



BRILL

JOURNAL OF THE ECONOMIC AND
SOCIAL HISTORY OF THE ORIENT 64 (2021) 1035-1071



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On the History of the Institution of the *Soyūrghāl*

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The institution of the *soyūrghāl*, which replaced the earlier institution of the *iqtā'* 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 *Matla'-i sa'dayn* of 'Abd al-Razzāq Samarqandī (<Samarcandī, 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. *Gosurdarstvo 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 Qutlugh.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 Rashid al-Dīn as feudal grants from Chinggis Khān and Hūlāgū Khān [228] (1256-1265), the founder of the Mongol *ulūs* of the Hūlāgūid Ilkhans.⁵ The question of the relation between the terms of grants, *soyūrghāmīshī* and *iqtā'*, 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 *iqtā'* referring to a military fief (военный лен).⁷

obshchestvennoi i kul’turnoi 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. *Tadzhirat al-Muluk*, Introduction (London, 1943): 27 ff; <see Doerfer (1963), № 228, vol. 1: 351-53.>

³ V.V. Radloff. “Iarlyki Toktamysha 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 *uṇuūlħ* 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 Rashid al-Dīn, ed.: Y.N. Berezin *TVORAO*, 15 (1888), Pers. Text: 66, 77, 143; Raschid-Eldin, ed.: Quatremère, *Histoire des Mongols de la Perse*, texte persan (1836): 176, 216; <for other examples of the use of the term *soyūrghāmīshī*, see Rashid al-Dīn (Rawshan and Mūsāvī 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 *iqtā'*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 (*sāhib-dīvān*), see: Rashid al-Dīn, the Istanbul Manuscript (photocopy of the Institute of Oriental Studies), f. 511. <Rawshan and Mūsāvī ed. 1320>.

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

Sometimes the term *soyūrghāl* 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 Mużaffar-Sultān (Amīr-i Dībājī) of the Ishāqid 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 *soyūrghāl* 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 *soyūrghāl* in the amount of 18,000 *Tabrīzī tūmān* on worthy people (*arbāb-i istīḥqāq*).”¹⁰ From these examples, it is not clear what the difference is between *soyūrghāl* 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 *soyūrghāl* and *tiyūl* were two sides of the same phenomenon; Minorsky considered *soyūrghāl* 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 *soyūrghāl* 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 *soyūrghāl* as grant of any territory held as a military fief.¹²

The first mentions of *soyūrghāl* 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 Sultān-Uvays (1356-74), that Salmān, as [229] a reward for his *qaṣīda*, written in the imitation of the 12th-century poet Zahīr al-Dīn Fāryābī, received from the *sultān* and his mother, Dilshād-Khātūn, a *soyūrghāl* of two

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

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

10 Rūmlū, *Aḥsan al-tavārīkh*, <vol. 12>, Seddon ed.: 238-39; see 376; < *Navāī* ed.: 314; see 483 >.

11 V. Minorsky. “Tiyūl,” *EI*¹, vol. 4: 800: <“Thus the favour of the monarch (*siyūrghāl*) constitutes the *tiyūl* of the beneficiary.”>

12 V. Minorsky. “A *Soyūrghāl* of Qāsim Aq-Qoyunlu.” *BSOAS*, 9/4: 944.

13 Zāhīdī, *Silsilat al-nasab*, MS LGPB, Khanykov catalogue number 92, f. 53; Iranshāhr ed.: 42-43 mentions a grant of land in *soyūrghāl* 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 Sultān-Uvays (therefore no later than 1374) a *soyūrghāl* in the regions of Ray and Sava.¹⁵ Mirkhvānd reports that during the reign of Sultān-Ḥusayn (1378-1382) his brother Ahmād—thereafter *sultān* (1382-1410)—“went to Ardabil, which was his *soyūrghāl*.¹⁶ The same author describes Sultān-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 Samarcandī, granted to Muḥammad, nephew of Amīr Bisṭām-i Jāgīr, the districts of Ardabil and Khalkhāl as *soyūrghāl*.¹⁸ From the reports by the same author, we learn that Bisṭām-i Jāgīr, the *amīr* of the nomadic Turkic Jāgīrlū tribe, had already ruled Ardabil;¹⁹ later, Bisṭām-i Jāgīr joined with Qarā Yūsuf, who, consequently, only reaffirmed the grant made by Timur. ‘Abd al-Razzāq Samarcandī further reports on Qarā Yūsuf’s grant of *soyūrghāl*: after the victory of the Black Sheep over Sultān Ahmād Jalāyir (1410), the Jalāyirid *amīr* Bābā-Ḥājjī <Gāvrūdī> entered the service of their leader, and Qarā Yūsuf “gave him (Bābā-Ḥājjī Bek <Gāvrūdī>) a district in the suburbs of [the citadel of] <Gāvrūd> as *soyūrghāl*.²⁰

Mirkhvānd speaks in more detail about this last grant. According to him, Qarā Yūsuf “granted him (Bābā-Ḥājjī) the village of Qal'a-yi <Gāvrūd> along with dependent surrounding areas and 600 other villages (*qarya*) and arable land (*mazra'a*) as *soyūrghāl* and decreed that Bābā-Ḥājjī, 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-Ḥājjī’s right to rule in this district. Bābā-Ḥājjī, 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, *Taṣkirat al-shu'arā'*, Browne ed.: 260; <Alāqa ed.: 458>.

¹⁵ Ibid.: 261; <459-60>.

¹⁶ Mirkhvānd, *Rawżat as-ṣaғā'*, lithograph, vol. 6: 1077; <Kiyānfar ed., vol. 5: 4472>.

¹⁷ Ibid.: 1075; <vol. 5: 4465>.

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

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

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

²¹ Mirkhvānd, lithograph: 1278; <Kiyānfar ed. vol. 6/2: 5307>.

of the seals in the *dīvān* of the new conqueror. Thus, the *soyūrghāl* 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 *soyūrghāls*, as well as horses, clothing and gold.²² The 16th-century author, Sharaf Khān Bidlīsī, describes a grant of *soyūrghāl* by Qarā Yūsuf to the ancestor [230] of the author, Amīr Shams al-Dīn, head of the Kurdish nomadic Rūzāgī tribe, of Bidlis, Akhlat, Khinis, Mush and other districts in the south of Armenia and gives a copy of a charter, dated 10 Rabī' 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 *soyūrghāl* 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. *Soyūrghāl* 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, Shāhrūkh, 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 *soyūrghāl* 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 *soyūrghāl* over entire regions. According to 'Abd al-Razzāq Samarqandī, in the early years of Shāhrūkh'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.

Soyūrghāls 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 Ḥāfiẓ Abrū, *Zubdat al-tavārīkh*, vol. 3: 193, 204, 301, 556 (*bidū* [Amīrzāda Bāyqarā] *arzānī farmūd*), 560 (*bidū* [Amīrzāda Ibrāhīm-Sultān] *mufavvaż gardānīda*)>; cf. Mirkhvānd, lithograph: 1259, 1277; <Kiyānfar 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 *qādīs*, the *‘ulamā’*, and other members of the clergy, and building mosques and *madrasas* 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*, *qādīs*, 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 Ahmād-*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 Ahmād’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; <Muhammadī ed.: 251>.

28 Khvāndamīr, *Habīb al-siyar*, lithograph, vol. 3, part 4: 15; <Humā’ī and Dabīr-Siyāqī ed., vol. 4: 431>.

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

30 Qazvīnī, *Lubb al-tavārīkh*, MS, f. 142a; <Muhammadī ed.: 256>; Rümlü, *Aḥsan al-tavārīkh* <vol. 12>, Seddon ed.: 15-6; <Navā’ī ed.: 27-8>.

31 Khvāndamīr, *Habīb al-siyar*, lithograph, vol. 3, part 4: 21; <Humā’ī 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.; ss1A).

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 Ṣafavīyya sufi-dervish order and leader of the city of Ardabil, Shaykh Ḥaydar Ṣafavī, in 888 (1483), to Shaykh Qutb 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 (*hukkām* 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'ārif*, that is theologians), and the people of note (*mashāhīr*), the natives and residents of Bidlis, Akhlat, 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 beneficences 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 (*mudākhalaṭ*) and complicity (*mushārakāt*) of other persons. This decree was issued on the grounds that, in respect to the aforementioned *amīr*, *amīrs*, governors (*hākims*) and rulers (*mutaṣarrifs*) would not intervene and would not enter (literally, “would not circulate”) the district (*bulūkāt*), terrain, winter pastures (*qishlāq*) and arable land (*mazārī*) that previously belonged to the aforementioned *amīr* and would not constrain his peasants (*ra‘āyā*) or people (*mardumān* and *kasān*). Whosoever opposes the *farmān* (decree) will be dealt with. The duty of the *amīrs*, *sardārs*, dignitaries, and noble people (*a‘yān*), 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 (*hākim*) 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 (*qażāyā*), 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 Rabi‘ 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 *iqtā‘*. The institution of *iqtā‘* experienced significant evolution. As is known, *iqtā‘* 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 Bidlisī, *Sharaf-nāma*, Veliaminov-Zernov ed., vol. 1: 376-78; <‘Abbāsī ed.: 492-94; Mudarrisi-Tabātabā‘ī, № 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 *iqtā'* 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 *iqtā'dār* (owner of *iqtā'*). It is in this way that [233] the *iqtā'* granted to officials of the Mongol army is depicted for us in the *yarliq* of 1303 by the Hūlāgūid Mongol emperor Ghāzān Khān.³⁸

In the early 15th century, *iqtā'* is mentioned as a kind of military fief,³⁹ but later, *iqtā'* 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 *iqtā'* 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 *iqtā'* of the Mongol era and how it differed from this *iqtā'*. A common feature of both the *soyūrghāl* and the Mongolian *iqtā'*, 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 *ra'īyāt*, 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 *Jāmi' al-tavārikh*, Istanbul manuscript ff. 651-653; <Rawshan and Mūsāvī 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 ikta v Azerbaidzhane pri il'khanakh." *Izvestiia AzFAN* 5 (1942): 19-23.

³⁹ Samarqandī, *Maṭla'-i sa'dayn*, MS 182a; Quatremère, French trans. 103; <Shafi' ed.: 83-84; Navā'ī ed.: 64>.

⁴⁰ In the 16th century, the term *iqtā'* is found, for example, in al-Ḥusaynī, *Tārīkh-i īlchī-yi Nīzām Shāh*, Schéfer ed., vol. 2: 64, 83, 101; <Naṣīrī and Haneda ed.: 212, 232, 251>; in Bidlisi, *Sharaf-Nāma*, Veliaminov-Zernov ed., vol. 1: 289, 308, 309, 316, 355, and elsewhere; <Abbāsi ed.: 374, 397, 398, 406, 464>; in the 17th century; in Iskandar Munshi, *Tārīkh-i īlām-ārā-yi Abbāsi*, 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>, *Rawżat al-Ṣafāvīyya* (MS, IVR AN UzSSR, No. 26, f. 39ob); <Tabāṭabā'ī Majd ed.: 277, 279>; in the 18th century in Shaykh 'Alī Ḥazīn, *Tārīkh-i aḥvāl-i Shaykh Ḥazīn* (Belfour ed.: 154).

⁴¹ Bidlisi, *Sharaf-nāma*, Veliaminov-Zernov ed., vol. 1: 375; <Abbāsi 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 *iqtā'* of the Mongol period. According to the 1303 decree of Ghazan Khān about military *iqtā'*, certain districts were allocated as *iqtā'* 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 *iqtā'* 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 *iqtā'* 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; <Navā‘ī ed.: 313-314>.

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

44 V. Minorsky: 930 (from the text of the diploma: **اَنْعَامِي مُخَلَّد بِرْدَوَام وَ كَرَامِي مَوْئِد مَالَكَام**). 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 Müsavi 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 (*qażāyā*) of *ra'āyā* and, generally, people of *soyūrghāl* territory were given to Amīr Shams al-Dīn and *qādīs* assigned by him.⁴⁸ Owners of *iqtā'* 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 *iqtā'*, but even had to be there annually for the audit and take away the *iqtā'* 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 *soyūrghāl*. This fact allows us to see, in the *soyūrghāl* of the 15th century, a further development of the institution of the *iqtā'*. We noted earlier (in 1935) that administrative immunity is a feature of the *soyūrghāl*.⁵¹ Both *soyūrghāl*, and *iqtā'* 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 *soyūrghāl* 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 Mansūrī *madrasa* in Shiraz, the famous scholar Ṣadr al-Dīn Muḥammad, (dated 7 Dhū al-Hijja 893 AH/13 October 13, 1488), found in *Fasā'ī, Fārs-nāma-yi Nāṣīrī*, lithograph, 1313/1896: 82; <Mudarrisi-Ṭabāṭabā'ī, 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 Ṣafi al-Dīn) in Ardabil, listed in Zāhidi, *Silsilat al-nasab* (MS, f. 171; Iranshahr 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 immunite 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, Ismā‘īl 1, of an “appropriate *soyūrghāl*” to a Shaykh al-Islām.⁵² Mīr Yahyā al-Ḥusaynī, a chronicler from the mid-16th century, emphasizes the peculiar goodwill of Shāh Ismā‘īl 1 toward representatives of the Shi‘i clergy—sayyids, *qādīs*, theologians: “upon them and other ranks (служильых 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 *<пожалованием>* with the right of tax immunity (*tiyūl*). Chroniclers record instances where Shāh Ismā‘īl 1 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 Tahmāsp 1 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 Shi‘i Imām Ḥusayn). These *sayyids*’ claims for the highest positions in office caused their removal from court. Shāh Tahmāsp 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, *Ḥabib al-siyar*, lithograph ed., vol. 4, Part 3: 113; <Humā‘ī and Dabīr-Siyāqī ed., vol. 4: 608-609>.

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

54 Ḥusaynī, *Tārīkh-i ilchī-yi Niṣām 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>; <Navā‘ī ed.: 483>.

56 Mīr Mahdī Shīrāzī, edited by P. Horn, <Die Denkwürdigkeiten des Shāh Tahmāsp 1 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*, *zaīm*, (lords of *zaīm*, 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 “favors” 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” (*pīr*) and “mentor” (*murshid*) of saint-shaykh Ṣafī 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 Ardashir, gave one of the Zāhidīs, Shaykh Quṭbal-Dīn, a certificate (*vasīqah*), 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.: در روز مقتضی.

an inheritance,⁶² assigned to them by grant charters of the Safavid “sultāns,”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 Ismā‘īl I Ṣafavī became *shāh*, “he ordered to award many decrees (*aḥkām*) regarding *mu‘āfi*⁶⁴ estates (*amlāk*) of *soyūrghāl* of theirs (Zāhidīs) in the name of his predecessors Shaykh ‘Abd al-Vahhāb and Shaykh Sharīf, who were the contemporaries of that ruler.” Shāh Tahmāsp I also issued a number of decrees about *soyūrghāl* rights and *mu‘āfi* estates of the Zāhidīs in the name of their representative, who was the contemporary of this *shāh*.⁶⁵ From the decrees of Shāh Tahmāsp I, 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 (*asl-i māl-u jihāt*) from the arable lands (*mazāri*) 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 *sultān* Abū al-Fatḥ 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.: بوجب سند سلاطین ماضی. In the same document, the names of the Zāhidī shaykhs who later owned the said *soyūrghāl* lands are mentioned: <Shaykh Quṭb al-Dīn Abū Sa‘īd b. Shaykh Rafī‘ al-Dīn b. Shaykh Ḥāmid b. Shams al-Dīn Zāhidi>.

64 Tax exemption, tax immunity, see below.

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

66 The younger brother of Tahmāsp I.

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 *soyūrghāl* (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 asl*), of their eternal *soyūrghāl* 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 *soyūrghāl* (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 *soyūrghāl*] for the purpose of collecting the taxes of *ikhrājāt*, *khārijiyāt*, and *tawjīhāt* under the pretext of abolishing tax benefits (*takhfīfāt-i masdūda*), under any circumstances whatever the basis may be. Let them [the officials] shorten their pens and legs [from the *soyūrghāl*] 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 (*muqāṭa‘ā*) 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 *Vakīl* of Bahrām Mīrzā.

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; Iranshahr 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 Tahmāsp's new decree confirming *soyūrghāl* privileges to the Zāhidīs was caused by the fact that financial officials ('ummāl) and state tax farmers (*mustājrān*) 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 (*asl*) *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*, Iranshahr ed.: 105; 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 (*hukm-i ta'kīd*) on this issue with the obligation that when state inspectors (*mumayyizān*) find a 'surplus' (or difference—*tafāvut*) in their (the Zāhidīs') soyūrghāl, 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 *soyūrghāl*, to whom passed the right to collect *tafāvut*.

The Shāh's decree forbids officials to levy other taxes in *soyūrghāl*: *sarāna*, poll tax;⁷⁷ *ikhrājāt*, established outlays for local treasury expenditures; *khārijyāt*, extraordinary fees of the same sort; *tawjīhāt*, apparently a synonym for the term—highly conventional already since the time of Mongol rule—*mutavājīhāt-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 (*takhfīfāt-i masdūda*, literally meaning "obstruction of benefits"). Cancelling these benefits served the financial officials for the reason of bringing new requirements for owners of *soyūrghāls* and their *ra'āyā*.

Further, we see that Mughan financial officials, believing that the tax immunity of *soyūrghāl* owners did not extend to a number of taxes, permitted the possibility of transferring the right to levy these fees with the territories of *soyūrghāls* 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 *soyūrghāls* not only regarding taxation, but also regarding administrative immunity: local officials were denied access to *soyūrghāl* territories, as is clear from the quoted text of the *farmān*.

For a clearer idea of the situation of the Zāhidīs 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'il 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 *soyūrghāl* documents from the Safavid era is dated 1113/1701. This document makes it possible to trace the fate of *soyūrghāl* possession for at least a century. We are talking of a *soyūrghāl* belonging to the

76 Zāhidī, *Silsilat al-nasab*, ms, f. 161; Iranshähr 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 (*hākimis*)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 Ismā‘il 1 [against the Shīrvānshāh Farrukh Yasār and Turkmen White Sheep *sultāns*] in 1499–1500.⁸¹ After the victory of Shāh Ismā‘il 1 and the formation of the Qizilbāsh state, Qarādāgh *hākimis* stayed in the family of Qarāja Ilyās,⁸² comrade of Ismā‘il 1. 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 Ismā‘il 1, 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 *hākim* and at one time a *beglerbeg* (high ranking official) of Shirvān, played a prominent role at the court of Shāh Tahmāsp 1. 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, *hākim* 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 Sultān, one of the representatives—loyal to the shah—of this very family was appointed the new *hākim* 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 Ḥamād Allāh Qazvīnī (*Nuzhat al-qulūb*, Le Strange ed., vol. 1: 197, 223).

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

81 Rümlü, *Aḥsan al-tavārīkh* <vol. 12>, Seddon ed.: 41; <Navā’ī ed.: 61>.

82 Rümlü, *Aḥsan al-tavārīkh* <vol. 12>, Seddon ed.: 35; <Navā’ī ed.: 53>.

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

84 Rümlü, *Aḥsan al-tavārīkh* <vol. 12>, Seddon ed.: 437; <Navā’ī ed.: 561>.

85 Rümlü, *Aḥsan al-tavārīkh* <vol. 12>, Seddon ed.: 455–57; <Navā’ī 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 *soyūrghāl* estates. The nomadic traditions in the Qizilbāsh state were so strong that the family of the Qarādāgh *khalīfās*, along with its feudal militia (*qoshūn*), was officially considered a special “tribe”. Among Qizilbāsh tribes, judging from information recorded by Iskandar Munshī,⁸⁸ the Qarādāghli 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 *soyūrghāl* ownership: inheritance. We have noted above the 1701 *soyūrghāl* 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 *soyūrghāl* 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 *soyūrghāls* 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 *soyūrghāl* 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 *soyūrghāl*.⁹¹ In the text, we find such a place: “May the *kadkhudā* (village elders) and the *ra‘āyā* of the abovementioned *mahāl*, recognizing the aforementioned sanctuary of eminence and grandeur (that is, Qāsim Beg) as the owner of the *soyūrghāl*, from year to year present to him *māl u jihāt*, fees (*vujūhāt*), divan taxes (*huqūq-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 ʻālam-ārā*: 761-764.

89 Iskandar Munshī, *Tārīkh-i ʻālam-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 *tumāns* 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.” (1s, № 4, Akad. Nauk SSR, 1935: 58-67). About this document, see also: V. Minorsky: 958-959; <see Appendix, Document 4>.

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

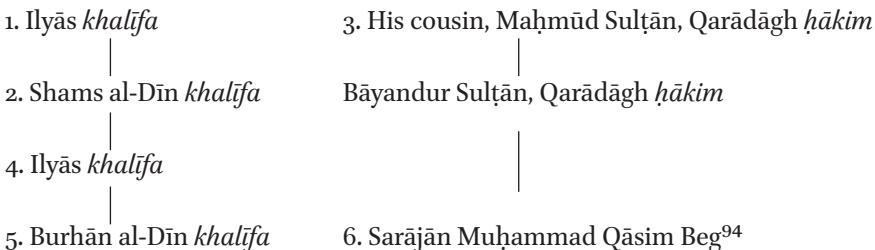
In general, the nature of *soyūrghāl* ownership in this *farmān* is depicted the same way as in the earlier documents that we have discussed. Note that here too, territory that has been granted is called *soyūrghāl*. In addition, in the text of the *farmān*, we find three features, sharply distinguishing *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 *hākim* (*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 *khalifas* who owned this *soyūrghāl*:⁹³

92 *Farmān*: 74: کخدایان و رعایاء محل مزبور و معالی پناه مربور را صاحب سیورغال خود: دانسته سال مالوجهات و وجوهات و حقوق دیوانی خود را بدستور که بصاحبان سیورغال سابق مهم سازی مینموده اند و اصل مشاریع ایه ساخته چیزی قاصر و منکر نسازند...

93 Ibid.



The hereditary nature of the *soyūrghāl* is sufficiently proven by an entire series of documents. In contrast, in awards of *tiyūl*, 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 *soyūrghāl* territories in the same terms that we have already seen in previous documents.⁹⁵ In other words, *soyūrghāl* was linked with rights, tax, and administrative immunity. Awards of *tiyūl* did not constitute such rights.

The term *soyūrghāl* occurs in several royal decrees from a small series of Safavid Persian charter grants relating to the *mazār* (tomb) of the revered Shī‘ī saint Bibī Haybat, sister of the seventh Shī‘ī imam Mūsā Kāzim, 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*·‘Alid 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 *hākims* who owned the Dizmar *soyūrghāl* are underlined; the numbers indicate the order of change of ownership.

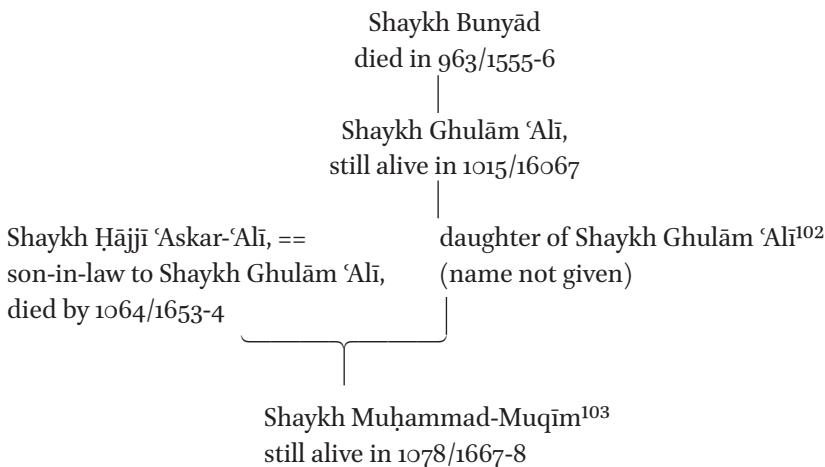
95 Ibid; see below, note 117.

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 نمایند. “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-Hijja 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 Sultān-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 serine (*farmāns* 1015 = 1607, 1060 = 1650, 1066 = 1656, 1078 = 1668).

⁹⁹ زق (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: مقرئه مترکه آستانه مسیو غال استانه.

¹⁰¹ Document № 6 of the same series: محل وقفي.

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 Sultān-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 *soyūrghāl* and *mu'āfi*¹⁰⁶ for the stated tomb. They asked about the [confirmation] of *mu'āfi* and *soyūrghāl* 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 *soyūrghāl* 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 Tahmāsp I. See Iskandar Munshī, *Tārikh-i 'ālam-ārā*, lithograph: 34-126; <Afshār ed.: 45-173>.

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

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

¹⁰⁸ IV AN USSR, MS dept. archive, Fund 15, № 44/584, 8, document № 3: زبدة المشايخ شیخ: غلامعلی ولد شیخ بنیاد متولی آستانه متبرکه امام زاده واجب التعظیم و التکریم و جماعت درویشان خدمه آستانه منبور ... عرض اشرف رسانیدند که قریه زق از اعمال بادکوبه شیروان بوجب حکم اعلیحضرت جنت مکانی وقف سرکار آستانه متبرکه است و مالوجهات آن سیورغال و معافی آستانه مذکوره مقرر بوده واستدعای معافی و سیورغال قریه مذکور و عشر سه حفره چاه نفط که در حوالی آستانه مزبوره است با چوبان بگی موازی یکهزار و پانصد رأس گوسفند متولی درویشان آستانه مزبوره و رعایا قریه زق و مال باغ و عشر پنه و زراعت غله که درویشان در زمین دول دره می نایند 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 taxes 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 Bībī 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 Bībī 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* (*hukkām* *va* *tiyūldārān* *va* *dārūghagān*) were instructed not to enter the territory of the *mazār* of Bībī 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 Sultān-Husayn that we looked at above, in which it is stated: “Let governors (*hukkām*) and financial officials (*ummāl*) of the region not enter into *soyūrghāl* affairs <= bi *khalāf* *va* *hisāb* > 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 (*maḥāl*) 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* *dārand*), 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; حکام و عمال الکاء مبنیور بخلاف حساب دخل در سیورغال نموده قلم و قدم کوتاه و کشیده دارند و بعلت اخراجات و عوارضات مسدود الابواب بهر اسم و رسم که بوده باشد مزاحمت محل (بحال رعایای محل سیورغال مشارأالیه نرساند) probably.

¹¹² See the *farmān* of Shah Ṭahmāsp I, 1559; Zāhidi, *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: “پرامون نگردن” [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 *soyūrghāl*, 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 *soyūrghāl* 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 *soyūrghāl*. Thus, during the Safavids, *soyūrghāl* 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 *soyūrghāls*.¹¹⁴ It is not clear whether in the late Safavid period, the clergy in charge of *soyūrghāl* were required to incur personal service to the militia.

We have already seen that in decrees there are often the Mongol term *soyūrghāl* and Perso-Arabic term *mu'āfi* / *ma'āfi* next to each other.¹¹⁵ The term *mu'āfi*, "freedom from taxes and duties," stands in close meaning to that of the word *soyūrghāl* 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 *soyūrghāl*. It seems to us that the term *mu'āfi* denoted one side of *soyūrghāl* holdings: tax immunity.¹¹⁶ If *soyūrghāl* were always assumed as *mu'āfi*, the latter privilege could be granted without *soyūrghāl*. 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 Tahmāsp 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 "let them restrain and withhold both pen and foot" has a parallel Arabic version in مرفوع القلم و مقطوع القدم and is similar to the medieval European expression *sine introitu iudicium*.

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 Bibi-Haybat shaykhs Nōs 3, 4; Iskandar Munshī, *Tārikh-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, *i'timād al-dawlat* ("trust of the state"), Ḥātim Beg Urdūbādī, who came from the family of Naṣīriya Tūsiya, descendants of the famous 13th-century scholar Naṣīr al-Dīn Tūsī. From the time of Shāh Ismā'īl I, members of the family of Naṣīriya Tūsiya 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

ابو النصر يوسف بهادر سوزوميز¹²³
فرزندان اعزه¹²⁴ ابقام الله تعالى و امراء الوسات و تومانات و هزارجات و صدجات
و سرداران و حكام و عمال و ارباب و كلانتران و اهالي و اعيان و كخدایان و ملکان
کردستان عموماً و اصول و معارف و مشاهير و متوطنان و ساکنان بدليس و اخلاق و موش
و خنوس مع توابع و لواحق بدانند که چون کمال اخلاص و یکجهتی و نهایت اختصاص
و جانسپاری جناب امارت پناه فرزندی اعزی امیر اعظم اعدل آکرم 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-Tabātabā'ī, № 1: 20-22.

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

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

امیر شمس الدین ابوالمعالی¹²⁵ اطال¹²⁶ الله تعالی ایام دولته و نصرته و عزه و اقباله الى يوم الدین و ثوق و اعتقاد تمام حاصل شد بر ذمّت همت خسروانه ما لازم و متختم گشت که بر قرار سابق مشاریع¹²⁷ اليه را بأنواع عواطف و سیور غالات بین الاقران ممتاز و مستنی گردانیم بنابرین آثار مراحم و اشفاق پادشاهانه بر صفحات احوال اولای و واضح شده حالی عجالة الوقت را حکومت و امارت و متصرفی مال و جهات و حقوق دیوانی بدليس و اخلاق و خنوس و موش و دیگر قلاع و توابع مع لواحق و مضافات و منسوبات که قبل ازین در تصرف مشاریع¹²⁸ اليه بوده بتجدید بی مداخلت و مشارکت غیری بدو ارزانی داشته بدان سبب این امر و حکم¹²⁹ نفذه الله¹²⁶ في جميع الاقطار سمت اصدار یافت که بر قرار امیر موی اليه را امیر و حاکم و متصرف بلوکات و مواضع و قشلاق و مزارع که پیش تر ازین بامیر موی اليه متعلق بوده شناسند مدخل نسازند و پیرامون نگردند و مراحم رعایا و مردمان و کسان او نشوند و هر کس خلاف فمان نماید در محل خطاب و معرض عذاب و بازخواست عظیم خواهد بود وظیفه امرا و سرداران و اصول و اعیان و ساکنان و متوطنان بدليس و اخلاق و موش و خنوس و مواضع و مزارع و کوتولان و مقیمان قلاع آن که پیوسته گاکشتگان جناب امارت پناه فرزندی را امیر و حکیم خود دانسته از سخن و صلاح و صوابید ایشان انفراد تمایند و طریق اطاعت و اقیاد و جان سپاری بتقدیر رسانند و جمیع قضایا و مهمات و معاملات خود را گاکشتگان امیر موی اليه مفوض و منوط شمرند و بهرچه رجوع کند مطیع و منقاد باشند از جانب برخیمه روندو چون بتوقیع رفع اشرف موضع و مزین گدد اعتماد نمایند تحریراً في عاشر شهر ربیع الاول سنه عشرين و ثمانمايه

Document 2

Qāsim b. Jahāngīr
903/1498¹²⁷

الْحَكْمُ لِلَّهِ [Bāyandur tamghā]

الناصر لدین الله ابوالمظفر قاسم جهانگیر سوزومیز ¹²⁸	1
حمد و سپاسی که واقفان مواقف قربت و اختصاص	2
و عارفان معارف کمال محبت و اخلاص در مقام	3
	4

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

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

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

128 Phrases between vertical bars written in gold.

5 توحيد و تمجيد و اداء حقّ حقيقة توحيد قيام و اشتغال نمایند مرآن پادشاهی
را که بندگان صادق الیه و خالص العبودیه را

6 من المهد الى العهد بوفور عواطف و احسان و صنوف لطائف انعام و امتنان
محضوش گردانید و عاکفان معاف خلوص عقیدت

7 و صفاء طويت را بیداع عنایت و مرحبت و صنائع رافت و عاطفت مزید تشریف
کرامت فرمود و صلات صلوات نامیات و تحف تھیات زیکات تثار بارگاه

8 امت پناهی که منشور فائض النور جلالتش بتوقع رفع «لَوْلَأَكَ لَمَّا حَلَقْتُ
الْأَفْلَاكَ» اموشح و معلی و مزین و محلی است و برآل و اصحاب او اجمعین باد

9 اماً بعد چون مکنون خاطر خطیر و مخزون ضمیر منیر در اعظام شان و اعتلاء
مکان عالیجناب امارت مآب ایالت ایاب حکومت مناب

10 سعادت نصاب رفعت قباب معالی انتساب نصفت دثار مکرمت شعار امیر اعظم
اکرم افخار الامراء العظام في الايام قدوه

11 الولاه الكرام بين الانام رکن الدوله القاهره یین السلطنه المظفریه کالاً للمله و
الاماره و الحكومه و الایاله و السعاده و الدين اسفندیار بیک

12 مصروف و معطوف است و حسن اهتمام و توجه خاطرهمایون در باره او درجه
کمال داشت الكاء یکل که اوچاق اوست و باغین و هینی را

13 دربسته در وجه سیورغال <هودبری>¹²⁹ و انعام سرمدی عالیجناب مشاریه
شفقت فرمودیم و ارزانی داشتیم که مالوجهات و تمای حقوق دیوانیه محال مزبوره
که متصدیان مهمات و اعمال

14 بر عالیجناب مومی اليه معاف و مسلم و ترخان و جزو مرفوع القلم و مقطوع القدم
دانند عمال و مباشران امور و اشغال و متصدیان مهمات و اعمال

15 آنچوای بینیوجب مقرّر داند و این عوارف را در باره عالیجناب مذکور انعامی
مخلد بردوام و اکرامی مؤبد مالاکلام شناسند و رفم این عطیه را

16 در دفاتر خلود مثبت گردانیده بجز و مساحت درنیاورند و بعد اليوم مطلقاً بعلت
اخراجات و خالصيات و عوارضات و شناقص و شلثاقات

17 و توجیهات و قسمات و توزیعات و علوفه و علوفه و قنلغا و الاغ و الام و تغار و
طرح و بیگار و شکار و ساوری و داروغگی و رسوم عمال

129 ^{هوابدی (؟):} Minorsky (1939) 929: Mudarrisi-Tabatabai (1973) 114. For the meaning of this Mongolian term as “every year, perpetual,” see Matsui, Watabe and Ono (2015): 66, note P4a.

19 و حق سعی مباشر و رسوم الصداره و رسوم الوزاره و عیدی و نوروزی و پیشکش
 و سلامانه و ولیچیلک و نایچیلک و قاپوچیلک¹³⁰ و سائر تکلیفات و مطالبات حکی
 و غیر حکی حوالی نمایند و طمعی و توقعی نکنند و قلم و قدم از آنجا کوتاه و کشیده
 20 دارند و در استقرار و استقرار این موهبه مسامی جمیله بتقدیم رسانند
 و همه ساله درین ابواب حکم و پروانچه و نشان مجده نظری و مضامین مسطوره
 21 فی الصدر را از شاییه تغییر و تبدیل مصون و محروس شرند
 و برموجب حکم همایون بتقدیم رسانیده تغییر و تبدیل بقواعد آن راه ندهند و از
 22 مضمون آیه کریمه *إِنْ بَدَّلَهُ بَعْدَ مَا سَعَةً*
*فَإِنَّمَا إِلَهُ عَلَى الدِّينِ يَدِلُّونَهُ إِنَّ اللَّهَ سَيِّعُ عِلْمَهُ*¹³¹ محترز و مجتنب بوده خلاف
 23 کشیده (را) در معرض سخط و لعنت الهی
 و خطاب و عتاب پادشاهی دانند از جوانب همگی برینحمله مقرر شناسند و من
 24 سعی فی إبطاله افعالیه لعنة الله و الملائكة و الناس اجمعین
 بینوچب عمل نمایند و چون بتوقيع رفیع مطاع خورشید ارتفاع که فهرست ابواب
 25 سعادت و بهروزی و خاتمه اعمال ابهت و فیروزی است
 26 موشح و موضع و مصحح و منقح و معلی و مزین و محلی گردد اعتماد نمایند کتب
 بالامر العالی اعلاه الله تعالی و خلد نفاذه ولا زال مطاعاً متبعاً منیعًا
 27 بجوسق حرم دار السلطنه ماردين فی الخامس من شهر الله شعبان المعظم لسنه
 ثلث و سعائة
 بهرهايون بوقوف حضرت صدارت پناهی اسلام ملاذی برسانند

Verso

مقرب الحضرت زین الدین مسکی پروانچی

¹³⁰ ولیحلک و ناسحلک و فاپوحلک. 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 میون شد آنکه اصل مالوجهات مزرعه جوره و ماجوره و اونقاد حسب الحكم
جهانقطاع در وجه سیورغال اولاد عظام شیخ ربائی زاہد گیلانی قدس سرہ العزیز مقرر
و مستمر است و تغیری در آن نشده و چون توجه خاطر فیض ماثر همایون ما در باره
ایشان درجه اعلی است بنابرین مقرر فرمودیم که برادر اعز ارشد کامکار سلطنت شعار
ابو الفتح بهرام میرزا بقاہ اللہ تعالی و ولاء او و ملکان آکاء مزبور و مستأجران مزارع
مغانات اصلاً بعلت تفاوت و توفیر از مزارع سیوغال ایشان طلبی نهایند و سرانه نگیرند
واحر تفاوتی داشته باشد در سنت گذشته و حال آینده بدستور اصل سیروغال ابدی
واحسان سرمدی ایشان مقرر دانسته آنچه از آن جمله به تیول برادر اعز ارشد مشاور ایله
مقرر باشد باطل دانسته کیفیت آن مشروحاً باز نمایند که مستوفیان کرام دیوان اعلی از تیول
وضع کرد بمحض آن حکم بسیوغال ایشان اعتبار نمایند و رعایت واجب دانسته از تخلف
که موجب خطاب عظیم است محترز باشند داروغه و ملکان و توشمalan الکاء مذکور
برینچمه مقرر دانند و بعلت اخراجات و خارجیات و توجیهات و تخیفات مدوه بهر
اسم و رسم که باشد حوالی تقدیم قلم و قدم کوتاه [و] کشیده دارند و پیرامون نگردد و اگر
چیزی ستاده باشند بازگردانند و بهیچ عذر موقوف ندارند درین باب قدغن دانسته از
فرموده تخلف نورزنده 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 نمایند 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 Pīrzāda-yi Zāhidi. *Silsilat al-nasab-i Ṣafavīya*. (Berlin: Iranschāhr № 6. 1343/1924): 104-105.

Document 4

Shāh-Sultān Ḥusayn Ṣafavī

1113/1702¹³³

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ
 يَا مُحَمَّدَ
 عَلَىٰ
 اللَّهِ الْكَبِيرِ
 يَا مُحَمَّدَ
 عَلَىٰ
 اسْدِ اللَّهِ حَسَنِ حَسَنِ عَلَىٰ
 مُحَمَّدَ جَعْفَرِ مُوسَى عَلَىٰ
 مُحَمَّدَ عَلَىٰ حَسَنِ مُحَمَّدَ
 أَبُو الْمُظْفَرِ شَاهِ سُلْطَانِ حَسَنِ الْحُسَينِيِّ الْمُوسُوِّيِّ الصَّفْوَىِ
 بَهَادِرْ خَانِ بَنْدَهُ شَاهِ وَلَيْتِ حَسَنِ سَنَهُ ١١١٣
 حَسَبِ اللَّهِ <¹³⁴

هُرَكَهْ بَا عَلَىٰ تَكُوْسَتْ
 هُرَكَهْ چُونْ خَاکْ نِيْسَتْ بَرْ دَرَ اوْ.
 گُرْ فَرْشَتَهْ اَسْتْ خَاکْ بَرْ سَرْ اوْ
 چُونْ دَرِيْنُولَا اَمَارَتْ وَحُكْمَتْ پَنَاهْ نَظَامًا اَلْامَارَةِ وَالْحُكْمَةِ بَيْنَدَرْ سُلْطَانِ حَاکْ قَرَاجَهْ دَاعَ
 بَعْرَضِ رَسَانِيدَ كَهْ مَبْلَغِ شَشْ تَوْمَانِ وَسَهْ هَزَارِ وَنَوْدِ وَشَشِ دِيَنَارِ وَنَيمِ اَزْ بَابَتِ مَالَوْجَهَاتِ
 وَجَوْهَاتِ حَالِ مَذَكُورَهْ ضَمِنْ دَزْمَارِ باَزَاءِ خَدَمَاتِ وَجَانِسِيَّارِهَا بَالِيَّاسِ خَلِيفَهْ عَمْ وَالَّدِ
 اَمَارَتْ پَنَاهْ مَشَارُ اَلِيهِ بَعْدِ اَزْ فَوْتِ اوْ بَشَمَسِ الدِّينِ خَلِيفَهْ وَلَدِ اوْ شَفَقَتْ شَدَهْ بَودَ كَهْ
 دَرِ اَسْفَارِ سَانِخَهْ مَوازِي هَفْتِ نَقْرَهْ مَرَدِ مَكَلِ وَمَسْلَحِ حَاضِرِ سَازَدِ وَبَعْدِ اَزْ فَوْتِ شَمَسِ
 الدِّينِ خَلِيفَهْ چُونْ وَارَثِي اَزْوَيْنَانِدَهْ بَودَهْ وَبَا وَالَّدِ اَمَارَتْ پَنَاهْ مَزْبُورِ شَفَقَتْ شَدَهْ بَودَهْ اَنَدَ
 سَيَورَغَالِ مَزْبُورِ بَدْسَتُورِ شَمَسِ الدِّينِ خَلِيفَهْ بَوَالَّدِ اَمَارَتْ پَنَاهْ مَزْبُورِ شَفَقَتْ شَدَهْ بَودَهْ
 دَرِ اِيَّامِ حَيَّاتِ وَالَّدِ اَمَارَتْ پَنَاهْ مَشَارُ اَلِيهِ اليَّاسِ خَلِيفَهْ نَاهِي بَخَلَافِ عَرْضِ نَمُودَهْ بَودَهْ
 وَلَدِ شَمَسِ الدِّينِ خَلِيفَهْ اَسْتِ وَسَيَورَغَالِ مَزْبُورِ اَزِ وَالَّدِ مَشَارُ اَلِيهِ قَطْعِ وَدَرِ وَجَهِ اليَّاسِ
 خَلِيفَهْ مَزْبُورِ مَقْرَرِ وَبَعْدِ اَزْ فَوْتِ اوْ بِرَهَانِ الدِّينِ خَلِيفَهْ وَلَدِ اوْ شَفَقَتْ شَدَهْ بَودَهْ وَالْحَالِ
 مَشَارُ اَلِيهِ بَتَصَدِّقَ فَرَقْ مَبَارَكَ شَدَهْ اَسْتِ وَازِ اوْ وَارَثِي نَانِدَهْ وَاسْتَدِعَا نَمُودَهْ كَهْ سَيَورَغَالِ

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 یغایت شاهانه درباره مشارٰیه از ابتداء سه ماه و نیم ییلان ییل و چهیرا 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 مقرری سیورغال مزبوررا بدستور صاحبان سیوغال سابقه در اسفار سانخه بخار و یساق شاهی حاضر سازد کدخدایان و رعایای محال مزبوره رفعت و معالی پناه مزبوررا صاحب سیورغال خود دانسته سال بسال مالوجهات و وجوهات و حقوق دیوانی خودرا بدستوری که بصاحبان سیورغال سابق مهم سازی مینمود اند و اصل مشارٰیه ساخته چیزی قاصر و منکرس نسازند حکام و عمال الکاء مزبور بخلاف حساب دخل در سیورغال مشارٰیه نموده قلم و قدم کوتاه و کشیده دارند و بعلت اخراجات و عوارضات مسدود الابواب براسم و رسم بوده باشد مزاحمت مجال رعایای محال سیورغال مشارٰیه نرسانند و هر ساله حکم مجدد طلب ندارند نشان ذیشان لازم نافذًا فی الاماکن والازمان بتوقيع وقع منیع همایون اعلی مزین و محلی گردد اعتبار و اعتقاد نمایند تحریرًا فی شهر ذی الحجّه الحرام سنّة مائة و ثلاثة عشر بعد الالف من الهجرة النبوية علی هاجرها الف السلام والتّحية بدار السّلطنة اصفهان حُمیت مِنْ طوارق الحدثان

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 (Ssfevidskie) 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 Berhard Dorn, vols. 1-4, St. Petersburg: Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1850-1858.

Proceedings, AzFAN Izvestiia Azerbaijdzhanskogo filiala Akademii Nauk SSSR

SCHÉFER C. Schéfer, *Chréstomatie Persane*

SSIA *Sbornik statei po istorii Azerbaijdhana*, vyp. 1, izd. Akad. Nauk Azerb. SSR. Baku, 1949.

TVORAO *Trudy Vostochnogo otdeleniia Rossiiskogo arkheologicheskogo obshchestva*

ZVORAO *Zapiski Vostochnogo otdeleniia Rossiiskogo archeologicheskogo obshchestva*

ZDMG *Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft*

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