

Tamga: a fiscal form in post-Mongol Moscow

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This thesis is submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

Declarations

I declare that:

- (1) This thesis is the result of my own work and includes nothing which is the outcome of work done in collaboration except as declared in the preface and specified in the text.
- (2) It is not substantially the same as any work that has already been submitted before for any degree or other qualification except as declared in the preface and specified in the text.
- (3) It does not exceed the prescribed word limit (80,000 words) for the Modern and Medieval Languages and Linguistics Degree Committee.

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Abstract

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This thesis traces the evolution of *tamga*, a form of trading taxation, across Mongol and post-Mongol Eurasia (from the thirteenth to early sixteenth centuries). *Tamga*, which had first denoted a stamp or seal, came to also signify a tax – charged primarily on exchange – that allowed the khans to profit from trade. Adopting various analytical scales, this thesis offers the first in-depth study of *tamga*, building on various globally oriented methodologies (connected, comparative, entangled) to interrogate how the tax was engaged in the political spaces that emerged from Mongol rule.

Chapter I explores the earliest attestations of *tamga* in the written record; it then comparatively analyses fiscal practice at either end of the ‘Silk Roads’, in Yuan China on the one hand and at Italian Black Sea trading outposts on the other. In both cases, the sources only recalcitrantly employ the term *tamga*, but reflect evidently shared fiscal practice. In chapter II, my focus moves northwards to Rus’ – invaded by the Mongols in the 1230s and subjected to the suzerainty of the Jochid khans (‘Golden Horde’) – to explore how *tamga* was adopted by the increasingly powerful rulers of Moscow, and how that process is reflected in Muscovite exemption charters (*zhalovannye gramoty*). Chapter III moves beyond this explicitly ‘political’ realm, to ask how *tamga* interacted semantically in Rus’ with another due, *myt*, which pre-dated the Mongol invasions; by studying the negative connotations of *myt* and its cognates in religious texts, I argue that *tamga* was attractive to Muscovite rulers precisely because it remained unencumbered by this spiritual hinterland. Finally, chapter IV tracks southwards, to assess the evolution of *tamga* in the Middle East: by contrasting Rus’ with concomitant developments in Īlkhānīd and Tīmūrīd Iran, I show how the fate of *tamga* in these regions became increasingly intertwined with the canonical dictates of Islamic law.

Tying these strands together, I contend that post-Mongol Moscow should be seen more keenly as part of a broader political arena that linked Rus’ with Central Asia, China, the Middle East and the Black Sea. By bringing otherwise discretely considered sources into contact with each other, this thesis shows how *tamga* constituted a key element in the khans’ political legacy – a legacy to be debated, contested and appropriated by their successors.

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Foremost is my supervisor, Simon Franklin, whose patient and understanding presence as *Doktorvater* withstood my magpie-like tendency to introduce sources increasingly far removed from anything that could feasibly be labelled ‘Slavonic’. His openness, candour and insight are testament – if proof were needed – to his abiding willingness to find new ways of looking at Rus’, Russia and their neighbours. I am also grateful to those who, at various stages of my career so far, have inspired me to develop and foster the ideas found in this thesis: in Cambridge, the members of the Slavonic Studies section, especially Olenka Pevny, as my advisor, and Emma Widdis, for her encouragement to keep going at tricky moments; in Nottingham, Monica White; and in Oxford, Catherine Holmes, Jonathan Shepard, Julie Curtis and Hannah Skoda.

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Various libraries have likewise made this research much easier than it otherwise would be, not least given the current difficulties in visiting Ukraine and Russia. Special thanks go to the staff of Cambridge University Library – especially its Slavonic librarian, Mel Bach – for their willingness to locate the most recondite of volumes at lightning speed. In London, I am similarly indebted to the British Library, the London Library, and the libraries of the School of Oriental and African Studies and the Warburg Institute; in Oxford, to the Bodleian Library and the library of the Taylorian Institute; and in Paris, to the Bibliothèque nationale de France, the Bibliothèque universitaire des langues et civilisations and the Bibliothèque de l'École nationale des chartes.

Friends, both in Cambridge and further afield, have sustained this research, and made it an experience less daunting than it otherwise would have been. Michael Rizq deserves a particular shoutout for helping to keep me sane during repeated lockdowns, and for the vagaries created by the Batley and Spen by-election. Likewise in the Fens, I have been fortunate to be surrounded by friends both willing to discuss my work, and to tell me when to stop discussing it: Laura Bailey, Toby Barnett, Teresa Barucci, Peter Elliott, Geistè Kinčinaitytė, Lilian Kroth, Alexis Marchand, Adva Mond, Marijn Nohlmans and Michael Varley. In London, Henry Tann and Ted Elgar have been far too generous in enabling me to discover the attractions of W4 and SE13; in Bristol, Beth Candlin has kept me going with an unrivalled stream of content; and in Oxford, Sofia Simões Coelho has been a constant source of entertainment, wacky or otherwise. Beyond these shores, *merci* to Titouan Richard-Mériguet, *dank je* to Danly Nguyen and *danke* to Julia Heinemann for their hospitality over the past few years. Last but not least, Patrick Benjamin has been party to my interest in the Slavonic world longer than most: I look forward to many more years of DMCs, whether in Victoria Park or the Buttes-Chaumont.

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Abbreviations

ANG	<i>Actes des notaires génois de Péra et de Caffa de la fin du treizième siècle (1281-1290)</i> , ed. by G. I. Brătianu (Bucharest: Cultura Natională, 1927)
ARG	<i>Akty russkogo gosudarstva 1505-1526 gg.</i> , ed. by A. A. Novosel'skii and others (Moscow: Nauka, 1975)
ASEI	<i>Akty sotsial'no-ekonomicheskoi istorii severo-vostochnoi Rusi</i> , ed. by L. V. Cherepnin and B. D. Grekov, 3 vols (Moscow: Izdatel'stvo Akademii nauk SSSR/Nauka, 1951-62)
Bartol'd	V. V. Bartol'd, <i>Sochineniia</i> , 9 vols (Moscow: Nauka, 1963-77)
BN	National Library of Poland, Warsaw (Biblioteka Narodowa)
BSOAS	<i>Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies</i>
BZBWJ	Meibiao Cai, <i>Basiba zi beike wenwu jishi</i> (Beijing: Zhongguo shehui kexue chubanshe, 2011)
CC	<i>Classical Writings of the Medieval Islamic World: Persian Histories of the Mongol Dynasties, Volume III: Rashiduddin Fazlullah</i> , trans. by Wheeler M. Thackston (London: I. B. Tauris, 2012)
CHC	<i>The Cambridge History of China</i>
V ²	<i>Sung China, 969-1279, Part Two</i> , ed. by John W. Chaffee and Denis Twitchett (Cambridge: CUP, 2015)
VI	<i>Alien regimes and border states, 907-1368</i> , ed. by Herbert Franke and Denis Twitchett (Cambridge: CUP, 1994)
VII	<i>The Ming Dynasty, 1368-1644, Part 1</i> , ed. by Frederick W. Mote and Denis Twitchett (Cambridge: CUP, 1988)
VIII	<i>The Ming Dynasty, 1368-1644, Part 2</i> , ed. by Denis Twitchett and Frederick W. Mote (Cambridge: CUP, 1998)
CHI	<i>The Cambridge History of Iran</i>
V	<i>The Saljuq and Mongol Periods</i> , ed. by J. A. Boyle (Cambridge: CUP, 1968)
VI	<i>The Timurid and Safavid Periods</i> , ed. by Peter Jackson and Laurence Lockhart (Cambridge: CUP, 1986)

CHIA	<i>The Cambridge History of Inner Asia: The Chinggisid Age</i> , ed. by Nicola di Cosmo and others (Cambridge: CUP, 2009)
ChOidr	<i>Chteniia v Imperatorskom obschestve istorii i drevnostei rossiiskikh pri Moskovskom universitete</i>
CUP	Cambridge University Press
DDG	<i>Dukhovnye i dogovornye gramoty velikikh i udel'nykh kniazei XIV-XVI vv.</i> , ed. by L. V. Cherepnin (Moscow: Izdatel'stvo Akademii nauk SSSR, 1950)
DK	<i>Dastūr al-kātib fī ta'yīn al-marātib</i> , ed. by A. A. Ali-Zade, 2 vols (Moscow: Nauka, 1964-76)
DKU	<i>Drevnerusskie kniazheskie ustavy XI-XV vv.</i> , ed. by Ia. N. Shchapov (Moscow: Nauka, 1976)
DMBA	<i>Die moralisch-belehrenden Artikel im altrussischen Sammelband Merilo Pravednoe</i> , ed. and trans. by Rudolf Schneider (Freiburg i. Br.: Weiher, 1986)
DOP	<i>Dumbarton Oaks Papers</i>
DRVM	<i>Drevniaia Rus'. Voprosy medievistiki</i>
DVL	<i>Diplomatarium Veneto-Levantinum, sive Acta et Diplomata Res Venetas Graecas atque Levantis Illustrantia</i> , ed. by George Martin Thomas and Riccardo Predelli, 2 vols (Venice: Sumptibus Societatis, 1880-99)
EI ²	<i>The Encyclopaedia of Islam: New Edition</i> [= 2nd edn], ed. by P. J. Bearman and others, 12 vols (Leiden: Brill, 1960-2002)
EIr	<i>Encyclopaedia Iranica</i>
EMMM	<i>États, sociétés et cultures du monde musulman médiéval, X^e-XV^e siècle: tome 1, l'évolution politique et sociale</i> , ed. by Jean-Claude Garcin and others (Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 1995)
EPP	L. Fekete, <i>Einführung in die persische Paläographie: 101 persische Dokumente</i> (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1977)
GIM	State Historical Museum, Moscow (Gosudarstvennyi istoricheskii muzei)
GOM	<i>Gênes et l'outre-mer</i> , ed. and trans. by Michel Balard, 2 vols (Paris: Mouton, 1973-80; repr. Berlin: De Gruyter, 2018-20)
GPNQ	Ḥamd-Allāh Mustaufī, <i>The Geographical Part of the Nuzhat al-Qulūb</i> , trans. by G. Le Strange (new ed., London: Gibb Memorial Trust, 2017)

- GVNP *Gramoty Velikogo Novgoroda i Pskova*, ed. by S. N. Valk (Moscow: Izdatel'stvo Akademii nauk SSSR, 1949)
- GW *Geschichte Wassaf's*, trans. by Joseph Hammer-Purgstall, ed. by Sibylle Wentker and Klaus Wundsam, 4 vols (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2010-16)
- Hans Wehr *Hans Wehr: A Dictionary of Modern Written Arabic*, 4th edn, ed. by J. Milton Cowan (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1979)
- HJAS *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*
- HR *Hramoty XIV st.*, ed. by M. M. Peshchak (Kyiv: Naukova dumka, 1974)
- HS^{III, IV} Khvāndamīr, *Tārīkh-e Ḥabīb al-siyār*, ed. by Jalāl al-Dīn Humā'ī, 4 vols (Tehran: Kitābkhāne-ye Khayyām, 1333 [1954]), III / IV
- HUS *Harvard Ukrainian Studies*
- HWC Ata-Malik Juvaini, *Genghis Khan: The History of the World-Conqueror*, ed. and trans. by J. A. Boyle, 2nd edn (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1997)
- IJMES *International Journal of Middle East Studies*
- IORIaS *Izvestiia Imperatorskoi Akademii nauk po Otdeleniiu russkago iazyka i slovesnosti*
- JAH *Journal of Asian History*
- JESHO *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient*
- JH *Das sogenannte Ġāme'o'l-Ḥesāb des 'Emād as Sarāwī: ein Leitfaden des staatlichen Rechnungswesens von ca. 1340*, ed. and trans. by Nejat Göyünç and Veruschka Wagner (Berlin: EB-Verlag, 2012)
- JRAS *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*
- K.-B. Biblioteka Kirillo-Belozerskogo monastyrja, Russian National Library, f. 351
- Kh *Classical Writings of the Medieval Islamic World: Persian Histories of the Mongol Dynasties, Volume II: Khwandamir*, trans. by Wheeler M. Thackston (London: I. B. Tauris, 2012)
- KSIIMK *Kratkie soobshcheniia o dokladakh i polevykh issledovaniiax Instituta istorii material'noi kul'tury*
- Lane Edward W. Lane, *An Arabic-English Lexicon*, 8 vols (London: Williams and Norgate, 1863-93)

LBY	<i>The Life of St Basil the Younger: Critical Edition and Annotated Translation of the Moscow Version</i> , ed. and trans. by Denis F. Sullivan, Alice-Mary Talbot and Stamatina McGrath (Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks, 2014)
LXX	Septuagint
MM	<i>The Mongolian Monuments in ḥP'ags-pa Script</i> , ed. by Nicholas Poppe and trans. by John R. Krueger (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1957)
MPP	<i>Monuments en écriture 'Phags-pa. Pièces de chancellerie en transcription chinoise</i> , ed. by Louis Ligeti (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1972)
MPS	<i>Mongolian Monuments in 'Phags-pa Script</i> , ed. by D. Tumurtogoo and G. Cecegdari (Taipei: Institute of Linguistics, Academia Sinica, 2010)
MS	'Abd al-Razzāq Samarqandī, <i>Maṭla'-e sa'dayn va majma'-e baḥrayn</i> , ed. by Muḥammad Shafī', 2 vols (Lahore: Chāpkhāne-ye Gilānī, 1365-8 [1946-9])
MUMS	<i>Mongolian Monuments in Uighur-Mongolian Script</i> , ed. by D. Tumurtogoo and G. Cecegdari (Taipei: Institute of Linguistics, Academia Sinica, 2006)
NPNF	<i>A Select Library of the Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers of the Christian Church</i> , ed. by Philip Schaff, 14 vols (Buffalo: Christian Literature Company, 1886-90)
NPNF ²	<i>A Select Library of Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers of the Christian Church, Second Series</i> , ed. by Henry Wace and Philip Schaff, 14 vols (Oxford: James Parker, 1890-1916)
NQ	Ḥamdullāh Mustawfī Qazvīnī, <i>Nuzhat al-qulūb</i> , ed. by Muḥammad Dabīrsiyāqī (Tehran: Kitābkhāne-ye Ṭahūrī, 1336 [1958])
OKB	<i>Opisanie rukopisei Kirillo-Belozerskago monastyria, sostavlennoe v kontse XV veka</i> , ed. by N. K. Nikol'skii (St Petersburg: Sinodal'naia tipografiia, 1898)
ORD	S. M. Kashtanov, <i>Ocherki russkoi diplomatiki</i> (Moscow: Nauka, 1970)
OUP	Oxford University Press
'PA'	'The Pandects of Antiochus: Slavic Text in Transcription', ed. by Josif Popovski, <i>Polata k"nigopisnaia</i> , 23-4 (1989), 1-202
Pegolotti	Francesco Balducci Pegolotti, <i>La pratica della mercatura</i> , ed. by Allan Evans (Cambridge, MA: Mediaeval Academy of America, 1936)
PG	<i>Patrologia Graeca</i> (Paris: J.-P. Migne, 1857-66)
13	Origen, <i>Opera omnia</i> [vol. 3], ed. by Charles Delarue and Charles Vincent Delarue (1862)

- 52 John Chrysostom, *Opera omnia quæ extant* [vol. 3, part 2], ed. by Bernard de Montfaucon (1859)
- 57 John Chrysostom, *Opera omnia quæ extant* [vol. 7, part 1], ed. by Bernard de Montfaucon (1862)
- 77 Cyril of Alexandria, *Opera quæ reperiri potuerunt omnia*, ed. by Jean Aubert (1864)
- 88 John Climacus, *Opera omnia*, [n.ed.] (1860)
- 89 Anastasius of Sinai and Antiochus of Palestine, *Opera omnia*, ed. by Jakob Gretser and others (1865)
- PI Ludwig Wittgenstein, *Philosophical Investigations*, trans. by G. E. M. Anscombe and others, 4th edn (Oxford: Blackwell, 2009)
- PK *Prepodobnye Kirill, Ferapont i Martinian Belozerskie*, ed. by G. M. Prokhorov, E. G. Vodolazkin and E. E. Shevchenko (St Petersburg: Glagol", 1993)
- PR *Pravda Russkaia*, ed. by B. D. Grekov, 3 vols (Moscow: Izdatel'stvo Akademii nauk SSSR, 1940-66)
- PRP III *Pamiatniki russkogo prava: vypusk tretii*, ed. by L. V. Cherepnin (Moscow: Gosudarstvennoe izdatel'stvo iuridicheskoi literatury, 1955)
- PSRL *Polnoe sobranie russkikh letopisei*
- II *Ipat'evskaia letopis'*, 2nd edn, ed. by A. A. Shakhmatov (St Petersburg: Tipografiia M. A. Aleksandrova, 1908)
- III *Novgorodskaia pervaiia letopis' starshego i mladshego izvodov*, ed. by A. N. Nasonov (Moscow: Izdatel'stvo Akademii nauk SSSR, 1950)
- XV *Rogozhskii letopisets (izdanie vtoroe, vypusk pervyi)*, ed. by N. P. Likhachev (Petrograd: Gosudarstvennaia arkheograficheskaia komissiia Rossiiskoi akademii nauk, 1922)
- XVIII *Simeonovskaia letopis'*, ed. by A. E. Presniakov (St Petersburg: Imperatorskaia arkheograficheskaia komissiia, 1913)
- PSV *Prichernomor'e v srednie veka*
- PTA *Persia in A.D. 1478-1490: an abridged translation of Faḍlullāh b. Rūzbihān Khunjī's Tārīkh-i 'ālam-ārā-yi Amīnī*, trans. by V. Minorsky (London: Royal Asiatic Society, 1957)

- PVL *Povest' vremennykh let*, ed. and trans. by D. S. Likhachev and others, 2 vols (Moscow: Izdatel'stvo Akademii nauk SSSR, 1950)
- RF *Die Resalä-ye Falakiyyä des 'Abdollah ibn Mohammed ibn Kiya al-Mazandarani: ein persischer Leitfaden des staatlichen Rechnungswesens*, ed. by Walther Hinz (Wiesbaden: Steiner, 1952)
- RGB Russian State Library, Moscow (Rossiiskaia gosudarstvennaia biblioteka)
- RH *Russian History*
- RNB Russian National Library, St Petersburg (Rossiiskaia natsional'naia biblioteka)
- RSVR *Régestes des délibérations du Sénat de Venise concernant la Roumanie*, ed. and trans. by F. Thiriet, 3 vols (Paris: Mouton, 1958-61)
- SC *Sources chrétiennes*
- 7 bis Origène, *Homélies sur la Genèse*, ed. by Henri de Lubac and trans. by Louis Doutreleau (Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 1976)
- 358 Grégoire de Nazianze, *Discours 38-41*, ed. by Claudio Moreschini, trans. by Paul Gallay (Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 1990)
- SG *Smolenskie gramoty XIII-XIV vekov*, ed. by T. A. Sumnikova and others (Moscow: Izdatel'stvo Akademii nauk SSSR, 1963)
- Sof. Biblioteka Novgorodskogo Sofiiskogo sobora, Russian National Library, f. 728
- SN *Sa'adatname*, in *Die beiden persischen Leitfäden des Falak 'Alā-ye Tabrīzī über das staatliche Rechnungswesen im 14. Jahrhundert*, ed. by Mirkamal Nabipour (doctoral thesis, Georg-August-Universität Göttingen, 1973)
- 'SNS' 'Prepodobnago otsa nashego Avraamia. Slovo o nebesnikh silakh, chego radi sozdan byst' chelovek', ed. by S. P. Shevyrev, *Izvestiia Imperatorskoi Akademii nauk po Otdeleniiu russkago iazyka i slovesnosti*, 9 (1860), 182-92
- SR *Slavic Review*
- Sreznevskii *Materialy dlia slovaria drevne-russkago iazyka po pismennym pamiatnikam*, ed. by I. I. Sreznevskii, 6 vols (St Petersburg: Tipografiia Imperatorskoi Akademii nauk, 1893-1903)
- SRIa *Slovar' russkogo iazyka XI-XVII vv.*, ed. by V. B. Krys'ko and others, 30 vols (Moscow: Nauka, 1975-)
- ST *Staatsschreiben der Timuridenzeit: das Šaraf-nāmā des 'Abdallāh Marwārīd in kritischer Auswertung*, ed. by Hans Robert Roemer (Wiesbaden: Steiner, 1952)

Steingass	F. Steingass, <i>A Comprehensive Persian-English Dictionary</i> , 4th edn (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1957)
TA	Faḍlullāh ibn Rūzbihān Khunjī, <i>Tārīkh-e ‘ālam-ārā-ye amīnī</i> , ed. by Muḥammad Akbar ‘Ashīq (Tehran: Mīrās-e Maktūb, 1382 [2003])
Tla	I. Berezin, <i>Tarkhannye iarlyki Tokhtamysha, Timur-Kutluka i Saadet-Gireia</i> (Kazan’: Tipografiia [Kazanskogo] universiteta, 1851)
TJG	‘Alā’u ’d-Dīn ‘Aṭā Malik-i-Juwaynī, <i>Ta’rīkh-i-Jahān-Gushā</i> , ed. by Mīrzā Muḥammad ibn ‘Abdu’l-Wahhāb-i-Qazwīnī, 3 vols (London: Luzac & Co., 1912-58) [= E. J. W. Gibb Memorial Series, vol. 16]
TMEN	Gerhard Doerfer, <i>Türkische und mongolische Elementen im Neupersischen</i> , 4 vols (Wiesbaden: Steiner, 1963-75)
TMG	Rashīd al-Dīn Faḍlallāh Hamadānī, <i>Jāmi‘ al-tavārīkh: tārīkh-e mubārak-e Ghāzānī</i> , ed. by Muḥammad Rowshan and Muṣṭafā Mūsavī, 4 vols (Tehran: Mīrās-e Maktūb, 1394 [2016])
TODRL	<i>Trudy Otdela drevnerusskoi literatury</i>
TP	<i>T’oung Pao</i>
Tr.	Glavnoe sobranie rukopisei biblioteki Troitse-Sergievoi Lavry, Russian State Library, f. 304.I
‘TS’	‘The Troickij Sbornik (Cod. Moskva, GBL, F. 304 (Troice-Sergieva Lavra) N 12’, ed. by Josif Popovski and others, <i>Polata k”nigopisnaia</i> , 21-22 (1989), 1-202
TsKT	<i>Tsikl molitv Kirilla Turovskogo: teksty i issledovaniia</i> , ed. by E. B. Rogachevskaia (Moscow: Iazyki russkoi kul’tury, 1999)
TTJ	<i>Tongzhi tiaoge jiaozhu</i> , ed. by Linggui Fang (Beijing: Zhongguo shuju, 2001)
TV	<i>Kitāb-e mustaṭāb-e Vaṣṣāf-e Ḥaẓrat</i> , ed. by Muḥammad Mahdī Iṣfahānī ([Bombay]: [n.pub.], 1269 [1853])
UIK	Heribert Busse, <i>Untersuchungen zum islamischen Kanzleiwesen</i> (Cairo: Kommissionsverlag Sirović Bookshop, 1959)
Vasmer	Max Vasmer, <i>Russisches etymologisches Wörterbuch</i> , 3 vols (Heidelberg: Carl Winter, 1950-8)

VSM	<i>Venezia – Senato: deliberazioni miste</i> , ed. by François-Xavier Leduc and others, 21 vols (Venice: Istituto Veneto di Scienze, Lettere ed Arti, 2004-21) ¹
XV	1332-1333 (vol. 2; 2017)
XVI	1333-1335 (vol. 3; 2013)
XVII	1335-1339 (vol. 4; 2007)
XIX	1340-1341 (vol. 6; 2004)
XX	1341-1342 (vol. 7; 2004), ed. by Francesca Girardi
XXI	1342-1344 (vol. 8; 2008), ed. by Claudio Azzara and Laura Levantino
XXIII	1345-1347 (vol. 10; 2004), ed. by Francesca Girardi
XXIV	1347-1349 (vol. 11; 2007), ed. by Ermanno Orlando
XXVII	1354-1357 (vol. 14; 2021), ed. by Francesca Girardi
XXVIII	1357-1359 (vol. 15; 2009), ed. by Ermanno Orlando
XXIX	1359-1361 (vol. 16; 2012), ed. by Laura Levantino
XXXIII	1368-1372 (vol. 20; 2010), ed. by Andrea Mozzato
XXXIV	1372-1375 (vol. 21; 2015), ed. by Ermanno Orlando
YD	<i>Yuan dianzhang</i> , ed. by Gaohua Chen and others, 4 vols (Tianjin: Tianjin guji chubanshe, 2011)
YS	<i>Yuanshi</i> , [n.ed.] (Haikou: [n.pub.], 1996) [= <i>Zhuan shi cang shu: shi ku: er shi liu shi</i> , vol. 14]
ZDMG	<i>Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft</i>
ZhVN	<i>Zhitie Vasiliia Novogo v drevneishem slavianskom perevode: po rukopisi RGB, sobranie E. E. Egorova 162 s parallel'nym grecheskim tekstom po rukopisi Athous Dionysiou 107</i> , ed. by T. V. Pentkovskaia and others (Moscow: Izdatel'skii dom IaSK, 2019)
ZO	<i>Zolotoordynskoe obozrenie</i>
ZOoid	<i>Zapiski Odesskago obshchestva istorii i drevnostei</i>
ZS	<i>Zentralasiatische Studien</i>

¹ For brevity, VSM references in chapter I are given to the document number of the register(s), rather than to the page number of the volume; volumes are edited by Leduc unless otherwise shown.

Bibliographical notes

As stipulated by the faculty, all references are given as footnotes in the style of the Modern Humanities Research Association (MHRA).

Of the main languages in non-Latin alphabets, Slavonic terms are transliterated according to the simplified Library of Congress schema (without diacritics). Arabic and Persian texts broadly follow the style of the *International Journal of Middle East Studies (IJMES)*, and thus *al-* is kept throughout; in Persian, however, I retain the final *-e* where applicable, and for *izāfe* constructions. Among the languages that appear more rarely, Chinese is given in pinyin without tonal marks; Greek according to the Library of Congress system for ancient and medieval texts; Hebrew follows the ‘general-purpose’ style in the *Society of Biblical Literature Handbook of Style*, 2nd edition; and Mongolian is given in an adjusted form of the Vladimirtsov-Mostaert (V-M) system, notably without ‘*γ*’.

Quotes from Slavonic languages are given in the original, with a translation in the footnotes; for other languages, this style is reversed, with the translation in the main text and the original in the footnotes. For simplicity, I adopt the Slavonic transliteration of *tamga* throughout, except in chapter IV, where I follow the Persian transliteration (*tamghā*); the same is true for *tamghāchī* (otherwise *tamghachi*) and *yarlīgh* (otherwise *iarlyk*). In general, placenames are given without diacritics (‘Tabriz’, not ‘Tabrīz’, etc.).

Where personal names do not follow the format of *first name, last name*, they are ordered in the bibliography according to the best-known variant, even if not a ‘family name’ as in Western practice; hence Rashīd al-Dīn Hamadānī is found under ‘R’, not ‘H’, while ‘Alā al-Dīn Juvaynī is found under ‘J’, not ‘A’. In all cases, ‘*ayn* and *al-* are disregarded in the order of the bibliography. Dates are given as AD / CE throughout, unless otherwise stated; for titles published in Iran, the publication date is given first in the solar hijri calendar, with the corresponding CE range given afterwards in square brackets.

Translations are my own unless otherwise stated.

Schematic table of vocabulary

This table lists the terms analysed in the thesis to denote taxes on trade, divided broadly between levies on exchange and those charged on goods in transit; as will become clear, certain terms seemingly denoted the ‘same’ fiscal form, despite their differing vocabulary.

TAX ON EXCHANGE

Chinggisid polities

Great Khanate	<i>tamghā?</i>
Yuan China	<i>shangshui</i> (‘merchant tax’); <i>tamghā</i> in bilingual charters
Īlkhānid Iran	<i>tamghā</i>
Jochid <i>ulus</i> (‘Golden Horde’)	<i>tamghā</i> (in Italian sources: <i>camunoca</i> , <i>tamoga</i> , <i>tamunga</i> ; or interpreted as <i>commercium</i> , <i>commerchium</i> , <i>comerclum</i>)
Crimean Khanate	<i>tamghā</i>

Post-Chinggisid polities

Moscow	<i>tamga</i> (<i>v</i>) <i>osminichee?</i>
Tīmūrid dynasties	<i>tamghā</i> , or increasingly <i>zakāt</i>

TAX ON GOODS IN TRANSIT

Rus’, Moscow	<i>myt(o)</i> (also pre-Mongol tax on exchange) <i>kostki?</i>
Iran	<i>bāj</i> (<i>bāj-hā</i>) (also Armenia) <i>rasm</i> (<i>rusūm</i>)

Introduction

Quotation removed for copyright reasons. Copyright held by Einaudi and Harcourt Brace.

Italo Calvino, *Invisible Cities* (1972)

Poem removed for copyright reasons. Copyright held by Faber & Faber.

Hannah Sullivan, 'Repeat Until Time, The Heraclitus Poem: 3.2' (2018)

¹ Italo Calvino, *Invisible Cities*, trans. by William Weaver (San Diego: Harcourt Brace, 1974), p. 21 (Italian text from: *Le città invisibili* (Turin: Einaudi, 1972), p. 9).

² Hannah Sullivan, *Three Poems* (London: Faber & Faber, 2018), p. 31.

In *Invisible Cities*, Marco Polo's reports to Qubilai Khan (d. 1294) of distant, phantasmagorical cities blur the boundaries between the seen and unseen: what does the written record truly mean? How do text and story overlap? Do their structures provide for anything outside of themselves? Alongside these (post)modern concerns, however, the framing narrative around the khan – to use Calvino's words, the book's 'main thread'³ – intersperses more visible political concerns, of tax collectors, revenues and the khans' treasury. Qubilai's government at Shangdu ('Kai-ping-fu'), in what is now Inner Mongolia, marked both an end and a beginning: from the 1270s onwards, Qubilai's capital moved to Khanbaliq (modern-day Beijing), as the Mongols gained control over the Chinese heartlands and established themselves as the Yuan dynasty.

It may seem odd to begin a thesis focussed on the Slavonic world with an (albeit fictional) description of China. But this apparently opaque connection is precisely the point. To be sure, Chinggis (Genghis) Khan's rise to power at the turn of the thirteenth century precipitated conquests that extended his and his successors' power across swathes of Eurasia.⁴ But beyond the brutal suddenness of these victories – which retain their potency in the historical imaginary of contemporary Mongolia⁵ – they equally fashioned new kinds of connectedness. As Kyivan Rus', the 'Abbāsid Caliphate and Song China disappeared from the historical map, the polities that emerged in their place became subsumed into a much broader Eurasian space. The geographical division of Chinggis' lands after his death in 1227 would ultimately feed into the fragmentation of the Great Khan's authority in the mid-thirteenth century: Qubilai and his heirs took power as the Yuan emperors in China; in Inner Asia, the Chaghatai Khanate enjoyed authority over an area stretching from present-day Xinjiang to the Amu Darya (Oxus); the Īlkhāns governed most of what is now Iran; and in the Slavonic world, Rus' was invaded and controlled by the Jochid khans ('Golden Horde'), through a relationship of arms-length suzerainty from the capital of their *ulus* (realm) at

³ Letter to Mario Lavagetto, in *Italo Calvino: Letters, 1941-1985*, ed. by Michael Wood, trans. by Martin McLaughlin (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2013), p. 430.

⁴ I use 'Eurasia' geographically, without any political pretensions; cf. the debate in: 'Eurasia and Imperialism', *Publications of the Modern Language Association*, 122 (2007), 359-62.

⁵ Orhon Myadar, 'The rebirth of Chinggis Khaan [sic]: state appropriation of Chinggis Khaan in post-socialist Mongolia', *Nationalities Papers*, 45 (2017), 840-55.

Sarai.⁶ The Jochids, whose early military campaigns took them as far as modern-day Hungary, likewise ruled areas around the Black Sea littoral, an area rich in trading contacts. As these khanates became entrenched political actors, so their forms of power became increasingly entangled with the societies they had conquered – entanglements that frequently upend popular and philosophical notions of nomadic polities ruling solely on horseback, dependent on a ruthless military hierarchy and inimical to anything that might be described as the ‘state’.⁷ Put another way, the spatial extent of Mongol authority necessitated discrete forms of power, of the kind manifested by Calvino’s *esattori*.

In that vein, this thesis is acutely interested in forms – historical, linguistic and fiscal. It asks how a trading tax called *tamga*, one element of the revenue collected in the name of the Mongol khans, came to establish itself as integral to rulers’ institutional apparatuses in late medieval and early modern Eurasia. It asks how that fiscal form emerged amidst the ‘nomadic’ mobility practised by Chinggis and his successors, and in turn moulded the institutional evolution of the ‘sedentary’ societies they conquered.⁸ As these societies emerged into a post-imperial landscape of declining Mongol power, the forms bequeathed by their erstwhile overlords became a site of contestation: for some rulers, ambitious to expand their authority, they were appropriated and perpetuated; for others, a reminder of their subjugation, they were approached more reticently, or wholly repudiated. Stretching in its analysis across an area from the Yangtze in the east to the Don in the west – encompassing China, Rus’, Iran, Central Asia and the Black Sea – this thesis interrogates how the novelty of *tamga*, as both term and fiscal practice, could be embraced or resisted. To use Calvino’s terms, such spatial and linguistic distance may have appeared ‘incomprehensible’, but forms like *tamga* created mutually intelligible arbiters between different regions of Eurasia.

My interest in such forms responds to Mongol rule in Eurasia as being conceived frequently as ‘cross-cultural’, yet simultaneously the site of remarkably fixed ethnic and

⁶ On *ulus* and Mongol political ideologies: Lhamsuren Munkh-Erdene, ‘Where Did the Mongol Empire Come From? Medieval Mongol Ideas of People, State and Empire’, *Inner Asia*, 13 (2011), 211-37 (esp. pp. 215-19).

⁷ For the classic statement opposing the nomadic ‘war machine’ to the (sedentary) ‘state’: Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari, *Mille Plateaux* (Paris: Éditions de Minuit, 1980), pp. 434-527.

⁸ On nomads as agents of mobility: Naomi Standen and Monica White, ‘Structural Mobilities in the Global Middle Ages’, *Past & Present*, 238, supplement 13 (2018), 158-89.

religious difference constituting the steppe-sown frontier.⁹ In turn, this cleavage becomes easily enmeshed in historiographies premised on the nation-state, the post-Enlightenment historical concept *par excellence* that defines itself as the product of territory and sovereignty – ‘taking back control of our borders, our money and our laws’¹⁰ – to draw a defined spatial line around a ‘national’ system, and to perpetually reify that system in time.

For Rus’, the question of Mongol ‘influence’ lies at the centre of an ideological maelstrom, both within the Slavonic world and beyond it. Twentieth-century Western historians often interpreted this period through a fluctuating matrix of nationalism, Orientalism and Cold War doctrines that purported to track ‘continuity’, but remain haunted by a kind of neo-Hegelian *Geist*: to believe such linear accounts, the ostensibly free ‘spirit’ of Kyivan Rus’ was traduced by an autocratic and enserfed Moscow,¹¹ possessed of a newly ‘arbitrary and violent’ authority that it either inherited from the Mongols, or had to foment to overthrow them.¹² In Soviet and Russian scholarship, certain historians have merely narrated the relationship between the Mongols and Rus’ chronologically, without recourse to overarching conclusions.¹³ Others, however, teleologically trace the beginnings of the ‘Russian’ state back to the Mongol and post-Mongol periods; the latter view is epitomised by Cherepnin in his *Obrazovanie russkogo tsentralizovannogo gosudarstva* (‘The Formation of the

⁹ On a different question: Donald Ostrowski, ‘The Military Land Grant along the Muslim-Christian Frontier’, *RH*, 19 (1992), 327-59; on the emergence of an early modern ‘sociology of the frontier’ in Russia: Michael Khodarkovsky, *Russia’s Steppe Frontier: The Making of a Colonial Empire, 1500-1800* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2002), pp. 7-46.

¹⁰ ‘EU Exit: Taking back control of our borders, money and laws while protecting our economy, security and Union’, Cm 9741 (November 2018)

<https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/759792/28_November_EU_Exit_Taking_back_control_of_our_borders_money_and_laws_while_protecting_our_economy_security_and_Union_1_.pdf> [accessed 1 May 2022].

¹¹ George Vernadsky, *The Mongols and Russia* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1953), p. 335.

¹² Richard Pipes, *Russia under the Old Regime* (New York: Charles Scribner’s Sons, 1974), p. 57; Charles J. Halperin, ‘George Vernadsky, Eurasianism, the Mongols, and Russia’, *SR*, 41 (1982), 477-93 (pp. 491-2). These ideas are permeated by undercurrents of Wittfogel’s ‘Oriental despotism’: Karl A. Wittfogel, *Oriental Despotism: A Comparative Study of Total Power* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1957), esp. pp. 222-4 on the Mongols and Rus’.

¹³ For example: A. A. Gorskii, *Moskva i Orda* (Moscow: Nauka, 2000).

Russian Centralised State', 1960),¹⁴ followed by more recent figures like Kul'pin, who argues that the Mongol political legacy in Russia was no 'fact' (*fakt*), but a 'conception' (*poniatie*) of rule.¹⁵ More sinisterly, such nebulous 'influences' offer a veneer of scholarly respectability to ethnocentric ideologies of 'Eurasianism' – espoused above all by Lev Gumilev, who posited a Eurasian 'superethnos', with Russia at its head¹⁶ – a line blurred further by the Kremlin's present invocations of 'Eurasia' as a fillip to its irredentist ambitions.¹⁷

Even those Western historians who seek to 'correct' these perceptions fall into anachronistic traps. Mark Smith's inauspicious attempt to argue against the 'phobias' surrounding 'Russian' history by using 'agreed-upon facts' adopts a range of widely drawn tropes: Gumilev's favourite 'Black Legend' of Russian history; that 'the Mongols, at one time or another, controlled many of today's great states without Mongolizing [?!] them'; and whether certain political ideas lie within 'Russia's DNA'.¹⁸ Such essentialised cultural notions help nobody; while it is tempting to dismiss such arguments as wholly unserious, they implicitly structure even more self-reflective conceptions of Mongol suzerainty in Rus', which remain obsessed by the issue of extent over a putative whole. The question posed is

¹⁴ L. V. Cherepnin, *Obrazovanie russkogo tsentralizovannogo gosudarstva v XIV-XV vekakh* (Moscow: Izdatel'stvo sotisal'no-ekonomicheskoi literatury, 1960).

¹⁵ E. S. Kul'pin, *Zolotaia Orda: problemy genezisa rossiiskogo gosudarstva* (Moscow: Moskovskii litsei, 1998), p. 127.

¹⁶ For a succinct statement of this thesis: L. N. Gumilev, *Ot Rusi k Rossii: ocherki etnicheskoi istorii* (Moscow: Ekopros, 1992), pp. 292-300.

¹⁷ The secondary literature on Eurasianism is vast; for a summary of Gumilev's views on the Mongols: Mark Bassin, *The Gumilev Mystique: Biopolitics, Eurasianism, and the Construction of Community in Modern Russia* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2016), pp. 93-9.

¹⁸ Mark Smith, *The Russia Anxiety, And How History Can Resolve It* (London: Penguin, 2020), pp. 76, 81, 229. His 'agreed-upon facts' (p. 400, n. 1) rely on a synthesis compiled by Andrei Sakharov that lacks any consideration of how Rus' responded institutionally to Mongol suzerainty: *Istoriia Rossii s drevneishikh vremen do nachala XXI veka*, ed. by A. N. Sakharov (Moscow: AST: Astrel', 2008), pp. 214-16. On the disputes around Sakharov's tenure as director of the Institute of History of the Russian Academy of Sciences, see, among others: Sergei Ivanov, 'Delo ne v Sakharove', *polit.ru*, 29 December 2008

<<https://polit.ru/article/2008/12/29/sakharov/>> [accessed 12 June 2023].

invariably, ‘*how far* did the Mongols influence Moscow (or more often, ‘Russia’)’, as if historical change can be measured in pluses and minuses.¹⁹

Similar tendencies can be observed in books devoted to other regions explored by this thesis. Anglophone *longue durée* studies of Iran, for instance, tend to treat the Īlkhānīd period as an interlude, to be dispensed with briefly and treated in wholly binary terms – a sedentary Persianate milieu set against nomadic interlopers. To Axworthy, for example, ‘the Persian class of scholars and administrators had pulled off their trick of conquering the conquerors’;²⁰ Katouzian, meanwhile, considers it ‘difficult to credit the Mongol regime in Persia with much positive achievement’.²¹ At the other end of Eurasia, the *Cambridge History of China* encompasses the Yuan dynasty in a volume devoted to ‘alien regimes’, as if only conditionally perceived as Chinese; in Rossabi’s terms, the Yuan has constituted a perpetual Cinderella, always ‘the step-sister in the study of China’ compared to the Song and Ming dynasties.²² This trajectory is reversed in much of the historiography on Italian trading outposts in the Black Sea, in which Venetian and Genoese merchants operated as ‘first colonisers’, presaging the Columbian exchange by two centuries and acting without recourse to Mongol power.²³

For all these critiques, it remains important not to overegg the historiographical pudding, and recent analysis of wider Mongol history offers a route out of nationally centred binds. In particular, Thomas Allsen’s work on the ‘cultural transmission’ engendered by the so-called *pax Mongolica* – in textiles, knowledge production and the pearl trade – demonstrates how thinking of the Mongols as *arbiters* overcomes the implicit barbarian–

¹⁹ Figes’ recent summary, for instance, still talks of ‘positive advances’ under the Mongols that simultaneously left ‘their [the Russian lands’] people toughened’: Orlando Figes, *The Story of Russia* (London: Bloomsbury, 2022), pp. 49-56; cf. Mark Galeotti, *A Short History of Russia* (London: Ebury Press, 2020), pp. 42-6.

²⁰ Michael Axworthy, *Iran: Empire of the Mind* (London: Penguin, 2008), p. 105.

²¹ Homa Katouzian, *The Persians: Ancient, Mediaeval and Modern Iran* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009), p. 106.

²² Morris Rossabi, ‘Introduction’, in *Eurasian Influences on Yuan China*, ed. by Morris Rossabi (Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 2013), pp. ix-xviii (p. ix).

²³ For a rebuttal to this view: Nicola di Cosmo, ‘Black Sea Emporia and the Mongol Empire: A Reassessment of the Pax Mongolica’, *JESHO*, 53 (2010), 83-108.

civilised binary in much nationally oriented scholarship.²⁴ Allsen's legacy runs through many recent approaches to Mongol and post-Mongol history: scholars such as Reuven Amitai, Michal Biran, Nicola di Cosmo and Timothy May have recalibrated attention on the connections, networks and mediators that moved *across* and *between* spaces hitherto explored discretely.²⁵ That Rus' and Moscow are often missing from these studies – which mainly consider the lines of transmission that criss-crossed 'inner Asia', rather than venturing further north or south – is a gap I aim to fill in this thesis. I do not seek to prove national perspectives 'false' on their own terms, but to follow instead Allsen and his successors in redrawing the rules of the game.

One way of making sense of the texts – handbooks, charters, chronicles – in the chapters that follow is to use *tamga* as an overarching through-line. Even in comparative work on the khanates, *tamga* remains remarkably unexplored. Both Franz Schurmann's seminal work on Mongol taxation, and John Masson Smith's subsequent attempt to nuance Schurmann's interpretations, merely accept earlier notions of *tamga* as a persistent 'commercial tax', or as a 'capital levy', without exploring its shifting fortunes.²⁶ By contrast, Roman Pochekaev's recent article does compare *tamga* across Eurasia, but on a much smaller scale than what I attempt here; his analysis derives mainly from narrative and secondary material, rather than from the bureaucratic sources themselves.²⁷

²⁴ Thomas T. Allsen, *Commodity and Exchange in the Mongol Empire: A Cultural History of Islamic Textiles* (Cambridge: CUP, 1997), esp. pp. 97-108; Thomas T. Allsen, *Culture and Conquest in Mongol Eurasia* (Cambridge: CUP, 2001), esp. pp. 189-92; Thomas T. Allsen, *The Steppe and the Sea: Pearls in the Mongol Empire* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2019), esp. pp. 10-15.

²⁵ For a representative sample: *Mongols, Turks, and Others: Eurasian Nomads and the Sedentary World*, ed. by Reuven Amitai and Michal Biran (Leiden: Brill, 2005); *The Cambridge History of Inner Asia: The Chinggisid Age*, ed. by Nicola di Cosmo and others (Cambridge: CUP, 2009); *Nomads as Agents of Cultural Change: The Mongols and their Eurasian Predecessors*, ed. by Reuven Amitai and Michal Biran (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2015); *Along the Silk Roads in Mongol Eurasia: Generals, Merchants, and Intellectuals*, ed. by Michal Biran and others (Oakland: University of California Press, 2020); *New Approaches to Ilkhanid History*, ed. by Timothy May and others (Leiden: Brill, 2020).

²⁶ H. F. Schurmann, 'Mongol Tributary Practices of the Thirteenth Century', *HJAS*, 19 (1956), 304-89 (p. 351); John Masson Smith, 'Mongol and Nomadic Taxation', *HJAS*, 30 (1970), 46-85 (p. 57).

²⁷ R. Yu. Pochekaev, 'Tamgha and the Struggle Against It: On the History of [sic] Medieval Turkic-Mongol Taxation System', *ZO*, 4 (2016), 77-95.

A case in point is Moscow, where historians have tended to accept *tamga* as a political and etymological *sine qua non*, rather than interrogate its evolution. Charles Halperin and Donald Ostrowski, for example, disagree strongly on various attributes of post-Mongol Moscow and their ostensible debt to the khans – the so-called ‘Boyar Council’, bureaucratic functionaries, the ‘dual administrative system’ dividing military and ‘civilian’ responsibilities – but on *tamga* their remarks concur. Besides referencing its etymology, Halperin considers laconically that *tamga* ‘may reflect another institutional borrowing’;²⁸ Ostrowski, likewise, simply lists *tamga* as among those taxes endowed to Moscow by the Mongols, but remains vague about the exact contours of its impact.²⁹

Despite their various geographical and political contexts, that the documents I consider in this thesis often use the same word to posit a particular fiscal form reflects participation in a system enabled by Mongol imperial expansion. My suggestion is that attending to the linguistic terms of expression – where *tamga* features, where it is absent, where it transforms and is transformed – allows the systems created by nomadic power to be re-centred. This is not, as one scholar once suggested to me, merely identifying the same word in various documents; rather, it is an effort to trace institutional evolutions that straddle commonly accepted ‘cultural’ boundaries.

Within ‘global history’, the role of language has often been given short shrift. Comparing or connecting two places, in a bid to reveal hitherto undisclosed meaning – *here*, *there*, so on some level *everywhere* – necessarily abstracts the original terms of the source material. To the extent that all productive thought implies abstraction, this kind of leap is impossible to avoid; but global history often positions itself as uniquely capable of transcending earlier concepts and categories.³⁰ Partly this reluctance to engage with language flows from the implicit opposition between ‘global’ and ‘national’; but it also

²⁸ Charles Halperin, *Russia and the Golden Horde* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1985), p. 91; Charles J. Halperin, ‘Muscovite Political Institutions in the 14th Century’, *Kritika*, 2 (2000), 237-57 (p. 238).

²⁹ Donald Ostrowski, *Muscovy and the Mongols: Cross-Cultural Influences on the Steppe Frontier, 1304-1589* (Cambridge: CUP, 1998), pp. 118-19; Donald Ostrowski, ‘The Mongol Origins of Muscovite Political Institutions’, *SR*, 49 (1990), 525-42 (p. 534).

³⁰ For one example: Sebastian Conrad, *What Is Global History?* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2016).

reflects a tendency to postulate new systems of interaction and integration. Figures such as Immanuel Wallerstein and Janet Abu-Lughod, for instance, have proposed various configurations of ‘world systems’ defined by exchange and the circulation of goods.³¹

Accepting Geraldine Heng’s invitation to move past ‘economic macrostructures pitched at high altitude’, however, I treat taxation not as a conduit to hidden *economic* patterns – for which the data that can be extrapolated from pre-modern sources is patchy at best – but as the manifestation of modes of institutional thinking, and for what these suggest about Mongol and post-Mongol political forms.³² In this I adopt insights from the ‘new fiscal sociology’, which explores how taxation reveals aspects of social organisation, albeit still at a schematically high level.³³ If sociology assumes the existence of a bounded *society*, the scope of this thesis is necessarily wider: I aim to show not how tax reflects a particular society *in toto*, but how it can illuminate processes across ostensible societal boundaries.

Amidst the diversity of the sources discussed in this thesis, forms offer one way to bridge the gap between word and deed. Here, far from the pre-modern past, I build on Caroline Levine’s 2015 book *Forms*, which sought to recalibrate the literary form–content divide away from traditional understandings of form as textual arrangement; instead, she posits form as encompassing ‘all shapes and configurations, all ordering principles, all patterns of repetition and difference’.³⁴ In particular, Levine’s focus on the *affordances* of form offers a way of thinking through their impact: adopting the term from design theory,

³¹ Janet Abu-Lughod, *Before European Hegemony: The World System, A.D. 1250-1350* (New York: OUP, 1989). For a summary of Wallerstein’s views: Immanuel Wallerstein, *World-Systems Analysis: An Introduction* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2004).

³² Geraldine Heng, *The Global Middle Ages: An Introduction* (Cambridge: CUP, 2021), p. 53.

³³ Isaac William Martin, Ajay K. Mehrotra and Monica Prasad, ‘The Thunder of History: The Origins and Development of the New Fiscal Sociology’, in *The New Fiscal Sociology: Taxation in Comparative and Historical Perspective*, ed. by Isaac William Martin, Ajay K. Mehrotra and Monica Prasad (Cambridge: CUP, 2009), pp. 1-27; Peter F. Bang, ‘Tributary empires and the New Fiscal Sociology: some comparative reflections’, in *Fiscal Regimes and the Political Economy of Premodern States*, ed. by Andrew Monson and Walter Scheidel (Cambridge: CUP, 2015), pp. 537-56.

³⁴ Caroline Levine, *Forms: Whole, Rhythm, Hierarchy, Network* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2015), p. 3.

she sees in ‘affordances’ the ‘range of potentialities’ carried by forms.³⁵ In other words, form is not a sterile imprint after the fact, but an arrangement that actively *does* things.

At first glance, Levine pursues the opposite analytical direction to history *qua* history, not least in the latter’s disciplinary self-fashioning against literary criticism. Put crudely, historians decentre the text in favour of the unspoken forms lying around, behind and beyond it – forms that become their epistemological object – while literary critics reverse that flight, distilling how putatively external forms are manifested in the text-as-object. Yet Levine is not averse to using specific historical examples, including the ‘form’ of the cloister in medieval Europe, an example she derives from a single secondary source.³⁶ This may sound like I am criticising Levine, like those who query her paradigm’s ostensible over-expansiveness;³⁷ instead, I would suggest that focussing on the literary clouds certain implications of her formalism, namely, that non-literary (historical, sociological, ideological) forms are themselves attested through textual form.

I appreciate the risk here of encouraging a circular, post-disciplinary mêlée, in which forms incessantly rebound off each other, and nothing is ever resolved. But my concern is rather to trace two particular relationships: first, how *tamga* posited particular kinds of historical form, as arranged or repeated activity; and second, how that form eventually embedded itself in different regions of Eurasia. Thinking about forms is especially productive for fiscal innovations, the *thinginess* of which is necessarily dubious: taxes are not objects, but only ever repeated practice (even if the income was indeed tangible). Such forms do – and did – not exist in a vacuum, but as part of interlocking systems that modulate their subsequent evolution.³⁸ One such system, of course, is language itself, and part of my concern is to ask how *tamga* and its cognates survived in certain linguistic contexts (Slavonic, Persian, Latin), but were never embraced in others (Chinese).

³⁵ Levine, p. 8.

³⁶ Ibid., pp. 37; 159, n. 29.

³⁷ For instance: Winfried Fluck, ‘The Limits of Critique and the Affordances of Form: Literary Studies after the Hermeneutics of Suspicion’, *American Literary History*, 31 (2019), 229-48 (pp. 239-44).

³⁸ My conception of systems owes much to Niklas Luhmann, who perceives systems as autopoietic (self-replicating) and differentiated: Niklas Luhmann, *Theory of Society*, trans. by Rhodes Barrett, 2 vols (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2012-13), esp. II, pp. 1-165.

By talking of ‘linguistic contexts’, I realise I may be merely using language as a proxy ‘nation’, held together by semantic glue, rather than as the ‘imagined community’ of an *ethnos* or *res publica*.³⁹ Equally, in thinking with etymology, it is easy to become seduced by – to follow the twentieth-century French writer Jean Paulhan – an implied ‘common reason’ that clouds changing word use.⁴⁰ That *tamga* remains the root of the modern Russian word for customs, *tamozhnia*, may reflect a twist of fate, invisible to the modern observer, rather than any meaningful political legacy. Susan Reynolds offered a similar warning that, compared to concepts and phenomena, words are ‘the least significant [tool] for the historian of society’.⁴¹ If I have understood Reynolds correctly, her suspicion of words is that they mask themselves: to lie, conceal or mitigate their action. Here again, however, Levine’s conception of forms and their affordances proves a useful counterpoint to such scepticism, allowing a line to be postulated between the word used in the historical record and what it *did* as a marker of bureaucratic practice.⁴²

Insofar as such practice constituted a messy game of managing repetition, top-down approaches only reveal so much. A useful adjunct to this argument is found in the German historian Ulla Kypta’s monograph on the twelfth-century emergence of the English exchequer, *Die Autonomie der Routine* (‘The Autonomy of Routine’, 2014).⁴³ Kypta’s argument that the post-Conquest exchequer developed a new institutional vocabulary through routine and repetition has attracted less attention in the Anglophone scholarship than might be expected;⁴⁴ her challenge to a monarch-centric view of political change sits at odds with hierarchical assumptions underpinning institutional evolution. My goal in this thesis is to extend this kind of endeavour across a much wider scale – to ask how the use of *tamga* as a form makes manifest processes of institutional change otherwise hidden from view.

³⁹ Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities* (London: Verso, 1983).

⁴⁰ Jean Paulhan, *La preuve par l’étymologie* (Paris: Éditions de Minuit, 1953), p. 77 (‘raison commune’).

⁴¹ Susan Reynolds, *Fiefs and Vassals: The Medieval Evidence Reinterpreted* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994), p. 13.

⁴² Cf. *PI*, §23, p. 14.

⁴³ Ulla Kypta, *Die Autonomie der Routine: wie im 12. Jahrhundert das englische Schatzamt entstand* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2014).

⁴⁴ The exceptions are a review by John Sabapathy, in *German Historical Institute London Bulletin*, 38 (2016), 40-6; and: Chris Wickham, *Medieval Europe* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2016), p. 275, n. 31.

Rather than adopt a single methodology from the prisms that have gained recent currency in global history (comparative, connected, entangled, polycentric), I am interested in how thinking about words, forms and practice offers a different route to tracing historical change on a ‘global’, or at least ‘cross-cultural’, level. Here I build on recent efforts to marry global history with the conceptual history (*Begriffsgeschichte*) developed by Reinhart Koselleck and his colleagues in post-war Germany.⁴⁵ One of Koselleck’s key tenets is the existence of conceptually ‘repeatable structures’ (*Wiederholungsstrukturen*), contrasted with – or set in motion by – a certain singularity (*Einmaligkeit*) that permits innovation in both language and history.⁴⁶ In one sense, of course, this division merely replicates the notion of continuity and change, expressed conceptually; and my concern in this thesis is with a kind of tax, not simply with thinking *about* tax. My suggestion, however, is that the division is often too sharply drawn, especially for the pre-modern period: is anything that can be accessed historically really removed from a conceptualising ‘intellect’?

Forms yet again offer a route to bridging this hermeneutic gap, in their affordances allowing the concepts of the written record to be mapped on to contingent – and often shifting – practice. Indeed, the use of *tamga* in the sources implies that it could be conceived, *begriffen*: grasped as something external to the word itself. The question to elucidate is how that changed. As Wittgenstein put it in the *Philosophical Investigations*, philosophy:

...must not interfere in any way with the actual use of language [*tatsächliche[r] Gebrauch der Sprache*], so it can in the end only describe [*beschreiben*] it.

For it cannot justify [*begründen*] it either.

It leaves everything as it is.⁴⁷

⁴⁵ Margrit Pernau and Dominic Sachsenmaier, ‘History of Concepts and Global History’, in *Global Conceptual History: A Reader*, ed. by Margrit Pernau and Dominic Sachsenmaier (London: Bloomsbury, 2016), pp. 1-27.

⁴⁶ Reinhart Koselleck, ‘Wiederholungsstrukturen in Sprache und Geschichte’, in Reinhart Koselleck, *Vom Sinn und Unsinn der Geschichte* (Berlin: Suhrkamp, 2014), pp. 96-114 (p. 111); also: Reinhart Koselleck, ‘A Response to Comments on the *Geschichtliche Grundbegriffe*’, in *The Meaning of Historical Terms and Concepts: New Studies on Begriffsgeschichte*, ed. by Hartmut Lehmann and Melvin Richter (Washington, DC: German Historical Institute, 1996), pp. 59-70 (pp. 67-8).

⁴⁷ *PI*, §124, p. 55.

So too for history, which must leave everything as it was. This is not an attempt to return to Ranke, that everything must be *wie es eigentlich gewesen*, as if the past can be replicated wholesale; rather, it seeks to replace the *post hoc*, essentialising question of extent ('how far did the Mongols influence Moscow?') with a humbler approach. I do not seek to diagnose anything here about the 'nature' of states or systems, but instead trace – as far as possible – the scope, contingency and use (*Gebrauch*) of *tamga* in Mongol and post-Mongol Eurasia.

In extending these considerations towards the 'global', I adopt the interest in scales invoked by Jacques Revel and others,⁴⁸ to zoom in and out across spaces of analysis. Recent historical and theoretical work has turned towards the 'glocal' (global + local) or, even more extremely, 'global microhistory', to split the difference between macro- and microhistorical models.⁴⁹ Such paradigms are not without their critics, not least Jan de Vries, who dismisses the zooming 'metaphor' as 'fantasy'.⁵⁰ This may be true if the starting point is a certain abstract scale imposed by the historian, rather than a form like *tamga*, which in its use must necessarily move through scales beyond itself. Put differently, the repeated use of a particular form *distils* processes acting on multiple scales: otherwise, how could it exist in the record? *Tamga* could be used as an immediate, local form – for instance, exempting a particular monastery from tax, or charged at a specific node of exchange – while also manifesting 'global' trajectories that led to its appearance in local records.

With such scales in mind, this thesis proceeds broadly geographically. In chapter I, I explore the earliest evidence for Mongol trading taxation, including its possible introduction by the Khitan minister Yelu Chucai, and its extraction under the Great Khan Ögödei (1229-41). I then compare the evolution of *tamga* as a form at either end of the 'Silk Roads': first, in Yuan China, where it was integrated into the pre-existing Chinese term *shangshui* ('merchant tax'); and then on the Black Sea littoral, where the Jochid khans extracted *tamga* from Italian merchants, who conceptually integrated it into the *commercium* they paid at

⁴⁸ *Jeux d'échelles. La micro-analyse à l'expérience*, ed. by Jacques Revel (Paris: Gallimard-Seuil, 1996), esp. Bernard Lepetit, 'De l'échelle en histoire', pp. 71-94.

⁴⁹ Rosi Braidotti, *Transpositions: On Nomadic Ethics* (Cambridge: Polity, 2006), pp. 30-2; for a summary of the literature on 'global microhistory': Romain Bertrand and Guillaume Calafat, 'La microhistoire globale: affaire(s) à suivre', *Annales*, 73 (2018), 3-18.

⁵⁰ Jan de Vries, 'Playing with Scales: The Global and the Micro, the Macro and the Nano', *Past & Present*, 242, supplement 14 (2019), 23-36 (p. 29).

Byzantium. Despite these differing linguistic contexts, I show how the rate in both cases was remarkably similar: fiscal practice extended across these apparently discrete political spaces.

In chapter II, I then ‘zoom in’ on Moscow and its dependent principalities, to provide an in-depth exploration of how *tamga* was appropriated by the grand princes. As they gained increasing sway in late medieval Rus’ – abetted by their Jochid suzerains – Muscovite rulers integrated *tamga* into their fiscal arsenal alongside pre-existing dues, above all a tax called *myt*, charged on goods in transit. The resulting system is reflected in the exemption charters (*zhalovannye gramoty*) issued by Moscow and its neighbours from the late fourteenth century; I conduct a detailed exploration of these documents to trace the evolution of *tamga* in Rus’ as a legacy of Mongol rule.

In chapter III, I ask why exactly *tamga* was so appealing to Muscovite rulers. In the absence of reliable data from Rus’ on the income accrued from taxation, I suggest that *tamga* may have established its centrality in Muscovite practice not merely by the fiscal benefit it served, but also by its very ‘foreignness’ relative to pre-existing dues: whereas *myt* and its cognate forms were implicated in Orthodox discourses against unjust rule, *tamga* remained free from such moral strictures. By dissolving the binary between ‘political’ and ‘cultural’ (or ‘intellectual’) sources, I underline how the appropriation of *tamga* did not occur in a vacuum, but was implicated in discourse around the legitimacy of princely taxation.

Finally, in chapter IV, I widen my lens again, panning southwards to the Iranian plateau, to explore *tamga* (in Persian, *tamghā*) under Īlkhānīd and Tīmūrīd rulers. Despite the lack of surviving chancery material – of the kind extant from Moscow – I piece together a range of institutional, narrative and epigraphic sources to draw a comparative picture of *tamghā* in Mongol and post-Mongol Iran. While the Īlkhānīd extraction of *tamghā* mirrored practice elsewhere under the Mongols, by the fifteenth century the tax was increasingly being castigated as contrary to the dictates of Islam; to obviate the issue, rulers increasingly framed *tamghā* as the alms tax *zakāt*, to enable it to be collected legally. Unlike in Moscow, the ‘foreignness’ of *tamghā* as a once-Mongol form was a hindrance, not a virtue.

My aim in this framework is threefold. First, I seek to show how the Muscovite polity that consolidated power in much of Rus’ over the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries utilised Mongol and post-Mongol forms of governance like *tamga*. That is not to endow these forms with an autocratic ‘ideology’, or to essentialise them as inherently ‘nomadic’; rather, it is to reflect on how polities mould themselves in the aftermath of imperial conquest. Second,

flowing from this, I aim to integrate Moscow into a Eurasian space of connection and entanglement. While recent scholarship has integrated pre-Mongol Rus' into a wider European arena,⁵¹ the period following the khans' invasions suffers from a relative lack of exposure to non-national scales. Rus', Moscow and Russia feature perennially as *sui generis* constructs,⁵² beholden to certain notions of their 'forebears', each successively incomparable and unique. In this thesis, I see institutional change in the Slavonic world as necessarily contingent, dependent on its response to fluctuating political axes (Western European, Byzantine, Eurasian). Such contingency, however, also ties into the need to ensure that the 'Global Middle Ages' does not become a proxy for rehashing 'West versus the rest' comparisons. To that extent, my third aim – not least by structurally situating Rus' 'between' China, the Black Sea and Iran – is to avoid relying on a (western) European intellectual yardstick. As discussed above, *tamga* is not an abstract analytical tool ('institutions', 'taxation'), but a form that *did* things in large parts of Eurasia, but not further west.

There is, of course, an irony here: 'nomads', so often defined by their lack of surviving written sources, ultimately feature repeatedly in the texts of the societies they conquered. To adapt Dipesh Chakrabarty's injunction to epistemologically 'provincialise' Europe,⁵³ to delineate Mongol legacies it becomes necessary to 'provincialise' the documents created by sedentary societies that attest the khans' power. In my conclusion I will return more keenly to this interplay of 'nomadic' politics and postcolonial currents; for now, my suggestion is that thinking formally about these sources allows not only fiscal innovations to be perceived, but also new analytical spaces to be drawn on the map. In Hannah Sullivan's terms, how did *tamga* say 'something new in a new form'? In those regions subjected to Mongol authority, how did that form affect rulers' attempts to release themselves from their subjugation? And in the long run, how might this analysis challenge pre-existing narratives that seek to explain the political fluctuations of late medieval and early modern Eurasia?

⁵¹ Most notably: Christian Raffensperger, *Reimagining Europe: Kievan Rus' in the Medieval World, 988-1146* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2012).

⁵² I am grateful to Caroline Humphrey for suggesting this notion to me.

⁵³ Dipesh Chakrabarty, *Provincializing Europe: Postcolonial Thought and Historical Difference* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000), esp. pp. 3-23.

I *Tamga*: a ‘Mongol’ tax?

That same year, the Genoese and the Venetians were expelled from part of the Sea of Tana...by the Tatars...and the Genoese received such great damage to [their] people...[that a] great [and] tortured discord [erupted] between the Genoese and the emperor [khan] of Gazaria, Soldaia, Solkhat and Tana.¹

Annales Genuenses, s.a. 1343

In 1343, a violent altercation occurred at the Venetian Black Sea outpost of Tana – on the Sea of Azov, near what is now Rostov-na-Donu – between a citizen of the republic, Andreolo Civrano, and a Mongol (Jochid) resident, Khodzha Mir.² The subsequent physical and diplomatic fracas between the Jochids, Venice and their erstwhile Genoese rivals would lead to the Italian polities introducing a *devetum* (prohibition) on their merchants trading on the Black Sea; in an effort to avenge this boycott, the Jochid khan Janibeg (1342-57) laid siege three years later to the Genoese trading outpost at Caffa, on the southern coast of Crimea. Progress was slow, and as the siege progressed ever more members of the khan’s forces succumbed to plague; to believe the chronicler Gabriele de Mussis, the Jochids

¹ Giorgio Stella and Giovanni Stella, *Annales Genuenses*, ed. by Giovanna Petti Balbi (Bologna: Zanichelli, 1975), p. 138 (‘...anno ipso Ianuenses et Veneti de partibus maris Tane...pulsus et expoliatus fuerunt per Tartaros...et magnum Ianuenses receperunt damnum tam personis, quam ere unde magna es[t] torta discordia inter Ianuenses et imperatorem Gazarie, Soldaie, Sorcati et Tane’).

² Favereau suggests that Khodzha Mir was a tax collector, although I cannot find any evidence for this; Karpov merely describes him as ‘influential and rich’ (‘influyente e ricco’): Marie Favereau, *The Horde: How the Mongols Changed the World* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2021), pp. 247-57; Serghej Karpov, ‘Venezia e Genova: rivalità e collaborazione a Trebisonda e Tana, secoli XIII-XV’, in *Genova, Venezia, il Levante nei secoli XII-XIV*, ed. by Gherardo Ortalli and Dino Puncuh (Genoa: Società Ligure di Storia Patria, 2001), pp. 257-72 (pp. 270-2). See also: S. P. Karpov, ‘Génois et byzantins face à la crise de Tana de 1343 d’après les documents d’archives inédits’, *Byzantinische Forschungen*, 22 (1996), 33-42 (pp. 34-7); S. P. Karpov, ‘Ital’ianskie morskije respubliki i Zolotaia Orda. Krizis 1343-1349 gg.’, *PSV*, 9 (2015), 8-43. The Venetian chronicles adopt a decidedly pick-and-mix approach to the details of this event (for instance, sometimes attesting ‘Giovanni Contarini’ as the Venetian involved, not Civrano): Șerban Marin, “*La Rotta della Tana*” (1343): the Viewpoint of Venetian Chronicles’, in *From Pax Mongolica to Pax Ottomana*, ed. by Ovidiu Cristea and Liviu Pilat (Leiden: Brill, 2020), pp. 81-112 (p. 84).

eventually catapulted the corpses of their fallen colleagues over Caffa's walls to speed up their victory.³ The city's residents became infected, abandoned the outpost, and retreated westwards – taking the Black Death with them.⁴

As important as this anecdote is in pinpointing a feasible origin for plague transmission to western Europe, at first glance it is only tangentially related to what this thesis is meant to be concerned with: trading taxation. Yet the economic effects of the *devetum* and its attendant skirmishes were transmitted to Italy more quickly than disease: the Florentine chronicler Giovanni Villani, writing shortly before his own death from plague in 1348, recorded how the price of spices and silk exploded, to the point of doubling.⁵ That both Tana and Caffa functioned as intermediary nodes, connecting the markets of Latin Christendom with the 'Silk Roads', is emblematic of the need to avoid 'sealing off' such outposts as objects of study, to situate them instead in their much wider economic – and fiscal – networks. In that sense, the implications flowing from the political crises of the 1340s extend far beyond the Black Sea: not only to underline how both Genoa and Venice were rarely immune from the khans' reach, but also to demonstrate how their institutional entanglements were the result of longer-term processes stretching the breadth of Eurasia.

As a prism through which to study such evolutions, in this chapter I explore how Mongol rulers sought to profit from trade through *tamga*. The tax – derived etymologically from the Turkic term for a 'stamp' or 'seal'⁶ – features frequently in narratives of the Mongol Empire as a key element in its political evolution, both before and after its fragmentation

³ On the incidents of the later 1340s: Hannah Barker, 'Laying the Corpses to Rest: Grain, Embargoes and *Yersinia pestis* in the Black Sea, 1346-8', *Speculum*, 96 (2021), 97-126.

⁴ The epidemiological feasibility of this scenario has been contested, even if de Mussis' account seems broadly accurate regarding Mongol tactics: Hans Ditrich, 'The transmission of the Black Death to western Europe: a critical review of the existing evidence', *Mediterranean Historical Review*, 32 (2017), 25-39.

⁵ Giovanni Villani, *Nuova cronica*, ed. by G. Porta, 3 vols (Parma: Fondazione Pietro Bembo, 1990-1), III, p. 368.

⁶ *TMEN*, II, pp. 554-65; for this meaning alone: *Drevnetiurkskii slovar'*, ed. by V. M. Nadeliaev and others (Leningrad: Nauka, 1969), p. 530. See also: Mark A. Whaley, 'An Account of 13th Century *Qubchir* of the Mongol "Great Courts"', *Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae*, 54 (2001), 1-84 (p. 48). This chapter does not seek to precisely delineate this semantic duality: presumably the term refers to goods being stamped on payment of the tax.

into discrete khanates in the mid-thirteenth century; in particular, in profiting from trade at fixed points of exchange, *tamga* sits at the intersection of nomadic ‘mobility’ and the ‘sedentary’ societies conquered by the khans. It would eventually sit alongside other forms of Mongol taxation, both monetary and in kind – denoted by terms such as *qubchūr* and *qalān*, themselves the subject of thorny debate, not least around how ‘extraordinary’ or otherwise these levies were throughout the empire.⁷ But characterisations of how *tamga* functioned often impute a uniformity with little reflection in the sources: David Morgan’s view that it constituted a kind of value-added tax, ‘usually charged at 5 per cent on all commercial transactions’, not only obscures the lower rates often attested, but also imputes a remarkably high degree of consistency across the khanates.⁸ Did Mongol rulers in any guise – as khans, arms-length suzerains, even as heirs to Chinese bureaucracy – retain sufficient control over markets to enforce such a rigorously standardised policy?

The piecemeal evidence would suggest not, although – as will be seen – some commonalities do reveal themselves. One of the methodological bulwarks underpinning this thesis, however, is that *claims* to certain kinds of authority, and the documentary forms taken by those claims, can suggest as much about institutional evolution as practice itself. Mirroring my comments in the introduction, sociological interpretations of taxation offer a distinct route to analysing such phenomena by removing tax from the purely economic sphere, to situate it instead in a wider social matrix. In this case, the social matrices were not closed, but emerged at points of cross-cultural interaction: not simply, in Peter Bang’s terms, ‘multifaceted and historically accumulated arrangements’, indicative of a postulated political unity (‘China’, ‘the Great Khanate’, ‘Genoese Caffa’), but forms of repetition and ordering persistently negotiated at sites of contestation and change.⁹

⁷ H. F. Schurmann, ‘Mongol Tributary Practices of the Thirteenth Century’, *HJAS*, 19 (1956), 304-89; John Masson Smith, ‘Mongol and Nomadic Taxation’, *HJAS*, 30 (1970), 46-85 (pp. 48-60); Arsenio Peter Martinez, ‘Institutional development, revenues and trade’, in *CHIA*, pp. 89-108 (pp. 97-8).

⁸ David Morgan, *The Mongols*, 2nd edn (Oxford: Blackwell, 2007), p. 89; May instead invokes a figure of between 5% and 10%: Timothy May, *The Mongol Empire* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2018), p. 156.

⁹ Peter F. Bang, ‘Tributary empires and the New Fiscal Sociology: some comparative reflections’, in *Fiscal Regimes and the Political Economy of Premodern States*, ed. by Andrew Monson and Walter Scheidel (Cambridge: CUP, 2015), pp. 537-56 (p. 552).

In identifying the connective tissue underpinning *tamga*, this chapter is formed of three main strands. First, I assess the evidence for early Mongol trading taxation and its possible roots among the Mongols' predecessors and neighbours as rulers of northern China; I then touch on its integration into pre-existing Chinese fiscal models under the Yuan dynasty, established after Qubilai Khan's conquest of the Song. Second, I track westwards in space and later in time, to investigate the limited surviving chancellery material from within the Jochid *ulus* and its Crimean successor, albeit dating only from the late fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Finally, in the latter half of the chapter I employ the comparatively voluminous records from Italian trading outposts on the Black Sea to trace how *tamga* can be observed under the guise of the apparently generic *commercium*.

By juxtaposing these three apparently quite disparate environments, this chapter seeks to revisit Morgan's conception of uniformity, or rather, how Morgan and his successors have gone about framing this uniformity: tracking *tamga* through its various forms allows not only the shared facets of imperial ambition to be identified more keenly, but also how such fiscal policy was versed in localised currents. The analytical exercises involved can give the impression of an infinity mirror – but the kind at the circus, where each angle refracts another. Indeed, most of the sources discussed in this chapter never use the word *tamga*: instead, they refer to *shangshui* (in Chinese) or *commercium* (in the Italian and Latin documents). Only in the Turkic grants of the Jochid and Crimean Khanates does *tamga* play an immediately obvious role, and yet these sources date primarily from the fifteenth century. By studying these refractions, however, I aim to posit a possible typology of Mongol trading taxation that will form the starting point for analysing the evolution of *tamga* in Rus'.

Chinggisid genealogies: Mongolia and China

If, following Allsen, this thesis seeks to underline the connective capacities of the Mongol Empire, Chinese perspectives of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries tended to perceive the khans' power as a foreign and disruptive force. A flavour of such attitudes can be found in the verse of Zhang Yanghao (d. 1329), a poet writing under the Yuan who invoked earlier dynasties as a synecdoche for the turmoil instigated by the Mongols:

Where the Ch'in and Han armies passed, my heart is sorrow-filled.
 A million palaces built and rebuilt.
 Kingdoms rise,
 The commonfolks suffer.
 Kingdoms fall,
 The commonfolks suffer.¹⁰

The rise and fall of kingdoms – or, indeed, khanates – can be traced through the broad contours of Mongol imperial expansion, elucidation and fragmentation. In particular, the Mongols' position within the political networks north of China, and their possible engagement with earlier models of rule in the region, are easily clouded by the khans' status as the *deus ex machina* of Eurasian history: overwhelming, subduing and transforming surrounding polities that were getting along very nicely before their arrival. Such ideas necessarily obscure the role played by the Mongols in fomenting new institutional forms, both before and after the Great Khanate splintered in the mid-thirteenth century.

Given the preponderance of Chinese-language sources even for early Mongol rule, this section combines two otherwise discrete questions: first, how and when some form of trading tax was established by the Mongols; and second, how this tax evolved under the Yuan dynasty after Qubilai's conquests. Two (accessible) source bases help elucidate the answers. The first is the *Yuanshi* ('History of [the] Yuan'), compiled in 1369 under the first Ming emperor Hongwu (1368-98), and one of the so-called *Twenty-Four Histories* chronicling Chinese imperial history.¹¹ As a dynastic history, the narrative style of the

¹⁰ *Chinese Poetry: An Anthology of Modes and Genres*, ed. and trans. by Wai-Lim Yip (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1997), p. 347.

¹¹ Relevant sections of the *Yuanshi* have only been partially translated into Western languages:

Waltraut Abramowski, 'Die chinesischen Annalen von Ögödei und Güyük – Übersetzung des 2. Kapitels des Yüan-shih', *ZS*, 10 (1976), 117-67: chapter 2, on Ögödei and Güyük

Waltraut Abramowski, 'Die chinesischen Annalen des Möngke. Übersetzung des 3. Kapitels des Yüan-shih', *ZS*, 13 (1979), 7-71: chapter 3, on Möngke

Herbert Franz Schurmann, *Economic Structure of the Yüan Dynasty* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1956): chapters 93 and 94, on economic and financial affairs

Paul Ratchnevsky, *Un code des Yuan*, 4 vols (Paris: Leroux / Presses universitaires de France / Collège de France, 1937-85): chapters 102 and 103, on legal and judicial affairs.

Yuanshi is necessarily modulated and sparse, its information often sporadic: chapter 97, for instance, covering fiscal matters from 1330 to the Yuan's collapse in 1368, contains no information on trading taxes.¹² This evidence, however, can be supplemented both by other Chinese compilations, and by the Persian historians Vaṣṣāf and Rashīd al-Dīn – who will re-appear in chapter IV – in their discussion of the Great Khans' rule after Chinggis. The second set of sources consists of non-normative exemption grants, of the kind that feature throughout this thesis: issued by powerholders to religious institutions, although in China more often preserved as stone inscriptions than in manuscripts.¹³ Their survival in the record reflects the marrying of Chinggisid attitudes towards religious institutions, witnessed elsewhere in Eurasia – exempting these foundations from certain obligations – with both Chinese and Mongolian terminology. To that end, they offer a perspective distinct from the *Yuanshi*, and one that elucidates more keenly how *tamga* was framed in eastern Asia.

Narrative possibilities: the Yuanshi and other histories

Compared to the Slavonic and Persian documents discussed in later chapters, the Yuan sources present an immediate challenge: the term *tamga* was never adopted in Chinese, and both contemporary bureaucrats and later annalists instead use the term *shangshui* (商稅), formed from characters denoting 'merchant' (or 'commerce') and 'tax'.¹⁴ Allsen, however, conceives of *tamga* as identical to *shangshui*;¹⁵ one of my aims in this chapter is to establish whether contemporary scribes likewise perceived of the terms as conceptual parallels, and indeed how far this similarity may have extended to practice.

¹² Schurmann, *Economic Structure*, p. ix.

¹³ For a summary of some – although not all – of these documents: A. P. Grigor'ev, *Mongol'skaia diplomatika XIII-XV vv.* (Leningrad: Izdatel'stvo Leningradskogo universiteta, 1978), pp. 8-11.

¹⁴ I have been greatly assisted throughout this section by: Paul. W. Kroll, *A Student's Dictionary of Medieval and Classical Chinese*, 3rd edn (Leiden: Brill, 2022)

<<https://chinesereferenceshelf.brillonline.com/chinese-english/>> [accessed 13 December 2022].

¹⁵ Thomas T. Allsen, *Mongol Imperialism: The Policies of the Grand Qan Möngke in China, Russia, and the Islamic Lands, 1251-1259* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987), p. 159.

A tax on merchants had existed in China since the Zhou dynasty (1029 BC-256 BC),¹⁶ although *shangshui* is first attested in detail under the Tang (AD 618-AD 907): the eighth-century bureaucrat Yang Yan reformed the tax system in c. 779 to reduce the burden on peasants, establishing that travelling merchants would pay one-thirtieth (3.33%) in those regions ‘where they stay [to trade]’.¹⁷ The levy, however, took on greater administrative significance under the Northern Song dynasty (960-1127). Soon after the latter took power, it established a myriad of fiscal institutions, including a bureau that collected two discrete levies on trade: a transit toll (*guoshui*, 過稅) of 2%, and a sales tax charged at 3%.¹⁸ The *Songshi* (‘History of [the] Song’), compiled in the early years of the Yuan, terms the latter as a ‘halting tax’ (*zhushui*, 住稅), mirroring the Tang reforms to charge where merchants remained to trade.¹⁹ Across the Song dynasty, *shangshui* crystallised and evidently sat alongside, or increasingly above, other monikers, such as the tax on alcohol (*jiushui*, 酒稅).²⁰ At the same time, the closeness of *shangshui* to state-controlled goods is reflected by responsibility for its collection lying with the Salt and Iron Monopoly Bureau.²¹ Later, after the Jurchen Jin invasions from the north, the Southern Song (1127-1279) also established a series of commercial tax stations along the south-eastern coast of China to profit from maritime trade.²²

This interest in profiting from trade was not limited to imperial Chinese dynasties, but also encompassed neighbouring polities. The Jin traded with nomadic groups to their northwest, and with the Southern Song to their south, but information on any fiscal

¹⁶ Ni Yuping, *Customs Duties in the Qing Dynasty, ca. 1644-1911* (Leiden: Brill, 2017), p. 11.

¹⁷ Stefan Balázs, *Beiträge zur Wirtschaftsgeschichte der T'ang-Zeit, 618-906* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1931; repr. 2015), p. 87 (‘wo sie sich aufhalten’).

¹⁸ Charles Hartman, ‘Sung Government and Politics’, in *CHC V*², pp. 19-138 (p. 22).

¹⁹ *Songshi*, [n.ed.], 3 vols (Haikou: [n.pub.], 1996), II, §186, p. 1484. For the Chinese dynastic histories, I have been greatly assisted by the glossed texts at:

<<http://chinesenotes.com/texts.html>> [accessed 8 August 2023].

²⁰ Shiba Yoshinobu, *Commerce and Society in Sung China*, trans. by Mark Elvin (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan, 1970), p. 156.

²¹ Peter B. Golas, ‘The Sung Fiscal Administration’, in *CHC V*², pp. 132-213 (p. 145).

²² Billy L. K. So, *Prosperity, Region, and Institutions in Maritime China: The South Fukien Pattern, 946-1368* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2000), p. 139.

extraction is very limited:²³ while its dynastic history, the *Jinshi*, deals at length with salt and alcohol monopolies, it only briefly records *shangshui*.²⁴ This was introduced only in 1180 and – as under the Song – was charged at 3%.²⁵ A different rate is found in the sources for Song trade with the Jin, which took place at supervised frontier markets: an agreement preserved in what survives of the *Song huiyao* ('Compendium of [the] Song') suggests that Song agents extracted 20% of goods' value, while in the opposite direction the Jin collected 30%.²⁶ Such fiscal distinctions between 'internal' and 'foreign' trade prefigure their inversion by the Mongols, who – despite their often violent internecine rivalries – implicitly suppressed notions of 'foreignness', in favour of encouraging trade across their territories.

Beyond the Jin, there is limited evidence for trading taxes among other polities that either preceded, or co-existed – however briefly – with Mongol rule in northern China. There is barely any surviving information regarding taxation under the Khitan Liao or their successors, the Qara Khitai, even though the latter's ruler, the *gurkhan*, must have presided over an administrative apparatus.²⁷ By contrast, the Tangut manuscript fragments excavated at Khara-Khoto, a site near the current China-Mongolia border, reveal a discrete system of trading taxation under the Western Xia (the Tangut Empire): a fluctuating rate of between 5% and 10% was applied to goods, such as 8% levied on the sale of cattle.²⁸

From these earlier models, it is unclear exactly when the Mongols themselves first decided to fiscally target trade. Unlike other aspects of Chinggisid rule – such as the khans'

²³ Hok-Lam Chan, 'Commerce and Trade in Divided China: The Case of Jurchen-Jin versus the Northern and Southern Song', *JAH*, 36 (2002), 135-83 (pp. 139-40).

²⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 152-8.

²⁵ Herbert Franke, *Nordchina am Vorabend der mongolischen Eroberungen: Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft unter der Chin-Dynastie (1115-1234)* (Opladen: Westdeutscher Verlag, 1978), p. 43; M. V. Vorob'ev, *Chzhurchzheni i gosudarstvo Tszin' (X v.-1234 g.)* (Moscow: Nauka, 1975), p. 245; *Jinshi*, [n.ed.] (Haikou: [n.pub.], 1996), §49, p. 320.

²⁶ Chan, p. 161. On the *Song huiyao*'s transmission: Charles Hartman, *The Making of Song Dynasty History: Sources and Narratives, 960-1279 CE* (Cambridge: CUP, 2020), pp. 24-48.

²⁷ Denis Twitchett and Klaus-Peter Tietze, 'The Liao', in *CHC VI*, pp. 43-153 (pp. 95-6); Michal Biran, *The Empire of the Qara Khitai in Eurasian History: Between China and the Islamic World* (Cambridge: CUP, 2005), pp. 111-12.

²⁸ Shi Jinbo, *The Economy of Western Xia: A Study of 11th to 13th Century Tangut Records*, ed. and trans. by Li Hansong (Leiden: Brill, 2021), pp. 220-38. These fragments are now mostly held at the Hermitage in St Petersburg.

relay system, the *iam – tamga* is not mentioned in the *Secret History of the Mongols*, nor does the text give any indications that the early Chinggisid khans imposed a trading levy.²⁹ Nonetheless, the speed of Mongol expansion in the early thirteenth century created an ideal space for merchants to operate in, from whom the khans seemingly sought to profit, although not at this stage through formal fiscal extraction.³⁰ The first inklings of trading levies postdate Chinggis' death. Chapter 94 of the *Yuanshi* attributes their creation to one of the Great Khan Ögödei's leading administrators, Yelu Chucai. Yelu – who is attested only in the Chinese sources, and greeted with silence elsewhere – came from a long line of officials serving the bureaucracies of northern China, and was born under Jin rule.³¹ Renowned for his skills in both astrology and bureaucracy, he joined Chinggis Khan's retinue, being retained by Ögödei after his elevation to the throne.

Yelu's biography, found in chapter 146 of the *Yuanshi*, includes an important vignette of how he convinced Ögödei to introduce various taxes, including *shangshui*. The compiler explicitly frames the khan's decision in terms of (Sinicised) empire building against (Mongol) expansion of land for pasture, which had been proposed by other advisers: to acquire a 'source of supplies to meet the needs of your armies', with a view to conquering southern China, Yelu proposed establishing a land tax (*dishui*, 地稅), alongside both *shangshui* and revenues from salt and wine otherwise subject to monopolies.³² How much was charged, meanwhile, is revealed in Ögödei's 'biography' in chapter 2 of the *Yuanshi*,

²⁹ *Secret History of the Mongols*, ed. and trans. by Igor de Rachewiltz, 3 vols (Leiden: Brill, 2013), crosschecked against de Rachewiltz's index from the Mongolian text: Igor de Rachewiltz, *Index to the Secret History of the Mongols* (Bloomington: Indiana University Publications, 1972), p. 312.

³⁰ On Chinggisid efforts to encourage trade: Thomas T. Allsen, 'Mongolian Princes and Their Merchant Partners, 1200-1260', *Asia Major*, 3rd ser., 2 (1989), 83-126 (pp. 86-94).

³¹ This biographical information is taken from I. de Rachewiltz, 'Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai (1189-1243)', in *In the Service of the Khan: Eminent Personalities of the Early Mongol-Yüan Period (1200-1300)*, ed. by Igor de Rachewiltz and others (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1993), pp. 136-72. See also: Erich Haenisch, *Steuerrechtsame der chinesischen Klöster unter Mongolenherrschaft* (Leipzig: S. Hirzel, 1940), pp. 11-12; Jerry H. Bentley, *Old World Encounters: Cross-Cultural Contacts and Exchanges in Pre-Modern Times* (Oxford: OUP, 1993), pp. 140-5.

³² *YS*, §146, p. 1044; Robert P. Blake, 'The Circulation of Silver in the Moslem East Down to the Mongol Epoch', *HJAS*, 2 (1937), 291-328 (pp. 323-4) (translation by C. S. Gardner). On the monopoly system: *YS*, §94, pp. 767-70; Schurmann, *Economic Structure*, pp. 175, 209.

which stipulates that 10% was taken from alcohol, and one-thirtieth (3.33%) on ‘other kinds of levy’ (*zashui*, 雜稅);³³ at the same time, it records tax collectors (*zhengshou keshui shi*) being appointed in ten areas in the winter of 1230-1.³⁴ Although the rate of Yelu’s *shangshui* is not made explicit, it was presumably included under the heading *zashui* – charged at the same amount as Tang *shangshui* five centuries earlier.

Despite this record in the *Yuanshi*, various other documents imply that any trading levy achieved little immediate success in the Mongols’ wider administrative apparatus. For instance, Yelu’s supposed introduction of a commercial tax in China was concomitant with the activities of another bureaucrat, Maḥmūd Yalavach (d. 1254), appointed by Ögödei to oversee the newly conquered territories of Turkestan (broadly equivalent to Transoxiana and Xinjiang).³⁵ Yet Yalavach’s attested fiscal reforms seemingly concerned *qubchūr* and *qalān*, rather than trade. Such vagueness extended to other territories occupied by the Great Khans: Rashīd al-Dīn records that one Kōrgūz, appointed governor over Khorasan (in modern-day eastern Iran) in the 1240s, stipulated ‘tribute’ (*māl-e qarārī*, lit. ‘fixed wealth’), but without further specification.³⁶

Such queries, however, also point to the corollary of economic mobility: merchants could profit as much off the state as vice versa. One route was to buy tax-raising privileges: in 1239-40, for example, the *Yuanshi* records a Muslim merchant and rival of Yelu Chucai, ‘Abd al-Raḥman (*Aodou-la-heman* in Chinese) seeking to acquire the tax farm for ‘northern China’; the following month, he was apparently appointed head of several regions’ tax bureaux.³⁷ The possibility of leveraging Mongol authority for profit was even truer for the (in)famous kind of financial partnership between powerholders and merchants that emerged under the Great Khanate, the *ortaq* (*wotuo* in Chinese). Certainly, one of the delimiting

³³ YS, §2, p. 8; Abramowski, ‘2. Kapitel’, p. 125.

³⁴ YS, §2, p. 8; Abramowski, ‘2. Kapitel’, p. 125.

³⁵ Thomas T. Allsen, ‘Maḥmūd Yalavač (?-1254)’, in *In the Service of the Khan*, pp. 122-8 (p. 123); Paul D. Buell, ‘Sino-Khitān Administration in Mongol Bukhara’, *JAH*, 13 (1979), 121-51 (pp. 140-3).

³⁶ CC, p. 237; *TMG*, I, p. 611.

³⁷ YS, §2, p. 10; Abramowski, ‘2. Kapitel’, p. 134. The *Yuanshi* is less forthcoming for Möngke, commenting only on an exemption from ‘taxing the wealth of the population’ (*fulian* [not *shui*] *min cai*), issued after the 1251 *quriltai* that appointed him khan: YS, §3, p. 11; Abramowski, ‘3. Kapitel’, p. 19.

factors on the khans' capacity to fiscally profit from trade lay in their desire to also invest large sums *in* mercantile activity itself, hoping to reap the rewards. *Ortaq* merchants would often use the money from these investments not merely to establish trading ventures, but also to act as high-interest moneylenders: officials responsible for collecting other forms of Mongol tax (*qubchūr*, *qalān*) would borrow money from the *ortaq* at exorbitant rates – in Chinese, 'lamb interest' – to fulfil their quota.³⁸ Needless to say, such myriad debts did not make for a fiscally happy system.

Adequately constraining *ortaq*s' rapaciousness seems to underpin the next reference to trading taxation in the *Yuanshi*, under Qubilai.³⁹ Qubilai's reign marked, in John Dardess' terms, the 'decline of the steppe' in the Mongol governance of China, encompassing more regularised taxation.⁴⁰ A key figure in this transformation was Qubilai's administrator Aḥmad (Chinese *Ahema*) (d. 1282), who – with other 'treacherous officials' excoriated by the *Yuanshi* – attracted the ire of later dynastic historians.⁴¹ According to the *Yuanshi*, in 1263 Qubilai adopted Aḥmad's proposal of requiring *shangshui* from merchants; at this stage the rate is lacking, with the *Yuanshi* stipulating only that it was to be paid at specific bureaux.⁴²

Seven years later, in 1270, however, the rate of 3.33% was fixed for *shangshui*, mirroring its rate for the 'various levies' (*zashui*) under Ögödei.⁴³ At the risk of spoiling the surprise in chapter II, this rate is almost identical to that established in the Muscovite

³⁸ On these practices: Allsen, 'Mongolian Princes', pp. 98-103.

³⁹ On continued resentment against *ortaq*s' tax avoidance in the later thirteenth century: Elizabeth Endicott-West, 'Merchant Associations in Yüan China: The *Ortoy*', *Asia Major*, 3rd ser., 2 (1989), 127-54 (pp. 140-4). Möngke had further clipped merchants' wings by banning them from using the *iam* postal system: Allsen, 'Mongolian Princes', pp. 105-9.

⁴⁰ John W. Dardess, *Conquerors and Confucians: Aspects of Political Change in Late Yüan China* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1973), p. 23.

⁴¹ Morris Rossabi, 'The Muslims in the Early Yüan Dynasty', in *China Under Mongol Rule*, ed. by John D. Langlois (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1981), pp. 257-95 (pp. 278-81).

⁴² YS, §94, p. 771; Schurmann, *Economic Structure*, p. 217; H. Franke, 'Aḥmad (?-1282)', in *In the Service of the Khan*, pp. 539-57 (p. 541). Qubilai was less anti-*ortaq* than is sometimes supposed, lending to merchants at a lower rate (0.8%) than that charged to most borrowers (3%): Morris Rossabi, *Khubilai Khan: His Life and Times*, 2nd edn (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2009), pp. 122-3.

⁴³ YS, §94, p. 771; Schurmann, *Economic Structure*, p. 217; Morris Rossabi, 'The Reign of Khubilai Khan', in *CHC VI*, pp. 418-89 (p. 449).

interprincely agreements that charged *tamga* at one *altyn* to the rouble.⁴⁴ The rate of 3.33% is also corroborated in chapter 103 of the *Yuanshi*, on the exercise of public functions, although not specifically as *shangshui*: outlining the punishment for tax collectors who overcharge by inflating goods' value, it comments – as in the chapter on Ögödei's reign – that the 3.33% levy is simply taken from 'objects subject to the tax'.⁴⁵

The rate also emerges in a further document – dating to 1283 – from the compilation of edicts entitled *Yuan dianzhang* ('Institutions of [the] Yuan').⁴⁶ The decree states that agents should collect *shangshui* according to the 'former rule' (*jiuli*, 舊例) of one in thirty.⁴⁷ Alongside this greater specificity around the amount accrued by *shangshui*, *how* it should be collected also becomes clearer: in 1279-80 it was ordered that the salt, alcohol and commercial taxes (*shangshui*) garnered from the capital at Dadu, alongside from Hejian and Shandong (both south of Beijing), were to be paid to the Salt Transportation Bureau (*yanyunsi*, 鹽運司); such practice mirrors the collection of *shangshui* under the Song.⁴⁸ In both rate and extraction, then, the Yuan looked back to earlier Chinese forms to fashion their trading taxation.

How far Qubilai's reforms were successful can be estimated by adjustments to these provisions in the later years of his reign. To judge from the *Yuanshi*, the rate could change: in 1283-4, at the erstwhile Yuan capital, Xanadu (Shangdu), it was fixed at one-sixtieth; at Dadu (Khanbaliq), one-fortieth.⁴⁹ From then on, the rate kept increasing, although the *Yuanshi* gives no account of why; given the injunctions against 'deficient' collectors elsewhere in chapter 94, presumably the imperial court was in need of more money. The most notable – although also generic – shift came in 1289-90, when the *Yuanshi* records that

⁴⁴ See below, p. 95.

⁴⁵ YS, §104, p. 851; *Un code des Yuan*, II, p. 170 ('les objets soumis à l'impôt').

⁴⁶ On this document: Bettine Birge, *Marriage and the Law in the Age of Khubilai Khan: Cases from the Yuan dianzhang* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2017), pp. 57-77.

⁴⁷ YD, II, p. 803; cf. *Un code des Yuan*, II, p. 170. The implication is unclear, designating either a code ostensibly dating to the Jurchen Jin, or as far back as the Tang: *Un code des Yuan*, II, p. 80, n. 6.

⁴⁸ YS, §94, p. 770; Schurmann, *Economic Structure*, p. 209. Cf. the 'Ta-tu [Dadu] Commodity Tax Collection Superintendency', encompassing *shangshui*: David M. Farquhar, 'Structure and Function in the Yüan Imperial Government', in *China under Mongol Rule*, pp. 25-55 (p. 37 (esp. n. 107)).

⁴⁹ YS, §94, p. 771; Schurmann, *Economic Structure*, p. 218.

‘the commercial tax of the realm was greatly increased [*da zeng*, 大增]’. The official responsible for this reform was Aḥmad’s ruthless successor Sangha (*Sangge*), who persistently attempted to refine Qubilai’s fiscal administration to reduce its deficit; he eventually fell out of favour with the emperor, who had him executed in 1291.⁵⁰ After Sangha’s downfall, the evolution of *shangshui* under later Yuan emperors is obscure: although the *Yuanshi* claims that revenues from *shangshui* in 1330 were more than a hundred times what they had been 1270 – alongside detailing the quotas for each *lu* (regional area) – it remains vague about the rate.⁵¹

Establishing whether *shangshui* can be equated directly with *tamga* is impossible from the Chinese narratives and compendia. A hint, however, can instead be found in the *Jāmi‘ al-tavārīkh* (‘Compendium of Chronicles’), written by the Īlkhānīd vizier Rashīd al-Dīn (1247-1318) at the turn of the fourteenth century. That the *Jāmi‘* looks back from a later – and Persian and Islamic – standpoint necessarily impinges on how it frames bureaucratic practice. Nonetheless, one of the few occasions when Rashīd al-Dīn does attest *tamga* pertains not to western Asia, but to China. According to the *Jāmi‘*, early in Qubilai’s reign Muslim merchants became the focus of a dispute around their method of slaughtering sheep; to believe Rashīd al-Dīn, Qubilai attempted to compel the merchants to use the Mongol method of opening the sheep’s breast and side, rather than slitting its neck. The policy had unintended consequences: unable to practise their religious customs, the merchants withdrew from China, such that ‘the *tamga*...[was] bankrupt [*tamghā-hā shekast*]’, and the khan received fewer gifts than usual. To rectify the fiscal position, it was Sangha (‘Senge’) who advised Qubilai to revise his view of *ḥalāl* slaughter on the recommendation that ‘if so commanded, let them slaughter so that the merchants will come and customs taxes [*tamghā*] may be collected’.⁵² As far as Rashīd al-Dīn was concerned, the tax charged on merchants in China was indeed *tamga*: it and *shangshui* were different words for the same fiscal principle.

This capacity of the Yuan emperors to profit from trade similarly struck Marco Polo, in his paean to the wealth in evidence at Hangzhou (‘Quinsai’):

⁵⁰ H. Franke, ‘Sangha (?-1291)’, in *In the Service of the Khan*, pp. 558-83 (esp. pp. 570-6).

⁵¹ YS, §94, p. 771; Schurmann, *Economic Structure*, p. 219.

⁵² CC, p. 320; TMG, II, pp. 817-18.

...all the merchants who import goods into this city by land and export them to other parts, as well as those who export them by sea, likewise pay a thirtieth of the value of the goods on their own account [*toutes mercandies rendent... .III. et tres por cent*]...⁵³

The precise method of extraction recorded in Polo's account belies Morgan's conception of *tamga* as a resolutely exchange tax: it emphasises import and export, rather than the act of sale. Equally, Polo attests differential rates depending on the item in question, such as 10% charged on silk.⁵⁴ Nonetheless, the focus remains on the locus of exchange itself – Hangzhou – rather than seeking to tax merchants along their trading routes. Likewise, as will be seen later in this chapter, the Franco-Italian text parallels the Venetian fixation on being charged 'III pro centenario' on the Black Sea. While 3% and 3.33% are not identical, their similarity is striking, and the rate of 1 in 30 would outlast the Yuan itself: under the Ming, *shangshui* was still charged at 3.33%, at dedicated collection offices.⁵⁵

Non-Normative Grants

Despite the agreement of the *Yuanshi* and Marco Polo around the 3.33% rate, only Rashīd al-Dīn's narrative offers any possible resolution to the lurking elephant in the room: was *shangshui* the same as *tamga*? By definition, the use of *shangshui* – not least from Qubilai's reign onwards – gestures at earlier Chinese imperial practice. But that is hardly surprising in documents collated by dynastic historians: the linguistic availability of *shangshui* meant that *tamga* was never adopted in Chinese.

A possible resolution to this question is found in the non-normative grants issued by khans and their agents to religious institutions. This material has recently been invaluabley

⁵³ Marco Polo, *The Travels*, trans. by Nigel Cliff (London: Penguin, 2016), p. 326; Franco-Italian text from: Marco Polo, *Le devisement du monde*, ed. and trans. by Joël Blanchard and Michel Quereuil (Geneva: Droz, 2019), p. 421. For the idea that this material proves Marco Polo did travel to southern China: Hans Ulrich Vogel, *Marco Polo Was in China: New Evidence from Currencies, Salts and Revenues* (Leiden: Brill, 2013), pp. 391-3.

⁵⁴ Polo, *Travels*, p. 287.

⁵⁵ Timothy Brooke, 'Communications and commerce', in *CHC VIII*, pp. 579-707 (p. 675); Ray Huang, 'Fiscal Administration during the Ming Dynasty', in *Chinese Government in Ming Times*, ed. by Charles O. Hucker (New York: Columbia University Press, 1969), pp. 73-128 (pp. 100-1).

summarised by Wonhee Cho, although few of the original texts have been translated into English.⁵⁶ Cho's article seeks to establish whether religious communities were indeed exempt – under both Chinggisid khans and the Yuan emperors – from paying certain kinds of tax. Such exemptions mirror those issued in Rus', by both the Jochid khans and Muscovite princes, that are discussed chapter II; Cho concludes, however, that this policy was rather more flexible than is often implied, depending frequently on political exigencies.⁵⁷ Unlike the *Yuanshi* and other narrative compilations, these grants do not simply record a *post hoc* summary of practice; more importantly, some survive bilingually, in both Chinese and Mongolian, allowing a direct comparison to be drawn between them.

The earliest such grant ostensibly dates to Chinggis Khan's reign, issued in 1219 to simply confer the tax-exempt status of *darqan* (*tarkhan*⁵⁸) on two monks; a later edict of Chinggis, dated to 1223 and granted to a Daoist monastery in what is now Shaanxi Province, in north-western China, exempts its monks from both obligations (*chaifa*) and taxation (*fushui*, 賦稅, 'levy tax'), but fails to attest any specific exemption from trading taxation.⁵⁹ By contrast, a more detailed edict is found in a compilation similar to the *Yuan dianzhang*, although more heavily edited and surviving only in a Ming-era copy, entitled the *Da yuan tongzhi tiaoge* ('Comprehensive Regulations of [the] Yuan'); the latter contains a section entitled 'Commercial Taxes and Land Taxes' (*shangshui dishui*) as part of its chapter on religious communities.⁶⁰ Cho translates an edict issued by Ögödei that he dates to 1229 – others attribute it to 1289, under Qubilai – which would query the idea that a trading tax was first extracted only under Yelu Chucai. Unlike Chinggis' 1223 exemption charter, however, Ögödei's grant stipulates that Buddhist and Daoist monks *should* pay 'land tax [*dishui*] and commercial tax [*shangshui*]' if they are involved in farming or trade

⁵⁶ Wonhee Cho, 'Negotiated Privilege: Strategic Tax Exemptions [sic] Policies for Religious Groups and the Mongol-Yuan Dynasty in 13th-Century China', *JESHO*, 63 (2020), 1-37.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 26-7.

⁵⁸ See Favereau's article: p. 51, n. 94, below.

⁵⁹ Cho, p. 5. Cf. Éd[ouard] Chavannes, 'Inscriptions et pièces de chancellerie chinoises à l'époque mongole', *TP*, 5 (1904), 357-447 (pp. 368-71; p. 369, n. 5). On this edict's implications for Taoist-Buddhist relations: Igor de Rachewiltz, 'The *Hsi-Yu Lu* by Yeh-Lü Ch'u Ts'ai', *Monumenta Serica*, 21 (1962), 1-128 (pp. 76-7, n. 186).

⁶⁰ Cho, p. 22; *TTJ*, pp. 717-26; cf. Birge, pp. 64-5.

themselves.⁶¹ To believe Cho, the problem inflecting the surviving Chinese-language grants issued under Ögödei and his successors is precisely their vagueness about the obligations exempted (or not).⁶² His main source is a Chinese doctoral thesis that I cannot locate, so for the moment I am reliant either on Cho's interpretations, or on the more readily accessible published versions shown in table I.1, pp. 46-7; collating these sources nonetheless offers fruitful evidence for commercial taxation.

A crucial example is an edict issued under Möngke in 1252, preserved as an inscription in Shaanxi Province, and granted to a Daoist monastery to enable some of its monks to keep growing vines with fruits destined for the imperial court. Indeed, this kind of exemption as a spur to economic activity – albeit here much more centrally directed – is remarkably similar to the 'monastic colonisation' evident in Moscow in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries and discussed in chapter II. Möngke's grant refers to a putative earlier edict, exempting the monks from paying either land tax (*dishui*) or commercial tax (*shangshui*):⁶³ the terms mirror exactly those in the *Yuanshi* describing Yelu Chucai's reforms.

This principle continued throughout the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries.⁶⁴ For instance, a 1296 inscription at a Daoist temple in Hunan Province records identical phrasing to Möngke's edict.⁶⁵ The same year, another grant attests both *dishui* and *shangshui* twice: first, it cites the supposed precedent of an exemption granted by Chinggis Khan himself, that they should 'not give...the land tax [*dishui*] or the commercial tax [*shangshui*];'⁶⁶ the stipulation is then repeated in the same terms for the concession issued. A 1309 grant to a Daoist temple (again in Shaanxi Province), meanwhile, contains the same

⁶¹ Cho, p. 7; *TTJ*, p. 717.

⁶² Cho, p. 11.

⁶³ Édouard Chavannes, 'Inscriptions et pièces de chancellerie chinoises à l'époque mongole (seconde série)', *TP*, 9 (1908), 297-428 (pp. 357, 359). The Chinese is *dishui shangshui pu ma dou xiu yu zhe* (地稅商稅鋪馬都休與者), 'do not give...the land tax, the commercial tax, [or] horses [for] the post station (?)'; Chavannes translates 鋪 as 'la literie' ('bedding'), but it also denotes an inn or, crucially, a post station; cf. Temür Khan's later edict: Cho, pp. 23-4; *YD*, II, p. 944.

⁶⁴ For a summary of these grants: Haenisch, pp. 45-52.

⁶⁵ Chavannes, 'Inscriptions', *TP*, 9, pp. 387-8.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 389-90: *dishui shangshui xiu yu zhe* (地稅商稅休與者).

Table I.1**Chinese–Mongolian exemption charters**

This table lists those (accessible and published) charters and edicts considered in the thesis that attest either *shangshui* or *tamga* (*tamqa*). Charters are listed as ‘bilingual’ when they survive in both Chinese and Mongolian versions, as derived from the table in Cho, pp. 30-4; if the Chinese charter is published in an inaccessible text, it is marked by ‘—’.

CHINESE

Chinggis	1219	Chavannes ⁶⁷ (transl. Cho, p. 4)
	1223	— (transl. Cho, p. 5)
Ögödei	1229	<i>TTJ</i> , p. 717 (transl. Cho, p. 7)
Möngke	1252	Chavannes ⁶⁸
Qubilai	1263	<i>TTJ</i> , p. 718 (transl. Cho, p. 14)
	1267	— (transl. Cho, p. 17)
Temür (Öljeitü)	1295	<i>YD</i> , II, p. 944 (summary: Cho, pp. 23-4)
[Temür]	1306	Chavannes ⁶⁹

MONGOLIAN

Qubilai	1277/89	<i>MPS</i> , no. 3, p. 14
Temür (Öljeitü)	1301	<i>MPS</i> , no. 8, p. 23
Seüse (a prince?)	1303	<i>MPS</i> , no. 9, p. 25
Qaishan (later Külüg)	1305	<i>MPS</i> , no. 10, p. 30 ⁷⁰
(Empress) Targi	[n.d.]	<i>MPS</i> , no. 23, p. 60
Buyantu (Ayurbarwada)	1312	<i>MPS</i> , no. 13, p. 36
	1312x17	<i>MPS</i> , no. 15, p. 40; no. 16, p. 42
Gegen	1323	<i>MPS</i> , no. 26, p. 67
Yesün Temür	1324	<i>MPS</i> , no. 27, p. 70

⁶⁷ Chavannes, ‘Inscriptions’, *TP*, 5, p. 368.

⁶⁸ Chavannes, ‘Inscriptions’, *TP*, 9, p. 357.

⁶⁹ Chavannes, ‘Inscriptions’, *TP*, 9, p. 400.

⁷⁰ Also: *MM*, no. V, pp. 38-42.

Yesün Temür	1324	<i>MPS</i> , no. 28, p. 73
Toghon Temür	1345	<i>MPS</i> , no. 34, p. 86

BILINGUAL		<u>Chinese</u>	<u>Mongolian</u>
Qubilai	1261	—	<i>MUMS</i> , Khub. I, p. 12 ⁷¹
	1277/89	—	<i>MPS</i> , no. 2, p. 12 ⁷²
	1280	<i>BZBWJ</i> , no. 2, p. 32	<i>MPS</i> , no. 5, p. 14 ⁷³
Mangala	1276	Chavannes ⁷⁴	<i>MPS</i> , no. 1, p. 10 ⁷⁵
Temür (Öljeitü)	1298	<i>BZBWJ</i> , no. 6, p. 101	<i>MPS</i> , no. 7, p. 19
Külüg (Qaishan)	1309	—	<i>MPS</i> , no. 12, p. 34
(Empress) Targi	1309	<i>BZBWJ</i> , no. 8, p. 126	<i>MPS</i> , no. 24, p. 61 ⁷⁶
Buyantu (Ayurbarwada)	1312	—	<i>MPS</i> , no. 14, p. 38
	1313	<i>BZBWJ</i> , no. 10, p. 159	<i>MPS</i> , no. 17, p. 44
	1314	<i>BZBWJ</i> , no. 11, p. 173	<i>MPS</i> , no. 18, p. 46 ⁷⁷
	1314	<i>BZBWJ</i> , no. 12, p. 186	<i>MPS</i> , no. 19, p. 49 ⁷⁸
	1314	<i>BZBWJ</i> , no. 13, p. 197	<i>MPS</i> , no. 20, p. 52
	1314	<i>BZBWJ</i> , no. 9.2, p. 143	<i>MPS</i> , no. 21, p. 55 ⁷⁹
	1318	<i>BZBWJ</i> , no. 14, p. 203	<i>MPS</i> , no. 22, p. 58 ⁸⁰
Imperial Preceptor	1321	<i>BZBWJ</i> , no. 15, p. 215	<i>MPS</i> , no. 25, p. 65
(name beginning 'Kun-dga')			
Toghon Temür	1336	—	<i>MPS</i> , no. 31, p. 79
	1351	<i>BZBWJ</i> , no. 17.2, p. 236	<i>MPS</i> , no. 35, p. 89 ⁸¹

⁷¹ Cf. *MUMS*, Khub. II, p. 14; Jib., p. 33.

⁷² Also: *MPP*, no. IV, pp. 34-7.

⁷³ Also: *MPP*, no. II, pp. 25-31; Haenisch, no. III, p. 61.

⁷⁴ Chavannes, 'Inscriptions', *TP*, 9, p. 377.

⁷⁵ Also: *MM*, no. I, pp. 46-7; *MPP*, no. I, pp. 20-4.

⁷⁶ *MPS*, *MM* and *MPP* date it to 1321: *MM*, no. IV, pp. 54-5; *MPP*, no. X, pp. 67-71.

⁷⁷ Also: *MM*, no. II, pp. 48-50; *MPP*, no. VI, pp. 43-8; cf. Chavannes, 'Inscriptions', *TP*, 5, p. 423.

⁷⁸ Also: *MM*, no. III, pp. 51-3; *MPP*, no. VII, pp. 49-53; cf. Chavannes, 'Inscriptions', *TP*, 5, p. 419.

⁷⁹ Also: *MPP*, no. VIII, pp. 54-61; Haenisch, no. I, p. 58.

⁸⁰ Also: *MPP*, no. IX, pp. 62-6.

⁸¹ Also: *MPP*, no. XII, pp. 77-82; Haenisch, no. II, p. 60.

provisions, although with *dishui* and *shangshui* reversed in order.⁸² In short, the question of religious exemption was often framed by the duality between these two levies – albeit in grants’ Chinese iterations, the commercial tax is invariably *shangshui*.

By contrast, *tamqa* is immediately identifiable in the Mongolian-language grants that survive in the ‘square’ ‘Phags-pa script, created by a Buddhist monk under Qubilai’s reign, and also preserved on stone steles.⁸³ Mirroring the stipulations of the Chinese-language material, these grants betray remarkably consistent formulae for land and commercial taxes, nearly invariably stipulating that the recipient should ‘not give the land tax [*caŋ*] or [the] trading tax [*tamqa*]’. The occasional departures from this formula rarely cardinal alter the meaning.⁸⁴ Equally striking is just how long the formula persisted – until a 1351 edict of the last Yuan emperor, Toghon Temür.

At first glance, it is tempting to merely assume that the ‘Phags-pa formula matches the Chinese documents. The translations of some edicts, however, appear not to have an exact one-to-one relationship: two 1314 grants of Buyantu Khan, for instance, exempt Daoist monasteries from paying *tamqa* (*tamga*) in their ‘Phags-pa versions;⁸⁵ by contrast, in their Chinese iterations, they merely give the generic character for ‘tax’ or ‘levy’, *shui*, without any specification.⁸⁶ Intriguingly, the first instance of a more precise rendering is found in a document that fails to offer any exemption at all: a 1276 decree of a certain Mangala, issued during Qubilai’s reign and mirroring the stipulations of Ögödei’s 1229 grant, states that clergy were not to pay ‘any tribute or taxes other than land [*c’aŋ*] and commercial taxes

⁸² Chavannes, ‘Inscriptions’, *TP*, 9, p. 400.

⁸³ On ‘Phags-pa: *MM*, pp. 1-42.

⁸⁴ For instance, a 1305 edict issued by Külüg, as prince Qaishan, and another – undated – grant attributed to the Empress Targi (‘Dharmabala’s Widow’), both of which attest ‘abtuqayi’, (‘[should] not be taken’ (?)), instead of ‘ögtügei’: *MPS*, nos. 10, 23; pp. 30, 60. Occasionally the editors of *MPS* impute ‘caŋ’ for a lacuna; ‘tamqa’ is invariably present.

⁸⁵ *MM*, nos. II, III; pp. 49-53.

⁸⁶ The stipulation, ‘do not give...taxes or supplies’, is *shui liang xiu yu zhe* (稅糧休與者): Chavannes, ‘Inscriptions’, *TP*, 5, p. 423; 糧, *liang*, means ‘grain, provisions’. In another edict, the given character is different (糧), but with the same meaning: Chavannes, ‘Inscriptions’, *TP*, 5, p. 419. Cho argues that *liang* denotes land tax, and *shui* commercial tax: Cho, p. 17, n. 50.

[t'amqadač'a]';⁸⁷ in other words, they were required to pay the latter taxes. In any case, however, the Chinese renders these terms as *dishui* and *shangshui*.⁸⁸ With only a few exceptions, this parallel is then found across all the accessible 'bilingual' charters listed in table I.1,⁸⁹ from Qubilai's reign up to Toghon Temür's 1351 grant. As for the Mangala edict, to the end of the Yuan, the Chinese replicates word-for-word not only the Mongolian found in other charters ('caŋ tamqa bü ögtügei'), but also specifies *dishui* and *shangshui*.⁹⁰

It hence becomes clear that Allsen is indeed correct to identify *tamga* with *shangshui*. One conclusion is to merely admit this identity, and leave matters there: after all, it is hardly shocking that Mongolian and Chinese would use different words. But as will become evident across this thesis, *tamga* was not *merely* the Mongolian term for a kind of tax; as an increasingly important bulwark in the khans' expansion beyond eastern Asia, its tentacles spread much further as a source of power. To that extent, it was China – and Chinese – that represented the etymological and fiscal outlier, integrating the principle of a trading tax into its pre-existing category of *shangshui*. Which came first, of course, remains a question of the chicken-and-egg variety. Did the Great Khans introduce *tamga*, a tax rendered in the Chinese sources as *shangshui*? Or did the Mongols adopt *shangshui* from their Jin and Song predecessors – embodied by such bureaucrats as Yelu Chucai – and fashion it into *tamga*? The similarity of the 3.33% rate would seem to imply the latter: it is surely too much of a coincidence that the same fiscal principle persisted. The answer, however, is perhaps less important than how, wherever the khans' authority spread, they invariably sought to profit from the trade fostered by their policies.

⁸⁷ *MM*, no. I, p. 47: 'c'aŋ t'amqadač'a buši ali[ba] alba qubč'iri...'. Grammatically *tamga* is here in an ablative form with 'buši' (= 'other than'): *MM*, pp. 83-5, n. 10. See also: *MPS*, no. 1, p. 10; *MPP*, no. I, pp. 21, 23. A similar provision is found in another grant of Qubilai: *MPS*, no. 4, p. 16.

⁸⁸ Chavannes, 'Inscriptions', *TP*, 9, pp. 377-8; cf. Haenisch's criticism of Chavannes' translation, which implies that these dues were exempted: Haenisch, pp. 49-50.

⁸⁹ Exceptions include an exemption restricted to *shangshui*, and with a different operative verb, *na* (納, 'to pay'): *BZBWJ*, no. 8, p. 126; another charter where *shui liang* is attested (cf. above, p. 48, n. 86): *BZBWJ*, no. 10, p. 159 (cf. *BZBWJ*, no. 6, p. 101, where *shangshui* is juxtaposed with *shui liang*); another exempting only *shui*: *BZBWJ*, no. 12, p. 186; and one where the provision is seemingly ignored completely in the Chinese text: *BZBWJ*, no. 15, p. 215.

⁹⁰ *BZBWJ*, no. 17.2, p. 236. Haenisch misreads the *tamga*–*shangshui* relationship, otherwise a one-to-one parallel, by bringing shops into the equation: Haenisch, pp. 68-9, n. 24; cf. Grigor'ev, p. 86.

Jochid and Crimean Khanates: exemption and suzerainty

If the Great Khans – and their successors as Yuan emperors – are primarily identified with *shangshui* in the Chinese material, the same cannot be said of their counterparts at the other end of the ‘Silk Roads’. After the fragmentation of the Great Khanate in the 1260s, it was the descendants of Chinggis’ eldest son, Jochi, who would establish Mongol power on the steppe lands of western Eurasia. Yet amidst rapidly growing enmity between the Jochids and the Īlkhāns, the eventual conversion of the Jochid *ulus* to Islam under Özbeg (1313-41), and the various internecine conflicts surrounding the rise to power of Tīmūr (Tamerlane) in the late fourteenth century, little survives of the Jochid khans’ attempts to codify bureaucratic practice *within* their domain: only from the 1390s, with the khan Toqtamysh’s (d. 1395) rule, do Jochid charters give some suggestion of their administrative apparatus. Likewise, several corroborative sources were also issued by the Crimean khans, the Jochids’ eventual successors as rulers north-east of the Black Sea from 1441. Nonetheless, this section is a necessarily brief interlude between the documentary offerings of the Chinese histories and the Italian archives; yet much like the ‘Phags-pa documents, the Turkic grants in this section do use the term *tamga*, not *shangshui*.

The surviving Jochid chancellery material falls broadly into three categories: first, the charters (*iarlyks*) issued to the Rus’ church and preserved in Slavonic translations, which will be considered in chapter II; second, documents pertaining to Italian Black Sea outposts, explored later in this chapter; and finally, ‘internal’ grants to powerholders or communities under the khans’ authority, usually conferring the immunity status of either *tarkhan* or *suyūrghāl*. From this latter group, of the eleven extant documents dated to before 1500, only four give specific indications of how *tamga* was oriented around nodes of exchange.⁹¹ Immediately obvious is not only the paucity of this material, but how late it is: by this point, the Ming had already firmly established themselves on the Chinese imperial throne. Nonetheless, it is possible to draw some general conclusions from what remains. The starting point for this section is Spuler’s conception of Jochid *tamga* – in line with Morgan’s view – as a systematised exchange levy (*Umsatzsteuer*), designed to profit from exchange and

⁹¹ M. G. Usmanov, *Zhalovannye akty Dzhuchieva ulusa XIV-XVI vv.* (Kazan’: Izdatel’stvo Kazanskogo universiteta, 1979), pp. 29-36.

extracted by specific agents, known as *tamghachi*.⁹² Mirroring the thinness of the surviving source base, little has been studied on specifically Jochid *tamga*, and the limited scholarship merely agrees with Spuler that *tamga* constituted an exchange tax.⁹³

The earliest document to elucidate Jochid *tamga* is a 1398 *iarlyk* granted by the short-lived khan Temür-Qutluğ (d. 1399) to a certain Muḥammad, granting him immunity as *tarkhan*. The grant initially refers to *tamga* only obliquely in its address clause: among the variety of agents it might affect are both *tamghachi* and *tartnaqchi* (officials responsible for weighing goods).⁹⁴ How these figures operated is made explicit later in the grant, which stipulates that ‘in roads and places, at entrance or exit, in Qrīm [Staryi Krym, also known as Solkhat] or Caffa, whatever product they [Muḥammad and his sons] buy or sell, the *tamgha*...and the *tartnaq*...shall not apply’.⁹⁵ Besides the duality between the two dues, both integral to the merchant life-cycle, the invocation ‘in roads and places, at entrance or exit’ implies a broader scope than Chinese *tamga–shangshui*, corresponding as much to transit dues as to sales levies. Nonetheless, the affiliation with key trading points mirrors not only the association of *tamga* with exchange found across the Mongol Empire, but also – in marking out Solkhat and Caffa – with trading locations attested in the Italian sources discussed below.

Jumping forward half a century, remarkably similar provisions are found in a charter issued by the Crimean khan Hacı I Giray (1449-56, 1456-66) in 1453. This *iarlyk* stipulates that ‘if [the grantee] brings long-distance transports with salt or honey...to (Old) Krim and

⁹² Bertold Spuler, *Die Goldene Horde: die Mongolen in Rußland, 1223-1502* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1965), p. 317. *Tamghachi* are first attested in Armenia: see below, p. 182.

⁹³ G. A. Fedorov-Davydov, *Obshchestvennyi stroi Zolotoi Ordı* (Moscow: Izdatel'stvo Moskovskogo universiteta, 1973), pp. 132-4.

⁹⁴ Marie Favereau, ‘*Tarkhan*: A Nomad Institution in an Islamic Context’, *Revue des mondes musulmans et de la Méditerranée*, 143 (2018), appendix I

<<https://journals.openedition.org/remmm/10955>> [accessed 3 January 2023]

For the original text: *Tla*, p. 3. On the etymology and use of *tartnaq*: István Vásáry, ‘Notes on the term *tartanaq* in the Golden Horde’, in István Vásáry, *Turks, Tatars and Russians in the 13th-16th Centuries* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007) [article IX], pp. 1-9.

⁹⁵ Favereau, ‘*Tarkhan*’ (Favereau’s translation with my interpolations); *Tla*, pp. 5-6.

Kaffa, neither *tamga* nor the weighing tax [*tartnaq*] may be taken from his transports'.⁹⁶ Following Temür-Qutlugh in specifying '(Old) Krim and Kaffa', Hacı Giray's grant delineates these 'places' not as transit tolls, but as nodes of exchange; again, that these locations mirror those known from the Italian sources surely reflects the key aim of Jochid fiscal policy to profit from trade. Likewise, in August 1467, Hacı I Giray's eventual successor – on repeated occasions – as Crimean khan, Mengli I Giray (c. 1467-75, 1478-1515), issued a *tarkhan* grant in very similar terms to a powerholder called Khodzha-Bii. The *iarlyk* invokes both *tamghachi* and *tartnaqchi* in the address clause; albeit not specifically directed at Solkhat or Caffa, it instructs that whenever Khodzha-Bii engages in trading, he need pay neither *tamga* nor *tartnaq*.⁹⁷ A grant pronounced the following year, also by Mengli I Giray, reveals greater detail of the Crimean khans' fiscal arrangements. Issued to one Makhmudek, it perpetuates the holdings of the latter's father, Khyzr-ga; as ever, the charter addresses both *tamghachi* and *tartnaqchi*, but rather than granting *tarkhan* status and exempting Makhmudek wholesale from various obligations, it merely reiterates and confirms his inheritance of lands previously held by his father around Kerch.⁹⁸ Crucially, it also enumerates various dues to be levied on trade: the stipulations are opaque, but include reference to a *tamga* due specifically to the khan – as ever, on the sale of goods – rather to a lesser powerholder.⁹⁹

Of the remaining documents: two have not been published or are otherwise inaccessible;¹⁰⁰ one contains no reference to *tamga*;¹⁰¹ and the others attest *tamghachi* only

⁹⁶ Walter Hinz, 'Zwei Steuerbefreiungsurkunden', in *Documenta Islamica Inedita*, ed. by J. W. Fück (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1952), pp. 211-20 (p. 216) ('[wenn] er ferner Wagenlasten mit Salz oder mit Mehl...nach (Alt-)Krim und nach Kaffa bringt, darf man von seinen Wagen weder Tamgha noch Wiegegeld nehmen'); for the original: A. N. Kurat, *Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Arşivindeki Altın Ordu, Kırım ve Türkistan Hanlarına ait Yarlık ve Bitikler* (Istanbul: Bürhaneddin Matbaası, 1940), p. 67.

⁹⁷ I. Berezin, 'Tarkhannye iarlyki krymskikh khanov', *ZOOID*, 8 (1872), appendix I [n.p. (pp. 3-4)].

⁹⁸ I. Berezin, 'Iarlyki krymskikh khanov (Mengli-Gireia i Mukhammad-Gireia)', *ZOOID*, 8 (1872), appendix II [n.p. (pp. 2-4)]. The original text was already lost when Berezin published a copy.

⁹⁹ Cf. a similar *iarlyk*, issued in August 1485 by Mengli I Giray, to one Ibrahim: 'Tatarsko-khanskie iarlyki iz kolektsii Tavricheskoi Uchenoi Arkhivnoi Kommissii', ed. by V. D. Smirnov, *Izvestiia Tavricheskoi Uchenoi Arkhivnoi Kommissii*, 54 (1918), 1-19 (p. 13).

¹⁰⁰ A 1467x79 grant (Ibrahim Khan), and one from 1478x9 (Mengli I Giray): Usmanov, pp. 34-5.

¹⁰¹ A 1420 *iarlyk* of Ulugh-Muhammad: Usmanov, p. 31; A. P. Grigor'ev, 'Zhalovannaia gramota Ulug-Mukhammad', *Voprosy filologii stran Azii i Afriki*, 1 (1971), 170-7 (p. 176); published by

in the address clause, rather than giving some indication of how the levy was extracted. This includes the earliest surviving document, Toqtamysh's 1392 *iarlyk*, in which *tamghachi* are again juxtaposed with *tartnaqchi*.¹⁰² This also the case for a second *tarkhan iarlyk* granted by Haci I Giray, this time to the population of an entire village in Crimea, Kyrk-Er (present-day Chufut-Kale), and dating to November 1459. This grant is less specific than Toqtamysh's – perhaps unsurprisingly given the spatial, rather than personal, exemption – although the address clause still attests *tamghachi* alongside *tartnaqchi*.¹⁰³ Kyrk-Er was home to a Jewish community mentioned in the charter, which would feature prominently in later grants.¹⁰⁴ For instance, the community benefitted from a *tarkhan iarlyk* issued by Mengli I Giray in 1468, which again addressed *tamghachi*.¹⁰⁵

Of course, the question remains of whether any firm conclusions be drawn from this patchwork of evidence, thorny as it is. Certainly, *tamga* was a key element in Jochid fiscal practice well into the fifteenth century, yet none of these sources attest a rate similar to the ~3.33% found for *shangshui*; at the same time, the documents have a consistent view of how and where *tamga* should be extracted, namely at points of exchange like Solkhat and Caffa. Equally, the regularity of *tamghachi* implies their continued importance in Jochid and Crimean bureaucratic hierarchies – presumably to collect *tamga*. But in search of earlier manifestations of both tax and agents in the Jochid *ulus*, the documentary trail mirrors the journey taken by the goods themselves: westwards, to Italy.

Berezin, although he misattributes it to Mehmed I Giray (almost a century later): Berezin, 'Iarlyki krymskikh khanov', [n.p. (pp. 8-10)].

¹⁰² *Tla*, p. 13; this *iarlyk* – like Temür-Qutlugh's – uses the term *tamga* as 'seal': *Tla*, p. 14.

¹⁰³ This document is troublesome; a Russian translation was published just after the 1917 revolutions, but has since been damaged, removing the address clause: Smirnov, pp. 8-9.

¹⁰⁴ On its evolution to the eighteenth century: D. A. Prokhorov, 'Perevody iarlykov krymskykh khanov iudeiskomu naseleniiu Kyrk-Era (Chufut-Kale) v arkhivakh Rossiiskoi federatsii', *ZO*, 10 (2022), 456-81 (although note the author's affiliation, which claims that Crimea is part of the Russian Federation).

¹⁰⁵ Also problematic: according to Usmanov (pp. 33-4), the original manuscript has been further degraded since Smirnov's publication, so the section attesting *tamghachi* is now missing. For the text as in 1918: Smirnov, pp. 10-11.

Black Sea Littoral: competition and contestation

At first sight, the trading outposts established by Genoa and Venice appear in the historiography as wholly antithetical to Jochid authority over the Black Sea littoral. Certain scholarship is overt in its focus on difference: highlighting the challenges faced by Genoa in judicially regulating their outposts, Balletto contends that Crimea was ‘a land largely still unknown and [where Genoa was] faced with a people of which little [was] known of the substance of [their] civilisation’.¹⁰⁶ Briefly, perhaps – but any such period did not last long. Other historians’ lenses reflect more latent assumptions of the nomadic-sedentary divide, not least the description of Italian settlements as ‘colonies’; although not inherently inaccurate, the description relegates Mongol powerholders’ role, instead seeing Italian activity on the Black Sea as the harbinger of later European maritime imperialism.¹⁰⁷

But the question of power divided two ways: which party had the right in principle to authorise trading settlements, and which party had the means to exercise control over them? The answer to the first was the Jochids and their successors as rulers of Crimea: even when the khans’ political strength was diminished, both the Genoese and the Venetians held trading rights in the Black Sea through grants from ‘nomadic’ rulers.¹⁰⁸ Against such theoretical claims to suzerainty, the second question was necessarily contingent on each party’s ability to manifest power. Following di Cosmo’s recent work to re-assess the ‘polarities’ underlying this debate, in studying *tamga* I analyse these outposts as nodes of interaction, reflecting not simply the reach of Italian institutions, but also the khans’ fiscal

¹⁰⁶ Laura Balletto, ‘L’amministrazione della giustizia negli stabilimenti genovesi d’Oltremare’, *Nuova rivista storica*, 76 (1992), 709-28 (p. 723) (‘una terra per grande parte ancora ignota e di fronte ad una gente di cui non si conosce a fondo la sostanza della civiltà’).

¹⁰⁷ See, for instance, Pietro Saraceno, ‘L’amministrazione delle colonie genovesi nell’area del Mar Nero dal 1261 al 1453’, *Rivista di Storia del Diritto Italiano*, 42-3 (1969-70), 177-266. Khalkov criticises the Eurocentrism bequeathed by nineteenth-century scholarship, but still uses the term ‘colony’: Evgeny Khvalkov, *The Colonies of Genoa in the Black Sea Region* (New York: Routledge, 2018), pp. 4-8.

¹⁰⁸ Robert-Henri Bautier, ‘Les relations économiques des occidentaux avec les pays d’orient, au Moyen Âge: points de vue et documents’, in *Sociétés et compagnies de commerce en Orient et dans l’océan Indien*, ed. by Michel Mollat (Paris: S.E.V.P.E.N., 1970), pp. 263-331 (pp. 263-8).

ambitions.¹⁰⁹ In short, how did the Jochids attempt to profit from the outposts, even if they were not always successful?

It is useful to briefly sketch the political machinations among the Jochids, Genoa and Venice in the Black Sea from the late thirteenth century – when both Italian polities emerged as significant regional actors – to the Ottoman conquest of Crimea in 1475.¹¹⁰ Genoa's position vis-à-vis Venice was first abetted in 1261 by the treaty of Nymphaeum, agreed with the (then) Nicaean emperor Michael VIII Paleologos (subsequently Byzantine emperor, 1261-81) to counter the Venetian threat. The Genoese focussed their efforts on Caffa, although by the early fourteenth century had attracted the ire of the Jochid khan Toqta (1291-1312), who besieged the outpost in 1308.¹¹¹ The Genoese returned five years later under Özbek, but the Black Sea still witnessed interspersed periods of flourishing trade and violent conflict, typified by the wholesale chaos after 1343; Janibeg's plague-spreading strategy reflected the opposition of a (rare) Italian coalition, which promptly turned on itself in the 1350s. This interruption – alongside both Venice and Genoa's prohibitions on trading in Īlkhānid Iran – precipitated a turn in Italian mercantilist ambitions towards (Mamlūk) Egypt and Syria.¹¹² In the later fourteenth century, the Jochids fell into internecine conflict themselves; after a brief renaissance of stability under Toqtamysh, Tīmūr's conquests put paid to the Jochids' ability to effect any significant institutional control over Italian Black Sea outposts. As the khans' authority fragmented, Genoa and Venice continued trading at Caffa and Tana, with varying degrees of success, until the Ottoman invasions of the late fifteenth century.

These constantly shifting sands of power highlight again the difficulty in attempting to create an immutable typology of Jochid efforts to establish their authority (fiscal or otherwise) over Venetian and Genoese outposts on the Black Sea. My focus here instead lies

¹⁰⁹ Nicola di Cosmo, 'Black Sea Emporia and the Mongol Empire: A Reassessment of the Pax Mongolica', *JESHO*, 53 (2010), 83-108 (especially pp. 84-7).

¹¹⁰ This summary is based on Virgil Ciocîltan, *The Mongols and the Black Sea Trade in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries*, trans. by Samuel Willcocks (Leiden: Brill, 2012), pp. 150-240, supplemented by Hannah Barker, *That Most Precious Merchandise: The Mediterranean Trade in Black Sea Slaves, 1260-1500* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2019), pp. 132-50.

¹¹¹ Barker, *Most Precious Merchandise*, p. 132.

¹¹² Eliyahu Ashtor, *Levant Trade in the Later Middle Ages* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1983), pp. 64-7.

on how this fluctuating political balance affected fiscal extraction from trade – in other words, how political actors sought to profit from the exchange they facilitated, and which forms they used to do so. First, I summarise the evidence offered by Mongol *iarlyks* issued to the Venetian and Genoese outposts, alongside chronicle and handbook evidence for Jochid taxation. While many of the records attesting the Italian outposts' internal administrative apparatuses remain unpublished in the Genoese and Venetian archives, I then conduct an in-depth study of Venetian Senate deliberations on Tana, to argue that the republic's persistent concern with Jochid fiscal agents implies a more developed institutional infrastructure than might otherwise be presumed. Finally, I study the available documents from Genoese Caffa, which likewise challenge the notion that Jochid taxation had little impact on the city.

Mongol charters

Of the twelve extant Jochid *iarlyks* issued to Italian outposts, ten were granted to the Venetians at Tana.¹¹³ Their survival – as translations in either Latin or Venetian vernacular – offers the most coherent set of evidence for creating a 'typology' of Jochid taxation on Italian trade. Three of these *iarlyks* reveal that the khans levied a tax on goods traded in the Venetian concession, normally rendered by the translators as *commercium*, although with a variety of spellings: 'comercium', 'comerclum', 'comerclo'.¹¹⁴ The translators' choice parallels the *kommerkion* attested at Byzantium as a tax on both exchange and on the import and export of goods across imperial borders, and which varied – depending on the relevant chrysobull – between 2% and 4%.¹¹⁵

Several elements of fiscal practice at Tana stand out from these documents. The first is its rate: it was originally set by Özbek at 3%, and only raised to 5% by Janibeg in 1347

¹¹³ See overview in: István Vásáry, 'Immunity charters of the Golden Horde granted to the Italian towns Caffa and Tana', in *Turks, Tatars and Russians* [article XII], pp. 1-13 (p. 3).

¹¹⁴ *DVL*, I, nos. 125, 135, 167; pp. 243, 262, 312-13. See also: Nicola di Cosmo, 'Mongols and Merchants on the Black Sea Frontier in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries: Convergences and Conflicts', in *Mongols, Turks, and Others: Eurasian Nomads and the Sedentary World*, ed. by Reuven Amitai and Michal Biran (Leiden: Brill, 2004), pp. 391-424 (pp. 396-7).

¹¹⁵ Hélène Antoniadis-Bibicou, *Recherches sur les douanes à Byzance* (Paris: Armand Colin, 1963), pp. 104-155. Cf. Pegolotti's record that 'comercchio' was charged on 'all the lands of the Greeks' ('per tutte terre di greci'): Pegolotti, p. 15.

after the incidents of the preceding years; higher levies of up to 50% were charged on certain types of fur.¹¹⁶ The specific rate in turn enables generic *commercium* to be identified conclusively with the exchange tax employed more widely by the Jochid khans, *tamga*: in a 1356 *iarlyk* issued by Ramaḍān, governor of Solkhat (Staryi Krym), *tamga* is intriguingly left untranslated, the Venetians being required to ‘pay the *tamoga* [*tamga*] of 3 in 100 and no more’.¹¹⁷ As noted above, 3% is not identical to the 3.33% of *shangshui*, but its similarity is surely no coincidence. Second, those not trading were exempt from paying: Özbeg’s 1328x9 *iarlyk* expresses bluntly that ‘if the merchants do not trade, you [will] not seek the *commercium* [*tamga*]’.¹¹⁸ A similar formula is then repeated in Janibeg’s first *iarlyk* of 1342, ‘if they [the Venetian merchants] do not sell, [they] need not pay anything [of the *commercium*]’;¹¹⁹ in his second grant of 1347, issued to increase the tax, this exemption relates more specifically to the agent involved: ‘if they [the Venetian merchants] do not sell, the *comercleri* [tax collectors] should not take anything from them’.¹²⁰ *Comercleri* must surely have represented the Venetian interpretation of *tamghachi*.

The broad powers of the *tamghachi* are evident elsewhere in the same *iarlyk*: specifying the Venetian concession’s boundaries, it stipulates that ‘the *comercler* [*tamghachi*] of Azov and Sichi Bei, lord of Tana, must assign the specified land’.¹²¹ The differentiation of ‘Azov’ from ‘Tana’ is intriguing: if Vászary accurately considers them to be the same place, was there a distinction in purview between these agents, either in the translator’s mind or in the original Turkic *iarlyk*?¹²² Regardless, while the ‘signor’ is described in the 1347 *iarlyk* as

¹¹⁶ DVL, I, no. 167, pp. 312-13. On this and the agreements discussed below: Nicola di Cosmo and Lorenzo Pubblici, *Venezia e i Mongoli: commercio e diplomazia sulle vie della seta nel medioevo* (Rome: Viella, 2022), pp. 109-11, 218-19.

¹¹⁷ DVL, II, no. 15, p. 25 (‘pagar de tamoga III. per C. e non pluy’).

¹¹⁸ Ibid., I, no. 125, p. 243 (‘si non facient mercationes, non petatis commercium’).

¹¹⁹ Ibid., I, no. 135, p. 262 (‘si non uendent, nichil soluere teneantur’).

¹²⁰ Ibid., I, no. 167, p. 312 (‘selli non uende, li comercleri non li debia tuor niente’). In Venetian, third-person singular and plural forms are morphologically identical: Ronnie Ferguson, *A Linguistic History of Venice* ([Florence]: Leo S. Olschki, 2007), pp. 147-8.

¹²¹ DVL, I, no. 167, p. 312 (‘Acoza comercler e Sichibey signor della Tana debia consignar el predicto terren’).

¹²² Vászary, ‘Immunity charters’, p. 5.

holding further responsibilities for dispute resolution,¹²³ the *comercler–tamghachi* is concerned with exchange – where the Venetians were permitted to trade. The Black Sea evidence hence again accords with Spuler’s conception of Jochid *tamga* as a specifically exchange levy.¹²⁴

These documents, however, date from a remarkably limited timeframe, albeit well before the ‘internal’ Jochid *iarlyks* discussed above. Following Özbeg’s *iarlyk*, the next nine span the period from 1342 to 1358; given the volatile relationship between the polities in the mid-fourteenth century, it is little wonder that the Venetians considered the documents crucial to archive. By contrast, the final two extant charters – issued to Genoese Caffa, and surviving in their Ligurian translation – date to the early 1380s. *Commercium* is only listed in the first of these, issued by the local Jochid governor, Cerkes Beg (‘Ellias Bey’), in November 1380. Cerkes Beg acts ‘at the command of the [Jochid] empire [*ulus*]’; but the stipulation is looser than in the Venetian documents, outlining simply that the Genoese will be charged ‘the imperial *commercium* [*comeriho*] according to previous custom’.¹²⁵ If Ciocîltan is correct to view this charter as Jochid recognition of *de facto* Genoese independence from its suzerainty, the omission of any further information may indicate a shift away from the more detailed bureaucratic structures in the Venetian material.¹²⁶ But any such shift did not alter the khans’ continued desire to collect a tax bearing all the hallmarks of *tamga*.

Chronicles and handbooks

Such fluctuations, however, are consistent with other indicators of fiscal practice on the Black Sea. Later Arabic chronicles acknowledge the Jochids’ early interest in profiting from the Italian outposts, but lack specific terminology. Describing the Jochid military commander Noghai’s (d. 1299?) attack on Genoese Soldaia (Sudak), the fourteenth-century

¹²³ DVL, I, no. 167, p. 313.

¹²⁴ Spuler, p. 317; see above, p. 50.

¹²⁵ ‘Trattato dei Genovesi col Chan dei Tatari nel 1380-1381 scritto in lingua volgare’, ed. by C. Desimoni, *Archivio storico italiano*, 20 (1887), 161-5 (pp. 162-3) (‘lo comandamento de lo Imperao’; ‘lo comeriho de lo Imperao segundo la prumera usanssa’); see also A. V. Dzhanov: ‘Tataro-genuevskie dogovory 1380 i 1381 godov’, *ZO*, 8 (2020), 675-713 (p. 700).

¹²⁶ Virgil Ciocîltan, ‘Reichspolitik und Handel. Die tatarsich-genuesischen Verträge von 1380-1387’, *Il Mar Nero*, 1 (1994), 261-78 (p. 264).

Mamlūk chronicler al-Mufaḍḍal explains how its ‘taxes...and other revenues’ had been divided among Mongol powerholders.¹²⁷ While this reflects the khans’ persistent interest in extracting revenue from Black Sea outposts, it does not denote specifically trading taxes, merely that some form of revenue was collected.¹²⁸ At any rate, however, this episode implies that Italian outposts were responsible for providing a true, rather than merely theoretical, payment to the khans: the later agreements were not simply dead letters.

Perhaps more pressing is the trading manual compiled by the Florentine merchant Francesco Pegolotti in the first half of the fourteenth century, entitled *Pratica della mercatura* (‘Practice of Trading’); the text provides an effective list of expectations for merchants, in regions stretching from England to Iran. Near the beginning of the manual, Pegolotti lists the names of ‘what is paid from trade and goods’:¹²⁹ *tamunga* is the term given for Tabriz, ‘all of Persia’, Trebizond, Tana, Caffa, ‘and all the lands of the Tatars’.¹³⁰ The question is if Pegolotti’s classificatory schema – such as attributing *doana* to the Islamic polities and *comerchio* to Byzantium – reflects distinctions in terminological practice on the ground. Unsurprisingly, the categories are not wholly fixed. Describing the situation at Tana in detail, Pegolotti stipulates that for gold, silver and pearls ‘neither [any] *comerchio* nor *tamunga*, nor any tax [*diritto*] need be paid’; for other goods sold at the outpost, 4% was charged on Venetian and Genoese merchants, and 5% ‘for all other kind[s] of people’.¹³¹ Pegolotti’s description of how the khans’ agents collected *tamga* mirrors the injunction given in Özbeg’s 1333 *iarlyk*, that ‘*commercium* has not been received since ancient times from precious stones, pearls, silver, gold or gold thread’;¹³² a more restricted exemption, from only

¹²⁷ ‘Moufazzal ibn Abil-Fazail: Histoire des Sultans Mamlouks (II)’, ed. and trans. by E. Blochet, *Patrologia Orientalis*, 14 (1920), 373-672 (p. 630); translation from Ciocîltan, *Mongols*, p. 161.

متحصلها من الحقوق وغيره

The expected ending on *ghair* is *hā*: ‘Histoire de Sultans Mamlouks’, p. 630, n. 4.

¹²⁸ Cf. Lane, II, p. 611.

¹²⁹ Pegolotti, p. 15 (‘che si paga di mercatantia e di merce’).

¹³⁰ Ibid., p. 15 (‘per tutta Persia’; ‘per tutte terre di tarteri’).

¹³¹ Ibid., p. 24 (‘non pagano nè *comerchio* nè *tamunga* nè nullo diritto alla Tana’; ‘e tutta altra maniera di gente’).

¹³² *DVL*, I, no. 125, p. 243 (‘de lapidibus perciosis, de margaritis, de auro, de argento, de auro filato *commercium* non accipiebatur ab antiquo’).

gold and silver, is found in Janibeg's first *iarlyk* of 1342.¹³³ Nonetheless, the congruence of these distinct sources implies the existence by c. 1340 of a Jochid fiscal schema that had been sufficiently 'institutionalised' to offer fixed exemptions – the *commercium*–*tamga* of the earliest *iarlyks* was not simply rhetorical. Pegolotti's description of the rate, by contrast, is higher than both the 3% stipulated under Özbeg, and the 3.33% of *shangshui*.

Yet inherent in Pegolotti's description of 'tamunga' is the possibility of local difference: his record of trading conditions at Īlkhānīd Tabriz ('Torissi') lists separate rates of 'camunoca' charged on goods sold by weight (5.5%) rather than by length, especially textiles (4.92%).¹³⁴ This evidently 'fitted' the category of 'tamunga' sufficiently closely – either for Pegolotti himself, or more likely for local powerholders – to be considered as such. At the same time, while Caffa is included among the locations of 'tamunga' in the initial list, it is not explicitly mentioned later: here Pegolotti records merely that Genoese merchants pay 3.5%, from which 0.5% goes to 'the same Genoese' and 3% to the (Jochid) 'lord of Caffa'.¹³⁵ This stipulation wholly accords with the initial levy set by Özbeg on Venetian merchants at Tana, but with the addition of Genoese acquisitiveness. By the 1340s, however, such 'internal' revenue gathering within the outposts evidently did not preclude the Jochids' continuing to charge *tamga*.

Diplomacy and discontent: Venetian Tana

This aim is highlighted even more clearly in the records of Venice's Senate, which detail the republic's concern with mitigating *commercium* – and the lengths to which they went to achieve it. In this section, I study the deliberations concerning Tana and other outposts, as a counterpoint to the lack of concrete examples from Caffa. Partly, my focus on Venice is a consequence of source accessibility; at the same time, Venetian merchants were far more dependent than their Genoese counterparts on the capacity of Venice's institutional apparatus to secure their ability to trade in the Black Sea.¹³⁶ Employing the significant

¹³³ DVL, I, no. 135, p. 262.

¹³⁴ Pegolotti, p. 27. 'Camunoca' is a variant of 'tamunga': Walter Hinz, 'Das Steuerwesen Ostanatoliens im 15. und 16. Jahrhundert', *ZDMG*, 100 (1950), 177-201 (p. 191). On whether '4.92%' is correct, versus 3.33%: see below, pp. 194-5.

¹³⁵ Pegolotti, p. 26 ('genovesi medesimi'; '[il] signore de Caffa').

¹³⁶ di Cosmo, 'Black Sea Emporia', p. 96.

written traces bequeathed by that apparatus, my overarching interest is in how, and why, the Venetians spent so much effort fighting for the reduction of *tamga* at Tana – and what that priority reveals about the balance of power between Venice and the Jochid *ulus*.

The frequency of *tamga–commercium* in the Venetian records ebbs and flows, with some registers containing only limited references to the Black Sea. The first appearance of Tana in the Senate's deliberations comes in a debate in February 1333, around the salary to be paid to the Venetian envoy to Özbeg.¹³⁷ Early discussions around Tana often had little explicit reference to the Jochids – for example, centring on the fee to be extracted by the Venetian consul, the protection of galley convoys, or the appointment of ship captains.¹³⁸ Nonetheless, the khans presented difficulties for Venice's consul, Nicolò Nani, who in August 1333 complained 'about a certain *commercium* with which the officials of Tatamir, a senior noble of the [khan], are bothering us'.¹³⁹ Much as in the translated *iarlyks*, can this reference be a linguistic interpretation of anything other than *tamga*? In response, the following February the Senate decided to broach the issue with the Jochid khan's representative as 'lord of Tana', one Muḥammad Khvāja al-Khwārizmī ('Maometo... dominatori Tane').¹⁴⁰

After a lull in diplomatic overtures across the later 1330s, the issue returned with a vengeance in July 1340, when the Senate responded to a report from the consul at Tana concerning attempts by another Jochid powerholder ('dominus Tane') to extract 5% on exchange, rather than the agreed 3%. The deliberations not only mirror the surviving *iarlyks* in their identification of the rate charged as *tamga*, but also its underlying principle, 'on what they [the merchants] sell, from whatever goods';¹⁴¹ the consul is instructed to make representations against it. In one sense, this episode challenges the notion of a reasonably uniform ~3% rate of *tamga* in different regions of Eurasia; on the other hand, of course,

¹³⁷ VSM XV, nos. 537-40; RSVR, I, no. 28, p. 28. RSVR gives French-language summaries of selected Senate deliberations from the *Miste* and the *Secreti*; I have used the *Miste* for those years that they have been published (up to 1375), alongside RSVR. After 1375, I am reliant on RSVR.

¹³⁸ VSM XVI, nos. 3-5, 184, 319; XVII, nos. 191, 494-6, 571, 574.

¹³⁹ VSM XVI, no. 219 ('de facto cuiusdam commercii quod petebatur nostris per officiales Tatamir magni baroni imperatoris').

¹⁴⁰ VSM XVI, no. 508.

¹⁴¹ VSM XIX, no. 172 ('de tellis quas ibi vendunt quam de aliis mercationibus').

such consistency did not preclude individual figures from seeking to milk merchants' profits to the nth degree.

Just before the prohibition on trading, meanwhile, a record of July 1343 details how the Senate instructed the Venetian consul at Tana to insist that merchants pay 'the lord's *commercium* well and according to [the] law'; if they fail to, Venice itself would charge them twice.¹⁴² Given the eventual *devetum*, how far this policy was implemented is unclear, but two conclusions do flow from the episode. First is Venetian politicians' intervention to secure Jochid fiscal rights, acting as enforcers against their merchants' financial interests. Second is the assessment of risk posed by not paying: an implicit acceptance that the khan could make life difficult if the revenue was not forthcoming. Amidst the furore of the 1340s, the diplomatic dances continued, despite the eventual bar on trade. In May 1344, one of the aims of a proposed embassy to Janibeg – an ill-fated gambit to seek restitution for Venetian losses – was to discuss the *commercium* at Tana, 'which is [charged at] 3% on [our] goods'.¹⁴³ Yet again, the republic was fixated on guaranteeing this rate. A similar debate in June 1347, while not mentioning the sought-after rate, still requests that: 'if they [the ambassadors] are not able to obtain anything of what is sought, they [should] nevertheless proceed [to seek] a change [in the rate] of the *commercium*'.¹⁴⁴

From the 1350s onwards, after the end of the *devetum*, deliberations follow a predictably on-off pattern. Some records – such as register XXVI, covering the period 1350-4 – provide little information beyond instructions on galley provisioning to Tana. At the same time, others reveal how Venetian concern with escaping significant tax obligations to their nominal overlords led the republic to search for alternative opportunities. As implied by the *iarlyk* considered above, most striking were Venice's efforts to court Ramaḍān at Solkhat ('Soldaia'). In July 1355, the Senate instructed the Venetian envoy in Crimea to visit Ramaḍān; again, the republic considered that the city's merchants should pay only 3% as *commercium*, as opposed to 5% at Tana.¹⁴⁵ The following year the Venetian ambassador, Andreas Venerio, reported only partial success: Ramaḍān granted these rights, but only at

¹⁴² VSM XXI, no. 401 ('bene et legaliter comerclum domini'); RSVR, I, no. 157, p. 53.

¹⁴³ VSM XXII, no. 137 ('qui est III pro centenario de mercationibus').

¹⁴⁴ VSM XXIV, no. 163 ('si de dicto havere nichil possent obtinere, procedant nichilominus ad aptacionem comerclorum...').

¹⁴⁵ VSM XXVII, no. 208; RSVR, I, no. 273, p. 77.

‘Provato’, not Solkhat.¹⁴⁶ The eventual *iarlyk* makes clear what the Senate deliberations ignore: that Ramaḍān’s *commercium*, his *tamoga*, was to be paid at 3%. My interest is in how this attempt to gain leverage reflects a way of thinking about *tamga*, separate from its rate. By the mid-fourteenth century, Jochid governance was fluid – or chaotic – enough to allow a powerholder distinct from the khan to set a different rate of *tamga*. But the defining characteristics of *tamga* – that it was charged only on merchants, that it was taken from trade, that 3% was considered apposite – all feature in Ramaḍān’s *iarlyk*. The category itself, in other words, remained remarkably fixed.

Returning to the question in March 1358, the Senate appears to have decided to keep playing Ramaḍān and Janibeg off against each other;¹⁴⁷ discussions continued after news of Janibeg’s death reached Venice, not least when a Venetian merchant was detained at Solkhat.¹⁴⁸ A contemporaneous decision records the embassy’s purpose: ‘regarding an agreement around the *commercias* [paid to] the [khan] who rules in the area of Tana’.¹⁴⁹ When the ambassadors were commissioned in April 1358, their objective was spelled out again: ‘through patience’ they should obtain a better agreement ‘with regard to [the] *commercias*’,¹⁵⁰ seeking:

...[an agreement] with the freedoms and usual concessions, and the usual *commercias* of 3%, if they are able to obtain it; and if they cannot obtain it, they should do as best as they can [in negotiating] up to 5%.¹⁵¹

¹⁴⁶ VSM XXVII, nos. 953-7; RSVR, I, no. 299, p. 82. For the resultant *iarlyk*, see above, p. 57. Venice had attempted the gambit before, in 1341, concerning trade at ‘Vospero’ (Kerch), then ruled by one ‘Tolectamur’. The desired rate was again 3%: VSM XIX, no. 460.

¹⁴⁷ VSM XXVIII, nos. 176, 256, 275.

¹⁴⁸ VSM XXVIII, nos. 297, 308.

¹⁴⁹ VSM XXVIII, no. 260 (‘pro conveniendo de comerclis ad dominum imperatorum qui dominator in partibus Tane’).

¹⁵⁰ VSM XXVIII, no. 315 (‘per instrumenta patientia’; ‘in facto comerclorum’).

¹⁵¹ VSM XXVIII, no. 327 (‘...cum libertatibus et franchisiis solitis ac comerclis solitis de tribus pro centenario, si poterunt hoc obtinere; et si non poterunt id obtinere, faciant quam melius possunt usque ad V pro centenario’).

When electing ambassadors again in January 1360, the Senate similarly instructed them to ask the new khan to reduce the *commercium* to either 3% or 4%, but that Venice may ‘condescend’ to 5% if necessary.¹⁵² Seemingly the various embassies were successful in reducing the *commercium* at Tana to 4%, although a report from June 1369 complains bitterly that not only was this rate still 1% more than the Genoese paid to the Jochids, but that Venetian merchants were also suffering various ‘new [dues?] and extortions’.¹⁵³

Alongside these negotiations around the rate, snippets emerge from the Senate discussions that corroborate information attested elsewhere concerning Jochid fiscal priorities. For instance, a note of May 1359 records that one Lazzaro da Molin had obtained ‘from the emperor of the Tatars the right [of] weighing at Tana’ for Venetian merchants.¹⁵⁴ This stipulation is an intriguing derogation of the right otherwise granted to Jochid *tartnaqchi*. Again, however, it reflects how the completely hands-off perception of the khans’ fiscal practice found in some of the historiography is erroneous: seemingly before da Molin’s acquisition of the concession, it was indeed Jochid agents, or at least agents appointed by the khan, who had weighed (and taxed?) goods at Tana.

The Venetian association of *commercium* with the Mongols on the Black Sea,¹⁵⁵ and their diplomatic efforts to resist it, continued into the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries: in 1397, after Tīmūr’s attack on Tana, the Senate dispatched another ambassador, Andrea Giustinian, to the Jochid khan. First, he was asked to demand the renewal of Venetian privileges, ‘since all the charters have disappeared during the fire lit by Tīmūr’s troops’.¹⁵⁶ The explicit desire for written privileges is hardly surprising from the perspective of Italian bureaucracy, but it also betrays a fear of how such concessions could be enforced

¹⁵² VSM XXIX, no. 362 (‘condescendant’); RSVR, I, no. 355, p. 95; cf. VSM XXIX, no. 415. The khan is presumably either Qulpa (1359-60) or Nawruz Beg (1360-1).

¹⁵³ VSM XXXIII, no. 154 (‘multe novitates et extorsiones’); RSVR, I, no. 476, p. 121. Cf. Skržinskaja’s view that Jacopo Cornaro’s embassy in the early 1360s reduced the *commercium* paid by Venetian merchants to 4%: Elena Č. Skržinskaja, ‘Un ambasciatore veneziano all’Orda d’Oro (analisi dell’epitafio di Jacopo Cornaro-Tana, 1362)’, *Studi Veneziani*, 16 (1974), 67-96 (p. 90).

¹⁵⁴ VSM XXIX, no. 48 (‘ab imperatore Tartarorum de habendo pensatorem in Tana’).

¹⁵⁵ One exception is Caffa, where ‘comerclo’ is used once in place of ‘gabella’ to describe Genoese levies: VSM XXIII, no. 215; XXVIII, no. 261.

¹⁵⁶ RSVR, I, no. 927, p. 217 (‘car tous les actes ont disparu au cours de l’incendie allumé par les troupes de Tamerlan’).

amidst political chaos; the same record admits that the ambassador may not be able to go to Tana given the degree of damage. A month later, however, Giustinian was given further instructions, to request another reduction in the rate of *commercium*, from 3% to 1.5%. As a sweetener, he is allowed to offer ‘gifts’ to the khan’s treasurer, ‘Mirsa’, ‘who wields significant influence’.¹⁵⁷

Evidently, however, Giustinian failed in his endeavour. Four years later, the Senate told the new Venetian consul at Tana, Bianco da Rippa, to lodge a protest with the ‘emperor of Gazaria’, seemingly a Jochid powerholder, against his agents’ attempts to divide revenue into a 1.5% due collected ‘on loaded goods’, and another due of 1.5% on sale; the Senate stipulates that da Rippa should ‘remind [the khan]’ that a 3% tax must instead be ‘taken solely on sale’.¹⁵⁸ On a pragmatic level, presumably such a reform would have rendered higher income to the khans – hence the Venetians’ antipathy. But just as crucial is how this antipathy was framed. By appealing to the idea that split dues were not what had been agreed by earlier khans, the Venetians sought to retain Mongol *tamga* at the agreed rate, rather than alter it. Da Rippa’s efforts equally foreshadowed Venice’s continued need to bolster its presence on the Black Sea into the mid-fifteenth century, not least the perpetual question of Tana’s defences:¹⁵⁹ a sign not only of Jochid political fragmentation, but also that any power the republic exercised over Tana as a ‘colony’ was perpetually contingent.

Finally, the Venetian discussions give a fleeting indication of where the khans – both Jochid and later Crimean – may have ultimately directed their fiscal energies prior to the Ottoman conquest. Following Venice’s complaint about splitting *tamga*, there are no further instances of ambassadors seeking reductions in trading taxes. Certainly, in June 1415 the Senate recorded that the required fortification works at Tana were financed in part by a 3% tax on merchandise in transit.¹⁶⁰ Given the focus on transit, rather than exchange, this charge is distinct from the *commercium* of the *iarlyks*, and regardless the proceeds flowed to the

¹⁵⁷ RSVR, I, no. 930, p. 217 (‘cadeaux’, ‘[il] exerce une grande influence’).

¹⁵⁸ RSVR, II, no. 1009, p. 16 (‘l’empereur de Gazarie’; ‘des marchandises chargées’; ‘rappeler’; ‘portant seulement sur la vente’).

¹⁵⁹ Among other issues, including the republic’s usual gripes with the Genoese at Caffa, and the consul not being able to reach the outpost: RSVR, III, nos. 2252, 2255, 2289, 2988, 3053; pp. 15, 16, 24, 204, 220.

¹⁶⁰ RSVR, II, no. 1580, p. 135.

Venetian treasury, not to the khans. Equally, in the early fifteenth century, the diplomatic noise became increasingly focussed on a different kind of payment, *terraticum* (or *terratico*), which functioned as a ground rent due to the Jochid khan for the land occupied by Venetian merchants at Tana.¹⁶¹ Janibeg's first *iarlyk* of 1342 specifies the concession granted using the term *terratico*; in this instance the term must refer to a location, not a due, being described as 'next to the Badardini baths'.¹⁶² *Terraticum* is also attested in Byzantium, and to that end the Venetians may simply be 'fitting' Jochid fiscal dues into terminology found elsewhere.¹⁶³ In any case, however, the khans believed payment was owed to them.

In 1407, for example, an embassy was despatched to secure the continuation of Venice's privileges at Tana, and to ensure merchants were not required to pay an excessive level of *terraticum*.¹⁶⁴ While the phraseology of the debate record does not suggest the presence of specialised fiscal agents in the vein of *commercium*–*tamga*, some form of collector represented the khan at Tana: a debate from the following November complains bitterly of the latter's 'injustices'.¹⁶⁵ In 1413, one Benedetto Emo was instructed to congratulate the new khan, Kerimberdi (1412-14?) on his accession, and to demand a reduction in the *terraticum*; the Senate permitted the ambassador to spend up to 2,000 bezants convincing the khan.¹⁶⁶ The important point is how the Venetians were directing their bribery money: whereas they had once sought to mitigate the *commercium*, by the early fifteenth century their ire was focussed on the *terraticum*. Why this shift took place is unclear: feasibly the political chaos around the Black Sea made it simpler for the Jochids to charge an all-encompassing ground rent, rather than extract an exchange tax that entailed more intensive collection.

¹⁶¹ Bernard Doumerc, 'Les Vénitiens à La Tana (Azov) au XV^e siècle', *Cahiers du monde russe et soviétique*, 28 (1987), 5-19 (p. 5).

¹⁶² *DVL*, I, no. 135, p. 262 ('juxta balneum Badardini').

¹⁶³ Two treaties between Venice and the Byzantine emperor John V Paleologos (1341-76, 1379-90, 1390-1) juxtapose *commercium* and *terraticum*: *DVL*, II, no. 53, p. 88; no. 89, p. 152.

¹⁶⁴ *RSVR*, II, no. 1254, p. 67.

¹⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, II, no. 1331, p. 82 ('les injustices [des agents du khan]').

¹⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, II, no. 1492, p. 115. 13 bezants at Tana equalled one Venetian ducat: Cécile Morrison, 'Coin Usage and Exchange Rates in Badoer's *Libri dei Conti*', *DOP*, 55 (2001), 217-45 (p. 222).

These complaints came to a head in 1428-9, when the khan Ulugh-Muḥammad (d. 1445) had two Venetian merchants arrested, and compelled them to pay 9,500 bezants as *terraticum*.¹⁶⁷ Such behaviour has the undeniable whiff of racketeering, although the economic situation of the Venetian outpost had seemingly become increasingly perilous, and they may have been unable to pay.¹⁶⁸ In any event, by the second quarter of the fifteenth century, the situation had degenerated to an unsustainable degree: in May 1436, the Senate lamented that Tana was now ‘in the throat of our [Venice’s] enemies’.¹⁶⁹ Seemingly the Venetians – unlike the Genoese at Caffa, as will be seen in the next section – were rarely able to cement their grip on Tana amidst Jochid political rivalries.

Notaries and absences: Genoese Caffa

If Pegolotti’s handbook offers schematic evidence for a *tamga* of 3% charged at Genoese Caffa, the tax also appears in intermittently surviving non-normative documents that detail fiscal collection, particularly notarial records. An immediate problem is the fragmentary and chaotic survival of these sources, customarily blamed on Louis XIV’s bombardment of Genoa in 1684.¹⁷⁰ The earliest extant group of documents dates to 1289-90, drafted by the Genoese notary Lamberto di Sambuceto. To be sure, this material gives few indications of significant Mongol involvement in the internal fiscal apparatus of the outpost; but the limited reflections of practice tally with the treaty evidence. Especially remarkable is a transaction record from June 1289, concerning the purchase of cow hide for 6,400 *aspri*; the transaction is witnessed by the *comerzario*, one ‘Camal Tagmagi’.¹⁷¹ Brătianu is surely correct to argue that this name represents a mangled form of *tamghachi*:¹⁷² in this instance Genoese attempts to ‘fit’ Mongol agents within the scope of *commercium* are undone by the

¹⁶⁷ RSVR, II, no. 2108, p. 253.

¹⁶⁸ Doumerc, p. 9.

¹⁶⁹ RSVR, III, no. 2412, p. 51 (‘in faucibus inimicorum nostrorum’).

¹⁷⁰ Robert-Henri Bautier, ‘Notes sur les sources de l’histoire médiévale dans les archives italiennes (suite)’, *Mélanges de l’École française de Rome*, 60 (1948), 181-210 (p. 182).

¹⁷¹ ANG, no. 225, p. 220; GOM, I, no. 190, p. 103. The *aspro* circulated at Tana and Trebizond; Thiriet gives 42 and 45 *aspri* as equalling one Venetian ducat: RSVR, I, p. 225.

¹⁷² G. I. Brătianu, *Recherches sur le commerce génois dans la mer Noire au XIII^e siècle* (Paris: Paul Geuthner, 1929), p. 237, n. 3.

agent's name. The difficulty is that while Tagmagi is not the only *comerzario* mentioned in the Sambuceto documents, only his name gives any indication of his possible political loyalties. Nonetheless, a contract dating to the previous month attests several *comerzarii* with decidedly non-Latinate names: one 'Machometus de Asume' and one 'Janutius' together agree to pay 14,000 *aspri* for gold brocade, with 'Zilimichali, [another] collector of the said *commercium*', serving as guarantor for his colleagues.¹⁷³ Not only are these agents seemingly Mongol, but one type of the brocade is called *nasichii* – a Latinised form of the Persian term *nakh* (Arabic *nasīj*), attested as *nacchetti* in Pegolotti's manual.¹⁷⁴ Such cultural interaction, however, is shot through with the institutional interface between Mongol tax collectors and Italian bureaucratic norms.

Di Sambuceto's records raise a thorny question around categories of taxation, even at this very early stage of Genoese economic activity on the Black Sea: how far were the tax collectors at Caffa representatives of the khan? If not, were the Genoese able to establish their own trading taxes at Caffa? And was *tamga-commercium* attested at the outpost in later centuries, beyond the evidence from Pegolotti and Cerkes Beg's 1380 *iarlyk*? One resolution lies in the registers of the *Massaria* – the primary body regulating Caffa's finances – preserved in the Archivio di Stato di Genova, and which constituted a kind of double-entry bookkeeping for the outpost's income. The secondary literature around these sources suggests that from the mid-fourteenth century onwards, Genoa took full advantage both of its privileged position vis-à-vis Venice, and of Jochid political turmoil, to proliferate the dues collected from Caffa. In the 1370s, for instance, the 'Office of Heads of St Anthony' was established to collect the *cabella capitum*, which went through various iterations into the fifteenth century and was charged on both the sale and possession of slaves: *tolta sclavorum*, *cabella sclavorum*, *introytus sclavorum*, and again *cabella capitum*.¹⁷⁵

¹⁷³ ANG, no. 189, p. 198 ('Zilimichali, collector dicti comerzii'); GOM, I, no. 95, p. 85. Pelliot argues that Zilimichali and the tax collector are different people: Paul Pelliot, review of Brătianu, *Recherches* (1929), TP, 27 (1930), 203-11 (p. 210).

¹⁷⁴ On *nakh* in Mongol life: Thomas T. Allsen, *Commodity and Exchange in the Mongol Empire: A Cultural History of Islamic Textiles* (Cambridge: CUP, 1997), pp. 2-4; cf. GOM, I, no. 95, p. 85, n. 1; Pegolotti, p. 23.

¹⁷⁵ Barker, *Most Precious Merchandise*, pp. 137-8.

While none of these taxes bear any obvious resemblance to *tamga–commercium*, various dues with familiar names do make an appearance in the *Massaria* documents – albeit normally in opaque guises, and without precise detail on the rate. For instance, two levies called the *introytus tamoge parve* and the *introytus tamoge magne* are evidently derived from *tam(o)ga*, and were charged on fabric; while Balard notes the overt Mongol influence over these dues, he associates this with the meaning of ‘seal’, rather than with a form of taxation.¹⁷⁶ *Tamoga magna* was seemingly charged on ‘velours’ (fur?), whereas *tamoga parva* was extracted from the sale of camlet and other fabrics.¹⁷⁷ A similar question emerges around the *commercium magnum*, a tax of 1% attested first in 1410 and in Balard’s eyes the most important levy on maritime trade at Caffa by this point; while he traces it back to a series of Genoese attempts to tax merchants from the early fourteenth century, at no point did the Italians ever call these prior levies *commercium*.¹⁷⁸ That the Genoese sought to profit from trade at Caffa is hardly shocking: which polity would not? But by labelling all these levies *commercium*, and deriving their practice inextricably from Greek *kommerkion*, Balard elides the question of how the Jochids extracted their own *commercium* (*tamga*).¹⁷⁹ Similarly, in his extensive study of the Italian Black Sea, Balard suggests that there is no mention of any specifically Mongol *commercium*, positing instead that the Caffa treasury may simply have paid part of ‘their’ *commercium* to the khans.¹⁸⁰

¹⁷⁶ Michel Balard, ‘Notes sur la fiscalité génoise à Caffa au XV^e siècle’, *Bulletin de la Société nationale des antiquaires de France*, 1993, 224-41 (p. 231); see also: Annika Stello, ‘Grenzerfahrung: Interaktion und Kooperation im spätmittelalterlichen Schwarzmeerraum’ (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Trier, 2011), p. 41.

¹⁷⁷ Michel Balard, ‘Pouvoir et argent à Caffa au XV^e siècle’, in Michel Balard, *La Méditerranée médiévale: espaces, itinéraires, comptoirs* (Paris: Picard, 2006), pp. 121-31 (pp. 124-30).

¹⁷⁸ Balard, ‘Notes’, pp. 227-9.

¹⁷⁹ Balard, ‘Notes’, pp. 226-7. Balard associates *commercium* primarily with Byzantium, rather than considering its possible relationship with *tamga*. Brătianu similarly perceives Black Sea *commercium* as an essentially Byzantine import: Brătianu, *Recherches*, p. 238. Cf. Genoa’s extraction of a 0.25% tax labelled *commercium* at their eventual outpost at Tana: Sergei Karpov, ‘Black Sea and the Crisis of the Mid XIVth Century: An Underestimated Turning Point’, *Thesaurismata*, 27 (1997), 65-77 (p. 72).

¹⁸⁰ Michel Balard, *La Romanie génoise (XII^e-début du XV^e siècle)*, 2 vols (Rome: École française de Rome, 1978), I, p. 459, n. 11.

The complexity of this situation is put into greater relief by the presence of another *commercium*, entitled *commercium canluchorum*, and paid only by the khan's subjects.¹⁸¹ None of the secondary attestations, however, offer any explanation for how this levy functioned: was it merely a 'new name' for pre-existing Jochid *tamga*, or did its scope qualitatively differ? Presumably not, as Jochid *tamga* was otherwise charged on all trade, rather than being 'ethnically' limited; the *iarlyk* evidence equally implies that *tamga* was demanded of the Genoese and Venetians, placing them outside the realm of the *tarkhan* immunity charters issued to exempt local powerholders from *tamga* elsewhere in the Jochid *ulus*.

Despite the political upheavals of the mid-fifteenth century, some kind of *commercium canluchorum* is attested in the *Statutum Caphe*, an administrative code issued by Genoa for Caffa in 1449. Certainly, the document underlines how far the Black Sea outposts had moved away from the diplomatic concessions required by the *iarlyks*, to a world in which Genoa had near wholesale 'jurisdiction' over Caffa¹⁸² – a relationship more akin to the 'colony' described in the secondary literature. But even here, nomadic politics were never far away. §§300-2 of the statute are concerned with delimiting the activities of an agent, the *commerciis canluchorum*, stating specifically that any Genoese inhabitant of Caffa must not 'dare or presume [to] interfere [with] or hinder the *commerciis canluchorum* wherever they may be'.¹⁸³ Importantly, the statute fails to indicate whether this agent collected a tax entitled *commercium canluchorum*, implying only that they were the tax collector of the khan's subjects (*canluchi*). Similarly, the statute does not suggest that Genoese merchants were liable to pay anything to this *commerciis*, and the provision may simply be an attempt to separate populations at Caffa. Indeed, such ethnocentric ideas are found elsewhere in the edict: §388 prevents any citizen (*burgensis*) or resident within the walls of Caffa from

¹⁸¹ Michel Balard, 'Genuensis civitas in extremo Europae: Caffa from the Fourteenth to the Fifteenth Century', in *Medieval Frontiers: Concepts and Practices*, ed. by David Abulafia and Nora Berend (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2002; repr. London: Routledge, 2016), pp. 143-51 (p. 147); Khvalkov, p. 165. *Canluchi* was the Latin term for subjects of the khan, used in both the *Massaria* material and the *Statutum Caphe*.

¹⁸² 'Statuto di Caffa', ed. by Amadeo P. Vigna, *Atti della Società Ligure di Storia Patria*, 7 (1879), part II, 569-680 (p. 577) ('[habet] jurisdictionem').

¹⁸³ *Ibid.*, p. 637 ('non possit audeat vel presumat...se intromittere vel impedire de commerciis canluchorum seu eorum aliquo').

entertaining a ‘Tatar’.¹⁸⁴ But in any case, these provisions reinforce once again that even at this late stage, not long before the Ottoman invasions, the Genoese were not so inured from the world beyond their outpost that they could afford to ignore it entirely.

From this rather hotchpotch summary, the publication of several *Massaria* registers in the last few years by the Ukrainian historian Oleksandr Dzhanov allows more immediate glimpses into fiscal activity on the ground in Caffa; however, by their very nature as account records, the *Massaria* registers primarily *attest*, rather than *describe* (which may explain some of the haziness in the historiography). The 1381-2 *Massaria* register, for instance, both corroborates and challenges Balard’s conclusions. On the one hand, it repeatedly refers to a ‘tax collector [*comerihario*] [= *tamghachi*?] and overseer [*daroga*]’ of Solkhat, a certain ‘Alut Sait’ (= Abū Sa‘īd).¹⁸⁵ On other occasions, this figure is labelled ‘Sayto’, is often also described as a ‘sarraceno’ (‘saracen’), and at one point is specifically denoted as being ‘of the Tatar emperor’.¹⁸⁶ Given the apparent evolution of *tamoga* – both *magna* and *parva* – into a due on textiles, it is especially intriguing that Abū Sa‘īd is involved in a transaction with a ‘vendor of camlet’.¹⁸⁷ On the other hand, an earlier *Massaria* register from 1374 twice attests one ‘Iohannus de Zemignano’ as a ‘colector tamoge’;¹⁸⁸ unlike Abū Sa‘īd, the name is Italian, so it is less clear who might be profiting from this *tamoga*. Given the political flux of the late fourteenth century, perhaps it should come as no shock that the *Massaria* documents betray an attendant bureaucratic unpredictability. Regardless, however, something more is going on than simply *tamga* being superseded by a wholly Genoese *commercium*.

Indeed, such levies recur persistently in the list given by Khvalkov of tax farmers found in the (otherwise unpublished) 1423 *Massaria*: among others, Giacomo Lomellino,

¹⁸⁴ Ibid., p. 636 (‘[non possit...albergare talem] tartarum’).

¹⁸⁵ A. V. Dzhanov, ‘Krym i Kaffa vo vtoroi polovine XIV v.’, *Sugdeiskyi zbirnyk*, 7 (2018), 44-303 (p. 201). Note the shifting orthography of ‘commercium’ to ‘comerhium’ or similar: Dzhanov, ‘Krym i Kaffa’, p. 132. On Sayto/Sa‘īd: A. L. Ponomarev, ‘Naselenie i territoriia genuezskoi Kaffy po dannym bukhgalterskoi knigi Massarii – kaznaichestva za 1381-1382 gg.’, *PSV*, 4 (2001), 317-443.

¹⁸⁶ Dzhanov, ‘Krym i Kaffa’, p. 203 (‘domini imperatoris tartarorum’).

¹⁸⁷ Ibid., p. 203 (‘venditore clamelotorum’).

¹⁸⁸ Ibid., pp. 161-2. Ponomarev agrees with Balard that this is a form of *introitus*: A. L. Ponomarev, ‘Putevoditel’ po rukopisi massarii Kaffy 1374 g.’, *PSV*, 6 (2005), 43-138 (p. 69).

‘collector of the entry toll, the *commercium magnum* at Caffa’;¹⁸⁹ Battista Spinola, ‘collector of the *tamoga magna*, collector of the *tamoga* on furs, Armenian silk, buckram(s) and all kinds of threads, both Syrian and cotton, of the Genoese community in Caffa’;¹⁹⁰ and Giorgio Bonaventura de Sancto Romulo, ‘collector of the entry toll or the [general?] toll, and the *tamoga*, and the seal on camlet(s) and [other textiles?]’.¹⁹¹ Similar figures are found up to the Ottoman conquest, for instance in the *Massaria* records for 1441-2 and 1454-6. The former lists ‘Iacobo de Carmazino’ as *emptor cabelle tamoge magne*, with one ‘Nicola Berguisio’ as *emptor cabelle tamoge parve*; the same folio, however, implies that de Carmazino may also have taken part in collecting *tamoga parva*.¹⁹² The later *Massaria* register, meanwhile, attests identical agents, with two apparent relatives, Dominico and Lodisio de Gaspe, responsible for ‘tamoghe magne’ and ‘tamoghe parve’ respectively.¹⁹³

That all these figures have Italian names would seem to support Balard’s view that ‘the Latins [i.e. Genoese] had full charge over the taxation system in Caffa’.¹⁹⁴ At the same time, the persistence of *tamoga* reflects a more syncretic fiscal arsenal at Caffa than is often given credit for. Certainly, if *tamoga* was indeed appropriated by Genoa as a textile due, is it any wonder that the city looked eastwards along the ‘Silk Roads’ to find it? While the age of Jochid *tamga* on the Black Sea may have been over, it lived on through the vicissitudes of Genoese bureaucracy.

¹⁸⁹ Khvalkov, p. 305 (‘emptor introitus commercii magni Caphe’). Cf. the various *commercium* (‘magnum’, ‘parvum’, ‘comunis’) in the 1381 *Massaria*: Dzhanov, ‘Krym i Kaffa’, pp. 184, 217, 222, 251, 273. Note too Corrado Cigalla, who collected *commercium magnum* and served as ‘envoy to the lord emperor [khan] of the Great Horde’: ‘itturus ad dominum imperatorum Magni Horde’. Such titles are also attested later, in the 1461 *Massaria*: Khvalkov, pp. 306-7.

¹⁹⁰ Khvalkov, p. 305 (‘emptor cabelle tamoge magne, emptor tamoge veluturum camocaturum bocassinorum et aliorum panorum tam sirici quam cotoni communis Ianue in Caffa’).

¹⁹¹ Khvalkov, p. 306 (‘emptor introitus sive cabelle et tamoge sive bulle clamelotorum, andali et canaffi’). There is an irony in *cabella* appearing alongside *tam(o)ga*, a source of misinterpretation by the Gennadii Bible compilers (as *tamozhnik*) in fifteenth-century Novgorod: see below, pp. 171-3.

¹⁹² Oleksandr Dzhanov, ‘Knyga Masarii Kafy 1441-1442 rr.’, *Ucrainica Mediaevalia*, 4 (2021), 307-75 (pp. 351-2).

¹⁹³ A. V. Dzhanov, ‘Kaffa, krymskoe khanstvo i osmany v 1454-1456 gg.’, *Sugdeiskyi zbirnyk*, 8 (2019), 79-473 (p. 272).

¹⁹⁴ Michel Balard, ‘The Greeks of Crimea under Genoese Rule in the XIVth and XVth Centuries’, *DOP*, 49 (1995), 23-32 (p. 30). This conclusion is repeated almost verbatim in: Khvalkov, p. 166.

Shangshui to commercium: new interpretations of tamga?

To return to Pegolotti's handbook, there is an obvious absence: China. Unlike Marco Polo, Pegolotti stays within the known limits of his trading environment, never postulating practice further along the Silk Roads. Nonetheless, in his enumeration of trading dues, he offers one definition of Mongol institutional space: where *tam(o)ga* was collected. As far as Pegolotti was concerned, the Black Sea shared that space only with the Īlkhānid trading centre at Tabriz – the starting point for chapter IV of this thesis. The bilingual Chinese and 'Phags-pa documents, however, make plain that as a fiscal form, *tamga* stretched much further afield, to encompass what the Chinese documents call *shangshui*. For the scribes commissioned to draft 'Phags-pa, their sameness was self-evident; it is an identity, however, clouded by the dynastic histories. As the Yuan emperors juggled their Mongol origins with the idiosyncrasies of their Chinese imperial inheritance, so *tamga–shangshui* was integrated into a much longer bureaucratic lineage, in turn bequeathed to the Ming.

Yet 'behind' the term *tamga* lay another shared facet: its rate. From the sources for early – or indeed later – Mongol practice across Eurasia, it is difficult to agree either with Morgan's view that *tamga* was invariably charged at 5%, or with Pochekaev's assessment that the standard rate fluctuated between 5% and 10%.¹⁹⁵ Insofar as a common tariff can be identified at each end of the 'Silk Roads', it would seem to hover around 3%, albeit with the distinction between 3 in 100 and $\frac{1}{30}$. Certainly, the Jochid khans' resistance to reducing the charge on Venetian merchants in the mid-fourteenth century mitigates against absolute consistency, but it is clear from the Senate records that the republic's Genoese rivals *did* benefit from a 3% *commercium* (as the Venetians initially had). The question lay not so much in the principle of *tamga*, but rather that *la Serenissima* had done more to offend the khans; any benchmark around the rate hardly stopped Mongol rulers seeking more if they could.

Nonetheless, to my mind, the tempting – and feasible – possibility is that the Mongols adopted the ~3% rate from the *shangshui* charged by both the Song and Jurchen Jin, levies that in turn dated back to the eighth-century Tang taxation reform. While the lacunae in the Chinese sources for early Mongol rule make any definite conclusion impossible, the role of Jin-educated administrators such as Yelu Chucai would seem to imply that Mongol *tamga*

¹⁹⁵ R. Yu. Pochekaev, 'Tamgha and the Struggle Against It: On the History of [sic] Medieval Turkic-Mongol Taxation System', *ZO*, 4 (2014), 77-95 (p. 82).

emerged on some level from *shangshui*. Regardless, modulated through the rivalries and bloodletting of mid-thirteenth century Mongol expansion, the eventual form taken by *tamga* was sufficiently attractive in fiscal and administrative terms to emerge as a lever of power across Eurasia. As the Mongol conquest of China gathered pace, *shangshui* figured as part of the Yuan fiscal apparatus alongside the ‘traditional’ Chinese monopolies on salt and alcohol; where the Jochid khans would remain ‘aloof’ from the bureaucratic fray in Rus’, Qubilai and his successors embraced the administrative mainstays of earlier Chinese dynasties.¹⁹⁶

The intricate provisions of both the *Massaria* documents and the *Statutum Caphe* similarly highlight an inherent risk in pursuing any kind of ‘global’, multipolar history premised on transmission: as societies change, so the origins of transmission become clouded by later evidence. As for the Chinese histories and *shangshui*, the Italian sources ‘fit’ *tamga* into their own terminological category – *commercium* – and attest its fundamental principles until the early fifteenth century. By then, the khans needed to find new ways of fiscally profiting from Italian Black Sea outposts: from the land-based *terraticum*, not exchange; by arresting merchants, not through specialised agents. What di Cosmo has labelled ‘the remarkable tenacity’ of the Italian outposts – especially Caffa – was confronted with a collapsing *pax Mongolica* that evidently forced the khans to change their focus.¹⁹⁷ How and why the Genoese came to adopt *tam(o)ga* themselves remains murky, but points yet again to the long shadow of Mongol imperialism even when the khans’ immediate authority waned. The precise rate of Genoese *tamoga magna* and *tamoga parva* may not be revealed by the *Massaria* documents, but as a fiscal form it evidently persisted on the Black Sea littoral.

This chapter has shown how conceptions of imperial ambition invariably meet head-on the challenge presented by rival actors. At certain points, the Italian republics may well have known – in Balard’s terms – ‘how to define a coherent imperialist policy and stick to it’.¹⁹⁸ Yet that could also be true of Jochid ambition. The Black Sea was not a region of unbridled will, but of competition and contestation. Such contestation was not merely

¹⁹⁶ Elizabeth Endicott-West, *Mongolian Rule in China: Local Administration in the Yuan Dynasty* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1989), p. 112.

¹⁹⁷ di Cosmo, ‘Black Sea Emporia’, p. 104.

¹⁹⁸ Balard, *La Roumanie*, II, p. 889 (‘[elle sut] définir une politique impérialiste cohérente et s’y tenir’).

political, but also encompassed forms of institutional fashioning; for most of the sources considered here, of the sedentary 'self' (China, Genoa, Venice) set against the nomadic 'other' (the Mongols). These sources reveal how loci like the Italian outposts – although the same is also true of the Mongol conquest of China – acted not only as sites of tension *between* polities, but also as nodes of interaction *among* them.¹⁹⁹ Disruptions engendered at these nodes were often productive; they created new fiscal forms, but forms all too often entangled by the documents that attest them. Such innovations, however, were not unique to trade routes connecting China and Latin Christendom, but also encompassed the lands that stood immediately between the steppe and Europe: Rus'.

¹⁹⁹ Cf. Eric Slater, 'Caffa: Early Western Expansion in the Late Medieval World, 1261-1475', *Review (Fernand Braudel Center)*, 29 (2006), 271-83 (esp. p. 279).

II Rus' to Moscow: bureaucratic legacies, fiscal innovations

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Vladimir Vysotskii, 'Sluchai na tamozhne'

From the skies to Sheremetev: so sings Vladimir Vysotskii in 'Sluchai na tamozhne' ('One Time at Customs', 1974). The bard's response to the customs inspection emblematises his return to the Soviet Union, converting him – in the words of the song's final line – back to the status of 'проверенный товарищ'.² These procedures are banally reversed in Sergei Dovlatov's 1986 collection *Chemodan* ('The Suitcase'): before emigrating to the United States, he must rid himself of the banned books he owns, 'которые не пропускает таможня'.³ These reminiscences typify *tamozhnia* as threat, *tamozhnia* as a faceless, collective noun that can impede and disrupt, *tamozhnia* as the vehicle of a monolithic state guarding here against there. *Tamozhnia*, too, as a word not originally Russian at all, even in its many imperial iterations – and derived instead from a tax fashioned under the Mongol khans.⁴

¹ Vladimir Vysotskii, 'Sluchai na tamozhne', in Vladimir Vysotskii, *Pesni i stikhi*, ed. by Boris Berest, 2 vols (New York: Literaturnoe zarubezh'e, 1981), I, pp. 167-9 (p. 167) ('Above Sheremetev / On the third of November / The weather conditions are poor. / I'm standing, anxious, / Pale, but well-groomed / In the tail of a queue for the customs inspection').

² Ibid., p. 169 ('an inspected [verified] comrade').

³ Sergei Dovlatov, 'Predislovie [Chemodan]', in *Sobranie sochnienii v chetyrekh tomakh*, ed. by A. Iu. Ar'ev, 4 vols (St Petersburg: Azbuka, 2000), III, pp. 287-90 (p. 288) ('that customs won't let through').

⁴ Vasmer, III, pp. 74-5; P. Ia. Chernykh, *Istoriko-etimologicheskii slovar' sovremennogo russkogo iazyka*, 2 vols (Moscow: Russkii iazyk, 1993), II, p. 227.

This chapter builds on my exploration of *tamga* in China and on the Black Sea in chapter I, to ask how and why it grew from a trading tax imposed on Rus' in the thirteenth century to occupy a central position in the institutional arrangements of the emergent Muscovite 'state'. By tracing fiscal practice from its earliest written attestations through to bureaucratic records of the early sixteenth century, I seek to understand why an initially external manifestation of suzerainty was so fully realised that it became the root of modern Russian vocabulary around customs taxation. My core contention is that the extant evidence implies conspicuous efforts by Muscovite grand princes to appropriate *tamga* for their own benefit, first by establishing it alongside a pre-existing transport toll called *myt*, and then by extending it across their newly conquered lands. In chapter III I will move further, to interrogate the cultural implications of these forms – put simply, to ask how trading taxes were implicated beyond the bureaucratic sphere. For now, my focus lies on the interplay between language and practice, and how that interplay can elucidate the evolution of institutional forms in Mongol and post-Mongol Moscow.

The self-evident Turkic etymology of *tamga* has often led English-language historians to gloss over its precise evolution in Moscow: Vásáry frames *tamga* within the expansive category of 'direct or indirect Tatar influences',⁵ whereas Schurmann perceives even fifteenth-century Muscovite *tamga* as remaining a 'Tatar obligation'.⁶ Both Halperin and Pochekaev, meanwhile, fall back on the term 'borrowing' to describe Muscovite reliance on Mongol customs models.⁷ While *tamga* remains unproblematised, *myt* is hardly mentioned at all: although Bushkovitch associates *myt* with *tamga* against the background of early sixteenth-century Muscovite rule, he concentrates on its extraction under Ivan IV (1533-84), rather

⁵ István Vásáry, 'The Tatar Factor in the Formation of Muscovy's Political Culture', in *Nomads as Agents of Cultural Change: The Mongols and their Eurasian Predecessors*, ed. by Reuven Amitai and Michal Biran (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2015), pp. 252-70 (p. 259).

⁶ H. F. Schurmann, 'Mongol Tributary Practices of the Thirteenth Century', *HJAS*, 19 (1956), 304-89 (p. 351).

⁷ R. Yu. Pochekaev, 'Tamgha and the Struggle Against It: On the History of [sic] Medieval Turkic-Mongol Taxation System', *ZO*, 4 (2014), 77-95 (p. 84); Charles J. Halperin, *Russia and the Golden Horde: The Mongol Impact on Medieval Russian History* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1985), pp. 90-1.

than its origins.⁸ Hellie, by contrast, wholly avoids both *myt* and *tamga* in assessing the ‘fiscal state’ of pre-modern Rus’ and Russia.⁹ Feldbrugge comes closest to defining the two taxes, suggesting that *myt* and its linked dues functioned as transit tolls, whereas *tamga* was extracted from exchange.¹⁰ In this chapter, however, I move beyond merely defining these taxes, to instead explore precisely how they emerged in late medieval Rus’ and Moscow.

Unsurprisingly, the legal source base for this work evolved significantly up to the early sixteenth century; to employ Simon Franklin’s framework of administrative writing, traces of fiscal practice are found first in (ostensibly) normative legislative codes, but gradually also emerge in contingent charter evidence.¹¹ Such differing weights of evidence in each period require a reversal in the direction of methodological travel: before the fourteenth century, practice must be derived from norms postulated in legal codes, with little evidence of their immediate application; from then on, norms must be read ‘backwards’ out of individual, contingent documents. Put another way, early codes posit a *potential* relationship, to be formed if certain conditions are met, while later charters reveal an *effected* relationship, the precise bounds of which remain unclear. At the same time, even those sources that are ‘non-normative’ – put simply, they fail to define themselves as applicable precedent – do indicate *repeatable* norms of exemption. Indeed, their survival is testament to grantees’ reliance, or at least hoped-for reliance, on the written word, and to utilise its authority on more than one occasion.

As I have emphasised throughout this thesis so far, my aim is not to write an economic history of *tamga*, but to identify how fiscal claims over economic activity betray wider structural ambitions. In this vein, Richard Swedberg has built on Max Weber’s paradigm of law as a series of normative orders to propose an ‘economic sociology of law’: to

⁸ Paul Bushkovitch, ‘Taxation, Tax Farming, and Merchants in Sixteenth-Century Russia’, *SR*, 37 (1978), 381-98 (p. 383).

⁹ Richard Hellie, ‘Russia, 1200-1815’, in *The Rise of the Fiscal State in Europe, c. 1200-1815*, ed. by Richard Bonney (Oxford: OUP, 1999), pp. 481-505.

¹⁰ Ferdinand Feldbrugge, *A History of Russian Law: From Ancient Times to the Council Code (Ulozhenie) of Tsar Alexei Mikhailovich of 1649* (Leiden: Brill, 2017), pp. 459-60.

¹¹ Simon Franklin, *Writing, Society and Culture in Early Rus, c. 950-1300* (Cambridge: CUP, 2002), pp. 130-1.

ask how law abets and fashions certain economic modes.¹² Equally, studies of medieval law have cautioned against the sociological assumptions of legal theory. Hannah Skoda, for instance, warns against correlating pre-modern ‘law’ and (effected) power over ‘bounded’ areas or jurisdictions.¹³ In a world before ‘states’ as they are imagined today – a theme I will return to in my concluding remarks for this chapter – law can instead offer a fruitful prism through which to interpret contested bureaucratic practice. In other words, to ask not necessarily what *is* but what a particular ruler *would like to be*.

To this end, this chapter proceeds broadly chronologically through the legal sources for fiscal practice up to Vasili III’s death in 1533. First, I explore the limited instances of *myt* in putatively pre-Mongol material. Second, I assess the Jochid imposition of *tamga* on Rus’, and its apparent rarity outside of Moscow. Third, I explore the due’s early appropriation by Muscovite rulers through high-level testamentary and treaty evidence; I then drill deeper into the core source base of this chapter, using monastic charters to postulate a syncretic schema for Muscovite *myt* and *tamga*. Finally, I move outwards from these documents to interpret regional variation, in Tver’, Riazan’ and Beloozero. Across these sections, I treat trading taxes not as an adjunct to administrative growth, but as a key element in the institutionalisation of specific bureaucratic models – first in several Rus’ principalities, and later above all in Moscow.

Proto-Kyivan progenitors: normative shadows

Certainly, however, trading taxation is first attested long before the late medieval period, and the very earliest written sources for the political history of Rus’ reflect their compilers’ interest in how rulers might use fiscal policies to profit from or regulate trade.¹⁴ The first inklings of *myt(o)* as a customs toll are found in the entry of the Primary Chronicle (*Povest’ vremennykh let*) for 907, which describes Rus’ raiding at Byzantium; integrating the resultant peace treaty between the two parties into its text, the chronicle records that the

¹² Richard Swedberg, *Principles of Economic Sociology* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2003), pp. 189-217.

¹³ Hannah Skoda, ‘A Historian’s Perspective on the Present Volume’, in *Legalism: Anthropology and History*, ed. by Paul Dresch and Hannah Skoda (Oxford: OUP, 2012), pp. 39-54 (esp. pp. 43-51).

¹⁴ Much of this section mirrors my arguments in: Angus Russell, “‘Vyvedet’ svobodna dva muzha ili mytnika”: Typologies of Trading Taxation in Pre-Mongol Rus”, *Ruthenica*, 17 (2022), 37-49.

Rus' were not required to pay *myt(o)* when trading at Constantinople.¹⁵ Non-Slavonic sources – otherwise invaluable for this period of Rus' history – remain opaque about the precise contours of the levy. The ninth-century Arabic geographer Ibn Khurdādhbih, for example, describes how the Byzantine emperor 'taxes them [the Rus' merchants, *tujjār al-rūs*] at ten percent [*ya'ashuruhum*];¹⁶ the same principle is repeated by another geographer, Ibn Faqīh, at the turn of the tenth century, albeit referring to 'Slav[ic] merchants', *tujjār al-ṣaqāliba*.¹⁷ The Byzantine sources, meanwhile, are more laconic still: the *De administrando imperio* ('On the Administration of the Empire') of Constantine VII Porphyrogenetos (913-59) describes the Rus' coming to Constantinople for either trade or war, and details their routes to the imperial capital, but does not discuss fiscal practice at Byzantium itself.¹⁸ Most important, however, is that by the Primary Chronicle's compilation in the early twelfth century, *myt(o)* had become accepted in the east Slavonic lexicon as a form of trading due.

What, however, did it refer to? This section outlines the various – but limited – references to *myt(o)* in east Slavonic normative texts, and asks how the term correlated with practice in pre-Mongol Rus'. Interpreting uniform practice from the legislative record is undoubtedly hamstrung by two key problems: first, by the existence of geographical differences; and second, by the opacity around when these legal codes were composed. I will address aspects of these difficulties in respect of each text, but I should signal immediately what I am trying to achieve, and what I am not. It is impossible to attribute definite dates to these texts' original compilation, and in that vein I do not seek to pinpoint the exact dates of institutional change. Rather, I suggest that certain features of feasibly pre-Mongol fiscal

¹⁵ *PVL*, II, p. 25.

¹⁶ [Ibn Khurdādhbih], *Kitāb al-masālik wa'l-mamālik*, ed. and trans. by M. J. de Goeje (Leiden: Brill, 1889), p. 154 (eastern Arabic).

¹⁷ Ibn al-Faqīh, *Kitāb al-buldān*, ed. by M. J. de Goeje (Leiden: Brill, 1885), pp. 270-1; on both Arabic sources, see: J. E. Montgomery, 'Arabic Sources on the Vikings', in *The Viking World*, ed. by Stefan Brink and Neil Price (London: Routledge, 2008), pp. 550-61 (pp. 551-2). I am grateful to Monica White for highlighting these accounts to me; on Seljukid *'ushr*, see below, p. 180.

¹⁸ Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *De administrando imperio*, ed. by G. Moravcsik and trans. by R. J. H. Jenkins (Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks, 1967), pp. 50-1, 57-63. See also: Simon Franklin and Jonathan Shepard, *The Emergence of Rus, 750-1200* (London: Longman, 1996), pp. 112-25.

practice can nonetheless be discerned from the extant evidence – in Franklin’s words, that it is indeed possible to jump ‘from text to life’.¹⁹

Legal beginnings: Russkaia pravda, church statutes and tithes

Russkaia pravda (‘Rus’ Law’) marks an obvious starting point: existing in manuscripts dating from the late thirteenth century, the *pravda* constitutes the foundational text – in the broadest sense – of east Slavonic jurisprudence.²⁰ While the ‘Short’ redaction is silent on the question of trading dues, the ‘Expanded’ *pravda* twice attests agents called *mytniki*, in articles 37 and 39; in both cases, they feature as juridically privileged witnesses to exchange. Article 37 states that ‘паки ли будет что татебно купил в торгу...то выведет свободна мужа два или мытника’,²¹ while article 39 specifies a similar responsibility during confrontment (*svod*).²² Across its many manuscript traditions, the Expanded *pravda* consistently uses the term *mytnik* to describe this agent, who is associated primarily with trade (*v torgu*).²³ The question is what, if anything, can be extrapolated from this figure’s role: to follow Iushkov, was *myt* simply the due extracted by the *mytnik*?²⁴

The obvious presumption is that the *mytnik* charged a tariff on the sale of goods; this would accord not only with the term’s use in the Primary Chronicle, but also with the trading dues attested in the so-called ‘church statutes’ attributed to the grand princes Vladimir I (‘the Great’, 980-1015) and Iaroslav I (‘the Wise’, 1019-54 as ruler of Kyiv). As for *Russkaia pravda*, both statutes exist only in later manuscript traditions, and it is doubtful how far

¹⁹ Simon Franklin, ‘On Meanings, Functions and Paradigms of Law in Early Rus’, *RH*, 34 (2007), 63-81 (p. 67).

²⁰ *Russkaia pravda* has been identified among the ‘origins’ of Rus’ law, despite its later textual tradition; the earliest witness of the Synod-Trinity group of the Expanded *pravda* – which Kaiser sees as reflecting ‘norms in the period closest to its compilation’ – dates only to 1282: Daniel H. Kaiser, *The Growth of the Law in Medieval Russia* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1980), p. 44.

²¹ *PR*, I, p. 107 (‘if [someone] buys something stolen at a market...[then they] bring two [free]men or the *mytnik* [to attest to this]’).

²² *PR*, I, p. 108. Confrontment was used to legally recover stolen goods: Kaiser, *Growth*, pp. 82-3.

²³ *PR*, I, pp. 107-8, 125-6, 152-3, 170-1, 189-90, 219-20, 249-50, 284-5, 304, 332, 350, 375.

²⁴ S. V. Iushkov, *Obshchestvenno-politicheskii stroi i pravo Kievskogo gosudarstva* (Moscow: Gosudarstvennoe izdatel'stvo iuridicheskoi literatury, 1949), p. 389.

similar provisions were issued by the princes themselves.²⁵ Given their possible reflection of an institutional settlement succeeding the conversion of Rus' to Christianity under Vladimir, the statutes have attracted scholarly interest primarily for circumscribing the divide between 'church' and 'state' in early Rus', and for setting the future basis of canon law.²⁶

To this end, both statutes allocate a tithe (*desiatina*) to the church,²⁷ formed from two main sources of income, judicial fees and trading dues: in the formula of the Vladimir grant, 'дах десятину к ней...от всего суда ѿ-ты грош, ис торгу ѿ-тую недилу'.²⁸ Yet while these tithes both allocate a 'tenth' of their respective shares to the church, their means of collection remain functionally discrete – the judicial due is defined monetarily (every tenth *grosh*), whereas the trading tithe is specified temporally (every tenth week). Despite the frequent replacement of *grosh* with another coin, *veksha*, this definitional disparity between money and time persists across the various recensions of the Vladimir statute.²⁹

Nonetheless, the precise implications of the phrase *is torgu* ('from the market') remain contested: while Shchapov considers the tithe to have encompassed both 'external' and 'internal' trade, Kashtanov argues that it affected only foreign traders.³⁰ Equally obscure is how the church extracted its tithe. Did it delegate its own agents to collect the due, and if so, was a princely agent stationed at the market for the remaining nine weeks? These questions

²⁵ Their earliest witnesses date to the fourteenth (Vladimir) and fifteenth (Iaroslav) centuries: Kaiser, *Growth*, pp. 53, 57. Kaiser is reticent about dating any significant circulation of the Vladimir statute to before the fourteenth century: Daniel H. Kaiser, 'Church and State in Old Rus', *SR*, 36 (1977), 658-66 (pp. 662-4).

²⁶ George G. Weickhardt, 'The Canon Law of Rus', 1100-1551', *RH*, 28 (2001), 411-46 (p. 415). On early church income: John Fennell, *A History of the Russian Church to 1448* (London: Longman, 1995), pp. 54-8.

²⁷ The Vladimir statute grants the tithe to the Kyiv church of the Bogoroditsa ('*desiatinnaia*'); the Iaroslav statute grants it more generically to the metropolitan and bishops.

²⁸ Following Shchapov's numbering scheme, §3: *DKU*, p. 15 ('I gave the tithe to it [the church]...the tenth *grosh* from every judgment, from the market every tenth week').

²⁹ Of the redactions and recensions (*izvody*) compiled by Shchapov: *DKU*, pp. 18, 23, 30, 37, 43, 46, 54, 83. The same stipulations reappear in a statute issued in the name of 'Vsevolod', prince of Novgorod, allocating tithe to the city's church of St Sofia: *DKU*, p. 154.

³⁰ Ia. N. Shchapov, *Gosudarstvo i tserkov' Drevnei Rusi X-XIII vv.* (Moscow: Nauka, 1989), p. 84; S. M. Kashtanov and Iu. R. Kliukman, 'Sovetskaia literatura 1965-66 gg. po istorii Rossii do XIX veka', *Istoriia SSSR*, 1967, no. 5, 156-77 (pp. 166-9).

are partly resolved in the Iaroslav statute, which replaces *is torgu* definitively with *myt(o)*, ‘ї-ю н(е)д(е)лю мыта к ц(е)ркви и к митрополиту, а людем его не даяти мыта нигде’.³¹

The Iaroslav statute appears to offer a more specified description of similar practice, namely that *myt(o)* would be collected at markets, for every tenth week’s proceeds to be allotted to the church. If *mytniki* were indeed the princely collectors of *myt(o)* – either in addition to or instead of ecclesiastical agents – such a situation correlates wholly with their position at points of exchange in *Russkaia pravda*.

Trading at Smolensk: Rostislav’s charter and myt

Alongside the statutes purportedly issued by the Kyivan grand princes, however, stands a further charter in the name of Rostislav Mstislavich as prince of Smolensk (1125-60), granted to the town’s bishop and its cathedral church in 1136.³² Unlike the Kyivan material, which defines the principles underlying *desiatina* but not its practical acquisition, Rostislav’s charter details its extraction from various settlements in the bishopric.³³ While *myt(o)* is notably absent from this calculation, the church accrues tithe from a gamut of dues, collected first by the prince and only subsequently transferred to the bishop, ‘ис того взяти епископу к святей Богородице’.³⁴ In article 4 of the charter, these dues are described

³¹ *DKU*, p. 86 (‘the tenth week of *myt* [is given] to the church and to the metropolitan, and his [the metropolitan’s] people do not have to pay *myt* anywhere’). One redaction of the Vladimir statute does include *myt(o)*, in a seventeenth-century copy of the Kyiv-Pechersk *Paterikon*, although part of an assemblage that Shchapov dates to the fourteenth century: *DKU*, p. 73. See below, p. 91-2, for its connection to Turov.

³² The date is Shchapov’s: Ia. N. Shchapov, *Kniazheskie ustavy i tserkov’ v drevnei Rusi XI-XIV vv.* (Moscow: Nauka, 1972), p. 137. Rostislav’s career was otherwise intertwined with dynastic competition: Franklin and Shepard, pp. 348-52; Janet Martin, *Medieval Russia, 980-1584* (Cambridge: CUP, 1995), pp. 119-27.

³³ This innovation seems at least partly the product of Manuel, Smolensk’s first bishop, who was Greek: Simon Franklin, ‘Literacy and Documentation in Early Medieval Russia’, *Speculum*, 60 (1985), 1-38 (pp. 28-31).

³⁴ *DKU*, p. 141 (‘from that [which is collected] the bishop is to take [his tithe] to the holy Bogoroditsa [church]’). Cf. a charter of 1136x7, issued by Sviatoslav Ol’govich, prince of Novgorod (1136-8), replacing the percentage tithe with a specific sum: *DKU*, p. 148.

as stemming ‘от всех даней смоленских’, yet the subsequent stipulations for each settlement (*pogost*) include payments beyond simple tribute (*dan*).³⁵

In respect of Verzhavliane Velikie,³⁶ for instance, the total fiscal receipts are eight hundred *grivnas* of *dan*; one hundred *grivnas* levied on *istuzhnitsy*, an ill-defined group attested only in this charter;³⁷ and one hundred *grivnas* of a due called *peredmer*. In turn, the cathedral church received one hundred *grivnas* – exactly one-tenth of the total collected. The precise meaning of *peredmer* is unclear:³⁸ Vladimirskii-Budanov suggested that it formed the sum of indirect taxes across Verzhavliane Velikie,³⁹ whereas Shumilov includes it among his list of pre-Mongol customs tolls.⁴⁰ More obviously included among the latter are the litany of trading dues enumerated for two particular settlements, Putinia and Kopys’, including *gost*’ (presumably levied on non-local traders), *perevoz* (charged for crossing a river) and, most importantly, *torgovoe*.⁴¹ If Iushkov is correct to equate Rostislav’s *torgovoe* with *myt(o)* elsewhere,⁴² practice in Smolensk and its hinterland differed from the temporal calculation in the Kyivan statutes; here the trading due is included among the prince’s monetary tithe to the church. In Shchapov’s eyes, this discrepancy marks a typical core-periphery mismatch: while the Kyivan ‘centre’ seemingly differentiated agents such as *mytniki*, in Smolensk dues were collected by the prince and only then given to the church.⁴³

However, this hardly explains the more overtly distinct conception of *myt(o)* – albeit labelled identically – in the 1229 treaties concluded between Smolensk, Riga and Gotland, a

³⁵ *DKU*, p. 141 (‘from all the Smolensk tributes’). Rostislav’s charter excludes certain judicial fines (*prodazhi*): L. V. Alekseev, *Smolenskaia zemlia v IX-XIII vv.* (Moscow: Nauka, 1980), p. 21.

³⁶ This area seemingly formed a swathe of territory to the north of modern-day Smolensk: V. S. Kurmanovskii, ‘K istoricheskoi geografii mestnosti Verzhavliane Velikie’, in *Smolenskie voiny XV-XVII vv.*, ed. by K. V. Nagornyi and others (St Petersburg: [n.pub.], 2015), pp. 150-79

<<https://cyberleninka.ru/article/n/k-istoricheskoy-geografii-mestnosti-verzhavlyane-velikie/viewer>> [accessed 8 January 2021].

³⁷ *SRIa*, VI, p. 338.

³⁸ *SRIa* defines *peredmer* simply as ‘a type of due’ (*vid podati*): *SRIa*, XIV, p. 237.

³⁹ Cited in Iushkov, p. 389.

⁴⁰ M. M. Shumilov, *Torgovlia i tamozhennoe delo v Rossii: stanovlenie, osnovnye etapy razvitiia IX-XVII vv.* (St Petersburg: Dmitrii Bulanin, 2006), p. 112.

⁴¹ *DKU*, pp. 142-3.

⁴² Iushkov, p. 389.

⁴³ Shchapov, *Gosudarstvo i tserkov*, p. 81.

decade prior to the first significant Mongol invasions. These agreements reflect the polities' desire to keep trading routes free of tolls: 'всякому латинескому ч[е]л[о]в[е]коу свободен путе из гочкого берега до смољнеска без мыта'.⁴⁴ Similar provisions are attested in the agreements' Rigan redactions,⁴⁵ and in an earlier fragmentary charter of 1223.⁴⁶ Yet unlike both the Expanded *pravda*, and *torgovoe* in Rostislav's charter, these agreements are concerned explicitly with transit routes (*pute, iz gochkogo berega do smol'neska* [sic]), not with points of exchange. In this vein, they pose similar questions to the Jochid-Italian treaties discussed in chapter I, albeit with an added sting in the tail: while both the Smolensk and Rigan redactions use a form of *myt(o)*, it does not necessarily follow that they meant the same thing. Implicitly, however, there must have been some kind of common understanding, divorced from the Kyivan affiliation of *myt(o)* with markets.

Myt and tamga in (post-)Mongol Rus': extraction, exemption, appropriation

Against these two discrete conceptions of *myt(o)* and its collection, the Mongol invasions of the thirteenth century unsurprisingly precipitated a step change in fiscal practice: taxation in the Rus' principalities was no longer self-regulating, but subject to the interests of an external power. The political history of this period can be summarised briefly in terms of incursion and contestation.⁴⁷ After initial skirmishes in 1224 – following the Mongols' campaign against the Khwārazmshāhs – the late 1230s witnessed full-scale assaults on Rus' territory under the Jochid Batu (d. 1255). These attacks, spreading as far west as modern-day Austria, continued until Ögödei's death in 1241; Batu's subsequent withdrawal reduced pressure on central Europe, but the Rus' lands remained under the suzerainty of the Jochid khans. The khans' *modus operandi* combined tribute gathering with divide-and-conquer strategies symptomatic of imperial conquest. As Moscow outshone Tver' after the latter's 1327 revolt against Jochid authority, the khans invested the Muscovite grand princes

⁴⁴ SG, p. 23 ('every Latin [i.e. Western] person [is granted] free passage from Gotland to Smolensk without [having to pay] *myt*'); see pp. 29, 34 for the other two Gotland versions.

⁴⁵ SG, pp. 38, 43, 50.

⁴⁶ SG, p. 12.

⁴⁷ This narrative is collated from: David Morgan, *The Mongols*, 2nd edn (Oxford: Blackwell, 2007), pp. 136-45; John Fennell, *The Crisis of Medieval Russia, 1200-1304* (London: Longman, 1983), pp. 164-8; and R. O. Crummey, *The Formation of Muscovy, 1304-1613* (London: Longman, 1987), pp. 29-83.

with ever more responsibility for collecting tribute. Crucial to that exercise was maintaining tax revenues – among them *tamga*.

Early tamga: initial extraction

Ironically, *tamga* is first attested in Rus' earlier than in the Jochid sources discussed in chapter I, either in the Italian agreements or in the limited number of 'internal' documents issued by the khans themselves: the 1257 entry of the Novgorod First Chronicle complains bitterly of the arrival of news (*vest'*) that 'хотят Татары тамгы и десятины на Новгороде'.⁴⁸ The chronicle records Mongol envoys (*posly*) arriving with Aleksandr Nevskii (d. 1263) to request the *tamga* and *desiatina*; the people of Novgorod refuse, instead placating the envoys with gifts (*dary tsesarevy*).⁴⁹ At this point, the Mongols were still pursuing direct fiscal extraction, rather than delegating the task to local princes – an ambition further reflected in the khans' pursual of a census (*chislo*) in Rus' from 1257.⁵⁰ To believe the Novgorod chronicle, however, the episode also attests a lack of bureaucratic strictness: the Jochid envoys sought *tamga*, but were bought off with unspecified 'gifts'.

This interest, successful or not, is also indicated in the *iarlyks* issued by the khans to the Rus' church. The earliest, dating to 1267 and in the name of the Jochid khan Möngke-Temür (1266-80), confers exemption from *tamga* alongside a gamut of dues including *dan'*

⁴⁸ PSRL III, p. 309 ('the Tatars [Mongols] want *tamga* and the[ir?] tithe at Novgorod'). Text cited from the *Komissionnyi spisok*; for the near-identical *Sinodal'nyi spisok*: p. 82. I disagree with Gorskii that the text should be interpreted as 'a *tamga* of 10%' (десятины тамги); Gorskii relies on Petrushevskii, who in turn derives the figure from Rashid al-Dīn's textually problematic letter collection, the *Mukātibāt* (see below, pp. 192-3): A. A. Gorskii, 'Utverzhdienie vlasti Mongol'skoi imperii nad Rus'iu: regional'nye osobennosti', *Istoricheskii vestnik*, 157 (2014), 58-79 (pp. 72-3); I. P. Petrushevskii, 'Iran i Azerbaidzhan pod vlast'iu khulaguidov (1256-1353), in *Tataro-mongoly v Azii i Evrope: sbornik statei*, ed. by S. L. Tikhvinskii (Moscow: Nauka, 1970), pp. 222-54 (pp. 239, 252); cf. S. A. Maslova, 'Mongoly i Novgorodskaiia zemlia v XIII-XV vv.', *DRVM*, 92 (2023), 28-40 (p. 29).

⁴⁹ PSRL III, p. 309. Michell and Forbes translate this as 'presents to the *Tsar*', negating the tributary relationship involved; it surely instead implies 'gifts [requested by] the [Jochid] khan': *The Chronicle of Novgorod, 1016-1471*, trans. by Robert Michell and Nevill Forbes (London: Royal Historical Society, 1914), p. 96. See also: Fennell, *Crisis*, p. 117.

⁵⁰ Thomas T. Allsen, 'Mongol Census Taking in Rus', 1245-1275', *HUS*, 5 (1981), 32-53 (p. 42). The census-takers – *chislenitsy* in Slavonic – eventually reached Novgorod in 1259: PSRL III, pp. 310-11.

and *iam* (postal service due).⁵¹ No agent, however, is specified in the charter's address clause to collect *tamga*. While this absence is perhaps attributable to later creative editing by the ecclesiastical hierarchy⁵² – in any case, the Novgorod chronicle similarly fails to suggest specified agents, calling the khan's representatives simply *posly* – it contrasts significantly with the two other *iarlyks* that exempt *tamga*. In the address clauses of Taidula's (d. 1361) and Berdibeg's (1357-9) *iarlyks* to the church, issued in 1351 and 1357 respectively, *tamozhniki* are invoked among the agents affected.⁵³ Were these agents Jochid *tamghachi*, dispatched from Sarai to collect tax, or instead Muscovite *tamozhniki*?

One attestation of a possibly Slavonic *tamozhnik* is found remarkably soon after the Mongol invasions, in a charter issued in 1284 by Fedor Rostislavich, prince of Smolensk (d. 1299), specifying that merchants' trading routes should not be obstructed; the text is witnessed by one 'тереньтеи таможникъ ветхый'.⁵⁴ The term *vetkhyi* is problematic: its sense relates to age, but gives no indication of how long Terentii had been a *tamozhnik*, merely that he was an old man.⁵⁵ Regardless, there is less doubt concerning the Latinate (not Turkic) etymology of his name.⁵⁶ Terentii's loyalty can hardly be extrapolated from this evidence alone, but he was seemingly close enough to the prince to be included among the witnesses to the charter, and does not exhibit any other connections to the Jochid court. Did the Rus' princes appropriate the terminology of their overlords so soon after their subordination, and if so, how far had *tamga* become part of the bureaucratic landscape?

Novgorod

The question is particularly acute as Novgorod's refusal to pay *tamga* appears to have lasted longer than one year. The earliest clues to immediate post-Mongol fiscal practice in Rus' are found in a set of agreements concluded between Novgorod, Tver' and Moscow, but any trail of *tamga* quickly goes cold; *myt*, meanwhile, appears throughout. The earliest

⁵¹ *PRP* III, p. 467.

⁵² A. P. Grigor'ev, *Sbornik khanskikh iarlykov russkim mitropolitam* (St Petersburg: Izdatel'stvo Sankt-Peterburgskogo universiteta, 2004), p. 30.

⁵³ *PRP* III, pp. 469, 470. Taidula was Janibeg's mother; Berdibeg ruled as khan in his own right.

⁵⁴ *SG*, p. 66 ('Terentii, old [?] *tamozhnik*').

⁵⁵ *SRIa*, II, p. 126.

⁵⁶ N. A. Petrovskii, *Slovar' russkikh lichnykh imen* (Moscow: Sovetskaia entsiklopediia, 1966), p. 207.

extant treaty dates to 1264 – just six years after the record of the Novgorod First Chronicle – demarcating the territories of the republic and Iaroslav Iaroslavich, at this point both prince of Tver’ and grand prince of Vladimir;⁵⁷ the treaty stipulates that ‘от новгородьця и от новоторжьця у мыта имати от воза по 2 векши и от хмелна короба’.⁵⁸ This rate of two *vekshas* per load remains consistent across the later treaties, although further details are interpolated around it. Two years later, for example, in a 1266 agreement between Iaroslav and Novgorod, an expanded formula is used, which would become customary:

А что, княже, мыт по твоеи земли, и по [и]ной волости, по всей Суждальской земли, а то, княже, имати по 2 векши от лодье, и от воза, и от лну, и от хмелна короба.⁵⁹

Importantly, the agreements imply that *myt* was primarily charged not in Novgorod itself, but in Iaroslav’s lands to the southeast.

This is further reflected in an intriguing agreement between the same parties, dated to either 1268 or 1270.⁶⁰ At first glance, it contains similar terms as the earlier documents, but two additional clauses imply a political shift. First, it is made explicit that Iaroslav is not entitled to take *myt* in *volosts* belonging to Novgorod; and second, the right of ‘foreign’ traders (*gosti*) to trade freely is guaranteed with specific reference to the khans, ‘а гости нашему гостити по Суждальской земли без рубежа, по цесарев грамоте’.⁶¹ In this case, the *tsesar*’ is none other than Möngke-Temür: on the reverse of the charter (which survives in its original) is noted that ‘се приехаша послы от Менгу Темеря цесаря сажат Ярослава

⁵⁷ Iaroslav served as prince of Tver’ from 1247 to 1271, and as grand prince of Vladimir from 1263 to 1271. On this period: Fennell, *Crisis*, pp. 130-41.

⁵⁸ *GVNP*, no. 1, pp. 9-10 (‘from a Novgorodian and [a person from] Torzhok, [you may] collect at the *myt*, [namely] 2 *vekshas* from a load and from a crate of hops’).

⁵⁹ *GVNP*, no. 2, p. 11 (‘and that, prince [of Tver’], [there is] *myt* in your land, and in any *volost*’, and across the Suzdal’ land, and that, prince, [you may] collect 2 *vekshas* from a boat, from a load, from flax, and from a crate of hops’).

⁶⁰ Ianin dates this charter to 1268: V. L. Ianin, *Novgorodskie akty XII-XV vv.: khronologicheskii kommentarii* (Moscow: Nauka, 1991), pp. 147-9.

⁶¹ *GVNP*, no. 3, p. 13 (‘our guest [foreign merchant] may trade across the Suzdal’ land without hindrance, according to the charter of the *tsesar*’ [khan]’).

с грамотою Чевгу и Баиши'.⁶² This is as near an instance as survives of a smoking gun illustrating institutional transmission, and yet in the entire charter there is no mention of *tamga*. That the khan's primary focus would be on maintaining freedom to trade is in keeping with a charter issued by Iaroslav to Riga in 1266x72, which states that 'Менгу Теморово слово кл [sic] Ярославу князю: даи путь немецкому гости на свою волость'.⁶³ Given Novgorod's resistance to *tamga* in the chronicle record, and with its persistent complaints against Iaroslav,⁶⁴ is it any surprise that the city was resistant to trading taxes – Mongol or otherwise? Yet regardless, these documents fail to indicate any Jochid extraction of *tamga* in the late thirteenth century.

Indeed, Iaroslav's charter to Riga correlates more readily with the agreements between Novgorod and its Hanseatic trading partners: as early as the late twelfth century, their preoccupation is to keep trading routes clear, and in particular to allow *gosti* to travel *bes pakosti* (without hindrance).⁶⁵ However, only in the second half of the thirteenth century does the surviving evidence reveal specific practice. Alongside the requirement to *gostiti bes pakosti*, a treaty of 1262x3 between Novgorod, Gotland and Lübeck stipulates that 'а немцем, и г[о]т[е]м, и всему латиньскому языку по две куне от капи и от всякого веснаго товара, что кладуть на скалви, и продавшие и купивше'.⁶⁶ This provision epitomises latent concerns underlying the normative codes analysed in the previous section – the question of how to regulate markets – but is discrete from the transit-based *myt* attested in Novgorod's treaties with Iaroslav Iaroslavich.

How far Iaroslav's charters affected later fiscal arrangements between Novgorod and Tver' is open to interpretation. On the one hand, a pair of charters from the turn of the fourteenth century is notably opaque: Iaroslav's son Mikhail, prince of Tver' (1282-1318),

⁶² *GVNP*, no. 3, p. 11 ('the envoys from the khan Möngke-Temür, Chevgu and Baishi, came to bestow Iaroslav with [this] charter').

⁶³ *GVNP*, no. 30, p. 57 ('the word of Möngke-Temür to prince Iaroslav: give [free] route to [any] German [Western] *gost'* [merchant] in your *volost'*').

⁶⁴ A. E. Presniakov, *Obrazovanie Velikorusskogo gosudarstva: ocherki po istorii XIII-XV stoletii* (Petrograd: Deviatiaia gosudarstvennaia tipografiia, 1920), p. 75, n. 1.

⁶⁵ *GVNP*, no. 28, pp. 55-6.

⁶⁶ *GVNP*, no. 29, pp. 56-7 ('and Germans, and those from Gotland, and those [who speak any] Latin tongue, [should pay] two *kunas* per *kap'* [a unit of weight] from every weighed good, which is put on the scales, and is bought and sold').

agrees with Novgorod that ‘town customs’ (*poshliny gorodsk[ie]*) are to be collected at Tver’, Novgorod, Torzhok and Volotsk ‘по давной пошлине’.⁶⁷ Yet a subsequent agreement of 1304x5, again between Novgorod and Mikhail, repeats almost identically the trading provisions of Iaroslav’s 1268/70 agreement: *myt* is charged at two *vekshas* in the ‘Suzdal’ land; the prince of Tver’ is forbidden from collecting customs in Novgorodian lands; and *gosti* are to trade without hindrance, by charter of the *tsesar*.⁶⁸ These formulae are repeated in treaties of 1307x8, also with Mikhail Iaroslavich,⁶⁹ of 1326x7 with Aleksandr Mikhailovich (1326-7, 1338-9),⁷⁰ and of 1371 with Mikhail Aleksandrovich (1368-99).⁷¹ Nonetheless, that *myt* was not charged in lands under Novgorod’s rule is implicit even in a very late charter of 1446x7 between the city and Boris Aleksandrovich of Tver’ (1426-61); it states that although Tver’ merchants must pay only *gostinoe* at Torzhok and Rusa, those from Torzhok and Novgorod must provide both *myt* and *gostinoe* at Tver’.⁷²

Most striking is how these principles feed into later treaties agreed between Novgorod and Moscow. In the peace concluded in 1456 between the two polities at Iazhelbitsy, for instance, the Novgorod text affirms the earlier formula once granted to the rulers of Tver’ – now disseised of their rights – to extract two *vekshas* of *myt* on ‘Suzdal’ land’.⁷³ The corresponding Muscovite proposal, however, fails to attest this;⁷⁴ the question is whether Moscow’s rulers were nullifying the city’s administrative rights by removing the implicit limit on Novgorodian tax liabilities.⁷⁵ This divide persists in the two extant recensions of Novgorod’s treaty with Ivan III (1462-1505), dating to August 1471: while the Novgorod text re-uses the earlier formulae, even including *po tsesarev gramote*,⁷⁶ the Moscow text again omits it. Novgorod, it seems, was desperate to hold on to its fiscally limited obligation to pay a *myt* that was never truly its own.

⁶⁷ *GVNP*, no. 5, p. 15 (‘according to longstanding custom’).

⁶⁸ *GVNP*, no. 6, p. 16.

⁶⁹ *GVNP*, no. 9, p. 19; no. 10, p. 22. The formulae are repeated in both the Tver’ and Novgorod copies.

⁷⁰ *GVNP*, no. 14, p. 28.

⁷¹ *GVNP*, no. 15, p. 30.

⁷² *GVNP*, no. 20, p. 37. Rusa is modern-day Staraia Russa, around 40 miles south of Novgorod.

⁷³ *GVNP*, no. 22, p. 40.

⁷⁴ *GVNP*, no. 23, pp. 41-3.

⁷⁵ Ianin, pp. 180-2.

⁷⁶ *GVNP*, no. 26, pp. 45-8.

The shifting syntactical sands of these documents should not obscure their importance for understanding both the collection of *myt*, and the potential limitations of Jochid suzerainty. Only three decades after the Mongol invasions, *myt* is attested in Tver' and the 'Suzdal' land' in the form it will take throughout the rest of this chapter: following its extraction at Smolensk as a transit toll, rather than as a tax on exchange. At the same time, *tamga* is nowhere to be found.

Statutes: syncretic possibilities

Despite its absence in the treaties between Tver' and Novgorod, *tamga* does feature in at least one text originating in the republic – albeit the text of a document already discussed. The 'archaeographical' recension of the statute attributed to Iaroslav, dated to the fifteenth century and produced in Novgorod, offers the first signs of the syncretic duality between *tamga* and *myt* that would later characterise Muscovite material. Article 1 of the statute's earliest witness stipulates that while the church receives the tithe from *myt*, it is also exempt from paying a broader range of dues: 'людем его не даяти мыту никде [sic], ни тамгы...'.⁷⁷ While the copyist followed earlier versions of the statute in allocating only *myt* to the church, *tamga* was seemingly so integral to fiscal practice by the fifteenth century that the ecclesiastical exemption – grounded in Jochid *iarlyks* – was worth emphasising. The issue is whether this exemption was the product of developments in Moscow or Novgorod: given that *tamga* is not otherwise attested in the latter, the recension may be responding to fiscal evolution further afield.

This is also true for an anonymous record (*zapis'*) relating to administrative organisation at Turov (Turaŭ) in present-day southern Belarus. Shchapov dates the record to the mid-fourteenth century, although it exists only in a single copy, interpolated in a manuscript of the Kyiv-Pechersk *Paterikon* from the seventeenth century.⁷⁸ The compilation includes the only recension of the Vladimir statute to attest *myt*, granting the church every tenth week 'у мыт(е), и у торгу, и на перевозех'.⁷⁹ Whereas the recensions of the Iaroslav

⁷⁷ *DKU*, p. 94 ('his [the metropolitan's] people do not have to pay [either] *myt* or *tamga* anywhere').

⁷⁸ Ia. N. Shchapov, 'Turovskie ustavy XIV veka o desiatine', in *Arkheograficheskii ezhegodnik za 1964 god*, ed. by M. N. Tikhomirov (Moscow: Nauka, 1965), pp. 252-73 (p. 254).

⁷⁹ *DKU*, p. 73 ('at the *myt*, at the market and at [river] crossings').

statute replace *torg* with *myt*, here they co-exist, with *myt* as a fixed – and separate – location. This is unsurprising if the stipulations follow the Smolensk model of *myt* at locations ‘in-between’.

Yet this record remains perplexing in light of the Turov *zapis*’ it was found with, which specifies that from *gosti* at Turov and Pinsk ‘во всякой торговле мыто имати’.⁸⁰ In the following article it further situates the *mytnik* – potentially an ecclesiastical agent⁸¹ – at the centre of exchange: for two weeks around the feast day of St Peter the Athonite, ‘держит владычен мытник: и сребреные весы, и восковой вес’.⁸² Moreover, in the article delineating *myto* a reference to *tamga* appears, but obscurely; listing the various payments is the stipulation ‘локот љ тамги’, where *tamga* replaces what would otherwise be a unit of payment.⁸³ It is unclear what is precisely taking place here: *lokot*’ is attested as a unit of length,⁸⁴ but could *tamga* somehow be charged for it? It is difficult to conclude anything definite from the Turov statute, beyond the sudden appearance of *tamga* alongside *myt*, albeit in a context that merely gestures towards syncretism. Only the Muscovite sources reveal how such syncretism played out in practice.

Muscovite *tamga*: a contested due

The first key strand of evidence for post-Mongol *myt* and *tamga* are the testaments (*dukhovnye gramoty*) drafted by Muscovite rulers; these texts not only distribute land among the grand princes’ heirs, but also the profits from dues affiliated with each region.⁸⁵ East Slavonic succession practice prior to the Mongol invasions was not grounded in explicit primogeniture;⁸⁶ by the fourteenth century, rulers’ testaments specified heirs more definitively, but territorial and fiscal bequests were still shared out among inheritors, rather

⁸⁰ *DKU*, p. 200 (‘must [be collected] *myto* on every good’).

⁸¹ Shchapov, ‘Turovskie ustavy’, p. 260.

⁸² *DKU*, p. 200 (‘the *mytnik* [keeps] charge [of] the silver scales, and the weighing scale’).

⁸³ *DKU*, p. 200 (‘for one length: 30 of *tamga*’).

⁸⁴ *SRIa*, VIII, p. 277.

⁸⁵ For a translation of these documents: *The Testaments of the Grand Princes of Moscow*, ed. and trans. by Robert Craig Howes (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1967), pp. 177-360.

⁸⁶ On the earlier system of ‘collateral’ succession in pre-Mongol Rus’: Nancy Shields Kollmann, ‘Collateral Succession in Kievan Rus’, *HUS*, 14 (1990), 377-87.

than given to a single heir. This process formed a specific group of princes, commonly labelled *udel'nye* ('appanage'), who acted to some extent as independent rulers, but who ultimately derived their authority from a fourteenth- or fifteenth-century Muscovite bequest. To that extent, these figures can be distinguished from the rulers of Tver' and Riazan', whose dynastic lines retained vestiges of earlier fragmentation.

Alongside *dukhovnye gramoty* sit treaties between princes, demarcating both territorial boundaries and political alliances. As Pashkov identified, together these documents can give the impression of institutional chaos: bequests splintered once united lands, and princely treaties subsequently sought to defend against the rapaciousness of neighbours and rivals.⁸⁷ On the one hand, princely testaments delegate power away from the centre; on the other, treaties seek to manage the necessary consequences of that process. This section assesses such 'high-level' political documents as a precursor to identifying practice in non-normative grant charters: how did the ruling elite conceive of these dues as they jockeyed for power and position? My focus at this stage lies primarily on Moscow; I explore the grand princes' interactions with Tver', Riazan' and Beloozero later in the chapter.

The early testamentary evidence has allowed historians to postulate a division between 'delegated' dues – taxes collected by the grand princes on behalf of their Jochid overlords – and 'appropriated' dues – the profits of which furnished their own treasury. Most notable is Kashtanov's identification of where *myt* and *tamga* are absent in these bequests: he proposes that only those levies explicitly left to a beneficiary were controlled by the grand prince in question, but that otherwise they were extracted by the Jochids.⁸⁸ Ostrowski follows this line of thinking to argue that both *myt* and *tamga* had therefore been retained in the grand princely treasury by the time of Dmitrii Donskoi's reign (1359-89).⁸⁹ My aim is not

⁸⁷ A. I. Pashkov, 'Economic Thought in the Period of Fiscal Disunity', in *A History of Russian Economic Thought: Ninth through Eighteenth Centuries*, ed. by John M. Letiche and trans. by Basil Dmytryshyn and Richard A. Price (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1964), pp. 53-90 (pp. 61-6).

⁸⁸ S. M. Kashtanov, 'Finansovoe ustroistvo Moskovskogo kniazhestva v seredine XIV v. po dannym dukhovnykh gramot', in *Issledovaniia po istorii i istoriografii feodalizma: k 100-letiiu so dnia rozhdeniia akademika B. D. Grekova*, ed. by Iu. V. Bromlei and others (Moscow: Nauka, 1982), pp. 173-89 (p. 184).

⁸⁹ Donald Ostrowski, *Muscovy and the Mongols: Cross-Cultural Influences on the Steppe Frontier, 1304-1589* (Cambridge: CUP, 1998), p. 121.

to repeat Kashtanov's analysis, but to interrogate how far these texts do indeed reflect Jochid control.

Kashtanov's argument is premised on the idea that the term *volosti* in Ivan I Kalita's (1325-1341) testament of 1339 refers not to spatial demarcations of land – as it would in later years – but to fiscal rights held by the grand princes;⁹⁰ the phrase 'из городъских волостей' hence specifies dues to be collected not from a geographical region, but from the basket of tolls extracted at Moscow (including *tamga*), the proceeds of which Kalita split between his wife and sons.⁹¹ Certainly, while Kashtanov's argument is feasible, it hardly accords with the term's usage in the Novgorod treaty evidence, where *volost'* patently refers to geographical areas. Kashtanov's position also entails a more cardinal assumption: that *myt* was collected by the Jochids alongside *tamga* after the Mongol conquests. In this vein, Lawrence Langer asks why *myt* – 'an older traditional Rus' tax', as he calls it – would have been of interest to the khans, but he fails to press the point further.⁹² If it was so important, where is it in the ecclesiastical *iarlyks*? And moreover, why would Iaroslav Iaroslavich of Tver' so keenly stipulate its collection from Novgorodians?

A clearer conception of *tamga* appears in testaments after Kalita's, when the term is attested in the singular and attached to specific towns: Ivan II (1353-9) bequeathed Mozhaisk to Dmitrii Donskoi, 'с тамгою, и со всеми пошлинами'.⁹³ By contrast, no such *tamga* is listed for Zvenigorod, which is granted simply 'с мыт(о)м'.⁹⁴ To be sure, such fluctuations may reflect discrete lines of authority over these dues; yet they may also reflect a lack of overt systematisation by the late fourteenth century, despite Moscow's evident ambition to control *tamga*. At the same time, the affiliation of *tamga* with certain towns, and its status as *gorodskaia poshlina* ('town custom'), appear to indicate extraction – in common with its Jochid counterpart – at specific nodes of exchange. At Zvenigorod, however, this is also true of *myt*: had they simply become the same due?

⁹⁰ Kashtanov, 'Finansovoe ustroistvo', p. 175.

⁹¹ DDG, no. 1, p. 8 ('from the [fiscal] rights [held by] the city').

⁹² Lawrence N. Langer, 'Muscovite Taxation and the Problem of Mongol Rule in Rus', *RH*, 34 (2007), 101-29 (p. 121).

⁹³ DDG, no. 4, p. 15 ('with [its] *tamga*, and with all [its] customs').

⁹⁴ DDG, no. 4, p. 15 ('with *myt*').

Princely agreements would suggest the opposite. Indeed, by the turn of the fifteenth century, the difference between *tamga* as a levy on exchange and *myt* as a transit toll had, if anything, become consolidated. A charter issued by Vasilii I (1389-1425) to Kiprian, metropolitan of Moscow, details a differentiation similar to that of the Tana *iarlyks* in chapter I: ‘кто продаст свое домашное, тот тамги не даст; а который имеет прикупом которым торговати, а тот тамгу даст’.⁹⁵ Similarly specific is a treaty between Vasilii and Mikhail Aleksandrovich of Tver’, which records that ‘тамга и осминичее взят(и), а оже имеет торговати’.⁹⁶ Most crucially, *tamga* and *osminichee* are charged at a markedly familiar rate: ‘от рубля алтын’.⁹⁷ If one *altyn* – itself etymologically Turkic⁹⁸ – equated to six *den’gi*, with 200 *den’gi* in one rouble, the rate is again 3.33%.⁹⁹ In other words, as the Muscovite centre acquired growing political importance relative to both its neighbours and its erstwhile suzerains, the grand princes continue to use Mongol fiscal forms: not only in word, but also in deed.

Myt follows earlier practice, as attested at Smolensk and in the Novgorod treaty evidence, in being extracted from transit. The usurper Iurii Dmitrievich’s agreement with Ivan Fedorovich, grand prince of Riazan’ (1427-56), stipulates that ‘мыта с воза...денга, а с пешехода мыта нет’,¹⁰⁰ while an earlier 1396 treaty of Vasilii I underlines rulers’ concern with the burden imposed on travellers: ‘новых ти мытов ни замышляти. А на старых ти мытах имати с воза по мортке обеоушной’.¹⁰¹ *Myty* were fixed locations, countable in the genitive plural and passed by merchants; later in the same clause, the agreement stipulates the consequences if the *mytnik* is absent, ‘[a] проедет мыт, мытника оу зазора не боудет,

⁹⁵ ASEI, III, no. 6, p. 19 (‘who[ever] sells their homewares, need not pay [give] *tamga*; but those who have bought [goods in order] to trade, [they must] pay [give] *tamga*’).

⁹⁶ DDG, no. 15, p. 42 (‘take *tamga* and *osminichee*, [but only] if [that person] is trading’).

⁹⁷ DDG, no. 15, p. 42 (‘[is charged at] one *altyn* per rouble’).

⁹⁸ Vasmer, I, p. 14.

⁹⁹ Cf. the debate between Spasskii and Ianin about the precise value of the *altyn*: I. G. Spasskii, ‘Altyn v russkoi denezhnoi sisteme’, *KSIIMK*, 66 (1956), 12-20; V. L. Ianin, ‘Altyn i ego mesto v russkikh denezhnykh sistemakh XIV-XV vv.’, *KSIIMK*, 66 (1956), 21-30; see also: *SRIa*, I, p. 32.

¹⁰⁰ DDG, no. 33, p. 86 (‘from a [goods] transport, *myt* is [levied at one] *den’ga*, but from a traveller on foot there is no *myt* [levied]’).

¹⁰¹ DDG, no. 15, p. 42 (‘you [will not] instigate new *myts*. And at the old *myts* you [will] take from [each] transport a “two-eared” *mortka* [a type of coin]’).

мыта и промыты нет'.¹⁰² By the end of the fourteenth century, *myt* was still collected from points 'in-between', whereas *tamga* followed Jochid principles in profiting from exchange at economic centres.¹⁰³

To follow bequests of *myt* and *tamga* through the testamentary evidence, meanwhile, is to witness the increasingly important fiscal role played by Moscow itself. The dues' duality by the 1400s is exemplified in the testament of Vladimir Andreevich, initially prince of Serpukhov (1358-1410), but who later expanded his holdings to include Borovsk, Dmitrov and Uglich. Distributing first his share of Muscovite dues, he leaves his wife Elena 'свою трет(ь) тамги московские, и восьмичее, и гостиное, и весчее, пудовое, и пересуд, и серебряное литье, и все пошлыны московские'.¹⁰⁴ Yet absent here is *myt*, despite nearly every other territory in Vladimir's testament being granted using a variant of the formula 'с тамгою, и с мыты, и с селы, и з бортью, и со всеми пошлынами':¹⁰⁵ Serpukhov, Borovsk, Iaroslavl', Radonezh, Peremyshl' and Luzha. The duality of *myt* and *tamga* is otherwise still present, but at Moscow further trading dues are substituted in the bequest, presumably to extract as much revenue as possible from its economic centrality. Even more revealing is how the testament treats his sons Semen and Iaroslav. Together, they are bequeathed Gorodets, lying on the right bank of the Volga, north of Nizhnii Novgorod; they are not, however, left either its *myt* or *tamga*, which are instead granted to Elena, as long as she lives, 'по старои пошлыне, как было пере [sic] сего'.¹⁰⁶ The testament even broaches the

¹⁰² DDG, no. 15, p. 42 ('and [if] they pass the *myt*, and the *mytnik* is not at the barrier, [they need not pay] either *myt* or *promyta* [fine for concealing goods from the *mytnik*]'). Both *promyt* and *promyta* are attested as the name of this fine: *SRIa*, xx, p. 175.

¹⁰³ M. N. Tikhomirov, *Trudy po istorii Moskvy* (Moscow: Iazyki slavianskoi kul'tury, 2003), pp. 196-7.

¹⁰⁴ DDG, no. 17, p. 46 ('my third of the Moscow *tamga*, and *osminichee*, and *gostinoe*, *veschee*, *pudovoe* [both weighing dues], and *peresud* [a judicial due], and the silversmithing due [?], and all [the] Moscow customary dues'). Mirroring Kashtanov's position on *volosti*, there is disagreement over whether *tret'* denotes a share of income or a geographical area: Tikhomirov, p. 238. Here, it can only refer to a monetary allocation.

¹⁰⁵ DDG, no. 17, p. 46 ('with *tamga*, and with *myts*, and with villages, and with beehives [?], and with all customary dues').

¹⁰⁶ DDG, no. 17, p. 47 ('according to old custom, as it was before this'). The dues revert to Semen and Iaroslav on Elena's death.

question of agents: Elena's *mytniki* and *tamozhniki* at Gorodets are to be judged not by the princes' agents (*pristavy*), but by the princess herself.

Nonetheless, this duality is not present in every testament; for certain documents, Kashtanov's equation of absence with practical lack might still be fruitfully applied. Iurii Dmitrievich's testament of 1433, for example, bequests Zvenigorod with its *tamga* and *myts*, as for Ruza; Vyshgorod, by contrast, is given only with *myts*.¹⁰⁷ Yet three years later, Iurii's son Dmitrii concluded a treaty with Vasilii II (1425-62) following the latter's seizure of Zvenigorod, this time only with *myts* explicitly attested among 'что к нему потягло'.¹⁰⁸ In reality, however, such discrepancies reflect the limitations of Kashtanov's approach. The disappearance of *tamga* could imply a range of possibilities: a drafting error, a specifically localised arrangement, or political ambition to no longer recognise a rival's fiscal claims.

At the same time, there is an increasing trend in later fifteenth-century testaments, especially those drafted by appanage princes, to associate *tamga* uniquely with Moscow: no longer is an appanage prince able to bequeath specific dues in the mould of Vladimir Andreevich. A good example is the 1477 testament of Boris Vasil'evich, *volotskii kniaz'* (1462-94), who grants his son Fedor the bulk of his lands with their dues, including 'с мытом с Воиницким'.¹⁰⁹ Elsewhere in the charter, however, bequests are ordinarily given so *vsemi poshlinami*, with no further specification of dues. Only at the end of the agreement does Boris leave his son his 'third' (*tret'*) in Muscovite *tamga* that he had been given in his father's will.¹¹⁰ These holdings are then attested in the draft text of the 1481 treaty concluded between Boris and Ivan III, ostensibly continuing obligations 'по старине';¹¹¹ intriguingly, however, the Voitnitskii *myt* is absent from the final agreements, even while they acknowledge Boris' share of *tamga*.¹¹² Two – not necessarily mutually exclusive – interpretations present themselves. The first is that *myt* was removed at one party's whim,

¹⁰⁷ DDG, no. 29, pp. 73-4.

¹⁰⁸ DDG, no. 35, pp. 90, 92, 95, 98; no. 38, pp. 107, 110 ('what pertained to it [Zvenigorod]').

¹⁰⁹ DDG, no. 71, p. 250 ('with the Voinitskii *myt*'). On the title *volotskii kniaz'*, see below, p. 243.

¹¹⁰ DDG, no. 61, p. 195.

¹¹¹ DDG, no. 73, p. 269 ('as in the olden days').

¹¹² DDG, no. 73, pp. 272, 274. This stipulation is repeated in a later agreement between the two rulers: DDG, no. 81, pp. 316, 320.

possibly akin to Moscow's treatment of Novgorod in contemporaneous treaties. The second is that the significance of this *myt* had been overshadowed by Muscovite *tamga*.

The concentration of *tamga* in Moscow came to a head with the almost revolutionary drafting of Ivan III's testament in 1504, in which the city was bequeathed wholesale to Vasili III (1505-33) – including not only its *volosts*, but also 'з слободами, и с тамгою, и с пудом, и с померным, и с торги, и с лавками, и з дворы з гостиными, и со всеми пошлинами'.¹¹³ Given that Ivan's reign appears to have prompted a significant economic uptick at Moscow,¹¹⁴ it is understandable why *tamga* is now given precedence within the centralised profiteering of the grand princes' court – and yet *myt* is nowhere to be found. Vasili himself enjoyed significant control over the due's proceeds: while he is instructed to give his younger brothers 100 roubles a year 'из тамги из московские и из всех пошлин', the other princes are removed from the process of collection itself.¹¹⁵ The privileging of Muscovite *tamga* hence acted in concert with Ivan's desire to heighten non-ruling princes' dependence on Vasili. In short, the Muscovite grand princes had taken a Mongol tax and turned it into a vehicle for their own ambition.

Zhalovannye gramoty: taxation in practice

If the princely treaties and testaments offer a high-level view of post-Mongol fiscal practice, from Vasili I's reign onwards Muscovite bureaucratic power was further expressed through grant charters (*zhalovannye gramoty*) issued to landholders, above all monasteries.¹¹⁶ On the spectrum of normative to non-normative texts, these documents mark a middle ground: while they fail to define overarching precedent, they do regulate future practice. In

¹¹³ DDG, no. 89, p. 354 ('with [its] settlements, with *tamga*, with *pud* [a weighing due], with *pomerno* [a measuring due], with *torg* [a market due?], with [its] stalls, with its *dvors* and their *gostinoe*, and with all customary dues').

¹¹⁴ V. A. Kuchkin, 'K kharakteristike trgovli v Moskve v XIV-nachale XVI v.', in *Issledovaniia po istochnikovedeniiu istorii Rossii (do 1917 g.)*, ed. by H. M. Rogozhin and others (Moscow: ROSSPEN, 2012), pp. 124-40 (pp. 137-8).

¹¹⁵ DDG, no. 89, p. 359 ('from the Moscow *tamga* and from all customary dues').

¹¹⁶ I follow Feldbrugge's definition of *zhalovannye gramoty* as conferring a 'grant', most often – but not always – an exemption; I restrict my use of 'exemption charters' to *tarkhannye gramoty*: Feldbrugge, pp. 277-8, 283.

essence, they instrumentalise the threads attested in *dukhovnye gramoty*, applying their principles to specific circumstances. In this section, by demarcating the fiscal interactions of princely authority with monastic landholders, I seek to demonstrate how *tamga* and *myt* were extracted as Muscovite rulers expanded their institutional authority through the fiscal forms of their erstwhile overlords.

This analysis is grounded in case studies of differing degrees. Systematic analysis can only be conducted effectively on the documents preserved by the Troitse-Sergiev monastery, located northeast of Moscow at (present-day) Sergiev Posad; from its foundation in 1337, the monastery's prominence and wealth were fostered by benefactors and patrons, many of whose donation charters survive alongside those detailing princely privileges.¹¹⁷ After assessing Troitse-Sergiev's *zhalovannye gramoty*, I will then explore those of two further monasteries close to the heartlands of Muscovite power, the Simonov monastery in Moscow itself and the Spaso-Evfimiev monastery at Suzdal'. In the subsequent sections, I will go on to explore fiscal practice beyond the 'centre', first by looking at the interplay between Tver', Riazan' and Moscow; and finally, by investigating Beloozero and northern Rus', focussing in particular on sources held by the Kirill monastery.

The English-language historiography on these charters is primarily limited to typological investigations of *immunity*; in other words, how far monasteries exercised authority over their lands at the expense of the princely state.¹¹⁸ More widely, scholarship is often inflected by the concept of 'monastic colonisation' (*monastyr'skaia kolonizatsiia*), which seeks to analyse how religious foundations grew to occupy a significant role in the 'feudal' structure of late medieval Rus'.¹¹⁹ My interest lies less in this explicitly Marxist conception of pre-modern social change, but instead in how these documents perpetuated the contestation evident in the testamentary evidence. This is especially true against the background of *who*

¹¹⁷ David B. Miller, *Saint Sergius of Radonezh, His Trinity Monastery, and the Formation of the Russian Identity* (DeKalb: Northern Illinois University Press, 2010), pp. 105-11.

¹¹⁸ For instance: Marc D. Zlotnik, 'Immunity Charters and the Centralization of the Muscovite State' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Chicago, 1976), especially pp. 27-112; S. M. Kashtanov, 'The Centralised State and Feudal Immunities in Russia', trans. by John Keep and R. E. F. Smith, *Slavonic and East European Review*, 49 (1971), 235-54.

¹¹⁹ The term was coined by Kliuchevskii in the late nineteenth century: V. Iu. Kliuchevskii, *Kurs russkoi istorii*, 5 vols (Moscow: Gosudarstvennoe izdatel'stvo, 1921-3), III, p. 308.

drafted charters – to ask, in Michael Clanchy’s terms, how ‘literate modes’ acted in tandem with institutional evolution.¹²⁰ Such questions are necessarily both internal and external to the text itself.

Many *zhalovannye gramoty* contain exemptions from fiscal dues, including *myt* and *tamga*. As an example, the following formula is taken from a 1411 charter, granted to Troitse-Sergiev by Andrei Vladimirovich, prince of Serpukhov and Radonezh (1410-26):

...не надобе им никоторая моя дан(ь), ни писчая белка, ни ям, ни подвода, ни мыт, ни тамга, ни восменичье, ни костки, ни иная никоторая пошлина, ни к дворьскому, ни к сотнику не надобе им тянут(ь) ни во что.¹²¹

The exemptions form lists, or ‘strings’, often following the invocation *ne nadobe* (‘is not necessary’). Such dues were not necessarily fiscal, but could also denote requirements to complete services (*gorodnoe delo, podvoda, sen kositi*), or – in a reversed manifestation of power – the rights of named agents to demand services (*ni k dvor’skomu, ni k sotniku...ne tianut(i)*). In the following sections, I take such ‘string clauses’ as my primary unit of analysis, drawn as broadly as possible, as any list of more than one due in a grant charter.

By taking string clauses as my starting point, I am consciously avoiding the schema proposed by Kashtanov for grant charters issued under Ivan IV; his paradigm deconstructs every segment of a charter into ever-decreasing syntactical units of meaning.¹²² My intention is not to replace this model, but to offer a more pragmatic possibility for bridging text and practice by identifying linguistic signifiers. The key figure in so-called diplomatic semiotics, Peter Rück, characterises semiotic analysis as the inverse of semantics: ‘the fixation with textual content has made earlier diplomatic [study] blind to any perspective [grounded in]

¹²⁰ M. T. Clanchy, *From Memory to Written Record: England 1066-1307*, 3rd edn (Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell, 2013), p. 2.

¹²¹ *ASEI*, I, no. 29, p. 40 (‘they [people newly resident in the granted area] are not required [to pay] *dan*’, nor *pischaia belka* [copying due], nor *iam*, nor *podvoda* [transport obligation], nor *myt*, nor *tamga*, nor (*v*)*osminichee* [another exchange due], nor *kostki* [due on goods], nor any other customary due, nor are they required to give service to the *dvor’skii* [localised agent] or the *sotnik* [princely agent] for anything’).

¹²² *ORD*, pp. 26-47.

the *orbis sensualis*'.¹²³ But signifiers cannot be divided so neatly between the textual and the non-textual: the signifying precedence of dues in string clauses is not random, although at first glance they play fast and loose with terminology. It cannot be chance, for example, that exemptions from *dan*' – if included – are nearly always placed first in string clauses, nor that fiscal dues are likewise almost invariably grouped together.

In tracing the arrangement of dues within these strings, I aim to characterise how their order may affect (or not affect) the signifying markers of grant charters, and how taken as a group such significations may reflect shared bureaucratic practice. My focus lies in the interplay between *tamga* and *myt*, and between both dues and their closest affiliates, entitled (*v*)*osminichee* and *kostki*. As a rule, the strings bear out Cherepnin's suggestion that *tamga* was systematically and formulaically connected with (*v*)*osminichee*, whereas *myt* was more often juxtaposed with *kostki*.¹²⁴ This distinction sets the tone for the (limited) historiographical differentiation between these groups of dues – that *myt* and its linked tolls acted as a function of quantity, compared to the relationship of *tamga* and (*v*)*osminichee* with value.¹²⁵ This position is wholly in-keeping with the testamentary evidence; my goal here is to assess how these distinctions applied in practice. To that end, I divide string clauses into particular types by isolating the order of trading dues within them (see table II.1, p. 102).¹²⁶ The string clause above on p. 100, for example, is an early example of a type A₁ string. By analysing strings in this way, I hope to delineate particular forms of chancery practice that imply commonalities of approach towards fiscal dues. The easiest way to demonstrate this is by looking at the Troitse-Sergiev corpus as a whole.

¹²³ Peter Rück, 'Beiträge zur diplomatischen Semiotik', in *Graphische Symbole in mittelalterlichen Urkunden: Beiträge zur diplomatischen Semiotik*, ed. by Peter Rück (Sigmaringen: Jan Thorbecke, 1996), pp. 13-47 (p. 13) ('die Fixierung auf den Textinhalt hat die jüngere Diplomatie blind gemacht für jene Betrachtungsweise des *orbis sensualis*').

¹²⁴ L. V. Cherepnin, *Russkie feodal'nye arkhivy XIV-XV vekov*, 2 vols (Moscow: Izdatel'stvo Akademii nauk SSSR, 1948-51), II, p. 207.

¹²⁵ For instance: E. N. Lan'ko, 'K voprosu o trgovle i sbore poshlin v Tverskoi zemle XIV-XV vv.', in *Issledovaniia po istorii srednevekovoi Rusi: k 80-letiiu Iurii Georgievicha Alekseeva* (Moscow: Al'ians-Arkheo, 2006), pp. 254-61 (p. 258); Erica Monahan, *The Merchants of Siberia: Trade in Early Modern Eurasia* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2016), p. 61.

¹²⁶ In classifying strings, I ignore any additional dues between the fiscal obligations.

Table II.1

String clauses: trading dues in exemption charters

A ₁	<i>myt, tamga, (v)osminichee, kostki</i>	)	
A ₂	<i>myt, tamga, kostki, (v)osminichee</i>	)	4 dues (<i>myt, tamga</i> juxtaposed)
B ₁	<i>myt, kostki, tamga, (v)osminichee</i>	)	
B ₂	<i>tamga, osminichee, myt, kostki</i>	)	4 dues (<i>myt, tamga</i> split)
C	<i>myt, tamga</i>		2 dues
D ₁	<i>myt, tamga [...] kostki</i>	)	
D ₂	<i>myt, tamga [...] v(o)sminichee</i>	)	3 dues
E ₁	<i>myt, tamga [...] kostki, (v)osminichee</i>	)	
E ₂	<i>myt, tamga [...] (v)osminichee, kostki</i>	)	4 dues (two groups split)

Troitse-Sergiev: strings in practice

In assessing Muscovite bureaucracy, the advantage of the Troitse-Sergiev material lies not simply in its relative volume, but also in its concentration: the majority of its extant grant charters were issued in the name of the grand princes themselves, rather than by their appanage counterparts. My premise is that the monastery's archive offers the best possible path to forming a yardstick, or series of yardsticks, against which practice elsewhere in Rus' can be analysed. This analysis first schematises the signifying orders of fiscal dues in grant charters; it then assesses individual documents that reflect the specification of princely agents. By interrogating how Troitse-Sergiev's records reflect temporal power, I am building on the work of Pierre Gonneau, who has tabulated instances of dues in these charters, but not their syntactical arrangement.¹²⁷

¹²⁷ Pierre Gonneau, *La Maison de la Sainte Trinité: un grand monastère russe du Moyen-Âge tardif (1345-1533)* (Paris: Klincksieck, 1993), tables 12-16 [n. p.].

From the extant *zhalovannye gramoty* held by Troitse-Sergiev dating to before 1533, 141 contain string clauses; from those strings, *tamga* is exempted on 88 occasions and *myt* on 87 (see table II.2, p. 104).¹²⁸ This headline figure testifies to the duality and pre-eminence of *tamga* and *myt* among trading taxes in late medieval Rus'; by contrast, exemptions from (*v*)*osminichee* and *kostki* only feature in 56 and 45 strings respectively. From these: type A strings, privileging *myt* and *tamga*, and only then featuring (*v*)*osminichee* and *kostki*, make up 18; type B strings, including all four dues but juxtaposing *myt* with *kostki* and *tamga* with (*v*)*osminichee*, are found seven times;¹²⁹ type C strings, attesting only *myt* and *tamga*, are the most numerous, with 22 iterations; type D strings, exempting only three dues, appear 20 times; and type E strings, exempting all four dues but splitting them into two groups, are found on 14 occasions.¹³⁰ Several outliers remain, including two strings that exempt only *myt*, three that exempt only *tamga*, and two charters that repeat their exemption from *myt* at another point in the string.

There are certain constancies beneath this headline mêlée. Most striking is the lack of evident correlation among the extant charters – where they exempt certain dues – between different grantors. No one type is particularly prevalent in charters issued by the Muscovite grand princes compared with, for instance, those granted by Vasilii II's mother Sofiaia Vitovtovna (d. 1453). Second is that not every possible syntactical variant is used. String types attesting three or four dues are only present in two main order sequences: notably, there is no type A string in which *tamga* appears first. Following from this is that every string type attests *myt* first, except B₂ forms (where *tamga* is juxtaposed with (*v*)*osminichee*, and *myt* with *kostki*). Equally, in most strings that feature both *myt* and *tamga*, they are attested early in the sequence (most often at positions 2-3, 4-5 or 5-6). Apart from a charter issued

¹²⁸ This figure encompasses all *zhalovannye gramoty* held by Troitse-Sergiev, regardless of grantor or grantee; it includes, for instance, charters issued by Mikhail Borisovich, grand prince of Tver', which are otherwise drafted differently: see below, p. 120. Some charters (e.g. ASEI, I, no. 237, p. 167) contain more than one string, which are double counted. For comparison, *iam* is exempted in 115 strings; *dan'* in 92; and *pischaia belka* in 53. Page references in table II.2 and throughout this chapter are given to the entire string (including non-trading dues).

¹²⁹ From the – admittedly small – sample of type B strings, there is an evident shift from B₂ to B₁ strings over the fifteenth century.

¹³⁰ There is a noticeable evolution from E₁ to E₂ strings over the fifteenth century.

Table II.2

Troitse-Sergiev string clauses before 1533

A₁	<i>ASEI</i> , I	Nos. 29, 115, 202, 254, 322, 325, 336, 517, 519, 653; pp. 40, 92, 144, 184, 231, 234, 243, 391-2, 393-4, 577
	<i>ORD</i>	Nos. 14, 21; pp. 366, 381
A₂	<i>ASEI</i> , I	Nos. 309, 312, 346, 401, 416, pp. 220, 223, 252-3, 293-4, 305-6
	<i>ORD</i>	No. 62; pp. 433-4
B₁	<i>ASEI</i> , I	No. 492, p. 371
	<i>ARG</i>	No. 33, p. 39
B₂	<i>ASEI</i> , I	Nos. 117, 236, 245; pp. 93-4, 166, 172
	<i>ORD</i>	Nos. 10, 31; pp. 361-2, 397
C	<i>ASEI</i> , I	Nos. 41, 49, 50, 98, 135, 140, 166, 172, 175, 219, 280, 298, 320, 321, 341, 388, 398, 419, 530; pp. 48, 53, 54, 79, 104-5, 108, 122, 125, 127, 154, 201, 211, 229, 230, 249, 282, 290, 308, 407
	<i>ORD</i>	Nos. 12, 19; pp. 364, 377
	<i>ARG</i>	No. 189, p. 185
D₁	<i>ASEI</i> , I	Nos. 98, 221, 294, 296, 297; pp. 79, 156, 209, 210, 210-11
D₂	<i>ASEI</i> , I	Nos. 101, 189, 200, 217, 224, 237, 278, 304, 318, 323, 349, 399, 502; pp. 81, 134, 143, 152, 159, 167, 199, 214, 227, 232-3, 255, 291, 380-1
	<i>ORD</i>	Nos. 25, 32; pp. 385, 398
E₁	<i>ASEI</i> , I	Nos. 133, 139, 191, 243, 246, 400; pp. 103, 107, 136, 171, 174, 292
	<i>ORD</i>	Nos. 18, 45; pp. 375-6, 418-19
E₂	<i>ASEI</i> , I	Nos. 412, 518, 652; pp. 301-2, 393, 576
	<i>ORD</i>	Nos. 20, 29, 63; pp. 379, 392, 436
Outliers¹³¹		
	<i>ASEI</i> , I	Only <i>myt</i> : nos. 237, 533; pp. 167, 410; only <i>tamga</i> : no. 618, p. 530; repeated <i>myt</i> : no. 176, p. 128
	<i>ORD</i>	Only <i>tamga</i> : no. 31, p. 396; repeated <i>myt</i> : no. 61, p. 432
	<i>ARG</i>	Only <i>tamga</i> : no. 207, pp. 209-10

¹³¹ The first string of *ASEI*, I, no. 237, is type D₂; the second string of *ORD*, no. 31, is type B₂.

by Vasiliï III – in which *tamga* appears ninth – its latest position in a string is seventh. This is also true for *myt*, except for one of the outlying charters in which the due is repeated in the same string clause, at positions 3 and 16. Finally, in type D strings – which exempt only three trading dues – *(v)osminichee* is far more commonly exempted than *kostki*.¹³²

Systematic analysis, therefore, indicates an apparent bureaucratic consensus around certain questions in the Troitse-Sergiev charters. First, and most crucially, these documents signify the importance not only of *myt* and *tamga* as dues, but as dues featuring *together* at the top of the Muscovite fiscal pyramid. The only formula that breaks the *myt*–*tamga* order, type B₂, does so to juxtapose the dues with their linked levies. *Myt* acted as a node around which transit dues could coalesce, just as *tamga* functioned for exchange levies; of these other taxes, *(v)osminichee* appears more prevalent than *kostki*, but the sample is smaller.

Analysing string clauses on this scale, however, remains a double-edged sword: while the Troitse-Sergiev corpus attests to reasonably consistent modes of drafting across Moscow's orbit, the exemptions contained in *zhalovannye gramoty* often obscure, rather than elucidate, the kinds of specificity that reveal historical change. Trading practice, for instance, is confirmed most clearly in a charter issued by Vasiliï II to the hegumen of Troitse-Sergiev, Zinovii, and dated to 1432x45. After using a type D₂ string in the first instance, in its penultimate clause the text repeats its specifications around fiscal dues: *myt* and *tamga* need not be paid by those 'monastic people' (*liudi monastyrskie*) who 'учнут торговати в моих городех или в волостех, купят ли что, продадут ли...'.¹³³ In this case, both dues are implicitly linked to trading, rather than *tamga* alone; but the syntax is eerily similar to the 'internal' Jochid *iarlyks* discussed in chapter I.

Nevertheless, two further large-scale trends do emerge in the Troitse-Sergiev material. First is the temporal concentration of string clauses before the late 1480s, especially in charters issued by the Muscovite grand princes. 122 such string clauses date to 1490 or earlier, compared to just nineteen from 1490 to 1533; of the latter, eleven were issued by Ivan III's son Iurii, prince of Dmitrov (1505-34), with only four granted in the name of the ruling grand prince. If Janet Martin is correct in perceiving Muscovite rulers' reluctance to

¹³² Discounting Tver' charters, only two D₁ strings are present in the Troitse-Sergiev corpus, compared with 15 D₂ strings.

¹³³ ASEI, I, no. 98, p. 79 ('trade in my towns or in my *volosts*, whether they are buying or selling').

issue exemptions from the later fifteenth century, the lack of string clauses reflects this policy's rapid manifestation.¹³⁴ Second is the shift to agent-oriented charters: as string clauses declined, exemptions became tied uniquely to immunities from agents' activities, rather than from the dues themselves. Crucially, however, where string clauses were used to provide exemptions, there is no evidence that *tamga* and *myt* were negated as fiscal dues.

While the majority of such agent-oriented charters remain *zhalovannye gramoty*, they also encompassed other bureaucratic forms, such as *ukaznye gramoty*: those specifying direct instructions from the grantor.¹³⁵ Such sources are less receptive to systematic analysis than string clauses – their syntax is less regular – but they still reveal agents' specification across Moscow and its neighbouring territories. In a charter dated to before 1425, for instance, Vasilii I exempts the Uspenskii monastery at Voinova Gora – subordinate to Troitse-Sergiev – from paying either *myt* or *tamga* on fish caught by the monastic *vataga* (fishing group) in the Kliaz'ma river. The charter juxtaposes agent and due, 'МЫТНИКИ И ТАМОЖНИКИ У НИХ МЫТА, НИ ТАМГИ НЕ ЕМЛЮТ'.¹³⁶ It hence offers an early view of agents under Muscovite rule: the agents (*mytniki*, *tamozhniki*) correlate directly with the dues in the clause (*myt*, *tamga*).

Yet this instance remains an exception in the first half of the fifteenth century; in other charters, the duality of *mytniki* and *tamozhniki* is far less clear-cut than their respective dues' duality in *zhalovannye gramoty*. A 1445 charter of Vasilii II, for example, uses a type C string to exempt the residents of certain monastic villages in Suzdal' *uezd* (region) from paying *myt* and *tamga*; it then partially repeats itself, specifying that 'МЫТЧИКИ [sic] МЫТА НЕ ЕМЛЮТ', while omitting any reference to *tamozhniki*.¹³⁷ The explanation may depend on location, although a strikingly similar form is witnessed in a grant concerning Bezhetskii Verkh, to the west of Uglich.¹³⁸ In the majority of charters, however, the core agents invoked after string clauses are the princely *namestniki* – whose broad duties are connected not mainly with fiscal dues, but with justice.

¹³⁴ Martin, *Medieval Russia*, p. 271.

¹³⁵ Feldbrugge, p. 278.

¹³⁶ ASEI, I, no. 41, p. 48 ('[my] *mytniki* and *tamozhniki* will not collect [either] *myt* or *tamga* from them').

¹³⁷ ASEI, I, no. 176, p. 128 ('*mytchiki* [shall] not collect *myt*').

¹³⁸ ORD, no. 61, p. 432.

By the second half of the fifteenth century, more situation-specific documents emerge that detail bureaucratic organisation: in a charter dated to 1462x6, Ivan III instructs Martyn Chernyi and Grida Il'in, his *tamozhniki* at Pereiaslavl' (Zalesskii), to stop collecting *tamga* from 'monastic people' affiliated to Troitse-Sergiev. Two things stand out here. First is the comment that the two men 'есте откупили н(ы)неч(а) тамгу в Переяславле':¹³⁹ in other words, there is a financial relationship binding the agents to the prince. Second is the link between *tamozhniki* and *tamga*, albeit alongside the inclusion of other dues, 'и все пошлины'.¹⁴⁰ Another charter in Ivan's name reminds Fedor Dobrynin, the *tamozhnik* at Galich, not to extract *tamga* by force (*silno*) from those acting on Troitse-Sergiev's behalf, in accordance with the *zhalovannaia gramota* granted by the grand prince's father.¹⁴¹ Both instances, however, concern only *tamozhniki* – *mytniki* are absent.

The latter are, however, attested in a charter of 1467x74, granted by Ivan III to the new hegumen of Troitse-Sergiev, Spiridon, concerning monastic logging in princely forests. The implicit distinction – as ever in Muscovite lands – is between trading and non-trading contexts. The document lists monastic rights at Ilemna, an area to the northwest of Kaluga in Vereisk *uezd*.¹⁴² Pinpointing geographical references in the charter, however, is difficult: if travelling between Ilemna and the monastery, *mytniki...sukhodolskie* should not collect *myt*; if travelling with carts from Ilemna to Iaroslavets, the *mytniki* at Luzha are not to collect *myt* or any other trading dues (*ni inykh niko torykh* [sic] *poshlin*). More pressing still is the injunction that 'monastic people' should collect a seal (*pechat'*) from the monastic clerk (*prikaznik*); then, 'да явят ту печат(ь) мытником, и мытники их пропускают не издержав – без пошлин'.¹⁴³ The irony is that this apparent act of bureaucratic innovation – requiring a seal to prove exemption – pertains not to *tamga*, which had originally designated a Mongol stamp, but to *myt*.

A similarly confusing arrangement of *mytniki* is found in a contemporaneous grant, also issued by Ivan III to Spiridon, exempting monastic peasants in Pereiaslavl' *uezd* from

¹³⁹ ASEI, I, no. 311, p. 222 ('have acquired [as a tax farm] nowadays [the] *tamga* at Pereiaslavl').

¹⁴⁰ ASEI, I, no. 311, p. 222 ('and all customary dues').

¹⁴¹ ASEI, I, no. 317, p. 226.

¹⁴² ASEI, I, no. 352, p. 258.

¹⁴³ ASEI, I, no. 352, p. 258 ('and they [should] present that seal to the *mytniki*, and the *mytniki* will let them pass without hindering them – [and] without [making them pay] customary dues').

paying *myt* to ‘мытники в Серебоже козловские’.¹⁴⁴ While Serebozh is attested locally, eventually becoming the name of a local *stan* (district),¹⁴⁵ Kozlov is more obscure. Perhaps more importantly, however, they are discrete designations – in other words, the *mytniki* at Kozlov were able to act over a wider area, including at Serebozh. In any event, the focus of these agents’ activity is not qualitatively different from Muscovite practice elsewhere. Exempting monastic peasants from *myt* on any transported goods, the charter mentions both grain (*z zhitom*) and animals (*z zhivtonoiu*); feasibly these were transported between monastic villages, ‘из их сел и с приселков’, rather than for trading.¹⁴⁶ Moreover, the final clause of the charter emphasises the written word’s repeatable power: once Troitse-Sergiev has read (and presumably copied) the charter, they are instructed to return it to the *mytniki*, ‘и они себе держат впрок иных для мытников’.¹⁴⁷

Agents also emerge in the few charters issued to Troitse-Sergiev by other grantors, although not always correlating with Muscovite norms. In December 1450, for instance, Sofiia Vitovtovna exempted Troitse-Sergiev’s saltworks at Nerekhta – southeast of Iaroslavl’ – from various dues, using a type D₂ string (*myt*, *tamga*, *osminichee*) that also attests the weighing due *veschee*.¹⁴⁸ The charter instructs her *mytniki* to not collect *myt*, but there is no mention of *tamozhniki*.¹⁴⁹ One possibility is surely that, concomitant with the growing centralisation of *tamga* at Moscow, only the grand prince possessed *tamozhniki* of his own; while other rulers could exempt the tax, they may have had less control over its collection. Such a situation is also implied in a charter of 1467x74, issued by Andrei Vasil’evich the Elder, prince of Uglich (1462-92). It allows those peasants resident in Troitse-Sergiev’s villages in Kashin *uezd* to enter the prince’s land (*otchina*), whether for trade or any other reason. Neither *tamozhniki* nor *tamga* are attested, but *mytniki* are included, alongside a variety of other agents including *namestniki* and the generic *poshlinniki*; the syntax of the

¹⁴⁴ ASEI, I, no. 358, p. 263 (‘the Kozlov *mytniki* at Serebozh’).

¹⁴⁵ Iu. V. Got’e, *Materialy po istoricheskoi geografii Moskovskoi Rusi* (Moscow: Tipografiia G. Lissnera i D. Sobko, 1906), p. 39.

¹⁴⁶ ASEI, I, no. 358, p. 263 (‘from their villages and their [nearby] settlements’).

¹⁴⁷ ASEI, I, no. 358, p. 263 (‘and they [will] keep it in store for other *mytniki*’).

¹⁴⁸ Sofiia had been granted Nerekhta and its saltworks (*s varnitsami*) in her husband’s second will: DDG, no. 21, p. 58.

¹⁴⁹ ASEI, I, no. 237, p. 167.

published document, however, is slightly strange, as it fails to negate the only fiscal due mentioned, a rarer tax called *iavka*, stating that ‘явку на них емлют’.¹⁵⁰

At the same time, the decline of string clauses in later charters issued to Troitse-Sergiev runs parallel with the decreasing attestation of fiscal agents in *zhalovannye gramoty*. When such figures are invoked, however, there are fewer direct parallels between agents and dues: a 1522 charter of Vasilii III states that ‘таможники съ их крестьян тамги и померного не емлют’.¹⁵¹ Evidently, while *tamga* was still associated with *tamozhniki*, the latter could also extract further trading dues, in this case *pomernoe* – a due collected for measuring ‘loose’ goods, including wheat.¹⁵² Otherwise the charter only lists *p[ia]tenshchiki*, agents in charge of branding horses and collecting the associated due; *mytniki* are not attested, even though *myt* is listed in the string clause.

Meanwhile, another sixteenth-century charter, granted in March 1520 to the hegumen Iakov by Ivan III’s son Iurii, prince of Dmitrov, represents a ‘crossover’ case. The charter contains a string clause, while also specifying exemptions from certain agents:

...а случитца каков торг или мена монастырскому ч(е)л(ове)ку з городцким или с волостным ч(е)л(ове)ком...таможницы мои и пятенщики не вступаютца в монастырског(о) ч(е)л(ове)ка ни в чем, и все пошлинники.¹⁵³

Two points are relevant here: first, the continued use of *poshlinniki* – similar to the increasing appearance of *so vseimi poshlinami* in the testamentary evidence – implies that various dues may have been collected by a bureaucratically generic agent, while the *tamozhnik* retained some kind of privileged status alongside the *piatenshchik*. But second,

¹⁵⁰ ASEI, I, no. 364, p. 267 ([shall] collect *iavka* on them’). Andrei was granted Uglich in his father’s testament, *so vseimi poshlinami*: DDG, no. 61, p. 195.

¹⁵¹ ARG, no. 207, p. 210 ([my] *tamozhniki* [shall] not collect *tamga* and *pomernoe* from their [the monastery’s] peasants’).

¹⁵² SRla, XVII, pp. 10-11; Feldbrugge, p. 459. *Pomernoe* is otherwise attested only four times in Troitse-Sergiev string clauses before 1533.

¹⁵³ ARG, no. 189, p. 186 (...and [if some kind of] trade or exchange takes place [between] a monastic person and a townsperson or person of the *volost*’ [i.e. not monastic]...my *tamozhniki* and *piatenshchiki* will not encroach on a monastic person for anything, and [that is true for] all [my] due collectors’).

and more importantly, is how the contestation around *tamozhniki* had evolved from the princely sphere to encompass the church. To safeguard monastic immunities, *tamozhniki* are now forbidden from interfering in ecclesiastical transactions. With the emphasis on *sluchitsa kakov torg*, a demarcation still lay between the ‘trading’ and ‘non-trading’ parties of Jochid *tamga*, but this was now matched by a peculiarly Muscovite split between ecclesiastical and temporal figures. To follow the Troitse-Sergiev charters, by the first half of the sixteenth century *tamozhniki* acted in the guise of their nomadic archetype, but in a political world divorced from those origins.

Simonov

At first glance, the Simonov monastery – established in 1370 and located on the right bank of the Moscow river, just under five miles southeast of the Kremlin – should typify ‘central’ Muscovite bureaucracy. Certainly, its archives hold the earliest string clause exempting fiscal dues, attested in a 1380x2 charter issued by Dmitrii Donskoi; the document pre-empts practice evident in the charters held by Troitse-Sergiev, using an A₂ string to exempt all four main trading obligations, ‘ни мыт, ни тамга, ни костки, ни осменичье’.¹⁵⁴ The next such extant example, however, dates only to 1445x53: issued by Vasilii II over land in Bezhetskii Verkh, it again exempts all four dues, although with a B₁ string juxtaposing *myt* and *kostki* before *tamga* and (*v*)*osminichee*.¹⁵⁵ The time lag between these two documents reflects the broader paucity of evidence from Simonov, even if the available material does correlate with the Troitse-Sergiev formulae. A charter of 1447, for instance, also granted by Vasilii II, uses a type C string to exempt *myt* and *tamga* from villages in Moscow *uezd*.¹⁵⁶

Unsurprisingly given the monastery’s location, the majority of Simonov’s surviving grants were issued in the name of the Muscovite grand princes; in the mid-fifteenth century, however, its archimandrite Afanasii (1453-62) expanded the foundation’s landholdings further afield.¹⁵⁷ This acquisitiveness is reflected in the geographical spread of the surviving

¹⁵⁴ ASEI, II, no. 340, p. 338 (‘neither *myt*, nor *tamga*, nor *kostki*, nor (*v*)*osminichee*’).

¹⁵⁵ ASEI, II, no. 345, p. 342.

¹⁵⁶ ASEI, II, no. 349, p. 345.

¹⁵⁷ L. I. Ivina, *Krupnaia votchina severo-vostochnoi Rusi kontsa XIV-pervoi poloviny XVI v.* (Leningrad: Nauka, 1979), p. 75.

sources, such as a March 1457 charter issued by Iurii Vasil'evich, prince of Dmitrov (1462-73), which uses a D₂ string to exempt *myt*, *tamga* and (*v*)*osminichee* from the monastery's *dvor* (trading settlement) at Dmitrov.¹⁵⁸ Iurii – Vasilii II's third son – had been granted Dmitrov *so vseimi poshlinami* in his father's testament,¹⁵⁹ and it is perhaps too much to expect an appanage line created so late to deviate wildly from earlier norms. A 1470 charter issued by Iurii, for example, includes a type A₂ clause, albeit alongside *iavka* and *veschee*;¹⁶⁰ in neither case is the overarching paradigm established in the Troitse-Sergiev material disrupted. This is also true of a 1465x9 charter issued by Iurii's brother, Boris Vasil'evich, *volotskii kniaz'*, which uses a type B₁ string to exempt Simonov from paying dues over land near Volokolamsk.¹⁶¹

Another demonstration of encroaching Muscovite tentacles is found in two documents relating to Simonov's activity further north. A charter of May 1477, issued by Mikhail Andreevich, prince of Vereia (1432-86), concerning the monastery's rights over villages near Beloozero, fails to exempt any specific due beyond *dan'* for five years, alongside the catch-all 'ни иная никоторая пошлина'.¹⁶² The specificities of Beloozero will be discussed later in this chapter, but if *myt* and *tamga* were not yet being extracted in northern Rus', this appears to have applied as much to 'Muscovite' monasteries as to local foundations. Yet a grant of May 1485 over the same villages, also issued by Mikhail Andreevich, contains a more explicit type C form to exempt both *myt* and *tamga*.¹⁶³ While the latter document displays certain syntactical oddities – the string clause concludes with *ni inye nikotorye poshliny* immediately after *tamga* – this innovation may reflect Muscovite inroads typical of the late fifteenth century.

¹⁵⁸ ASEI, II, no. 356, p. 350.

¹⁵⁹ DDG, no. 61, p. 194.

¹⁶⁰ ASEI, II, no. 386, p. 387.

¹⁶¹ ASEI, II, no. 382, p. 381.

¹⁶² ASEI, II, no. 391, p. 398 ('no other customary due').

¹⁶³ ASEI, II, no. 397, p. 403.

Spaso-Evfimiev

More immediate reflections of Muscovite practice can be found in the archive of the Spaso-Evfimiev monastery at Suzdal', established in 1352 and located just over a hundred miles east of Moscow. Its archive offers a very particular snapshot, as the monastery's landholdings were concentrated in a limited area; nevertheless, Spaso-Evfimiev's charters occasionally offer a more detailed picture of how *myt* and *tamga* were extracted than is apparent from Troitse-Sergiev. For instance, a 1405x15 charter of Vasilii I, giving the first inklings of monastic saltworks at Sol' Velikaia Iur'evskaia, fails to exempt *dan'*, employing instead a rare variant of the 'standard' type A string in which *tamga* is moved before *myt* to the beginning of the clause.¹⁶⁴ One possibility is that *tamga* was privileged to accommodate the explicitly mercantile activity at the saltworks.

Two decades later, a grant charter issued by Vasilii II to the monastery in the 1430s gives a more direct insight into the fiscal pressures confronting monastic communities in search of exemption from Muscovite dues. Spaso-Evfimiev maintained control over a subordinate *pustyn'ka* – a small, remote monastic community – at Gorokhovets, located southeast of Suzdal' on the Kliaz'ma river. The monastery complained to the grand prince that *mytniki* had been deviating from their fixed positions to tax 'monastic people', 'и мытники под монастырем мыта не наряжают, а сидят на мыте под городищем под Гороховским, как сидели прежде сего по старине'.¹⁶⁵ *Mytniki* leaving their fixed tolls in search of revenue remained a persistent bugbear for the Gorokhovets *pustyn'ka*: in 1445x6, amidst the chaos of civil war, two Shuiskii princes, Vasilii and Fedor Iur'evich, forbade their own *mytniki* at 'Vagantsev' (Vagan'kovo?) from maintaining a *myt* at the monastery, instead compelling the agents to remain at Gorokhovets itself.¹⁶⁶ This specification is repeated in a charter issued by Vasilii II in January 1451, 'ни на Ваганце мыта не держат, а держат мыт на пошлом месте'.¹⁶⁷ By the turn of the sixteenth century, relations between ecclesiastical and princely agents at Gorokhovets had not improved, although on this occasion the

¹⁶⁴ ASEI, III, no. 481, p. 466.

¹⁶⁵ ASEI, II, no. 439, p. 482 ('and the *mytniki* [should] not arrange [to take] *myt* by the monastery, but [should] sit at the *myt* outside the town of Gorokhovets, as they sat before, as in the olden days').

¹⁶⁶ ASEI, III, no. 491, p. 471.

¹⁶⁷ ASEI, II, no. 452, p. 492 ('[the *mytniki* must] not maintain a *myt* at Vagan'kovo, [but should] maintain a *myt* at the customary place').

evidence does not explicitly attest *myt*: in a charter dating to 1490x1505 and addressed from Ivan III to the local powerholder (*volostel'*), Vasilii Oznobishin, the latter's own agent (*tiun*) is accused of forcefully taking two roubles from a monastic peasant.¹⁶⁸ This series of episodes is a useful reminder of the potential for racketeering under the guise of taxation – a risk evident in the cultural perceptions of tax collectors, which will be explored in chapter III.

Whereas the Gorokhovets material continues to position *myt* at specific nodes – and to specify that *mytniki* were not to move from those tolls – *tamga* is connected explicitly with exchange. In a charter dated to 1445x6, the two Shuiskii princes grant exemption to Spaso-Evfimiev over the village of Omutskoe, north of Suzdal' on the Nerl' river. After using a slightly odd type C string clause to exempt the monastery from *myt* and *tamga*, the document then specifies that 'а купит ли что, продаст ли монастырьской человек, ин [sic] пошлинником, а тумги [sic] и пошлин, и поминков не даст...'.¹⁶⁹ To this extent, the division between *myt* and *tamga* around Suzdal' appears to have followed Muscovite norms; in the case of *tamga*, this was to follow its Jochid definition at points of exchange.

Nonetheless, the rather vague nomenclature of agents in this charter – simply *poshlinniki* – is indicative of a wider difficulty with the Spaso-Evfimiev material. While its archive indicates a duality similar to Moscow, this is not wholly certain from the extant evidence: a 1425 charter of Vasilii I, for example, completely omits trading dues from its string clause.¹⁷⁰ Such a lacuna likewise appears in a grand princely charter of 1451x61, which instructs the *namestniki* at Suzdal' not to take any *poshliny* from villagers (*selskie*) when they are travelling to sell grain.¹⁷¹ This is also the case for a charter issued by Ivan III in 1472x9, granting Spaso-Evfimiev the right to trade in salt *na riadu* (at the market) at Suzdal', and specifying that neither Ivan's *namestniki* nor townspeople should prevent monastic traders, 'ни заповеди на них не емлют'.¹⁷²

¹⁶⁸ ASEI, II, no. 485, p. 526.

¹⁶⁹ ASEI, II, no. 448, p. 489 ('and if a monastic person buys or sells something, they [need] give neither *tamga*, nor any other customary due, nor death duties to the *poshlinniki*'). *Tamga* appears erroneously as *tumga* throughout.

¹⁷⁰ ASEI, II, no. 437, p. 481.

¹⁷¹ ASEI, III, no. 496, p. 474.

¹⁷² ASEI, III, no. 498, p. 475 ('nor collect fines on them').

By Ivan III's reign, *zhalovannye gramoty* issued to Spaso-Evfimiev had broadly undergone the same shift to agent-based charters as at Troitse-Sergiev; nonetheless, some string clause exemptions survive, usually of type C. Such examples include a grant of October 1472 over lands on the Uvod' river, a tributary of the Kliaz'ma;¹⁷³ a grant over the village of Fedorovskoe, near Suzdal', dating to May 1473;¹⁷⁴ and a 1479 charter for a dependent *slobodka* (settlement) on the other side of the Nerl' river, after which the extant charters neglect *myt* and *tamga* altogether.¹⁷⁵ Albeit from a small sample, the regularity of type C clauses by the 1470s seems to indicate the *myt*–*tamga* duality east of Moscow, but without the repeated references to *kostki* and (*v*)*osminichee* found in the Troitse-Sergiev archive. Despite this hint of varying practice, however, where core fiscal dues are attested, they follow their 'central' Muscovite counterparts.

Riazan'

Riazan', the principality that had first confronted the chaos of the Mongol invasions, remained nominally autonomous from Moscow until its annexation in 1521.¹⁷⁶ While the principality's independence had been gradually diminished by Ivan III in the late fifteenth century, its fiscal history nonetheless offers a corrective to the notion that every Rus' polity invariably followed Muscovite practice.¹⁷⁷ Early documents relating to the areas around Riazan' attest fiscal organisation by the mid-fourteenth century: a charter issued by Aleksandr Mikhailovich, prince of Pronsk (d. 1340) – a small principality to the southwest of Riazan' – grants the village of Ostromerinskoe *s poshlinami* to the cathedral church of Boris

¹⁷³ *ASEI*, II, no. 466, p. 505. No further exemptions are given over fishing rights at the same location: *ASEI*, II, no. 469, p. 508.

¹⁷⁴ *ASEI*, II, no. 473, p. 511.

¹⁷⁵ *ASEI*, II, no. 475, p. 514.

¹⁷⁶ Fennell, *Crisis*, pp. 78-80; on the Riazan' elite in the aftermath of Muscovite annexation: A. M. Kleimola, 'Holding On in the "Stamped-Over District" – The Survival of a Political Elite: Riazan' Landholders in the Sixteenth Century', *RH*, 19 (1992), 129-42.

¹⁷⁷ Crummey, p. 93.

and Gleb.¹⁷⁸ A similar provision is found in a charter in the name of Aleksandr's eventual successor as grand prince of Riazan', Oleg Ivanovich (1350-71, 1372-1402).¹⁷⁹

It is, however, only in Oleg's own reign that specific trading taxes are first attested in Riazan'. A charter issued in his name stipulates that should he leave Pereiaslavl' (the modern-day city of Riazan'), the principality's *myto* is granted to the cathedral church, 'есм ответ учинил к с[вя]теи г[оспо]жи Б[огороди]ци: придал есм Рязаньское м[ы]то...'.¹⁸⁰ On one level, this policy exhibits elements of Kyivan *redux*, in which *myt(o)* is affiliated to the church as much as to princely power. At the same time, the charter gives no indication of Oleg adhering to contemporary Muscovite practice: there is no mention of *tamga*.

This absence is perpetuated in the comparatively voluminous records of the Solotchinsk monastery, founded by Oleg himself and where the grand prince was eventually tonsured.¹⁸¹ The principles of these documents mirror their Muscovite counterparts' efforts towards land acquisition, but fiscal dues remain unattested. One of the earliest charters, for instance, issued by Oleg in 1390x1401, exempts *tiagost'* (another kind of tribute), rather than *dan'*, before enumerating the various agents forbidden from encroaching on monastic surroundings (*okolitsa*); neither *mytnik* nor *tamozhnik* are among them.¹⁸² This pattern continues in a charter issued by Oleg's grandson, Ivan Fedorovich, dated only broadly to his entire reign as grand prince of Riazan' (c. 1427-56); the document explicitly exempts *dan'* and *iam*, but not either *myt(o)* or *tamga*.¹⁸³ Despite evidence for *myto* at Riazan' in the fourteenth century, it did not apparently become as institutionally fixed as in Moscow.

In fact, the only other evidence for its existence is found in agreements between the grand princes of Riazan' and their Muscovite counterparts. The earliest such text, concluded between Oleg and Dmitrii Donskoi, is dated to c. 1382; it stipulates that 'мыты ны [sic]

¹⁷⁸ ASEI, III, no. 311, p. 341.

¹⁷⁹ ASEI, III, no. 314, p. 345.

¹⁸⁰ HR, no. 15, p. 33 ('I have given the [following] answer to the [church of the] Holy Mother of God: I have given over [to them] the Riazan' *myto*...').

¹⁸¹ Miller, pp. 78-9.

¹⁸² ASEI, III, no. 324, p. 354.

¹⁸³ ASEI, III, no. 328, p. 356.

держати давнии пошлыи, а непошлых мытов и пошлин не замышляти.¹⁸⁴ The subsequent clause specifies the rate: one *den'ga* per load (*voz*), and not to be taken from a traveller on foot (*s peshekhoda*). The next such treaty, agreed between Vasiliĭ I and Oleg's son and heir as grand prince, Fedor (1402-8, 1409-27), both historicises the relationship and reflects novelties in practice. Reminiscing of custom 'при наших дедех', it retains the stipulations around *myt*, to be taken at one *den'ga*; all other customary dues (*inykh vsekh poshlin*) are to be taken at a rate of one *altyn* to the rouble, with only limited exceptions.¹⁸⁵ Even when it is not named explicitly as *tamga*, the 3.33% rate appears under the guise of Muscovite tradition.

Tamga itself first appears only in a treaty of 1434 between Ivan Fedorovich and the usurping Iurii Dmitrievich (Shemiaka). The clause specifying fiscal dues has now expanded: while it still includes pre-existing references to *myts*, and the surrounding clauses remain identical to the earlier treaty, *inykh vsekh poshlin* has been replaced by 'а тамги и всех пошлин', again charged at 3.33%.¹⁸⁶ At first glance, it may be tempting to conclude that this innovation marks an aberration fostered by the ongoing political chaos; yet the 1447 treaty between Ivan Fedorovich and Vasiliĭ II follows the syntax almost exactly with respect to fiscal dues,¹⁸⁷ which recurs again in the two iterations of the 1483 treaty between Ivan III and his namesake as ruler of Riazan', Ivan Vasil'evich (1483-1500).¹⁸⁸

By the late fifteenth century, the extent to which the Muscovite duality of *myt* and *tamga* had impinged on Riazan' is revealed in an agreement between Ivan Vasil'evich and his brother Fedor. While Ekzempliarskii considers the agreement to syntactically mimic contemporary Muscovite practice, in relation to fiscal dues it exhibits a discrete form.¹⁸⁹ The treaty grants various rights to Fedor, including mills, meadows, 'и в городской тамги

¹⁸⁴ DDG, no. 10, p. 30 ('we will keep [our] old, customary *myts*, but not devise non-customary *myts* or [new] customary dues').

¹⁸⁵ DDG, no. 19, p. 55 ('as under our fathers').

¹⁸⁶ DDG, no. 33, p. 86 ('but [for] *tamga* and all customary dues').

¹⁸⁷ DDG, no. 47, p. 145.

¹⁸⁸ DDG, no. 76, pp. 286, 290.

¹⁸⁹ A. V. Ekzempliarskii, *Velikie i udel'nye kniaz'ia severnoi Rusi v tatarskii period, s 1238 po 1505 g.*, 2 vols (St Petersburg: Tipografiia Imperatorskoi Akademii nauk, 1889-91; repr. The Hague: Europe Printing, 1966), II, p. 604.

трет(ь)', with a promise by Ivan not to interfere (*v to ne vstupatisia*).¹⁹⁰ The reference to sharing a third of *tamga* is wholly reminiscent of Muscovite practice, as is its textual privileging: only later is *myt* attested, alongside 'иные пошлины'.¹⁹¹

The significance of *tamga* is underlined by the provisions made for those who trade at Pereiaslavl' without paying it (*[khto]...protamzhitsia*). While the agreement allocates Fedor's rights at Pereiaslavl' to the *tretchik*, an agent responsible for his portion,¹⁹² this figure is explicitly prevented from pursuing those not paying *tamga*. Someone accused of evading the due – even if they are Fedor's 'person' – is to be judged solely by Ivan's *namestnik*; if found guilty, 'велит таможником взяти на нем протамож(ь)я два рубля'.¹⁹³ The *namestnik* himself may take a fee of four *altyns* as a judgment fee (*ot suda*), from which Fedor's *tretchik* is again forbidden from taking a share. If the message was not already clear enough, the subsequent clause cements Ivan's legal primacy as grand prince: he is allowed to judge and punish any of Fedor's 'people', including for avoiding *tamga*, 'воля во всем'.¹⁹⁴

Several points stand out here. First is the similarity of the fine – two roubles – with the 1497 Beloozero customs charter discussed later in this chapter.¹⁹⁵ Second is the presence of multiple *tamozhniki* at the Pereiaslavl' *tamga*, implying a degree of institutional organisation not reflected in the earlier material from Riazan'. Third is the position of *tamozhniki* vis-à-vis *namestniki*: the latter can 'order' (*velit*) the tax collectors as agents in a judicial process. These stipulations are firmly Muscovite in their parallels, and by the turn of the sixteenth century the grand princes of Riazan' had evidently also adopted *tamga* as a source of finance. By this point, the stipulations around *tamga* in agreements with Moscow had been internalised, and Riazan' was fiscally mimicking its neighbour to the northwest.

¹⁹⁰ DDG, no. 84, pp. 334, 339 ('a third [share] at [in?] the town *tamga*').

¹⁹¹ DDG, no. 84, pp. 334, 339 ('other customary dues').

¹⁹² SRIa, xxx, pp. 143-4.

¹⁹³ DDG, no. 84, pp. 335-6, 340 ('orders the *tamozhniki* to take the *protamozh'e* [fine for avoiding *tamga*] of two roubles on them [the guilty party]').

¹⁹⁴ DDG, no. 84, pp. 336, 340 ('freely in everything').

¹⁹⁵ See below, p. 130.

Tver'

On the other side of Moscow's heartlands, the rulers of Tver' found themselves squeezed not between their rivals and the Jochids, but between Moscow and Novgorod; at the same time, the trade routes connecting the two cities gave the Tver' grand princes a key opportunity for fiscal profit.¹⁹⁶ The earliest indicators of that ambition were discussed above, encompassing the emergence of *myt* in their treaties with Novgorod.¹⁹⁷ By the late fourteenth century, trading taxes are also attested in the surviving agreements between Tver' and Moscow – agreements that mirror the treaties between Moscow and Riazan', but with particular local accents.

The earliest text, concluded in 1375 between Dmitrii Donskoi and Mikhail Aleksandrovich, guarantees the right of both *gosti* and *torgovtsy* (traders) from Novgorod and Torzhok to freely travel across the Tver' principality; alongside the prohibition on new *myts*, it repeats the ethnonymic descriptions of merchants from the Novgorod charters, 'а мыта ти имати и пошлины по старине у новгородцев и у новоторжцев'.¹⁹⁸ Essentially the same provisions are (rather oddly) repeated towards the end of the agreement, with specific reference to practice under the grand princes' ancestors.¹⁹⁹ Not only is *tamga* absent, but in any event the due had no such 'internal' institutional genealogy to fall back on. By contrast, Vasili I's treaty with Mikhail – dated to c. 1396, and mentioned above – offers more detail around fiscal dues. Using similar syntax to Muscovite agreements with appanage princes, it not only specifies the fines for failing to pay *myt* (*kto promytitsia*), but also includes the 3.33% rate for *tamga* and (*v*)*osminichee*, to be paid only by those trading.²⁰⁰ Taken together with the absence of *tamga* in the Novgorod–Tver' documents, my suggestion is that these innovations, as at Riazan', are primarily Muscovite.

Such a likelihood is put into greater relief by comparing the treaties between Tver' and Moscow with those concluded between Tver' and its western neighbours. For instance, a 1427 treaty between Mikhail's eventual successor, Boris Aleksandrovich, and Vytautas, grand

¹⁹⁶ Crummey, p. 35.

¹⁹⁷ See above, pp. 87-91.

¹⁹⁸ DDG, no. 9, p. 27 ('and you [Mikhail Aleksandrovich] [will] take *myt* and customary dues from the Novgorodians and the residents of Torzhok, as in the olden days').

¹⁹⁹ DDG, no. 9, p. 28.

²⁰⁰ DDG, no. 15, p. 42.

duke of Lithuania (1392-1430), is directed not towards *categorising* dues – attested here simply by the overarching term *poshliny* – but towards keeping routes free of interference, ‘путь ч(и)ст, без рубежа и без пакости’.²⁰¹ This phrasing mimics much more closely the concerns of the Novgorod material, even those rights seemingly foisted on Iaroslav Iaroslavich by Möngke-Temür; at the same time, it is plainly discrete from the Muscovite *myt*–*tamga* duality. The following decade, Boris performed a diplomatic reverse ferret by allying with Moscow, but the extant treaty contains no details on fiscal dues.²⁰² The subsequent agreements of 1449 between Vasilii II, Boris and Casimir IV, by this point both grand duke of Lithuania (1440-92) and king of Poland (1447-92), continue the focus of the 1427 charter, albeit in varying terms: while the Tver’ copy replicates almost wholesale the provisions of the treaty with Vytautas,²⁰³ the Muscovite document is more laconic, merely guaranteeing the rights of *gosti*, ‘гостити без рубежа и без пакости’.²⁰⁴

By the late 1450s, however, political relations between Moscow and Tver’ had stabilised; a further charter between Boris and Vasilii II repeats the syntactical forms of Vasilii I’s treaty with Mikhail Aleksandrovich, substituting only a new rate for *promyt* (the fine for not paying *myt*).²⁰⁵ This formula now appears fixed in relations between Tver’ and Moscow: it is repeated in the treaties of both 1462x4 and 1484x5 between Ivan III and Mikhail Borisovich (1461-85).²⁰⁶ The later agreement includes an addendum that perfectly encapsulates Muscovite priorities by the late fifteenth century. After restricting *tamga* and (*v*)*osminichee* to those trading, the treaty then juxtaposes *myt* and *kostki*:

А поедет мимо, и он знает мыт да костки, а боле тог(о) пошлин нет. А поедет без торговли, ино с тог(о) мыта и пошлин нет.²⁰⁷

²⁰¹ DDG, no. 23, p. 63 (‘[keep] a clear route, without obstruction or hindrance’).

²⁰² DDG, no. 37, pp. 105-7.

²⁰³ DDG, no. 54, p. 164.

²⁰⁴ DDG, no. 53, p. 162 (‘to trade as *gosti* without obstruction or hindrance’).

²⁰⁵ DDG, no. 59, pp. 188, 191.

²⁰⁶ DDG, no. 63, pp. 203, 206.

²⁰⁷ DDG, no. 79, pp. 298, 300 (‘and if they pass [by the tolls], they [are to] know [pay] *myt* and *kostki*, but no customary dues. And [if] they pass without goods, then from that [person] there is no *myt* or [similar?] customary dues’).

Myt and *kostki* are affiliated with transport, rather than trade, with *myt* extracted from transporting goods (*torgovlia*). While this signals a closer relationship between *myt* and trade than is implied elsewhere, the duality between *myt* and *tamga* still remains.

How far this emerged ‘on the ground’ in Tver’ is reflected in a set of charters issued by Mikhail to the hegumen of Troitse-Sergiev, Vassian, between 1461 and 1466. Most of these charters are consciously non-Muscovite in their formulation,²⁰⁸ but attest common agents: one precedes the string clause with a list of ‘мои таможники, и мытники, и зак[а]зщики, и гостинники’.²⁰⁹ Yet while *tamozhniki*, *mytniki* and *gostinniki* relate to particular dues (*tamga*, *myt*, *gostinoe*), *zakazshchik* denotes a generic fiscal agent.²¹⁰ The specification of *mytniki* and *tamozhniki* is heightened by the attachment of geographical affiliations: ‘мои мытники дубенские, и кашинские, и скнятинские, и жабенские таможники, и заказщики, и гостинники, и езовщики, и все пошлинники’.²¹¹ It is surely no coincidence that Dubna, Kashin and Skniatino are all located on the Volga, along trade routes suitable for toll-collecting *mytniki*.²¹²

Such institutional specificity is further reflected in an *ukaznaia gramota* also dating to Mikhail’s reign: it instructs the *mytniki* at Kashin to not extract *myt* or any other dues from two boats (*sudna*) belonging to Troitse-Sergiev that are en route to the village of Priluki to collect bread.²¹³ The area around Priluki, just over fifteen miles east of Kashin on the left bank of the Volga, figures prominently in the monastery’s grants: notably, it is the area granted by Andrei Vladimirovich of Radonezh in the string clause discussed earlier in this chapter.²¹⁴ These charters reflect the extent of localised authority within a bureaucratic

²⁰⁸ Gonneau, p. 466, n. 24.

²⁰⁹ ASEI, I, no. 294, p. 209 (‘my *tamozhniki*, *mytniki*, *zakazshchiki* [due collectors] and *gostinniki* [collectors of *gostinoe*, another type of levy on goods]’).

²¹⁰ SRIa, v, pp. 207-8.

²¹¹ ASEI, I, no. 295, p. 210 (‘my Dubna, and Kashin, and Skniatino *mytniki*, and [my] Zhabnia [?] *tamozhniki*, and *zakazshchiki*, and *gostinniki*, and *ezovshchiki* [collectors of a fishing due], and all due collectors’).

²¹² *Zhabenskie* is unclear: most later references denote Zhabny, currently in Tver’ *oblast’*, but then under the control of Novgorod. Alternatively, it refers to the Zhabnia river, which flows into the Volga east of Kaliazin, roughly equidistant between Kashin and Skniatino.

²¹³ ASEI, I, no. 303, p. 214.

²¹⁴ ASEI, I, no. 29, pp. 40-1; see above, p. 100.

system that extended beyond the principality's borders. They remain wholly in keeping with *myt* as a transit due – established in the treaties between Tver' and Novgorod – but are now integrated into a wider schema of bureaucratic practice predicated on Moscow.

This is most evident in another charter issued by Mikhail to Troitse-Sergiev, which diverges from the peculiarities common to the documents above that attest *mytniki* and *tamozhniki*. Rather, this text settles on a stereotypically 'Muscovite' form: not only does it employ a type C string clause, but it also invokes the usual Muscovite sanction, threatening those who disregard the charter that 'ему быти в казни от меня, великого князя'.²¹⁵ Crucially, this final example fails to attest the agents mentioned in earlier charters. *Mytniki*, for instance, seemingly operated under Mikhail's authority, but were less pertinent when the charter was issued according to Muscovite norms. But this is hardly a shock. As for the dues they collected, agents acted in a contested political sphere: the autonomy pursued by the Tver' grand princes was set against the pragmatic realities of encroaching Muscovite power.

Beloozero

If Tver' and Riazan' enjoyed autonomies grounded in their pre-Mongol histories, Beloozero offers a discrete example of political evolution – one premised on a line of appanage princes descended from the Muscovite line, but who pursued markedly different policies to their counterparts at the 'centre'. The origins of Beloozero's autonomy lie in Dmitrii Donskoi's second testament, which allotted his son Andrei (d. 1432) two separate bequests: the first to Mozhaisk, 'со всеми волостми, и с тамгою, и с мыты...и со всеми пошлинами',²¹⁶ and the second to Beloozero. The latter is listed as 'купл[я]...деда своего'²¹⁷ – in other words Ivan I Kalita – and is granted *so vseimi volostmi*, without further specification. Notwithstanding discussion around the precise meaning of *kuplia* (literally 'purchase'),²¹⁸ the term seems to reflect a perceived variation in political control relative to other territories mentioned in the testament.

²¹⁵ ASEI, I, no. 298, p. 211 ('he [will] be punished by me, the grand prince').

²¹⁶ DDG, no. 12, p. 34 ('with all [its] *volosts*, and with [its] *tamga*, and with [its] *myts*...and with all [its] customary dues').

²¹⁷ DDG, no. 12, p. 34 ('as a "purchase" of his grandfather').

²¹⁸ A. I. Kopanev, *Istoriia zemlevladieniia belozerskogo kraia XV-XVI vv.* (Moscow: Izdatel'stvo Akademii nauk SSSR, 1951), pp. 21-4; cf. *SRIa*, VIII, p. 129.

In any case, the difference in fiscal dues between Andrei Dmitrievich's holdings is striking: while Mozhaisk is integrated fully into the syncretic schema of *tamga* and *myt* (also explicitly granted for Kolomna, Zvenigorod and Dmitrov), Beloozero is qualified merely with a spatial marker (*volosti*).²¹⁹ Certainly, the grants of *kupli* in Donskoi's testament notably differ among themselves: Galich is granted to Iurii Dmitrievich *so vseimi volostmi* and *so vseimi poshlinami*, without specifying any dues, while Uglich is granted to Donskoi's sixth son, Petr Dmitrievich (d. 1428), with the remark 'что к нему потягло'.²²⁰ Importantly, none of the *kupli* grants attest *myt* or *tamga*. To follow Kashtanov's reasoning, their absence could imply Mongol extraction;²²¹ yet given these territories' position on the northern periphery of the Muscovite centre, it would seem odd if they were the last redoubt of Jochid fiscal practice.

Donskoi's testament offers the only explicit evidence for the conditions attached to Andrei Dmitrievich's rule over Beloozero: a subsequent agreement between Andrei and Vasili I follows the usual formulae of alliance, but in reference to territorial attachments – including Mozhaisk – again only stipulates *s volostmi*.²²² Andrei's death in 1432 saw his two sons divide the holdings bequeathed by Donskoi: the elder, Ivan, received Mozhaisk, while the younger, Mikhail, inherited Vereia and Beloozero.²²³ Ivan's ill-fated support for Dmitrii Shemiaka (d. 1453) precipitated his flight to Lithuania in 1454, and Mozhaisk's subsumption by the Muscovite grand princes;²²⁴ Mikhail Dmitrievich, by contrast, retained his territories until his death. A later treaty between Vasili and Mikhail gives no further evidence of institutional practice in Beloozero, beyond attaching *s volostmi* and the temporally contingent 'что к тому потягло изстарины'.²²⁵ A 1482 agreement between Mikhail Dmitrievich and Ivan III – just four years before Beloozero reverted to Moscow – finally attributes *s poshlinami* to the territory, but without any specification of the dues in question.²²⁶

²¹⁹ Note, however, Kashtanov's view that *volost'* only became a territorial – rather than fiscal – designation under Ivan II's (1353-9) reign: see above, p. 94.

²²⁰ DDG, no. 12, p. 34 ('what has been owed to it [Uglich]')

²²¹ Kashtanov, 'Finansovoe ustroistvo', p. 184.

²²² DDG, no. 18, p. 51.

²²³ A. V. Ekzempliarskii, *Vladetel'nye kniaz'ia Belozerskie* (Iaroslavl': Tipografiia Gubernskago pravleniia, 1888), p. 28.

²²⁴ Crummey, pp. 71-7.

²²⁵ DDG, no. 55, p. 165 ('what has been owed to it [Beloozero] since [the] old times').

²²⁶ DDG, no. 75, p. 278.

Alongside this political evolution, Beloozero was also the locus for a new kind of monastic foundation. The plethora of communities established in northern Rus' from the late fourteenth century onwards has attracted historians' attention along similar lines to those interested in 'monastic colonisation'. The monk Kirill's journey from Simonov to establish what is now known as the Kirill-Beloozero monastery is indicative of this question: was he escaping Moscow, or invading on its behalf? While George Fedotov conceives of northern monastic expansion as emerging in tandem with the grand princes' political ambitions,²²⁷ recent scholarship has tended to view such journeys through an explicitly spiritual lens: Michèle Toucas-Bouteau has seen in them a search for the monastic 'island',²²⁸ while Robert Romanchuk states boldly that Kirill 'sought the freedom of the desert monk'.²²⁹

Against this background, it is perhaps unsurprising that grants to Kirill-Beloozero reflect a markedly distinct bureaucratic landscape – compared not only with Moscow, but also with Tver' and Riazan'. The Beloozero princes' rights derived ultimately from the Muscovite font, but with increased distance, both temporal and spatial, from its administrative machinery; in turn, their monastic interlocutors were engaged in a type of spiritual project distinct from their counterparts nearer Moscow. Most obvious in the charter evidence is the lack of certain obligations found in the more voluminous Troitse-Sergiev archive, for instance *tatarskii iam* ('Tatar *iam*', another postal service obligation) and the weighing due *kontarnoe*. These distinctions, however, are more complex for fiscal dues: across the string clauses found in charters issued to Kirill-Beloozero, only fourteen exempt both *myt* and *tamga*, and a further five exempt *tamga* but not *myt* (see table II.3, p. 124).

²²⁷ G. P. Fedotov, *The Russian Religious Mind*, 2 vols (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1946-66), II, p. 247.

²²⁸ Michèle Toucas-Bouteau, 'Monastères de la région du lac Blanc dans la Russie ancienne: îles au milieu des lacs, des marécages et des forêts', *Cahiers slaves*, 7 (2004), 303-27 (pp. 310-14).

²²⁹ Robert Romanchuk, *Byzantine Hermeneutics and Pedagogy in the Russian North: Monks and Masters at the Kirillo-Belozerskii Monastery, 1397-1501* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2007), p. 82.

Table II.3**Kirill-Beloozero string clauses***Strings exempting both myt and tamga*

Dmitrov	<i>ASEI</i> , II	Nos. 95, 163; pp. 57, 98
Tver'	<i>ASEI</i> , II	No. 203, p. 132
Moscow	<i>ASEI</i> , II	Nos. 96, 169, 207, 266, 271; ²³⁰ pp. 58, 105-6, 134, 178, 182
Vologda	<i>ASEI</i> , II	Nos. 191, 192, 199, 232; pp. 122, 123, 129, 153-4
Beloozero	<i>ASEI</i> , II	No. 79, p. 49
Beloozero/Vereia	<i>ASEI</i> , II	No. 133, pp. 79-80

Strings exempting tamga only (not myt)

Beloozero	<i>ASEI</i> , II	Nos. 136, 153, 156; pp. 81, 89, 93
Vologda	<i>ASEI</i> , II	Nos. 180, 200; pp. 113, 130

Strings exempting only dan', belka, and nikotoraia poshlina

Beloozero	<i>ASEI</i> , II	Nos. 9, 45, 48, 50; pp. 18, 31, 33, 34
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Outlying strings

Beloozero	<i>ASEI</i> , II	No. 24, p. 24 (<i>dan', belka, rezanka</i>); no. 42, p. 30 (<i>rybnoe</i>)
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²³⁰ *ASEI*, II, no. 271 is fragmentary, and its attribution assumed.

From the first group, two relate to Dmitrov; one was issued by the Tver' grand prince over his own territory; and five were issued by Muscovite grand princes or their consorts.²³¹ This leaves six further charters, of which four pertain to Vologda, issued in the name of Andrei Vasil'evich the Younger (d. 1481), its prince from 1462 onwards, with just two granted by Mikhail Dmitrievich himself. Of these latter charters, only the earliest pertains uniquely to Beloozero; the other details trade both there and in Vereia, southwest of Moscow. The second group – of string clauses exempting *tamga* but not *myt* – divides between three issued for Beloozero and two for Vologda, by their respective princes. The question raised by this limited evidence is how far *myt* and *tamga* were in fact extracted in Beloozero prior to 1486.

String clauses otherwise attested in charters issued by Andrei Dmitrievich exhibit little variation: the majority exempt *dan'*, *belka* – presumably analogous to *pischaia belka* in the Troitse-Sergiev material – followed by the catch-all phrase *nikotoraia poshlina*. Outlying charters also include exemption from an obscure due called *rezanka*, and from fishing dues. These charters take a much shorter form than later iterations, often consisting of only a few lines; if such exemptions can be taken as representative, Andrei Dmitrievich did not introduce trading dues, or at least failed to exempt them, but the question remains of why his son took a different approach. This innovation is found in Mikhail Andreevich's sole surviving exemption from *myt* and *tamga*, employing a type C string clause and dating to the hegumenate of Trifon at Kirill-Beloozero (1435-47).²³²

The lands exempted in the charter lie on the Vyksa river, a tributary of the Sheksna near the town of Beloozero itself (modern-day Belozersk);²³³ the Sheksna was sufficiently important to feature in Novgorod's ambitions on the upper Volga from the twelfth century,²³⁴ and Mikhail Andreevich may have sought to profit from the trading routes that crossed the

²³¹ The earliest such Muscovite charter, issued by Vasilii II in c. 1446x7, exempts payment 'в моеѣ вотчине, в великом княжении' ('in my *votchina*, in the grand principedom'); an identical stipulation is found in the 1397 Dvina Land Charter, see pp. 129-30 below.

²³² ASEI, II, no. 79, p. 49.

²³³ N. A. Makarov and others, *Srednevekovoe rasselenie na Belom ozere* (Moscow: Iazyki russkoi kul'tury, 2001), p. 197.

²³⁴ Janet Martin, *Treasure of the Land of Darkness: The Fur Trade and Its Significance for Medieval Russia* (Cambridge: CUP, 1986), p. 20.

region. More broadly, this charter also perpetuates a wider shift towards Muscovite bureaucratic practice, first evident in a grant dating towards the end of Andrei Dmitrievich's reign (1428x32).²³⁵ Both documents refer to local *namestniki*, detail provisions for a 'mixed' court between the prince and hegumen, and conclude with an eschatocol threatening those who break the charter that they will 'быти от меня в казни' – all features of Muscovite *zhalovannye gramoty* by the fifteenth century.²³⁶

The lack of precise dating for Mikhail Andreevich's charter to Trifon makes pinpointing the introduction of fiscal dues difficult, but it is possible to associate this shift with two contemporary historical trajectories. The first is as a response to the political chaos unfolding in Moscow between Vasili II and Dmitrii Shemiaka; this is not to argue that *tamga* or *myt* from Beloozero were suddenly granted to the grand prince, but Mikhail Andreevich may have resolved to mirror Muscovite practice rather than engage in hazardous attempts at bureaucratic autonomy. The second, related possibility is more complex, and stems from Trifon's introduction of a more explicitly coenobitic rule at Kirill-Beloozero.²³⁷ Did this move away from 'desert' monasticism precipitate institutional change?

Certainly, the period seems to have witnessed bureaucratic flux: one charter, dating to the beginning of Mikhail Andreevich's reign and issued to the hegumen Khristofor (1428-34), contains a string clause that closely follows Andrei Dmitrievich's 'short' schema (*dan', belka, nikotoraia poshlina*).²³⁸ To be sure, this form also holds, with the addition of *rezanka*, for a more securely dated example under Trifon²³⁹ – issued in 1439x40 – but it only recurs twice again, in grants dating to the 1470s.²⁴⁰ Does the relegation of this formula mark a shift in practice that would elucidate the exemption from *myt* and *tamga*? And if Romanchuk is correct to suggest that Trifon engaged in a 'Weberian rationalization of institutional structures' following his arrival at Kirill-Beloozero,²⁴¹ was he at least partly responsible?

²³⁵ ASEI, II, no. 49, pp. 33-4. This charter concerns Kirill-Beloozero's holdings at Volokolamsk, rather than in Beloozero itself, which may reflect the more 'Muscovite' form.

²³⁶ ASEI, II, no. 79, p. 49 ('be punish[ed] by me').

²³⁷ Romanchuk, pp. 128-9.

²³⁸ ASEI, II, no. 65, p. 42.

²³⁹ ASEI, II, no. 92, p. 55.

²⁴⁰ ASEI, II, nos. 204, 221; pp. 133, 142.

²⁴¹ Romanchuk, p. 169.

Such a possibility can be discerned by asking not only *what* is recorded in an exemption charter, but also *who* may have drafted it. Many of the Kirill-Beloozero charters are extant only in copies (*spiski*) dating to the sixteenth century or later; their subsequent compilers often failed to include extraneous information that failed to satisfy the primary purpose of the copy, namely to record monastic landholdings. The few original charters (*podlinniki*) issued by Mikhail Andreevich are usually signed with a variation of ‘сам князь Михаил Андреевич’, but without further commentary.²⁴² Certainly, various purchase deeds (*kupchie gramoty*) – including those dating to Kirill’s own rule – do record the scribe.²⁴³ Yet without negating the economic inequalities at play beneath such documents, the agreements remain horizontal, rather than vertical: there was no need for explicit princely involvement among the parties.

One original grant charter of Mikhail Andreevich, however, does provide evidence for a monastic role in drafting princely documents: the reverse of the manuscript is signed by a certain Irinarkh.²⁴⁴ No further details are given about his position, but Romanchuk notes him also witnessing a donation charter (*dannaia gramota*),²⁴⁵ and his name appears in three further charters as scribe.²⁴⁶ The discrepancies in hand among the half-uncial scripts (*poluustav*) found in these documents complicates direct attribution, but Irinarkh was somehow involved, either as scribe or witness. If monastic involvement did catalyse bureaucratic change in Beloozero, however – by introducing certain repeated forms to princely bureaucratic practice, and managing the drafting of charters – its effects were short lived. While Mikhail Andreevich subsequently issued three exemptions over *tamga* and *iavka* to the hegumen Kassian (c. 1448-70), *myt* does not appear again in Beloozero grants.²⁴⁷

²⁴² *ASEI*, II, no. 69, p. 45. During the hegumenate of Trifon’s successor Kassian, princely signatures are attested in nos. 106-9, 112, 121-2; pp. 65-7, 69, 74-5. Cf. no. 122, p. 75, ‘подписати велел Федку’ (‘he [Mikhail Andreevich] ordered Fedka to sign [?] [this document]’).

²⁴³ This is true for both originals and later copies. Among the earliest charters held by the monastery: *ASEI*, II, nos. 1-3, pp. 15-16.

²⁴⁴ *ASEI*, II, no. 68, p. 44.

²⁴⁵ Romanchuk, p. 171; cf. *ASEI*, II, no. 84, p. 51.

²⁴⁶ *ASEI*, II, nos. 47, 54, 71; pp. 32, 36, 45.

²⁴⁷ *ASEI*, II, nos. 136, 153, 156; pp. 81, 89, 93.

This is put into yet greater relief by comparing these Beloozero grants with the group of charters issued to the monastery by Andrei Vasil'evich the Younger, prince of Vologda. The youngest son of Vasilii II, Andrei was bequeathed Vologda *s poshlinami* in his father's testament of 1461x2.²⁴⁸ In earlier centuries, the town and its accompanying *volosts* had been contested between Moscow and Novgorod; after falling under sustained Muscovite control by Vasilii I's reign, the territory featured as a flashpoint in the conflict between Vasilii II and Dmitrii Shemiaka.²⁴⁹ Despite their proximity in northern Rus', the core difference between Beloozero and Vologda was the latter's much shorter alienation from grand princely control: Andrei Vasil'evich inherited the territory at around the age of ten, and it reverted to Ivan III on Andrei's death without issue.²⁵⁰ While the latter's testament records him as having 'added' (*pribavil*) further customs (*poshliny*) to the *tamga* at Vologda,²⁵¹ these dues were seemingly premised on Muscovite models. For instance, four charters issued in Andrei Vasil'evich's name exempt *myt* and *tamga*;²⁵² all four employ otherwise attested types of Muscovite string clauses (one type B₁, two type C, one type D₂). The persistent duality of *myt* and *tamga* here only underlines the silence of Beloozero grants with respect to *myt*.

This arrangement is detailed in a charter granted to Troitse-Sergiev regarding its own monastic trading expeditions to Beloozero. Issued by Ivan III in 1462x6, the document delimits the permitted number of boats (*pavozki*) and their cargo; it exempts fiscal dues using a D₁ string clause, alongside addressing *tamozhniki* and *mytniki*.²⁵³ Yet importantly, it explicitly defines the string exemption as applying 'в великом княжении, во всех моих городе [sic] и волостех'.²⁵⁴ The distinction in the Vologda material is sustained even in those Muscovite charters relating – albeit at remove – to Beloozero. The *myt*–*tamga* duality was hence integral to fiscal practice in Moscow, but was seemingly less utilised by the Beloozero princes themselves.

²⁴⁸ DDG, no. 61, p. 195.

²⁴⁹ Ekzempliarskii, *Velikie i udel'nye kniaz'ia*, II, pp. 368-9.

²⁵⁰ Ibid., II, p. 375.

²⁵¹ DDG, no. 74, p. 277.

²⁵² ASEI, II, nos. 191, 192, 199, 232; pp. 122, 123, 129, 153-4.

²⁵³ ASEI, I, no. 318, p. 227. The original document is defective: the editors have imputed *mytnitsi*.

²⁵⁴ ASEI, I, no. 318, p. 227 ('in the grand principedom, in all my town [sic] and lands [*volosti*]').

Less than three decades later, however, two charters issued by Ivan III situate *tamozhniki* at the heart of fiscal practice in Beloozero. The first document, a 1488 statutory charter (*ustavnaia gramota*), primarily demarcates the role of agents – in particular *namestniki* – but also addresses trading arrangements. While Ivan’s annexation of Beloozero was the death knell for any independence it had once enjoyed, the *ustavnaia gramota* implies a more nuanced approach than merely exporting Muscovite practice wholesale. Article 7, for instance, states that *iavka* is to be collected from *gosti* (‘guests’, traders from outside Beloozero) travelling ‘из Моск[овские] земли, из Тверские, из Новгородские земли’, and paid as *poshlina* to the *namestnik*.²⁵⁵ In other words, Beloozero’s integration into the grand princely domain did not preclude Moscow profiting from ostensible internal borders. Simultaneously, trade was focussed around the town of Beloozero itself: *gosti* were obliged to exchange goods there, but those ‘ис Кириллова, из Фарапонтиева, изо всех белозерских монастырей’ were also affected.²⁵⁶ It is in the context of traders avoiding these restrictions that *tamozhniki* are attested, sharing the spoils of the resultant fine with the *namestnik*. Such limitations on exchange appear to be a Muscovite novelty – and surely grounded in Jochid practice that fixed *tamga* at markets.

Feldbrugge identifies the roots of this document in the Dvina Land Charter, issued by Vasilii I in 1397 over newly conquered territory in northern Rus’.²⁵⁷ While the Dvina charter attests both *tamga* and *myt*, its stipulations are instructively not in reference to Moscow’s new territory: article 16 specifies that traders from Dvina ‘во всей моей отчине в великом княжении’ need not pay the dues.²⁵⁸ While the grand princes’ early bureaucratic ambition is still evident – article 14 attests both *namestniki* and *poshlinniki* at Ustiug and Vologda – the agents involved are not yet specialised. To this extent, the Dvina charter reflects arms-length administrative capabilities, in any event overridden after Novgorod captured much of the

²⁵⁵ ASEI, III, no. 22, p. 38 (‘from the Moscow lands, from the Tver’ [lands], from the Novgorod lands’).

²⁵⁶ ASEI, III, no. 22, p. 39 (‘from [the] Kirill[o-Beloozero] monastery, from the Ferapont [monastery], from all Beloozero monasteries’).

²⁵⁷ Feldbrugge, p. 189.

²⁵⁸ ASEI, III, no. 7, p. 22 (‘in my entire *votchina*, in the grand principedom’).

territory the following year.²⁵⁹ Across the fifteenth century, meanwhile, Muscovite fiscal practice evolved to include *tamozhniki* among the agents it employed in its new territories.

This arrangement is highlighted above all in a 1497 charter issued to the Beloozero *tamozhniki*; the core grant of this document is a year-long tax farming concession (*otkup*) to extract *tamga* and *piatno*, the horse-branding due, accompanied by the amounts chargeable on different goods. The charter gives far greater detail on the rate of dues than either the Jochid evidence or earlier Muscovite material, including much more variegated levels that again depended on a trader's origins. Whereas a Beloozero merchant is required to pay only half a *den'ga* per rouble on certain goods (an effective rate of 0.25%), those from Moscow, Tver' and Novgorod remain bound to the 3.33% rate of earlier practice, both Mongol and Muscovite: '...со всех с тех имати тамга по старине с рубля по алтыну'.²⁶⁰ Alongside such specification is remarkably intensive regulation of trade: the restrictions imposed in the 1488 *ustavnaia gramota* are continued, 'за озеро всем...тоговвати не ездити',²⁶¹ while – as in Riazan' – *tamozhniki* possess quasi-judicial powers alongside *namestniki* to collect fines for those not adhering (*khito protamzhit...*).

Zimin and Poliak suggest that the customs charter removes the earlier right of *namestniki* to collect trading dues, and instead centralises Muscovite power away from generic agents granted *kormlenie* by the grand prince (*kormlenshchiki*).²⁶² The difficulty with this position is that it fails to account for the specialised *tamozhniki* attested in the 1488 charter: while *tamozhniki* may have been introduced to Beloozero only after 1486, it is just as feasible that such agents had also extracted *tamga* under Mikhail Andreevich. As Kisterev highlights,²⁶³ however, there is a further sting in the tail of the customs charter. Its final clause permits *tamozhniki* to collect *tamga*, *tserkovnaia poshlina* (a church due) and *piatno* from *selchiane* ('villagers') who might otherwise have enjoyed exemptions, 'и з грамотников,

²⁵⁹ Crummey, p. 63.

²⁶⁰ *ASEI*, III, no. 23, p. 43 ('from all [of them, from their goods] *tamga* is to be collected, as in the olden days, at [a rate of] one *altyn* per rouble').

²⁶¹ *ASEI*, III, no. 23, p. 43 ('beyond the lake [i.e. Beloozero] nobody is to travel to trade').

²⁶² *PRP* III, p. 221.

²⁶³ S. N. Kisterev, 'Tamozhennye pravila na Beloozere v kontse XV-seredine XVI v.', *Vestnik Nizhneartovskogo gosudarstvennogo humanitarnogo universiteta. Istoricheskie nauki*, [2] (2009), [n.p.] <<http://vestnik.nvsu.ru/arhiv/13/70.pdf>> [accessed 6 June 2021].

и со всех без оминки, чей бы кто ни был'.²⁶⁴ Such a wholesale denial of landholding rights marks the apogee of Muscovite fiscal ambition: to not simply systematise the extraction of dues, but to do so despite earlier written exemptions.

Myt, of course, remains missing from both the 1488 and 1497 charters – and in this vein the Beloozero material leaves two key questions open. First is if this absence is indicative of an administrative reluctance to extract *myt*; I will return to this question in chapter III, detailing Kirill's own objections to the toll. Second is the issue of whether *tamga* became fully institutionalised in Beloozero prior to Moscow's annexation, or if it was an innovation under Ivan III's rule. Far less in doubt, however, is the centrality of *tamga* to Muscovite fiscal extraction after 1486. This may ultimately have had pragmatic origins: the labour-intensive collection of *myt* at tollbooths was hardly practical in a territory removed both spatially and politically from the Muscovite metropole. Instead, the grand prince geographically restricted exchange in Beloozero and taxed it accordingly, regardless of any previous rights. To do so, he employed a model that harked back not to a pre-Mongol past, but to the khans themselves.

Towards a Muscovite 'state'?

In chapter I, my aim was to demarcate what made *tamga* a specifically 'Mongol' form of trading taxation: its origins as a seal; its extraction at points of exchange; its focus on merchant activity. Across this chapter, I have sought to define the institutional tenets that made Muscovite *tamga* increasingly, and uniquely, Muscovite: its duality with – but distinctness from – *myt*; its role as a handmaiden to the grand princes' fiscal ambitions; its association with centralised economic activity. This *tamga* was still rooted in a fiscal form fashioned by nomadic conquest, but was applied to political contexts in which the parameters of power had shifted. No longer did it serve an empire seeking to delegate its fiscal extraction to arm's-length rulers, as the Jochid khans had sought from Rus'. Instead, it fulfilled the tenets of a burgeoning Muscovite – and Russian – imperialism, which sought to integrate institutions into a hierarchy stretching upwards to the grand prince, and eventually, the tsar'.

²⁶⁴ ASEI, III, no. 23, p. 43 ('and from charter holders, and from all without exception, whoever person they may be').

The legal sources assessed in this chapter instrumentalise kinds of power that are both fiscal and territorial. On the one hand, to use James Scott's terminology, Moscow sought to increase its 'ideal space of appropriation' by annexing principalities across the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries.²⁶⁵ At the same time, the bureaucratic basis for this expansion lay not only in territorial acquisition, but also in establishing forms of governance to regulate these new spaces as specifically Muscovite. Much as landholders obsessed over spatial boundaries in their survey charters (*otvodnye gramoty*),²⁶⁶ so *zhalovannye gramoty* marked a different kind of boundary-making claim: as much as *how* to exempt dues as whether to do so. In this sense, I would suggest, bureaucratic practice is as much a claimed boundary – delineated by the forms employed to establish authority – as any line on a map.

In the case of fiscal dues, Muscovite rulers sought to circumscribe and delimit acceptable norms of text and practice. *Myt* and *tamga* emerged as key elements of this process, derived from discrete institutional genealogies – *myt* the legacy of pre-Mongol Slavonic practice, *tamga* the consequence of 'cultural transmission' across medieval Eurasia.²⁶⁷ Such transmission lay at the root of Moscow's ability to derive fiscal profit at discrete stages in the trading cycle: from *myt* along transit routes, and from *tamga* at points of exchange. In its emergence as a Muscovite levy, *tamga* still retained clear vestiges of its Mongol origins – not least in its 3.33% rate, shared with the tax recorded by Marco Polo at Hangzhou.

These conclusions both support and undercut ideas at play around the nascent Muscovite 'state'. In proposing a more nuanced view of Muscovite power than is afforded by the paradigm of unchallenged 'autocracy', Nancy Shields Kollmann invokes not only the question of honour, but also 'the negotiation of...discourses' around it.²⁶⁸ Yet this negotiation applied not simply to discourse *per se*, but also to its effects. For the period studied in this chapter, Moscow's rulers were obliged to modulate their ambitions through neighbouring princes often resistant to those attempts: while the treaty evidence indicates Moscow's broad success in demarcating *myt* and *tamga* according to its wishes, this evolution was neither

²⁶⁵ James C. Scott, *The Art of Not Being Governed: An Anarchist History of Upland Southeast Asia* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009), p. 40.

²⁶⁶ For instance: *ASEI*, I, no. 110, pp. 88-9. See also: Feldbrugge, p. 268.

²⁶⁷ Thomas T. Allsen, *Culture and Conquest in Mongol Eurasia* (Cambridge: CUP, 2001), pp. 189-92.

²⁶⁸ Nancy Shields Kollmann, *By Honour Bound: State and Society in Early Modern Russia* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1990), p. 20.

automatic nor inevitable. Extracting fiscal dues allowed Moscow to construct an apparatus capable of undercutting its rivals' claims to authority, and to instead integrate its territories into a coherent political unit.

Of course, such negotiations cannot be hermetically sealed in a box marked POLITICAL, and in the next chapter I will investigate how 'temporal' fiscal forms intersected with a much wider semantic hinterland, encompassing not only princely *mytniki* but also eschatological *mytari*. In the world of the living, however, the legal interplay of *myt* and *tamga* in the sources of this chapter reveal how large-scale, even global transmission of institutional forms abetted a much more local series of negotiations among Rus' princes; those negotiations stretched from high-level, interprincely treaties to contested rights over individual parcels of monastic land. To that end, such forms transcend fixed historical scales, intersecting – to return to the terms of my introduction – at a 'glocal' crossroads. The Mongols may have created *tamga*, but Moscow made it its own: even today, in a queue at Sheremetev.

III Moralities of taxation: *myt* and unjust collection

К делу, господа, к делу, и главное, не ройтесь вы так в душе моей, не терзайте ее пустяками, а спрашивайте одно только дело и факты, и я вас сейчас же удовлетворю. А мелочи к черту!¹

Dostoevsky, *Brat'ia Karamazovy*

Quietened by the spectre of Grushenka's pain, Mitia prepares to finally confess to his crime – and still scolds his interrogators for dealing in 'trifles', *pustiaki*. The three chapters of his interrogation in *Brat'ia Karamazovy* ('The Brothers Karamazov', 1879-80) epitomise Mitia's spiral through a bureaucratic maze, becoming his 'хождение души по мытарствам'.² But while Pevear and Volokhonsky render *mytarstva* here as 'torments' – mirroring one sense of the term by the early twentieth century³ – the linguistic origins of *mytarstva* lie not in the discourse of physical punishment, but in fiscal practice. The pain of *mytarstva* and the payment of *myt* share the same root, *myto*.⁴

The previous chapter explored the interplay of *myt* and *tamga* as late medieval fiscal forms: how Muscovite rulers employed these taxes in fashioning their institutions, and how they epitomised differing administrative legacies. This chapter moves from practice to discourse, to ask how these dues – and their agents – were attested beyond the charter evidence. In this vein, it shifts the methodological basis of this thesis. The assumption

¹ F. M. Dostoevskii, 'Brat'ia Karamazovy', in *Polnoe sobranie sochinenii i pisem v 30 tomakh*, 30 vols, ed. by V. G. Bazanov and others (Leningrad: Nauka, 1975), XIV, pp. 418-19 ('To business, gentlemen, to business, and above all don't go digging around in my soul so much, don't torment it with trifles, but keep to the point, to the facts, and I'll satisfy you at once. Devil take the small details!', from Fyodor Dostoevsky, *The Brothers Karamazov*, trans. by Richard Pevear and Larissa Volokhonsky (London: Vintage, 2004), p. 464).

² Dostoevskii, XIV, p. 412 ('soul's journey through torments', from Dostoevsky, *Brothers*, p. 457).

³ See the definition in Dal' as 'житейская мука' ('worldly torment'): *Tolkovyi slovar' zhivogo velikorusskago iazyka Vladimir Dalia*, ed. by I. A. Boduena-de-Kurtene, 3 vols (St Petersburg: Tipografiia M. O. Vol'f, 1905), II, col. 957.

⁴ Vasmer, II, p. 185.

underlying chapter II lay in the *prima facie* correlation between the language used in a charter and its claim of practice: if *myt* or *tamga* were exempted, the issuing party implicitly claimed the right to otherwise collect it (regardless of if they were actually able to do so). The cultural material studied in this chapter, by contrast, claims less immediate derivation from the world occupied by its compilers and translators; its discourse, however, still interacted and overlapped with ‘practical’ fiscal considerations. To seal the cultural off from the political is to ignore how forms were imbricated across discrete discourses, even those at apparently far remove. To guard against such artificial siloing, here I accept Valerie Kivelson’s invitation – in response to overbearing conceptions of Muscovite despotism – to ‘figure out what combination of ideology, co-optation, rewards, coercion, fear, and process made Muscovy tick’.⁵

The moral implications of trading taxation arise most directly in a letter (*poslanie*) addressed by the monk Kirill to Andrei Dmitrievich, prince of Mozhaïsk and Beloozero, in the former’s capacity as hegumen of his monastery.⁶ Kirill attacks *myts* on the grounds of their unjustness: ‘...также, господине, и мытов бы у тебя не было, понеже, господине, куны неправедныя’.⁷ As in the last chapter, Kirill’s use of the genitive plural situates *myts* as countable barriers to trade, implicitly contrasted with the *tamga* extracted at points of exchange. Yet Kirill focusses uniquely on *myt*. In essence, this chapter asks why: can the basis of Kirill’s moral ire against princely *myts* be traced in the non-charter sources, and did such objections affect the evolution of trading taxes in the fifteenth century?

To that end, my argument here follows five trajectories. First, I investigate the earliest attestations of *myto* derivatives in Slavonic Biblical translations; in particular, I highlight the conflation in certain manuscripts between *myto* and another term, *mzda*, denoting a monetary reward that is often – but not always – illicit. Second, I trace how these notions

⁵ Valerie A. Kivelson, ‘On Words, Sources, and Historical Method: Which Truth About Muscovy?’, *Kritika*, 3 (2002), 487-99 (p. 499); see also, in relation to cultural history: Valerie Kivelson and others, ‘The Use and Abuse of Dominant Paradigms in Muscovite Cultural Studies’, in *The New Muscovite Cultural History: A Collection in Honor of Daniel B. Rowland*, ed. by Valerie Kivelson and others (Bloomington, IN: Slavica, 2009), pp. 11-18.

⁶ On these figures, see above, pp. 121-2.

⁷ PK, p. 180 (‘similarly, lord, you [should] not have *myts* [under you], for they, lord, [constitute] unjustified money [*kuns*]’).

were interpreted in Slavonic copies of patristic texts: works attributed to such early Christian writers as Gregory of Nazianzus (c. 329-390), John Chrysostom (c. 347-407) and Antiochus of Palestine (d. 630?) offer not merely scriptural exegesis, but also delineate fiscal tropes through their use of language. Third, I pivot from Biblical and exegetical worlds to consider fiscal imagery in eschatological narratives, above all in the ‘aerial tollhouses’ that underpin Dostoevsky’s *mytarstva*: how did demonic torments shape conceptions of fiscal agents? Fourth, I relate these tropes to notions of just rulership, notably late medieval attacks on bribery and other kinds of unjust income. Fifth, I return to Beloozero, to link these wider elements of discourse with more immediate precursors to Kirill’s political criticisms.

Important, however, is what is (nearly) absent: *tamga*. Led by the frequency of *myto* derivatives in the sources, this chapter focusses on their interplay with other terms; to do otherwise would be to argue wholly from silence. Towards the end of the chapter, however, I introduce a brief coda on an iteration of *tamozhnik* in the late fifteenth-century Gennadii Bible. The result of a scribal error, this attestation nonetheless bolsters my interpretation of *myto* derivatives in their cultural use – as prospects of unjust rule, allowing *tamga* to increasingly dominate the language of trading taxes.

Biblical legacies: models of discourse

Among New Testament attestations of toll collectors, it is the synoptic gospels (Matthew, Mark, Luke) that offer the best starting point for interrogating their scriptural legacy in Slavonic.⁸ The primary Greek term for a toll collector in the gospels is *telōnes*, denoting a tax farmer who had purchased collection rights from the Roman imperial administration.⁹ These outsourced dues encompassed a range of tolls, but crucially did not

⁸ English Bible translations are taken from the New Revised Standard Version (NRSV). The Greek New Testament reference is Nestle-Aland: *Novum Testamentum Graece*, ed. by Barbara Aland, Kurt Aland and others, 28th edn (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 2012); for LXX, *Septuaginta*, ed. by Alfred Rahlfs, 2 vols (Stuttgart: Privilegierte Württembergische Bibelanstalt, 1935); and for Old Testament Hebrew terms: *The Holy Scriptures of the Old Testament: Hebrew and English*, [n.ed.] (London: The British & Foreign Bible Society, [1883]; repr. 1985).

⁹ Otto Michel, ‘*Telōnes*’, in *Theological Dictionary of the New Testament*, ed. by Gerhard Friedrich and trans. by Geoffrey W. Bromiley, 10 vols (Grand Rapids, MI: WM. B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1964-76), VIII, pp. 88-105 (p. 89). For the scholarship on New Testament toll collectors: Fritz

include either the poll tax or the land tax, which remained under direct Roman oversight; I follow Donahue in hence translating *telōnes* as ‘toll collector’, rather than ‘tax collector’.¹⁰ Accepting this apparently semantic distinction is to follow that made in Rabbinic texts between the Hebrew terms *mokes* and *gabbay*, denoting a toll collector stationed along routes and a (direct) tax collector respectively.¹¹ For Donahue, the Talmud’s legacy to the evangelists is of toll collectors as perpetually dishonest.¹²

In Slavonic translations of the synoptic gospels, *telōnes* is ordinarily rendered as *mytar*. This use contrasts with the term found in the charter evidence, *mytnik*, for a collector of (temporal) *myt*; with the few important exceptions discussed below, this division between princely *mytnik* and Biblical *mytar* is maintained across the written sources. The negative connotations of Biblical toll collectors, and by extension Slavonic *mytari*, are immediately apparent: should Christians refuse to obey the church, Jesus contends that they should be ostracised like a Gentile or a toll collector.¹³ Ironically, this reputation only heightens *mytari* as a synecdoche for possible righteousness. In the Slavonic gospels, such righteousness is primarily expressed by terms in *-prav-*, most obviously *pravda* (‘truth’). This kind of truth – justice according to God’s will – parallels Greek *dikaio sunē*, in contrast to *alētheia*, ‘evident’ truth in the world, usually rendered in Slavonic as *istina*.¹⁴

This duality is best illustrated in the parable of the Pharisee and the toll collector (Luke 18.9-14): despite the Pharisee’s performative generosity, it is the *telōnes* who is justified before God. The Slavonic translation of Luke uses words in *-prav-* three times to

Herrenbrück, *Jesus und die Zöllner: historische und neutestamentlich-exegetische Untersuchungen* (Tübingen: Mohr, 1990), pp. 3-19.

¹⁰ John R. Donahue, ‘Tax Collectors and Sinners: An Attempt at Identification’, *Catholic Biblical Quarterly*, 33 (1971), 39-61 (p. 54).

¹¹ Donahue highlights this discrepancy in the *Tohorot*, the part of the *Mishnah* concerned with impurities: ‘if tax gatherers [*gabbaim*] entered a house...[it became unclean]’ (as opposed to *mokesim*, who would have no reason to enter): Donahue, pp. 49-50. *Mokes* shares its root with uncanonical *maks* in Arabic: see below, p. 180.

¹² Donahue, pp. 59-61.

¹³ Matthew 18.17.

¹⁴ Dietrich Kegler, *Untersuchungen zur Bedeutungsgeschichte von Istina und Pravda im Russischen* (Bern: Hebert Lang, 1975), pp. 23-34. On the wider ‘conceptual’ history of *pravda*: Wilhelm Goerdts, ‘*Pravda*: Wahrheit (*Istina*) und Gerechtigkeit (*Spravedlivost*)’, *Archiv für Begriffsgeschichte*, 12 (1968), 58-85.

elucidate the triangular relationship between the two men and their righteousness. First, Jesus invokes those who proclaimed ‘яко сѹть правѣдници [*dikaioi*]’.¹⁵ Second, the Pharisee singles out the *mytar*’ among those opposed to his own moral standing: ‘хыштѣници, неправѣдници, прелюбодеи ли яко съ мытарь’.¹⁶ The Slavonic *nepravedenitsi* renders precisely the Greek construction *adikoi*, and this parallel re-emerges when Jesus inverts the Pharisee’s expectation, ‘сѣниде съ оправѣданъ [*dedikaiōmenos*] въ домъ свои паче оногo...’.¹⁷ In the humility of the toll collector lies the potential to sublimate the opprobrium attracted by his profession; in the Slavonic gospels, that possibility is expressed through the affiliation of *mytar*’ with terms in *-prav-*.

The centrality of toll collectors to Jesus’ teaching is further illustrated in Matthew’s calling as a disciple. Here the term *mytnitsa* renders *telōnion* (‘tollbooth’), and Jesus’ first engagement with Matthew again emphasises – back to Rabbinic *mokes* – the affiliation of *myto* derivatives along routes, ‘преходя ис[у]съ...виде ч[е]л[о]в[е] (к)а на мытѣници сѣдѣща...’.¹⁸ After Matthew’s calling, several facets of toll collectors’ identity are reiterated. First is the juxtaposition of *mytari* with *greshnitsi* (*hamartōloi*, sinners), with whom Jesus eats, to the astonishment of the Pharisees.¹⁹ Second, however, is the continued focus on redemptive possibility: ‘не придѣ бо праведникъ призвать. но грешѣники на покаание’.²⁰ In Matthew’s own transformation from toll collector to evangelist, such repentance effects the shift to righteousness implicit in the verse. This identification underpins both his ‘own’

¹⁵ Luke 18.9 (‘that they were righteous’). Slavonic Biblical citations are taken from: Matthew: *Evangelie ot Matfeia v slavianskoi traditsii*, ed. by A. A. Alekseev and others (St Petersburg: Rossiiskoe bibleiskoe obshchestvo, 2005), compared with *Evangelium Sv. Matouše: Text Rekonstruovaný*, ed. by Josef Vajs (Prague: Nákladem České Akademie Věd a Umění, 1935); Mark: *Evangelium Sv. Marka: Text Rekonstruovaný*, ed. by Josef Vajs (Prague: Nákladem Slovanského Ústavu, 1935); Luke: *Evangelium Sv. Lukáše: Text Rekonstruovaný*, ed. by Josef Vajs (Prague: [n.pub.], 1936).

¹⁶ Luke 18.11 (‘thieves, rogues, adulterers, or even like this tax collector’).

¹⁷ Luke 18.14 (‘this man went down to his home justified rather than the other...’).

¹⁸ Matthew 9.9 (‘as Jesus was walking along, he saw a man...sitting at the tax booth’). *Mytnitsa* is attested only in this Biblical sense, while *myt* is used for princely tollbooths: *SRIa*, ix, p. 336.

¹⁹ Matthew 9.10-11.

²⁰ Matthew 9.13 (‘for I have come to call not the righteous but sinners [to repentance]’).

gospel, and in the account of his calling in Mark (as Levi) and Luke; the two latter texts repeat almost verbatim Jesus' injunction to call sinners to redemption.²¹

These tropes recur throughout the synoptic gospels. Commenting on John the Baptist, Jesus again juxtaposes toll collectors and sinners, in the Matthean text immediately preceding another *-prav-* derivative: 'и оправди ся [edikaiōthē] премудрость отъ чядъ своихъ'.²² In the Lukan iteration of this story, Jesus preaches of John the Baptist's message, to which the gospel writer adds that 'и вси людѣ слышавъше и мытаре оправдишия [edikaiōsan] бога крыштыше ся крышеньемъ Иоанновомъ'.²³ *Mytari* and *greshnitsi* also appear together to describe the audience of the parable of the Lost Sheep in Luke.²⁴ In the parable of the Two Sons, meanwhile, sinners are replaced with prostitutes (*liubodeitsy* or *blud'nitsy*, Greek *pornai*) as those who – alongside toll collectors – listened to John the Baptist when others did not, 'приде бо иоанъ кр[е]ститель путемъ праведьномъ [en odōi dikaiosunēs]'.²⁵ Finally, in the single iteration of toll collectors in the gospels that is not *telōnes* or *telōnion* in Greek, the Lukan text describes Zacchaeus as the *arkhitelōnes* at Jericho; once again, Jesus' interaction with the toll collector is transitory, 'и въшѣдъ проходяаще...'.²⁶ The Slavonic text struggles to render the Greek term, and settles with *starei mytarem*, although retaining the *telōnes*–*mytar*' duality. More pressingly, after Jesus seeks to stay at Zacchaeus' house, witnesses accuse him of consorting with sinners (*k greshnu muzhu*).²⁷

Above all, toll collectors fulfil this explicative role in the Sermon on the Mount, when Jesus exhorts his audience to love their enemies (Matthew 5.43-8). In the beatitudes that begin the sermon, pursuing a life of *pravda* engenders heavenly recompense: 'блажени изгънании правды ради яко техъ есть ц[а]р(с)твие н[е]б[е]сьное'.²⁸ Returning to this theme later in the sermon, Jesus reiterates God the Father's compassion, that he 'дѣждитъ

²¹ Matthew 10.3; Mark 2.14-16; Luke 5.27-30.

²² Matthew 11.19 ('yet wisdom is vindicated by her deeds').

²³ Luke 7.29 ('and all the people who heard this, including [and?] the tax-collectors, acknowledged the justice of God, because they had been baptized with John's baptism').

²⁴ Luke 15.1.

²⁵ Matthew 21.31 ('for John [the Baptist] came to you in the way of righteousness').

²⁶ Luke 19.1 ('he entered...and was passing through [Jericho]').

²⁷ Luke 19.8.

²⁸ Matthew 5.10 ('blessed are those who are persecuted for righteousness' sake, for theirs is the kingdom of heaven').

на праведъны и на неправедъны’.²⁹ The following verse rhetorically exemplifies the point with reference to toll collectors: ‘аще бо любите любящя вы мѣзду [*tina misthon*] имате. не и мытаре [*telōnai*] ли тожде творятъ’.³⁰ At first glance, the Sermon on the Mount merely perpetuates the affiliation between *mytarī* and potential righteousness witnessed earlier. Yet here *mytar’* is also juxtaposed with *mzda*, a term rendering the Greek *misthos*, to denote a monetary reward that can be earned both righteously in heaven and illicitly on Earth.³¹ Elsewhere in Matthew, *mzda* is used to explicitly link the righteous to their reward, ‘и приемляи праведника въ имя праведниче мѣзду праведничу [*misthon dikaiou*] прииметъ’.³² *Misthos* consistently maps on to *mzda* across the early Slavonic gospel translations, but when applied to an agent – as a wage labourer, someone to whom reward is given – the translation shifts to the etymologically discrete term *naimnik*.³³

Feasibly this shift is underpinned by a lexical conflation that affects some Slavonic gospel manuscripts, and which belies the otherwise consistent rendering of *telōnes* as *mytar’*. The fourteenth-century east Slavonic manuscript F.п.I.14, held at the Russian National Library (RNB) in St Petersburg, employs *mytoimets* on certain occasions, but this is an explicable *myto* derivative formed by adding the suffix *-imets*, to denote acquisition.³⁴ More intriguing are earlier Slavonic gospel copies, especially the Ostromir Gospels – a Cyrillic manuscript compiled at Novgorod in 1056-7 – and the *Codex Zographensis* – written in Glagolitic, and dating to the tenth or eleventh centuries. Both employ terms derived from *mzda*, rather than *myto*, to describe toll collectors, although oddly inconsistently. Based on Alekseev and Vajs’ readings, the Ostromir Gospels employ *mytar’* in Matthew, but then shift to *mzdoimets* (‘reward gatherer’) in Mark 2 and Luke 5.27; similarly varying is the use of

²⁹ Matthew 5.45 (‘sends rain on the righteous and on the unrighteous’).

³⁰ Matthew 5.46 (‘for if you love those who love you, what reward do you have? Do not even the tax-collectors do the same?’).

³¹ For unjust *misthos*, see *misthos adikias* at Acts 1.18, describing Judas’ ill-fated purchase of a field with his reward for betraying Jesus; the phrase also appears in II Peter, 2.15, to describe Balaam, who ‘loved the wages [*hos misthon adikias*] of doing wrong’.

³² Matthew 10.41 (‘whoever welcomes a righteous person as a righteous person will receive a righteous person’s reward’).

³³ Irina Liusen, *Grechesko-staroslavianskii konkordans k drevneishim spiskam slavianskogo perevoda evangelii* (Uppsala: AUU, 1995), p. 156.

³⁴ The material that follows is taken from the apparatuses of the editions given above, p. 138, n. 15.

mytnitsa to render *telōnion* in Mark 2, despite otherwise attesting *mzdoimets*. By contrast, in the *Codex Zographensis* it is the Matthean text that changes, but again not universally: a *mzda* derivative is used for the first four instances of toll collecting in the gospel, including *mzdnitsa* for *telōnion* at Matthew 9.9, and again at Matthew 11.19; otherwise, however, it keeps *myto* derivatives throughout the rest of Matthew, and in both Mark and Luke.

Interpreting this situation, L'vov suggests that *mzdoimets* was synonymous with *mytar*, as both *mzda* and *myto* conveyed the sense of 'payment' in south Slavonic.³⁵ This conflation would explain gospel translators' willingness to use a *mzda* derivative, but not the peculiar distinctions drawn between them. Similarly, to merely equate *myto* and *mzda* risks eliding how *mzda* is used beyond the gospels. In particular, in Slavonic Old Testament translations, *mzda* and its derivatives frequently translate the Greek *dōron* (gift, Hebrew *shohad*) in circumstances depicting the apogee of unjust income: judges who accept bribes. Brown-Driver-Briggs gives twenty-three instances of *shohad* across the Old Testament; in the modern Church Slavonic translation, these are rendered either as *mzda*, or also as *dary* (gifts).³⁶ In older texts, however, *mzda* appears more frequently, and here I focus on two conflations not between *mzda* and *dary*, but between *mzda* and *myto*.

The most obvious example is found in Psalms 25.9-10,³⁷ which entreats God to save the speaker's soul from the dishonest and lawless, for 'десниц[ы] ихъ исп[о]лѣнися мѣзды'.³⁸ *Mzda* here renders *dōron-shohad* in an eleventh-century psalter manuscript. Yet much as certain gospel translations conflate derivatives of *myto* and *mzda*, a similar confusion – albeit in a different 'direction' from modern usage – is found in psalter manuscripts that use *myto* to denote bribery, rather than *mzda*.³⁹ The most notable example

³⁵ A. S. L'vov, *Ocherki po leksike pamiatnikov staroslavianskoi pis'mennosti* (Moscow: Nauka, 1966), pp. 179-80.

³⁶ Expanded Brown-Driver-Briggs online:

<<https://www.sefaria.org/BDB?tab=contents>> [accessed 14 August 2023].

³⁷ Orthodox texts follow LXX, hence Psalm 25 is 26 in the Hebrew numbering.

³⁸ *An Early Slavonic Psalter from Rus'*, ed. by Moshé Altbauer and Horace G. Lunt (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1978), p. 11 ('whose right hands are full of bribes').

³⁹ Cf. the continued use of *mzda* in the Gennadii psalter: *Bibliia 1499 goda i Bibliia v sinodal'nom perevode: s illustriatsiami, v desiati tomakh*, 5 vols, [n.ed.] (Moscow: Izdatel'skii otdel Moskovskogo Patriarkhata, 1992-8), IV, p. 83.

is the eleventh-century Glagolitic Sinai psalter, which replaces *mzda* with *myto*.⁴⁰ This is not an isolated mistake, with Psalms 15.4 in the Sinai psalter similarly reading ‘с[е]ребра своего не дастъ въ лихву...и мыта на неповин[е]нѣхъ не пріять’.⁴¹ Again, *myto* renders *dōron–shohad*. This interpretation was not limited to the Sinai text, with several other psalter manuscripts attesting *myto*; as MacRobert underlines, however, the result is wholly ‘unsystematic’.⁴² While later psalters seem to coalesce around *mzda* – much as gospel texts coalesce around *myto* – this was not universal across Slavonic Old Testament translations, which continued to occasionally construe bribery in terms of *myto*. One such example is the Gennadii Bible, the first ‘complete’ translation of the Bible into Slavonic, undertaken at Novgorod under the auspices of archbishop Gennadii in the late fifteenth century.⁴³ Its translation of Proverbs 21.14 reads, ‘даание тайно отвращает гневъ, щадѣи же мыто въздвижетъ ярость крепку’.⁴⁴ Here *myto* – not *mzda* – renders *dōron–shohad*, but five centuries after the Sinai psalter.

Despite the lack of a complete published Gennadii text,⁴⁵ how far *myto* was used instead of *mzda* can be approximated by comparing this example with a fourteenth-century south Slavonic manuscript of several Old Testament books, RNB F.I.461.⁴⁶ The manuscript

⁴⁰ Catherine Mary MacRobert, ‘The Place of Dimitri’s Psalter (MS Sinai Slav 3N) in the Early Transmission of the Church Slavonic Psalter’, in *The Bible in Slavic Tradition*, ed. by Alexander Kulik and others (Leiden: Brill, 2016), pp. 89-106 (p. 95); *Sinaiskaia psaltyr’: glagolicheskii pamiatnik XI veka*, ed. by Sergei Sever’ianov (Petrograd: Izdatel’stvo otdeleniia russkago iazyka slovesnosti Rossiiskoi akademii nauk, 1922), p. 31.

⁴¹ *Sinaiskaia psaltyr’*, p. 14 (‘who lends money to the poor without interest; who does not accept a bribe against the innocent’).

⁴² MacRobert, ‘Place’, p. 96.

⁴³ On this process: Simon Franklin, *The Russian Graphosphere, 1450-1850* (Cambridge: CUP, 2019), pp. 40-2.

⁴⁴ *SRIa*, IX, p. 337 (‘a concealed bribe in the bosom [averts] strong wrath’).

⁴⁵ For the most recent effort, containing a facsimile of the Psalms, the Gospels, Acts and the epistles, see above, p. 141, n. 39; only five of the projected ten volumes were ever published.

⁴⁶ RNB, F.I.461:

<<https://nlr.ru/manuscripts/RA1527/elektronnyi-katalog?ab=577670F3-7234-41AE-8F05-3DDE88A2329E>> [accessed 26 June 2023].

contains the first complete Slavonic copy of Proverbs,⁴⁷ and yet on each occasion where *dōron–shohad* is used in the Tanakh or Septuagint, *mzda* is used, including at 21.14.⁴⁸ The Gennadii evidence hence implies that its translators – working frequently from the Vulgate as well as earlier Slavonic versions – assumed that *myto* could denote bribery, even in the late fifteenth century. Of course, the conflation is understandable if *myto* and *mzda* are both seen as grounded in injustice: the toll collector’s unearned income matched judicial corruption in undercutting the moral basis of a just society.

While Kuchko has argued that only by the eighteenth century was the term *mytar’* inextricably linked to deceit, this conflation across Old and New Testament Slavonic translations implies a more distant linguistic hinterland for that association.⁴⁹ Importantly, symptomatic consequences of this slippage are found in other, non-scriptural texts: the 1076 *Izbornik* (florilegium), compiled during the reign of Sviatoslav II of Kyiv (1027-76), invokes Luke 18 in noting that ‘едино бо слово мѣздоимѣче б[ог]а оумоли’.⁵⁰ Attributed in the *Izbornik* to a generic *paterikon*, the extract ultimately derives from the *Ladder* of the seventh-century theologian John Climacus.⁵¹ In step 28 of his *Ladder*, Climacus reiterates the mercy attained by toll collectors in their prayer; the Greek is *telōnes*, but – as in parts of the Ostromir Gospels and the *Codex Zographensis* – it is rendered in the *Izbornik* not by a

⁴⁷ Francis J. Thomson, ‘The Slavonic Translation of the Old Testament’, in *The Interpretation of the Bible: The International Symposium in Slovenia*, ed. by Jože Krašovec (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1998), pp. 605-920 (p. 831).

⁴⁸ RNB, F.I.461, fols 343^v, 354^r-355^v.

⁴⁹ V. S. Kuchko, ‘Vokrug russkogo *mytar’*: o razvitii semantika slova i ego sistemnykh svyaziakh v razlichnykh formakh sushchestvovaniia iazyka’, *Vestnik permskogo universiteta. Rossiiskaia i zarubezhnaia filologiya*, 36 (2016), 31-9 (p. 32); cf. the negative connotations of *mytar’* in modern Slavonic languages: *Etimologicheskii slovar’ slavianskikh iazykov*, ed. by O. N. Trubacheva and others, 41 vols (Moscow: Nauka, 1974-), XXI, p. 73.

⁵⁰ *Izbornik 1076 goda*, ed. by M. S. Mushinskaia and others, 2 vols (Moscow: Rukopisnye pamiatniki Drevnei Rusi, 2009), I, p. 624 (‘for a single word of the tax-collector entreated God’, from: *The Edificatory Prose of Kievan Rus’*, ed. and trans. by William R. Veder ([Cambridge, MA]: Harvard University Press, 1994), p. 96). Elsewhere in the *Izbornik*, *mzda* renders *misthos*: *Izbornik*, II, p. 190.

⁵¹ *Izbornik*, I, p. 76; see also: U. R. Feder, ‘The *Izbornik* of John the Sinner: A Compilation from Compilations’, in U. R. Feder, *Khiliada godini kato edin den* (Sofia: Marin Drinov, 2005), pp. 185-99 (p. 189). The extracts from the *Ladder* found in the 1076 *Izbornik* are without parallel in later florilegia.

derivative of *myto*, but by *mzdoim'che*.⁵² This absence of fixed delineations between *mzda* and *myto* is crucial to understanding broader use.

Patristic voices: *myto* and morality

Slavonic Biblical texts hence leave a linguistic trail of terminological conflation overlapping with ideological negativity: *myto* and *mzda* derivatives both feature as indications of unjust income. At one remove from scriptural models, however, lie the Slavonic translations of early Christian patristic writers, whose exegesis of the Bible shaped fiscal discourse in new directions. On the one hand, in their essentials these texts merely elucidate Biblical framings of toll collectors' dishonesty; on the other, their translations fail to replicate wholesale the *terms* in which the Slavonic gospels express that dishonesty. In their word choices around these tropes, scribes extended the unjustness of *myto* derivatives beyond the immediately doctrinal sphere.

John Chrysostom

Perhaps the most fulsome critique of New Testament tax collectors is found in translated extracts of a sermon attributed to the fourth-century archbishop of Constantinople, John Chrysostom. Among those manuscripts most readily accessible nowadays – either online or in published editions – are two dating to the twelfth and thirteenth centuries:⁵³ the first a defective copy of the *Zlatostrui* (a collection of Chrysostom's – or pseudo-Chrysostom's – homilies), RNB F.п.I.46, and the second a broader *izbornik*, RNB Q.п.I.18.⁵⁴ The text, entitled 'On the Canaanite Woman', elucidates the parable found at Matthew 15.22-8; Jesus heals the 'Canaanite' (Syrophoenician) woman's possessed daughter after her persistence in seeking Christ's intercession, even though she is not Christian. Yet while interpreting the gospel passage, pseudo-Chrysostom digresses on Matthew's erstwhile profession as a toll collector:

⁵² PG 88, col. 1129.

⁵³ K. V. Vershinin, 'O nekotorykh istochnikakh Izbornika XIII v.', *Slavianskoe i balkanskoe iazykoznanie*, 20 (2020), 52-73 (pp. 54-6).

⁵⁴ For an online transcription of F.п.I.46:

<https://histdict.uni-sofia.bg/textcorpus/show/doc_239> [accessed 26 June 2021]

Q.п.I.18 published as: 'The Izbornik of the XIIIth Century (Cod. Leningrad, GPB, Q.p.I.18): Text in Transcription', ed. by Halina Wątróbkas, *Polata k"nigopisnaia*, 19-20 (1987), ii-196.

...что есть мытоимство [*telōnion*]. грех срама не имы. грабление насильное [*harpagē profasin*]. то бо есть разбоиничества зълее. разбоиник бо срамляется крады. а съ дръзновениемъ грабить. / иъ тъ мытоимъць [*telōnes*] въ скорѣ бо бл[а]говѣстьник. како въ скорѣ. Иды И[с]у съ видѣ матѣфея сѣдѣщая на мытъници [*telōnion*] и г[лаго]ла емоу иди въ следъ мене.⁵⁵

In many respects, pseudo-Chrysostom parallels the lexical and moral frameworks found in the gospels: *mytoim'stvo* and *mytoim(e)ts* mirror the later Biblical manuscript F.п.I.14 in their construction, albeit the addition of the abstracting *-stvo* suffix is both a Slavonic novelty, and a departure from the more concrete Greek *telōnion*. But the text also adds more specific details that will emerge later in considerations around temporal, non-Biblical *myt*. No longer is the toll collector only dishonest or sinful, but that sin is expressed in terms of violence; he is a *razboinik* (bandit) committing *razboinichestvo* (banditry) and robbing violently (*grablenie nasil'noe*). Pseudo-Chrysostom's fervour may simply presage Matthew's volte-face in following Jesus without hesitation, but it also makes explicit the implied status of toll collectors: *mytoim'stvo* becomes robbery.

In this sense I disagree with both Sreznevskii and the *Slovar' russkogo iazyka XI-XVII vv.* in interpreting these uses of *mytoim'stvo* as usury (*rostovshchichestvo*).⁵⁶ Given the subsequent reference to Matthew – and the original Greek terms – there is little doubt that pseudo-Chrysostom envisages this activity as fiscal extraction, rather than money lending. Across the two extant iterations of the sermon, *mzda* is not attested, although the whiff of bribery is perhaps unnecessary given the sermon's attacks on toll collecting as *grablenie*. The effect of this homily beyond these attestations is difficult to assess, but it appears as §43 in

⁵⁵ RNB, F.п.I.46, fols 175^v-176^r; RNB, Q.п.I.18, fol. 35^v (Wątróbska, p. 35); cf. PG 52, col. 451 ('what is toll collecting? Do not have [?] the wound of sin [of] violent theft, for it is evil banditry [thieving]. For the robber is wounded by theft, and boldly steals. But that toll collector would soon be a disciple. How [so] soon? Jesus was walking, and saw Matthew sitting at a tollbooth, and said to him, "follow me".'). Only F.п.I.46 contains the section after the forward slash. 'On the Canaanite Woman' = *Clavis Patrum Graecorum*, no. 4529. Cf. the repetition of *myto* derivatives in the version contained in Makarii's sixteenth-century menologion: *Velikiia Minei Chetii, sobranniaia vserossiiskim mitropolitom Makariem: noiabr', dni 13-15*, [n.ed.] (St Petersburg: Sinodal'naia tipografiia, 1899), cols 1479-80.

⁵⁶ Sreznevskii, II, col. 221; *SRIa*, IX, p. 338.

the first redaction of *Izmaragd*, alongside in other compilations of the *Zlatostrui*.⁵⁷ While the apparently limited recurrence of the sermon precludes asserting that such attacks on *mytoim'stvo* were widely known, pseudo-Chrysostom nonetheless gives an insight into the kinds of emotional responses the Biblical legacy of toll collectors could engender.

Antiochus of Palestine: Pandects

If pseudo-Chrysostom is explicit in its criticism of toll collecting, other patristic exegesis offers less blunt interpretations of *mytari* – albeit ones that survived in greater number. While not assuming that this survival entailed wider dissemination, such increased textual transmission nonetheless offers an opportunity to delimit the scope of word usage and fiscal terms. One example is the Slavonic version of the *Pandects* attributed to the seventh-century Palestinian monk Antiochus. The text, composed of 130 chapters on monastic life, buttresses its ideas with a smorgasbord of maxims and Biblical verses, including those that invoke both toll collectors and bribery.⁵⁸

Of the ‘complete’ Slavonic copies of the *Pandects* identified by Popovski and dating to before the mid-sixteenth century, only three are easily accessible:⁵⁹ the eleventh-century archetype, GIM Voskr. 30, which Popovski labels V and which was published by him;⁶⁰ a fourteenth- or fifteenth-century copy held in the library of the Troitse-Sergiev monastery, RGB Tr. 154;⁶¹ and a late fifteenth-century exemplar, held in Warsaw at the National Library

⁵⁷ Francis J. Thomson, ‘Chrysostomica Palaeoslavica. A Preliminary Study of the Sources of the Chrysorrhoeas (Zlatostruy) Collection’, *Cyrrillomethodianum*, 6 (1982), 1-66 (p. 6).

⁵⁸ Yannis Papadogiannakis, ‘An Education through Gnostic Wisdom: The *Pandect* of Antiochus as *Bibliothekersatz*’, in *Education and Religion in Late Antique Christianity: Reflections, Social Contexts and Genres*, ed. by Peter Gemeinhardt and others (London: Routledge, 2016), pp. 61-72 (pp. 62-7); see also the list of chapters in the *Pandects* at pp. 68-71.

⁵⁹ Josif Popowski, ‘Die Pandekten des Antiochus Monachus: slavische Übersetzung und Überlieferung’ (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Amsterdam, 1989), pp. 114-31.

⁶⁰ ‘PA’; see also: Josif Popovski, ‘Indices to the *Pandects* of Antiochus Monachus’, *Polata k”nigopisnaia*, 31-2 (1999), 19-239.

⁶¹ RGB, f. 304.1, no. 154

<<https://lib-fond.ru/lib-rgb/304-i/f-304i-154/>> [accessed 9 June 2021].

of Poland, BOZ 110.⁶² Also accessible, although only containing fragments of the *Pandects*, is a florilegium dating to the twelfth or thirteenth centuries, the so-called *Troitskii Sbornik*.⁶³

Mirroring the terminological variation found in gospel translations, lexical slippage across fiscal vocabulary is immediately evident in the earliest Slavonic manuscript of the *Pandects*. *Myto* derivatives appear in five different chapters of V, with little consistency either among the terms, or between them and the Greek text. A case in point are the two attestations of toll collectors in chapter 76, ‘On Penitence’ (*O pokaanii* [sic]).⁶⁴ The first instance, ‘...възведи мя лежащя яко левъгъя и мытаря (*telōnēn*)’, evidently alludes to Matthew’s calling in Mark 2;⁶⁵ yet the second example instead uses *mytnik* to highlight the toll collector’s possible redemption, ‘яко и блюдъницоу очисти. и яко мытника оправъди’.⁶⁶ The Greek is unsurprisingly again *telōnes*, and the *-prav-* term mirrors a cognate of *dikaioṣunē*, ‘τὸν τελώνην δικαίωσον’.⁶⁷ Another instance of *mytnik* emerges in chapter 28 – albeit with a scribal error – when Jesus is lauded, ‘почъто съ грешъники и мыникъ [sic] ясте и пиете’.⁶⁸ Given the context, there seems to be little alternative to reading the term as *mytnik*, although the published Greek text has no parallel (‘μετὰ ἁμαρτωλῶν ἐσθίετε καὶ πίνετε’).⁶⁹ In any event, here is *mytnik* – later attested only in princely charters – situated in the gospel legacy that sees toll collectors as a fount of possible righteousness. This is yet further reflected in chapter 66, which picks up the thread of Matthew 5, stating that ‘боудеть ти яко язычникъ и мытъникъ (*telōnes*)’.⁷⁰

⁶² BN, Rps BOZ 110

<<https://polona.pl/item/poucenia-antioha-k-ieoustafiu-glavrazlicny,OTI1NTEyNQ/5/#info:metadata>> [accessed 11 June 2021].

⁶³ ‘TS’; see also: Josif Popovski and William R. Veder, ‘The Troickij Sbornik No. 12: Indices’, *Polata k”nigopisnaia*, 34 (2006), 1-320.

⁶⁴ The chapters in the Greek text are numbered differently; ‘On Penitence’ becomes chapter 77.

⁶⁵ ‘PA’, p. 110; PG 89, col. 1661 (‘raised me up [from?] lying, like Levi and [sic] the toll collector’).

⁶⁶ ‘PA’, p. 111 (‘[just] as he cleansed the fornicator; and as he justified [made righteous] the toll collector’).

⁶⁷ PG 89, col. 1664 (‘justified the toll collector’).

⁶⁸ ‘PA’, p. 51 (‘for he eats with sinners and [a] toll collector [sic]’).

⁶⁹ PG 89, col. 1529 (‘he eats and drinks with sinners’).

⁷⁰ ‘PA’, p. 97; PG 89, col. 1632 (‘you will be like a Gentile or a toll collector’).

Alongside these attestations of *mytnik*, however, *V* also employs *mytoimets*. Retelling the parable of the Pharisee and the toll collector in chapter 45, the Slavonic Antiochus expresses the former's comparison in the temple with 'неправдѣдѣи... или...съ мытоимѣць'.⁷¹ Across this chapter, the translator uses *mytoimets* to render the Pharisee's opponent; as with *mytnik* and *mytar*, however, the Greek text never departs from *telōnes*.⁷² This is similarly true in chapter 40, where Levi and Zacchaeus are both described as *mytoimets*.⁷³ The lexical variation evident in *V* – in which *telōnes* is rendered by three possible *myto* derivatives – hence belies the tendency of Slavonic gospel texts to avoid *mytnik*, and semantically situates the spiritual and temporal terms for toll collectors more closely together than they might first appear.

If *myto* derivatives fluctuate across *V*, *mzda* and its cognates follow Biblical models as rewards attainable both fairly and illicitly. Several homilies use *mzda* to render *misthos*, in other words a divine gift;⁷⁴ that reward can be received by the just, 'и приемляи праведника въ имя праведниче мѣздоху правѣдѣнича [*misthon dikaiou*]'.⁷⁵ Yet elsewhere in the *Pandects*, *mzda* is directed more explicitly towards bribery in rendering *dōron*. Chapter 74, 'On Just Judgment' (*O pravosud'stve*), mirrors Deuteronomy 16.19 in defining bribery against righteousness: 'мѣзда [*dōra*] бо иземлетъ словеса праведникъ [*logous dikaiōn*]'.⁷⁶ Similar invocations of Old Testament law are found in chapter 103, again expressed as *mzda*–*dōron*,⁷⁷ but are most notable in chapter 9 – entitled 'On bribery' (*O mzdoimanii*) – which uses *mzda* to reinforce Old Testament notions of illicit reward, often repeating Biblical maxims about bribery almost verbatim. This chapter is especially pertinent to later discourses around unjust income, as it is explicitly cited from Antiochus in the *Merilo pravednoe* (literally, 'Just Measure'), a legal compilation discussed in further detail later in this

⁷¹ 'PA', p. 73 ('the unjust, or [like] this toll collector').

⁷² PG 89, col. 1580.

⁷³ 'PA', p. 65; PG 89, col. 1560.

⁷⁴ For instance: 'PA', pp. 79, 86, 117-18, 172-3, 182; PG 89, cols 1592, 1608, 1697, 1796. Cf. 'PA', p. 160, for *mzdovzdatel'* and *mzdopodatel'* as descriptions of God, rendering *misthapodotes* (cf. LXX, Hebrews 11.6) and *misthoparokhos* (a hapax, 'gift-provider'): PG 89, col. 1768.

⁷⁵ 'PA', p. 185; PG 89, col. 1824 ('and let the just [person] take the reward of the just in the name of the just').

⁷⁶ 'PA', p. 107; PG 89, col. 1653 ('for bribe[s] take away the words of the just').

⁷⁷ 'PA', p. 150; PG 89, col. 1745.

chapter.⁷⁸ Twice *V* copies variants of the earlier part of Deuteronomy 16.19, ‘и...дарове и мѣзды ослепляютъ очи мудрыхъ’;⁷⁹ more crucially, the chapter also features the only attestations of *mzdoimets* across *V*, all of which render the Greek *dōrolēptēs*, ‘greedy of gain’, rather than *telōnes*.⁸⁰ The *Pandects* hence reflect a different conflation in Slavonic exegetical texts: not between *mzda* and *myto*, but among derivatives specifically of the latter, and their applicability to the Biblical past.

Comparing *V* with later Slavonic copies of the *Pandects* only heightens this point. In the case of the *Troitskii Sbornik*, the compilation contains only certain chapters, from which chapter 76 discusses fiscal models; however, the *Sbornik* retains the division between *mytar’* and *mytnik* found in *V*.⁸¹ The two fuller copies, Tr. 154 and BOZ 110, meanwhile, reflect less lexical variation, albeit – much like the early gospel manuscripts – with a startling lack of consistency. For Tr. 154, the division between *mytar’* and *mytnik* persists in chapter 76; it is still for the *mytnik*, as much as the *mytar’*, to be justified.⁸² The attestations of *mytoimets* similarly continue in chapter 45, as in *V*.⁸³ Yet at the same time, some form of correction has taken place in chapter 66, where *mytar’* replaces *mytnik*.⁸⁴

The Warsaw manuscript, by contrast, standardises its lexical uses for toll collectors as *mytar’*, which replaces *mytnik* in chapters 28, 66 and 76.⁸⁵ As in Tr. 154, however, the triple *mytoimets* in chapter 45 is left unchanged,⁸⁶ as it is elsewhere where attested in *V*.⁸⁷ As in the earlier manuscripts, *mzda* – particularly in chapter 9 – is employed uniquely to denote bribery.⁸⁸ To believe BOZ 110, then, by the late fifteenth century the semantic landscape around toll collectors had become slightly more fixed, but remained fluid: while *mytnik* was

⁷⁸ See below, pp. 161-2.

⁷⁹ ‘PA’, p. 20 (‘and...gifts and bribes blind the eyes of the wise’).

⁸⁰ ‘PA’, pp. 20-1; cf. *A Greek-English Lexicon*, compiled by Henry George Liddell and Robert Scott (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1843; repr. 1996), p. 465.

⁸¹ ‘TS’, pp. 125-8.

⁸² RGB, Tr. 154, fols 199^v-200^r.

⁸³ RGB, Tr. 154, fol. 135^v.

⁸⁴ RGB, Tr. 154, fol. 177^v.

⁸⁵ BN, BOZ 110, pp. 98, 194, 222 (the MS is paginated).

⁸⁶ BN, BOZ 110, p. 144.

⁸⁷ BN, BOZ 110, pp. 126, 199.

⁸⁸ BN, BOZ 110, pp. 31-3.

no longer used to denote Biblical toll collectors, both *mytar*’ and *mytoimets* were still possible. Simultaneously, the Slavonic *Pandects* indicate a more concrete division between *mzda* and *myto* derivatives than is evident in the Biblical texts.

Nazianzus: patristic fluidity

Much as the *Pandects* fix this division between *mzda* and *myto*, however, the textual tradition of another patristic collection seems to imply greater fluidity. The earliest Slavonic translation of the orations of Gregory of Nazianzus is unique in both its selection of texts, and in their ordering;⁸⁹ drafted in early eleventh-century Bulgaria, the manuscript – RNB Q.п.I.16 – holds thirteen sermons from the extant forty-four, of which six refer to toll collectors.⁹⁰ The first and third homilies in the RNB manuscript (nos. 39 and 40 in the modern classification) together elucidate the role of baptism in fashioning a path towards divine illumination. §9 of oration 39 focusses on the purification of the self, the necessity to ‘къ чистоумоу приближатиcя’.⁹¹ Such purification is exemplified by a series of figures whose worthiness is unattainable in Gregory’s eyes, with its final example highlighting Zacchaeus climbing the sycamore tree to view Jesus, and distributing his former wealth ‘еже зле мѣздоимѣствова [*kakōs etelōnēsen*]’.⁹² While the manuscript describes Zacchaeus as *mytar*’, the wrongdoing of his earlier profession is rendered with *mzda*.

Later in the same homily, this contrast is sharpened with explicit reference to worthiness. Outlining the relationship between baptism and humility before God, Nazianzus stipulates that ‘иже беседуєть мытоимѣчя [*tou telōnou*] гласы в ц[е]ркви, и оправдеається

⁸⁹ Summary based on Francis J. Thomson, ‘The Works of St. Gregory of Nazianzus in Slavonic’, in *II. Symposium Nazianzenum, Louvain-la-Neuve, 25-28 août 1981*, ed. by Justin Mossay (Paderborn: Ferdinand Schöningh, 1983), pp. 119-25. Following the modern schema, in Q.п.I.16 the sermons are ordered: 39, 43, 40, 38, 2, 6, 5, 27, 28, 16, 45, 41, 1; no Greek manuscript attests this arrangement.

⁹⁰ Although forty-five texts are labelled *orationes*, no. 35 is seemingly not Gregory’s: Andrew Dauntou-Fear, ‘Can We Hear the Spoken Words of Gregory of Nazianzus?’, *Scrinium*, 13 (2017), 72-83 (p. 73, n. 3).

⁹¹ *XIII slov Grigoriia Bogoslova v drevneslavianskom perevode*, ed. by A. Budilovich (St Petersburg: Tipografiia Imperatorskoi Akademii nauk, 1875), p. 6 (‘associate oneself with what is pure’, from: Brian E. Daley, *Gregory of Nazianzus* (London: Routledge, 2006), p. 131).

⁹² *XIII slov*, p. 6; SC 358, p. 166 (‘what he wrongly acquired as a tax-collector’, Daley, p. 132).

[*dikaoutai*] паче велехвальнааго фарисеа’.⁹³ Those words – a reference to the toll collector’s prayer in Luke 18 – render *telōnes* as *mytoimets*. Nazianzus perpetuates the Biblical duality between toll collectors and possible righteousness in sermon 40 (third in the RNB manuscript), which again focusses on baptism. Throughout the Slavonic text, *mytar*’ is used to describe toll collectors, in terms familiar both from his earlier orations and from the gospels: for instance, in §19 of oration 40, ‘и мытаря едино в[о]знесе, съмерение’.⁹⁴

The lexical fluidity evident in the RNB manuscript is exemplified in a later fourteenth-century copy of Nazianzus’ orations, RGB Tr. 8.⁹⁵ Tr. 8 features sixteen orations, rather than thirteen, of which eight are shared with Q.п.I.16. At first glance, the lexical evidence from Tr. 8 directly parallels the RNB manuscript: in oration 39, for example, the form *mytoim’chia glasy* (‘the words of the toll collectors’) remains.⁹⁶ Yet in the same oration, the form *mzdoimstvova* is replaced with *mytoimstvova* (fol. 29^r), while the surrounding syntax remains unchanged.⁹⁷ This shift removes the possible conflation between *mzda* and *myto*, as might be expected from later texts coalescing around *myto* derivatives rooted in New Testament models. Tr. 8, however, also exhibits a more marked difference from its eleventh-century predecessor. In its rendering of oration 40, it expands on the Greek to interpret Jesus’ eating with tax collectors: ‘яко съ мытари ясть яте неправедъне собраная’.⁹⁸ The affinity of *mytari* with *nepravedne sobranaia* is hardly surprising, and is a weaker attack than found in pseudo-Chrysostom. But in affiliating ‘unjust collection’ so closely with a *myto* derivative – albeit *mytar*’, rather than *mytnik* – it prefigures almost to the letter later objections to secular *myt*.

⁹³ *XIII slov*, pp. 12-13; SC 358, p. 188 (‘who utters the words of the Publican in the Temple, and is justified rather than the stiff-necked Pharisee’, from: *NPNF*², VII, p. 358).

⁹⁴ *XIII slov*, p. 86; SC 358, p. 240 (‘...and the Publican was exalted by one thing, his humility...’, *NPNF*², VII, p. 366).

⁹⁵ Bruni assigns this MS to his ‘Slav.1’ group: A. M. Bruni, *Teologos. Drevneslavianskie kodeksy Slov Grigoriia Nazianzina i ikh vizantiiskie prototipy* (St Petersburg: Nestor-Istoriia, 2004), pp. 138-40. References are to the digitised manuscript:

<<https://dlib.rsl.ru/viewer/01004630411#?page=1>> [accessed 2 June 2021].

⁹⁶ RGB, Tr. 8, fol. 36^r.

⁹⁷ RGB, Tr. 8, fol. 29^r.

⁹⁸ RGB, Tr. 8, fol. 15^r (‘for he eats with tax collectors, who collect unjustly’).

Eschatological tax collectors: demons and *mytari*

That the Slavonic translations of Chrysostom, Antiochus and Nazianzus perpetuate the notion of toll collectors as unjust but redeemable is little surprise: driven by Biblical tenets, their writings are grounded in scripturally attested fiscal agents. Yet alongside these exegetical conceptions of *telōnes*, other patristic writers invoke the spectre of a different fiscal agent – one whose sphere of activity is not Judea, but life after death. This eschatological motif situates so-called aerial tollhouses (or tollbooths: the Greek is *telōnia*) at various locations linking the soul's departure from the body; nearly every such tradition envisages demonic agents staffing the tollbooths to extract payment for sins, so that the soul can pass into heaven.

Scholarly opinion is divided on the precise origins of the motif: whereas Dirkse pinpoints their intellectual emergence to late antique Egypt,⁹⁹ others associate them with Gnostic tendencies.¹⁰⁰ While inklings of the motif appear in the apocryphal *Acts of Thomas*, the metaphor is first explored more deeply by the third-century theologian Origen of Alexandria. In his twenty-third homily on Luke – which survives only in Jerome's Latin translation – Origen weaves an intricate metaphor between the toll collectors (*publicani*) who seek John the Baptist's advice on their profession (Luke 3.12) and the 'prince of the world' in John 14.30.¹⁰¹ Origen interprets Luke 3.12, that toll collectors should extract no more than they are allowed, as referring not simply to law, but also to the Holy Spirit; he postulates that for the *post mortem* soul, 'beings will be seated at the boundary of the world, as if...they were exercising the office of tax collectors [*publicanorum*]...searching to find

⁹⁹ Saskia Dirkse, 'Teloneia: The Tollgates of the Air as an Egyptian Motif in Patristic Sources and Early Byzantine Hagiography', in *Medieval Greek Storytelling: Fictionality and Narrative in Byzantium*, ed. by Panagiotis Roilos (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2014), pp. 41-54.

¹⁰⁰ G. J. M. Bartelink, 'ΤΕΛΩΝΑΙ (Zöllner) als Dämonenbezeichnung', *Sacris Erudiri*, 27 (1984), 5-18; Athanas Recheis, *Engel, Tod und Seelenreise: das Wirken der Geister beim Heimgang des Menschen in der Lehre der alexandrinischen und kappodikischen Väter* (Rome: Edizioni di storia e letteratura, 1958), pp. 142-5.

¹⁰¹ Origen, *Homilies on Luke; Fragments on Luke*, trans. by Joseph T. Lienhard (Washington, DC: Catholic University of America Press, 1996), pp. 97-102; PG 13, cols 1859-64; Vasileios Marinis, "'He Who Is at the Point of Death": The Fate of the Soul in Byzantine Art and Liturgy', *Gesta*, 54 (2015), 59-84 (p. 67).

something in us that is theirs'.¹⁰² This explicitly metaphorical invocation of toll collectors mirrors a comment found in the first of Origen's homilies on Genesis – again surviving only in Latin – that 'Matthew was a publican [*publicanus*] and undoubtedly his image was like the devil'; by following the image of God in Jesus, however, his image becomes like God's.¹⁰³ This redemptive quality distinguishes Origen's eschatological toll collectors, who offer an optimistic route to repentance, rather than a pessimistic mode of retributive justice.¹⁰⁴

The same cannot be said of later writers developing the *topos*.¹⁰⁵ In the fourth century, Ephrem the Syrian (c. 306-73) evoked the idea of the soul being lifted and accompanied by angels through groups of toll collectors.¹⁰⁶ A similar description is found in a seventh-century tale attributed to Anastasius of Sinai (d. c. 700) about a *taxeōtēs* (magistrate's official) who dies without confessing his sins: after death, his soul, accompanied by angels, encounters *telōnarkhai*, customs controllers, and *forologoi*, another term for tax collectors, who weigh his good deeds against the bad.¹⁰⁷ In both Ephrem and Anastasius' texts, however, these figures are not hypothecated among different sins. Such specification is first found in a homily ascribed to Cyril, patriarch of Alexandria from 412 to 444, but most likely also dating to the seventh century.¹⁰⁸ Entitled 'On the Departure of the Soul and on the Second Coming', it demarcates five specific eschatological tollhouses to assess the recently deceased, each targeted at a particular sense (seeing, hearing, etc.).¹⁰⁹ From Origen to pseudo-Cyril there is a shift towards spatial precision; the latter emphasises individual tollhouses as the locus for 'collecting' sins. The use of *telōnes* in these texts follows the *mokes–telōnes* duality in the gospels: demonic toll collectors are stationed along the soul's route, rather than at nodes of exchange.

¹⁰² Origen, *Homilies on Luke*, p. 99; PG 13, col. 1862.

¹⁰³ Origen, *Homilies on Genesis and Exodus*, trans. by Ronald E. Heine (Washington, DC: Catholic University of America Press, 1982), p. 66; SC 7 bis, p. 64; Bartelink, p. 10.

¹⁰⁴ George Every, 'Toll Gates on the Air Way', *Eastern Churches Review*, 8 (1976), 139-51 (p. 140).

¹⁰⁵ For French translations of these texts: Jean-Claude Larchet, *La vie après la mort selon la Tradition orthodoxe* (Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 2001), pp. 85-130.

¹⁰⁶ Bartelink, p. 11.

¹⁰⁷ Dirkse, pp. 47-8.

¹⁰⁸ Bartelink, p. 15.

¹⁰⁹ Every, 'Toll Gates', 139-51 (p. 140); Dirkse, pp. 49-50; PG 77, cols 1073-6.

While Krausmüller has queried how far these ideas affected the Byzantine elite's eschatological conceptions,¹¹⁰ the emergence of fiscal conceptions of the afterlife did not exist in a vacuum, cut off from 'practical' terminology. From Laiou's emphasis on the 'fiscality' of Byzantine society in fashioning the relationship between the empire and its inhabitants, Afentoulidou has highlighted the role of the aerial tollhouses as impersonal, bureaucratic arbiters of sinfulness: by deploying the worldly vocabulary of taxation, the tollhouses inverted divine omnipotence, rendering the afterlife a bureaucratic *system* rather than a free-for-all orgy of demonic raiding.¹¹¹

At first glance, this excursus to late antiquity appears wholly divorced from fiscal discourse in fifteenth-century Moscow: how far these specific texts reached Rus' before the late medieval period remains opaque.¹¹² One, however, did. The tenth-century *Life* of the Byzantine saint Basil the Younger – an obscure figure whose biography is defined by his hagiography, supposedly drafted by his servant Gregory – contains a key sequence enumerating the various tollhouses. The sequence depicts the death of Basil's erstwhile slave Theodora, who must pass twenty-one tollhouses to reach heaven; Goldfrank has highlighted this narrative as the progenitor of motifs in late medieval Slavonic iconography that portrayed a snake surrounded by twenty or more rings, representing the various tollhouses.¹¹³

The most extensive Greek text of Basil's *Life* is found in a late sixteenth-century manuscript, GIM Sin. Gr. 249.¹¹⁴ The earliest 'complete' Slavonic version of the Basil *Life*,

¹¹⁰ Dirk Krausmüller, 'How widespread was the belief in demonic tollgates in sixth- to ninth-century Byzantium?', *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, 112 (2019), 85-104.

¹¹¹ Eirini Afentoulidou, 'Gesellschaftliche Vorstellungen in den byzantinischen Berichten von posthumen Zollstationen', *Zeitschrift für Religions- und Geistesgeschichte*, 67 (2015), 17-42 (pp. 34-5); Eirini Afentoulidou, 'Space and Power in Byzantine Accounts of the Aerial Tollhouses', in *Cultures of Eschatology*, ed. by Veronika Wieser, Vincent Eltschinger and Johann Heiss, 2 vols (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2020), II, pp. 603-15 (pp. 612-3).

¹¹² Cf., however, ninth and tenth-century Slavonic translations of Ephrem the Syrian's sermons; and a sixteenth-century of Cyril of Alexandria's homily: Francis J. Thomson, 'Checklist of Slavonic Translations', in *Editing Mediaeval Texts from a Different Angle: Slavonic and Multilingual Traditions*, ed. by Lara Sels and others (Leuven: Peters, 2018), pp. 43-130 (pp. 45, 89).

¹¹³ David Goldfrank, 'Who Put the Snake on the Icon and the Tollbooths on the Snake?—A Problem of Last Judgment Iconography', *HUS*, 19 (1995), 180-99 (p. 180).

¹¹⁴ *LBY* publishes Sin. Gr. 249 with an English translation.

meanwhile, is found in a mid-fifteenth century manuscript (RGB Egorov 162) that corresponds most keenly not to Sin. Gr. 249, but to an alternative thirteenth-century Greek recension, Dionysiou 107, held on Athos;¹¹⁵ building on Angelidi's work on the text's manuscript tradition, Pentkovskaia has shown that where the two Greek witnesses diverge, Egorov 162 more often follows Dionysiou 107.¹¹⁶ She argues that – despite its later textual tradition – the *Life* was first translated into Slavonic in the eleventh century. A key reflection of this is its apparent use among the compilers of the *Povest' vremennykh let*, to describe the attack on Constantinople by the Rus' prince Igor' in 941.¹¹⁷

Lexically, Egorov 162 follows the terminological basis of the New Testament, translating *telōnes* and *telōnion* with *myto* derivatives. The Theodora sequence focusses primarily on the tollhouses themselves, rather than their agents, and the former are often described in bald terms: when Theodora arrives at the tollhouse of envy, the Slavonic text remarks simply 'доидохом третьяго мытарьства'.¹¹⁸ In such cases *telōnion* is invariably rendered as *mytar'stvo*.¹¹⁹ It is this *mytar'stvo* that lies linguistically at the root of Mitia's struggles in *Brat'ia Karamazovy*: Dostoevsky plays on the eschatological trope by bringing the torments into the world, rather than remaining beyond it. In the Basil *Life*, however – amidst these invocations of *mytar'stvo*–*telōnion* – there is little linguistic variation. On one occasion, the Greek text attests the form *arkhitelōnes*, to denote the overseer of the fourth tollhouse; the Slavonic rearranges this term to give 'старешина мытарьства'.¹²⁰ Equally, twice *mytoimtsi* is used to translate *forologoi* (see above, p. 153); evidently at some point the direct parallel between *myto* derivatives and *telōnes*–*telōnion* was superseded by a wider conception of *myto* that could encompass other Greek terms for fiscal agents. A final

¹¹⁵ *ZhVN* publishes both Egorov 162 and Dionysiou 107; further references are given primarily to the Slavonic, with *LBV* used for comparison with Sin. Gr. 249. Cf. the earlier publication of the Slavonic *Life*: *Zhitie sv. Vasiliia Novago v russkoi literature*, ed. by S. G. Vilinskii, 2 vols (Odesa: Tipografiia "Tekhnika", 1911-13) (from Makarii's menologion).

¹¹⁶ *ZhVN*, p. 19; see also: T. V. Pentkovskaia, 'Drevneishii slavianskii perevod Zhitia Vasiliia Novogo i ego grecheskii original', *Vizantiiskii vremennik*, 63 (2004), 114-28 (p. 119).

¹¹⁷ For the passage: *PVL*, I, p. 33.

¹¹⁸ *ZhVN*, pp. 342-3; *LBV*, pp. 212-13 ('we reached the third tollhouse'). The Greek text is laconic, noting merely how Theodora arrives at 'ἕτερον τελώνιον' ('another tollhouse').

¹¹⁹ *ZhVN*, pp. 342-65, 380-3.

¹²⁰ *ZhVN*, p. 345.

exception in Egorov 162 comes early in the sequence, when Basil gives the two angels accompanying Theodora gold to redeem her spiritual debts, in order to pass ‘мимо мытаря’; the Greek remains *telōnion*, not *telōnes*.¹²¹ Why the translator would choose to emphasise the agent is unclear, but its use does reflect how – in Slavonic at least – the demons who staffed the tollhouses could be considered *telōnai*. In any event, as far as the translator’s choice of agent goes, in Basil’s *Life* it is rendered as *mytar’*, not *mytnik*. In this sense, the text follows Origen in deriving the motif from a Biblical hinterland, rather than from a contemporary fiscal agent.

Equally striking in Basil’s *Life* is the inversed relationship between justice and the demonic toll collectors. As Theodora describes her arrival at the first tollhouse – of slander (*obolganie*) – to Gregory, she refers to the guarantee of her truthfulness as ‘сведетели [sic] праведнаго соуда’.¹²² Here the term in *-prav-* functions not as a possibility for the toll collectors, but as the demarcating line between those allowed to pass and those refused. Basil’s *Life* similarly exemplifies the duality between *dikaioṣunē* and *pravda* found in the Slavonic gospel translations; in the very first lines of his prologue, Gregory cites both Psalms and Proverbs in evoking Basil’s worthiness of memory, ‘в память в[е]чную боудет прав[е]дникъ [*dikaioṣ*]’, ‘память праведнаго [*dikaioṣ*] с похвалами достославны[а]’.¹²³

Crucially, Basil’s *Life* marked the beginning of a rich seam in Slavonic eschatological motifs that employed the fiscal vocabulary of *mytar’* and *mytar’s tvo*. Another hagiographical iteration of the *topos*, for instance, is found in the *Life* of Avraamii – in Franklin’s words, ‘a fiery of preacher of doom’ operating at Smolensk in the early thirteenth century.¹²⁴ Avraamii’s hagiography records that he painted two icons during his life, the first of the Last Judgment and the second of ‘испытание в(о)здушных мытарств, их же всемъ несть избежати’.¹²⁵

¹²¹ *ZhVN*, pp. 340-1 (‘past the toll collector’).

¹²² *ZhVN*, p. 343 (‘witnesses of righteous judgment’).

¹²³ *ZhVN*, pp. 224-5 (Psalms 112.6, ‘the righteous...will be remembered for ever’; Proverbs 10.7, ‘the memory of the righteous is a blessing’).

¹²⁴ Simon Franklin, ‘Booklearning and Bookmen in Kievan Rus’: A Survey of an Idea’, *HUS*, 12-13 (1988-9), 830-48 (p. 840).

¹²⁵ *Die altrussischen hagiographischen Erzählungen und liturgischen Dichtungen über den Heiligen Avraamij von Smolensk: Nachdruck der Ausgabe von S. P. Rozanov Petersburg 1912 mit einer Vorbemerkung von Dmitrij Tschizewskij*, ed. by Ludolf Müller (Munich: Wilhelm Fink, 1970), p. 8

The *Life*'s self-proclaimed writer, Efrem, attributes the image to John Chrysostom, although the latter does not invoke tollhouses – merely the eschatological relationship between souls (*psykhai*) and demons (*daimones*) after death.¹²⁶ The icon reference, however, has often been used to associate Avraamii with another text attributed to various figures, including Kirill of Turov.¹²⁷

This so-called 'Sermon on Celestial Powers' (*Slovo o nebesnykh silakh*) is ascribed in most surviving copies to an anonymous 'Kirill the philosopher'.¹²⁸ Such a vague affiliation afflicts all of Kirill's homilies, even those more readily accepted as his.¹²⁹ Regardless, the 'Celestial Powers' sermon enumerates the tollhouses in much greater detail than the scattered references in Avraamii's *Life*; unlike the Theodora sequence, the sermon lists only twenty, which would become standard in iconographic motifs.¹³⁰ Lexically, it varies little in using *mytar'stvo* to describe the tollbooths. After a lengthy discussion on the Last Judgment, the sermon shifts to describe the soul's ordeals: after departing the body, it is conveyed to the *mytar'stva*, in this instance situated explicitly 'пред враты небесными'.¹³¹ Here the tollbooths explicitly correlate with gatekeepers, but the 'Sermon' nonetheless emphasises the

('the trial of the aerial tollgates, which no one can avoid', from: *The Hagiography of Kievan Rus'*, ed. and trans. by Paul Hollingsworth (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1992), p. 143).

¹²⁶ Chrysostom's twenty-eighth homily on Matthew: *NPNF*, x, pp. 191-3; *PG* 57, cols 353-5; cf. *Hagiography*, p. 144, n. 386.

¹²⁷ *Hagiography*, p. 143, n. 385. The debate began in the nineteenth century: S. P. Shevyrev, 'Zametka o slove Avraamii Smolenskago', *IORIaS*, 7 (1859), 326-30; Podskalsky favours attributing the sermon to Avraamii: Gerhard Podskalsky, *Christentum und theologische Literatur in der Kiever Rus' (988-1237)* (Munich: C. H. Beck, 1982), p. 101.

¹²⁸ The following summary is taken from: A. I. Alekseev, *Pod znakom kontsa vremeni: ocherki russkoi religioznosti kontsa XIV-nachala XVI vv.* (St Petersburg: Aleteiia, 2002), pp. 80-5. The textual tradition of the 'Sermon' is convoluted: the fullest manuscript, dating to the sixteenth century, is published ('SNS'); other texts at: *Pamiatniki rossiiskoi slovesnosti XII veka*, ed. by K. [F.] Kalaidovich (Moscow: Tipografiia Semena Selivanovskago, 1821), pp. 92-101; 'Eshche odno pouchenie Kirilla Turovskago po neizdannym spiskam', ed. by I. I. Sreznevskii, *IORIaS*, 4 (1855), 178-84.

¹²⁹ On this question's irresolvability: *Sermons and Rhetoric of Kievan Rus'*, ed. and trans. by Simon Franklin (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1991), pp. lxxx-lxxxiv. Goldfrank posits a tempting link to pseudo-Cyril of Alexandria: Goldfrank, p. 190, n. 42.

¹³⁰ Goldfrank, p. 191.

¹³¹ 'SNS', col. 188 ('before the heavenly gates').

soul's continued motion through the tollhouses, 'исходяще отъ телеси, и грядущи къ небеси', 'се преходятъ' (my emphases).¹³²

While the tollhouses themselves broadly mirror those found in the Theodora sequence – except in number – the eighth tollhouse of 'Celestial Powers' adds new details. In the Egorov 162 translation of Basil's *Life*, the eighth tollhouse is dedicated to 'лихва и лeсть'.¹³³ 'Celestial Powers', however, shifts its focus to specify the sins of 'резоимание, и грабление, и мздоимание'.¹³⁴ There is an obvious parallel here with the pseudo-Chrysostom text considered earlier, notably the invocation of *grablenie*; far from the conflation evident in the psalter manuscripts, here the *mzda* derivative *mzdoimanie* and the *myto* derivative *mytar'stvo* are used to diametrically opposed ends. Bribery is attacked for its unworthiness by toll collectors, who themselves – while terrifying – fulfil the requirements of a just God.

At the same time, 'Celestial Powers' perpetuates the inversion of righteousness and toll collection first witnessed in Basil's *Life*. The dichotomy of angelic supporters and demonic threats is exemplified with reference to *pravda*, 'егда же начнетъ въ правде пребывати всякъ человекъ, тогда приемлетъ над нимъ старейшинство аггелъ [sic] Божии и съхраняетъ и отъ всякаго лукавствия диаволя...'.¹³⁵ Such descriptions precipitate the soul's experience after successfully passing the tollhouses: first angels embrace it, then it bows to God, and finally the archangel Michael instructs the soul to be shown 'душа праведныхъ сущая в раи, и душа грешныхъ сущаа в аде'.¹³⁶ This division of sinners from the righteous persists in subsequent images: the soul progresses to other righteous souls, who embrace and kiss those who have successfully passed the *mytar'stva*.

From this discussion, it is tempting to conclude that eschatological *mytar'stva* and Biblical *mytari* functioned discretely in medieval devotion, despite their etymological commonality – that fiscality was subsumed either into their demonic ordeals, or into their

¹³² 'SNS', col. 188 ('leaving the body, and moving towards heaven'; 'they pass it [the tollhouse]').

¹³³ *ZhVN*, pp. 346-7 ('charging interest and deceit').

¹³⁴ 'SNS', col. 188 ('usury and theft, and bribe-taking'). Cf. other redactions of the sermon: 'насилное мздоимание' ('violent bribe-taking', *Pamiatniki rossiiskoi slovesnosti*, p. 94).

¹³⁵ 'SNS', col. 187 ('when any person begins to live in truth, then the eldest [?] of God's angels will take them and will protect them from any scheming of the devil...').

¹³⁶ 'SNS', col. 189 ('the soul of the righteous being in heaven [paradise], and the soul of the sinful being in hell').

historical identity, with little crossover. These motifs, however, do appear together in the prayer cycle attributed to Kirill of Turov, which – unlike the sermons commonly ascribed to him – attests *myto* derivatives on multiple occasions.¹³⁷ The majority of ‘Kirill’s’ prayers depict *mytari* in their Biblical scope: in the prayer to be said after Sunday Matins, the toll collector is juxtaposed with the bandit (*razboinik*) and the fornicator (*bludnitsa*).¹³⁸ The dichotomy of the righteous against the sinful, meanwhile, emerges in the prayer after Sunday Hours;¹³⁹ in the lexical variant *mytoim’cha pokaianiia* (‘repentance of the toll collector’) at Friday Matins;¹⁴⁰ and in the prayer at Saturday Hours, returning to the *razobnoik–bludnitsa–mytar’* juxtaposition.¹⁴¹ Above all, the prayer set for after Thursday Matins explicates Matthew’s moral conversion by describing what he has left behind, and what awaits him: ‘Святѣи Матфею оставивъи мытницу и все греховое имение рассыпав. въсприять еси на небесехъ неизготоваемо жилище’.¹⁴² This idea of sinful property parallels a manuscript text found at Kirill-Beloozero and discussed later in this chapter, not least given the redactions of Kirill’s prayers in which *imenie* (‘property’) is replaced by *sobranie* (‘collection’).¹⁴³

None of these ideas is unexpected. In the prayer after Monday Vespers, however, ‘Kirill’ turns his attention to the afterlife, beseeching God to save him from sin:

...и тако мя отпусти от телесе моего. ангельским огражаа заступлениемъ душу мою. и препроводи не искусну от злых мытарь присядящих у вратъ небесных...¹⁴⁴

¹³⁷ Rogachevskaia has published the version found in a late fifteenth-century manuscript, RNB, f. 717, no. 802/912 (*TsKT*, pp. 91-147), from which the references below are taken; on the prayers: Joy Helene Bache, ‘The emerging perceptions of nationhood and spirituality in the prayers of the Early Slavs and of Kievan Rus’ within their literary context’ (unpublished doctoral thesis, University College London, 1997), pp. 194-229.

¹³⁸ *TsKT*, p. 93.

¹³⁹ *TsKT*, p. 96.

¹⁴⁰ *TsKT*, pp. 130, 132.

¹⁴¹ *TsKT*, p. 144.

¹⁴² *TsKT*, p. 122 (‘Holy Matthew, who having left behind [his] tollbooth and having given away all his sinful property, took his unprepared [?] place in heaven’).

¹⁴³ *TsKT*, p. 122, n. 92.

¹⁴⁴ *TsKT*, p. 105 (‘...and so release me from my body with angels accompanying my soul’s intercession, and accompany [me] untouched by the evil toll collectors sitting at the gates of heaven...’).

This image is distinct from the other prayers in undoubtedly referring to eschatological toll collectors – as part of Kirill’s wider concern with demonically inculcated sin¹⁴⁵ – but focusses not on their position at *mytar’suva*, but in their role as *mytari*, using the same term Kirill applies in other prayers to Biblical toll collectors.¹⁴⁶ While the first ‘full’ manuscript of the prayer cycle dates only to the late fifteenth century, earlier manuscripts prefigure the use of *myto* derivatives in the later witness. For instance, the earliest copy of the cycle, found in a thirteenth-century manuscript at Iaroslavl’, likewise employs *myto* derivatives for those prayers it contains (Hours and Vespers);¹⁴⁷ the same is true for a shortened copy of the cycle’s extended redaction, which survives in a psalter manuscript (RNB F.п.I.1) highlighted by MacRobert and dating to the thirteenth or fourteenth century.¹⁴⁸ These two early manuscripts, then, shift the *terminus post quem* for Kirill’s prayers as a devotional instrument back to the immediate period following the Mongol invasions. In that religious practice, two kinds of *mytari* had co-existed, mutually reinforcing each other in their contrasting possibilities of (in)justice: that they could be put to use by a just God did not preclude their status as untrustworthy, or even demonically evil.

¹⁴⁵ Ekaterina Rogachevskaia, ‘The Concept of Sin in Kirill of Turov’s Writings’, in *Kirill of Turov: Bishop, Preacher, Hymnographer*, ed. by Ingunn Lunde (Bergen: University of Bergen, 2000), pp. 204-20 (pp. 214-15).

¹⁴⁶ In other redactions, this is rephrased ‘приседявиху врат мытарсих’ (‘sitting [by] the gates of heaven’): *TsKT*, p. 105, n. 27. Cf. the first printed edition of 1602, ‘от злых мытарствъ соущих оу вратъ небесныхъ...’ (‘by the evil tollhouses, which are at the gates of heaven’): *TsKT*, p. 156.

¹⁴⁷ *TsKT*, pp. 177, 183, 185.

¹⁴⁸ C. M. MacRobert, ‘In Search of a Canon: The Dissemination in Fourteenth-Century East Slavonic Manuscripts of Prayers and Hymns Attributed to Kirill of Turov’, in *Kirill of Turov*, pp. 175-95 (esp. p. 177); RNB, F.п.I.1, fols 288^v, 290^v, 303^v, although following the ‘second’ redaction of Kirill’s prayers; fol. 332^r, as *grekhovoe sobranie* rather than *grekhovoe imenie*. The manuscript is available digitally:

<<https://nlr.ru/manuscripts/RA1527/elektronnyi-katalog?ab=21096A53-960E-4468-9E75-54180DF22F4B>> [accessed 24 June 2021].

From the Bible to Rus': bribery and rulership

The warning against *mzdoimanie* in the 'Celestial Powers' sermon brings the early conflation of *mzda* and *myto* full circle: however terrifying eschatological tax collectors were, they existed on a distinct semantic plane to judges accepting bribes. Yet the sermon's interest in 'adding' bribery to the eighth tollhouse, against the model presented in Basil's *Life*, also reflects the increasing interest of late medieval Slavonic sources – both legal and literary – in defining just rulership with reference to fiscal probity. The most obvious compilation in this vein is the *Merilo pravednoe*, which integrates a series of texts on justice into a single volume. The first half collates short instructional items from a variety of sources, while the second half reprints legal codes; most of the latter are Byzantine translations, but the Expanded *Russkaia pravda* is also included. The *Merilo* survives in four markedly similar copies, of which the earliest is RGB Tr. 15.¹⁴⁹

Unsurprisingly given the *Merilo*'s preoccupation with defining the route to *pravda*, several extracts in the first section of the compilation concentrate on bribery, invariably expressed in terms of *mzda*. The first instance, at fols 18^v-19^r of the RGB manuscript, is a sermon (*slovo*) attacking judges and rulers who collect bribes, and hence fail to act according to justice (*ne v pravdu*).¹⁵⁰ The core tenets of the *slovo* epitomise the *Merilo*'s wider attitude to bribery, criticising those who 'избавить обидящаго. от руки неправеднаго. и самъ избавленъ будетъ в судъ страшнаго дне [sic]. предъ судящими въ правду'.¹⁵¹ The sermon posits a direct link between two kinds of judgment – of this world and after it – that mirrors the fiscal premise of Basil's *Life*. Elsewhere this idea is filtered through the *Parimiinik*, purporting to be an extract from Proverbs: 'приемля мзду бес правды...губить

¹⁴⁹ Its facsimile is printed as: *Merilo pravednoe po rukopisi XIV veka*, ed. by M. N. Tikhomirov (Moscow: Izdatel'stvo Akademii nauk SSSR, 1961). The first half of the compilation has also been published and translated into German (*DMBA*); references that follow are taken primarily from *DMBA*, supplemented by the facsimile. For a contents list of the first half of the *Merilo*: Johannes Reinhardt, review of *DMBA*, *Zeitschrift für Slavische Philologie*, 49 (1989), 401-19 (pp. 406-12).

¹⁵⁰ The text's origin is unknown, although it is attested in Makarii's menologion: Reinhardt, p. 407.

¹⁵¹ *DMBA*, p. 46 (fol. 18^v) ('spare those who offend [lit. the offending one] by the hand of the unjust [by bribery]; but those who judge justly will be spared at the Last Judgment').

собе мѣздоимецъ. а не любяи мѣзды сп[а]сеть ся'.¹⁵² A few folios later, a very similar notion is evoked, this time with reference to Isaiah: 'оправдающе неч[е]стиваго мѣзды ради. и правду праведника возьмюще от него'.¹⁵³ Of course, the interplay between *mzda* and *-prav-* terms mirrors broader Old Testament injunctions against bribery, but the sheer number of texts collated in the *Merilo* may indicate particular interest in the issue by the fifteenth century. Meanwhile, a series of short extracts derived from the collection known as *Pchela* – literally 'The Bee', from the surname of its supposed Greek compiler, Antonius Melissa – specifically expresses bribery in terms of the relationship between ruler and ruled, 'маловременна ц[а]рствия лучше. долго временныя власти насильныя. и мала часть съ правдою. паче стяжания д[у]шегубна'.¹⁵⁴ This notion brings *mzda* strikingly close to Kirill's political outlook in the next section, not only around bribery, but also around *myt* as income.

As revealing as these extracts are about perceptions of unjust income, just as striking is the source material drawn on by the compilers of the *Merilo*, and how the threads revealed in these sources run through fiscal discourse in late medieval Moscow. Fols 46^v-48^v of the RGB manuscript, for example, contain extracts from two of Antiochus' *Pandects*, one of which is chapter 9 ('On bribery').¹⁵⁵ The stipulations in the *Merilo* version are identical to the V text, with the usual range of Biblical progenitors, although the *Merilo* chapter is cut off slightly at the beginning.¹⁵⁶ Similarly intriguing is an extract 'от книгъ с[вя]таго василия новаго' on fols 53^r-53^v, albeit 'от видения григорья', rather than from Theodora's journey

¹⁵² *DMBA*, p. 26 (fol. 11^v) ('taking bribes...the bribe-taker destroys themselves; but the one who does not love bribes is saved'). The second phrase gestures at Proverbs 15.27.

¹⁵³ *DMBA*, p. 37 (fol. 15^v) ('justifying the impious for [the sake of] bribes, and taking justice [away] from the righteous').

¹⁵⁴ *DMBA*, p. 80 (fol. 31^r) ('it is better to rule for a short time than to [rule] violently for a long time, and a small portion [of income] acquired justly is [better] than soul-destroying acquisition'); in the Slavonic *Pchela*, the extract is attributed to the Macedonian general Seleucus (*Selevk*): "*Pchela*": *drevnerusskii perevod*, ed. by A. A. Pichkhadze and I. I. Makeeva, 2 vols (Moscow: Rukopisnye pamiatniki Drevnei Rusi, 2008), p. 399. Cf. *DMBA*, p. 81, n. '4' (apparatus); for the Greek chapters translated into Slavonic: *Slovar' knizhnikov i knizhnosti Drevnei Rusi, vypusk I: XI-pervaia polovina XIV v.*, ed. by D. S. Likhachev, pp. 382-7.

¹⁵⁵ *DMBA*, pp. 119-20 (fols 46^v-47^r). The *Merilo* correctly identifies the homily as 'слово θ [=9]'.

¹⁵⁶ The extract begins at: 'PA', p. 20.

through the tollhouses.¹⁵⁷ Again unsurprisingly, the section taken from Basil's *Life* is on corrupt judges; more remarkable is that the *Merilo* text, unlike its borrowings from the Antiochus *Pandects*, is word-for-word identical to the Basil text found in the Synodal manuscript.¹⁵⁸ Of course, in neither case are *myto* derivatives attested, and these texts focus instead on *mzda* as bribery. But they do point to the kinds of material circulating among the Muscovite literate elite by the fifteenth century, and which – as seen earlier – construe *myto* derivatives as unjust income.

This interest in bribery is paralleled in how the Rus' princes themselves were framed as just rulers in sources often found in religious texts' orbit. Indicative of such conceptions is the paean (*pokhvala*) to Ivan I Kalita, which survives on the final folio of the *Siiskoe evangelie*, a Muscovite gospel manuscript produced in c. 1339.¹⁵⁹ Amidst various laudatory comments, the *pokhvala* unites Old Testament prophecies around justice and bribery:

...о семь бо князи великомъ иване пр(о)ркъ езекии гл[аголе]ть...въстанеть
ц[е](с)арь правду любя и соудъ не по мзде судяи...при семь будетъ тишина
велья в роуской земли...¹⁶⁰

In other words, to rule the Rus' land well is to love *pravda*, and to judge without resorting to bribery. Yet allusions to this Old Testament conception of just rulership are attested not only in terms of *mzda*, as here, but elsewhere also in terms of *myt* – and even *tamga*.

The so-called 'obituary' of Mikhail Aleksandrovich, grand prince of Tver', is a case in point.¹⁶¹ In reality, this 'obituary' is a group of texts outlining the ruler's life, especially the laudatory 'tales' (*povesti*) contained in the Rogozhskii and Simeonov chronicles –

¹⁵⁷ *DMBA*, p. 134 (fol. 53^r) ('from the books of St Basil the Younger'; 'from Gregory's vision').

¹⁵⁸ *ZhVN*, p. 537.

¹⁵⁹ On the *Siiskoe evangelie*: N. A. Meshcherskii, 'K izucheniiu rannei moskovskoi pis'mennosti', *Lingvisticheskoe istochnikovedenie*, 5 (1969), 93-103.

¹⁶⁰ Meshcherskii, p. 95 ('for about the grand prince Ivan, the prophet Ezekiel says, "...an emperor will rise [to the throne], loving truth [*pravda*] and he [will] not judge through bribery"...in [Ivan's reign] peace will reign in the Rus' land').

¹⁶¹ G. P. Fedotov, *The Russian Religious Mind*, 2 vols (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1946-66), II, p. 169.

characterised by Koniavskaia as describing the ideal ruler of Tver'.¹⁶² Notably, the anonymous author praises the grand prince for his abolition of transit and trading dues: immediately after giving details of his age and reign, the Simeonov chronicle *s.a.* 6907 (1398-9) records that 'многа блага въсприаша; при сем корчемники и мытаря и торжныя тамги истребишася, бе бо благородныи изрядне княжа'.¹⁶³ While Koniavskaia correctly notes the unlikelihood of such a policy in practice, I am more interested in how the *povesti* frame this supposedly beneficent refusal of income.¹⁶⁴

Most obvious is the use of *mytar'*, rather than the usual temporal term *mytnik*. Given the unworthiness of Biblical *mytari* and the rapaciousness of their eschatological counterparts, it may be no coincidence that the compiler employs the term; yet in recording the agents' supposed disappearance under Mikhail, the text simultaneously moves *mytari* from a distant world into the late fourteenth-century present. Equally significant is the attestation of *torzhnye tamgi*, an expression that explicitly situates *tamga* in relation to exchange (*torg*), following its Jochid predecessor. This unique juxtaposition of *mytar'* and *tamga* implies that *tamga* too attracted opprobrium at the turn of the fifteenth century, although begging the question of why Kirill later criticised only *myt*. Beyond the immediate terms employed for trading taxes, however, a few lines later the text also situates Mikhail Aleksandrovich in a Biblical genealogy of righteousness: 'о таковыхъ бо пророкъ Давыдъ рече: въ память вечную будетъ праведнику; такоже и Соломонъ... рече, съ похвалами праведнаго бываетъ'.¹⁶⁵ The point is that just as Jochid suzerainty over Rus' was beginning to significantly wain, new discourses were emerging that tied Orthodox principles of just rule to immediate fiscal concerns. To that end, Mikhail Aleksandrovich's *povesti* make one thing clear: a just ruler should not accept unjust income, including *myt*.

¹⁶² E. L. Koniavskaia, 'Pokhvala kniazii: povesti o Mikhaile Aleksandroviche Tverskom', *DRVM*, 15 (2005), 11-13 (p. 11).

¹⁶³ *PSRL* XVIII, p. 144 ('undertook much good [work]; under him [Mikhail Aleksandrovich] the illegal alcohol suppliers, *myt* collectors and the trading *tamgas* disappeared, for the noble [one] had ruled well'). The record in the Rogozhskii chronicle is identical: *PSRL* XV, col. 167.

¹⁶⁴ Koniavskaia, p. 13. As Koniavskaia herself notes, however, the agreements between Mikhail Aleksandrovich and Muscovite rulers retain pre-existing *myts*; see above, pp. 118-19.

¹⁶⁵ *PSRL* XVIII, p. 144 ('for as the prophet David said about such people [as Mikhail], "the righteous...will be remembered forever"; also [as] Solomon [said], "the memory of the righteous is a blessing"; the references are again to Psalms 112.6 and Proverbs 10.7; see above, p. 156, n. 123).

Back to Kirill: unjust collection, unjust rule

Against this background of literary attacks on *mzda* and *myt*, Kirill's criticism of the tax feels rather less out of the blue. Yet rather than assess his surviving texts in terms of such fiscal discourse, previous scholarship has tended to concentrate instead on his theological ambitions in leaving the Simonov monastery – where he had served briefly as hegumen – for the remoteness of northern Rus'. As discussed in the previous chapter, this journey is usually framed as spiritual flight, for a monastic 'island' in a temporal sea, or for 'the freedom of the desert monk'.¹⁶⁶ Yet many of the texts attributed to Kirill paint a picture not of flight as absence from literate networks, but instead of a figure still integrated within them.

Kirill's criticism of *myt* emerges in this vein, in a group of three extant letters (*poslaniia*), sent to three different Rus' princes: to Vasilii I, grand prince of Moscow; to Iurii Dmitrievich, prince of Zvenigorod, and eventual claimant to the Muscovite throne; and to Andrei Dmitrievich, prince of Mozhaishk and Beloozero, in which he criticises *myts*. While the letters survive only in a single late sixteenth-century manuscript (RNB Sof. 454), Serebriakova dates all three to between 1413 and 1418, well after Kirill's foundation of the community at Beloozero.¹⁶⁷ Kirill's letters articulate an expansive conception of just rulership – in Fedotov's words, they constitute 'an entire political program based on general moral principles'¹⁶⁸ – while at the same time indicating an acute awareness of the political rivalries engulfing early fifteenth-century Rus'. His letter to Vasilii confronts head-on the disputes between the grand prince and his brothers that threatened to undo resistance to Jochid suzerainty: after situating himself as sinful (*greshnyi*), Kirill frames the conflict in terms of discordant *pravda*:

¹⁶⁶ Michèle Toucas-Bouteau, 'Monastères de la région du lac Blanc dans la Russie ancienne: îles au milieu des lacs, des marécages et des forêts', *Cahiers slaves*, 7 (2004), 303-27 (pp. 310-14); Robert Romanchuk, *Byzantine Hermeneutics and Pedagogy in the Russian North: Monks and Masters at the Kirillo-Belozerskii Monastery, 1397-1501* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2007), p. 82; see above, p. 123.

¹⁶⁷ RNB, Sof. 454, fols 187^r-198^r. The letters have been printed several times: the following citations are taken from *PK*, pp. 168-83; see also: M. S. Serebriakova, 'K datirovke poslanii Kirilla Belozerskogo', *Kirillov: kraevedcheskii al'manakh*, 6 (2005), [n.p.]

<<https://www.booksite.ru/fulltext/6ki/ril/ov/1.htm#2>> [accessed 17 May 2021].

¹⁶⁸ Fedotov, II, p. 168; see also: N. I. Kaishauri, 'Kontseptsia gosudarstvennoi vlasti v sochineniiakh Kirilla Belozerskogo', *Kirillov: kraevedcheskii al'manakh*, 3 (1998), [n.p.]

<<https://www.booksite.ru/fulltext/3ki/ril/lov/3.htm>> [accessed 17 May 2021].

‘ты, господине, свою правду сказываешь, а они [сродники] свою’.¹⁶⁹ This *pravda* – as a right or claim – can be looked at truthfully (*istinno*):

...посмотри того истинно: в чем будет их правда пред тобою, и ты, господине, смирением своимъ поступи на себе. А в чемъ будет твоя правда пред ними, и ты, господине, за себя стой по правде.¹⁷⁰

In this politically fragmented context, Kirill’s letter to Iurii Dmitrievich is similarly unsurprising. Replying to a (presumably now lost) request from the prince to meet, Kirill refuses, but explains why he would pay homage to Iurii’s brother Andrei: unlike Iurii, Andrei was prince of Beloozero, ‘ино, господине, – его [Андрея] отчина, и намъ пришла нужда: нелзе намъ ему, своему господину, челом не ударити’.¹⁷¹ Reading between the lines, Kirill seems to be employing tactics reminiscent of the toothache that afflicted John Major during Margaret Thatcher’s downfall – far from Moscow, he could choose when to get involved, and when distance from the political centre was conducive to self-preservation. Clearly, however, the political implications of a prince’s (*v*)*otchina* were not a dead letter in Kirill’s eyes.

Given Kirill’s label of Andrei Dmitrievich as ‘my lord’, it makes sense that his most detailed musings on the intersection of truth, justice and princely rule are found in his *poslanie* to the prince of Beloozero himself. The letter again claims to respond to a now-lost original, in which Andrei had enquired about the miracles of the Virgin Mary; Kirill uses his reply to address the divine source of Kirill’s princely legitimacy, in particular as a legal compact between God and the prince, ‘судъ бы, господине, судили праведно, какъ предъ Богомъ право’.¹⁷² He goes on to cite Mosaic tenets against *mzda*, ‘да не оправдиши нечистиваго мзды ради... ни сотвориши неправду на суде, яко судъ истиненъ

¹⁶⁹ PK, p. 172 (‘you, lord, [will] tell your right [claim], and they [your relatives will tell] theirs’).

¹⁷⁰ PK, p. 172 (‘look at it [the dispute] truthfully: whatever their claim before you [is], you, lord, with your humility will proceed [to it?]. And whatever your claim before them, you, lord, you will stand as [of] right [justly]’).

¹⁷¹ PK, p. 178 (‘because, lord, it is his [Andrei’s] *otchina* [territory], and we [i.e. Kirill] had to: it was not possible for us not to pay him, our lord, homage’).

¹⁷² PK, p. 180 (‘[at your] court, lord, [you should] judge justly, like justice before God’).

есть...'.¹⁷³ Again the duality of *pravda* and *istina*, again the injustice of *mzda*: the rhetoric is not subtle, and mirrors closely injunctions found in the Old Testament.

But this lengthy diatribe against bribery is followed immediately by an attack on specific elements of princely rule. As for the author of Mikhail Aleksandrovich's laudatory *povesti*, Kirill first targets dues accrued from alcohol (*korchmy*), 'в твоей отчине не было, занеже, господине, толика погуба душам'; he then criticises *myts*, as 'куны неправедныя'; and finally, he specifies that where *perevoz* is charged, 'тут, господине, пригоже дати труда ради'.¹⁷⁴ Whereas *perevoz* can seemingly be redeemed by the labour involved in transporting goods across a river, *myt* is beyond the moral pale. It is purely unjust income. To my mind, this juxtaposition between *mzda* and *myt* is no accident, nor is the expression of both in terms of *-prav-* derivatives: Kirill's attack on unearned wealth must necessarily encompass them both.¹⁷⁵ As noted earlier, however, *tamga* is nowhere to be found in Kirill's injunctions.

Inklings of these ideas can be traced in manuscripts surviving from the monastery's library. Prokhorov identifies twenty-three extant manuscripts held at Kirill-Beloozero during Kirill's own lifetime, of which twelve are attributed to the hegumen himself.¹⁷⁶ I have not found any other texts among these manuscripts that explicitly criticise *myt*, but two do focus on *mzda*. The first is reasonably straightforward: an extract from an 'encyclopaedic' compilation, dating to the turn of the fifteenth century (RNB K.-B. no. XII), that adopts sections from the Mosaic Law found in the *Kormchye knigi*, the Slavonic translations of

¹⁷³ PK, p. 180 ('do not make [someone] just for the sake of a bribe...do not commit injustice when judging [in court], for judging is truthful...').

¹⁷⁴ PK, pp. 180-2 ('that there [are] not [any such dues] in your *otchina*, for, lord, it [causes] only destruction to souls'; 'unjust money'; 'that, lord, is only to be given for labour').

¹⁷⁵ On the innovation of moral strictures addressed to a princely ruler: S. I. Smirnov, *Drevnerusskii dukhovnik* (Moscow: Sinodal'naia tipografiia, 1913; repr. Moscow: Pravoslavnyi Sviato-Tikhonovskii Bogoslovskii institut, 2004), pp. 253-5; N. I. Efimov, *Prepodobnyi Kirill Belozerskii i ego poslaniia* (Simbirsk: Tipo-litografiia A. T. Tokareva, 1913), pp. 9-12.

¹⁷⁶ G. M. Prokhorov, 'Knigi Kirilla Belozerskogo', *TODRL*, 36 (1981), 50-70 (p. 54); see also: G. M. Prokhorov and N. N. Rozov, 'Perechen' knig Kirilla Belozerskogo', *TODRL*, 36 (1981), 353-78.

Byzantine nomocanons.¹⁷⁷ Its first section, ‘On judgment and truth’ (*O sude i o pravde*), perpetuates the Biblical link between *mzda* and injustice:

...от всего глагола неправедна отступиши, [не]повиннаго и праведнаго не убиеши, и не оправдиши нечестиваго, и мзды не възмеш, мзда бо ослепляет очи видящих, и погублет глаголы праведны.¹⁷⁸

The ‘encyclopaedia’ reiterates the stipulations of Exodus 23.8, and manifests (or parallels) Kirill’s view of *mzda*.

A more creative manifestation of this view is found in a text surviving in a compilation (*sbornik*) at Kirill-Beloozero, ascribed to Kirill himself and published in *PK*. While the manuscript remains unidentified by the latter’s editors, Varlaam’s descriptive catalogue identifies it as a *sbornik* still held at the monastery (no. 403).¹⁷⁹ The text encapsulates discourse against *mzda*, but in terms that are all too familiar about *myto* (my emphases):

Павель рече: «Братя, малъ квасъ
все тесто квасить»
Събрание неправедное все имение погубить.
Не токмо [sic] имение, но и душу, –

мзда, резоймство, корчемный прикупъ,
грабление
и собрание криваго суда.

¹⁷⁷ For a summary of chapter 45 in the *Kormchaia* (its compilation of Mosaic Law): Rosanne Gretchen Mulcahy, ‘Canon Law in Medieval Russia: The *Kormchaia kniga* as a Source of Law’ (unpublished doctoral thesis, University College London, 2001), pp. 221-6.

¹⁷⁸ *Entsiklopediia russkogo igumena XIV-XV vv.: sbornik prepodobnogo Kirilla Belozerskogo*, ed. by G. M. Prokhorov (St Petersburg: Oleg Abyshko, 2003), p. 97 (fol. 139^v) (‘avoid all unjust speech, do not kill the innocent and the just, do not make the dishonest righteous, and do not take bribes, for bribes [bribery] blinds the eyes of the seeing and corrupts the words of the just’).

¹⁷⁹ Varlaam [archimandrite], ‘Obozrenie rukopisei sobstvennoi biblioteki Prepodobnago Kirilla Belozerskago’, *ChOIDR*, 1860, no. 2, part III, 1-69 (p. 64).

Что се, еже рече Григории Богословець:

«Не будемъ продатели Христу,
ни будемъ купци Христу»...

Июда продав

Слово Божие, Христа,
а жидове купиша.

И тому суть подобни
продающе молитвы
и крещающе по мзде, –
купующим
жидом подобни.¹⁸⁰

The text extends objections to *mzda* to also encompass ecclesiastical corruption – the ‘selling’ of baptism for money renders the corrupt cleric like Jesus’ persecutors. But the language of trade here, of buying and selling, appears almost inherently unjust: whoever wrote this text sought to distinguish such exchange from the true business of the church, and the true business of a ruler.¹⁸¹ I would suggest that the vocabulary used in the first half of this text is too close to conceptions of *myt* – as *sobranie nepravednoe*, as *grablenie*, as unearned *imenie* – to have been applicable merely to *mzda*. To follow the theological outlook reflected here, *myt* was no less unjust.¹⁸²

¹⁸⁰ PK, pp. 38-9 (‘Paul said, “A little yeast / leavens the [whole batch of] dough.” [Gal 5:9] / Unjustified acquisition will destroy all [one’s] wealth / Not only [one’s] wealth, but also [one’s] soul, / Bribery, usury, dues from alcohol [taverns?] / theft / the proceeds [acquisition?] of a corrupt court. / As Gregory of Nazianzus said, “We will not be the sellers of Christ, nor the buyers of Christ”... / Judas sold Christ, the Word of God, [and] the Jews bought [it]. And he who [like this] sells prayers, and baptises for bribery, is like the buying Jews’). Cf. *mzda* as *misthos*, in another collection attributed to Kirill, ‘тогда мзду...от Бога приемлеть’ (‘then he [will] receive [a] reward from God’): Prokhorov, ‘Knigi’, p. 70 (= RNB, K.-B. no. XV, fols 150^r-157^v).

¹⁸¹ On further fifteenth-century confessional texts against usury and bribery: M. V. Korogodina, *Ispoved’ v Rossii v XIV-XIX vv.* (St Petersburg: Dmitrii Bulanin, 2006), pp. 197-9.

¹⁸² Much as injunctions against *myt* featured in the *Domostroi* (see below, pp. 173-4), similar discourse emerged in confessional literature: Korogodina describes a fifteenth-century text entitled

Alongside these attacks on unjust income, however, later Beloozero texts also indicate a familiarity with the *mytar'stvo* motif of demonic toll collectors, and it is difficult to imagine Kirill was wholly ignorant of the trope. The earliest concrete evidence, however, is an extract from one of the six collections compiled by the monk Efrosin at Kirill-Beloozero in the second half of the fifteenth century.¹⁸³ The compilation held at RNB K.-B. 22/1109 – dated to between 1475 and 1478 – gives a description of twenty-four (!) tollhouses on fols 111^v-112^r,¹⁸⁴ in a codologically complex section of the manuscript.¹⁸⁵ The list of tollhouses includes all those enumerated in Basil's *Life* and the sermon on 'Celestial Powers'; unlike in the sermon, however, the eighth tollhouse in K.-B. 22/1109 does not reference *mzda*, although the eighteenth does gesture at fiscal injustice, 'всяко хищение и неправда, мерилом весят'.¹⁸⁶ More striking still is the remark at the end of the list of tollhouses, 'се же от жития с[вя]тая феодоры кормителница [sic] быс василия новаго...'.¹⁸⁷ To my mind, the inconsistency here between the number of tollhouses in Basil's *Life* and Efrosin's compilation is less important than that the *Life* is acknowledged as the source of the *mytar'stvo* motif, along with the inverted form of divine justice implicit in the hagiography.

Similarly fruitful in this vein is a preserved index (*opisanie*) of manuscripts held in the Kirill-Beloozero library at the end of the fifteenth century. The index is not complete – it fails to include K.-B. 22/1099, for instance – but it does detail other manuscripts that have not survived. Now lost, the first collection listed in the index references a text entitled

'есть у тебе неправо собрание? – и ты расточи и отверзи от себе' ('do you have unjust collection [income]? [Then] give [it] away and give it [up]'): Korogodina, p. 202.

¹⁸³ On their contents: M. D. Kagan, V. N. Ponyrko and M. V. Rozhdestvenskaia, 'Opisanie sbornikov XV v. knigopistsa Efrosina', *TODRL*, 35 (1980), 3-300.

¹⁸⁴ RNB, K.-B. 22/1099; on Efrosin's use of Kirill of Turov's sermons: Robert Romanchuk, 'Efrosin of Kirillov and the Paschal-Pentecost Cycle of Kirill of Turov', in *Kirill of Turov*, pp. 148-74. The manuscript is accessible digitally:

<<https://nlr.ru/manuscripts/RA1527/elektronnyy-katalog?ab=FD465248-96E0-400F-BEEB-52547FA6B8BF>> [accessed 28 June 2023].

¹⁸⁵ The *mytar'stva* description is found in an insert (fols 107^r-114^v) into copybook (*tetrad'*) 11 – following Novikova's schema – which dates to the mid-1470s: O. L. Novikova, 'Kodikologicheskoe izuchenie sbornika Efrosina Kir.-Bel. 22/1099', *Vestnik "Al'ians-Arkheo"*, 16 (2016), 3-37 (pp. 12-13).

¹⁸⁶ K.-B. 22/1099, fol. 112^r ('all cunning and untruth, [when] weighing with measures').

¹⁸⁷ K.-B. 22/1099, fol. 112^v ('this [is taken] from the life of St Theodora, who was the wet nurse [!] of Basil the Younger').

‘с[вя]т[а]го васи[ли]а о фео[д]оре и о [и]схо[де] д[у]ше о мы вземши[х] мя с[вя]таа а[н]ггела [?]’.¹⁸⁸ The rough copy (*cherniak*) is more explicit about the text, which contains the same number of tollhouses as in Basil’s *Life*: ‘мытарство. ка. фео[д]оры о д[у]ши ея’.¹⁸⁹ Evidently neither this index nor Efrosin could go back in time to affect Kirill’s views on *myt*; but both manuscripts do reflect how discourse around eschatological fiscal agents may have reached Beloozero. Indeed, against this background of demonic *mytari* and literate objections to unjust income, is it any surprise that Kirill sought to dissuade Andrei from collecting *myt*?

Fiscal counterfactuals: Tobit and the *tamozhniki*

So far, this chapter has focussed almost exclusively on terms that are etymologically Slavonic – *myto* and *mzda* – and their use to render terms from Greek and, more distantly, Hebrew. The only exception has been the juxtaposition of *mytar*’ with *torzhnye tamgi* in the *povesti* dedicated to Mikhail Aleksandrovich of Tver’; in this case, the *tamgi* were practical instruments of princely power, implicitly present in Mikhail’s (*v*)*otchina*, rather than Biblical or eschatological progenitors. The literate tentacles of Obolensky’s ‘Byzantine Commonwealth’ seem to exclude *tamga* from cultural contexts without trace – alongside its derivatives, it occupies an apparent blank space before the sixteenth century.

An exception to this silence, however, is again found in the Gennadii Bible, this time in the deuterocanonical Old Testament book of Tobit. Unlike earlier Biblical manuscripts, for certain books the Gennadii compilers drafted ‘new’ Slavonic translations not from the Septuagint, but from the Latin Vulgate; among them was Tobit.¹⁹⁰ Defining *tamozhnik*, the *Slovar’ russkogo iazyka XI-XVII vv.* attests two mistranslated verses in the Gennadii Tobit. In both instances, the copyists conflated the name of a poor Jewish man, Gabael (‘Gabelus’ in

¹⁸⁸ OKB, p. 28 (‘[of] St Basil about Theodora, and the departure of the soul, and of the holy angels taking [accompanying] me [?]’).

¹⁸⁹ OKB, p. 28, n. 74 (‘the 21 tollhouses of Theodora [surrounding] her soul’).

¹⁹⁰ Gerd Freidhof, *Vergleichende sprachliche Studien zur Gennadius-Bibel (1499) und Ostroger Bibel (1580/81)* (Frankfurt a.M.: Athenäum Verlag, 1972), p. 15; Lara Sels and Francis Thomson, ‘14.13 Tobit: Slavonic’, in *Textual History of the Bible*, ed. by Armin Lange and others, 2 vols (Leiden: Brill, 2016-19), II.2C, pp. 461-2 (p. 461).

Latin), with the Hebrew *gabbay*, and rendered it as *tamozhnik*.¹⁹¹ The first error, at 1.17, is precisely at the moment when Tobit lends Gabael ten talents of silver, '[Товит] имяше десять талантъ сребра, и егда въ мнозе народе рода своего таможника [*Gabelum egentem videret*] в нищете видяше...далъ тому...тягость сребра'.¹⁹² The second example given in the *Slovar'* – at 4.20 (4.21 in the Vulgate) – again reinforces this affiliation with money, 'накажутся еще, с[ы]ну мои, дати мне десять талантъ сребра, егда младенецъ бяше таможнику [*dum infantulus esses Gabelo*] въ Ранесъ граде Медеиске'.¹⁹³

In the absence of the original Gennadii text for Tobit,¹⁹⁴ the open question is whether the translators uniformly rendered *Gabelus* as *tamozhnik* each time the Latin name appeared in the Vulgate.¹⁹⁵ Gabael's role in Tobit is wholly grounded in the receipt and return of money, and this surely underpins the error; more crucially, however, the episodes in which he features express a different kind of fiscal activity to *mytar'*. In chapter 9, for instance, Gabael returns the money he has borrowed from Tobit, 'Gabael got up and counted out to him the money bags'¹⁹⁶ – he is not collecting tolls along routes. The confusion, however, may also reflect the wider cultural position of *tamozhnik* vis-à-vis other fiscal agents, and the parallels between *tamozhnik* and *gabbay*. Its use here necessarily reflects the semantic uncoupling of *tamga* from its Mongol origins by the late fifteenth century: regardless of how *tamozhniki* were conceived, the term was sufficiently broad by this point that it could encompass supposed tax collectors in Old Testament Judea. At the same time, the persistent identification of Gabael–*tamozhnik* with a specific place – in this case Rages – wholly mirrors how *gabbay* are presented in the Talmud, and how *tamozhniki* operated in late medieval

¹⁹¹ There are two figures called Gabael in Tobit: the first is one of Tobit's ancestors and appears only in 1.1; the second is lent ten talents of silver by Tobit, later repaying the money when Tobit himself is in need.

¹⁹² *SRIa*, XXIX, p. 213 ('[Tobit] had ten talents of silver, and when he saw a tax collector [sic] in poverty from among the many people of his tribe...he gave him [the tax collector]...the weight [sum?] of the silver'). Vulgate cited from: *Biblia sacra: iuxta Vulgatam versionem*, ed. by Bonifatius Fischer and Robert Weber, 2 vols, 2nd edn (Stuttgart: Württembergische Bibelanstalt, 1985).

¹⁹³ *SRIa*, XXIX, p. 213 ('and I will teach you, my son, that when I was young I gave ten talents of silver to a tax collector at the city of Rages in Media').

¹⁹⁴ The manuscript (GIM Sin. 915) is undigitised, and only partially published: see above, p. 141, n. 39.

¹⁹⁵ *Gabelus* appears ten times: 1.17, 4.21, 5.8, 5.14, 9.3, 9.6, 9.8, 10.2, 11.18, 12.3.

¹⁹⁶ Tobit 9.5.

Moscow. Both were figures of place, rather than positioned along routes: the Gennadii translators occupied a linguistic space buttressed by both Mongol and Rabbinic models.

Soon enough, the error was corrected. The printing of the Ostroh Bible in the late sixteenth century prompted a new interpretation of ‘Gabelus’, presumably after the Vulgate was cross-checked against the Septuagint:¹⁹⁷ in the Ostroh Bible, *Gavail* is consistently used to translate the name, turning the generic *tamozhnik* back into an identifiable character.¹⁹⁸ In the interim, however, the Gennadii mistake is testament to how fiscal terminology was still freighted with its semantic origins, even in a cultural landscape apparently divorced from institutional change: unlike *mytari*, Gabael and Tobit are ‘beloved kin’.¹⁹⁹ To one mistaken translator at least, it seems it was possible to be beloved kin with a *tamozhnik*.

Taxation and ‘domestic’ morality

In the *Domostroi*, a mid-sixteenth century manual concerned primarily with establishing ‘domestic’ morality among elite Muscovite households, *myt* appears twice as an immoral due. In §13, otherwise concerned with ‘How Men and Women Should Pray in Church, Preserve Their Chastity, and Do No Evil’, the reader is instructed on a range of occasions, including Sundays, holy days, Wednesdays, Fridays, and during Lent, to desist from *myt*:

...всегда беречися...[от] всякого неправеднаго собрания: и ростов, и корчмы, и мыта, и всякого лукавства не любити, и не гневаться ни на кого, и не помнити зла, и разбоя, и грабления, и всякого насилия, и неправеднаго суда отнюд не творити...²⁰⁰

¹⁹⁷ The Ostroh compilers initially intended to revise the Tobit translation entirely on the basis of LXX, but only reached the second verse before simply amending the earlier translation: Thomson, ‘Slavonic Translation’, pp. 677, 776.

¹⁹⁸ *Bibliia sirech knigy vetkhago i novago zaveta, po iasyku slovensku* (Ostroh: [Ivan Fedorov], 1581), 257^r, 258^r, 258^v, 259^v, 260^r, 260^v.

¹⁹⁹ Anatheia Portier-Young, ‘Alleviation of Suffering in the Book of Tobit: Comedy, Community, and Happy Endings’, *Catholic Biblical Quarterly*, 63 (2001), 35-54 (p. 50).

²⁰⁰ *Domostroi*, ed. by V. V. Kolesov and others (Moscow: Sovetskaia Rossiia, 1990), p. 41 (‘...[always] avoid...property acquired unjustly via usury, taverns, or tolls from roads and from bridges [?]. Do

This series of injunctions epitomises precisely the kinds of discourse under investigation in this chapter: following both the fourteenth-century Nazianzus manuscript and Kirill's *poslanie* in describing *myt* as *nepravednoe sobranie*, this provision in the *Domostroi* harks back to the much earlier duality found in the gospels between *myto* derivatives and terms in *-prav-*. Simultaneously, it juxtaposes unjust *myt* not only with the *grablenie* and *razboi* of pseudo-Chrysostom, but with another form of injustice, the corrupt court. Shortly afterwards, in §24 – entitled 'On the Unrighteous Life' (*O nepravendom zhitii*) – *myt* again features as *nepravednoe sobranie*, following an attack on those who 'непрямо судит'.²⁰¹

Kirill's *poslaniia* point the way to this kind of rule, perpetually predicated on justice. On a grand scale, of course, such notions were emphasised in the legitimising spectacles of the nascent Muscovite state.²⁰² Yet this justice – of *pravda* – was incompatible not merely with the bribery of *mzda*, but also with the toll collection of *myt*. This conflation may be reflected only in some of the earliest Slavonic texts, but it fed into the evolution of *myto* derivatives in later centuries. To be sure, it is difficult to extrapolate how widespread this discourse around *myto* derivatives was prior to the sixteenth century. But the legacy of Biblical, patristic and eschatological texts evidently did impinge on how the literate elite conceived of fiscal morality. *Mytari* – sometimes *mytoimtsi*, sometimes even *mytniki* – fulfilled a task considered rapacious, unjust and immoral. That they enjoyed a path to

not love any kind of deceit. Do not get angry. Do not remember evil. Do not rob, or pillage, or commit violence, or render an unjust judgment...', from: *The Domostroi: Rules for Russian Households in the Time of Ivan the Terrible*, ed. and trans. by Carolyn Johnston Pouncy (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1994), p. 88).

²⁰¹ *Domostroi*, p. 57 ('judges crookedly', *The Domostroi*, p. 120). Different recensions give different relationships between *myt* and *nepravednoe sobranie* in §24: while Kolesov's edition fails to attest *myt*, it is given in: 'Domostroi', in *Biblioteka literatury Drevnei Rusi*, ed. by D. S. Likhachev and others, 20 vols (St Petersburg: Nauka, 1997-2020), x, pp. 118-215 (p. 146); cf. commentary in: *Domostroj (Der Hausvater): christliche Lebensformen, Haushaltung und Ökonomie im alten Rußland*, ed. and trans. by Gerhard Birkfellner (Osnabrück: Zeller, 1998), I, pp. 184-5, n. 12; pp. 365-6, n. 17.

²⁰² On the grand princes' profession of justice during their coronations, beginning with the 1498 ceremony for Ivan III's son Dmitrii: Alexandra Vukovich, 'How Byzantine Was the Moscow Inauguration of 1498?', in *Byzantium in Eastern European Culture in the Late Middle Ages*, ed. by Maria Alessia Rossi and Alice Isabella Sullivan (Leiden: Brill, 2020), pp. 36-70 (esp. pp. 51-65).

righteousness did not preclude toll collecting being judged harshly, in either Judea or late medieval Moscow.

To conclude simply that *mytari* were untrustworthy would be to oversimplify how the use of *myto* derivatives conspired to undercut *myt* as a legitimate source of income. From the Gennadii error in Tobit, it would appear that *tamozhniki* did not suffer a similar fate, despite their linguistic ‘foreignness’. But then is that not precisely the point? *Tamga*, collected first by the Mongols and then appropriated by Moscow, had far less semantic work to do. To say that *mokes* became *mytar*, and *gabbay* became *tamozhnik*, is to wildly overstate the linguistic traces linking these terms, and the relative praise for *gabbay* in the Rabbinic literature. There is, however, something in their practical commonalities that holds true. As is clear from the last chapter, to divide toll collector from tax collector was indeed possible in fifteenth-century Moscow – it was a divide mapped in the interplay of *myt* and *tamga*.

Soon enough, that division would fall away, at least to external observers. Twice an anonymous sixteenth-century lectionary of Slavonic terms in Early New High German equates *tamozhnik* with *Zöllner*, and *tamozhnye den’gi* with *Zollgeld*: ‘Tamosnück [:] Ein tolner’, ‘Tamosny dengy – tollgeldt’.²⁰³ Broadly contemporaneously, it is *Zöllner* that would render *telōnes* in Luther’s Bible, with a marginal note that these figures were ‘commonly godless heathens’.²⁰⁴ Given the opprobrium directed at unjust *myt* in Slavonic, however, is the semantic dominance of *tamga* surprising? My suggestion is that *myto* derivatives suffered a kind of linguistic ostracisation that allowed *tamga* to gain hold as the primary source of terminology around trading taxes. The open, unresolvable question is how far this affected rulers’ own practice. Did Andrei Dmitrievich of Beloozero, for example, follow Kirill’s criticisms of *myt* and not collect it?

The Beloozero charters discussed in chapter II give no clear answer. But if Muscovite rulers did collect *tamga* at the expense of *myt*, this response was diametrically opposite to

²⁰³ “Ein Rusch Boeck...”: ein russisch-deutsches anonymes Wörter- und Gesprächsbuch aus dem XVI. Jahrhundert, ed. by Adam Fałowski (Cologne: Böhlau, 1994), pp. 44, 62 (fols 23^r, 36^v) (‘*tamozhnik* [:] a toll collector’; ‘*tamozhnye dengi*: toll [customs] money’).

²⁰⁴ Cf. Matthew 5.46: *Biblia: Das ist: Die gantze Heilige Schrift*, trans. by Martin Luther (Hans Lufft: Wittenberg, 1545), fol. 246^r (‘gemeiniglich gottlose Heiden’); cf. *Stuttgarter Erklärungsbibel: die Heilige Schrift nach der Übersetzung Martin Luthers*, [n.ed.] (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 1992), p. 1176.

their counterparts in the Middle East and Central Asia, for whom *tamga* undercut Islamic doctrine on taxation – it was uncanonical *maks*. That *m-k-s* is the root used to render *telōnes* in the Syriac gospels gestures at forms of cultural transmission through both time and space in western Eurasia, far beyond the Slavonic world.²⁰⁵ But that question is for the next chapter. For now it is enough to say that *myto* derivatives proved themselves too unjust for late medieval Moscow – or in the case of eschatological toll collectors, near literal ‘мелочи к черту’, to be thrown to the devil.

²⁰⁵ Cf. the Peshitta version of Matthew 5.46: *The Syriac Peshitta Bible with English Translation: Matthew*, ed. by George A. Kiraz and trans. by Jeff W. Childers (Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias Press, 2012), p. 24.

IV Īlkhānid and Tīmūrid *tamghā*: contested Chinggisid legacies

The king who harasses merchants
Closes the door of well-being on the city and the army...
If you want renown and approval for goodness
Negotiate with merchants and porters fairly...¹

Sa'dī, *Būstān*

The thirteenth-century Persian poet Sa'dī (d. c. 1292), writing his *Būstān* ('Orchard') at Shiraz as the Mongols neared ever closer to the gates of Baghdad to the north-west, offered advice to the dedicatee of his work – the Salghurid *atabeg* of Fars, Abū Bakr ibn Sa'd (1226-60) – on the value of trade. The political message is straightforward: merchants were not to be trifled with. To assume that a ruler could extract trading wealth *ad infinitum* was to ignore merchants' position in networks of mobility that would allow them to simply avoid a fiscally stringent market, swiftly depriving it of income. As elsewhere in Eurasia, the Mongol invasions of the Middle East represented a turning point in Iranian history, with rulers like Abū Bakr ibn Sa'd moving to promptly accommodate the khans' power: the *atabeg* had already offered to pay an annual tribute to placate Ögödei, and this arrangement of 'mediated suzerainty' continued as Mongol forces under the latter's nephew Hülegü (d. 1265) established more permanent forms of authority as the Īlkhāns.² While certain dynasties managed to maintain a degree of standing under their new rulers, this continuity did not extend invariably to forms of governance, which incorporated novelties in line with the khans' dictates – novelties that included *tamghā* (تمغا).

This thesis hence ends by zooming in to another region of Eurasia, but in pursuit of the concerns that run through all the previous chapters: the relationship between language, power and space, and the capacity of political actors to fashion new forms of authority. As

¹ *The Orchard: The Bostan of Saadi of Shiraz*, trans. by Mirza Aqil-Hussain Barlas (London: Octagon Press, 1998), p. 27.

² Peter Jackson, *The Mongols and the Islamic World: From Conquest to Conversion* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2017), pp. 245-53.

throughout this thesis, *tamghā* acts as a through-line to explore the interplay of such questions across time and space. The Īlkhāns' capacity to maintain an integrated polity collapsed after the death of the khan Abū Sa'īd (1316-35), but their legacy ran much longer. Turco-Mongol ideals of rule persisted into the later medieval period – first among the Iranian dynasties of the fourteenth century (the Chūpānids, the Jalāyirids), but then most prominently under the conquering warlord Tīmūr, or Tamerlane (d. 1405), and his successors.

The geographical range of this chapter shifts according to these fluid sites of dynastic power. While the Īlkhāns eventually established their capital at Tabriz, in the north-west of present-day Iran, their most renowned Tīmūrid successors enjoyed heartlands far to the north and east: first, in the economic and cultural centres of Transoxiana (*Mā vārā' al-nahr*, or *Farārūd*) at Samarqand and Bukhara; and then, at the similarly booming city of Herat in Khorasan. As will become evident, running across these spatially disparate locations was an acknowledgement of Chinggisid heritage, despite later rulers' status as *qarachū*, or 'commoners', not descended from Chinggis Khan himself.³ As for the Slavonic lands, the question of Mongol influence in Iran has often been viewed as a zero-sum game, a binary 'clash of civilisations' that pitches nomadic and Islamic forms of life against each other.⁴

The question of how far these traditions instead became – to use Charles Melville's term – institutional 'partners in crime', at least for rulers who sought to profit fiscally from the territories under their control, underpins my exploration of *tamghā* in this chapter.⁵ In this vein, I follow (among others) Michael Hope's recent work in asking how those legacies may have been more syncretic, rather than Islam constituting a hegemonic 'ideological pivot' of both the Īlkhāns after the khan Ghāzān's (1295-1304) conversion, as well as their successors.⁶ More widely, the debates around later polities' Mongol inheritance, and the role of *tamghā* within that discourse – not least as set against their Islamic faith – can be

³ Evrim Binbaş, 'The Timurids and the Mongol Empire', in *The Mongol World*, ed. by Timothy May and Michael Hope (London: Routledge, 2022), pp. 936-52 (pp. 936-7).

⁴ For a recent effort to overcome this bind: *The Mongols' Middle East: Continuity and Transformation in Ilkhanid Iran*, ed. by Bruno de Nicola and Charles Melville (Leiden: Brill, 2016), esp. pp. 1-10.

⁵ Charles Melville, 'Concepts of Government and State Formation in Mongol Iran', in *Iran After the Mongols*, ed. by Sussan Babaie (London: I. B. Tauris, 2019), pp. 33-54 (p. 40).

⁶ Michael Hope, *Power, Politics, and Tradition in the Mongol Empire and the Ilkhanate of Iran* (Oxford: OUP, 2016), p. 199.

distinguished from the vow of silence pervading Muscovite sources, where any appropriation of, or engagement with, ‘nomadic’ models is absent from the chronicle evidence.

This chapter hence employs a range of published documents⁷ – some of which have fallen into scholarly obscurity since they were first edited – to sketch the outlines of that evolution. Progressing linearly across the two centuries that followed the Mongol invasions of Iran, my analysis nonetheless clusters around two particular moments: first, the aftermath of Ghāzān’s reforms to the Ilkhānid ‘state’ at the start of the fourteenth century, which aimed to improve the efficiency of its bureaucratic apparatus; and second, the arguments that raged under Tīmūr’s successors from 1440 onwards around the morality and legitimacy of *tamghā* in Islam. The broad temporal scope of this chapter necessarily leaves some questions open for future research: in my conclusion, I highlight the continued importance of commercial levies labelled *tamghā* to the ‘gunpowder’ empires – Ottoman, Safavid and Mughal – that emerged in the early modern period.

Much of this thesis has been rooted in connective paradigms of global history, to explore how models were transmitted across apparent cultural boundaries in late medieval Eurasia. This chapter continues in a similar vein – to trace how *tamghā*, a ‘foreign’ Mongol tax, emerged in Iran, and was appropriated by post-Mongol rulers – but also adds a comparative dimension, in asking how this evolution differed from, or was similar to, concurrent changes in Moscow. Such a methodological shift is partly guided by the available sources: to ask what the limits of *tamghā* were in a political space created by nomadic imperialism. But it also reflects a deeper ambition to challenge what global historical ideas can *do* when applied to the pre-modern world. To return to the third of the goals I set out in the introduction to this thesis, studying the ‘Global Middle Ages’ cannot just be to compare the ‘West versus the rest’; what happens when the West is removed from the comparative epistemological equation? By comparing Rus’ and Iran directly, rather than modulating these regions through the yardstick of Latin Christendom, I aim to scope out a new and productive scale of analysis for thinking through the political and cultural developments of pre-modern Eurasia.

⁷ For a summary of sources published before 1980: Bert G. Fragner, *Repertorium persischer Herrscherurkunden* (Freiburg i. Br.: Klaus Schwarz, 1980), pp. 19-51.

Beginnings, again: initial strategies of Īlkhānid power

On his arrival in Baghdad, Hülegü was confronted with an ‘Abbāsid caliphate that since the reign of the Būyids (934-1062) had enjoyed only nominal power over the territories it purported to control. Its effective authority had instead devolved to a series of dynasties – most notably, from the mid-eleventh century onwards, the Seljukid sultans, but also to families like Abū Bakr ibn Sa’d’s, the Salghurids, who ruled over the southern region of Fars. To use Bosworth’s famous phrase, this ‘caliphal fiction’ bound temporal rulers to ‘Abbāsid authority by force of charismatic display, rather than through effective power.’⁸

The Seljuks, of course, were Oghuz Turks who had themselves invaded the Iranian plateau from the steppe, two centuries before the Mongols did; as they embraced the religion of their new subjects, however, in terms of policy the sultans increasingly followed what Ann Lambton called an ‘Islamic ethic’.⁹ Taxation was no different. Prior to the Mongol invasions, Seljukid fiscal practice primarily focussed on land according to the division set out in the Qur’ān (*‘ushr*, *kharāj*, *jizya*); however, in practice non-canonical taxes were also applied, especially on trading, under the heading of *maks* (pl. *mukūs*) or *rusūm* (‘levies’).¹⁰ Opposition to *maks* was rooted above all in *ḥadīth* traditions; for instance, according to Abū Dāwūd’s collection, the Prophet Muḥammad had stipulated that ‘the collector of *maks* will not enter paradise’.¹¹ The most famous source for Seljukid bureaucracy, the vizier Niẓām al-Mulk’s (d. 1092) *Siyāsatnāme* (‘The Book of Politics’), meanwhile, discusses tax collectors and revenue extensively, but primarily records levies on rural production (‘if he [the tax collector] has taken more than his due from the peasants...’¹²). Nonetheless, some non-land taxes evidently were applied by Seljukid rulers. In 1108, for instance, the Seljuk sultan Muḥammad ibn Malik Shāh (Tāpār, 1105-18) repealed the *mukūs* at Baghdad, but when he

⁸ C. E. Bosworth, ‘Abbāsid Caliphate’, *EIr*

<<https://iranicaonline.org/articles/abbasid-caliphate>> [accessed 25 April 2023].

⁹ Ann K. S. Lambton, *Continuity and Change in Medieval Persia* (London: I. B. Tauris, 1988), p. 199.

¹⁰ A. K. S. Lambton, ‘The Internal Structure of the Saljuq Empire’, in *CHI* V, pp. 203-82 (p. 249).

¹¹ *Sunan Abī Dāwūd*, ed. by Aḥmad Sa’d ‘Alī, 2 vols ([Cairo]: Maktabat wa Maṭab‘at Muṣṭafā al-Bābī al-Ḥalabī, 1952), II, p. 120.

لا يدخل الجنة صاحب المكس

See also: W. J. Björkmann, ‘Maks’, *EI²*, VI, pp. 194-5.

¹² *The Book of Government or Rules for Kings: the Siyar al-muluk or Siyasat-nama of Nizam al-Mulk*, trans. by Hubert Darke, 3rd edn (Abingdon: Routledge, 2002), p. 23. See also: pp. 32, 159.

left the city they were promptly reinstated;¹³ presumably local elites were too dependent – ‘stubbornly’ so, as has been suggested of *mukūs* under the ‘Abbāsids¹⁴ – on the revenue.

The tension between Islamic tradition and financial exigency was hence no novelty; in this section, I explore how that relationship evolved into the Mongol era of Iranian history. Lambton’s studies of taxation across the Seljukid and Īlkhānid eras, however, skew heavily towards land- and population-based levies (especially the interaction of *qubchūr* with pre-existing dues).¹⁵ Here, I aim to redress that balance by taking trade into account, although the surviving information from the early Īlkhānid period is remarkably limited in specifics.¹⁶ To that end, this section details attestations of *tamghā* up to the reign of Ghāzān, and the reforms he undertook to improve his realms’ governance after converting to Islam.

To believe the narrative sources – admittedly the product of a Persian bureaucratic milieu – early Mongol authority in Iran embodied few top-down manifestations of statecraft. Partly, this flowed from perpetual military campaigns: after their capture of Baghdad, Hülegü’s armies reached as far as northern Palestine before the Mamlūks halted their advance at ‘Ayn Jālūt in September 1260. Against the background of a collapsing Great Khanate, the Mamlūks found allies in the Jochid khans, who had turned against their Mongol relatives to also resist the Īlkhāns’ advance.¹⁷ Under Hülegü’s successors, many of those campaigns focussed on Anatolia, encompassing Īlkhānid efforts to expand their control westwards into what had been the Seljukid sultanate of Rūm.

¹³ Lambton, ‘Internal Structure’, p. 250; cf. *The History of the Seljuk Turks from the Jāmi’ al-Tawārikh*, ed. by C. Edmund Bosworth and trans. by Kenneth Allin Luther (Richmond: Curzon Press, 2001), p. 73.

¹⁴ Frede Løkkegaard, *Islamic Taxation in the Classical Period* (Copenhagen: Branner & Korch, 1950), p. 186.

¹⁵ Lambton, *Continuity and Change*, pp. 199-208; A. K. S. Lambton, ‘Mongol Fiscal Administration in Persia’, *Studia Islamica*, 64 (1986), 79-99; 65 (1987), 97-123.

¹⁶ On early Īlkhānid fiscal practice: Bertold Spuler, *Die Mongolen in Iran*, 2nd edn (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1955), pp. 306-16; Abdul-Kerim Ali-Zade, *Sotsial’no-ekonomicheskaiia i politicheskaiia istoriia Azerbaidzhana XIII-XIV vv.* (Baku: Izdatel’stvo Akademii nauk Azerbaidzhanskoi SSR, 1956), pp. 290-300.

¹⁷ On the diplomatic and military manoeuvring around this conflict: Reuven Amitai-Preiss, *Mongols and Mamluks: The Mamluk-Īlkhānid War, 1260-1281* (Cambridge: CUP, 1995), esp. pp. 106-38.

Initially, however, the earliest indications of *tamghā* under the Toluid khans – the Mongol line descended from Chinggis Khan’s fourth son, Tolui, and which included the Īlkhāns – come not from the Iranian heartlands, but from those areas in the Caucasus that would eventually become a key frontier zone between the Īlkhāns and their Jochid rivals. The Georgian chronicle, *K’art’lis c’xovreba*, for instance, records a Mongol agent called Khvāja Azīz arriving at Tbilisi in the 1250s and imposing a ‘*kharaj*...which they [the Mongols] call *t’amgha*, on the purchase of sheep or lambs for the King’s kitchen’.¹⁸ Evidently the notion of *tamghā* was new to the chronicler (‘which they call’), but even at this stage the emphasis – as seen throughout this thesis – was on exchange.

Similar processes occurred in Armenia. In 1263, for example, *tamghāchī* feature on an inscription at Ani stating that:

...by the grace of God, we *tamghāchī*, thanks to the long life of our patrons, the *ṣāhib-e dīvān*, [and] Sakhmadin and Karimadin [sic], have exempted from the priests of Ani the levy [of] *bāj*.¹⁹

Even at this early stage, the agents’ role had been integrated under that of the *ṣāhib-e dīvān*, who led the chancery (*dīvān*); the latter term is attested across the Islamic world to denote a range of bodies, especially those responsible for raising revenue. Within the syncretic mode of tax farming – incorporating both ‘Mongol’ and ‘Islamic’ forms – there is apparent fluidity in the responsibilities of the *tamghāchī*. Despite their name, they were able to exempt *bāj*, ‘toll[s]’. The latter term, derived from Sanskrit *bhāj*, would recur periodically in both Īlkhānid and Tīmūrid practice, but notably inconsistently relative to *tamghā*.²⁰

¹⁸ Cited in Nicholas S. M. Matheou, ‘Merchant Capital, Taxation & Urbanisation. The City of Ani in the Global Long Thirteenth Century’, *Medieval Worlds*, 14 (2021), 76-116 (p. 99).

¹⁹ Cited and translated in: L. O. Babaian, *Sotsial’no-ekonomicheskaiia i politicheskaiia istoriia Armenii v XIII-XIV vekakh* (Moscow: Nauka, 1969), p. 174 (original in Armenian – which I do not read – at: *Letopis’ na kamniakh*, ed. by K. Konstantians (St Petersburg: Tipografiia Imperatorskoi Akademii nauk, 1913), p. 106). See also: Bayarsaikhan Dashdondog, *The Mongols and the Armenians (1220-1335)* (Leiden: Brill, 2011), p. 114.

²⁰ Steingass, p. 136.

Yet precisely when *tamghā* emerged as a fiscal form in Iran itself is as opaque as in Yuan China: feasibly it was introduced as early as the reign of Hülegü, but there is scant direct evidence for such an innovation.²¹ The early Persian-language chronicler of the Mongol invasions, Juvaynī (d. 1283), listing attributes of Chinggisid rule familiar from China and Rus', notes in his *Tārīkh-e jāhāngūshā* ('History of the World Conqueror') merely that:

...they [the Mongols] have exempted and dispensed the most learned of every religion from every kind of occasional tax ('*avāriḡāt*) and from the inconvenience of contributions (*mu'an*); their pious foundations...have also been recognized as immune [*mu'āf va musallam dāshte-and*].²²

The word choices reflect the guiding principle of Mongol fiscal policy towards religious communities, also evident in the Ani inscription's exemption of priests from *bāj*: they are *musallam* from taxation, albeit expressed in a wholly general way (*mu'an*). A similar reference to *mu'an* later appears alongside the various levies identified by Schurmann and Masson Smith as touchstones of Mongol taxation (*qubchūr*, *ikhrājāt*, *ulāgh*, '*ulūfāt*'), although *tamghā* remains unattested.²³ Yet the same section of Juvaynī's text also uses another term, *māl* (literally 'wealth, property'; pl. *amvāl*), charged 'in addition to' other dues and the '*qupchur* [sic] charges [*isqāl-e qubchūrī*]'.²⁴ Several Mongol innovations are likewise recorded. When Hülegü appointed Juvaynī as governor of Baghdad, for instance, an inheritance tax was still in force; Mongol practice, however, did not permit 'the property of a dead man [to be] admitted to the treasury [*khazāne*]'.²⁵ Juvaynī also records himself removing tolls (*bāj-hā*) in Shustar and Bayat, regions in present-day Khuzestan, in southwestern Iran; however, there is again no mention of *tamghā*, or a rationale for the decision to abolish the levies. Moreover, Juvaynī generally describes tax collectors using the overarching Arabic-derived term '*āmīl* (pl. '*ummāl*'), without any further specification:²⁶ *tamghāchī* are absent.

²¹ Jackson, *Mongols and the Islamic World*, p. 112.

²² HWC, pp. 15-16; TJG, I, p. 11. Here and below, words in square brackets are my own interpolations.

²³ HWC, p. 30; TJG, I, p. 22.

²⁴ HWC, p. 34; TJG, I, p. 25.

²⁵ HWC, p. 34; TJG, I, p. 25. *Khazāne* shares its root with Russian *kazna*.

²⁶ HWC, p. 114; TJG, I, p. 89.

In Juvaynī's descriptions of Chinggisid policy – mirroring Rashīd al-Dīn's depiction of Mongol taxes in China, as explored in chapter I – a double linguistic game occurs. Juvaynī is not only 'reporting' events as he understood them, but also extrapolating them into the worldview of a Persian-speaking bureaucrat. In that sense, it might be expected that *tamghā* is absent from these descriptions; but it is also missing from his record of Hülegü's initial years as Īlkhān, up to the end of the *Tārīkh* in 1260. *Tamghā* was seemingly not a familiar term to Juvaynī, or at least not so familiar that he used it to 'fit' earlier Mongol practice, as Rashīd al-Dīn would do. *Tamghā*, it seems, was not introduced conceptually to the 'central' areas of Īlkhānid power until well after Hülegü's capture of Baghdad.

Various sources offer glimpses of Īlkhānid policies following Juvaynī. His closest successor was the panegyrist Vaṣṣāf, who composed his history at the turn of the fourteenth century.²⁷ Although intended as a continuation of the *Tārīkh-e jāhāngūshā*, Vaṣṣāf's text is famously opaque, to the point that the Īlkhān Öljeitü (1304-16) professed himself unable to understand it; to adopt Edward Granville Browne's marginal note in the Cambridge copy of the Bombay lithograph: '[the] author's primary object is not to write *history*, but *ornate prose*' (his emphasis).²⁸ Nonetheless, beneath the florid style lie indications of late thirteenth-century fiscal practice, albeit rarely expressed in terms of *tamghā*, with Vaṣṣāf following Juvaynī in mainly using generic terms like *'ummāl* and *amvāl*.²⁹ Yet Vaṣṣāf's history does occasionally reveal conceptions of *tamghā*: describing fiscal practices at Shiraz under the Salghurid Sa'd I (1198-1226), he remarks pseudo-nostalgically that 'at that time there were no *tamghās* [*tamghāvāt*], nor pigeon post [?], nor fiscal codes, nor *qubchūr*...'.³⁰ Despite otherwise framing fiscal activity in terms derived from earlier Islamic practice, Vaṣṣāf was clearly familiar with Mongol forms like *tamghā* and *qubchūr* – albeit not entirely positively.

Less tricky are the works of the bureaucrat Rashīd al-Dīn. Even besides his *Jāmi' al-tavārikh* ('Compendium of Chronicles'), also written in the early fourteenth century – and

²⁷ On Vaṣṣāf: P. Jackson, 'Vaṣṣāf, *El*², XI, p. 174.

²⁸ Cambridge University Library, Moh.650.b.8, [TV], p. 145; abridged text: *Tahrīr-e tārikh-e Vaṣṣāf*, ed. by 'Abd al-Muḥammad Āyatī (Tehran: Bunyād-e farhang-e Īrān, 1346 [1967]).

²⁹ For instance: TV, pp. 158, 193, 207, 268-9, 320, 347, 404, 495; GW, II, pp. 25, 106, 139; III, pp. 27-8, 149, 217; IV, pp. 27, 263.

³⁰ TV, p. 161; GW, II, p. 34.

تمعاءوات را [sic] و طیارات و قوانین دیوان و قفجور [sic]...نشده

which narratively positions Mongol Iran in world history – he is unsurprisingly attentive to the institutional evolutions of his time. In a text attributed to Rashīd al-Dīn entitled *Āthār wa aḥyā'* ('Monuments and Living Things'), for instance, *tamghāchī* are described in charge of tea in China under Qubilai Khan: the tea leaves were crushed, packaged and stamped by the *tamghāchī*. Only with such a stamp could the tea be legally sold.³¹ While the description does not concern Iran, it seems to imply an appreciation among the Persian literate elite of where the fiscal term originated – namely as a stamp or seal. At the same time, Rashīd al-Dīn's prowess as a chronicler was recognised in the centuries following his death: the Tīmūrid historian Khvāndamīr's (c. 1475-1536) epic history *Ḥabīb al-siyār* ('The Beloved of Careers'), discussed in greater detail later in this chapter, would make significant use of the *Jāmi'* for this period of Ilkhānid history.

Like Vaṣṣāf, in the *Jāmi'* Rashīd al-Dīn initially situates *tamghā* in its historical lineage: commenting on the reign of the caliph al-Nāṣir (d. 1225) at Baghdad, the *Jāmi'* records that he 'took away the sales tax [*ḥaqq al-bai'*] that had been imposed on the people, like the *tamghā* of these times...it had produced much revenue [*māl*]'.³² The relationship between *tamghā* and exchange was so ingrained by the early fourteenth century that Rashīd al-Dīn felt able to insert it into the caliph's speech: 'henceforth no sales tax [*tamghā*] shall be taken from any creature'.³³ His first mention of *tamghā* as an Ilkhānid commercial tax comes during the reign of Hülegü's son Abaqa (1265-82), who in September 1277 despatched Juvaynī's brother, Khvāja Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad – first appointed vizier under Hülegü – to Anatolia in the aftermath of various conflicts. According to the *Jāmi'*, Shams al-Dīn's efforts to re-establish authority over these lands involved introducing *tamghā*: 'he [*ṣāhib* Shams al-Dīn] went and restored the ruined cities to habitation. He also imposed the *tamghā*

³¹ A. K. S. Lambton, 'The *Āthār wa aḥyā'* of Rashīd al-Dīn Faḍl Allāh Hamadānī and His Contribution as an Agronomist, Arboriculturist and Horticulturalist', in *The Mongol Empire and its Legacy*, ed. by Reuven Amitai-Preiss and David O. Morgan (Brill: Leiden, 1999), pp. 126-54 (p. 143).

³² CC, p. 164; TMG, I, p. 419. Note also the continued use of *tamghā* to mean 'stamp' or 'seal': CC, pp. 23-6; TMG, I, pp. 54-8, where *tamghā* is juxtaposed with *nishān*, the etymologically Persian word for a sign or mark; and CC, p. 458; TMG, II, p. 1160, on documents sealed with a *tamghā*. See also: CC, pp. 29, 314, 507-8; TMG, I, pp. 66; II, pp. 805, 1305-6.

³³ CC, p. 164; TMG, I, p. 419.

tax in Anatolia, although it had not been customary'.³⁴ Even at this stage, there is a clear link between *tamghā* and urban wealth: although local merchants were presumably less happy to see it extracted, Rashīd al-Dīn's implication is that its introduction marked a new stage in the governance of Mongol Anatolia, taking it from a state of destruction to one of prosperity (*ḥāl-e 'amārat*).

Importantly, the *Jāmi'* also details events otherwise buried by Vaṣṣāf under reams of panegyric bombast – some of which further elucidate the connection between *tamghā* and exchange. Most notably, in 1294, Gaykhatu Khan's (1291-5) vizier Ṣadr al-Dīn Zanjānī attempted to introduce paper currency (the *chao*) along Chinese lines; the effort, swiftly abandoned, nonetheless caused 'commercial transactions [*mu'āmalāt*] and tax revenues [*tamghā-hā*] [to] completely [fall] away'.³⁵ Seen from two centuries later, Khvāndamīr likewise records how the introduction of paper money caused havoc at Tabriz, with commercial transactions drying up, and the *ṣāhib-e dīvān* advising Gaykhatu of the reduction in income from *tamghā* (*fiqdān-e ḥaṣil-e tamghā*).³⁶ The collapse was not merely a blip, but a threat to the stability of Īlkhānid governance.

Beyond these narrative records, however, little evidence survives of how Iranian *tamghā* was collected in practice. One very early indication is found in a tract on financial affairs written by the thirteenth-century scholar Naṣīr al-Dīn Ṭūsī.³⁷ Ṭūsī's text – which purports to detail fiscal practice for an unnamed ruler (*pādishāh*), although most likely either Hülegü or Abaqa – divides the ruler's income into four categories: what they receive from family members as inheritance; from the 'taxes of his subjects' (*māl-e ra'īyyat*); from

³⁴ CC, p. 382; TMG, II, p. 978; cf. GW, I, pp. 112-13 (Arabic); pp. 117-18 (eastern Arabic).

On these events and those below: Abū al-Faḍl Raḥavī, *Shahr, siyāsat va iqtisād dar 'ahd-e īlkhānān* (Tehran: Amīr kabīr, 1388 [2009/10]), pp. 324-8.

³⁵ CC, p. 414; TMG, II, p. 1058; cf. TV, pp. 271-5; GW, III, pp. 33-43, although Vaṣṣāf does not describe the episode using *tamghā*.

³⁶ HS^{III}, p. 137; Kh, p. 77. On this incident: Patrick Wing, "Rich in Goods and Abounding in Wealth." The Ilkhanid and Post-Ilkhanid Ruling Elite and the Politics of Commercial Life at Tabriz 1250-1400', in *Politics, Patronage and the Transmission of Knowledge in 13th-15th Century Tabriz*, ed. by Judith Pfeiffer (Leiden: Brill, 2014), pp. 301-20 (pp. 313-15).

³⁷ See George E. Lane's article in *EIr*:

<<https://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/tusi-nasir-al-din>> [accessed 25 April 2023].

‘lawful exertions’ (*kafāyat*), like cultivating new areas of land; and from ‘good fortune’, such as gifts from other rulers.³⁸

Included in the second category were charges on merchants (*ahl-e māl va tujjārat*). Most of the time, nothing is taken from them; if it is, a levy is made on their assets (*aṣl-e māl*), at a rate of 1 dinar in 240, to be set (*muqarrar*) as the *māl-e tamghā*. Ṭūsī further elucidates this practice: ‘after Chinggis Khan’s time [this] became known as *tamghā* [*be-tamghā mashhūr shude*]’.³⁹ This persistent use of *māl* parallels later practice in denoting taxation as well as ‘wealth’;⁴⁰ more importantly, in its focus on property rather than exchange, and in its very low rate, Ṭūsī’s treatise diverges from nearly all the other evidence for *tamghā*. One explanation is that, if the text was indeed compiled under early Ilkhānid rule in Iran, this form of extraction acted as a stopgap until the introduction of a more intensive fiscal regime. Meanwhile, given the lack of evidence for *tamghā* being extracted anywhere in the Mongol Empire under Chinggis himself, the recourse to such earlier practice is surely rhetorical: as with the *yāsā*, the Mongol ‘law code’, it could be invoked as common ground throughout the khanates.⁴¹ In contrast to the attestation of *tamghā* as part of a ruler’s legitimate income, Ṭūsī – in keeping not only with Juvaynī’s actions as governor, but also with the eventual position of Slavonic writers – categorically opposes tolls (*bāj*) and other dues to be paid along routes. Such taxes are listed among four groups of taxes (*chahār māl*) which ‘the great kings abhorred’. As so often, *why* is not spelled out; it may, however, have been an attempt to entice merchants by ensuring that their routes were not blocked – in other words to collect tax only from wealth or, later, at points of exchange.

A different conception of *tamghā* is found in an early accounting manual, the *al-Murshid fī al-Ḥisāb* (‘A Guide to Counting’), written by the bureaucrat Ḥasan ibn ‘Alī in

³⁸ M. Minovi and V. Minorsky, ‘Naṣīr al-Dīn Ṭūsī on Finance’, *BSOAS*, 10 (1940), 755-89 (pp. 758, 771). Cf. Minobu Honda, ‘Gazan han no zeisei kaikaku’ [= ‘Tax System Reform of Ghazan Khan’], in *Mongoru jidaishi kenkyū* (Tokyo: Tōkyō Daigaku Shuppankai, 1991), pp. 261-322 (pp. 283, 286-7).

³⁹ Minovi and Minorsky, pp. 761, 773.

⁴⁰ On the genealogy of *māl* in Iranian bureaucracy: I. P. Petrushevskii, *Zemledelie i agraryne otnosheniia v Irane XII-XIV vekov* (Moscow: Izdatel’sstvo Akademii nauk SSSR, 1960), pp. 373-4.

⁴¹ For a summary of the debate around the *yāsā*, first prompted by David Ayalon: David Morgan, ‘The “Great Yasa of Chinggis Khan” Revisited’, in *Mongols, Turks, and Others: Eurasian Nomads and the Sedentary World*, ed. by Reuven Amitai and Michal Biran (Leiden: Brill, 2005), pp. 291-308.

1291-2 under Gaykhatu Khan; parts of the manuscript, which is preserved in Tehran, have recently been published by Ryōko Watabe.⁴² The manual foreshadows, albeit in less detail, the handbooks considered in the next section of this chapter; it offers various sample fiscal documents, in this case from Yazd in central Iran. In particular, the sections of the *Murshid* include one devoted to the ‘accounting of *tamghā*’ (*muḥāsabāt-e tamghā*), as well as listing *tamghā* alongside *qubchūr* and *māl* in the overall tax assessments.⁴³ In the latter, a *tamghā* of 57,800 dinars is collected from three sources: markets (*al-aswāq*), including the generic ‘bazaar’, the slave market (*sūq al-raqīq*) and the donkey market (*sūq al-ḥamīr*); (city) gates (*al-durūb*); and a category called *al-ṭayyārāt*, identified by Ṭūsī as ‘casual revenue’, such as from someone dying intestate.⁴⁴ In the *Murshid*, unlike in Ṭūsī’s treatise, these revenues are all listed under *tamghā*. More generally, of course, this *tamghā* bears a much closer resemblance to the evidence from elsewhere in Eurasia: in its emphasis on markets and centres of exchange, it parallels practice on the Black Sea littoral (and, in China, the collection of *shangshui*).

Whether the *Murshid*’s stipulations were borne out in practice is a different matter. To believe Rashīd al-Dīn, only with the accession of Ghāzān as Īlkhān in 1295 – and his conversion to Islam – did Mongol rule in Iran move from institutional disarray to ordered bureaucracy. That Rashīd al-Dīn served as Ghāzān’s vizier imbues the *Jāmi‘ al-tavārīkh* with a tendency to sharply demarcate Īlkhānid politics before and after Ghāzān:⁴⁵ it details extensively not only the khan’s conversion, but also his political reforms.⁴⁶ In his paean at the end of the most famous part of the *Jāmi‘*, entitled *Tārīkh-e mubārak-e Ghāzānī* (‘History of the Blessed Ghāzān’), Rashīd al-Dīn enumerates the various attributes that made Ghāzān a just, fair ‘ruler of Islam’ (*pādishāh-e islām*).

⁴² Ryōko Watabe, ‘Census-Taking and the *Qubchūr* Taxation System in Ilkhanid Iran: An Analysis of the Census Book from the Late 13th Century Persian Accounting Manual *al-Murshid fī al-Ḥisāb*’, *Memoirs of the Toyo Bunko*, 73 (2015), 27-63. Watabe has also published widely on the manuals discussed later in this chapter, although most of her work remains untranslated from Japanese.

⁴³ Watabe, p. 37.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 37, 52; Minovi and Minorsky, pp. 761, 774.

⁴⁵ On this ‘ideological project’: Stefan Kamola, ‘Beyond History: Rashid al-Din and Iranian Kingship’, in *Iran After the Mongols*, pp. 55-74 (pp. 62-5); and Stefan T. Kamola, *Making Mongol History: Rashid al-Din and the Jami‘ al-Tavarikh* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2019), pp. 82-5.

⁴⁶ Cf. *Kh*, pp. 87-106 (*HS*^{III}, pp. 158-90).

Particular attention is devoted to Tabriz, where, to enable trade to flourish, Ghāzān had caravanserais, markets and bathhouses built at every entrance to the city. Moreover, he ordered that:

...merchants who come from all directions enter by the gate in the direction from which they come and stop at that caravansaray. The customs official [*tamghāchī*] stamps their goods [*qumāshat-e īshān-ra ḡabṭ konad*], they enter the baths, and then go into the city...when merchants go from Tabriz to all parts they stop there for the customs official [*tamghāchī*] to inspect their goods, and then they can set forth.⁴⁷

There is an unspoken agreement here: the services provided for merchants separate them from their goods, ensuring that the *tamghāchī* can charge the appropriate tax. The specification of *tamghāchī* in the *Jāmi‘* stands in contrast to the wider use of *‘ummāl*: as far as Rashīd al-Dīn is concerned, these agents figure conceptually within *tamghā*, rather than as more generic fiscal actors. As with Shams al-Dīn Juvaynī’s introduction of *tamghā* in Anatolia, the prosperity of Mongol rule is rhetorically established, that Ghāzān ‘ordered many improvements in all parts of the realm’.⁴⁸ In other words, the Īlkhāns perceived the ability to collect *tamghā* effectively as a mark of development: as Sa’dī had counselled, trade begat wealth. That it was no longer technically canonical – after Ghāzān’s conversion – seemed to pose no issue. This notion of efficiency percolates through other mentions of *tamghā* in the *Jāmi‘* as well. According to Rashīd al-Dīn, prior to Ghāzān’s reign, dues for the *dīvān*, namely *qubchūr* and *tamghā*, had been tyrannically collected and often misappropriated. Albeit not specifically in relation to *tamghā*, Khvāndamīr records how, during the reign of Abaqa’s successor Argun Khan (1284-91), there had been a range of illicit fiscal measures at Baghdad among the *dīvān* levies (*vujūh-e dīvanī*), resulting from the ‘malfeasance of the tax collectors [*‘ummāl*] and agents [*mutaṣarrifān*] in the Baghdad fiscal service’.⁴⁹

⁴⁷ CC, p. 477; TMG, II, p. 1218. As above, Thackston’s translation interpolates a notion absent from the original: *ḡabṭ kardan* does not imply stamping so much as controlling or seizing (cf. Steingass, p. 799; Hans Wehr, p. 625).

⁴⁸ CC, p. 477; TMG, II, p. 1218.

⁴⁹ Kh, p. 71; HS^{III}, p. 127.

In Rashīd al-Dīn's account of the problem, the collection of both *tamghā* and *qubchūr* by governors (*ḥukkām*) was riven with corruption and disorder: 'no one ever saw a customs official [*tamghāchī*] in the customs office, for they had all run away; and if they were caught by the [other] tax collectors, they would get a beating'.⁵⁰ A similar impression is given in another text by Rashīd al-Dīn, his *Tārīkh-e guzīde* ('Excerpted History'), which describes how townspeople were requested to provide *qubchūr* as well as *tamghā*. To mitigate this problem, the vizier Khvāja Šadr al-Dīn 'removed the *qubchūr* from the towns and multiplied [increased] the *tamghā*'.⁵¹ Again, the issue was not that *tamghā* was somehow immoral – as it would become under certain Tīmūrid rulers – but rather that *tamghāchī* were incapable of furnishing the khans' officials with revenue. To make up the shortfall, *tamghāchī* had to operate covertly, agreeing to take half the allotted income to try and cover the tracks of their embezzlement from other bureaucrats.

The key aspect of Ghāzān's reforms was the introduction of written order to fiscal practice. Under a section headed '*tamghā* receipts' (*m'akhūzāt-e tamghā*), Rashīd al-Dīn details how a board or plaque (*lawḥ*) was to be erected 'at the gate of every place subject to customs [*tamghā*];⁵² the instruction also stipulates that no 'new custom' (*rasm-e muḥadis*) is to be created, and that those allotted the *tamghā* are 'not [to] take more than the fees on a pretext that the customs have been increased'.⁵³ Here again, the aim was to put *tamghā* on a surer footing, with both parties – taxed and taxpayer – establishing the fiscal rules in advance. The reason is made explicit:

⁵⁰ CC, p. 490; TMG, II, p. 1258. I disagree with Thackston's translation of *sar-e tamghā* as 'in the customs office', which surely reflects time spent collecting the tax, rather than the existence of dedicated bureaux.

⁵¹ Cited in: Ahmet Zeki Validi Togan, 'Economic Conditions in Anatolia in the Mongol Period', trans. by Gary Leiser, *Annales islamologiques*, 25 (1991), 203-40 (p. 221, n. 30).

قبحورها از شهرها بر داشت و تمغا مکرر کرد

⁵² CC, p. 497; TMG, II, p. 1278. Cf. *Kh*, p. 94; *HS*^{III}, p. 169. *Ma'khūzāt*, which Thackston translates as 'fees', can also denote '[fiscal] receipts' (cf. Hans Wehr, p. 9).

⁵³ CC, p. 497; TMG, II, p. 1278.

...in all provinces the customs tax [*tamghā-hā*], which is the one tax paid most in cash [*naqdtarīn*] throughout the realm, had been earmarked for envoys' expenses, but it did not suffice even for their transport. Governors would charge provisions to the customs tax [*bar tamghāchī*] and then abscond. Since there wasn't enough [money], the customs official would also disappear...⁵⁴

To labour the point about his own khan's effectiveness, Rashīd al-Dīn returns to a similar theme later in the *Jāmi'*, describing how before Ghāzān's reign owners of donkeys and camels would harass travellers, especially those en route to markets: to believe the chronicler, merchants would avoid trading routes around major festivals, and consequently the revenue from the *tamghās* was heavily reduced (*tamghā-hā beshekast*).⁵⁵ Ghāzān's edict ordered that those who harassed travellers in this way were to be executed.

Rashīd al-Dīn's lack of interest in the religious and jurisprudential implications of *tamghā* are implied even when he records events beyond Iran, such as in his description of Ananda, an early fourteenth-century Mongol prince in northwestern China who – unlike the Yuan emperors, who continued to practise Buddhism – had converted to Islam in the mould of Ghāzān. The *Jāmi'* records that:

...despite the fact that [Ananda's] deputies and *bitigchis* [scribes] officiate over the *tamghas*...most of the revenue raised there is spent on his troops and little gets to the divan.⁵⁶

Beyond the evidence this report reveals about trading taxation (*tamghā? shangshui?*) in northwestern China – as discussed in chapter I, under the minister Sangke – it also reflects Rashīd al-Dīn's view of *tamghā*'s function within the fiscal system. Not only could it be plural, but its revenue could finance military campaigns, rather than what Rashīd al-Dīn perceives as Ananda's *dīvān*. That the report appears in an otherwise laudatory passage

⁵⁴ CC, p. 500; TMG, II, p. 1287.

⁵⁵ CC, p. 532; TMG, II, p. 1371.

⁵⁶ CC, p. 330; TMG, II, p. 845.

about Ananda's conversion implies that there was no contradiction – for the prince, or for Rashīd al-Dīn – between being an Islamic ruler and a Chinggisid khan in charging *tamghā*.

However much Rashīd al-Dīn may inflate the difference between Īlkhānid bureaucracy before and after Ghāzān, the reforms to commercial taxation described in the *Jāmi'* parallel the extraction of *tamghā* elsewhere under the Mongols: an affiliation with urban centres, and a focus specifically on exchange rather than 'in-between' trading levies. In contrast to these conclusions, however, Petrushevskii considers *tamghā* after Ghāzān's reforms to have also been charged on the peasantry bringing goods to market, not merely on transactions.⁵⁷ His view is grounded in the putative correspondence of Rashīd al-Dīn, collated under the title of *Mukātibāt-e Rashīdī* ('Correspondence of Rashīd'), the oldest manuscript of which dates to the turn of the fifteenth century.⁵⁸ In principle, these letters supplement the evidence of the *Jāmi'* in offering further details on fiscal shifts around 1300.

Two dwell – in some detail – on *tamghā*. The first, responding to a certain 'Maulana Ṣadr al-Dīn', apparently a member of the Isfahan elite, stipulates the terms of a new fiscal law code for the city. Alongside *kharāj* on land, the *nuvvāb-e dīvān* ('officials of the *dīvān*') are to take: 10% from crops (*mazrū'*); 5% from *tamghā*; and on animals, a rate ranging from half a *ṭassūj* for a goat up to three for a camel.⁵⁹ The reference point for these stipulations are earlier account books (*dafātir*); later in the letter, its author decries several taxes without any such provenance: 'we have ordered that new customs [*rasm-hā*] like the *tamghās* on wood, soap, fruit and textiles that are being endured in Isfahan are to all be stopped'.⁶⁰ Precisely why these dues are objectionable is left unsaid: it is not an issue with *tamghā* per se, but with certain categories of tax lacking sufficient justification in earlier practice.

⁵⁷ Petrushevskii, *Zemledelie*, p. 387.

⁵⁸ Rashid ad-Din, *Perepiska*, ed. and trans. by A. I. Falina (Moscow: Nauka, 1971), pp. 33-9.

⁵⁹ *Perepiska*, no. 13, p. 101; original in: *Letters of Rashīd al-Dīn Faḍl Allāh (Persian Text)*, ed. by Khān Bahādur Moḥammad Shafī' (Lahore: Punjab Educational Press, 1947), p. 34. A *ṭassūj* was a coin worth around $\frac{1}{14}$ of a dinar:

<http://www.columbia.edu/itc/mealc/pritchett/00litlinks/abulfazl/ain_1_1_11.html>
[accessed 2 August 2023].

⁶⁰ *Letters of Rashīd al-Dīn*, p. 34; *Perepiska*, p. 102.

فرموده ایم که رسمهای محدث چون طمغای چوب و صابون و فواکه و اقمشه که در اصفهان می‌سازند بکلی بر اندازند

The second attestation of *tamghā* in the *Mukātibāt* comes in a lengthy letter addressed to Rashīd al-Dīn's son, Shihāb al-Dīn, in the latter's capacity as governor of Tustar (nowadays Shustan) and Ahvaz in Khuzestan. Admonishing his son's foolish advisers, Rashīd al-Dīn lays out various means of ruling wisely, including on taxation: he describes how he has ordered *tamghā* to be exempted (*mu'āf*) – alongside a tax called *timār* (?), probably collected on weighing⁶¹ – from various settlements in Khuzestan, including Tustar and Ahvaz, while retaining the collection of *kharāj*.⁶² Again, whether *tamghā* was exempted for political or moral reasons remains obscure, although the letter follows Ghāzān's edict in threatening those who collect more than specified.

The problem with Petrushevskii's reliance on these letters is that the *Mukātibāt*'s legitimacy as a reflection of Rashīd al-Dīn has been called strongly into question. The authorship controversy around this correspondence is longwinded, and the focal points of the debate touch on neither of the letters that attest *tamghā*.⁶³ Yet if Alexander Morton was correct to date the extant compilation to at least a century after Rashīd al-Dīn's death, possibly to the reign of Tīmūr's son Shāh Rukh (1405-47) – contemporaneously with the earliest surviving manuscript – it is no coincidence that the fiscal evidence of the *Mukātibāt* bears the hallmarks of later Tīmūrid *tamghā*, rather than its Īlkhānid predecessor.⁶⁴ As will be seen with bureaucratic handbooks, the lack of consistency is not an inherent impediment to the existence of differing practice between cities, but the *Mukātibāt* is too flimsy to offer definitive proof for this early stage. Nonetheless, at some point in the period covered by this chapter, such ideas *were* conceived as likely standpoints held by Rashīd al-Dīn in his role as vizier. Unpicking why can only be answered by looking towards the Īlkhāns' successors.

⁶¹ As distinct from the Ottoman *timar* system: *Perepiska*, p. 390, n. 20.

⁶² *Letters of Rashīd al-Dīn*, no. 22, pp. 121-3; *Perepiska*, p. 178-81. Note Schurmann's use of this letter in his article on Mongol taxation: H. F. Schurmann, 'Mongol Tributary Practices of the Thirteenth Century', *HJAS*, 19 (1956), 304-89 (pp. 376-9).

⁶³ For a recent summary, see: Donald Ostrowski, *Who Wrote That? Authorship Controversies from Moses to Sholokhov* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2020), pp. 105-24. Ostrowski does not come down on either side of the debate.

⁶⁴ A. H. Morton, 'The Letters of Rashīd al-Dīn: Īlkhānid Fact or Timurid Fiction?', in *The Mongol Empire and its Legacy*, ed. by David Morgan and Reuven Amitai-Preiss (Leiden: Brill, 2000), pp. 155-99 (p. 196).

Ghāzān's legacy: handbooks, manuals, inscriptions

Across the fourteenth century, Iran witnessed two major political upheavals: first, the collapse of the Īlkhānate on the death of Ghāzān's nephew and eventual successor, Abū Sa'īd; and in the latter quarter of the century, the ever-expanding conquests of the warlord Tīmūr that would re-orient the political centre of gravity further east, towards Central Asia. Many of the sources analysed in this section, which primarily traces how Ghāzān's reforms are reflected in non-narrative evidence, postdate the Īlkhānid collapse. However, their later compilation should not obscure their authors' background as bureaucrats serving – and in one case dedicating their text to – the Īlkhāns themselves. In the following section, I will then consider the explicitly *post-Mongol* evidence, before and during Tīmūr's campaigns.

Indicative of this continued affiliation with Mongol rule is how many of the sources discussed in this section refer to Tabriz, the capital of the later Īlkhāns. Soon after the devastation wrought by Hülegü's armies, Tabriz emerged as what Sheila Blair has called an 'international entrepôt':⁶⁵ much as Marco Polo lauded the profits to be made at Tabriz in the 1270s,⁶⁶ during Abū Sa'īd's reign half a century later, an Italian friar, Odoric of Pordenone, reported that 'the Christians [there] will tell you that the emperor there hath more revenue from that one city than the king of France hath from his whole realm'.⁶⁷ The question is exactly *what* that revenue was.

One clue appears by returning to Pegolotti, whose handbook lists *tamunga* as being charged not only on the Black Sea, but also at Trebizond, Tabriz, 'and for all of Persia'.⁶⁸ Later in the text, when Pegolotti discusses Tabriz in greater detail, the provisions of its *tamunga* are differentiated: from what 'is bought or sold' by weight (*al peso*), 4.92% of 'camunoca' is charged; by contrast, 3.66% is charged on fabrics, furs and other items that

⁶⁵ Sheila S. Blair, 'Tabriz: International Entrepôt under the Mongols', in *Politics, Patronage and the Transmission of Knowledge*, pp. 321-56.

⁶⁶ Marco Polo, *The Travels*, ed. and trans. by Nigel Cliff (London: Penguin, 2016), p. 68.

⁶⁷ 'Odoric of Pordenone', in *Cathay and the Way Thither*, ed. and trans. by Henry Yule, 2 vols (London: Hakluyt Society, 1866; repr. Cambridge: CUP, 2010), I, pp. 1-162 (p. 49).

⁶⁸ Pegolotti, p. 15 ('e per tutta Persia'). Pegolotti calls Tabriz 'Toris[s]i'; Trebizond, on the northern coast of Anatolia, was under periodic Īlkhānid suzerainty.

can be sold ‘by measure’ (*a misura*).⁶⁹ Silver and pearls, meanwhile, are exempt, as at Caffa – their merchants ‘do not pay *tamenga* neither on entering or exiting’.⁷⁰ In this sense, the *tamunga–camunoca–tamenga* recorded for Tabriz forms a continuum with the other *tamghās* attested by Pegolotti, albeit with slightly different rates.⁷¹

The Venetian archival records similarly detail the application of *tamghā* at Tabriz after Ghāzān’s death, in terms mirroring the agreements explored in chapter I between *la Serenissima* and the Jochid *ulus*. A concession issued to Venice in 1320, in the name of Abū Sa‘īd, stipulates that on Venetians at Tabriz (*Taurisii*), ‘no *tomaga* should be charged except [according to] previous custom’; the tax was seemingly collected by a figure known as a *tomagazi*.⁷² While – unlike the Black Sea privileges – the document gives no indication of rate, both terms must be the translators’ interpretation of *tamghā* and *tamghāchī*. Here, however, the Italian trail runs cold: the political machinations precipitated by Abu Sa‘īd’s death would lead the Venetian Senate to prohibit merchants from trading at Tabriz in 1344.

In the Persian sources, the impact of Ghāzān’s reforms is most immediately evident in the material record, especially when the ‘boards’ detailing tax rates survive as inscriptions. For example, at Ani – the Armenian site discussed earlier – an inscription on the outer wall of the mosque stipulated fiscal provisions in Abū Sa‘īd’s name, dating to some point after 1319 and including a reference to trading taxation: ‘and apart from *tamghā* and *bāj*, nothing else may be legitimately obtained [by way of taxation]’.⁷³ The juxtaposition between *tamghā* and *bāj* similarly reflects another Armenian inscription, dating to 1320, which attests a

⁶⁹ Pegolotti, p. 27 (‘che comperi o vendi’). Goods sold by weight were charged at ‘bezanti 5 meno ½ aspro per centinaio’ (‘5 bezants less ½ an *aspro* per 100’); in Pegolotti’s understanding of Ilkhānid currency, 6 *aspri* was equivalent to one Tabriz bezant: Pegolotti, p. 27.

⁷⁰ Pegolotti, p. 28 (‘non pagano tamenga nè all’entrare nè all’uscire’).

⁷¹ Cf. the 3% paid to the ‘emperor of Trebizond’ (at this point a Mongol client ruler): Pegolotti, p. 31.

⁷² *DVL*, I, no. 85, p. 173 (‘nesuna tomaga oltra usanza antigha’). See also: Jacques Paviot, ‘Les marchands italiens dans l’Iran mongol’, in *L’Iran face à la domination mongole*, ed. by Denise Aigle (Tehran: Institut français de recherche en Iran, 1997), pp. 71-86 (pp. 74-9).

⁷³ Wilhelm Barthold and Walther Hinz, ‘Die persische Inschrift an der Mauer der Manūčehr-Moschee zu Ani’, *ZDMG*, 101 (1951), 241-69 (p. 244) (= Bartol’d, IV, pp. 313-38).

و بغیر از تمغا و باج بر استی چیزی دیگر نستانند...

certain Sargis Dzilents, who names himself as a collector of *bāj*.⁷⁴ The precise distinction here between the two levies is unclear; perhaps *bāj* merely supplemented *tamghā*, or denoted ‘in-between’ trading dues like *myt*. In any event, the Ani inscriptions reiterate the continued importance of these taxes: they, above all, were not exempted.

At Ankara, meanwhile, an inscription dating to 1330, which defines itself as a *yarlīgh* – again in the name of Abū Sa‘īd – stipulates that:

...tax in both cash and kind has been specified and established in the [record-]book [*daftar*], namely that the town will pay *tamghā*, and that the provinces [*villayat*], [according to] our *yāsā*, from now...each of them will [pay] the *qubchūr* calculation and the new ‘*ushr* that has been demanded.’⁷⁵

At Ankara *tamghā* hence remains associated with the urban environment, in opposition to the *qubchūr* and ‘*ushr* extracted from the countryside. While the inscription itself does not refer to exchange, its position – on a gate leading towards the market square – constituted a statement of intent regarding how the Īlkhāns would tax trade. A further inscription, also dated to Abū Sa‘īd’s reign although anonymous, and found on a gate at Kırşehir (south-east of Ankara), likewise exempts the ‘linen *tamghā*’ (*tamghā-ye kitān*).⁷⁶

Both these inscriptions reflect the relationship between *tamghā*, towns and exchange, and in the case of Kırşehir, potentially questions of local economic importance. Within the overall category of *tamghā*, such differentiation – to follow Rashīd al-Dīn’s description of Ghāzān’s reforms – allowed for the flexibility to profit from goods as they were traded. At the same time, it is feasibly little coincidence that most of these surviving inscriptions originate in the western realms of Īlkhānid authority: in a bid to establish their political

⁷⁴ M. Brosset, *Les ruines d’Ani, capitale de l’Arménie sous les rois bagratides: histoire et description* (St Petersburg: Commissionnaires de l’Académie Impériale des sciences, 1860), no. III, pp. 11-12.

⁷⁵ Walther Hinz, ‘Steuerinschriften aus dem mittelalterlichen Vorderen Orient’, *Belethen*, 13 (1949), 745-69 (p. 746).

نقد و جنس مال معین کرده در دفتر مثبت کشت که شهر تمغا باشد و ولایت یاساء ما بعد الیوم هر که شماره قیجور و عشر محدث طلب کند...

See also: Togan, p. 222.

⁷⁶ Hinz, ‘Steuerinschriften’, p. 753.

primacy in their newly conquered territories, such inscriptions also offered a material, visible claim over the revenues of a particular location. In stipulating fiscal forms, they were not merely a record, but also a display.

A similar picture of *tamghā* emerges from the written sources. The political flux of the mid-fourteenth century is belied by the descriptive confidence of Ḥamdullāh Mustawfī's (d. c. 1344) geographical treatise, *Nuzhat al-qulūb* ('Hearts' Bliss'), composed shortly before his death. In its portrayal of Ilkhānid Iran as part of the Islamic *oikumene*, the *dār al-Islām* – beginning with a description of Mecca and Jerusalem, and stretching eastwards in perspective – Melville argues that Mustawfī presents a 'nostalgic image' of greater central authority than existed in practice by the time of writing.⁷⁷ Yet however idealised it might be, the *Nuzhat* nonetheless offers a highly productive insight into how the Ilkhāns conceived of their fiscal position.

Initially, Mustawfī continues Juvaynī's tendency to employ generic vocabulary: he lists, for instance, the revenues from Iraq simply as 'income of the dues of the *dīvān*'.⁷⁸ Similarly, in respect of his own career as a tax official at Baghdad, he describes how 'I conducted the tax reports there', again using *amvāl* rather than a particular term.⁷⁹ Later, however, *tamghā* does appear in a specific context. Describing the revenue accrued at Kufa, Mustawfī reports that 'there are many districts that are part of [lit. dependent on] Kufa, and the *dīvān* rights of that town are allotted to the *tamghā*'.⁸⁰ In my reading of this phrase, 'appointed, allotted to' (*muqarrar (a)st*) is not the physical movement of revenue, but a similar comment to 'the town will pay *tamghā*' at Ankara: namely, that the tax collected at the town (rather than the countryside) is to be understood as *tamghā*. In Le Strange's English translation, this distinction is obscured by his mislabelling of *tamghā* as 'Treasury'

⁷⁷ Charles Melville, 'Ḥamd-Allāh Mostawfī', *Elr*

<<https://iranicaonline.org/articles/hamd-allah-mostawfi>> [accessed 17 April 2023]

See also: I. P. Petrushevskii, 'Khamdallakh Kazvini kak istochnik po sotsial'no-ekonomicheskoi istorii vostochnogo Zakavkaz'ia', *Izvestiia Akademii nauk SSSR*, 1937, 873-920 (pp. 896-7).

⁷⁸ *GPNQ*, p. 34; *NQ*, p. 30. Translations are my own.

داخل متوجهات دیوانی

⁷⁹ *GPNQ*, p. 35; *NQ*, p. 30.

تقریر اموال آنجا میکرده

⁸⁰ *GPNQ*, p. 38; *NQ*, p. 32.

ولایت بسیار از توابع کوفه است، و حقوق دیوانی آن شهر به تمغا مقررست...

(the same word he employs for *dīvān*); in reality, the bureaucrat Mustawfī is much more precise in his understanding of monetary flows. Soon afterwards, for example, he describes how ‘this province [i.e. around Kufa] at this time is allotted to the *dīvān*’.⁸¹ These are discrete, but comparable, fiscal processes: in the former case, the town’s taxes are considered as *tamghā*; in the latter, it is that these lands are assessable and taxable by the *dīvān*.

The persistent affiliation between *shahr* and *tamghā* is reinforced by Mustawfī’s description of the revenues accrued in Fars. After summarising the region’s income from the earliest caliphs onwards – under the guise of *ḥuqūq-e dīvānī* (*‘dīvān levies’*), which Mustawfī uses throughout the *Nuzhat* – he states that: ‘in the countryside, most of the [tax] yield is taken [by the *dīvān*?], and from that the towns [*shahr-hā*] are allotted to the *tamghā*, [as?]. . . [will] come later’.⁸² Here the situation is clear-cut: from the income of the districts of Fars, it is the towns that are allotted to *tamghā*. As the text itself promises, this affiliation – as at Ani and Ankara – is further elucidated later in the *Nuzhat*. At Shiraz, for instance, the phrase ‘the *dīvān* levies are allotted to the *tamghā*’ is again employed for the town’s revenues, which amounted to 450,000 dinars.⁸³ This amount can be compared with the sum for Baghdad, where 800,000 dinars were collected as *tamghā*, in addition to the 10,000 dinars subsumed under the city’s *tamghā* from the neighbouring town of Anbar.⁸⁴ Both were heavily outweighed by Tabriz, which according to Mustawfī constituted 8,705,000 dinars for 1341.⁸⁵ Given the figures discussed below in bureaucratic handbooks, this figure seems highly inflated, but it does give a measure of Īlkhānid Tabriz’s economic importance.

If the *Nuzhat al-qulūb* offers a (feasibly idealised) ‘big picture’ overview of Īlkhānid *tamghā*, finer grain detail emerges from fourteenth-century accounting manuals drafted to guide *dīvān* bureaucrats on how to maintain their records. In lieu of charter and diplomatic material of the kind available in Moscow – which does survive, but in far smaller quantities,

⁸¹ GPNQ, p. 38; NQ, p. 32.

این ولایترا درین زمان مقرر دیوانیست...

⁸² GPNQ, p. 112; NQ, p. 136.

در ولایت اکثر محصول می‌ستانند و از آن شهرها بتمغا مقررست... متعاقب می‌آید

⁸³ GPNQ, p. 114; NQ, p. 139.

حقوق دیوانی بتمغا مقررست

⁸⁴ GPNQ, pp. 42, 44; NQ, pp. 37-8.

⁸⁵ GPNQ, p. 82; NQ, p. 89.

such as in the trove found at Ardabil (see below) – these texts offer a unique insight into day-to-day fiscal bureaucracy. Access to them is possible thanks to the work conducted by Walther Hinz and his students at Göttingen; since their initial publication, however, remarkably little use has been made of these handbooks in the Western scholarship, despite their evident utility for this period's fiscal history.

The published corpus consists of four handbooks, spanning from Ghāzān's reign to the years preceding Tīmūr's invasions: the *Sa'ādatnāme* (SN, 'Sa'ād's Book') and *Qanūn al-Sa'āda* (QS, 'Code of Sa'ād'), compiled by Falak 'Alā' Tabrīzī between 1306 and 1311;⁸⁶ the *Jāmi' al-Ḥisāb* (JH, 'Compendium of Counting') of 'Imād al-Dīn Sarāwī from the 1340s;⁸⁷ and the *Risāle-ye Falakīye* (RF, 'Falak's Letter'), composed around 1363 by 'Abdullāh ibn Muḥammad al-Māzandarānī during the vizierate of a certain Falak al-Ma'ānī (hence the work's name).⁸⁸ The handbooks constitute a peculiar documentary form, not least by employing a shorthand Arabo-Persian script, *siyāq(at)*, used for *dīvān* accounting practice and ultimately adopted by Ottoman and Safavid chanceries.⁸⁹ Mirroring the broader regional traditions at play in *dīvān* practice, the handbooks also use a mixture of Arabic and Persian vocabulary (and syntax).

Hinz's primary motivation in publishing these texts was to study accounting techniques: how their layout permitted various kinds of calculation by *dīvān* officials, and how their totals could be manipulated.⁹⁰ Remler's 'recent' exception to the general historiographical silence with which they were greeted in the West – albeit dating from nearly forty years ago – focussed instead on the economic data obtainable from these handbooks.⁹¹ My interest differs from both Hinz and Remler; as with the Slavonic material, I

⁸⁶ Both published in *Die beiden persischen Leitfäden des Falak 'Alā-ye Tabrīzī über das staatliche Rechnungswesen im 14. Jahrhundert*, ed. by Mirkamal Nabipour (doctoral thesis, Georg-August-Universität Göttingen, 1973).

⁸⁷ JH, pp. 4-8 (Arabic).

⁸⁸ RF, p. 3 (Arabic).

⁸⁹ L. Fekete, *Die Siyāqat-Schrift in der türkischen Finanzverwaltung* (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1955), esp. pp. 21-33.

⁹⁰ Walther Hinz, 'Das Rechnungswesen orientalischer Reichfinanzämter im Mittelalter', *Der Islam*, 29 (1950), 1-29, 113-41.

⁹¹ Philip Remler, 'New Light on Economic History from Ilkhanid Accounting Manuals', *Studia Iranica*, 14 (1985), 157-77.

am less bothered by economics than by the political and cultural implications of fiscal practice. Before exploring the texts in detail, however, it is important to bear in mind that this was far from their intended purpose, and so *tamghā* emerges almost tangentially, distinct from the compilers' preoccupation with training future bureaucrats.

Qanūn al-Sa'āda and Sa'ādatnāme

Both manuals were compiled by the same author, Falak 'Alā' Tabrīzī, in the early fourteenth century; as his name indicates, he was a native of Tabriz, and presumably a senior official in the city's *dīvān*, although little else is known about him.⁹² For the purposes of this thesis, *SN* offers the most promising insights given the frequency with which it attests *tamghā*. The *QS* manuscript, by contrast – thought lost, but subsequently discovered as fragments at Marburg – offers only limited information beyond that found in *SN*: for instance, *tamghā* in some cases being divided between a 'brokerage' due (*dallal-khāne*) and *al-tamghā al-kabīr* ('great *tamghā*').⁹³ That *SN* elucidates various aspects of *tamghā* is unsurprising given its author's apparent role at Tabriz; its single manuscript copy, however, survives only from fifteenth-century Bursa, close to Istanbul, where it was used to train early Ottoman scribes.⁹⁴

Given its complexity, quite what those scribes – or their İlkhānid forebears – made of the text is hard to imagine. A relatively 'simple' exemplar, concerned with the correct form of listing account entries – known as *hashv* (insertion) and *bāriz* (balance, proportion)⁹⁵ – makes plain the possible forms taken by *tamghā* (37^v-38^r).⁹⁶ *Tamghā* is listed first in the hierarchy, 'the *tamghā* for region A is allotted [by tax farm] to so-and-so al-Dīn in year B'.⁹⁷

⁹² *Die beiden persischen Leitfäden*, p. 4 (Arabic).

⁹³ *Die beiden persischen Leitfäden*, p. 27 (eastern Arabic).

⁹⁴ On this process: Linda Darling, 'Political Literature and the Development of an Ottoman Imperial Culture in the Fifteenth Century', *Journal of the Ottoman and Turkish Studies Association*, 1 (2014), 57-69 (p. 62). On the Tīmūrid compilation of these manuals: Maria E. Subtelny, *Timurids in Transition: Turko-Persian Politics and Acculturation in Medieval Iran* (Leiden: Brill, 2007), pp. 80-2.

⁹⁵ Hinz, 'Rechnungswesen', pp. 10-12.

⁹⁶ References are given to the MS folios, as listed in Nabipour's edition.

⁹⁷ *Fulān* is used as stand-in for the relevant place or person.

التمغا بناحيه فلان بعهدده و مقاطعه فلان الدين في سنة كذا

Under this overarching heading, a specimen figure is given: 30,000 dinars have been ‘collected’, with 4,000 subtracted to cover the expenses of those involved in its collection, so leaving 26,000 to be accounted for. This sum is sub-divided between various dues under *al-tamghā*, as shown below in table IV.1 (amounts in dinars).

Table IV.1

SN, 37^v-38^r (*hashv* and *bāriz*): dues under *al-tamghā*

<i>dallāl-khāne</i>	brokerage ⁹⁸	10,000
<i>al-tamgha-ye</i> (sic) <i>al-kabīr</i>	exchange levy ⁹⁹	7,000
<i>al-nakhhāsiyye</i>	slave (?) market due ¹⁰⁰	4,000
<i>al-ḥaḏīre</i>	livestock enclosure due ¹⁰¹	5,000
<i>al-madbaghe</i>	tannery due	2,000
<i>al-khārijiyye</i>	‘additional’ due	1,000
<i>al-vattāriyye</i>	stringing levy ¹⁰²	2,000

Even with Remler’s health warning that the ‘roundness’ of these figures is a sure-fire indicator that they are fictitious, it is tempting to think that the respective proportions of the dues may be broadly in-keeping with expected amounts, with the brokerage levy and *tamghā al-kabīr* the most profitable.¹⁰³ Indeed, a possible counterpoint to Remler’s argument is that the specimen figure for *tamghā* at Tabriz is 790,000 dinars (66^r), which matches that given by Vaṣṣāf, although remains far lower than the sum found in the *Nuzhat al-qulūb*.¹⁰⁴ In any case, the division in *SN* reflects how, by the early fourteenth century, *tamghā* had emerged as an overarching category – which could be pluralised, either as *tamghā-hā* (as in the *Jāmi‘ al-tāwārikh*) or as *tamghāvāt*, as in Vaṣṣāf – beyond its roots as a single exchange tax.

⁹⁸ *Dallāl* as ‘auctioneer, broker’: Hans Wehr, p. 334; Steingass, p. 531.

⁹⁹ Cf. single attestations of *tamghā* (without any elucidation) later in *SN*: see below, pp. 202-3.

¹⁰⁰ *Nakhhās* can also refer to a seller of cattle: Lane, p. 2777; Steingass, p. 1391.

¹⁰¹ *Ḥaḏīre* is an enclosure or paddock: Steingass, p. 423; Hans Wehr, p. 218.

¹⁰² *Vatar* is the string of a bow: Hans Wehr, p. 1227; Lane, p. 2918.

¹⁰³ Remler, p. 161.

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 162.

Two aspects of *tamghā* are emphasised in the first half of *SN*. The first is the record (48^r) of a shortfall of $69\frac{3}{8}$ dinars from the ‘*tamghā* on silk and coppersmiths for five days, during which it was ordered that [the merchants] must rest [lit. sit down] for the day’.¹⁰⁵ A similar instruction later in *SN* (68^v) refers to the deduction from a tax farm owing to ‘a reduction in exchange at the brokerage’.¹⁰⁶ Not only was *tamghā* differentiated between professions, but if those professions were inactive, the *tamghā* was reduced: it relied explicitly on exchange. The second aspect – following Ghāzān’s reforms – is that new taxes were not to be introduced above and beyond set amounts, and that *tamghāchī* were to pursue their collection undisturbed (56^r). The specimen of a tax-farming concession suggests that a camel was to be taxed at $4\frac{1}{2}$ dinars of *tamghā*, with half a dinar as brokerage levy; $\frac{1}{4}$ of a dinar was then deducted to cover the cost of the broker themselves. Beyond this, however, ‘the *dīvān* also [will] not collect more than the allotted [amount]’.¹⁰⁷ The emphasis is on consistency – not only in practice, but also in the very genre of the accounting manual itself.

The most detailed information on *tamghā*, however, comes later in *SN*, when Tabrizī outlines the ‘fundamental’ account books (*uṣūl-e dafātir*).¹⁰⁸ Several such books follow from the division considered above by revealing points of exchange targeted by *tamghā*: the ‘daily book’ (*daftar-e ruznāmche*), for instance, stipulates the tax-farming agreement for ‘the slaughterhouse *tamghā* and its dependent [levies], according to the tax-farm agreement and guarantee’ (59^r).¹⁰⁹ Similar provisions are found later in the same *daftar* for a tax-farming agreement over the brokerage *tamghā* (*tamghā-ye dallāl-khāne*) (59^r), and again for the slaughterhouse (60^r). This division of commercial taxation between brokerage and

¹⁰⁵ Cf. tax agreements being reviewed in case of natural disasters, or other issues preventing trade: fol. 56^r.

تمغای حریری و صفاری در مدت پنج روز که حکم شد که بنشینند فی يوم

¹⁰⁶

قله معاملات دلالخانه

¹⁰⁷

دیوان نیز زیادت از قسطی که مقرر شد حوالتی نکند

¹⁰⁸ For a fuller explanation of these books’ purpose: Hinz, ‘Rechnungswesen’, pp. 117-37.

¹⁰⁹

تمغا السلاخی و تسوابها بعهدہ و ضمان...

slaughterhouse *tamghās* at Tabriz is also found in another kind of account book (61^r), the ‘guideline book’ (*daftar-e tawjihāt*), which aggregates information from the ‘daily books’.

The account books also frequently refer to *tamghā* in recording their spending. In one example (59^r), 30,000 dinars are transferred from the Isfahan *tamghā* to cover charges incurred by the Baghdad *tamghā*; while their persistent affiliation with cities reflects individual, urban collection, such an overarching mechanism evidently allowed the *dīvān* to move revenue between centres of exchange.¹¹⁰ In the ‘cashbook register’ (*daftar-e āvārije*), meanwhile, in which income and expenditure are listed individually, *tamghā* is calculated in portions (*be-qisṭ*) as, unlike agricultural taxes, it was not connected to the harvest cycle (65^v): ‘some of [the taxes] that are related to transactions, such as *tamghā*...are recorded by way of instalments’.¹¹¹ Here the relationship between *tamghā* and exchange is made explicit, in common with how it was extracted in other regions under Mongol suzerainty.

This shared fiscal practice is further reflected in a remarkable record in the part of *SN* containing two ‘code account books’ (*daftar-e qānūn*). Tabrīzī explains the distinction as (62^v): ‘one of them is connected to the levies of places...and it is called the *daftar-e māl*; the second is that which is related to transactions such as *tamghā* and others [like it]’.¹¹² In other words, the first of these books is for ‘fixed’ taxes – in the event, both *māl* and *qubchūr* – whereas the second concentrates on exchange levies like *tamghā*. *SN* is again explicit on this point: the transactional element is inherent to *tamghā*. The specimen given in *SN* of such a *daftar-e ma’khūzāt* (63^r) details the revenue from the *tamghā al-kabīr* at an unspecified location, although it seems reasonable to assume – given the apparently ‘foreign’ origins of certain goods – that it was based on Tabriz. The *daftar* could not be any less ambiguous about the nature of the tax: ‘the principle [applicable] for every 100 dinars of transactions, when goods are sold in the town’.¹¹³ In other words, every element of *tamghā* present

¹¹⁰ Cf. similar transfers elsewhere: fol. 61^v (from Baghdad to Isfahan); 62^r (to Yazd).

¹¹¹

بعضی آنست بمعاملات تعلق دارد همچنانکه تمغاء که آنرا بقسط در وجه نهاد...

¹¹²

...یکی آنکه تعلق باموال مواضع دارد...و آنرا دفتر مال گویند، و دوم آنچه بمعاملات تعلق دارد چنانکه تمغا و غیره

¹¹³

الاصل / فی ۱۰۰ دینار معامله وقتی که اجناس در شهر فروشند

elsewhere in Mongol Eurasia is also stipulated here, not least the focus on towns and the need for exchange. From 100 dinars, merchants are required to pay $3\frac{1}{3}$ dinars as *tamghā*.

Here, then, is the perennial rate of 3.33%. How can such consistency – between China, Iran, the Black Sea and Rus’ – be explained if not by some common principle that typified Mongol *tamghā*? My argument is not that these commonalities necessarily marked a pre-planned endeavour to synchronise taxation across the khanates, even after the disintegration of the Great Khanate in 1259. But in establishing these principles across such a broad territorial expanse, the Mongols created a common space in which fiscal practice was harmonised to a significant degree, in which merchants could operate easily – and in which rulers could profit from trade efficiently.

According to *SN*, differentiation was only applied between ‘domestic’ city traders (*al-baladiyye*) and ‘foreigners’ (*al-ghuraba*) after the basic rate was charged: ‘foreigners’ must pay $\frac{1}{3}$ of a dinar as a ‘location levy’ (*haqq al-mawḍi*), whereas for city traders half a dinar was charged, which also included ‘rent’ (*al-ijāra*). Feasibly this due covered the costs of the locations where *tamghā* was collected, discussed in greater detail below. City traders were required to pay $1\frac{1}{2}$ dinars as recompense for *qubchūr*, presumably as merchants’ mobility precluded them from paying on the same basis as residents of the countryside.

Besides these dues listed under *tamghā*, *SN* also stipulates another form of profit-making from foreign trade: ‘[the] branch [of taxation] for loads: when goods are taken out of the town and not exchanged there’.¹¹⁴ In this case, for goods from Alexandria, five dinars are charged on every donkey-load of goods, with a rather opaque half-dinar levy listed as *velāye* (‘countryside’); for those from Europe (*al-afrangiyye*) or Hormuz, two dinars; from Isfahan, one dinar; and from anywhere else, half a dinar. Apart from the hierarchy of origins, there is a possible parallel here with Muscovite practice. *Tamghā* is charged on goods by value, rather than by volume, as the mention of ‘donkey-load’ implies here: in that sense this ‘non-exchange’ levy – separate from *tamghā* – profited from trade along the same lines as *myt*.

If this *daftar* is indeed based on practice at Tabriz, it contradicts Pegolotti’s evidence around the *tamghā* rate for goods sold *al peso*, although not *a misura* (both 3.66% in total,

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الفرع فی وقر وقتی که اجناس از شهر بیرون بردند و اینجا معامله نکنند

according to *SN* 3.33% of *tamghā* and 0.33% of *haqq al-mawḍiʿ*). There is no single way of explaining these discrepancies, which are regardless not substantial: for instance, feasibly the extra amount given by Pegolotti also covered a levy for weighing goods. That being said, how far the 3.33% rate was universal across the Īlkhānate is challenged even within *SN*. In the ‘single [account-]book’ (*daftar-e mufrad*), for example, in which a region’s revenues and outgoings are collated, revenues are categorised under the headings of *māl*, *qubjūr* (sic) and *tamghā* (67^r). The specimen is taken from the *tūmān* of Kashan, a city located roughly halfway between Tehran and Isfahan.¹¹⁵ The figures involved are remarkably precise, implying – after Remler¹¹⁶ – that the example may have been copied from an actual account book, unlike the rounder numbers elsewhere in *SN*. Its use of terminology is also somewhat at odds with Tabrīzī’s neat tripartite division: ‘the total of the sum [*māl*] allotted in recompense [*be-ivāḍ*] for the exchange [tax] [*al-muʿāmalāt*] and pasture tax [*al-marāʿī*] and ‘*ushr* in former times [*fī al-qadīm*] given as a tax farm to Malik al-Muʿaẓẓam Nāṣir al-Dīn’.¹¹⁷ In other words, the total *māl* constitutes those taxes previously charged on exchange, pasture and as ‘*ushr*. The total *māl* is listed as $31,677\frac{5}{12}$ dinars, with town dues totalling $20,127\frac{5}{12}$ dinars; within that, ‘professional’ taxes (*al-muḥtarife*) constituted $19,908\frac{11}{12}$ dinars, with the remainder coming as *ẓimmi* from Jewish and Christian communities at Kashan (67^v). This distinction with *ẓimmi* is yet another reminder of the syncretic nature of Īlkhānid taxation after Ghāzān’s conversion, employing forms from both Islamic and Chinggisid traditions. Within the ‘professional’ taxes, the sum of $5,229\frac{7}{24}$ dinars is listed as ‘the group of income to be detailed [in writing] under the 5% *tamghā*’.¹¹⁸ This *tamghā* of 5% is disaggregated from a fiscal category of taxes ‘other than *tamghā*’ (*khārijan ‘an tamghā*), which contributes far more to the treasury ($14,679\frac{5}{8}$

¹¹⁵ *Tūmān* is derived from Mongol *tūmen*, originally an army division of 10,000 men; under the Īlkhāns it was used for regional units: R. Amitai in *El²*, x, p. 619; *TMEN*, II, pp. 632-42.

¹¹⁶ Remler, pp. 161-2.

¹¹⁷ I differ from Remler and Nabipour in my interpretation of *be-ivāḍ* and *fī al-qadīm*, which they treat as invoking ‘tradition’, rather than a replacement for dues – including ‘*ushr* – that had been charged in ‘former’ times: Remler, p. 173; *Die beiden persischen Leitfäden*, p. 138 (Arabic).

مجموع المال المقرر بعوض المعاملات و المراعى و العشر فى القديم بتومان كاشان بعهد الملك المعظم ناصر الدين...

dinars). Precisely which dues were included is unclear: at Kashan, *tamghā* seemingly designated a 5% exchange levy, so perhaps these ‘other’ taxes were those earlier included under *tamghā* in *SN* (where *tamghā al-kabīr* denoted the exchange tax).

The same chapter of *SN*, however, contains another example of a *daftar-e mufrad*, this time containing only the totals for *tamghā* at Kashan (69^r). Here the total income from the town (25,000 dinars) is attributed to specific activities – brokerage; sheep, slave and horse market taxes; and a levy at the abattoir – without any *tamghā al-kabīr* or similar. The Kashan material also suggests that a small proportion of *tamghā* (5,000 dinars) was collected from exchange in the countryside (*be-al-nuvāhī*). But more important for understanding how *tamghā* was collected are the expenditure entries (68^v), which include 3,000 dinars as salary ‘recorded [for] the tax collectors of the *tamghā*’,¹¹⁹ alongside sixty dinars for ‘rent for the *tamghā* places’.¹²⁰ As implied by the ‘location levy’ in the *daftar-e qānūn*, by this point Īlkhānid bureaucracy must have charged the tax at designated places, presumably near or attached to points of exchange. The concatenation of round and non-round numbers implies a degree of ‘stitching-together’ in the compilation of *SN*: some of the examples were ‘real’, some invented. Certainly, this apparent chaos only serves to illustrate the difficulty in extrapolating practice from a normative handbook. But it is also testament to proximity between the written word and the fiscal forms that lay beyond it – these handbooks were meant to be *used*, in a context in which *tamghā* was evidently integral.

Jāmi‘ al-Ḥisāb

JH, compiled in the 1340s and surviving in single manuscript at Konya, is textually constructed in a similar vein to *SN*:¹²¹ to provide various specimen documents for accounting records. Its creator, known from the introduction to be a bureaucrat named ‘Imād al-Dīn Sarāvī, served in the *dīvān* of the Chūpānid ruler Suleiman Khān (1339-44), who governed an area covering northwestern parts of the disintegrating Īlkhānate. The existence of *JH*

¹¹⁹

¹²⁰

¹²¹ *JH*, pp. 6-8 (Arabic).

مرسوم عمله التمغا

اجره مواضع التمغا

testifies to sustained institutional activity despite the polity's breakdown: warring factions did not preclude the fiscal wheels from still turning.

Much of the generic vocabulary in *JH* is familiar from throughout this chapter (*mutavajjihāt*, *āmīl*),¹²² with *tamghā* and other specific exchange taxes appearing only rarely. It features implicitly in Sarāwī's discussion of *hashv* and *bāriz*: 250 dinars of a tax called *al-kabīr* ('the big [one]') are charged on renting a horse for dignitaries at Tabriz, alongside 'additional' taxes (*al-khārijīyye*), a levy towards the court (?) (*al-ḥaẓra*) and a 'separate levy' (*jihāt al-mafrūza*).¹²³ Where *JH* does reflect the evidence from *SN* is in its attestation of the *māl al-tamghāwāt* as one of the 'city' levies of Baghdad; its subdivisions, however, are opaque, categorised initially into money from tax collectors (*al-ummāl*) and from 'chambers' (?) (*al-ḥujar*).¹²⁴

Unlike *SN*, *JH* does not hypothecate revenue towards specific expenditure – in the vein of allocating certain *tamghā* income, rather than other kinds – and this may reflect the absence of *tamghā* in *JH*.¹²⁵ Another possibility, of course, is that the Īlkhānate's collapse had simply precipitated fiscal reorganisation, including at Tabriz; yet as will become clear, *JH* is an outlier among these handbooks in neglecting *tamghā*. Instead, it may simply have been a pragmatic decision by Sarāwī to use different sources of income as illustrations: accounting, rather than tax itself, remained his primary concern.

Risāle-ye Falakīye

RF, which dates to around twenty years after *JH* (c. 1363-4), is contained in only two manuscripts, one in Tehran and the other, from the second half of the fifteenth century, in Istanbul.¹²⁶ The document's attributed date stems from sample accounts, discussed below, that pertain to Tabriz in 1362-3.¹²⁷ As with *SN*, since its publication by Hinz in the early

¹²² *JH*, pp. 18-20 (Arabic); pp. 9-11 (eastern Arabic).

¹²³ *JH*, p. 23 (Arabic); p. 14 (eastern Arabic).

¹²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 48 (Arabic); p. 40 (eastern Arabic).

¹²⁵ On this: Remler, p. 171.

¹²⁶ Fatma Sensoy and Oktay Guvemli, 'The state accounting doctrine book of the Middle East in the 14th century: Risale-i Felekiyye and its place in accounting culture', *British Accounting Review*, 47 (2015), 159-76 (p. 160). See also: Togan, pp. 231-3.

¹²⁷ Sensoy and Guvemli, p. 164.

1950s, Western scholarship has – with the exception of Remler’s study – turned a blind eye to the use of *RF* in tracing Iranian fiscal evolutions. Rectifying that lacuna also allows *tamghā* to be better understood; the term appears more frequently in *RF* than *JH*, although still less often than in *SN*.

As for both earlier handbooks, in *RF* *tamghā* appears briefly in entries relating to *hashv* and *bāriz*. One, listing *mutavajjihāt-e amvāl* (‘levies of the taxation’) around Baghdad, categorises the income remaining after various deductions into equal amounts of *jizya*, *sūq al-khayl* (‘horse market’) and a tax described as the ‘*tamghā* of the community [guild?] of cloth merchants’.¹²⁸ As with *SN*, how far this equal division reflected actual revenue is doubtful, but the connection between *tamghā* and textiles is strikingly similar to the Genoese adoption of the term on the Black Sea: here, again, a Mongol tax is applied to trade enabled by the khans’ imperialism.

Chapter seven – containing documents relating to Tabriz – records a lengthy list of revenues apparently dating to July 1340. Income is divided between *al-balad* (‘the town’), with a revenue of 2,881,000 dinars, and *al-vilāyāt* (‘provinces’), with a revenue of 407,000 dinars. Of the former, the yield from *tamghāvāt* is 2,270,000 dinars, divided as shown in table IV.2, p. 209. The conclusions to be drawn from this list mirror those taken from *SN*, which also attests several of these dues: despite the proliferation of levies, they all fell under the term *tamghāvāt*. Precisely what *tamghā-ye kabīr* was extracted from remains, as with *SN*, moot; perhaps it was a ‘simple’ exchange due, or it was charged on goods that did not fall under other fiscal categories. Similarly lacking in coincidence – besides its substantial income – may be the position of the ‘alcohol and brothel due’ at the end of the list, as if its profits were to be secreted away. *Tamghā* was charged on all urban exchange, moral or not: cities were the site of consumption and trade, of all kinds.

¹²⁸ *RF*, p. 29. The division is repeated in the same chapter: *RF*, p. 32.

Table IV.2

RF: tamghāvāt at Tabriz¹²⁹

<i>tamghā-ye kabīr</i>	exchange levy	200,000
<i>tamghā-ye al-abrīshum</i>	silk <i>tamghā</i>	300,000
<i>qappān</i>	weighing levy ¹³⁰	250,000
<i>khaṭīre-ye gūsfand</i>	sheep (sales?) tax	250,000
<i>madbaghe</i>	tannery due	100,000
<i>nakhkhāsiyye</i>	slave market due	100,000
<i>sūq al-davāb</i>	beast (horse?) market due	120,000
<i>ṣabbāghiye</i>	dyeing tax ¹³¹	150,000
<i>jawhariyye</i>	jewellery and	250,000
<i>va dār al-ḡarb</i>	minting tax ¹³²	
<i>sallakhiyye</i>	slaughtering tax	100,000
<i>sūq al-ḥamīr</i>	donkey market due	50,000
<i>khārijīyye</i>	‘additional’ levies	120,000
<i>sūq al-kharz</i>	bead (?) market due ¹³³	40,000
<i>‘ulāfiyye</i>	fodder (?) due ¹³⁴	30,000
<i>ṭabbākhiyye</i>	cooking (?) due	40,000
<i>khumṡāriyye</i>	alcohol and brothel due ¹³⁵	170,000
<i>va bayt al-luṭf</i>	Total	2,270,000

¹²⁹ Taken from: *RF*, pp. 58-9. The division is replicated almost verbatim in chapter eight of *RF* in the ‘single [account-]book’, although the latter splits the income from alcohol and brothel levies (100,000 and 70,000 dinars respectively): *RF*, p. 129. Cf. Minobu Honda, ‘Tamuga zei’ [= ‘[The] Tamga Tax’], in *Mongoru jidaishi kenkyū*, pp. 323-32 (from pp. 328-9). All figures in dinars.

¹³⁰ *Qappān* is the Persian for a steelyard balance: Steingass, p. 954.

¹³¹ *Ṣabbāgh* is a dyer or painter: Steingass, p. 780.

¹³² In Arabic, *dār al-ḡarb* denotes a mint: Hans Wehr, p. 630.

¹³³ *Kharz*, literally ‘stitching’, can also denote shells, pearls or beads: Steingass, p. 454.

¹³⁴ From Mongol *ulafa*, retained into the fourteenth century.

¹³⁵ *Bayt al-luṭf*, literally ‘house of gentleness’, denoted brothels in pre-modern Iran: Farshid Emami, ‘Discursive Images and Urban Itineraries: Literary Form and City Experience in Early Modern Iran’, *Journal for Early Modern Cultural Studies*, 18 (2018), 154-86 (p. 174).

Remaining urban taxation is accrued from a category entitled *al-jihāt* (611,000 dinars), which Hinz interprets as ‘business taxes’.¹³⁶ How these levies differed precisely from *tamghāvāt* is unclear, but they were seemingly charged on *production*, not *exchange*. While some of the examples overlap with *tamghāvāt* (silk, dyeing), others are new, such as:¹³⁷ the blacksmiths’ levy (*al-ḥaddādiyye*, 30,000 dinars); the bootmakers’ levy (*al-khaffāfiyye*, 20,000 dinars);¹³⁸ the arrow-makers’ levy (*al-sahhāmiyye*, 6,000 dinars);¹³⁹ and, at the very end, *bait al-ḥashīsh* (‘hashish house’), contributing 20,000 dinars. By the time of *RF*’s compilation, the differentiation between *tamghā* as an exchange due, as set against such ‘production’ dues, had hence further increased. By contrast, for the surrounding countryside, revenue is merely divided by region (*nāhiye*) and village (*qarye*). As throughout this section, however, there are no *tamghāchīs* in *RF*; collectors of *tamghāvāt* are listed as ‘*ummāl*’.¹⁴⁰

These ‘*ummāl*’ are also mentioned in a document from October 1362, detailing the form of the ‘*dīvān* ledger [account-]book’ (*daftar al-āvārijāt al-dīvāniyyah*) and listing ‘set expenses’ (*ikhrājāt al-muqarrariye* [sic]) to be paid. 176,300 dinars are allotted for ‘regulations of the tax collectors who are the head of the *tamghāvāt* of the *dīvān*’.¹⁴¹ As was observed earlier – in Juvaynī, Vaṣṣāf and Rashīd al-Dīn – the juxtaposition of these forms reflects the position occupied by *tamghā* within the bureaucratic arsenal of fourteenth-century Iran: as part of a syncretic system that stretched back to Mongol practice in its use of *tamghā*, and Islamic tradition in its embrace of the *dīvān* and terms like ‘*āmil*’.

Across these manuals, *tamghā* features as a key element in fiscal practice, in terms all too familiar from earlier in this thesis. As a coda to this section, a different approach to bureaucratic forms is offered by the *Dastūr al-kātib fī ta’yīn al-marātib* (‘Rules on Writing in the Appointment of Ranks’), written by the bureaucrat Muḥammad ibn Hindūshāh Nakhjavānī in the 1360s.¹⁴² Nakhjavānī began compiling the manual under the Īlkhān Abū Sa’īd, but

¹³⁶ *RF*, p. 17 (Arabic): ‘gewerbliche Steuerauflagen’.

¹³⁷ *RF*, pp. 59-60.

¹³⁸ Cf. Lane, p. 774.

¹³⁹ Cf. Lane, p. 1465.

¹⁴⁰ *RF*, pp. 63-4.

¹⁴¹ *RF*, p. 105.

مرسومات عمالی که بر سر تمغاوات دیوانی اند

¹⁴² On *DK*: István Vásáry, ‘The Preconditions to Becoming a Judge (Yarguči) in Mongol Iran’, *JRAS*, 3rd ser., 26 (2016), 157-69 (pp. 158-9); alongside David Morgan’s article in *EIr*:

only finished it under Shaikh Uvays (1356-75), a member of the Jalāyirid dynasty discussed further in the next section. In an example of more explicit recourse to Mongol legacies, however, Nakhjavānī also dedicated the *Dastūr* to Uvays for the latter's role as 'reviver' of Chinggisid customs under the Jalāyirids.¹⁴³ As the accounting manuals offer guides to fiscal management for bureaucrats, so the *Dastūr* does likewise for epistolary practice – through the '*ilm al-inshā*' ('science of [scribal] composition') – to guide officials. Several of the *Dastūr*'s edicts attest *tamghā* as a due on exchange, in keeping with earlier practice,¹⁴⁴ with reference to *tamghāvāt*,¹⁴⁵ *tamghāchīs*,¹⁴⁶ and a specified 'wine *tamghā*' (*māl-e tamghā-ye sharāb*).¹⁴⁷ One edict in the *Dastūr* precisely elucidates contemporary conceptions of *tamghā*:

...in administering the *tamghā* taxes [*amvāl-e tamghā-hā*] and [collecting] levies from merchants [*ḥuqūq az tujjār*]...if some merchants do not submit [their] goods and merchandise and cloth to the *tamghā*, and [instead] sell secretly, [the collector] must be informed, act justly and speak with them, [especially if] he does not obtain most of the known levies...until the merchants [no longer] abhor [paying it]...[and] the taxes of the *tamghā* do not become fragile [broken]...¹⁴⁸

The relationship between merchants (*tujjār*) and *tamghā* is obvious; but similarly revealing is the (hardly shocking) description of attempts to avoid the tax as far as possible. The consequences for revenue, however, are severe: the *tamghā* becomes 'broken' (*munkasir*). In that sense, the *Dastūr* gives a different perspective to the nicely arranged columns of the

<<https://iranicaonline.org/articles/dastur-al-kateb>> [accessed 14 April 2023].

¹⁴³ Patrick Wing, *The Jalayirids: Dynastic State Formation in the Middle East* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2016), p. 133.

¹⁴⁴ *DK*, I.1, pp. 206, 294, 299, 366, 368, 532-7; I.2, pp. 365, 495, 502; II, pp. 59, 138-42, 264.

¹⁴⁵ *DK*, I.1, pp. 297-8; I.2, pp. 424, 497; II, pp. 105, 143, 165.

¹⁴⁶ *DK*, I.1, pp. 297-8, 300, 532; I.2, pp. 366-7; II, p. 264.

¹⁴⁷ *DK*, II, p. 290.

¹⁴⁸ *DK*, II, p. 139. For commentaries on *tamghā* in *DK*: Barthold and Hinz, p. 263; and Gottfried Herrmann and Gerhard Doerfer, 'Ein persisch-mongolischer Erlass des Ġalāyeriden Šeyḥ Oveys', *Central Asiatic Journal*, 19 (1975), 1-84 (p. 22).

... در ضبط اموال تمغاها و استیفای حقوق از تجار... اگر بعضی از تجار بار و امتعه و اقمشه بتمغا فرو نگیرند و پنهان فروشند چون بران واقف گردد بر طریق معدلت با ایشان خطاب کند و زیادت از حقوق معهود نستانند تا تجار متنفّر نشوند... اموال تمغا منکسر نگردد...

accounting handbooks; however much fourteenth-century bureaucrats adhered to the Īlkhāns' fiscal forms, overcoming merchants' resistance was a more difficult proposition.

Shifting steppes: Tīmūr's invasions

As Nakhjavānī's career makes clear, however much rulers' fortunes waxed and waned, there was nearly always a place for bureaucrats at court; across the fourteenth century, such continuity belied the territorial fluctuations accompanying Īlkhānid collapse. The death of Abū Sa'īd in 1335 – without an obvious heir – created a political vacuum that was filled by a series of (violently rivalrous) Chinggisid claimants, with various entities emerging from this fragmentation:¹⁴⁹ in particular, the Chūpānids, who enjoyed short-lived territorial success in north-western Iran and Anatolia; and the Jalāyirids, led by Ḥasan-e Buzurg ('Ḥasan the Great', d. 1356), who eventually amortised the Chūpānids, and ruled over an area that would grow to encompass Baghdad and Tabriz. Tīmūr, meanwhile, starting out from his powerbase in Transoxiana, would ultimately bring large swathes of Iran under his control from the 1370s: by his death in 1405, Tīmūrid territories stretched from Anatolia in the west to Delhi in the east, and from Shiraz in the south to Urgench in the north. As this chapter turns away from the Īlkhāns towards their successors, it encounters the perennial question – as in Moscow – of how far those post-Mongol rulers perpetuated forms of governance attributed to their Chinggisid forebears. David Morgan decried (especially the later) Tīmūrids as 'haunted by the ghost of [an] unattainable Mongol ideal';¹⁵⁰ in response, Beatrice Forbes Manz has argued for a more nuanced understanding of the Tīmūrid synthesis between Islamic and Mongol practices.¹⁵¹ The question in both this section and the one that follows is: how did *tamghā* fit into these responses?

Beyond the accounting manuals, fourteenth-century attestations of *tamghā* are fragmentary at best. A 1348 inscription from Ani, for example, attests a 'customs collector'

¹⁴⁹ On this chronology: Charles Melville, 'The End of the Ilkhanate and After: Observations on the Collapse of the Mongol World Empire', in *Mongols' Middle East*, pp. 307-35 (pp. 323-7).

¹⁵⁰ David Morgan, 'The Empire of Tamerlane: An Unsuccessful Re-Run of the Mongol State?', in *The Medieval State: Essays Presented to James Campbell*, ed. by J. R. Maddicott and D. M. Palliser (London: Hambledon Press, 2000), pp. 233-41 (p. 239).

¹⁵¹ Beatrice F. Manz, 'The Empire of Tamerlane as an Adaptation of the Mongol Empire: An Answer to David Morgan', *JRAS*, 3rd ser., 26 (2016), 281-91.

called Oldcha, who, to celebrate the longevity of a local powerholder, gave up his rights to collect *tamghā*.¹⁵² A similarly laconic reference is found in one of the hundreds of documents that Gottfried Herrmann discovered in 1970, in a cupboard at the mausoleum of Sheikh Šafi – the progenitor of the Safavid dynasty – at Ardabil, near the modern-day Iran-Azerbaijan border.¹⁵³ Among these documents is a charter granted in the name of the Jalāyirid Shaykh Ḥusain (1374-82), concerning a shop (*dukkān*) held on the condition that ‘[the owner] respond correctly to my [request for] *tamghā*’.¹⁵⁴ This charter, however, is a notably isolated example – other Jalāyirid edicts from Ardabil retain the generic terms *māl* and *mutavajjihāt*, alongside ‘*ummāl*, without mentioning *tamghā*.¹⁵⁵

The next piece of evidence comes not from a Jalāyirid ruler, but from a Tīmūrid prince. This charter (crafted as the Turco-Mongol *sozūmīz* – ‘my word’), surviving from July 1396 and issued in the name of Tīmūr’s third son Mīrān Shāh (d. 1408), confers a grant of *suyūrghāl* – a kind of immune landholding – on a certain Shaikh Dursūn, pertaining to rights over the village of Julfa (?), likely in present-day Armenia. *Tamghā* remains unattested, but a gamut of generic fiscal terms appears in the grant: among other officials, the document addresses ‘tax collectors’ of various kinds (*‘ummāl va mutašarriḡān-e amvāl*) in the local region; it also instructs Dursūn to extract *māl va mutavajjihāt*.¹⁵⁶

Only five years later, in 1401, did Tīmūr himself issue a grant containing *tamghā*; the text confers tax collection rights on one Muḥammad Sulṭān Bahādur, likely Tīmūr’s uncle,

¹⁵² Brosset, p. 51.

¹⁵³ Gottfried Herrmann, ‘Urkunden-Funde in Āzarbāyğān’, *Archäologische Mitteilungen aus Iran*, n.s., 4 (1971), 249-62 (p. 249).

¹⁵⁴ Gottfried Herrmann, ‘Ein Erlaß des Ġalāyeriden Solṭān Ḥoseyn aus dem Jahr 780/1378’, in *Erkenntnisse und Meinungen I*, ed. by Gernot Wießner (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1973), pp. 135-63 (p. 136).

تمغاء خود براستی جواب گفته باشد

¹⁵⁵ Gottfried Herrmann and Gerhard Doerfer, ‘Ein persisch-mongolischer Erlaß aus dem Jahr 725/1325’, *ZDMG*, 125 (1975), 317-46 (pp. 317-21); cf. the Mongolian version of the same grant, which retains *māl* but not *mutavajjihāt*: pp. 341-2. See also: Herrmann and Doerfer, ‘Ein persisch-mongolischer Erlass des Ġalāyeriden Šeyḡ Oveys’, pp. 4-6, 70-1; the Mongolian version imports both *māl* and *mutavajjihāt* as terms. Cf. Gottfried Herrmann, *Persische Urkunden der Mongolenzeit* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2004), nos. 11, 19, 21, 26, 27, 28, pp. 107, 142, 153, 175, 179, 184 (*māl va mutavajjihāt-e dīvānī*).

¹⁵⁶ *EPP*, no. 1, pp. 64-5.

and reflects the practical interplay of Islamic and Turco-Mongol terms. The address clause mimics Mirān Shāh's charter in presenting itself to tax collectors generally, alongside *dārūghān* and *ḥukkām* (both kinds of governor) in Azerbaijan. Later, however, the grant enumerates the dues Bahādūr enjoyed as *tiyūl*, a status akin to *suyūrghāl* and often overlapping with it:¹⁵⁷ 'we granted...taxes and levies [*māl va mutavajjihāt*]...[including from] 'ushr, *tamghā*, cattle and pasture levies, and remaining levies...accepted [as?] *tiyūl*, he may have [this status] free [of further obligations?]'.¹⁵⁸ The phrase *māl va mutavajjihāt* hence seems to encompass a range of taxes, including both *tamghā* and *qubchūr*. The absence of these specific terms, in other words, may have merely reflected a shift in chancery practice to denote all dues as *māl va mutavajjihāt*, rather than the disappearance of *tamghā*.

Narrative sources offer only a few more clues. In the biographical *Zafarnāme* ('Book of Victories') of Sharīf al-Dīn 'Alī Yazdī, there is only one mention of *tamghā*: in 1402, after his campaign in Anatolia, Tīmūr imposed the tax on the *māl-e amān* ('ransom money') of the region, and appointed an appropriately named agent, Naṣr Allāh Tamghāchī, to collect it.¹⁵⁹ By contrast, a story transmitted in Khvāndamīr's history offers a different perspective on Tīmūr's view of *tamghā*; here the key purpose of the anecdote is ethical, not fiscal. A certain cleric (*mawlānā*), Sa'd al-Dīn Taftāzānī, who served at Tīmūr's court in Samarqand, was chastised by his son – also a cleric, although in Herat – of eating illicit food. To expose the overweening hypocrisy of the son, Tīmūr had his vizier offer him five thousand dinars the next time he stayed in Samarqand: there were not sufficient funds in the treasury, but they could be collected in two days from the *tamghā*. The son was promptly issued with a voucher (*birāt*) to redeem against the *tamghā* income; when he gladly accepted it, Tīmūr scolded him for taking money from the *tamghā*, which he describes in Khvāndamīr's retelling as 'the most illicit source [of income] [*ḥarāmtarīn vujūh*]'.¹⁶⁰

The tale offers several insights into *tamghā* under Tīmūr's reign, at least as perceived from a century later. The first is that *tamghā*, even at the highest levels of authority, may

¹⁵⁷ On *tiyūl*: TMEN, II, pp. 667-9.

¹⁵⁸ EPP, no. 3, pp. 72-5. *Quchchūr* should read *qubchūr*.

بخشیدیم...مال و متوجهات دیوانی...عشری و تمغا و مواشی و مراعی و قچچور و سایر الوجوه...مقبول تیول بدو مسلم داشته...

¹⁵⁹ Cited in Beatrice Forbes Manz, *The rise and rule of Tamerlane* (Cambridge: CUP, 1989), p. 171.

¹⁶⁰ Kh, pp. 294-5; HS^{III}, pp. 545-6. On the relationship between clerical and temporal figures: Beatrice Forbes Manz, *Power, Politics and Religion in Timurid Iran* (Cambridge: CUP, 2007), p. 197.

have been seen as immoral, in explicitly religious terms (*ḥarām*). The second, however, is that this did not preclude Tīmūr from charging it: the problem in this case was not the tax *per se*, but the son's willingness to accept immoral earnings given his religious position. The third is institutional, namely the implication of the voucher that *tamghā* was farmed; presumably its income could be redeemed from individual collectors. As will become apparent, how far Khvāndamīr was responding to preoccupations of the later fifteenth century is unclear; in any case, *tamghā* was evidently understood as a tax still extracted by Tīmūr (despite its problems), as reflected in the grant to Muḥammad Sultān Bahādur. To that extent, while this section has mostly been characterised by silence, *tamghā* did not disappear from practice – and was to re-emerge as a source of mounting tension between different groups of the Tīmūrid elite.

After Tīmūr: *tamghā* under threat

At the risk of each section in this chapter beginning with a death, Tīmūr's in 1405 left a decidedly similar situation to that confronting the Īlkhānate nearly a century earlier. After a succession struggle lasting four years, Tīmūr was succeeded by his fourth son, Shāh Rukh, whose forces occupied Samarqand in 1409; the ruler himself, having previously served as governor of Khorasan, remained at its capital, Herat, for the duration of his reign until 1447. The extent of Shāh Rukh's control over the western territories of his father's empire was perennially threatened by Turkmen rivals, initially the Qara Qoyunlu ('Black Sheep') confederation under its leader Qārā Yūsuf.

If the handbooks explored earlier reflect a fourteenth century in hock to the syncretic institutional legacy bequeathed by the Īlkhāns, the same cannot be said of governance after Tīmūr. Historians point consistently to this period as a state of flux, of 'transition' (to use Subtelny's term¹⁶¹), in which questions of legitimacy came to the fore. These concerns often manifested themselves in the tussle between 'Islamic' and 'Turco-Mongol' conceptions of law, rulership, and governance – including taxation.¹⁶² If overall this chapter seeks to encourage a greater awareness of the *post*-Mongol aspect of the khans' imperialism, this section is

¹⁶¹ On this process vis-à-vis tax immunities: Subtelny, *Timurids in Transition*, pp. 36-42.

¹⁶² Beatrice Forbes Manz, 'Temür and the Problem of a Conqueror's Legacy', *JRAS*, 3rd ser., 8 (1998), 21-41 (esp. p. 38).

devoted, as it were, to the *post-post*-Mongol response to Chinggisid models. While Shāh Rukh's own reign witnessed improvements in the operation of the *divān*,¹⁶³ it was mainly after his death that the contestation of Mongol legacies exploded into the open.¹⁶⁴

Shāh Rukh was briefly followed on the throne by his fifth son Ulugh Beg (d. 1449), whose fame otherwise lies in his prowess as an astronomer. Ulugh Beg's desire to charge *tamghā* would become a flashpoint when confronted by the ambitions of his eldest son, 'Abd al-Laṭīf Mīrzā, in the late 1440s.¹⁶⁵ The incident, detailed in the Tīmūrīd diplomat 'Abd al-Razzāq Samarqandī's *Maṭla'-e sa'dayn* ('The Rising of the Auspicious Twin Stars'), was the first in a line of disputes centred around the legitimacy of *tamghā*.¹⁶⁶ After 'Abd al-Laṭīf had seized Balkh – in modern-day Afghanistan – from his father, he 'first broke [destroyed?] the tamghā chest and ordered that the *tamghā* be removed [and that] nobody should frustrate Muslims for this [tax]'.¹⁶⁷ The subtext is clear: his impious father, greedy for revenue, had sacrificed religious devotion on the altar of *tamghā*. Equally intriguing is the apparent presence of a '*tamghā* chest' at Balkh; while the idea may be metaphorical, it epitomises the apparent concentration of (immoral) revenue embodied by Tīmūrīd *tamghā*. That so many figures were willing to support 'Abd al-Laṭīf possibly suggests a coalition between the merchant elite and religious scholars in opposition to the tax. The later historian Mīrkhvānd, writing at the court of Tīmūr's great-grandson, the ruler of Herat Ḥusayn Bāyqarā Mīrzā

¹⁶³ Subtelny, *Timurids in Transition*, pp. 79-82. At some point before 1423, Shāh Rukh's son, Ibrāhīm Sulṭān – governor first of Balkh and then Fars – abolished *tamghā* on the suggestion of a Sufi cleric in Lorestan (a region to the north-west of Isfahan): İlker Evrim Binbaş, *Intellectual Networks in Timurid Iran: Sharaf al-Din 'Alī Yazdī and the Islamic Republic of Letters* (Cambridge: CUP, 2016), p. 264.

¹⁶⁴ Cf. an anecdote reported by Khvāndamīr, in which Shāh Rukh was chastised by a *mawlānā* – in explicitly anti-Mongol terms – for allowing an illicit soap factory: 'you see that I speak your law, but this child of the Mongols [*mughūl bache*] does not hear' (*Kh*, p. 350; *HS*^{IV}, p. 14).

¹⁶⁵ On these developments from Ulugh Beg onwards: Jürgen Paul, *Die politische und soziale Bedeutung der Naqšbandiyya in Mittelasien im 15. Jahrhundert* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1991), pp. 220-7.

¹⁶⁶ On the section detailing Samarqandī's embassy to China on behalf of Shāh Rukh: Muzaffar Alam and Sanjay Subrahmanyam, *Indo-Persian Travels in the Age of Discoveries, 1400-1800* (Cambridge: CUP, 2007), pp. 54-67.

¹⁶⁷ *MS*, II, pp. 971-2; cf. extracts in: O. L. Chekhovich, 'Iz istochnikov no istorii Samarkanda XV v.', in *Iz istorii epokhi Ulugbeka*, ed. by A. K. Arends (Tashkent: Izdatel'stvo Akademii nauk UzSSR, 1965), pp. 300-61. On this succession struggle: Manz, *Power*, pp. 264-6.

الأ صندوق تمغارا شکست و منادی فرمود که تمغارا بر انداختیم کسی ازین جهت متعرض مسلمانان [نشود]...

(1469-1506), adopts several details of this story from Samarqandī – including reference to the ‘*tamghā* chest’, although replacing ‘Muslims’ simply with ‘people’ (*mardum*) – and emphasises Ulugh Beg’s apparent greed:

...we [‘Abd al-Laṭīf] removed this due [*rasm*] among others...the reason for which was that Mīrzā Ulugh [Beg] had taken too much *tamghā*...¹⁶⁸

Khvāndamīr, in turn, adds that this was true too of *zakāt* – the Islamic alms tax – in terms nearly identical to Mīrkhvānd’s (*tamghā va zakāt mubālaghe bisyār dāsht*).¹⁶⁹ While Chekhovich postulates that this addition of *zakāt* may be an invention of the later historian, the notion of *tamghā* as *zakāt* is entirely consistent with fifteenth-century practice observed elsewhere in eastern Iran and Afghanistan.¹⁷⁰

Such details are found in a Tīmūrid iteration of the handbooks discussed earlier, the *Shams al-Siyāq* (‘Sun of *Siyāq* [Numbers]’); compiled by the bureaucrat ‘Alī Shirāzī in Herat between 1428 and 1441, towards the end of Shāh Rukh’s reign, the text now survives in a single manuscript in Istanbul.¹⁷¹ Chapter 9 of the *Shams al-Siyāq* contains an accounting record detailing the expenditure of a Shirazi merchant, Khvāja Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad, on a trade expedition to Herat and – even further north – Sarai. As with previous compilations, transmitting fiscal information is not the main aim of this genre: instead, it is to appropriately list income and expenditure.

Nonetheless, the record reveals in astonishing detail the opportunities and hurdles Shams al-Dīn faced on his curving journey through Transoxiana towards the Volga. First is

¹⁶⁸ Mīrkhvānd, *Tārīkh-e rawḥat al-ṣafā*, [n.ed.], 10 vols (Tehran: Markazī-ye Khayyām Pīrūz, 1338-9 [1959-60]), VI, p. 758; for Mīrkhvānd’s other attestations of *tamghā* and *tamghāchī*: V, pp. 211, 444, 582, 586, 590; VI, 184, 836; for the continued use of *tamghā* as ‘seal’: V, p. 357; VI, 435, 463; cf. Bartol’d, II.2, p. 156; Chekhovich, p. 309.

...ما این رسم را از میان بر داشتیم و...باعث بر این آن بود که میرزا الغ بیگ در باب تمغا مبالغه تمام داشت

¹⁶⁹ *Kh*, p. 360; *HS*^{IV}, p. 32.

¹⁷⁰ Chekhovich, p. 310; Ulrich Haarmann, ‘Staat und Religion in Transoxanien im frühen 16. Jahrhundert’, *ZDMG*, 124 (1974), 332-69 (pp. 364-6).

¹⁷¹ Walther Hinz, ‘Ein orientalisches Handelsunternehmen im 15. Jahrhundert’, *Die Welt des Orients*, 1 (1950), 313-40 (p. 314). The earlier date is from: Subtelny, *Timurids in Transition*, p. 81, n. 33.

the range of goods purchased at Shiraz for export: pearls, wood and a variety of spices.¹⁷² Second are the costs (3,395 dinars) needed to cover the ‘emoluments and requirements of transporting [the goods], and the *tamghā* [of] Khwarazm [Urgench]’.¹⁷³ Of the total, 2,600 dinars are allotted to cover the journey from Shiraz to Urgench, and 795 from Urgench to Sarai, with the syntax mirroring the affiliation between *tamghā* and points of exchange.¹⁷⁴ The goods Khvāja Shams al-Dīn then accrued at Sarai typify the connective tissue engendered by Mongol rule: not only did he buy silk textiles from China, but he also purchased 15,000 dinars worth of ‘Rus’ linen’ (*kitān-e rūṣī*), for transport back to Iran.¹⁷⁵ While it is rare to be able to trace economic activity in such detail, in terms of nomenclature the outgoing journey offers little new on *tamghā* – other than to imply that Tīmūrid rulers still followed Mongol practice.

This changes on the return journey, however, when Shams al-Dīn passes through Herat and Yazd en route to Shiraz. At both, the merchant is charged *zakāt* rather than *tamghā* (6,000 dinars at Herat, 10,000 at Yazd).¹⁷⁶ This use of the Islamic alms tax, *zakāt*, as a ‘canonical’ and jurisprudentially legitimate alternative to *tamghā*, parallels the *zakāt al-tijāra* (‘trade *zakāt*’) in Mamlūk Egypt.¹⁷⁷ Despite the general quietness of the sources on *tamghā* in Shāh Rukh’s reign, evidently such a shift was underway by the second quarter of the fifteenth century – albeit without the comparatively voluminous records that survive of Mamlūk legal debates on the subject.

A similar trajectory is found in a later example of *inshā’* literature, the *Sharafnāme* (‘Book of Honour’), compiled in Herat by the bureaucrat Khvāja ‘Abdallāh Marvārīd at the turn of the sixteenth century. Despite its late date – much like the fourteenth-century fiscal

¹⁷² Hinz, ‘Handelsunternehmen’, pp. 318, 329-30.

¹⁷³ Ibid., pp. 318, 330. ‘Khwarazm’ referred to the city of Urgench, not just the region.

اخراجات و مصالح نقل و تمغا خوارزم

¹⁷⁴ Cf. *bāj* attested between Shiraz and Khwarazm: Hinz, ‘Handelsunternehmen’, pp. 318, 330.

¹⁷⁵ Hinz, ‘Handelsunternehmen’, p. 320.

¹⁷⁶ Ibid., p. 321. If the proportions between the figures are accepted as accurate, the rate at Herat was either 5.3% or 12.5%, depending on whether it was extracted from capital or the value of the goods exchanged. While the 5.3% rate is closer to other attestations of *tamghā-zakāt*, the idea of levying the tax on the entire capital would represent a departure in practice.

¹⁷⁷ Joel Blecher, ‘Scholars, Spice Traders, and Sultans: Arguing Over the Alms-Tax in the Mamluk Era’, *Islamic Law and Society*, 27 (2020), 53-82.

handbooks – it consistently ‘looks back’ to earlier bureaucratic practice. For instance, one charter, issued to a *mawlānā* to secure unhindered passage while travelling, specifies that *zakāt* is not to be required from him.¹⁷⁸ Why would the cleric need this document if *zakāt* was being charged as an alms tax, rather than as a levy on those moving around – most likely, on trade? A similar example is found elsewhere in the *Sharafnāme*. An exemption charter for a settlement near Balkh, the site of irrigation works, lists *zakāt* among the ‘taxes and expenses’ (*māl va ikhrājāt*) otherwise applicable;¹⁷⁹ the context is not religious, so must imply something akin to *tamghā*.¹⁸⁰

To return to the mid-fifteenth century, however, if ‘Abd al-Laṭīf’s removal of *tamghā* at Balkh appears as much a political gambit as an act of piety, the same cannot be said of his ultimate successor Abū Sa‘īd Mīrzā’s (1451-69) decision to abrogate it entirely. After seizing power, ‘Abd al-Laṭīf had had his father executed, but six months later was promptly deposed himself; in the aftermath, Abū Sa‘īd, descended from Tīmūr through Shāh Rukh’s brother Mīrān Shāh, was proclaimed ruler at Bukhara and Samarqand in 1451. He was only able to secure his rule over Khorasan, and Herat, in the late 1450s. Given Khvāndamīr’s comment that Abū Sa‘īd ‘eradicated heresy with religious law [*sharī‘at*]’,¹⁸¹ it is little surprise that he attempted to remove *tamghā* in 1460. The decision, however, came with financial costs. Samarqandī emphasises the sums involved for both taxpayer and taxed, and its consequent longevity as a source of income:

¹⁷⁸ *ST*, p. 104. Roemer interprets this as ‘*Tamga-Einheber*’ (*tamghā* collectors’), although the original (p. 33 [eastern Arabic]) reads *zakāṭchīān*, ‘*zakāt* collectors’.

¹⁷⁹ *ST*, p. 81; p. 13 (eastern Arabic).

¹⁸⁰ See commentary: *ST*, pp. 167, 181.

¹⁸¹ *Kh*, p. 402; *HS*^{IV}, p. 109.

...the *tamghā* for Samarqand and Bukhara, which [constituted] a burdensome amount [on merchants], was entirely removed...the sultanate...ordered that in all the kingdoms under its protection, the *tamghā* and all forbidden [*munāhī*] [levies] would be removed...¹⁸²

Much is also made of the apparent role played by the Sufi cleric (*īshān*) Khvāja ‘Ubayd Allāh Aḥrār (d. 1490), who supposedly visited Herat to convince Abū Sa‘īd of the merits of abolishing *tamghā*.¹⁸³ In the surviving collection of his letters, Khvāja Aḥrār notes that while living in Herat under Shāh Rukh earlier in the fifteenth century, he witnessed ‘deeds... causing the ruin of the religion and the community [*dīn va millat*]’;¹⁸⁴ it is not difficult to see how *tamghā*, in his eyes, may have been one such cause of decay. Yet the same text, the *Majmū‘a-ye murāsālāt* (‘Collection of Correspondence’), also contains various letters of the Sufi ‘Abd al-Raḥman Jāmī – otherwise most famous as a poet – including one concerned with *tamghā*.¹⁸⁵ As with Mīrkhvānd’s record of Ulugh Beg’s greed, Jāmī’s report is much more practically oriented, criticising certain figures who ‘collect more than [allotted as] *tamghā*, and make [merchants] regret their arrival’ at Herat.¹⁸⁶ The issue for Jāmī is implicitly

¹⁸² MS, p. 1233; see also: Jürgen Paul, ‘Forming a Faction: The *Ḥimāyat* System of Khwaja Ahrar’, *IJMES*, 23 (1991), 533-48 (p. 538).

تمغاء سمرقند و بخارا که مبلغی سنگین بود مطلقاً بر انداختند...سلطنت...فرمود که در تمام ممالک محروسه تمغا و جمیع مناهیه را بر انداختند...

¹⁸³ On Khvāja Aḥrār, see J. M. Rogers in *Elr*:

<<https://iranicaonline.org/articles/ahrar-kaja-obaydallah-b>> [accessed 20 April 2023]

On Khvāja Aḥrār’s socioeconomic position: Jo-Ann Gross, ‘The Economic Status of a Timurid Sufi Shaykh: A Matter of Conflict or Perception?’, *Iranian Studies*, 21 (1988), 84-104.

¹⁸⁴ *The Letters of Khvāja ‘Ubayd Allāh Aḥrār and his Associates*, ed. and trans. by Jo-Ann Gross and Asom Urumbaev (Leiden: Brill, 2002), no. 324, pp. 187-9 (see also commentary on p. 35); cf. no. 438, pp. 262-3.

¹⁸⁵ On Jāmī’s relationship with Khvāja Aḥrār, including in relation to *tamghā* and its excesses: Hamid Algar, *Jami* (New Delhi: OUP, 2013), pp. 36, 110.

¹⁸⁶ *Pis’ma-avtografy Abdarrakhmana Dzhami iz “Al’boma Navoi”*, ed. and trans. by Asom Urumbaev (Tashkent: Fan, 1982), no. 5, p. 39 (Arabic); (barely legible) facsimile: p. 6 (eastern Arabic) (‘берут у них что-нибудь сверх тамги и заставляют купцов сожалеть о своем прибытии’). See also: A. Urumbaev, ‘Pis’ma-avtografy iz “Al’boma Navoi” – istochnik po izucheniiu nalogooblozheniia v Khorasane v XV v.’, *Vostochnoe istoricheskoe istochnikovedenie i spetsial’nye istoricheskie ditsipliny*, 3 (1995), 121-57 (pp. 130-1).

underpinned as much by questions of statecraft as those of ethics: if merchants do not arrive, there is no income.

A snapshot of opposition among the Tīmūrid elite to attempts to restrict or abolish *tamghā*, meanwhile, is captured in an unpublished hagiographical source, the *Manāqib-e Aḥrār* ('Virtues of Aḥrār'), by Khvāja Aḥrār's acolyte Mawlānā Sheikh, an extract of which has been printed by Chekhovich;¹⁸⁷ the *Manāqib* describes the response of a certain Emir Jānī, governor (*ḥākim*) of Samarqand, on discovering Abū Sa'īd's decision to abolish the *tamghā* of Transoxiana, which had 'generated [significant] sums of income every year'.¹⁸⁸ The emir cursed Khvāja Aḥrār with inappropriate words, and promptly fell ill. Despite the emir sending his son to seek forgiveness from the cleric, the latter's response was simply to ask, 'how is the [*e*]mīr *tamghāchī*?'.¹⁸⁹ Eventually, the emir died – implicitly in revenge for his slander against Khvāja Aḥrār.

Similarly fatal consequences appear in another story contained in a Sufi hagiographical work entitled *Rashaḥāt-e 'Ain al-ḥayāt* ('Sprinklings of the Fountain of Life'), compiled by Ḥusayn Kāshifī in c. 1504. It relates how a group of *tamghāchīs* sought to overturn Abū Sa'īd's edict abolishing *tamghā* by bribing his emirs and convincing the sultan to 'restore that heretical doctrine [*tamghā*]'.¹⁹⁰ When Khvāja Aḥrār heard of the plot, he cursed its instigators and threatened them with death; on hearing this, Abū Sa'īd reversed his decision (again). While one of the plotters recanted, the other eleven mysteriously died that night: 'in the morning eleven coffins with *tamghāchīs* were brought out of the town'.¹⁹¹ Besides the insight this tale gives into the cleric's sway over Abū Sa'īd, it also reflects a step-change in the moral importance of *tamghā* in Transoxiana by the late fifteenth century: it had become a matter of life and death.

¹⁸⁷ *Letters*, p. 9.

¹⁸⁸ Chekhovich, p. 311.

¹⁸⁹ Chekhovich, p. 311.

¹⁹⁰ Ḥusayn ibn 'Alī Kāshifī, *Rashaḥāt* (Kanpur: Munshi Naval Kishore, 1912), p. 300; cf. Chekhovich, p. 312; Paul, *Politische und soziale Bedeutung*, p. 214.

¹⁹¹ Kāshifī, *Rashaḥāt*, p. 301; cf. Chekhovich, pp. 312-13.

صباح یازده تابوت از [آن] تمغاچیان را از شهر بیرون برده اند

هر سال مبلغاء حاصل میشود

میر تمغاچی چنند

تجدید آن بدعت

Far-flung though it may appear, there is an obvious parallel between the fate of the *mytnik–mytar*’ in Rus’ – decried as unjust in the context of their Biblical hinterland – and the Herat *tamghāchīs*. As seen in chapters II and III, the existence of *myt* in Rus’ enabled the ostensibly ‘alien’ *tamga* to prosper as the root of Muscovite fiscal practice; under the Tīmūrīds, by contrast, it was that very non-canonical foreignness that underlay the opposition of Sufi clerics like Khvāja Aḥrār. To directly compare Kirill’s injunctions against *myt* with Khvāja Aḥrār’s invective against *tamghā* is going too far – the Orthodox ‘desert monk’ and the Sufi *īshān* conceived differently of their relationship to ‘worldly’ life – but both used fiscal practice to exemplify questions of justice and morality. That they differed in which tax to attack is testament to how *tamghā*, like all new forms endowed by the Mongols, was pitched into discrete cultural spheres that fashioned it in opposing ways.

While such debates were taking place in the eastern Iranian lands, in southern and western areas, new nomadic confederations were accruing ever more power. The Qara Qoyunlu reached their greatest extent under Jahān Shāh (1438-67), who became a persistent irritant to Abū Sa’īd; Jahān Shāh’s expansive policy, however, eventually faltered in the face of the Aq Qoyunlu (‘White Sheep’), who emerged from eastern Anatolia to challenge Qara Qoyunlu power under Ūzūn Ḥasan (d. 1478). Ūzūn attacked Jahān Shāh’s camp in November 1467, killing the Qara Qoyunlu sultan and scattering its powerbase; the Aq Qoyunlu would subsequently rule most of Iran until the Safavid conquests. Despite their political differences, however, both entities presided over shared cultures of rule that – through the Jalāyirids – stretched back to the Mongols.¹⁹² For instance, two *suyūrghāl* grants, the first issued by Jahān Shāh and the second by Ūzūn Ḥasan, employ similar styles to exempt recipients from various obligations. Yet in respect of fiscal practice, both employ the generic *māl va mutavajjihāt*, without offering any evidence for *tamghā*.¹⁹³

A key piece of evidence for Ūzūn Ḥasan’s fiscal policy is the set of stipulations that – to contemporaries and sixteenth-century historians at least – constituted a fixed law code (*qānūn*). Much like the Chinggisid *yāsā* of earlier centuries, the idea of a universal law was stronger than its practical application; some indications from the Ottoman archives, however, do suggest that the *qānūn* was more than merely a dead letter, albeit without any

¹⁹² *CHI* VI, p. 184.

¹⁹³ *UIK*, nos. 1, 2; pp. 149, 151.

pretensions towards a unified whole.¹⁹⁴ After the conquest of Anatolia by the Ottoman sultan Selim I in 1514, the fiscal regime of various towns was left intact and recorded by their new rulers.¹⁹⁵ At Diyaribekir, for instance – near the present-day Turkish border with Syria – the *qānūn* attributed to Ūzūn stipulated both *bac* (*bāj*) and *tamga* (*tamghā*), which was equal to 5%.¹⁹⁶ In the town of Ergani, meanwhile, lying northwest of Diyaribekir, the *tamga-i ḥarīr* ('silk *tamghā*') was charged at 4%.¹⁹⁷ The 'attribution' to Ūzūn may of course be an attempt to merely justify custom that the local elite sought to perpetuate; but the retention of *tamghā* until the collapse of Aq Qoyunlu authority would reflect the report by a contemporary historian, 'Abdullāh al-Ghiyāthī, that Ūzūn 'was just and beneficent and wished to abrogate the *tamghā* altogether throughout his kingdom. However, his amirs...did not agree...and he fixed it at one dirham in 20 dirhams, (i.e. reducing it) by half...'.¹⁹⁸ Such a rate – 5% – would accord with the evidence from Diyaribekir, albeit the 'previous' 10% would be higher than most other attestations.

A 1479 grant, meanwhile, issued by Ūzūn's son and eventual successor as sultan, Ya'qūb Beg (1478-90), details the fiscal immunities held by the shrine dedicated to Fāṭima b. Mūsā at Qom.¹⁹⁹ The address clause remains vague, beyond attesting figures like *'ummāl*; the immunity clauses, however, offer greater detail:

...that in the town and province of Qom, whether [they exist] by legacy or acquisition, they [the shrine's *sayyids*] shall not be required to pay any tax [*māl*] or expenses [*ikhrājāt*] or any *dīvān* levies [*ḥuqūq-e dīvānī*], and they will be free and exempt from them.²⁰⁰

¹⁹⁴ Summary taken from Hinz, 'Steuerwesen', pp. 178-9.

¹⁹⁵ Ömer Lütfü Barkan, 'Osmanlı devrinde Akkoyunlu hükümdari Uzun Hasan beye ait kanunlar', *Tarih Vesikaları*, 1 (1941), 91-106, 184-97. My Turkish is very limited, so I have relied on the indications in Hinz, 'Steuerwesen', p. 190.

¹⁹⁶ 'Osmanlı devrinde', pp. 97-8.

¹⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 184.

¹⁹⁸ V. Minorsky, 'The Aq-qoyunlu and Land Reforms', *BSOAS*, 17 (1955), 449-62 (p. 450, n. 4).

¹⁹⁹ *UIK*, no. 3, pp. 154-61. References to *UIK* are given to lines rather than pages.

²⁰⁰ Ll. 32-3.

...که در شهر و ولایت قم دارند ارثا و اکتسابا مال و اخراجات و حقوق دیوانی نمیگرفته اند و برایشان معاف و مسلم بوده

Ya'qūb Beg's charter, then, seems to represent the Tīmūrid variety of freedoms enjoyed by religious communities throughout Eurasia in the aftermath of the Mongol invasions – dating back to the immunities afforded to Daoist and Buddhist monks in China. Perhaps as a result, the phrasing becomes eerily similar to a Muscovite string clause:

...[officials] are not to stay at their [members of the shrine's] houses, nor to requisition their animals or their dependent farmers [?] for *ulāgh*, and are not to obtain cattle [obligations] or the pasture levy or *tamghā*, and their farmers should not be forced to labour or perform hunting service, and *qubchūr* should not be collected [from them]...²⁰¹

Various elements of this clause reveal the relationship between dues in pre-Safavid Iran. In particular, there is an intriguing verbal distinction between the use of *giriŧtan* ('to take, catch') for levies in kind (*ulāgh*) versus *sitadan* ('to take, seize, carry off'), employed for *mavāshī* (cattle), *marā'ī* (pasture) and *tamghā*; this latter injunction parallels Tīmūr's 1401 grant. While in modern Persian these verbs are broadly synonymous, it may be an indication of conceptual difference between obligations like *ulāgh* and taxes like *qubchūr* and *tamghā*.²⁰² Thinking comparatively, meanwhile, this clause is not a 'translated' iteration of the string clauses found in Rus', but there *are* clear parallels with Muscovite forms: the enumeration of exemptions, both financial and in kind, threaded through post-Mongol bureaucracy across Eurasia.

These provisions were confirmed in almost identical terms in a *tarkhān* grant issued by Alvand Bahādur – seemingly a rival of Ya'qūb Beg – in February 1490.²⁰³ Subsequently, however, the charter expands on its predecessor's syntax in relation to *tamghā*. The manuscript is corrupted and unreadable, but seems to exempt the grantee from paying, again in the manner of Muscovite *zhalovannye gramoty*: 'in every place [...] they should not

²⁰¹ Ll. 34-5.

...در خانهاء ایشان فرود نیاورند و چهارپایان ایشان و متعلقان ایشانرا به الاغ نگیرند و مواشی و مراعی و تمغا نستانند و برزگران ایشانرا بیگار و شکار و نفرمایند و قچچور نستانند...

²⁰² Steingass: pp. 655, 1083. Busse incorrectly translates *tamghā* as 'herd tax' (*Herdensteuer*): *UIK*, p. 159.

²⁰³ *UIK*, no. 4, pp. 162-8.

claim *tamghā* [from the grantee], and nobody should hinder them'.²⁰⁴ Despite putative struggles against *tamghā* under the Aq Qoyunlu, any attempts to wean the *dīvān* off commercial taxation evidently failed: it was too valuable to remit.

Narrative sources tell a similar story. The *Tārīkh-e Amīnī* ('Trustworthy History'), written by the cleric Faḍlullāh ibn Rūzbihān Khunjī in the last quarter of the fifteenth century, offers an account of later Aq Qoyunlu rulers, especially Ya'qūb, to whom Khunjī dedicates the work. On two occasions, *tamghā* becomes enmeshed in the political questions rearing their head in view of the increasing Safavid threat, to whom Khunjī – a Sunni Muslim, contrasting with the future shahs' Twelver Shiism – was opposed.²⁰⁵ The first instance was in c. 1486, when Ya'qūb resolved to send a pilgrim caravan (*maḥmal*) to Mecca, 'the people' (*ahl-e islām*) were invited to accompany it in performing *hajj*; according to Khunjī, their participation was encouraged through a proclamation promising that both going to and coming from the holy city, the *maḥmal* and its entourage would be exempted from a range of dues – in particular *tamghā*, *bāj* and *rāhdārī*.²⁰⁶ *Bāj* is familiar as a transit toll from earlier in this chapter, and *rāhdārī* seems to have implied a similar idea (*rāh* is 'road'; *dārī*, 'that which is taken').

More intriguing still are the bureaucratic accoutrements seemingly involved in these dues' collection. Not only were pilgrims assured that they would not be detained at the *tamghā-khāne* ('*tamghā* house'²⁰⁷) with their belongings, but Khunjī also invokes a range of seemingly hypothecated agents: *esghāl-e dīvānī* ('officials of the *dīvān*'), *rāhdārān*, *bājdārān* (responsible for their respective levies), and most crucially, *tamghāchiyān*. The episode again has the flavour of a string clause: the pilgrims are afforded the status of *tarkhān*, alongside protection from messengers attempting to requisition *ulāgh*. In this instance, the exemption is not expressed theologically, albeit the spectacle evidently served as an exemplification of religious prowess. But this temporary remittance was surely to encourage pilgrims to travel with the *maḥmal*, not part of a broader political project against immoral taxation.

²⁰⁴ Ll. 36-7.

...در هر محل که [...] تمغا نطلبند و هیچ آفریده مانع نشود...

²⁰⁵ Minorsky, 'Aq-qoyunlu', p. 451.

²⁰⁶ PTA, pp. 54-5; TA, p. 223. On this episode: Walther Hinz, *Irans Aufstieg zum Nationalstaat im 15. Jahrhundert* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1936), pp. 103-4.

²⁰⁷ Minorsky posits the parallel between this institution and Muscovite *tamozhnia*: PTA, p. 54, n. 5.

In contrast, the second appearance of *tamghā* in the *Tārīkh-e Amīnī* is concerned specifically with clerical involvement in governing the Aq Qoyunlu. Khunji attacks the machinations of a particular *qāḍī* (religious judge), ‘Isā Sāvajī, who had risen to become the *éminence grise* of Ya‘qūb’s court. This incident has attracted significant scholarly attention for its historiographical portrayal of a political split that would otherwise have been brushed under the carpet of established narrative.²⁰⁸ The description of ‘Isā’s behaviour in the *Tārīkh-e Amīnī* is laced with unmissable implications of Janus-faced behaviour. On the one hand:

...his particular intention was to put in order the affairs of land-tenure...in which the limpid clarity of the commandments of the faith had become clouded with the opaqueness of the [Chinggisid] *yāsā*.²⁰⁹

Khunji’s rhetoric has earlier damned ‘Isā, however – with a venom of which Plato would be proud – for the fact that ‘the *qāḍī* mostly associated with poets’.²¹⁰ And, as in the *Republic*, in Khunji’s telling this poetic sensibility drove ‘Isā to egoism over good governance. *Tamghā* emerges as a flashpoint in this contest: ‘Isā sought to replace *tamghāvāt* with *kafāyat* (‘legal revenues’, see above, pp. 186-7), repealing illicit dues ‘according to the tradition transmitted by ‘Ā’isha’.²¹¹ I have not located precisely which lineage of ‘Ā’isha this refers to, but the recourse to *ḥadīth* is reminiscent of the campaign waged by Khvāja Aḥrār under the Tīmūrids, although as with the latter it also had the effect of alienating swathes of the Aq Qoyunlu elite – besides shifting the tax burden from merchants to the peasantry in the name of *sharī‘a*. After Ya‘qūb’s death, ‘Isā was promptly hanged in revenge for his machinations.

The main lesson of these episodes – in both Tīmūrid and Aq Qoyunlu politics – is that Mongol legacies, and their implications, were never far away. Trying to adjudicate from the surviving material whether rulers and courtiers were acting in (quite literal) good faith is a

²⁰⁸ For a summary: John E. Woods, *The Aqquyunlu: Clan, Confederation, Empire* (Minneapolis: Bibliotheca Islamica, 1976), pp. 156-7; Minorsky, ‘Aq-qoyunlu’, pp. 452-8; on the impact of these reforms on landholding, especially *suyūrghāl*: Maria Eva Subtelny, ‘Centralizing Reform and its Opponents in the Late Timurid Period’, *Iranian Studies*, 21 (1988), 123-51 (pp. 127-9).

²⁰⁹ *PTA*, p. 92; *TA*, p. 340.

²¹⁰ *PTA*, p. 91.

²¹¹ *PTA*, p. 93; *TA*, p. 342.

fool's errand; in any case, narrative histories like the *Tārīkh-e Amīnī* invested in personalities, rather than seeking to unmask the perpetual symbiosis of religion and politics. The point is that *tamghā* acted as a lightning rod for these disagreements, as post-Mongol rulers sought to navigate their way through the long-running legacy of the khans' conquests. While Muscovite rulers never had to justify their use of *tamga* – *myt* attracted that opprobrium – their counterparts in Iran and Central Asia ultimately had to work harder to justify their appropriation of a Mongol form of governance.

Postscript: Ottoman, Safavid and Mughal *tamghā* in early modernity

On the night of 25 March 1565, the Safavid shah Tahmasp I (1524-76) is meant to have had a dream featuring the twelfth imam, Muḥammad al-Mahdī (d. c. 868); the imam ordered him to remove *tamghā* and other such uncanonical trading taxes.²¹² The Safavids had inherited the fiscal form from their forebears, and had initially perpetuated it in some capacity: an anonymous Venetian merchant, visiting Tabriz in the early sixteenth century, recorded how Christians were required to pay 10% on all merchandise; Muslims 5%; and 'goods in transit' were not taxed on a percentage basis, but instead by weight. A purchase tax seemingly also applied, to be collected by the 'revenue-farmer'.²¹³ Whether or not this particular schema was known as *tamghā* remains moot, but a decree issued in the name of the Safavid dynasty's founder, Ismā'īl I (1501-24), includes a wide variety of taxes under the label *tamghā*, many familiar from the Īlkhānid sources: a tax on livestock (seemingly also labelled as *zakāt*), alongside levies at the slaughterhouse and cattle market.²¹⁴ The higher rates listed at Tabriz, not least differentiated by religion, are evidently distinct from the ~3% commonality seen earlier; in light of the debates discussed in this chapter, however, it is striking that *tamghā* still persisted as a form.

²¹² Heribert Horst, 'Zwei Erlasse Šāh Ṭahmāsp I', *ZDMG*, 110 (1960), 301-9 (pp. 304-5); for the main edict, found on a mosque inscription: Hinz, 'Steuerinschriften', pp. 759-61.

²¹³ 'The Travels of a Merchant in Persia', in *A Narrative of Italian Travels in Persia*, ed. and trans. by Charles Grey (London: Hakluyt Society, 1873; repr. Cambridge: CUP, 2010), pp. 139-207 (pp. 172-3).

²¹⁴ Willem Floor, *A Fiscal History of Iran in the Safavid and Qajar Periods, 1500-1925* (New York: Bibliotheca Persica Press, 1998), p. 149. By the early eighteenth century, these trade dues had been superseded by a more eclectic range of *dīvān* duties, including at border posts: *Tadkhirat al-mulūk: A Manual of Safavid Administration*, ed. and trans. by V. Minorsky (London: Luzac, 1943), pp. 173-86.

Tamghā not only persisted in Safavid Iran, but is likewise attested in all the so-called ‘gunpowder empires’ of the early modern period, the Mughals and the Ottomans included. The first Mughal emperor Bābur (d. 1530), for instance – grandson of the Tīmūrid Abū Saʿīd – accrued 800,000 *shahrukhs* in revenue as ruler of Kabul, which encompassed revenue from *tamghā* charged, like at Tabriz, at 5% on Muslim merchants and 10% on others.²¹⁵ As under the late Tīmūrids, this *tamghā* was also sometimes known as *zakāt*,²¹⁶ despite constant efforts to abrogate it under either name.²¹⁷ Under the Ottomans, meanwhile – in addition to the lists given above for Diyaribekir and elsewhere in Anatolia – various *tamghās* were still charged on the Black Sea. At Caffa, for instance, both a ‘wine *tamghā*’ (*tamga-i hamr*) and a *tamghā* on animal skins and fur are recorded in 1542.²¹⁸

How *tamghā* eventually disappeared as a commercial tax in all three empires lies beyond the scope of this thesis, but such attestations serve to illustrate the trajectory it had taken as a fiscal tool since the Tīmūrids and their neighbours. The bureaucratic vocabulary of Safavid Iran – modulated by the dictates of Islam – eventually began to look elsewhere for its fiscal terminology: unlike in Russian, the modern Iranian Persian term for customs, *gumruk*, is derived not from *tamghā*, but from the Ottoman Turkish *gümrük*, itself derived from the Greek *kommerkion*. Etymologically, then, this thesis has come full circle: as the Venetians described *tamghā* as *commercium*, so a cognate of *commercium* came to supersede *tamghā* in Iran.

The interplay of fiscal terminology in late medieval western Eurasia was ultimately a product of competing political ambitions, modulated through language – language as a tool of governance, and language as a tool for accessing these forms historically. Morally inflected as rulers’ ambitions often were, *tamghā* offered the institutions of late medieval Iran and

²¹⁵ Stephen F. Dale, *The Garden of the Eight Paradises: Bābur and the Culture of Empire in Central Asia, Afghanistan and India (1483-1530)* (Leiden: Brill, 2004), pp. 191-4.

²¹⁶ S. A. Azimdzhanova, *Gosudarstvo Babura v Kabule i v Indii* (Moscow: Nauka, 1977), p. 142: ‘merchants’ tax’ [*māl-e tijarāt*] is listed under *zakāt* in Bābur’s treatise, the *Mubaiyin*.

²¹⁷ Nazer Aziz Anjum, ‘Security on the Routes in Mughal India’, *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress*, 66 (2005-6), 446-55 (pp. 449-50).

²¹⁸ Oleksandr Halenko, ‘Wine Production, Marketing and Consumption in the Ottoman Crimea, 1520-1542’, *JESHO*, 47 (2004), 507-47 (p. 510); Mihnea Berindei and Gilles Veinstein, ‘Règlements de Süleymān I^{er} concernant le livā’ de Kefe’, *Cahiers du monde russe et soviétique*, 16 (1975), 57-104 (p. 76).

Central Asia a source of revenue that was usually too good to pass up. Despite the ostensible strictures of Islam against the levies epitomised by *tamghā*, the Īlkhān Ghāzān's conversion posed no obvious issue to its continued collection: as Rashīd al-Dīn's writings reflect, the goal of the khan's reforms was to improve the fairness of commercial taxation for both ruler and ruled. As the merchant handbooks of the fourteenth century attest, however, the aim of the later Īlkhāns and their immediate successors was never to abolish the tax entirely.

At the same time, a crucial aspect of this chapter – and, indeed, of this thesis as a whole – has been to explore the post-Mongol era, as much as the period when the khans themselves held sway. The key moment of appropriation in Moscow came not while the grand princes were still under Sarai's suzerainty, but after; only as they freed themselves from that position of dependence did *tamga* become an integral part of the Muscovite fiscal system. The paradigm is clearly distinct in Iran, where the Īlkhānid polity collapsed entirely, and its legacy was more fractured. But in both cases, the political systems that emerged had to grapple with forms endowed by the Mongols, forms that under the Tīmūrids would become the site of protracted contestation between different constituencies of the elite. As I will highlight more keenly in my conclusion, such tensions reflect the phenomena traced by modern postcolonial theorists – the legacy of empire does not end with territorial independence. Yet in the end, of course, those debates around Mongol forms of governance never prompted rulers to turn their backs on taxing commerce: to paraphrase Sa'dī, harassing merchants just enough made *tamghā* worth it.

Conclusion

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Ezra Pound, *Cantos*, LV

In the *China Cantos* (1940) – amidst his increasing antisemitism and penchant for Mussolini’s politics – Ezra Pound turned to Confucianism to express his increasingly vocal opinions on statecraft. In Pound’s reading and writing of Chinese history, the Mongols feature among many ‘invaders’, disruptors to the grand sweep of imperial destiny; only when Chinggis Khan embraces the archetypal tenets of sedentary society, ‘hearing of alphabets, hearing of *mores*’, can the Mongols become historical actors. It is no surprise that Pound explicitly delineates between a racist vision of the ‘barbarian’, nomadic other (‘mongrels’ who ‘exterminate’) and a China persistently under siege. At the same time, the poet’s conception of tax is hardly positive; the notion that rulers ‘make more anyhow if you tax ’em’ reflects his position that for the state, ‘recompense is fundamentally DIFFERENT to a tax’.²

¹ Ezra Pound, *The Cantos* (London: Faber & Faber, 1975), p. 300.

² Niccolò Zapponi, *L’Italia di Ezra Pound* (Rome: Bulzoni, 1976), p. 52 (‘questo ricompense è fondamentalmente DIFFERENTE d’una tassa’); cf. Carol H. Cantrell and Ward Swinson, ‘Cantos LII-LXXI: Pound’s Textbook for Princes’, *Paideuma*, 17 (1988), 111-44; 18 (1989), 67-128.

Something that looks very like *tamga* appears in this context: ‘three and 1/3rd on necessities’, imported verbatim from the eighteenth-century Jesuit Joseph de Mailla’s *Histoire générale de la Chine* (‘General History of China’, 1777-85).³ Pound’s epistemological vaunting of ‘facts’ (dates, names, dynasties) finds easy expression in taxation, the ostensible dryness and concreteness of which leaves little room for contingency. Indeed, in a letter to Mussolini accompanying a copy of the *China Cantos*, he commented that ‘I hope I have done a *useful job* in condensing some historical facts’.⁴ His mantra that *Dichten* = *condensare* worked just as well for history as for poetry. At heart, it epitomises a notion of form as static and immutable – something I have sought to avoid throughout this thesis.

Instead, I have elucidated how fiscal forms like *tamga* could *do* things: in their use, their repetitions, their affordances, they not only offered rulers a means of financing their government, but also positioned them within the wider political space of Eurasia. These forms were not static, but often messy, moulded to suit the dictates of particular political contexts. In analysing these forms, my argument has not been economic; to that extent, I differ from those who would more explicitly re-orient global change around cross-cultural capital and modes of production.⁵ I do not see a contradiction between these approaches and mine, but the question is what the historical record for Mongol and post-Mongol Eurasia – not least in the Slavonic world – can be made to do. Only occasionally, for instance in Ilkhānid bureaucratic manuals, do glimpses emerge of the economic forces underlying the collection of *tamga*. This lack is especially acute where the source base for *tamga* is primarily negative (above all in Moscow, but to some extent also in Yuan China): the surviving documents are interested in when the tax is *not* charged, but there is little to guide the

³ Joseph-Anne-Marie de Moyriac de Mailla, *Histoire générale de la Chine*, 12 vols (Paris: [Chez] Pierres/Clousier, 1777-85), ix, pp. 135-6 (‘un trentième sur toutes les autres marchandises’); cf. John J. Nolde, *Blossoms from the East: The China Cantos of Ezra Pound* (Orono, ME: National Poetry Foundation, 1983), pp. 243-60.

⁴ Cited in Ken Su, ‘The Genealogy of the China Cantos’, in *Cross-Cultural Ezra Pound*, ed. by John Gery and others (Clemson, SC: Clemson University Press, 2021), pp. 91-102 (p. 91) (original in Zapponi, *L’Italia*, p. 53).

⁵ See, for instance, the recent ‘Before Capitalist Hegemony’ workshop at Cambridge:

<<https://www.crassh.cam.ac.uk/events/36584/>> [accessed 26 August 2023]

For the classic exposition of such ideas, albeit not ‘globally’ oriented: John Haldon, *The State and the Tributary Mode of Production* (London: Verso, 1993).

practical impact of its extraction. Studied from this perspective, the supposedly atemporal distinctiveness of 'Asia' – in either Marxist or explicitly Orientalist terms – fades away, to be replaced by more fluid reflections of political change. To that end, I have avoided the stacking of concepts on concepts with a single form: *tamga*.

Thinking about *tamga* as a 'form' has allowed its various guises to be traced across Mongol and post-Mongol Eurasia. In China, the Yuan emperors retained the form *shangshui* from their predecessors; bilingual Chinese-Mongolian charters, however, reveal its identity with *tamga*, and its exemption from religious institutions, in parallel with Mongol practice elsewhere. On the Black Sea, meanwhile, Venetian and Genoese sources translated the khans' *tamga* into their own fiscal worldview, labelling it *commercium* – a term employed throughout the eastern Mediterranean – and so divorced it from the Jochids' own label. Only through a careless copyist and Pegolotti's handbook do *tamoga*, *tamunga* and *camunoca* appear in the historical record. Yet however much *tamga* was moulded to suit the Italian republics' conception of the trading spheres they operated in, the Genoese *Massaria* archives reveal how *tamoga* persisted at Caffa even after Jochid authority had collapsed: presumably thanks to the textile trade along the 'Silk Roads', it was in Genoa's fiscal interest to retain such commonalities of form, rather than make it 'fit' Italian bureaucratic models.

As for Caffa and Tana, so too for Īlkhānid Tabriz, where Pegolotti identifies *tamunga* as the primary fiscal form charged on exchange. As noted in chapter I, these sources can appear like distorting mirrors, warping any fixed ground until it becomes impassable; to follow Homi Bhabha, they refract 'the performativity of translation as the staging of cultural difference'.⁶ My argument is that thinking of *tamga* as a form allows its evolution to be conceived more keenly from multiple angles: the ~3.33% rate reflects qualitative similarity, even if the term *tamga* is rendered differently in local contexts. In post-Mongol Moscow, by contrast, *tamga* was appropriated in both word and deed; not only does the focus on exchange mirror Mongol practice in other parts of Eurasia, but interprincely agreements imply that the ~3.33% rate may have persisted into the fifteenth century.

Such conclusions have hitherto been clouded by the historiographical tendency to essentialise the various regions of post-Mongol Eurasia. *Tamga* may have started life as a 'Mongol' tax – to adopt the question posed by chapter I – but rapidly became subject to

⁶ Homi Bhabha, *The Location of Culture* (London: Routledge, 1994), p. 227.

pressures that necessarily accompany political change. As the Great Khanate fragmented, so its Jochid, Īlkhānid and Yuan successors responded to their new authority by profiting from trade; as those polities devolved in turn to other dynasties and powerholders, whether Muscovite grand princes or Tīmūrid sultans, so these latter rulers were left to employ or reject earlier fiscal forms. In that sense, to ask whether *tamga* was ‘Mongol’, ‘Jochid’ or ‘Muscovite’ is to negate how institutions adopted repeated forms of governance: their routinisation could elide or integrate their novelty (or, in Koselleck’s terms, their *Einmaligkeit*, their ‘singularity’). As discussed at the end of chapter III, that one of the Gennadii translators could misconstrue the Biblical Tobit as *tamozhnik* is a case in point: the term’s etymological origins lay in *tamga*, but any ‘difference’ it embodied had faded by fifteenth-century Novgorod. Unlike *myt* and its cognates, *tamga* was unencumbered by connotations of injustice, and feasibly offered Muscovite rulers an ideal route to fiscal gain: taxation without moral condemnation. In Central Asia, by contrast, Tīmūrid clerics drew a sharp distinction between canonical *zakāt* and impermissible *tamghā*; rebranding an exchange levy as an alms tax allowed rulers to maintain their income while retaining the support of religious thinkers.

These differing evolutions of *tamga* transcend the near-universal tendency of sedentary observers at the time – in the Middle East, in China, in Rus’ – to see themselves as different to their nomadic rulers. With the notable exception of the *Secret History of the Mongols*, the khans’ ‘writing’ becomes a second-order discourse, inscribed in others’ languages and narratives. In the introduction, I invoked the need to ‘provincialise’ such narratives to trace the spread of forms like *tamga*, necessary to combat the ironic paradox that the Mongols figure as an empire nonetheless subject to colonialist discourse. To modify Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak’s question: can the nomad speak?⁷ The point is not to make the Mongols somehow ‘subaltern’, or to excuse their violence, but to suggest a parallel between the construction of the colonial subject in (for example) the archival remains of the British Empire and the construction of the nomad in sources drafted by the sedentary societies they conquered. Those constructions would become especially potent given that *tamga* – as it

⁷ Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, ‘Can the Subaltern Speak?’, in *Colonial Discourse and Post-Colonial Theory: A Reader*, ed. by Patrick Williams and Laura Chrisman (London: Routledge, 1993), pp. 66–111.

evolved into *tamozhnia* – would furnish the early modern Russian Empire with a key element in its own colonial apparatus.

Spivak's argument, of course, is that the subaltern cannot speak. My contention is that some semblance of how Mongol and post-Mongol power was expressed *can* be recovered, but by finding common threads rather than an overarching and unchanging ideology. In focussing on *tamga*, this thesis has sought to give voice to long-term political processes underway in late medieval Eurasia – a voice heard only by divorcing the Mongols from binary and essentialised conceptions of their rule, whether breathlessly laudatory ('see how Chinggis Khan took over the world') or unashamedly Orientalising ('the Mongols, so violent, so different'). *Tamga* was sustained through contingent authority, as diverse and complex as anywhere else, its evolutions enmeshed across scales: global, 'national', local. Identifying these evolutions has often been a question of wholly typical historical paradigms: preservation and innovation; continuity and change; similarity and difference. Perhaps there is an overly remorseless logic to this kind of study, in which forms merely rebound off each other into a circular argument about the past. To return to the aims I set out at the beginning of this thesis, however, I have sought to show how tracing the use of fiscal forms like *tamga* in detail – imperfect though the source material for this period may be – offers a more productive path to understanding Mongol and post-Mongol Eurasia than repeatedly posing the question 'how far did the Mongols influence...?'.

As Pound's *Cantos* make clear, the entanglements of bureaucracy and culture can be manna to a certain view of the past, in which state, society and language are conflated in the service of hegemonic and homogenising worldviews. Here, I have tried to defend against this risk, to present a way of studying China, Iran, the Black Sea and Rus'; to acknowledge their linguistic and cultural differences, while studying the commonality of *tamga* that bound them together. To return to Calvino, I have grappled with the 'opaque, dense stridor' that testifies to Mongol rule – the languages that rendered the khan 'foreign to each of his subjects' – to elucidate the connections at play across Eurasia. In so doing, I have sought to make visible what was previously invisible, and make heard what was previously silent: new connections, new spaces, new forms.

Appendices

Dynastic tables

The following tables provide the regnal dates and genealogical relationships for most rulers mentioned in the thesis, up to c. 1534;¹ if their regnal dates are unclear, the year of their death is given instead.

1. MONGOL (CHINGGISID) AND LATER KHANATES

(Female) regents are marked with an asterisk; non-ruling ancestors are shown in italics. Yuan emperors are given by their Mongol names (with their temple name in brackets), rather than their Chinese titles.

1a Great Khans

Chinggis (Genghis) Khan	d. 1227	
Ögödei	1229-41	<i>third son of Chinggis</i>
*Töregene	1241-6	<i>widow of Ögödei</i>
Güyük	1246-8	<i>eldest son of Ögödei</i>
*Oghul Qaimish	1248-51	<i>widow of Güyük</i>
Möngke	1251-9	<i>eldest son of Tolui, Chinggis'</i> <i>youngest son</i>
Qubilai	1260-94	<i>second son of Tolui</i>
> to Yuan emperors (1b)		

¹ This information – alongside other regnal dates given in the thesis – is collated from: David Morgan, *The Mongols*, 2nd edn (Oxford: Blackwell, 2007), pp. 230-33; *CHC* VI, pp. xxvii-xxviii; *CHC* VII, p. xxiii; Clifford Edmund Bosworth, *The New Islamic Dynasties: A Chronological and Genealogical Manual* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1996), pp. 246-60, 270-5; *The Cambridge History of Russia, Volume One: From Early Rus' to 1689*, ed. by Maureen Perrie (Cambridge: CUP, 2006), pp. 50, 76, 100, 106, 109, 134, 170, 216, 221; A. V. Ekzempliarskii, *Velikie i udel'nye kniaz'ia severnoi Rusi v tatarskii period, s 1238 po 1505 g.*, 2 vols (St Petersburg: Tipografiia Imperatorskoi Akademii nauk, 1889-91; repr. The Hague: Europe Printing, 1966), and the enclosed genealogical tables; *CHI* V, pp. 418-21; *EMMM*, pp. cli-clvii; and John E. Woods, *The Aqquyunlu: Clan, Confederation, Empire* (Minneapolis: Bibliotheca Islamica, 1976), p. 202.

1b Yuan emperors

Qubilai (Sechen)	d. 1294	
Temür (Öljeitü)	1295-1307	<i>son of Qubilai</i>
Qaishan (Külüg)	1307-11	<i>nephew of Temür²</i>
Ayurbarwada (Buyantu)	1311-20	<i>nephew of Temür</i>
Shidebala (Gegen)	1320-3	<i>son of Ayurbarwada</i>
Yesün Temür	1323-8	<i>nephew of Temür</i>
Qoshila (Qutughtu)	1328-9	<i>son of Qaishan</i>
Tuq Temür (Jayaghatu)	1329-32	<i>son of Qaishan</i>
Irinjibal	1332	<i>son of Qoshila</i>
Toghon Temür (Ukhaghatu)	1332-68	<i>son of Qoshila</i>

> in Mongolia: to rulers of northern Yuan

> in China: to Ming emperors

1c Īlkhāns

Hülegü	d. 1265	<i>third son of Tolui</i>
Abaqa	1265-82	<i>son of Hülegü</i>
Tekuter (Tegüder) Aḥmad	1282-4	<i>brother of Abaqa</i>
Arghun	1284-91	<i>son of Abaqa</i>
Geikhatu	1291-5	<i>son of Abaqa</i>
Baidu	1295	<i>grandson of Hülegü</i>
Ghāzān	1295-1304	<i>son of Arghun</i>
Öljeitü	1304-16	<i>son of Arghun</i>
Abū Saʿīd	1316-35	<i>son of (Īlkhān) Öljeitü</i>

> fragmentation into various dynasties, including Jalāyirids (3b), Chūpānids and Muḏaffarids

² Qaishan and Ayurbarwada were the sons of Temür's brother Dharmabala; Yesün Temür was the son of Temür's eldest brother, Kammala.

1d Jochid khans (khans of the Golden Horde, Qipchaq khans)

Jochi	d. 1227	eldest son of Chinggis
Batu	d. 1255	son of Jochi
Sartaq	d. 1257	son of Batu
Ulaghchi	d. 1257	son of Sartaq
Berke	1257-66	son of Jochi
Möngke-Temür	1267-80	grandson of Batu
Töde-Möngke	1280-7	brother of Möngke-Temür
Töle-Buqa	1287-91	nephew of Möngke-Temür
Toqta	1291-1312	son of Möngke-Temür
Özbek	1313-41	nephew of Toqta
Tinibeg	1341-2	son of Özbek
Janibeg	1342-57	son of Özbek
Berdibeg	1357-9	son of Janibeg

> fractious succession conflicts; various claimants, among them the ‘White Horde’ khans, including Toqtamysh (d. 1395), Temür-Qutlugh (d. 1399) and Ulugh-Muḥammad (d. 1445), who would later become khan of Kazan’; latterly also to Crimean khans (1e)

1e Crimean khans (to 1532)

Hacı I Giray	1449-56, 1456-66	
Hayder Giray	c. 1456 (?)	son of Hacı I Giray
Nur Devlet Giray	1466, 1474-5, 1476-8	son of Hacı I Giray
Mengli I Giray	1466-74, 1475-6 1478-1514	son of Hacı I Giray
Mehmed I Giray	1515-23	son of Mengli I Giray
Gazi I Giray	1523-4	son of Mehmed I Giray
Saadet I Giray	1524-32	son of Mengli I Giray

> to later Crimean khans

2. RUS' AND MOSCOW

2a *Pre-Mongol Rus' (grand princes of Kyiv and Vladimir)*

Owing to the system of 'ladder' succession practised in pre-Mongol Rus', the 'Rurikid' line encompassed various claimants and rivalries; shown here are the rulers mentioned in the thesis, and those necessary to provide the genealogical background to post-Mongol princes.

Kyiv (certain rulers only)

Rurik

Igor'	d. c. 945	<i>supposed son of Rurik</i>
Sviatoslav	d. 972	<i>son of Igor'</i>
Vladimir (I) ('the Great')	978-1015	<i>son of Sviatoslav</i>
Iaroslav (I) ('the Wise')	1019-54	<i>son of Vladimir I</i>
Vsevolod I	1078-93	<i>son of Iaroslav I</i>
Vladimir (II) Monomakh	1113-25	<i>son of Vsevolod I</i>

Vladimir

Iurii Dolgorukii	d. 1157	<i>son of Vladimir II</i>
Andrei Bogoliubskii	1157-74	<i>son of Iurii Dolgorukii</i>
Vsevolod III 'Big Nest'	1176-1212	<i>son of Iurii Dolgorukii</i>

2b *Grand princes of Vladimir (after the Mongol conquests)*

As discussed in chapter II, from the Mongol invasions onwards, the title of grand prince of Vladimir was granted by the Jochid khan's charter (*iarlyk*).

Iaroslavichi

Iaroslav Vsevolodovich	1238-46	<i>son of Vsevolod III</i>
Sviatoslav Vsevolodovich	1246-8	<i>son of Vsevolod III</i>
Mikhail Iaroslavich	d. 1248	<i>son of Iaroslav Vsevolodovich</i>
Andrei Iaroslavich	1248-52	<i>son of Iaroslav Vsevolodovich</i>

Aleksandr Iaroslavich (Nevskii)	1252-63	<i>son of Iaroslav Vsevolodovich</i>
Iaroslav (III) Iaroslavich of Tver'	1263-71	<i>son of Iaroslav Vsevolodovich</i>
		> <i>see also (2d)</i>
Vasilii Iaroslavich of Kostroma	1272-6	<i>son of Iaroslav Vsevolodovich</i>
Dmitrii Aleksandrovich of Pereiaslavl'	1276-81, 1283-94	<i>son of Aleksandr Nevskii</i>
Andrei Aleksandrovich of Rostov	1281-3, 1294-1304	<i>son of Aleksandr Nevskii</i>

Moscow-Tver' rivalry

Mikhail (I) Iaroslavich of Tver'	1304-18	<i>son of Iaroslav III of Tver'</i>
Iurii Danilovich of Moscow	1318-22	<i>son of Daniil of Moscow</i>
Dmitrii Mikhailovich of Tver'	1322-5	<i>son of Mikhail I of Tver'</i>
Andrei Mikhailovich of Tver'	1326-7	<i>son of Mikhail I of Tver'</i>
Ivan I Kalita	1327-41	<i>son of Daniil of Moscow</i>

> to princes and grand princes of Moscow (2c)

2c Princes and grand princes of Moscow (to 1584)

Daniil	d. 1303	<i>son of Aleksandr Nevskii</i>
Iurii Danilovich	1303-25	<i>son of Daniil</i>
Ivan I Kalita	1325-41	<i>son of Daniil</i>
Semen	1341-53	<i>son of Ivan I Kalita</i>
Ivan II	1353-9	<i>son of Ivan I Kalita</i>
Dmitrii Donskoi	1359-89	<i>son of Ivan II</i>
Vasilii I	1389-1425	<i>son of Dmitrii Donskoi</i>
Vasilii II ('the Blind')	1425-62	<i>son of Vasilii I</i>
contested by Dmitrii Shemiaka	d. 1453	<i>nephew of Vasilii I</i>
Ivan III ('the Great')	1462-1505	<i>son of Vasilii II</i>
Vasilii III	1505-33	<i>son of Ivan III</i>
Ivan IV ('the Terrible')	1533-47	<i>son of Vasilii III</i>
as <i>tsar</i> '	1547-84	

> to later rulers of Moscow and Russia

2d Grand princes of Tver'

Iaroslav (III) Iaroslavich	d. 1271	<i>son of Iaroslav II, younger brother of Aleksandr Nevskii</i>
Sviatoslav Iaroslavich	1271-1282x5	<i>son of Iaroslav III</i>
Mikhail (I) Iaroslavich	1282x5-1318	<i>son of Iaroslav III</i>
Dmitrii Mikhailovich	1318-25	<i>son of Mikhail I</i>
Aleksandr Mikhailovich	1325-39	<i>son of Mikhail I</i>
Konstantin Mikhailovich	1339-45	<i>son of Mikhail I</i>
Vasilii Mikhailovich	1349-68	<i>son of Mikhail I</i>
Mikhail (II) Aleksandrovich	1368-99	<i>son of Aleksandr Mikhailovich</i>
Ivan Mikhailovich	1399-1425	<i>son of Mikhail Aleksandrovich</i>
Aleksandr Ivanovich	1425	<i>son of Ivan Mikhailovich</i>
Boris Aleksandrovich	1425-61	<i>son of Aleksandr Ivanovich</i>
Mikhail Borisovich	1461-85	<i>son of Boris Aleksandrovich</i>

> Tver' captured by Ivan III of Moscow (2c)

2e Grand princes of Riazan'

Ingvar' Ingvarevich	d. 1250s?	<i>great-great-great-grandson of Iaroslav Sviatoslavich³</i>
Oleg Ingvarevich	d. 1258	<i>brother of Ingvar Ingvarevich</i>
Roman Olegovich	1258-70	<i>son of Oleg Ingvarevich</i>
Fedor Romanovich	1270-94	<i>son of Roman Olegovich</i>
Iaroslav Romanovich?	d. 1299	<i>son of Roman Olegovich</i>
Konstantin Romanovich?	d. 1306	<i>son of Roman Olegovich</i>
Ivan Iaroslavich	1308?-1327	<i>son of Iaroslav Romanovich</i>
Ivan Ivanovich (Korotopol)	1327-43	<i>son of Ivan Iaroslavich</i>

³ The grand princes of Riazan' were descended from Iaroslav Sviatoslavich – prince of Murom and grandson of Iaroslav the Wise – through Iaroslav Sviatoslavich's son Rostislav.

Ivan Aleksandrovich	d. 1351	<i>great-grandson of Iaroslav Romanovich</i> ⁴
Oleg Ivanovich	1350-1402	<i>son of Ivan Aleksandrovich</i>
Fedor Olegovich	1402-c. 1427	<i>son of Oleg Ivanovich</i>
Ivan Fedorovich	c. 1427-1456	<i>son of Fedor Olegovich</i>
Vasilii Ivanovich	1456-83	<i>son of Ivan Fedorovich</i> ⁵
Ivan Vasil'evich	1483-1500	<i>son of Vasilii Ivanovich</i>
Ivan Ivanovich	1500-34	<i>son of Ivan Vasil'evich</i>

> to rulers of Moscow and Russia (2c)

2f Other appanage princes

Beloozero

The transmission of Beloozero is grounded in its thorny status as an ostensible 'purchase' (*kuplia*) of Ivan I Kalita, which replaced the earlier line of Beloozero princes dating back to the mid-thirteenth century. The following line was established in Dmitrii Donskoi's will:

Andrei Dmitrievich	1389-1432	<i>son of Dmitrii Donskoi</i>
Mikhail Andreevich	1432-85	<i>son of Andrei Dmitrievich</i> ⁶

> Beloozero subsumed into holdings of Ivan III of Moscow (2c)

Serpukhov

Andrei Ivanovich	1341-53	<i>son of Ivan I Kalita</i>
Ivan Andreevich	1353-8	<i>son of Andrei Ivanovich</i>

⁴ The death of Ivan Ivanovich (Korotopol) in 1343 prompted the line of succession to revert through Ivan's uncle Mikhail Iaroslavich, then split between the princes of Riazan' and Pronsk.

⁵ As a minor, Vasilii Ivanovich was resident in Moscow until 1464; by this point, Riazan', while nominally independent, had fallen under the auspices of the Muscovite grand prince: R. O. Crummey, *The Formation of Muscovy, 1304-1613* (London: Longman, 1987), p. 79.

⁶ Andrei's elder son, Ivan Andreevich (d. 1462), inherited Mozhaïsk from his father, who had held the principality as an appanage alongside Beloozero; until his death, Mikhail Andreevich was also prince of Vereia, much nearer Moscow.

Vladimir Andreevich ('the Bold')	1358-1410	<i>son of Andrei Ivanovich</i>
Ivan Vladimirovich	1410-22	<i>son of Vladimir Andreevich</i>
Semen Vladimirovich	1422-6 (?)	<i>son of Vladimir Andreevich</i>
Andrei Vladimirovich	d. 1426	<i>son of Vladimir Andreevich</i>
also prince of Radonezh	1410-26	
Vasilii Vladimirovich	d. 1427	<i>son of Vladimir Andreevich</i>
Vasilii Iaroslavich	1427-56	<i>grandson of Vladimir Andreevich</i>

> Vasilii Iaroslavich imprisoned; Serpukhov subsumed into holdings of Vasilii II of Moscow (2c)

Uglich

As with Beloozero, Uglich was held as an appanage by two separate lines; the second was granted in Dmitrii Donskoi's will. The latter's son Petr eventually ceded Uglich to Vladimir Andreevich of Serpukhov:⁷

Petr Dmitrievich	1389-1405	<i>son of Dmitrii Donskoi</i>
Vladimir Andreevich ('the Bold')	1405-10	<i>son of Andrei Ivanovich, prince of Serpukhov</i>
Andrei Vladimirovich	d. 1426	<i>son of Vladimir Andreevich</i>
Vasilii Vladimirovich	d. 1427	<i>son of Vladimir Andreevich</i>
(joint rule)		
Konstantin Dmitrievich	d. 1434	<i>son of Dmitrii Donskoi</i>
Dmitrii Shemiaka	1434-48	<i>son of Iurii Shemiaka, son of Dmitrii Donskoi</i>
Vasilii II of Moscow	1448-62	
Andrei Vasil'evich the Elder	1462-94	<i>fourth son of Vasilii II</i>

> Uglich subsumed into holdings of Ivan III of Moscow (2c)

⁷ See Ekzempliarskii, II, pp. 133-51. The succession of Uglich is opaque: at some point, for example, Konstantin Dmitrievich enjoyed rights over the appanage, but it is unclear precisely how the Serpukhov line reverted to Donskoi's.

Volokolamsk

The title *volotskii kniaz'* was held by princes who ruled over an area centred on Volokolamsk, around 75 miles west of Moscow; it was first allotted as a distinct appanage in Vasilii II's will, in which it was granted to his sixth son, Boris Vasil'evich:

Boris Vasil'evich	1462-94	<i>sixth son of Vasilii II</i>
Fedor Borisovich	1494-1513	<i>son of Boris Vasil'evich</i>
> to rulers of Moscow and Russia (2c)		

3. PRE- AND POST-ĪLKĤĀNID IRANIAN DYNASTIES⁸

3a *Salghurids (Fars)*

Sa'd I	1198-1226	
Abu Bakr ibn Sa'd (Qutlugh Khan)	1226-60	<i>son of Sa'd I</i>
Sa'd II	1260	<i>son of Abu Bakr b. Sa'd</i>
Muḥammad ibn Sa'd	1260-2	<i>son of Sa'd II</i>
Muḥammad ibn Salghur	1262-3	<i>grandson of Sa'd I</i>
Seljuq Shāh ibn Salghur	1263	<i>grandson of Sa'd I</i>
Ābish Khātūn	1263-82	<i>daughter of Sa'd II</i>
(m. Möngke-Temür ⁹)		<i>son of Hülegü)</i>
> administration taken over by Īlkhāns (1c)		

3b *Jalāyirids*

Shaykh Ḥasan (Ḥasan-e Buzurg)	1336-56	<i>grandson of Arghun Khan</i>
Shaykh Uvays	1356-74	<i>son of Shaykh Ḥasan</i>
Sulṭān Ḥusayn	1374-82	<i>son of Shaykh Uvays</i>
Sulṭān Aḥmad	d. 1410	<i>brother of Sulṭān Ḥusayn</i>
> Tīmūrid invasions (3c)		

⁸ Note, however – as discussed in chapter IV – that despite not being direct members of the Īlkhānid dynasty, many of these lineages nonetheless adhered in varying degrees to 'Chinggisid' legacies.

⁹ Different to the Jochid khan Möngke-Temür.

3c *Tīmūrids (Abū Sa‘īd)*

Tīmūr (Tamerlane)	d. 1405	
<i>Mirān Shāh</i>	<i>d. 1409</i>	<i>son of Tīmūr</i>
Khalīl Sulṭān	1405-9	<i>son of Mirān Shāh</i>
Shāh Rukh	1405-47 ¹⁰	<i>son of Tīmūr</i>
> to Shāh Rukh’s lineage (3d)		
Abū Sa‘īd Mīrzā	1451-69	<i>nephew of Khalīl Sulṭān</i>
Ḥusayn Bāyqarā Mīrzā	1469-1506	<i>great-great-grandson of Tīmūr</i>
Bābur	d. 1530	<i>grandson of Abū Sa‘īd Mīrzā</i>
> to Mughal dynasty		

3d *Tīmūrids (Shāh Rukh)*

Shāh Rukh	1405-47	<i>son of Tīmūr</i>
Ulugh Beg	1447-9	<i>son of Shāh Rukh</i>
‘Abd al-Laṭīf Mīrzā	1449-50	<i>son of Ulugh Beg</i>
> to later rulers of Khorasan		

3e *Aq Qoyunlu*

Qara ‘Uṣmān	c. 1403-35	
disputed between:		
‘Alī	d. 1438	<i>son of Qara ‘Uṣmān</i>
Hamza	d. 1444	<i>son of Qara ‘Uṣmān</i>
then succeeded by:		
Jahāngīr	1444-57	<i>son of ‘Alī</i>
Ūzūn Ḥasan	1457-78	<i>son of ‘Alī</i>
Ya‘qūb Beg	1478-90	<i>son of Ūzūn Ḥasan</i>
> fragmentation, followed by Safavid shahs		

¹⁰ After Shāh Rukh’s death, the Tīmūrid line split between rulers controlling Transoxiana on the one hand, and Khorasan on the other.

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1 *Eurasia, c. 1250*

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from: *CHIA*, pp. xviii-xix

2 Mongol khanates after the fragmentation of the Great Khanate¹

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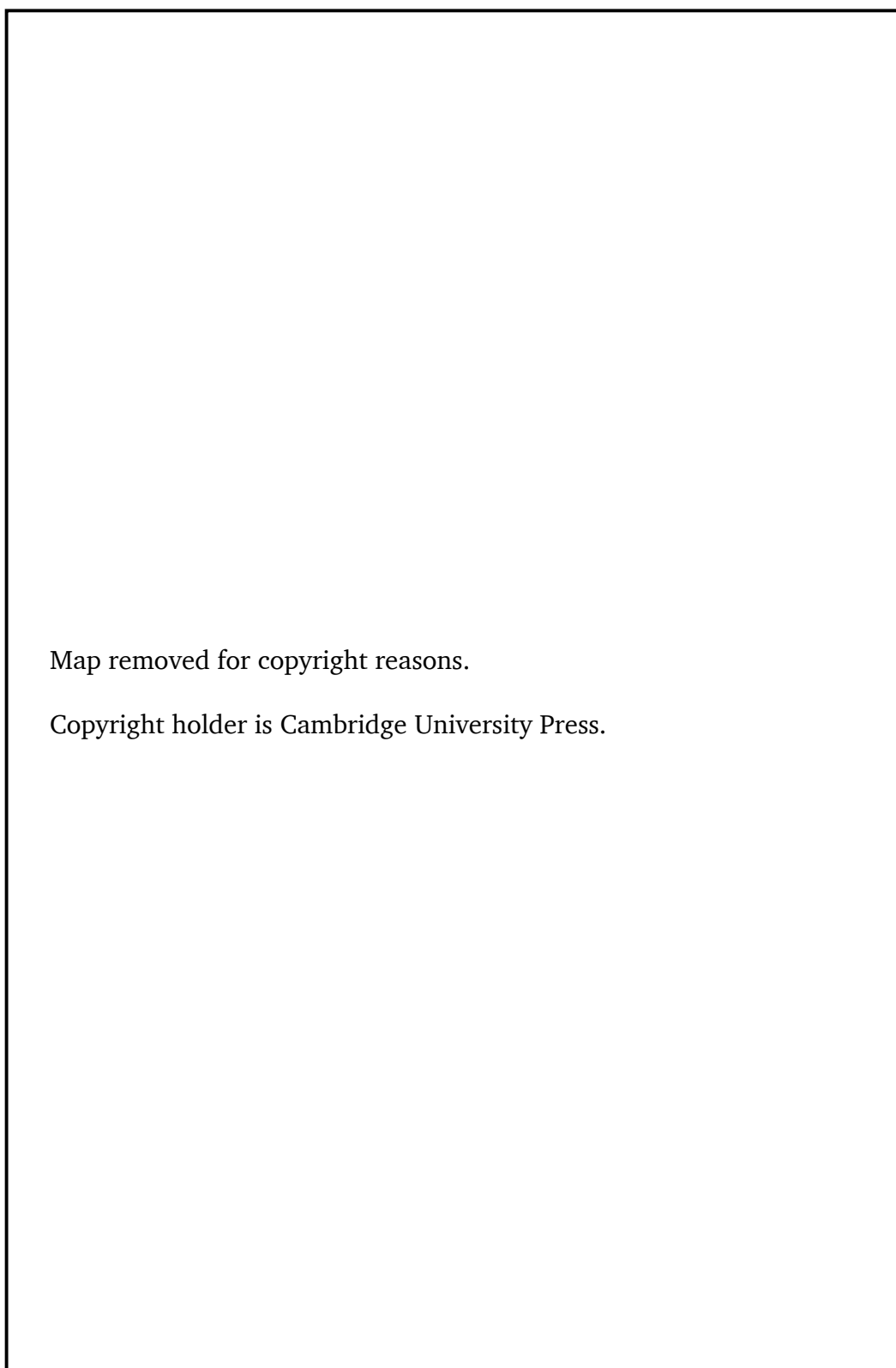
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¹ Here 'Qipchaq Khanate' is used for what I call the 'Jochid *ulus*', elsewhere known as the 'Golden Horde'.

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