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***The Historical Sociology of Recreating the Concept of Iran
in the History of the Alam Arāy-e Abbāsi***

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Abstract

History of the nations and national identity has always been considered one of the major issues in the social sciences and political geography. The identity of each nation is primarily related to the circumstances under which that particular nation has emerged and evolved. Thus, every country is independent when it has primarily an independent national personality. The origin and evolution of the concept of Iran has gained a considerable attention in the context of national identity since the establishment of the Medes 705 BC Government in the Iranian Plateau. After the fall of the Sassanids 636 AD and the emergence of independent and semi-independent governments in Iran, this concept lost its particular geopolitical framework, but in the historical process, Iran's political identity was based on a geographical integration and at one point in history, some historians recreated this concept in their works and applied it as a sign of a new evolution in line with reviving the geographical, cultural, and political and social dimensions. With the formation of the Safavid government in Iran and its reliance on the revival of Iranian land based on the heritage of ancient borders, the Iranian concept has transcended

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the cultural and ethnic aspect as a socio-political and basic concept for the national identity. This research is based on the theory of return in historical sociology with the method of content analysis. The results of the research indicate that Iskandar Beg-e Mūnshi in his book with a kind of similarity between the kings of the Safavid era and the sultans of ancient Iran took major steps in the revival of ancient titles and rituals in order to revive the imperial institution, ideological and governmental structure and the revival of the ancient borders of Iran in the territorial dimension. The frequent use of the name 'Iran' in various forms in the history of the Alam Arāy-e Abbāsi clearly emphasizes the recreation of this title and its identity concepts.

Keywords: Recreating, Iran's Concept, Iskandar Beg-e Mūnshi Tūrkṡmān, Alam Arāy-e Abbāsi, Safavid.

Introduction

Awareness is a crucial issue in humanities research, especially in history and sociology. Thus, in historical sociology, awareness or that kind of behavior together with society's awareness can be measured at any levels and situations through techniques or tools, and aspirations that may be the source of ideals in the past or in the future. In discussing the techniques and sources of aspirations, education and its growth areas are the leading factors in societies for the development of which the conditions must be provided so that societies can move beyond the present boundary and be freed from deterrent factors such as traditions that associate societies with the past. In discussing the connection of societies with their past and discussing the transition from past and examining the level of societies based on this transition, societies are divided into several categories; one of which is a society that at the present time reaches a level that does know the past is not one and separate it from the good and the bad, and to take what it needs for its progress and development from the past, and to bring those elements into its growth and reinforcement without imitating the past (Gurvitch, 1965, p. 300-405). Such a situation occurs when there is an intermediate time between the past and the present. Moreover, by dividing the past into both simple and perfect, one can consider

the simple past as a factor in separating from the perfect past. Such a debate in sociology is referred to as the Theory of Return. It means that a concept comes from the past to the present without leaving the present. So in this society, with the techniques of the present, it is tried to make a difference in the concept that is taken from the past (Shariati,1978, p.72).¹

Thus, in discussing the restoration of a phenomenon in the past, attention is paid to the origin of emergence and historical course of its phenomenon and its revival in the present. Finally, one can use it to establish the appropriate frameworks for the growth and development of society at the present time. Thus, the origin and evolution of the concept of Iran and the revival of national identity from the moment of the formation of the Medes on the Iranian plateau up to the time of the Safavids 1499 AD, when this concept was prominently considered, has been significant in the context of national identity.

The most important and significant consequence of the rise of the Safavids was the formation of a political structure with a new identity and decent authority. The absence of factors such as the thought structure, political structure, governmental structure and territorial structure that altogether have created a historical concept of state and territorial government, over the course of 9 centuries of Islamic Iran's history, had caused the great crisis of political and social identity in Iranian territory. The term "Iran", which was used as a political concept in the Sassanid era, marked the beginning of a new phase in the history of Iranian identity with the arrival of Islam. During the interval between the fall of the Sassanids and the rise of the Safavids, dynasties such as the Samanids 874AD, the Al-Buyeh 932AD, and other dynasties reduced the extent of the crisis of political identity, but these successes in resolving the fundamental crisis of political identity failed. Therefore, the crisis remained unresolved.

With the introduction of the new Turkish element and their dominance over Iranian political life, a new process was added to this identity crisis. As a result of the Seljuq monarchy's conquest 1037AD of

1. For more information, see Mortazavi, *History of Sociology*. Stuart Hughes, *Consciousness and society*. Boudon, *Les methodes en sociologie*.

Iran's historical territory, a powerful political structure was formed and a new political identity was established based on the feudalism society, but such an identity was in complete conflict with the political culture of Iranian society. The so-called crisis till the emergence of the Safavids, with the ascendancy of Mongol 1221AD, Timurid 1369AD, and Turkmens 1378AD, continued to exist and added the plight of Iran's political identity. In the Ilkhanate 1349AD of Mongol era, a form of government with a centralized political structure limited to the historical territory of Iran and a central bureau structure emerged, especially with the expansion of the influence of the Iranian element at the end of the period, favorable conditions for a conceptual emergence of the Iranian government appeared. However, the period was short, and with the collapse of the Ilkhanids, Iranian society suffered political disruption. Finally, with the emergence of the Safavids and their attention to acceptable parameters and an independent political structure, focusing on the spirit of Iranianism, the revival of national identity and the recreation of the Iranian concept after nine centuries of disruption were taken into consideration.

Literature Review

Examining the review of related literature in this article is twofold; the first is the study of the recreation of the concept of Iran in the Safavid era, in which research has been conducted in general. In a book entitled "*The Sociological Development of National Identity in Iran with Emphasis on the Safavid Period*", Hussein Goudarzi (2008) has expressed the concept of Iran and the revival of the elements of ancient identity and its reflection in the structure of the Safavid period. He has also examined the identity concepts and the recreation of the concept of Iran in the works of the Safavid period in an article extracted from his book. Mansour SefatGol (2006) in a study entitled "*Rethinking the Safavid Iran (907-1148/1501-1736): Cultural and Political Identity of Iranian Society during the Safavid Period*" studied the Safavid era and the revival of ancient elements such as the revival of the Iranian territory, Persian language, and literature in the political and cultural structure of the Safavid society. Although many works and research projects have been done about the Safavid era, the recreation of identity elements and the concept of Iran have been studied in a limited way. In the second

place, there has been no conducted research in the realm of studying the recreation of Iran's concept in the book *Alam Arāy-e Abbāsi* so far. Except for a brief reference made by Hussein Goudarzi (2008) in his article and book about the abundance of Iranian names in the book *Alam Arāy-e Abbāsi*, no separate research has been done based on the content analysis of this book.

The Development and Explanation of Iranian Identity in Ancient History

As a political, social, and geographical entity, Iran is characterized by distinctive cultural and civic identities and characteristics, and has faced many ups and downs over the millennia. In examining how the Iranian entity evolved, one must take into account the essential elements such as the land, the people, and the state. By 'land', in this definition, one can refer to the main context of the historical struggles of Iranian society with cultural criteria, the influence scope of which extends beyond the political and geographical territory of Iran, and politically, with respect to the special and strategic position of Iran in world geography and perpetual conflicts, one cannot determine a clear and stable territory for Iran. But can consider the plateau of Iran and some lowland areas on the northern and western sides as the historical territory of Iranshahr. (Allahyari,2003,p. 52 & Shabani,2011,pp. 8-9)

But the constituents of the people and the state give identity to the land, build and define its borders. The state is also the producer of the heroes and historical and national figures of a nation. Looking at the national identity as well as the national culture in Iran and the historical background of this country shows the deep roots of Iranian culture and identity. This land is the origin of Aryan migrants who migrated to Iran around 2500 BC and succeeded in establishing the first great kingdom of Iran. This plays a significant role in identifying the geographical and political dimensions of Iran's history (Sykes,1958,vol.1,P. 99).

The image of ancient history, consideration of the historical continuity, and historical identity for the Iranians, can be seen in the works of Greek historians. Strabo, the leading Greek geographer, gives the earliest reports about Iran, the geographical features of the Iranian plateau, the people and the culture of their community (SaniAjlal, 2005,

p.29). The establishment of the Sassanid kingdom and the Zoroastrian religion as the official religion of the country, along with the recognition of religious and ethnic myths about the creation, history and geographical location of Iran, formed the basic foundations of the identity of the Iranian tribes living in Iranshahr (Ashraf, 1994, p.17). The study and examination of historical texts and contemplation in Iranian political culture show that the Iranian identity based on the royal institution was founded on a political background far beyond the formation of the royal dynasty. However, the political and geographical existence of Iran during the Sassanid period with the name of Iran and Iranshahr gained particular prominence and ended with the completion of ancient Iranian civilization and left a huge capital of religious and non-religious works whether in poem and in prose in terms of language and culture.

The Evolution of Iranian National Identity after the Fall of the Sassanids

Since the fall of the Sassanids, the Iranians seem to have been trying to provide a window into their political, social, and cultural endeavors in every way they could, preventing them from being defeated as the defeated nation as well as their endeavors, and as always in the history, they rose like the Phoenix from their ashes and defeated their conquerors once again, and alongside political struggles, the Iranians made great efforts to revitalize and recreate the Iranian and Iranshahr concepts, which seems to have been effective in emerging the "Iranian government" concept that was one of the most important achievements of the Safavid era.

The Iranians first began their activities by establishing political-religious movements with ancient Iranian intellectual themes in the early Islamic centuries, then penetrating the government structure, and acquainting the rulers with Iranian political thought, rituals, and traditions, especially in the days of Arab and Turkish domination, they intelligently paved the way for a political transformation towards Iranian identity (Tajbakhsh, 1993, p.9; Ravasani, 2001, p. 6).

With the arrival of the Turks and their dominance, a new chapter in Iranian history opened. The Seljuk rulers created a powerful political

structure. The Mongol, Timurid, and Turkmens conquests then created a number of disastrous identities. After three centuries of rule by the Mongol Turks and successors of Timur, Iran was able to enter a new phase in its history. Since 907 AH/1501AD, when the dynasty of Sheikh Safi al-Din Ardebili in the name of the Safavid dynasty ruled Iran, they tried to restore the administrative and civil tradition of the Sassanids, the Samanids and Al-Buyeh, the concentration and power of the monarchy and the development of the civil system (Savory,2001,p. 20 & Hinz,1982, p. 21). The fall of Baghdad in 656 AH / 1258 AD, by Hulagu khan Mongol and the elimination of the anti-liberal provocations of the ideas of the time and the Ilkhanid tolerance policy against religions and intellectual styles paved the way for the growth of different sects in Iran and abroad. Shi'ism, which, after a short period of time in the Buyid period, had found no scope for propaganda, gained ground on publishing and expanding. Along with these changes, the Sufi manners also gave Iranian culture a fresh look and spirit (Bayani,2007, pp.159-256).

The formation of the Safavid government in the field of Iranian history relates, on the one hand, to the religious, political, and intellectual movements of Iran during the post-Islamic era, and on the other hand, to the tribal forces of Anatolia who were disciples and followers of the Ardabil Khāneghāh. In examining the nature of the Safavid movement, the course of the Shari'ah and the way in which it influenced the intellectual currents and movements of the people against the oppressors of the time are of particular importance (Sumer,1992, p.10).

The emergence of the Safavid rule on the scene of Iranian history after centuries of ethnic, cultural and administrative disruption must be regarded as an important historical event. The Safavids became the founder of an independent state that emerged within the boundaries of historically recognized borders after long periods of Turkish rule and small and large local governments. Exploiting the legacy of Turkish rules, this state, at the same time, provided opportunities for the artistic and cultural creativity and talents of its inhabitants for regaining their identities by establishing a formal religion and forming a centralized administrative and political system.

King Ismail I (1501 AD/905 AH), by announcing the Twelver (The

Twelve Imams) in 1501 AD /907 AH as the country's official religion, introduced a dynamic ideology to the service of the new government, thereby giving the government the power to overcome the initial problems and the power to move the country forward through the serious crises that the Safavid government encountered after the death of King Ismail I (1524 AD/930 AH). It also made King Ismail draw a clear distinction between the Safavid government and the Ottoman Empire, which was the major power of the Islamic world in the 16th century (10 AH), thereby giving the Safavid government territorial and political identity. This made him more aware of the national identity and thus the creation of a more centralized and stronger government (Savory, 2007,p.29). Politically, monarchy reconstruction, considered as the legacy of ancient Iran, was another understanding which influenced the process of identity-building in the Safavid era. The modernization of the monarchy and the exertion of the sovereignty in the position of monarch served two important purposes: first, in the domestic territory, instead of political dispersal, a centralized system based on the king's will and power was established, and, on the other hand, the Shiite-era Safavid community was surrounded by the Sunnis whose increasing political and intellectual pressures would cause the new Shiite center in Iran to collapse (Bahramnejad,2004, p.101).

Therefore, to prevent such a situation from happening and to resist it, the revival of the monarchy, which was essentially centralized, seemed a good idea.

Other important elements in examining the structure of the Safavid political identity are the organizations and institutions through which monarchy and political power exercised power throughout society. These organizations which had ancient roots in Iranian political history such as the idea of monarchy served as an independent infrastructure element contributing to the identity-building process (Savory,2003, pp.109-179). The above-mentioned elements could not make sense of the true meaning of political identity and government without considering the element of place or land. The structure of the land, in contrast to the other factors mentioned above, is more involved in the process of identification. The limitability of the land enables the government to depend on this factor to feel distinct and stable against others. The

government's proclamation of a particular religion into a territory could also help it to propagate its beliefs and slogans. The Safavid government was able to unite almost all of Iran's territory under one single banner and gave the name and title of the Guarded Domains of Iran to its territory (Shabani, 2006, p.62).

These elements restored the notion of Iran's land and redefined its borders and boundaries by placing monarchy, religion, and land together; relying on a centralized state structure, a precise concept of political identity, and ultimately, the Iranian government was created. Such a concept can be found in earlier and later sources of the Safavid era in terms of "monarchy of Iran", "kingdoms of Iran", "king of Iran" and other terms that express a single meaning, but the fact cannot be denied that these concepts became more relevant and applicable in the late Safavid era and show that the Iranian concept has become more powerful.

It seems that with the formation of the Safavid government in Iran, the concept of Iran was removed from the geographical, cultural and ethnic concept and as a basically socio-political concept and a foundation of national identity was promoted. The relics and resources of this period on the revival and reinforcement of Iranian identity and reliance on elements of Iranian bureaucracy in the second half of the Safavid era, from Shah Abbas (1587AD /996 AH) onwards, compared to the first period in which Turkmens aristocracy had the most influence in the same structure, emphasize and show what a remarkable process the Safavid period has gone through.¹

1. Despite the book "*Alam Arāye-e Abbāsi* ", the use of the name Iran in many important historical sources of the Safavid era refers to the re-creation of a political concept and the application of the name of the country and nation of Iran, see *History of Alam Arāye-e Safavi* , 3, 4, 5, 28, 78, 439,528, 563, etc. In the three-volume collection of *Ahsan al-Tawārikh*, the name of Iran was repeated 205 times. Also in Safavid travelogues including *Olearius travelogue* 13, 14, 15, 36, 231. *Kaempfer travelogue*,13, 17, 18,24. *Journal du voyage du Chevalier Chardin en Perse*,10, 11, 254, 307, 310, 355, 366, 589. *Cose e parole nei viaggi di Pietro DellaValle*,8, 14, 41, 44, 48, the name of Iran comes with phrases such as Shāh-e Irān, Pādeshāh-e Irān, Dolat-e Irān, and Mardom-e Irān.

Also, the name of Iran has been used in the works of Safavid poets such as Sāeb-e Tabrizi, Mohtasham-e Kāshāni, Kalim-e Kāshāni and many letters and orders of Safavid Sultans along with the Sultans of other countries (Goudarzi, 2008, 179-193-196).

The Revival of King Organization during the Safavid Era

With the formation of the Safavid dynasty, the feudal governments disappeared and little by little the central unity of government and religious unity began to emerge. Therefore, after centuries, Iran entered a new phase. The theory of monarchy and the reconstruction of the royal institution were commensurate with the political structure of this period, as practiced by King Ismail. King Ismail, who desperately needed the help of the Qizilbashes to obtain an independent territory, required effective elements to maintain this vast territory in order to implement the idea of national unity and the creation of a unified territory after the implementation of this goal. The tendency to appoint Iranians as lawyers after Hussein Beg-e Ielāh Shāmlū reflects the view that expediency sees the monarchy as a place of revival that has a long standing among the people of this land.

King Ismail's growing interest in Iran and Iranian people, and his efforts to push the country's borders back to its ancient limits, show his particular interest in this. He considered himself the King of Iran and called himself the former king of Persia, "Shāhanshāh", was fond of Ferdowsi's Shāhnāmeḥ and celebrated the ancient Nowrūz all year long and according to Khāndmīr he paid attention to the celebrations of Nowrūz¹ (Khāndmīr,1972, p.562 ; Parsadoost,1996, p.690)

Choosing Iranian names like Tahmasp, Bahram, Sam and Rostam for their children is another reason. A considerable part of his army was formed after the initial victories by the Iranians. He succeeded in bringing the land of the former Iran across the Euphrates to the Amū River (Amū Darya), and across the rivers of Aras and Kor to the Persian

1. Many customs and cultures of ancient Iran such as ancient festivals; Nowrūz, the celebration of Āb-pāshān, and Čahār-šanba(-e)-sūrī; were still popular among Iranians after 9 centuries. In the historical books of the Safavid era, we encounter the holding of these rituals. A reference to the celebration of Nowruz and the celebration of Āb-pāshān in the *History of Alam Arāye-e Safavi*, 51-58. Safavid travelogues also mention the celebration of Nowrūz. Chardin introduces Nowrūz as the only national and non-religious holiday of Iranians, which is highly celebrated and revered very gloriously (Chardin,1993, vol 1, 449). See (Kaempfer,1984, 183). Offering gifts to kings is an ancient tradition that was also common in the Safavid court. Olearius mentions the Nowrūz gifts that governmental governors traditionally sent to the king's court (Olearius,1984, 81, 97). The revival of the lion and sun (*Šir-o xoršīd*) symbol on the flag of Iran in the Safavid era is another ancient symbol that was used in this period. This emblem on the Iranian flag represented the Iranian national identity both in Iran and abroad (Bokhtourtash,2008,213-223).

Gulf under a single political umbrella, thus taking the first steps towards restoring the territorial dimension and limiting its borders. Religion was another approach that King Ismail needed in his earlier thinking (*Ibid*).

After studying the history of Iran after Islam we find that in different periods, the kings and rulers tried to convey their kinship to those who were interested in Iranians in order to consolidate their status and attract the attention of the people or somehow acquire national and religious legitimacy through this relationization. In the field of religion, after the fall of the Sassanids, the Prophet (pbuh) was given special attention and because the Muslims, and especially the Iranians, paid special attention to the family of Ali (AS), the Safavid kings used the people's attention to Sādāt and introduced themselves "Imam Musa Kazem's family", thus adding to their supporters. Basically, we must believe that Sufism was one of the most important areas for the formation of the Safavid government, which was mixed with Shiite and the Safavid preachers used this ideology to attract disciples and to instigate the Safavid revolution (Nasr, 1986, vol. 6, pp. 656-661).

The existence of ideology during the rise of Shah Ismail was a key factor in his success in gaining power and its survival over the following centuries, which played a major role in the process of stabilizing the royal institution. Also, concerning the Safavid kings' interest in religion as a supportive instrument, one can refer to King Abbas I's pilgrimage from Isfahan to Mashhad on foot (1601AD /1010 AH). *The History of the Alam Arāy-e Abbāsi* claims that no prince had achieved this success since the advent of Islam, and the only case with which it sides, according to this Byzantine emperor's hiking book, was Heraclius, from Constantinople to Jerusalem. However, this was not really the case. This was mentioned in *Alam Arāy-e Abbāsi* as follows: "Because Heraclius was resting in such a comfortable home that he spent two months on a journey that usually lasted for twenty days, and his servants spread their way the rugs under his feet." (Mūnshi, 1998, vol.2, p.796).

Other elements that the Safavids achieved for national unity were Persian language and Iranian culture and civilization. One of the most important factors in the continuity of Iranian culture and national identity is the Persian language, which has been used at least since the

Achaemenid period in the sixth century (BCE), embraced the privileged characteristics of the Iranians and became attached to the Iranian national identity (Abdi,2001,p.52). In this period there is a tendency to write in Persian in historical texts. The literature of this period was based on Shiite thought and the religious propaganda of the government of the time. However, the use of Persian language in the writing of historical texts, whether prose or poetry, despite being in line with religious propaganda, helped to preserve Iran's identity and integrity¹ (Mirahmadi,1992, p. 217; de Bruijn,2011,pp. 103-112). Therefore, the Safavids became the founders of a school of Iranian culture and civilization, and played a major role in introducing the components of Iranian culture and civilization to the world in various fields of science, culture and art.

Iskandar Beg-e Mūnshi Tūrk mān

Iskandar Beg-e Tūrk mān, nicknamed "Mūnshi", was one of the prominent historians of the Safavid era, originally from the Turkmen tribes of Azerbaijan and was born in 1561 AD / 968 AH. After learning the modern sciences of the time as well as the science of Seyāgh, he turned to government affairs. He was a writer at the Shari'ah office for some time, and when Crown Prince Hamze Mirza marched into central part of Iran to crush some insurgents in 1508AD /914 AH, he was in the secretary position of the court with him, and even fought with the rebels. Iskandar Beg-e Mūnshi went to King Abbas I in 1593AD/1001 AH and became one of his secretaries and worked for the Divān-e Enshā. This was mentioned in *Alam Arāy-e Abbāsi* as follows:

“I found myself amongst the secretariat of the Caliphate, and the day-to-day service which was needed for this enormous occupation, made it impossible as it was worthy of effort, understanding, and nature. Hence embarrassed, I became preoccupied to work all-out” (Mūnshi, 1998, vol.1, p. 2). He then became one of the trustees of Hatam Beg-e E‘temād al-Dawlah and was able to accompany him on various missions and was

1. In his travelogue, DellaValle introduces Persian as the main language of the country, which people are very prejudiced against and is so respected by the people and used not only in all writings and books, especially the Divan of Poets, but also in all contracts, orders and decrees sent by the king. Finally, they use Persian language in all important national and governmental affairs (DellaValle,2005, 8, 72).

also trusted by his son Abūtāleb Mirza after his death (Mir Mohammad Sadeq, 2003,p. 3). Using a government archive available to him, Iskandar Beg-e Mūnshi was the witness or co-operator of many political events who set the date of King Abbas I's rule in 1629AD /1038AH under the title of the "*Alam Arāy-e Abbāsi*" as illustrated below:

“I have lived by this thought for a while and struggled with the excusable temperament and rogue nature. Finally, finding the secrets of incidents related to the glorious crown of this Sultan (King Abbas I), I have to put in black and white in my thoughts and desires without being bound by the fanciful embroidery and embellishment of the phrases as well as the adornment of the proper words(Mūnshi, 1998,vol. I, p. 3).

After the death of King Abbas I, he began to record the events of the reign of King Safi (1629 AD/1038 AH), but his work ceased with his death in 1632 AD/1043AH. Iskandar Beg-e Mūnshi divided his book into one preface, two scripts, and one ending in three volumes. The preface of this book is about the origins of the Safavid kings and the rise of King Ismail and the events of his rule. The first script contains twelve articles, the first of which is about the reign of King Ismail's successors and the reign of King Abbas I of the Safavid dynasty, and the other eleven are about his moral and social codes and habits. The second script, which covers most of the Abbasi world, is written in two destinations, the first destination or the second volume covering the throne of King Abbas by the end of the 30th year of his reign and the second destination contains the last 12 years of King Abbas's reign till his death (Mir Mohammad Sadeq,2003,pp.3-4).Although not an Iranian, he was appointed secretary, as one of the most important occupations of the court, and, in connection with Iranian bureaucratic culture and a tendency towards Iranian identity, and especially with a tendency toward Shi'ite religion, took a significant step towards revitalizing national identity. Iskandar Beg saw many political events in his career and was loyal to the Safavids for political reasons. Given the concepts and content of the *Alam Arāy-e Abbāsi*, in which it is shown a balance between Iranian religious and bureaucratic classes, one can clearly see the dominance of the Iranian element in his work.

Recreating the Concept of Iran in the Book of “*Alam Arāy-e Abbāsi*”

As mentioned earlier, Iran, as an independent political and geographical entity in ancient times, was invaded by Muslim Arabs and became a part of Dārol-Khelāfeh, and its national identity and structural integration were merged into new components. During the Islamic period, independent and semi-independent governments within the framework of this ancient geography were an attempt to revive the territorial dimension and to shape it into the components of monarchy and kingship based on ancient ideas.

It is as if the Iranians have gone back and forth over the centuries, devoting all their time and energy to producing and recreating the concept of Iran. It seems that each of the dynasties that ruled Iran during the Islamic era, relying on Iranian and bureaucratic elements, tried to establish a solid framework and transferred their task and role to the subsequent dynasties. Even with the emergence of the Turkish dynasties in Iran, this sense did not fade away, as if these central Iranian attractions and reliance on its original elements had become so rooted in their souls and bodies that they relied on the orderly historiography that existed during these centuries such great ones as Beyhaghi, Khājeh Nizām al-Mūlk-e Tūsi, Atā-Malik-e Jūwayni, Khājeh Rashid al-Dīn Fazlūllāh-e Hamadāni, etc; we can try these alien rulers who, by ruling over Iran, call themselves Iranians and try to revive the royal institution and thought that the ancient monarchy ruled the land before the Islamic era. As Khājeh Nizam al-Mūlk-e Tūsi (2006, p.5) writes in the first chapter of his work: "The God of excellence in every age and time has chosen one among the people and adorned him with royal arts and adorned him with the materials of the world and the servants."

With the fall of the Islamic Caliphate by Hulagu and the founding the Ilkhanid dynasty in Iran, it was increasingly considered a return to the royal thought and the royal splendor of ancient Iran. It seems as if Iran's political and geographical existence as a monolithic entity was gradually and evolutionarily perfected, although at times it diverted the process from its path, but its evolution followed a linear path through the course of history. At every juncture, thinkers, historians, and rulers emerged who were striving to bring about this evolution.

The Safavid period in terms of written sources is one of the most brilliant ones among the great Persian sources. The "*History of the Alam Arāy-e Abbāsi*" by Iskandar Beg-e Tūrk mān is one of the most famous historical texts that cover the events of the reign of the Safavid monarchs until the end of King Abbas I's reign. Iskandar Beg-e Tūrk mān is one of the historians who, with his keen historiography, understood this important work and subsequently authored a work that could instead be traced to Iranianness and to the recreation of this concept based on royal and monarchical thought found in through the course of the past centuries.

The Restoration of Territorial Aspect

Looking at the list of titles of *Alam Arāy-e Abbāsi*, one can understand that the author is referring to the titles of "mentioning the king's invasion of Azerbaijan" (Mūnshi, 1998, vol 2, p. 636) or elsewhere, "mentioning the militarization of the Roman Sultan Suleiman, the Lord, to Ajam's land and his struggle with Safavid Sultan as the Sarīr Arāy-e Kasrā and Jam" (Ibid, vol.2, p. 66).

In order to determine to what degree he strives to perceive the royal and sectarian titles as a fundamental feature of the monarch in Iranian political culture.

With historical-mythological simulation of Iran, the author refers to the royal glory in which Hómayoūni's army tries to revive the borderlines of the ancient Iran in his efforts with the enemies (Anīrān) of Jam's land (Iran). Accordingly, the author considers the main concern of the Safavid kings as the extension of Iran's borders to its ancient borders and to expand the territory expressing the national identity of a land.

Restoration of the Monarchy

Iskandar Beg-e considered the Safavid kings with an analytical view of the world "Blessed be the Crown of the Shahān (kings) upon you the beautiful throne of Kayān" (Ibid, vol. 2, p. 588). Or "Anoūshīravān of the time or the Persian's Khósrow" (Ibid, vol.3, p.1663), which he refers to as Anoūshīravān, King Abbas I. It can be seen that Iskandar Beg used these titles to simulate the Safavid kings with the kings of ancient Iran. He also refers to the Nowrūz ritual and relying on the Khāghāni and Shahrīyāri

seats to reminisce an ancient monument, as illustrated below:

In Nowrūz-e Alam Afrooz of this mūbāarak-fāl year coincident with the sixteenth day of Ramaḏān al-Mūbūarak, Khósrow Malek-e Khāwar, the mentor of the whole universe, strut out of his hideout in Hoūt and mounted to the throne of Hamal proudly similar to the blade razor rays of the world sunshine (*Ibid*,vol.2,p.611).

The use of titles and titles such as "The Sultan" for the first time by Junayd and the attempt to seize worldly power by his son, Hayder, to Iskandar Beg-e Mūnshi "seemed to be the seat of the kings of the kingdom according to the customs of the Sūltāns"(*Ibid*,vol.1,p.14) Finally, the son of Sheikh Haydar, with his monarch, revealed the political aspirations of the Safavids (Savory,2007,p.19) This is a reflection of the ancient ideas that were crystallized in the intellectual thought of Iskandar Beg-e Mūnshi during the writing of the *Alam Arāy-e Abbāsi*, and is itself a proof of the ancient cultural heritage and civilization which they sought to renew during this period.

Iskandar Beg's look at elements such as justice expansion, justice, globalization, and slavery that are important features of the kingdom in ancient Iranian land culture, such as: "The world is one of justice May the people be happy with your government"(Mūnshi,1998,vol 2,p. 700). It indicates his attempt to deeply link the Safavid monarchs to the ancient Persian dynasty. In dealing with the invaders and the captives, considering the good qualities of the past, Iskandar Beg, referring to King Abbas's treatment to the defeated fighters after the conquest of Ghandhar, was likened to the ancient monarchs, especially the Sassanid dynasty, who were in awe of them. Good illustrations of this are given below (*Ibid*,vol 3,pp. 975-976):

One day, Khósrow Sultan set up a banquet or party for the purpose of removing the bad speculations and the concerns of the hearts, ensuring the consent of that community and the great rulers of the day, and expressing their friendly and familiar characteristics..., The remnants of that congregation of Nesā (women), Sebyāns (children), and the congregation that were delayed in death, hence survived, sympathized and comforted all the comrades in their place.

Structural Thought

Attention to the religion and religiosity of the Safavid kings is another point in the book of *Alam Arāy-e Abbāsi*. A quick glance at the text of the *Alam Arāy-e Abbāsi* one can show that Iskandar Beg adorned the king with religious property in his book and considers it a crystallization and manifestation of divine power. He described the accession of the Safavid monarchs to this legitimacy as follows: "It is not concealed in the eyes of the Ul al-Absār that the attribution of this dynasty and its principles will be united with Hazrat-e Khatam al-Anbia (pbuh) and Ali al-Mūrtezā (AS)" (*Ibid*, vol.1,p.7).

According to the teachings of ancient Iran, religion and territory are deeply intertwined and hurt each other, so the king of divine approval and divine endorsement must protect this monument in order to preserve its monarchy. However, the Safavid monarchs refer to religion as a matter of politics and regard religion as a political tool. But through a deeper look at this approach one can suggest that the Safavids sought to preserve the pillars and principles of their monarchy by relying on the legacies they inherited from Iran's ancient past. By using this approach, they were able to restore the national and territorial dimension of Iran, which was also disrupted after the fall of Zoroastrianism to ancient Iranian land links.

Using the strongest reason, namely the marriage of Hussein (AS), the younger son of Ali (AS) with Shahrbanu, the daughter of Yazdegerd III, the last Sassanid king, showing the development of Shi'ite beliefs in Iran, the Safavids claimed the Shiites of Ali's family to be the heir to the ancient monarchy in Iran and the divine right of the Iran's kings, the origin of which was the "Farah-e Izadi" (**Khwarenah**) (Boyle,2011,vol.3,p. 31& Savory,2007,p.26).Considering this approach as one of the components of national identity in the Safavid era can be seen in the attention that the Safavid kings brought to it. The following is an example of King AbbasI's pilgrimage to Mashhad in twenty-eight days and dedication of land and properties for the infallible Imams mentioned by Iskandar Beg-e Mūnshi(1998,vol.2, p.1249) in his book as follows:

All their special estate and properties, which were increasingly under

the jurisdiction of the Hazrat during the government, and their fair value exceeded one hundred thousand tomans of the Iraqi royal family, the total sum of which could arrive at seven thousand tomans ... which was dedicated to the sacred fourteen innocent Imāms.

Government Structure

Attention to the Iranian approach was also reflected in the administrative structure of the country. The Qizilbashes, who regarded the Safavid power as their sword, used the terms "Qizilbash government" and "Qizilbash kingdom" and even referred to the king as "King of Qizilbash". Indeed, they demanded the tenure of key government officials. After this endless battle between the Turkish and Tajik elements over the major government officials, the Iranians took over the affairs of the state by prevailing the ministry as the head of the bureaucracy, one of the most powerful government officials. This focus became even more evident in the reign of King Abbas I (996 AH / 1588 AD). In the era of Abbas I, in the upper ranks of the Safavid bureaucratic structure, to replace Amir al-Omarā as commander-in-chief of all the armed forces, the old Iranian nickname "Sepahsālār" was revived in the same sense (Savory,2007, pp. 56,89 & Roemer,1986,pp, 262-278).

As illustrated below:

“Mentioning the Qarachaqay Khan Sepahsālār of Iran to Conquer Mosul and Kirkūk” (Mūnshi,1998,vol. 3,p. 1020), or “A Brief Description of the Events and State of Zeinal Beg, Sepahdār-e Lashkar-e Firoūzi”(Ibid,vol. 3,pp. 1037). These names and titles show the victory of Tajik elements in Iran. Iskandar Beg-e Mūnshi (1998,pp.1097-1116) in the third volume of the *Alam Arāy-e Abbāsi* by titling: “Remembering and Delivering His Majesty the Divine (or) In the Truth and Knowledge of God and Thoughtfulness (in) The Justice of the Faithfulness of the Way (or) The Rule of Law and the Rules of Governing” which comprises a total of 12 articles from the first verse, on the issue of the divine approval of the king, and on this matter in the affairs of the kingdom, and on the other that the necessary attributes and characteristics of the king are justice of the king, His striving for prosperity and, ultimately, alongside other traits, he sees masculinity and knowledge and service to the people as the scale governing the affairs.

The author of this work, Iskandar Beg-e Mūnshi, has repeatedly stated the purpose of writing his book about Iran. He has named Iran more than 300 times in his work. Apart from the above components, it is possible to refer to the frequent repetition of the name of Iran in the history of the *Alam Arāy-e Abbāsi*, in the form of prefixes and suffixes that attribute the affairs of government, monarchy and country to Iran.¹

Conclusion

The term Iran, used as a political term in the Sasanid era, stepped into a new phase in its identity as Islam entered Iran. With the emergence of independent and semi-independent governments in Iran, this concept lost its distinctive geopolitical framework, until in the Safavid era; Iran gradually regained its lost political identity and as a country with boundaries and it is known as a country with specific limits and boundaries. The concept of Iran in the Safavid era as a political-social concept was recreated as an independent state of Iran based on the historical identity of the border and in the memories, myths, texts, culture and language of these people. According to the Safavid theory of return, the elements of ancient Iran, which were manifested in imperial, ideological, governmental and territorial structures, and even cultural elements and symbols, were brought to the life and reproduced; By examining the concept of Iran and recreating it in *the History of the Alam Arāy-e Abbāsi* as one of the first-hand sources of the Safavid period, we can properly see the full presence of these elements of ancient Iran and their relationship with national identity. Iskandar Beg-e Mūnshi is a historians and bureaucrats of the tenth and eleventh centuries AH who, due to his involvement in political and court affairs in the Safavid court, witnessed many political events of his time and in connection with the culture of the Iranian bureaucracy, turned to Iranian identity. His book took a fundamental step towards reviving the Iranian national identity. In *the History of the Alam Arāy-e Abbāsi*, he compared the political, bureaucratic, and cultural structure of Safavid Iran with ancient Iran and tried to recreate the concept of Iran based on the idea of monarchy and the glory of the monarchy in a comparative way, revive it, and consider

1. For more information, see Mūnshi, *Alam Arāy-e Abbāsi*, 3 volumes 588, 590, 602 ,etc. See Goudarzi, *The Sociological Development of National Identity in Iran with Emphasis on the Safavid Period*, pp. 193-194.

the ancient borders of Iran as one of the concerns of the Safavid kings. He also emphasizes the idea of relying on religion and politics, which is a combination of the two ancient teachings, and in the governmental structure, emphasizing the Iranian element, as well as reviving the ancient titles in civil and military affairs, seeks to revive the structure of the Iranian bureaucracy. Giving many examples in the mentioned forms and many repetitions of the name of Iran in his book, Iskandar Beg-e Mūnshi has emphasized the revival of the concepts of Iranian national identity and its other customs.

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