Équité. Il n’est pas stipulé qu’il s’abstienne des pratiques qui sont désormais interdites aux Qonghirat et aux tribus turkmènes. La procédure fiscale à laquelle le document fait allusion, prélèvement d’une partie de la récolte (muqāssama) et assignations (barat, kawala) était une source constante d’abus. Il n’est pas question dans le document du service militaire dû par le bénéficiaire du soyarqkal. Cette obligation est énoncée dans le soyarqkal de Jahān-Shāh publié par M. Busse, qui fait suite à un ensemble de pièces timourides concernant Shaykh Dursun Marāghānī, seigneur de Marāghān, Ewoghli, Julītha/Julfa, etc., dont il sera traité ailleurs en détail.


Soit sur le bas cours du Qūtur Chai et dans la vallée de l’Araxe.

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SEVEN ŠAFAWID DOCUMENTS FROM AZARBAYJAN

by

B. G. Martin

The seven documents considered in this chapter cover a time span of approximately a century, from within a few years of the establishment of the Safavid dynasty, to the time of Šāh ‘Abbās I. The first and second documents, dated 934/1528–9 and 915/1509–10 respectively, are of Šāh Ismā’īl; the following pair, dated 952/1545–46 and 959/1551–2, come from the long reign of Šāh Tahmāsp (known as “Shaw Thomas” to some of his English contemporaries). Then follows a document of Muhammad Khudibande of 992/1583–4. The last two documents fall within the period of Šāh ‘Abbās I, being dated 1000/1591–92 and 1016/1607–08. These seven documents, with a large number of others, some from the Jälqyrid and Qājār periods, repose for many years in a Bloomsbury bookshop as “specimens of Persian calligraphy.”

1. The original collection of whose arrival in England are not known, contained many more documents, now dispersed. Among these was the famous female of Ahmad Jālyūsī to Shaykh Sa’d al-Dīn of Ardabil, dated 22 Dīlūr-Qa‘a da 773/30 May 1372, now in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, Supplement persan 1630, published by Henri Massé in *Journal Asiatique*, 1938, pp. 465–8, and in the Persian magazine *Yadgar*, Azar-Māh, 1932, pp. 23–9. From the bookseller’s marks near the top, at the back of the firman, it is clear that it passed through the same hands as the seven documents under discussion here. The original collection also contained a long and spurious soyarqkal of Šah Sulayman Šadh, dated 1079/1667–68, concerning certain Şīft landholdings in the region between Tāliš and Muğdin, at Anjarīd and Dashkwand (Dastkwand?); the author hopes to publish it at some future time. The first two documents, like the fifth one, belong to Dr. A. D. H. Bivar, who has kindly allowed me to publish them; the remainder are in the writer’s collection. The document of 959 A.H. was generously given by the writer by Dr. T. Gandje. The author would like to acknowledge the many suggestions made by Drs. Bivar and Gandje; and also the kind help of Mr. G. M. Meredith- Owens, M. Jean Aubin, Dr. R. M. Savory, Prof. A. K. S. Lamont, and Prof. H. R. Rooamer.
do with landed properties, the first in Tabriz, the remainder in the region of Ardabil and Khaikhâl.  

These Şafavid documents, like those of earlier periods, tend to be long and narrow, and are often repeatedly folded, which sometimes creates difficulties in reading them. The writing is usually centered toward the left side of the paper, and is deliberately run upwards towards the left edge, becoming more and more crowded as it goes. Seals of rulers (or in the case of Document VI, a copy, a place for a seal) are invariably found at the top centre; the date at the lower left corner. On the back of these documents, on the back, there are various authentication and registration marks, and official seals and signatures. In the middle, on the back, lists of villages and properties are often found (see Doc. VII). The paper, thick white or cream-coloured paper ("Khânhalâgh" paper?) without watermarks, usually carries a dense black ink, except for textually important formulae, such as al-ḥam (or al-mulk) w’llâh, ħirîn-i hûmayûn shud, ħirîn-i hûmayûn sharaf-i nafîdî yâfî, or words like Şafaviyye and shahâne, which are often written in red or gold ink. The writing itself ranges from a difficult shikast-e-amîz in the first document to a clearer nastâ'îqî in the documents of Shâh Ţâhmâsp, or a rolling and often unpointed shikast in the last document, where the scribe lays much emphasis on his broad horizontal pen strokes. 

The seals on the first two documents, and the fifth one, are flame or tear-shaped. They carry round seals (except for Document Six, a copy). The seal of the first document is unusually interesting, as it seems to be the earliest seal of Shâh Ţâhmâsp. It should be noted that this seal was found by Rabino from a British Museum manuscript dated 917/1512-13 (B.M. Ms. Or. 4934). It contains a distich, doubtless composed by Ţâhmâsp himself, and the date 908/1501-02; this same distich is known to have been inscribed on one of Ţâhmâsp's rings. Perhaps this seal, from a large ring stone (29 mm. wide, 35 mm. long), was reserved for private or semi-private royal correspondence, in contrast to the state seals?

Document Five, of Muhammad Khânâbâde, has a flame-shaped seal with a distich in the compartments running from the margin, the name of the ruler in the centre, and Muḥammad, 'All and Allah at the top. It has no date; most of it can now be read. The other seals (save for the seal of Document Two) are conventional, and bear the name of the ruler, the date, and the names of the Twelve Imams. All the round seals (Tahmâsp I and 'Abbâs I) contain the names of the imams in the outer ring, and the name of the ruler in the centre, and in two instances the date—950 and 999 H. The seal of Tahmâsp I on Document Three appears to be identical with that published by Pavazian (PUM & I, p. 266) in his Document Twelve of 951/1544—45; the other seal with the name of the monarch on Document Four seems to be the same seal as the one illustrated on Plate XXV of Busse's collection, a firman of 972/1563-64. The seal of Document Seven is very much like Busse's edict of 1017/1607—08 (Plate XXVIII), or Rabino's seal of the same date, illustrated at the top of Plate III in the text volume of Coins, medals, and seals of the Shahs of Iran. 

Apart from Document One (from Tabriz), these documents are concerned with holdings in the region of Ardabil and Khaikhâl; Documents Two, Three, and Five mention the Şafaviyye ašârîya at Ardabil. In phraseology and in many other details, several of these documents recall

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1. For a definition of the term soqurghâl, frequently a grant of waqf land to "eminent families among the religious classes", which could then be inherited by the descendants of the original grantee unless revoked by the government, see A. K. S. Lambton, Landlord and peasant in Persia (UP and I), Oxford 1959, pp. 115—16. See also A. D. Pavazian, Persiâdâs ukâ'î Mowâladârâna (UP and I), I, Yerevan 1959, p. 482. V. Mimonsky, "A Mongol decree to the family of Shaykh Zâhid, 730/1329," in ROA 45, 1954, p. 516, note 2, gives further references, the most important of which is I. P. Petrushevskij, Ocherki po istorii feudal'nih otnoshenij v Azovskoj oblasti v XVI—nachale XIX vv., Leningrad 1949, chapter IV pp. 145—49, "Soqurghâl i mu'alla".

2. B. Busse, Untersuchungen zum islamischen Kanalwesen am Hand kurdischen und safawidischen Urkunden, Cairo 1958, p. 27, suggests that the higher the rank of the recipient of a document, the wider it was, at least under the Qajar-Qoyunlu and Aq-Qoyunlu. This may have also been the case under the early Şafavids. Furthermore, in many of the documents under discussion here, the lower right corner has been cut off. Some quotes Chardin, Voyages du Chevalier Chardin en Perse, ed. Langle, Paris 1811, II, 263, who observes that this was done as a sign that "all earthly things are incomplete".

3. This paper was imported from Central Asia, if not made in Persia. Under the Qajars, at least from Nadîl 'All Shah onwards, watermarked Italian laid paper was often employed.

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4. Martin, Seven Şafavid Documents, 1590—1941, London 1945, p. 28. This seal is illustrated in the rare volume of plates accompanying this work, published at Oxford in 1951, Plate XIX.


6. The seal of Document Two, another flame-shaped seal of Shâh Ismâ'îl, has been very badly abraded and is only partially legible. It is very much like the seal illustrated in Pavazian, PUM & I, Yerevan 1959, p. 264 (Document Eleven, of 918 A.H.). In the seal of Document Two, the words sülûk, bâdâr, al-'usâyir, and part of the date, 90—, can be read, and perhaps the word 'arsh or 'arshî. The full inscription may be one of those listed by Rabino, op. cit., pp. 27—7.
the firmans published as an appendix to Shaykh Ḥusayn ibn Abdīl Pīrzādēh Zāhīlī’s Siṣīṣāt al-nasabū ։ Șafawīyeye.8 With four exceptions (Documents One, Three, Four and Five) the name of one Mawlānā Kamāl al-Dīn Ḥusayn Ardabilī and his descendants are prominent in these documents. There is evidence to suggest that this man, if he was not the mutawāli of the Ardabil satrīye in the times of Ismā’īl, was probably the khānīkhānīshī there, and that certain of his descendants inherited the same office. Mawlānā Kamāl al-Dīn Ḥusayn Ardabilī is not to be confused with the Qizilbash amīr Kamāl al-Dawla wa’l-Īqbal Ḥusayn Beg Lala, Jumlat al-Mulk, mentioned in the first document, a prominent figure among the Shāmīl and an early adherent of Shāh Ismā’īl, who later served him as mīr dīwān, waḥīl, and amīr al-umrār. Ḥusayn Beg Lala was killed at the Battle of Chāldirān in 920/1513-14.

A detailed analysis of these documents follows.

**Document I—[plate LIHI]**

**Seal:**

手続き علی والد ور یک جان مرا در بر

غلام شاہ مردانست

ابوالصالح بن جهانر

908

**Text:**

هو الله بصاحب

پسما الراحل الرحم

با على

الحكم

أبو الظلام استراحه سوزوری

درک وقت مقرر فرموده که باغ خانم احمد حکم در سلطنت حیت وقعت

بیانات در تصرف تاجب میان ماد سیاپت اگر حیاب

جلال للسیراده و الادیه مدیل سیالان برکت پیامدار بودا متقن دانست

ویاصر بکاء او کردن

**Document I—Translation**

1 He is God, extol Him!

2 In the name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful!

3 O ‘Ali!

4 Judgement is God’s alone!

5 Abu’l-Mugaffar Ismā’l Bahādūr, Our Order (sāṣūmites)!

6 At this time we have decreed that the garden of Khān (Jān ?) Ahmad, situated in the capital (dār al-ulāme) of Tabrīz,

7 and the gardens which have been in the possession of the excellent sayyid-like person, auspicious and beloved brother (jamāl-al-sīyāhāt-

mā’ab, stādat-qibāb-u wahwashat-kabāb),

8 Glory of Sayyids and Religion, Sayyid Sulaymān Mirzā, should belong to him, according to the former precedent (dāṣūr), and should pass into the possession of his representatives (wakālāt).8

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8 See L. Fekete, “Arbeiten der grizischen Orientalistik auf dem Gebiete des Turkei-

ischen und der persischen Palaeographie und die Frage der Formel sīyāmā,” in Acta. Orient.

Hung., 1887, pp. 16-20; also H. K. Koerner, “Le dernier formàk de Rostam Behbahār Aq

Qawānīn,” Bulletin de l’Institut Français d’Archéologie Orientale (IFAO), LIX, 1960,

p. 276.

No other person should enter there. The dārīghe, kalāntars, and mutasaddis of the affairs of the ilāmin of the aforesaid capital should consider it an established matter, according to what is written here.

In this respect, as long as the exalted and dignified (al-ja‘ālbi-imdārat-ma‘alū) Jumlat al-Mulk, Kamāl al-Dawla wa‘l-Iqbal, Ḥusayn Beg Lala has not taken possession

No person should interfere; nor should they make any alteration in what has been decreed; they should consider it their obligation. Written on

It should pass into their possession at this time. Searches must not be undertaken. No further remarks (bida).

the 25th of the month of Shafar 914/25 June 1908.

Document 1—commentary

This firman has lost two small rectangular pieces, one about 7 × 4 cm. at the top left, and another about 3.5 × 4.5 cm. at the top right. Originally, without the loss of these pieces, the dimensions would have been about 22 × 49 cm. The lower right corner has been cut off.

The entire document is written in black ink, save for the formulae at the top: Hisam Allāhu subhānahu, the basma, the words Ya ‘Allī, and the phrases al-hum bllah and Ismā‘il Bahādur within the tamgha—the rectangular monogram immediately above the seal—which are written in gold ink (lāb-i tālī). In the lower right margin, turned 90° to the direction of the lines of the main text, is the phrase khitima bi‘l-khayr. This phrase is a survival of a formal concluding prayer, often written in full in Qara-Qoyunlu and Ar-Qoyunlu documents, but progressively shortened and finally dropped in the early Safavid period; it is doubtful if this practice survived the reign of Shāh Ismā‘il II. Busse gives examples of it. What is more, the use of khitima bi‘l-khayr, usually written in the margin opposite the last line (see PUKM, I, facsimiles opposite p. 258, p. 286, p. 363), and in

conditions of charge or a town or ward, an office somewhat like that of the muqālīb in other parts of the Islamic world. Lambton, LPP, p. 429, and Lambton, Islamic Society in Persia, London, 1988, has a section on the functions and duties of the dārīghe. Papanian, PUKM, I, p. 148, and II, p. 141, says the word is of Mongol origin.

kalāntar—in this context means the overseer of the wards of a city. See Tahāhārat al-Mulk, p. 148, LPP, p. 431.


In right margin, opposite beginning of line 11. See commentary, paragraph 2.

Interpolated line: see commentary, paragraph 2.

H. Busse, op. cit., p. 34.

Busse Untersuchungen... Plate XXI, all documents of Ismā‘il II] appears to be a chancy device to prevent additions to documents by unauthorized persons. As lines 6, 7, 8, 9, and 11 in this document are written with the same spacing, and as lines 10 and 12 seem to violate the usual rhythmic interval and as khitima bi‘l-khayr stands to the right of line 11, it seems likely that lines 10 and 12 are interpolations. They seem to be in a slightly different hand; the document reads perfectly well if they are omitted. Furthermore, dar wahde dinndar or durand is a normal termination formula (see Document II—dar wahde darand in the last line), and is usually followed immediately by the words tabārīrāt fi. Whether this interpolation was done in the chancery or not, as an afterthought, or a later and deliberate alteration is not clear; but at any rate, it was not a part of the original draft. The ownership of the garden is not entirely clear from this document. Another oddity in this document is the word bidā, at the end of line 12 in the interpolation which according to Busse means "Ende, keine Bemerkung." As to the persons mentioned in this document, a Khwāja Khān Ahmad Beg Șafawī is mentioned in the Sīsīlāt al-nasab-i Șafawīye (SNS). At some time unspecified by this source, this man served as mutawallī of the mosque of Shaykh Șafi al-Dīn at Ardabīl. He might well have held property in Tabriz. One of Khwāja Khān Ahmad’s two sons, Ma‘ṣūm Beg Șafawī (see Document Three) also served as mutawallī of the Ardabīl shrine, then became mīr-duwas to Tāhirāsb I, and was eventually killed in 976/1567–68 while on the pilgrimage. The career of Ma‘ṣūm Beg and his father underlie the existence of a second and distinct group of the Șafawī family known as the Shaykhkhwānd, distantly related to the ruling line of Ismā‘il and his descendants (the ruling line were considered hereditary heads of the tarafī and were addressed as murshed-i hāmīl). The Shaykhkhwānd, whose lands were in the town of Ardabīl and the vicinity, particularly to the east of Ardabīl, seem to have furnished many of the personnel of the zāyāt. At times, however, members of the Zāhidī family, close relations of the Șafawīs, were chosen for these offices.


11 SNS, p. 67.

Sulaymān Mirzā is doubtless the brother of Ismā‘īl mentioned in the Aḥsan al-Tawārīkh and elsewhere, who accompanied the Khāqān-i Iskandar-shāh on his flight from Ardabil to 906/1499-1500. Like Ismā‘īl, Maḥmūd Mirzā, Ḥasan Mirzā, and Dā‘ūd Mirzā, Sulaymān Mirzā was a son of Shaykh Ḥaydar, perhaps not by Ḥalime Begum Ağhā (‘Alamshāh Begum), but of another wife. Ḥalime Begum Ağhā was the daughter of Uzun Hasan Aq-Qoqunlu, and the sister of Sultan Ya‘qūb. Considerable information is available about Ḥusayn Beg Lala Shāh, the tutor of Ismā‘īl, and one of the most prominent figures of the pre-Chālīdarān period of Ismā‘īl’s reign. Ḥusayn Beg was a leading member of the abkī ikhṭiārāt, the little group of amīrs who kept the Saʿfawī ḥarbīe going between the death of Shaykh Ḥaydar and the young Ismā‘īl’s first successful campaign (against the Shirwānshāhīs in 906/1499-1500). Ḥusayn Beg had taken part in the disastrous battle of Šabarsārān as a troop commander under Ḥaydar, then aided Ismā‘īl and his brothers to dodge Aq-Qoqunlu spies and informers in Gilan for nearly five years. Later, he served Ismā‘īl in all major campaigns, until the battle of Chālīdarān, where he was one of a number of prominent Qizilbash casualties.

A trusted companion of Shaykh Ḥaydar and Lala to Ismā‘īl, Ḥusayn Beg, Jamšīd al-Mulk Kamāl al-Dawla wa‘l-Iqbal, was holding a number of offices at the end of his life.13 Aside from his influential post of lāla (the Aq-Qoqunlu and Saʿfawī equivalent of abdel), he was the wakīl (or in full, the wakīl-i naṣīf-i naṣīf-i hamayun, amīr al-umara‘, and amīr-dawla, holding some of these positions simultaneously).14 Ḥusayn Beg was appointed to the ṭabāhī in 907/1500-01, and held that office until 914/1507-08, at least until the month of Šafar in that year, as this document indicates, when he was deposed in favour of a Persian, Shaykh Najm Gīlān (Naqīm-i Awarūl). Apparently, he retained his post of amīr al-umara‘ and mir dawla (or amīr dawla) until 915/1508-09, when he lost them, together with his ṭabāhī and his nawbars to Muhammad Beg Safarīšī Usūlī, as the Ta‘rīkh-i Iltūyi Niẓāmshāhī makes clear.15 In spite of his apparent demotion, Ḥusayn Beg remained faithful to Shāh Ismā‘īl, and continued to be one of his closest collaborators. Savory suggests that the reason for the deposal of Ḥusayn Beg was a change of policy on Ismā‘īl’s part, to favour Persians rather than the Qizilbash Turkomans. This was done to check the Turkoman power, and is associated with the coming of Shaykh Najm Gīlān to power in 914, and was continued with the appointment of Amir Yar Ahmad Khūzānī Iṣfahānī (Naqīm-i Thānī) to the ṭabāhī in the following year.16 Aubin suggests that Ḥusayn Beg may have fallen from esteem because Amir Najm Gīlān Zargar had some old scores to settle with him.17 He was made bāḥīm of Harat in 918/1511-12, took part in the Ḫızbī war, and was a principal commander at Chālīdarān, where he was killed in a desperate change against the Ottoman artillery.

The final years of Ḥusayn Beg’s life, his dismissal and replacement, point up one of the great political problems of the Saʿfawīs; a conflict of interests between Qizilbash Turkomans and Persians. The ruling dynasty failed to harness the military energies of the Qizilbash, and their enthusiasm, even fanaticism, for the Saʿfawī ḥarbīe, or to reconcile the Qizilbash with the conservatism of the Persian official and administrative personnel now being recruited to fill posts in the Saʿfawī bureaucracy. No
durable compromise was ever achieved between the interests of these two factions: the clash between the rival groups appeared as soon as Ismā‘īl had created a state. It was to play a destructive role in subsequent Ṣafawid history.

Document II—translation

1 He is God, exult Him!
2 O ‘Alī!
3 A royal decree has had the honour of despatch, with the cognizance of Najm-i Thānī, servitor of the Shāh of the World, that
4 whereas, because of the abundance of [our] attention and diligence in respect of the Refuge of Benefit (ḡīdat-panāh), Cream of the Learned and Erudite, Mawlānā Kamāl al-Dīn Ḥusayn Ardabīlī, it has been fixed that the locality of Kazaj,
5 of one of the tax districts (a‘māl) of Khalkhāl, and of one of the villages (raqabāt) and exempted properties (musa‘alamiyyāt) of the sublime and supreme, holy and radiant Ṣafawīs zāwīya, and which is assessed in the tax register (dākhkūl-i jāmī) at the sum of 45,000 Tabrīzī dinārs in cash and kind...[2–3 unreadable words in fold]...
6 has been bestowed by us upon the aforementioned Asylum of Benefit as an eternal suaygāh and permanent favour, and should be deemed established. The sum of six thousand dinārs
7 which has been assigned to that excellent person (anjāmīh) in this way, should be considered fixed as the legal settlement (qat-i shar‘i: fief, appanage, assigned land?) of the aforementioned person. The bases (qawādī) of it should not be exposed to change or alteration. [Furthermore], the villages of Umāniq (Awmāniq?)

1 a‘māl—perhaps better translated here as "tax districts", rather than "cantons or dependencies". Also may mean "reports of tax districts and their revenue accounts.", LPP, p. 423. Perhaps originally meant areas subject to an "āmāl", pl. "āmālī", "financial agents."
2 raqabāt, pl. raqabāt—"a group of villages in a bālūkh or district," used as in this case to mean villages forming part of waqf or endowment property. LPP, pp. 437–8.
3 musa‘alamiyyāt—"tax-exempt properties." See also Bause, op. cit., pp. 97 ff.
4 dākhkūl-i jāmī—"tax register," see Hoener in BIFAO, loc. cit., p. 284, line 7.
Najm-i Thānī was the waqf Yār Ahmad Khūzānī Iṣfahānī, appointed by Ismā’īl to succeed Amīr Najm al-Dīn Mas‘ūd Gilānī Zargar (Najm-i-Awwal), who in his turn was the successor to Hūsayn Beg Lāla. Aubin describes Najm-i Thānī as an “homme sanguinaire et fastueux ... plus célèbre par son luxe, sa dureté, ses cruautés en Transoxiane, que par son justice envers grands et humbles”13. Ḥasan Ṣāfīmī calls Najm-i Thānī a ris-sīyāḥ-i nāt-bag šānūsā for refusing to spare the lives of some sāyayās at the siege of Qarshī.14 In his remarks Ṣāfīmī accurately reflects the views of Ẓāhlīsh Turkomans about Persian bureaucrats. When Najm-i Thānī was killed at the battle of Ghujdwān in Ramādān 918/November 1512, it was because so many of the Ẓāhlīsh leaders and their men had deserted him, permitting the Ẓūbég to defeat his small force.15

Since this soyyāghar is dated Rājāb 915, it was issued within a few months after the unattractive Najm-i Thānī had assumed office, near the beginning of the year 915, according to Khurāsānī b. Qubāb.16 The grantee of the soyyāghar, Mawlānā Kamāl al-Dīn Hūsayn Ardabīlī, also described as “Zubdat al-‘Ummā wa’l-Mutabāhārūn,” is mentioned in the Tuhfat-i Sāmī of Sām Mīrzā, under the name “Mawlānā Hūsayn Ardabīlī.” This Shī‘ī ‘ālim died in 910/1504-43 at about the age of seventy. He was a relative of Shaykh Ḥaydar Ṣāfawī, and as a young man, had been in the latter’s service. Ḥaydar encouraged him to go to Khurāsān to study. After spending some years there, he returned to Ardabīl, where he became a khālid of the zāwiyya, “where he spent his auspicious life and his hours in the diffusion of learning.” He sometimes wrote poetry, and Sām Mīrzā quotes one of his rubā’īs, and describes him as a “complete scholar and a witty man.”17 The lands allotted to Mawlānā Kamāl al-Dīn Ardabīlī were in two different areas, some at Kazaj in Khalkhál (which seems to have been Ardabīl’s soyyāghar prior to the date of this document), and the others at a place called Sūltānabād, probably the village of that name a few kilometers south of the Ardabīl-Asṭarā road.18 It is clear from

13 Jean Aubin, loc. cit., p. 60. In BM. Ms. Or. 153, f. 14b, one of his nisāb is given as Qātūndā.
14 AT, p. 132.
15 AT, p. 133.
16 TIRN, p. 14b.
17 See Tuhfat-i Sāmī, BM. Ms. Add. 24962, f. 17a and BM. Ms. Add. 7670, f. 47a, where accounts of Mawlānā Hūsayn Ardabīlī, with slight textual variations, are given. This notice is found in the printed edition of the Tuhfat-i Sāmī, ed. Wajḥīd Dastgūrī, Tehran 1314 H. on p. 49. Sām Mīrzā was a brother of Shāh Tūbēsī. This same notice on Ardabīlī is also contained in Amīl Ahmad Rīzhī, Haft Iṣfīm, BM. Ms. Or. 203, f. 384a.
18 Kazaj in Khalkhál is 11-5 km. N.E. of Hīsfājūn and about 30 km. S.W. of Ḥesbābūl (formerly called Khalkhál), the markaz of the shahābīd of the same name, situated on the
the back of Document VII, also concerned with this sayyigunghal, that two
members of this man’s descent were living in the time of ’Abbàs I, and
as some of them are entitled khádîm-báshí, that their connection with the
shrine was maintained, and that they had inherited their ancestor’s office
and title. If the original grantee, Mawlànà Kamál al-Dîn was a relation of
Shaykh  Kháydar, he doubtless belonged to, or had close ties with, the
non-ruling Sháfawí clan of the Shaykhíwáand, and if a khádîm, belonged to
the second or third rank of dignitaries attached to the shrine.18
Dr. Busé claims that the type of document with the introduction
fírmân-i kunnayyín sharaf-i váfádáh yáfi was developed under Sháh Tahmásp,
also states that this formula is normally written in red ink. From the
evidence of the present document, this claim does not seem to be justified.19
The word kádîrî, occurring in the text in line 8, meaning “permanent,
inaudible, not to be renewed,” also occurs in Nizáám al-Dîn Sháhí’s
The scribe, in the last line, probably meant to write Rajáb al-Múrajíb,
but was thinking of Rajáb al-Áshám, and so finished by writing “Rajáb
al-Ásháb.”

On the back of this document, as on the backs of some of the others
that can be seen pious “mottos” and phrases, generally of a religious turn
(or Koranic quotations) in Arabic. These are usually written under seals.
These phrases are the “sign-manual” (’álama) of the various officials
who dealt with the document in its passage from office to office. Rulers
also used the ’álama, in lieu of a signature. The employment of the
’álama on chancery documents is an old Islamic practice, see S. M. Stern,

other side of the Bongush range from Ardabíl: see Farhang-i Jargálí-yi Irán, IV, p. 417.
When this source was compiled, in 1320 H.S./1902, Kazán had 946 inhabitants both
Shí’í and Sunní. Turks and Kurds. Kazán is described as being in the material garmítr.
As for Soltánístán, it is probably the place described in the same Geographical Dictionary
as being 10 km. east of Ardabíl, and 8 km. south of the Ardabíl-Astárak road, in the
“dikháin of Kálkhán” (p. 274). On level land, it had in 1909 a population of 771 people,
who were Shí’í Turk.

18 See Document VII, back. In the fírmân appointing a member of the Záhidí family
to the post of muhtàd at Ardabíl, SWS, p. 109, the ranks of the dignitaries of the sháhiyé
are given in hierarchical order: “(1) muhtàd; (2) great wájíd; (3) khádîm-i hízám; (4)
leamed ’álama; (5) the remanider of the servants lower staff, and workmen.” The
precise rank of the názív is not made clear.
19 H. Rosse, op. cit., p. 31-2; EI3, fasc. 27, Vol. II, pp. 308-13, in section on Persian
documents in article on “Diplomatic”, pp. 301-16.
Documents from Islamic Chanceries

carry out [the conditions] which Jalâl al-Dîn Maʿṣūm Beg Şafawi, the 
mutawalli of the Holy Sanctuary (ʿĀṣâne-yi muqaddase) had fixed 
concerning their water rights (haqqahe .rem 
with the peasants of the locality of Sultânābâd, and in regard to 
which a written agreement (sharānāme) has been drawn up. They 
should not oppress 
any person whatsoever, nor undertake any resistance [to it]. They 
should not depart from the established regulation.

In this matter, any shortcoming on their part is forbidden. They 
should consider it their responsibility. Written in 
the month of Dhiʾl-Qaʿda, 952 / 4 Jan—2 Feb 1546

Document III — commentary

This short firman of Shâh Tâhirîş I, regulating a dispute between 
two villages over water rights, presents a number of interesting features.
As usual, the phrases al-mulk-i ʿālîk and firman-i hunayîn shâd are written 
in gold ink, also the word Şafawiyye in the upper right margin. Since the 
document concerns a member of the Şafawi family, Jalâl al-Dîn Maʿṣūm 
Beg Şafawi, or lands or estates belonging to the Şafawi family (?), it can 
be assumed that the document is a special type of inter-Şafawi edict. As 
far as the writer knows, no other examples of documents marked 
Şafawiyye in this same way have been published. Maʿṣūm Beg Şafawi was a well-known public figure during the reign 
of Tâhirîş I. A son of the Khwâja Khân Ahmad Beg Şafawi mentioned 
in the Sâsâlat al-Nasâb-i Şafawiyye (and possibly in the first document), 
Maʿṣūm Beg was the grandson of Khwâja Muhammad, one of the two sons 
of Shaykh Junayd.? Khwâja Muhammad was the half-brother of Shaykh 
Ḥaydâr, being a son of a Circassian slave woman, whereas Ḥaydâr was 
Junayd’s son by Khâdja Bûgum, the sister of Ezîn Ḵâsun Aq-Ḵoyûnum.6 
From this document, it is evident that Maʿṣūm Beg was already serving as 
mutawalli of the Şafawi āʿâma in 962/1543/45; by 964, he had become

5 haqqahe—water rights, or share in the water from a qand or stream. Papazian, 
6 Sâsâlat, p. 67. A homonymous Maʿṣūm Beg (Gâhîkî form—see V. Minorsky, ʿĀṣâne-yi al-Mulk, p. 125) Şafawi, a mutawalli, mentioned by Zihâli on p. 68, may be an error of 
identification. The printed edition of this work (Irânshâh, Berlin, 1342 H./1924) contains 
a great number of typographical errors. A new edition of it with clear genealogical charts 
would be very useful.
7 TAA, p. 13.

Martin, Seven Şafavid Documents

amir-i āʿâma. In 959, he had taken part in a campaign against Arjîsh in 
Eastern Anatolia; in 967/1559–60 he became wali of Shâh Tâhirîş. Later, he was appointed lâla to Tâhirîş’s eldest son, Ḥaydâr Mirzâ. 
Iskandar Munshî gives considerable information about Maʿṣūm Beg, 
among other things that Tâhirîş called him “ nephew ”(amir-i oğlu), and 
that Maʿṣūm Beg left on the pilgrimage with one of his sons, Khân Mirzâ, 
after resigning his offices in 967/1567–68 only to be assassinated by Turks

5 AT, p. 315, mentions Maʿṣūm Beg as being mutawalli at Ardabil in 953 a.H. when 
he was sent to Shirwân by Tâhirîş. Maʿṣūm Beg is first mentioned in Bâṭîsh’s Sharâf- 
nâname under the events of 964/1559–60, as amir-i āʿâma. See Sharâf-nâme ed. Velyaminov- 
Zernov, Saint Petersburg 1882, II, 209 (Persian text). TûN, BM, Ms. Ori. Add. 23548, 
I, 48r gives an account of his Glâhî and Mâzdâorkân campaigns.

Maʿṣūm Beg Şafawi was also concerned in the affair of Aqšâ Mirzâ, a son of Tâhirîş 
who revolted against his father. In his unpublished article, “ Six hakâmânames of the reign 
of Shâh Tâhirîş I Şafawi,” Mr. J. R. Walsh of Edinburgh University, has analysed 
the victory proclamations issued by Tâhirîş during his campaigns against his son, 
and included other valuable information about the middle years of Tâhirîş’s reign, from 
Rûh Allûb Munšî’s Sharâf-nâme, erroneously catalogued in the Leningrad Collection of 
The John Rylands Library, Manchester, as the Fiskâ-yi Munshî-yi Şâh-ʾAbâd (see item 494 
p. 156, of the Leningradskii Katalog). Rûh Allûb Munshî, son of Mirzâ Ashraf and grandson 
of the famous Qâlit-yi Ḥâj, died between 985 and 987 a.H., and had served for a long time 
as secretary to Ḫâsûn Khân Ḫâsun-ud-Dâdar, governor of Shirvân. The pagination of this MS. 
is very confused; the script is a very difficult šikhsâh-āʿâma. An edition of this important 
source would be very useful.

A firman of ʿAbâdî I dated 1000/1599–1600 appointing Allûb Beg as mutawalli of the 
Ardabil teke (Sâsâl, pp. 108–110) gives a great deal of information about the functions 
of the mutawalli of this establishment. These functions had doubtless been much the same 
in the days of Maʿṣūm Beg, fifty years before. As chief administrator, the mutawalli had 
the final word in all translations made by the āʿâma. All of his personnel (with the exception of the nāṣir) were under his control, and were to recognize him as independent mutawalli. All 
financial paper issued by the āʿâma was to be authenticated by his seal; all wages, stipends, 
and salaries were to be paid out under his supervision. The entries in ledgers (râznameh) could 
only be entered in the registers (râznameh) when they had been read and sealed by him. 
The mutawalli was to settle disputes arising among the peasants of the āʿâma’s lands (as 
in this document), but only after an inquiry according to the šikhsâh in the presence of 
ulama’. The governor (ḫâsim) of Ardabil was not to interfere in the affairs of the āʿâma, 
nor was it or its properties to be subject to taxation or duties. The mutawalli was to exercise 
general supervision over the catering at the shrine, and to inspect it from time to time. 
In matters of the tax rolls (ṭāzâhâ), the mutawalli was to follow instructions from the āʿâma. 
He was not to deviate in any way from the regulations and instructions of the founders 
(āʿâme). In important matters, he was to consult with the nāṣir, and in general, show 
constant evidence of his administrative efficiency.

See also I. P. Petrovskovski, “ Vâkân’e-i rûmîyâ Ardebîlîskîh’s mazâneh v XVII v.,” in 
"disguised as desert Arabs." Sharaf al-Dīn Bītīštī gives further details of his assassination, suggesting that Maʿṣūm Beg was discredited at Tāhmasp’s treatment of him after he had conquered Gilan and Khurāsān on his master’s behalf in 975/1566-7, and was using his pilgrimage as a pretext to assemble pro-Ṣafavid ʿṣīfīs on Ottoman territory, to create trouble there or in Persia. Being suspicious, Sultan Salīm II ordered the Governor of Damascus, Darvīsh Pāshā, to liquidate Maʿṣūm Beg, which Darvīsh Pāshā achieved by an ambush somewhere on the road between Medina and Mecca. 

The close connection of Maʿṣūm Beg with the Shāhīkhwānd clan of ʿṢafawīs is well known. Iskandar Munshī records that ‘Īsā Khān ʿṢafawī b. Sayyid Beg ʿṢafawī, a son of Maʿṣūm Beg, was a leader of the Shāhīkhwānd at the time of ʿAbbās I, and classifies the Shāhīkhwānd as “first among the Qızılıbāș tribes.” Elsewhere, Iskandar Munshī notes that Ṣadr al-Dīn Khān ʿṢafawī, another son of Maʿṣūm Beg, was in the service of Sultan Hūsain Mirzā (as ʿalaʾi); others of the Shāhīkhwānd were governors of provinces, qārākhāāds, mūḥārāms, etc. Owing to their relationship to the ruling line, they were continually being used as pawns by political forces, and were a centre of intrigue, particularly in succession disputes, and often participated in revolts and conspiracies. Shāh ʿAbbās I’s relations with the Shāhīkhwānd were hostile; Ṣadr al-Dīn Khān had been concerned in the assassination of ʿAbbās’s mother.

A seal of Maʿṣūm Beg ʿṢafawī can be seen on the back of Document IV, just above the “ālāma: iḥfāl ʿu ʿalāʾiḏāḥ, associated with the counterseal of the waqīl. 

The village of Sūṭānābād is doubtless the same place as is mentioned in the previous document, as being part of the sovārgīhūl of Kamāl al-Dīn Hūsain Ardabīlī. The village of Khānqāh must have joined Sūṭānābād, or been upstream or downstream from it, or fed from the same qanāt. The name does not appear in the Geographical Dictionary, Azerbāyjan, IV.

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1 Taʾṣī, p. 113. After Maʿṣūm’s assassination, his deputy Sirāj al-Dīn “All Qumūm assumed his functions. The “independent waqīshī” remained vacant until the appointment of Mir Sayyid ʿUṣūn Pārābānd and Khwāja Jamāl al-Dīn “All Tabrīz as joint waqīshī. For further details, see R. M. Savory, “ The principal offices of the ʿṢafawī state during the reign of Shāh Tāhmasp I (930–44/1526–76), BSOA 45, 1961, pp. 65–88. 

2 Sharaf al-Dīn Bītīštī, Sharaf-nāme, events of 978. See Persian text, II, p. 239. 

3 Taʾṣī, p. 761. 

4 Taʾṣī, p. 106. 

5 Naṣr Allāh Fālāʾī, op. cit., p. 182; Tm, p. 16, note 3. 

6 Maʿṣūm’s seal: "Maʿṣūm Beg ʿṢafawī."
should write and deposit a copy of this gift in the eternal registers, to protect and preserve it from the blemish of change and alteration. 'Amila and mu‘aṣṣadīs of the quarters (jiḥāl) of the above-mentioned Dār al-‘Irshād

7 and the alḥā’s[4] of Sarāb and Tarākime Tappe should consider the matter settled, according to what has been written [here]. Under all circumstances, they should keep their feet and pens away, and under no conditions should they draw drafts (kuwwalād) or make demands (mufalāḥa[k] or nor should they, for any reason whatsoever seek or demand extraordinary taxes (ikhraṣṣa) or tolls (awwā‘ir[4]). They should consider observance and attention [to these stipulations] as necessary and obligatory.

8 They should not disobey nor resist what has been decreed; they should proceed according to their instructions (?). They should not seek a renewed parvānche or decrees (ḥubn) in each year. Written in the month of Rabi’ II, 959/27 March—24 April 1552.

Document IV—commentary

This well-preserved soyārghā of Shāh Ṭahmāsp I has the normal introductory phrase and the words shahāne and hamayān in gold ink; the seal is a well-known one of this ruler (see introduction, p. 173 above). The farms or hamlets (mazzu‘e′) of Qızl Ağa‘ and Dūzēd Rūd situated in the gerrās of Sarāb (gerrās meaning “broad valley” or “wide valley between two mountain ranges”) are not listed under these names in the Azerbaijani volume of the Farhang-i Jughārghā, nor could they be found on the map of Ardabil, Khiyāw (Moshān Shahr), Sarāb, Miyāne, and Herdāb at the end of this volume (Map II). These hamlets are

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3 mazzu‘e′—this vague term may mean “hamlet, arable or grain-raising land, a farm”, or a “small village or settlement attached to a larger one”. See LPP, p. 4, note 2.

4 khālat—see Tadbir-i Mulkā, pp. 125–126 for the office of khālat al-‘Irshād and the khālifes subordinate to him. According to Mineysky, this is a survival of the original Safawī waqf organization, later incorporated into the state.

6 ‘mustafāfi′—revenue accountant, chief revenue office of a district; “mustāfāfīyāt-i ‘ālam might be translated as “chief intendants”, or high treasury officials. See TM, pp. 122–5.

7 The word ghalla in this document has been written in by another hand. The word must mean grain here, although it is synonymous with bāzāwā under certain circumstances (see PUM, I, p. 228). A bāzāwā literally “ass-load”, amounts to 100 Tabrizi maves, about 650 lbs. See also LPP, p. 497.

8 ‘awwā‘ir—see also alḥā’s or alḥā’s—see Is and Hony, Turkish–English Dictionary, p. 362.—a region or district, often held by a clan or other tribal group. See TM, p. 57. Also a district assigned to individuals as, in the case of Ḥusayn Beg Lula, see Document I, commentary, PUM, I, p. 235.

9 ‘awwā‘ir—“extraordinary demands,” “exigences,” see Hoernor, RIFAR, loc. cit., p. 286, line 18.

1 ḵaṣṣa—“extraordinary taxes,” LPP, p. 428, PUM, I, p. 231.

10 ḵarīṣa—“dues or tolls, fees,” LPP, p. 423, Petrovskovski, Osbeki . . . , pp. 228–9, PUM, I, p. 223.

11 At first sight this place name looks like Qərələq or Qərə Ləqə. Although this reading is possible, by the addition of a dot to the ‘ă, it can be made into Must Aşqı or Aşqı, Azeri Turkish for the more standard aşqı. This seems likely, considering the Azerbaijani Turkish fondness for place names incorporating the name of an object and its
either too small to be marked on the map, have disappeared, or been renamed. Sarāb is a large place, and was formerly called Sarāv or Sarāt. It lies on the main road between Tabrīz and Ardalī. The valley of Sarāb is limited on the north side by the Sablān or Sawalān Kūk, on the south by the Boogush Range.19 Nor is there any mention in this source of Tarākīne Tappe, which appears in line seven of the soyūrgkal.20

The name of Khalīfe Darwīsh Mūhammad I have not found elsewhere. A minor landowner of the district, or head of a group of pārsas, this man received a tax exemption (mwa‘af va‘n-mussallam ast) for his lands, and beyond that, a soyūrgkal of six kharwāris of grain. Then, having brought these uncultivated lands under cultivation, the Khalīfe was rewarded by the state when they were granted to him as permanent soyūrgkal. If this interpretation of Document IV is correct, then this may be an instance of the unconditional grant of uncultivated crown land by the ruler to an occupier who wanted to cultivate it, as described by Professor Lambton, following Chardin.21 It was normal Şafāwī practice to grant such lands to those who had, or planned to improve them.

A seal of Māʾṣūm Beg Şafawī can be seen at the top left of the back of this soyūrgkal. It is very much like the seal on the back of H. Busse’s Urkunde 7, Plate XXV.

colour. The Azerbāijān volume of the Geographical Dictionary referred to above includes no less than eleven places called Qara Ağaš, thirteen called Qara Bułğak, twenty-four called Ağaš (Agāsh) Bułğak, etc. There is another and more famous Qizil Ağaš at the mouth of the Kür (Kuns) River. See also V. Moretti, ”Sur le Dialecte turc de l’Azerbāijān Irannien,” Journal asiatique, 1896, pp. 1–77.

Among other odd spellings, the orthography of Ardabīl as Ardabūl was common at this time. In a manuscript of Tāwakkīl b. Jumāh’s (fūl Bazarā) Şafawī al-Ṣaftī in the British Museum (Mi. Or. Add. 11748), a magnificent piece of calligraphy by Shīb Mūhammād Kāshī with gold and blue headings, written in the days of 𐎱𐎼𐎽𐎻, this same spelling, “Ardabīl” can be seen on f. 388a (p. 77b) and elsewhere.

19 For Sarāb, see Farkang . . . . . , IV, pp. 263–4.
20 I. P. Petrovskikhvili, Oktobi , pp. 137–34 gives a list of the 17th century akhā’s of Azerbāijān, in which neither Tarākīne Tappeh nor Sarāb figure. These are: Urumiya, Marāgheh, Sawalān Kūk, Khoy and Salmās, Marand, Mača and Chors, Qaraqdāgh or Qaraqalpaq, Ardabīl, Myzne, Tīlīsh, Nakhlvīn, Aranbīl, Qāpūn, and Zargāshāh. Another list of provinces and districts can be seen in TM, pp. 101–102.

The recent book of Sarhang Bāyburd (Bāyburdī), Ta’rīkh-i Arāshīn, Tehran 1342/1962 includes much information about Arazbār and the Bāyburdī clan (see also TM, p. 10), who lived in the Ahar district N.E. of Tabrīz, and a number of farsāsān and soyūrgkals from the author’s family archives; the Bāyburdī were an important clan in early Şafawī times.

Sovereignty belongs to God!

A royal command has been issued: whereas, the bahreche١ of the locality of Kazaj in Khalkhal, according to an exalted nishān which had the honour of issue during the Year of the Leopard (bārs-yīl), has been fixed

as the eternal soyūrghāl and everlasting favour of the Refuge of Nobility and Loom (dastgāh) of Benevolence, Mir Sharif, khdāim-bāšī٢ of the Radiant and Holy Sanctuary, and since no alteration has taken place in that matter,

kadābakhs, peasants, and crop-sharing cultivators of the locality aforesaid [shall] give the established bahreche year by year to the person aforesaid. They are to withhold nothing;

they should not deviate in any way from what has been stipulated.

No person should seek to oppose this decree. (It is) the responsibility of the mutawallī of the Radiant and Holy Sanctuary, and the ārāghe and the hākim٣ of Khalkhal.

6 to render all possible help in this matter. The mustaṣṣaf of the department (sarkār)٤ bearing vestiges of abundance (fayyāf-ādār) [should refrain from] opposing the decree concerning the bahreche of the locality aforesaid. Mutawallīs of the

١ bahreche—(or bahrie), a harvest tax, or share in the crops taken at harvest time for the benefit of a soyūrghāl-holder or the ādān. LPP, p. 424, PUH, II, p. 439, Pahlevi distinguishes between two types of bahreche, bahreche-dvādān, "bahreche of the dvān" and bahreche-dvādān, "landowner's bahreche" calling them both "zemān-dvān renta".

٢ khdāim-bāšī—"chief servant or attendant," see Document III, commentary.

٣ hākim—governor of a town or province; sometimes means "judge". LPP, p. 429.

٤ sarkār-fayyāf-ādār—a special department in the tax bureau presided over by an ādān. See TM, p. 78, where an example is given for Išfāhān. The official administered estates and fields, and secured the prosperous state of gardens, milks, rentable property, and underground channels. Presumably the mustaṣṣaf sarkār-fayyāf-ādār dealt with financial side of these matters.

In this context, the word šāhī, probably means 'Aṭī. This rhyme is more dignified than the rhymes on the coins of 'Abbās I, who called himself khdāim-'Aṭī (Rabino, Coins . . . . p. 30), or Shāh Sulṭān Iyunšī Shāhī, the "dog of the threshold of 'Aṭī" (Rabino, p. 40).

Rabino, Coins . . . . p. 32, gives a reading of this seal which he later discards for a better one in his article "La sigillographie iranienne moderne . . . . Journal Asiatique, 1951, p. 197. For the gap in his reading, after šāhī, the word al-bayyaj may fit. The seal is illustrated in Rabino's volume of plates, Oxford 1951, from ISL. OR. 4906, No. IV, and Bome's plate XXVII (Urkunden 9), but a comparison of seal impressions from other documents must be attempted before a final reading can be made.
region of 6.55 to 7.25 lbs.); 4½ mannis of meat, 27 mannis of raughan (clarified mutton fat) had to be prepared to serving "day and night."
The kitchen (maṭḍah, hawshkhāneh) of the tekke used up in a single year 50,000 mannis of rice, 10,300 mannis of raughan, 20,000 mannis of meat, 200 mannis of honey, 5290 mannis of dīshāb (grape syrup ?), 1464 mannis of peas, 300 mannis of salt, 700 mannis of mīm (comb honey ! candles ?), 1464 mannis of onions, a large quantity of wheat for porridge (dīsh-i herīz), 36,000 mannis of flour, 1000 mannis of pāy (tendons for stowing ?), 50 mannis of sugar, and large quantities of firewood. Whether the term shālān-i khayrāt includes feeding the theological students of the źāvī, travellers, as well as the indigent of the town of Ardabil is not clear; nevertheless, this institution was throughout the entire Šafawīd period one of the most important intellectual, as well as charitable, centres in Iran. Its library, plundered by General Paskievitch during the war of 1828, forms part of the Persian collection of the library at Leningrad; its carpet is one of the showpieces of the Victoria and Albert Museum. There are plans and a description of what remains of it in F. Sarre, Denkmaler Persischer Baukunst, Berlin, 1910, Textband, pp. 32–32.

The year of the Leopard (bār-e yīl) just prior to 992/1584 was 986/1577–78.²

Document VI—[plates LVIII and LXI]

المليك الله

وضع مهر أشرف

فوان همین شد آله رعايا مقرر به کرخ خلخال به بسیار بزرگ ولاد مرحوم

مولاها کمال الدين حسن خادم مقرم است

در هرجا وزد هر کمس بلاده از روی مادرور مینام به وقاق خود

آید زراغت ورث ورث

قیام مزاحم آفرید معاون ورث رعایای مذكر کفایت نشده کفایذ که

بوطن ملّوف خود آیتم بلوازم

بی‌گاه مزاحم قیام وقاق مزاحم حاکم وکلایت ودارویه

جعفر خیبری فی شهر شیخان المعلم ستّه الف

Back:

وضع مهر نواب اعتیاد الدوله العلیه

وضع مهر نواب فرخزاد خان

وضع مهر مسئول المباک

وضع مهر نواب نظارت بانی ماهر هو وزمان

المواضیع الوصیل لاصیق الابق الاعل

المباک المعلم المعلم میان میثاق

مشهور شد

هنا المياة الماکی

الابق الاعل حره

صد المین بعد المین

محمد الحسین

984

Sovereignty belongs to God!

Place of the royal seal (muhr-i aṣhasfr).

A royal command has been issued: the dispersed peasants at Kazaj in Khalkhāl, which has been fixed as the sīyār gāl of the descendants of the late Mawlānā Kamal al-Dīn Ḥusayn Khādīm,

wherever and with whomever they may be, are to return to their places and homes with every good expectation, and occupy themselves with agriculture, piety (darwīshī) and husbandry (ra'yīf).

No person is to impede or create difficulties for the aforesaid peasants; they should be allowed to return to their accustomed dwelling place (wusāf i ma 'lāf).

They should busy themselves and persevere with the needful things of interrupted prayer for the Everlasting State (dawlat-i abād maqrān).

The governor (bākim), balānār, dārīqhe, ūmils, baiilities (muḥāširān), and ma'dīkṣ of the alhā of Khalkhāl should recognize the foregoing (bās al-maṣāf) as established. They should in no way whatsoever create difficulties in the condition of the peasants;

in contravention of this decree (būm) and reclaiming (ḥiṣāb) they should not seek or expect anything from them. They should not, for the sake of extraordinary taxes (iḥkārāt) or irregular exactions (waqāt-i ma'sūd al-abāṣ), write drafts (bawāl), or requisitions (iḍāf) of any sort whatsoever. They should keep their feet and pens [away from this property].

And since a representation has been made that Shāh ʿQuli Aghā Sūrī has wrongfully and improperly taken a sum of money from the peasants of the aforesaid locality,

we have decreed that the representative (wusāf i) of the Asylum of Administration, the implement of royal majesty and pomp—glorious ornament of sovereignty—

Amrūr ʿSiyāwush Khān, the governor of Khalkhāl, shall recover what

1 muḥāšir—bailiff, tax collector, synonymous with ṭāqālidār. Sometimes a crop-estimator for taxes in kind. See PUKM, I, p. 233, and LPP, p. 434.
2 ma'dīkṣ—father of a town or village, sometimes concerned with raising of taxes. See PUKM, I, p. 233.
3 waqāt-i ma'sūd al-abāṣ—irregular tolls or dues? For waqāt-i ṣalāṣ, see PUKM, I, p. 223, LPP, p. 423.
4 iḍāf—"requisitions," see LPP, p. 430. Papazian, PUKM, I, suggests that this word properly iḍāf, may have meant some sort of special tax for travelling officials.
After the death of Shāh Ṭahmāsp I, in 984/1576, Persia was torn apart by Qājār tribalism, resulting in a long series of succession struggles and battles for influence among Turkoman factions, coinciding with the disastrous reigns of Imām III and Muḥammad Khudābādeh. Sultan Murād III, seeking to take advantage of these continual disputes, undertook a series of raids on Persian territory, beginning with the gauza of Muṣṭafā Pasha against Armenia and parts of the Caucasus in 986/1578, the campaign of Farhād Pasha in eastern Anatolia and Azerbaijan in 990/1582, and the invasion of Azerbaijan by Özbek-zāde 'Uṯmān Pasha, ending in the fall of Tabriz to the Turks in 993/1585. This long time of troubles and almost uninterrupted military operations could only be harmful to the economic life of Azerbaijan Province and the western Šafāvid domains. These conditions lasted after the Šafāvids made a truce with the Turks in 999/1590; Persia only recovered its province in 1001/1602 under ʿAbbās I. During this decade of Ottoman occupation at Tabriz, Jaʿfar Pasha, the Turkish governor of the city, extended Turkish control as far east as Sarāb: it may have been at this time that disturbances of a more than usually drastic sort were taking place in the soynqūhl, now close to the frontier.  

Amīr ʿSiyāvush Khān, the khaḵūm of Khaltūkhāl, was a member of a local dynasty of Tālīsh and Khaltūkhāl, probably from the Gaskar district. He is first mentioned by Iṣkandar Munshī as khaḵūm of Gaskar. In 1001/1602, ʿSiyāvush Khān was given the ulūk of Khaltūkhāl in recognition of his services. In the following year he went on a hunting trip with Shāh ʿAbbās. But when ʿAbbās had made clear his intention to annex the territories of the local khānegāhs of the Dār al-Maʿṣūr, Ṭabārīstān, Gīlān-i-Bīyā Pas and Bīyā Pash, ʿSiyāvush allied himself with the followers of another local “rebel” (as Iṣkandar puts it), Ḥamza Khān Tālīsh. Captured in 1001, Amīr ʿSiyāvush Khān was executed by ʿAbbās some time afterward.  

Shāh Qūṭī Āḥtū Sūrūkh (Ṣūrūkh?) belonged to a tribe of Kurds listed by Iṣkandar Munshī, who mentions a certain Shujāʿ al-Dīn Sūrūkh as one of the amīrs of Shīrūn, in an enumeration of the great amīrs among the Kurds and Lūrs of the time of ʿAbbās I. Shāh Qūṭī Āḥtū might have been a dānūrkār or ḥalāṭār. 

Farhād Khān was a member of the Dhuʾl-Qāda tribe and a general of Shāh ʿAbbās. He had participated in the Gīlān campaign mentioned above, and was assassinated by his rivals in 1008/1600.
Sovereignty belongs to God!

A royal command has been issued: whereas, according to [former] forms in which obedience is rendered and submission made, the sum of eight tīmāns, eight thousand, three hundred and ninety dīnas, on account of the revenues (māl u-jihāl wa-va‘iṣuḥāḥ) of the aforementioned (?) places, including the Dār al-Irshād of Ardębīl (sic) and Khalkhal, has been fixed and made perpetual as the soyūrghāl of the descendants of the Asylum of Benefic, the late Mawlawīn Kamāl al-Dīn Ḥusayn Ardębīl (sic),

who was one of a number of former servitors of this court (āstān), invested with the sign of sanctity. And since, from the beginning of the Year of the Mouse (ṣīhāq-yīl), [corresponding to the year] 909, we had decreed,

the suspension (ma‘wīf) of the soyūrghāl of Azarbajyan, and whereas, at this time, the descendants of the aforementioned person have enjoyed the honour and distinction of rendering homage (baṣu’īṣāt), and have solicited the confirmation of their decree, and since the royal sympathy and compassion has reached a high point in regard to the descendants of the aforesaid person, particularly for the group (jāma‘a) [listed] on the back [of this document], we have exercised compassion and restored the soyūrghāl of the descendants previously mentioned, according to previous precedent (dastār-i sāḥīq). Kaddhukūs and peasants of the places in question should recognize them as master[s] of their soyūrghāl, as by previous regulation.

They are answerable to the du‘ān each year for their taxes, of every sort, and for du‘ān dues. They should withhold nothing. Litigation which may arise is to be referred to them, so that it can be settled (taqfīl namāyād) in conformity with right and calculation (baqq wa-ḥisāb). The respected bākīs, dārūghās, amīls, maliks, and khalātars of the Dār al-Irshād of Ardębīl and Khalkhal and . . . (paper flaked off)

[are not to interfere in this soyūrghāl!]. They are not to undertake searches among the peasants and crop-sharing cultivators of their soyūrghāl. Dārūghās are not to molest [them] for the sake of judicial inquiries; [in such matters] they should depend upon the master of the soyūrghāl. In

the matter of extraordinary taxes (ṣibrājāt) and irregular exactions

Back:

طالعت على الله...

توكلت على الله...

غلام ياهب علي بن شاه...

مقرب غلام ياهب...

نوريه شه...

النظام...

وقد أولد...

النظام...
they shall keep their pens and feet away from this soyūrgāl. The great mustaufs of the Exalted Divān shall enter a copy of this gift in the eternal registers, to protect and preserve it from the blisters of change and alteration.

12 And since the locality of Kazaj, according to a royal decree to which the entire world is obedient, is free and exempt from the redundancy of collective assessment (bashu-i bunûk), 12 according to former precedent, it should be considered free and exempt for the remainder of time. A new decree should not be sought every year. Written in the month of Muḥarram al-Ḥarām in the year 1016/28 April—27 May 1607.

Document VII—commentary

Since the original grant of this soyūrgāl [see Document II] in the year 915, or at least that part of it situated at Kazaj in Khalkhāl, the total amount of it nearly doubled, from 43,000 Tabrizi dinārs to 85,390 in about one hundred years' time. Had other documents concerned with this soyūrgāl been available, they might have explained the increase in the size of this grant. At a guess, the natural growth in numbers of the descendants of Mawlnā Kamāl al-Dīn Ardabīlī, who continually pressed the state for larger sums to support themselves, may have had something to do with the matter. Alternatively, it is possible that continual inflation was going on during this century. Little evidence on this point is available, but it is clear from this document that the clan of Mawlnā Kamāl al-Dīn continued to keep the good will of the government, to the point that they were able to press successfully for a renewal of their rights to their former domains and the revenue deriving from them, after a suspension of seven years.

One can only speculate as to why Shāh ʿAbbās suspended the soyūrgāls of Azerbaijan in 1599/1599–1600. This move may have been associated with some problem to increase revenue—perhaps for the expenses of ʿAbbās's new-style, non-Qızilbāsh army. It is equally possible that Shāh and government were becoming alarmed at the proliferation of soyūrgāls and other types of tax exemptions in Azerbaijan and the resulting diversion of revenue into private hands and away from the treasury. By suspending the grants, ʿAbbās may have believed that he could get more funds for the exigencies of the day. If this is the correct interpretation of the Shāh's decision, the plan did not work—at least in

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1 [alāfe]—see LPP, p. 423, PUAM, i, p. 234, Petruneshvili, Ocherki . . . , pp. 273–4. The question of alāfe and alāfe is also discussed by A. A. Alizadeh, Socio-economic history of the Tusheti region under Azerbaijan, XIII-XIV, vu, Ibulca 1936, pp. 233–6.

2 alāfe—LPP, p. 442, and reference in the previous note.

3 qaunlukha—LPP, p. 437. According to Papazian, PUAM, i, p. 231, the word means "haven" or "refuge" in Chagatai Turkish, but according to Pavet de Courteille, Dictionnaire turc oriental, Paris 1870, p. 436, qaunlukha has the meaning of "travail du seigneur, indemnité". Endolf, Verzeichnis eines Winterbauchs, 11, 538, has it as "Nachtricht", and considers the word "old Özbö" rather than Chagatai.

4 ulam—LPP, p. 442, Petruneshvili, op. cit., pp. 273–6, likewise PUAM, i, p. 238, a Mongol or Chagatai-Özbek word meaning "cart" or "bullock cart", usually associated with ulaq, "quadruped," horse, beast of burden (see Pavet de Courteille, op. cit., p. 74) later coming to mean a guide and transport service for officials who wanted to be taken from place to place.

5 alāfe—see previous note, also Alizadeh, op. cit., pp. 237–8, and the heading of yam ("postal station") in the same source.

6 biga—forced labor service or corvee. Alizadeh has written a special article on this word and cherkh (auxiliary troops): "Prominents 'bigar' i 'cherkh'," in DAN Azerb. SSR,vol. X, No. 7, 1954, which is not available to me.

7 shikr—LPP, p. 439. May mean "hunting dues". PUAM, i, p. 241 derives it from shikār. See also Petruneshvili, op. cit., pp. 289–90.


9 khānā-kār—possibly the same as khānā-šenmār, "house tax." See LPP, p. 431, Alizadeh, op. cit., p. 248.

10 tar—LPP, p. 88 and p. 103, note 3. Possibly some scheme by which the peasants were forced to buy the government share of the harvest in advance, amounting to a tax. Alizadeh has written an article on the matter, not accessible to me: "K istoili food?nii otomoslenii v Azerbaidzhan v XIII-XIV vv: termen 'tarh';" Isvestiya AZFAN SSR, No. 3, 1942, also his Socio-economic and political history, pp. 244–6.

11 dat-anda—"gratuities, irregular minor fees." See PUAM, i, pp. 228–9.

12 salām—LPP, p. 438, defines this as "dues paid for royal audiences and on receipt of news of ruler's well-being.", Sometimes salāmān. See also PUAM, i, p. 537.
this case—and the Shāh had eventually to give in to the pressures brought to bear by the hereditary grant-holders. Professor Minorsky has referred to the "... the evils of the sovairghāls, which kings distributed with much arbitrariness [being] fully realized by the responsible authorities, but the interests at work were too mighty for anything to be done. We know of a catastrophic end of the tentative efforts made under Sultan Ya'qūb Aq-Quyūnlu to suspend the sovairghāls at Isfahān and Shīrāz."

And it is a notable fact that in later Safavid times the religious classes obtained very large landholdings, in comparison with earlier periods. Professor Lambton notes that "originally they probably held this land as mutawallīs of ouqaf, or by way of hereditary grants or sovairghāls. In due course, much of this land became private property. In certain parts of the country, notably Azerbaycan and Isfahān, the religious classes have continued to form an important element in the landowning class." 15

The back of this sovairghāl is laid out in two vertical columns. In many places, the paper has flaked off, making an accurate reading difficult (see Plate LXII). The right column shows, at the top, the name Khalīfa Yūsuf (?) Khādīm, the left column the names Mawlawānā ʿĪbrāhīm Aghā..., and Muhī al-Dīn (?) Khādīm-bāshā. In the left column, above these names, the word asalād can be read, suggesting that Mawlawānā Kamāl al-Dīn’s descendants were divided into two groups at the beginning of the 17th century, and that the lands and villages of ʿĪbrāhīm and his group are listed on the left, and Khalīfa Yūsuf (?) on the right. The numerous horizontal lines no doubt represent an extension of the letter ʿayn in the word qaṣaṣ (village), which is drawn out over a number of place names, including Sultānābād at the right, Kazāj on the left. The sub-totals of the revenues to be gathered are in both cases the same and are written just under the names of the two groups, in siyāq. This suggests that the total sum of the sovairghāl was divided evenly between both groups, amounting in each case to 44,180 dinārs. Other sums and figures, like alif are readable elsewhere in this document, but as Ṣafawī siyāq of the 17th century is a specialized study, any further attempts by the present writer to read them would be mere speculation. At any rate, the connection of the family of Mawlawānā Kamāl al-Dīn was maintained with these lands for a hundred years after the beginning of the Ṣafawī period, and very probably longer.

It is unfortunate that more documents relating to these lands have not survived—or have been dispersed so that they are no longer available for analysis.

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14 TM, p. 27.