

## The Vakil's Position and its Evolution Process in the Safavid Dynasty Era

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**Abstract:** The Vakil's (Lawyer) position existed with especial contents just in Safavid dynasty era (1501-1722). According to this fact, this position had rooted in the features of that era. Theocracy was the most important feature; the Safavid Shah (King) in the perfect Morshed (Master of rule of life and world's Sufism) position of Sufi had a sanctum and extraterrestrial dignity that he needed a mediator for connecting to devotees. This mediator who was Shah's spiritual representative on one hand and he was responsible for the Shah's sublunary position on the other hand, could play this role better. But by changing Shah's position in Qizilbash's view, Vakil's position found conceptual evolution in order to reach from Shah's spiritual representation dignity to Divan (Administrative department) chairman to fill the position of Etemad-al-Dole. In this changing position, the existed challenges should not be neglected in Safavid dynasty among Turkish Qizilbash's Amirs and Vakil's who were usually Iranian. So, in this era, an evolution process of Vakil's positions and duties were presented. This essay is attempted to study this process and its implementation.

**Keywords:** Safavid, Vakil, Theocracy, Qizilbash, Evolution.

### Introduction

The Vakil with its primary concept in Safavid dynasty had a short era and it just lasted up to the end of Ismail I (1487-1524), however the Vakil's title was used up to Sultan Mohammad Khudabandeh (1532-1595). The first Vakil of Ismail I was Hossein Beyk Shamlu from "Ahl-e-Ekhtesas (Selective individual) group" and by his dismissal at 1509, Amir Najmo-al-Dyn Masoud Gilani was appointed to this position as the first Iranian Vakil. The next Iranian appointment to this position revealed the Ismail I's decision to decrease the authority of Qizilbash's heads. Actually, the Vakil's position was applied in addition to interaction with Sadr (Headmaster of spirituality and religious institutions) and Amir-al- Omara's (Commander-in-chief) positions in connection with population adjustment elements and Shah's purposes too. Amir Yar-Ahmad Khuzani (Najm-e Sani) was the second Iranian who had the Vekalat's (Attorney) position that he was slaved at the time of interference of political, military and religious scopes as the leader of military operations in the beginning of Safavid dynasty era and was killed by Obaidullah Khan Uzbek's order (1514).

This multilateral method should be searched at the early Safavid theocracy which had been permeated from Shah to his assistant meant his Vakil. Amir Najm al-Dyn Abdolbaghi, the other Vakil, was killed in the battle of Chaldiran (1515), the battle which was a turning point in evolution of some features in Safavid dynasty with its unpleasant end. The process of remoteness from theocracy and decrease of army democracy dignity that caused the superiority of military sprite and Qizilbash's power

accelerated with the battle of Chaldiran and particularly revolved the Vakil's position.

In this new stage, Vakil's position found the proximity and connection with Divan and bureaucracy affairs and he approximately entered to vizier's traditional scope. Mirza Kamal al-Dyn Shah Hossein Isfahani architect was reminded as "vizier and Nayeb(Assistant)" and the resources in determining his duties scope introduced a combination of vizier and Vakil's position. But his murder (1523) had the sign of sustainability and even intensification in racial elements involvements (Turk and Tajik) in the era after theocracy eclipse.

Last years of Ismail I's dynasty, the proximity of Vekalat's position to administrative department provided the promotion and reliability field for Etemadoul-dole but early decade of Qizilbash's dominance (1524-1534) in Tahmasb I's government (1524-1577), embedded these two titles next to each other. Nevertheless, the title of "Vakil Nafse Nafis Homayoun"( The Lawyer of Shah's authority) was not used anymore and this evolution should be searched in modern political, belief and military structure of Safavid dynasty which will be discussed during the present essay.

It seems that the application of "Vakil" expression in Safavid dynasty era was derived from common Sufi believes in that government. But certainly, Vakil's authority in addition to Sufi basement, rooted in other basements of Shah's authority (1). It meant the succession claim of Shia's promised Imam and deriving a benefit through acceptable belief of pre-Islamic era that Shah was known as the possessor of divine splendor (Khvarenah) and the shadow of God on the earth.

Through these two beliefs, Shah was considered as the possessor of spiritual and sublunary authority that derived from God. This multiple authority could be assigned from Shah to his most meritorious and authentic person: Vakil.

According to this fact, the Vakil who enjoyed with Shah's sublunary and spiritual authority was located at the head of other military and state positions; if the religious institution which Sadr was its head, was not away from the Vakil's authority (2). According to this deduction, the vizier who was recognized as someone who had the responsibility for an administrative branch previously, his function was limited in Safavid dynasty for some factors including Vakil's most authoritative position.

The first Ismail I's Vakil was Hossein Beyg Shamlou who was from "Ahl-e-akhtasas" group who had the responsibility for taking care and accompanying Ismail I who had hidden in Gillan for four and half years. Also, he was in charge of Ismail's tutor. The appointment of Hossein Beyg Shamlou who was the most authentic person near to Shah (Khandmir, 4/468; Moztar, 1985, 153; Ghafari Ghazvini, 1964, 266) was the sign of Vakil's position significance in Safavid dynasty.

Hussein Beyg was dismissed in 1504 and replaced by Amir Najmo-al-Dyn Masoud Gilani. His demission was not mentioned in sources and politically they revealed it as a simple issue because after his dismissing, he was a leader of Safavid armies in a successful attack to Baghdad and during his Vekalat, Amir Najm-e-Sani was the governor of Herat (Moztar, 1985, 392). Hussein Beyg's loyalty to Ismail continued up to Chaldiran battle that he was killed with many of Qizilbash's leaders. (Ibid., 501)

Amir Najmo-al-Dyn Masoud Gilani was the first Iranian who had reached to the position of "Vakil Nafse Nafis Homayoun" (1509). Iranians' next appointments to this position expressed Ismail's decision in reducing the authority of Qizilbash's heads. Amir Najm's acquaintance with Ismail referred to his hidden era in Gilan where Amir Najm was one of exceptional and outstanding among goldsmith's industries and was assigned as one of Rasht's "nobles and grandee" and being "pious and believing Shia" was his Safavid dynasty's sign (Ibid., 268-289) which had "a devotion to prophet's antecedent particularly to erected Imam Ali' households (Khandmir, 4/490-491). And this devotion caused the enmity of General Abbas a member of Amir Isaac's tradition against him when the hearsay of Ismail's exhaust was spread and Amir Najm escaped and joined to Ismail in Shirvan.

It was said that Vakil's position comprised Shah's authority in spiritual and sublunary affairs and the sources mentioned obviously about Amir Najm in Habib-al-Siyar:

"[Amir Najm] was proud for Vekalat's position "Vakil Nafse Nafis Homayoun" and

proceeded to arrangement of property for the sake of independency and his prestige had gone beyond than all glorious elects and Amirs of kingdom and then he became Iraq, Fars and Azerbaijan's nobilities and patricians (Ibid., 491).

Amir Najm's affection was over in "supreme Divan"-*Divan alla-* than all Amirs. (Moztar, 1985, 270) He did not involved Turks in property affairs (Ghafari Ghazvini, 1964, 271; Ghazvini, 1984, 406) and he beat Turkish's trades (Hoseini Jenabazi, N.173, 81; Tarikh Alfi, N.10929, 2/ A443) (3), that it was derive from Ismail I's attempt in reducing Turkish Amirs and his attendance to foundation of management and necessary principle for government.

Although, Amir Najm was the first Iranian Vakil who reached to this position in domination of military sprite over Safavid dynasty, there were not any mentions in the resources about his involvements with Qizilbash' Amirs. Maybe in this case – as it was mentioned by Khwandamir- Ismail I's protection and attention were effective. In return, Amir Najm's attempt and empathy were cited. He died in 1510 and Amir Yar Ahmad Khozani became his successor.

Amir Yar Ahmad Khozani had been Molah Shams Isfahani' minister in Shiraz before Vakil's position and through Amir Najm's dedication he was considered and deliberated by Ismail and reached to supreme position of "Estifay (Vindication) Divan"(Moztar, 1985, 302; Khadmir, 4/499). It was mentioned in "Jahangoshaie Khan" about this fact that Amir Najmo-al-Dyn Masoud who was named as Najm-e- Sani and the complete similarity between Amir Najmo-al-Dyn Masoud Gilani and him and his importance and reliability were expressed so: he was famous for his prestige and power, all viziers and Amirs in government organs of Cairo had been his subordinate and finally he had the responsibility for property and financial affairs and he had been caressed with his kindness and beneficence (Ibid., 305; Ghazvini, 1984, 408). Also, Khwandamir reminded Najme Sani's dominance over all viziers and Amirs that he had set to Vekalat through perfection authority and independence in this position and had the responsibility for property and financial, partial and general affairs of all residents in country as a delegate. (Khandmir, 4/ 501-527) Ismail ordered all viziers and Amirs to obey him (Tarik Alfi, N.10929, 2/B442). By appointing Najme Sani, for the first time the title of "Vakil Nafse Nafis Homayoun" was not mentioned in the sources and instead the other titles such as "Vekalat Nafse Homayoun", "Vekalat" and " Vekalat Divan-e-Alla(Supreme)" (Moztar,1985, 305) and for the first time Independent "Vizier be Esteghlal"( Independent Minister) and "Vakil and Etemadouloule (Romelo, 1978, 178) and title of "Vezerat" (Ministry)(Ghazvini, 1984, 407)were used for him. These changes of titles were conceptualized in the improbability process of Safavid government

from theocracy and the proximity of Vakil's position to administrative branch of government (4).

Najme Sani was the second Iranian, who had been appointed to Vakil's position, although all resources prompted Vakil's authority and superiority over all Amirs and masters, but Ismail I's policy in the process of reducing Qizilbash' power in the era of Najme Sani's Vekalat was not without any reaction through Qizilbash's Amirs and this was the reason of Najme Sanis's defeat in the Battle with Uzbeks in 1513.

Historians are agreed to express the insubordination and revolt of Qizilbash's Amirs in following Najme Sani. Qizilbash's belief "Ahl-e-Shamshir" (Men of sword) had different effects in superiority over Ahl-e-Ghulam (men of Literates) at the beginning of the Safavid government. Actually, they knew dishonor Iranian's subordination (Hoseini Jenabazi, 1999, 112; Tarikhe Anbia va Owsia va Molute Iran, N.4178, 66). According to this fact, when Najme Sani departed Iran for battle with Obaidullah Khan Uzbek to Transoxiana (1513), he faced with rebellion of Qizilbash's Amirs. In the process of fighting with Uzbeks, Qizilbash's army whispered for retreat at the beginning of the winter and for reducing army's equipment. Najme Sani opposed to this action because he deducted that their retreat would be comprehended as weakness of Uzbeks and would cause them to be more impudent. But at the time of battle, some of Qizilbash's Amirs escaped without touching any battle instrument. Najme sani scared them of Ismail's anger and outrage and tried to provide agreement between them but that little groups of Qizilbash' Amirs who had resisted, did not succeed. Najm Sani was slaved and killed by Obaidullah Khan Uzbek's order (Moztar, 1985, 431-434; khandmir, 4/529; Romelo, 1978, 172-174) (5). What was mentioned about Najme Sani as "misbehavior" in Jahangoshaie Khan (Moztar, 1985, 434), as "that ungrateful peasant" in Ahsan al-Tavarikh (Romelo, 1978, 4/ 172) and "proud" in Habib al-Siyra (Khandmir, 4/527) explained the difference and enmity between him and Turkish elements.

His attempt for threatening Qizilbash's power was followed by appointing third Iranian Vakil. When Najme Sani was the leader of Safavid army in Transoxiana, Amir Nazjmo al-Dun Abdolbaqi had been appointed Vakil vicariously, and after Najme Sani, the Vakil's position was appointed to him (1514) and Shah Ismail reached his magnitude and altitude to utmost (Ibid., 543; Moztar,1985, 443) (6).

Amir Nazjmo al-Dyn Abdolbaqi was at this position up to Chaldiran Battle (1515) and at the process of this battle, the writer of Jahangoshaie Khan reminded him as Amir-e-Amiran and Vakil and informed his death. (Moztar, 1985, 494-500)

The unpleasant ending of Chaldiran Battle was a turning point in the evolution of Safavid

government. The process of Shah's de-sanctity and reducing the solemnity of army democracy which caused the ascendancy of military sprite and Qizilbash's power urged by Chaldiran defeat. After that, the Vakil's title was used less and found proximity with court affair and bureaucracy titles such as Vezarat, vizier and Etemadouldole that could cause the disagreement in defining the exact title and responsibility for Amir Najamo al-Dyn Abdolbaqi's successor, Mirza Shah Hossein Isfahani architect.

At the early years of his youth age, he was architect in Isfahan. Through conquering Isfahan by Ismail I, this state assigned to Dvrmysh Khan "Ishik Aqasi Bashi Supreme Divan" and he appointed Mirza Shah Hossein Isfahani as his "vizier and assistant" (Ibid.,184-601). After Chaldiran battle, Ismail understood that he must pre-empt the rein of managing, handling, expansion, resolution, contract and trading affairs and equipment of kingdom and majesty and for the sake of his decision's firmness, the basement of religion and government found stability and durability. (Khandmir, 4/548) The author of Lab al-Tavarikh, in addition to "managing excavated properties", knew the defining army's Amirs based on Shah Hossein Isfahani's decision and mentioned that he was named "Mirza" (Ghazvini, 1984, 418-548) after that which was the sign of court duties than military role. While, the Vakil's absolute power as Shah's assistant was obvious among resources. Jahangoshaie Khan's writer mentioned:

It was appointed that he was responsible for government affairs independently and individually and all Amirs and government organs should obey him and they cannot interfere in any general and partial affairs without his knowledge (Moztar, 1985, 509) (7) therefore, the base of his authority and retinue was significant and incomparable(Khandmir, 4/549).

The titles which were mentioned in sources for calling Mirza Shah Hossein Isfahani's position were a confirmation on this opinion that at the last years of Ismail I's government, the unique and exclusive Vakil's position was going to forgot and easily considered as a liable person for bureaucracy or "Divan-e-Vezarat " (savory,1987,98): "Nezarat Divan Ala" (Supreme Divan observer)(Ghazvini, 1984, 417; Romelo, 1978, 197; Hoseini Ghomi, 1984, 1/ 151; Ghafari Ghazvini, 1964, 277), "Nezarat Divan " (Hoseini Astar Abadi, 1987, 49), "Vizier Divan Ala" (Ibid., 51), " Amir-e-Divan Va Vekalat" (Moztar, 1985, 232), " Vakil-al-Saltane(The lawyer of kingdom)" (Khandmir, 4/557; Moztar, 1985, 601-576-569-541), "Vakil" (Ibid., 566), "Vekalat" (Romelo, 1978, 232), "Mansabe Vezarat" (Hosini Jenabazi, 1999, 162-128), " Vakil-al-Saltane and Etemadouldole" (Khandmir, 4/569; Moztar, 1364, 601-570), and the other titles such as "Jomlat al-Molk and Mokhtar al-Dole" (Ghafari Ghazvini, 1964,

277), "Mokhtar al-Dole and Jomlat-al-Molk ( Empowered man of all regions) " ( Hoseini Ghomi, 1984, 1/ 150),

In this stage, the Vakil reached to administrative branch of government and his title was going to replace with vizier (Estemadouldole), therefore no reason was remained for Turks (men of sword) for placidity and following of this position-Vakil. The obedience and conformity which had a Sufis concept for Qizilbash which base on it, Shah as a perfect Morshed and Vakil as assistant and successor of perfect Morshed (Shah) should be obeyed necessarily. (Ibid., 75) (8).

With the proximity of the Vakil to administrative branch of government, the old conflict of Ahl-e-Ahamshir (Turks) and Ahl-e-Ghalam (Tajiks) overextended to the Vakil's position scope. Actually, Ismail's decision of appointing Iranians for this position was reducing Turks' power and authority. Mehtar Shah Gholi - Mehtar Shah Ismail I- expressed his purpose in killing Mirza Shah Hossein Isfahani as followed: "Tajik is enemy with Turk today and we become deplorable besides our Shah, if we don't take revenge Amir Khan's blood, we will not be men" (Shokri, 1971, 594). Amir Khan Mousloy was Herat's governor and he was opposed with Amir Mohammad Ben Yousef, Herat's grand vizier who was appointed by Mirza Shah Hossein. It was understood from what was written by Lab al-tavarikh's author that Amir Khan's incompatibility with Herat's Sadr was derived from his enmity with Mirza Shah Hossein that: "he knows Amir Mohammad's spoliation because of Etemadouldole's [Mirza Shah Hossein Isfahani]". In a conspiracy, Herat's Sadr was killed. (1521) Mirza Shah Hossein was being upset and called Amir Khan Moslou "cruel Turk" (Ibid., 591)and asked Shah Ismail to punish him. Because Shah Ismail had thought that mystic Amir Khan became misdeed, he sent Dourmesh Khan to Khorasan. Amir Khan claimed he killed Amir Mohammad because he had decision to bring Baber-India governor- to Khorasan. And he welcomed Dourmash Khan considerably and no measure was done about Amir Mohammad's murder. Therefore, a sender went from Shah Ismail to Khorasan to blame Amir Khan's viziers and elects. So, Amir Khan disclaimed and protested that "I did not do any wrong about Khaje Shah Hossein who tries to damage me" (Romelo, 1978, 228-227). It seemed Amir Khan knew the consistency of Amir Mohammad's murder through Mirza Shah Hossein. Shah Ismail evoked Amir Khan from Khorasan; although Lab al-Tavarikh mentioned Amir Khan's disease but he claimed that "they killed him intentionally" (Ghazvini, 1984, 420)in "History of Alam Aray Safavid" referred to "cursing" between Mirza Shah Hossein and Amir Khan that ended to his death. By Amir Khan Moslou's death, all Turks congregation became against Mirza Shah Hossein.(Shokri, 1971, 594) Therefore, Mehtar

Shahgholi became enemy of Tajik-Mirza Shah Hosein who was the reason of Amir Khan's murder.

Against what was written in "History of Alam Aray Safavid", Khwandamir did not present any connection between Amir Khan's death and Mehtar Shahgholi's enmity and although Mehtar Shahgholi was accused to 7000 Toman for Homayoun's house expenditures and Shah Ismail also assigned Mirza Shah Hossein to consider this matter and vote but he behaved tolerantly with Mehtar Shahgholi(Khandmir, 4/594). Hossein Beyg Shamlou reminded Mirza Shah Hossein's pride and that "he did not care anyone and he knew Cairo's organ extinct in order to all of them irritated and agreed to kill him". (Romelo, 1978, 231-232) By Mirza Shah Hossein Isfahani's murder (1523), his murderer -Mehtar Shahgholi- war arrested and killed, but the enmity between two elements, Turk and Tajik continued, Shah Ismail wanted to appoint Mirza Shah Hossein' son to this position but he rejected and said disappointedly that this position and all-important could not be furthered if we observed Shah, Qizilbash would be our enemy and vice versa". (Shokri, 1971, 597) Mirza Shah's position was not remain empty and assigned to Khaj-e-Jalal Mohammad Khand Amir Tabrizi ( Romelo, 1978, 235)(9).

Khaje Jalal al-Dyn Mohammad Tabrizi was in the range of Mirza Shah Hossein's viziers and after his murder reached to "supreme Divan Vezerat" (Moztar, 1985, 1/152) For mentioning his position, his twofold authority-spiritual and sublunary- was reminded in order to Jahangoshaie Khan's author called him as "Nazeme Manazeme Dyn and Dolat"( Regular municipal of region and government) and reminded the "Vezerat and Vekalat" ( Moztar, 1985, 604) (10). During life of Shah Ismail, Khaje Jalal al-Dyn was called "Vizier-e-Mostaghel"( Independent Vizier) ( Romelo, 1987, 240) and by Shah Ismail's death (2<sup>nd</sup> June 1524) that happened two month after appointing Khaje Jalal al-Dyn , he left Vezerat position to Tahmasb I (1524-1576) and according to Sharafname, "he got Vezerat position". (Bidlisi, 2/167; by: Savory, "Ismail I", P.99)

The Vakil was the most significant person who had a position in Shah Ismail I's government through having spiritual and sublunary authority. At the last days of that Shah, the Vakil's positioned changed conceptually, by undermining the relation between perfect Morshed (Shah) and Qizilbash, Vakil's spiritual authority damaged and based on this fact that Shah Ismail I appointed Iranians (Ahl-e-Ghalam) to this position to reduce Qizilbash's authority, the Vakil came closer to Court and administrative department of government and therefor some of them got the title of "Etemadouldole" and "Vezerat" position. Totally, the power of Vakil at the end years of Shah Ismail I's government weakened. The closeness of Vakil's

position to administrative department provided the promotion and reliability field for Etemadouldole. In surveying Vakil's position in Shah Ismail I 'era, the title of "Etemadouldole" was used for Mirza Shah Hossein Isfahani and also "Vakil" and "Vakil al-Saltane" instead of "Vakil Nafse Nafis Homayoun". But the process of reducing the authority of Qizilbash's Amirs that was started by Ismail I through appointing Iranian Vakils, stopped by his death (1524) and again establishment and ascendancy of Qizilbash's Amirs in Tahmasb I's government era.

Tahmasb I succeeded Shah Ismail when he was 10 years old and because of his less age he encountered with Qizilbash's Amirs (1524-1434) and they got the control of government. After Tahmasb I's enthronement with agreement of Qizilbash' Amirs, (savory, 1987, 65) Dive Soltan Romelo who was Tahmasb' tutor and Amir al-Omara governed the country according to Shah Ismail I's will( Shokri, 1971, 599) and Qizilbash's Amirs who were from Romelou, Takalo and Zolghadr tribes and known him as their doyen(Javaheri, 1999). But most Estajloo's Amirs through their leader Kapak Soltan - Chayan Soltan's brother, previous Amir al-Omararallied before Dive Soltan. The increasing number of Ostajloo tribe' men caused that they couldn't bear the Dive Soltan's domination but through recalling Qizilbash's Amirs and Shah Ismail's will, he ordered Ostajloyans who were resided in Tabriz to visit him, Kapak Soltan was hoped that this cooperation caused that Dive Soltan companied him for holding Vakil's position but abruptly, Dive Soltan killed persons who were opposed factors and slaved Qazi Jahan in Mazandaran's Noori Castel.(Romelo, 1978, 247) He was Khaj-e-Jalal al-Dyn Mohammad Tabrizi's successor. Previously, Khaj-e-Jalal al-Dyn was killed terribly after Tahmasb's government and Dive Soltan' authority (1524) as he was wrapped in a mat and burnt. He was the first murder during Qizilbash's Amirs authority at the start of Tahmasb I's government. The reason of his death was mentioned briefly in the sources: in Shah Tahmasb's Tazkare, the reason of his murder was mentioned "some of his shameful acts"(Heidari Safavi, 1984, 3), Hassan Beyg Romelu noticed to "tiff" which existed between him and Dive Soltan which happened because of Romelu (Romelo, 1987, 240-241), in History of Jahan Aray the only news was his punishment (Ghafari Ghazvini, 1964, 282; Hoseini Ghomi, 1984, 1/156). According to categories which was done among Qizilbash Amirs by Tahmasb I's accession for getting the control of affairs, Khaj-e-Jalal al-Dyn's murder clarified that time the Qizilbash Amirs's domination was so that there was not remained any authority for Tahmasb and it is obvious that Divan viziers and agents had not any role except being in the subordination of Qizilbash's Amirs and ascendancy of special groups that ended to their expulsion and murder.

By Kapak Soltan's adjustment with Dive Soltan, it seemed that there was established a triple union from these two and Chohe Soltan Takalo. This threesome group with the assistance of consult council which was made of three viziers governed the country affair at the end of 1525 and beginning of 1526. Soon, Ostajelos' expulsion ended to a battle in 1525. Ostajelos were defeated and refuged to Gillan jungle. Two rest members of triple union-Dive Soltan and Chohe Soltan- quickly tried to eliminate each other. Through Chohe's stimulation, Soltan Tahmasb became pessimistic and caused his death in 1526. Therefore, Chohe Soltan Takaloo was the only authority and the managing of Shah Tahmasb's dynasty was under his power. (Savory, 1987, 68)But his monopolization like the other Qizilbash Amirs at the time of getting authority caused the anger of Shamlou's tribe. Chohe Soltan thought to kill Hossein Khan, Shamlou tribe' head who became Herat's governor against him (Ghobad Alhoseini, 2000,78) for the sake of his brevity in the battle with Uzbek in 935 (Romelo, 1978, 288). In the struggle between them that reached to Shah's tent, shah kingdom also was damaged. Shah's guardians who were from Zolghadr's tribe protected Shamlou tribe and Chohe Soltan was killed. Takalo's rebellion did not end and in the battle in the next days happened between them and compound army of Ostajlo, Romelou, Zolghadr and Afshar's tribes and Takalou's army tried to abduct Shah and caught him to their camp and this matter caused Tahmasb's anger and he order to kill Takaloo's tribe. So, Takaloo's dominance era ended which had been stated from 1527 to 1531 and the Hossein Khan Shamlou's era started. Also, he tried to strength his tribe and he did not let Shah Tahmasb to interfere in succession and dominion affairs anymore.(Ghobad Alhoseini, 2000, 110)

One of Divan position's masters who were killed in the age of Shamlou's authority was Amir Jafar Savouji. He was appointed to observe Supreme Divan by Tahmasb in 1525 (Romelo, 1987, 247) the age of Shamlou's authority which had begun from 1531 did not last more than three years and he was killed for the charge of poisoning Shah and giving power to Sam Mirza- other Ismail I' son. (Ibid., 332)

At the ten-year era of Qizilbash Amirs, not only the other Safavid's masters lost their position but also Shah was slaved in their making decisions. In this scope, Vakil rand Amir al-Omara's functions were not distinguished and these two expressions were used together. Although the Vakil was not used by title "Vakil Nafse Nafis Homayoun" in this era, for the sake of Shah's weakness and dependent tribe's protections, the Vakil had a great authority. Actually, after that Shah Tahmasb I decided to prevent Qizilbash's avarice. By subsiding internal involvement and Qizilbash Amirs' subordination of Shah, the Vakil who got more military and Amir al-Omara position (military Vakil) in the ten-year age

(1424-1434) of beginning of Tahmasb I's government turned to vizier (Bureaucracy Vakil) 72(Savory.Tahmasp I, P.72).

Vakil's expression was used in Shah Mohammad Khoda Bande's era about Hamzeh Mirza and Aboutaleb Mirza- Shah Mohammad Khoda Bande's sons- but it had the meaning of regent and prince. In the beginning of Abbas I's kingdom, Morshed Gholi khan Ostajlo who had an important role in his getting power was called Vakil. But none of them was Vakil with the concept at the beginning of Safavid dynasty when the Vakil had the spiritual and sublunary authority and even after that.

### **Conclusion**

The process of Vakil's concepts evolution, position and features were impacted by evolution in Safavid's identification. In this way that at the beginning of government that theocracy was a popular feature, Vakil's position at the primary concept meant shah's spiritual and sublunary assistant. Through changing this identification and reducing theocracy feature especially from Chaldiran battle (1515), the Vakil's position was discharged from spiritual assistant' dimensions gradually and closed to Divan's dimension. Actually, it seemed the evolution in Vakil's position was depend on the evolution of Safavid's Shah position and the other factors such as challenges between Turk and Tajik had the subsidiary role in this evolution. Safavid's Shah explained his position through three doctrinal, religious and Iranian basements at the theoretical and practical dimensions. At Shah Ismail's era especially before Chaldiran battle the portion of doctrine and the position of perfect Morshed were so determinative in explaining Shah's position. But after that, gradually, the other two basements became effective. So, the Vakil in its primary concept existed just in Shah Ismail I's era. And then gradually became equal with Divan's positions and it was vanished by turning back of Iranian Divan military from Abbas I's reformations and presentation of Etemadouldole (minister president)

### **Notes**

Shah's authority was based on three basements in Safavid dynasty: 1. Mysticism 2. Promised Imam's succession.3 the idea of Shah's divine right among these, the role of "guidance" and Sufi relationship became weak from Abbas I's era. Promised Imam's representation which had been considered by priests was the third basement for Shah's authority that was the idea of Shah's divine right and was remained inherited from pre-Islamic era as a theory and justification of Shah's authority. Refer to" Roger M.Savory. (1987) *The Emergence of the Modern Persian state under the safavids*, in *Studies on the History of safavid Iran*, London, P. 2-36.

The role of Sufi relationship was an idea which devotees had according to Ismail I and it was obvious in their slang along fight:

- قربان اولدقم و صدقه پيرم مرشدم

It means I sacrifice myself for my master that has been illustrated the method of Qizilbash Najieh sect in the fight. Refer to: Jahangoshaie Khan, Introduction and annexes, Allah Deta Moztaf, Islammabad, 1986.

The examples of Vakils' dominance over Sadrs can be seen in the followed events: Judge Mohammad Kashani was the first Sadr in Shah Ismail I who was killed because of his disagreement with Vakil Ami Najm al-Dyn Masoud Gilani in 1915. Refer to: Khwandamir, Habib al-Siyar. Tehran, V. 4<sup>th</sup>, p.499-500; Ahmad Ghafari Ghazvini, (1964), *History of Jahan Aray*, Tehran, P.272. Judge' Mohammad Kashani's successor, Seyed Sharif al-Dyn Ali, was resigned because of fear and horror of Amir Naj al-Dyn masoud Gilani. Refer to: Habib al-Siyar, V. 4<sup>th</sup>. P. 523-524; Jahangoshaie khan, P. 443; the darkness of Sadr Amir Jamal al-Dyn Mohammad Asterabadi's relationship with Mirza Shah Hossein Isfahani- Ismail I's Vakil- was mentioned which solved with Sadr's acuteness and tolerance. Refer to: Hassan beyg Romlou, Ahsan al-Tavarikh, Abdoulhossein Navae's correction, Tehran, 1978, P. 248.

The existed manuscript mentioned that: Amir Najm shortened Turks and Amirs' hand and systematized and legislated Iran's affairs and controlled all affairs through laws".

Safavid Shahs claimed they were promised Imam's succession of Shia. So, not only they connected political and religious institutions more carefully than what was usual in Iranian Islam but also they became the religious institution under the subordination of politic institution that helped them for formalization of Shia religion at the beginning. The subordination of religious institution than politic intuitions was not stable and the separation process of this institution started very soon. Roger Savory knew that it was a hard fact the union between these two institutions at the beginning of Safavid era. Even though during Tahmasb I's government, priests encountered with several fighting with master who was a political appointed. Although the tendency to separation of two institutions existed in Abbas I's era, it completed after him and religious could escape -from political control subordination especially between years 1667-1723 which two of Safavid's weak Shahs governed the country (Shah Soleyman and Shah Soltan Hossein). According to this fact, Amin Banani directly appointed religious meant Priest's group. Refer to: Lambton. "Quis custodiet custodes" *studies Islamica*, (1956), P.133; *The cambridge History of Iran*, cambridge un.1986, V.6.,P.368.

According to author of " the History of Ealchi Nejam Shah", Ismail orderd to Khorasan's governors and sheriffs to obey Najme Sani as

himself. Refer to Roger M. Savory, *The principal offices of the Safavid state during the Reign of Ismail I studies on the History of safavid Iran*, London, 1987, P.96.

Reminded the selection of Amir Najm al-Dyn Abdoulbaghi as "the supreme position of Vakil and Amir al-Omaraee", P. 276.

It is noteworthy that in this work it is mentioned that "for the sake of his self-devotion [Shah Hossein Isfahani] about conveying some men of chaste to palace in the process of defeat in the battle of Chaldiran, this position was given to him"

"...divine splendor (Khvarenah) was obvious through his explainer face and sincere attendants believed and called [Shah Ismail] as perfect Morshed and Shah"

He is mentioned in the sources in different forms such as: Ahmad Ben Hossein Ghomi, *Kholast al-Tavarikh*, attempt: Ehsan Eshraghi, Tehran, 1984, V.1, P.152: "Khaj-e-Jalal al-Dyn Mohammad Lole Tabrizi; Jahangoshaie Khan, P.604: "Khaj-e-Jalal al-Dyn Tabrizi".

In "the History of Alam Aray Safavid, it is mentioned just as Vezarat", *ibid*, P.597; in "the History of Ilchi Nezam Shah" Vakil's position is mentioned: Khorshah Ben Ghobad al-Hosseini, the History of Ilchi Nezam Shah, attempt: Mohammadreza Nasiri and Koichi Haneda, Tehran, Association of Cultural Figures, 2000, P. 78.

In "Roza al-Safavid", it is reminded as glorious position of Vezarat (Mansab Jalil al-Marateb Vezarat), *ibid*, P.162.

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