrghāl*.⁹³

92 *Farmān*: 74: کدخدایان و رعایاء محال مزور و معالی پناه مر بورا صاحب سیورغال خود: دانسته سال بسال مالوجها و وجوهات و حقوق دیوانی خود را بدستور که بصاحبان سیورغال سابق مهم سازی مینموده اند و اصل مشاراً الیه ساخته چیزی قاصر و منکسر نسازند...

93 Ibid.

1. Ilyās <i>khalīfā</i>	3. His cousin, Maḥmūd Sulṭān, Qarādāgh <i>ḥākim</i>
2. Shams al-Dīn <i>khalīfā</i>	Bāyandur Sulṭān, Qarādāgh <i>ḥākim</i>
4. Ilyās <i>khalīfā</i>	
5. Burhān al-Dīn <i>khalīfā</i>	6. Sarājān Muḥammad Qāsim Beg ⁹⁴

The hereditary nature of the *soyūrgḥāl* is sufficiently proven by an entire series of documents. In contrast, in awards of *tīyūl*, heredity is not recognized until at least the 17th century.

3—In this *farmān*, fiscal and administrative immunity are clear. Moreover, governors and financial officials were generally denied access to *soyūrgḥāl* territories in the same terms that we have already seen in previous documents.⁹⁵ In other words, *soyūrgḥāl* was linked with rights, tax, and administrative immunity. Awards of *tīyūl* did not constitute such rights.

The term *soyūrgḥāl* occurs in several royal decrees from a small series of Safavid Persian charter grants relating to the *mazār* (tomb) of the revered Shīʿī saint Bibī Haybat, sister of the seventh Shīʿī imam Mūsā Kāẓim, near the city of Baku, now the Bibī Haybat oil region (in the so-called “Shikhov village”). Copies of these charters, taken by the scholar B. Dorn, are stored in the Manuscript Department of the Institute of Oriental Studies of the Academy of Sciences [USSR];⁹⁶ originals, apparently, are not extant. All charters relate to *waqf* assets, mainly in the villages of Zigh, or Zikh, near Baku. The *mazār* was controlled by hereditary *sayyid*-ʿAlid shaykhs. Apparently, at the *mazār*, there was a *khānagāh* (sufi-dervish monastery). There is no direct mention of it in the documents, but there is often reference to dervishes⁹⁷ living near the *mazār*.

94 The names of members of the Qarādāgh *ḥākims* who owned the Dizmar *soyūrgḥāl* are underlined; the numbers indicate the order of change of ownership.

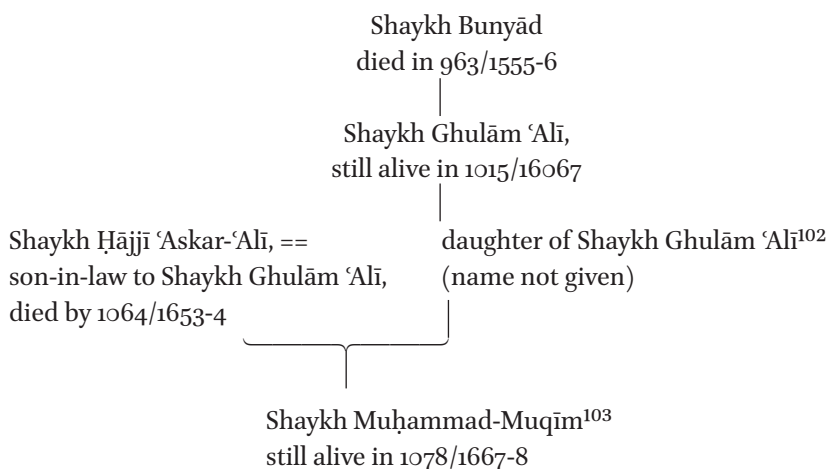
95 Ibid; see below, note 117.

96 IV AN USSR, MS dept., archive, Fund 15, No. 44/584, 8. We intend to publish all ten *farmāns* of this series, therefore, the texts of the *farmāns* here are completely new.

97 See, for example, in document 2 of the same series, the *farmān* of Shah Tahmāsp I, issued in the month of Muḥarram 963/16 November–15 December 1555: درویشان و عمله آنجا را: متولی آنجا دانسته از سخن و صلاح او تجاوز ننمایند. “And the dervishes and local agents should recognize him (Shaykh Bunyād) as the local *mutavallī* and not transgress his orders and policies.”

The term *soyūrghāl* occurs in four *farmāns* of the mentioned series,⁹⁸ and in all cases as applied to *waqf* possessions, that is to the property bequeathed to the religious establishment, in this case the *mazār*. The *farmān* of Shāh ‘Abbās II, (issued in the month of Dhū al-Ḥijja 1066/20 September-19 October 1656), for example, says that “the specified [243] village,⁹⁹ with all its property and status, is defined as *soyūrghāl* belonging to the shrine,¹⁰⁰ while in other *farmāns* in this series, the same village of Zigh is referred to as *waqf*—*waqf* lands¹⁰¹ of the tomb.” This fact shows that the term *soyūrghāl* was also attached to *waqf* possessions if tied to it were heritability of the title of trustee (*mutavallī*) and rights to tax and administrative immunity. Both are, therefore, considered the main features of the *soyūrghāl*.

In the aforementioned *farmāns*, with what features is *soyūrghāl* depicted? First of all, here, as in the 1701 *farmān* of Shāh Sulṭān-Ḥusayn, the *soyūrghāl* is a hereditary possession, with strict observance of the order of succession, which is tolerated in *waqf* rights. Using the aforementioned *farmāns*, this order of inheritance can be traced over the course of four generations of shaykhs who controlled this *mazār* for more than a hundred years (1547-1668).



98 Document numbers 3, 4, 7, 8 of the same series (*farmāns* 1015 = 1607, 1060 = 1650, 1066 = 1656, 1078 = 1668).

99 Zig (زق) or, as they now usually write this name, Zikh, lies to the southeast of the city of Baku.

100 Document № 7 of the same series: بسیوغال آستانه متبرکه مقرر فرموده.

101 Document № 6 of the same series: محال وقفی.

102 Document № 4 of the same series is the *farmān* of Shah ‘Abbās II, issued in the month of Muḥarram 1060/4 January-2 February 1650.

103 Document № 5 of the same series is a *farmān*, issued in the month of Jumādā II 1064/<19 April-17 May> 1654.

Further, we see here the signs of the same immunity as in the 1701 *farmān* of Shāh Sulṭān-Ḥusayn that we looked at above. This immunity (*mu'āfi*) in the *farmān* of Shāh 'Abbās I, (issued in the month of Dhū al-Qa'da 1015/28 February-29 March 1607), is outlined thus: "The flower of the shaykhs, shaykh Ghulām 'Alī, son of shaykh Bunyād, *mutavallī* of the blessed tomb of the Imam's daughter, worthy of veneration and respect, and the community (or "coven") of dervishes, ministers of the indicated tomb ... presented the noblest request about how the village of Zikh, from the dependent areas of the Badkuba (Shirvan),¹⁰⁴ according to the decree of his majesty, who dwells in heaven,¹⁰⁵ is the *waqf* the ruler (*sarkār*, that is shaykh Ghulām 'Alī) of the blessed tomb. And the land tax (*māl u jihāt*) from the [village] is defined as *soyūrgḥāl* and *mu'āfi*¹⁰⁶ for the stated tomb. They asked about the [confirmation] of *mu'āfi* and *soyūrgḥāl* for the stated village and [the assignment of collection] of tithes (*'ushr*) with three mineral oil wells located in the vicinity [244] of this tomb, together with *chūpān-begī* [from a number of] about 1,500 heads of sheep belonging to the *mutavallī*, the dervishes of the aforementioned tom and the *ra'āyā* of the village of Zigh,¹⁰⁷ taxes on gardens (*māl-i bāgh*), a tithe (*'ushr*) on cotton and grains, which the dervishes produce on the ground of Dūl-darra."¹⁰⁸

As can be seen from the same *farmān*, the plea from shaykh Ghulām 'Alī "to the infinite mercy of the *shah*," was satisfied in full. Privileges of *soyūrgḥāl* and

104 In Iranian documents the usual form of the name of the city of Baku.

105 I.e., the late Shah. Usually this title was given to Shah Ṭahmāsp I. See Iskandar Munshī, *Tārīkh-i 'ālam-ārā*, lithograph: 34-126; <Afshār ed.: 45-173>.

106 Arab.-Pers. The term *mu'āfi*—"the state of *mu'āf*;" *mu'āf*—the Persian modification of the Arabic *mu'awwaf*—"withdrawn, exempted (from taxes)."

107 *Chūpān begī*—tax for livestock grazing. On this, see Iskandar Munshī, *Tārīkh-i 'ālam-ārā*, lithograph: 405; <Afshār ed.: 587>; Muḥammad Ma'sūm, *Khulāṣat al-siyar*, MS, LGPB, Dorn's catalog, № 303, f. 124b; <Tehran edition: 321>; Yerevan, № 3/33; <see also Barkan, *XV ve XVIncı asırlarda Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda zirai ekonominin hukuki ve mali esasları*, passim; Aubin, "Archives persanes commentées 1," 142; and İnalçık, "Adâletnâmeler," 142>.

108 IV AN USSR, MS dept. archive, Fund 15, № 44/584, 8, document № 3: زبدة المشايخ شيخ غلامعلي ولد شيخ بنياد متولي آستانه متبركه امام زاده واجب التعظيم والتكريم و جماعت درويشان خدمه آستانه مزبور ... عرض اشرف رسانيدند كه قريه زق از اعمال بادكوبه شيروان بموجب حكم اعليحضرت جنت مكاني وقف سركار آستانه متبركه است و مالوجهات آن سيورغال و معافي آستانه مذكوره مقرر بوده و استدعاي معافي و سيورغال قريه مذكور و عشر سه حفره چاه فقط كه در حوالى آستانه مزبوره است با چوپان بگي موازي يكهزار و پانصد رأس گوسفند متولي و درويشان آستانه مزبوره و رعايى قريه زق و مال باغ و عشر پنبه و زراعت غله كه درويشان در زمين دول دره مى نمايند نمودند ...

mu'āfi, as is evident from the *farmān*, were confirmed even by Shāh Ṭahmāsp I. “Ministers” (*khadama*, that is, the lower officials of the *mazār*) and “workers” (*a'mala va fa'ala*, apparently the peasants) were instructed to “recognize shaykh Ghulām 'Alī as his *mutavallī* and not shy away from his legitimate and correct words and good deeds.”¹⁰⁹

The cited *farmān* shows, as do the documents that we looked at above, that all takes itemized in the decree about taxes were not removed from the *ra'āyā* but conceded by the state to the *mutavallī* of the *waqf* to multiply his income.

Contained in *farmāns* issued in the name of the Bibī Haybat shaykhs is a prohibition on officials taking possession of the *soyūrghāl*, though sometimes in the same terms of the *soyūrghāl* documents we have examined above. Of the *farmāns* in the name of the Bibī Haybat shaykhs, the *farmān* of Shāh Ṭahmāsp I, published in the month of Muḥarram 954/21 February–22 March 1547, expresses most precisely: governors, *tiyūl* holders, and *dārūghas* (*ḥukkām va tiyūldārān va dārūghagān*) were instructed not to enter the territory of the *mazār* of Bibī Haybat and not to engage in correspondence on the calculation of taxes with it. The literal expression of the text, “let them curtail their pens and feet,”¹¹⁰ is the same as in the 1701 *farmān* by Shāh Sulṭān-Ḥusayn that we looked at above, in which it is stated: “Let governors (*ḥukkām*) and financial officials (*ummāl*) of the region not enter into *soyūrghāl* affairs <= *bi khalāf va ḥisāb*> contrary to custom; and let them restrain and curtail pen and foot” (that is, “let them not register or encroach” 1P), and, “having closed the gates of [245] collection under the pretext of [collecting] taxes (*ikhrājāt*) and extraordinary duties (*avārizāt*), let them not on any grounds (*maḥal*) molest the *ra'āyā* of the aforementioned *soyūrghāl*.”¹¹¹

We have come across a number of *farmāns* with the expression “let them restrain and curtail pen and foot” (*qalam va qadam kutāh va kashīda dārānd*), which was the usual formula when granting tax immunity.¹¹²

109 Ibid.

110 Document № 1 of the same series: قلم و قدم کوتاه و کشیده دارند.....

111 “Lettre de M. Khanykov à M. Dorn,” *Mélanges Asiatiques* 3/1 (1857): 74: حكام و عمال الكاء: مزبور بخلاف حساب دخل در سيورغال نموده قلم و قدم کوتاه و کشیده دارند و بعلت اخراجات و عوارضات مسدود الابواب بهر اسم و رسم که بوده باشد مزاحمت محال (بحال رعایای محال سيورغال مشارالیه نرسانند probably).

112 See the *farmān* of Shah Ṭahmāsp I, 1559; Zāhidī, *Silsilat an-nasab*, ms f. 163, Iranshāhr ed.: 105; and the *farmān* of Qāsim b. Jahāngīr Aqquyunlu (V. Minorsky article, text: 930). This expression has the same meaning: پیرامون نگردد “let them [the officials] stay away” [literally: “not circulate”] (Bidlisī, *Sharaf-nāma*, Veliaminov-Zernov ed., vol. 1: 377; Abbāsī ed.:

Comparing the data of the documents cited above with each other, we can deduce that for the *soyūrgḥāl*, two traits are most characteristic: they are strictly inherited from a direct line of kinship, and they include the same administrative and tax immunities. *Waqf* ownership, inasmuch as it was accompanied by these two features, was called *soyūrgḥāl* in the 16th-17th centuries.

Where these two traits, particularly tax benefits, did not exist, we do not encounter, we do not come across the term *soyūrgḥāl*. Thus, during the Safavids, *soyūrgḥāl* privileges were granted also to representatives of the clerical elite.¹¹³ According to the *Tadhkirat al-mulūk*, the head of Iran's Shi'i clergy (at the beginning of the 18th century) acquired the right to receive 1/20 of the share of incomes from all *soyūrgḥāls*.¹¹⁴ It is not clear whether in the late Safavid period, the clergy in charge of *soyūrgḥāl* were required to incur personal service to the militia.

We have already seen that in decrees there are often the Mongol term *soyūrgḥāl* and Perso-Arabic term *mu'āfi* / *mā'āfi* next to each other.¹¹⁵ The term *mu'āfi*, "freedom from taxes and duties," stands in close meaning to that of the word *soyūrgḥāl* as it is understood from the cited documents. This fact is noted by V.F. Minorsky, that it is difficult to say how *mu'āfi* differs from *soyūrgḥāl*. It seems to us that the term *mu'āfi* denoted one side of *soyūrgḥāl* holdings: tax immunity.¹¹⁶ If *soyūrgḥāl* were always assumed as *mu'āfi*, the latter privilege could be granted without *soyūrgḥāl*. Without dwelling here on all types of *mu'āfi* referred to by narrative sources and documents particularly, we note only that the term *mu'āfi* refers to the right to fiscal immunities granted by the *shāhanshāh* to individual cities.

[246] Tax immunities of cities were not the general rule. They were benefits granted by *shāhs* by virtue of any special considerations. Shāh Ṭahmāsp I, possibly frightened by the large dimensions of artisan and urban poor uprisings in Tabriz in 1573,¹¹⁷ found it necessary to give incentives to this city so as to ensure the Safavids had the support of the urban elite. The *shāh* "gave" taxes

<493>). The previously mentioned Persian formula *قلم و قدم کوتاه و کشیده دارند*, "let them restrain and withhold both pen and foot" has a parallel Arabic version in *مرفوع القلم* and is similar to the medieval European expression *sine introitu iudicum*.

113 See also: V. Minorsky, *Tadhkirat al-Muluk*, Introduction: 27.

114 Minorsky, *Tadhkirat al-Muluk*, Introduction: 86.

115 See the series of *farmāns* in the name of the Bībī-Haybat shaykhs №s 3, 4; Iskandar Munshī, *Tārīkh-i ālam-ārā*, lithograph: 622; <Afshār ed.: 882>.

116 V. Minorsky, *Tadhkirat al-Muluk*, Introduction: 27.

117 See above, Note 95.

on handicrafts and released (*mu'āf dāshta*) the city from all taxes to the *dīvān* (*takālīf-i dīvānī*).¹¹⁸

In 1606, Shāh 'Abbās I gave the same rights of full tax immunity to the city of Urdūbād in Nakhchivan.¹¹⁹ This privilege was granted at the request of the *shāh's* first vizier, "*itīmād al-dawlat*" ("trust of the state"), Ḥātim Beg Urdūbādī, who came from the family of Naṣīriya Ṭūsīya, descendants of the famous 13th-century scholar Naṣīr al-Dīn Ṭūsī. From the time of Shāh Ismā'īl I, members of the family of Naṣīriya Ṭūsīya and Ḥātim Beg himself were hereditary *kalāntars* (city elders) of the city of Urdūbad and great feudal lords (*malik*) in the neighboring areas.¹²⁰ At the same time, the privilege of *mu'āfi* was given to the city of Darband¹²¹ by 'Abbās as a reward for the assistance given to the shah by the local nobility and urban elite in the war against Turkey.

Appendix

Document 1

Qarā Yūsuf Qaraqoyunlu

820/1417¹²²

«ابوالنصر یوسف بهادر سوزومیز»¹²³

فرزندان «اعزة»¹²⁴ ابقاهم الله تعالى وامراء الوسات وتومانان و هزارجات و صدجات و سرداران و حکام و عمال و ارباب و کلاتران و اهالی و اعیان و کخدایان و ملکان کردستان عموماً و اصول و معارف و مشاهیر و متوطنان و ساکنان بدلیس و اخلاط و موش و خنوس مع توابع و لواحق بدانند که چون کمال اخلاص و یکجبهتی و نهایت اختصاص و جانسپاری جناب امارت پناه فرزندی اعزّی امیر اعظم عادل اکرم امیر الامراء العجم

118 Iskandar Munshī, *Tārīkh-i 'ālam-ārā*, lithograph: 225; <Afshār ed.: 308>.

119 The Shāh's decree on this subject, cut over the portal of the cathedral mosque (*masjid-i jāmi'*) in Ordubad, was published by Khanykov in his *Mémoire sur les inscriptions musulmanes du Caucase*, Paris (1863), Persian, text: 94-95, French trans. 95-96; for the same, see Iskandar Munshī, *Tārīkh-i 'ālam-ārā*, lithograph: 508; <Afshār ed.: 725>.

120 Iskandar Munshī, *Tārīkh-i 'ālam-ārā*, lithograph: 506-511; <Afshār ed.: 722-29>.

121 Iskandar Munshī, *Tārīkh-i 'ālam-ārā*, lithograph: 516; <Afshār, ed.: 734>.

122 Bidlīsī, *Sharaf-nāma*, Veliaminov-Zernov ed., vol. 1: 376-378; 'Abbāsī ed.: 492-494; Mudarrisi-Ṭabāṭabā'ī, № 1: 20-22.

123 Bidlīsī, *Sharaf-nāma*, Veliaminov-Zernov ed., vol. 1: 376; 'Abbāsī ed.: 492: صورت نشان.

124 Bidlīsī, *Sharaf-nāma*, Veliaminov-Zernov ed., vol. 1: 376; 'Abbāsī ed.: 492: اعزان; Mudarrisi-Ṭabāṭabā'ī 20: اعزا.

امیر شمس الدین ابوالمعالی¹²⁵ اطال، الله تعالى ایام دولته و نصرته و عزّه و اقباله الى يوم الدین وثوق و اعتقاد تمام حاصل شد بر ذمت همّت خسروانه ما لازم و متحتّم گشت که بر قرار سابق مشاراً الیه را بأنواع عواطف و سیورغالات بین الاقران ممتاز و مستثنی گردانیم بنا برین آثار مراحم و اشفاق پادشاهانه بر صفحات احوال اولایح و واضع شده حالی محاله الوقت را حکومت و امارت و متصرفی مال و جهات و حقوق دیوانی بدلیس و اخلاط و خنوس و موش و دیگر قلاع و توابع مع لواحق و مضافات و منسوبات که قبل ازین در تصرف مشاراً الیه بوده بتجدید بی مداخلت و مشارکت غیری بدو ارزانی داشته بدان سبب این امر و حکم¹²⁶ نفذه، الله فی جمیع الاقطار سمت اصدار یافت که بر قرار امیر مومی الیه را امیر و حاکم و متصرف بلوکات و مواضع و قشلاق و مزارع که پیش تر ازین بامیر مومی الیه متعلق بوده شناسند مدخل نسازند و پیرامون نگردند و مزاحم رعایا و مردمان و کسان او نشوند و هرکس خلاف فرمان نماید در محلّ خطاب و معرض عذاب و بازخواست عظیم خواهد بود وظیفه امرا و سرداران و اصول و اعیان و ساکنان و متوطنان بدلیس و اخلاط و موش و خنوس و مواضع و مزارع و کوتوالان و مقیمان قلاع آن که پیوسته بگشتگان جناب امارت پناه فرزندی را امیر و حکیم خود دانسته از سخن و صلاح و صوابدید ایشان انفراد نمایند و طریق اطاعت و انقیاد و جان سپاری بتقدیر رسانند و جمیع قضایا و مهمّات و معاملات خود را بگشتگان امیر مومی الیه مفوض و منوط شمرند و بهرچه رجوع کند مطیع و منقاد باشند از جوانب برینجمله روند و چون بتوقیع رفیع اشرف موضح و مزین گردد اعتماد نمایند تحریراً فی عاشر شهر ربیع الاول سنه عشرين و ثمانمائه

Document 2

Qāsim b. Jahāngīr

903/1498¹²⁷

- | | |
|--|---|
| الحکم لله | 1 |
| [Bāyandur tamghā] | |
| الناصر لدين الله ابو المظفر قاسم جهانگیر سوزومیزا ¹²⁸ | 2 |
| حمد و سپاسی که واقفان مواقف قربت و اختصاص | 3 |
| و عارفان معارف کمال محبت و اخلاص در مقام | 4 |

¹²⁵ Bidlisi, *Sharaf-nāma*, Veliaminov-Zernov ed., vol. 1: 377; 'Abbāsī ed.: 492: شأن.

¹²⁶ Bidlisi, *Sharaf-nāma*, Veliaminov-Zernov ed., vol. 1: 377; 'Abbāsī ed.: 492: سعادة.

¹²⁷ Bašagić (1899) Table 17, 957; Minorsky (1939): 928-93; Mudarrisi-Ṭabāṭabā'ī (1973), No 25: 112-116.

¹²⁸ Phrases between vertical bars written in gold.

- 5 تمجید و تمجید و اداء حق حقیقت توحید قیام و اشتغال نمایند مرآن پادشاهی
را که بندگان صادق النیه و خالص العبودیه را
- 6 من المهد الى العهد بوفور عواطف و احسان و صنوف لطائف انعام و امتنان
مخصوص گردانید و عاکفان معاکف خلوص عقیدت
- 7 و صفاء طویت را بیدائع عنایت و مرحمت و صنائع رأفت و عاطفت مزید تشریف
کرامت فرمود و صلوات صلوات نامیات و تحف تحیات زایکات نثار بارگاه
- 8 ائمت پناهی که منشور فائض النور جلالتش بتوقع رفیع | «لَوْ لَأَكْ لَمَّا خَلَقْتُ
الْأَفْلاكَ» | موثّق و معلی و مزین و محلی است و برآل و اصحاب او اجمعین باد
- 9 اما بعد چون مکنون خاطر خطیر و مخزون ضمیر منیر در اعظام شأن و اعتلاء
مکان عالیجناب امارت مآب ایالت ایاب حکومت مناب
- 10 سعادت نصاب رفعت قباب معالی انتساب نصفت دثار مکرمت شعار امیر اعظم
اکرم افتخار الامراء العظام فی الایام قدوه
- 11 الولاه الکرام بین الانام رکن الدوله القاهره یمین السلطنه المظفریه کمالاً لله و
الاماره و الحکومه و الایاله و السعاده و الدین اسفندیار بیک
- 12 مصروف و معطوف است و حسن اهتمام و توجّه خاطرهمایون در باره او درجه
کمال داشت الکاء اکل که اوجاق اوست و باغین و هینی را
- 13 دربسته در وجه سیورغال > هودبری <¹²⁹ و انعام سرمدی عالیجناب مشاراً الیه
شفقت فرمودیم و ارزانی داشتیم که مالوجهات و تمامی حقوق دیوانیه محال مزبوره
- 14 که متصدیان مهمّات و اعمال
- 15 بر عالیجناب مومی الیه معاف و مسلم و ترخان و جزو مرفوع القلم و مقطوع القدم
دانند عمال و مباشران امور و اشغال و متصدیان مهمّات و اعمال
- 16 آنجوانب برینوجب مقرر دانند و این عوارف را در باره عالیجناب مذکور انعامی
مخلّد بردوام و اکرامی مؤبّد مالاکلام شناسند و رفم این عطیه را
- 17 در دفاتر خلود مثبت گردانیده بحرز و مساحت درنیاورند و بعد الیوم مطلقاً بعلت
اخراجات و خالصات و عوارضات و شناقص و شلتاقات
- 18 و توجیهات و قسمات و توزیعات و علفه و علوفه و قتلغا و الاغ و الام و تغار و
طرح و بیگار و شکار و ساوری و داروغگی و رسوم عمال

129 Minorsky (1939) 929: (?). هوابدی (؟) Mudarrisi-Ṭabāṭabā'ī (1973) 114. For the meaning of this Mongolian term as "every year, perpetual," see Matsui, Watabe and Ono (2015): 66, note P4a.

- 19 وحق سعى مباشر ورسوم الصدارة ورسوم الوزارة وعیدی و نوروزی و پیشکش
و سلامانه و ولیچیلک و نایچیلک و قاپوچیلک¹³⁰ و سائر تکلیفات و مطالبات حکمی
- 20 و غیر حکمی حوالتی نمایند و طمعی و توقعی نکنند و قلم و قدم از آنجا کوتاه و کشیده
دارند و در استقرار و استمرار این موهبه مساعی جمیله بتقدیم رسانند
- 21 و همه ساله درین ابواب حکم و پروانچه و نشان مجدد نطلبند و مضامین مسطورہ
فی الصدر را از شایبه تغییر و تبدیل مصون و محروس شمردند
- 22 و بموجب حکم همایون بتقدیم رسانیده تغییر و تبدیل بقواعد آن راه ندهند و از
مضمون آیه کریمه **إِذْ قُلْنَا لِلَّذِينَ آمَنُوا اسْمِعُوا مَقَالَيَ هَٰذَا كَلَمًا مَّا سَمِعْتُمْ**
23 **فَأَمَّا إِلَهُكُمْ عَلَى الَّذِينَ يُبَدِّلُونَهُ إِنَّ اللَّهَ سَمِيعٌ عَلِيمٌ**¹³¹ محترز و مجتنب بوده خلاف
کننده (را) در معرض سخط و لعنت الهی
- 24 و خطاب و عتاب پادشاهی داند از جوانب همگی بریخمله مقرر شناسند و من
سعی فی إبطاله افعليه لعنة الله و الملائكة و الناس اجمعين
- 25 برینوجب عمل نمایند و چون بتوقیع رفیع مطاع خورشید ارتفاع که فهرست ابواب
سعادت و بهروزی و خاتمه اعمال آنهت و فیروزی است
- 26 **مَوْشَىٰ وَ مُوسَىٰ وَ هَارُونَ وَ خَلْدُ نَفَاذِهِ وَ لَا زَالٍ مَطَاعًا مَتَّبِعًا مَنِيعًا**
بالامر العالی اعلاہ الله تعالی و خلد نفاذه و لا زال مطاعاً متبعاً منیعاً
- 27 بجوسق حرزم دار السلطنه ماردین فی الخامس من شهر الله شعبان المعظم لسنه
ثلاث و تسعمائة
- Verso بمهرمایون بوقوف حضرت صدارت پناهی اسلام ملاذی برسانند
مقرب الحضرت زین الدین مسکی پروانچی

130 Minorsky (1939) 930; Mudarrisi-Tabātabā'i (1973) 115: **ولحملك و باسحلك و فاپو حلك**. On these terms, see Doerfer № 1370, vol. 3: 372; № 1752, № 1766, vol. 4: 35, 45; compare Barkan (1945) 145, 146 (*rasm-i bavvābī*).

131 Qur'ān 2:181.

Document 3

Shāh Ṭahmāsp

966/1559¹³²

هذا الحكم

فرمان میمون شد آنکه اصل مالوجهات مزرعه جوره و ماجوره و اونقاد حسب الحكم جهانمطاع در وجه سیورغال اولاد عظام شیخ ربانی زاهد یگانی قدس سره العزیز مقرر و مستمر است و تغییری در آن نشده و چون توجه خاطر فیض مآثر همایون ما در باره ایشان درجه اعلی است بنابراین مقرر فرمودیم که برادر اعترارشد کامکار سلطنت شعار ابو الفتح بهرام میرزا بقاه الله تعالی و وکلاء او و ملکان اکاء مزبور و مستأجران مزارع مغانات اصلاً بعلت تفاوت و توفیر از مزارع سیوغال ایشان طلبی ننمایند و سرانه نگیرند و احر تفاوتی داشته باشد در سنوات گذشته و حال آینده بدستور اصل سیروغال ابدی و احسان سرمدی ایشان مقرر دانسته آنچه از آن جمله به تیول برادر اعترارشد مشاراً الیه مقرر باشد باطل دانسته کیفیت آن مشروحاً باز نمایند که مستوفیان کرام دیوان اعلی از تیول وضع کرد بموجب آن حکم بسیوغال ایشان اعتبار نمایند و رعایت واجب دانسته از تخلف که موجب خطاب عظیم است محترز باشند داروغه و ملکان و توشمالان الکاء مذکور بریخمله مقرر داند و بعلت اخراجات و خارجیات و توجیهات و تخفیفات مدوده بهر اسم و رسم که باشد حوالتی نموده قلم و قدم کوتاه [و] کشیده دارند و پیرامون نگردند و اگر چیزی ستاده باشند بازگردانند و بهیچ عذر موقوف ندارند درین باب قدغن دانسته از فرموده تخلف نورزند و هر ساله سند مجدد نطلبند و در عهده دانسته از شکایت محترز باشند شاه غازی حسن المسطور مقرر دانسته و در سرکار ایشان مدخل ننماید و پیرامون نگردد و از مقاطعه ملکان و مستأجران مزارع مغانات مستثنی داند تحریراً ۲۵ شهر جمادی الثانی ۹۶۶

132 Shaykh Ḥusayn b. Shaykh 'Abdal Pīrẓāda-yi Zāhidī. *Silsilat al-nasab-i Šāfaviya*. (Berlin: Inranchāhr № 6. 1343/1924): 104-105.

Document 4

Shāh-Sulṭān Ḥusayn Ṣafavī

1113/1702¹³³

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم
يا محمد يا علي
الله العلي الله الكبير
محمد علي
اسد الله حسن حسين علي
محمد جعفر موسى علي
محمد علي حسن محمد
ابوالمظفر شاه سلطان حسين الحسيني الموسوي الصفوي
بهادر خان بنده شاه ولايت حسين سنه ١١١٣
¹³⁴ > حسبي الله <

< جناب >² هرکه با علی ننکوست هرکه گوباش من ندارم دوست
هرکه چون خاک نیست بر در او. گر فرشته است خاک بر سر او
چون درینولا امارت و حکومت پناه نظاماً الامارة والحكومة بایندر سلطان حکم قراجه داغ
بعرض رسانید که مبلغ شش تومان و سه هزار ونود و شش دینار ونیم از بابت مالوجہات
و وجوہات محال مذکورہ ضمن دزمار بازاء خدمات و جانسپاریها بایلاس خلیفه عم والد
امارت پناه مشاراً الیه بعد از فوت او بشمس الدین خلیفه ولد او شفقت شده بود که
در اسفار سانحه موازی هفت نفر مرد مکمل و مسلح حاضر سازد و بعد از فوت شمس
الدین خلیفه چون وارثی ازو نمانده بوده و با والد امارت پناه مومی الیه بنی عم بوده اند
سیورغال مزبور بدستور شمس الدین خلیفه بوالد امارت پناه مزبور شفقت شده بود و
در ایام حیات والد امارت پناه مشاراً الیه بایلاس خلیفه نامی بخلاف عرض نموده بود که
ولد شمس الدین خلیفه است و سیورغال مزبور از والد مشاراً الیه قطع و در وجه بایلاس
خلیفه مزبور مقرر و بعد از فوت او برهان الدین خلیفه ولد او شفقت شده بوده و الحال
مشاراً الیه بتصدق فرق مبارک شده است و از او وارثی نمانده و استدعا نمود که سیورغال

133 Transcribed by Nikolai Khanykov, "Lettre de M. Khanykov à M. Dorn," *Mélanges Asiatiques* (tires du *Bulletin Historico-Philologique* et du *Bulletin de l'Académie Impériale des Sciences*) 3:1 (1857), 71-74.

134 Reading established by comparison with other later Safavid documents; see for example, Busse, Document 16.

مزبور در وجه نجابت و رفعت و معالی پناه سراجا محمد قاسم بیک ولد او عنایت شود بنابر شفقت بیغایت شاهانه دربارهٔ مشارٌ الیه از ابتداء سه ماه و نیم ییلان پیل وجهیرا که بسیورغال مرحوم محمود سلطان والد امارت پناه مزبور مقرر بوده و از او قطع و بسیورغال الیاس خلیفه و بعد از او در وجه برهان الدین خلیفه مقرر شده بوده و بلا عقب فوت شده بدستور مرحوم محمود سلطان و الیاس خلیفه و برهان الدین خلیفه حسب الظاهر بسیورغال نجابت پناه مزبور شفقت و مرحمت فرمودیم که مرد سفرکش مقرر سیورغال مزبور را بدستور صاحبان سیورغال سابقه در اسفار سانحه بجار و یساق شاهی حاضر سازد کدخدایان و رعایای محال مزبوره رفعت و معالی پناه مزبور را صاحب سیورغال خود دانسته سال بسال مالوجهات و وجوهات و حقوق دیوانی خود را بدستوری که بصاحبان سیورغال سابق مهم سازی مینمود اند و اصل مشارٌ الیه ساخته چیزی قاصر و منکسر نسازند حکام و عمال الکاء مزبور بخلاف و حساب دخل در سیورغال مشارٌ الیه ننوده قلم و قدم کوتاه و کشیده دارند و بعلت اخراجات و عوارضات مسدود الابواب براسم و رسم بوده باشد مزاحمت مجال رعایای محال سیورغال مشارٌ الیه نرسانند و هر ساله حکم مجدد طلب ندارند نشان ذیشان لازال نافذاً فی الاماکن و الازمان بتوقع وقع منیع همایون اعلی مزین و محلی گردد اعتبار و اعتماد نمایند تحریراً فی شهر ذی الحجه الحرام سنة مائة و ثلاث عشر بعد الالف من الهجرة النبوية علی هاجرها الف السلام و التحية بدار السلطنة اصفهان حُیَّت مِنْ طَوَارِقِ الْحَدَثَانِ

Abbreviations and Bibliography

Abbreviations

BSOAS	<i>Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies</i> (University of London)
EI ¹	<i>Encyclopaedia of Islam</i> , 1st Edition,
<EI ²	<i>Encyclopaedia of Islam</i> , 2nd Edition>
EREV.	Persidskie (Ssefevidskie) dokumenty Gosudarstvennogo Arkhiva Armianskoi SSR v g. Erevane (nyne v gos. "khranilishche Matenadaran").
GMS	Gibb Memorial Series
IS	<i>Istoricheskii Sbornik</i>
IV AN	Institut vostokovedeniia Akademii Nauk SSSR
IVR AN UzSSR	Institut vostochnykh rukopisei Akademii Nauk Uzbekskoi SSR (v Tashkente)
JRAS	<i>Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society</i>

- LGPB Leningradskaia gosudarstvennaia publichnaia biblioteka im. Saltykova-Shchedrina [now Rossiiskaia natsional'naia biblioteka].
- MQ *Muhammedanische Quellen zur Geschichte der südlichen Küstenländer des Kaspischen Meeres*. Edited by Bernhard Dorn, vols. 1-4, St. Petersburg: Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1850-1858.
- Proceedings, AzFAN Izvestiia Azerbaidzhanskogo filiala Akademii Nauk SSSR*
- SCHÉFER C. Schéfer, *Chrétomatie Persane*
- SSIA *Sbornik statei po istorii Azerbaidzhana*, vyp. 1, izd. Akad. Nauk Azerb. SSR. Baku, 1949.
- TVORAO *Trudy Vostochnogo otdeleniia Rossiiskogo arkeologicheskogo obshchestva*
- ZVORAO *Zapiski Vostochnogo otdeleniia Rossiiskogo archeologicheskogo obshchestva*
- ZDMG *Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft*

Bibliography

- Adonts, N. 1908. *Armeniia v epokhu Iustiniana. Politicheskoe sostoianie osnovy nakhararskogo stroia*. St. Petersburg, Tipografiia Imperatorskoi akademii nauk. <2nd edition, Erevan: Erevan University Press, 1971.>
- Ali-Zade, A.A. 1942. K voprosu ob institute ikta v Azerbaidzhane pri il'khanakh (XIII-XIV vv.). *Izvestiia AzFAN* 5; *Sbornik statei po istorii Azerbaidzhane* 1 (Izdatel'stvo akademii nauk Azerbaidzhanskoi SSR, 1949): 127-135.
- <Aubin, Jean. 1956. Archives persanes commentées 1. Note sur quelques documents Aq Qoyunlu. *Mélanges Louis Massignon* vol. 1. Damascus: Institut français de Damas: 123-147.>
- <Barkan, Ömer Lütfi. 1945. *XV ve XVIncı asırlarda Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda zirai ekonominin hukuki ve mali esasları*. Istanbul: Bürhaneddin Matbaası [İstanbul Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi yayınlarından № 256; Türkiye Enstitüsü neşriyatı].>
- Bartol'd, V.V. 1898. *Turkestan v epokhu mongol'skago nashestviia, chast' pervaiia, Teksty*. St. Petersburg: Tipografiia Imperatorskoi Akademii Nauk.
- <Bašagić, Safvet Beg. 1897. Najstariji ferman begova Cengića. (Sa 1 tablom). *Glasnik Zemaljskog Muzeja Bosni i Hercegovini* 9: 437-446.>
- <Bašagić, Safvet Beg. 1899. Der älteste Ferman der Čengiç-Begs (mit Tafel XVII). *Wissenschaftliche Mittheilungen aus Bosnien und der Hercegovina* 6: 478-486, 957.>
- Belenitskii, A. 1941. K istorii feodal'nogo zemlevladieniia v Srednei Azii i Irane v timuridskuiu epokhu (XIV-XV vv.) (Obrazovanie instituta «suyurgal»). *Istoriik-Marksist* 4: 43-58.
- Berezin, I.N. 1864. Ocherk vnutrennego ustroistva ulusa Dzhuchieva. *TVORAO* 8: 385-480.
- Bidlīsī, Sharaf Khān. 1860-62. *Scheref-Nameh ou histoire des Kourdes par Scheref, Prince de Bidlis publiée pour la première fois, traduite et annotée par V. Véliaminof-Zernof*.

- Texte persane. 2 volumes. St. Petersburg: Commissionaires de l'Académie Impériale des Sciences.
- <Bidlīsī, Sharaf Khān. 1343/1964. *Sharaf-nāma*. Edited by Muḥammad ‘Abbāsī. Tehran: ‘Ilmī.>
- <Busse, Heribert. 1959. *Untersuchungen zum islamischen Kanzleiwesen an Hand turkmenischer und safawidischer Urkunden*. Cairo: Kommissionsverlag Sirović Bookshop.>
- Dawlatshāh Samarqandī. 1901. *The Tadhkiratu’sh-Shu‘arā* (“Memoirs of the poets”) of Dawlatshāh bin ‘Alāu ‘d-Dawla Bakhtishāh al-Ghāzī of Samarqand. Edited by Edward G. Browne. London and Leiden: Luzac and Brill.
- <Dawlatshāh Samarqandī. 1385/2006. *Tazkirat al-shu‘arā*. Edited by Fāṭima ‘Alāqa. Tehran: Pazhūhishgāh-i ‘Ulūm-i Insānī va Muṭāla‘āt-i Farhangī.>
- <Doerfer, Gerhard. 1963-1975. *Türkische und mongolische Elemente im Neupersischen*. 4 vols. Wiesbaden: Steiner.>
- Dorn, Bernhard ed. 1850-1858. *Muhammedanische Quellen zur Geschichte der südlichen küstenländer des Kaspischen Meeres*. 4 vols. St. Petersburg: Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften.
- Encyclopaedia of Islam*. 1913-1938. 1st Edition. 4 volumes and supplement. Leiden: Brill.
- <*Encyclopaedia of Islam*. 1960-2005. 2nd Edition. 12 volumes. Leiden: Brill.>
- Fasā‘ī, Ḥājji Mirzā Ḥasan. 1313/1896. *Fārs-nāma-yi Naṣīrī*. Lithograph, Tehran.
- <Fekete, Lajos. 1997. *Einführung in die persische Paläographie: 101 persische Dokumente aus dem Nachlass des Verfassers*, Edited by G. Hazai with B. Alavi, M. Lorez, and P. Zieme. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó.>
- <Fragner, Bert G. 1980. *Repertorium persischer Herrscherurkunden: publizierte Orig.-Urkunden (bis 1848)*. Freiburg im Breisgau: Schwarz.>
- Fūmanī Gilānī, ‘Abd al-Fattāḥ. 1858. *Abdu’l-Fattāḥ Fūmeny’s Geschichte von Gilān in den Jahren 932 (= 1517) bis 1038 (= 1638)*. Persian text edited by B. Dorn. St. Petersburg: Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften (*MQ*, vol. 3).
- <Fūmanī Gilānī, ‘Abd al-Fattāḥ. 1349/1970. *Tārīkh-i Gilān*. Edited by Manūchihr Sutūda. Tehran: Bunyād-i Farhang-i Īrān.>
- Gordlevskii, V. 1941. *Gosudarstvo sel’dzhukidov Maloi Azii*. Moscow-Leningrad: AN SSSR.
- <Ḥāfiẓ Abrū. 1380/2001. *Zubdat al-tavārikh-i Bāysunghurī*. Edited by Sayyid Kamāl Ḥājji Sayyid Javādī. 2 volumes in 4. Tehran: Vizārat-i Farhang va Irshād-i Islāmī.>
- Ḥazīn, Muḥammad-‘Alī. 1831. *Tārīkh-i aḥvāl-i Shaykh Ḥazīn kih khud nivishta’ast*. Edited by Francis Cunningham Belfour. London: Oriental Translation Fund.
- Horn, Paul. 1891. Die Denkwürdigkeiten des Šah Ṭahmāsp I von Persien. *ZDMG* 45/2: 245-91.
- <al-Ḥusaynī, Khurshāh b. Qubād. 1379/2000. *Tārīkh-i ilchī-i Nizām Shāh: tārikh-i Ṣafavīya az āghāz tā sāl-i 972 hijrī-yi qamarī*. Edited by Muḥammad Riẓā Naṣīrī and Kuichi Haneda, Tehran: Anjuman-i Āṣār va Mafākhīr-i Farhangī.>

- Iakubovskii, A.Iu. 1946. Cherty obshchestvennoi i kul'turnoi zhizni epokhe Alishera Navoi. In *Alisher Navoi*, edited by A.K. Borovkov. Moscow-Leningrad: AN SSSR: 5-30.
- Iakubovskii, A.Iu. 1946. Timur (Opyt kratkoi kharakteristiki). *Voprosy istorii* 8-9: 42-74.
- <İnalçık, Halil. 2000. Adâletrâmeler. *Türk Tarihi Belgeleri Dergisi* 2/3-4 (1965): 49-145; reprint *Osmanlı'da devlet, hukuk, adâlet*. Istanbul: Eren: 75-190.>
- <İnalçık, Halil. 2006. Autonomous Enclaves in Islamic States: *Temlîks, Soyurghals, Yurdluk-Ocaqluk, Mâlikâne-Muḳâta'as and Awqâf*. In *History and Historiography of Post-Mongol Central Asia and the Middle East: Studies in Honor of John E. Woods*. Edited by Judith Pfeiffer and Sholeh A. Quinn in collaboration with Ernest Tucker. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz: 112-134.>
- Iskandar Beg Munshî Turkmân. 1313-4/1896-7. *Tārīkh-i 'ālam-ārā-yi 'Abbāsī*. lithograph, Tehran.
- <Iskandar Beg Munshî Turkmân. 1350/1971. *Tārīkh-i 'ālam-ārā-yi 'Abbāsī*. Edited by Īraj Afshār. 3 volumes in 2. Tehran: Amīr-i Kabīr.>
- <Juvaynī, 'Alā' al-Dīn 'Aṭā-Malik. 1912-1937. *Tārīkh-i jahāngushāy*. Edited by Muḥammad Qazvīnī. 3 volumes. Leyden and London: Brill and Luzac (GMS 16.1-3).>
- Khanykov, Nikolai. 1857. Lettre de M. Khanykov à M. Dorn. *Mélanges Asiatiques* (tires du *Bulletin Historico-Philologique* et du *Bulletin de l'Académie Impériale des Sciences*) 3/1: 50-81.
- Khanykov, Nikolai. 1863. *Mémoire sur les inscriptions musulmanes du Caucase*. Paris: Imprimerie Impériale.
- Khvāndamīr, Ghiyāṣ al-Dīn. 1857. *Ḥabīb al-siyar fī tārikh afrād al-bashar*. Lithograph, Bombay.
- <Khvāndamīr, Ghiyāṣ al-Dīn. *Ḥabīb al-siyar fī tārikh afrād al-bashar*. Edited by Jalāl Humā'ī and Muḥammad Dabīr-Siyāqī. 4 volumes. Tehran: Khayyām, 1333/1954.>
- Magakiia <Grigor of Akner>. 1871. *Istoriia Mongolov' inoka Magakii, XIII veka*. Translated by K.P. Patkanova [Patkanian]. St. Petersburg: Imperatorskii Akademii Nauk.
- <Matsui, Dai, Ryoko Watabe, and Hiroshi Ono 2015. A Turkic-Persian Decree of Timurid Mīrān-Šāh of 800 AH/1398 CE. *Orient, Reports of the Society for Near Eastern Studies in Japan* 50: 53-75.>
- Minorsky, Vladimir. 1939. A *Soyūrgḥāl* of Qāsim b. Jahāngīr Aq-qoyunlu (903/1498). *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies* 9/4: 927-960; <reprinted in *The Turks, Iran and the Caucasus in the Middle Ages* (London, Variorum, 1978)>.
- Minorsky, Vladimir. 1943. *Tadhkirat al-Muluk, A Manual of Safavid Administration (circa 1137/1725)*. Cambridge: E.J.W. GMS, new series 16.
- Mīrkhvānd, Muḥammad. 1883/1310. *Rawzat al-ṣafā' fī sīrat al-anbiyā' va al-mulūk va al-khulafā'*. lithograph, Lucknow.
- <Mīrkhvānd, Muḥammad. 1380/2001. *Rawzat al-ṣafā' fī sīrat al-anbiyā' va al-mulūk va al-khulafā'*. Edited by Jamshīd Kiyānfār. 11 volumes. Tehran: Asāṭīr.>

- <Mudarrisī-Ṭabāṭabā'ī, Ḥusayn. 1352/1973. *Farmānhā-yi Turkmānān-i Qarāqūyūnlū va Āqqūyūnlū*. Qum: Ḥikmat.>
- <Muḥammad Ma'šūm b. Khvājagī Iṣfahānī. 1368/1989. *Khulāṣat al-siyar*. Tehran: 'Ilmi, (Ganjīna-yi Īrān va Īrāniyān zīr-i naẓar-i Īraj Afshār).>
- <Nakhjavānī, Muḥammad b. Hindūshāh. 1964-1976. *Dastūr al-kātib fī ta'yīn al-marātib, Rukovodstvo dlya pistsa pri opredelenii stepenei*. 2 vols. in 3. Moscow: Nauka, (Pamiatniki literatury narodov Vostoka. Teksty. Bol'shaia seriia 9).>
- Petrushevskii, I.P. 1935. K voprosy ob immunitete v Azerbaidzhane v XVII-XVIII vv. *Istoricheskii Sbornik* 4: 35-72.
- Petrushevskii, I.P. 1937. Khamdallah Kazvini kak istochnik istorii Vostochnogo Zakavkaz'ia. *Izvestiia Akademii Nauk. Otdelenie obshchestvennykh nauk* 4: 873-920.
- Petrushevskii, I.P. 1949. Vnutrenniaia politika Akhmeda Ak-Koynlu. *Izvestiia AzFAN* 2; *Sbornik statei po istorii Azerbaidzhana* 1: 144-152.
- Petrushevskii, I.P. 1949. Gosudarstva Azerbaidzhana v XV v. *Izvestiia AzFAN* № 7 (1944); *Sbornik statei po istorii Azerbaidzhana* 1: 153-213.
- Petrushevskii, I.P. 1949. Vosstanie remeslennikov v gorodskoi bednoty v Tebrize v 1571-1573 gg. *Sbornik statei po istorii Azerbaidzhana* 1: 214-224.
- <Paydaş, Kâzım. 2006. Moğol ve Türk-İslâm devletlerinde suyuşgal uygulaması. *Harran Üniversitesi, Fen-Edebiyat Fakültesi, Tarih Bölümü* 39: 195-218.>
- Qazvinī, Ḥamd Allāh. 1915-1919. *The Geographical Part of the Nuzhat al-Qulub*. 2 vols. Edited and translated by Guy Le Strange. Leiden and London: Brill and Luzac (GMS, vol. 23).
- <Qazvinī, Yahyā Sayfī Ḥasanī. 1386/2007. *Lubb al-tavārikh*. Edited by Mīr Ḥāshim Muḥaddiṣ. Tehran: Anjuman-i Āṣār va Mafākhir-i Farhangī.>
- Radloff, V.V. 1851. Iarlyke Toktamysa i Timur-Kutluga. *ZVORAO* 3/1-2: 1-40.
- Rashid al-Dīn Faḏl Allāh Hamadanī. 1858. *Jāmi' al-tavārikh*. Edited by I.N. Berezin, 1-3. *Sbornik letopisei. Istoriia Mongolov, sochenenie Rashid-Eddina*. (1) *Vvedenie: o turetskikh i mongolo'skikh plemenakh*. Translated from Persian with introduction and notes by I.N. Berezin. St. Petersburg (*TVORAO* 5); [idem] Persian texts with a foreword and notes by I.N. Berezin, St. Petersburg, 1861 (*TVORAO* 7); (2) *Istoriia Chingiz-khana do vosshestviia ego na prestol*. Persian texts with foreword and notes by I.N. Berezin; Russian translation with introduction and notes by I.N. Berezin, St. Petersburg, 1868 (*TVORAO* 13); (3) *Istoriia Chingiz-khana ot vosshestviia ego na prestol do konchiny*. Persian text edited by I.N. Berezin; Russian translation with notes by I.N. Berezin, St. Petersburg, 1888 (*TVORAO* 15).
- Rashid al-Dīn Faḏl Allāh Hamadanī. 1836. *Histoire des Mongols de la Perse écrite en persan par Raschid-Eldin; publiée, traduite en français, accompagnée de notes et d'un mémoire sur la vie et les ouvrages de l'auteur par M. Quatremère*. vol. 1, Paris: Imprimerie royale. Collection orientale, manuscrits inédits de la Bibliothèque royale, traduits et publiés par ordre du Roi.

- <Rashīd al-Dīn Faḡl Allāh Hamadānī. 1373/1994. *Jāmi' al-tavārikh*. Edited by Muḥammad Rawshan and Muṣṭafā Mūsavī. 4 vols. Tehran: Nashr-i Alburz.>
- <Rūmlū, Ḥasan Beg. 1349/1968. *Aḥsan al-tavārikh* [vol. 11]. Edited by 'Abd al-Ḥusayn Navā'ī. Tehran: Bungāh-i Tarjuma va Nashr-i Kitāb.>
- Rūmlū, Ḥasan Beg. 1931-1934. *Aḥsan al-tavārikh* [vol. 12]. Edited and translated by C.N. Seddon. 2 vols. Baroda: Oriental Institute [Gaekwad's oriental series, no. 57, 69].
- <Rūmlū, Ḥasan Beg. 1357/1978. *Aḥsan al-tavārikh* [vol. 12]. Edited by 'Abd al-Ḥusayn Navā'ī. Tehran: Bābak.>
- Samarqandī, 'Abd al-Razzāq. 1843. ed. M. Quatremère, *Notice de l'ouvrage persan qui a pour titre: Matla-assaadein ou-madjma-albahrein, et qui contient l'histoire des deux sultans Schahrokh et Abou-Said (Notices et extraits des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque du roi et autres bibliothèques*, vol. 14) Paris: Imprimerie royale.
- <Samarqandī, 'Abd al-Razzāq. 1941-49. *Maṭla'-i sa'dayn va majma'-i bahrayn*, Edited by Mohammad Shafī, 2 vols Lahore: Chāpkhāna-yi Gilānī.>
- <Samarqandī, 'Abd al-Razzāq. 1372/1993. *Maṭla'-i sa'dayn va majma'-i bahrayn*. Edited by 'Abd al-Ḥusayn Navā'ī, vol. 1, pt. 1 Tehran: Mu'assisa-yi muṭāla'āt va taḥqīqāt-i farhangī, vol. 1, pt. 2 and vol. 2, pts 1-2 (Tehran: Pazhūhishgāh-i 'ulūm-i insānī va muṭāla'āt-i farhangī, 1383/2004).>
- Schéfer, Charles Henri Auguste. 1883-85. *Chrétomathie persane à l'usage des élèves de l'École spéciale des langues orientales vivantes*. 2 vols. Paris: E. Leroux. Publications de l'École des langues orientales vivantes ser. 2, vols. 7-8.
- <Secret History of the Mongols. Igor de Rachewiltz. *Index to the Secret History of the Mongols*, Bloomington: Indiana University, 1972 (Uralic and Altaic series, v. 121); *The Secret History of the Mongols, A Mongolian Epic Chronicle of the Thirteenth Century*. Translated by Igor de Rachewiltz. 3 vols. Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2006-2013.>
- Shīrāzī, Mīr Mahdī, see Horn.
- Vladimirtsov, B.Ia. 1934. *Obshchestvennii stroi Mongolov, Mongol'skii kochevoi feodalizm* Leningrad: AN SSR.
- Zāhidī, Shaykh Ḥusayn. 1343/1924. *Silsilat al-nasab-i Ṣafaviya*. Berlin: Iranschāhr № 6.