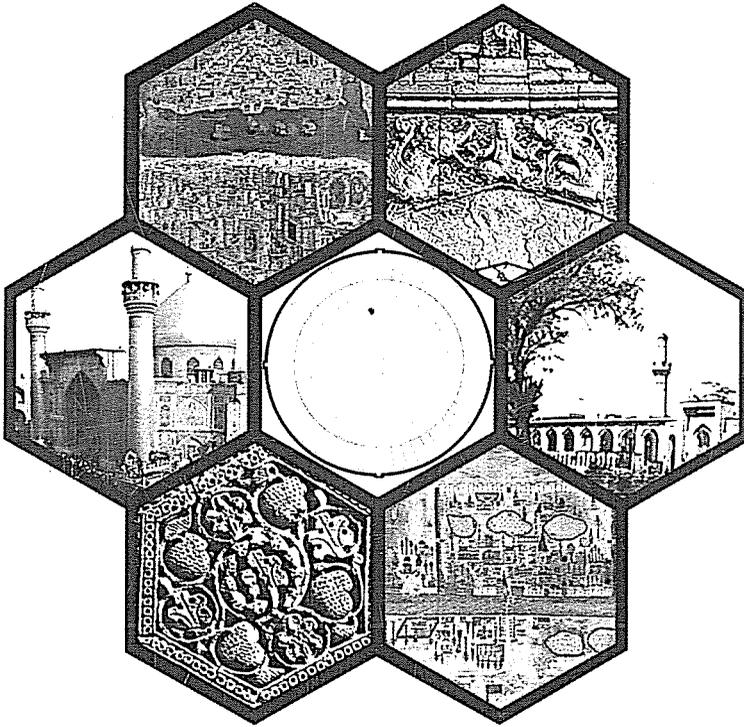


İSLAM MEDENİYETİNDE
BAĞDAT
(MEDİNETÜ'S-SELÂM)
ULUSLARARASI SEMPOZYUM

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Ümraniye
Belediyesi

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Marmara University, Faculty of Theology, Department of Islamic History and Arts

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İSLAM MEDENİYETİNDE BAĞDAT (MEDÎNETÜ'S-SELÂM) ULUSLARARASI SEMPOZYUM

INTERNATIONAL SYMPOSIUM ON
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THE QUESTION OF BAGHDAD IN THE COURSE OF THE OTTOMAN-SAFAVID RELATIONS ACCORDING TO SAFAVID NARRATIVE SOURCES

Assist. Prof. Kioumars GHEREGHLOU

I. Historical Background

With Baghdad as its metropolitan center, the Arabian Iraq (*Iraq-i 'Arab*), so termed by the medieval Muslim geographers to be distinguished from its homonymous piece of land in central Iran, experienced a cyclical period of political decentralization and economic decline over the time spanning between the extinction of the caliphate in the latter half of the twelfth century and the Ottoman domination early in the sixteenth century.¹ As the regionalization of politics prevailed in the defunct Ilkhanid Empire after the death of Ilkhan Abu Said in 1336, Baghdad became the capital of the Jalayirid principality, which was to extend its rule out of there over most of the western half of Iran. With the advent of Timur Barlas (r. 1370-1405) and his relentless military operations in the central lands of Islamic world, however, the Jalayirids as well as their Qaraqyunlu rivals lost their territorial hegemony both in Azerbaijan and Arabian Iraq.² Out of this precarious situation, in post-Timur era only the Qaraqyunlu were able to re-establish their mastery in western Iran.

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¹ For an overview of this turbulent period of Iraqi history, see Jean Aubin, "Irak, History (c) 1258-1534" *Encyclopaedia of Islam*² 3: 1256a-7a; and 'Abbas al-'Azzawi, *Ta'rikh al-'Iraq bayn ihtilalayn* (Baghdad 1939), vols. II & III.

² On the Jalayirids, see Patrick Wing, "The Jalayirids and the Dynastic State Formation in the Mongol Ilkhanate," Ph.D. dissertation, University of Chicago, 2007.

For the time of this era, the Arabian Iraq continued to be fought over between several hostile forces: plus the Qaraqyunlu, the messianic militant movement of the Musha'sha' in Khuzistan, Timurids of central and eastern Iran, and the Aqqyunlu confederation had conflicting territorial claims over the province of Arabian Iraq.

By the middle of the fifteenth century, however, the Aqqyunlu were consolidating their sway over the central parts of Iran: led by Qara 'Usman (d. 1435), they had evolved from a peripheral tribal confederation into an independent principality.³ In 1457, Uzun Hasan, having already staged a rebellion against his brother Jahangir, won the Battle on the Tigris and then embarked upon the baffling task of converting this principality into an Empire. Under Uzun Hasan (1457-1478), the Aqqyunlu military power and expansionism reached its zenith, being recognized in a vast territory from the confines of Timurid Khurasan to Baghdad and Anatolian homeland of the confederation. As far as concerns with the province of Arabian Iraq, posterior to the death of Jahanshah Qaraqyunlu, the Aqqyunlu's archenemy, in 1467 at the Battle of Muş, and subsequent disintegration of the Qaraqyunlu confederation, the Uzun Hasan initially was able to win the fealty of the Alpavut Turkmans, a Qaraqyunlu confederate clan, who ruled over Baghdad under Jahanshah, but due to the Alpavut's refusal to surrender the city to Uzun Hasan the conquest of Baghdad postponed for a while. Later in 1469, however, Baghdad was finally seized by the Aqqyunlu.⁴

Throughout the fifteenth century, the province of Azerbaijan remained the axe of gravity of the sociopolitical life in Turkmen polities. The appange system of the Aqqyunlu administration evidently testifies the fact that the provinces of Fars and Persian Iraq were ranked second in importance only after Tabriz both administratively and militarily. These two provinces, moreover, were the homes of landed notable families of administrators whose collaboration with local and regional governments proved to be a vital prerequisite for the survival of any political order in post-Mongol period of Iranian history. As an established administrative practice, in both Qaraqyunlu and Aqqyunlu regimes the potential candidates of the throne were appointed either to Persian Iraq or Fars. Thus, the province of Arabian Iraq, like the way the province of Kirman functioned for Persian Iraq and Fars, was serving as a military base for the military ventures of central authority in Azerbaijan and

³ John E. Woods, *The Aqqyunlu: Clan, Confederation, Empire* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1999), 54-7.

⁴ Woods, *The Aqqyunlu*, pp.96-100.

eastern Anatolia under the Turkmen dynasties. The uneasy relations between the Aqqyunlu rulers and semi-autonomous Kurdish centers of northern Iraq, and the Aqqyunlu-Ottoman rivalry over central Anatolia lend much credence to this assumption. Throughout the Turkmen intermezzo, Arabian Iraq indeed used to be considered as a major border garrison against either Ottoman incursions or Kurdish insubordination. Furthermore, soon after Sultan Yaqub's (r. 1478-1490) death when the Aqqyunlu confederate clans plunged into a series of bitter civil wars between various pretenders of the throne, the function of Baghdad as a fount of military support was more underlined. It was during the reign of Yaqub that the province was allotted to one of the most titled clans of the Aqqyunlu confederation, the Purnak, which was also the chief of the right wing of the Aqqyunlu tribal army.⁵ The Purnak rule over Baghdad lasted till the first decade of the sixteenth century and proved to be of crucial importance during the devolution of the Aqqyunlu for one of the endmost pretenders of the Bayandur throne, Sultan Murad b. Yaqub (d. 1514).

II. Safavid Occupation of Baghdad, 1508-1534

In parallel with the violent struggles between the various Aqqyunlu tribal juntas late in the fifteenth and early in the sixteenth century, the Qizilbash disciples of Safavid Shaykh/Shah Ismail I (r.1501-1524) were repositioning their military organization in Azerbaijan and eastern Anatolia.⁶ Recruited mostly from among the nomadic Turkmen of Anatolia, Syria, Caucasus, and Azerbaijan, the Qizilbash "ghazis" took over the administrative center of Azerbaijan, Tabriz, extended their sway to the former possessions of the Sharvanshahid dynasty, and founded a new dispensation in Azerbaijan. Having removed the last vestiges of the Aqqyunlu authority in western Iran, Shah Ismail then devoted his attention to Persian Iraq and its urban centers such as Qazvin, Qum, Kashan, and Isfahan, which were the cradles of prominent families of administrators. In the wake of the occupation of the Persian Iraq in 1503, during which the Qizilbash armies did not face with no organized resistance on the part of the local population, at the end of the same year, the

⁵ Woods, *The Aqqyunlu*, p.195.

⁶ Masashi Haneda, *Le Châh et les Qizilbaş: Le Système Militaire Safavide* (Berlin: Klaus Schwarz Verlag, 1987), pp.62-6; Jean Aubin, "L'avènement des Safavides reconsidéré (Etudes safavides III)," *Moyen Orient & Océan Indien* 5 (1988), pp. 28-36; for a discussion on the oligarchic nature of the Qizilbash *uymaq* system as "a closed class group," see Martin B. Dickson, "Shah Tahmasb and the Uzbeks: The Duel for Khorasan with 'Ubayd Khan 930-946/1524-1540," Ph.D. dissertation, Princeton University 1958, pp.6-8.

city of Shiraz, formerly under the control of the Purnak military chiefs, welcomed the teenage Safavid Shah and his disciples.⁷ Likewise, by the end of 1504, central parts of Persian Iraq, all of Azerbaijan, and northern hinterlands of Persian Gulf had easily been subjugated by the Safavid Qizilbash. These conquests were at the first place direct result of Shah Ismail's attempts to extinct Aqquyunlu rule in Iran. Despite these achievements, however, two Aqquyunlu princes, Alvand b. Yusuf and Murad b. Yaqub, were still alive, taking asylum respectively with the Purnak chiefs of Baghdad and Muwsillu military elites of Diyar Bakr.

According to Khwandmir (d. 1536) who wrote his chronicle in the eastern province of Khurasan, when Ismail and the paramount team of the Qizilbash military chiefs (also known as "Sufis of Lahijan"⁸) were camped in Hamadan for the autumn of 1503, they learned of Murad's flight to the court of 'Ala' al-Dawla Zu'l-Qadr in southern Anatolia.⁹ In fact, Murad, after his venture to make of Shiraz a base of the Aqquyunlu resistance turned to a doomed failure, had escaped from there with a Purnak military chief, Barik Beg, to Baghdad. A year earlier, in 1502, Baghdad had also hosted temporarily the most prominent Aqquyunlu fugitive from the Qizilbash, Alvand (d. 1504-5), who eventually took refuge in the Diyar Bakr region.¹⁰ In any event, as the case of Alvand, with the Qizilbash advance-guards' headway toward Baghdad, Murad and the military governor of Baghdad, Barik Beg Purnak, took refuge with 'Ala' al-Dawla Zu'l-Qadr in Maraş,¹¹ and the Qizilbash became the undisputable masters of Arabian Iraq.

⁷ For the sequence of these conquests, see Ghiyath al-Din Khwandmir, *Tarikh-i Habib al-Siyar fi Akhbar-i Afrad-i Bashar* (Tehran, 1954), 4: pp.471-81; Ibrahim Amini, *Futuhāt-i Shahi*, ed. M. R. Nasiri (Tehran, 2004), pp.185-230; Yahya Sayfi Qazvini, *Lubb al-Tavarikh* (Tehran, 1984), pp.396-401; and Ghulam Sarwar, *History of Shah Isma'il Safawi* (Aligarh: Muslim University, 1939), pp.44-54.

⁸ Jean Aubin, "Révolution chiite et conservatisme: Les soufis de Lâhejân, 1500-1514 (Etudes safavides II)," *Moyen Orient & Océan Indien* 1 (1984), pp. 1-40.

⁹ Khwandmir, *Habib al-Siyar*, 4, p. 492; his report is confusing since he did not mention Murad's flight from Shiraz to Baghdad, and by this omission, implicitly points out this Aqquyunlu pretender's escape from Fars to the Zu'l-Qadr principality. Khwandmir's narrative on this specific point does not corroborate with any other Safavid chronicles, even his friend and contemporary, Amini's *Futuhāt*.

¹⁰ Sarwar, *Shah Isma'il*, p. 44, who mistakenly claims that Qasim Beg Bayandur's threats against Alvand's power was instrumental in his flight from Baghdad to Diyar Bakr; while according to Woods, *The Aqquyunlu*, p.165, Qasim Beg Bayandur was at that time ruler of Diyar Bakr, not Baghdad.

¹¹ Refet Yınanç, *Dulkadir Beyliği* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1989), p.91.

It seems that the age-long Sunnite-Shiite sectarianism prevailed in Arabian Iraq was of crucial role in the ultimate domination of the Safavids over Baghdad. While the Sunnite community of Baghdad may have been frightened of the grievous consequences of Qizilbash triumph, the Shiite inhabitants of the city were hopeful to assume key positions in the Safavid administration of Arabian Iraq. Caught in a hazardous situation, the Aqqyunlu inhabitants of Baghdad represented by Murad and Barik Beg tried to negotiate a peaceful solution. In spite of initial progress of negotiations, resulting tentatively to Barik Beg's formal conversion to the Qizilbash Shiism through wearing the Qizilbash crown (*taj*),¹² Shah Ismail accused the Aqqyunlu governors of the province to hypocrisy and thus negotiations remained aborted.¹³ Among the Shiite elite of Baghdad, the Kamuna Sayyid household¹⁴ which had the hereditary office of the *Naqib al-Ashraf* (chief of the Prophet's descendants) in Najaf was among the staunch partisans of the Safavid cause in Arabian Iraq. Sayyid Muhammad Kamuna, the *Naqib* of Najaf and the preeminent member of this

¹² For the importance of the Qizilbash *taj* and its confessional connotations see M. B. Dickson and S. C. Walch, *The Houghton Shahnamah* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1981), 1: p.30.

¹³ Khwandmir, *Habib al-siyar*, 4: p.492; Amini speaks of Barik Beg's preparations for his coming confrontation with the Qizilbash army amid the peace negotiations, see *Futuhāt*, p.291. Hasan Rumlu does not mention the causes working behind the Safavid campaign against Arabian Iraq shortly after Barik Beg's formal reorganization of Safavid supremacy, see *Ahsan al-Tavarikh*, ed. A. H. Nava'i (Tehran, 2005), p.1031; Budaq Munshi Qazvini, *Javahir al-akhbar*, ed. M. Bahramnejad (Tehran, 1999), p.124; Abdi Beg Navidi Shirazi, points out Shah Ismail's remarks about the hypocrisy of Barik Beg, see *Takmilat al-akhbar*, ed. A. H. Nava'i (Tehran, 1990), p.47; and a similar account in Qazi Ahmad Ghifari Qazvini, *Tarikh-i Jahanara* (Tehran, 1964), p.271.

¹⁴ al-'Azzawi, *Ta'rikh*, 3: p.354 identifies the original form of this name as Kamka. This family later kept serving the Safavids and a branch of them chose to settle in the province of Kirman with the Ustajlu clan early in the sixteenth century. Sayyid Nasir, the grandson of Sayyid Muhammad was in 1526 at the service of the former Ustajlu governor of Kirman and during the wars of the Qizilbash coalitions followed after the death of Shah Isma'il, had been arrested by the Ottomans. The Ottoman governor of Diyar Bakr's report on his identity and confessions (document E. 7059, Topkapı Sarayı Palace Archives) has been reproduced in Jean-Louis Bacqué-Grammont, "Un document Ottoman sur la révolte des Ostâğlû," *Studia Iranica* 6 (1977), pp. 169-184. For the Iraqi branch of the Kamunh Sayyids, see details in Muhammad Hasan Aqa Buzurg Tihriani, *Tabaqat a'lam al-shi'a: al-rowzat al-nazara fi 'ulama' al-mi'at al-hadia 'ashara* (Beirut, 1990), pp. 232, 412, and 607 concerning members of this family who occupied high capacities in the administration of the shrine city of Karbala.

family was arrested and incarcerated because of his pro-Safavid inclinations on the eve of the Qizilbash intrusion.¹⁵

Barik Beg and Murad being in flight towards Aleppo, the Safavid army entered the city in 20 Jumada I 914 and discharged Sayyid Muhammad from prison. He then reinstated in his previous office, assumed at the same time the post of superintendent of the holy shrine of Najaf, and members of his family were given administrative positions in Safavid local and central bureaucracy. It was Sayyid Muhammad who proclaimed in the congregational mosque of Baghdad the name of Shah Ismail in the Friday prayer sermons.

During his short stay in Baghdad, Ismail resided in the former Qaraqyunlu royal buildings in the *chahar-bagh* of Pir Budaq b. Jahanshah Qaraqyunlu. Then he witnessed the execution of the Aqqyunlu inhabitants of Baghdad while he was punting over the Tigris. The number of victims was so huge that, according to the account of Sayfi Qazvini, the water of Tigris turned to blood.¹⁶ Then, the Safavid army suppressed Arab tribes of Iraq and Shah himself visited the holy shrines of the province, including the shrine of Imam Musa al-Kazim, the alleged sacral ancestor of the Safavid house, where he ordered the erection of a new mausoleum (*zarih*) over Imam's grave.¹⁷ Furthermore, Shah endowed golden chandlers and silky drapes and carpets to shrines of Najaf and Karbala. In Najaf, Shah also issued orders for the reconstruction of the old irrigation canal of the city which dated from the Ilkhanid period.

¹⁵ Khwandmir, *Habib al-Siyar*, 4: p.493; Amini, *Futuhat*, p.291; and Sayfi Qazvini, *Lubb*, p.406. All contemporary Safavid chroniclers give similar account about the role of Sayyid Muhammad Kamuna.

¹⁶ Sayfi Qazvini, *Lubb*, pp.405-406; Amini, *Futuhat*, pp.299-300; and Rumul, *Ahsan al-tavarikh*, p.1032. It should be noted that other Safavid chroniclers have totally overlooked the massacre of the Bayandur inhabitants of Baghdad, let alone disinterment of Abu Hanifa's body. The executor of Shah's order in this regard was Khulafa Beg Qaramanlu, who has already been appointed to the governorship of Baghdad early in Rajab 914. Idris Bedlisi, *Selim-Name*, ms. B.N.F Paris, Persan 275, f. 95b, in his account of the massacre of the Bayandur denizens of Baghdad, has Khulafa Beg likened to a bloodthirsty predator (quoted in Aubin, "Soufis," 26 note 43). According to Khurshah b. Qubad al-Husayni, *Tarikh-i ilchi-yi Nizamshah*, eds. M. R. Nasiri and K. Haneda (Tehran, 2000), p.35, who is a foreign chronicler, however, Div Sultan Rumlu executed the massacre in Baghdad during which the bodies of the victims were piled up in the Tigris so that the water of the river was spoiled. The same chronicler has mentioned the exhumation of the tomb of Abu Hanifa in Baghdad by the Qizilbash; they excavated deep the tomb and converted it to the public latrine (Khurshah, *Tarikh-i ilchi*, pp.36-7).

¹⁷ Khwandmir, *Habib al-siyar*, 4: p.496; Amini, *Futuhat*, pp.301-5; and Budaq, *Javahir*, p.124. These Safavid narrative sources do mention of Shah's visits to Najaf, Karbala, Samarra, Kazimayn near Baghdad, and the grave of Salman-i Farsi.

Moreover, he endowed the farmlands and revenues of some villages in Arabian Iraq to the shrines of Najaf and Karbala.¹⁸

Unfortunately, little is known about the Safavid administration of the province of Arabian Iraq. According to a Safavid document listing the military fiefs of the Qizilbash military commanders throughout the Safavid territory from 1508 to 1513, however, Shah Ismail had levied for himself the sum of 30 *tuman* from the revenues of the province of Arabian Iraq in the first year of Abu'l-Mansur Khadim Beg Khalifat al-Khulafa's (d. 1514) governorship in Baghdad.¹⁹ Taking into consideration the organizational tasks of the office of Khalifat al-Khulafa (locum tenent of the Safavid Shaykh/Shah in terms of ritual affairs) of the Safavid Sufi order who was responsible for communicating adherents of the Safavid order abroad with the Safavid spiritual leaders in Azerbaijan,²⁰ it seems that Baghdad under the governorship of Khulafa Beg has been functioned as a relay post for the Safavid propaganda among the local population of the adjacent regions of northern Iraq, Syria, and Anatolia.

According to the data given in the aforementioned document, between the years 1508 and 1513, the revenues allotted to Shah Ismail from the province of Arabian Iraq raised to 59 *tuman* and 2,000 *dinar* in 1511.²¹ In addition, according to an Ottoman intelligence report drafted by one of Selim I's trusted agents in Trebizond, Baghdad was the garrison of a Safavid border army, ready to block any Ottoman incursion.²² However, Khadim Beg who was among the most high-ranking military officials of the Safavid regime during

¹⁸ Khurshah, *Tarikh-i ilchi*, p.36.

¹⁹ Topkapi Sarayi Palace Archives, document E. 1071. This list seemingly has been captured by the Ottomans in the Battle of Chaldiran from among the Shah's treasury. I am thankful to Professor John E. Woods from the University of Chicago for providing me with a copy of this document. I am indebted also to Mr. Hussein-zadeh from Astan-i Quds-i Razavi Documentation Center for deciphering the *syiaq* script of the sums and numbers mentioned in the text of the document.

²⁰ Willem Floor, "The *Khalifeh al-Kholafa* of the Safavid Sufi Order," *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 153 (2003): pp.57-60; Roger M. Savory, "The Office of Khalifat al-Khulafa under the Safawids," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 85 (1965): pp.497-8; and Vladimir Minorsky, *Tadhkirat al-Mulūk: A Manual of Safavid Administration* (London: Gibb Memorial Trust, 1980 reprint), pp.125-6.

²¹ Topkapi Sarayi Palace Archives, document E. 1071.

²² Topkapi Sarayi Palace Archives, document E. 6478/2, reproduced and transcribed in Jean-Louis Bacqué-Grammont, *Les Ottomans, les Safavides et leurs voisins: Contribution à l'histoire des relations internationales dans l'Orient islamique de 1514 à 1524* (Istanbul: Institut historique et archéologique néerlandais de Stamboul, 1987), pp.32-35.

the early years of the first Safavid monarch's reign, apparently had to resign from the governorship of Baghdad in 1511 when the Sufis of Lahijan, including Khadim Beg himself, fell from royal favor.²³ In 1511, a certain Hasan-'Ali Beg was mentioned as the Safavid governor of Arabian Iraq, and Chuqi Beg 'Arabgirly has been allotted some military fief in this region with value of 4 *tuman* and 2.000 *dinar* per year.²⁴ Hasan 'Ali Beg's tenure of office in Baghdad seems to be terminated some time before the Battle of Chaldiran (1514), for the Ottoman historian Âli in his *Kunhu al-akhbar* has mentioned the name of a certain Qaysar Khan as the governor of Baghdad on the eve of this battle.²⁵ Unfortunately, the laconic nature of the Safavid chronicles does not allow us to trace the changes of office-holders in an exact chronological order, let alone the details pertaining to their identity.

NAMES	YEAR
Khadim Beg	1508
Hasan 'Ali Beg	1511
Qaysar Khan (Ustajlu?)	1514
Shah-'Ali Sultan ('Avaz Sultan) Ustajlu	1515
Chiyan Sultan Ustajlu?	1521?

Safavid Governors of Baghdad under Ismail I (1501-1524)

The Ottoman-Safavid rivalry over the province of Arabian Iraq started soon after the Battle of Chaldiran. In 1 Shavval 921, when the royal court had camped in Sultaniyya, news of an impending Ottoman attack to Baghdad was in circulation. According to the Shah's order, the governor of Baghdad, Shah-'Ali Beg Ustajlu, also known as 'Avaz-Sultan, was supplied with military reinforcements, but the Ottomans invasion, allegedly scheduled for the spring 1517, never materialized at this point.²⁶ Thus, auxiliary forces led by the Sham-

²³ Aubin, "Soufis," pp.11-23.

²⁴ Topkapi Sarayi Palace Archives, document E. 1071.

²⁵ Âli, *Kunhu al-akhbar*, vol. 5, MS Istanbul Universitesi Merkez Kutuphanesi, f. 187v, quoted in Bacqué-Grammont, *Ottomans, Safavides*, p.163, note 635, who mistakenly identified this Qaysar Khan as the successor of Khulafa Beg in Baghdad.

²⁶ Khwandmir, *Habib al-siyar*, 4: p.564. According to Mir Ahmad Qumi, *Khulasat al-tavarikh*, ed. E. Ishraqi (Tehran, 2004), p.134, these allegations concerned the imminent campaign of Sultan Selim I against the Safavid capital province of Azerbaijan, not the Arabian Iraq. Other Safavid chronicles do not mention this event. However, these allegations were essentially true. In a letter addressed to Selim I af-

lu chiefs, Durmish Khan and his brother Zaynal, returned to the royal camp early in summer.²⁷

The province of Arabian Iraq was also the repertoire of the scholarly tradition of Twelver Shiism. During the reign of the first Safavid monarch, a number of Arab scholars from Shiite centers of Arabian Iraq, in particular from the city of Hilla, south to the Baghdad, migrated to the Safavid realm in Iran and some of them assumed high capacities in the religious administration of the Safavid regime, especially in eastern province of Khurasan where a vast majority of local population still confessed Sunnite Islam.²⁸ Their hold on the religious administration of the Safavid regime consolidated under Shah Tahmasb.

III. Safavid Rule over Baghdad Contested, 1524-1534

The sudden death of Shah Ismail in the age of 38 (19 Rajab 930) immediately followed by a decade of civil war during which various coalitions rallying around the Qizilbash military commanders fought each other only to gain the full control of Safavid Empire. The successor of Ismail, Tahmasb, was an under-aged when he was enthroned as the shah, being a figurehead at the hands of the Qizilbash military despots.²⁹ Apart from internal challenges, the ever-present Uzbek menace against eastern fringes of the Safavid Empire came true in the wake of Ismail's death and the capital city of Khurasan, Heart, conquered by the Uzbeks in 1524-5.³⁰ More than anywhere in the Safavid Empire, however, this was the destiny of Baghdad and the province of Arabian Iraq that would be affected by the internal warfare of Qizilbash juntas.

ter the Battle of Chaldiran during the time of Sultan's preparations for his Egyptian invasion, his former agent in Trebizond has informed his master that the Baghdadi Qizilbash have prepared themselves for an imminent Ottoman attack for the coming spring (1517); Topkapi Sarayi Palace Archives, document E. 7296, transcribed in Bacqué-Grammont, *Ottomans, Safavides*, p.218, note 812.

²⁷ Khwandmir, *Habib al-siyar*, 4: p.567.

²⁸ Khwandmir, *Habib al-siyar*, 4: pp.610-11, mentions Shaykh 'Ali al-Karaki (d. 1535), Shaykh Ibrahim Hilli, Sayyid Muhammad Kamunah, Shaykh Zayn al-Din 'Ali, and Sayyid Ni'matullah Hilli who were among the leading Twelver scholars of Arabian Iraq. For more details concerning the migration of Arab Twelver scholars to Safavid Iran, see Rula J. Abisaab, *Converting Persia: Religion and Political Power in Safavid Empire* (London: I. B. Tauris, 2004).

²⁹ On this period of civil war, see Ghifari Qazvini, *Jahanara*, pp.282-7; Shirazi, *Takmilat al-akhbar*, pp.61-74; Rumlu, *Ahsan al-tavarikh*, pp.1146-1204.

³⁰ For a masterful study of Safavid versions of the Uzbek invasion of Khurasan in 1524-5, see Dickson, "Shah Tahmasb and the Uzbeks," pp.54-63.

Over the closing decade of Ismail's reign, the Ustajlu *uymaq* gained upper hand in the court politics. Ismail's lose of temper after his defeat at Chaldiran leading to the confusion of both central and provincial affairs of the Empire, and marginalization of the Shamlu military chieftains due to their tactical mistakes which allegedly resulted in the Chaldiran catastrophe were instrumental in the rise of the Ustajlu. The leader of the Ustajlu during these years was Chiyan Sultan whom Shah had simultaneously elevated to the ranks of the commander-in-chief (*amir al-umara*)³¹ and the regent (*vakil*)³² late in 920, just after Ottomans left Safavid capital, Tabriz.³³ Year before the Shah's death, however, Chiyan Sultan died apparently of natural causes and was buried in Baghdad. Months before this, the vizier of the royal court, Mirza Shah Husayn Isfahani, too, had been assassinated by a group of the Qizilbash.³⁴ These events were the prelude of a decade of civil war between *uymaq* coalitions over the offices of commander-in-chief and regency.

The role of the Tekelu *uymaq* for the time of the civil war is noteworthy, both because of its leaders' betrayal to the Safavid cause and the crucial part they played in the Ottoman conquest of Baghdad in 1534. The Tekelu were by far consisted of the nomadic Turkmen denizens of Teke-Eli province in southern Anatolia³⁵ and in addition to their outstanding contribution to the establishment of Safavid regime in Azerbaijan, they were also active in the eastern conquests of the Safavids during the reign of Shah Ismail I.³⁶ It is noteworthy

³¹ The holder of this office "was the chief military commander of the Qezelbash troops ... also had considerable influence in political and administrative matters;" see Willem Floor, *Safavid Government Institutions* (Costa Mesa, CA: Mazda Publishers, 2001), p.17. This office evolved later in Safavid period to the function of *Sipahsalar*, for which see Roger M. Savory, "The Office of *Sipahsalar* (Commander-in-Chief) in the Safavid State," in *Proceedings of the Second European Conference of Iranian Studies (Bamberg, 30th September to 4th October 1991)*, edited by B. G. Fragner et al (Rome: IsMEO, 2005), pp.597-615.

³² The holder of this position under early Safavids "took care of the affairs of state" and his duties consist of a combination of military and non-military tasks; see Floor, *Government Institutions*, p.6.

³³ Ghifari Qazvini, *Jahanara*, 277; and Qumi, *Khulasat al-tavarikh*, p.132.

³⁴ This assassination seems to be of political nature. Mirza Shah Husayn had gained ultimate authority in the daily affairs of Safavid Empire and used to be a barrier against overambitious Qizilbash military chiefs other than the Ustajlu. The immediate death of Chiyan Sultan in the same year, lend further credence to this hypothesis. For his murder (end of Jamadi II 929) and the Qizilbash involvement in this incident, see details in Khurshah, *Tarikh-i ilchi*, pp.76-7.

³⁵ M. C. Şehabeddin Tekindağ, "Teke-Eli," *İslâm Ansiklopedisi* 12/1: pp.124-8.

³⁶ Faruk Sümer, *Safevî Devletinin Kuruluşu ve Gelişmesinde Anadolu Türklerinin Rolü* (Ankara: Güven Matbaası, 1976), p.46.

that more than any other Qizilbash *uymaqs*, the Tekelu have geographically been related with the Ottoman Anatolia. But at the first place it was the violent Safavid treatment of the Tekelu during the civil war period that speeded up their subsequent shift of loyalty toward the Ottomans.

The Tekelu military commanders, having eliminated their Rumlu rivals in the first round of the Qizilbash clashes, monopolized both administrative and military powers in the central government in 932-3. The reign of the Tekelu junta, led by Juha Sultan, lasted till 937, when they routed by a Shamlu contingent in the royal camp near Isfahan. The teenage Shah Tahmasb himself has been engaged in the anti-Takkalu coup,³⁷ rewarding in his turn the victorious Shamlu by appointing Husayn Khan to the office of *vakil* and *amir al-umara*. In the following *sauve qui peut*, many of the Tekelu attending the royal camp were perished at the hand of the vengeful Shamlu, including the influential khans Juha, his elder son Shah-Qubad, Husayn Sultan, Ibrahim Khalifah Muhrdar, Parvanah Beg and about three hundred other Tekelu troops.³⁸ This incident, better known in the Safavid narrative sources under its chronogram, "Tekelu calamity" (*afat-i Tekelu*, 937), gave the impetus to the rest of the Tekelu, including those settled in Baghdad and Tabriz, to revise their profession of fealty towards their Safavid master.

Hasan Rumlu (fl. 1576) who had his chronicle drafted during the concluding years of Tahmasb's reign and dedicated it to his son and successor Ismail II (r. 1576-1578), furnishes us with the most detailed version about the situation of Baghdad over the years immediately followed the death of Shah Ismail. Versions found in other Safavid narrative sources, such as Qumi, Budaq, Khurshah, Ghifari Qazvini, Khuzani-Isfahani, and Iskandar Beg, however, are of supplementary characteristic in respect to that of Rumlu.

³⁷ Tahmasb himself confirms his direct role in the massacre of the Tekelu in the royal camp; see Paul Horn, "Die Denkwürdigkeiten des Šāh Tahmāsp I von Persien," *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 44 (1890): p.586.

³⁸ Rumlu, *Ahsan al-tavarikh*, pp.1198-2000; Qumi, *Khulasat al-tavarikh*, pp.214-5; Ghifari Qazvini, *Jahanara*, pp.285-6; Khurshah, *Tarikh-i ilchi*, pp.108-11; Shirazi, *Takmilat al-akhbar*, pp.67-70; Budaq, *Javahir al-akhbar*, pp.161-2.; and Fazli b. Zayn al-'Abidin Khuzani-Isfahani, *Afzal al-tavarikh*, ms no 4678 (British Library, London), 66a-7b.

NAMES	YEAR
Ibrahim Khan Muwsillu	934
Zul'-Fiqar Muwsillu's Rebellion	935
Muhammad Khan Tekellu	936

Safavid Governors of Baghdad under Shah Tahmasb I (r. 1524-1576)

The Tekelu domination on Baghdad indeed originated in the second round of the civil war (932-935). Later in 934, a member of the Muwsillu clan from the Turkman *uymaq* of the Qizilbash, named Ibrahim Khan, who assumed the governorship of Baghdad, was killed by his nephew Zu'l-Fiqar b. 'Ali Beg, the governor of Iranian Kurdistan (known generally as *Ulka-yi Kalhur* in Safavid historiography). Ibrahim Khan was the grandson of one of the prominent Muwsillu chiefs of the late Aqqyunlu and early Safavid periods, Gulabi Beg II b. Amir Khan (d. 1528). Members of this family of the Muwsillu clan³⁹ were the cousins of Hamza b. Mehmud Beg Bektash and Bakr b. Mehmud Beg Bektash Muwsillu's descendants from among them two females married to Shah Ismail and Shah Tahmasb.⁴⁰ These marriages and the Muwsillu governorate over the western confines of the Safavid Empire marked their complete integration into the Qizilbash *uymaq* system.

In any rate, Safavid chronicles do not give a clear-cut picture of this seemingly insignificant incident, and therefore have Zu'l-Fiqar's motivations relegated to the sphere of personal ambitions, such as his individual bid to revive an independent rule in Arabian Iraq, amid the outburst of political anarchy in Safavid mainland in Iran and particularly in the war-torn province of Khurasan.⁴¹ However, Zul'-Fiqar, having killed his other paternal uncle and his

³⁹ For their genealogical tree, see Woods, *The Aqqyunlu*, p.193.

⁴⁰ Maria Szuppe, "La participation des femmes de la famille royale à l'exercice du pouvoir en Iran safavide au XVI^e siècle," *Studia Iranica* 24 (1995): p.234.

⁴¹ Rumlu, *Ahsan al-tavarikh*, p.1166, refers to his madness and ignorance (*junun va jihalat*); Khurshah, *Tarikh-i ilchi*, p.97, attributes this murder to the "inauspicious fate" of Zu'l-Fiqar and his intention to rule independently (*sowda-yi saltanat*); Qumi, *Khulasat al-tavarikh*, 175-6, a verbatim reproduction of Rumlu's account; Khuzani-Isfahani, *Afzal al-tavarikh*, 33a-3b, however, give the date of 4 Ramadan 934 as the day that Shah Tahmasp was informed of Zu'l-Fiqar's riot in Arabian Iraq; Budaq, *Javahir al-akhbar*, p.156, also speaks of Zu'l-Fiqar madness; and Ghifari Qazvini, *Jahanara*, p.284; Sharaf Khan Bidlisi, *Sharaf-Nameh ou histoire des kourdes*, ed.

kinsmen in Baghdad, had send an envoy to the Sublime Porte,⁴² seeking to curry favor with the Ottoman Sultan Suleiman the Magnificent. According to the Ottoman chronicles, Zu'l-Fiqar proclaimed openly in Baghdad his official subjugation to Sultan Suleiman, who was at the time fighting the Habsburg army in central Europe.⁴³

Concurrent with these developments in Arabian Iraq, Shah Tahmasb has been engaged in the second phase of the Uzbek invasion of Khurasan (1526-8). He has learned of the Zu'l-Fiqar's insubordination in Baghdad along the way to Khurasan in Tehran.⁴⁴ Having just returned victoriously from his Khurasan campaign, Shah Tahmasb decided to put an end to Zu'l-Fiqar rebellion in Arabian Iraq. The Ottoman preoccupation with the European front eased substantially the Safavid re-conquest of Arabian Iraq, which took place early in Shavval 935/. Prior to any confrontation with the Safavid royal army, Zul'-Fiqar Khan was killed by one of his Muwsillu relatives and one of the leading chiefs of the Tekelu clan, Muhammad Khan Sharaf al-Din Oğli, was elevated by the Shah to the governorship of Baghdad and the province of Arabian Iraq.⁴⁵

Soon after Muhammad Khan assumed this position, the Tekelu junta in the royal court was violently suppressed by the royal army and troops from other Qizilbash *uymaqs*. The rest of the Tekelu who escaped barely with their

V. Véliaminof-Zernof (St Petersburg: Académie Impériale de Sciences, 1862), 2: p.174 mentions 14 Ramadan 934 as the date of Zu'l-Fiqar's revolt.

⁴² Budaq, *Javahir al-akhbar*, p.157: "That unfortunate [Zu'l-Fiqar] captured and killed his other paternal uncle and his cousins, send an individual to Rum [Ottoman Empire], ordered his retinue to have their breads and moustaches shaved, and started his rebellion." Budaq further adds that Zul'-Fiqar proclaimed his subjection to the Ottoman sultan (Budaq, *Javahir*, p.158). The act of shaving bread and moustache was an un-Sufi-like gesture, signaling symbolically the abandonment of the Qizilbash beliefs (Floor, "Khalifeh al-Kholafa," 57); Khurshah, *Tarikh-i ilchi*, p.103: "[Zu'l-Fiqar] having revolted against the Shah, tried to win the friendship of the King of Rum [Ottoman Sultan]."

⁴³ Remzi Kılıç, *Kânunî Devri Osmanlı-İran Münâsebetleri (1520-1566)* (İstanbul: IQ Kültür Sanat Yayıncılık, 2006), p.153, quotes Solakzâde, Peçevi, and Münneçimbaşı; and Jean-Louis Bacqué-Grammont, "L'apogée de l'empire ottoman: Les événements (1512-1606)," in *Histoire de l'empire ottoman*, edited by Robert Mantran (Paris: Fayard, 1989), p.150.

⁴⁴ Horn, "Denkwürdigkeiten," p.583.

⁴⁵ Rumlu, *Ahsan al-tavarikh*, pp.1182-3; Ghifari-Qazvini, *Jahanara*, pp.284-5; Bidlisi, *Sharaf-Nameh*, 2: pp.176-7; Budaq, *Javahir*, pp.158-9, mentions the issuance of a fatwa by Ghiyath al-Din Mansur Dashtaki in which Zul'-Fiqar had been sentenced to death; Khurshah, *Tariki-i ilchi*, pp.103-5; and Shirazi, *Takmilat al-akhbar*, pp.65-6.

lives from the massacre in royal camp near Isfahan, took refuge in the provinces of Arabian Iraq (Baghdad) and Azerbaijan (Tabriz), where two of the leading chiefs of the *uymaq* had assumed the post of the governorship. While in Baghdad Muhammad Khan Tekelu felt unswerving loyalty towards the Safavids, the Tekelu governor of Tabriz, Ulama Sultan, transferred his oath of fealty to the Ottomans, leaving the Safavid capital with a large number of his kinsmen for the Ottoman territory. This was Ulama Sultan Tekelu who encouraged the Ottoman Sultan Suleiman to lead the first Ottoman royal campaign against Safavid Iran after the battle of Chaldiran.⁴⁶ Then the cyclical rounds of Ottoman-Safavid conflict which lasted till the conclusion of the Amasiyya peace treaty of 1555 started.⁴⁷

During the Ottoman-Safavid wars of 1540s and 1550s, Baghdad and the province of Arabian Iraq constitute the main targets of Ottoman Empire's expansionist policy in its eastern confines. With the Tekelu of Tabriz being in flight in the Ottoman Anatolia, many of Muhammad Khan Tekelu's kinsmen in Arabian Iraq, too, took refuge in the Ottoman territory, leaving Baghdad in a vulnerable situation on the eve of the Ottoman invasion of Iran between 1533 and 1536, better known in Ottoman narrative sources as "the campaign of Persian and Arabian Iraq," (*Sefer-i 'iraqayn*). The deeds of this campaign have been detailed in Ottoman narrative sources,⁴⁸ but the information found in Safavid narrative sources about this development are of spotty nature, leaving us with many lacunas about the Safavid response against the Ottoman intrusion into the province of Arabian Iraq.

⁴⁶ Rumlu, *Ahsan al-tavarikh*, p.1215; Khurshah, *Tarikh-i ilchi*, p.112; Shirazi, *Takmilat al-akhbar*, pp.71-2, mentions that a group of the libertine Qizilbash in Tabriz, named the Sarilu (Yarlar), were among the staunch supporters of Ulama Sultan Tekelu;

⁴⁷ For a through study of the Ottoman-Safavid relations, see Kılıç, *Osmanlı-İran Münasebetleri*, p.123ff.; Bekir Kütükoğlu, "Les relations entre l'empire ottoman et l'Iran dans la seconde moitié du XVIe siècle," *Turcica* 6 (1975): pp.128-145, deals in particular with the period between 1555 and 1590s; and Bacqué-Grammont, "L'apogée de l'empire ottoman," pp.150-2; and Adel Allouche, *The Origins and Development of the Ottoman-Safavid Conflict (906-962/1500-1555)* (Berlin: Klaus Schwarz Verlag, 1983), especially pp.211-227.

⁴⁸ Nasuh's-Silahi Matrakçı, *Beyan-i Manazil-i Sefer-i 'Irakeyn-i Sultan Süleyman Han [The Description of the Stages of Sultan Süleyman Han's Campaign in the Two Iraks (940-942/1533-1536)]*, ed. H. G. Yurdaydın (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1976); and introductory notes on this description in H. G. Yurdaydın, "An Ottoman Historian of the XVIth Century: Nasuh al-Matraki and His Beyan-i manazil-i sefer-i 'irakayn and its Importance for Some 'Iraqi Cities," *Turcica* 7 (1975): pp.179-187; also for a through study of these campaigns see Kılıç, *Osmanlı-İran Münasebetleri*, pp.126-241.

First of all, it was the province of Azerbaijan, the seat of Safavid Empire that endured the heaviest part of the Ottoman military operations. The main Safavid tactic to block the Ottomans' further incursion into the central lands of Shah's territory was the policy of wretched land, according to which all human and natural resources in the western border of Safavid Empire, especially in Azerbaijan, have to be perished by the Safavids. Though this tactic was of instrumental role in halting the Ottoman troops' headway toward the east, the province of Azerbaijan was occupied by the Ottoman royal army in 1533. Sultan Suleiman then turned to the western confines of the province of Persian Iraq, while Shah Tahmasb had positioned in the province of Persian Iraq, preparing himself to fill the gap in Azerbaijan in the wake of the Ottomans imminent departure.⁴⁹

Concurrent with the conquest of Azerbaijan, the Ottoman vanguards intruded into the province of Persian Iraq, taking over the province of Hamadan. From there, the main body of the Ottoman army went to Baghdad. In the meantime, Safavids had faced with increasing desertion of their soldiery, especially from among the Tekelu and Zul'-Qadr military commanders in Azerbaijan. The Safavid governor of Baghdad, Muhammad Khan Tekelu who maintained his subjugation to the Safavid monarch despite his Tekelu kinsmen's betrayal, according to the Shah's order, left Baghdad late in autumn 1533 for the southern city of Basra off the shore of the Persian Gulf. Thus, the Safavid occupation of Arabian Iraq and its capital city, Baghdad, ended late in 1533 and later efforts on the part of the Qizilbash to re-establish their supremacy over this province, except temporal re-conquest of the province under Shah 'Abbas I (r. 1587-1639) and later on in the eighteenth century under Nadir Shah (r. 1739-1774), have had no positive result.

⁴⁹ Rumlu, *Ahsan al-tavarikh*, pp.1216-21; Khurshah, *Tarikh-i ilchi*, p.124; Ghifari-Qazvini, *Jahanara*, p.289; Budaq, *Javahir*, pp.176-7.