



THE INTERNATIONAL INSTITUTE OF ISLAMIC THOUGHT
AND CIVILIZATION (ISTAC)

MĪRZĀ RAFĪ'Ā'S *DASTŪR AL-MULŪK.*
A MANUAL OF LATER ŞAFAVĪD ADMINISTRATION
ANNOTATED ENGLISH TRANSLATION, COMMENTING
REMARKS ON THE OFFICES AND SERVICES,
AND FACSIMILE OF THE PERSIAN MANUSCRIPT

A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED TO THE INTERNATIONAL INSTITUTE
OF ISLAMIC THOUGHT AND CIVILIZATION (ISTAC) IN PARTIAL
FULFILLMENT FOR THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

BY
MUHAMMAD ISMAIL MARCINKOWSKI
(@ CHR. W. M. MARCINKOWSKI)

KUALA LUMPUR, MALAYSIA
AUGUST 1998

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ



Frontispiece

"The *pishkash*-presentation ceremony at the court of Shāh Sultān Husayn
on the occasion of *Naurūz* 1133" [1720/21]

[London, British Museum OA 1920.9-17.0299, reproduced from Sheila R. Canby,
Persian Painting (London, British Museum Press, 1993), 116, fig. 80]

(Courtesy The Trustees of the British Museum)

*To my mother
Fatima Gisela Marcinkowski
in love and gratitude*

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS	vii
LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS	xi
NOTES ON STYLE, TRANSLITERATION AND DATES	xviii
ABSTRACT	xxi
INTRODUCTION:	1
Şafavid Studies in the Context of the History of Islamic Civilization	1
Notes on the General Significance of <i>Dastūr al-Mulūk</i> and <i>Tadhkirat al-Mulūk</i>	17
Authorship, Historical Context and Date of Compilation of the <i>Dastūr al-Mulūk</i>	19
<i>Dastūr al-Mulūk</i> and <i>Tadhkirat al-Mulūk</i> : Some Remarks on Interrélations and Particularities	37
Procedures and Scope	41
QUICK-REFERENCE: Offices and Services in the <i>Dastūr al-Mulūk</i>	45
PART ONE: Annotated English Translation of the <i>Dastūr al-Mulūk</i>	49
PART TWO: Remarks on the Offices and Services mentioned in the <i>Dastūr al-Mulūk</i>	191
PART THREE: Facsimile of the Persian Manuscript of the <i>Dastūr al-Mulūk</i>	327
CONCLUDING REMARKS	409
GLOSSARY	412

APPENDICES	438
Appendix One: Measures, Weights and Currencies in the <i>Dastūr al-Mulūk</i>	439
Appendix Two: Chronological Tables of the Şafavid Rulers	441
SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY	442
MAP: Iran under the Şafavids	491

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

*Ezelden Şah bizim sultanımızdır
Pirimiz, müřşidimiz, canımızdır*

*(From Pre-Eternity the Şah is our sultan,
guide and mentor, our soul)*

Khatā'i (Şah Ismā'il I)

Muslims are urged to commence any act that is intended for the sake of Allāh in His name, by giving thanks for the countless bounties which He had poured out over believers and non-believers alike. It is saddening, that this noble tradition, which had been followed so conscientiously by the Muslims of the past, has been neglected so nonchalantly in recent times under the pretext of 'objectivity', which in turn is again a qualifying 'statement' and therefore far away from any proposed 'neutrality'.

Thus, it is above all He to Whom we owe gratitude. May He increase our knowledge steadily and may He let us always act in accordance with it. May He let us recognize first and foremost the things which *unite* men and prevent us from plunging into the state of arrogance and self-importance. Furthermore, peace and salutations be with our beloved Master Abū'l-Qāsim Muḥammad, the Seal of the Prophets and Knowers, as well as with his noble Progeny and their sincere Companions and all the Friends of Allāh.

Since "Allāh will not be grateful to someone who has not been grateful to the people",⁵ it is not only an obligation, but also a pleasure to express my gratitude to some of those, who contributed to my development, in particular those, who guided me into the direction of the study of history. Inasmuch as I do not belong to those, who consider 'acknowledgments' or 'prefaces' as something that just 'has to be done' in

⁵ The well-known saying of the Prophet, which has been quoted numerously in the compilations of al-Tirmidhī, al-Bukhārī and Abū Dāwūd from among the Sunnites, and which is to be found in varying versions in the books of the Twelver Shī'ites as well, such as in the *Bihār al-Anwār* of 'Allāmah Muḥammad Bāqir al-Majlisi.

order to get rid of it quickly, the following lines might appear under a somewhat personal shade.⁶

To begin with, in Berlin I experienced the paternal care and constant encouragement of Şeyh Hacı Sefer Çoşkun, the *imâm* of Berlin's *İmam Cafer-i Sadik Camii*, as well as the precious gem of friendship with the late Ekrem İlder of the namely community, who until his sudden and tragic death in 1993 urged me never to give up the struggle against the ego and to stay always resolute and loyal.

Upon my return from Iran, where I pursued my basic Persian studies between 1984-1986, it had been Prof. Dr. Bert Fragner, currently holder of the Chair of Iranian Studies at the University of Bamberg (Germany), who shaped at the Institute for Iranian Studies of the Freie Universität Berlin my scholarly interest in the splendours of Iran's Islamic civilization. In 1991 I had the honour to write my master's thesis under his supervision. Furthermore, he was also taking a keen interest in my further studies at ISTAC. It was also a scholarly article by Professor Fragner by which my interest in the *Dastûr al-Mulûk* arose.⁷

Since my arrival in Southeast Asia in 1995 (and thereafter on countless occasions) I enjoyed in Singapore and Kuala Lumpur the hospitality of my friend Ibrahim and his sister Norazizah, as well as that of their family. To the first mentioned I am in particular indebted for his selfless help in the aftermath of an accident. Again in Malaysia, I had the honour to be introduced to Prof. Dr. Sayyid Ahmad Kazemi-Moussavi, Professor of Jurisprudence at ISTAC, who suggested to me a continuation of my studies at the namely learned institution. Not only as a mere supervisor of my doctoral dissertation, but beyond this by his human and concerned way he contributed considerably to the progress of my studies. To the same degree I am indebted to Prof. Dr. Mehmet İpşirli (İstanbul, Visiting Scholar at ISTAC), my venerated teacher in Islamic and in particular Ottoman history, for his constant encouragement.

⁶ For a brief outline of the structure of *dihâchas* and *muqaddimahs* in selected chronicles and alike refer to Sholeh A. Quinn, "The Historiography of Safavid Prefaces," *Safavid Persia. The History and Politics of an Islamic Society*, ed. Charles Melville (London and New York: I. B. Tauris & Co. Ltd., 1996, Pembroke Persian Papers 4, ed. Charles Melville), 1-2.

⁷ Bert Fragner, "Von den Staatstheologen zum Theologenstaat. Religiöse Führung und historischer Wandel im schiitischen Persien". *WZKM* 75 (1983), 73-98.

Furthermore, I have to thank Prof. Dr. Muddathir Abdel Rahim, Prof. Dr. Ali Şafak and Assoc. Prof. Dr. Cengiz Kallek for accepting the task of participating in the dissertation supervision committee, while the aforesaid Professors Kazemi-Moussavi and İpşirli functioned as my first and second supervisors, respectively.

Beyond this, I have to thank Prof. Dr. Syed Muhammad Naquib al-Attas (Founder-Director, ISTAC, Holder of the Al-Ghazali-Chair of Islamic Thought) for the vivid interest he took in my studies, and furthermore Prof. Dr. Wan Mohd. Nor Wan Daud (Deputy Director, ISTAC) for his uncomplicated yet resolute manner in the same regard.

With regard to ISTAC's academic staff, whether permanent members or Visiting Scholars, I would like to extend my gratitude to Professors Dr. Mehdi Mohaghegh, Dr. Şaban Teoman Duralı, Dr. Bilal Kuşpınar, Dr. Alparslan Açıkgenç, Dr. Selahattin Eroğlu, Dr. Yasin Ceylan, Dr. Sabri Orman, Dr. Hassan El-Naggar, Dr. Dustin Cowell, ISTAC Research Fellows Dr. Muhammad Zainiy Uthman, Messrs. Mustafa Abdel Rahman and Hassan Abdoun, and with regard to help received from outside ISTAC, to Madam Azizbegi and her family (Iranian residents in Kuala Lumpur), who all contributed in one way or the other to my academic progress. Again, Prof. Dr. Mehdi Mohaghegh and Prof. Dr. Sayyid Ahmad Kazemi-Moussavi assisted me in the obtaining of the Persian manuscript of the *Dastūr al-Mulūk* from Tehran. In this regard, thanks also to the staff of the Central Library of Tehran University. With regard to ISTAC's administrative staff I am indebted to Messrs. Hajji Mat Ali Mat Daud, Wan Mohd. Nasruddin Wan Abdullah and Nik Roskiman bin Abdul Samad for their exceptional understanding way in which they facilitated my stay at the namely learned institution. I am also indebted to Sharifah Shifa al-Attas (General Editor, ISTAC), for her constant encouragement.

Again at ISTAC, dear friends of mine of which space allows only to mention two, namely Syed Ali Tawfik al-Attas (Research Fellow, Ph.D. cand.), Sayyid Ali Alsagoff, Saida del Moral Llobat (Ph.D. cand., ISTAC) and her husband Abdullah Mariscal García proved that studying at a renown institution of higher learning can also

go along with 'having a good time'. I will also always remember Prof. Dr. Ataullah Bogdan Kopanski (Professor of History, International Islamic University Malaysia, Kuala Lumpur) for our often almost endless but at all times exciting discussions.

My research had been expedited tremendously by ISTAC's *Spuler-Collection*,⁸ which contains the private library of the late Prof. Dr. Bertold Spuler (1911-1990), the editor of the German orientalist's journal *Der Islam* and a leading expert on Central Asian Studies. It was the *Spuler-Collection*, which provided me with access to some eminent sources, which otherwise would have been available to me only with difficulties. My mother Fatimah Gisela Marcinkowski, too, deserves mentioning for her at times extensive research activities in Berlin (not to speak about her sacrifices on my behalf during her life).

My doctoral studies at ISTAC had been furthermore facilitated and financially assisted by a scholarship, which had been granted to me on behalf of the People of Malaysia.

Muhammad Ismail Marcinkowski,
Kuala Lumpur, Rabi' I 1419/July 1998

⁸ Refer to Ernest Wolf-Gazo, "On the Bertold Spuler Collection Found in the Library of ISTAC", *Al-Shajarah. Journal of the International Institute of Islamic Thought and Civilization* 2, no. 2 (1997), 291-299. Professor Wolf-Gazo, who is currently Professor of Philosophy at the American University of Cairo, was Visiting Scholar at ISTAC in 1995. It was, by the way, an article by the late Professor Bertold Spuler, "Die historische und geographische Literatur in persischer Sprache", *HdO*, 1. Abteilung, Band IV, 2. Abschnitt, Lieferung 1 (Leiden and Cologne: E. J. Brill, 1982), 250-335, by which my personal interest in Iranian historiography arose.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

(a) Published Persian Sources:

Historiographical, Administrative Works and Translations into Western Languages

- AA Abū'l-Faẓl-i 'Allāmī, *Āyin-i Akbarī*. Persian text: 2 vols., ed. H. Blochmann (Calcutta: Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, Bibliotheca Indica, 1872 and 1877, respectively). English translation: 3 vols. Vol. I: trans. H. Blochmann (Calcutta: Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, Bibliotheca Indica, 1873). Vol. II: trans. H.S. Jarrett, corrected and further annotated by Sir Jadu-Nath Sarkar (Calcutta: Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, Bibliotheca Indica, 1949, 2d ed.). Vol. III: trans. H. S. Jarrett, revised and further annotated by Sir Jadu-Nath Sarkar (Calcutta: Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, Bibliotheca Indica, 1948).
- AAS (Anon.) *'Ālam-Ārā-yi Safavī*, ed. Yad-Allāh Shukri (Tehran: Iṭṭilā'āt, 1363 solar/1984, 2d. ed.).
- AAShT (Anon.) *'Ālam-Ārā-yi Shāh Tahmāsh*, ed. Īrāj Afshār (Tehran: Duniyā-yi Kitāb, 1370 solar/1991).
- DhTHS Amīr Mahmūd b. Ghiyāth al-Dīn Khvāndamīr, *Tārīkh-i Shāh Ismā'il va Shāh Tahmāsh-i Safavī (Dhāy'l-i Tārīkh-i Ḥabīb-i Siyar)*, ed. Muḥammad 'Alī Jarrāhī (Tehran: Nashr-i Gustara, 1370 solar/1991).
- DM (Dān.) Muḥammad Rafī'-i Anṣārī, *Dastūr al Mulūk*, intro., ed. Muḥammad Taqī Dānishpazhūh, *Majalla-yi Dānishkada-yi Adabiyāt va 'Ulūm-i Insānī-yi Dānishgāh-i Tehrān*, 63 & 64, nos. 5-6 (Murdād 1347 solar/Jul. 1968), 475-504 (intro.); 65 & 66, nos. 1-2 (Ādhar 1347 solar/Nov. 1968), 62-93; 67, no. 3 (Bahman 1347 solar/Jan. 1969), 298-322; 68, no. 4 (Farvardīn 1348 solar/Apr. 1969), 416-440; 69 & 70, no. 5-6 (Murdād 1348 solar/Aug. 1969), 540-564.
- DM (Mar./MS) Muḥammad Rafī'-i Anṣārī, *Dastūr al Mulūk*. Microfilm in the Central Library of Tehran University of Persian manuscript no. 1357 Sar-Yazdī-Library, 'Abd al-Raḥīm-Khān-Madrasah, Yazd, Iran [i.e. the manuscript included in facsimile as the third part of the present study, which had been prepared from the said Tehran-microfilm].
- DM (Vil.) Muḥammad Rafī'-i Anṣārī, *Dastūr al Mulūk*, Russian trans. A. B. Vil'danova (Tashkent: Izdatel'stvo Akademia Nauk Uzbekskoye SSR, 1991).
- DN Mirzā Mahdī Khān Astarābādī, *Durra-yi Nādirah*, ed. Sayyid Ja'far Shahīdī (Tehran: Intishārāt-i 'Ilmī va Farhangī, 1366 solar/1987).
- FNN Hājī Mirzā Hasan Ḥusaynī Fasā'ī, *Fārsnāma-yi Nāsirī*, ed. Manṣūr Rastagār-Fasā'ī, 2 vols. (Tehran: Amīr Kabīr, 1367 solar/1988).
- GM Abū'l-Ḥasan Ghīffarī Kashanī, *Gulshan-i Murād*, ed. Ghulam Rīza Ṭabātabā'ī-Majīd (Tehran: Intishārāt-i Zarrīn, 1369 solar/1990).
- HS (Tha.) Ghiyāth al-Dīn b. Humām al-Dīn Khvāndamīr, *Ḥabīb-u-Si-yar. Tome Three. Part Two: Shahrūkh Mirza-Shah Ismail*. Transl. and ed. W. M. Thackston. (Central Asian Sources I. Sources of Oriental Languages & Literatures 24, ed. Şinasi Alpıy Tekin) (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University, 1994)

- JGKh (Anon.) *Jahān-Gushā-yi Khāqān*, ed. Allāhdattā Muẓtarr (Islamabad: Markaz-i Taḥqīqāt-i Fārsī-yi Irān va Pākistān, 1406 lunar/1364 solar/1986).
- JGN Mirzā Mahdī Khān Astarābādi, *Jahān-Gushā-yi Nādīrī*, ed. Sayyid ‘Abd Allāh Anvār (Tehran: Bahman, 1341 solar / 1962).
- KhB Muḥammad Yūsuf Vāliḥ-Isfahānī, *Khuld-i Barīn*, ed. Mir-Hāshim Muḥaddīth (Tehran: Intishārāt-i Adabī va Tārīkh, 1372 solar/1993).
- KhS Muḥammad Ma’sūm b. Khvājagī Isfahānī, *Khulāṣat al-Siyar*, ed. Irāj Afshār (Tehran: Intishārāt-i ‘Ilmī, 1368 solar/1989).
- MM Ghīyāth al-Dīn b. Humām al-Dīn Khvāndamīr, *Ma’ā-thīr al-Mulūk*, ed. Mir-Hāshim Muḥaddīth (Tehran: Mu’assasa-yi Farhang-i Rasā, 1372 solar/1993).
- MT Abū’l-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad Amin Gulistāna, *Mujmal al-Ta-vārīkh*, ed. Mudarris Raẓavī, 3rd ed. (Tehran: Dānīshgāh, 1357 solar/1977).
- NA Mahmūd b. Hidāyatullāh Naṭanzī, *Nuqāvat al-Āthār fī Dhīkr al-Akhyār*, ed. Iḥsān Ishrāqī (Tehran: Intishārāt-i Bungāh-i Tarjuma va Nashr-i Kitāb, 1350 solar/1970).
- NAAN Muḥammad Kāzīm Marvī, *Nāma-yi ‘Ālam-Ārā-yi Nādīrī*, ed. N.D. Miklukho-Maklaī, 3 vols. (Moscow: Izdatel’stvo A-kademia Nauk SSR, 1960-1966).
- QKh Valī-Qulī b. Dāvūd-Qulī Shāmlū, *Qīṣaṣ al-Khāqānī*, ed. Sayyid Ḥasan Sādāt-Nāsīrī (Tehran: Sāzmān-i Chāp va Intishārāt-i Vizārāt-i Farhang va Irshād-i Islāmī, 1371 solar / 1992).
- RT Muḥammad Hāshim Āṣaf Rustam al-Ḥukamā’, *Rustam al-Tavārīkh*, ed. Muḥammad Mushīrī (Tehran: no p., 1352 solar/1973).
- SN Sharafkhān b. Shams al-Dīn Bidlīsī, *Sharafnāma*, ed. V. Veliāminov-Zernov, 2 vols. (St. Petersburg: Académie Imperiale des Sciences, 1860-1862).
- SS [Darvīsh Tavakkulī b. Ismā’il] Ibn Bazzāz, *Ṣafvat al-Ṣafā*, ed. Ghulam-Rīzā Ṭabaṭabā’i-Majd (Tabriz: Ghulam-Rīzā Ṭa-ḡaṭabā’i-Majd, 1373 solar/1994).
- TA ‘Abdī Beg Shirāzī, *Takmilat al-Akhhbār*, ed. ‘Abd al-Ḥusayn Navā’ī (Tehran: Nashr-i Nay, 1369 solar/1990).
- TAAAb (Sav.) Iskandar Beg Munshī, *History of Shah ‘Abbas the Great (Tārīḥ-e ‘Ālamārā-ye ‘Abbāsī)*, trans. Roger M. Savory, 2 vols. (Boulder, Colo.: Westview Press, 1978).
- TAAAm (Min./W.) Fadlullāh b. Rūzbihān Khunji-Isfahānī, *Tārīkh-i ‘Ālam-Ārā-yi Amīnī*, Persian text edited by John E. Woods with the abridged English translation by Vladimir Minorsky, *Persian in A.D. 1478-1490 (Turcomenica 12)*, revised and augmented by John E. Woods (London: Royal Asiatic Society, 1992).
- TGG Mirzā Muḥammad Šādīq Mūsāwī Nāmī-yi Isfahānī, *Tārīkh-i Gītī-Gushā*, ed. Sa’id Nafīsī (Tehran: Iqbāl, 1366 solar/1987).

TM (Da.-Si.)	[Mirzā Samī'ā] <i>Tadhkirat al-Mulūk</i> , ed. Maḥmūd Dabir-Siyāqī (Tehran: Amīr Kabīr, 1369 solar/1989, 2d impression).
TM (Min.)	[Mirzā Samī'ā] <i>Tadhkirat al-Mulūk. A Manual of Safavid Administration (circa 1137 / 1725). Persian Text in Facsimile (B.M. Or. 9496)</i> , trans. Vladimir Minorsky (London: E.J.W. Gibb Memorial Series, 1943).
TShT	Paul Horn (ed.). "Die Denkwürdigkeiten des Šāh Tahmāsp von Persien" [= <i>Tadhkirāt-i Šāh Tahmāsp</i>], <i>ZDMG</i> 44 (1890), 563-649; 45 (1891), 245-291.
VS	Sayyid 'Abd al-Husayn al-Husaynī Khātūnābādī, <i>Vaqāyi' al-Sanīn va 'l-A'vāmmī</i> , ed. Muḥammad Bāqir Bībūdī (Tehran: Islāmiya, 1352 solar/1973).
ZA	Sayyid Muḥammad b. Sayyid Quraysh Husaynī Sabzavārī, <i>Islamic Political Thought in Safavid Iran: Zayn al-'Arīfīn</i> , trans., intro. and ed. Sayyid Ḥasan Amin (Tehran: Vahid, 1989).

(b) European Accounts on Iran, contemporary to the Safavid Period

<i>Barbosa</i>	Duarte Barbosa, <i>The Book of Duarte Barbosa</i> , 2 vols., transl. Mansel Langworth Dames (New Delhi & Madras: Asian Educational Services, 1989, repr.).
<i>Chardin (Travels)</i>	Sir John Chardin (Jean Chardin), <i>Travels in Persia</i> (London: Argonaut Press, 1927).
<i>Chardin (Voyages)</i>	Jean Chardin (Sir John Chardin), <i>Voyages de Chevalier Chardin en Perse, et autres lieux de l'Orient</i> , ed. L. Langlès, 10 vols. and atlas (Paris, 1811).
<i>Du Mans</i>	Raphaël Du Mans, <i>Estat de la Perse en 1660</i> , ed. Charles Schefer (Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1890).
<i>Fraser</i>	James Fraser, <i>The History of Nadir Shah, formerly called Thomas Kuli Khan, the present Emperor of Persia, to which is prefix'd a short History of the Moghol Emperors</i> (London: A. Millar, 1742, 2d. ed.).
<i>Fryer</i>	John Fryer, <i>A New Account of East India and Persia Be-ing the Nine Years's Travels 1672-1681</i> , 3 vols. (London: Hakluyt Society, 1909-1912).
<i>Hakluyt</i>	Richard Hakluyt, <i>Voyages and Discoveries. The Principle Navigations, Voyages, Traffiques and Discoveries of the English Nation</i> , ed., abr. and intro. Jack Beeching (London: Penguin, 1985).
<i>Hanway</i>	Jonas Hanway, <i>The Revolutions of Persia: Containing the Reign of Shah Sultan Hussain; the Invasion of the Afghans and the Reigns of Sultan Mir Maghmul and his Successor Sultan Ashreff: with the History of the celebrated Usurper Nadir Koudi, from his Birth in 1687, 'till his Death in 1747; and some Particulars of the unfortunate Reign of his Successor Adil Shah, to which is prefixed a chronological Ab-ridgement of the Persian Monarchy from its first Foundation. Vol. II</i> (revised and corrected 3rd ed. London, 1752).

- Herbert* Sir Thomas Herbert, *Travels in Persia 1627-1629*, abr. and ed. Sir William Foster (The Broadway Travellers, ed. Sir E. Denison Ross and Eileen Power) (London: George Routledge & Sons Ltd., 1928).
- Kaempfer (Diaries)* Karl Meier-Lemgo, *Die Reisetagebücher Engelbert Kaempfers* (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1968).
- Kaempfer (Hinz)* Engelbert Kaempfer, *Am Hofe des persischen Großkönigs (1684-85). Das erste Buch der Amoenitates Exoticae*. German introduction and translation by Walther Hinz (Quellen und Forschungen zur Geschichte der Geographie und Völkerkunde, Band 7) (Leipzig: K.F. Koehler Verlag, 1940).
- Krusinski* Judas Tadeusz Krusinski, *Safarnāma-yi Krūsinski*. Persian transl. by 'Abd al-Razzāq Dunbuli "Maftūn". Ed. Maryam Mir-Ahmadi (Tehran: Intishārāt-i Tūs, 1362 solar / 1982/83).
- Niebuhr* Carsten Niebuhr, *Carsten Niebuhrs Reisebeschreibung nach Arabien und anderen unliegenden Ländern*, 3 vols. (The Islamic World in Foreign Travel Accounts, ed. Fuat Sezgin, vols. 11-13) (Frankfurt am Main: Institut für die Geschichte der Arabisch-Islamischen Wissenschaften der Johann Wolfgang Goethe Universität Frankfurt, 1994, reprint of the edition Möller, Copenhagen, 1778).
- Olearius* Adam Olearius, *Vermehrte Neue Beschreibung der Muscovitischen und Persianischen Reyse* (Schleswig: n.p., 1656).
- Orta Rebelo* Joaquim Verissimo Serrão, *Un voyageur portugais en Perse au début du XVII^e siècle: Nicola de Orta Rebelo* (Lisbon: Comité National Portugais par la Célébration du 2.500^e Anniversaire de la Monarchie en Iran, 1972).
- Pereira Fidalgo* Jean Aubin (ed.), *L'ambassade de Gregorio Pereira Fidalgo à la Cour de Shah Sultan Hosseyn* (Lisbon: Comité National Portugais par la Célébration du 2.500^e Anniversaire de la Monarchie en Iran, 1971).
- Pires* Tomé Pires, *The Suma Oriental of Tomé Pires and the Book of Francisco Rodrigues*, 2 vols., trans. and ed. Armando Cortesão (New Delhi & Madras: Asian Educational Services, 1990, repr.), 1:23, 26-30;
- Teixeira* Pedro de Teixeira, *The Travels of Pedro Teixeira with his 'Kings of Harmuz' and Extracts from his 'Kings of Persia'*, transl. William F. Sinclair, annot. and intro. Donald Ferguson (London: Hakluyt Society, 1902).
- Thévenot* Jean de Thévenot, *The Travels of Monsieur de Thévenot into the Levant*, 3 parts (London: n.p., 1687).
- Varthema* Ludovico di Varthema, *The Travels of Ludovico di Varthema, in Egypt, Syria, Arabia Deserta and Arabia Felix, in India, Persia, and Ethiopia, A.D. 1503-1508*, trans. John W. Jones, ed. George Percy Badger (London: Hakluyt Society, 1853), 103;

(c) Periodicals and Encyclopaedical Works of Reference:

<i>AI</i>	<i>Acta Iranica</i>
<i>AAAS</i>	<i>Asian and African Studies (Haifa)</i>
<i>AIUON</i>	<i>Annali del Istituto Universitario Orientale di Napoli</i>
<i>AN</i>	<i>Abr Nahrain</i>
<i>AO</i>	<i>Archivum Ottomanicum</i>
<i>AOASH</i>	<i>Acta Orientalia Academia Scientiarum Hungaricae</i>
<i>BSOAS</i>	<i>Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies</i>
<i>BT</i>	<i>Barrasihâ-yi Târikhi</i>
<i>CAJ</i>	<i>Central Asiatic Journal</i>
<i>DI</i>	<i>Der Islam</i>
<i>DİM</i>	<i>Dârülfünun İlähiyât Mecmuası</i>
<i>EI²</i>	<i>The Encyclopaedia of Islam. New edition (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1954-)</i>
<i>Enc. Ir.</i>	<i>Encyclopaedia Iranica, ed. Ehsan Yar-Shater (London, Boston and Henley: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1985-</i>
<i>FIZ</i>	<i>Farhang-i Īrân Zamin</i>
<i>HdO</i>	<i>Handbuch der Orientalistik</i>
<i>HI</i>	<i>Hamdard Islamicus</i>
<i>İA</i>	<i>İslam Ansiklopedisi, Ankara, 1940-.</i>
<i>IJMES</i>	<i>International Journal of Middle Eastern Studies</i>
<i>İN</i>	<i>Īrân-Nâma</i>
<i>IQ</i>	<i>Islamic Quarterly</i>
<i>IR</i>	<i>Iqbal Review</i>
<i>Īrân-Sh. (Keyan)</i>	<i>Iran-Shenasi. Journal of Iranian Studies. Rockville, Maryland, Keyvan Foundation, 1988 -</i>
<i>Īrân-Sh. (Teh)</i>	<i>Īrân-Shinâsi. Journal of Iranian Studies (Faculty of Letters and Humanities, Tehran University)</i>
<i>Ir St</i>	<i>Iranian Studies</i>
<i>Is St</i>	<i>Islamic Studies</i>
<i>JA</i>	<i>Journal Asiatique</i>
<i>JAH</i>	<i>Journal of Asian History</i>

JAOS	<i>Journal of the American Oriental Society</i>
JESHO	<i>Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient</i>
JMBRAS	<i>Journal of the Malayan (later: Malaysian) Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society</i>
JNES	<i>Journal of Near Eastern Studies</i>
JPHS	<i>Journal of the Pakistan Historical Society</i>
JRAS	<i>Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society</i>
JRCAS	<i>Journal of the Royal Central Asian Society</i>
JTS	<i>Journal of Turkish Studies</i>
MDATih	<i>Majalla-yi Dānishkada-yi Adabiyāt va 'Ulūm-i Insāni-yi Dānishgāh-i Tihrān</i>
MES	<i>Middle Eastern Studies</i>
NDATabr	<i>Nashriya-yi Dānishkada-yi Adabiyāt va 'Ulūm-i Insāni-yi Dānishgāh-i Tabriz</i>
NKMDTih	<i>Nashriya-yi Kitābhāna-yi Markazī-yi Dānishgāh-i Tihrān</i>
OA	<i>Osmanlı Araştırmaları</i>
REI	<i>Revue des Études Islamiques</i>
RK	<i>Rāhnāmā-yi Kitāb</i>
RMM	<i>Revue du Monde Musulman</i>
RSO	<i>Rivista degli Studi Orientali</i>
St Ir	<i>Studia Iranica</i>
St Is	<i>Studia Islamica</i>
TASh	Muhammad Muhsin Tihrāni [Āghā Buzurg]. <i>Tabaqāt A'lām al-Shi'a</i> , 2 vols. (Mashhad: Dār al-Murtadawī li'l-Nashr, 1404 lunar/1983, 2d impression).
TD	<i>Tarih Dergisi</i>
TED	<i>Tarih Enstitüsü Dergisi</i>
TM	<i>Türkiyât Mecmuası</i>
TMENP	Gerhard Doerfer, <i>Türkische und mongolische Elemente im Neupersischen, unter besonderer Berücksichtigung älterer neupersischer Geschichtsquellen, vor allem der Mongolen- und Timuridenzeit</i> , 4 vols. (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Ver-lag, 1963-1975).
TY	<i>Türk Yurdu</i>
WI	<i>Die Welt des Islams</i>

WO

Die Welt des Orients

WZKM

Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes

ZDMG

Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft

NOTES ON STYLE, TRANSLITERATION AND DATES

My main reference with regard to matters of style had been ISTAC's biannual journal *Al-Shajarah. Journal of the International Institute of Islamic Thought and Civilization*, which in turn is based on Kate Turabian's *Chicago Manual of Style*. However, I did not cling slavishly on it, since it contains certain insufficiencies, in particular with regard to the transliteration of Persian and Ottoman-Turkish (and also Ādhari-Turkish, for that matter).

Some of the major deviations from my part in the present study shall be addressed in the following:

- (1) Titles of journals and often primary sources which are included in the 'List of Abbreviations' appear already upon their first reference in the footnotes in their respective abbreviated forms, due to the limited space. Similar is the case with other often referred to material and studies, such as secondary sources, which have been shortened without further mentioning after their first appearance in the footnotes. However, in the text titles of sources have been spelled out upon their first mentioning.
- (2) For similar reasons the 'List of Abbreviations' itself and the 'Quick-Reference' appear both in a smaller font than the remaining text of the study. With regard to the titles of the primary sources contained in the 'List of Abbreviations' (for the most part Persian chronicles and European travel accounts) the expression 'henceforth' has been omitted in the footnotes when referring to the respective abbreviation.
- (3) I have also taken certain freedoms with regard to the style and arrangement of headlines and alike, because of the multi-faceted character of the present work.
- (4) Dates are given throughout this study in lunar *hijri* years (A.H.), followed by the corresponding dates according to the respective Julian or Gregorian calendars of the Christian era (C.E.), with the exception of more modern dates.

which have been presented according to the Julian/Gregorian calendars only. The conversions are based on V. V. Tsybul'sky, *Calendars of Middle East Countries. Conversion Tables and Explanatory Notes*, edited by S. M. Aliyev (Moscow: 'Nauka' Publishing House, Central Department of Oriental Literature, 1979). In the translation part of the *Dastūr al-Mulūk* the lunar *hijrī* years are stated in the text, accompanied by a footnote presenting the corresponding Christian date. Publishing data of Persian books adhere to the solar *hijrī* calendar, followed by the corresponding year of the Gregorian calendar.

- (5) With regard to the transliteration of the Arabic and Persian terms the ISTAC-system has been adhered to as a guideline. Informations on this system are available on the back of the journal *Al-Shajarah*. [Ottoman-] Turkish words, in particular those appearing in titles of articles in periodicals, which had been published in Arabic characters after the installation of the Turkish Republic but before the introduction of the Latin script, have been transliterated according to present-day Turkish orthography. However, since Ādhari (*Azeri-*) Turkish, the idiom that had been widely spoken at the Şafavid court and applied to a major part of the names of offices, differs significantly in spelling and pronunciation from its Ottoman counter-part, some modifications concerning the aforesaid ISTAC-system have been made: Throughout the present study the transliteration of the Ādhari terms follows in most cases that of the Persian ones. The expert may without major difficulties recognize what in particular is referred to, whereas it might be without concern for those of other disciplines.
- (6) Names of sites, tribal groups, and administrative units (including the 'two 'Irāqs') have been transliterated in accordance with the above stated outline, with the exception of those of states, such as Iran and Afghanistan. Moreover, when referring to the contemporary CIS-Republic of *Azerbaijan*, this spelling has been maintained, whereas in the case of the two Iranian provinces by that

name and, beyond this, throughout the translation of the *Dastūr al-Mulūk*, the spelling *Ādharbāy jān* has been applied.

- (7) With regard to Arabic titles of Persian books the Persian transliteration system has been adhered to preferably. The term *sultan* has been transliterated when either referring to the particular rank of the Šafavid provincial administration or as part of the names of rulers. In the latter case its first letter has been capitalized.
- (9) Finally, in the translation part as well in references to the Persian facsimile of the *Dastūr al-Mulūk* bold-printed square brackets indicate the beginning of a new page of the MS, whereas the sign § marks a separate entry under which an office or service is to be found in the 'Quick-Reference'.

ABSTRACT

The study directs the attention to the *Dastūr al-Mulūk* ('Regulations of the Kings'), a distinguished Persian source on Islamic administration, compiled by Muḥammad Rafī'i Anṣārī, known as Mirzā Rafī'ā. Mirzā Rafī'ā, to whom a high degree of insider-knowledge can be ascribed, due to his function of *Mustaufī al-Mamālik*, a high-ranking position in the financial bureaucracy, flourished towards the end of the Ṣafavid Empire (907-1145 A.H./1501-1722 C.E.), which along with those of the Ottomans and Mughals, constituted one of the later supra-regional dominions of the Muslims. The significance of the *Dastūr al-Mulūk* has been unduly neglected so far, in spite of the fact that it was published already between 1968 and 1969 in an Iranian scholarly journal by the late Professor Muḥammad Taqī Dānishpazhūh. In particular in the West its peculiarity has been overshadowed so far by Professor Vladimir Minorsky's English translation, commentary and facsimile edition of a similar work, the *Tadhkirat al-Mulūk*, which, as shown by the present study, has to be considered as a mere modification of the *Dastūr al-Mulūk*. The *Dastūr al-Mulūk* deserves the full attention of those interested in Islamic, in particular Ṣafavid administration.

The present study, compiled by a graduate in Iranian studies, is intended to serve as a reference work for those interested in selected aspects of Ṣafavid history and as well as a starting-point for further comparative studies. The *Dastūr al-Mulūk* contains valuable informations in the fields of political and religious administration, biography, economics, culture and geography, many of them not to be found in the *Tadhkirat al-Mulūk*. The study consists of three parts: an annotated English translation, a commentary on the in the *Dastūr al-Mulūk* mentioned offices and services, and a facsimile of the apparently unique manuscript. An introduction, which considers the historical context and significance of the *Dastūr al-Mulūk*, elaborates as well on the current state of Ṣafavid studies. The study includes furthermore a quick-reference on the offices, a glossary, appendices on measures, weights and currencies, a chronological table of the Ṣafavid rulers, a bibliography, and a map.

INTRODUCTION

The Sophi of Persia, dethroned in our days by Mahomet, the son of Miriveis, saw the constitution subverted before this resolution, because he had been too sparing of blood.

Montesquieu (1689-1755), *De l'Esprit des Loix*

*Şafavid Studies in the Context of the History of Islamic Civilization*¹

Professor Roger Savory, a contemporary leading scholar in the field of Şafavid Studies, once expressed his amazement over the circumstance that "interest in Şafavid history, whether on the part of Western or Iranian scholars, is of recent provenance".² This is rather surprizing in the light of the fact that Iran's Şafavid Empire (907-1145/1501-1722) was one of the later major dominions of the Muslims - along with those of the Ottomans and Mughals or Bāburids of India. Shaykh Şafi al-Din Abū'l-Fath Ishāq al-Ardabili (650-735/1252-1334),³ the ancestor of the Şafavids, was the eponymous founder of the *Şafaviyyah* sufi-order, which in the course of the 9th/15th century turned openly Shi'ite.⁴ In 1991 Ghulam-Rizā Ṭabaṭabā'i-Majd published his excellent critical edition of the *Şafvat al-Şafā*,⁵ a hagiographical vita of the Shaykh,

¹ For a synopsis of this introduction see my "Some Reflections on Selected Issues in Contemporary Şafavid Studies", *Iranian Studies* (forthcoming in 1999).

² Roger M. Savory, *Studies on the History of Safavid Iran* (London: Variorum Reprints, 1987), ix (preface). For a survey on the genre refer to John Emerson, "Some General Accounts of the Safavid and Afsharid Period, Primarily in English", *History and Literature in Iran. Persian and Islamic Studies in Honour of P.W. Avery (Pembroke Papers 1)*, ed. Charles Melville (London: The University of Cambridge Centre of Middle Eastern Studies, 1990), 27-41. For some interesting comments on *Pembroke Papers 1* see 'Abbās Milāni, "Kārnāma-yi ḥalqa-yi safavi" (review article), *Irān-Sh. (Keyan)*, 8/4 (Winter 1997/1375 solar), 811-820. Abbās Milāni included in his article also a review of another, similar work, namely Jean Calmard (ed.), *Études Safavides (Bibliothèque Iranienne 39)* (Paris and Tehran: Institut Français de Recherche en Iran, 1993) (Thanks to Professor Kazemi-Moussavi for directing my attention to Milāni's contribution).

³ On some aspects of Shaykh Şafi al-Din's 'spiritual ancestry' see Jean Aubin, "Shaykh Ibrāhīm Zāhid Gilāni (1218?-1301)", *Turcica* 21-23 (1991), 41, and Vladimir Minorsky, "A Mongol Decree of 720/1320 to the Family of Shaykh Zāhid", *BSOAS* 16 (1954), 517-518.

⁴ Throughout the present study the term 'Shi'ite' is exclusively referring to the Twelver Shi'ite denomination of Islām (*al-Imāmiyyat al-Ithnā'ashariyyah*).

⁵ [Darvish Tavakkuli b. Ismā'il] Ibn Bazzāz, *Şafvat al-Şafā* [henceforth SS], ed. Ghulam-Rizā Ṭabaṭabā'i-Majd (Tabriz: Ghulam-Rizā Ṭabaṭabā'i-Majd, 1373 solar/1994).

compiled by the adept Tavakkulī b. Ismā'il, known as Ibn Bazzāz al-Ardabilī. The *Ṣafvat al-Ṣafā* is a historical source of tremendous value, as it does not only contain informations that are relevant to the early history of the Ṣafavids, but beyond this, to that of mysticism or Islamic civilization in general.⁶ It is the quasi 'spiritual' origin of their political power that sets the Safavids apart from their contemporaries, the Ottomans and Mughals.⁷ Under the charismatic leadership of the youthful *murshid* Ismā'il (r. as Ismā'il I 907-30/1501-24) Iran was conquered, thus leading to the establishment of the Ṣafavid Empire.⁸ The rise of Ismā'il and his movement was accompanied by keen attention from the part of contemporary Western powers, in particular those with political or trade links with the Middle East, such as Venice and

⁶ Unfortunately, Tabatabā'i-Majd's painstaking work has yet not found the full attention of the scholarly world outside Iran. Refer on the SS also to Sholeh A. Quinn, "The Dreams of Shaykh Safi al-Din and Safavid Historical Writing", *Iranian Studies* 29, no. 1-2 (1996), 127-147 and Monika Gronke, "Lebensangst und Wunderglaube. Zur Volksmentalität im Iran der Mongolenzeit", *ZDGM Supplement VIII. 24. Deutscher Orientalistentag vom 26.-30. September 1988 in Köln: Ausgewählte Vorträge, herausgegeben von Werner Diem und Abdoljavad Falaturi* (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1990), 391 and 399, where the author mentions some preliminary work done by Heidi Zirke with regard to the edition of the SS, dating back to 1981. I am, however, unable to say what happened with this project since then. Refer on the SS also to B. Nikitine, "Essay d'analyse du *Ṣafvat us-Safā*", *JA* 245, no.4 (1957), 385-94.

⁷ On Ismā'il before his rise to power refer to the detailed study by Ghulam Sarwar, *History of Shāh Ismā'il Ṣafawī* (Aligarh: Ghulam Sarwar, 1939), and to Sir E. Denison Ross, "The Early Years of Shāh Ismā'il, Founder of the Ṣafavī Dynasty", *JRAS* (1896), 249-340, the latter based on a source, whose authorship and date of composition had for long been disputed. See on this aspect A.H. Morton, "The Date and Attribution of the *Ross Anonymous*. Notes on a Persian History of Shāh Ismā'il I, *History and Literature in Iran. Persian and Islamic Studies in Honour of P. W Avery* (Pembroke Papers 1), ed. Charles Melville (London: The University of Cambridge Centre of Middle Eastern Studies, 1990), 179-212, and idem, "The Early Years of Shah Isma'il in the *Afzal al-Tavārikh* and Elsewhere," *Safavid Persia. The History and Politics of an Islamic Society*, ed. Charles Melville (Pembroke Persian Papers 4, ed. Charles Melville) (London and New York: I. B. Tauris & Co. Ltd., 1996), 27-50. For a facsimile-edition of the Persian source in question, i.e. the 'Ross Anonymous', refer to JGKh.

⁸ In a one-volume collection of lectures held by him in the early 1970s, Dr. 'Ali Shari'ati (1933-77), a layman and independent Muslim thinker, who had been labeled as the 'theoretician of Iran's Islamic Revolution', made a sharp distinction between what he termed 'Alid Shi'ism', referring by this to 'original', 'progressive' and 'revolutionary Islam' on the one hand, which he identified with the spirit of the early Muslim community, and 'Safavid Shi'ism', seen by him as 'institutionalized State religion', on the other. See his *Tashayyu'-i 'alavi va tashayyu'-i safavi* (Tehran: n.p., 1352 solar/1973). For a summary refer to Yann Richard, *Der Verborgene Imam. Die Geschichte des Schiismus in Iran* (Berlin: Verlag Klaus Wagenbach, 1983), 115-8. For a sketch of Shari'ati's biography see *ibid.*, 113-22. *Der Verborgene Imam* is in many regards a very inspiring book, marked by distinctive expertise, a remarkable feature compared with many of the countless other Western publications of the early 1980s that had been produced under the impact of the political events in Iran. Refer also to Roger M. Savory, "Orthodoxy and Aberrancy in the Ithnā'ashari Tradition," *Islamic Studies presented to Charles J. Adams*, ed. W. E. Hallaq and Donald P. Little (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1991), 169-81, where Dr. Shari'ati's views concerning 'Safavid Shi'ism' have been compared with those of the contemporary sociologist Said Amir Arjomand.

Portugal.⁹ Whereas European reports on the events in Iran from the beginning of the 10th/16th century had in many cases been based on hearsay, those accounts became more accurate toward its end. Among them that of Teixeira who visited Iran during the 1590s,¹⁰ and whose enumeration of Iran's provinces is worth of mentioning in this regard.¹¹

The lack of interest in the Şafavid period in more recent times, referred to above by Professor Savory, might be explained by the prevalence of a certain kind of indifference from the part of Muslim scholars outside Iran. In the light of those circumstances it does not come as a surprise that it are still Western scholars, which are dominating Şafavid Studies. The eminent German orientalist Heribert Busse alluded already in 1959 to the comparably favourable situation concerning published documents pertaining to the administrative system during the Türkmen- and Şafavid periods.¹² Since then conditions have even further improved, as will be shown at the beginning of the second part of this study. This is rather surprising, given the fact, that in Iran no archives comparable to those extant throughout the former Ottoman lands have survived,¹³ due to the ravaging wars, devastating invasions or internal conflicts, under which Iran had to suffer perhaps more than any other of the Muslim lands.

-
- ⁹ Compare *Barbosa*, 1:82-87 (one of the earliest European accounts on the rise of Ismâ'il; Barbosa was killed in 1521 on the Philippines when accompanying Magalhães on his circumnavigation of the world); furthermore *Pires*, 1:23, 26-30; *Varthema*, 103; Franz Babinger, "Marino Sanuto's Tagebücher", *A Volume of Oriental Studies presented to Professor Edward G. Browne on his 60th Birthday*, ed. T. W. Arnold and Reynold Nicholson (Amsterdam: Philo Press, 1973 (reprint of the 1922 Cambridge edition), 28-50.
- ¹⁰ Apparently, Teixeira had a good command of Persian, a circumstance, that sets him apart from many of the earlier European travelers. See *Teixeira*, xvii (Ferguson's intro.).
- ¹¹ *Teixeira*, 240-254. With respect to the first half of the 12th/18th century Montesquieu's fictive *Lettres Persanes* (1721) and references in his *De l'Esprit des Loix* (1748) bear witness to the fact that European interest in Iran was by that time no longer confined to the community of European travellers and diplomats. Refer to Charles-Louis de Secondat, Baron de Montesquieu, *Persian Letters*, transl., intro., annot. C. J. Betts (London: Penguin Books, 1973), and idem, *The Spirit of the Laws*, trans. Thomas Nugent, intro. Franz Neumann, two volumes in one (New York: Hafner Press/London: Collier Macmillan Publishers, 1949), 1:27, 130, 206.
- ¹² Heribert Busse, *Untersuchungen zum islamischen Kanzleiwesen an Hand turkmenischer und safawidischer Urkunden* (Abhandlungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts Kairo, Islamische Reihe I) (Cairo: Kommissionsverlag Sirovic, 1959), 3.
- ¹³ For an example with respect to the destruction of relevant material from the end of the Şafavid Empire refer to Amin Banani, "Reflections on the Social and Economic Structure of Safavid Persia at its Zenith", *JrSt* 11 (1978), 92.