MİRZA MAKHDUM BETWEEN TWO WORLDS: A SAFAVID SADR IN THE OTTOMAN WORLD AND HIS REFUTATION OF THE QIZILBASH BELIEFS

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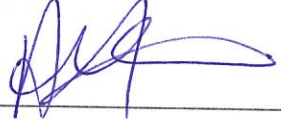OF
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This is to certify that we have read this thesis and that in our opinion it is fully adequate, in scope and quality, as a thesis for the degree of Master of History in History.

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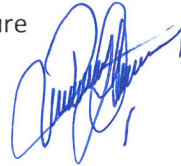Date
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ABSTRACT

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MA in History

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This thesis aims to understand the identity crisis of Mīrzā Makhdūm who traveled to the Ottoman Empire from the Safavid lands in the late sixteenth century and his work on the Qizilbash titled *Al-Nawākiḍ li-Bunyān al-Rawāfiḍ*. This book contains refutation of the Qizilbash beliefs. Mīrzā Makhdūm was a high-ranking bureaucrat in the Safavid State, but after taking refuge in the Ottoman Empire, he began a career as a judge in Diyarbakir, Tripoli and Haramayn. This thesis investigates the Sunni-Shia conflict through the eyes of a scholar and tries to understand how a scholar from Iran has reached high ranks in the Ottoman Empire. This study provides an exciting opportunity to understand the Safavid policy in the sixteenth century, the bureaucracy in the *ilmiye* class and the attitude of the Ottoman bureaucrats towards the Safavid scholars.

Keywords: Mīrzā Makhdūm, *Al-Nawākiḍ li-Bunyān al-Rawāfiḍ*, *ilmiye*, sixteenth century, Safavids and Ottomans in the sixteenth century.

ÖZ

İKİ DÜNYA ARASINDAKİ MİRZA MAKHDUM: OSMANLI DÜNYASINDA SAFAVİLİ BİR SADRAZAM VE KIZILBAŞ İNANÇLARINA ELEŞTİRİSİ

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Bu tez, on altıncı yüzyılda Safevî topraklarından Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'na gelen Mīrzā Makhdūm'un kimlik krizini ve Kızılbaşlar üzerine yazdığı *Al-Nawākiḍ li-Bunyān al-Rawāfiḍ* eserini anlamayı amaçlamaktadır. Bu eser, Mīrzā Makhdūm'un yıllarca birlikte yaşadığı Kızılbaşlara olan eleştirileri içermektedir. Mīrzā Makhdūm Safavilerde yüksek rütbeli bir bürokrattı, ancak Osmanlılara sığındıktan sonra Diyarbakır, Trablus-şam ve Haremeyn'de geçen bir kadılık kariyerine başladı. Bu tez, Sünni-Şii çatışmasını orada yaşayan bir alimin gözüyle incelemeye çalışıyor ve İran'dan gelen bir alimin nasıl bu kadar yüksek rütbelere ulaştığını anlamaya çalışıyor. Bu çalışma bize on altıncı yüzyılda Safevî politikasını, Osmanlı ilmiye sınıfındaki bürokrasiyi ve Osmanlı bürokratlarının Safevî alimlerle ilgili tutumunu kavrama konusunda heyecan verici bir fırsat sunuyor.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Mīrzā Makhdūm, *Al-Nawākiḍ li-Bunyān al-Rawāfiḍ*, ilmiye, on altıncı yüzyıl, on altıncı yüzyılda Safeviler ve Osmanlı.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

The works written by scholars who lived in the Ottoman Empire are valuable sources for understanding the Ottoman intellectual life. This is because these written sources enable us to get to know the real stories that have been experienced. This research examines the work *Al-Nawākiḍ li-Bunyān al-Rawāfiḍ* by Mīrzā Makhdūm, a scholar who immigrated from the Safavid Empire in the 16th century and took refuge in the Ottoman Empire. This research sheds light on the great changes between the Ottoman and Safavid States, the life of a scholar who emigrated from the Safavids to the Ottomans who tried to hold on to the Ottoman Empire, the sectarian conflicts of that period, the turmoil and the events that took place, the great wars and political relations. At the same time, this work tries to look closely at the identity crisis and sense of belonging experienced by a scholar in between two worlds. Mīrzā Makhdūm lived with a dilemma not only in the countries in which he lived, but also in his family life. Since, his mother's side is Sunni, his father's side is Shi'a.

While examining the work named *Al-Nawākiḍ*, it was examined what view the author preferred, for what purpose, where he stood between Shi'ism and Hanafism, what he thought he was accused while writing his book and the purpose of writing the work. Examination Al-Nawākiḍ provided the opportunity to study the author and his preferences, where he stood between Shi'ism and Hanafi Islam, For, in the period when *Al-Nawākiḍ li-Bunyān al-Rawāfiḍ* was written, there were serious conflicts between the Ottoman Empire and the Safavid State. Mīrzā Makhdūm has been criticized by some people and claimed that he was actually a Shi'a. In this work, answers were given to these criticisms and different possibilities were evaluated. In addition to this, the life of Mīrzā Makhdūm in both Safavids and Ottomans was examined and the activities he performed in general were explained. While examining his life, excerpts were made from his own works.

While analyzing this work, seven copies have been reached in Turkey libraries, but only two of them have been examined. These copies are in the libraries of Süleymaniye and Topkapı Palace. Both copies were examined and their characteristics were indicated. While examining the sections, the original images of the relevant section as it is in the copy is also included in the text.

This work was first presented to Sinān Pasha (1520 - 3 Nisan 1596), one of the viziers of the period, and then presented to Murād III, the sultan of the period. This work was admired and appreciated by the sultan, and he placed it in the Palace Library. We can say that this work was esteemed, considering that it has more than one copy, the sultan's stamp on it, the engraved seals and that it was gifted to the palace library. What makes this work different is that a scholar living among the Shi'a in the Safavid State criticized the Shi'a.

Another thing that makes this study different is that Mīrzā Makhdūm had rose in the steps of the ilmiye as a newcomer to the Ottoman Empire. In addition, it shows the differences between the Sunni beliefs of the Ottomans in the sexteenth century when Mīrzā Makhdūm lived, and the Shi'i beliefs in the Safavids. The fact that Mīrzā Makhdūm explains these beliefs with Quranic verses and Prophetic tradations can also provide information on how the verses and hadiths were interpreted at that time.

1.1.   The Author

Mīrzā Makhdūm grew up in a noble family in the Safavid lands. He was a scholar who held important positions in the Safavid bureaucracy, and then took refuge in the Ottoman lands. Whether he was a Shi'i or Sunni scholar is a controversial topic. There is evidence that support both views. It is clear that Mīrzā Makhdūm held serious positions in both polities. In the Safavid State, he has been in charge of religious affairs; in the Ottoman Empire he served as a judge in Istanbul with various duties. In this study, the works he wrote during his duties in the Ottoman Empire were mentioned and brief information was given about his works.

Mīrzā Makhdūm has the distinction of being a scholar who had the knowledge of both the Safavid and the Ottoman cultures due to his work in both states.   For this reason, he is regarded as one of the most important personalities that should be examined and researched from that period. His works are important because it reveals the characteristics of both beliefs together with both cultures. It is necessary to examine all the scholars of that period one by one in order to reveal the characteristics of this period completely. This review is capable of guiding such a study like that for one of the most valuable scholar in both cultures: Mīrzā Makhdūm.

Mīrzā Makhdūm has produced 13 works during his lifetime. However, some of these works did not survive reportedly due to the fact that they were burned in the Safavid lands. He wrote these works in different fields such as theology, jurisprudence, ethics, politics, mysticism and astronomy.

In this study, the life of Mīrzā Makhdūm is discussed under two different headings. The first was his life in the Safavid lands, and the second was his life in the Ottoman Empire. When we examine the part of Mīrzā Makhdūm's life in the Safavid State, we see that he had a very good relationship with the Shah Ismail II and that he had effect on Shah Ismā'īl's policies. When Shah Ismā'īl claimed the throne, we see that he made Mirza Makhdum responsible for religious affairs in the Safavid State. At the time, the Shi'i were dismissed from their posts together with the riots and oppressions. However, when the political situation was reversed raids were carried out on Mirza's house, and he was imprisoned. After these developments, he somehow escaped from prison and took refuge in the Ottoman Empire. Immediately after he escaped to the Ottoman Empire, he was appointed to the post of Diyarbakir qadi with a higher salary than usual. Then, he was appointed to Baghdad, Tripoli, Medina, Mecca and then to naqib al-ashraf and finally as a qadi of Istanbul. So much so that, the life of Mīrzā Makhdūm, who had important duties in both countries, is not throughly studied in other works. For this reason, this is the first study that examines the life of Mīrzā Makhdūm in its entirety.

1.2. About Al-Nawākiḍ li-Bunyān al-Rawāfiḍ

Al-Nawākiḍ li-Bunyān al-Rawāfiḍ is the first work written by Mīrzā Makhdūm in the Ottoman Empire. The book provides information on theology. It was written as a criticism of the Qizilbash beliefs and to provide logical refuting evidence to these beliefs. The translation of the title of the book is titled *Rejection of the Beliefs of the Heretics*. The work is titled in this way is to emphasizes the fact that it is written as a criticism of the Qizilbash beliefs. In each section, he has discussed the criticisms he has brought and stated in detail. There are seven copies of the work in Turkish libraries. The name of the work varies according to different copies. However, they generally have the same meaning. To provide an example of these small differences; there are two different copies with different titles in in the Topkapı library: *"Nawākiḍ li-Ẓuhūr al-Rawāfiḍ"* and *"Nawâqid ez-Ẓuhūr al-Rawafid".* Nawākiḍ here refers to criticism. The copy in the topkapı library was written by the author. The copy in the Hagia Sophia, on the other hand, is titled: *"Kitāb Rawāfiḍ fi Al-Kalām".*

Mīrzā Makhdūm seemed took advantage of the definitions of Mu'tazila, Sunnism and the definitions of scholars such as Taftâzanî and Dawani while he was writing the book. In addition, he uses hadith scholars such as Bukhari, Muslim, Abu Davud and Tirmidhi. After providing these different sources, he blends them all and expresses his own opinions.

Although the book is written in Arabic, it also contains Persian words. At the end of the book there is a prayer and spiritual section in Ottoman Turkish. Although he used a coherent language in general, the topics he chose were used in a manner that would be understood by those who are skilled. However, he consistently praised the Ottoman Empire and the dynasty and wished for the survival of the state. In addition, the work not only included criticism, but also events that took place during that period, which is also informative about the events of the period. In particular, he provided detailed information about the events he experienced in the Safavid State and defended himself against the criticism of other scholars in the matters he deemed necessary. However, after taking refuge in the Ottoman Empire,

he praised vizier Sinān Pasha, shaykh al-islam Hoca Sadeddin, mother of Sultan Murād III Nurbanu Sultan and Sultan Murād.

There is no doubt that this work belongs to him for, at the end of the book it has his own seal. However, there are also different seals on the book. We also come across other seals engraved in some copies.

In this work, Mīrzā Makhdūm not only speaks about the subjects of criticism, but also his ancestors, events he experienced that took place during his period. In this respect, this work has a high historical importance.

1.3. The Outline of Chapters

This work consists of an introduction, a conclusion and three main chapters. In the second chapter, I discuss the life of Mirza Mahdum in the Safavid lands and his escape to the Ottoman Empire. In addition, I give information his ancestors, his education and his career in the Safavid lands.

In the third chapter, I handle the life of Mirza Makdum in Ottoman lands. I have examined in detail how he came to the Ottoman Empire, how he had risen, how he fell, and what he wrote. I have summarized the contents of the works that I can reach.

In the fourth chapter, I explained the criticisms of Mirza Mahdum to the Qizilbash. I examined how he criticized the Qizilbash, what he said about them, and what he wrote in his work *Al-Nawākiḍ li-Bunyān al-Rawāfiḍ* about them.

In the conclusion, I talked about the identity of Mirza Makhdum and flux and hybridity in his beliefs. I mentioned the factors that were effective in obtaining task in the Ottoman Empire and I gave reasons for his writing of *Al-Nawākiḍ li-Bunyān al-Rawāfiḍ*.

1.4.   Literature Review

There is only one doctoral dissertation and two articles on Mīrzā Makhdūm in English. Doctoral thesis is written by Rosemary Stanfield at New York University. As the name suggests, this work mentions the life of Mīrzā Makhdūm in the Safavid state.[1] She divided the life of Mīrzā Makhdūm into two periods: Ṭahmāsp and Ismā'īl II. She also mentioned the problems in that region during that time. Evaluating the Sunni-Shi'i differences in the country, she stated that Mīrzā Makhdūm was Sunni. She gave the reasons choosing *Al-Nawākiḍ li-Bunyān al-Rawāfiḍ* and content of it but did not provide a detailed examination.

Another research was written by Shohreh Gholsorkhi published in the *International Journal of Middle East Studies.*[2] The purpose of this study is to examine Mīrzā Makhdūm's role in shaping the Sunni tendencies of Ismail II. She examines two main sources: first, the relevant chronicles and biographical dictionaries, and second, an important treatise written by Mīrzā Makhdūm, *Al-Nawākiḍ li-Bunyān al-Rawāfiḍ.* She also pointed out from Shi'i sources how Mīrzā Makhdūm influenced Ismā'īl II. This study focuses on the role of Mīrzā Makhdūm in the Safavid court.

Another article written about Mīrzā Makhdūm belongs to Kioumars Ghereghlou.[3] This study examines the life and the career of Mīrzā Makhdūm Sharif (1540-87) in the Ottoman Empire. According to him Mīrzā Makhdūm was a high-ranking Shi'i bureaucrat in the Safavids, but after taking refuge in the Ottoman Empire, he became a Sunni. In this article, adaptation and progresses in the ranks of *ilmiye* is emphasized.

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[1] Rosemary Stanfield, "Mirza Makhdum Sharifi: A 16th century Sunni sadr at the Safavid Court," (PhD diss., New York University, 1992).

[2] Shohreh Gholsorkhi, "Ismail II and Mirza Makhdum Sharifi: An Interlude in Safavid History," Osmanlı Araştırmaları/The Journal of Ottoman Studies, LIII (2019): 477-488.

[3] Kioumars Ghereghlou, "A Safavid Bureaucrat in the Ottoman World: Mirza Makhdum Sharifi Shirazi and the Quest for Upward Mobility in the Illegitimate Hierarchy," *Osmanlı Araştırmaları/The Journal of Ottoman Studies*, LIII (2019): 153-194.

Elke Eberhard[4] is one of those who gave information about Mīrzā Makhdūm. She considered Mirza Mahdum as Sunni scholar. Shee says that it can be understood that Shi'ism did not yet dominate the Persian region. There were even Sunni in the courtyard of the palace including Mīrzā Makhdūm. According to him, the fact that Mīrzā Makhdūm's ancestors worked in important official places does not show that they are Shi'is. He also states that Mīrzā Makhdūm received a detailed theological, scientific and literary education, first by his uncle Sayyid Murtada and then by Taqi al-din Abu al-Khayr al-Farisi.

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[4] Elke Eberhard, *Osmanische polemik gegen die Safawiden im 16. jahrhundert nach Arabischen Handschriften,* (Freiburg: Klaus Schwarz Verlag, 1970), 9.

CHAPTER 2

MĪRZĀ MAKHDŪM IN SAFAVID IRAN AND HIS FLIGHT INTO THE OTTOMANS

The struggle between the Ottoman and the Safavid lands is one of the most studied topics in the historiography. The Safavids under Shah Ismāʿīl started to establish dominance in the regions under the Ottoman rule. The Ottoman Sultan Selim confronted Shah Ismāʿīl and defeated him in Chaldiran in 1514. Süleyman the Magnificent and Shah Ṭahmāsp (1524-1576) entered into struggle for dominance for the same region. Süleyman the Magnificent organized three major expeditions in Iran, but failed to confront Shah Ṭahmāsp's army direct. As a result, Süleyman the Magnificent signed the Ottoman-Safavid political agreement in Amasya in 1555 with Shah Ṭahmāsp's ambassador. This stopped Ottoman-Safavid conflict for some decades.[5] During the reign of Selim II, the Amasya Peace agreement between the Ottoman and Iran was preserved. The peace between Murād III who later ascended the throne and Shah Ṭahmāsp continued. After Shah Ṭahmāsp, Ismāʿīl II succeeded to the throne and remained on the throne for a year and three months. Ismāʿīl II's (1576-1577) rule was bloody for the Safavids, and the peace with the Ottomans was also disrupted.[6] Mīrzā Makhdūm came to the Ottoman Empire during this unrest.

This narrative draws the picture that these two Islamic empires were independent from each other and lacked interaction. Yet, the life of Mīrzā Makhdūm shows the interaction between them existed even seventy seven years after the foundation of Safavid state. While Mīrzā Makhdūm was an indicative example of how a scholar was effected from the conflict between the Sunni Ottoman Empire and the Safavid Empire, he also demonstrated the significant changes in the political environment. This indicative feature was provided due to his high ranking position in both states.

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[5] Zahit Atçıl, "Warfare as a Tool of Diplomacy: Background of the First Ottoman-Safavid Treaty in 1555," *Turkish Historical Review 10* (2019): 3.

[6] Remzi Kılıç, *16.ve 17. yüzyıllarda Osmanlı-İran Siyasi Antlaşmaları* (Istanbul: Tez Yayınları, 2001), 87.

After the foundation of the Safavid polity, many scholars decided to move to Ottoman lands due to Shi'i politics in the Safavid lands. Yet, Mīrzā Makhdūm's case is different from others. He escaped to the Ottoman Empire after he served as a bureaucrat during the reign of Ismā'īl II. More interestingly he was also able to serve as an important bureaucrat in the Ottoman empire until his death.

One interesting feature of his life is his involvement in the Ottoman system because it provides information about the Ottoman attitude towards Persianate scholars and bureaucrats. The involvement of Hoca Sadeddin and Mahmud Pasha aided in Mirza's success in the Ottoman Empire. (Hoca Sadeddin was the Sheikh al-Islam of the time, Mahmut Pasha was the governor of Amed.) He also benefited from his broad network in his professional life in the Safavid lands. Both of his grandfathers held important bureaucratic positions and thus, his family ties were effective in his career.

The points mentioned above demonstrate that the life of Mīrzā Makhdūm can also aid in understanding the identity issues of people during that period of sectarian conflicts. His work about the criticism of the Shi'a beliefs is the greatest evidence of these conflicts. To clarify these points, I will first focus on his ancestry, education and professional life. Then, I hope to show how the new era with the rise of the Ottoman and Safavid states affected Mīrzā Makhdūm's identity. I argue that instead of drawing concrete lines regarding his beliefs, focusing on the flux of his beliefs might provide a more accurate idea about the events of his time.

2.1. Mīrzā Makhdūm's Ancestry

Mīrzā Makhdūm introduces himself as Muʿīn Al-Dīn Ashraf Al-Ḥasanī Al-Ḥusaynī. His ancestry is traced to the Prophet Muhammed through Husayn on his mother's side and Ḥasan on his father's side. He is from Shiraz and descended from al-Sayyid al-Sharīf al-Jurjānī (d.1413). [7] Al-Jurjānī, was a leading scholar of fifteenth century Persia. Al-Jurjānī received a diverse education, initially in Herat, then in

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[7] Mīrzā Makhdūm Sharifi Shirazi, *Dhakhirat al-'uqbā fi dhamm al-dunya,* Topkapı Palace, Ahmed III, 261.

Egypt. In 1374 he was given a teaching position in Shiraz. In 1387, Shiraz fell to Tamerlane, the famed central Asian master Al-Jurjānī, whose fame as a tutor and scholar had reached its peak, was taken to Tamerlane's capital Semerkand. Once he came to Shiraz, he stayed in Semerkand till Tamerlane's death in 1405. Most of al-Jurjānī's famous work was written in Arabic. Of his thirty-one existing works and commentaries, the most known work is *the Kitāb al-Taʿrīfāt (Book of Definitions)*, a brief lexicon of technical terms from theology, philosophy, and humanistic discipline.[8] Regarding Mīrzā Makhdūm's lineage, he says that he is a descendant of al-Jurjānī from his mother's side. Most of his grandfathers were descendants of Fatimah.[9] Moreover, Mīrzā Makhdūm says that descendants of women are like descendants of men.[10] He argues that, there is no difference between the male and the female line in terms of lineage.

His mother was the daughter of the poet and scholar Sayyid Qāḍī Jahān Sayfī Ḥusaynī Qazwīnī; her grandfather was Qāḍī Jahān. Qāḍī Jahān was the vizier of Shah Ṭahmāsp.[11] His mother is the descendent of Imam ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Darīrat.[12] Thus, we can evidently state that his mother's side was involved in political duties.

His father, ʿAbd al-Bāqi, Sayyid Sharif al-Din 'Ali, was forced to be a *sadr* during Shah Ṭahmāsp rule. His father's mother was the daughter of Sayyid ʿAbd al-Bāqi who was the *sadr* and vizier of the Ismāʿīl I. His ancestry can be traced back to Sayyid ʿArif Şamdānī Niʿmat Allah Ḥusaynī Ḥalebī Kirmānī. His grandfather's mother was Fakhr al-Dīn Haydar al-Dashtakī's daughter.[13] In light of all this information, it can be said that Mīrzā Makhdūm had a court education from his mother and father in an elite environment. Thanks to this training, he was introduced to politics and palace culture at a young age and learned the manner and customs of the palace. As will

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[8] Muhammet Nasih Ece, "Cürcânî ve er-Rüsâletü'l-Kübrâ fi'l-Mantık Adlı Eser," İslami İlimler Dergisi, 9 (2014): 150-152.

[9] He says hadith about the virtue of Fatıma to answer who say descendants of women. Mīrzā Makhdūm Sharifi Shirazi, *Al-Nawâqid li Bunyan al-Rawafid*, Topkapı Palace, Ahmed III, 197a.

[10] Ibid, 198.

[11] Mīrzā Makhdūm Sharifi Shirazi, *Dhakhirat al-ʿuqba fi dhamm al-dunya,* Topkapı Palace, Ahmed III, 261.

[12] Mīrzā Makhdūm Sharifi Shirazi, *Al-Nawâqid li Bunyan al-Rawafid*, 198.

[13] Mīrzā Makhdūm Sharifi Shirazi, *Dhakhirat al-ʿuqba fi dhamm al-dunya,* 261.

be discussed below, he used his experience at an early age to influence both Iran and the Ottoman Empire.

Mīrzā Makhdūm's grandfather, Sayyid Sharīf II was the involuntary grand vizier of Shah Ismāʿīl the first. Sayyid Sharīf II was the son of Murtaḍa, al- Murtaḍa Taceddin. Taceddin's mother was the sister of ʿAli al-Muayyad, known as the *Serbudār* to historians. Taceddin's maternal grandfather's uncle was Muhammad b. Sayyid al-Sharīf al-Jurjānī. Jurjānī's aunt was the daughter of the Mazandaran sultan; his son was killed by Shah Ṭahmāsp's wife. Taceddin's father, Sayyid Murtaḍa, was the pioneer of the Sufis. Sayyid Murtaḍa 's mother ʿĀʾishah was the daughter of Sayyid Sharīf ʿAli al-Ḥusaynī al-Jurjānī al-Naqshbandi. Moreover, after the death of her father in Shiraz, she solved the problems of the elders of the 'ulama'. She corrected Jurjānī's writings and was a famous scholar like her father and her brother.[14] It can be concluded that Mīrzā Makhdūm's lineage is grounded on strong intellectual and political tradition.

The mother of his grandfather Sayyid Fakhr Al-Dīn Ḥaydar Al-Ḥusaynī was the sister of Allame Sadreddin Muhammed. Abu ʿAli ʿAbd Allah's father was Sayyid Husayn al-Āmulī. The mother of Āmulī was the vizier of Ghazan Khan. Husayn's father was Muhammad Ḥasan b. Sayyid Tahir al-Radavi. Ḥasan's father was Abu Bakr ʿAbd Allah. Sayyid Ḥasanī whose name was Tahir Abu Muhammad became the king of Tabaristan. Tahir was the son of Abu Ḥasan Hashim. Abu Ḥasan Hashim was the son of Abu Hafs. Hafs Arabshah was the son of Abu Ibrahīm Nasir. He was the son of Muhammad Zayd ibn Qāsim ʿAbd Allah b. Ḥasan ʿAli b. Ḥasan and was nicknamed the Mahdi. The mother of Mahdi was the daughter of al-Daʿi al-Kabir Ḥasan ibn Zayd. Mahdi was the son of Zayd. Zayd was the son of Muhammad nicknamed al-Daʿi al-Saghir. Muhammad was the king of Tabaristan. Daʿi al-Kabir and Daʿi al-Saghir were the sons of Zayd. Zayd b. Muhammad b. Ismāʿīl b. Ḥasan b. Zayd was the eldest son of Imam Hammam Sayyid. Hammam was the son of Ḥasan b. ʿAli. Ḥasan's mother was Fatimah. Fatimah was the daughter of the Prophet

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[14] Mīrzā Makhdūm Sharifi Shirazi, *Dhakhirat al-ʿuqba fi dhamm al-dunya,* Topkapı Palace*, Ahmed III,* 267*.*

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Muhammad.[15] With this lineage, he proved that he was the descendant of the Prophet, with his connection to Fatima.

As we have seen, Mīrzā Makhdūm found himself in a political environment from the moment he was born until his death. However, thanks to his political experience and his scientific efforts, he also fulfilled his future duties. He became one of the most important advisors of the shah in the sectarian conflicts during his lifetime and he actively managed this difficult process.

2.2. Mīrzā Makhdūm's Education

Mīrzā Makhdūm received his early education in Shiraz and Kashan. His granfathers and uncles were all educated by al-Jurjani. Mīrzā Makhdūm recived most of his education from his relatives. The teacher of al-Jurjānī was Alauddin al-Attar, a follower of Bahauddin Naqshband.[16] His first teacher was his uncle Sayyid Murtaḍa who held the office of *sadr* in Khorasan under Shah Ṭahmāsp. Mīrzā Makhdūm studied Arabic, kalam, and geometry with his uncle Murtaḍa.[17]

When his father became the vizier of Ṭahmāsp, he was unable to educate Mīrzā. Subsequently, he commissioned Mawlānā Taqī al-Dīn Abu al-Khayr al-Fārisī to teach, who was a student of Ghiyath al-Din Mansur. And during that period, no one could become a scholar without having been educated by him. Under al-Fārisī, Mīrzā Makhdūm studied logic, theology, natural sciences, and mathematics.[18]

According to Mīrzā Makhdūm, his teachers in hadith were Sheikh 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Ziyād al-Zubaydī and Sheikh ibn Hajar al-Maliki. Furthermore, he received ijaza of (the certificate to teach) *the Six Books of Sunni Hadith (al-kutub al-sittah)* from Ibn Hajar Maliki, though it was burnt by the Qizilbash along with his

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[15] Mīrzā Makhdūm Sharifi Shirazi, *Dhakhirat al-ʿuqba fi dhamm al-dunya,* Topkapı Palace*, Ahmed III*, 267*.*
[16] Ibid, 267.
[17] Mīrzā Makhdūm Sharifi Shirazi, *Al-Nawākiḍ li-Bunyān al-Rawāfiḍ*, Topkapı Palace, Ahmed III, 198b.
[18] Ibid, 198b.

books and other belongings. [19] During his travels to Hijaz for pilgrim in 973/1565-66, Mīrzā Makhdūm had the chance to read (*the Six Books of Sunni Hadith)* with the Mecca-based Egyptian scholar, Shihab al-Din Abu'l-Abbas Ahmad ibn Muhammad al-Haythami and a Shāfiʿī scholar called Ibn Hajar al- Haythamī al-Ansārī. Therefore, he had the opportunity to study a significant anti-Shi'a polemic titled *al-Ṣawāʿiq al-Muḥriqa fī Radd ʿalā Ahl al-Bidaʿ wa-l-zandaqa.* "Chronologically, Mīrzā Makhdūm's account of his studies with Ibn Hajar in Mecca is problematic, given that Ibn Hajar had died in Rajab 973/February 1566, some six months before the official beginning of the Hajj season and the arrival of pilgrims in Mecca."[20] He received an *ijaza* from Shāfiʿī the chief judge of Sanaʿa, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Ziyād al-Zubaydī.[21]

Moreover, Mīrzā Makhdūm additionally states that back in Safavid Iran, fearful of the Qizibash, he read Shāfiʿī fiqh covertly and neglected to mention his tutors.[22] However, since we learned from Mīrzā Makhdūm's books and sayings, he learned about Shāfiʿī fiqh and he took lessons and certificates from the tutors and teachers he met during his travels. Especially, he met with the great scholars of the period during his pilgrimage and claimed that he received certificates from them. When we consider the pilgrimage, we can state that he visited important cities such as Cairo and Medina.

The common aspect of his ancestry and education was the coexistence of the Shi'i and Sunni creed. More important than his Sunni relatives is his education from the Sunni scholars. Although the first one was not decided by him, the latter was a choice. For this reason, it may be assumed that he was soul searching even in his early years. If it was not the case, apparently he was somehow exposed to the influence of Sunni thought.

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[19] Mīrzā Makhdūm Sharifi Shirazi, *Dhakhirat al-ʿuqba fi dhamm al-dunya,* 268.
[20] "Makhdūm Sharifi Shirazi", Encyclopædia Iranica, accessed on 20 October 2016, http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/makhdum-shirazi
[21] Ibid, 261.
[22] Ibid, 262.

2.3. Mīrzā Makhdūm's Life in the Safavid Court

Mīrzā Makhdūm was born in the city of Shiraz, located within the borders of modern-day Iran, into a prominent family of learned and landed notables. He claimed to be the descent of the Prophet Muhammad from his paternal side through relatives of the distinguished Sunni scholar, al- Sharīf Alī ibn Muḥammad al-Jurjānī. It is known that Mīrzā Makhdūm was both a Sayyid and a Sharīf. By Mīrzā Makhdūm's own testimony, his patrilineal ancestors were descendants of the Zaydi ruler of eastern Tabaristan, Abu Muhammad Ḥasan b. Qasim Alawi, also known as Da'i al-Saghir. He claims as well that previousgenerations of his ancestors had close ties with a number of religious and political grandees. Under the sovereign Ismā'īl I, Mīrzā Makhdūm's paternal grandfather, Sayyid Sharif al-Din 'Ali, acted as sadr. Mīrzā Makhdūm's mother was the granddaughter of Qadi Jahan Sayfi Huseyni Qazwini who was a grand vizier for about fifteen years under Shah Ṭahmāsp. Mīrzā Makhdūm's father, Mir Sharīf Shīrāzī was the chief judge of Shiraz under Shah Ṭahmāsp.[23] As it is seen, Mīrzā Makhdūm comes from a noble family. This helped him strengthen his network and get a qualified education.

According to the data obtained from today's sources, there are two different narratives regarding Mīrzā Makhdūm's date of birth whose life and duties we have investigated in the Safavids and Ottoman Empire. From Mīrzā Makhdūm's words in his book, we know that he was born in 947/1540 in Shiraz[24], not in 951/1544-45 as it is mentioned by Rosemary Stanfield.[25] Moreover, he stated that in 989/1581 he was 42 years old. Considering all these, we can say that the date of his birth coincided with the first half of 947/1540.[26]

He received his primary education from his family. There are two different narratives about whether Mīrzā Makhdūm met with Shayh al-Islām Çivizāda.

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[23] Mīrzā Makhdūm Sharifi Shirazi, *Dhakhirat al-ʿuqba fi dhamm al-dunya,* Topkapı Palace*, Ahmed III, 262.

[24] Ibid, 222b.

[25] His date of birth is appointed to the year 947/1540-41. Rosemary Stanfield, "Mirza Makhdum Sharifi: A 16th century Sunni sadr at the Safavid Court," (PhD diss., New York University, 1992), 32.

[26] "Makhdūm Sharifi Shirazi", Encyclopædia Iranica, accessed on 20 October 2016, http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/makhdum-shirazi#.

Considering the first of these accounts, according to Atâyî and Mehmet Süreyya, he met with Shayh al-Islām Çivizāda Muhyiddin Mehmed in 1546 and became Ḥanafī.[27] However, if we accept that the birth of Mīrzā Makhdūm was during the first half of the 1540s, he was not even 10 years old. Moreover, even if he had met him, he could not have become a Ḥanafī because he would have been a minor. Besides, such important information would have been recorded in his book. Heiderzadeh states that he met him in 1574 but this cannot be verified.[28] Furthermore, Mīrzā Makhdūm mentions in his book that he became Ḥanafī after he fled to the Ottoman Empire.[29] Taking these results into consideration, it can be concluded that he did not meet Çivizāda and that he was not Ḥanafī prior to his move to the Ottoman Empire. Moreover, he mentions that his family was Sunni who wanted to live in the Ottoman Empire. Furthermore, it is among the known information that there were Sunnis in Iran during that time, but it is unknown if there were Ḥanafīs. Mīrzā Makhdūm mentions that cities like Kashan were Shi'a when he talks about religious beliefs in Iranian cities. Although Qazvin, Shiraz and Hamadān were Sunni cities, the Shi'a population was increasing in these cities. He also adds that Sunnis consituted a living community in Iran.[30] As it can be understood from his words, there was a Sunni population in Iran, but the Sunni population was declining day by day.

Mīrzā Makhdūm started his career as a preacher and a teacher in Haydariyya Mosque in Qazvin. He first traveled to Shiraz then to Tūs, Mashhad, Isfahan, Kashan, and Qazvin where he gained different experiences.[31]

When his father was assigned to Qazvin, Mīrzā Makhdūm was appointed to his position in Shiraz. At that time his father sent him for Hajj in 973/1565-66. Mīrzā Makhdūm went over the Indian road; while travelling, his boat broke down. He

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[27] Nev'izâde Atâyî, *Hadâ'iku'l-Hakâ'ik Fî Tekmileti'ş-Şakâ'ik* vol.1, ed. Suat Donuk. (Istanbul: Türkiye Yazma Eserler Kurumu Başkanlığı, 2017), 38, 843-847, Mehmet Süreyya, *Sicilli Osmani*, IV, 146.
[28] Tofiqh Heiderzadeh, "İran Alimlerinin Osmanlı Devleti'ne Gelişi ve Osmanlı Bilimine Katkıları," trans. Aysu Albayrak, Osmanlı Bilimi Araştırmaları 20, no. 2, (2019): 237-238.
[29] Mīrzā Makhdūm Sharifi Shirazi, *Al-Nawâqid li Bunyan al-Rawafid*, Topkapı Palace, Ahmed III, 198.
[30] Mīrzā Makhdūm Sharifi Shirazi, *Dhakhirat al-ʿuqba fi dhamm al-dunya,* Topkapı Palace*,* Ahmed III, 223.
[31] Rosemary Stanfield, "Mirza Makhdum Sharifi: A 16th century Sunni sadr at the Safavid Court," (PhD diss., New York University, 1992), 93.

stopped at Habasha and moved to Yemen where he took lessons and certificate from famous scholars. After many difficulties, he reached Mecca and completed his pilgrimage in 973/1565-66; then he turned to Qazvin. A few months after his return to Qazvin, his father died and Shah Ṭahmāsp requested him to transport his father's body to Imam Husayn's martyrdom. He fulfilled the request of the Shah and transported his father's body to the martyrdom, however, upon his return from the martyrdom, the Iraqi governor, Iskender Pasha, forbade him to return; consequently, he did not return to Qazvin, stayed in Iraq land developed a close friendship wiht the governor. However, when Mīrzā Makhdūm's mother wrote a letter asking him to return, he told the pasha about his mother's request, and the pasha granted permission for his return and he went to his family in Qazvin.[32] However, before reaching Qazvin, an Iraqi Shi'I group had started activities. For this reason, Pari Khān Khānum (daughter of Shah Tahmasb) was not able to protect Mīrzā Makhdūm much in the sectarian conflicts which were already violent. In this case, it was inevitable for Mīrzā Makhdūm to leave the country.

It is also necessary to examine the political situation and sectarian conflicts in Qazvin at the time of Mīrzā Makhdūm's arrival. Ṭahmāsp was on the throne when Mīrzā Makhdūm arrived in Qazvin. Ṭahmāsp was the eldest son of Shah Ismāʿīl. Like his father, he ascended to the throne at a young age. Ṭahmāsp became shah at 17 years old and tried to reduce the effects of the wars that began during his father's rule. He was a clever, intelligent and determined leader. He benefited from the Ottoman prince Bayezid who took refuge in their country and prevented the war in his country. However, Sheikh Nūral-Din ʿAli bin ʿAbdallah Āmilī al-Karakī, who came to his country during the time of his father Shah Ismāʿīl, systematized Shi'ism in the country. So much so that he initiated and even spread some Shi'i rituals in the country. These rituals, however, were not well received by the Sunni powers, and the sectarian conflicts that would emerge were further exacerbated. These conflicts intensified under Ṭahmāsp's rule. As Ṭahmāsp followed a moderate policy with the Ottoman Empire, he was more interested in suppressing sectarian conflicts.

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[32] Mīrzā Makhdūm Sharifi Shirazi, *Dhakhirat al-ʿuqba fi dhamm al-dunya,* Topkapı Palace*,* Ahmed III, 224.

However, Sheikh Nūral-Din al-Karakī, who had come to the country during his father's life time, returned during the period of Ṭahmāsp and held the title of Sheikh al-Islam and tried to strengthen the Shi'i wing. His position increased daily, and subsequently he introduced more innovations to Shi'ism. An example of this is the land seal that the Shi'i use when praying. He aspired to change the direction of the prayer for Shi'is but was unsuccessful at his attempt.[33]

When Mīrzā Makhdūm arrived in Qazvin, sectarian conflicts increased and the Shi'i wing increased its power in the Shi'I-Sunni conflicts. However, according to the sources we have studied, Mīrzā Makhdūm, a Sunni who wished to strengthen his side, began meeting with Shah Ismā'īl, a prisoner in the Qahqaha Fortress.[34] Moreover, rumors stated that Shah Ismā'īl became a Shāfiʿī thanks to Mīrzā Makhdūm.[35] This facilitated Mīrzā Makhdūm's future work in the country and led to important positions for Mīrzā Makhdūm.

Iraqi Shi'is had entered and settled in Qazvin before Mīrzā Makhdūm. The city of Qazvin was previously Sunni. However, after the Safavid revolution, either the Sunni resisters were killed by the Qizilbash or they were forced to flee Iran before they were killed.[36] As a consequence of being away from their sect, being respected by the pasha and believing in Sunni Islam, Iraqis had long imprisoned Mīrzā Makhdūm and damaged his home. In Qazvin, Mīrzā Makhdūm established a close relationship with Pari Khān Khānum -Shah Ṭahmāsp's[37] eldest daughter-. Pari Khān Khānum saved Makhdūm from prison and she took the post of the chief judge of Fars from her father. Then, Mirza Makhdum repaired his home and property, after starting a new job. He tried to propagate Sunni thought in Iran. He gave lessons and sermons on Sunnism. However, the Qizilbash uncomfortable with propagating Sunni

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[33] Rula Jurdi Abisaab, Karakî, Encyclopedia Iranica, (New York: Columbia University Press, 1979-).

[34] Mīrzā Makhdūm Sharifi Shirazi, *Dhakhirat al-ʿuqba fi dhamm al-dunya*, Topkapı Palace, Ahmed III, 228.

[35] Ibid, 220.

[36] Rosemary Stanfield, "Mirza Makhdum Sharifi: A 16th century Sunni sadr at the Safavid Court," (PhD diss., New York University, 1992), 95.

[37] Ṭahmāsp had no say because of his age at the begining of his reign. The Qizilbash ruled the state for 10 years. Then he took control of the state. He gave the balance between the Turkmen and Qizilbash. Since 1574, the balance has been shaken again. Roger Savory, *Iran under the Safavids* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980), 68.

thought, attacked Pari Khān Khānum and her father. After that, this dispute in Shiraz forced him to resign.[38] Thus, Pari Khān Khānum asked Mīrzā Makhdūm to leave and to go on a pilgrimage and reside outside of Qazvin. He set off with his mother, his uncle Sayyid Rūḥ Allah and his cousin Sayyid Jamāl al-Dīn in 982/1574-75.[39]

When Ṭahmāsp grew, he ensured a balance between the Sunni Turkmens and the Qizilbash. Since 1574, the balance had been shaken again and they began to interfere in the management of the affairs. Ṭahmāsp left the power to the sheikhs and the scholars and Pari Khān's power decreased in Qazvin.[40] Ṭahmāsp strengthened the privileges of the Shi'i scholars, thus, they were able to expand their power in the government and among the people. Mīrzā Makhdūm mentions that Ṭahmāsp suppressed Sunnism among the community and the population.[41]

Shah Ṭahmāsp was killed on May 15, 1576, during the month of April in 1576 in Qazvin due to a dispute between the tribal lords concerning the determination of an heir.[42] Uzunçarşılı states that Ṭahmāsp was poisoned by his Georgian wife who wanted her son on the throne.[43] Pari Khān Khānum asked Mirza Makhdum to wash the body of Ṭahmāsp. It should be noted that Mīrzā Makhdūm stated that he had not confessed his Sunni faith during Shah Ṭahmāsp's rule.[44]

After the death of Shah Ṭahmāsp in 1576, the Safavid country was shaken by intricacies. To maintain dominance within the polity, a struggle between the Turkmen, Tajik and Caucasian groups erupted. This was a struggle involving the participation of the Harem. In the palace, the wives of Ṭahmāsp who were of

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[38] Mīrzā Makhdūm Sharifi Shirazi, *Al-Nawâqid li Bunyan al-Rawafid*, Topkapı Palace, Ahmed III, 198.
[39] Ibid, 195.
[40] Mīrzā Makhdūm Sharifi Shirazi, *Dhakhirat al-ʿuqba fi dhamm al-dunya,* Topkapı Palace, Ahmed III, 98a.
[41] Mīrzā Makhdūm Sharifi Shirazi, *Al-Nawâqid li Bunyan al-Rawafid*, 192.
[42] Bekir Kütükoğlu, *Osmanlı-İran Siyasi Münasebetleri 1578-1612* (İstanbul: İstanbul Fetih Cemiyeti Yayınları, 1993), 646.
[43] İsmail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Tarihi* (İstanbul: Türk Tarih Kurumu,2009), 3/55.
[44] Mīrzā Makhdūm Sharifi Shirazi, *Al-Nawâqid li Bunyan al-Rawafid*, Topkapı Palace, Ahmed III, 192.

Circassian and Georgian origin were involved in power struggle for their sons. [45] Furthermore, seven of the nine sons of Shah Ṭahmāsp were born to Caucasian or Georgian mothers, and two of his sons (Muhammad Khudābanda and Ismāʻīl) were born to a Turkish mother.[46]

Moreover, Shah Ṭahmāsp died without appointing an heir and his son Muhammad Khudābanda was blind. Because of that, dispute erupted between his other sons, Haydar Mīrzā (d.1556) and Ismāʻīl Mīrzā (d. 1535).[47] In this regard, we have to examine Ismāʻīl 's political history; Ismāʻīl Mīrzā was sent to Shirvan after the Alqas Mīrzā rebellion in H.954 (1547-48) when he was 14 years old. Qajar Gökche Sultan was appointed as tutor to him. He attacked Ottoman soldiers in H.956 (1550) who had repaired the castle of Kars under his father's orders, killed many of them and took some of them captive. In H.959 (1553) he was assigned to ravage Ercis, Ahlat, and Erzurum. Ismāʻīl Mīrzā was appointed as the governor of Marash. The courageous behavior of Ismāʻīl Mīrzā against the Ottomans led him to be loved by the Turkmen. He was appointed the governor of Herāt in H.963/1557. Moreover, it is reported that in Ismāʻīl Mīrzā's short tenure as a governor of Herāt, several Sunni noblemen had fled Khorāsān early in the reign of Iranian Shah Ṭahmāsp, they were allowed transportation within the town. The Safavid prince's pro-Sunni policies in Herāt were shortly exploited by his enemies in Qazvin. On twenty-seven Jumada in 964/1557, Ismāʻīl Mīrzā was escorted by the commander-in-chief of the cavalry, Sevindik Bey Afshar, from Herāt to Qazvin via Tabas, Yazd, and Kashan. Before his arrival in Sava, a city some hundred miles southeast of Qazvin, several of his allies and backers at court were nabbed and sentenced to death in Qazvin. Ṭahmāsp denied Ismāʻīl Mīrzā entry to Qazvin, charging Sevindik Bey with the task of detaining him in Sava. In Shaʿban 964/June-July 1557, the Safavid monarch wanted to incarcerate Ismāʻīl Mīrzā to Qahqaha from his deputy Jalāl al-Dīn Maʿsūm Bey Seyqavānd. Afterward, a

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[45] Mehmet Dağlar, "Safevi Devleti'nde Şah II. İsmail ve Muhammed Hudabende Dönemlerinde Kızılbaş Hakimiyeti," *Türk Tarih Araştırmaları Dergisi*, 3/1 (2018): 56.

[46] Roger Savory, *Iran Under the Safavids*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980), 68.

[47] Cihat Aydoğmuşoglu, "Şah. II. İsmail (1576-1577) Devri Siyasî ve Dinî Hâdiseleri," *The Journal of Academic Social Science Studies*, 48 (2016): 60.

group of Ustajlu emirs was denoted to Qahqaha Castle to function as jail guards. For about 20 years Ismā'īl Mīrzā was imprisoned in Qahkaha by the order of his father. It is known that Sunnis visited him while he was in prison. Moreover, it is known that Mīrzā Makhdūm visited Ismā'īl II in prison.[48] Mīrzā Makhdūm established a close relationship with Ismā'īl II. Ṭahmāsp's third son Haydar Mīrzā succeeded in taking his place.[49] Therefore, it would not be wrong to say that Mīrzā Makhdūm may have seen that Shah Ismā'īl could be in a good position in the future. Considering that he was actually a Sunni scholar and could not comfortably explain his views due to the turmoil in the Ṭahmāsp period, we can assume that Shah Ismā'īl held lengthy meetings with Mirza Makhdum while he was in prison and he engaged in political and sectarian discussions with him. In this way, Mīrzā Makhdūm warmed up to Shah Ismā'īl and he was able to take an active role in the future changes.

In the last eight years of Ṭahmāsp's reign, conditions in Persia had grown insecure.[50] The division and enmity between tribes actually began in 1574. The fact that Shah Ṭahmāsp suffered a severe illness two years before his death and his illness had lasted two months which had increased the power struggles and led to the emergence of different groups (1574). Immediately upon the death of Shah Ṭahmāsp, Haydar Mīrzā with the support of the leaders of Ustajlu and the Georgians was urgently enthroned -due to the several reasons, such as being in Qazvin, the capital city and since his father favoured him as the next ruler. During the first days of his reign, while he was in the Harem; a coup took place and he had no opportunity to escape. Thus, he was stabbed to death by knives and daggers by Ismā'īl Mīrzā's supporters. His murder caused a turmoil in the capital. [51]

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[48] Mīrzā Makhdūm Sharifi Shirazi, *Dhakhirat al-ʿuqba fi dhamm al-dunya,* Topkapı Palace*,* Ahmed III, 228.

[49] Esmâʿil II, Encyclopædia Iranica, accessed on 22 February 2016, http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/esmail-02.

[50] Peter Jackson and Laurence Lockhart, *The Cambridge History of Iran*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 252.

[51] Roger Savory, *Iran Under the Safavids*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980), 69; İskender Bey Türkmen, *Târih-i Âlem-ârâ-yı Abbasî*, (Tahran: Müessese- i İntişârât-ı Emir Kebîr, 1387), 195.

Moreover, the supporters of Ismāʻīl Mīrzā (a group of about 5,000 members of orders, sayyids, rulers, and scholars) brought him to the capital city of Qazvin (4 June 1576). After a brief period they enthroned him in the Chihl Sutun Palace in Qazvin with the title of "Shah Ismāʻīl II" (22 August 1576 Wednesday).[52] Following his coronation, Shah Ismāʻīl's first act was to eliminate some of the Qizilbash leaders who might pose a threat for him.[53] He made some important appointments. In this context, the *sadr* post was given to Mīrzā Shukrullah Isfahani and the authority responsible for religious affairs was given to two people (Mīrzā Makhdūm Sharīf Shirazî and Shah ʻInayatullah Isfahani).[54] Mīrzā Makhdūm was made a royal tutor and court astronomer.[55] Thanks to these policies followed by Shah Ismāʻīl, this period was a turning point for Mīrzā Makhdūm.

As Mīrzā Makhdūm mentioned in his book, he changed Shah Ismāʻīl II's denomination. Iranian historians state that he was inclined to Shafi'i sect.[56] From Mīrzā Makhdūm's book, we understand that Shah Ismāʻīl II, after learning that his grandfathers were Sunni, loved his former ancestry and follow Shafi *and* Ashʻarī school of thought. Mīrzā Makhdūm became his teacher, sheikh, mufti, grand vizier, doctor, poet, astrologer, and his companion.[57] Thus, Shah Ismāʻīl was carrying out religious strategies in his country with the help of Mīrzā Makhdūm.[58] Mīrzā Makhdūm played a key role in convincing Shah Ismāʻīl II to implement a strict boycott in Qazvin to those who belive in *tabarra(It is used in the sense of turning away from those who do not comply with ʻAli)*.[59] Additionally, he was credited for launching a criminal investigation against a variety of high-level Twelver Shiʻi clerics, harmed them by cutting their stipends and confiscating their land in Qazvin.

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[52] Cihat Aydoğmuşoglu, "Şah. II. İsmail (1576-1577) Devri Siyasî ve Dinî Hâdiseleri," *The Journal of Academic Social Science Studies*, 48 (2016): 61.

[53] Ibid, 62.

[54] Colin P. Mitchell, *The Practice of Politics in Safavid Iran: Power, Religion and Rhetoric*, (London: I. B. Tauris Publishers, 2009), 148.

[55] Mīrzā Makhdūm Sharifi Shirazi, *Al-Nawâqid li Bunyan al-Rawafid*, Topkapı Palace, Ahmed III, 198.

[56] Cihat Aydoğmuşoglu, "Şah. II. İsmail (1576-1577) Devri Siyasî ve Dinî Hâdiseleri," 62; İskender Bey Türkmen, *Târih-i Âlem-ârâ-yı Abbasî*, (Tahran: Müessese- i İntişârât-ı Emir Kebîr, 1387), 213.

[57] Mīrzā Makhdūm Sharifi Shirazi, *Dhakhirat al-ʻuqba fi dhamm al-dunya,* Topkapı Palace*,* Ahmed III, 229.

[58] Mīrzā Makhdūm Sharifi Shirazi, *Al-Nawâqid li Bunyan al-Rawafid*, 196.

[59] Rosemary Stanfield, "Mirza Makhdum Sharifi: A 16th century Sunni sadr at the Safavid Court," (PhD diss., New York University, 1992), 98.

Furthermore, Makhdum additionally claims recognition for encouraging Shah Ismāʿīl II to abolish the Shi'i practice of temporary wedding (*mut'ah*) and he wrote a long risale about mut'ah dedicated to Shah Ismāʿīl. Shah Ismāʿīl's brothers were born from temporary marriages. Mīrzā Makhdūm argued that it was permissible for him (Shah Ismāʿīl II) to kill his brothers since they were born from a temporary marriage.[60] About two months after his ascension to the throne, Shah Ismāʿīl II decided in October 1576, to eliminate the princes (five of whom were his own brothers and four other princes) since they were a threat to his reign.[61] Also, Gholsorkhi stated in his article "Ismail II and Mīrzā Makhdūm Sharifi: An Interlude in Safavid History" that Mīrzā Makhdūm Sharīf who was a *sadr* had a role in Ismāʿīl II's tendency towards Sunnism and the massacre of the princes.[62]

In addition to these activities, Shah Ismāʿīl II had been in cooperation with the Shi'i sympathizers. In this context, he initiated activities through Iranian men and the caliphs in Anatolia which included the provocation of Qizilbash in Anatolia, distribution of books on Shi'ism, military and political intelligence, the collection of money and goods, effort of bringing the Qizilbash to some important tasks, etc. Thus, the Shah placed the Safavids into an expansionist policy in Central and Eastern Anatolia.[63] In Iranian geography, policies were produced that embraced Sunnis. The aim of this was to find solutions to the imperfections of the Safavid regime in Iran and to soften the attitude of the Sunni powers such as the Ottomans and Uzbeks against the Safavids; which struggled with internal problems in religious and political terms.[64] Shah Ismāʿīl may have tried to prevent the Qizilbash from rebelling. At the same time, he wanted to move their influence from the capital to Anatolia with this policy. Thus, the Shah wanted Iran to tolerate Sunnism.[65]

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[60] Ibid, 109.

[61] Cihat Aydoğmuşoglu, "Şah. II. İsmail (1576-1577) Devri Siyasî ve Dinî Hâdiseleri," *The Journal of Academic Social Science Studies*, 48 (2016), 62.

[62] Shohreh Gholsorkhi, "Ismail II and Mirza Makhdum Sharifi: An Interlude in Safavid History," *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, 26/3 (1994): 477.

[63] This was also the reason for the deterioration of relations with Ottoman.

[64] H. Mustafa Eravcı, "II. Şah İsmail Döneminde Doğu Anadolu'daki Safevi Tehdidi," (Türkiye'nin Güvenliği Sempozyumu, Elazığ, 2002): 295, 297-299, 301.

[65] Cihat Aydoğmuşoglu, "Şah. II. İsmail (1576-1577) Devri Siyasî ve Dinî Hâdiseleri," *The Journal of Academic Social Science Studies*, 48 (2016), 65.

Mīrzā Makhdūm also wrote about the pilgrimage according to the four sects (*madhab*) dedicated to Shah Ismāʿīl. He maintained that his opposition was the result of the hostility of the Qizilbash toward him.[66] As a result of these activities, indulgence between him and the Shi'is at court degenerated from an intellectual sphere to a political sphere.[67] Shah Ismāʿīl introduced radical changes in contrast to traditional Safavid policies. He eliminated his opponents one by one and then cleaned out the supporters of Haydar Mīrzā. Ismāʿīl II removed the Shi'i scholars and the Qizilbash tribes from the palace and replaced them with Sunni bureaucrats and scholars.[68] He forbade the disputed doctrines of the Twelve Imams. In this context, he forbade the cursing of the first three caliphs Abu Bakr, Umar, and Uthman and companions of the Prophet, especially his wife ʿĀʾishah.[69] He again erased the Shi'i writings against Sunnism on the walls of mosques and some buildings (madrasah, etc.), especially in Qazvin.[70]

These policies, supported by Shah Ismāʿīl, had a negative impact on the position of Shi'i elite and created a conflict. Shah Ismāʿīl II's removal of the Shi'I influence from Qazvin and his activities to strengthen the Sunnis intensified the existing sectarian conflicts. For this reason, the feelings of hatred against the Shah Ismāʿīl by the Shi'i population increased. Thus, the foundations of the great conflict were laid. As a result of these conflicts, the offensive on Shah Ismāʿīl II ultimately forced him to relieve Mīrzā Makhdūm from his duty.[71] As a result of anti-Shi'i policies, Ismāʿīl II who was afraid of the threat to his throne finally conceded to the wishes of the powerful Qizilbash and the Shi'i scholars. Mīrzā Makhdūm suggests that the Qizilbash demanded Shah Ismāʿīl II to kill Mīrzā

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[66] Mīrzā Makhdūm Sharifi Shirazi, *Al-Nawâqid li Bunyan al-Rawafid*, Topkapı Palace, Ahmed III, 192.

[67] Rosemary Stanfield, "Mirza Makhdum Sharifi: A 16th century Sunni sadr at the Safavid Court," (PhD diss., New York University, 1992), 95.

[68] Colin P. Mitchell, *The Practice of Politics in Safavid Iran: Power, Religion and Rhetoric*, (London: I. B. Tauris Publishers, 2009), 45.

[69] Tufan Gündüz, *Kızılbaşlar Osmanlılar Safevîler*, (İstanbul: Yeditepe Yayınları, 2015), 86.

[70] Aydoğmuşoglu, "Şah. II. İsmail (1576-1577) Devri Siyasî ve Dinî Hâdiseleri," 65.

[71] Makhdūm Sharifi Shirazi, Encyclopædia Iranica, accessed on 20 October 2016, http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/makhdum-shirazi.

Makhdūm; otherwise, they would disclose that Ismāʻīl was a Sunni.[72] Thereafter, Shah Ismāʻīl imprisoned Mīrzā Makhdūm. Atayi states that Mīrzā Makhdūm tried to make Ismāʻīl II follow the path of Sunnism, however, they imprisoned him, like the Prophet Yusuf. Afterward, Mīrzā Makhdūm's house and his family library were destroyed by the Qizilbash.[73]

Mīrzā Makhdūm blamed Shah Ismāʻīl II of his imprisonment. He states that his thoughts were weak and ill-advised and he was scared of his troops, and that's why Shah Ismāʻīl II imprisoned Makhdūm for a long time.[74] During this period, Shah Ismāʻīl II was afraid of the violence of the sectarian conflicts in the country and he imprisoned Mīrzā Makhdūm in order to appease the affair and manage both sides. Mīrzā Makhdūm, who thought that he had been unjustly imprisoned, argued that Shah Ismāʻīl's views were diseased; he had misconceptions and administrative shortcomings. However, his statements were ineffective. Thereupon, Mīrzā Makhdūm escaped from prison by Pari Khān Khānum's assistance but was caught soon after. Then, thanks to his uncle's children, his second attempt was a success; and as a result of his discomfort with Shah Ismāʻīl and lack of safety, he left the country and took refuge in the Ottoman Empire.[75]

"The ban on the tabarra, the pattern of superior Shi'a clerics, the removal of the name of the primary Shi'a leader from the face of the new-minted coins, and the disbursement of generous sums of money among the Sunni leaders of Qazvin and the metropolis eventually led to a series of public protests in Qazvin."[76] In the case of the Shah's removal of the Shi'i scholars from the palace, we can give an example of the liquidation of the fanatic Shi'i group (Mir Sayyid 'Ali Khatti, Khâja Afdal, and the Esterabadi group), which, in fact, had strong positions materially and spiritually in the Safavid court. Undoubtedly, the elimination of such a powerful structure

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[72] Mīrzā Makhdūm Sharifi Shirazi, *Al-Nawâqid li Bunyan al-Rawafid*, Topkapı Palace, Ahmed III, 199b.
[73] Mīrzā Makhdūm Sharifi Shirazi, *Dhakhirat al-ʿuqba fi dhamm al-dunya,* Topkapı Palace, Ahmed III, 223.
[74] Ibid, 224a.
[75] Mīrzā Makhdūm Sharifi Shirazi, *Al-Nawâqid li Bunyan al-Rawafid*, 199b.
[76] Makhdūm Sharifi Shirazi, Encyclopædia Iranica, accessed on 20 October 2016, http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/makhdum-shirazi

would be beneficial to the Shah for his ability to establish his authority both in his Sunni neighbors and in domestic politics.[77] Shah Ismāʿīl II's politics of consolidating his power increased people's anger towards him. In particular, his tolerant attitude towards Sunnis, heightened the hatred in the eyes of the people. Furthermore, in a short period, Shah Ismāʿīl II had earned the hatred of Ṭahmāsp's daughter Pari Khān Khānum. Thus, Shah Ismāʿīl II[78] was found dead in the house of Helvacı Oğlu Hasan Bey, who was close to the Devlethâne(government) in Qazvin on 24 November 1577 after a short fourteen month rule.[79] It is still debated whether he was poisoned or that he died from an opium overdose.[80] Gelibolulu Mustafa Âli argues that Shah Ismāʿīl II was murdered.[81] Uzunçarşılı on the other hand states that he died of overdose.[82] Mīrzā Makhdum says that he was killed by the Qizilbash.[83] These narrations confirm that Shah Ismāʿīl 's death remains ambiguous. However, the common denominator in all these interpretations shows that Shah Ismāʿīl was mysteriously murdered. His death was probably organized by the Shi'i forces. With his death, the Shi'is expected to break the power of the Sunnis in the country and may have planned to return to Qazvin.

After the death of Ismāʿīl II, with the lack of eligible princes, Pari Khān Khānum was enthroned as Queen Pari Khān Khānum. She released Mīrzā Makhdūm from prison, thus, Mīrzā Makhdūm escaped death. Mīrzā Makhdūm decided to leave his country for safety reasons. He likely used the sea road when he fled the country and fell into

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[77] Shohreh Gholsorkhi, "Ismail II and Mirza Makhdum Sharifi: An Interlude in Safavid History," *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, 26/3, (1994): 482.

[78] The aftermath of the Mirza Makhdum episode and Ismail II's death witnessed a renewal in the realm's spiritual uncertainty: in the first four or five years after Ismail II's death, contemporary sources record the rising of several pseudo-Ismails, described as darvishes (*qalandar*s) unattached to any recognised Sufi order. Andrew J. Newman, *Safavid Iran*, (Newyork: I.B. Tauris & Co Ltd, 2006), 47.

[79] Cihat Aydoğmuşoglu, "Şah. II. İsmail (1576-1577) Devri Siyasî ve Dinî Hâdiseleri," *The Journal of Academic Social Science Studies*, 48 (2016): 65.

[80] Edward G. Browne, *A Literary History Of Persia*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1953), IV, 99.

[81] Faris Çerçi, *Gelibolulu Mustafa Âlî ve Künhü'l-Ahbâr'ında II. Selim, III. Murat ve III. Mehmet Devirleri*, (Kayseri: Erciyes Üniversitesi Yayınları, 2000), II, 262.

[82] İsmail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Tarihi*, (Ankara: TTK, 1995), 3, 56.

[83] Mīrzā Makhdūm Sharifi Shirazi, *Al-Nawâqid li Bunyan al-Rawafid*, Topkapı Palace, Ahmed III, 192b.

the sea while running during Ramadan 985/1577-78. Mīrzā Makhdūm was caught and was subsequently imprisoned again.[84]

Mīrzā Makhdūm came to Qazvin after a challenging journey. The period when he came to Qazvin coincides with the increasing conflicts in the country. For this reason, Mīrzā Makhdūm had taken critical duties in Safavid lands and had to address conflicts during this period. In fact, these critical tasks resulted in life-threatening dangers. However, with the activities and works carried out, the Sunni side was not as strong as it was in the past, and the conflicts existed due to the lack of administrative power and the aim of strengthening Sunnis had not been realized. Upon the murder of Shah Ismāʿīl, who could defend himself on all accounts, Mīrzā Makhdūm's only option was to leave the country, otherwise, he would risk death.

Later, Shah Muhammad became the shah. His teacher was Mīrzā Makhdūm's uncle Murtaḍā. Upon his cousins rescuing him from prison, Mīrzā Makhdūm, who saw that there was no security in the country, decided to leave. At that time in the Ottoman Empire, Murād III was the ruler and his grandfather, Süleyman the Magnificent had supported the empowerment of science within the empire. In this way, an elite scientific environment was prepared in the Ottoman Empire. This allowed Mīrzā Makhdūm to comfortably express his views and led to his rise to administrative positions in the Ottoman Empire. As a result, he fled to the Ottoman Empire, a place in which he could clearly and freely declare his views.[85]

There are several approaches and thoughts about the life of Mīrzā Makhdūm. It is clear that he took different jobs in the Ottoman Empire. However, it is debated that he was a Shi'i before coming to the Ottoman Empire. One of these views is found in Kioumars Ghereghlou's article "A Safavid Bureaucrat in the Ottoman World: Mīrzā Makhdūm Sharifi Shirazi and the Quest for Upward Mobility in the Illegitimate Hierarchy". In his article, Ghereghlou claims that Mirza Makhdum was initially a Shi'i

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[84] Mīrzā Makhdūm Sharifi Shirazi, *Dhakhirat al-ʿuqba fi dhamm al-dunya,* Topkapı Palace*,* Ahmed III, 220b.
[85] Mīrzā Makhdūm Sharifi Shirazi, *Dhakhirat al-ʿuqba fi dhamm al-dunya*, 224a.

scholar and later accepted Sunnism when he moved to the Ottoman Empire. He provides evidence that his father and grandfather were viziers in the Safavids, and that his father brutally killed the Sunnis.[86] However, when we examine the period of Mīrzā Makhdūm, we see that Shah Ismā'īl II was close to Sunnism and he followed policies that would benefit Sunnis. Furthermore, that a person is Shi'i or Sunni does not necessarily indicate that his son will carry the same sect. It is also known that Mīrzā Makhdūm's maternal side was Sunni and were the descendants of al-Jurjānī. Based on this evidence, it would be a considerable claim to label Mīrzā Makhdūm a Shi'i or a Sunni.

In support of this view, Ghereghlou states that Mīrzā Makhdūm briefly described his father and grandfather's activities in his work.[87] However, Mīrzā Makhdūm, in his book *Al-Nawākiḍ li-Bunyān al-Rawāfiḍ*, which we will examine in Chapter 3, wishes that his services in the Ottoman Empire would be the penance of his father and grandfather's crimes. Considering that this book was written in 1580 in Mashhad and Baghdad during the Ottoman dominance, Mīrzā Makhdūm clearly states in his book that he regrets his father and grandfather's actions.[88] Therefore, if we examine these aspects, we can suggest that this opinion should be re-examined.

Ghereghlou regarding his teachers states that Mīrzā Makhdūm's uncle, his first teacher was a strong Shi'i and adds that Mīrzā Makhdūm also wrote his brother a book about the principles of Shi'ism in 1570.[89] However, when we look at these comments, we can see that Mīrzā Makhdūm clearly stated that his first teacher was his uncle and did not conceal this information. Therefore, we know that his first teacher was a Shi'i scholar, but also he has a strong Sunni scholar like Ghiyas al-Din Mansur Dashtaki. However, he also states in his book that he had secretly taken

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[86] Kioumars Ghereghlou, "A Safavid Bureaucrat in the Ottoman World: Mirza Makhdum Sharifi Shirazi and the Quest for Upward Mobility in the Illegitimate Hierarchy," *Osmanlı Araştırmaları/The Journal of Ottoman Studies*, LIII (2019), 172.

[87] Kioumars Ghereghlou, "A Safavid Bureaucrat in the Ottoman World: Mirza Makhdum Sharifi Shirazi and the Quest for Upward Mobility in the Illegitimate Hierarchy," 172.

[88] Mīrzā Makhdūm Sharifi Shirazi, *Al-Nawâqid li Bunyan al-Rawafid*, Topkapı Palace, Ahmed III, 192b.

[89] Kioumars Ghereghlou, "A Safavid Bureaucrat in the Ottoman World: Mirza Makhdum Sharifi Shirazi and the Quest for Upward Mobility in the Illegitimate Hierarchy," *Osmanlı Araştırmaları/The Journal of Ottoman Studies*, LIII (2019), 174.

Sunni lessons.[90] Therefore, among his teachers are Sunni teachers along with Shi'i teachers. As for the book about the principles of Shi'ism, it shows that he knows the principles of Shi'ism, but does not prove that he was a Shi'i. He may have wanted his brother to learn the beliefs of the people living around him.

Moreover, when he escaped, there were two Iranian viziers in the Ottoman Empire, which shows that if the incoming scholars were qualified, they could have been employed in the Ottoman Empire. For, Ottoman historians state that Mīrzā Makhdūm's knowledge was quite advanced.[91] In his book, which we are going to examine, we see that he was well-versed in the Sunni creed and knows the different narrations and views of the Sunni scholars.

In addition, when we examine the alleged subjects and the period, Iranian historians state that he was a Sunni scholar[92] and affected Ismā'īl II.[93] Therefore, it is difficult to say for certain that he was a Sunni or Shi'i. Perhaps he had a multiple identity. In this chapter, we saw that there were Sunnis and Shi'is in his family and that he received his education from both Sunni and Shi'i scholars. When we look at his life in the Safavid lands, we also see that there are proofs that he may be Sunni and Shi'i. Considering the evidence, we can say that he was confused and did not identify with one sect or simply chose to follow both. Another option would be to say that he was political and acted on the terms and conditions of the time. In this case, for Mīrzā Makhdūm's situation before the Ottoman Empire, I argue that instead of drawing concrete lines regarding his beliefs, focusing on the flux of beliefs might provide a more accurate information regarding the atmosphere of this period.

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[90] Mīrzā Makhdūm Sharifi Shirazi, *Al-Nawâqid li Bunyan al-Rawafid*, Topkapı Palace, Ahmed III, 198b.
[91] Rosemary Stanfield, "Mirza Makhdum Sharifi: A 16th century Sunni sadr at the Safavid Court," (PhD diss., New York University, 1992), 53.
[92] Ibid, 32.
[93] Shohreh Gholsorkhi, "Ismail II and Mirza Makhdum Sharifi: An Interlude in Safavid History," *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, 26/3, (1994): 477.

CHAPTER 3

MĪRZĀ MAKHDŪM IN THE OTTOMAN LANDS

In this chapter, I will examine Mīrzā Makhdūm's escape from the Safavid lands and his life in the Ottoman Empire. We will see that Mīrzā Makhdūm fled to the Ottoman Empire to escape death and held important positions there. As a high-rank scholar from the Safavid lands, I think he wanted to prove himself in the Ottoman Empire. He wanted to prove that he was both Sunni and successful and was superior to the Ottoman scholars of the time, as can be seen in his books. We see in his works he refers to his lineage, thus connection to Prophet Muhammad, and his ancestor al-Jurjānī and receiving a good education. It is clear that the Ottomans welcomed him and he became one of the most celebrated scholars in the Ottoman Empire. Giving him high positions shows that the Ottomans did not have a negative attitude towards him. When we examine the tasks assigned to Mīrzā Makhdūm in this period, we can imagine that the Ottoman Empire wished to benefit from Mīrzā Makhdūm's political experience in the Safavid Empire. Moreover, the Ottoman Empire was self-sufficient at that time. Although he had a lot of expectations, Mīrzā Makhdūm did not rise much in his bureaucratic life.[94] Although he was highly educated, the fact that the Ottoman Empire saw itself superior to the Safavids could be the reason why Mīrzā Makhdūm did not advance as a bureaucrat. He may not have been allowed to advance as he had with Shah Ismā'īl II. To see these issues in more detail, I will first examine Mīrzā Makhdūm's escape from the Safavids to the Ottoman Empire, then his career and the works he wrote in the Ottoman lands. This chapter will display how a scholar from the Safavids could serve in the Ottoman Empire and the details of the Ottoman bureaucratic system from Mīrzā Makhdūm's life.

3.1. Mīrzā Makhdūm's Flee

The second part of his life starts with him fleeing from the Safavid prison on several occasions. He was imprisoned because of his Sunni thoughts. His first escape from

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[94] Mīrzā Makhdūm Sharifi Shirazi, *Al-Nawâqid li Bunyan al-Rawafid*, Topkapı Palace, Ahmed III, 221b.

the Safavid prison coincided with the succession of Pari Khān Khānum who tried to protect him. In the absence of a prince, Pari Khān Khānum became the ruling monarch of the country. She released Mīrzā Makhdūm from prison. However, his release was short-lived and he was then re-captured and imprisoned.[95]

His second escape was during the rule of Muhammad Khudābanda, it was aided by Makhdum's cousins in 986-1577/1578. After the death of Shah Ismā'īl II, Muhammad Khudābanda ascended as shah. It is known that Mīrzā Makhdūm's uncle was the mentor of Shah Muhammad at that time and, therefore, he was one of the closest people to the Shah. This made it easier for Mīrzā Makhdūm to escape.[96]

After fleeing the country, he headed to the Ottoman Empire. He was accompanied by his old acquaintance Muslim, his mother, and one other person whose identity is unknown.[97] There are two reports about the arrival of Mīrzā Makhdūm to the Ottoman palace. One of these narrations is by Burini and the other by Mīrzā Makhdūm in his book.

According to Burini, first he entered the city of Van. Derviş Pasha was the governor of the city and was the cousin of grand vizier Mehmed Pasha. He treated Mīrzā Makhdūm with respect and even presented Mīrzā Makhdūm's case to the palace. This news first reached Hoca Sadeddin Efendi and Mīrzā Makhdūm was urgently called to Constantinople. Hoca Sadeddin Efendi told his story to Sultan Murād.[98] Hoca Sadeddin had received many scholars from Iran. His involvement in important political events had led to the emergence of many of his opponents and accusations of his involvement in certain abuses. The number of scholars who left Iran and came

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[95] Mīrzā Makhdūm Sharifi Shirazi, *Dhakhirat al-ʿuqba fi dhamm al-dunya,* Topkapı Palace*,* Ahmed III, 222.
[96] Ibid*,* 221.
[97] Mīrzā Makhdūm Sharifi Shirazi, *Al-Nawâqid li Bunyan al-Rawafid*, Topkapı Palace, 192b.
[98] El-Burini, *Tarajimü'l-a'yan min ebnai'z-zaman*, (Dımaşk: Matbuatü'l-Mecmai'l-İlmiyyi'l-Arabi, 1959), 54.

to the Ottoman Empire reached a peak in the first quarter of the Safavid state.[99] In particular, bringing his sons and relatives to important positions is shown as the reason for his deterioration in the profession. According to historical sources, regarding the assignments of ilmiye bureaucracy, no assignment was made without his consent.[100] After presenting Mīrzā Makhdūm's case to the court, Sultan Murād appointed Mīrzā Makhdūm as a judge and mufti of Amed. Historian Mustafa Âli mentions that the Iranian Turks started to stand out with Sultan Murād's rule and according to him, corruption also started during this period. Dismissals and reassignments became more frequent. Factionalism, favoritism, and bribery increased dramatically, the *ilmiye* system was politicized, and science collapsed during his reign.[101]

According to Mīrzā Makhdūm and Atâyî, he first entered the city of Amed/Shahrizor. Şemsi Ahmed Pasha's son, Mahmud Pasha, was the governor of the city. He presented Mīrzā Makhdūm's case to the palace and Mīrzā Makhdūm was urgently called to Constantinople. He stayed in Amed for twenty-six days. Mahmud Pasha and Hoca Sadeddin first considered Mīrzā Makhdūm's grandfathers, his religion, and his professors. Then, they started to educate Makhdūm. Hoca Sadeddin was originally from a Turkish family in Isfahan and Mīrzā Makhdūm received mulāzamat from him according to what he said.[102] Hoca Sadeddin had seized the ilmiye system at all levels. The mulāzamet system was limited, and the number of mulāzims was restricted by law. Since with the increase of the scholars and students, the competition expanded and progress slowed.[103] Mīrzā Makhdūm went to Constantinople and stayed there just over two months. He started to give presents to Ottoman officials during his stay.[104] He gave the most valuable of these

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[99] Tofiqh Heiderzadeh, "İran Alimlerinin Osmanlı Devleti'ne Gelişi ve Osmanlı Bilimine Katkıları," trans. Aysu Albayrak, Osmanlı Bilimi Araştırmaları 20, no. 2, July 2019, 242.

[100] Abdurrahman Daş, "Hoca Saadeddin Efendi'nin Hayatı ve Eserleri," (PhD diss., Ankara University, 2003), 180.

[101] Cornell H. Fleischer, *Tarihçi Mustafa Ali,* trans. Ayla Ortaç, İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 2008), 312.

[102] Mīrzā Makhdūm Sharifi Shirazi, *Dhakhirat al-ʿuqba fi dhamm al-dunya,* Topkapı Palace, Ahmed III, 222.

[103] Fleischer, *Tarihçi Mustafa Ali*, 31.

[104] Kioumars Ghereghlou, "A Safavid Bureacrat in the Ottoman World," *Osmanlı Araştırmaları/The Journal of Ottoman Studies*, LIII (2019), 153-194.

gifts to Sultan Murād III. It was a beautiful hand-made prayer rug with Persian verses:

> As long as there is trace of this earth and sky,
> Let the Ottoman house be the supreme lords
> On the throne of justice and good fortune
> May it be perpetually joyful and successful
> Let the name of Sultan Murād
> Be the beautifying ornament of sermons and coinage
> In Iran, as well as in Anatolia and the Arab lands
> Let your might be that of a hero
> May your new Spring never ripen to Autumn,
> Be young as long as the World is in existence
> Let the dust of your carpet, like Mīrzā Makhdūm,
> Be the most noble caller to prayer[105]

Figure 3.1. Safavid Rug from Late Sixteenth Century

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[105] Safavid Rug from Late Sixteenth Century Sold for $4.34 Million, Alain. R. Truong, 08 October 2009, http://www.alaintruong.com/archives/2009/10/08/15360515.html.

The name of Sultan Murād is visible in dark red-brown on the left-hand corner of the cartouche.[106] However, when the carpet is viewed the question remains as to when did Mīrzā Makhdūm make this carpet? He could have had this carpet made before being imprisoned. If he had it completed before he went to jail, it would prove that he was already thinking of fleeing to the Ottoman empire even before his imprisonment.

According to Atâyî, he met Sultan Murād and the Sultan appointed him as a mudarris (teacher) in Şehzade Madrasa in Amed instead of Ahmad Qazwini.[107] After that, he became the judge of Amed and the mufti of Diyarbakir and mudarris of Hüsreviye Madrasah in 986/1577-1578.[108]

During the escape of Mīrzā Makhdūm and his arrival to the Ottoman Empire, strong reasons led to the disruption of the agreement with the Safavids. For twenty years after the Amasya Agreement during the rule of Süleyman the Magnificent and Shah Ṭahmāsp, both sides were strictly in compliance with the provisions. Even a difficult event such as Prince Bayezid and his sons' asylum in Iran did not violate the Amasya Peace Agreement. However, during the rule of Ismā'īl II, there was the impression that the Safavid propaganda became widespread. The Shi'i spies encouraged the Turkmen to migrate to Iran, and secretly transferred the collected goods and money to the Iranian Shah. This situation made the Ottoman Empire unsafe[109] and also led to the violation of the Amasya Peace Agreement by the Iranian Shah. Shah Ismā'īl II had drawn the Kurdish beys (orders) in the Ottoman administration to his side and had broken his father's peace policy with the Ottomans. After the death of Shah Ismā'īl II, Muhammad Khudābanda had been declared shah. Muhammad Khudābanda squandered the treasury and created a controversy regarding his incompetence. Rebellions took place in Iran and turmoil between local Turkmen

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[106] Safavid Rug from Late Sixteenth Century Sold for $4.34 Million, Alain. R. Truong, 08 October 2009, http://www.alaintruong.com/archives/2009/10/08/15360515.html.

[107] Nev'izade Atayi, *Hada'iq al-Haqa'iq*, ed. Abdulkadir Özcan, (Istanbul: Çağrı Yayınları, 1989), 843-846.

[108] Mīrzā Makhdūm Sharifi Shirazi, *Dhakhirat al-ʿuqba fi dhamm al-dunya,* Topkapı Palace, Ahmed III, 225a.

[109] Bekir Kütükoğlu, *Osmanlı-İran Siyasi Münasebetleri (1579-1612)*, (Istanbul: Istanbul Fetih Cemiyeti Yayınları, 1993), 4.

orders began. The Van Beylerbey (governor) was reporting to Istanbul about what was going on. Murād saw it as an opportunity for the indecisive groups to connect with him. Moreover, Shirvan Sunnis in Iran had risen and the Ottomans felt obliged to save them. Then, the Ottoman Empire mounted an expedition to Shirvan.[110] For the spiritual motivation of the Ottoman army, Ebussuud Efendi's fatwas stated a reward for killing the Safavids.[111] Then, Mīrzā Makhdūm wrote commentaries for Sultan Murād on the fatwas issued by the Ottoman Ḥanafī mufti Ebussuud Efendi.[112]

The Istanbul Peace Agreement was signed in 1590 between the Ottomans and Safavids. However, the long war period exhausted both sides. The establishment of peace was not only necessary as a financial or economic demand but also as a military and political necessity.[113] Mīrzā Makhdūm escaped to the Ottoman Empire in these turbulent years when the war began.

When we examine the tasks assigned to Mīrzā Makhdūm in this period, we can imagine that the Ottoman Empire wishes to benefit from Mīrzā Makhdūm's political experience in the Safavid Empire. As we previously mentioned, Mirza Makhdum had held important political positions in the Safavid lands and had been one of the people who carried out administrative tasks in sectarian conflicts which had come to an end when he fled. It is apparent that the Ottoman Empire also knew Mīrzā Makhdūm's political experiences. For this reason, the Ottoman Empire was aware of the Safavid Shi'i beliefs. Therefore, the Ottomans benifited from these experiences and wanted to approach this process more effectively. Normally we know that the assignments to the judgeship positions are longer. However, when we examine Mīrzā Makhdūm's career in the Ottoman Empire, his quick appointment and rapid increase the accuracy of the state's decisions regarding foreing policy. Thus, it was normal for Mīrzā Makhdūm to come to the country as a

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[110] Cornell H. Fleischer, *Tarihçi Mustafa Ali*, trans. Ayla Ortaç, (Istanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 2008), 79.
[111] Remzi Kılıç, *16.ve 17. yüzyıllarda Osmanlı-İran Siyasi Antlaşmaları*, (Istanbul: Tez Yayınları, 2001), 91.
[112] See Unmuzecü'l-Murad, Süleymaniye Library, Ayasofya, 80.
[113] Bekir Kütükoğlu, *Osmanlı-İran Siyasi Münasebetleri (1579-1612)*, (Istanbul: İstanbul Fetih Cemiyeti Yayınları, 1993), 195.

novice and to quickly be appointed. For, he was both a scholar and a political figure, and he could influence the Safavids with his writings. As a scholar from Iran, his fatwa for war could also affect the Ottomans. Therefore, the Ottoman Empire benefited from the arrival of Mīrzā Makhdūm to the Ottoman Empire.

3.2. *Mīrzā Makhdūm's Career*

He was first appointed as a qadi (judge) of Amed. The qadi of the Ottoman Empire was the head of the judiciary and was responsible for the safety and the realization of municipal services. Although they acted in an independent manner without taking orders from any authority in the region where they served, they were only responsible for the Sultan and the court. The qadi was a public officer from the 'ulama' class. Qadis had to be educated in a madrasa.[114]

When Mīrzā Makhdūm was assigned as a qadi he was given 60 akçes daily. This wage shows that he started his career in the ilmiye as a high level official. For, the starting wage was normally 25 dirhams in the qadi system.[115] However, his relatives were scholars and Sharīf could have influenced his assignment. He became a judge and a mufti of Diyarbakir and mudarris of Hüsreviye Madrasa.[116] He said that he would have preferred a job closer to the Sultan but was given this position instead. His famous book *Al-Nawākiḍ li-Bunyān al-Rawāfiḍ* was written here. Then, he was appointed as the judge of Baghdad[117] and mufti of Iraq and mudarris of Merjani Madrasa.[118]

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[114] Şeniz Anbarlı Bozatay and Konur Alp Demir, "Osmanlı Adli ve İdari Sisteminde Kadılık: Kurumsal Bir Değerlendirme," *Mehmet Akif Ersoy Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü Dergisi*, 6 / 10 (2014): 76.

[115] Yasemin Beyazıt, *Osmanlı İlmiye Mesleğinde İstihdam (XVI. Yüzyıl)* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 2014), 137.

[116] Nev'izade Atayi, *Hada'iq al-Haqa'iq*, ed. Abdulkadir Özcan (Istanbul: Çağrı Yayınları, 1989), 843-846, Mīrzā Makhdūm Sharifi Shirazi, *Dhakhirat al-ʿuqba fi dhamm al-dunya,* Topkapı Palace, Ahmed III, 219.

[117] Nev'izade Atayi, *Hada'iq al-Haqa'iq*, ed. Abdulkadir Özcan (Istanbul: Çağrı Yayınları, 1989), 843-846.

[118] Mīrzā Makhdūm Sharifi Shirazi, *Dhakhirat al-ʿUqba fi Dhamm al-Dunya*, 219a.

Then, he requested to be appointed as the judge of Mashhadayn (Najaf and Karbala) in 987/1579. He was the judge of Mashhadayn and Baghdad for two years.[119]

Shortly afterwards, he was appointed as the judge of Trabulus al-Sham in 987/1580. The salary increased to 500 akçes. Mīrzā Makhdūm says that malicious people wanted to remove him from this position. They smeared his name and persecuted him. That is why, he left all his positions and returned to Istanbul. The Sultan had promised to appoint him as the judge of one of the two Harems.[120]

According to Atâyî's data, he became the judge of Medina in 989/1581. We believe that the information given by Atâyî is more accurate. For, he was a historian who lived in Istanbul. Afterward, Mīrzā Makhdūm was appointed as the judge of Mecca in 991/1583-84. Then, he was appointed as the *naqib al-ashraf* in 993/1585.[121] He wrote an autobiography upon the request of Hoca Sadeddin Efendi.[122]

Then he returned to Istanbul, during a water shortage. The sultan wanted Mīrzā, the naqib al-ashraf, to pray for a rain.[123] Only Mīrzā and Sharīfs walked barefoot with invocation men in Okmeydani/Istanbul streets. When they returned, Mīrzā entered the palace while it was raining.[124] After this event, he became the judge of Istanbul on 10 Muharram 994/1585-86.[125] Being the qadi of Istanbul during the Ottoman Empire was a prestigious authority. According to historian Mustafa Âli, foreigners during the period of Murād had infiltrated all branches of the state services.[126]

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[119] Ibid.

[120] Ibid, 218b.

[121] Nev'izade Atayi, *Hada'iq al-Haqa'iq*, ed. Abdulkadir Özcan (Istanbul: Çağrı Yayınları, 1989), 843-846.

[122] Mīrzā Makhdūm Sharifi Shirazi, *Al-Nawâqid li Bunyan al-Rawafid*, 11b.

[123] Atayi, *Hada'iq al-Haqa'iq*, 843-846.

[124] El-Burini, *Tarajimü'l-a'yan min ebnai'z-zaman* (Dımaşk: Matbuatü'l-Mecmai'l-İlmiyyi'l-Arabi, 1959), 54.

[125] Atayi, *Hada'iq al-Haqa'iq*, 843-846.

[126] Cornell H. Fleischer, *Tarihçi Mustafa Ali*, trans. Ayla Ortaç (Istanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 2008), 162.

As mentioned before, Mīrzā Makhdūm reached lofty positions in the Ottoman Empire. In fact, he had been promoted to judge of Istanbul, which was an important position. This shows that Mīrzā Makhdūm had impressive knowledge besides his political experiences. Mīrzā Makhdūm had been engaged in science from a very early age. As a scholar from the Safavids who was appointed to these positions, indicates that the Ottoman Empire did not exclude him.

3.3. Mīrzā Makhdūm's Withdrawal

He became the judge of Istanbul on 10 Muharram 994/1585-86.[127] In the sixteenth century, most prestigious districts of a qadi were Istanbul, Edirne, Bursa, Baghdad, Egypt, Damascus, Aleppo, Mecca, Medina, and Trabulus al-Sham.[128]

According to Burini, Mīrzā Makhdūm was intelligent and understood state work well. He had won the love of the Ottoman sultan. He had the privilege of entering the palace whenever he wanted, day or night. This was extremely uncommon in the Ottoman state and within their rules.[129]

According to Atâyî, his mother died while in office and following her death he resigned. Atâyî says his behavior was strange after his mother's death. He buried her in Medina and became the judge of Haramain (Mecca and Medina). When he became the judge of Mecca, he wrote his paternal lineage to Ali b. Abi Talib on a piece of linen and always carried this in his turban. He gave permission for his sister to marry Sayyid Ḥasan from the notables in Mecca.[130] He died in Mecca on 8 Muharram 996/9 December 1587.[131]

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[127] Nev'izade Atayi, *Hada'iq al-Haqa'iq*, ed. Abdulkadir Özcan (Istanbul: Çağrı Yayınları, 1989), 843-846.

[128] Yasemin Beyazıt, *Osmanlı İlmiye Mesleğinde İstihdam (XVI. Yüzyıl)* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 2014), 178.

[129] El-Burini, *Tarajimü'l-a'yan min ebnai'z-zaman*, (Dımaşk: Matbuatü'l-Mecmai'l-İlmiyyi'l-Arabi, 1959), 53-55.

[130] El-Burini, *Tarajimü'l-a'yan min ebnai'z-zaman*, (Dımaşk: Matbuatü'l-Mecmai'l-İlmiyyi'l-Arabi, 1959), 53-55.

[131] Nev'izade Atayi, *Hada'iq al-Haqa'iq*, ed. Abdulkadir Özcan (Istanbul: Çağrı Yayınları, 1989), 843-846.

There is another opinion on why he left his post in Istanbul. A few weeks later the appointment of qadi of Rumeli was canceled and it marked the end of his career in *ilmiye*. He went to Mecca in 993/1585 where he acted as *naqib al-ashraf* under the patronage of the Sharīfs of Mecca.[132] Less than two years later, Mīrzā Makhdūm's body reached Istanbul on 30 Dhu al- Hijjah 995/1 December 1587.[133]

Ottoman Empire had an adequate system of its own. So Mīrzā Makhdūm did not rise much in his bureaucratic life. We think that he was well educated, but the fact that the Ottoman Empire saw itself higher than the Safavids could be the reason Mīrzā Makhdūm did not rise so high. He may not have been allowed to reach the same level he was with Shah Ismā'īl II.

3.4. Mīrzā Makhdūm's Literary Activities

Mīrzā Makhdūm's list of literary works are as follows:

1) An annotation to "Sharh al-Mukhtasar" in the principles of Islamic jurisprudence, by the scholar Al-Iji

2) An annotation to "Sharh al-Tajrid" of Al-Kurashi

3) An annotation to some of the lights of jurisprudence "Anwar al-fiqh" in the doctrine of Imam Shafi

4) A collective text in the science of the provisions of the stars

5) Explanation of "Fardiyyāt Muntakhāb Kunh al-Murād fī al-Aʿdad"

6) A paper on the etiquette of ministers

7) A study on the rituals of Hajj according to the four doctrines

8) A booklet on the action of the horizon incident in its sections

9) An annotation to Ebussuud Efendi's interpretation

10) Al-Nawākiḍ li-Bunyān al-Rawāfiḍ

11) Dhakhirat al-'uqbā fi dhamm al-dunya

12) Unmuzecü'l-Murad

13) al-Yusr ba'd al- 'usr

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[132]Makhdūm Sharifi Shirazi, Encyclopædia Iranica, accessed on 20 October 2016, http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/makhdum-shirazi
[133]El-Burini, *Tarajimü'l-a'yan min ebnai'z-zaman*, 53-55.

As listed above, Mīrzā Makhdūm wrote 13 treatises. The works we have received will be explained later. Some of these works disregard Shi'ism and even argued its false ideology. For this reason, Mīrzā Makhdūm had not been a popular scholar for the Qizilbash. As mentioned earlier, they treated him horrendously and attempted to murder him. They did not want his ideas to spread and burned most of his work. For this reason, all his works have not reached the present day. Furthermore, not all his works are available for review.

3.4.1. Al-Nawākiḍ li-Bunyān al-Rawāfiḍ

Mīrzā Makhdūm started writing this book in Iran, but he stopped writing when his life was in danger. He resumed writing when he reached the Ottoman Empire. He wrote the book in 1580/1581 and completed it in a month. This is Mīrzā Makhdūm's only book-length publication. It is a controversial work in which he criticized the Twelver Shi'I beliefs and acts.

Mīrzā Makhdūm was tormented after he wrote the *al-Nawākiḍ* by Qizilbashes. Grand vizier Sinān Pasha protected him during this time and even raised his rank. Hoca Sadeddin also cared for him.[134] Sinān Pasha, during the reign of Murād III and Mehmed III, was appointed five times and was famous. On 15 April 1588, he became the grand vizier for the second time. In his post, which lasted more than three years, he performed many important acts, most specifically, Shah Abbas' request for peace was accepted and the wars that had begun in 1578 was terminated (1590).[135]

The name of the book is *al-Nawākiḍ* because he contentiously mentioned his criticisms towards Shi'is. His criticisms of Shi'i belief was detailed and historically defined in each chapter. The book consists of three chapters. He talks about the study of faith and Islam. Section 1 is divided into two parts and in the first chapter, it argues the virtue of the companions of the Prophet and, in particular, the virtue of particular individuals such as the Ahl al-Bayt. In the second part, discusses two

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[134] Mīrzā Makhdūm Sharifi Shirazi, *Dhakhirat al-ʿuqba fi dhamm al-dunya,* Topkapı Palace*,* Ahmed III, 210.

[135] Mehmet Ipşirli, "Koca Sinan Paşa", TDVIA.

individuals that were mentioned in the first chapter. In chapter 2, he speaks of the virtue of Abu Bakr, and the virtues of other companions of the Prophet. The third chapter includes the discussion of the virtues of the Rightly-Guided caliphs and the proof of the Sunnism. The conclusion (Kashf al-Maqāl), entails the superstitious beliefs which have been the backbone of the Shi'i religion from the sects of Shi'i scholars. In the conclusion, he writes about his life, his family lineage, his teachers and his books.

3.4.2. Unmuzecü'l-Murad

The author sees it as his best writing and wishes it to be a unique work as a response to the Shi'is. He described it as "a sharp sword and a punishing arrow".[136] There is a single copy in the Süleymaniye Library. The copy was written by the author.

He had briefly written for Sultan Murād and was asked to write a concise treatise. Mīrzā Makhdūm's book contains several short commentaries on the fatwas issued by the Ottoman Ḥanafī mufti Ebussuud Efendi, the famous Ottoman Sheikh al-islām, jurist and commentator.[137] Mīrzā Makhdūm wrote this book in one week in 1580/1581, 988. Topics of the book include; tafsir, hadith, hadith method, fiqh, fiqh method, kalam, Sufism, logic, wisdom, medicine, stellar science. He dealt with almost every topic in the book and explained it. He discussed the subjects by stating the views of the scholars about it. Scholars criticized him because of this work, however, he also states that he deserved this criticism.[138]

3.4.3. Dhakhirat al-Uqba fi Dhamm al-Dunya

Mīrzā Makhdūm wrote this work in 1581/1582, 989. This is a mystical work. He writes verses, hadiths, stories, and poems and states the insignificance of the worldly life and the importance of the hereafter. In the conclusion he narrates the

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[136] Mīrzā Makhdūm Sharifi Shirazi, *Dhakhirat al-ʿuqba fi dhamm al-dunya,* Topkapı Palace, Ahmed III, 213.
[137] Ahmet Akgündüz, "Ebüssuûd Efendi", TDVIA.
[138] Mīrzā Makhdūm Sharifi Shirazi, *Dhakhirat al-ʿuqba fi dhamm al-dunya,* 211b.

story of his own life. He chronicles his ancestors, teachers and all his experiences one by one. He even notes the names of the books he read. This work is one of the rare works that also act as a biography of of Mīrzā Makhdūm's life. There is a copy in the Topkapı Library.

When we examine the works written by Mīrzā Makhdūm, we see that he wants to prove his competence as a bureaucrat from the Safavids. He defends himself, tries to increase his power and make himself valuable. He may have wanted to prove that he was both Sunni and successful, better than the Ottoman scholars. When we examine his life in the Ottoman Empire, it is clear that the Ottomans welcomed him and he became one of the star scholars in the Ottoman Empire. Positioning him in prestigious posts shows that the Ottomans did not have any negative attitudes towards him. When we examine the tasks assigned to Mīrzā Makhdūm in this period, we can imagine that the Ottoman Empire wished to benefit from Mīrzā Makhdūm's political experience in the Safavid State.

CHAPTER 4

MĪRZĀ MAKHDŪM'S REFUTATION OF THE SAFAVID BELIEFS

In this chapter, Mīrzā Makhdūm's critique of Safavid beliefs will be discussed. As a scholar coming from the Safavid Empire to the Ottoman Empire, his criticisms about the Safavids are important. His main work, *Al-Nawākiḍ li-Bunyān al-Rawāfiḍ* that criticizes the Safavid beliefs, will be examined. In order to understand this work better, the Safavids as a political and religious problem and the Ottoman legal system will be covered. While examining the book, questions such as which opinion the author prefers, what he means, where he stands between Shi'ism and Sunnisim and whether he is aware that while writing his book, he is accused of being a Shi'i or not will be discussed.

4.1. *Safavids as a Political and Religious Problem*

To understand Mīrzā Makhdūm's work, it is important to understand the conditions of the period he lived and the difficulties he faced during that period. The establishment of the Safavid Empire was the turning point for the Iranian history. Shi'ism represented by the small and local leaders, became the official sect of Iran with Safavids and a shi'iteization policy was started by the state.[139] When we look at the history of the Safavids, we can say that their ancestors were Sunnis.[140] Sheikh Safi-ad-Din Ardabili, who is accepted as the founder of the Safavid mystical order was a Sunni. This order branched out from Ibrahim Zāhid al-Gilānī's Khalwati order.[141]

In this way, Sheikh Safi al-Din together with his followers established a unity. It is not wrong to say that the Safavids did not intend to establish a political movement. Other Turkish polities supported this new establishment. Thus, the Ottomans helped the Safavid order during its formation and constantly supported them by

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[139] Dr. Ali Kafkasyalı, *İran Türkleri* (İstanbul: Bilgeoğuz Yayınları, 2010), 57.
[140] Ibid, 58.
[141] Tufan Gündüz, "Safeviler," TDVIA.

sending gifts to the sheikhs of the tariqa.[142] Only later, when Sheikh Safi-al-Din passed away, his son Sadreddīn replaced him.[143] Furthermore, the Safavids, and the sheikhs of the Safavids, were suppressed by other surrounding countries. When Sheikh Junayd became a sheikh, his uncle Shah Jafar opposed his sheikhhood. Some of the sheikhs of the tariqa were killed. Until Shah Ismā'īl's rule two sheikhs were killed. The second sheikh that was murdered was Sultan Haydar, the father of Shah Ismā'īl.[144] Haydar started the Shi'i rituals in the area and generated the name of the Qizilbash.[145] After Sultan Haydar was killed, his sons, 'Ali, Ibrahim, Ismā'īl together with their mothers, were imprisoned in Ishtar Castle at a young age. After Shah Ismā'īl was crowned, , his disciples were bound to him with eternal obedience. Shah Ismā'īl had great power behind him because his disciples were so devoted to him. For this reason, the state rose to power; they won the wars they entered.[146] In this way, the people and countries who sought to benefit from the spoils of Shah Ismā'īl were united with the addition of a larger power to Shah Ismā'īl's rule, and thus, a stronger Shi'i State emerged.[147] Considering all this, as we have already mentioned, we see that the Safavid State emerged as a Sunni sect, but later it became a state with conquests due to the pressure on the state.

The Safavid state takes its name from Sheikh Safi-al-Din Ardabili, the founder of the Safavid sect. Sheikh Safi-al-Din was a Shafi religious scholar and in his youth, he was devoted to Zāhid al-Gilānī.[148] The ethnic origin of Sheikh Safi-al-Din is unknown. It is said that he was a descendant of 'Ali and was related to Mūsa al-Kāzim, the seventh imam. His father's name was Khwaja Kamal al-Din. His teacher was Ibrahim Zāhid al-Gilānī. He was supported by the İlkhanate ruler and other rulers because he was a beloved sheikh. The support helped rapidly expand the order. As mentioned before, after the death of Sheikh Safi al-Din's son, he passed as a sheikh. This, was a new application in this sect, a system passed from father to son. However, until his

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[142] Dr. Ali Kafkasyalı, *İran Türkleri* (İstanbul: Bilgeoğuz Yayınları, 2010), 57.
[143] Tufan Gündüz, "Safeviler," TDVIA.
[144] Dr. Ali Kafkasyalı, *İran Türkleri*, 57.
[145] Tufan Gündüz, "Safeviler," TDVIA.
[146] Tufan Gündüz, "Safeviler," TDVIA.
[147] Tufan Gündüz, "Safeviler," TDVIA.
[148] Tufan Gündüz, *Kızılbaşlar, Osmanlılar, Safeviler,* (İstanbul: Yeditepe Yayınları, 2015), 55.

grandson Khwaja 'Ali became sheikh, the order served Sunnism. After his grandson Khwaja 'Ali came to power, he started showing interest in Shi'ism.[149] This caused serious changes in the nature of the tariqa. However, Khwaja 'Ali's grandfather, as a beloved Sheikh, especially after the visit of Tamarlane, brought even greater power to the sect. Thanks to Tamarlane's visit, the sect had the opportunity to expand in other countries more comfortably. Even the Ottoman Empire was sending annual gifts. The tarikat was Shafi until this time. Although Khwaja began to incline towards Shi'ism, the order was not yet a political state. However, Sheikh Ibrahim came after Khwaja 'Ali and was succeeded by Sheikh Junayd. When Sheikh Junayd's uncle, Sheikh Ja'far, opposed the sheikhdom of Junayd, they moved away from Ardabil by cooperating with the Qara Qoyunlu people. Thus, the sect became a state and began to take a political form. Following Junayd, the disciples were subject to Haydar. Sheikh Haydar went to Ardabil again and continued his religious activities. He began to expand his power by building ties with his followers in other countries. Meanwhile, he dressed his students in a special outfit which had a 12-section red caps to recognize them. In this way, tariqa members started to be known as the Qizilbash.[150] Haydar, whose numbers were increasing daily in different countries, started to show his power in the surrounding states by using his followers in other countries and waged war on some countries. He was defeated in his battle with Aq Qoyunlu. The Aq Qoyunlus carried Haydar's head to the public by bringing it to Tabriz. This led his disciples to retreat in fear. However, his sons 'Ali, Ibrahim, and Ismā'īl were kidnapped along with his mother to Ishtar Castle and were hidden there. Then Ismā'īl took the throne. When Ismā'īl was in hiding, Shams al-Din Muhammad b. Yahya al-Lahici stayed with him for eight years where he learned the principles of Shi'ism and Qur'an, theology, and hadith.[151]

After he was crowned, Shah Ismā'īl tried to increase his power by using his disciples in other countries. Defeated and displaced disciples allied with Shah Ismā'īl. In this way, Shah Ismā'īl fought stronger than his grandfathers had in other countries. In

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[149] Tufan Gündüz, "Safeviler," TDVIA.

[150] Adel Allouche, T*he Origins and Development of the Ottoman-Safavid Conflict (906 - 962 / 1500 - 1555)*, (Berlin: Klaus Schwarz Verlag, 1983), 51.

[151] Tufan Gündüz, "Safeviler," TDVIA.

the meantime, the state's official denomination of Twelver Shi'ism was declared. He ordered the damnation of the first three caliphs Abu Bakr, Uthman and Umar .[152]

Shah Ismā'īl had a powerful reign. He constantly won battles he entered and distributed the war spoils to his people. Subsequently, this caused many people to fight for him. In the beginning, the Ottoman Empire tried to get along with the Safavids and even congratulated them in Tabriz. However, Shah Ismā'īl's interest in Anatolia was not over. Therefore, he attacked the Ottoman lands by relying on his power. Nevertheless, Shah Ismā'īl, defeated by the Ottomans, had to fight against Uzbeks who simultaneously saw this as an opportunity to enter the war with the Ottoman Empire. This reduced the Safavids' power.

There are different rumors about the death of Shah Ismā'īl. One of them is that he was poisoned by his Georgian wife, who wished her son to take the throne. In the time of Shah Ismā'īl, he expanded and strengthened the territory of the state. The state, which was formed as a sect, did not have a great military power. For this reason, Shah Ismā'īl and his son, Ṭahmāsp, tried to arm the country.[153]

With the death of his father, Ismā'īl, Shah Ṭahmāsp ascended to the throne. Shah Ṭahmāsp, unlike his father, stayed away from wars and fought against the internal turmoil in his country upon the death of his father. Therefore, he also avoided conflict with other countries. He followed modest politics. So much so that the Ottoman Empire was constantly pressured to fight against the Western countries. But despite the pressure, he refused to cave and stayed away from war. At the same time, after the defeat of Shah Ismā'īl, the loyalty of the people to the ruler also weakened. This internal turmoil in the east of the country by the Ottoman Empire and the former Khorasan Uzbeks by Azerbaijan, the attacks on the country was carrying out. However, Süleyman the Magnificent had to withdraw from the country due to the weather conditions of winter months and Ṭahmāsp was somewhat relieved. Shah Ṭahmāsp tried to sign a peace agreement with the

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[152] Tufan Gündüz, "Safeviler," TDVIA.
[153] Dr. Ali Kafkasyalı, *İran Türkleri* (İstanbul: Bilgeoğuz Yayınları, 2010), 58.

Ottomans, but Süleyman the Magnificent refused. Although the Western states who wanted to benefit from this put pressure on Ṭahmāsp, as we mentioned earlier, Shah Ṭahmāsp did not accept and stayed away from war.[154]

Ṭahmāsp like his father, took the throne at a young age. 17-year-old Ṭahmāsp took his position and tried to reduce the effects of wars that began during his father's rule. He was a clever, intelligent and determined leader. For this reason, his father had benefited from the Ottoman prince who took shelter in their land and bargained for a peace on both sides. However, Sheikh Nur al-Din 'Ali bin 'Abd Allah Āmilī al-Karakī, who came to the country during the time of Shah Ismā'īl, systematized Shi'ism in the country; and spread some Shi'i rituals. With that, the founder of the Shi'i sect was accepted. These rituals, however, were not well received by the Sunni powers, and sectarian conflicts were further exacerbated. These conflicts increased during Ṭahmāsp 's rule. Moreover, as Ṭahmāsp followed a moderate policy with the Ottoman Empire, he was more interested in suppressing sectarian conflicts. However, Sheikh Nur al-Din al-Karakī, returned and took the title of key Sheikh al-Islām and tried to strengthen the Shi'i wing. His position increased day by day, and thanks to this position, he introduced more innovations to Shi'ism. An example of this is the land seal that the Shi'is prostrate on while praying. So much so that he wanted to change the qibla of the Shi'is, but this was not successful.[155] Ṭahmāsp had no say because of his young age at the beginning of his reign. The Qizilbash ruled the state for 10 years. Then, he took control of the state. He balanced the power between the Turkmen and Qizilbash. When Shah Ṭahmāsp became ill, the balance had been shaken again since 1574; he died in Safer in 984/1576-77 in Qazvin. [156]

Shah Ṭahmāsp was killed by poison.[157] When Shah Ismā'īl took over the throne, the Safavid State was under threat and pressure by the surrounding countries. Shah

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[154] Remzi Kılıç, *16.ve 17.yüzyıllarda Osmanlı-İran Siyasi Antlaşmaları* (Istanbul: Tez Yayınları, 2001), 90.

[155] Dr. Ali Kafkasyalı, *İran Türkleri* (İstanbul: Bilgeoğuz Yayınları, 2010), 59.

[156] Remzi Kılıç, *16.ve 17.yüzyıllarda Osmanlı-İran Siyasi Antlaşmaları*, 91.

[157] İsmail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Tarihi* (İstanbul: Türk Tarih Kurumu,2009), 3/51.

Ismāʿīl II, who had been on the throne for a short time, was engaged in sectarian conflicts after Ṭahmāsp. According to Mīrzā Makhdūm's works, Shah Ismāʿīl had met when he was a captive in Qahqaha Fortress and he educated him as a Shafi Ashʿarī. For this reason, Shah Ismāʿīl first killed his brothers to strengthen the throne, after that the Sunni scholars were brought to power by removing the Shiʿi scholars from the center. They were valued more in the centre by the removal of the Shiʿi scholars. In order to implement this policy, he brought Mīrzā Makhdūm to high positions in the state. However, the Shiʿi scholars did not like the work he carried out and they began to hate Shah Ismāʿīl II. As a result, the Shiʿi-Sunni conflict in the state increased.[158]

After two short years of Shah Ismāʿīl's rule, Muhammad Khudābanda came to Qazvin and took the throne. When Muhammad Khudābanda took the throne, he was young. For this reason, his wife, Melike Ulya Begum, had a say in the state issues. Hostility in the state and the turmoil in the state cadres increased. Then, Shah Ismāʿīl's brothers were killed. The Uzbeks attacked through Azerbaijan and the Ottomans attacked through Crimea. Muhammad Khudābanda, already a weak king, could not resist these wars. The country was getting worse. Ottoman forces took support from the Crimean khans and took the lands from the Caucasus to Tabriz. The Uzbeks also advanced to Mashhad. In the meantime, the murder of Adil Giray one of the Crimean khans were held captive in the palace, infuriated the orders and killed Melike Ulya Begum. Muhammad Khudābanda, like his father, stayed on the throne for two years. After him, the position passed into Shah Abbas, the state had already entered decline before he passed the throne.[159]

When Shah Abbas was crowned the country was already in difficult times. For this reason, he was engaged in strengthening the army. He started bringing stronger firearms to the country. Thanks to the engineers he brought from different European countries, he aimed to establish a strong army. However, the Safavid

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[158] Cihat Aydoğmuşoglu, "Şah. II. İsmail (1576-1577) Devri Siyasî ve Dinî Hâdiseleri," *The Journal of Academic Social Science Studies*, 48 (2016), 61.
[159] Tufan Gündüz, "Safeviler," TDVIA.

State, which had lost some territory, was constantly threatened by the Uzbeks and the Ottomans. First, he tried to take the land from the Uzbeks and then from the Ottoman Empire. Being successful in this, he continued the wars with the surrounding countries persisted. After Shah Abbas died, Shah Safi, Abbas II, Safi II, Husayn Mīrzā, Ṭahmāsp II, and Abbas III took over the throne. However, stability was not achieved during the rule of Abbas III and the Safavid State ended.[160]

When we examine all these events, the Safavid State was established as a religious state. The decline of the state began with Shah Ismāʿīl II, and the shah was unable to stop this collapse or the weakening in the empire. In my opinion, neighboring powerful states and especially the Ottoman Empire had an impact on these conflicts. As it can be seen, Mīrzā Makhdūm made a transition to the Ottoman Empire at a time when the conflict escalated. As mentioned earlier, the arrival of Mīrzā Makhdūm to the Ottoman Empire and the rapid assignment of the project aroused interest because Mīrzā Makhdūm was a scholar from the Safavids. Moreover, after he escaped to the Ottoman Empire, his salary was determined higher than the other scholars of the period. The reason for this may be that the Ottoman Empire, who was going into war with the Safavids at that time, thought that a scholar from Iran could influence the inhabitants there. However, we can say that the Ottoman Empire took advantage of scholars who came from outside at that time and assigned them to various tasks. Mīrzā Makhdūm is one of the evident and important examples of this. For this reason, we can imagine that the Ottoman Empire was trying to find supporters within the Safavid State by making him write works in criticism of Shi'ism. For, "starting in the second half of the 15th century, the Ottoman government recruited large groups of scholars to fill educational, legal, and bureaucratic positions. These scholars were inserted into a hierarchical bureaucracy, becoming scholar-bureaucrats, and in time came to constitute a significant branch of the Ottoman administration."[161]

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[160] Tufan Gündüz, "Safeviler," TDVIA.

[161] Abdurrahman Atçıl, "The Safavid Threat and Juristic Authority", *Journal of Middle East Studies*, 49 (2017): 295.

4.2. Ottoman Reactions

4.2.1. Mīrzā Makhdūm's Juristic Fetwa and Ottoman Lawful Framework

Mīrzā Makhdūm was one of the several scholars, including Sarıgörez, Kemalpaşazade, and Ebussuud, interested in contemporary religious and legal matters; and developed jurisprudence through studies related to the Safavid threat and, thereby, issued fatwa regarding the Qizilbash. The most severe perspective was held by Sarıgörez who believed that violent measures against the Safavid enthusiasts were authorized regardless of where they resided. Although Kemalpaşazade concurred with Sarigörez's austere approach regarding the Safavid followers beyond Ottoman territories; according to his opinion, the Ottoman Safavid supporters and prisoners of war who renounced their support were offered legal grounds for the protection of their rights. Ebussuud agreed with these punitive measures, however, he stressed the importance of the sultan's judgment and vindicated the tolerance for the Ottomans who had supported the Safavids.[162]

Mīrzā Makhdūm says: "'The Prophet said to 'Ali: Heretics (Rāfiḍīs) will come after me, kill them. They insult Umar and Abu Bakr.' I say they are the unbelievers, but I do not allow civilians to be killed. I allow mutual war. For, they multiplied the blasphemy and existed in the name of Islam."[163] We see that Mīrzā Makhdūm's fatwa was personal. Like other scholars, Mīrzā Makhdūm gave fatwa that allowed the killing of the Qizilbash. At that time, anti-Qizilbash discourse was widespread in the Ottoman Empire, which all four jurists abandoned and replaced with more unbiased rhetoric.[164]

Due to a high regard for Islam and sharia, when the Ottoman Empire came into power during the middle of the fourteenth century, it became an Islamic state with a concentration on understanding the influence of sharia on legal processes concerning people; developing into what is known as "fiqh" (jurisprudence). The basis of fiqh that relied on comprehending God's will could establish a means of

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[162] Abdurrahman Atçıl, "The Safavid Threat and Juristic Authority," *Journal of Middle East Studies*, 49 (2017): 299.

[163] Mīrzā Makhdūm Sharifi Shirazi, *Al-Nawâqid li Bunyan al-Rawafid*, Topkapı Palace, Ahmed III, 198.

[164] Abdurrahman Atçıl, "The Safavid Threat and Juristic Authority," 299.

creating and upholding amicable relations between peoples.[165] Fiqh entailed the fundamentals or roots (usul) of law which included managing the sources, strategies, and standards of lawful reasoning and their rational consequences.[166]

Realistic criteria pertaining to civil issues such as marriage, diverce, inheritance, business interactions, and matters relating to endowments (waqfs) was established within the divisions of fiqh. Some hesitation prevailed with the provisions brought forth under Islamic law, although it was considered a positive step considering that fiqh relied on uncontested resolutions to problems. Subsequently, varied schools of law were developed which allowed for some flexibility concerning rulings, however, each school experienced contrasting opinions which undercut its dependability.[167]

The overall organization and criteria of criminal law were established by legal scholars and allowed rulers to authorize additional orders on reformatory issues. This provided leeway concerning military, authoritative and financial matters. Furthermore, an Islamic government was obligated to coincide with private legal matters.[168]

Lawful issues were heard and resolved in the shari'a courts by law scholars appointed as independent judges by the rulers to represent a standard law within a particular territory. Legal advisers were advanced researchers who issued Islamic rulings (*fatwa*) to questions brought forth by the people and thought law in schools (madrasas). Although legal adviser's feeling was considered ethical, it was not lawfully binding. However, concerning the perplexing matters and out of respect for the sincere perspective of the prosecutors, judges felt compelled to advise trustworthy law specialists. Moreover, honest rulers and government authorities

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[165] Uriel Heyd, "Some Aspects of the Ottoman Fetva", London: Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, 32/1, (2016): 40.
[166] Ibid, 42.
[167] Ibid, 40.
[168] Ibid, 41.

counseled legal scholars to maintain their image of authenticity and to fulfill their agenda according to the law.[169]

Under close administrative observation, the basis of the Ottoman legitimate framework was gradually established by the "shari'a courts". In addition to rulings based on fiqh, they implemented sultanic laws. Based on their importance, judgeships and deputy judges were appointed to each area and sub-area, respectively. The majority of the judges from Istanbul were graduates of the imperial colleges in Istanbul and did not spend much time in each position. As a result of this training, the courts were under superb administration by cutting contact with neighborhood.[170]

European and Anatolian central judges held the most significant positions, within the Ottoman legal realm, including supervising the judgeships within their specialties and aiding in legal matters for the Imperial Council (*Dîvân-ı Hümâyûn*), which held the responsibilities of a high court. They followed the shari'a court system and submitted recommendations to the ruler, via the grand vizier.[171]

Carrying out these recommendations were dependent on the ruler's authorization. Consequently, this determined the power and limitations of the courts. Furthermore, regarding such issues, the judges relied on their assigned speciality, however, the legitimacy of the successfull decree was demonstrated by their continued acquisition of legal knowledge.[172]

As part of the legal structure, in addition to maintaining the division of juridical work between a judge and a law specialist (*mufti*), the Ottomans created an agency of government-paid law specialists. Usually, legal advisers were only included in government payroll if they accepted a judgeship or government administrative

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[169] Uriel Heyd, "Some Aspects of the Ottoman Fetva," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, 32/1 (2016): 40.
[170] Ibid, 42.
[171] Engin Akarlı, "The Ruler and Law Making in The Ottoman Empire," *Law and Empire* (Leiden: Brill, 2013) 95.
[172] Ibid, 96.

position. Legal scholars supported the independence of fiqh and argued that the Islamic legitimate convention rose above transient domains. In 1425, with the recruitment of an official law specialist, the cooperation early Ottoman rulers had with legal scholars became more formal. Their head was the Jurist of Istanbul, Chief Jurist (Sheikh al-Islām). The obligations and status of this position consistently expanded and eventually became the most notable position that a legal counselor in a taxpayer-driven organization could seek.[173]

Concerning legal queries of individuals, judges, or authorities; official legal scholars issued nonbinding warning reactions (fatwas). Furthermore, based on their degree of experience and education they created laws.[174]

Officials who were qualified to issue fatwas were limited, consequently, no attempt was made to create an official business model for the interpretation of the law. Moreover, official legal scholars were not part of the majestic council, the committees of common governors, or official units. Their duty was to provide their independent legitimate opinion to questions directed to them was their duty. The legal system was directly impacted by the lawyers evaluation of dominant issues throughout the empire and versed in legal tradition; thereby, shaped the legal system, coordinated legal processes and consolidated legal standards.[175]

4.2.2. Mīrzā Makhdūm's Polemical Work (Al-Nawākiḍ li-Bunyān al-Rawāfiḍ)

From past to present, the Shi'I- Sunni conflict remained at the forefront of history. These conflicts took place in the form of hot and cold war. Currently, the studies are limited on the mobility of the 'ulama' living in Shi'i and Sunni regions and the interaction between the scholars.

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[173] Engin Akarlı, "The Ruler and Law Making in The Ottoman Empire," *Law and Empire*, (Leiden: Leiden University: 2013): 93.

[174] Uriel Heyd, "Some Aspects of the Ottoman Fetva," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, 32/1 (2016): 38.

[175] Ibid, 37.

This work will provide an important contribution to Ottoman and Safavid intellectual history. In this context, this work is significant in terms of revealing historical debates in Ottoman-Safavid relations. As far as we can determine, Ottoman-Safavid relations, Shi'i and Sunni relations and the evaluations made about Mīrzā Makhdūm and his works are likewise limited. In this section, Mīrzā Makhdūm's *al-Nawākiḍ li-Bunyān al-Rawāfiḍ* will be examined in order to understand the mind of its author. When we examine this work, we will look at how much he identifies himself as Ottoman and Sunni-Hanafi. Also where does he see himself as a scholar from Iran and how does he classifies himself?

4.2.2.1. About the copies

Mīrzā Makhdūm's polemical work is *al-Nawākiḍ li-Bunyān al-Rawāfiḍ*. It means "The rejection of the Heretics (Rāfiḍīs)" because every chapter criticizes and rejects one topic. Heretics are Shi'is who do not accept Abu Bakr and Umar as caliphs. This term was used during the establishment of the Safavid State and in the following periods for the Ottoman Qizilbash groups in Anatolia and Iran.[176] The work was written in Arabic in 988/1580-1581. He completed his book in a month in Baghdad. He states that he first started this book in Iran but did not complete it due to the increasing pressure. However, when he came to the Ottoman Empire he was able to complete it and dedicated this book to Murād III. Mīrzā Makhdūm mentions that the sultan also saw and appreciated this book "Blessed with his glorious glance".[177]

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[176] Mustafa Öz, "Rafiziler", TDVIA.

[177] Mīrzā Makhdūm Sharifi Shirazi, *Al-Nawâqid li Bunyan al-Rawafid*, Topkapı Palace, Ahmed III, 202b.

رقعهٔ اولى

درگاه عالی‌پناه عرش اشتباه‌ه عرض‌بندهٔ بی‌مقدار و ذرّهٔ خاکسار بونکه

پادشاه اسلام و قطب ایام‌انک انعام عاملندن بو تآلیف لطیف که روانضک

منه‌بلری یقوب و راضیلرک جانبی یاقوب جامع علوم و لطایف و تاریخ

قزلباش و کفایه اثرک تفصیلنی بیان ایدر و انقراض عالمدک پادشاه

دین‌پناهک دعای خیرلرینه سبب اولمش‌دیجانبین سبب نه‌مان نضرعم بو

که اشبو صحیفه‌لرده تحریر اولنان رقعه‌لری پادشاه عالم‌پناهک نظری شریف‌لری

مشرّف سواد مذکوره‌دن بری قبول اولوب بود رکاه مراد بخش‌لاری‌ندنک

هیچ کسنه محروم اولمشدد بو سیّد غریب که سعادت‌لو پادشاهک ظاهری منوّد

و باطن مقدّسلری‌ندن هم دنیاده و هم آخرت‌ده کلّی رجاسی واردر و تمام‌عالمدن

بیزار اولوب بو دین‌پناهک ذیل عنایت و مراحمنه یاپشمشدد باشی محروم اولمیه

Figure 4.1. Sultan Appreciation[178]

I reached eight copies of this work in Turkish libraries: Esad Efendi 01293, Ayasofya 02249, Laleli 02231, Ahmed Paşa 000159, Ahmed III 001828, Yeni Cami 00756, 00757. Having many copies of the work indicates that it was read during his period. I have examined two copies of this work. One copy is located in Topkapı Library (autograph) and the other is in Süleymaniye Library. We can understand that both

[178] Mīrzā Makhdūm Sharifi Shirazi, *Al-Nawâqid li Bunyan al-Rawafid*, Topkapı Palace, Ahmed III, 202b.

copies belong to Mīrzā Makhdūm based on his seal at the end of the work. Moreover, the copy in Topkapi has the seal of Sultan Murād III. This indicates that, the work was presented to the library by the Sultan. Mīrzā Makhdūm mentions that the sultan appreciated his work. The Topkapi copy indicates that someone requested for him to write this book. Another point that we think is a valuable piece of work is the presence of engraved seals on it. Also, the presence of the engraved seals indicate that this was a valuable work. At the same time, Al-Shustari produced a work under the name *Masa'ib al-Nawasib* criticizing the *Nawaqid* of Mirza Mahdum.[179] This also shows that this work was known during the period.

He first praises Murād III, then the Valide Sultan without mentioning her name, then Sheikh al-Islām Hoca Sadeddin Efendi who asked him to write his life story, and then the vizier Sinān Pasha who took him under his protection. In the copy at Ayasofya, he first praises Murād III and then the vizier Sinān Pasha. These praise in his book indicate that they have a close relationship with Mīrzā Makhdūm. It can be deduced from his life story that these people have helped him.

The copy in Ayasofya consists of 124 pages. It has a leather hardcover. Illumination art is used in the first page. Edges of the pages are framed. The first word of the next page is indicated at the bottom of each page. It is understood from the pages that the Ayasofya copy in our hand is complete. At the beginning of the work there are three seals, one of which has been deleted. The first seal belongs to Ahmet III. There is also a foundation record. It is said in this record that Mahmud I devoted this piece to the library. Inspector Ahmad is the person who recorded this foundation record.[180]

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[179] Elke Eberhard, *Osmanische polemik gegen die Safawiden im 16. jahrhundert nach Arabischen Handschriften,* (Freiburg: Klaus Schwarz Verlag, 1970), 9.

[180] Mīrzā Makhdūm Sharifi Shirazi, *Al-Nawâqid li Bunyan al-Rawafid*, Ayasofya, 2.
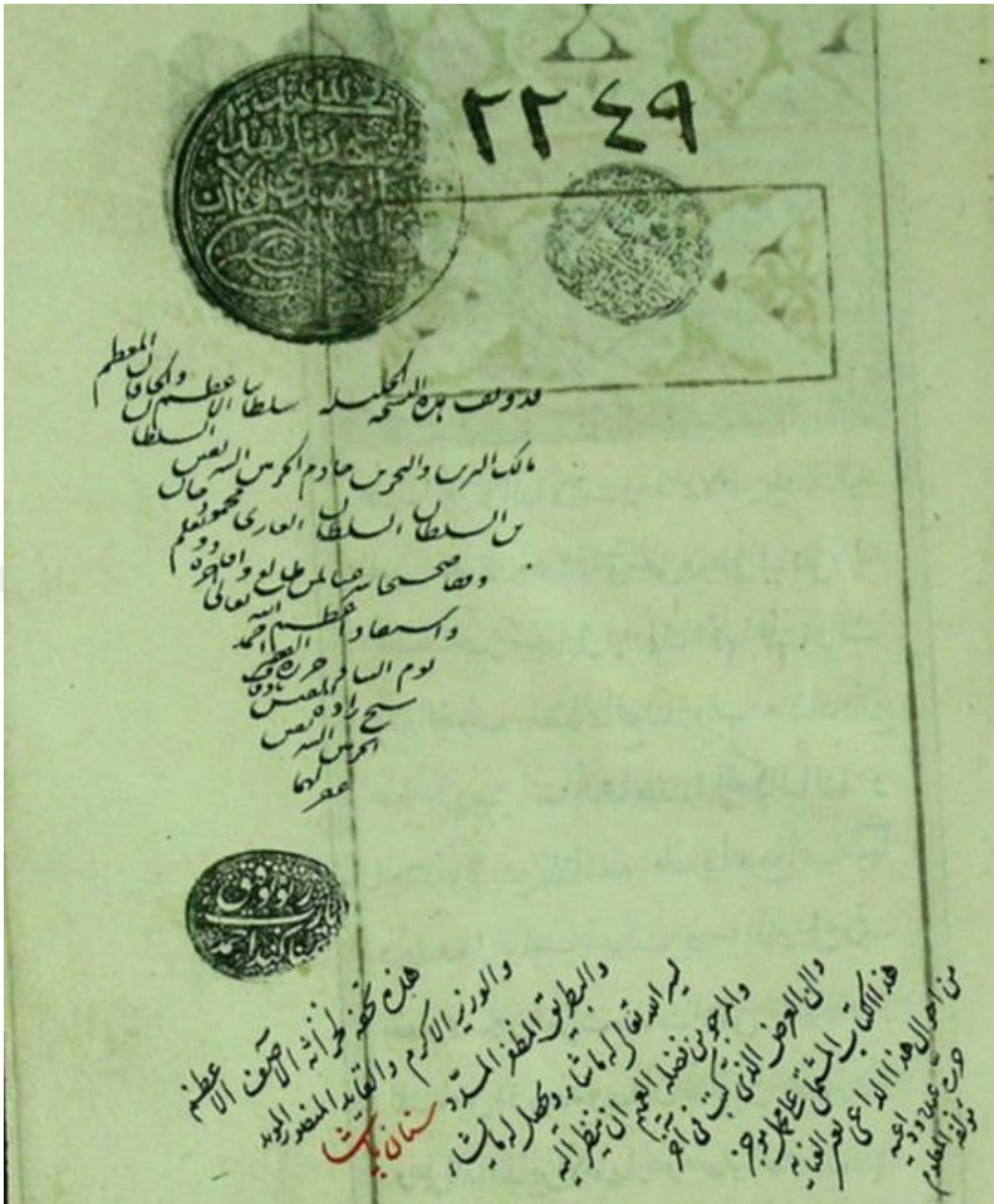
Figure 4.2. The First Page of Ayasofya Copy[181]

There are notes on the edges of the pages that describe the text that the scribe has added. The scribe wrote the titles of the subjects and the words he deemed important in red and also, underlined the places he deemed important in red too.

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[181] Mīrzā Makhdūm Sharifi Shirazi, *Al-Nawâqid li Bunyan al-Rawafid*, Ayasofya, 2.

مراد آبائى فليتيسرلهم وقد تيسرلى وذلك فضل الله يؤتيه
مَنْ يَّشَآءُ فاعاننى ميامن ولاية السلطان الولى المؤمى الحبض
القابه الشريفة بوسيلة حمايات الاصفا المرحوم المبرور
السعيدا المغفور الذي غرقه الله سبحانه جزاء لحسناته
واعماله الصالحة فى محبط رحمته وسيحشره فى ظل لوآء الحمد
مع خير البرية وصحبه وعترته وعنايات الحضرة العلية
المعلية العلامية الفهامية اعنى رئيس العلماء وكهف
الفضلاء معلم خليفة الله فى ارضه مطاع اهل ملكه في
طوله وعرضه اعنى مولانا سعدى افندى خلد ظله بالفيض
الانى الابدى وقد اتممت كتابا شتملأ وعلى التواريخ اللطيفة
البعيبة والمسائل النفيسة الغريبة مشرفة خطبته باسم
الخاقان المشار اليه بنة من مدايحة الشريفه ومناقبه
اللطيفة ملة شهرين مع الاشتغال بامور عظيمة شتى
مذكورة فيه ولعمرى ان الكتاب المذكور دعوته بحمد الله سبحانه
ما تشتهيه طباع الاذكياء وتفرج به قلوب الانقياء غب

على المطل المذكور الذي
هواهم المطالب فى
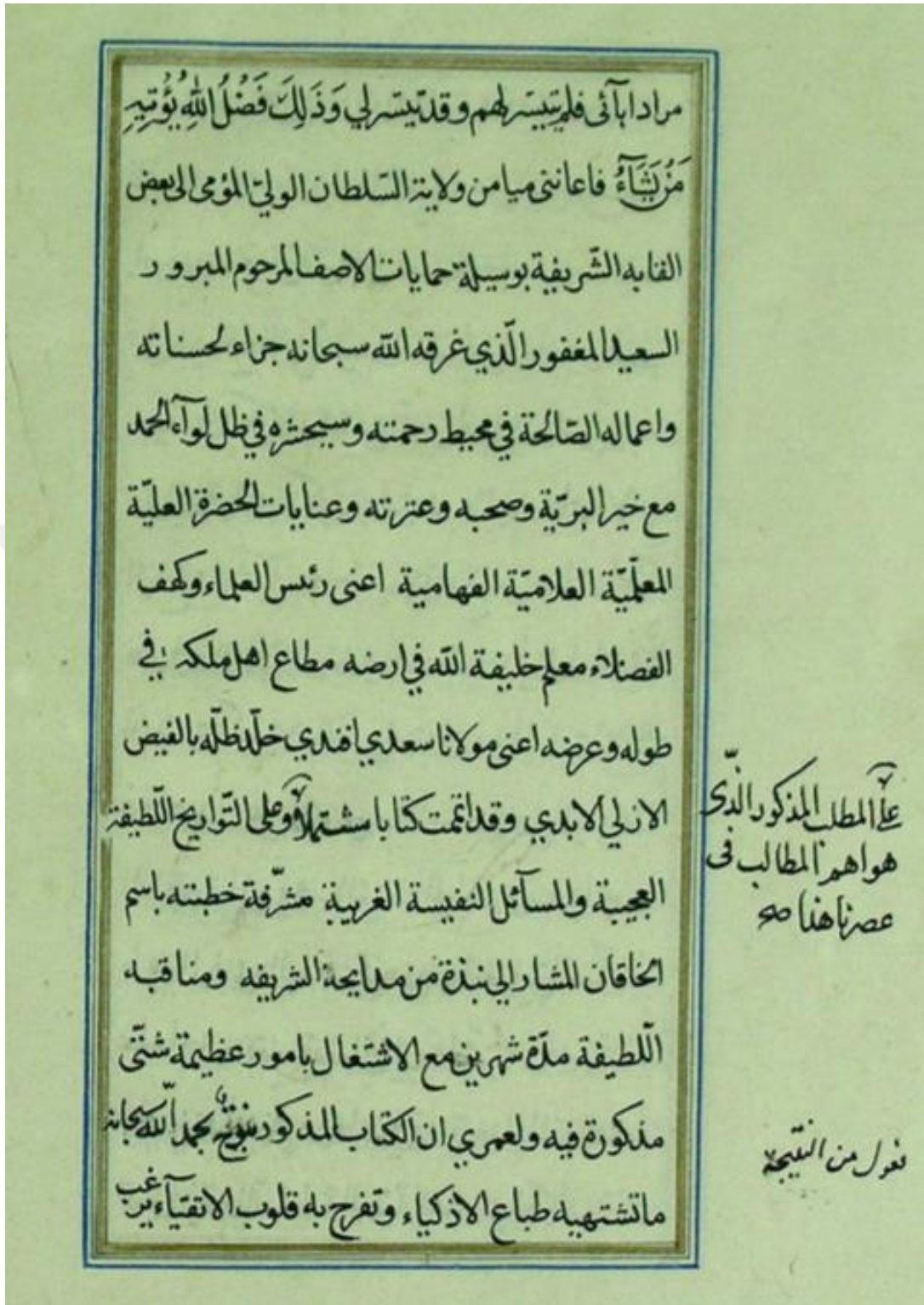عصرنا هذا ص

نقول من النتيجة

Figure 4.3. A Page from the Ayasofya Copy[182]

At the end of the work there are 2.5 pages *istinsah*(copy) record. This work was copied in late afternoon on Tuesday 9 August 1580. The work was presented to

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[182] Mīrzā Makhdūm Sharifi Shirazi, *Al-Nawâqid li Bunyan al-Rawafid*, Ayasofya, 124.

Sinān Pasha's library. The final page contains Mīrzā Makhdūm's seal. Also there is a prayer written by the author in Ottoman language.[183]

Figure 4.4. Mīrzā Makhdūm's seal[184]

When we look at the copy in the Topkapı Palace, we see that this work was copied as a gift to the palace library. It has leather hardcover. This copy was written by "his servant", but it is not clear who was his servant and what he means with by using that adjective. Also he adds that he could not correct this work due to his other works. The illumination art is used on the first page. The edges of the pages are framed. Some pages of the book have the first word of the next page, but others do not. This copy is written by the author. There are notes in the margins too. It is clear that the text here is more proper because it is a palace copy. Titles and verses are written in red color.[185]

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[183] Mīrzā Makhdūm Sharifi Shirazi, *Al-Nawâqid li Bunyan al-Rawafid*, Ayasofya, 124.
[184] Ibid, 124b.
[185] Ibid, 3.
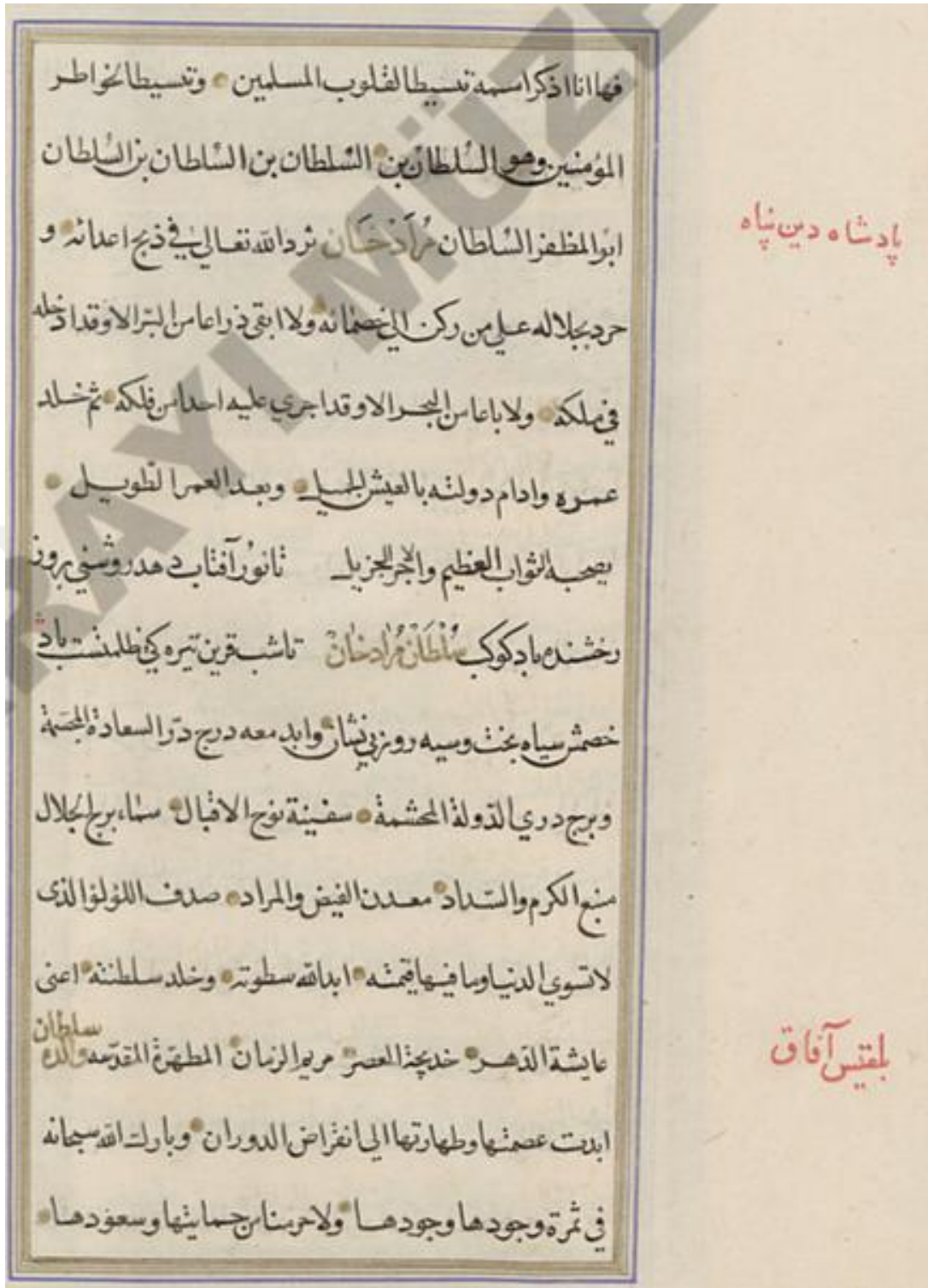
Figure 4.5. A Page From Topkapı Copy[186]

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[186] Mīrzā Makhdūm Sharifi Shirazi, *Al-Nawâqid li Bunyan al-Rawafid*, Topkapı Palace, Ahmed III, 2b.

There is an engraved seal and the seal of Ahmet III.

Figure 4.6. An Engraved Seal[187]

At the end of the work there is also the seal of Mīrzā Makhdūm.

Figure 4.7. Mīrzā Makhdūm's seal[188]

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[187] Mīrzā Makhdūm Sharifi Shirazi, *Al-Nawâqid li Bunyan al-Rawafid*, Topkapı Palace, Ahmed III, 1a.
[188] Ibid, 206b.

4.2.2.2. The motivations behind the work

According to the author, the motivation behind the work was to reveal the heresies of the Qizilbash and to show the true path. However, there may be more than one reason he wrote this piece. In my opinion, there are intellectual, political and psychological reasons behind this work. The possibilities are as follows;

First of all, there was no other place that Mīrzā Makhdūm could go at that time. The Ottoman Empire was an attractive and intellectual center for Muslims and the Sunni 'ulama' was fleeing there. Furthermore, he states that his father always wanted to come to the Ottoman Empire.[189] This can be a political and intellectual motivation for him to write this work.

Second, he may have written this book to form a close relationship with the state. Since, he states that someone requested him to write this piece.[190] He may also have thought that this work would benefit the Ottoman Empire. For, at that time the war with the Shi'is was approaching. This work may have been written to legitimize the war. This may have acted as another political motivation for his.

Third, he may have written this work to strengthen his place in the Ottoman 'ulama' and to be accepted by the Ottoman 'ulama'. As a scholar from another region, he may have wanted to form close relationships witht he ulema. I understand this from explaining himself at the end of the work in detail. He does his own intellectual promotion. Thus, this can be a political motivation for him to write this work.

Fourth, one can realize that he had lost everything in the Safavid state. His house and belongings were burned and he had no income. In this case, he may have used his Shi'i experience and knowledge to gain economic income. Thus, the work could be written with an economic motivation.

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[189] Mīrzā Makhdūm Sharifi Shirazi, *Al-Nawâqid li Bunyan al-Rawafid*, Topkapı Palace, Ahmed III, 202b.

[190] Mīrzā Makhdūm Sharifi Shirazi, *Dhakhirat al-ʿuqba fi dhamm al-dunya*, Topkapı Palace, Ahmed III, 257.

Fifth, in the second part of the last chapter, he wrote the opinions of Sunni scholars about the curse.[191] One may notice that he tried to reveal his knowledge about the Sunni sect, which could also act as an intellectual motivation for him to write it.

Sixth, he might have been trying to justify himself against those who thought that he was lying. He states that when he was the Mashhadayn and the Baghdad qadi, some people wanted his remove from this position. After writing *Al-Nawākiḍ li-Bunyān al-Rawāfiḍ*, he states that he suffered a lot but Sinān Pasha protected him and raised his rank.[192] Briefly, I can say that with this work he wanted to remove any doubts that still remained.

Seven, there could be a psychological motivation behind this work. He was not wanted in the country and was imprisoned, his belongings were burned and his house was destroyed. As a person in this situation, he is also likely to hate the Shi'is and seek revenge.

As can be seen, the author may have multiple reasons for writing this work. These may be economic, political, intellectual and psychological reasons and all of them may have motivated him to write this work.

4.2.2.3. The outline of the book

The book consists of an introduction, three chapters, and a conclusion. The introduction focuses on the concepts of faith and Islam. He defines the concepts of faith(Iman) and Islam and states that these two concepts are inseparable. He says that the Qizilbashes are Muslims but are not believers(*mu'min*). He also defines faith according to Mu'tazila and Sunni scholars. At the same time, he also defines faith according to al-Dawani and al-Taftazani. The fact that Mīrzā Makhdūm declared the views of the scholars of the period and conveyed the views of such sects as Mu'tazila and Sunnism demonstrates his scientific competence and

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[191] Mīrzā Makhdūm Sharifi Shirazi, *Al-Nawâqid li Bunyan al-Rawafid*, Topkapı Palace, Ahmed III, 89.
[192] Mīrzā Makhdūm Sharifi Shirazi, *Dhakhirat al-ʿuqba fi dhamm al-dunya,* Topkapı Palace, Ahmed III, 257.

knowledge of the Sunni faith. His reason for addressing the faith issue is that he believes that the Qizilbash have changed the principles of faith according to their desires. That is why the first chapter of the books deals with the issue faith. He summarized the issue in the introduction section with 5-6 pages and provided examples of verses and hadiths to prove his words. He used Bukhari, Muslim and Tirmizi; which are considered all valid hadiths sources by the Sunnis.[193] "The Prophet (peace and blessings of Allah be upon him) said: "A siddiq(Abu Bakr) should not be a curse."[194]

In this way, he tries to convey his knowledge to the readers. Also in the introduction of the book, he starts with the issue of faith to prove that the Qizilbash are Muslims but they are not believers(*mu'min*). The fact that there was an ongoing war with the Safavids may have been effective in addressing this issue. In addition, writing this work as a Safavid scholar is much more effective than writing as an Ottoman scholar living in the Ottoman Empire. Mīrzā Makhdūm adds that Qizilbahs are not believers but he would not allow a civilian to be killed. He allows mutual war. For, they multiplied the blasphemy and existed in the name of Islam."[195] One of the proofs he gives is the verse; "They who believe and do not mix their belief with injustice- those will have security, and they are [rightly] guided." 6/Al-Anam:82[196]

The first chapter consists of two parts. The first part mentions the virtues of the companions of the Prophet Muhammad and the people of the family of the Prophet (Ahl al-Bayt) and the participants in the Battle of Badr. This section features some personalities like ʿĀʾishah, Abu Bakr, and Umar by mentioning verses and hadiths. For example: "O wives of the Prophet, you are not like anyone among women." 33/Ahzab:32[197]

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[193] Mīrzā Makhdūm Sharifi Shirazi, *Al-Nawâqid li Bunyan al-Rawafid*, Ahmed III, 156.
[194] Müslim, "el-Birr ve's Sıle", 84; Ahmed, Müsned, v.8 p.317, 418; Nesai, Şehadat, 39.
[195] Ibid, 198.
[196] Surah Al-Anam, Al-Qur'an Al-Kareem, 01 August 2019, https://quran.com/6/82.
[197] Mīrzā Makhdūm Sharifi Shirazi, *Al-Nawâqid li Bunyan al-Rawafid*, 26b; Surah Al-Ahzab, Al-Qur'an Al-Kareem, 01 August 2019, https://quran.com/33/32.

In the second part as mentioned in the first chapter, he examines the authentic hadith narrations about Abu Bakr and Umar. For example; "If you do not aid the Prophet- Allah has already aided him when those who disbelieved had driven him out [of Mecca] as one of two, when they were in the cave and he said to his companion (Abu Bakr), "Do not grieve; indeed, Allah is with us." 9/Tawbah:40[198]

He talks about Abu Bakr 's pleasant conversations with 'Ali, citing the hadiths. He then states that Abu Bakr deserved the caliphate the most.[199] For example; "If I had taken anyone as my closest friend I would have taken Abu Bakr"[200] The reason for emphasizing this issue is the issue of the Abu Bakr's caliphate, which is one of the major differences between the Shi'is and Sunnis.

In the second chapter, he talks about Abu Bakr's virtues as the best of the Prophet's companions by mentioning verses and hadiths that support the claim. Then he talks about the virtues of the companions of Prophet like Umar, Uthman, 'Ali, Ḥasan and Huseyin, ʿĀʾishah, Fatimah, Zubair, Talha, Sa'd b. Abi Waqqas, 'Abd al-Rahman b. Awf, and Abū ʿUbada ʿĀmir ibn ʿAbd Allāh ibn al-Darrāh. The reason for emphasizing the virtues of Abu Bakr is that Shi'is do not like Abu Bakr. They believe that 'Ali should have been the caliph, that Abu Bakr had cheated 'Ali. By his writings, Mīrzā Makhdūm proves that he radically disagrees with the Shi'i beliefs and emphasizes it a wrong path. As can be seen, the author's most emphasized issue is that Abu Bakr deserves the caliphate and his virtues, because this issue is the most fundamental issue for Shi'is.

In the third chapter, He mentions evidences that the Rightly-Guided Caliphs are the rightful caliphs and brings 15 reasonable evidence that the way of the Sunnism is the right way. For example, "'Ali, may Allah be pleased with him, pledged allegiance to Abu Bakr and Umar"[201]

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[198] Surah Al-Tawbah, Al-Qur'an Al-Kareem, 01 August 2019, htps://quran.com/9/340.
[199] Mīrzā Makhdūm Sharifi Shirazi, *Al-Nawâqid li Bunyan al-Rtawafid*, Ahmed III, 33a.
[200] Ibid, 32; Buhari, "Salat", 80; "Ashab'un Nebi, 3; "Menakıb'ül Ensar", 45; Müslim, "Fedail'üs Sahabe", 2; Tirmizi, "Menakıb", 15.
[201] Mīrzā Makhdūm Sharifi Shirazi, *Al-Nawâqid li Bunyan al-Rawafid*, Ahmed III, 202.

At the end of this section, he mentions the superstitious beliefs that have been the main elements of the Shi'i scholars. He tries to show that he knew Sunni doctrine very well by offering fifteen logical proofs that Sunni path is the right path. It is normal that he wants to prove his own knowledge because it is his first work in the Ottoman Empire. Moreover, the fact that he named one of his children Abu Hanifa[202] demonstrates an effort to show that he is not only Sunni but also a Hanafi. Afterwards, his long criticism of Shi'i beliefs is an effort to demonstrate that he does not support that belief. For, he says in his next work *Dhakhirat,* after writing *Al-Nawākiḍ li-Bunyān al-Rawāfiḍ* he suffered a lot and received criticism.[203]

The conclusion consists of three parts. The first part states that cursing is not in Islam, the second part is about the opinions of Sunni scholars to curse the Helpers (ansar), the Migrants (muhajir) and especially the Rightly-Guided Caliphs, and the third part is a criticism about the cursing. Then, the author talks about himself. The fact that he included the opinions of Sunni scholars reveals his knowledge about Sunni doctrine. He mentions his father, his grandfather, his mother and his descendants, and states that he has a clean lineage. He describes his generation extensively. He repeatedly mentions his lineage from his father to Prophet Muhammad. The fact there were many who claimed to be sheriff at that time could be the reason repeated mention of his lineage. Moreover, he says that his father and grandfathers were bureaucrats in the Safavid state. However, he wants to provide his service in the Ottoman Empire to atone for the evil done by his father and grandfather.[204] He states that his first teacher was not his father but his uncle, and his other teachers were from Yemen, Mecca, and Medina. He emphasizes that his sect is based on al-Jurjānī. For, al-Jurjānī is a famous Sunni scholar. He has relatives of the students of al-Jurjānī and he has learned from them. He wanted to prove that he was both Sunni and successful, superior to the Ottoman 'ulama', as that can be seen from his book. We see in his works he refers to being a descendant from Prophet Muhammad, a descendant of al-Jurjānī and having a good education.

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[202] Ibid, 200; Buhari, "Fedail'ül Ashab", 12; Müslim, "Cihad", 53.

[203] Mīrzā Makhdūm Sharifi Shirazi, *Dhakhirat al-ʿuqba fi dhamm al-dunya,* Ahmed III, 257.

[204] Mīrzā Makhdūm Sharifi Shirazi, *Al-Nawâqid li Bunyan al-Rawafid*, 24.

He states that he was Sunni from the beginning and that he was Hanafi after he came to the Ottoman Empire. He also states anyone who has any doubts about him should look at his books.[205] It appears that there were people who doubted him at that time. Therefore, he has given extensive coverage of his ancestors and teachers. So that he even lists the books he read one by one. As we understand from these words, Mīrzā Makhdūm is aware that he was criticized by other scholars in this period and gives a clear answer to these criticisms.

As it can be understood from the work of *Al-Nawākiḍ li-Bunyān al-Rawāfiḍ* in which Mīrzā Makhdūm provided evidence that the Sunni creed was a true creed and Shi'ism was superstitious and subsequently deviated. The reasons for writing this may be to strengthen his position in the Ottoman Empire and prove to the Sunni realms that he stands against Shi'ism. He had political, intellectual, economic and psychological reasons for writing this work. Furthermore, he had many motivations during this time. In addition, the Sunni and Shi'i beliefs in his work included the basics, Sunni beliefs were evidenced by verses and hadiths, and thus revealed his knowledge of verses and hadiths. Moreover, his answers to the criticisms made about him prove that he was criticized by the Ottoman scholars. Like all scholars, Mīrzā Makhdūm felt the need to strengthen his position and prove scientific knowledge among other scholars and to produce scientific works in order to continue his scientific studies. If we examine this work according to the issues mentioned, we see that Mīrzā Makhdūm is writing a work based on the conditions and the problems of the period.

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[205] Mīrzā Makhdūm Sharifi Shirazi, *Dhakhirat al-ʿuqba fi dhamm al-dunya,* Ahmed III, 250.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION

In this thesis, my first aim was to examine Mīrzā Makhdūm's *Al-Nawākiḍ li-Bunyān al-Rawāfiḍ* and his political and intellectual context. In this study, I have tried to demonstrate the difficulties, dilemmas, identity problems and political and intellectual changes between the Safavid-Ottoman States and the difficulties experienced by a Safavid immigrant.

I have shown that Mīrzā Makhdūm has a multiple identity. Opinions are likewise not entirely clear.

His descendants, education, being a sheriff, his experience in the Safavids and his network were effective in reaching the high positions in the Ottoman Empire.

There were economic, political, intellectual and psychological reasons for writing his work.

In the first chapter, I made a short presentation of the author, his work and a summary of this thesis. In the second chapter, I explained the life of Mīrzā Makhdūm in Safavids. I looked at the descendants of Mīrzā Makhdūm and I saw that there were people from both sects in his family. I looked at his education and noticed that he had both Sunni and Shi'i teachers. Then, I studied his life in the Safavid state. I noticed that he was influencing Shah Ismail II and had a high position in the country. I later examined the Sunni Shi'i conflict in the country and his imprisonment as a result. There are several approaches and thoughts about the life of Mīrzā Makhdūm. It is said that he took a job in the Ottoman Empire under different circumstances, as well as debates that he was a Shi'i before coming to the Ottoman Empire. When we examine the alleged subjects and the period, Iranian

historians state that he was a Sunni scholar[206] and affected Ismā'īl II.[207] Therefore, it is difficult to state for certain weather he was a Sunni or Shi'i. Perhaps he had a multiple identity. In this chapter, we saw that there were both Sunnis and Shi'a in his family and that he received his education from both Sunni and Shi'i scholars. When we look at his life in the Safavids, we also see that there are proofs that he may be Sunni and Shi'i. Considering the evidence, we can say that he was confused and could not find his sect or followed both. Another option would be to say that he was political and acted on the terms and conditions of the time. In this case, for Mīrzā Makhdūm's situation before the Ottoman Empire, I argue that instead of drawing concrete lines regarding his beliefs, focusing on the flux of beliefs might give a more accurate idea about this period.

In Chapter 3, I examined Mīrzā Makhdūm's escape from the Safavids and his life in the Ottoman Empire. I studied how he escaped from the Safavids, how he came to the Ottoman Empire, how he found a job there, and how he could rise. We see that Mīrzā Makhdūm fled to the Ottoman Empire to escape death and held important positions there. The Ottoman Empire was an intellectual center at that time and had nowhere else to go. It is clear that Ottomans welcomed him and he became one of the star scholars in the Ottoman Empire. Giving him high positions shows that the Ottomans did not have a negative attitude towards him. His descendants, education, being a sheriff, his experience in the Safavids and his network were effective in giving him this value. When we examine the tasks assigned to Mīrzā Makhdūm in this period, we can imagine that the Ottoman Empire wished to benefit from Mīrzā Makhdūm's political experience in the Safavid State. Moreover, the Ottoman Empire was self-sufficient at that time. So Mīrzā Makhdūm did not rise much in his bureaucratic life. He says he had more expectations.[208] We think that his education was excellent, but the fact that the Ottoman Empire saw itself superior to the Safavids could be the reason why Mīrzā Makhdūm did not rise so

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[206] Rosemary Stanfield, "Mirza Makhdum Sharifi: A 16th century Sunni sadr at the Safavid Court" (PhD diss., New York University, 1992), 32.

[207] Shohreh Gholsorkhi, Ismail II and Mirza Makhdum Sharifi: An Interlude in Safavid History, *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, 26/3 (1994): 478.

[208] Mīrzā Makhdūm Sharifi Shirazi, *Al-Nawâqid li Bunyan al-Rawafid*, Ahmed III, 221b.

high. He may not have been allowed to reach the same level he was with Shah Ismā'īl II.

In the fourth chapter, I covered his refutation of Safavid beliefs. I studied his juristic works as well as his polemic works. In order to better understand these works, I first examined the political and religious situation in the Safavids and showed that religion was used in politics. Then, I handled the fatwa given by Mīrzā Makhdūm on killing of the Safavids. He does not allow a civilian to be killed. He allows mutual war.[209] We see that Mīrzā Makhdūm's fatwa was personal. Mīrzā Makhdūm gave a fatwa that allowed the killing of Qizilbash. At that time, anti-Qizilbash discourse was rampant in the Ottoman Empire and Mīrzā Makhdūm followed this discourse and said that they do not fulfill the principles of faith. When we look at the polemic works of Mīrzā Makhdūm, we find his work *Al-Nawākiḍ li-Bunyān al-Rawāfiḍ*. There are intellectual, political and psychological reasons behind his motivation to write this work. The possibilities are; first, there was no other place that Mīrzā Makhdūm could go at that time. The Ottoman Empire was an attractive and intellectual center for Muslims and the Sunni 'ulama' was fleeing there. This can be a political and intellectual motivation for him to write this work. Secondly, he may have written this book to be close to the state. He may also have thought that this work would benefit for the Ottoman Empire. For, at that time the war with the Shi'is was approaching. This work may have been written as to legitimize the war. This can be another political motivation of his. Thirdly, he may have written this work to strengthen his place in the Ottoman 'ulama' and to see acceptance from the Ottoman 'ulama'. Fourthly, one can realize that he had lost everything in the Safavid state. His house and belongings were burned and he had no income. In this case, he may have used his Shi'i experience and knowledge to gain economic income. This can be his economic motivation. Fifthly, in the second part of the last chapter, he wrote the words of the Sunni scholars about the curse.[210] One may notice that he tried to reveal his knowledge about the Sunni sect. This can be an intellectual motivation for him to write it. Sixthly, he is trying to justify himself

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[209] Mīrzā Makhdūm Sharifi Shirazi, *Al-Nawâqid li Bunyan al-Rawafid*, Ahmed III, 198.
[210] Ibid, 89.

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against those who think that that he is actually a Shi'i sympathizer. Briefly, I can say that with this work he wanted to remove the doubts. Seventh, it could be a psychological motivation to write this work. He was not wanted in the country and he stayed in prison, his belongings were burned and his house was destroyed. As a person in this situation, he is also likely to hate the Shi'a and seek revenge on them. As can be seen, the author may have multiple reasons for writing this work. These may be economic, political, intellectual and psychological reasons and all of them may have motivated him to write this work.

The book consists of an introduction, three chapters, and a conclusion. We examined that Mīrzā Makhdūm showed the Sunni creed was a true creed and Shi'ism was superstitious and subsequently deviated. The reasons for writing this may be to strengthen his position in the Ottoman Empire and to prove to the Sunnis that he stands against Shi'ism. Sunni beliefs were evidenced by verses and hadiths, and thus revealed his knowledge of verses and hadiths. Moreover, his answers to the criticisms made about him prove that he was criticized by the Ottoman scholars. Like all scholars, Mīrzā Makhdūm felt the need to strengthen his position and prove scientific knowledge among other scholars and to produce scientific works in order to continue his scientific studies. If we examine this work according to the issues mentioned, we see that Mīrzā Makhdūm is writing a work based on to the conditions and the problems of the period and was trying to impose himself on the Ottoman 'ulama'.

This study can be developed by examining other works of the author. Since, the author's other works on the science of Sufism and fiqh have survived. Through the examination of these works, more information can be obtained on both the life of Mīrzā Makhdūm and the intellectual and political life in the Ottoman and Safavid State. In addition, the lives of other scholars who came from the Safavids to the Ottoman Empire can be investigated and a comparison can be put forward. Thus, how the policy applied to the scholars who emigrated from the Safavids to the Ottoman Empire, what kind of tasks they were assigned and the perspectives of the Ottomans towards these scholars could be revealed in more detail. As a result of

this, it is also possible to examine the characteristics of the scholars from other countries coming to the Ottoman Empire at a macro level.

In this study we saw experiences of a man who lived between two worlds in Ottoman and Safavid bureaucracy. I can say that, as states change so do people.

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