



## Measures Taken by the Ottoman State against Shah İsmail's Attempts to Convert Anatolia to Shia

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**Abstract:** Shah İsmail, when he was sheikh of Safevi sect established by Sheikh Safiyuddin, İsmail's grandfather, (1252-1334) established Safevi State in Azerbaijan taking Tebriz as the center at the beginning of XVI th.century. The followers of Safevi Sect were Turcomen originated from Anatolia. They helped Shah İsmail to establish state. Shah İsmail depending on Turcomen followers attempted to annex Anatolia which was under Otoman domination in his new state's territory. He sent his caliphs to Anatolia to propagandize his sect. They tried to convince Anatolion people about Safevi sect. Ottoman state which understand that the main purpose of Shah İsmail was not the speading of Safevi sect took military, political, economical and cultural measures. In the war between two states, Shah İsmail was defeated by Ottoman army in Caldıran (1514) The relationship of Safevi's followers with Iran was prevented. In order to prevent economical growth of Safevi State, economical embargo was put. By helping the organization of Halvetiyye which has Safevi sect orijin but accept' s ottoman state outhority the spread of Safevism was prevented. Turcomen in Anatolia become hopeless when Sheikh İsmail was defeated by I. Selim. (1511-1520) Ottoman State does not extinct Safevism.

**Key words:** Ottoman State, Shah İsmail, Anatolia, Shia

### Anadoluyu Şiileştirmek İsteyen Şah İsmail'e Karşı Osmanlı Devleti'nin Aldığı Önlemler

**Özet:** Şah İsmail (ö. 1524), büyük dedesi Safiyüddin (1252-1334)'in kurduğu Safeviye Tarikatı'nın şeyhi iken, XVI. yüzyılın başlarında Tebriz merkez olmak üzere Azerbaycan'da Safevi Tarikat Devleti'ni kurdu. Safevi Tarikatı'nın müritleri, çoğunlukla Anadolu kökenli Türkmenler idi. Bunlar, Şah İsmail'e devlet kurma çalışmaları sırasında yardım ettiler. Şah İsmail, Türkmen müritlere güvenerek Osmanlı hakimiyeti altında bulunan Anadolu'yu da yeni kurduğu devletin sınırları içine alma çalışmalarına başladı. Kendi propagandasını yaptırmak amacıyla halifelerini Anadolu'ya gönderdi. Bunlar, köy köy gezerek Anadolu insanını Safevi Tarikatı'na bağlamaya çalışıyorlardı. Şah İsmail'in esas amacının tarikatçılık yapmak olmadığını anlayan Osmanlı Devleti, kendi topraklarında Safevi yayılmasının önüne geçmek için askerî, siyasî, ekonomik ve kültürel önlemler alma yönüne gitti. İki devlet arasında çıkan savaşta Şah İsmail, Çaldıran'da Osmanlı ordusuna yenildi (1514). Osmanlı vatandaşı Safevi müritlerinin diğer deyişle Alevilerin İran'la ilişkileri engellendi. Safevi Devleti'ne karşı ekonomik ambargo uygulanarak güçlenmesinin önüne geçilmeye çalışıldı. Safevi Tarikatı ile aynı kökten gelen ancak Osmanlı taraftarı olan Halvetiliğin örgütlenmesine yardım edilerek Anadolu insanının tamamen Safevi olmasının önüne geçilmiş oldu. Şah İsmail, alınan tüm bu önlemler karşısında Anadolu'ya yönelik hedefine ulaşamadı. Anadolu'ya Safevi Türkmenler de kurtarıcı olarak gördükleri Şah İsmail'den I. Selim (1511-1520) karşısında yenilgiye uğramasından sonra ümitlerini kestiler. Osmanlı Devleti, Safeviliği yok

edemedi.

**Anahtar kelimeler:** Osmanlı devleti, Shah İsmail, Anadolu, Shia

## I. GİRİŞ

Named as Asia Minor by the Westerners, Anatolia has become an area of interest for the states founded in the Iranian region in almost every period of the history and as a consequence, several problems have arisen between the political power ruling Anatolia and Iranian states. From the beginning of the XVI<sup>th</sup> century Anatolia was also the centre of the Ottoman-Safevi conflict, and up to now the struggle of power among the states founded in these two regions has continued sometimes harsh and sometimes mild. In this article, the measures taken by the Ottoman State against Shah Ismail's efforts to invade Anatolia and the attempts of the Tariqa of Halvetiyye to resist this will be examined.

## II. GENERAL SITUATION BEFORE THE FOUNDATION OF THE SAFEVI STATE

At the beginning of XVI<sup>th</sup> century, founded in Iran under the leadership of Shah Ismail (died in 930 / A.D. 1524), the Safevi State derived this name from the Safevi Order established by Sheikh Safiyüddin (1252-1334), Shah Ismail's ancestor (grandfather) in the sixth generation.

The Safevi State had an interesting construction period extending from the tariqa to state. The founder of Safevi Order, Sheikh Safiyüddin, is a mystic known as Sunni (orthodox). The transformation of Safevism to Shi'ism became a current issue at the age of Sultan Hodja Ali, Sheikh Safiyüddin's grandson. In the time of Sheikh Cüneyd (D. 1460), Safiyüddin's grandson (his daughter's son), this aspect of tariqa has appeared with the announcement of being Shi'i in 1448. After Cüneyd was killed in the war which occurred between him and Halil, the Sultan of Akkoyunlu State, in 1460, his son Sheikh Haydar became the leader of Erdebil Mystics, but was murdered in the war against Ferruh Yesâr from Şirvanşah. When his successor Sultan Ali was also killed in 1494, the seven-year old boy Shah Ismail was brought to the leadership of the Safevi Order.

### 1) The Appearance of the Idea of Establishing a State in Safevi Dynasty

There is no clear evidence in the sources as to whether Sheikh Safiyüddin<sup>1</sup>, the founder of the tariqa of Safeviyye, had any idea of establishing a state. However, the two facts that many Heterodoks Turkish followers went to visit him<sup>2</sup> in Erdebil during his lifetime and until Shah Ismail's leadership Safevi dynasty was supported by these people to establish a state show that the idea of setting up a state goes back to the time of Sheikh Safiyüddin. Probably Safiyüddin was determined to establish a state as one of the main principles of the tariqat. This aim which was kept only within his family should have hidden even from caliphs of the tariqa as a secret<sup>3</sup>. When the signs of dispersion began in Ilhanlı State, Melek Eşref from the Çoban family took the sovereignty in Azerbaijan by force. Being doubtful of Safiyüddin' son, Sheikh Sadreddin, who was the sheikh in Erdebil in that time Melek Eşref put him into surveillance in Tebriz for about three months. This supports the probability that the aim of setting a state organization stemmed from the early period of Safiyüddin and kept as a secret. The acts of Sheikh Cüneyd pretending to be a chief of a state rather than a sheikh of a tariqa<sup>4</sup> and his open contention for the sake of establishing a religious state under the rules of the Safevi Order<sup>5</sup> threw light onto the secret of the family kept for some generations. Sheikh Haydar<sup>6</sup> armed his followers in order to carry out

<sup>1</sup> For his life see Franz Babinger, "Safiy-ed-Din", *IA*, X, pp. 64-65.

<sup>2</sup> Walther Hinz. (1992). *Uzun Hasan ve Şeyh Cüneyd*, (trans. Tevfik Bıyıkhoğlu), Ankara, p. 8.

<sup>3</sup> Mecdî. (1269). *Tercüme-i Şakaik-ı Numaniyye*. İstanbul, p.78.

<sup>4</sup> Müneccimbaşı. (1285). *Sahâifü'l-Ahbâr*, III, İstanbul, p.180.

<sup>5</sup> Hinz, *Ibid*, pp.14-36.

<sup>6</sup> Solak-Zade. (1297). *Târih*, İstanbul, p.315.

his ideal of state which could not finish its foundation with the death of his father Cüneyd. But he was murdered in the rebellion organized by him. With thousands of Turkish followers gathered around him, Shah Ismail succeeded in establishing the Safevi State which the members of the dynasty perished for the sake of it and in this way he got started a new period in Iran.

## 2) Being Adopted of Shi'ism in the Safevi Dynasty

Like Halvetiyye, the *tariqa* of Safeviyye was a branch of Zâhidiyye founded by Sheikh Zâhid-i Geylânî (Died H 690 / AD 1291). Safiyüddin, the founder of the Safevi Order was a disciple of Sheikh Zâhid-i Geylânî and he was a Sunni Sheikh according to Hulvi. However, information obtained from Hulvi indicates that Sunnism of Sheikh Safiyüddin can be argued. He initially declared himself as "Seyyid" for the purpose of using it and that was accepted highly important among Shia and later gave up this title for an unknown reason. Although Hulvi relates that the subject of being Sayyid came into the scene in the Safevi family after Hodja Ali<sup>7</sup>, the researches show that the *tariqa* of Safevi, infact, became Shi'i in the time of Hodja Ali. On the other hand, it is known that Sheikh Cüneyd who sincerely accepted the Shia, tried to spread the principles of Shia in the hankah and zaviyes of the *tariqa*<sup>8</sup>. According to Faruk SÜMER, Sheikh Cüneyd was the first to use the title of "Seyyid" and was known among the Anatolian Turcoman with this name<sup>9</sup>. His defending of Shia offended his uncle Cafer and then, the Safevi Order was divided into two branches, one of which is Sünni and the other is Shii. Sheikh Haydar went beyond this subject. He reorganized his followers clothing and dressed them up with "*Haydari redcrown*" and "*red attire*" instead of black clothing accepted by Sünni branch of the same *tariqa*. Therefore, his followers were called "*redhead*" (Kızılbaş in Turkish)<sup>10</sup>. It is Shah Ismail who rigidly applied Shi'ism in Iran. Relying on İdris-i Bitlisi, Celal-Zade deprived from the "*tariqa* of Mumammed" (*tarikât-ı Muhammedi*) founded by Shah Ismail's ancestors. He put forward that he had founded a false sect, named as Shia whose principles were based on swearing at disciples and followers of Muhammed<sup>11</sup>.

Different ideas have been put forward about the fact that the disciples of this *tariqa*, most of whom were Anatolian Turks, converted to Shia with the foundation of the Safevi Order. Except SÜMER, other researchers agree that conversion into Shia in the *tariqa* began in the time of Sheikh Cüneyd and the followers from Anatolia were also converted into Shia as a result of his propagandas<sup>12</sup>. As for SÜMER, it is suggested that the *tariqa* became Shii in the years followed by Cüneyd's arrival to Anatolia<sup>13</sup>. According to him, Anatolian Shiis or the followers who had tendency to become Shii in Anatolia influenced him in this subject. It was mentioned above that, visitors from Anatolia came to the *tekke* (dervish lodge) of Erdebil even in the time of Sheikh Safiyüddin. The main feature of these Anatolian Turcoman followers was that they had not been influenced by the culture of *medrese* (Islamic school) yet and they were villagers who accepted Islam only superficially<sup>14</sup>. They were a crowd of people who accepted the love of *Ehl-i Beyt* (the Prophet's family) as the basis of their belief. Compared to the people who had *medrese* education, they were more excited about the love of Ehl-i Beyt. Sheikh Safiyüddin should have recognized this characteristic of the Turcoman Muslims and thought of making use of this for his aim. As a matter of fact, it can be said that this is the main thought laid under to declare himself

<sup>7</sup> *Lemezât*, Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi, Dügümlü Baba, no: 565, p. 128a-129b.

<sup>8</sup> Mükrimin Halil Ymanç, "Cüneyd", IA, III, p. 242-244.

<sup>9</sup> *Safevî Devleti'nin Kuruluşu ve Gelişmesinde Anadolu Türklerinin Rolü*. (1992). Ankara p.10.

<sup>10</sup> Hulvi, VI. *Lemezât*, p. 129a.

<sup>11</sup> *Selim-Nâme* Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi, Revan, no: 1274, p. 93a.

<sup>12</sup> Hinz, *Ibid*, pp.16-19.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid*, pp.1-2, 10.

<sup>14</sup> Sümer, *Ibid*, p.7.

as "*Seyyid*". Nevertheless, without having any characteristic of *Sayyid* his assessment might have been found very strange by the people around him and perhaps this was the reason that he later gave up proclaiming himself as "*Seyyid*". However, his descendants made good use of the title of "*Seyyid*" for their own benefits and ambitions and they succeeded in this. Very shortly after their promulgation of the news that they were "*Seyyid*", many Anatolian Turks gathered around the Sheikh's of Erdebil and they put their heart into establishing the Safevi State. Hence, the Safevi Order began to become Shii with the influence of the Anatolian attendants even in the time of Safiyüddin. The Sheikh's of Erdebil who realized this as the best way of establishing their state made good use of the situation.

### 3) Anatolian Disciples (*Müritletler*) in Safevi Order

It is known that there was no division like Shii-Sunni, among the Anatolian Muslims during the period of Principalities (*Beylikler Dönemi*). Although all the Muslim population of Anatolia including Bektashies had the same notion in loving Hz. Ali and Ehl-i Beyt in that time, there was no Rafidi among these people. Moreover, they were against Rafidism<sup>15</sup>. Therefore, Ibn Battuta explains that Muslims living in Anatolia were all Sunnis<sup>16</sup>. However, in Anatolia there were heterodox groups among which the Kalenderism was the most widespread one<sup>17</sup>. Considering the structure of Anatolia, Claude CAHEN suggests that by that time "*the development of mystic orders which binds the Islamic thought to the practices of religious ceremony was of great importance.*" rather than the opposition between Shia and Sunni<sup>18</sup>. Other groups which were not seen as Sunni, except Sheikh Bedreddin's riot, were welcomed by the Ottoman State from the foundation to the time of Bâyezid II and they even did not adopt bad manner against the Ottoman politically<sup>19</sup>. This peaceful period replaced with unease at the end of the XV<sup>th</sup> century when the Sheikhs of Safeviyye began to be effective in Anatolia. Particularly Shah Ismail's using his Anatolian Turcoman disciples widely in an attempt to establish the Safevi State and later his secret acts to occupy Anatolia including the whole Ottoman territory made the heterodox groups hostile to the Ottoman State. This led to several problems whose effects have continued up to now.

It was mentioned above that the relationship between the Anatolian Turcoman and the tariqa of Safeviyye began in the time of Safiyüddin. The first Turcoman group which migrated from Anatolia to Erdebil might have been from Erzincan. However, it can be said that the relationship of the Teke-ili Turcoman with the tekke of Erdebil began later, in the time of Sheikh Sadreddin. According to CENABI's writing, while Shah Ismail was in Lâhican, his attendants related him that Sheikh Sadreddin had a number of supporters in Teke-ili<sup>20</sup>. Therefore, the dialog with the attendants in Teke-ili began during the time of his successor Sheikh Sadreddin. While Hodja Ali was sheikh many Turcoman supporters who lived within the borders of the Anatolian Principalities, such as Teke-ili, Hamit and Karamanoğulları were in contact with the tekke of Erdebil<sup>21</sup>. It is suggested that the captives Turkish origin who were brought by Timur from Anatolia in 1402 and were set free with the request of Sheikh Hodja Ali were the disciples of his in these above mentioned places<sup>22</sup>. Approximately 30 thousands of these captives went back

<sup>15</sup>See Ebü'l-Hayr'ı Rumî, *Saltuk-Nâme*, III, (by Şükrü Haluk Akalın), Ankara 1990, p. 273.

<sup>16</sup>*Seyahatname*, Istanbul 1333-1335, p.310.

<sup>17</sup>Ahmet Yaşar Ocak. (1992). *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu 'nda Marjinal Süfîlik: Kalenderi/er (XIV.-XVII Yüzyıllar (Kalenderiler)*, Ankara, pp.61-85.

<sup>18</sup>*Osmanlılar 'dan Önce Anadolu 'da Türkler*, (trans. Yıldız Moran), Istanbul 1984, p.344; the same author, *Doğuşundan Osmanlı Devleti 'nin Kuruluşuna Kadar İslamiyet*, Istanbul 1990, p. 262.

<sup>19</sup>Kalenderiler even went to Europe and spied in the name of Sunni islam States in which they live. Ebü'l-Hayr'ı Rumî, *Saltuk-Nâme*, II, pp.190-191.

<sup>20</sup>*Muhtasar Târih*, Nuruosmaniye Kütüphanesi, no: 3097, p.155a.

<sup>21</sup>Hinz, *Ibid*, p. 8-9.

<sup>22</sup>Hinz, loc. Cit.

to their homelands in that time, but others staying in Erdebil joined to the tariqa of Safevi. Even though SÜMER refuses<sup>23</sup>, the importance of the role of the Turcoman from Teke-ili in other events that took place subsequently also verifies this knowledge.

The relationships between the Safevi Order and the Anatolian Turcoman improved after these events. Moreover, the fact that Sheikh Cüneyd showed interest in the Anatolian heterodoxies and visited them in the regions they lived<sup>24</sup> was importance from the view of being powerful of the tariqa and letting more people hear the project of founding a state. Cüneyd made good use of this opportunity and probably proclaiming himself as an ascendant of Hz. Ali, he explained that his aim was to establish an order state under the rules of Safeviyye. Hence, he gathered 5-10 thousand people from these regions in order to achieve his goal<sup>25</sup>. His explanations might have been seen reasonable by some of his supporters who lived inside the Ottoman borders and felt themselves uncomfortable under the rules of fiqh. Surely, if they had their own state ruled by their own Sheikh, these people would escape from the management of the others who were not thinking in the same way. They did not have any doubt that their Sheikhs would provide them with all the easiness. According to Fazlullah b. Ruzbihan, the caliphs of Cüneyd, introduced him to their disciples to have godlike characteristics<sup>26</sup> and naturally they expected Cüneyd to behave supernatural. Turcoman supporters had similar feelings for Sheikh Haydar and similar expectations from him. Sheikh Haydar using his opportunity more than his father used his Anatolian disciples for his own political ambitions and left a potential power to his son Ismail. These people were the combatant of the Safevi State founded by Shah Ismail and they were the Turcoman called as Tekelü, Karamanlu, Ustaclu, Dulgadır, Bayat and Varsaks<sup>27</sup>.

### III. THE FOUNDATION OF THE SAFEVI STATE

#### a) The relationships between Shah Ismail and the Anatolian redhead turcoman during the foundation of safevi state

The Safevi State emerged, first of all, under the leadership of Sheikh Safiyüddin and then, as a consequence of the endeavor of the other Sheikhs of the Safevi Order. However it is true that it became a political group as a result of Shah Ismail's (1487-1524) attempts. He, therefore, was accepted as the first ruler of the Safevi Dynasty dominated in Iran<sup>28</sup>.

When his brother Sultan Ali died in the battle with the ruler of Akkoyunlu Rüstem, Shah Ismail was hidden by his father's loyal supporters in and around Erdebil. With the murder of Rüstem Bey in 1497, he understood that there was no force to stand against him from the Akkoyunlu State. Using the love of Hz. Ali<sup>29</sup>, like other Safevi sheikhs before him, he wanted to gather people around him and conquered Azerbaijan while there was an opportunity. He needed a strong army to do this. He searched if it was possible to realize his goal with the help of the order only. His faithful disciples suggested their young Sheikh that he could establish a state in Iran with the help of his supporters in Teke-ili<sup>30</sup>. So, sending letters to Teke-ili Shah Ismail wanted his disciples to come to see him. Hence, in crowded groups they came to see Shah Ismail in Erzincan waiting for them<sup>31</sup>. They entered Erdebil in 1500. Occupying most of the area of Azerbaijan until 1502 Shah Ismail named as "Shah" in Tebriz.

<sup>23</sup> See Sümer, *Ibid*, p. 6-7.

<sup>24</sup> Hinz, *Ibid*, p. 16-19.

<sup>25</sup> Sümer, *Ibid*, p. 10.

<sup>26</sup> Sümer, *Ibid*, p. 13, footnote 20.

<sup>27</sup> Hinz, *Ibid*, p. 66-68.

<sup>28</sup> For his life see Tahsin Yazıcı, "*Şah Ismail*", *IA*, XI, p. 275-279.

<sup>29</sup> Kemal Paşa-Zâde. (1996). *Tevârih-i Âl-i Osman*, X. Defter (by Şerafettin Severcan), Ankara, pp.205-206.

<sup>30</sup> See Cenabi, *Muhtasar Târih*, p. 155a.

<sup>31</sup> Ibn Kemal. (1977). *Tevârih-i Âl-i Osman*, VIII. Defter, Ahmet Uğur, Ankara, pp.276-277; Solak-Zâde, *Târih*, pp.316-317.

This political event occurred in the eastern border of the Ottoman State was affected the general atmosphere of the area. The Sunni states which shared the common border with the Shii Safevi State had to take some measures against this newly born state. When Bâyezid II, the ruler of the most powerful state in the area, learned the events in Azerbaijan through his spies<sup>32</sup> he understood that there was a harmful reorganization for the Ottoman State. The moderate policy which was applied to the followers of Safevi Order formerly replaced with severe ones. (During his time the supporters of the tariqat of Safeviyye were treated severely although a moderate policy applied before.) The Iran border was closed to hinder the help of his Anatolian supporters to Shah Ismail. II. Bayezid in his edict *lemzan* to the *sancakbeyi* of Sivas explained that (in *evahir-i Zilkade* 906/ May 1501) "the Sufis of Erdebil who were taken as captives on their way to Erdebil-oğlu" were "intriguer people" and when they arrived Azerbaijan they behaved badly and they, therefore, were not permitted to pass the border, and hence were ordered to be killed<sup>33</sup>. In this edict the existence of statement as "as in the edict declared before" may reveal that the first edict about this subject had been declared before 1501, probably in 1500 and after the occupation of Erdebil it was sent to the governors of provinces (*vali*) in the border.

By the time Bâyezid II heard the news about the fact that the events in Azerbaijan was getting more vehement, he had informed *sancakbeys* about the susceptibility of the situation and sent them orders of execution like "control the Erdebil Sufis in their arrival and departure to and from the two territories". Despite all his attempts, the officials of border were disciples of Shah and let the Sufis from Anatolia to Iran pass the border in exchange of high amount of money instead of executing them<sup>34</sup>. Therefore, the connection between the *Kızılbaş* and Shah Ismail has not interrupted and furthermore their acts from Azerbaijan to the province of Karaman became more influential than before<sup>35</sup>.

When this bad condition was told to the Ottoman statesmen they took a series of measures against the passing of Safevi Sufis from another border. In his edict, Bâyezid II ordered his *sancakbeys* in the border "to keep a record about the number of captures Sufis and the number and names of the murdered ones. These must be recorded on an *official* notebook and records will be sent to himself periodically each month or every two months of the year<sup>36</sup>. As a result, the Ottoman statesmen were traced closely in order to apply the orders sent from the centre of the state.

Seeing the central government's seriousness about this subject, the *sancakbeys* might (must) have began to take more severe measures to hinder the Safevi Sufis arrival to Azerbaijan. Because, having not enough connection with his Anatolian supporters who were the origin of his army, Shah Ismail sent an envoy to the Ottoman State to explain that his aim was not establish to a state but a dervish organization<sup>37</sup>. He pleased Bâyezid II to let his disciples come to visit him. The Sultan then permitted them to visit Shah Ismail laying returning to Ottoman territory down as a condition<sup>38</sup>. Hence, the relationships between Shah Ismail and his supporters began once again.

<sup>32</sup> II. Bâyezid dönemine ait 906/1501 Tarihli Ahkâm Defteri (II. Bâyezid Ahkâm Defteri), İlhan Şahin ve Feridun Emecen, İstanbul 1994, serial no: 11, 111, 330, 453.

<sup>33</sup> II. Bâyezid Ahkâm Defteri, serial no: 27; At same date a verdict related with this subject \was sent to Prince Sultan Mahmud, see // . Bâyezid Ahkâm Defteri, serial no: 71.

<sup>34</sup> II. Bâyezid Ahkâm Defteri, serial no: 281.

<sup>35</sup> *Tâcü't-Tevârih*, II, İstanbul 1279-1280, p. 139.

<sup>36</sup> II. Bâyezid Ahkâm Defteri, serial no: 454.

<sup>37</sup> Aşık Paşa-Zâde, *Tevârih-i Âl-i Osman*, İstanbul 1332, p.269.

<sup>38</sup> Feridun, *Menşeatü's-Selâtin*, I, İstanbul 1274, pp.345-346.

### **b) The rebellions of the *Kızılbaş* Turcoman at the period of the foundation of the safevi state**

When Shah Ismail established the Safevi State, he prepared attacks on weak states along his neighbor border<sup>39</sup> and began to widen his territory. He, at the same time, applied a moderate policy to the Ottoman State. He probably might have behaved like this since he feared from the strong Ottoman army as well as thought that he would lose his *Kızılbaş* soldiers originating from Anatolia in case of bad relationships with Ottoman State. On the other hand Shah Ismail was aware that if he showed his oppositions to the Ottoman the acts of his caliphs in Anatolia would have been hindered and his source of army would die out. But if he approached peacefully to the Ottoman he could increase the number of the disciples via propagandas and when he had the opportunity he could then adjoin Anatolia to the Safevi territories. He knew that living in peace with the Ottoman State was the only way to achieve his goal. He always remembered that when Bâyezid II did not permit Shah Ismail's supporters to visit him he was in difficulty. For this reason he tried to be friendly with the Ottoman. Even taking no notice of Shahzadah Selim's infringement of the common border<sup>40</sup> he did not declare war against Ottoman although this might be a reason for war between two states. As it will be mentioned later he was right in his decision, because the untimely emergence of his caliphs caused a public opinion opposite to his Shah Ismail and this resulted in changing the Ottoman throne and Selim I became the ruler. Then what Shah was afraid of happened and he lost his chance to achieve his goal in Anatolia.

The rebellion of Shah Kulu was the first event which ruined Shah Ismail's plans and projects related to Anatolia. This rebellion which began against the Ottoman State was the turning point both for the history of the Ottoman and the Safevi, because this caused unexpected changes within both states and made a great difference in the course of history.

It was mentioned before that the relationships of the Turcoman of Teke-ili with the Sheikhs of Safeviyye went back to the early period of the State. The *Kızılbaş* Turcoman of this area had continued communicating with Erdebil uninterruptedly. This, while making the public of Teke-ili in favor of the Safevi Dynasty, made them against the Ottoman. Although modern historiographers suggest that the reason for this public opinion was financial problems this was not the real reason. The event was completely political and the happenings apart from this reason were all pretexts. The riots in the area began just after the foundation of the Safevi State. Even before the rebellion of Shah Kulu in 1501 there was a riot undertaking in Taş-ili initiated by a man called Nasûh. The directors of that region learned that attempt and by the efforts of the vali (the governor of a province) of Karaman, Shahzadah Şehinşâh, (Shehinshah) and Mesih Pasha the rebellion tried to be vanished but because of their obstinacy they were ordered to be exiled to Istanbul together with their wives and children<sup>41</sup>. Istanbul was actually of interest of the Safevi. The occurrence of the mutiny at the same time with the foundation of the Safevi State might reveal that Nasûh had relationship with Shah Ismail. On the other hand Ashik Pasha-Zade quotes that "*The Sufis who arrived to Erdebil were insulted by Bâyezid II and they were exiled to Rûm ili*". He explains that the exile after the mutiny in Taşeli occurred just after Shah's occupation of Tebriz<sup>42</sup> which was not accidental. Hence, this was the first *Kızılbaş* rebellion in the area.

<sup>39</sup>Peçevi. (1992). *Târih*, I, pp.173-174; Vecih Kevserani, *Osmanlı ve Safevîler'de Din Devlet İlişkisi*, İstanbul, pp.59-60.

<sup>40</sup> Ibn Kemal, *Ibid*, p.259; Hoca Sadeddin thinks that this is because of Shah's fear. (*Tâcü 't-Tevârih*, II, pp.257-258). Infact Shah Ismail thinks.

wisely and as a result he stands something.

<sup>41</sup> II. *Bâyezid Ahkâm Defteri*, serial no: 451-452.

<sup>42</sup> *Ibid*, p.268.

The mutiny of Shah Kulu happened 10 years later the removal of Nasûh. Shah Kulu, the son of Hasan Halife who was one of the caliphs of Sheikh Haydar, was the caliph of the Safevi order like his father<sup>43</sup>. Because of his sincerity and asceticism (zühd and takva) in Islam, Bâyezid II had been giving 6-7 thousand alms (sadaka) to him every year<sup>44</sup>. He tried to pass the border in order to initiate to Shah Ismail who found an opportunity to widen his territories from the Euphrates to the Oxus river with the help of Bâyezid II's old age and the struggle for the throne among the Shahzadahs<sup>45</sup> but was murdered by Ottoman armed forces<sup>46</sup>. Some of the rebels managed to escape and went to Iran near Shah Ismail.

The rebellion of Shah Kulu was expected neither by the Ottoman nor by the Safevi. It was interesting (astonishing) that the Ottoman statesmen began with a mystic movement in Azerbaijan, then succeeded in establishing a new state the political movement supported by Antalya and furthermore, some people went out of country for that reason. CELAL-ZADE relates this condition to the fact that the vezirs of the Ottoman by that time were untrustworthy and unaware of what was happening within the State<sup>47</sup>. Even if he was right, was it really easy to understand what the rebellious in his mind which Bâyezid II had given his alms to him because of his seeing him as a true believer earlier? This event was actually surprising for Shah Ismail too. He did not approve of this unplanned rebellion of his caliph against the Ottoman. The rebels were brutally punished by putting them into the boiling waters<sup>48</sup>. This extraordinary punishment might have been a lesson to the other supporters in order to never act without informing their Sheikh.

But things happened and there was nothing Shah Ismail could do to change the situation caused by his caliph. The Ottoman statesmen, learned men (*ulema*) and soldiers gathered around Shahzadah Selim I against the danger of the movement of *Kızılbaş* as a result of this unexpected event<sup>49</sup>. The mutiny of Shah Kulu was perceived as a chance by the Shahzadah Ahmed's partisans to bring him into the throne<sup>50</sup>. But since Shahzadah Ahmed was seen as unsuccessful in suppressing the rebellion, the path to the Ottoman throne was opened to the Selim I automatically<sup>51</sup>.

#### IV. OTTOMAN-SAFEVI RELATIONSHIPS AFTER MUTINY OF SHAH KULU III

As mentioned before, the mutiny of Shah Kulu opened a new period in the Ottoman State. It was the most important project of Selim I to remove Shah Ismail and put an end to the Safevi State.

Historians had different suggestions about the Ottoman-Safevi struggle but the most common one is the religious reasons as two States belonged to different sects: Sunni-Shii. An Iranian author Vecih KEVSERANI accepts differences in their sects as a reason in the start of the struggle besides, suggesting that the two parties were also trying to protect their economies<sup>52</sup>. To some extent, his suggestion could be accepted true only for the period after Kanunî in terms of the relations between Iran-Ottoman. When the events in the period from the foundation of the Safevi State to the battle of Chaldıran were examined in detail, it can be seen that the Ottoman tried to hinder Shah Ismail's foundation which worked against the Ottoman

<sup>43</sup> Counting on Beaudier Ocak claims this is Torlak. See *Kalenderiler*, p. 132.

<sup>44</sup> Anonim, *Tevârih-i Âl-i Osman*, (by Nihat Azamat), Istanbul 1992.

<sup>45</sup> Solak-Zade, *Târih*, p. 329.

<sup>46</sup> Şehabeddin Tekindağ. (1967-1968). Şah Kulu Baba Tekeli İsyanı. *Belgelerle Türk Tarih Dergisi*, 3-4::34-39; 54-59.

<sup>47</sup> *Selim-Nâme*, p. 51b.

<sup>48</sup> Solak-Zade, *Târih*, p. 336-338.

<sup>49</sup> Hoca Sadedin. (1280). *Selim-Nâme*, Istanbul, pp.603-604.

<sup>50</sup> Solak-Zade, *Târih*, p. 334.

<sup>51</sup> Hoca Sadedin. *Tâcü't-Tevârih*, II, pp.188-196; Çağatay Uluçay. Yavuz Selim Nasıl Padişah Old. *Târih Dergisi*, IX:53-90; X:117-142.

<sup>52</sup> *Ibid*, p. 63-68.



domination. To understand this more clearly it would be useful to stress on the measures taken by the Ottoman *Sultans*.

### 1) The Measures Taken by the Ottoman to Stop Shah Ismail's Widening his Territories

The borders of the Safevi State which was found in 1501 by Shah Ismail extended from the river Oxus (Ceyhun) to the Euphrates (Firat) within ten years. In order to convert the Sunni Muslims into the Shia, Shah Ismail began to kill people who lived widely within this area<sup>53</sup>. These people were disturbed and fed up with his violation and were expecting a hand to rescue them from this situation. The Sunni *ulema* and Sufis from Azerbaijan agreed that only the Ottoman could interfere in this violation<sup>54</sup>. The people of Bagdat were under the same oppression. The prominent people in this area agreed that only the Ottoman Sultan could rescue them<sup>55</sup>.

I. Selim was very assertive about eliminating Shah Ismail. He was brought to the throne for achieving this by his supporters<sup>56</sup>. Some preventative measures were taken against the Shii-Safevi State in this psychological atmosphere and these were put into practice. Sultan Selim also behaved badly against Shah which would not fit in a behavior of a good ruler. With this treatment he actually aimed to destroy Shah Ismail's morale and he was in fact successful. Hence Shah Ismail became weaker in his health after the victory of Chaldiran (Çaldıran)<sup>57</sup> and he died of a very young age.

The measurements of the Ottoman to stop the spread of Safevi movement may be examined in four categories:

1. Military Operation
2. Political Measurements
3. Economic Embargo
4. Cultural Reorganization

#### a) Military operation

It was mentioned above many times that Anatolia was the main source of population for Shah Ismail's spreading of his principles. His commanders in the army and authorities in the state management were among the Anatolian *Kızılbaş* Turcoman. SÜMER argues that these *Kızılbaş* Turks were also effective in Shah's policy to convert the population of Iran into Shia<sup>58</sup>. Foreseeing in 1500 that the changes in Azerbaijan would be dangerous for Ottoman, Bâyezid II had taken military measurements: He had ordered the Sivas Castle repaired and emplaced 15 *sancakbeys* in the east of Sivas along the border in order to prevent the possible Safevi attacks<sup>59</sup>. Knowing well what Shah Ismail's intention was, Sultan Selim might have looked for a way to deprive the Safevi State of such opportunities when he became the *padishah* of the Ottoman and prepared some projects for this goal. He wanted to put into effect these projects as soon as possible in order to stop the supports sent to Shah Ismail from Anatolia. When Selim I ascended the throne the first thing he did was being prepared for war on Iran<sup>60</sup>. The mutiny of Shah Kulu and the cruelty of Shah Ismail on the Sunni Muslims in the occupied lands laid the groundwork for forming a hateful milieu in the Ottoman society against the Safevi. Therefore, the whole activities in the Ottoman were related to the policy of being against to *Kızılbaş*.

<sup>53</sup>Kevserani, *Ibid*, p. 59-60.

<sup>54</sup>Hoca Sadeddin, *Ibid*, p. 605-606.

<sup>55</sup>Celâl-Zâde. (1981). *Tabakatü'l-Memâlik ve Derecâtü'l-Mesâlik*, (by Petra Kapper), Wiesbaden, pp.263a-263b.

<sup>56</sup>Hoca Sadeddin, *Tâcü't-Tevârih*, II, pp.189-190.

<sup>57</sup>Hoca Sadeddin, *Ibid*, pp.272-273.

<sup>58</sup>*Ibid*.

<sup>59</sup>Ibn Kemal, *Ibid*, pp.278-279.

<sup>60</sup>Hoca Sadeddin, *Ibid*, p. 239.

After he finished his preparations Sultan Selim walked toward Iran. In 24 August 1514 Shah Ismail's army was defeated in Chaldiran. Shah fled and saved his life.

The defeat of Chaldiran was a turning point in Shah Ismail's life. It was understood by Shah Ismail's disciples that he was not a godlike or supernatural being but he was just an ordinary person. Therefore, after this defeat the connection between Anatolian *Kızılbaş* Turcoman and Shah became lax (weaker). This beating was a good lesson for him and he came to his senses. He began to apply more moderate policy to the Sunnis living within his territories<sup>61</sup>. In brief, the defeat of Chaldiran had Shah Ismail gain the features a good ruler could have. Sultan Selim, after restricting Shah Ismail's acts in Anatolia, turned to the south-east Anatolia. He aimed to put an end to the occupation of *Kızılbaş* via collecting the *Kurdish beys* (master) around himself and to block Shah Ismail who wanted to reach Syria and Mediterranean.

South-east Anatolia was another area Shah Ismail was interested in. Shah Ismail knew that if he dominated this area he could easily get hold of Syria and then go down to Mediterranean. Noticing Shah's intention, Sultan Selim began to be curious about the region whose population was completely Sunni immediately after the victory of Chaldiran. Because of the regional struggle among the *Kurdish beys*, they could not have resisted Shah Ismail and therefore, many of their cities and villages were captured by the Safevi. After the battle of Chaldiran some of the beys gave oath (presented their devotion) to Sultan Selim but others fearing from the Shah stayed uncommitted. Idris-i Bitlisi was appointed to unite the chiefs of the tribes in the south-east Anatolia against the Safevi State and as a result of his hard work most of them gave oath to join in Sultan Selim. With the assistance of Bıyıklı Mehmed Pasha and the help of the *Kurdish beys* all the castles occupied by the Shah Ismail in the south-east Anatolia earlier were then taken over one-by-one and new governors were sent by the Ottoman to the area.<sup>62</sup> The domination of Ottoman over the southeastern Anatolia prevented Shah Ismail from going through Syria and Mediterranean once again. At the same time this prevented the infiltrating of the *Kızılbaş* to the south-east Anatolia and in Hodja Sadreddin's words "*the path of the enemy was closed*"<sup>63</sup>. Sultan Selim carried out his project about military operations after the victory of Chaldiran and Shah Ismail's removal from the south-east Anatolia because these were the first serious attempts limited the acts of Shah Ismail.

#### **b) Political measurements**

After a military superiority over the Shah, Sultan Selim made contact with the states sharing the same border with the Safevi and had some problems with them. It seems that his aim was detaining Shah in Iran and hindering him from going out of these territories.

The victory of Chaldiran also relaxed the other Sunni states, neighbors of the Safevi State. Just after this victory, the Özbek in the east part of the Caspian Sea (Khazar) took over Horasan and Herat in 1515 without any resistance which were occupied by the Shah Ismail earlier. The Özbek ruler Ubeyd Khan, sending an envoy to Istanbul (September 1515) informed the Sultan that he conquered Horasan. In those days the envoy of the Ibrahim II, the ruler of the Şirvanşah (Shirvanshah), was in Istanbul<sup>64</sup>.

These relationships with the two new Islamic states mentioned above show that Sultan Selim had adopted a common attitude with these states against the Safevi State. In this situation Shah Ismail could not have continued his widening policy in the area any more.

Sultan Selim and his successor Sultan Süleyman took measures to prevent the *Kızılbaş* movement within the Ottoman. The most important of these was the attempt of lessening the

<sup>61</sup> Hoca Sadeddin, *Ibid*, p. 305.

<sup>62</sup> Hoca Sadeddin, *Ibid*, p. 245-268; Yusuf Küçükdağ. (1994). *Vezîr-i Azam Pîri Mehmed Paşa*, (abbreviation: *Piri Paşa*), Konya, pp.39-42.

<sup>63</sup> *Ibid*, p. 299.

<sup>64</sup> Fahrettin Kırzioğlu. (1993). *Osmanlıların Kafkas Elleri Fethi, (1453-1590)*, Ankara, pp.112-114.

number of the partisans of Shah in Anatolia. Actually the first practice of this was in the time of Bâyezid II. As it was already mentioned, at the first years of Shah İsmail's appearance the partisans of Shah were expelled from Taş-ili (1501). The second banishment took place in the time of Bâyezid II. apart from the population went to Iran as a result of the mutiny of Shah Kulu<sup>65</sup> the "people who leant on Rafidi Order" and stayed in Teke and Hamid were expelled to Rumeli<sup>66</sup>. The reason for expelling them to the other side of the river far away from Iran was to cut their links with Shah İsmail. An edict was sent to border beys ordering to stop Sufis' passing to Iran<sup>67</sup>. The connection between Safevi disciples in Rumeli and Shah İsmail was cut as a result of these measures.

Sultan Selim proposed another policy for the agenda in the province of Rum: First he ordered the managers to identify the partisans of Shah İsmail and then while he murdered some of them he imprisoned others<sup>68</sup>.

During the time of Kanuni Sultan Suleyman the scope of these measures were enlarged. The main policy of the State was now being set according to the opposition of the *Kızılbaş* movement. The people who were not Sunni were called as Rafidi, zindiq and mulhid then they were punished<sup>69</sup>. However the punishments were practicing after they became stable by courts different from they were in the terms of Bayezid II and Sultan Selim.

To obstruct Iran's widening policy Ottoman considered the safety of its frontier very important. To prevent the trickles coming from Iran, Ottoman settled Sunni tribes along the Iran border<sup>70</sup>. The governors who had relations with the *Kızılbaş* were sent away<sup>71</sup>. The sancaks near the Iran border were given to the persons who did not have any relations with the *Kızılbaş*<sup>72</sup>. If the persons from the military class were identified as *Kızılbaş* by law, they were imprisoned who situated in the cities in neighboring border to Iran<sup>73</sup>. People who had relations with the persons came from Iran were never employed even in less important jobs for example trustee (mutawalli) of waqfs<sup>74</sup>. The Ottoman society became so much sensitive about this subject even a woman could denounce his husband being *Kızılbaş* and furthermore she testified against him in the court<sup>75</sup>. The court identified many persons as *Kızılbaş* in the *kazas* (subdivision of a province) like Merzifon, Çerkeş, Budaközü, Yüzdepâre and Hüseyinabad<sup>76</sup>. The Ottoman government banned the use of the books including opposite ideals to the Sunni belief by the public. When a Rafidi book was identified in the *kazas* of Çorum and Ortapâre by one of Sultan's spies called Kara Yakup, the books were ordered to be collected and sent to Istanbul and the people who had this book were punished<sup>77</sup>.

### c) Economic embargo

Since Sultan Selim determined to vanquish Shah İsmail, he was applying all methods to injure him. It was known that Shah got some opportunities by means of his followers in Anatolia. As a result of controls done at boundaries, the material aids sent from Anatolia to Iran

<sup>65</sup> Ibn Kemal, *Ihid*, pp.233-234.

<sup>66</sup> Solak-Zade, *Târih*, p. 318.

<sup>67</sup> Hoca Sadeddin, *Ibid*, pp.162-167.

<sup>68</sup> Hoca Sadeddin, *Ibid*, p.252.

<sup>69</sup> For detailed information on this subject see Ahmet Yaşar Ocak, *Osmanlı Toplumunda Zındıklar ve Mülhidler (Zındıklar ve Mülhidler)*, İstanbul 1998.

<sup>70</sup> Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi, (abbreviation: Boa), *Mühimme*, VI, serial no: 695.

<sup>71</sup> Boa, *Mühimme*, V, serial no: 1142; VI, serial no: 247.

<sup>72</sup> Boa, *Mühimme*, III, serial no: 1036.

<sup>73</sup> Boa, *Mühimme*, V, serial no: 103.

<sup>74</sup> Boa, *Mühimme*, VI, serial no: 1295.

<sup>75</sup> Boa, *Mühimme*, XII, serial no: 816.

<sup>76</sup> Boa, *Mühimme*, XII, serial no: 619, 880.

<sup>77</sup> Boa, *Mühimme*, XXXVIII, serial no: 883.

were prevented to some extent.

But in the XV<sup>th</sup> century the most important revenue of Iran was silk. Iranian silk was sent to Europe via the Tebriz-Bursa caravan-road over Mediterranean<sup>78</sup>. Imposing an embargo on Iranian silk, Sultan Selim thought to collapse the Safevi State also in terms of economy. For this reason he banned the silk trade and travel of merchants to Iran.

The reason of that Sultan Selim banned the silk trade did not only deprive of Shah Ismail from the revenue to get from silk trade. Hodja Sadeddin writes that there were also other reasons that Sultan Selim prevented going of merchants to Iran. The people disguising as a merchant were carrying war equipments and metals such as silver, iron to Iran besides the commercial goods<sup>79</sup>. According to all of these; cutting completely the relationships of the Safevi State with the world, Sultan Selim wanted that the Safevi State can't do anything in front of the Ottoman Empire.

#### d) Cultural reorganization

The most important element kept the society standing is culture. Therefore during the history states try to stand by spreading their culture in their territories. Ottoman State considered the culture important from beginning of its foundation and in conquered regions it built up a number of educational institutions suitable for the structure of its own society. These institutions are *mektep* (school), *medrese* (madrasah) and *tekke*. The first and second ones are a kind of intermediate organizations which carry out the ideology of the state because of their structure. The *muderris* (teacher) is an official who carries out the Ottoman State's ideology which depends on Islam.

Being different from *medrese*, *tekke* was a centre of various ideas suggested in. Sheikh had absolute authority on his disciples. The milieu of notion in *tekke* was developing towards its initiative and the state did not intervene to this milieu. At first, Ottoman State was more influenced by the culture of *tekke*. From XV<sup>th</sup> century on this "popular mystic" comprehension had been accepted among the public as a result of the separation of the culture that was largely about *fiqh* studied in the madrasah which began to be found at the first half of XIV<sup>th</sup> century.

The structural changing occurred in Ottoman accorded with the orders' plan. These orders were against to Ottoman ideology that adopted the love of *Ehl-i Beyt* as a principle. They collected some of the Turcoman who were unaware of the culture of madrasah in Anatolia and who had pure Islamic understanding around themselves. One of these orders was Safevi Order born in Azerbaijan and spread in Anatolia. As mentioned before the *silsile* (line of descent) of this order was reached to Ali. The Halveti Order whose *silsile* was depended on Hz. Ali likewise, became united with Safevi Order in the same origin Zâhidî Order. However, since the foundation of Halveti Order the love of *Ehl-i Beyt* was essential. Despite this they did not diverse from traditional Sunni line and did not curse to *ashâb* (friends of the Prophet Muhammed) as it was in the Shii Order. Whereas in Safevi Order, the process was different. Concerning to establish a state Safevi Sheiks used the devotion of *Ehl-i Beyt* in order to realize their political goals. They were extreme in their attitude about this subject and therefore the order started to convert into Shia increasingly until the foundation of the Safevi State.

The transformation of the Safevi Order from a tariqa to a state was of interest for the Ottoman State. Beginning from Bâyezid II padishahs felt a need for taking some cultural measurements to solve the problem. One of these measurements was the decision of putting forward an alternative propaganda against Shah's acts on Anatolian Turcomans by putting the love of *Ehl-i Beyt* in the hearts of Sunnite Muslim population which would complement the Sunnite Ottoman ideology. Therefore, having the same features Halveti Order originated from

<sup>78</sup> Halil İnalçık. (1996). *Bursa I, XV. Asır Sanayi ve Ticaret Tarihine Dâir Vesikalar, Osmanlı İmparatorluğu*. 2nd ed., İstanbul, p. 209.

<sup>79</sup> Hoca Sadeddin, *Ibid*, pp.275-277.

Azerbaijan attracted attention. At the beginning of the XVI<sup>th</sup> century a number of Halveti dervishes who could not endure the cruelty of the Safevi had moved to Anatolia or the lands dominated by the Ottoman State. Since they knew the Safevi well, they were current power for the Ottoman. They thought that these dervishes could tell the public the love of *Ehl-i Beyt* and the cruelty made by the Safevi against to Sunnis in and around the Azerbaijan. By means of this, the danger of *Kızılbaş* could be on agenda in Ottoman society so, the public became Sunni and the wholeness of the Ottoman lands could be saved thanks to Halvetis. Another difference between Halveti and Safevi Orders was that the Halveti sheiks and caliphs were graduated from *medrese* and their level of culture was high. They were also popular persons. Most of them were teachers (*muderris*) in the madrasahs lectured on *tefsir* and *hadith*. Some of them were poets, literary men, composers and they served to the Turkish culture. Apart from preventing the propagandas of the disciples of Safevi Order the Ottoman must have planned to make the public adopt the madrasah originated culture which was started at the first half of XIV<sup>th</sup> century. With the support of the state Halveti sheikhs adopted the Ottoman's policy which aimed to make the public become Sunni. Furthermore, they were the leaders of this struggle.

The spread of the Halveti Order among the Anatolian Principalities and the Ottoman State was not new. Çelebi Halife / Sheikh Mehmed Cemâli (died in 1497 -1498), the founder of the biggest branch of the Halveti Order, Cemâliyye, met to Bâyezid II while he was a governor of Amasya. When Bâyezid ascended the throne he invited Çelebi to Istanbul. Halveti Order became a current issue in political milieus after Çelebi Halife settled in Istanbul, namely, Bâyezid II ascended the throne.

In the earlier times the relationships of the Halveti Order with the state were no more than a relationship of sheikh-disciple between Bâyezid II and Çelebi Halife. Nevertheless, Çelebi Halife's staying in Istanbul for a while is of importance with respect to Ottoman's political life. Because this period might be accepted as a passing progress for the admission of Halveti Order by the Ottoman padishah and statesmen. If the members of this order who have taken the love of Ehl-i Beyt as the basis in their activities made a connect with Ottoman State when the Safevi have appeared they might have problems in describing themselves to the community with Ottoman statesmen due to some joint features between two tariqas. Because the tariqa of Halvetiyye was not known exactly among the sufi neighborhood of Istanbul before Çelebi Halife, caliphs of this tariqa were not responded well<sup>80</sup>. Çelebi Halife changed the wrong opinions about the tariqa of Halvetiyye with his coherent attitudes in the chamber of belief of Ehl-i Sunnet at the tekke allocated for him in Istanbul. This was accepted as an advantage for the Ottoman State. Because when resisting the *Kızılbaş* propagandas of the Safevi with Halvetiyye was mentioned, no difficulty occurred and a group of mystics were ready to take their places in this field.

The son of Piri Mehmed Pasha became *vezir-i azam* in the period of Selim I was nephew, the famous Sheikh of Halvetiyye Cemal Halife was uncle of Zenbilli Ali Cemâli Efendi appointed to the *şeyhülislam* in the period of Bâyezid II, who is from the family of Çelebi Halife called also as Cemâli at Ottoman society because of their grandfather Cemâleddin-i Aksarayî<sup>81</sup>. These people knew that making Turcoman become Shii by means of Safevi Order, Shah İsmail aimed to include Anatolia to Safevi State. The members of the tariqa of Halvetiyye therefore supported the side of Selim I following a policy against Shah İsmail and helped him in obtaining the throne. Sultan Selim knowing the members of this family mentioned before closely was always in contact with Piri Mehmed Pasha from the beginning of his sultanate, benefited from ideas of Pasha and in his voyage of Egypt Sultan Selim appointed him to *vezir-i azam*<sup>82</sup>. Hence the highest positions in Ottoman State were given to the people opposition to Shah İsmail. It was

<sup>80</sup> Cami. (1270). *Nefehâtü'l-Üns*, İstanbul,, p.463; Hulvi, *Lemezât*, pp.169a-169b.

<sup>81</sup> Yusuf Küçükdağ. (1995). II. *Bâyezid, Yavuz ve Kanunî Dönemlerinde Cemâli Ailesi, (Cemâli Ailesi)*, İstanbul.

<sup>82</sup> Küçükdağ, *Piri Paşa*, pp.38-39.

understood that this change caused to be mentioned this subject that the Halveti played an effective role in the lands of Ottoman State. As it will see below, after all of these the number of the Halvetiyye *tekkes* were increased in Ottoman country.

Until the period of Selim I, the first and only Halvetiyye *tekke* allocated for Çelebi Halife in the period of Bâyezid II in Istanbul was the Hankah of Koca Mustafa Pasha. Within the policy started in the period of Sultan Selim, organizing the Halvetiyye in the lands of Ottoman and giving importance the Halvetiyye against the Safevi *tekke* and *zaviyes* were built by the statesmen especially in Istanbul, in the lands of Balkans, Anatolia, Arab and wealthy waqfs were allocated for these places.

The centre of the Halvetiyye organization in the Balkans was the Hankah of Koca Mustafa Pasha stated that it is in Istanbul. Connecting with this hankah many *tekkes* were opened in the cities and towns of Rumeli; the caliphs of the Cemâliyye, a branch of the tariqa of Halvetiyye, sent from center were sent to these *tekkes* and they maintained their facilities in the frame of mission that the Ottoman State commissioned on them<sup>83</sup>.

Vezir-i azam Piri Mehmed Pasha gave three *tekkes* built in Istanbul to one of the famous Halveti Sheikh Cemâl Halife/Cemâleddin Ishâk-i Karamani<sup>84</sup>. The number of the *tekkes* were increased in the time of *Kanunî* hence, Halveti Order became the most powerful and widespread tariqa in Istanbul.

There were a number of supporters of Sheikh Cemal Halife in Anatolia and Ibrahim-i Gülşenî's supporters in Egypt who escaped from the violence of *Kızılbaş* in Azerbaijan. The Halveti were supported and respected by the Ottoman sultans and statesmen. It is known that after the Safevi Order was converted into Shii and used mysticism at the direction of political goals Selim I had actually doubted about all orders. However the Halveti author Yusuf b. Yakup mentions in his writing that after Selim conquered Egypt he began to visit Çelebi Halife's son-in-law Sünbül Efendi, the Sheikh of the *tekke* of Koca Mustafa Pasha<sup>85</sup>. Seeing his son Süleyman's relationship with the Sheikh of the Halveti Order Merkez Efendi during his governorship of Manisa<sup>86</sup>, it can be said that Selim I trusted and respected the notables of this tariqa.

It is also referred in the sources to the fact that having grown in Halveti education Sultan Süleyman appreciated the sheikhs of this order and considered them as blessed persons<sup>87</sup>.

After Selim I and his son Sultan Süleyman, the relationships between the Halveti sheikhs and the Ottoman padishahs were improved. ATAI relates that Selim II initiated to Sheikh Süleyman Amidî from the Halveti Order and sometimes he recalled the Sheikh to the palace to listen him<sup>88</sup>. Sheikh Şücaeddin was the Sheikh of Murad III. The padishah initiated to this Sheikh and listened his speeches. Sheikh was therefore called as "*Hünkar Şeyhi*" (the Sheyh of Sultan)<sup>89</sup>. ATAI also mentions that Sultan Murad had conversed with other Halveti Sheikhs. These were Sheikh Şaban<sup>90</sup> and Sheikh Cafer<sup>91</sup>. From the Ottoman dynasty there were also women members who initiated to the Halveti Order. For instance, Shah Sultan, wife of Lütfi Pasha was the disciple of Sheikh Yakup Efendi, the Sheikh of Halveti Order. She had a mosque and a hankah built in the neighborhood of Davud Pasha<sup>92</sup>.

<sup>83</sup> For the situation of Halvetiyye in the Balkans see Nathalie Clayer, *Mystiques, Etat et Societe*, Leiden 1994.

<sup>84</sup> These are Soğukkuyu Tekkesi at Zeyrek, Koruklu and Sütlüce Tekkeleri at Çapa. Küçükdağ, *Cemâli Ailesi*, pp.81-104.

<sup>85</sup> *Menâkıb-ı Şerif ve Tarikat-âme-i Pîrân ve Meşâyih-i Târikat-ı Aliyye-i Halvetiyye*, Istanbul 1290, pp.35-36; 43-44.

<sup>86</sup> Yusuf b. Yakub, *Ibid*, p. 48-49.

<sup>87</sup> Atai. (1268). *Zeyl-i Şakayik*, İstanbul, pp.204-207; Yusuf Yakub, *ibid*, pp.68-69.

<sup>88</sup> *Zeyl-i Şakayik*, p. 223, 340.

<sup>89</sup> Atai, *Zeyl-i Şakayik*, p.364.

<sup>90</sup> Atai, *Zeyl-i Şakayik*, p.371.

<sup>91</sup> Atai, *Ibid*, pp. 604-605.

<sup>92</sup> Yusuf b. Yakub, *Ibid*, pp.63-64.

That the Halveti stayed Sunni principles against Kızılbaş movement also provided that closer relationships were established between *ulema* graduated from *medrese* and the members of this tariqa. Likewise Ibn Kemal and Ebussuud Efendi<sup>93</sup> supporting orthodoxism against the propagandas of the Safevi and struggling with all kind of tariqas except from Ehl-i Sunnet in the Ottoman State showed close interest to the Halveti<sup>94</sup>. Kemal Pasha-Zade gave a date in a writing on Sünbül Efendi's death day. And Ebussuud Efendi had the funeral pray of Merkez Efendi done<sup>95</sup>.

In the middle of the sixteenth century when the state authority was lessened over the people the Halveti sheikhs and disciples played an important role to provide the loyalty of the population towards the State and Sunni principles. The people who had initiated to the tariqa of Safeviyye did not stop to miss Iran but was lessened as a result of the acts of Halveti Order. The Ottoman State reached to the Sunni public who were shocked with the Safevi propagandas via Halveti Order widely and made them conscious of shi'ism.

#### e) The results of the measures taken against the Safevi State

The measures taken against Shah İsmail by the Ottoman Sultans in order to preserve the unity of the state and ensure political stability were not applied as had been planned earlier. So the Safevi State could not vanish from the world as it was claimed at the beginning. In spite of lots of battles on Iran the opposite side, the Safevi State, reconquered the lands occupied by the Ottoman armies. The reason of this was that the Ottoman did not take the security measures in time. Indeed; although Sultan Selim conquered Tebriz, he receded the area without leaving any soldier there and then entering Tebriz without encountering any resistance, Shah İsmail enthroned.

The fault of janissaries was very big in the evaluation of the victory of Çaldıran wrongly. Living the winter in Azerbaijan after Çaldıran, Sultan Selim thought to end completely the problem of Shah İsmail. Yet janissaries insisted on turning back to Istanbul<sup>96</sup>. However before the battle started, everything should have been estimated thoroughly, the soldiers being voluntary to spend the winter in conquered area should have been assigned and certain necessity economic opportunities should have been ensured for them. The commander of these also should have been chosen among the people knowing that territory well. In the XVII<sup>th</sup> century the mistakes in the application of the military operations over Iran were understood by the statesmen of the Ottoman but it was too late to get the result wished<sup>97</sup>. However, during the victory of Çaldıran the people of Azerbaijan have not adopted the Kızılbaş principles yet and so they met the arrival of Ottoman army to Azerbaijan with pleasure<sup>98</sup>. But by disappointing they were left again to the Shah's mercy. Missing of this first opportunity was caused to change in the balances as time goes on and because the people of Azerbaijan became Shii the battles on this area never concluded successfully.

Like the military measures, political measures also did not conclude with the expected results. As mentioned above in spite of all the attempts, the connection of the people or groups called as Kızılbaş with Iran still continued less than in the past. Despite all measures taken, immigration of public to Iran couldn't be prevented. That the group of Çepni in the town of Kürtün was sympathizer of the Kızılbaş, that some of these people moved to Iran after the treaty with Iran and some others will move was identified and informed to the center by Süleyman

<sup>93</sup> Ocak, *Zındıklar ve Mülhidler*, p.119.

<sup>94</sup> Yusuf b. Yakub, *Ibid*, pp.44-45.

<sup>95</sup> Yusuf b. Yakub, *Ibid*, p.6.

<sup>96</sup> Infact Sultan Selim would live the winter in Azerbaijan. When he understood that he couldn't hold janissaries here, he receded to Amasya and lived the winter here. See Küçükdağ, *Piri Mehmed Paşa*, pp.25-33.

<sup>97</sup> Yaşar Yücel. (1988). *Osmanlı Teşkilâtına Dair Kaynaklar*, Ankara, pp.122-125.

<sup>98</sup> Hoca Sadeddin, *Ibid*, pp.221-223.

Bey, the Bey of Trabzon<sup>99</sup>.

Namely the Safevi State maintained its effect on the Anatolian Turcoman less than in the past. The allies of the Ottoman State could not keep their existence against to the Safevi State either. The Shirvansahs were united with the Safevi State in the time of Shah Ismail and then their land was annexed directly by Iran<sup>100</sup>. The Özbek could not display the expected performance. Therefore the Ottoman State had to struggle with the Safevi State alone for a long time.

The economic measures of Sultan Selim against to Shah Ismail couldn't carry on for along time. Even Selim was alive this ban was broken by the merchants<sup>101</sup> and was abolished completely in the time of Sultan Suleyman.

That the Ottoman State organized the Halveti Order to spread all over the country did not bring an end to the Shi'ism, but it ensured by means of this tariqa -and also the other Sunni tariqas- that Sunni public side of medrese culture not affected by Shi'ism policy of the Safevi Order became -within the standards assigned by Ottoman State- conscious.

## CONCLUSION

In the second half of the XIV<sup>th</sup> century the Safevi Order, arising as an appearance of a Sunni tariqa, infact was a religious-political organization forming a substructure to establish a state for the Safevi family. The real face of the tariqa became clear with the attitudes chancing according to political events which have developed since the very first Sheikh, but when they understood they couldn't reach the target they stepped back. Evaluating the political gap in the last years of XV<sup>th</sup> century in Azerbaijan well, Shah Ismail realized about 200-year-old-dream of the Safevi dynasty: to found a state. The Safevi family using the Shi'ism and the love of Ehl-i Beyt as a means used also the Turcoman having a simple comprehension of Islam in Anatolia and living this without disturbing anybody for their political aims by making them exploitation of belief. After they provoked the Ottoman State, they left the Turcoman alone with their fate against oppressive power of this state and caused to feel unusual pains.

Founding the state in its dreams, the Safevi dynasty understood the impossibility of governing the state with the rules of a tariqa and they reformed the cadres of the state and the army according to the Shii fiqh rules. The Anatolian Kızılbaş Turcoman Beys still wanting not to abolish the tariqa rules and to be effective as in the past were removed from the cadres of the state and the army because it was thought they couldn't adopt the new formation. Afterwards the Safevi State turned to a form giving importance the Acem culture. The measures taken by Ottoman State to break the relationships between the members of the Safevi Order in Anatolia and the Shah Ismail did not give an expected result. However the relationships between these two sides died down and Shah Ismail's ideal to add the Anatolia to the Iranian land was dispelled. The struggle between these two states caused to so many death. Yet the Anatolian Shii Turcoman, cut their relationships between Shah Ismail, kept their traditional sufi form that they belonged to it since the XIV<sup>th</sup> century until republic term as a result of the fact that they were away from the degeneration of the Shii fiqh rules in Iran and they also closed themselves to the medrese education. That they have maintained their original life style untill the very late centuries is an important gain for Turkey in terms of its culture wealth.

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<sup>99</sup> Boa, *Mühimme*, V, serial no: 1401.

<sup>100</sup>W. Barthold. *Şirvan. IA*, XI, pp.571-573.

<sup>101</sup> Hoca Sadeddin, *Ibid*, pp.277-278.



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