CHAPTER - II

Safavids dynasty and their political relations

Safavids Dynasty
Ottomans Empire
Relations with Ottomans Empire
Relations with Baburis Dynasty
Relations with Uzbeks
Safavids Dynasty

The sect of Safavi Sufis was established by followers of an influential Sufi called Sheikh Safi-ed din Eshagh Ardebili (650-735 AH/ 1252-1334). He himself was Murid (follower/disciple) and son-in-law to Sheikh Zahed Gilani who died in (700 AH/ 1300). Sheikh Zahed had appeared in Azerbaijan in the western coast of Caspian Sea and his followers had been spreading from Iran to Anatolia, Syria, Palestine, and India. This wide range of Murids made Sheikhs of the sect unable to teach them. This was subject to blame at that time and laid the base for change of the principle concept of Murid to Mujahid. Sheikhs of Safavi sect had controlled religious affairs of Ardebil Tariqhat (Sufism) up to mid-fifteenth century. As Sheikh Ibrahim died, conflict raised between Ibrahim’s brother -Ja’far- and his son - Junayd -. In this time Jahan Shah Qhara Qhoyunlu took the side of Ja’far, and Junayd was defeated, he was driven out of Ardebil along with some of his followers who wanted him to be their Murshid. Junayd made journeys in Azerbaijan, Dyarbakr and Northern Syria looking for new Murids. His significant personality attracted extremist Shiiites. Competition between Qhara Qhoyunlus and Agh Qhoyunlus naturally directed him towards Agh Qhoyunlus and in (861AH/1456) he met Uzun Hassan in Amed City. Uzun Hassan took the advantage of that situation and kept Junayd with himself for three years and at last married his sister to Junayd so that he could use the influence and power of followers of Ardebil Tariqhat against his enemies. Since then Safavi Tariqhat of Sufis, which had a religious and cultural system, started a political movement by beseeching its followers who were mostly members of Turkmen tribes. Junayd’s successors also followed his path. Shekh Heydar in a battle to

1252-1304: Sheikh Safi ad din Ardebil was the founder of the Safavi Sufi Tariqhat.
1305-1391: Sheikh Sadr ud-Din Musa, second son of Safi became Master of the Safavi order; this was while the Il-Khan state was collapsing.
1391-1427: Khajeh Ali, son of Musa, became Master of the Safavi order; the order, which had been professing Shi’ism under cover, began to overtly propagate Shi'i doctrine at this point; Ali was a contemporary of Amir Timur Gorkan (Tamerlane) and had an audience with him.
1427-1447: Ibrahim, son of Khajeh Ali, became Master of the Safavi order.
1447-1460: Junayd, son of Ibrahim became Master of the order; a new beginning for the order as the Safavis began to claim political power; Janid was killed in battle.
1460-1488: Haydar, son of Junayd, became Master and was killed in battle.
1488-1494: Ali, son of Haydar, became Master and killed in battle.
1494-1524: Ismail, brother of Ali, became Master at the age of seven and established the Safavi Empire.
revenge his father’s death was killed by the joint army of Farokh Yasar, king of Shervan and Sultan Yaghoub Agh Q hoyunlu (893 AH/1488). At that time, Ismail was only two years old. He studied the Quran, math, astronomy, philosophy, and Arab literature with his father’s followers when he was a child. This period lasted almost six years and a half. Ismail’s talent in poetry had undeniable influence. His Turkish poems are still popular in Turkish literature among Bektashi sects. However, what distinguished Ismail from other Safawi kings was his semi-divine and political personality. According to some sources, he was worshipped like a god and was followed blindly by his followers. By making provocative movements in Anatolia, these keen followers gradually brought about conflicts between Ottoman Turks with Safavis. These true Turkmen followers were willing to conquer their lands for Ismail: lands which were under the rule of Ottomans.

This way, along with these factors, the changes that had started with Junayd, eventually brought Ismail, Junayd’s grandson, to the throne in Tabriz and he started Safavi dynasty.

- Establishment of Safavi Dynasty

Two elements helped Safavis establish a united political power.

The first element was internal unrest. During second half of fifteenth century, Iran was politically declining. The whole country turned to a

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3 Ibid.
5 Safavid Shahs (nine of them ruled):
1502 - 1524: Ismail I
1524 - 1576: Tahmasp
1576 - 1577: Ismail II
1577 - 1587: Muhammad Khodabandeh
1587 - 1629: Abbas I (The Great)
1629 - 1642: Safi I
1642 - 1667: Abbas II
1667 - 1694: Safi II
1694 - 1722: Soltan Hossein

Pretenders:
1722 - 1732: Tahmasp II
1732 - 1736: Abbas III
6 Ismail came to power in a time when there were different cannons of power in Iran. These cannons were:
battlefield among claimants of power. Only in the time of Uzun Hassan Agh Qhoyunlu, there was relative peace and stability in some parts of Iran’s territory that did not last long after his death. Junayd took the advantage of this unrest.

The second element was gaining support of Turkmen nomads of Eastern Anatolia and Northern Syria by Junayd which made a courageous and motivated force for Safavis. Among these tribes, there were Roomlus (Anatolia), Ostajlus and Takallus (Tekke in Southern Anatolia), Shamilyu (Syria, old sham), Zolghadr (between the rivers of Jaihan and Euphrates) and eight smaller tribes who had roles in formation of Safavi kingdom. These tribes had settled in the heart of Ottoman Empire and played very important roles in the relations of Ottomans with Safavis.

A glimpse at the origin and identity of these tribes helps to understand the type of their relations with Safavis. Turkmens were settlers of Central Asia who had immigrated to Anatolia in order to join the army of their fellow racial Ottomans and took part in Jihad against Christian settled lands of Anatolia. There were groups of Shiite Turkmens of Khurasan and Kharazm among them. These very nomads after settling in Anatolia, joined Sufis who formed different small and large military groups under supervision of a Sheikh (or sage or tribe chief) for Jihad (or on the pretext of Jihad) against and invaded Muslim and sometimes Non-Muslim areas of Anatolia up to Black Sea.


These groups could be divided into two categories:

**The first** category that joined Ottoman Empire had certain organization and certain religious customs and economically was supported by donations of kings and powerful men of government. Most famous sects among them were: Naqshbandis, Molavis, Khalvatis, Bektashis and different tribes of them. Bektashi was a sect of followers of Haji Bektash Veli (738 AH/ 1337) who had Shiite tendencies and were inclined to tolerance and rationalize. It seems that Sheikhs of this sect did not consider the apparent religious instructions and prayers very much and had made focusing on spirit an excuse to escape from religious instructions⁹.

However, they were influenced neither by famous types of religion nor by Sunni Islam. They were mostly settled in cities and had followers in high classes of society.

**The second** category that again could be a compound of first group and other dispersed groups was away from political conflicts and did not like closeness to power very much. There were wandering Dervishes among these groups who were known as Ghalandarian, Heidarian, Abdalian or Babaian and Hamzavian. Since these sects were wandering in mountains and tropical areas of Anatolia especially borderlands, Ottoman kingdom could not make these almost Bedouin Turkmens follow the popular life style of Muslims. Ottoman kingdom always looked at these groups with pessimism because they did not pay tax and even used to take farms of some farmers. There were Christian villagers¹⁰ and Qhazis (fighters) among them who had been deprived from their lands.

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⁹ Golpinarly, Abdolbaqi. "Qhezelbash", Trans. walah wali, Magazine of Culture, Vol. 1 (Fall 1987). they penetrated among Turkmen tribes and then it became the accepted Tariqat of Janissary groups in Ottoman Empire. Some believe that in fact Janissaries were the same Christian children, Devshirme or Devshirma, who had been sent to Turkish villages of Anatolia in order to learn Turkish language and Islam.

In early fifteenth century, survivors of the suppressed *Horoufieh* sect also migrated to Anatolia and gradually placed themselves in the framework of the common *Bektashi* ideology in Anatolia. The popular religious culture of Middle East was open to any kind of mixture\textsuperscript{11}.

Between both groups, opponents rose against Ottoman Empire who later joined *Safavis* directly or indirectly. The sects of *Ahle Hagh* in *Kurdistan*, *Badr addin Lous* and *Bektashis* who all had relations with *Asna Ashary* (Twelver) tradition joined to each other until sixteenth century when military and political conflicts between *Safavis* and *Ottomans* started\textsuperscript{12}.

As an example, during second half of fifteenth century, *Sheikh Badr addin Mahmud*, Army Judge (*Qhazi asgar*) of *Musa Chalapi*, son of *Il'drim Bayazid* was chief of a group of *Bektashis* who along with his agents (*Dadah Mostafa* and *Torlagh Kemal*) rose up against Ottoman Empire in three parts of this Empire simultaneously; massacred and plundered Sunnis.

After *Badr ad din*, a new heretic *Tariqhat* that had risen in the east, influenced his followers. This new religion was the same Shiism of *Safi-ed din Ardebili*.

During 150 years of activity in Ardebil sect, preparations had been made to form a unity of these *Turkmens* and at the time of *Ismail*’s rise, there were so many allies who could easily bring down the local governors and prepare the bed for the *Perfect Murshid* (the title of Ismail). *Qhezelbashes* were members of these tribes who joined *Junayd* and *Heydaras* devotees of the famous *Safavi Tariqhat*.


**Qhezelbashes**

Since thirteenth century Sufi sects with Shiite tendencies have appeared in Iran. They tried in preaching Asna Ashary (Twelver) religion and cooperated with Safavi family in this case. Ne’matollahi and Norbakhshis were among these sects. Every sect had its own emblem or cloak and clothes. Murids of Ne’matollahi sect put on five-gore hats and Noorbakhshis wore black as a sign of moaning for Imam Hussein (PBUH). Qhezelbash is a Turkish term that means a person who wears a crimson (red) hat. This crimson hat was a memorial to Heidar, Ismail’s father who had designed it as a specific sign for his Murids. They were mainly from Turkmen tribes of Anatolia, Syria and Azerbaijan. Qhezelbash in eastern Turkistan refers to Shiites and in Middle East, it was a term equal to Alavis. In ottoman view, it referred to a member of a secret sect and a person with distorted religion and in sixteenth century, it referred to their Safavi enemies. In Russia, it was equal to Asian and Tatars of Volga used it for a smart person (like an Iranian merchant)\(^{13}\). Extremist Shiism and its war seeking tribes in the meantime of turning Iran into a Shiite Iran made its followers have conflicts with Sunni Islam. Some researchers have considered this sect’s ideology close to those of Nosayri and Yazidi sects\(^ {14}\) who had joined Safavi family since the time of Junayd. Despite ideas of some researchers, the mixture between Bektashieh and Gehezelbashes was so that they could be considered as one\(^ {15}\). At least in sixteenth century they were considered as equal to Qhezelbashes. Safavi movement showed the most powerful Turkmen opposition against management system of Ottoman kingdom\(^ {16}\). Their remarkable penetration in Ottoman territories was doubtlessly among the elements that destroyed Ottoman-Safavi relations and led to invasion against Iran\(^ {17}\).

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13 Amoretti. Ibid. PP 311-312
15 Crowfoot. J.W. "Survivals among the Kappokian Kizilbash (Bektash)". Journal of the Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland, NO 30( 1900): 305-20
16 Inalick. Ibid. PP. 188-195
17 Savory ,Roger M. " The Office of Khalifat al-khulafa under the Safawids ". JOAS(1965):vol 85, p498
Advocates of Safavis in Ottoman territory instead of paying tax to Ottoman Empire brought their gifts to Ardebil. Qhezelbashes visited their religious leader every year; this visit was so important that Sultan Bayazid II had prevented them from this visit. When King Ismail requested that his Murids and followers in Middle East be not prevented from visiting him in Ardebil, Sultan Bayazid said in response: “It was concluded through research that intention of lots of this pilgrims is not to fulfill religious duty but to escape military service”\(^{18}\) although Bayazid did not stop them later\(^{19}\).

It is necessary to bring the name of Badreddin Mahmud or Badr ud din Lous who died in 1416 besides Bektashis, Ahle Hagh, Horoufian and Malamatian. He was army judge of Musa Chalapi son of Sultan Bayazid I in Adrene. When there was quarrel, between Mosa and his brother Muhammad Chalapi, he took side of Mosa and as Mosa was defeated, Badr addin was dismissed and sent in exile. He received elementary education in Bursa and Qunieh and learned theology, logic and philosophy in Sham (old Syria) and Egypt and served Sheikhs in Egypt, Tabriz and Qhazvin to learn their Murid teaching ways. As he had Murids among extremist Shiites and had lived very much among Ahle Hagh wrote his ideas in a book titled Varedat and his successors preached these ideas in west Anatolia. His Tariqhat was a mixture of extremist Shiites, Ibn Arabi’s unity of entity, trinity of Christianity, Imam worshipping of Ahle Hagh the common ancestors worshipping of Shamans Turks of Middle East. He believed that Sheikh of Tariqhat carried the spirit of God and originally was innocent and the universe is dominated by his will. He regarded obeying Sheikh as center of all religious customs and dismissed his followers from performing lots of customs. This added to joining of new Muslims who did not believe in Islam and had joined the Turks merely to plunder. He regarded love of Ali (PBUH) and love of Sheikh as the basis of belief and it is said that he made lots of forbidden deeds like drinking wine permissible and asked his


followers to just melt in his will and follow every order to make Sheikh
happy. Gaining political power eventually led him and his both caliphates
towards violation in Anatolia. He gained some victories and made some
massacres and plunders. There were even Christians and Jews in his
movement who had been fed up with being plundered and taken captive by
Ottomans But eventually Badr addin was defeated at last and was charged
with heresy and destroying immunity of Muslims in 823 AH/ 1420 and was
sentenced to death in a court by an Iranian judge. His caliphates preached his
Tariqhat after his death and promised Murids that Sheikh would come back
and told them that Sheikh was alive and would come a day. They kept their
hostility with Ottomans so that 27 years after Badr addin’s death Junayd came
to Anatolia and got to know his Murids and wanted to be his successor20.
Since they had no leader during those years, they accepted him as leader.
Junayd submitted to their ideology and customs. He probably changed his
Shafei religion in this way and his Murids became his worshippers21.
Plundering villages of Tarbzon was among his and his followers deeds. In this
time, Uzun Hassan Agh Qhoyunlu mediated between king of Trabzon and
Ottomans for peace and Sultan accepted independence of Tarbzon for a while.
Therefore, Junayd set off for DyarBakr and married Khdiye Beigam, Uzun
Hassan’s sister. In one of his war journeys for taking booty from Charkas tribe,
Junayd was killed by the common troops of Qhara Qhoyunlu and Shervanshah.
Uzun Hassan supported his successor who was infant called Heidar. Heydar
(King Ismail’s father) after growing up organized his Murids and ordered
them to wear a special hat which was crimson and had twelve gores. This
sign reminded their belief in twelve Imams22. Ottomans gave them the title of
Qhezelbash with disdain that was accepted by them with honor and soon after,
they were formally called Qhezelbashes. The basis for their extremist ideology
consisted of two things:

21 Fazlullah Ibn Rouzbehan Khunji told In the World of Aalam aray-e Amini: of course it is probable
that worshipping him after his death, was because of prejudice of followers not based on religious
First regarding divinity for some Imams and also elders of Safavis especially King Ismail and the other was extremism in separation from first Caliphates of Prophet except Ali (PBUH) which later led to massacre of Sunnis in Safavi territory. They were also militants who were left behind Tajiks (Non-Turkmens and especially Iranians). Ismail should have kept both positions of kingdom (as the earthly position) and being the perfect Murshid (as the highest spiritual position) in a military and political system. Qhezelbashes were perfectly ready to follow their Murshid but they gradually showed that this readiness was not enough to take part in an executive organization.

Official system of Safavis was initially a mixture of Agh Qhoyunlu and Uzbeks. The use of firearms and organization of slaves of Devshirme Trolls influenced Iranian army. At the head of this army after the king, there was a Qhezelbash. The innovated position of Ismail called Vakil e Nafs e Nafis e Humayon (Representative of His Majesty) which was higher than the traditional position of Vizier was given to Hussein Bey Shamlu of Qhezelbash. But Qhezelbashes despite their momentous role and position in political system of Safavis, could not keep this position for a long time because after Hussein Bey Shamlu it was Tajiks who took the position of “Representative of His Majesty”. Separation between government and Sufism that was because of change of movement to kingdom showed itself in taking of this position and in other positions as well. Also formation of another dominant religious movement i.e. Faqih Shiite and eventually decline of general perspective of Sufism and consequently decrease in the position of Khalifat ul Khulafa

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23 The school of Shiite like Sunni Islam has different groups. Regarding the fact that Shiite religion is divided into lots of balanced and extremist sects, Qhezelbash sect is certainly not an equal to Shiite.  
24 First Vizier of Ismail, Shams-ud din Zakaria Kajoji was Vizier of Agh Ghoyunlus, so their systems were followed in Ismail’s system. 
25 Sumer .Ibid. P 243  
26 devshirme was the practice by which the Ottoman Empire conscripted boys from Christian families, who were taken from their families and by force converted to Islam, trained and enrolled in one of the four imperial institutions: the Palace, the Scribes, the Religious and the Military.
(representative of shah in spiritual affairs) that had a unique validity in the movement of Sufis in its initial steps were apparent changes in the time of Safavids. In the time of King Abbas I (1588-1629) Qhezelbashesh even lost their own military status. King Abbas I replaced them with another Turk force called Shahsavan (King Lovers). King’s aim was that tribal militants be loyal to king instead of loyalty to tribe chiefs.

- **Safavids and Legitimacy**

Safavi support of mystical and extremist Shiite was a way of gaining religious Dominance and legitimacy among its initial followers. The period of Safavis in history of Iran compared to other periods, was a period in which Shiite ideology developed wonderfully and reached remarkable progresses in Shiite Fiqh and philosophy. A principle question is that what kind of Shiism did they have?

This is a key question that cannot be answered at least here, because firstly, Shiism of Safi ad din’s time must be explained according to texts, then, the closeness of this Shiism to that origin must be discussed. What is apparent is that Sheikh Safi had Sunni, Shafei religion. The easygoing environment created by Mongols was so much prepared that every kind of heretic and rationalized ideologies were permitted to grow. In the meantime, Shiism has been fluctuating around what was called people’s Islam (non-official) and intensity and weakness of its elements were influenced according to time and place. There are lots of poems from mystics and other Sunni writers complimenting twelve Imams of Shiism (PBUH). It reveals the love of Sunnis to Asna Ashary Shiism, therefore, this love cannot be point of separation between Sunnis and Shiites. None of historians have written that Ismail’s ancestors were Shiite even those who criticize their religious tendencies like Roozbehane Khunji, the author of Alam Araye Amini. It can be concluded that

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28 Navaii. Ibid. P 30
ancestors of Ismail without showing apparent tendency towards Shiism, had grown up in an environment in which love for Ali (PBUH) and his children existed a lot\textsuperscript{29}. They were close to two dynamic cannons of Shiism in those days. One was the cannon in Northern Iran in Lahijan and the other was in Western Anatolia. The amount of influence by these two cannons on Safavis is not clear, but compared to Imamieh Shiism they both seem to be extremists.

However, about Ismail himself the situation is different. Ismail received Shiite education. His master, Shamsud din Lahiji who later became chancellor in his court was Shiite. Shamsud din was a student of Muhamm Noorbakhsh who was a student and Murid to the famous Shiite scholar Ahmad Ibn Fahd Helli. This Shiite education shows that Ismail’s belief in Shiism was not a political pretention but it had or igins in his beliefs. His collection of poems that due to some exaggerated sayings does not get along very much with Shiite taste, reveal his deep belief in Shiite principles.

Mongolian invasion to Iran made lots of scholars (Foghaha and Ulama) emigrate from Iran. Lack of religious scholars made religion lose ideology and get far from compiling scientific texts and instead the number of poets and authors of mystical works rose in this period and abbeys and mystical circles became popular, therefore, common Islamic religions including Shiism turned into Sufism (mystical schools). Ibn Batouteh, the famous Spanish tourist who had travelled far and wide, from east Africa up to India and China has mentioned popularity of abbeys everywhere in his records between 725 till 754 AH/1324-1353\textsuperscript{30}. Truly when rationality decreases in the field of religion, religious sensation filled its place. The agents of this sensational attitude were Sufis who had remarkable positions among people. From long years earlier, they led a kind of self-risen and public Islam that connected all types of Islamism with the love for Sat i.e. children of Prophet and his family and love

\textsuperscript{29} Roemer ,H. R. \textit{The Cambridge History of Iran}. Ibid. P 14
\textsuperscript{30} Zarrin koob.Ibid. P 76
for Ali (PBUH). In this way, mystical Islam that had been a rival to center of Islamic Caliphate in non-official representation of religion was connected to Shiite interests. That was the way common Islamic religions got closer to mystical attitudes.

We cannot forget the role of time and environment in formation and development of Shiism during these years. Since the period of Buyid Dynasty (934-1055) and Sarbedaran and short-term kingdoms of Sadat of Mazandaran and long-term ones of Sadat of Gilan in fourteen century and religious movements with some heresies like Horoufieh, Noghtavis, Ahle Hagh and Mosha’sha’ian all had appeared in relation to Shiism. Forms of Shiite school with mystic and extremist interests were spread in different parts of country.

Therefore, when Safavis entered the realm of political power, they could count on some of their qualities in order to create legitimacy. These qualities, which had the conditions to be accepted by the society and also formed three main principles of power in Safavi kingdom were as following:

i. Gaining the Title of Kingdom: Safavis used this traditional idea that king was father of people and a holy entity31. They could use the title, Shadow of God and also counted themselves heirs of Sasani kings (before Islam) and believed that daughter of Yazdgerd III, the last Sasani king became Imam Hussein’s (PBUH) wife. Ismail also was grandson of Uzun Hassan Agh Qhoyunlu and he could also be heir to their kingdom.

ii. Spiritual validity of Ismail as the perfect Murshid whose military successes had mead him an emage of Mahdaviat (Salvation/alleged to mahdi) and prophetic mission had given him the right to expect full obedience from his followers.

iii. The third principle was attribution to family of Prophet of Islam (PBUH) and carrying the title Seyyed. He honored his relativity to Ali (PBUH)

31 Amoretti. Ibid. P 316
and Fatima (PBUH). This claim of relativity brought a aureole of innocence around them. Although according to Shiite theology this relativity brought no superiority to Ismail, for his followers who counted him as a saint, this relativity to children of Prophet (PBUH) was enough evidence. Accepting this non-basic principle made Ismail call himself Ali, Mahdi or even God in the poems singed by his followers in battlefield. The claim of Mahdaviat was put aside since the time of Tahmasb(930-984 AH/ 1524-1574).

The Shiite view about fundamental issues on legitimacy of kingdom was not clear until the time of King Abbas I. The elements of being a king, a Sheikh and a Seyyed have been collected in Safavi kings so much that despite the flow of kingdom from religious principles towards being an absolutely mundane government still the king had religious claims for the sake of political dominance. In the eye of the public this view of the court at itself was sensible. Don Garcia Dacilva Figueroa, the Spanish ambassador in king’s court in his records about belief of people on king and his dynasty reports that people come at the door of court to take the rest of the food from king’s table to cure their patients. Generally, reflection of ideas and views on king’s status and the element of religion could be found in some records that have remained from previous and temporary records titled “Reflection of Kings” or “Siasat Nameh”. Ghazzali reminds knowledgeably

That: “Religion is based on kingdom, kingdom on army, army on requests (salary and allowances), requests on civilization and civilization on justice”.

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32 In Shiia Islam "the Mahdi symbol has developed into a powerful and central religious idea. Twelver Shia Muslims believe that the Mahdi is the Twelfth Imam, who was born in 869 CE and was hidden by God at the age of five (874 CE). He is still alive but has been in occultation, "awaiting the time that God has decreed for his return".


The other case is determining the proportion of religion and kingdom in Safavi era. In other words, was the government an equipment to stabilize Shiite school or vice versa?

In reply to this question, we would first briefly discuss political necessities and their influence on religious ideology. The path that Safavis passed from being scattered towards unity was as it follows:

i. The period of Teimories and Agh Qhoyunlus with the common Sunni ideology under the rule of Turks and Tatars

ii. The period of pass with ideology of extremist Shiites and Sufis, since the succession of Junayd up to Battle of Chaldoran with influence of Turkmens and Qhezelbases.

iii. The period of settlement with Faqih Shiite and with influence of Shiits scholars and Iranian officials.

Safavis in order to stabilize Shiism in a developed sensible way especially in the time of King Tahmasb, made efforts by inviting Asna Ashary scholars of Jabal Aamel, nearby Syria and Southern Lebanon which led to progress of Shiism. The phenomenon of immigration of Shiite scholars has generally roots in chaos that appeared for Mamluks after the Ottoman victory over them. Welcoming scholars made most of them come to Iran. After Mamluks were defeated in 1516 in Haraj Dabegh, the whole Syria was conquered by Ottomans. This event influenced Shiite territory in this region remarkably. If not all of them, most Shiite scholars could not live in that region anymore and even they were on the way of immigration to other regions that were subject to Ottoman chase. Unlike Mamluk kings who had no conflicts about religious and cultural issues and were mostly busy with keeping political power, Ottoman Sultans looked at these subjects as part of their policy in relation to Pan-Islamism.


36 The immigration of Jabal Aamel scholars will be discussed in more details in the section of Immigration
Even in the period of King Ismail when there was not considerable attention to ideological and rational discussions most concerns were on military issues, Historical evidence proves that every year he sent seventy thousand Dinars for Mohaghegh Karaki, one of the great scholars (Foghaha and Ulama) of Jabal Aamel so that he distributes them among schools and his students. Following defeat of Safavis in Chaldoran, the ultra-human position of Ismail declined and based on that, political views in regional competition with Ottomans changed basically. In phase of this change in political necessities, religious thoughts which Safavi regime legitimacy was based on must have changed because Qhezelbashes after Battle of Chaldoran were not the same warriors before the battle, therefore, it was necessary that Tahmasb, unlike his father, suppress the burning divine passion and move towards rationality. This change of style had signs and tools including making relations with Ottomans and avoiding conflict with them, suppressing heretic movements like suppressing Noghtavis and also massacre of Tekallus were the first traits of removing Sufism. Also welcoming immigration of Shiite scholars by Tahmasb among whom sixty scholars settled in Iran was one of these changes. The phenomenon of scholars’ immigration that included 150 scholars was accelerated by defeat of Safavis in Chaldoran because the situation became more difficult for Shiite scholars of Jabal Aamel. They, who had been treated with suspicion by Ottoman kings, now had to deal with brutal behavior. Therefore Tahmasb’s invitation to stay in Iran was a great opportunity for them. Tahmasb’s son, Ismail II put suppression of Qhezelbashes as a priority in his plans. His behavior with Husseingholy Kholafa, the greatest of Sufis and destroying his dominance and influence and then blinding him reveal his anti-Sufism plans that had started since the time of Tahmasb and continued after then. Along with these plans population of Safavi supporters changed from Qhezelbashes into Iranian civil, and educated classes, and again step by step with these changes in politics, Kalām( Islamic philosophical

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37 Modarresi Muhammad Ali, Rayhanatul adab fi Tarajemul Ma’roufin Belkonyah wa an nasab n.d, Vol. 5 P 247
discipline) and jurisprudence Shiite progressed more. King Tahmasb in one of his orders issued in (939 /12/16AH /1533/07/18) announced that his responsibility was to spread Shiite ideology and to prepare the conditions for coming of Imam Mahdi (PBUH.). This aim was achievable only through following Shiite scholars who carried the pure knowledge of religion. So, all members of government had to follow instructions of Karaki because he was considered the greatest Shiite scholar and representative of Imam Zaman at that time. These exceptional conditions which revealed the deep influence of Karaki on king himself naturally provoked Qhezelbashes and other top officials against Karaki and also mead them worried about and angry at him. The result of these negative feelings was a hard effort to remove him from power. This situation led to attack to Karaki which was defeated by king himself39. What seems true is that changes in the realm of politics and power have influenced the realm of religion. Qhezelbashes according to their origin and type of presence and arrangement in the realm of politics of that time, were not reflexive enough to accept that change, therefore they were gradually replaced by other forces.

The second point in dominance of political situation and conditions over religion was the type of using the words “religion” and “kingdom” in the situations that explain their relevance to each other. Researchers have used this common statement many times which says: “Safavis used religion to legitimate their kingdom”. This approves that in establishing and keeping power, religion has been considered by men of politics. Islamic jurists (Foghaha and Ulama) of Jabal Aamel considered Safavis’ need of legitimacy a very good opportunity and by organizing their ideology compiled ideological heritage of Shiism and spread and empowered it40.


The view that tends to show politics of Safavi era at the service of Shiism and spreading it, when it comes to studying reasons of Safavi decline, it becomes unwilling to determine the role of scholars in this decline. But groups opposition of this idea, believes that struggle of scholars in order to establish an independent base intensified in 1066 AH/1687. In this year when a great and famous Mujtahid (scholar who has matured in jurisprudence) called Mulla Muhammad Baqir Majlisi penetration in government was so much that its historical consequences could never be forgotten. His new ways of fighting with none-Islamic religious minorities and also with followers of Sunni religions caused Afghans to get far from central government -who defeated Safavi government at last. It also spoiled the name of Safavis among potential supporters of Iran in Caucasus, Kurdistan, and Khorasan and made them disgust this government.41

➢ Ottomans Empire

Seven dynasties who governed in Islamic History with the name of caliphate (or Sultan) were Rashidin Caliphates, Omavis, Abbasids, Fatinis, Omavis of Andalusia, Abbasids of Cairo and Ottoman Caliphaes. Among these caliphates, the longest is that of Ottomans. The government of Ottoman Turks was known as the greatest kingdom after decline of Abbasids. This kingdom appeared in seventh and eighth centuries AH. (13th and 14th) in Anatolia. Among these dynasties, only Ottomans were Turks. They were Ghuzz Turkmens, yellow Eurasian people42 who had taken their name from Ottoman Ghazi son of Aar Toghrol, leader of their tribe. Their origin was Turkistan. Turk tribes settled in Southern Siberia and North and West of Middle East up to some parts of Eastern Europe and from Northwest of China up to Mongolia. They were nomadic animal husbandmen who after migration and settlement

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41 Jean Aubin, Arjmand in show of god Savory in iran under the safavis, Banani and Lockhart and Minorsky
of Arians in Iranian plains always used to attack or migrate to Western lands of Asia looking for pastures. This nation movement influenced great parts of Indo-European people settled in farther west and gradually they converted their language to Turkish.

At the time of *Abbasid* Caliphates some of them gradually entered the court in order to create balance and mostly became commanders of *Abbasid* army. In this way, they formally laid the foundations of joining Islamic government in the Eastern parts of Islamic caliphate. Thereafter, they started establishing independent local governments under dominance of Caliphs. Greatest of these kingdoms that were established since 4th century AH and 10th were *Ghaznavids*, *Seljuks*, *Khwarazmids*, and later *Qhara Qoyunlus* (owners of black sheep) and *Aq Qoyunlus* (owners of white sheep). Their first continuous and independent presence in Middle East was after *Malazgirt* battle (463 AH/1071) between *Alp Arslan Seljuk* and *Romanos Diogenes*, emperor of Eastern Rome. After the victory of *Seljuk* conqueror some central parts of Anatolia came under their power. By that time, Western Anatolia was generally a Christian settled area inside borders of Byzantine (West Rome) government. From this time, Seljuk governors encouraged Turk tribes to immigrate to Anatolia. Successors of *Alp Arslan* established kingdom of Roman Seljuks dependent on and later an ally to other Seljuks. They declined after appearance of Mongols. But a united system did not appear after Seljuks and twelve emirates replaced them in Anatolia. The most important among them was Emirate of *Quniyeh* (a *Qharamaan* tribe of *Tatars*) that because it had come to power in center of Roman Seljuk Emirates, it claimed the heritage of their lands. They established kingdom of *Qharamanian* in *Kilikiyeh*.

Ottomans also were among the migrated tribes to Anatolia and had to fight Byzantine kingdom and were continually empowered by immigrant Turkmens of central Asia who used to come to Anatolia and also by Muslims who were eager to fight Christians as Ghazis or religious Mujahids. Urkhan Bey, son of Ottoman, conquered “Bursa” city in farthest west of Anatolia with an intention to fight atheists in 732 AH/1331. He asked city immigrants and nomadic Turks who at that time mostly passed Iran or they were Iranians and there were Shiite tendencies among them to join him in fighting against atheists.

During the following four years, he conquered big Christian settled cities of Western coasts of Anatolia. Bektashis were among the groups who joined them with their Murids. They looked upon Jihad against atheists based on enormous of booty. These Shiite groups could influence other members of Ottoman army. It was in that time and that way that gradually in Western Anatolia Turkmen groups and governments like Mamluks assimilated the newly risen government of Ottomans and by creating a powerful war machine laid the foundation for creation and development of 643 years old Ottoman Empire (699-1342 AH) with the slogan “Everlasting Kingdom”.

After the fall of Constantinople by Sultan Muhamm II known as Fateh (conqueror), East Roman Empire fell and Ottomans became the only heirs to Byzantine Empire. Now in the early fifteenth century Ottomans had spread their territory in most lands of Southern Mediterranean, Arabian Peninsula and from North up to Don River and from East to Iranian borders. After these victories, Ottomans started spreading their dominance towards Europe and Asia. In the East, they defeated remains of Tarbzon (Byzantine Empire 330-1461) in 1461 and after that conquered Uzun Hassan Agh Qhoyunlu who had lots of areas in Western Iran and vast lands of today Iraq under his rule. These

44 Brown, Ibid, P 72
victories smoothed the way for Sultan *Muhammd* to conquer Eastern Anatolia and whole Middle East. In Europe after sixteen years of bloody wars, he could conquer *Trace, Macedonia, Bosnia, Albania*, and coasts of *Adriatic Sea* and proceed up to *Frievol* in Northeastern Republic of Venice. From this time the aim of Ottoman conquerers was central Europe and Italy in the west, especially residence of *Pope* and in the east they aimed at conquering all Islamic countries and Northern Africa including Iran\(^{46}\). Military success, political organizations, productive social system, and economic success in sixteenth century were elements that made sixteenth century golden ages of Ottoman Empire. First serious conflict between Iranian and Ottoman kingdoms was at the time of *Timur* and *Ilderim Bayazid* which was the famous war *Chubok Anghoreh* (*Ankara*) in 804 AH and led to defeat and surrender of *Bayazid* and period of interval started in Ottoman Empire. The next important battle was the war between *Uzun Hassan Agh Qhoyunlu* with Sultan *Muhammd the Conqueror* (878 AH/ 1473).

When Ottomans were fighting in Venice, a new threat rose in the East which spread its dominance in the lands far from Europe. This new Iranian movement not only put Eastern borders of Ottomans in danger but also revived social turmoil inside their borders. Ottomans, who had dominated Middle East from long ago and were trying to develop a great Islamic power in the west and Europe, couldn’t get along with establishment of Safavi power as a modern Islamic Empire. Shiite nature of Safavis reminded them of problems they had with Shiite sects around Anatolia. The battle which initiated decades of conflicts between Safavis and Ottomans break out at the time of *Sultan Salim*. Sultan Salim who called himself caliphate of Islam after dominating Islamic countries, defeated Safavi King *Ismail I* in *Chaldoran* (920 AH/ 1514 ). These wars were present in whole Safavi period but *inevitable* priorities made the two nations sign ceasefire contracts even if they didn’t

want to. Therefore, two important peace treaties are apparent in this period. First, peace treaty of Amasya (962 AH/1555) which was signed in the time of Tahmasb and the rest of his kingdom passed in peace. The second was Zahab (Ghasr e Shirin) treaty (1049 AH/1683) in kingdom of Safi I. Despite these two treaties there were conflicts. Of course, these treaties were almost sustaining and gave Safavis enough time to reinforce inside and on the eastern borders. They also became bases for lots of political ties later between Iran and Ottomans.

- Relations with Ottomans Empire
  - Backgrounds of Conflict Between Ottomans and Safavis
    I. Territory of Mamluks

Ottomans concern was not appearance of a new form of Asna Ashari Shiism, but it was because of the connection between this kind of shiit and the Anatolian provinces instability that could easily turn to turmoil by Safavis. This threat had appeared before that in second half of fifteenth century; therefore, it made Anatolia unstable. Whole pessimistic attitude of Ottomans did not go back to extremist deeds of Safavis. It was because of their competition to gain dominance over wide territories of Mamluks. Both Ottomans and Safavis were trying to subdue Mamluk Empire. The situation became worse when Ottomans received warnings from their agents that Safavis had united with Mamluks against Ottomans. This became more serious when Ottomans found clues that proved Ismail was trying to spread Shiite ideology among Mamluks. It has been mentioned in letters of Bayazid II and Sultan Salim in the book Mansha at Alsalateen.

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48 Feridun Bey.Ibid. p329

Mutual relations of Iran and Egypt were revealed when Bayazid II received a reply from Khwaje Rostam, governor of Kurdistan. He had written in his letter that Ismail and his followers who had religious escape and defeat and had defeated Alvand and Murad, commanders of Agh Ghoyunlu family, new were trying to unite with Egypt against Ottoman Turks and March to Mar’ash and Dyar Bakr.
II. Succession of Abbasid Caliphate

Sultan Salim preached what is called today Pan-Islamism. His great intention was not only gaining kingdom of the greatest and most powerful Muslim kingdom, but gaining the absolute leadership of Muslim world. Defeating Safavis could be the first step that would pave the way for Ottomans to be leaders of world Muslims. In order to conquer Medina and Mecca Sultan Salim found out that the first he must solve the problem of Anatolia fundamentally.

Salim set off for war with Iran in 920 AH/ 19th Mars, 1514 with a big army. He wrote a letter to Ismail in 21st April and asked him to avoid disdaining Rashidin Caliphates and threatened that he would conquer Iran. He wrote another letter to him from Sivas and claimed to be caliphate and accused King Ismail and his family of heresy and moral corruption and called him for repentance and bearing the bitterness of the joining of Iran to Ottoman territory49. Ottomans based their policy on a system in which religion and kingdom were tied to each other in a way that there was no contact between them. Until tenth AH/ sixteenth century Ottomans believed that Sultan as a king in order to spread the rules of government had the absolute right without prevention of religious scholars50. Therefore, in two sides of the world of Islam, two Muslim powers both with their tendencies claimed religious leadership of Muslims.

III. Extending Territory and Competition on Borders

As they conquered Constantinople in 1453 the power of Turkmen tribes declined but Bayazid II 886-918/ 1481-1512 son of Sultan Muhammad the Conqueror had chosen defending position in front of uncontrollable Sufis. He tried to force Sufis migrate from Anatolia to Greece so that as his chancellor mentioned: “Clean whole Anatolia from them and also honor Moreh Peninsula with the light of forcible swords of Islam”51. The centrality that

49 Feridun Bey.Ibid. PP 382-383
51 Espenaghchi Ibid.P 64
Ottomans were trying to create did not get along with devotion of Turkmen tribes of Anatolia and Northern Syria to Safavis. Bayazid II supported political rivals of King Ismail and i.e. Alvand Bey and Sultan Murad Agh Qhoyunlu but King Ismail defeated both of these rivals by 1503. Bayazid II treated more softly from then on and sent him message of congratulation for conquering Iraq, Isfahan and Fars and since 1506 some friendly messages exchanged between them. A very important one of these letters was Ismail's request from Bayazid so that Ottomans do not stop Murids of Safavi Dynasty from pilgrimage to shrine of Safi ad din in Ardebil.

Sultan even avoided suppressing Ala’oddoleh Zolghr through lands that belonged to Ottomans. Again in that situation Ismail encouraged his Sufis to plunder in Ottoman lands and kill Sunnis. Maybe it was this compromising of Bayazid that caused a movement against him charged by his son, Salim, and brought him down from kingdom.

As Salim (918-929 AH/ 1512-1520) came to power, a great massacre of princes and brothers was charged by him. Only Prince Murad could take refuge in Iran with a troop of ten thousand cavalry and infantry and save his life. Ismail welcomed him and gave him kingdom of some parts of Fars. Izzet Chapin, Salim's Ambassador, who came to Iran to deport Murad didn’t get any result, but his inclusive messages from political, social and military conditions of Iran, encouraged the Turk Sultan, Salim, to march towards Iran. Iran and Ottoman relations were put in chaos by military operations of Noor Ali Caliphe Romlu, and conquering Malatya, a chaos caused by Shah Gholy Baba Takallu (Turks called him Satan Gholy) in Qharaman and Sivas who had fought with Ottoman governors and defeated them and also disgracing letters of Khan Muhammad Ostajlu, governor of Dyar Bakr, to Salim, made Ottomans sensitive about dreadful consequences of these movements and Salim decided to deal with them cruelly. He first made a temporary peace agreement with Republic of Venice, Government of Moscow and Hungary, and then he revealed the Fatwa (religious Firman) of Ottoman Great Scholar for Jihad against Anatolian Turkmens who were supporters of Ismail; consequently in
917 AH/ 1512 this decision led to massacre of almost forty thousand Shiites and Murids of Shah Qhuli Baba Takallu including the old people, youth, women and children. After this, conflict between Ottomans and Safavis was inevitable. When Ottoman army was marching towards Iran, before they entered Chaldoran plain- were the decisive war happened between Ottomans and Safavis- Salim wrote two letters to Ismail. In these two letters Salim disgraced Ismail and asked him surrender his territory to Ottoman Empire. Chaldoran battle in summer, 920 AH/ August, 1514 brought a full victory for Ottomans. This battle was an important point in relations of Safavis and Ottomans. Ottomans conquered strategic areas of Safavi territory. They could also control Safavi activities in Anatolia. After this battle Safavis had to take defensive attitude and the following battles happened inside their borders. Exactly after three years, Sultan Salim conquered the Two Shrines (in Mecca and Medina) (1517 ). After Chaldoran, other challenges were not because of problems related to Anatolia but because of Safavis stopping their progress. In 1537 in the war between Austria (Habsburg Family) and France (Francis I 1515-1547), Ottomans stood on the side of France because France had lost and Francis I was taken captive. Ottoman military navy had progressed until Marseille Port. Such a kingdom, which had conquered a vast area of Eastern Europe and was marching towards West, could not limit itself in Eastern borders.

Ottomans were now in blooming power and had 50 kilometers to reach Vienna (935 AH/ 1529). From this time on, Suleiman the Magnificent (926-974 AH/ 1520-1566) progressed war in both fields. After peace with Austria and Hungary (940 AH/ 1534) he came to Iran and conquered Baghdad and Tabriz. These wars lasted for twenty years. In front of their invasion Tahmasb took the strategy of burnt lands and destroyed farms and water sources before Ottomans arrived a place. These expensive wars without any incomes and results made great Ottomanan men to stop Sultan from fighting anymore in Iran. Eventually peace treaty of Amasyeh (962 AH/ 1555 ) occurred. According

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52 Navaii. Ibid. P 9
53 Feridun Bey.Ibid.p382-3
to this agreement Western *Azerbaijan*, parts of *Kurdistan* and *Mesopotamia*, and Northern parts of *Georgia* were given to Ottoman Empire. In return, *Armenia, Ardahan, Kartil, Kakht* and Eastern *Azerbaijan* were given to Iran. Peace Treaty was considerable from other views as well. New progresses in Europe, which had enormously empowered them, increased the threat of European presence in Mediterranean Sea and Indian Ocean. These change made the problem of Safavis for rulers of Istanbul a second priority. As a result in the time of *Sultan Suleiman* (926-974 AH/ 1520-1566) and King *Tahmasb* (930-984 AH/ 1524-1574) we see a policy of control and avoidance in both sides.

In this period, both sides were busy with their internal issues. Although in this period Iran was invaded by *Suleiman* four times, but *Shah Tahmasb* decided not to take part in war with Ottomans. This decision had two reasons: on the one side he had to deal with increasing threat of *Sheibani Uzbeks* who were led by *Obeidolla Khan* (who died in 946 AH/ 1540 ). On the other hand, after the disaster of his father’s great defeat in *Chaldoran*, he had neither the bravery nor the ability of confronting the *Othomans*. Instead of confronting Ottomans openly, *Tahmasb* decided to deal with challenge of *Uzbeks*. Since Ottomans were not in a position to put their army in front of Iran, this plan was proper and fruitful for Safavis. As *Bayazid, Suleiman’s son* took refuge in Iran, conditions became chaotic again; but the problem was solved as his and his children’s de bodies were delivered to Ottomans.

The period of *Muhammad Khodabandeh* must be looked as another annihilation period for Iran. *Uzbeks* from East and Ottomans from West invaded Iran. It was along with civil war between *Qhezelbashes* and court on the one hand and between *Qhezelbash* commanders on the other hand. Killing Iranian Prince, *Hamzeh Mirza* and the Queen (Shah *Muhammad Khodabandeh’s* wife before his eyes) by Qhezelbashes reveals was maximum point of these rebels. Invasions and progress of Ottomans in Iranian territory continued for

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54 Hushang Mahdavi. Ibid. P 33
twelve years (986 AH/1578) until (999 AH/1590) i.e. third year of King Abbas’s rule. In this year King Abbas had no alternative but submitting to Ottomans’ wills in Istanbul Peace Treaty. According to this treaty Tabriz (first capital of Safavis), Western Azerbaijan, Armenia, Shaki, Shirvan, Georgia, Qhara Bagh, parts of Lorestan and Ghaleh Nahavand were given to Ottomans and Prince Heydar Mirza, King’s nephew was taken hostage in Ottoman court. Istanbul Treaty gave King Abbas a chance to suppress internal invaders like Khan Ahmad Gilani. Khan Ahmad had claimed independence and had sent envoys to Ottoman court and Russia for consultations. First steps taken by King Abbas were defeating him (1000 AH/1591) and then suppression of Uzbeks (1004 AH).

Diplomatic movements of King Abbas caused sending away Spain and Portugal from Persian Gulf in favor of England. Two English military experts called Shirley brothers came to Iranian court with some light weapons to confirm commercial and political ties and reform structure of King’s army.

Safavi army equipped with firearm was formed. Qhezelbash forces at that time included sixty thousand Qhezelbash cavalry who were led by tribe leaders. As advised by Shirley brothers, an army made of 10 thousand cavalry and 12 thousand infantry from Georgians and Armenians who had newly converted to Islam was established under the rule of Ghollar Aghasi. Groups of trained farmers and nomads also joined this army. The king also could subdue Qhezelbash troops who were under control of tribe leaders and create an army called Shahsavans out of seven great tribes who were only under command of King. As a result, in the period of Shah Abbas, an army of around 70 to 100 thousand people consisting of 60 thousand gunmen and 500 cannons was formed.

55 Houshang Mahdavi. Ibid. P 56
56 Sir Anthony Shirley & Robert Shirley
In the first round of King Abbas’s wars (1603-1608), this army could take back Tabriz, Iravan, Ghares and Shiravan and Safavi army of 62 thousand soldiers could defeat 100 thousand troops of Sultan Ahmad I around Urumieh in 1604. In this movement, weakness of Ottoman King and reliance of King Abbas on Russia and Austria should not be forgotten. Urdobar, Teflis, Shamakhi and Northern Bako were conquered in 1607-1608 and then King Abbas returned to Isfahan. King could suppress Ottoman invasions in 1610 to Tiflis, Darband, Ganjeh and Bako and drive away Ottomans from Caucasus once more. Tabriz was taken by Ottomans once more (1612) but Iranian army dispersed Ottoman army around Tabriz and took back Tabriz. Resistance and toughness of Safavi army laid the foundations for signing another peace treaty between Ottomans and Safavis and in July (1022 AH/ 1613) Second Treaty of Peace was signed and it was confirmed that Iranian borders must be respected in the time of Suleiman the Magnificent, but the treaty did not last long and was broken three years later by invasion of Ottomans with the excuse of supporting King of Georgia. Ottomans were defeated seriously in this battle and in another one with Safavis in 1618 and Peace Treaty of Iran was signed after that. It was agreed that Iran gave 100 Kharvars (piles) silk to Ottomans and Ottomans forget their claims on Caucasus. shah Abbas could use weakness and chaos caused by empowerment of Yeni Cheries, rebellions and civil conflict of Ottomans and conquer the whole Mesopotamia one year before his death (1038 AH/ 1629).

After King Abbas’s death Ottoman army invaded Iran again and during the following ten years up to 1639 when Zahab (Ghasr e Shirin) Peace Treaty was signed with King Safi 1629-1642 they marched Kurdistan, and conquered Mosel, Kermanshah, Yerevan, Tabriz, Baghdad and lots of other cities and fortresses. They plundered Tabriz and Hamedan and killed lots of people. Baghdad fell after fifteen years under Iranian rule and Sultan Murad IV killed lots of innocent Iranians in this city. This treaty was a major point in Iranian Ottoman relations because by dividing the ruling right of Iran over Estern Azerbaijan, Ravandooz, Armenia, Georgia, and giving part of Baghdad and Basra
and parts of West Kurdistan to Ottomans ownership of the lands that there were years of conflict between two countries over them became clear and peace settled between two countries for one century. Relations of two countries became friendly to some extent and exchange of envoys and gifts and presents bloomed.

Shah Abbas II in his early period of kingdom (1052 AH/ 1642) sent Maghsoud Khan to Istanbul embassy to inform Ottoman Sultan of his kingdom. Iranian envoy set off for Istanbul with lots of gifts and 150 companions. “Gifts were: sixty rolls of golden embroidered fabric, some rolls of flowered velvet, sixty five rolls of golden Atlas fabric, seventy five rolls of fine fabric for turbans, seventy four rolls of Tafteh, seven glasses full of perfume, thirty four swords, twenty eight bows, sixty pieces of fine Chinese fabric, twenty six carpets, fifty Zaloul [easy paced] camels with golden equipment, fourteen Arabian horses”

In whole years of Shah Suleiman’s -Safi II- rule (1105-1177 AH/ 1667-1694) there was peace and security in Iran Ottoman borders and it was always respected. In this period European envoys tried to make Iran enemy of Ottomans but Sheikh Ali Khan Zangeneh, Senior Vizier of the Shah stopped their plans intelligently. From this date on Europe became center of concerns for Ottomans. In 1643 a peace treaty was signed between Sultan Ibrahim and Emperor of Austria. War with Venice and conquer of its islands was continuing in time of Muhammad IV. In the other field when Emir of Transylvania allied with King of Sweden and Emperor of Austria and Hungary Ottoman Empire suffered a hard defeat and had to sign a peace treaty with them. Since then Ottomans could separate Crète from Republic of Venice and bring it under their own rule and sign a treaty of peace with Venice government.

• Relations with Ottomans Emphasizing Religious Forces

With the necessity of creating unity in Iran Safavis relied on semi-local power that couldn’t have tightened its relations with none-Turkmens in Iran and with Ottoman Empire. Turkmens had perfect preparation for following their Murshid so in civil war and against Sunni neighbors resorting to their belief in Shiism (i.e. belief in divinity leadership of Imams after Prophet of Islam) created a united force. It would be possible that if Iranians had followed the dominant religion, (sunnism), their country would have been in the dominance of Ottomans.

Shiite Iran was surrounded by three Sunni Muslim powers i.e. Ottomans in Northwest, Uzbeks in East and Mamluks in West. How could they keep their independent political identity among these rivals? Some believe that Safavi movement was along with reviving nationality. This ideology has been formed under the influence of what is called “Nationalism” in the West, but elements of Safavi movement do not correspond with popular definitions of nationalism in the West. Europe in those days was looking for establishment of nationality and regarded new borders based on three factors of difference among nations. But between Safavis and Ottomans not language, nor race and neither nationality were factors of difference. Both were Turks and spoke Turkish and Persian. Therefore, in order to have political independence, they had to have a more inclusive alternative (that would have the capacity to differentiate and set borders). There is no doubt that religion was very important, but its accidental historical roles in bringing Safavis to power, the gap between famous scholars and validity of royal family approved that religion could not act in one specific direction\(^{58}\). We must consider that because Safavis had come to a situation of fight and escape in order to establish Shiism they had created dreadful and horrible concerns among their neighbors.

\(^{58}\) Foran, John. Ibid. P 83
By studying *Fatawa* (plural of Fatwa) of Ottoman Ulama, we see a negative and pessimistic attitude towards Shiism. That is why there is unity of contents and tone in Ottoman *Fatawa* up to eighteenth century, which called to war against Iran. Shiites were regarded as people, who were easy going about *Salat* (prayer), did not respect mosques, and also as people who insulted scholars and disgraced shrines and pilgrimage areas. These accusations were justified regarding extremist behaviors of Shah Ismail\(^{59}\). Then by inviting Shiite scholars, they reinforced ideological principles of Shiism and gradually gained an independent speech personality among neighboring ideological realms.

It seems that the basis of unrest in Ottoman Safavi relations was religion. Safavis were representatives of Shiism and Ottomans as a system of caliphate represented the world of Sunnis. In Ottoman kingdom, social and civil affairs were mostly managed on *Hanafi Fiqh*. The tendency of history writing in Iran and Ottoman Empire in this period which shows emphasis and prejudice on religion has reinforced this belief that these two kingdoms had prejudiced systems of Sunni and Shiite theories and ideologies and based on these prejudiced ties fought against each other. Emphasizing some events of this period has also made some think that relations between Safavi Iran and Ottoman dynasty were influenced only by religion. Religious prejudices in Iran had reflections outside Safavi borders; as it caused insult and massacre of Shiites in Ottoman kingdom. Shiite scholars of Hijaz in the middle of Safavi period wrote a letter to scholars of Isfahan which said you swear and disgrace in Isfahan and we suffer from it in Hijaz\(^{60}\). Religious tensions and strictness of these two kingdoms against religious minorities confided by other side made the bed of relations more fragile and caused enough excuse to invasion and continuity of conflicts. But the reasons of conflict in these centuries must be looked in common causes of hostility between kingdoms. Of course, the share

59 Elgar, Hamed, "Some Attitudes about Religion in Safavi Iran". *Magazine of Iranian Studies, London*, (1974): 291. It was said that Ismail ordered the shrine of Abohanifeh, a great scholar of Sunnis be destroyed in Baghdad and disgracing actions be performed there.

60 Amir Ardoosh, Muhammad Hussein." Relations between Iran and Ottmans in Safavi’s period ". *Interview, Zamaneh, 61* (2006): 4-12
of religion in these conflicts is so that in Ottoman view Shiites\textsuperscript{61} Turkmens were heretic groups that denied common Sunni Islam of Ottomans and were likely to be used influentially by Safavis against them. As rebellions in Anatolia had appeared by elements of Ismail had, relied on Shiite slogans and caused massacre and plunder in Anatolia. Doubtlessly claims and understandings of both kingdoms from religion added to the flames of conflict, but it does not mean that the main reason of these conflicts was religion. If we look at the background of these conflicts, we will find greed of the ruling dynasties along with economic and cultural situations as determinant factors in conflict of the sides.

A general look upon those chronicles present certain evidences and move down the reason of resorting to religion from the list of excuses for these conflicts.

The famous battle of Chobok Anghoreh that happened between Timuries and Ottomans and led to defeat and captivity of Ilderim Bayazid, Ottoman Sultan, by Timuries and battle of Torjan with Agh Qhoyunlus that led to defeat of Uzun Hassan by Sultan Muhammad the Conqueror (Muhammad II gained this title by conquering Constantinople) were between Sunni kingdoms that were Muslims and shared the same religion. On the other side, despite religious differences there were friendly ties between Shiite Qhara Qhoyunlus (extremist ones) with Sunni Ottomans. Religious tendency of Ismail I never prevented him and other Safavi kings from suppressing some radical Shiite movements like Mosha’shaian in Khuzistan, and Iraq, and survivors of Horoufiyeh and Noghtavis.

After defeat of Safavis in Chaldoran, the Ottoman Sultan, Salim entered Tabriz, capital of Safavi Ismail I, and despite his fiery temper, he made no massacre and treated people of Tabriz with mercy and kindness. Beliefs of Bektashiyeh which was full of Shiite ideas had spread in Anatolia for many years and had penetrated among Janissaries (including Kapikullari and Yeni

\textsuperscript{61} Here and after rise of Ismail the word “Shiite” could be used with more confidence.
Cheris) who were non-Muslim children of obedient countries in Balkan, Slavs, and specially Albanians, a penetration that had mingled with their feelings since childhood and did not let them act against it. This penetration was so that it brought close relations with heads of Bektashieh and major members of Janissaries. Sometimes a new dede (one of the high ranks in Bektashieh) was selected as the head of the sect who came to Janissaries camp in Istanbul so that he could gain the honor of heading a sect through a Grand Janissary. Bektashies during second half of fifteenth century turned towards Sheikh Safi ad din. Some researchers believe that Janissaries interested in stopping war with Qhezelbashesh and presence of Salim in Iran was due to their interest in stopping war with Shiite beliefs. Other signs also represent this lack of interest; Sultan Salim asked scholars (Ulama) to issue Fatwa for war against Safavis. Scholars said Sultan's speech could not be relied on and Fatwa to kill them and could not be issued unless their atheism is proved by the true religion. When they received the book of Sheikh Fazlollah hydari, (in beliefs of Qhezelbashs) they issued a Fatwa that everybody follows this book in belief and practice, his killing is necessary. Salim took this Fatwa as a proof of his massacre. In Adrene Sultan Salim gathered heads and seniors and Yeni Cheris and cried three times: Muslims, war with Ismail is one of Wajibat (musts) of religion, we should fight; but no one in the crowd answered Sultan. Of course the reason of impatience in Ottoman army was because of Burnt Land Strategy of Ismail which was repeated in the following rounds as well. The long march of Yeni Cheris along Anatolia with the hope of plundering Iran was fruitless and when they saw empty villages and burnt farms gradually their murmur of discontent turned to cry and quarrel.

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63 Houshang Mahdavi. Ibid. P 194
64 Inanlik. Ibid. P 194
66 Espinaqchi. Ibid. P 76-77 He adds explaining the reasons of depression in Ottoman army that the reasons Yeni Cheris mentioned for returning from that fruitless journey were as followings: almost 45 thousand people in our country and nearly 20 thousand people in Iran were massacred accused by heresy. Our prejudiced scholars did not give us enough information about the meaning of heresy; they seduced Your Majesty and caused death of so many respectable souls and made us kill Muslims. Same, P. 118 it is interesting that the following year when similar souls were killed in Egypt, there was no message of discontent from the same soldiers.
67 Political, Economic Relations of Iran in Safavi Period.Ibid.
According to some documents, King Ismail himself had made sure that he had penetrated in some parts of Ottoman army\textsuperscript{68}. Despite vice of some of his commanders (such as Khan Muhammad Ostajlu and Noor Ali Caliphe Romlu who had experienced war with Ottomans and were aware of their techniques), Ismail without considering the importance of time, let the Ottoman army complete its war style. If this guess is true, it should be mentioned that Ismail, hoping to impress part of Ottoman army, showed bravery and fearless attitude in battlefield as well as his faith in decisive victory in order to remove the doubt of that part of Ottoman army in its faith to Murshid e kamel (perfect murshed, shah Ismail’s title) and bring uncertainty in Ottoman military lines.

Some years after fall of Tabriz, the same conqueror Sultan, treated with Mamulks dynasty in a way which was another sample of doubt in religious nature of quarrels. Mamulks dynasty members were the heirs of Ayyobies in Egypt and Sham. They had placed territory of Zolghadr Turkmens in Western Dyar Bakr as an obstacle between themselves and Ottomans and supported Gharamani kingdom against Ottomans. Their territory was spread from Egypt to Torus Mountains in today Turkey. In order to keep their commercial roads and in competition with the Portuguese they were trying to make barriers in front of them in Indian Ocean. Mamulks as supporters of the two Islamic Shrines had fought with enemies of Islam for many years in Mecca and Medina in two fields. They had ended the myth of invincibility of Mongols in Ein e Jalout Battle (today is between Beisan and Nabolos) and had fought in The Cruses for many years\textsuperscript{69}. Therefore they had all means of significance and glory for Sunni Muslims but Ottomans defeated this dynasty and made Cairo, considered center of Islamic world and capital of Egyptian Abbasid Caliphate, a field to great massacre of their honorable and significant religious fellows. In

\textsuperscript{68} Rahimzade Safavi. The report of Battels and History of Shah Ismail Safavi’s life. Tehran:Khayyam Bookstore 1982, PP 314-315

the wars that started with attractive Islamic slogans it was Muslim-hood which was forgotten. Breaking Amasiyeh Treaty by Murad III and selling of Iranian Muslim women and children to non-Muslims in Shirvan and Azerbaijan were among other disrespects. On the other side, killing a Sunni had the reward of killing 5 pagans… buying and selling Sunnis was Halal because they were out of circle of Islam70.

Another sample could be mentioned here. Many years later, when Safavi dynasty fell by Sunni Afghans, not only were Ottomans not happy with the fall of their old rival that had a different religion, but they never concealed their unhappiness. The “Bab-i Ali” whose most famous slogan and excuse were religious conflicts, after the fall of Isfahan did not approve of Sunni successors of Safavis. On the contrary, in order to remove Afghans and bring to power the latest Safavi king, they started a military march and progressed up to Hamedan. This made Ashraf-e Afghan behead poor shah Sultan Hussein, because he was afraid that keeping him alive might be an excuse for Ottoman Empire to try to bring down Afghans.

Again another outstanding political behavior by Sheikh Ali Khan Zangene, politician and Vizier of Shah Suleiman reveals decoration of political behavior with religious cover. In the time of war between Ottomans and European kingdoms (1086 AH/ 1675 ) envoys of Leopold I, Emperor of Austria, Jean Sobiski III, King of Poland and Alexi, Russian Tsar came to Iranian court. They all requested Iran to start war against Ottomans. Envoy of Poland believed that because Ottoman Sultan was engaged in war with Christians, his kingdom could be defeated easily. Sheikh Ali Khan had different reasons for staying away from this war which are listed below according to his reply: respecting Ghasr-e Shirin peace treaty with Ottomans, unsuccessful experiences of cooperation with European allies, danger of Eastern enemies of Iran such as Uzbeks, Tatars, Mongols and Kazaks in the North which would

70 Espinaghchi.Ibid. P 37
stop Iran from joining such a union. But Sheikh Ali Khan replied Zoravitch, envoy of Poland: “Iran does not want Ottoman kingdom to fall at once because we have the same religion after all, and it is a barrier in front of Europe”\textsuperscript{71}. Doubtlessly, too much conservativeness of Safavi rulers in this period and also weakness arising from welfare in the time of Abbas II had influenced these decisions and also it showed that Iran had realized the aim of Europe in using Iran as a shield. But such a religious excuse was to content European agents and it is hard to find these claims in action in the relations of Iran and Ottomans.

In 1120 AH/ 1708 the rebel Mir Veis, head of Afghans Ghalzaee tribe who had been pardoned by Shah Sultan Hussein, in a journey to Mecca took Fatawa from Sunni scholars to fight against Shiites of Iran and started a war which some years later led to fall of Isfahan by Afghans in 1135 AH/ 1722. In the same year of fall of Isfahan again those who shared the same religion due to Fatawa of great scholar of Istanbul were to kill heretic! Shiites. Evidences show that even at the time of blowing the breeze of unity the two sides showed no interest in removing the religious gap. Sultan had asked Shah Ismail I to stop offending Sunnis and cursing Caliphates and make a sustainable kingdom for himself by avoiding extremity in standing against beliefs of Sunnis. But Shah Ismail despite friendly letter exchanges did not take this vice and followed his harsh policy until led to war. One of the articles of “Istanbul Peace” in the time of Murad III was commitment of Safavis to stop swearing at and cursing Caliphates and Umm-ol-Mominin Ayeshe. Again at the beginning of Zahab Treaty which was concluded many years later in the time of Sultan Murad IV in 1049 AH/ 1639, Ottoman Sultan emphasized that Iranians should avoid swearing at and cursing Caliphates and Umm-ol-Momenin Ayeshe would regard peace and he insisted that following it, was equal to peace\textsuperscript{72}. But many years later Nadir Shah Afshar came to power with

\textsuperscript{71} Houshang Mahdavi. Ibid. P 129
\textsuperscript{72} E’temad-us Saltaneh.Ibid. P 934
the slogan of unity. He stepped forward for religious unity and accepted to give Ottomans religious advantages more than what Bayazid he asked for. But this time Ottomans showed no intention to accept it and preferred to keep this religious gap.

However, if we count Safavi dynasty a full Shiite kingdom and Ottoman Empire indulged in prejudiced Sunni beliefs again another question remains unanswered. If both powers had been Shiite or both Sunni, would have been no conflict and war between them?

- **European Countries And the Role of them in Conflict between Iran and Ottomans**

  The interesting subject for Iranian researchers is the role and activities of European powers in the conflicts between two Islamic powers of Sunni and Shiite. On this subject we cannot present a united pattern of interference made by Europeans in the relations of Ottomans and ruling dynasties in Iran or display a monotonous influence of these interferences.

**Seljuk’s period**

Confrontation of Westerns with Seljuks was the entrance point of Europeans among Muslim kingdoms. The battle of Malazgerd brought a united Empire in Iran, Middle East, Transoxiana, Sham, Arabia and Anatolia and this huge power made the world of Christianity think about beseeching against Iran for the first time, because Byzantine as the holy country of Christianity was in danger. In addition to that, Seljuks had conquered holy cities of Christianity like Jerusalem. That is why researchers consider the battle of Malazgerd among the reasons of Cross wars.
In the Time of Ilkhans

From the beginning of conflicts of Mongols and Ilkhans with Mamluks dynasty, Europeans used to send different councils and were always trying to win allegiance of Mongols against Mamluks. But grually the importance of Mamluks dynasty decreased and from then on, Ottomans took the responsibility of protecting western borders of world of Islam. Naturally the invasive and developing powers of the West tried to cooperate with dynasties that had replaced Ilkhans.

Coming of Timurides

Timur was the first major rival of Ottomans and heir to Mamluks dynasty. He asks Ildrim Bayazid to subdue to him, but Sultan denies. So, the interests of Timur and Europeans overlap here. This share of interests between Timur and Europeans happens regarding competition with Ottomans, as well. In the present documents, there are warm and friendly relations between European powers and Timur, but Timur did not need military support of Europeans. And also Europeans had no role in creation of war between Ottomans and Timurides. But we can say that this war was very useful for them.

The Time of Agh Qhoyunlus

Europeans had active role in creation of war between Agh Qhoyunlu dynasty and Empire; as they had the same role in conflicts between Gharamanian and Ottomans. Uzun Hassan Agh Qhoyunlu (son-in-law to emperor of Tarbzon and grandfather of Shah Ismail I, founder of Safavi dynasty) in conflict with Muhammad the Conqueror needed help of Christian Europe. Europeans made a political unity with Uzun Hassan by sending envoys. This unity did not remain on paper only and Republic of Venice sent some ships full of weapons and military experts to help Uzun Hassan. This equipment reached Northeastern coasts of Mediterranean Sea when the Torjan or Otlogh Beli had ended by defeat of Agh Qhoyunlus.
The Period of Safavids

Europeans had suffered from Ottoman progress to center of Europe. Therefore, they found conflict between Muslim neighbors and Ottomans a chance of peace for themselves. When Safavis and Mamlukis were defeated by Ottomans and the Islamic power completely passed to Ottomans, Europeans entered the field of conflict indirectly. During the years of wars between Ottomans with their Muslim neighbors Europeans had gained significant technical developments. So, they ruined the desire of Ottomans to rule all over Europe. Progress of Europeans increased the threat of their presence in Mediterranean Sea and Indian Ocean. Development of European navy was studied by intelligent Ottomans.

“About 988 AH/ 1580 an Ottoman geographer in an essay about the new world warned Sultan Murad III (982-1003 AH/ 1574-1595) about the dangers that threatened Islamic lands and tread of Muslims; dangers rising in ports of America, India and Persian Gulf through settlement of Europeans in these ports. He suggested that Sultan dug a canal in the narrow part of Suez and sent a navy to send back the pagans and seize Indian ports."73"

Spain and Portugal were the first powers to make friendly relations with Iran following this aim. This process was followed more seriously when Ismail himself after being defeated in Chaldoran sent his envoys to Europe. Presence of Europeans in the conflict between Ottomans and Safavis mainly appears as an announcement of political and enthusiastic allegiance. Regarding the military development of Ottoman Empire, in the battles between Safavis and Ottomans which started with Chaldoran 920 AH/ 1514 , requests of help were exchanged in the two sides many times but perhaps it was in the time of Shah Abbas I that these friendships practically worked and military experts were sent to Iran.

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73 Amir Ardoush, Muhammad Hussein." The Story of Reformations in Ottoman Empire ". Mesquvreh,4 (1387) : P 8 .quoted from Bernard Lois, Appearance of Modern Turkey, P. 36
Maybe the nearest background of Safavi familiarity with Europeans was in the Safavi period of Persian Gulf territory. Spanish and Portuguese navies since their first presence until being driven out had stayed in this area for a hundred years in this area. In the year 893 AH/1487 a Portuguese group with navy ships entered around Laar and Hurmoz Island and made allegiance with governor of Hurmoz and kept there under control. King Ismail in order to prove his dominance over this area in 1508 asked Emir of Hurmoz Island to pay taxes. But Alfonso D. Albuquerque who became the Portuguese King’s representative in India at the end of the same year and managed the affairs of Persian Gulf answered the king that Hurmoz belongs to king of Portugal Don Manuel and Emir of Hurmoz cannot pay him taxes. Ismail’s envoy went to see Albuquerque again to in Goa to offer him friendship and allegiance but he did not welcome the envoy 919 AH/1513. Ismail who was engaged in war with Ottomans in 1515 had to accept that Hurmoz belonged to Portugal. Nevertheless, he could sign an agreement according which Portugal agreed to support Iran in ending unrest in Baluchistan and Makran74 and invasion to Bahrain, Qateef 75 and war against Ottomans. But the same year as Albuquerque died, the agreement remained ineffective. Allegiance of Ismail with Egypt also had no use because Ottomans conquered Syria, Lebanon, Palestine in 1516 and Cairo in 1517; also Republic of Venice which had conflicts with Pope Joule II and had a peace contract with Ottomans, rejected allegiance offer of Ismail. One year after Chaldoran battle Ismail’s effort for allegiance with Hungary and Poland resulted as coming of Hungary envoy to Iran. Ismail sent a letter to German Empire, Charles Quint76 through this envoy. Iranian king wanted to sign allegiance with him against Ottomans but Sharl Ken replied Iran when King Ismail was dead and Tahmasb, his successor also sent no reply to the holy Empire of Rome. Iran could not be helped

74 The present day Makran is a semi-desert coastal strip in the south of Indus, Balochistan, in Iran and Pakistan.  
75 Qateef is a historic, coastal oasis region located on the western shore of the Persian Gulf in the Eastern Province of Saudi Arabia  
76 Sharl V, Spanish King, Holland, Austria, Part of France, Part of Italy and Spanish Colonies in America
directly and Charles did not want to add to hostility with Ottomans because of political ties with Iran because the Ottomans had newly passed Hungary and threatened his empire. He only wanted to put Ottomans under pressure by pretending to make relations with their enemies.

In the time of Tahmasb Qhezelbashes were still benefitting from Ottomans business in the west and made offensive movements in Ottoman territory. Suleiman the magnificent (son of Sultan Salim I) in 940 AH/1533 signed a peace contract with Austria and Hungary. In this way he again found the chance of marching his troops towards east and during four times of invading Iran conquered wide areas of northwestern Iran. Amasyeh peace was put in danger by taking refuge of Bayazid, Suleiman’s son in Iran; in this time envoy of Venice and England, Antony Jankinson came to Iran. Venetians who had been attacked by Ottomans through sea 1549-1550 were trying to encourage Tahmasb to fight with Ottomans but the envoy of Queen Elizabeth II was trying to open trade ways. Both envoys returned home without significant results.

Progresses of Ottomans in the time of Muhamm Khodabandeh continued as well. Murad III took benefit of chaotic situation in Iran which was due to weakness of the blind king of Iran. Despite his efforts to remind articles of Amasyeh Peace, Ottomans invaded Iran once more. In that very time envoys commuted between Qhazvin (second capital of Safavis) and Vatican and Pope committed that if Iran and Ottomans had been in war, he would have given the Iranian king one hundred kingly coins for each year. Shah Muhammad Khudabandeh requested one thousand guns and fifteen to twenty artillery guns. But there is no evidence of delivering these equipments to Iran by the Pope. Although diplomatic relations continued in this period, but it had no positive effect on Iran regarding the war with Ottomans.
The active entering of Russian Tsars to the international field, development of holy Rome Empire in Europe and spread of Mongolian Empire in India behind enemies of Safavis i.e. Uzbeks gave Shah Abbas hope to get out of the deathful blind alley that was in front of Safavis. The struggling diplomacy of Shah Abbas was like a drowning person who tried to catch every grass to save itself. In order to defeated Uzbeks and Ottomans he sought help of Russians and Mongols of India. During his long-term kingdom, he tried to interest Europeans by giving them religious freedom, commercial and customs benefits. However, it was better for Europeans to get along with Ottomans that is why despite his tendency for relations with Iran when Rudolph II received a message of ceasefire from Ottomans, the German Emperor forgot Iran. Ottomans became aware of exchange of envoys between Iran, Russia and Germany and in order to show the unstable situation of Iran to Europe and punishing Shah Abbas invaded Iran and again conquered some areas of western Iran including Tabriz. Commuting of envoys was so slow that King Abbas before receiving Tsar’s reply to attack the mutual enemy in June 1590 had signed Istanbul Peace Treaty I with Ottomans.

From this year on until 1602, during twelve years, when Shah Abbas took back Tabriz from Ottomans, councils of envoys commuted between Iran, Tsar of Russia (Boris Goudonov) Emperor of Austria (Rodolph II), Germany, Vatican (Pope) and Kelement VIII and Spain (Philip III). One of these councils that had mission to announce the message of Shah Abbas for allegiance against the common enemy to Russia and other European countries was the council of Antony Shirley and Hussein Ali Bey Bayat. Shah Abbas wanted to form trilateral allegiance of Iran, Austria and Russia. Dilemma and wondering of Europe for allegiance with Iran made the Shah take another decision regarding the Ottomans. As Tsar heard of King Abbas’s victory, he sent five thousand troops to help Shah Abbas seize Darband Castle. On the other side, ambassador of Shah Abbas informed Habsburg family that Emperor of Austria had agreed with the trilateral allegiance and had promised to join the European Anti-Ottoman field. Conquering of Bahrain by Iran was the first step of conflicts with Spain.
Forgetting result less promises of Spanish king, competition with the Portuguese and disappointment from Germans made Shah Abbas rely on his own sword. Victory of English navy on Spain in the battle of 1588-made England progress because it had gained no share in the dividing of the world between Spain and Portugal. Shah Abbas who was following ways of allegiance with other European powers, this time chose England which due to political independence from Russia, Spain and Portugal and also religious independence from Roman Church could have more influential role in Persian Gulf. Shah Abbas with the help of England could take back Gambron port from Portugal and Spain in 1022 AH/ 1613 and Hurmoz Island in 1031 AH/ 1621 and England replaced both countries in Hurmoz.

In the years of Sultan Suleiman’s kingdom, Safi II (11077-1105 AH/ 1666-1693) “Zahab Treaty” was still effective for both sides. European envoys were trying to make Safavis fight against Ottomans but intelligence of Senior Vizier Sheikh Ali Khan Zangeneh stopped their plan. Kaempfer writes: “The aim of European embassy in Iran was to make Iranian king with their allegiance invade the Turks who had taken Baghdad from his grandfather, King Safi in the peace treaty. Only because Senior Vizier did not agree, their efforts had no results.” he quotes from Sheikh Ali Khan Vizier and mentions the reasons of denying Europeans’ request in this way: “War with Ottomans is against our contract with Ottoman Sultan. Secondly, Iran is not in such a condition. Thirdly, the distance between you and Iran is so much that stops us from being allies and getting information from each other.” Then Sheikh Ali Khan reminded the experience in the time of Shah Abbas I and said: “Such an allegiance is dangerous, because he (Shah Abbas) had also allegiance with Europeans, but Christians did not respond on time.” Other reports display that diplomatic system of Safavis regarded Europeans a threat equal to or more than Ottomans. They believed that if the Turks had been destroyed one

78 Ibid. P. 86
day, it would have been the Iranians’ turn after that and for Iran, resistance against Christians would have been impossible. Then the war between Ottomans and Europeans was useful which did not give them the chance to invade Iran.

Ogier Hiselin E Busbec, the ambassador of Austrian Empire in the court of Suleiman the magnificent, says about the preventive role of Safavi kingdom against Ottoman Empire: “Iran only delays our destiny; this country cannot save us. When Turks win the allegiance of Iranians that would be our end and whole East would probably support Iran and Ottomans. I even do not dare say how much we are not prepared for that day!” This Austrian diplomat’s claim was no far from reality.

Conflict of Ottomans with Muslim neighbors not only stopped their progress in the west, but it prepared Europeans to fight back. in this time technical developments in Europe, made them confront Ottomans more effectively. It must be mentioned that Europe did not mean to reinforce Iran in order to suppress Ottomans because in this case Iran would have turned to a regional power. Later England supported this policy because a powerful Iran could have been a threat to India. Europeans had no interest in engaging in the conflict between Iran and Ottoman Empire because both countries were Muslim and Europe had never forgotten the bitter memories of Cross wars and after that the brutal behavior of Turks with defeated Christian countries in Middle East and Balkan. Because of that they never politically believed in Muslims. Iran had a preventive role for Ottomans. In addition to that, movements of Qhezelbashes stimulated Ottomans to attack Iran. Ottomans also were willing to show Europeans that Iran was a fragile ally. That was why no European country ever signed major military contracts with Iran.

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• **Summing up**

Like Sufism and Sunni religion, Shiite religion also had developed in a balanced framework other than what was considered by Safavis in Iran of those days and in Anatolia. Extremist Shiite groups in Anatolia were in close relationship with their Sufi Murshids without any political reasons and these conditions caused no problems. Therefore, the Ottoman Empire under the rule of Sultan Bayazid II (886-918 AH/1486-1512) passed thirty years of peace and safety with its eastern neighbor. Also there were different Shiite groups inside Ottoman Empire which had close relationships with government. Some of them like Ghalandars and Bektashis who were in contact with Janissaries never received any offense from Ottomans. These groups were usually loyal to the empire and under control of the kingdom and they were supported by Ottoman kingdom through donations. Since the time of Junayd when Safavi Sheikhs turned to political leaders of Turkmen tribes in Anatolia the problems started to appear. Up to this time rebellions appeared from time to time and uncontrollability of these nomadic tribes was an internal problem in Ottoman views but when Safavis brought them under their influence, citizens that Ottomans could not have controlled them, now were followers of an external power. In this way Safavis turned to a dangerous rival and the problem of Anatolia became a regional crisis for Ottomans. Although religious differences between two claimants of leadership in the world of Islam could be reasons of conflicts between Safavis and Ottomans, there is no evidence to stop us believing that the conflicts were over dominance between two political powers. Powers who thought of developing their territories and their invasion was not limited to political field but it had effects on ideological and economic fields as well. Since the dialogue in the framework of ideology in those days was focused on religious ideology and the issues of Islamic caliphate and leading the world of Islam were discussed, their conflicts started as objections against religious behaviors of each other and led to religious challenge and war of beliefs. When Ottomans conquered Mecca and Medina and were known as servants of the Two Shrines, they tolerated no rival in this field.
In order to fight against penetration of Safavi Sufis, Ottomans first took a socio-political procedure i.e. they tried to stop migration of their followers to Iran and then they tried to control the situation with suppressing attitudes. Then they provoked Uzbeks and remained Agh Qhoyuntus in the west against Safavi kingdom and at last they entered military challenges with Safavis. In this research this point was important that conflicts between two powers did not have roots in real differences between Sunnis and Shiites. And the last point is that immigrant scholars of Jabal Amil tried to replace extremist tendencies of Qhezelbash establishers with rational and Fiqh related Imamieh Shiism through refining extremist ideology and also in return bring legitimacy for the king, rationalize basic political concepts through Fiqh and use them in political system and eventually recreate their lost position in Ottoman territory.

➢ Safavids and Relations with Baburis Dynasty

Relations, interactions, and cultural commonness between Iran and India have roots in immigration of Arians three thousand years ago. Mythical common features proved this claim. Relations between Iran and Indian Subcontinent before Islam were based on common race, common language, and on common customs and traditions. Iran and the Subcontinent through Old Persian language (Dari) established the same relations which they had created before Islam through Pahlavi, Avestaii and Sanskrit. As the present sources reveal, the old name of India was “Aria Varta” which means “the land of Aria”; but this name mostly had been used for Northern India. Spread of Arians in Southern India caused vast civil wars almost in 14th century BC and since then India altogether was called “Bharat” which encompassed a large area of present Afghanistan. Iranians and inhabitants of the Subcontinent originally belonged to and were divided from the same race called “Aria”. Eastern Indo-Europeans were included the highly populous nation of India, then Iran and after that Armenia. Arians who came to Asia settled in Pamir plateau. Indians and Iranians lived alongside each other for many centuries. Gradually because of high population and insufficient area, they had to be divided from each other and Emigrated to different areas.
But ideologies and their views about universe and their mental and linguistic organizations remained close to each other for many centuries as when new waves of Islam entered India it was introduced to them in such a language which was not unknown to inhabitants of India because it was mixed with Persian ideology. Some Indians embraced Islam in the early years of development of Islam in the world. In 42 AH a commander called Abdol Rahman Samara in Omavi dynasty conquered some parts of it called “Sind” and thereafter rulers of that region were appointed by caliphs and sultans of Omavis and Abbasids. The famous east researcher, Zambaur has provided a list of rulers who ruled in this area after Abdol Rahman Samora till the time of Yaghoub Laith Saffari and has named 40 rulers. Since then different kinds of dynasties have ruled over most or some parts of India for many years like Qaznavids, Ghourkanis, Sultans of Delhi, Rulers of Bengal, Jamis, Junpouris, Shahs of Malva, Shahs of Kashmir, Shahs of Khandesh and rulers of Gujarat, Bahmanis, Aadil Shahis, etc.

Whenever these kingdoms came to power together they mostly had conflicts and competitions over power and did not use to get along or become allies so that they could form a huge Islamic empire all over the Subcontinent. 

Zahir ud din Muhammad Babur, offspring to Timur came to power 100 years after him in 16th century in India and his dynasty sustained for almost 325 years starting from 932 AH/1525 till 1253 AH/1837. The period of Baburis in India was the age of cultural changes and literary and philosophical revival of old India and the age of blooming and development of Persian language, literature, and culture. Baburi Empire like Ottoman Empire had based civil its civil rights and social affairs on Sunni Fiqh and principally Hanafi Fiqh. Although through efforts of some sultans or viziers and courtiers interested in Shiism, this religion and in one case Maaleki Fiqh was formalized and became the basis of governing system and civil rights. However, principally Baburi

81 Founder of saffarid dynasty which rould in sistan (861-1003)a historical region in southeastern Iran
kingdom must be considered as a Sunni government which in some cases held brutal anti-Shiite prejudices that led to bitter events such as the case of Shiite Faqih, and Qhazi Noor-ollah Shoushtari, head Qhazi (master judge) of Lahore who was condemned by Sunni scholars and treated bitterly under orders from Jahangir.\(^{83}\)

After establishment of Shiite government in Iran, Safavis considered development of relations with Babur. It was first tried by Shah Ismail and Babur. One of its major reasons was policy of developing territories by Sheibak Khan Uzbek who was common enemy of both dynasties. However, common cultural values played a great role in developing good relations between these two dynasties.

- **Safavis and Baburis**

  Although historical background of Safavis and Baburis starts from 16\(^{th}\) century, but according to a narrative, it goes back to the time of Timur. In this narrative comes that while crossing Amudarya River to invade Khurasan, Timur visited Khwaje Ali, son of Sadr ud din Musa son of Safi ad din Ardebili and that Khwaje Ali foretold that Timur would see him again in Dezful.

  After conquering Khurasan, Iraq and Fars, Timur met him in Dezful and Khwaje Ali hits him with three brick pieces; Timur asks for the fourth and Khwaje Ali answers: “I gave you three parts of the world. One must not be greedy” and he determines Ardebil as the next meeting place. After coming back victoriously from war with the Ottoman Sultan Bayazid I, Timur came to Ardebil, asked for Khwaje Ali, and gave him a bowl of poison but due to Khwaje Ali’s piety, poison did not affect him, and this made Timur become Morid to Khwaje and believe in him.

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Therefore, when Khwaje asked Timur to release Ottoman captives and give them to him, Timur agreed and these captives who were known as Sufis of Roomlu settled in Ardebil.84

Eskandar Bey Monshi believes this unreal event was narrated in History of Aalam Araye Abbasi because of frequency of narration in the public and says: “I have not seen this event in chronicles, prose or poetry books of this dynasty”.85

This narrative which was neither mentioned in Zafar Nameh of Sharafuddin Ali Yazdi nor in Habib-usSyar was fit for goals of Safavis and Timuris. Safavis regarded Timur as Morid of their ancestor and Baburis regarded him as one who infused spiritual power to Safavis.

As Abu-Saeed Timuri was killed in battle with Hassan bey Agh Qhoyunlu in 872 AH, Timuri dynasty was limited to Khurasan and Transoxiana and conflict rose between sons of Abu-Saeed namely Sultan Ahmad, Sultan Muhammad and Omar Sheikh. Farghana area was owned by Omar Sheikh. After his death in 900 AH/1494, Babur who was only 12 started his rule over Farghana which lasted 11 years. He fought with princes of Timur and with Uzbeks. He went to Kabol under the pressure of Uzbeks in 910 and it was in this city that the last powerful ruler of Timur, Sultan Hussein Baighara asked help of other Timuri kings against Uzbeks and Babur along with others went to help him but death of Sultan Hussein led to scatter of Timuri dynasty and Babur came back to Kabol and gradually dominated the neighboring lands.

Muhammad Khan Uzbek used conflicts of Babur with other offspring of Abu-Saeed and invaded Samarqand. Exchange of conflicts between two sides led to exit of Babur from Samarqand and an unavoidable peace between them so that Shah Ismail defeated Muhammad Khan Sheibani in the battle of Marv

85 Eskandar Bey Monshi. Ibid. p 12
and killed the Uzbek Khan. Babur’s sister who was Muhammad Khan Sheibani’s wife and in fact was insurance for peace was sent back to Babur in full respect. Shah Ismail agreed that Babur could take any lands from Transoxiana and in a peace agreement with Uzbeks he regarded Amudarya River as the border between the two countries. In this way Shah Ismail’s strategy could limit competitions between Baburis and Uzbeks to the other side of the river and keep eastern borders of Safavis in peace for a while.

Babur asked Shah Ismail an army to defeat Uzbeks. Safavi army commanded by Qhuli Jan Bey reached Babur’s camp around Bukhara. Uzbeks fled from Samarqand to Ghajdovan fortress in Turkistan. Babur delivered a Khotbe (speech) in Samarqand in Shah Ismail’s name but coining in the name of Shah Ismail is subject to discussion among historians. As Iranian army returned, again Babur lost the battle to Uzbeks and fled from Samarqand to Hesar Shadman. Seize of Samarqand by Amir Najm Sani, envoy of Ismail was also useless and as Uzbeks defeated Safavi army as well in 918 AH/1512. Babur went to Kabul and here he had to forget conquest of Transoxiana and came to conquer India. Between 910-913 AH/1504-1507 and 925-930 AH/1519-1524 and 932 AH/1525 he marched to India and in the last year in the battle of Pani Pat defeated Ibrahim Loudehi (Afghanian ruler) and could conquer some parts of Northern India.

In this period attraction of conquests in India and rise of hostility with Uzbeks and anti-Uzbek policy of both Baburis and Safavis resulted in closeness and triggered further connections between these two powers.

In this time also relations between Iran and India was very friendly. Invasion of Uzbeks to Khurasan and their conflicts with Baburis in Indian borders and Transoxiana were the elements that had brought them close to each other. This friendship was more deepened when Humayun was defeated.
by Shir Shah Souri and had to flee and seek refuge in Safavi court. Despite his pressures on Humayun to change his religion, supports of Tahmasb led to regaining the lost lands of Baburis. But Kandahar which was the intersection of the trading roads between India and Iran was subject of controversy. Military assistance of Safavi Qhezelbashes to Humayun in battle of Badakhshan signified that despite conflicts over Kandahar, they were interested in destinies of each other.

Akbar came to throne in 963 AH/1556. His knowledgeable and wise personality made it possible to sustain friendly relations with Safavis despite lots of tensions. First priorities in Indian policies at the time of Akbar were safeguarding western and southwestern borders from Uzbeks and conquering Kandahar and expanding borders in South India. Sustaining allegiance and friendship with Iran, utilizing the gap between Uzbeks and Safavis in conflicts over borders and regions and determination of conflicted borders with Uzbeks were the major regional policies of Akbar. Akbar was in power at the time of Tahmasb, Shah Ismail II, Muhammad Khudabandeh and Shah Abbas the Great. Shah Abbas in the time of coming to power was an 18 year-old teenager while Akbar was 47 years old. When Uzbeks dominated Khurasan, Akbar took Kandahar from sons of Sultan Hussein Mirza safavi without fight and as long as he was alive, Shah Abbas did nothing to take it back. The time of Jahangir must be considered as climax of political relations and friendly.

Jahangir, son of Akbar came to throne in 1605. He had contacts through letters with Shah Abbas since he was prince and called him uncle. Letters of Shah Abbas to Jahangir also reveal the respect these two families had for each other. In fact relations of Moguls ruling over India, with Iran and dynamic diplomatic relations in this period show intentions of these two countries to maintain peace and tranquility. The greatest diplomatic council of Safavi period according to History of Aalam Araye Abbasi in this time came to Iran with hundreds of servants under command of Khan Aalam, respected envoy of Jahangir. From this side also Zeinal BeyShamlu was sent by Shah Abbas to Jahangir’s court in return to reply the honorable Indian council’s coming to Iran. Envoys also were sent at times from both sides to purchase royal
equipments and necessities who were warmly welcomed by both sides. But this did not mean that Kandahar should have lost its priority because Shah Abbas conquered it despite his exceeding interest in keeping relations.

Shah Jahan, heir of Jahangir followed his father’s policy in trilateral allegiance with Ottomans and Uzbeks to take back Kandahar. At that time Shah Jahan in a letter to Shah Safi, prince of Abbas called him “son” and promised him any kind of help that the prince might need. Ottoman provocations in west and Uzbek’s in east made Shah Safi keep friendly ties with India. Several political councils were exchanged between two powers which continued during the period of Shah Safi until he died on the way to conquer Kandahar.

Shah Abbas II came to power when he was 9 years old in 1642 and died in his 33rd or 34th in 1666. Kandahar was in Baburis’ dominance and Uzbeks had been weaker after inclination and Blindness of Imam Qhuli Khan Uzbek, therefore, Shah Jahan seized Balkh where was one of the centers of power for Uzbeks and hoped to conquer Samarqand and Bukhara. Nazr Muhammad Khan, Imam Qhuli’s brother had to take refuge in Iranian court. Baburis were still interested in keeping allegiance with Iran to conquer their inherited lands in Transoxiana but Shah Abbas was thinking about conquest of Kandahar for a second time. After conquest of Kandahar till decline of Shah Jahan, diplomatic relations between Iran and Moguls were interrupted for ten years and despite Shah Jahan’s efforts to encroach into Transoxiana, Shah Abbas II kept his dominance over Uzbeks of Transoxiana.

Shah Jahan became sick in 1657 in Delhi and his four sons (Darashokouh who was beside his father, Aurangzeb in Deccan, Murad Bakhsh in Gujarat and Shah Shoja ruled in Kabol) competed for power.

Abbas II wanted to use the opportunity to penetrate in Deccan and among Baburi princes. Aurangzeb’s pressure over Darashokouh made him write a letter to Abbas and Shah Abbas wrote an appropriate reply for him and prepared a warm welcome for him in Bandar Abbas. Darashokouh’s relatives
did not approve of going to Iran. Therefore, he went to Sind and asked the Shah to send him some thousand soldiers to save his treasure in Behkar and protect him on the way to Iran. Murad Bakhsh, ruler of Gujarat who had certain Shiite tendencies\(^8^8\) exchanged letters with Iran and Shah Abbas II and sent envoy to the court of Shah Abbas II and announced himself successor of Shah Jahan.

But Aurangzeb came over brothers and eventually after two years of his succeeding to throne, a formal political council came from Iran to congratulate his kingdom. Shah Abbas II had tried to utilize unrest in India and ally himself with rulers of Deccan which was not a successful plan. Nevertheless, in his letter to Aurangzeb, Abbas II had ensured him of his help.\(^8^9\)

Kandahar was a permanent subject of conflict and had been exchanged between Iran and India many times because it had so much diplomatic and economic importance that the two countries despite their interests in keeping peaceful relations could not ignore it. The influence of relations with Uzbeks and Ottomans was also considerable.

Another subject of controversy was Deccan the rulers of which were interested in having relations with Safavis but Moguls were not interested in accepting their independence. Relations of Safavis and Baburis in terms of trilateral diplomacy will be discussed in another part.

- **Safavis and Relations with Uzbeks**

Uzbek tribes who were descendents of Moguls and from Sheybani dynasty and came to power in late 9\(^{th}\) century in Transoxiana and Khurasan were divided into two great groups. One group commanded by Ibrahim, son of Poulad and offspring to Mengo Timur established Khanates of Bukhara and the other group ruled by Arab Shah the other son of Poulad founded Khanates.

\(^8^8\) Riaz-ul Islam .Ibid.p186

\(^8^9\) Vahid Qhzvini .Ibid. pp 294-95
of Khiva and Khwarezm. Poulad’s family tree reached Mengo Timur and some more generations back to Sheyban and from him to Jooji, son of Genghis Khan of Mongolia.90

Sheyban family were first settled in Siberia and ruled in Tyumen. A great number of them commanded by Muhammad Sheybani migrated to Transoxiana. He removed Timuris rulers and established Uzbek kingdom. Shaybak Khan II91 chose the title “Sheybani” which was name of his ancestor. He was a very brave, prejudiced, and self-esteemed warrior. He wisely used the opportunity of lack of power in Middle East plains in order to establish his kingdom. That was the way allegiance of Asian Turks took place through coming to power of a dominant kingdom in Transoxiana. The new dynasty of Sheybani (906-1007 AH/1500-1599) was in a better situation compared to previous kingdoms and other contemporary powers. Their lands were under dominance of Islam up to Altai Mountains and plains of Tarim River during this period.

Muhammad Khan Sheybani took some parts of Transoxiana by conquering Samarqand and Bukhara through defeating Timuris Sultan Mahmud Mirza and Zahirud din Babur and came to power. Thereafter, till 913AH/1507he took whole Turkistan, Transoxiana, Khurasan and Astar Abad from descendents of Sultan Hussein Mirza Bayqhara and other successors of Timuris and from west and south became neighbor center of Iran, and Kerman, Yazd all of which were in Shah Ismail I’s territories.

- **Political Conflicts in Vast Khurasan**

Vast Khurasan was a land which bordered from Southeast of Caspian sea to Amu darya and Hindu Kush Mountains in which Herat became capital city under the rule of Timuris Sultan Hussein Bayqharah. Safavis and Uzbeks have fought over this region with Uzbeks since the time of Ismail up to end of Shah Abbas’s first decade for nearly one century (916-1007 AH/1510-1598). In order to find reasons for this issue, we need to study conditions of Middle East during these years. Middle East had such a climate, which influenced

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90 Roomlu. Ibid. p 162
91 Muhammad Khan Sheybani has more names who has been called with them i.e. Shahibay Khan, Shahbakht Khan and Sheybani Khan and shahi bey.
military and political lives of its inhabitants including Uzbeks. Periodical
droughts made nomads settling in these Step areas leave their habitat and
drought-struck pastures and move towards well-equipped and fertile areas
like Northern Iran. Invasion to other lands because of drought or bitter cold
(as it happened in Samarqand in 919 AH/1513\(^{92}\)) was not a new phenomenon.
Drought and fertility were predictably present in these areas and this resulted
in return of previous ordinary conditions and let Moguls go back to their
homeland again. Uzbeks invaded Khurasan up to today Kerman and Eastern
coasts of Caspian Sea. But recent invasions were widespread due to lack of
political stability between tribes settled in this area after decline of Timuris.
These unusual conditions made Uzbeks rose against Timuris. There are also
other reasons like commercial reasons for these invasions. Khurasan,
especially a city like Herat was economically significant for laying the basis of
Uzbek kingdom beyond Amudarya. Therefore, by establishing the first
political contacts after their invasion to Iran in Shah Ismail’s time, another
element was added to these elements.

Proving religious validity and denying beliefs of the other side was
apparent in letters exchanged between two sides. Muhammad Khan Sheybani
requested denying Shiism while Ismail called him towards Shiism.\(^{93}\)

Giving reference to historical reasons to prove that settlers of Khurasan
were Uzbeks and heir to Genghis and Timuris was another reason for these
controversies. In letters exchanged between Abdol Mumin, Uzbek Prince and
Shah Abbas he wrote to Abbas if he wanted peace, he had to forget his claim on
Khurasan and respect contents of the treaty signed in 9\(^{th}\) AH/15\(^{th}\) century
between Uzun Hassan and Timuri Prince, Hussein Mirza. It means that he had
to deliver whole Khurasan from Balkh to Astar Abad in south Caspian Sea to
Uzbeks.\(^{94}\) Safavis also regarded themselves heirs to kings of Iran and true
proctors of real Islam.\(^{95}\)

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Association Press
n.d Vol. 1, p 62
\(^{93}\) Roomlu. Ibid. pp 147-148
\(^{94}\) Cambridge History of Iran.Ibid. p 122
\(^{95}\) Navaii, Abdolhussein. Historical Documents and Letters of Iran since Timur till King Ismail. Tehran:
Institute of Translation and Publication 1977,pp 77-78
I. Battle of Marv: Conquest of Khurasan

Definitely, the greatest victory of Shah Ismail I was in Battle of Marv in 915 AH/1510. Founder of Safavi dynasty after conquering Iranian territories and states went for Uzbeks who had exhausted people of Khurasan and had killed lots of them.

First, because of internal problems, Shah Ismail sent an envoy to Uzbeks and tried to treat peacefully with him. Safavi Shah sent gifts for Shaybak Khan and invited him to keep their son and father relations, but Khan’s pride and prejudice made him answer proudly, hence this method of Ismail did not work. In 1905 when Iranian army was facing difficulties in the west, Shaybak Khan used the opportunity and passed Khurasan to plunder Kerman and came back. After return of Uzbek army, Ismail sent Qhazi Zia-ud din Noorollah for negotiations which was useless.

According to Khwand Mir, in reply to Ismail, Muhammad Khan Sheybani sent a scornful letter through Kamal-ud din Hussein Abiverdi to Shah Ismail and questioned Shah Ismail’s claim on Iranian throne and denied historical legitimacy of Safavi Kingdom and their attribution to Agh Qhoyunlus. In 1509 Ismail received news that Uzbeks had suffered from great loss in battles with Nekoodari Hazareh tribes around Kandahar. The next year, after subduing rebels in western states and Azerbaijan, he set off for Khurasan. As he started marching, Muhammad Khan Sheybani fled to Marv and asked for help of Uzbek rulers in Bukhara and Samarqhand and took a defensive strategy in the borders of Marv.

Military strategy of Ismail regarding retreat was interpreted as weakness of Safavis and brought out Shaybak Khan from his safeguard in Taher Abad Fortress following him. This strategy led to doom of Uzbek Khan and his army suffered a bitter defeat. Shaybak Khan was killed and Ismail

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96 Roomlu. Ibid.
97 Khwand Mir.Ibid. p 504-20
98 Anonymous, by Alla Data Moztarr, Jahan Goshaye Khaghan (History of Shah Ismail) . Islam Abad: Research Center of Iran and Pakistan, 1986. p 353
filled his head skin with straw and sent it to Ottoman Sultan Bayazid, ally and provoker of Uzbeks. He wrote in a letter to Ottoman King: “The head you have seen full of (desire for) kingdom,... I filled it with straw and sent you”.99 He also sent Uzbek Khan’s hand to Rostam Agha, ruler of Mazandaran and wrote for him: “Since your hand did not reach to Shaybak Khan (for help), we reached his hand to you”.100

This conflict between Iran and Uzbeks ended the 11 years rule of Shaybak Khan and whole Khurasan, parts of Herat, Marv, Balkh and its suburbs came under dominance of Safavi Empire. Founder of Safavi kingdom thought of Transoxiana after Khurasan in order to expand territories and stop invasions. But Uzbek Khans decided to subdue and according to the agreement Amudarya became the border between two countries. It is strange to know that Shah Ismail in an order regarded conquered lands of Babur in Transoxiana as Babur’s own and it is said that he gave Hesar Shademan and Badakhshan to Khan Mirza, Babur’s uncle.101 Battle of Marv scored the first important victory for Safavis after establishment of their kingdom and proved endurance of Qhezelbashes and their devotion to Ismail.

Victory in Marv was an outstanding point. Defeat of Uzbeks brought an interval to centuries of invasion and plunder to Iranian borders and created a serious suspension for common enemy of Safavis and Baburis of India which led to sustainable friendly relations between Safavi Sultans of Iran and Baburi kings of India.

Adding Khurasan to territories of Shah Ismail had a great importance in Iranian history, because for the first time after centuries the ancient state of Baktria and Herat came under the rule of Iran and borders of Sassanid time were revived and a country with a central kingdom was created.

99 Ibid. p 388
100 Ibid.pp 380-1
101 Riaz-ul Islam. Ibid.p 26
War with Uzbeks went on. Battle of Ghazdevan was one of these battles which has been discussed also in the section on relations between Iran and Baburis.

II. Battle of Ghazdevan

Shah Ismail in late 1512 chose Najme Sani as commander of army to help Babur and sent famous commanders with him.

In September 1512 Najme Sani and Babur came together in Bande-e Ahanin. Then Iranian army conquered Gharshi or the old Nakhshab and despite mediation of Babur, 15 thousand inhabitants were killed by Najme Sani and again despite mediation of Amir Ghias-ud Din, Najm did not have mercy even on Seyeds. These brutal behaviors of Najm Sani created gaps between him and his army.

Thereafter Qhezelbash army along with Babur set off for Bukhara. Uzbeks took refuge in Ghajdevan fortress. Babur and some other commanders, who knew the situation there, asked Najm Sani to forget about conquering there and go back but Najm insisted on fight. Due to pride of Najm Sani some commanders did not obey him and returned to Khurasan and conflict rose in Iranian army.

At last Uzbeks invaded Gezelbash army and Iranians suffered a severe defeat and Najm Sani and other commanders were killed. This defeat was a disaster for Iran because after that Safavis lost Transoxiana and provoked Uzbeks who again seized Balkh, Herat and Mashhad.

III. Results

After death of Muhammad Khan Sheybani Uzbek kings avoided to face Qhezelbash army. Even presence of few Qhezelbashes in Babur’s army led to flee of Uzbeks to Turkistan. But defeat of Iranians in Ghazdevan encouraged Uzbeks to face Iranian army. Ottomans also started preparing to attack Iran.
Eventually after defeat of Amir Najm Sani, Uzbeks dominated Transoxiana. Amu darya was determined as the border between Safavi Iran and Uzbek dynasty; as in previous centuries, it had been set as the border between Sasanid Iran and Hun tribes. Sheybani dynasty was revived and ruled over Transoxiana whole 16th century.

Defeat in Transoxiana made the situation Shah Ismail was facing with, more explicit and add to the gap between two influential elements in Safavi kingdom. Existence of this reciprocal hostility between these two, Tajiks and Turks was serious in Safavi society to such extent that defeat of Ghajdevan according to some historical sources, resulted from Qhezelbashes’ distrust of the Tajik Amir Najm Sani as commander of army in Ghajdevan battle. Different sources report instability and bilateralism in Iranian army and insist that Qhezelbash Amirs had conflicts with Amir Najm, commander of Tajik army who had entered exclusive territory of Qhezelbashes.102

IV. Battle of Jaam

Invasions of Uzbeks went on till 935 AH/1528103 when King Tahmasb, Ismail’s successor personally attended in a battle with Uzbeks led by Obeidollah Khan Uzbek in Khargerd-e Jaam. He was 14 years old in this battle and despite his army’s tendency to retreat from battlefield with his insistence he won the victory for Safavis. Till the final years of Tahmasb’ rule four more battles were fought between two armies in which Qhezelbash commanders controlled the battles.

V. Battle of Robat Parian

During 12 years conflict between Safavis and Ottomans 1590-1578 invasion of Uzbeks was going on in Khurasan. They conquered Farghaneh, Kashghar and Khutan in borders of China up to Balkh, Takharistan, Badakhshan and Herat. They also seized Astar abad in south of Caspian Sea and marched ahead till Mashhad and Kerman in center of Iran. These

102 Qhazi Ahmad Qhomi. Ibid. Vol. 1, p 12
103 See: Roomlu. Ibid. Vol. 2, pp 237-72
conditions continued till coming to power of Shah Abbas I in 996 AH/1587 when a conflict rose between his two chief commanders, Aligholy Khan and Morshid Qhuli Khan on enthroning young Shah Abbas. AliQhuli Khan asked Abdollah II, the Uzbek Khan for help and soon regretted but it was too late and he was defeated by Uzbek Khan and was killed in 997 AH. Abdollah II, the Uzbek Khan died in 1006 AH/1597 and his son Abdol-Mumin Khan who had an aggressive personality also was killed by his father’s commanders in the same year and territory of Uzbeks was divided between claimants.

Pir Muhammad Khan in Bukhara, Abdol-Amin Khan in Balkh and Yatim Sultan called Din Muhammad Khan in Herat became commanders of Uzbeks. The last one was thinking about invasion to Khurasan who very soon faced Shah Abbas in Herat and on Friday 6th Muharram 1007 AH a great battle was fought between two sides in Robat Parian in which Safavi army nearly gave way because they were outnumbered but courage and bravery of Shah Abbas reinforced Safavi army and they overwhelmed Uzbeks.

Defeat of Uzbeks made Akbar very happy because he had lived in Lahore for 14 years to control Uzbek movements more closely. It was just after dispersion of Uzbeks by Shah Abbas that he came back to his capital, Agra.

Since this time until 1023 AH/1614 when reconciliation was confirmed between Uzbeks and Safavis, Uzbeks had internal conflicts and used to take refuge in Safavi kingdom. For a while, without military operations in Turan, king could win much influence on the land of Uzbeks through his Uzbek followers and create conflicts between Uzbek groups and Khans. Eventually a dynasty called Janian (attributed to Jani Bey Sultan) came to

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104 Eskandar Bay Monshi.Ibid.
106 is the Middle Persian name for Central Asia, literally meaning "the land of the Tur". As described below, the original Turanians are an Iranian.
107 Or Astara Khanids who were maternally considered as relatives of Shibanids, See: Bosworth.Ibid. p 235
power under the rule of Imam Qhuli Khan. In 1611 he revived his independence by defeating wali Muhammad Khan, agent of Shah Abbas, and chose Bukhara as center of his kingdom and determined his younger brother, Nazr Muhammad Khan as Khan of Balkh.

Conquest of Kandahar by Shah Abbas in 1622 brought Baburis closer to Uzbeks and Jahangir tried to ally with them against Iran. Another factor that led to a change of diplomacy in Baburis towards Uzbeks was to stop plunderers who were provoked by Nazr Muhammad and invaded northwestern borders of the empire.

Uzbeks tried to get closer to Ottoman Sultan Murad IV. After conquest of Baghdad by Shah Abbas, Imam Qhuli wrote a letter to Ottoman Sultan in 1624. Sultan in response wrote an extremely anti-Shiite letter and announced his full support in invading Iran. Also Sultan sent a letter to Jahangir in 1625-26 with the same contents. But Jahangir’s death left the allegiance unfinished.

- Ideological Conflicts

Khanate of Bukhara, Khiva and Khwarezm were Muslims and like other Turks in Middle East were Sunni because of that they were against Qhezelbashes who had appeared with the policy of Shiite propagation. Shah Ismail also was against and Sunni scholars and forced them to convert to Shiism. Among these scholars those who did not intend to convert used to flee to neighboring countries such as Transoxiana and come to service of Uzbek khans. One of the most famous scholars among them was Fazlollah-ebn Rouzbehan Khunji Isfahani, scientist, historian and a famous writer.

As Shiism was declared formal religion of Iran, lots of cultural ties and relations between Iran and Transoxiana which were effective till that time became weaker. Kings and princes of Uzbek especially those like Muhammad Khan Sheybani and some others who were counted as Persian poets or had started poetry with Persian later turned to Turkish poetry.

108 Feridun Bey. Ibid. Vol. 2, P 144
Iranian classic poetry continued its penetration to Transoxiana without any contact between poets of the two nations. Continuous decline of Persian language in this land was because interruption of relations between these two opposing kingdoms. Thereafter, Turkish language became common and applied in all northern areas of Middle Asia except mountainous Tajik-settled area.

After one decade from establishment of Safavi kingdom, relations of Shah Ismail I with Uzbeks in form of religious and political conflicts rose very much. Ismail tried to find solutions for these problems between the two powers in the region. His envoy who went to Uzbek court after Qhazi Zia-ud Din Noorollah was Shaykh Mohy-ed Din Ahmad known as Shaykh Zade Lahiji. He asked Sheybani Khan to be satisfied with Transoxiana. He also talked about legitimacy of Shiite religion to him and explained history of Shiism for Uzbek Khan and informed him that nearly 400 scholars and Mojtabahids such as Mohaghegh Tousi had written lots of books and essays on Shiism. He spoke about Khwaje Naseer-ud Din Muhammad who was one of outstanding Shiite figures and that Hulagu Khan (1256–1265), ancestor of Uzbek Khan was his follower and chose Shiite religion and reminded Sultan Muhammad Khodabandeh (Oljeitu) (1304–1316) which were all useless.109

Uzbek Khan’s view on religion was not apart from political issues. He hoped on invasion to Iran those who had been forced to accept Shiism accompany him. He also started to encourage Rostam Agha Rouz Afzon, ruler of Mazandaran. Mazandaran was on the way of Uzbeks’ invasion and on the other side; ruler of Mazandaran had risen against Safavis and believed that: “We cannot resist two powerful enemies. One is to be moderated with, the other to be opposed. With Ismail, who committed heresy, we will oppose and

109 Navaii. Ibid. p 102
with Shahi Bay, whom we share the same religion with, we will unite.”¹¹⁰ If this quotation from Rostam Agha, at that time was correct, it shows that he could not infer a certain conclusion from evaluation of the two kingdom’s powers and found them equal and counted religious discord between himself and Shah Ismail as a reason to more hostility with one of these enemies! And come to terms with the other one. The other point is that Rostam Agha does not count his religious commonness with Uzbek Khan a reason of friendship either. When religion was not the reason for friendship, why should it be conceived that in those conditions it was reason for hostility?

The interesting point is that invasions of Uzbeks especially in the time of Abdollah Khan II Uzbek (1583-1598) according to some scholars such as Ahmad Serhendi Farouqi (971-1034 AH/1563-1624), a famous Indian scholar in late 10th and early 11th centuries has caused immigration and expansion of Khurasan Shiism in India. He says in his treatise, Refutation of Heretics, (Radd e Ravafez) “…so that the great Khan Abdollah Khan Uzbek attacked on inhabitants of Khurasan and seized the land and Shiites who had settled and spread there, were killed or had to leave and come to India”.¹¹¹ He believes that it was this group who spread Shiism in India. Whereas, according to him, before that there were no Shiites in India. He believes that only after invasion of Uzbeks to Khurasan, wandering Shiites set off for India. Serhendi quotes a poem from Amir Khosrau Dehlavi in early 8th century about it, which in fact documents Serhendi’s idea since early 8th century when of course Shiism had not penetrated into India yet. However, gradually in late 9th AH/15th and during 10th AH/16th when Shiite or inclinde to Shiism kingdoms came to power in Deccan, gradually Shiism found increasing spread in southern India.¹¹²


¹¹² Ja’farian, Rasoul, “Relations between Uzbeks’ Invasion to Khurasan and Spread of Shiism in India”. http://www.historylib.com, date of issue on website (15/01/2009).
In these severe hostilities, Iranian Sunni scholars had certain influential roles in the court of Uzbeks in Transoxiana. The greatest one of them was *Faqih* and scholar of Sunnis *Fazlollah-ebn-e Rouzbehan Khunji* who was encouraged by Ottomans and Uzbeks to destroy Shiite Safavi kingdom and repudiate Shiite works and *Fiqh* texts. He carried out a fundamental and basic strategy and attached the principles of Safavis’ legitimacy.

*Fazlollah-ebn-Rouzbehan Khunji*, was an immigrant scholar from Iran to Uzbeks’ kingdom whose mission was to legitimate them as Caliphs of Muslims. In his book, *Solouk-ol-Molouk*\(^{113}\), which contained *Fatvas* approved by Uzbek Khan, he was trying to prove heresy of Safavis through deductions from verses of Quran according to principles of Sunni ideology including instructions about Imam and Sultan, and to create a legitimate image of Uzbeks. Hence, victory over Iranians and their ally, Zahirud din Babur was regarded as victory over heretic pagans which would have proved kingdom of Uzbeks legitimate and according to religious instructions.

*Rouzbehan Khunji* criticized and denied works of *Ebn Motahhar Helli* and wrote “*Ibtal Nahjol Batil and Ihmal-e Kashfol Atil*” in refutation of Allame Helli’s “*Nahjol Hagh*”. He criticized ideas of *Ebn Motahhar* on *Imamat*, innocence and priority of Imam and tried to deny legitimacy of Safavi kingdom through disproving fundamental ideological principles of Shiism. Uzbeks had historical claim on kingdom of Persia and regarded heritage of Genghis to rule over Iran as their certain right. Hence, religious legitimacy of Uzbeks provoked them to spread territories and gain historical legitimacy. Following victory of Ismail in Battle of Marv Shiite religion became formalized in Khurasan. As Herat declined, a great Sunni educational center in the world of Islam was lost. Herat was such a center that Ottoman Sultans in the time of Timuris used to send students to study there.

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Disgust and exaggeration of Ismail in taking revenge from Uzbek Khan (Muhammad Khan Sheybani’s body was cut into pieces and king had a golden wine cup made out of his skull and sent pieces of his body to other countries) could mean that Uzbek Khan’s hostility for Safavis was much deeper and more brutal than a conflict in political realm, but it was a conflict of ideology and spirituality, as for Ismail himself it had become a matter of prestige. Uzbeks were considered as a threat that would support Sunni-based movements inside Safavi borders and stories which pictured Uzbek Khan dominantly with a bright future brought a kind of mental conflict to Safavi rulers and reinforced possibility of religious rebel in Safavi territory.

In 1577 Tahmasb was not alive and Abdollah Khan who was in full power suggested Akbar a common invasion to Iran. Akbar’s answer reveals that Abdollah Khan’s request must have had religious excuses such as problems of pilgrims to Mecca because Akbar in response says that Safavi dynasty are related to family of Prophet of Islam; he called them Seyyeds and high ranked individuals and said that conflicts in religions and ruling systems could not be appropriate reasons for conquering Iran.114 Old friendship between Baburi and Safavi dynasties and their common hostility with Uzbeks and also Akbar’s plans to expand territories in Transoxiana must be considered as reasons of this response. Akbar knew that reinforcement of Uzbeks would change the balance of power against him, therefore, he evaded from religious war against Shiites. Akbar’s response to another council sent by Uzbeks in 1586 to India who had again requested war against pagan Safavis and opening of the way to Mecca was that Safavis are from the family of Prophet and instead he suggested that together they should go to Muhammad Khuda Bandeh’s assistance who was engaged with rebellion of some of his aristocrats.115

Suppression of Uzbeks in the time of Safavis especially in the time of Shah Abbas in addition to development of Safavi territories was a certain religious achievement and revealed Shiite religion from a principle danger and all lands of Shiite government in Iran became safe.

114 Riaz ul Islam. Ibid. Quoted from Akbar Nameh, p 91
115 Ibid. pp 94-95
Of course, in summarizing relations of Uzbeks with Safavis, what is absent is commitment to humane principles and moralities of Islam. Savagery and plundering properties of people in Khurasan and Mashhad could not have had religious conformity with Islamic rules; rather it was only justifications of Faqihs close to Uzbek Khan that allowed him to get his hands on lives and properties of people.

Before Shah Abbas could confirm bases of his kingdom, Abdollah Khan Uzbek conquered Mashhad and brutally massacred its inhabitants. He even did not avoid the properties of Imam Reza’s (PBUH) shrine.116 Shiite scholars in Mashhad wrote a letter to Abdollah Khan Uzbek and told him: “For what reason and evidence have you made it Halal for yourselves to seize the holy city of Mashhad and get hands on its people who are mostly offspring of Honored Prophet and to plunder and murder and lay your hands on properties, lands of people and devoted resources of His Holiness”?

This letter made Abdollah Khan ask Sunni scholars in Transoxiana to prove heresy of Shiites so that killing them and plundering their properties be legitimated. Sunni scholars of his court in response wrote very scornful and unrighteous things about Shiites and even accused them of heresy and capable of being fought with.

In response to their letter from Shiites, Mowlana Muhammad Fakhr-ud Din Rostam Dari wrote a comprehensive deductive letter and by referring to sources by elders of Sunni like Nasafi, Amedi, Ghazzali, Ash’ari and Ebn Asir author of Jami-ul Osoul showed that they have counted Shiism one of Islamic sects and on the other hand, what Shiites believe does not demonstrate heresy, because these scholars regard People of Kiblah (those who face towards Kaba in Mecca and believe in its owner) as Muslims.

116 Vali Qhuli Shamlu. Ibid. Vol. 1, p 140