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## THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE ARDABIL SHRINE ENDOWMENTS (WAQFS) IN THE FIRST QUARTER OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY

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The city of Ardabil acquired a position of major importance within the Safavid state founded by Shāh Ismā‘īl and experienced significant growth in the early 16<sup>th</sup> century. Its location along international trade routes, its status as the Safavid homeland, and its role as the burial place of Shaykh Şafī and other ancestors of the dynasty were among the principal factors shaping the city’s development. Although the endowments (*waqfs*) of the Shaykh Şafī Shrine in Ardabil experienced substantial expansion in the 14<sup>th</sup> century, the pace of new endowments slowed considerably during the 15<sup>th</sup> century; this trend was reversed in the first quarter of the 16<sup>th</sup> century, when the shrine entered a renewed phase of growth. Drawing on the official waqf registers entitled *Şarīh al-Mulk* preserved in the National Library of Iran (Nos 2734 and 7866-5), as well as archival documents housed in the National Museum of Iran (Nos 25705, 25706, 25707, and 25708), this article examines the development of the Shaykh Şafī Shrine waqfs during the reign of Shāh Ismā‘īl (1501–1524). In this context, 21 waqf records and archival documents have

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been examined, and a total of 88 properties transferred to the shrine endowments have been identified. The evidence indicates that during this period the shrine's waqfs expanded through both purchases and donations. In addition to the Ardabil region, the waqfs increased in other areas of Iranian Azerbaijan – including Tabriz, Urmia, Marāgha, Garvrūd (Miyāna), Hashtrūd, Dehkharaqān, Meshgīn, Khalkhāl, Tasūj, and Sarāb – as well as in Gīlān and in the vicinity of Tehran. The waqf properties consisted of villages, hamlets, agricultural fields, orchards, vineyards, mills, shops, workshops, and caravanserais.

**Keywords:** Safavids, Shāh Ismā‘īl, Shaykh Ṣafī, Religious endowments, Urban and economic development

### Introduction

*Waqfs* constituted one of the principal institutions of Islamic societies, supporting religious, educational, and charitable activities through permanently endowed property. Among them, the endowments established for shrines and Sufi lodges played an important role in sustaining religious authority and shaping local economic life [Peters 2002, 59–63; Lambton 2002, 81–87; Günay, Yediyıldız 2012, 475–486; Werner 2015, 35–68].

The Ardabil *waqfs* represent one of the most significant examples of this phenomenon in the Safavid world. The *waqf* institution of the Ardabil dervish lodge began to take shape already during the spiritual leadership of the order's founder, Shaykh Ṣafī al-Dīn Ardabīlī (1301–1334). Under the leadership of his son, Shaykh Ṣadr al-Dīn (1334–1392), the number of these endowments increased considerably. However, this growth did not continue at the same pace in the 15<sup>th</sup> century. Thus, during the spiritual leadership of Shaykh Ṣafī al-Dīn, 14 properties were acquired for the lodge's *waqfs*, rising to 95 under Shaykh Ṣadr al-Dīn but dropping to 13 during the tenure of his son, Khwāja ‘Alī (1392–1429). Under Khwāja ‘Alī's son, Shaykh Ibrāhīm (1429–1447), only 5 properties were purchased, and this number further declined to a single acquisition during the leadership of Shaykh Junayd (1447–1460). While 6 properties were obtained for *waqf* purposes under Shaykh Junayd's son, Shaykh Ḥaydar (1460–1488), no properties were purchased for the Safavid lodge during the spiritual leadership of his son, Sulṭān ‘Alī (1488–1494) [Gurbān-nazhād, Aḥmadvand 1402, 51]. One of the main reasons for this decline was that Shaykh Ibrāhīm, the grandson of Shaykh Ṣadr al-Dīn, unlike his ancestors,

did not donate his own property to the Shrine of Shaykh Ṣafī as *waqf* before his death, but instead left it to his children as private property [Musalı 2023]. In addition, the internal conflict that emerged between Shaykh Junayd – Shaykh Ibrāhīm’s son – and his uncle Shaykh Ja’far [Hinz 1936, 23–24; Roemer 1986, 201], and the subsequent split within the Ṣafaviyya order, as well as the political ambitions and military ventures pursued by Safavid leaders such as Shaykh Junayd, Shaykh Ḥaydar, and Sultān ‘Alī [Mazzaoui 1972, 71–82; Savory 1980, 16–21], significantly hindered the expansion of the shrine’s *waqf* holdings. The situation changed in 1501, when Shaykh Ḥaydar’s son, Shāh Ismā‘īl Safavī, ascended to political power, marking the beginning of a new phase of growth for the shrine’s endowments. This development continued during the reigns of later Safavid rulers, especially Shāh Tahmāsp I (1524–1576) and Shāh ‘Abbās I (1587–1629), who undertook notable initiatives in this regard.

The formation and growth of the Safavid *waqfs* in the 14<sup>th</sup> century were studied by the German Iranologist M. Gronke [1993], while their condition in the 17<sup>th</sup> century was examined in an article by the Ukrainian-born Soviet Orientalist I. P. Petruševskij [1947]. Iranian scholars P. Gorbān-nazhād and Z. Aḥmadvand [1402] have examined the development of the Safavid endowments from the Īlkhānid period up to the rise of the Safavids to political power in 1501. Turkish historians such as E. Arıklı [2004] and A. S. Bilgili [2009] have analyzed the records concerning the *waqfs* of the Shaykh Ṣafī Shrine in the detailed Ottoman cadastral register of the Ardabil district dated 1140/1728. However, there is still no independent and detailed study on the expansion of these *waqfs* during the reign of Shāh Ismā‘īl (1501–1524), the founder of the Safavid state. Therefore, the present study focuses on the situation of the shrine’s *waqfs* in the first quarter of the 16<sup>th</sup> century.

The most important sources reflecting the development of the shrine’s endowments are archival documents<sup>1</sup> and the corpus referred to as the *Ṣarīḥ al-Mulk* (or *Ṣarīḥ al-Milk*). The last work was first compiled on the order of Shāh Tahmāsp, son of Shāh Ismā‘īl,

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<sup>1</sup> For a consolidated catalog of the documents that once belonged to the archive of the Shaykh Ṣafī Shrine and were later dispersed across various collections, libraries, and museums in Iran, see: Shaykh al-Ḥukamā’ī 1387.

by the state official, historian, and poet Zayn al-‘Ābidīn ‘Abdī Beg Shīrāzī<sup>2</sup>, who collected, organized, and arranged the documents relating to the Shaykh Ṣafī Shrine. The compilation, prepared in 975/1567–68, contains the texts or summaries of numerous documents, and additional material was incorporated into it up to the year 987/1579. Four manuscript copies of Shīrāzī’s *Ṣarīḥ al-Mulk* are known today. Among them, the copy held in the National Library of Iran (No. 2734) contains richer introductory (*muqaddima*) and concluding (*mu’akhhkharā*) sections than the two manuscripts preserved in the National Museum of Iran (Nos 3718 and 3719). Besides these three manuscripts, another copy of the work, registered under No. 56, is held in the Iranian National Archives (*Sāzmān-i Asnād-i Millī-yi Iran*). In addition to Shīrāzī’s compilation, two further collections bearing the same title and covering the same topic were produced. One of them, written as a continuation of Shīrāzī’s work, was prepared in 1038/1628–29 by Muḥammad Ṭāhir Iṣfahānī, the comptroller of finance (*mustawfī*) of the shrine at the end of the reign of Shāh ‘Abbās I; additions continued to be made to this text until 1073/1662–63 [Shaykh al-Ḥukamā’ī 1387, XXI]. Two manuscript copies of this work are preserved in the National Library of Iran (Nos 3703 and 4324).

Another *Ṣarīḥ al-Mulk* was compiled during the Qajar period, around 1890, by Mīrzā Ḥasan Khān Sarrishtadār, the *mustawfī* of the Ardabil Province, under the authority of Ḥasan ‘Alī Khān Amīr-i Nizām Garūsī, governor general of Azerbaijan, and Mīrzā Asadullāh Khān Vakīl al-Mulk, governor of Ardabil. This final compilation, registered under No. 239 in the Iranian National Archives (formerly Gulistān Palace No. 2986), contains a synthesized and abridged version of the works produced by Shīrāzī and Iṣfahānī<sup>3</sup>. Apart from this, there are two additional manuscripts of Sarrishtadār’s compilation: one in the National Library of Iran (No. 7866-5) and another in the Library of the Islamic Consultative Assembly (No. 17228/208393).

<sup>2</sup> In addition to *Ṣarīḥ al-Mulk*, Shīrāzī also authored a chronicle entitled *Takmilat al-Akhhbār*. He was likewise a poet and wrote under the literary pseudonym “Navīdī”. For details on his life and activities, see: [Rəhimov 1970].

<sup>3</sup> For the manuscripts of the works entitled *Ṣarīḥ al-Mulk* mentioned above, see: [Āl-i Dāvūd 1390].

Shīrāzī's *Ṣarīḥ al-Mulk* was published in Tehran in 2011 by M. M. Hidāyatī [Shīrāzī 1390]. This edition is not a critical text, and the manuscript on which it is based is not clearly identified. Moreover, the editor has incorporated marginal additions into the main text in an inconsistent manner. Alongside such editorial problems, the printed edition contains errors, particularly in the transcription of place names, and several important sections found in the manuscript copies are omitted. For this reason, in the present study we have used both the Tehran edition and, more extensively, the manuscript No. 2734 held in the National Library of Iran. We have also consulted, when necessary, the copy of Sarrishtadār's *Ṣarīḥ al-Mulk* preserved under No. 7866-5 in the same library.

Regrettably, most of the original documents relating to the *waqfs* of the Shaykh Ṣafī Shrine during the reign of Shāh Ismā'īl have not survived, and we learn about them only through the various *Ṣarīḥ al-Mulk* compilations. However, several original documents preserved in the National Museum of Iran were obtained in digital form and examined within the scope of this study<sup>4</sup>. Comparison of the originals with their counterparts in the *Ṣarīḥ al-Mulk* shows that there are some differences between them; in cases where such discrepancies were identified, these have been noted, and the information from the archival document has been preferred over the statements found in the *Ṣarīḥ al-Mulk*.

This paper will first discuss the administration of the Shaykh Ṣafī Shrine during the reign of Shāh Ismā'īl. Then, drawing on archival documents and the *Ṣarīḥ al-Mulk* compilations, it will analyze the development of the shrine's *waqfs* during this period.

### **1. The Administration (*Tawliyya*) of the Shaykh Ṣafī Shrine in the First Quarter of the Sixteenth Century**

During the 14<sup>th</sup> and 15<sup>th</sup> centuries, Ardabil occupied an exceptionally important place in the socio-economic, religious-spiritual, and cultural life of Azerbaijan. Its location on major trade routes and its role as the home of the Safavid dervish lodge and the Shaykh Ṣafī

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<sup>4</sup> The author gratefully acknowledges his colleagues, Prof. Ahmet Taşğın and Dr. Manīzha Godratī Vāyḡān, for kindly providing digital copies of the *Ṣarīḥ al-Mulk* manuscripts, cataloged under numbers 2734 and 7866-5 at the National Library of Iran, and of the documents registered under archive numbers 25705, 25706, 25707, and 25708 at the National Museum of Iran.

Shrine made the city a bustling destination and a major center of attraction. With the rise of Shāh Ismā‘īl to power, Ardabil entered a new period of flourishing, and its development accelerated further under the Safavid dynasty. The city’s status as the ancestral homeland of the Safavids played a decisive role in this process. Because it housed the tombs of the dynasty’s forefathers and the principal lodge of the Ṣafaviyya sufi order, Ardabil was described at the time as a *dār al-irshād* and *dār al-irfān* (a center of spiritual guidance and gnosis) [Gulmughānīzāda-‘Aṣl, Yūsifī 1384, 104]. For this reason, Ardabil was regarded as the spiritual capital of the Safavid realm, while the Shaykh Ṣafī Shrine was viewed as the ideological center of the newly established empire [Mūsavī 1379, 37; Rizvi 2011, 58].

Chronists of the reign of Shāh Ismā‘īl drew particular attention to Ardabil’s special status among the cities of the Safavid state [Heravī 1383, 48; Khwāndamīr 1380, 653]. Ardabil was regarded as a sacred city, alongside Karbala, Mashhad, and Qum, all of which were revered as holy sites by the Shī‘ī community, in that period [Rizvi 2011, 57; Najafī-nāzhād 1397, 88]. During this period, Ardabil experienced a steady influx of visitors from Azerbaijan, Iran, Anatolia, and some other regions of the Islamic world, who came to visit the Shaykh Ṣafī Shrine. Alongside the Shaykh Ṣafī Shrine, the city’s vibrant commercial life was a key factor contributing to Ardabil’s development under the Safavids [Efendijev 1981, 235]. Ardabil was not only a major craft and trade center of Azerbaijan, but one of the most important cities of commerce and artisan production in the entire Safavid realm, benefiting greatly from its position on caravan routes running east-west and north-south [Gejdarov 1982, 114].

The rise of the Safavids to power was accompanied by a significant expansion in the scope of endowed properties and revenues of the Shaykh Ṣafī Shrine in Ardabil, which benefited from the particular patronage of Shāh Ismā‘īl. One of the issues that requires clarification when examining the condition of the Shaykh Ṣafī complex during the reign of Shāh Ismā‘īl is the matter of the shrine’s administration (*tawliyya*). As is well known, prior to the establishment of the Safavid state, the head of the Ṣafaviyya dervish order personally oversaw the management of the shrine and its endowed properties. However, after the Safavids’ rise to power, although the shāh himself

held the legal right of stewardship (*tawliyyat-i shar'ī*), he did not personally administer the affairs of the shrine. Instead, he appointed certain individuals as the trustees (*mutawallīs*) of the *waqfs* and dispatched them to Ardabil to undertake these duties on his behalf [Aḥmadī, Luṭfī 1388, 30].

The chronicle written in 961/1554 by Ḥayātī Tabrīzī<sup>5</sup>, which deals with the shaykhs of Ardabil and the life and activities of Shāh Ismā'īl, contains valuable information concerning the administration of the Shaykh Ṣafī Shrine during the first half of the 16<sup>th</sup> century. According to this source, after ascending the throne in 907/1501, Shāh Ismā'īl entrusted the stewardship of the *waqfs* of the shrine to Shaykh Najm Gīlānī, who in turn appointed Mīrzā Aḥmad Daylamī as his deputy to carry out this responsibility [Tabrīzī No. 15776, 53b]. The actual name of the aforementioned Shaykh Najm Gīlānī was Najm al-Dīn Mas'ūd. By origin and profession he was a goldsmith from the city of Rasht in Gīlān. Known by the epithet Najm-i Zargar (“Najm the Goldsmith”), he owned a jewelry shop near the Masjid-i Safid (White Mosque) in Rasht at the end of the 15<sup>th</sup> century. When the seven-year-old Ismā'īl came to Rasht in 1494 to escape the pressures of the Aq Qoyunlu ruler Rustam Mīrzā, Amīr Najm frequently visited the young prince and presented him with gifts. Through these gestures, he won the respect and favor of the future shāh. Even when Ismā'īl left Rasht to reside in Lahījān, Amīr Najm remained in his retinue, and after the establishment of the Safavid state he became one of the shāh's close associates. Shāh Ismā'īl appointed Amīr Najm to the office of vakīl (the vicegerent, deputy, or representative of the shāh)<sup>6</sup>, the second-highest position in the Safavid administrative hierarchy after the shāh, in 914/1508. Amīr Najm died in 915/1509 in the village of Khamna near Tabriz [Rūmlū 1389, 908, 910, 911, 996, 1010, 1037, 1041].

It appears that Mīrzā Aḥmad Daylamī, as the deputy of Najm Gīlānī, assumed responsibility for the stewardship (*tawliyya*) during the early years of the Safavid state. He was later succeeded by Khalaf Beg, whom Shāh Ismā'īl appointed as *mutawallī* of the *waqfs* of the Shaykh Ṣafī Shrine [Tabrīzī No. 15776, 53b]. K. Ghereghlou considers it plausible that this individual was Khulafā Beg – more precisely, Khalīfat al-Khulafā Khādim Beg Tālish [Ghereghlou 2017, 812].

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<sup>5</sup> For Ḥayātī Tabrīzī and his work, see: [Ghereghlou 2017].

<sup>6</sup> See: [Savory 1960, 94].

Serving as *khalīfat al-khulafā*<sup>7</sup> within the Ṣafaviyya order, he was appointed governor of Baghdad in 1508 and was killed at the Battle of Chāldirān in 1514 [Reid 1983, 155].

According to Ḥayātī Tabrīzī, Khalaf Beg held the stewardship of the Ardabil Shrine for two years, after which Khwāja Ḥasan Beg Ṣafavī was appointed to this position [Tabrīzī No. 15776, 53b]. Ghereghlou believes that the person referred to here as Khwāja Ḥasan Beg Ṣafavī was in fact Ḥasan Mīrzā Ṣafavī, the son of Shaykh Ḥaydar and elder brother of Shāh Ismā‘īl. The mother of Ḥasan, son of Shaykh Ḥaydar, was the daughter of Sayyid Qāsim, himself the son of Shaykh Ja‘far Ṣafavī. Ḥasan Mīrzā was a young adult at the time of the establishment of the Safavid state. Both during his residence in Gīlān between 1494 and 1499, and later during the campaigns waged between 1499 and 1501 against the Shirvānshāhs and the Aq Qoyunlu for control of Azerbaijan, he served in the upper command ranks of Qizilbāsh military contingents [Ghereghlou 2017, 813, 814, 826, 827].

Contrary to Ghereghlou’s assumption, however, the available evidence suggests that the Khwāja Ḥasan Beg Ṣafavī mentioned by Ḥayātī Tabrīzī as *mutawallī* was most likely the son of Khwājajān Mīrzā b. Shaykh Ibrāhīm Shaykhshāh. For, according to the *Silsilat al-Nasab al-Ṣafaviyya*, which contains detailed genealogical information concerning the Safavid shaykhs, Khwāja Ḥasan Beg Ṣafavī, son of Khwājajān Mīrzā, had six sons: Khān Aḥmad Beg, Khān Jamāl Mīrzā, Abū Sa‘īd Mīrzā, Khwāja Ḥusayn Mīrzā, Shaykhshāh Beg Mutawallī, and Khwāja Ḥusayn Beg [Zāhidī 1343, 66]. The sources also mention that Khān Aḥmad Beg, son of Khwāja Ḥasan Beg, served for a time as *mutawallī* during the reign of Shāh Ṭahmāsp

<sup>7</sup> “Khalīfat al-khulafā” denotes the chief deputy of the spiritual master of the order. As in other Sufi orders, individuals within the Ṣafaviyya lineage who had received authorization for guidance (*irshād* license) from the master – allowing them to conduct missionary and instructional activities on behalf of the order in designated regions – were granted the title “khalīfa”. During the period of Safavid rule, there existed an office known as *khalīfat al-khulafā*, established to coordinate the activities of these khalīfas and to exercise general supervision over them. Since the shāh himself was also the master (*murshid*) of the Ṣafaviyya order, the individual holding the office of *khalīfat al-khulafā* was regarded as the shāh’s deputy in matters pertaining to the affairs of the order [Savory 1965, 497–502; Floor 2003, 51–86].

[Tabrīzī No. 15776, 54a; Zāhidī 1343, 66]. According to the *Ṣarīḥ al-Mulk*, the house of Shaykhshāh Beg, another son of Khwāja Ḥasan Bey, was located in the vicinity of the Shaykh Ṣafī Shrine [Shīrāzī 1390, 98, 101]. It is likewise known that Khān Jamāl Mīrzā, one of his sons, sold his shop in the Saddlers' Market (*Bāzār-i Sarrājān*) of Ardabil to the *waqfs* of the Shaykh Ṣafī Shrine on 1 Dhū'l-Ḥijja 952 / 3 February 1546 [Shīrāzī 1390, 127]. Taken together, the convergence of genealogical data from the *Silsilat al-Nasab al-Ṣafaviyya* with the information preserved in Ḥayātī Tabrīzī's chronicle and in *Ṣarīḥ al-Mulk* makes it highly probable that the individual who served as *mutawallī* of the shrine's *waqfs* during the reign of Shāh Ismā'īl was indeed the son of Khwājajān Mīrzā.

Nevertheless, it is known that Sayyid Ḥasan Mīrzā, the son of Shaykh Ḥaydar, also resided in Ardabil during the reign of Shāh Ismā'īl. In *Ṣarīḥ al-Mulk*, references to Ḥasan, son of Shaykh Ḥaydar, generally describe him using the titles Sayyid and Mīrzā, whereas the son of Khwājajān Mīrzā – Ḥasan – is characterized by the titles Khwāja and Beg. Endowment records show that the house of Sayyid Ḥasan Mīrzā, son of “His Excellency Sulṭān Ḥaydar”, was located in the city of Ardabil near the Vizier's Bath (*Ḥammām-i Vazīri*), which belonged to the *waqfs* of the Shaykh Ṣafī Shrine [Shīrāzī 1390, 136]. In addition, Sayyid Ḥasan Mīrzā, the son of Shaykh Ḥaydar, is known to have been active in the Ardabil region. Indeed, in mid-Rajab 910 (22 December 1504), he donated his share in the village of Maranī near Ardabil to Pīrī Beg b. Shāh Valī Beg of the Qaramanlu tribe as a legal gift (*hiba-yi shar'īyya*) [Shīrāzī 1390, 210–211].

According to Ḥayātī Tabrīzī's chronicle, Khwāja Ḥasan Beg Ṣafavī was the *mutawallī* who undertook the greatest number of construction projects at the Shaykh Ṣafī complex during the reign of Shāh Ismā'īl. The chronicle states that he had a lofty iwan (*eyvān-i raft' al-arkān*) built in the complex, and subsequently erected a hospital (*dār al-shafā*) to its right and a hadith college (*dār al-ḥadīth*) to its left [Tabrīzī No. 15776, 52b]<sup>8</sup>. It is also known that Khwāja Ḥasan Beg Ṣafavī had a canal named Ḥasanābād excavated in Mughan on behalf of the *waqfs* of the shrine [Shīrāzī No. 2734, 328]. Khwāja Ḥasan Beg Ṣafavī appears to have served as *mutawallī* of the *waqfs* of the Shaykh Ṣafī Shrine for an extended period during the reign of

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<sup>8</sup> The building has survived to the present day.

Shāh Ismā‘īl; after being dismissed from this office following his long tenure, he was reappointed at the beginning of Shāh Ṭahmāsp’s reign and served for an additional year [Tabrīzī No. 15776, 54a].

According to Ḥayātī Tabrīzī, after Khwāja Ḥasan Beg Ṣafavī’s first term as *mutawallī* came to an end and he was dismissed from the office by Shāh Ismā‘īl, Khwāja Zayn al-‘Ābidīn Ṣafavī was appointed in his place, holding the position for one year [Tabrīzī No. 15776, 53b]. As is evident from *Ṣarīḥ al-Mulk*, Khwāja Zayn al-‘Ābidīn Beg Ṣafavī was the son of Khwāja Shaykh Bāyazīd (d. 1502 or 1503)<sup>9</sup>, the son of Ibrāhīm Shaykhshāh (d. 1447), the spiritual master (*murshid*) of the Ardabil dervish lodge [Shīrāzī 1390, 210–211].

Based on Ḥayātī Tabrīzī’s account, Zayn al-‘Ābidīn was succeeded by Mīrzā Muḥammad Ṭālīsh, during whose tenure Shāh Ismā‘īl passed away [Tabrīzī No. 15776, 53b–54a]. Mīrzā Muḥammad Ṭālīsh was the local ruler of the Astara region in Azerbaijan on the eve of Shāh Ismā‘īl’s rise to power. After expressing his loyalty to the young Safavid leader, he joined the entourage of the shāh and even distinguished himself in the 916/1510 campaign against the Uzbeks, where he was wounded [Rūmlū 1389, 936–938, 1048].

Although Ḥayātī Tabrīzī’s information is highly valuable, his list is evidently incomplete. As demonstrated in the documents examined below, a certain Khwāja Rafī‘ al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Kadkhudā Sirāj al-Dīn served as *mutawallī* of the Shaykh Ṣafī Shrine’s *waqfs* between August 1506 and January 1511 – yet his name does not appear in Ḥayātī Tabrīzī’s list. Based on the available evidence, Mīrzā Aḥmad Daylamī, the deputy of Shaykh Najm Gīlānī, appears to have held the position roughly between 1501 and 1504, after which – consistent with Ḥayātī’s account – Khalaf Beg served as *mutawallī* for two years. Although Ḥayātī Tabrīzī omitted him, Khwāja Rafī‘ al-Dīn Muḥammad is regularly mentioned in documents from 1506 onward as the *mutawallī* of the shrine’s *waqfs* [The National Museum of Iran – hereafter NMI, docs Nos 25705, 25706, 25708; Shīrāzī No. 2734, 33–35, 56–57, 299–300]. His name disappears from documentation after 1511; however, since his agent, Khwāja Ṣāḥir al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Khwāja Āghājān Atābegī, is known to have continued mana-

<sup>9</sup> Shaykh/Sultān Bāyazīd Ṣafavī died in 908/1502–03 and was interred in the harem section (*Harām-khāna*) of the Shaykh Ṣafī Shrine [Gulmughānīzāda-‘Aṣl and Yūsifī 1384, 186–187, 474].

ging commercial operations on behalf of the shrine as late as 1512 [Shīrāzī No. 2734, 156], it is highly probable that Rafī‘ al-Dīn himself remained in office around that time.

It appears that Rafī‘ al-Dīn’s tenure ended in December 1513, following the failed revolt launched in Ardabil by Shāh Ismā‘īl’s brother, Sulaymān Mīrzā. During the uprising, Sulaymān Mīrzā used the Shaykh Ṣafī complex as his base of operations; he seized the treasury of the shrine’s *waqfs* and even broke the gold and silver objects belonging to the *waqf* in order to mint coins in his own name, distributing them among the rebels [Musalı 2022, 697]. Rafī‘ al-Dīn was most probably dismissed by Shāh Ismā‘īl for failing to show resolve and for remaining passive during this crisis. An alternative possibility is that he resisted the rebels and was killed in the course of the uprising. In any case, given the circumstances, it is evident that he could not have continued in office following such a turmoil.

While the evidence remains inconclusive, it appears that, after the suppression of Sulaymān Mīrzā’s rebellion, the administration of the Shaykh Ṣafī Shrine was entrusted to Khwāja Ḥasan Beg Ṣafavī, who may have served for at least eight years. Ḥayātī Tabrīzī’s statement that Khwāja Zayn al-‘Ābidīn Ṣafavī held the office for one year likely corresponds to the years 1522–1523. Mīrzā Muḥammad Tālish was probably appointed *mutawallī* around 930/1523–1524, the year of Shāh Ismā‘īl’s death, and was subsequently dismissed upon Shāh Ṭahmāsp’s accession to the throne, as Ḥayātī notes (see Table 1).

The Shaykh Ṣafī Shrine also had the position of vizier, serving as the deputy to the *mutawallī*. For example, Khwāja Nizām al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Khwāja ‘Imād al-Dīn ‘Alī Shīrāzī – the maternal grandfather of Zayn al-‘Ābidīn ‘Abdī Beg Shīrāzī, the author of important works such as *Ṣarīḥ al-Mulk* and *Takmilat al-Akhbār* – served for a period as the vizier of the Shaykh Ṣafī Shrine during the reign of Shāh Ismā‘īl. Following the Battle of Chāldīrān (1514), he was captured by Sultān Selim’s forces while in Tabriz and taken to Ottoman territory [Shīrāzī 1369, 55].

## **2. Documents Concerning Endowed Properties of the Shaykh Ṣafī Shrine in the First Quarter of the Sixteenth Century**

A *waqf*, in its most common definition, refers to the permanent dedication of a property – by removing it from private ownership – for the benefit of public welfare and charitable purposes [Bir Medeniyetin İzdüşümü... 2014, 11]. In Azerbaijan and Iran, the institution of

*waqf* became particularly widespread following the rise of the Safavids to power. The Safavid shāhs, who proclaimed Shīʿism as the official religious sect (*madhhab*) of the state, sought to promote it throughout their domains and made extensive use of the *waqf* system to this end [Efendijev 1981, 209; Aḥmadī 1390, 25, 141].

During the Safavid period, the largest *waqf* complex in Azerbaijan was that of the Shaykh Ṣafī Shrine. After a period of stagnation in the expansion of the shrine's endowments in the 15<sup>th</sup> century, a marked change occurred with the accession of the Safavids. In the first quarter of the 16<sup>th</sup> century, a new phase of growth began for the *waqfs* of the Shaykh Ṣafī Shrine. During this period, the properties attached to the shrine increased steadily through both purchases and endowments. A number of documents from the reign of Shah Ismāʿīl – deeds of endowment (*waqf-nāma*), deeds of purchase (*mubāyaʿa-nāma*), and royal decrees (*firmān/farmān*) – have survived either in their original form or through copies preserved in *Ṣarīḥ al-Mulk*.

Accordingly, the discussion first turns to the deeds of *waqf*, arranged chronologically. In the surviving deeds of *waqf*, after the customary invocatory formulas and the expression *ammā baʿd* (“as for what follows”), the identity of the endower (*wāqif*) is introduced, followed by a description of the property being endowed and the conditions under which it is dedicated to the Shaykh Ṣafī Shrine. The deeds then record the acceptance of the endowment and its stipulations by the shrine's *mutawallī*. They include an acknowledgment stating that the endower relinquishes any claim to the endowed property, and emphasize that if the endower – or any other person – should later attempt to assert rights over it, such a claim would be invalid. In some cases, a *laʿnat-nāma* (imprecatory clause) is appended against those who violate the endowment. The documents conclude with the date, a list of witnesses, the names of the *qāḍīs* (religious judges) and the scribe (*kātib*), and the affixed seals.

### 2.1. The Āsh-i Ḥalāl Waqf

After ascending to power, Shāh Ismāʿīl established a charitable foundation (*waqf*) in Ardabil that provided free meals to the visitors of the Shaykh Ṣafī Shrine, to travelers, and to the poor. The *Ṣarīḥ al-Mulk* indicates that Shāh Ismāʿīl – described as “the sovereign who possesses the rank of Jamshīd and the glory of Sulaymān (Solomon), who has taken his abode in Paradise, and who is the locus of the verses

of faith”, and named as “Sulṭān Shāh Ismā‘īl Bahādur Khān al-Ḥaydarī al-Ṣafavī al-Mūsavī al-Ḥusaynī” – founded the *Āsh-i Ḥalāl Waqf* (a *waqf* providing free halal food). The revenues of this foundation were derived from the village of Shamāsbī and several dependent hamlets (*mazāri*’).

According to the narrative presented in the *Ṣarīḥ al-Mulk*, the village of Shamāsbī – which once belonged to Shaykh Ṣadr al-Dīn Mūsā (d. 1392) – later passed to his heirs and thus came into the possession of Shaykh Junayd. After Junayd’s death in 1460, a document dated 24 Rajab 875 / 16 January 1471 records that, during the distribution of his properties among his heirs, the village – together with its mill (*tāḥūna*), orchards (*bāghāt*), and fields or hamlets (*mazāri*’) – was allotted to his son Shaykh Ḥaydar. According to a deed dated 18 Shawwāl 903 / 9 June 1498, after the death of Shaykh Ḥaydar in 1488, the village of Shamāsbī, along with the hamlets of Kalūdīgāh, Sarakjān, and Ṣawmā‘a in the district of Savalan, was inherited by his son Sulṭān ‘Alī. After Sulṭān ‘Alī’s death in 1494, the estate passed to his siblings – two brothers and a sister, all born to Shaykh Ḥaydar and ‘Ālamshāh Begum – and eventually devolved upon Shāh Ismā‘īl. Upon his accession to the throne, Shāh Ismā‘īl endowed these properties as *Āsh-i Ḥalāl* [Shīrāzī No. 2734, 366–368]<sup>10</sup>.

Judging by A. Morton’s assessments: “The property of the *Āsh-i Ḥalāl* was regarded as separate from that of the shrine, though its name implies that it was intended to provide honestly-acquired means to pay for food for public distribution, presumably from the shrine kitchens” [Morton 1974, 34].

The village of Shamāsbī mentioned in the endowment deed is located southwest of the city of Ardabil, at a distance of 7 km from the city center [Farhang-i jughrāfiyā’ī-yi Īrān... 1330, 290]. The sources refer to this village also as Shamāsfī and Shamāsī, and it belonged to Shaykh Ṣadr al-Dīn as early as Rabī I 762 (9 January – 7 February 1361) [Shaykh al-Ḥukamā’ī 1387, 148 (doc. No. 597)]. Having

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<sup>10</sup> Although K. Rizvi [2011, 70] notes that the endowment document [in the *Ṣarīḥ al-Mulk* “records the procurement in 1497 of the village of Samāsbī by Sulṭān ‘Alī, the brother of Ismā‘īl and the *mutawallī* of the shrine at the time”, we found no such indication in the relevant document. Moreover, since Sulṭān ‘Alī was killed in 1494, he could not possibly have been alive in 1497.

passed from Shaykh Şadr al-Dīn to his son Khwāja ‘Alī (d. 1429), the village later came into the possession of Khwāja ‘Alī’s son Shaykh Ibrāhīm Shaykhshāh (d. 1447). A document dated 851/1447 shows that the entirety of Shamāsbī and its surrounding hamlets belonged to Shaykh Ibrāhīm; the same document also indicates that Shaykh Ibrāhīm owned an orchard in Shamāsbī [Musalı 2023, 1094]. Sulţān ‘Alī, son of Shaykh Ḥaydar, was killed near Shamāsbī in his struggle against the Aq Qoyunlu army in 1494 [Hinz 1936, 95–96].

The hamlets of Sarakjān and Şawmā‘a are mentioned in the inventory of properties inherited by Shaykh Şadr al-Dīn from Shaykh Şafī, compiled in Rajab 754 / August 1353 [Shaykh al-Ḥukamā’ī 1387, 119–120 (doc. No. 472)]. The hamlet of Sarakjān was located between the villages of Shamāsbī and Alghir [Gronke 1993, 305]. As for Kalūdīgāh and Şawmā‘a, it is likely that they were located in the vicinity of the village of Shamāsbī. The present-day village of Şawmā‘a, located northwest of Ardabil and only 6 km from the city [Farhang-i jughrāfiyā’ī-yi Īrān... 1330, 320], appears to be distinct from the hamlet bearing the same name mentioned in the endowment deed.

Furthermore, based on the account of Adam Olearius – the German traveler, scholar, and diplomat who witnessed the Safavid period – Shāh Ismā‘īl endowed a fair village named Sulţānābād, located half a league from the city of Ardabil, for the employment of officials known as *nessurtzchan* (*nuzūrchīyān*)<sup>11</sup>, who were responsible for receiving and recording the votive offerings and donations brought to the Shaykh Şafī Shrine [Olearius 1669, 180–181]. Sulţānabad is located 10 kilometers east of Ardabil [Farhang-i jughrāfiyā’ī-yi Īrān... 1330, 274].

Shāh Ismā‘īl is known to have commissioned several construction and restoration projects in Ardabil, particularly within the Shaykh Şafī complex. *Şarīh al-Mulk* mentions a high building (*eyvān-i mu‘al-lā*), known as the *Dār al-Ḥadīth* (Hadīth College), oriented toward the west on the qibla side of the complex, constructed in the name of “the exalted Sulţān Shāh Ismā‘īl Bahādūr Khān” during his reign [Shīrāzī No. 2734, 17–18; Shīrāzī 1390, 97–98; see also Morton 1975,

<sup>11</sup> The term “*nuzūrchīyān*” is formed by adding the Turkish occupational suffix *-chi* and the subsequent Persian plural suffix *-ān / -yān* to the Arabic word “*nuzūr*”, which means “offerings” or “alms”.

39]. Ḥayātī Tabrīzī indicates that the project was overseen by Khwāja Ḥasan Beg Şafavī, the trustee (*mutawallī*) of the Shaykh Şafī Shrine during Shāh Ismā‘īl’s reign [Tabrīzī No. 15776, 52b]. The building was also known as *Dār al-Mutawallī*, *Ṭāq-i Mutawallī*, and *Dār al-Salām* [Gulmughānīzāda-‘Aşl and Yūsifī 1384, 209–210].

Another structure commissioned by Shāh Ismā‘īl in Ardabil was the caravanserai noted by the English traveler, merchant, and diplomat Anthony Jenkinson during his visit in 1562. This caravanserai was built “onely for the succour and lodging of strangers and other traouellers, wherein all men haue bictuals and feeding for man and horse, for three dayes and no longer”. Jenkinson’s observations suggest that the caravanserai was constructed as a charitable institution and likely formed part of the endowments of the Shaykh Şafī Shrine [The Principal Navigations... 1599, 347].

## **2.2. Deed of *Waqf* Concerning the Village of ‘Amūqīn**

Although the original deed of endowment (*waqf-nāma*), dating to the final days of Ramaḍān 909 / 17 March 1504, has not survived, its full text is preserved in the *Şarīḥ al-Mulk*. The endowed property consisted of “the village of ‘Amūqīn – written as Amūqīn (by starting with the letter “alif” instead of the letter “ayn”) in most of the earlier *qabālas* (deeds) – together with the Mushajjar Garden, the hamlets of Sīmā, Dulafābād, Rāzhīyān (Rājīyān), Şavmā‘a and Yanazār and etc., along with their dependencies, appurtenances, and attachments”.

The first boundary of the village of ‘Amūqīn and its surrounding lands “was bounded on the eastern side and at certain points on the southern side by the well-known Khūhī and Herī canals, situated between the lands of the aforesaid village (‘Amūqīn), the lands of the village of Burūr, and the hamlet of Yaghmābād, and by the boundary of Gāv-dara, where the stream of ‘Amūqīn flowed”. The second boundary “was bounded on certain southern and western sides by the Rīna-jū and the Arkūhtan Hill, another hill in Dūrasar adjacent to the lands of the village of Donluq, and the Arīsa-yi Mīranī Hill situated beside the road leading from Sā‘id to Savalan, near the Rāzīyān Canal”. The third boundary “was bounded by an elongated mound at Kārakam and by the road leading to the village of Garjān”, while the fourth boundary “was bounded on the northern side and at certain points on the eastern side by the lands of the hamlet of Gavmişī (or Gümüşī) and the village of Hamlābād”.

According to the deed, this property had originally been leased in 869/1464 for a period of 90 years by Pīra Mīr Aḥmad b. Šūfī Bāyazīd b. Pīra Hurmuz to Khwāja Shaykh Maḥmūd al-Šadrī al-Šafavī – himself a descendant of the Safavid family – for a price of 18 Tabriz silver tūmāns<sup>12</sup>. After the lease had remained in force for forty years, it was annulled in the final days of Ramaḍān 909 / mid-March 1504, and the entire property “was endowed by the late Ḥusayn Beg Lala – known as Lala Beg – to the sacred, luminous, blessed, fragrant, and pure Safavid shrine (*āstāna*), radiating divine lights”. Prior to the annulment, an agreement had been reached between the owner, Pīra Mīr Aḥmad, and the lessee (*mustājir*) Khwāja Shaykh Maḥmūd, according to which the lessee relinquished his remaining 50-year lease rights in exchange for 30 Tabriz tūmāns (300,000 Tabriz dīnārs)<sup>13</sup> thereby transferring the property back to its owner. Khwāja Shaykh Maḥmūd’s brother, Khwāja Pīr Muḥammad Shahābī al-Šafavī, likewise declared that he held no claim or right concerning the said property. The sum required for nullifying the lease was paid in gold by Ḥusayn Beg Lala, who authorized Pīra Mīr Aḥmad to act on his behalf. Subsequently, Pīra Mīr Aḥmad endowed the village of ‘Amūqīn, together with the aforementioned gardens and hamlets, “to the sacred, luminous, blessed, and pure Safavid sufi lodge (*khānqāh*) and burial ground (*ḥazira*), as well as for the maintenance and proper order of that institution”.

According to the stipulations set forth by the donor (*wāqif*), “the revenues of this endowed property (*mawqūfāt*) shall be spent first on the necessary repairs of the Safavid sufi lodge (*zāwiya*) buildings and on the sustenance of those in need, and subsequently on visiting pilgrims and the Muslim poor and destitute who continually worship, recite (the Qur’ān), and engage in spiritual struggle (*mujāhada*) within the sanctuaries (*ma‘ābid*) of that lodge”. The deed of *waqf* was established through the proper legal formula (*ṣiḡha*), accepted by the

<sup>12</sup> Two silver Tabriz dīnārs used during the Qara Qoyunlu and Aq Qoyunlu periods were equivalent to one silver *shāhī*, which began to be minted during the reign of Shāh Ismā‘īl I. Therefore, two old tumans (equal to 20,000 dīnārs) were equivalent to one new tuman (equal to 10,000 shāhīs). See: NMI, doc. No. 25705.

<sup>13</sup> It is likely that the reference here is to the copper **dīnār**. One silver *shāhī* equaled 50 copper dīnārs in Tabriz currency [Radzhabli 2014, 37–38].

legally recognized *mutawallī*, validated by his lawful receipt (*qabḍ*), accompanied by the *wāqif*'s renunciation of all personal and third-party claims to the endowed properties, and reinforced with a clause of imprecation (*la 'nat-nāma*). It was also explicitly stated: "This endowed property is inalienable: it may not be sold, gifted, pledged, or otherwise disposed of" [Shīrāzī No. 2734, 126–128; Shīrāzī 1390, 186–187].

The village of 'Amūqīn mentioned in the document is located 10 km west of the city of Ardabil [Farhang-i juḡhrāfiyā'ī-yi Īrān... 1330, 338], and all the other endowed lands listed in the deed of *waqf* are situated in its immediate vicinity. The person who endowed this property was Ḥusayn Beg Shāmlū, the renowned Qizilbāsh commander who served as tutor (*lala*) to Shāh Ismā'īl. He held the office of *vakīl* – the second highest administrative position after the *shāh* – between 1501 and 1508, served as *amīr al-umarā* (commander of commanders) between 1501 and 1509, governed Herat between 1510 and 1513, and died in the Battle of Chāldirān in 1514 [Javanshir 2007, 359–364].

As for Pīra Mīr Aḥmad b. Ṣūfī Bāyazīd b. Pīra Hurmuz, he was a native of the Ardabil region and a member of the Ṣafaviyya order. His title Pīra indicates an important rank within the order's hierarchy. The fact that his father held the title Ṣūfī and his grandfather the title Pīra shows that his family had been devoted followers of the Ardabil dervish lodge for generations<sup>14</sup>. The title Mīr likewise suggests his descent from the Prophet's family (*sayyid* lineage). Given that he had leased the lands forty years prior to the deed of *waqf*, Pīra Mīr Aḥmad must have been an elderly man during the early years of the Safavid state. It is thus clear that his grandfather, father, and he himself had served the Safavid shaykhs throughout the 15<sup>th</sup> century.

Regarding Khwāja Shaykh Maḥmūd al-Ṣadrī al-Ṣafavī and his brother Khwāja Pīr Muḥammad Shahābī al-Ṣafavī, both were descendants of Shaykh Shahāb al-Dīn Maḥmūd b. Shaykh Ṣadr al-Dīn Mūsā b. Shaykh Ṣafī.

### **2.3. *Waqf* Deed of Mīra Khān Mukrī**

The deed of *waqf* drawn up in Dhū al-Ḥijja 910 / May 1505 by Qāḍī Ḥusayn b. 'Abd al-Ḥaqq, Qāḍī Uways b. Muḥammad Latīfī,

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<sup>14</sup> Pīra was one of the titles used for individuals holding positions within the administrative structure of the Safavid order [Savory 1980, 16, 39].

Qāḍī San‘ān b. Muḥammad Latīfī, Qāḍī ‘Alā’ al-Dawla b. Nūrullāh al-Marāghī, and Yādigār b. Abī Sa‘īd Ardabīlī records that Mīra Khān b. Amīr ‘Imād Khān b. Jalāl Khān Mukrī – one of the Kurdish amīrs – endowed to the “blessed, luminous and purified Safavid shrine (*ās-tān*)” the estates which had devolved to him by inheritance in the region of Marāgha and other localities, after he had “attained the honor of kissing the foot” of Shāh Ismā‘īl in the Dār al-Irshād Ardabil.

Among the endowed properties were: the entirety of a mill located near the Silāh-khāna Gate of Marāgha; half of the village of Rūsh; two-thirds of the village of Dūsh; two-thirds of the village of Khurmazard, also known as Khurma-ābād; the entire village of Nāvluq; 62.5 % (*seh dāng u seh tasūj*) of the village of Gahaq; 58.3 % (*seh dāng u nīm*) of the village of Sūkesh; 58.3 % of the village of Cholāqī; 42.7 % (*do dāng u nīm*) of the village of Āhū in Hashtrūd; 58.3 % of the village of Alqū in Sowuqbūlāgh; the entirety of the village of Amīr Jamālābād; one-quarter of the village of Khwājamīr; half of the village of Zawāra; the entirety of the hamlet of Gulbulāgh-i Sarāchūq; half of the hamlet of Keyvān-i Hashtrūd; one-third of the village of Varavīq; half of the village of Balakābād-i Sarāchūq; two-thirds of the village of Saraj; half of the village of Akkent; half of the hamlet of Gulbulāgh-i Hashtrūd; half of the village of Kahf-i Jeyrān; one-sixth of the village of Jeyrān; and 58.3 % of the village of Qatir-götüren. The witnesses to the deed of *waqf* were Ziyā’ al-Dīn Khān Şafavī, Yārand Khān Şafavī, Ibrāhīm Khān Şafavī, Maqsūd ‘Alī Beg Şafavī, ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib Şafavī, and Jalāl b. Maḥmūd al-Sharīf al-Kākulī [Shīrāzī No. 2734, 373–374; Sarrishtadār No. 7866-5, 177–179].

Mīra Khān b. Amīr ‘Imād Khān b. Jalāl Khān, who endowed his properties to the Shaykh Şafī Shrine, was from the Kurdish Mukrī tribe. The Mukrī originally hailed from the region of Shahrizūr in Iraq. Sayf al-Dīn, the chief of this tribe, took advantage of the political instability during the final years of Aq Qoyunlu rule, seized the village of Daryās – today the administrative center of the Mukrīyān-i Gharbī Rural District in the Central District of Mahābād (West Azerbaijan, Iran) – from the Chābuqlū clan, settled there, and subsequently pursued an expansionist policy. When Shāh Ismā‘īl came to power, Şārim, the son of Sayf al-Dīn and chieftain of the tribe, refused to submit to Safavid authority, rose in revolt, and ultimately sought refuge with the Ottomans [Bidlīsī 1377, 288–289]. Mīra Khān Mukrī

appears to have been a kinsman of Şārim and one of the leading amīrs of the tribe. Yet, unlike Şārim, he submitted to the Safavids and, in order to demonstrate his loyalty, endowed his lands in Marāgha, Garmrūd (Miyāna), and Hashtrūd to the Shaykh Şafī Shrine.

The locations of most of the endowed villages and hamlets can be identified. The villages of Rūsh (Rūshat), Dūsh, Khurmazard, Alqū, and Zawāra (Zavāraq), mentioned in the document, are situated in the Binājū Rural District of the Bonāb District in Marāgha County, East Azerbaijan (Iran) [Farhang-i jughrāfiyā'ī-yi Īrān... 1330, 41, 189, 222, 242, 252]. The village of Nāvluq lies in the Uchtapa (Üçtepe) Rural District of the Turkmānchāy District in Miyāna County [Farhang-i jughrāfiyā'ī-yi Īrān... 1330, 524]. The villages of Gahaq, Jamālābād, Jeyrān, and Qatır-götüren are located in the Sarājū Rural District of the Central District of Marāgha County [Farhang-i jughrāfiyā'ī-yi Īrān... 1330, 148, 152, 348, 471]. Cholāqī, today called Cholāqlū, belongs to the Kalabūz Rural District of the Central District of Miyāna County [Farhang-i jughrāfiyā'ī-yi Īrān... 1330, 159]. Gulbulāgh (Gul-lū-bulāgh) is situated in the Çhahār-oymāq Rural District of the Qarā-āghāch District of Marāgha County [Farhang-i jughrāfiyā'ī-yi Īrān... 1330, 459]. As for Akkent, two villages of this name are found in the Central District of Marāgha, and one each in the Sarājū and Qarā-āghāch districts; furthermore, a village named Akkent-Bārūq also exists in the Central District of Marāgha [Farhang-i jughrāfiyā'ī-yi Īrān... 1330, 35]. Although the precise locations of Āhū, Keyvān, and Gulbulāgh-i Hashtrūd remain uncertain, the deed of *waqf* makes clear that they belonged to Hashtrūd – a town situated between Miyāna and Marāgha in today's East Azerbaijan, Iran. The village of Balakābād was formerly located in the Sarāchūq (now Sarājū) region of Marāgha. Given the emphasis on Marāgha in the document, it can be assumed that the locations we have not been able to identify – Sūkesh, Khwājamīr, Varavīq, Saraj, and Kahf-i Jeyrān – were also situated in the Marāgha region.

The archival documents of the Shaykh Şafī Shrine indicate that Qādī Ḥusayn b. 'Abd al-Ḥaqq – the judge who certified the deed of *waqf* – was from Ardabil and served as a *qādī* in the city until 947–948/1540–1541 [Shaykh al-Ḥukamā'ī 1387, 76, 152–153 (docs Nos 314, 615, 616)]. He must therefore have been a young man during the earliest years of Shāh Ismā'īl's reign.

The names of two members of the well-known Laṭīfī family, a prominent family of *qādīs* from Ardabil, are mentioned in the deed of *waqf*. Various members of the Laṭīfī line served as judges in Ardabil from the late 14<sup>th</sup> to the mid-16<sup>th</sup> century. The ancestor of the family, Qāḍī ‘Abd al-Laṭīf b. Muḥammad b. ‘Abd al-Laṭīf, is attested as *qādī* of Ardabil between 790/1388 and 795/1393 [Shaykh al-Ḥukamā’ī 1387, 112–113, 150–151 (docs Nos. 435, 607)]. Qāḍī Uways b. Muḥammad Laṭīfī – named in the deed of *waqf* – held the office of *qādī* of Ardabil for almost fifty years during the Aq Qoyunlu period and the early Safavid era. He was also a skilled physician and taught in Ardabil. A poet as well, Qāḍī Uways left behind a poetry collection (*dīvān-i ash‘ār*) [Mūsavī 1347, 108]. Ten documents bearing his signature are preserved among the records of the Shaykh Ṣafī Shrine, spanning the years from Jumādā I 877 to Shawwāl 916 (1472–1511) [Shaykh al-Ḥukamā’ī 1387, 12, 70–73, 109, 110, 126 (docs Nos 44, 293, 296, 300, 301, 302, 304, 419/6, 424, 610)]. Another of the certifying judges, Qāḍī San‘ān b. Muḥammad Laṭīfī, was his brother. Several of Qāḍī Uways’s sons – Kātib Kusayr b. Uways [Shaykh al-Ḥukamā’ī 1387, 12, 110 (docs Nos 44, 424)] and Qāḍī Ṣun‘ullāh b. Uways [Shaykh al-Ḥukamā’ī 1387, 74, 75, 77, 153 (docs Nos 307, 308, 311, 319, 616)] – and his grandsons – Qāḍī Uways b. Ṣun‘ullāh [Shaykh al-Ḥukamā’ī 1387, 152–153 (doc. No. 615)], Qāḍī Ḥujjatullāh b. Ṣun‘ullāh [Shaykh al-Ḥukamā’ī 1387, 152–153 (doc. No. 617)], Qāḍī Muḥibbullāh b. Ṣun‘ullāh [Shaykh al-Ḥukamā’ī 1387, 78, 111, 154 (docs Nos 323, 429, 619, 620)], and Qāḍī Kusayr b. Muḥibbullāh [Shaykh al-Ḥukamā’ī 1387, 78–79 (doc. No. 325)] – continued the profession. Yet the most famous son of Qāḍī Uways b. Muḥammad was Ṣahīr al-Dīn Kabīr. Shaykh Ṣahīr al-Dīn Kabīr, described by the Gīlānī historian ‘Alī b. Shams al-Dīn Lāhījī – a contemporary of Shāh Ismā‘īl – as “one of the nobles of Ardabil, a manifest exemplar of accomplishment, and a man of extensive learning and knowledge”, was regarded as “one of the distinguished men of the shāh’s court” [Lāhījī 1352, 159, 262]. A renowned calligrapher, historian, jurist, astronomer, secretary, and poet, Ṣahīr al-Dīn Kabīr authored eight works. After the Battle of Chāldīrān he was taken to Ottoman lands by Sulṭān Selim, served the Ottomans for about ten years, and was executed in Egypt on 20 Rabī‘ II 930 / 26 February 1524 on the charge of involvement in the rebellion of Aḥmad Pasha [Mūsavī 1378, 189; Dedejev 2017, 93–94].

Although the *waqf-nāma* of Mīra Khān Mukrī was drawn up in Ardabil, it concerned the region of Marāgha; for this reason, Qāḍī ‘Alā al-Dawla b. Nūrullāh al-Marāghī, one of the *qāḍīs* of Marāgha, also participated in its certification. Apart from the information contained in this document, nothing is known of his life. It is, however, known that one of his sons, whose name has not been preserved, served as *qāḍī* in Marāgha in 949/1542–43 [Shaykh al-Ḥukamā’ī 1387, 89 (doc. No. 380)].

As for Yādigār b. Abī Sa’īd Ardabīlī, he was a *ḥāfiẓ* of the Qur’ān (Qur’ān memorizer) and served as a secretary in the judicial administration of Ardabil. He certainly held this post at least until Rajab 935 (11 March – 9 April 1529) [Shaykh al-Ḥukamā’ī 1387, 74 (doc. No. 306)].

Most of the witnesses to the deed of *waqf* were members of the Safavid dynasty. It is highly probable that Ibrāhīm Khān Ṣafavī, listed among the witnesses, was Ibrāhīm Mīrzā, the elder brother of Shāh Ismā’īl<sup>15</sup>. The last witness, Jalāl b. Maḥmūd al-Sharīf al-Kākulī, belonged to the well-known Kākulī family of scholars and judges of Ardabil. He was the brother of Aḥmad b. Maḥmūd Kākulī, one of the eminent judges of the city. More detailed information about this family will be provided below.

#### **2.4. Deed of *Waqf* Concerning the Village of Mīr ‘Alī**

The Arabic deed of *waqf* drawn up by Qāḍī ‘Uways b. Muḥammad Laṭīfī is preserved in the Archives of the Iranian Endowments and Charity Affairs Organization (*Sāzmān-i Awqāf u Umūr-i Khayriyya*), File No. 122 [Shaykh al-Ḥukamā’ī 1387, 151 (doc. No. 610)]. As the original document was inaccessible, the version preserved in the *Ṣarīḥ al-Mulk* was used. According to the deed of *waqf* dated 7 Rabī I 912 / 28 July 1506, three individuals – Bahlūl b. Qiwām al-Dīn Shaykh Muḥammad, Qoch Aḥmad b. Aḥmad b. Ḥājī Muḥammad, and Shāh Valī b. ‘Alī b. Niẓām – endowed one-third of the village of Mīr ‘Alī, which was situated in the Meshgīn *tūmān* (district) and adjacent to the village of Arjaq, and surrounded by the lands of Sakhāk-i Kadkhudāyān, Sang-i Siyāh (“Black Stone”), Sang-i Zard (“Yellow Stone”), and the Sa‘dābād hamlet, to the Ardabil shrine.

<sup>15</sup> For the biography of Ibrāhīm Mīrzā Ṣafavī, see: [Musālī 2018, 205–231].

The deed of *waqf* was reinforced with an anathematical clause (*la 'nat-nāma*) [Shīrāzī No. 2734, 199–200; Shīrāzī 1390, 241; Sarrishtadār No. 7866-5, 82].

The endowed village of Mīr 'Alī corresponds to the modern village of Mīr 'Alīlū, situated in the Qarasu Rural District, the Eastern Meshgīn (Meshgīn-i Sharqī) District of Meshgīnshahr County, Ardabil Province. The village lies approximately 23 km northeast of the city of Meshgīnshahr (Khiyāv). Arjaq is located immediately to the east of Mīr 'Alīlū [Farhang-i jughrāfiyā'ī-yi Īrān... 1330, II, 519].

### 2.5. Deed of *Waqf* Concerning the Village of Khāva

According to the records in *Ṣarīḥ al-Mulk*, on 14 Shawwāl 912 / 27 February 1507, Ra'īs Valī b. Dawlatshāh b. Ghaybshāh Khāva'ī Shahriyārī endowed one-sixth of the village of Khāva, which belonged to the district of Shahriyār, together with one-sixth of the attached hamlets of Qaratapa and Javākī, to the “blessed, sacred and illuminated Safavid shrine”. The deed of *waqf* was drawn up in the Ardabil Shar'ī Council by Qādī 'Uways b. Muḥammad Laṭīfī, Qādī Aḥmad Kākulī, and Mawlānā Ḥusayn Ardabīlī [Shīrāzī No. 2734, 312–313].

The village of Khāva subject to this endowment is located in today's Shahriyār District of Tehran Province [Farhang-i jughrāfiyā'ī-yi Īrān... 1328a, 78]. The nisba “Khāva'ī” of Ra'īs Valī b. Dawlatshāh b. Ghaybshāh shows that he originated from the village of Khāva. His second nisba, “Shahriyārī”, indicates a connection to the modern city of Shahriyār, also in Tehran Province. Based on the donors (*wāqif*) nisbas and his title of Ra'īs, it is evident that he was among the notable figures of the Khāva-Shahriyār region.

### 2.6. Deeds of *Waqf* Concerning the Vineyard of Mādēlī

In *Ṣarīḥ al-Mulk*, two deeds are recorded concerning a woman named Nārīn Khātūn bt. Ḥusayn Beg b. Amīr Aḥmad Dirīghī, who endowed her vineyard located in the district of Yāft in Azerbaijan to the Shaykh Ṣafī Shrine.

According to the first deed, dated 22 Shawwāl 914 / 13 February 1509, Nārīn Khātūn endowed the ownership and annual yield of the aforementioned vineyard “for the charitable kitchen of the blessed Safavid shrine (*'imārat-i āstāna-yi mazār-i mutabarraka-yi Ṣafaviyya*)”, stipulating that from the said date onward its produce be spent

each year for the travelers and wayfarers by employees, benefactors, and attendants (*mujāvirs*) of the shrine [Shīrāzī No. 2734, 200–201; Shīrāzī 1390, 241; Sarrishtadār No. 7866-5, 82].

The original of the second deed – summarized in *Ṣarīḥ al-Mulk* – has survived and is preserved in the National Museum of Iran (No. 25707). Drawn up in Persian by Qādī Aḥmad b. Maḥmūd Kā-kūlī, Qādī ‘Abd al-Raḥīm b. Rafī‘ al-Dīn, and the scribe ‘Abd al-Raḥīm b. Abī Yazīd, the deed bears the date 8 Dhū al-Qa‘da 914 / 28 February 1509. However, *Ṣarīḥ al-Mulk* mistakenly reports it as 18 Dhū al-Qa‘da 914 / 10 March 1509.

According to the deed, Nārīn Khātūn bt. Ḥusayn b. Amīr Aḥmad Dirīghī endowed in its entirety the vineyard known as Mādēlī, located within the dependencies of the Yāft district of Azerbaijan and near the location of Mishmishanār, to the “blessed and radiant Safavid Shrine, upon which sacred lights shine”. She stipulated that the produce obtained therefrom be allocated to the shrine’s *‘imārat* and that travelers, visitors, the poor, and the destitute benefit from it. A list of witnesses is provided at the end of the deed [NMI, doc. No. 25707; Shīrāzī No. 2734, 200–201; Shīrāzī 1390, 241–242].

Since the original of the first deed has not survived, it is not possible to determine the differences between the two documents. The place referred to as Yāft corresponds today to a rural district in the Murādlū District of Meshgīnshahr County in Ardabil Province. Its main villages include Qara-aghach, Qurt-tapa, and Muṣīrān [Farhang-i jughrāfiyā’ī-yi Īrān... 1330, 556].

The father of the donor, Ḥusayn Beg, is described in the surviving deed as *amīr-i kabīr* (“the great *amīr*”). The fact that both her father and grandfather bore the title *beg* indicates their belonging to a noble lineage. The family’s *nisba* appears as Dirīghī. Much of the historical district of Dirīgh lies today within the borders of Lerik District of the Republic of Azerbaijan [Mirzə Əhməd 2009, 158]. In *Ṣafwat al-Ṣafā*, which recounts the hagiography of Shaykh Ṣafī al-Dīn Ardabīlī, the district of Dirīgh and its governor Aḥmad Dihkhudā are mentioned in connection with events from the late 13<sup>th</sup> and early 14<sup>th</sup> centuries [Ardabīlī 1373, 221, 250].

### **2.7. Deed of *Waqf* Concerning the Orchard of Atasbarān**

According to another summary of an *waqf* deed recorded in *Ṣarīḥ al-Mulk*, the entire orchard known as the Atasbarān estate (*bāgh-i*

*mulk-i Atasbarān*) – bounded by the orchard of the heirs of Jamāl al-Dīn, the orchard of Muḥammad b. Chūpān Salmāsī, the orchard of ‘Ummānshāh, and the road, and located in the town of Tasūj in the district of Anzāb – was endowed to the “sacred and fragrant Safavid Shrine” (*āsitāna-yi muqaddasa-yi mu‘aṭṭara-yi Ṣafaviyya*) by Shīrīn-bājī bt. ‘Abdullāh b. ‘Abdullāh in the middle of Sha‘bān 915 / 28 November 1509 [Shīrāzī No. 2734, 176–177; Shīrāzī 1390, 222; Sarrish-tadār No. 7866-5, 74].

Tasūj is today a town in Shabestar County, East Azerbaijan Province, Iran. Located to the north of Lake Urmia, the town lies 33 km northwest of Shabestar [Farhang-i jughrāfiyā‘ī-yi Īrān... 1330, 132]. Anzāb is the name of a river flowing through Tasūj, and the district in which the town is located is likewise called Anzāb.

The person who endowed the property was a woman named Shīrīn-bājī. Earlier, it was noted that the benefactor of the Mādelī vineyard was also a woman named Nārīn Khātūn. Through these two figures mentioned in the *waqf* deeds from the reign of Shāh Ismā‘īl, it becomes evident that women played an active role in social and economic life in early 16th-century Safavid society. In later phases of Safavid history as well, examples of women making endowment donations to the Shaykh Ṣafī Shrine are frequently encountered [Zarinebaf-Shahr 1998].

## 2.8. Deed of *Waqf* Concerning the Orchards of Gajīn

According to a *waqf* deed dated 1 Dhu al-Qa‘da 917 / 20 January 1512, three orchard plots located in the village of Gajīn in Urūmī (Urmia) were endowed to the “sacred Safavid tomb” by Khwāja Muḥammad b. Mawlānā Zayn al-‘Ābidīn b. Mawlānā Zayn al-Dīn. The first of these three orchard plots was bordered by the orchards of Shaykh ‘Alī and Mawlānā Maluw and, on the other two sides, by orchards belonging to the donor himself. The second plot was adjacent to the orchards of ‘Abd al-Raḥīm, Mawlānā Rajab, and Mīrzā ‘Alī. The third plot, in turn, neighbored the orchard of the descendants of Shaykh Ṭāhir, the orchard of Majnūn that belonged to the *waqf* of the Jāmi‘ Mosque, as well as the orchards of Mawlānā Kuchuk, the descendants of Ḥājī Mūsā, and Shaykh ‘Uryān [Shīrāzī No. 2734, 167–168; Shīrāzī 1390, 215; Sarrish-tadār No. 7866-5, 70].

The village of Gajīn mentioned in the deed is located today in the Rawzachay Rural District in the Central District of Urmia County, in

Iran's West Azerbaijan Province. It is located approximately 10 km northwest of the city center of Urmia [Farhang-i jughrāfiyā'ī-yi Īrān... 1330, 443].

As for the donor, his being referred to with the title Khwāja and his father and grandfather with the title Mawlānā suggests that he likely belonged to a family distinguished for its learning and religious scholarship.

### **2.9. Deed of *Waqf* Concerning the Village of Kabūdīn**

The final surviving deed of *waqf* relating to the Shaykh Ṣafī Shrine from the reign of Shāh Ismā'īl concerns the village of Kabūdīn in Garṃrūd and was drawn up in 929/1522–23. According to the deed, the village of Kabūdīn was bounded by the lands of the villages of Kazaraj, Nowduraq, Ṣawma'a-yi Akrād, Māhī-ābād, and Mūnīq. As stated in this deed – reinforced by a malediction clause – Maḥmūd Āghā Awchī-bāshī b. Ṣūfī Kamāl 'Arabgīrlū endowed 22.9 percent (*yek dāng u yek tāsūj u do sha'ir*) of the village of Kabūdīn in Garṃrūd to the Safavid lodge, assigning its administration (*tawliyya*) to His Majesty the Shāh. The deed emphatically states that, “just as with the other endowments (*mawqūfāt*) of the aforementioned exalted lodge (*zāwiya*), it is unlawful for this *waqf* to be altered either by the ruler or the judge, or by anyone who believes in God and the Last Day”. The same document also makes it clear that Maḥmūd Āghā had purchased this land in 928/1521–22 from Kadkhudā Nūr al-Dīn b. Shaykh Bābā b. Ra'īs Ārzū al-Tujjār [Shīrāzī No. 2734, 276–277; Shīrāzī 1390, 298–299; Sarrishtadār No. 7866-5, 115].

In the Middle Ages, the region of Miyāna was known by the name Garṃrūd. The village of Kabūdīn mentioned in the *waqf* corresponds today to the village of Ṣawma'a-yi Kabūdīn, located in the Kandovān District of Miyāna County, East Azerbaijan Province, Iran. This village is bordered on the north by Kazaraj and Nowduzaq, on the east by Mūnaq, and on the southeast by Māhī-ābād. Ṣawma'a-yi Kabūdīn lies 16 km north of the city of Miyāna [Farhang-i jughrāfiyā'ī-yi Īrān... 1330, 321].

As for Maḥmūd Āghā – who endowed the land – it is known that he belonged to the 'Arabgīrlū tribe, and that his father, Ṣūfī Khalīl, had been affiliated with the Ṣafaviyya order. Toward the end of Shāh Ismā'īl's reign, Maḥmūd Āghā 'Arabgīrlū held the important state office of *awchī-bāshī* (chief of the royal hunt). The *awchī-bāshī* – also

termed *amīr-shikār-bāshī* or *qūshchī-bāshī* in the sources – was responsible for organizing the shāh’s hunts [Efendijev 1981, 265; Şükürov 2009, 57–58]. The ‘Arabgīrlū tribe consisted of people who had come from the district of Arapgir in Turkey and entered the service of the Safavids. Qara Maḥmūd, who held the office of *awchī-bāshī* in 941/1534, had distinguished himself in the war against the Ottomans [Tadhkira-yi Shāh Tahmāsb... 1342, 33–34; Sümer 1999, 50–51, 104, 176–177]. It remains possible that this Qara Maḥmūd was identical with Maḥmūd Āghā mentioned above. It is also known that Qara Maḥmūd Awchī-bāshī endowed the Shaykh Şafī Shrine with one half of the village of Arbāt and the entirety of the village of Yāslaq-dih (or Bāslaq-dih), located in the district of Miyāna, in the Year of the Hare (*Tawishqān Yil* according to the Twelve-Animal Turcic Calendar, most probably in 1531–32) [Shīrāzī No. 2734, 326].

### 3. Documents Concerning Properties Acquired for the Shaykh Şafī Shrine

The deeds of purchase that have survived from the reign of Shāh Ismā‘īl likewise conform to the conventions of traditional Islamic diplomatics. They typically open with invocatory formulas. After *ammā ba‘d*, the deed states that it was drawn up in the Sharī‘a Council (*Majlis-i Shar‘-i Sharīf*) of the Dār al-Irshād Ardabil, and the seller is identified with his titles and honorifics. The property being sold and the amount paid for it are then specified. This is followed by a description of the buyer (*mushtarī*), along with his declaration that the property was purchased on behalf of the Shaykh Şafī Shrine. Finally, the deed affirms that henceforth no other person may claim rights over the property and that any claimant would be deemed unjust on the basis of this document. The names of the *qāḍī*, the scribe, and the witnesses are recorded, along with the seals and signatures, and the precise date of the transaction. Below, the documents related to the subject will be examined, following a chronological order.

#### 3.1. Deed of Purchase Concerning the Village of Darsarā

According to the deed (*qabāla*) drawn up in the Ardabil Sharī‘a Council in the middle of Rabī I 912 / 5 August 1506, half of the village of Darsarā, located in the district of Lumīr in Gīlān, was purchased for the Şafaviyya *zāwiya* by Khwāja Rafī‘ al-Dīn b. Kadkhudā Sirāj al-Dīn from Shāh Amīr b. Yāghībāstī b. Pīr Muḥammad Shin-dīrūdī, the agent (*vakīl*) of Murād Khān b. Amīr Kayqubād, who is

described as “the successor of the sultāns”. In return for this half of the village – together with its rice fields, orchards, lands, and all its surroundings (*muzāfāt u mansūbāt u muta‘alliqāt*) – a payment of 125 shāhīs was made. The village of Darsarā was bordered by such locations as Panbazārān, Vanajū, Pāra-balā, and others [Shīrāzī No. 2734, 299–300; Sarrishtadār No. 7866-5, 129].

No village named Darsarā could be identified in present-day Gīlān. However, there are two villages named Lumīr in the Ṭālīsh District of Gīlān Province – one situated 14 km south of the district center, Hashtpar, and the other 4 km to its north [Farhang-i jughrāfiyā’ī-yi Īrān... 1328b, 274]. It appears that the Darsarā mentioned in the document, attached to Lumīr, was likewise located in the Ṭālīsh region near Hashtpar in earlier times.

Murād Khān b. Amīr Kayqubād, who sold the property, was likely one of the local feudatories of Gīlān or Ṭālīsh. The fact that he bore the title Khān, and that the father of his agent, Shāh Amīr, was named Yāghībāstī, are indicators of the presence of Turkic cultural influence within the milieu of local notables<sup>16</sup>.

Khawāja Rafī‘ al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Kadkhudā Sirāj al-Dīn, who purchased the property on behalf of the Ṣafaviyya *waqfs*, was the *mutawallī* of the Shaykh Ṣafī Shrine. Among the sources we have examined, this deed of purchase is the earliest document in which his name appears. His father, Kadkhudā Sirāj al-Dīn, is referred to as “the late” (*marḥūm*) in the documents, which shows that he had already passed away by this time. During his lifetime, Sirāj al-Dīn held the office of *kadkhudā*. The term *kadkhuda*, of Persian origin, means “headman”. During the medieval period, at least in post-Saljuq times, the term mainly referred to the headman of primary communal groups that were characterized by face-to-face relations in several social contexts – villages (*dehāt*), guilds of craftsmen (*aṣnāf*), and urban quarters (*maḥallāt*) [Floor 2009].

### **3.2. Deed of Purchase Concerning Fifteen Shops**

The original Persian deed recording the purchase of several shops in the city of Ardabil for the *waqfs* of the Shaykh Ṣafī Shrine is preserved in the National Museum of Iran (No. 25705). For the present study, both the original document and the version included in the

<sup>16</sup> The name Yāghībāstī means “the person who defeats the enemy” in Turkish.

*Ṣarīḥ al-Mulk* were consulted. A comparison reveals that, while the original states the date as 1 Jumādā II 912 / 19 October 1506, the *Ṣarīḥ al-Mulk* erroneously records it as 1 Jumādā I 912 / 19 September 1506. The deed of purchase (*mubāya'a-nāma*) was drawn up by Qāḍī 'Uways b. Muḥammad Laṭīfī, Qāḍī Aḥmad b. Maḥmūd Kākulī, Qāḍī Ḥusayn Ardabīlī, and the scribe 'Abd al-Raḥīm b. Abī Yazīd.

According to the document, fifteen shops located in the vicinity of the Allahvermish Āghā Caravanserai in Ardabil were purchased by Khwāja Rafī' al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Kadkhudā Sirāj al-Dīn, the *mutawallī* of the *waqfs* of the Shaykh Ṣafī Shrine, “with the funds of the sacred shrine (*āstāna*) and for the benefit of that shrine”, from Khwāja Zāhīr al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Khwāja Āghājān Atabegī. Thirteen of these shops were adjoining, while the remaining two stood apart. The block of thirteen shops was bordered on two sides by the aforementioned caravanserai and the Allahvermish Āghā Courtyard (*Muḥawwata-yi Allahvermish Āghā*), and on the other two sides by the other two purchased shops and the marketplace (*bāzār*). The two shops located opposite the block of thirteen were surrounded by the main road, an open plot, the thirteen shops just mentioned, and the marketplace.

All these properties – together with their full rights, including their plots, walls, roofs, doors, windows, and all associated elements (*tawābi' va lawāḥiq*) – were purchased for 55,000 new *shāhī* dīnārs, equivalent to 110,000 old Tabriz dīnārs<sup>17</sup>. At the end of the document, Khwāja Rafī' al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Kadkhudā Sirāj al-Dīn affirmed that he had purchased the aforementioned properties with the funds of the blessed Safaviyya *zāwiya*. Henceforth, the administrators (*mutawallīyān u mutaṣaddīyān*) of the *zāwiya* were authorized to administer these properties just like the other assets under their supervision [NMI, doc. No. 25705; Shīrāzī No. 2734, 33, Shīrāzī 1390, 115–116; Sarrishtadār No. 7866-5, 32].

A noteworthy feature of the deed of purchase is the presence, in the introductory section of the original text, of the *ṣalwala*: “*Va'l-ṣalātu va'l-salāmu 'alā ḥabībi-hi va nabīyyi-hi Khātam al-Anbiyā'*”

<sup>17</sup> It is likely that the reference is to the silver *dīnār* known as *tanga* – the coin used during the Qara Qoyunlu and Aq Qoyunlu periods, which was equivalent to one *shar'ī mithqāl* [Radzhabli 1997, 70].

va 'l-Rasul al-A 'zam va 'alā āli-hi va aṣḥābi-hi" ("Blessings and peace be upon His beloved and messenger, the Seal of the Prophets and the Greatest of Messengers, and upon his family and his Companions").

It is striking that, in invoking blessings upon the Prophet, the formula mentions not only his family but also his Companions (*aṣḥāb*). Traditionally, Twelver Shī'īs do not mention the Companions in the *ṣalawāt*<sup>18</sup>, whereas this form of invocation is characteristic of Sunnīs. This feature may be explained by the fact that, for centuries, the inhabitants of Ardabil were predominantly Sunnīs adhering to the Shāfi'ī school [Qazvīnī 1362, 81; Ṣafarī 1370, 75]. It is also noteworthy that the judges who drafted the document belonged to well-known judicial families such as the Laṭīfīs and the Kākulīs, which had historically followed Shāfi'ī jurisprudence before the establishment of the Safavid state. Thus, this deed of purchase – dating to the early years of Shah Ismā'īl's reign – clearly shows that the Safavid campaign of Shi'itization was not a rapid process, and that the Shāfi'ī tradition was not easily erased even in Ardabil, the ancestral homeland of the Safavids. Evliya Çelebi likewise observed, even in the 17<sup>th</sup> century, the continued influence of the Shāfi'ī school among the people of Ardabil [Günümüz Türkçesiyle... 2008, 312].

The seller of the aforementioned shops, Khwāja Zāhīr al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Khwāja Āghājān Atabegī, appears to have belonged to the notables (*ashrāf*) of Ardabil. In the original text of the *mubāya'a-nāma*, he is described with honorifics such as "the noble personage endowed with felicity and worldly fortune" (*janāb-i sa'ādat-mā'āb u dawlat-manāb*), "the pride of the notables and dignitaries" (*iftikhār al-ashrāf va 'l-a 'yān*), "a source of virtue and beneficence" (*manba' al-faḍl va 'l-iḥsān*), and "the one rightfully deserving of eminence and authority" (*ṣāhib al-dawla bi 'l-istiḥqāq*). His father, Khwāja Āghājān Atabegī, is praised as "the late blessed one" (*al-marḥūm al-sa'īd*)

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<sup>18</sup> For instance, in another document drafted in Ardabil and dated 1 Dhū al-Ḥijja 912 / 14 April 1507, the *ṣalawāt* – invoking blessings upon the Prophet's lineage while omitting any reference to his Companions – appears in the form "*ṣallallāhu 'alā ṣayyidinā Muḥammad va ālihi ajma'īn*". In yet another document dated 8 Dhū al-Qa'da 914 / 28 February 1509, the *ṣalawāt* is recorded as "...va 'l-ṣalātu va 'l-salāmu 'alā Muḥammad va ālihi al-tāhirīn". See: NMI, docs Nos 25708 and 25707.

and “the pillar of his peers and the notables” (*‘umdat al-amāthil va’l-a’yān*). In other documents, Āghājān is further characterized as “the leader of merchants and notables” (*qidwat al-tujjār va’l-a’yān*), indicating that he belonged to the mercantile elite [NMI, docs Nos 25708, 25706]. The sources examined show that Khwāja Zāhīr al-Dīn worked in close cooperation with Khwāja Raft’ al-Dīn, the *mutawallī* of the Shaykh Ṣafī Shrine, and even carried out commercial operations as his agent. Further information on this matter will be presented later in the paper.

Turning to the figure of Allahvermish Āghā – referred to in the document as “the late and forgiven great amir” (*amīr-i kabīr-i marhūm u maghfūr*) – the descriptions suggest that he was a prominent amīr (beg) who had already passed away at the time. According to another document dated 14 Shawwāl 916 / 14 January 1506, Allahvermish Āghā belonged to the Jāgīrlū family. From the same record we learn that he had a son named Fūlād (Polād) Āghā, and that Fūlād Āghā had two sons, Vaqqās Beg and Jā’far Āghā; Vaqqās Beg, in turn, had a son named Maqṣūd Beg, while Jā’far Āghā had a son named Muḥammadjān [NMI, doc. No. 25706]. This genealogy suggests that Allahvermish Āghā must have lived no later than the first half of the 15<sup>th</sup> century. The Jāgīrlū family, to which he belonged, was a feudal lineage that governed the district of Ardabil during the late 14th and throughout the 15<sup>th</sup> century under the Jalayirids, the Timurids, the Qara Qoyunlu, and the Aq Qoyunlu [Sümer 1992, 29].

The tomb of this distinguished figure, Allahvermish Āghā, was located near the Jum’a Mosque of Ardabil. When the child Ismā’īl fled from the forces dispatched to Ardabil by the Aq Qoyunlu ruler Rustam Mīrzā in 1494, he hid for several days in the tomb of Allahvermish Āghā [Jahāngushā-yi Khāqān... 1986, 60; Rūmlū 1389, 904]. In addition to his shrine and caravanserai in Ardabil, Allahvermish Āghā had also built a mosque near the Ṭavāy Gate of the city [Shaykh al-Ḥukamā’ī 1387, 72 (doc. No. 300)]. This gate located on the west side of the city [Gronke 1993, 44–45].

The term *shāhī*, used in the document to express the price paid for the purchased property, denotes the 9.36-gram silver coin first minted by Shāh Ismā’īl following the establishment of the Safavid state. One silver *shāhī* equaled 50 copper dīnār in Tabriz currency [Shīrāzī No. 2734, 237; Shīrāzī 1390, 269; see also Radzhabli 2014, 37–38].

Qādī 'Uways b. Muḥammad Laṭīfī, a member of the Laṭīfī family who was involved in drafting and validating the document, has already been discussed, as has the family itself. As for Qādī Aḥmad b. Maḥmūd Kākulī, who participated in the same process alongside him, he is known to be the individual who gave refuge for three days in his house in Ardabil to the child Ismā'īl when the latter sought to escape the pressure of the Aq Qoyunlu in 1494 [Jahāngushā-yi Khāqān... 1986, 59; Rūmlū 1389, 904]. The Kākulī lineage was among the most prominent families of Ardabil throughout the medieval period. Members of this family served as judges (*qādīs*) in Ardabil from the earliest period of Islam – specifically from the time of Caliph 'Umar (634–644). Names of representatives of the Kākulī family appear in Ardabil documents from the 12<sup>th</sup> century onward, beginning with the Saljuq period. The Kākulīs played an important role in the socio-economic, religious, scholarly, and cultural life of Ardabil, and members of this family continued to serve as judges in Ardabil during the Safavid era as well [Gronke, 1993, 154].

### **3.3. The First Deed of Purchase Concerning the Allahvermish Āghā Caravanserai**

The person of Allahvermish Āghā and his caravanserai have been addressed earlier. Another Persian deed of purchase preserved in the National Museum of Iran (No. 25708) also refers to the Allahvermish Āghā Caravanserai in the city of Ardabil. According to the document, drawn up on 1 Dhu'l-Hijja 912 / 14 April 1507 by Qādī 'Uways b. Muḥammad Laṭīfī, Qādī Aḥmad b. Maḥmūd Ardabīlī (Kākulī), Qādī Nūrullāh b. Hibatullāh and the scribe Yādīgār b. Abī Sa'īd Hāfiz, Maqṣūd Beg b. Vaqqās Beg b. Fūlād Āghā – the guardian (*qayyūm*) of the still underage (*ghayr-i bāligh*) Muḥammadjān b. Ja'far Āghā b. Fūlād Āghā b. Allahvermish Āghā – sold to Khwāja Zāhīr al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Khwāja Āghājān Zāhīrī one half of the Allahvermish Āghā Caravanserai belonging to Muḥammadjān, together with one half of the six shops situated in the vicinity of the caravanserai.

The Allahvermish Āghā Caravanserai consisted of a total of 46 chambers – 23 on the lower level and 23 on the upper level – as well as one stable (*akhtākhāna*). Its roof and some of its walls were in a ruined state. In addition, half of the 6 shops – 3 located to the right and 3 to the left of the caravanserai – were also sold. The property in question was located near the Old Square (*Meydān-i Qadīm*),

bordered on two sides by main streets and on the other two sides by a plot of land situated before the gate of the Judges' Mosque (*Masjid-i Qāḍīyān*) and by the garden of the aforementioned Allahvermish Āghā.

The total price paid for the purchase amounted to 12,500 new *shāhī* dīnārs. Of the property acquired, Khwāja Ṣāḥīr al-Dīn bought half for himself, that is, a one-quarter share in the entire caravanserai and in the six shops, while the other half was purchased, acting as the agent of Khwāja Rafī' al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Kadkhudā Sirāj al-Dīn, on behalf of the *waqfs* of the Shaykh Ṣafī Shrine. Khwāja Rafī' al-Dīn was the trustee (*mutawallī*) of the 'sacred Safavid Shrine', located at the Isfahān Gate in the Quarter of the Eminent Shaykhs (*Mahalla-yi Mashāyikh-i A'zam*) of Ardabil. Thus, half of the purchase price (6,250 *shāhī* dīnārs) was paid from Khwāja Ṣāḥīr al-Dīn's own pocket, while the remaining half was paid "from the funds of the blessed endowments (*mawqūfāt*) of the sacred shrine" [NMI, doc. No. 25708; Shīrāzī No. 2734, 56; Shīrāzī 1390, 131; Sarrishtadār No. 7866-5, 38].

In the document, Allahvermish Āghā is referred to as "the felicitous chieftain" (*al-ṣadr al-sa'īd*) and "the choicest among the notables and his equals" (*zubdat al-a'yān va'l-aqrān*), designations that point to his elevated status. As for Ja'far, the father of the child Muḥammadjān, the expressions "the blessed deceased" and "the righteous martyr" (*al-marḥūm al-sa'īd* and *al-mabrūr al-shahīd*) suggest that he did not die a natural death but was killed.

### 3.4. Deed of Purchase Concerning the Gāvgān Orchards/Vineyards

On the last day of Rajab 913<sup>19</sup> / 5 December 1507, the agent (*vakīl*) of the trustee (*mutawallī*) of the shrine (*āstāna*) purchased from Khwāja Shāh Ḥusayn b. Khwāja Sayyidī Shaykh b. Khwāja Sayyidī 'Alī three adjoining orchards/vineyards located in the place called Gāvgān in Dehkharaqān. These orchards/vineyards bordered the open plain, the Khānjān Orchard, the main road, and the Qara Shāh Valī Orchard. Containing grapevines and various fruit trees, the said orchards/vineyards were acquired by the agent of the trustee of the

<sup>19</sup> In the Tehran edition of *Ṣarīḥ al-Mulk*, it is erroneously given as 613 [Shīrāzī 1390, 224].

“blessed and radiant Safavid shrine” for the price of two Tabriz tūmāns (20,000 dīnārs), paid from the property of the shrine [Shīrāzī No. 2734, 179; Sarrishtadār No. 7866-5, 75].

Gāvḡān (or Gawḡān) is today a district center in Āzarshahr County, East Azerbaijan Province, Iran.

### **3.5. The Second Deed of Purchase Concerning the Allahvermish Āghā Caravanserai**

A Persian deed of purchase preserved in the Archives of the National Museum of Iran (No. 25706) refers to the acquisition of real estate in the city of Ardabil for the *waqfs* of the Shaykh Ṣafī Shrine. This document, dated 14 Shawwāl 916 / 14 January 1511, was drawn up by Qāḏī Uways b. Muḡammad Laṭīfī, Qāḏī Aḡmad b. Maḡmud Ardabīlī (Kākulī), Qāḏī Nūrullāh b. Hibatullāh, and the scribe Yādigār b. Abī Sa‘īd Hāfiz.

According to the deed, the one-quarter share of the Caravanserai of Allahvermish Āghā – together with the one-quarter share of the attached horse stable (*akhtāhāna*) and the one-quarter share of 7 shops (three situated to the right of the caravanserai, three to its left, and one that had formerly served as the private passage [*mamar-i khāṣṣ*] of the caravanserai but was later repaired and converted into a shop) – which had been purchased by Khwāja Ṣahīr al-Dīn Muḡammad b. Khwāja Āghājān Atabegī from the underage (*ghayr-i bāligh*) Muḡammadjān b. Ja‘far Āghā b. Fūlād Āghā b. Allahvermish Āghā Jāḡīrī, was subsequently sold to Khwāja Rafī‘ al-Dīn Muḡammad b. Kadkhudā Sirāj al-Dīn, the trustee (*mutawallī*) of the endowments (*awqāf*) of the Shaykh Ṣafī Shrine.

Furthermore, Khwāja Ṣahīr al-Dīn sold to Khwāja Rafī‘ al-Dīn, the trustee of the *waqfs* of the Shaykh Ṣafī Shrine, a one-quarter share of a small shop located near Ṭavāy Gate, in the vicinity of the Old Square (*Meydān-i Qadīm*). The shop was bounded on two sides by main roads and on the other two sides by the plot in front of the gate of the Mosque of the Judges (*Masjid-i Qāḏīyān*) and the land of Allahvermish Āghā’s Garden, and was situated to the north of the aforementioned shops. In addition, he also sold 9 shops in their entirety. At that time, four of these 9 shops were operated respectively by Shaykh ‘Abdullāh Charchī, Ni‘matullāh Khayyāt, Shaykhī Khayyāt, and Mawlānā Shams al-Dīn Bazzāz. These 4 shops were adjacent to each

other, bounded on two sides by the shop of Qāḍī Shaykh Uways Laṭīfī and the main street of the bazaar, and on the remaining two sides neighbored the shops acquired through this transaction. 3 other shops were run by Sultān ‘Alī Bazzāz, Mawlānā Shaykh Muḥammad Bazzāz, and Sayyid Kalānisī. These shops were also adjoining one another and were adjacent to the shop of Kadkhudā Rafī ‘ al-Dīn. Another shop, operated by Mawlānā Shaykh Abdullah Sha‘ār, bordered the shop of Sultān Sha‘ār, the bazaar road, and, on two sides, the acquired shops. The shop of Khalīfa Āghā, described as “the elect of the orders’s deputies” (*zubdat al-khulafā*), where tājs (the characteristic headdresses associated with the Qizilbāsh) were produced (*tāj-dūzī*), bordered on one side the shop of Kadkhudā Rafī ‘ al-Dīn, on two sides the acquired shops, and on one side the main road of the New Bazaar (*Bāzār-i Jadīd*). All 9 shops located in the New Bazaar near Ṭavāy Gate were purchased together with their appurtenances.

The entire purchase was made in return for 7 tūmāns of shāhīs (70,000 new silver dīnārs), which Lala Ḥusayn Beg – who served as tutor (*lala*) to Shāh Ismā‘īl and was described as “noble in rank, possessing lordship, as powerful as the heavens, conqueror of realms, the strength of his mighty state, and the torch of his illustrious nation” – had donated as alms for the acquisition of property on behalf of the venerated shrine (*hazīra-yi mutabarraka*).

Among the witnesses to the transaction were various craftsmen, such as Khwājakī b. Ḥusayn, a wool seller (*sha‘ār*), Quli b. Seydī, a carpenter (*najjār*), and Ḥusayn Valījān b. Shaykh Ma‘rūf, a leatherworker (*khaffāf*) [NMI, doc. No. 25706; Shīrāzī No. 2734, 34–35, 57; Shīrāzī 1390, 114, 132; Sarrishtadār No. 7866-5, 32, 38].

As previously noted, one-quarter of the Caravanserai of Allahvermish Āghā had already been purchased for the *waqfs* of the Shaykh Ṣafī Shrine on 1 Dhu’l-Hijja 912 / 14 April 1507. With this new purchase, half of the caravanserai now became part of the shrine’s endowment property. In addition, 8 shops partially and 9 shops fully passed into the possession of the endowment. The purchased shops included those of a *charchi* (haberdasher), *khayyāt* (tailor), *bazzāz* (cloth-seller), *kalānisī* (cap-maker), *tāj-dūz* (maker of the Qizilbāsh tāj), and *sha‘ār* (wool seller). It is noteworthy that the shop producing the Qizilbāsh headgear (*tāj*) was run by Khalīfa Āghā, one of the deputies (*khulafā*) of the Ṣafaviyya order.

### **3.6. Deed of Purchase Concerning the Village of Sahzāb**

According to the deed (*qabāla*) dated Muḥarram 917 / April 1511, three plots of land constituting one-third of the fields belonging to Shaykh Muḥammad b. Ḥājī Beg b. Shaykh Maṣṣūr Sahzābī in the village of Sahzāb (near Sarāb) were purchased for the “sacred and radiant shrine”. It is stated that the said land was bordered by the fields and locations of Begum-miyān, Mīrān, Kūha-dara, Khudādān, Jufālamiyān, and others. The purchase was carried out by Pīra Raḥmān Shāh b. Shams al-Dīn b. Bakhshāyish Sahzābī, who acted as the agent (*vakīl*) of the *mutawallī* of the Shaykh Ṣafī Shrine. In exchange for the land, 68 silver shāhīs, each weighing two mithqāls and equal in value to 50 copper Tabriz dīnārs, were paid. The transaction was made using the funds of the mentioned “blessed shrine”. Shaykh Muḥammad himself and his sister Khātūn bt. Ḥājī Beg acknowledged that they no longer retained any rights over this land [Shīrāzī No. 2734, 236–237; Shīrāzī 1390, 269–270; Sarrishtadār No. 7866-5, 98].

The village of Sahzāb mentioned in the deed corresponds today to a village in the Āqmīyūn Rural District, the Central District of Sarāb County, East Azerbaijan Province, Iran. In some works, the village has been mistakenly referred to as “Suhrāb”. It lies about 10 km northeast of the city of Sarāb [Farhang-i jughrāfiyā’ī-yi Īrān... 1330, 282]. As for Pīr Raḥmān Shāh, who appears in the document as the agent of the *mutawallī*, his title Pīra suggests an affiliation with the Ṣafaviyya sufi order. Since Shaykh Muḥammad Sahzābī and his grandfather bore the title Shaykh, it is highly likely that they were members of a scholarly (*ulamā*) family.

Another notable feature of the deed is that it provides precise information regarding the weight and value – relative to copper coins – of the *shāhī* coins minted by Shāh Ismā‘īl.

### **3.7. Deed of Purchase Concerning the Miyānrūdān Hamlet**

Another property incorporated into the *waqfs* of the Shaykh Ṣafī Shrine during the reign of Shāh Ismā‘īl consisted of two plots of land forming one-third of the Miyānrūdān hamlet of Khalkhāl. This land was located near the mill of Khwāja Sharaf al-Dīn and extended to the Old River (*Rūdkhāna-yi Qadīm*), to a piece of land adjoining an orchard, to other plots belonging to Miyānrūdān, to the upper water-course of the aforementioned mill, and to the stream situated between the said estate and the mill.

These plots of land were purchased by Khwāja Ṣahīr al-Dīn Atabegī, the agent (*vakīl*) of the shrine (*āstān*), from Khwāja Ḥabībullah Beg – who was of sayyid descent and belonged to the administrative class – and from Sayyid Shaykh ‘Abdullāh Beg Ṣafavī. Although *Ṣarīḥ al-Mulk* mistakenly gives the date of the deed as Rabī‘ II 718, the fact that the purchase was made by Khwāja Ṣahīr al-Dīn Atabegī, who appears multiple times as the agent of the trustee, indicates that the transaction took place in Rabī‘ II 918 (16 June – 14 July 1512) [Shīrāzī No. 2734, 156; Shīrāzī 1390, 208].

The Miyānrūdān hamlet mentioned in the deed is today a village in the Shāhrūd District of Khalkhāl County in Ardabil Province [Farhang-i jughrāfiyā’ī-yi Īrān... 1330, 515]. The document also makes it clear that both Sayyid Khwāja Ḥabībullah Beg and Sayyid Shaykh ‘Abdullāh Beg were descendants of the Safavid family.

### 3.8. Deed of Purchase Concerning the Plot at Darb-i A‘lā

According to the deed of purchase (*mubāya‘a-nāma*) whose summary is recorded in *Ṣarīḥ al-Mulk*, “in the time of His Majesty the Khāqān – paradise be his abode – who possessed a lofty rank like that of Jamshīd,” in the month of Shawwāl 929 (13 August – 10 September 1523), Khwāja Ḥajī b. Khwāja Sa‘ādat Shāh b. Khwāja Ibrāhīm Qummī, acting as the agent of Khwāja Dervish b. ‘Alī b. Khidr Qummī, purchased two-thirds of the plot owned by Khwāja Mīrzā ‘Alī b. Akhī ‘Alī, situated in the city of Tabriz – the seat of the Sultānate (*dār al-saltāna*) – at the Exalted Gate (*Darb-i A‘lā*), near the Royal Square (*Meydān-i Sultānī*), for the sacred, luminous, purified, exalted, and ennobling shrine, for the price of 4 tūmāns and 2 thousand Tabriz dīnārs (i.e., 42,000 Tabriz dīnārs in total) [Shīrāzī No. 2734, 168–169; Shīrāzī 1390, 216]<sup>20</sup>.

The Khwāja Mīrzā ‘Alī b. Akhī ‘Alī mentioned in the document appears to be identical with Khwāja Pīr ‘Alī, son of Tamgāchī Akhī ‘Alī – one of the notables of Tabriz – who played an important role in suppressing the Sulaymān Mīrzā uprising in December 1513 [Musali 2022, 700].

## 4. Documents Concerning Administrative and Financial Regulations of the Shrine’s *Waqfs*

In addition to deeds of *waqf* and purchase documents, the texts or contents of several royal decrees issued during the reign of Shāh

<sup>20</sup> In Sarrishtadār’s *Ṣarīḥ al-Mulk* (Iran National Library, MS No. 7866-5, p. 71), this document is dated to Shawwāl 927 / September 1521.

Ismā'īl concerning the protection of property rights related to the Shaykh Ṣafī *waqfs*, the resolution of disputes in this regard, and the allocation of revenues derived from *waqf* properties have survived to the present day. The decrees pertaining to the shrine's *waqfs* are of particular interest in that they also reflect the documentary and diplomatic conventions of the period.

#### **4.1. Decree Concerning the Village of Janzaq / Kanzaq**

The status of the village of Janzaq as *waqf* property of the Shaykh Ṣafī Shrine during the reign of Shāh Ismā'īl is attested in *Ṣarīḥ al-Mulk*, which contains the following account:

“The entirety of the village of Janzaq remains in the possession of the shrine. Among the deeds (*qabālas*), the original deed of this village was not found. However, it remains under the administration of the *mutawallī* of the sacred shrine (*āstāna*) as a *waqf* property. Based on the royal decrees (*aḥkām-i salāṭīn*) – and especially on the binding decree (*firmān*) issued in Sha'bān 912 (17 December 1506 – 14 January 1507) by His Sublimity, the exalted Khāqān, who has secured a dwelling in Paradise (i.e., Shāh Ismā'īl) – it becomes evident that this place belongs to the properties of the exalted shrine (*āstāna-yi mu'allā*)” [Shīrāzī No. 2734, 109; Shīrāzī 1390, 174].

The fact that Shāh Ismā'īl is designated in official records with the Turkic imperial title Khāqān is noteworthy. In our view, the village referred to as Janzaq in the document corresponds to Kanzaq, which today lies within the Āb-i Garm Rural District in the Central District of Sarayn (Sarein) County, Ardabil Province. Kanzaq is situated to the east of Sarayn and to the southwest of Ardabil. The direct distance between Ardabil city and Kanzaq is only 15 km [Farhang-i juḡhrāfiyā'ī-yi Īrān... 1330, 429].

#### **4.2. Decree Concerning the Village of Kazaj**

The decree issued by Shah Ismā'īl on 10 Rajab 915 / 24 October 1509, ordering that the income of Kazaj – a locality of Khalkhāl “belonging to the estates of the luminous and sacred Ṣafaviyya dervish lodge (*zāwiya*)” and amounting in cash and in kind to 45,000 Tabriz dīnārs – be allocated to the scholar Mawlānā Kamāl al-Dīn Ḥusayn al-Ardabīlī, constitutes an example of how the revenues of *waqf* properties were spent [Martin 1965, 180–181].

According to the *Ṣarīḥ al-Mulk*, the village of Kazaj, belonging to the district of Ḥaylābād-i (or Jīlābād-i) Sufā, is situated in the

Khalkhāl region, near the villages of Hayshī and Gahrāz and along the banks of the Safid Rūd (Qızıl-üzen) River [Shīrāzī 1390, 158, 248]. The village has preserved its historical name and today lies within the Khalkhāl County of Ardabil Province [Farhang-i jugh-rāfiyā'ī-yi Īrān... 1330, 417].

The village of Kazaj had originally been purchased by Shaykh Şafī in July 1312 from Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Nāşir al-Dīn b. Chūpān; this purchase was further confirmed in March 1320 through an additional acknowledgement deed (*iqrārnāma*) [Gronke 1993, 309]. The name of Kazaj appears in the list of villages endowed by Shaykh Şafī to his lodge on 5 Shawwāl 733 / 19 June 1333, showing that the entire village was reserved for his possession [Shīrāzī 1390, 158, 247].

The beneficiary of the *waqf* revenues of Kazaj was Kamāl al-Dīn Ḥusayn b. Khwāja Sharaf al-Dīn ‘Abd al-Ḥaqq, one of the most renowned scholars of the early Safavid period – a jurist, theologian, litterateur, mathematician, physician, philosopher, logician, astronomer, Qur’ān exegete, and poet. He is better known as Ilāhī Ardabīlī. In his youth, he had been close to Shaykh Ḥaydar Şafavī, who sent him to Shiraz and Khurasan for education. He obtained authorization (*ijāza*) from Mawlānā Jalāl al-Dīn Davvānī in Shiraz, and afterward traveled to Herat, where he spent a period in the presence of the celebrated statesman, scholar, and man of letters of the Timurid era, ‘Alī Shīr Navā’ī. He returned to Azerbaijan in 902/1496–97 and began teaching in the Shaykh Şafī complex in Ardabil. A scholar deeply devoted to Sufism and gnosis (*irfān*), he authored more than thirty volumes in Arabic, Persian, and Turkish, and composed around two thousand verses of poetry. Patronized by Shah Ismā‘īl – to whom he presented a Turkish treatise titled *Imāmat* – Ilāhī Ardabīlī died in 950/1543–44 [Mūsavī 1347, 159–165; Tarbiyat 1314, 47–49].

It is apparent that Ilāhī Ardabīlī received a stipend from the *waqf* revenues because he served as a lecturer (*mudarris*) in the Shaykh Şafī complex. It is necessary to take into consideration the possibility that Ḥāfiẓ Kamāl al-Dīn mentioned as the owner of a plot of land adjacent to the granary (*anbārkhāna*) of the Shaykh Şafī Shrine in the decree issued by Shāh Ismā‘īl on 26 Sha‘bān 912 / 11 January 1507 [Abe 2017], and Mawlānā Kamāl al-Dīn Ḥusayn Ardabīlī, may indeed refer to the same person.

### 4.3. Decree Concerning the Akhtākhāna Hamlet

The following Persian decree of Shāh Ismā‘īl, as copied in *Şarḥ al-Mulk*, is reproduced below:

“In the name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful. May the Pure Şafaviyya [Shrine] be illuminated with sacred lights. O Muḥammad, O Ali! [I am] Abū al-Muzaffar Ismā‘īl Bahādur al-Ḥusaynī, [and this is] our word (*sözümüz*): Let the kadkhudā and the cultivators of the village of Shamāsbī know that the deputies of the blessed and radiant lodge (*zāwiya*) have stated that the Akhtākhāna hamlet belongs to the village of Alghir, which is a legally owned property attached to the aforementioned blessed lodge, and that each year the taxes resulting from agricultural activities (*māl u bahraça*) are paid to the said lodge. Therefore, we decree that from this day forward everyone who engages in agriculture in the mentioned hamlet shall, in accordance with this decree, pay its taxes to the deputies of the said lodge. If anyone has any outstanding obligations from previous years, he shall pay them in full without resistance and shall not refrain from fulfilling this duty. Let it be known that this is a definitive order and must be carried out. Written on 10 Rajab 928 (5 June 1522)”.

Beneath the Turkish formula “Our word” (*sözümüz*) is the Persian inscription on the seal: “Ismā‘īl son of Ḥaydar is the servant of the King of Heroes / ‘Alī”.

Around the seal is inscribed a Persian distich meaning:

“The turning sky would shoulder our royal saddle-cloth,

Were but thy benevolent grace to go forth as our escort” [Şhīrāzī No. 2734, 322].

As understood from Shāh Ismā‘īl’s decree, until 1512 the question of whether the Akhtākhāna hamlet belonged to the villages of Alghir or Shamāsbī had been disputed, and the inhabitants of Shamāsbī were cultivating the lands of Akhtākhāna. Moreover, the taxes of the hamlet, unlike the revenues of Shamāsbī and Alghir, were not being transferred to the Shrine of Shaykh Şafī. However, based on Shāh Ismā‘īl’s decree, this issue was resolved, and thus it was definitively established that the Akhtākhāna hamlet – together with the village of Alghir – belonged to the *waqfs* of Shaykh Şafī Shrine.

The village of Alghir (or Pīr Alghir), located 12 km west of Ardabil [Farhang-i jughrāfiyā’ī-yi Īrān... 1330, 112], had already been part of the Safavid *waqfs* since the time of Shaykh Şafī himself. The village was purchased in Jumada II 718 (August 1318) by Ḥāfīz ‘Abd al-Laṭīf

b. Imām al-Dīn, the agent (*wakīl*) of Shaykh Ṣafī, from Qāḍī Najm al-Dīn Kākula b. Ṣadr al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Majd al-Dīn Maḥmūd Kākulī, and an Arabic deed of purchase was drawn up on this matter [Shīrāzī 1390, 154; Shaykh al-Ḥukamāʾī 1387, 18–19 (doc. No. 74)]. The name of Alghir appears in the *waqf* deeds of Shaykh Ṣafī dated 18 Ramaḍān 727 / 7 August 1327 and 5 Shawwāl 733 / 19 June 1333 [Shīrāzī 1390, 156, 160].

In addition to these documents, *Ṣarīḥ al-Mulk* includes a deed of reconciliation (*muṣālaḥa-nāma*), dated 909/1503. This document, which concerns the confirmation of the village of Miyānluq in Ardabil as part of the *waqfs* of the Shaykh Ṣafī Shrine, is said to have been drawn up with Khān Aḥmad Beg Ṣafavī acting as *mutawallī* [Shīrāzī No. 2734, 163; Shīrāzī 1390, 212]. However, Khān Aḥmad Beg Ṣafavī, who served as trustee only twice – during 935–936 and 937–939 AH (between 1528 and 1533 AD) [Tabrīzī No. 15776, 54a] – could not have signed this deed as *mutawallī* some twenty-five to thirty years before his actual tenure. Archival records show that the deed in question was in fact drawn up in Jumādā II 959 (25 May – 22 June 1552), and that the original document is currently preserved in the National Museum of Iran under inventory number 25732. Moreover, Khān Aḥmad Beg signed this deed not as *mutawallī*, but in the capacity of deputy to the trustee (*wakīl-i tawliyat*) [Shaykh al-Ḥukamāʾī 1387, 79 (doc. No. 328)]. Accordingly, the document does not belong to the reign of Shāh Ismāʿīl, but rather forms part of the archival corpus of the reign of Shāh Ṭahmāsp.

### Conclusion

The sources clearly demonstrate that Shāh Ismāʿīl displayed a particular interest in Ardabil, the land of his ancestors. One of the manifestations of this concern was the attention devoted during this period to the development of the Shaykh Ṣafī Shrine and the expansion of its *waqfs*. In this regard, the establishment of the Āsh-i Halāl Waqf – intended to distribute food to the needy and to visitors of the shrine – and the construction, in connection with the shrine, of a school (*dār al-ḥadīth*) and a hospital (*dār al-shifā*) may be cited as examples. This policy pursued at the state level also resonated among the ruling elite, notables, and the public at large, leading to a notable increase in the number of objects, money, and landed property donated to the Saḥavid dervish lodge in Ardabil.

The immovable properties of the endowment of the Shaykh Ṣafī Shrine increased both through purchases and donations. In the course of acquisitions, the trustees benefitted from both the revenues of the endowment and monetary contributions. From the reign of Shāh Ismā‘īl, a total of 21 documents relating to the *waqfs* of the shrine have survived in full or in summary form: 10 are deeds of *waqf*, 8 are deeds of purchase, and 3 are decrees. Only 6 of these documents (2 deeds of *waqf*, 3 deeds of purchase, and 1 decree) survived in the original (see Table 2). The full texts or summaries of the remaining documents have been preserved through *Ṣarīḥ al-Mulk*, a collection of *waqf* records compiled by the Safavid official Zayn al-‘Ābidīn ‘Abdī Beg Shīrāzī. Five of the six surviving originals are likewise included in *Ṣarīḥ al-Mulk*.

During the reign of Shah Ismā‘īl, 6 villages<sup>21</sup>, 10 hamlets, 9 orchards/vineyards, 1 mill, 1 caravanserai<sup>22</sup>, and 24 shops passed entirely into the possession of the shrine, while 22 villages, 5 hamlets, 1 caravanserai, 8 shops, and 1 plot of land passed to it only in part. A survey of the geographical distribution of these properties shows that during the period in question, the shrine acquired real estates in regions such as Ardabil (4 villages, 9 hamlets, 1 orchard, 24 shops, and 1 caravanserai entirely; 8 shops and 1 caravanserai partially), Marāgha (1 mill, 1 village, and 1 hamlet entirely; 15 villages partially), Garmrūd/Miyāna (1 village entirely; 2 villages partially), Hashtrūd (1 village and 2 hamlets partially), Meshgīn (1 village partially; 1 vineyard entirely), Dehkarqān (3 orchards/vineyards entirely), Tasūj (1 orchard entirely), Sarāb (1 village partially), Urmia (3 orchards entirely), Khalkhāl (1 hamlet partially), Tabriz (1 plot of land partially), Gīlān (1 village partially), and Shahriyār (1 village and 2 hamlets partially). Overall, the properties transferred to the shrine during the reign of Shāh Ismā‘īl were spread over a vast area extending from Urmia to Hashtpar in Gīlān, and from Khāva in Tehran to Meshgīn. Except for Hashtpar and Khāva,

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<sup>21</sup> Although the deed attesting to the endowment of one of these villages, Sulṭānābād, has not survived, it is known – based on Olearius’s travel account – that this village was endowed to the Shaykh Ṣafī Shrine by Shah Ismā‘īl himself.

<sup>22</sup> Although this caravanserai in Ardabil, built by Shah Ismā‘īl, is not mentioned in the extant *waqf* documents, it has been added to this list on the basis of Jenkinson’s travel account.

these properties were located in present-day Iranian Azerbaijan, with Ardabil and Marāgha standing out most prominently.

It is understood that 24 shops and 3 orchards/vineyards in full, as well as 1 caravanserai, 8 shops, 2 villages, 1 hamlet, and 1 plot of land in part, were purchased for the shrine during this period (see Table 3). Except for one, all extant deeds of sale specify purchase prices. The total expenditure for the properties acquired under seven deeds of sale amounts to 132,683 shāhīs (silver) or 6,634,150 Tabriz dīnārs (copper). If we add the 300,000 copper Tabriz dīnārs (equal to 6,000 shāhīs) mentioned in the *waqf* deed of Lala Ḥusayn Beg – allocated for the settlement of property disputes concerning his endowed estate – the total rises to 138,683 shāhīs or 6,934,150 Tabriz dīnārs. Notably, more than half of this amount (76,000 shāhīs or 3,800,000 Tabriz dīnārs) was contributed by Lala Ḥusayn Beg Shāmlū, the tutor of Shāh Ismā‘īl. Thus, it is clear that he played a highly significant role in the expansion of the shrine’s endowments in the early 16<sup>th</sup> century.

Beyond the purchased estates, it has been determined that 5 villages, 9 hamlets, 6 orchards/vineyards, 1 mill, and 1 caravanserai in full, together with 20 villages and 4 hamlets in part, were transferred to the shrine through *waqf* donations. Apart from Shah Ismā‘īl himself, donors included leading state officials such as Lala Ḥusayn Beg Shāmlū and Maḥmūd Āghā Awchī-bāshī ‘Arabgīrlū; tribal leaders such as Mīra Khān Mukrī and local notables such as Ra’īs Valī Khāvāī Shahriyārī; members of the learned class such as Khwāja Muḥammad b. Mawlānā Zayn al-‘Ābidīn b. Mawlānā Zayn al-Dīn; landowners such as Bahlūl b. Qiwām al-Dīn Shaykh Muḥammad, Qoch Aḥmad b. Aḥmad b. Ḥāji Muḥammad, and Shāh Valī b. ‘Alī b. Niḏām; and even two women, Nārīn Khātūn bt. Ḥusayn Beg b. Amīr Aḥmad Dirighī and Shīrin-bāji bt. ‘Abdullāh b. ‘Abdullāh (see Table 4).

In addition to the deeds of sale and *waqf* deeds, the decrees issued by Shāh Ismā‘īl confirm that 1 village and 1 hamlet were definitively assigned to the endowment of the shrine. There is no surviving documentary evidence that any properties were either endowed to or purchased for the shrine between 1512 and 1522–23. This absence may be attributable to the adverse effects on Safavid authority and society of the Safavid army’s defeat in Turkistan in 1512, the uprising of Sulaymān Mīrzā in Ardabil in 1513, and the defeat at Chāldīrān in 1514.

An examination of the *waqf* deeds related to the Shaykh Ṣafī Shrine from the first quarter of the 16<sup>th</sup> century shows that, in terms of their purpose, they were charitable endowments benefiting the needy (*awqāf-i khayrī*), and in terms of their legal status, they represent valid endowments created through the donation of private property (*waqf-i ṣahīh*). The landed properties of the shrine were managed under the rental (*ijāra*) system. During the reign of Shāh Ismā‘īl, in addition to a mill endowed in Marāgha, properties endowed or purchased for the shrine in Ardabil included caravanserais and various workshops – belonging to clothmakers, tailors, drapers, cap-makers, artisans producing the Qizilbāsh tāj, and wool merchants. In the rural lands endowed to or purchased for the shrine, traditional agricultural activities such as animal husbandry, wheat and barley cultivation were practiced alongside fruit cultivation, viticulture, and rice cultivation.

After Shāh Ismā‘īl’s accession to power, the office of *mutawallī* – which had previously been exercised directly by the Safavid shaykhs themselves – came to be entrusted to other individuals appointed to act as the shāh’s deputies (*nā’ibs*). Among the trustees who held office during the first quarter of the 16<sup>th</sup> century, Khwāja Rafī‘ al-Dīn Muḥammad and Khwāja Ḥasan Beg Ṣafavī – both of whom served longer than others – distinguished themselves through their efforts to improve the shrine: the former through the acquisition of landed property, and the latter through construction and repair projects.

In conclusion, although the development of the Shaykh Ṣafī Shrine and its *waqfs* during the reign of Shāh Ismā‘īl cannot be compared with the major expansions undertaken under Shāh Tahmāsp I and Shāh ‘Abbās I, the evidence clearly indicates that special attention was devoted to the shrine during the reign of Shāh Ismā‘īl, and that significant steps were taken toward its growth and consolidation.

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### Appendix

**Table 1.** List of trustees (mutawallīs) of the Shaykh Ṣafī Shrine during the Reign of Shāh Ismā‘īl

Names of the trustees	Approximate years of tawliyya
Mīrzā Aḥmad Daylamī as the deputy of Shaykh Najm al-Dīn Mas‘ūd Gīlānī	1501–1504
Khalaf Beg	1504–1506
Khawāja Rafī al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Kadkhudā Sirāj al-Dīn	1506–1513
Khawāja Ḥasan Beg Ṣafavī	1514–1522
Khawāja Zayn al-‘Ābidīn Ṣafavī	1522–1523
Mīrzā Muḥammad Ṭalīsh	1523–1524

**Table 2.** List of documents

Document type	Date	Region	Subject	Source
Waqf-nāma	907/1501 (?)	Ardabil	Endowment of a village and three hamlets	Shīrāzī, No. 2734, 366–368.
Waqf-nāma	End of Ramaḍān 909 / 17 Mart 1504	Ardabil	Endowment of a village, an orchard and five hamlets	Shīrāzī, No. 2734, 126–128.
Waqf-nāma	Dhū al-Ḥijja 910 / May 1505	Marāgha, Garmrūd, Hashtrūd	Endowment of a mill, two villages and one hamlet in full, and seventeen villages and two hamlets in part	Shīrāzī, No. 2734, 373–374.
Waqf-nāma	7 Rabī I 912 / 28 July 1506	Meshgīn	Endowment of one-third of a village	Archives of the Iranian Endowments and Charity Affairs Organization, File No. 122; Shīrāzī, No. 2734, 199–200.

Mubāya'a-nāma	Middle of Rabī I 912 / 5 August 1506	Gīlān	Purchase of half a village	Shīrāzī, No. 2734, 299–300.
Mubāya'a-nāma	1 Jumādā II 912 / 19 October 1506	Ardabil	Purchase of fifteen shops	NMI, doc. No. 25705; Shīrāzī, No. 2734, 33.
Firmān	Sha'bān 912 / 17 December 1506 – 14 January 1507	Ardabil	Confirmation that one village belonged to the waqf holdings of the Shaykh Ṣafī Shrine	Shīrāzī, No. 2734, 109.
Waqf-nāma	14 Shawwāl 912 / 27 February 1507	Shahriyār	Endowment of one-sixth of a village and one-sixth of two hamlets	Shīrāzī, No. 2734, 312–313.
Mubāya'a-nāma	1 Dhu'l-Hijja 912 / 14 April 1507	Ardabil	Purchase of one-quarter of a caravanserai and one-quarter of six shops	NMI, doc. No. 25708; Shīrāzī, No. 2734, 56.
Mubāya'a-nāma	30 Rajab 913 / 5 December 1507	Dehkharqān	Purchase of three orchards/vineyards	Shīrāzī, No. 2734, 179.
Waqf-nāmas	22 Shawwāl 914 / 13 February 1509 and 8 Dhū al-Qa'da 914 / 28 February 1509	Meshgīn	Endowment of a vineyard	NMI, doc. No. 25707; Shīrāzī, No. 2734, 200–201.
Firmān	10 Rajab 915 / 24 October 1509	Khalkhāl	Allocation of the revenues of one village as a salary for a shrine employee	Bivar Private Collection; Martin, 1965, 180–181, 247.

*The development of the Ardabil Shrine endowments (Waqfs)...*

Waqf-nāma	Middle of Sha‘bān 915 / 28 November 1509	Tasūj	Endowment of an orchard	Shīrāzī, No. 2734, 176–177.
Mubāya‘a-nāma	14 Shawwāl 916 / 14 January 1511	Ardabil	Purchase of one-quarter of a caravanserai and one-quarter of eight shops, and the entirety of nine shops	NMI, doc. No. 25706; Shīrāzī, No. 2734, 34–35, 57.
Mubāya‘a-nāma	Muḥarram 917 / April 1511	Sarāb	Purchase of part of a village	Shīrāzī, No. 2734, 236–237.
Waqf-nāma	1 Dhu al-Qa‘da 917 / 20 January 1512	Urmia	Endowment of three orchards	Shīrāzī, No. 2734, 167–168.
Mubāya‘a-nāma	Rabī‘ II 918 / 16 June – 14 July 1512	Khalkhāl	Purchase of one-third of a hamlet	Shīrāzī, No. 2734, 156.
Firmān	10 Rajab 928 / 5 June 1522	Ardabil	Confirmation that one hamlet belonged to the waqf holdings of the Shaykh Ṣafī Shrine	Shīrāzī, No. 2734, 322.
Mubāya‘a-nāma	Shawwāl 929 / 13 August – 10 September 1523	Tabriz	Purchase of two thirds of a parcel of land	Shīrāzī, No. 2734, 168–169.
Waqf-nāma	929 / 1522–23	Garmrūd	Endowment of % 22.9 of a village	Shīrāzī, No. 2734, 276–277.

**Table 3. List of purchased properties**

Date	Region	Properties	Share	Cost
Middle of Rabī I 912 / 5 August 1506	Gīlān	Darsarā (village)	50 %	125 šāhīs
1 Jumādā II 912 / 19 October 1506	Ardabil	15 shops	100 %	55,000 šāhīs
1 Dhu'l-Hijja 912 / 14 April 1507	Ardabil	1 caravanserai and 6 shops	25 %	6,250 šāhīs
30 Rajab 913 / 5 December 1507	Dehkhār- qān	3 orchards/ vineyards	100 %	20,000 Tabriz dīnārs (= 400 šāhīs)
14 Shawwāl 916 / 14 January 1511	Ardabil	1 caravanserai and 8 shops	25 %	70,000 šāhīs
		9 shops	100 %	
Muḥarram 917 / April 1511	Sarāb	Sahzāb (village)	3 plots of land	68 šāhīs
Rabī' II 918 / 16 June – 14 July 1512	Khalkhāl	Miyānrūdān (hamlet)	33.3 %	?
Shawwāl 929 / 13 August – 10 September 1523	Tabriz	A parcel of land	66,6 %	42,000 Tabriz dīnārs (= 840 šāhīs)

**Table 4. List of endowed properties**

Date	Name of the donor	Region	Endowed properties	Share
907/1501 (?)	Shāh Ismā'īl	Ardabil	Shamāsbī (vil- lage)	100 %
			Kalūdīgāh (ham- let)	100 %
			Sarakjān (ham- let)	100 %
			Şawmā'a (ham- let)	100 %

*The development of the Ardabil Shrine endowments (Waqfs)...*

?	Shāh Ismā‘īl	Ardabil	Sulṭānābād (village)	100 %
?	Shāh Ismā‘īl	Ardabil	1 caravanseraī	100 %
End of Ramaḍān 909 / 17 March 1504	Ḥusayn Beg Lala Shāmlū	Ardabil	‘Amūqīn (village)	100 %
			Mushajjar (garden)	100 %
			Sīmā (hamlet)	100 %
			Dulafābād (hamlet)	100 %
			Rājīyān (hamlet)	100 %
			Şavmā‘a (hamlet)	100 %
			Yanzār (hamlet)	100 %
Dhū al-Ḥijja 910 / May 1505	Mīra Khān b. Amīr ‘Imād Khān b. Jalāl Khān Mukrī	Marāgha	1 mill	100 %
			Rūsh (village)	1/2
			Dūsh (village)	2/3
			Khurmazard (village)	2/3
			Alqū (village)	58.3 %
			Zawāra (village)	1/2
			Gahaq (village)	62.5 %
			Amīr Jamālābād (village)	100 %
			Jeyrān (village)	1/6
			Qatır-götüren (village)	58,3 %
			Gulbulāgh-i Sarāchūq (hamlet)	100 %
			Akkent (village)	1/2
			Balakābād-i Sarāchūq (village)	1/2

		Marāgha (?)	Sūkesh (village)	58,3 %
			Khawājamīr (village)	1/4
			Varavīq (village)	1/3
			Saraj (village)	2/3
			Kahf-i Jeyrān (village)	1/2
		Garmrūd (Miyāna)	Nāvluq (village)	100 %
			Cholāqī (village)	58,3 %
		Hashtrūd	Āhū (village)	42,7 %
			Keyvān (hamlet)	1/2
			Gulbulāgh-Hashtrūd (hamlet)	1/2
7 Rabī I 912 / 28 July 1506	Bahlūl b. Qiwām al-Dīn Shaykh Muḥammad, Qoch Aḥmad b. Aḥmad b. Ḥājī Muḥammad, and Shāh Valī b. ‘Alī b. Nizām	Meşgīn	Mīr ‘Alī (village)	1/3
14 Shawwāl 912 / 27 February 1507	Ra’īs Valī b. Dawlatshāh b. Ghaybshāh Khāva’ī Shahriyārī	Shahriyār	Khāva (village)	1/6
			Qaratapa (hamlet)	1/6
			Javākī (hamlet)	1/6
22 Shawwāl 914 / 13 February 1509 and 8 Dhū al-Qa’da 914 / 28 February 1509	Nārīn Khātūn bt. Ḥusayn Beg b. Amīr Aḥmad Dirighī	Yāft in Meşgīn	Mādelī (vineyard)	100 %

Middle of Sha‘bān 915 / 28 November 1509	Shīrīn-bājī bt. ‘Abdullāh b. ‘Abdullāh	Tasūj	Atasbarān (orchard)	100 %
1 Dhu al-Qa‘da 917 / 20 January 1512	Khwāja Muḥammad b. Mawlānā Zayn al-‘Ābidīn b. Mawlānā Zayn al-Dīn	Gajīn in Urmia	3 orchards	100 %
929/1522–23	Maḥmūd Āghā Awchī-bāshī b. Šūfī Kamāl ‘Arabgīrlū	Garmrūd (Miyāna)	Kabūdīn (village)	22,9 %

*Намік Мусалі*

### **РОЗВИТОК ВАКФІВ СВЯТИНИ АРДАБІЛЯ У ПЕРШІЙ ЧВЕРТІ XVI СТОЛІТТЯ**

Місто Ардабіль посіло важливе місце в державі Сефевідів, заснованій Шахом Ісмаїлом, і зазнало значного зростання на початку XVI століття. Його розташування вздовж міжнародних торгових шляхів, статус батьківщини Сефевідів та роль місця поховання шейха Сафі та інших предків династії були серед основних чинників, що вплинули на розвиток міста. Хоча вакфи (благодійні фонди) мавзолею шейха Сафі в Ардабілі зазнали значного розширення у XIV столітті, темпи створення нових вакфів значно сповільнилися протягом XV століття; ця тенденція змінилася на протилежну у першій чверті XVI століття, коли для мавзолею почався новий етап зростання. Спираючись на офіційні реєстри вакфів під назвою *Šarīḥ al-Mulk*, що зберігаються в Національній бібліотеці Ірану (№ 2734 та 7866-5), а також на архівні документи, що зберігаються в Національному музеї Ірану (№ 25705, 25706, 25707 та 25708), у цій статті досліджується розвиток вакфів святилища Шейха Сафі за часів правління Шаха Ісмаїла (1501–1524). У цьому контексті проаналізовано 21 запис про вакф та архівні документи, що засвідчують передачу загалом 88 об'єктів нерухомості до фонду мавзолею. Докази вказують на те, що протягом цього періоду вакфи мавзолею розширювалися як за рахунок купівлі, так і за рахунок пожертв. Окрім регіону Ардабіль, вакфи збільшилися в інших районах іранського Азербайджану,

зокрема в Тебрізі, Урмії, Маразі, Гармруді (Міяні), Хаштруді, Деххаркани, Мешгіні, Халхалі, Тасуджі та Сарабі, а також у Гілані та в околицях Тегерана. Майно вакфів складалося із сіл, хуторів, сільськогосподарських угідь, садів, виноградників, млинів, крамниць, майстерень та караван-сараїв.

**Ключові слова:** Сефевіди, Шах Ісмаїл, Шейх Сафі, Релігійні пожертви, Міський та економічний розвиток

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