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FINAL REPORT

EFFECTS OF SAFAVID IRAN
ON THE SPREAD OF SHIISM IN IRAQ

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GENERAL INFORMATION

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1. Introduction

Brief information about the research

Shia thought has emerged after the Karbala, Tevvabun and Mukhtar es-sakafi events. It has completed its formation in the historical process, and these events occurred in the geography of Iraq. Thus, this district can be regarded as the homeland in the emergence of Shia thought. Nevertheless Shia thought could not be effective in Iraqi society for a long time. However, it can be said that it was represented as small groups in some cities as Karbala, Najaf and Baghdad.

After the emergence of Shia thought, Imami Shia was not effective in the society and politics of the Islamic world for a long time. The spread of Shiism has occurred by the leadership of Shah Ismail who established the Safavid state in Iran at the beginning of the 16th century. It will be useful therefore to explore the following information. As it is known, Iran was an imperial state throughout history. But it lost this feature in the Kadisiyye war which occurred in the period of the 2nd Caliph Hazrat Umar (May God Be Pleased With Him). However, Iran grabbed the opportunity to return again to its imperial policies with Shah Ismail. He also used Shia thought as an instrument of this policy. Thus, it became an official ideological identity beyond being a religious sect. In fact, this situation notified a structural change in the Shia. Thus, the Shia was transformed from a sect to an ideology. So Shah Ismail firstly started to spread the Shiism in Iran, and its neighbors. Certainly, Iraq came at the very beginning of these efforts, because Iraq was an important place in terms of the Shia that was emerged after some effective events there as said earlier on. The process of spreading Shiism in Iraq is the main dimension for the main study. It is known that the

Shiism was not effective initially in Iraq, but 60-65 percent of Iraq's population is Shia today.

During the study, along with learning about the process of the spread of Shiism in Iraq, efforts have been made to search answers to the following questions within the framework of western resources.

1. What was the the effect of Shah Ismail and the Safavids on the process of the spread of Shiism in Iraq?

2. How were the Safavid state / policies put into practice for spreading Shiism in Iraq? What had been done in the name of these policies? What is the contents of these policies?

3. Were there any effects of Safavid rule on social events that emerged under Ottoman rule for spreading Shiism in Iraq?

4. What were the effects of the merchants and migrants from Iran on spreading Shiism in Iraq?

5. Were there any other forces or states that supported the Safavids in spreading Shiism in Iraq? If there was/were, who was/were they?

6. What were the interests of European states for the region in that period?

We strived to search answers to these questions throughout our work. For this, we made library study, determination of sources, scan throug them. And we reviewed the literature and took notes of relevant sections on literature. In this context, we wrote an article as a co-study with Professor Oliver Scharbrodt as seen in following pages.

Summary of the previous studies:

Numerous Islamic sects that are defined as Islamic thought schools existed in the history of Islamic culture. Undoubtly, one of them has been the Shia. Shia thought is based on the doctrine of the Imamate and originated in Iraq. This situation shows that the geography of Iraq is important in the development of Shia thought. Indeed, we look at the history of Iraq, it is obvious that in the period of the caliphate of Hz. Ali (May God Be Pleased With Him) and his son Hz. Hasan, Kufa (a city in

Iraq) had a central political position. This situation continued in the Umayyad period. But the Umayyad could not prevent some rebel movements that emerged in the region. Thus the Umayyad rule ended and afterwards, the Abbasid State was founded (132 A.H/750 C.E).

Baghdad was made a capital city in the period of caliph Abu Jafar al-Mansur. It is remarkable to be noted that Iran's influences in Iraq was seen in this period. However, Iraq strengthened its central position in political, religious, social, military and economic affairs. But it seems in history every time that the insurgency movements emerged in Iraq, central authority was weakened. As a result of this, impact forces started to be seen in the community. One of these were the Buyids. These developments had increased the interest of the Seljuks in the region. Thus the great Seljuk Sultan Tugrul Beg came to Baghdad and the Seljuks took over the Iraqi administration (447 A.H/1055 C.E).

In the period of the Seljuks, Iraq was ruled by the Shahnameh and Amides. However, there were fights for the throne at the time. These fights blew with bellows the disputes between the Abbasid administrations. Administrative weaknesses usually have been the harbinger of new developments throughout the history. Thereupon this situation has facilitated the Mongol invasion and Iraq was subjected to the severe attacks of the Mongols.

The Mongols heading towards westward captured Baghdad and did great damage there. They slaughtered the Caliph Mu'tasim Billah (656/1258). After the Mongol invasion of Iraq, according to the conjuncture, it gave an image of unstability where there will be peace at the sometime and chaos at another.

Ghazan Khan of the Ilkhans enthroned in 694/1295 and adopted Sunnism, and the region was in a revival during this period. But after him, the region turned into the old days with Olcaytu who came to power after Ghazan Khan. Severe and bloody fights came back to the region.

Jalayerids, which are regarded to be a Mongol sub-tribe centralised Baghdad as their capital (740/1340) and formed a new government in Iraq. But this region passed into the hands of Timur in 795/1393.

Baghdad remained under the domination of Qaraqoyunlus from 1410 to 1467. On this date, Iraq entered the rule of the Ag Qoyunlus. It was seen severe fights in this period in Iraq. Finally the Ag Qoyunlus started to lose their power and

instead of them, Safavids obtained the political power in this region (914/1508). The rule of Safavids continued only twenty-six years in Iraq.

Iraq's population was made up of mostly Arab tribes until the sixteenth century. However it drew attention of the Shiites because of sacred places located there. Infact, Iraq was a geography in which very significant events took place as those of Karbala, the Tavvabun and Mukhtar as-Sakafi. At the same time, the tombs of important Imams for Shia were also here. This situation revealed the important role of Iraq for Shia thought. But it was remarkable that it did not have a significant Shia population. Thus Shia thought was in cities like Baghdad, Kufa, Karbala and followed by small groups.

Shah Ismail the founder of the Safavid State opened the way of Iran for an expansionist spirit and saw Shiism as a tool for the imperial ambitions of Iran. For this, he firstly started the dissemination activities of Shiism on Iran. Then he attempted to spread it to the neighboring countries. He even brought it into state policy. Thus he thought that can be expanded to Iran's political domain.

In this period, the Ottoman Empire was interested in that geography too. Undoubtly it was effecient in controlling strategical trade routes and increasing the commercial dominance of power. It is also possible to add the idea of breaking the influence of the Safavids that had the tendency to spread in the region against the Ottomans. Indeed, Yavuz Sultan Selim from Ottomans after the conquest of Syria and Egyp headed to Iraq. This situation prepared the ground for Iraq to emerge as a battleground between the Ottomans and Safavids.

The Ottoman army started an expedition to the East in fall of 940/1533. It was called this expedition as "Irakeyn" because it headed to Persian Iraq and Arab Iraq. As a result of this, the expedition was taken to South Azerbaijan and Baghdad (941/1535). Though Baghdad was under Iranian invasion for short time (1032-1048/1623-1638), it remained under Ottoman rule until early 20th century.

We see today that 60-65 % of Iraq's population came under the influence of Shia thought. We know that these are the effects of the Safavid State policy. In this context, It is important to explain the effects of the Safavid State in spreading of the Shia in Iraq, the natures and dimensions of the actions.

It is seen that we can learn the historical processes of Iraq, the historical evolution of Shia and the effects of Shia on Iraq in the current studies of history. But

we do not possess any knowlegde yet about the spread of Shiism in Iraq by the Safavids. Our study aims to fill this information gap in this area by using western sources.

2. Studies in report terms:

I. Term: First of all, It was tried to get accostomed to the new environment and to eliminate some deficiencies because of changing environment like settlement and language fast. After this short adjustment period, started to study the literature about research field. In this context, searches and attempts to locate related books and articles as sources were undertaken. Libraries were also scanned and sources classified from known to unknown in this term.

II. Term: I continued to obtain, scann and classify related materials/sources detected in the first term. At the same time, I started to scan these sources and to detect the chapters related with the research field. At this time, we desired to write an article on our research field with Project Director Professor Oliver scharbrodt together as a co-study. So we started to study for an article directly related with our project theme with title "*Effects of Safavid Iran on the Process of Spreading of Shiism in Iraq*". It was aimed to provide a basic structure for the studies planned in Turkey in this project frame. It also desired to be conveyed the knowledge and experiences in western academic envirenments to Turkey.

III. Term: I continued to read and label the source materials obtained in the first and the second terms. In this way, it was aimed to classify the obtained knowledge from the sources. At the same time, I also continued to study articles started in the second term.

IV. Term: It was tried to complete the studies ongoing from begining to this term. In this context, It was tried to be complete the scanning and reading of the sources. At this time, I completed the study of the article started earlier. This report was also prepared in this term.

3. Research results

As could be remembered, we aimed to respond to six questions which were determined in the first report. These are the questions and their answers in a summary.

1. What was the the effect of Shah Ismail and the Safavids on the process of the spread of Shiism in Iraq?

It was seen that Shah Ismail and Safavid State had a central role for spreading Shi'ism in Iraq. According to our research, we knew that Iran had a regional influence power due to be located in a geography host for the different culture and civilisations and based on strong Persian state tradition historically. Whereas, not able to protect this feature after the battle of the Qadisiyyah, Iran reached to an atmosphere to perform its purpose to be a strong state again by Shah Ismail founder of the Safavid Empire. The new state founded by him attempt to resurrect the expansionist understanding existing on its politic culture, while striving to actualize state structure basics. One of the first places to be directed and desired effective in expansionist policies by Shah Ismail was Iraq. Undoubtedly there were some historical, political, commercial and religious reasons. Irak directed for these reasons was the fatherland for Shi'ite thought converted a religious policy for Safavids. Despite the fact that there were some small Shi'ite groups in just particular regions by then, Iraq was scene to the spreading of Shiism on the community in process naturally.

Shah Ismail transformed the Shi'ite which was the religious understanding of the Ardabil lodge to an ideology subservient to Iran's expansionist policy by converting the state's official denomination for Safavids. The potency on the religious thought of this ideology had a capacity to contribute the Safavid policy and to return it again to Iran's old glorious days. On this ground, the expansionist policy began to appear in Iran with Shah Ismail. It was noteworthy that one of the first places Iran headed was the geography of Iraq known as Iraq-i Arap. Indeed Iraq was in the relevance area of Iran with some reasons as historical, political, commercial and religious.

Iraq occupied in a strategic position politically was an attractive region because of being close to Iran located in the same culture basin geographically and historically. However Iraq especially as to be located on the Tabriz-Damascus and the other different trade routes was in the relevant area of the Iranian merchants. Undoubtedly this case for Iran, owner of a rich history and culture, emerged as an important fact.

It was appreciated that the significance of Iraq with regard to religion was much greater for the Safavids. In fact Iraq was the host of some events as the Karbala Mourning, Tevvabun and Mukhtar Thaqafi movements which effected the emergence and development of Shia thought. It was also in Iraq tombs of imams sacred for Shia as Hz. Ali (Nedjef), Hz. Hussein (Karbala), Moses Kazim (Kazimiyyah), Mohammed et-Taki (Samarra) and Hassan al-Askari (Samarra). This case was remarkable as to show of the importance of Iraq on the context of religious thought. In this context, to remain indifferent all these for Safavids converted the Shi'ite into a state ideology couldn't be expected. It must be with these reasons Shah Ismail, founder of Safavid Empire entered Baghdad in 1508 and included Iraq to his dominated area. He quickly endeavoured to compose the new state structure and appointed Khadim Halife as governor. In this process, he also didn't forget to make celebrations for the capture of the Iraq.

It was stated that the relevance of Safavids to Iraq was based on historic, cultural, political and religious reasons. It was seen that religious reasons had an important infrastructure to be shown spread of the Shiites in Iraq by the Safavids. Therefore Iraq was a center of attraction with its tombs called *atebat* for important shi'ite imams. In this case, the region was made more important for the Shi'ite Safavids. Thus Shah Ismail and subsequent Safavid sultans showed a special care to Iraq's geography. In this context, it was remarkable to be encouraged the Shi'ite people in Iran to visit, migrate and even settle in Iraq. In this way, Shi'ite civilian citizens, scholars, traders started to go to Iraq and these contributed to Shiism becoming stronger in Iraq as believer and supporter. Undoubtedly this case allowed to come out of the economic power between the shi'ite communities. Thus it was formed an important infrastructure with politic contributions of Safavid Empire, the support of scholars and economic powers of the traders to the spread of Shiism in

the geography of Iraq in process. In this case, it is possible to say that the Safavids located the center, the atebat, on their Iraq policies.

After Baghdad has been captured, Shah Ismail headed towards visiting places believed as holy by shi'ite thought. Drawing the attentions to atebats, he exhibited the importance of the region for the shi'ite thought. In this way, he gave the first signs for the region that would take shape in process. In this context, he instructed to be repaired the tombs for shi'ite imams around Baghdad. As the tomb of Mosa Kazim (7th imam for Shi'ite) was fixed, a doem was constracted above it too. It was remarkable that some rumors appeared in the news on the destruction of the tombs of sunni scholars such as Imam Abu Hanife (767) and killed some important people from the sunni world in this period.

These applications continued by successors the other Safavid sultans and contributed to be increased in relevance to Iraq and tombs of shi'ite imams. Thus Iraq was even also finally started to be percieved as qibla of Iran by some shi'ites in process.

After leaving from Baghdad, Shah Ismail headed to atebat regions where shi'ite imam tombs as Kazimayn, Karbala, Najaf and Samarra were. He visited the tombs in atebat regions was repaired them too. He also strove to engage in increasinge the attraction for these regions. In this context, he gave some instructs to be repaired the available canals and to be open the new water canals extremely important for the life in the regions. In this way, he aimed to contribute to be increasinge the quality of the life in atebats, because he thought that these activities would contribute to come the shi'ite people from Iran and the other districts and to spread the Shiism in these regions. Thus it was contributed to head towards these regions for visiting or migrating from the other regions or countries as Iran. These case started by Shah Ismail continued increasing in process with supports of the successor Safavid sultans.

When Shah Ismail established, strengthened and started to spread the Safavid State towards the other regions, it was at the same time that Ottoman revealed the determination to be a world state. This case made inevitable confrontation of the two power exhibited growth aptitude. As known Ottoman adopted the Sunni thought in Islam, However Safavids also accepted the Shi'ite thought as formal religious policy. In this case, the struggle between the two powers moved to

sectarian ground and the fight between the two states occurred in the form of Sunni-Shi'ite. As a result of this, captured in 1508 under the leadership of Shah Ismail by the Safavids. But Iraq passed back to the Ottoman State in 1533. Despite took back in 1623 by sultan Shah Abbas for a fifteen years, Baghdad entered under control of Ottoman State again in 1638. From this date to the end of the nineteenth century, Baghdad was under Ottoman rule. However, the Ottoman State and its socio-politic conditions were not very interested with in Iraq's geography. In this situation first Safavids and after the other Iran administrators always kept alive their interests on the Iraq. This situation meant that it continued the interests started with Safavids in the subsequent processes too.

2. How were the Safavid state policies put in to practice for spreading of shiism in Iraq? What had been done in the name of these policies? What is the contents of these policies?

It is possible to say that tombs of the Shi'ite Imams in Iraq had a central role for the Safavid policies towards to Iraq. It contributed to visit or migrate to Atebats by the Safavids and they established infrastructure for these things. Thus they constructed or repaired the tombs of Shi'ite imams, strove to solve the water problem and endeavoured to facilitate the life of the people living the atebats regions. At the same time, in the context of the interest towards the region, it even began to flourish some different theoretical thoughts contributed the visitation or migration to the region.

Shi'ite people began to come towards the region in the frame of Shah ismail policy. This case was supported as religious, social and economic by Safavids. These migrations can be classified in four categories. First category of these was that consisted of visitors for short-term. Second groups came with intention to settle for long period, some of these wanted to pass away or complete the end of their life there. Thus they desired to be buried near the tombs of imams. Third group came from Iran was traders who moved to Iraq and conveyed their trade activities there. The last group was scholars who came with different aims. These are settled in Iraq and began to do scientific activities there.

As it seen, Persian Shi'ites in the period started and constructed its infrastructure with Shah Ismail came to Iraq and began to visit the tombs of imams. It

was started to perceive these visits almost like pilgrimage as a religious identity to be wrapped. This situation became much more pronounced in the Shah Abbas II period. Atebats visited by Shi'ite people were meant strived to be converted to centers of pilgrimage as Makkah and Madinah by Safavid sultans. Some communities appeared that believed the visits to atebat places were more mitzvah/goodness than the pilgrimage. Undoubtedly, these understandings formed the infrastructure to be visited the tombs of imams in a way more intense in the developing process. It was seen that the density of this visit increased in the pilgrimage seasons and Muharram months. In this way, these regions became more important places beyond tour places in process.

Visits promoted to holy places in Iraq contributed to increase the demands of settlement for long term. Many Shi'ite people also desired to spend their last days of their life in these regions. In this case, when they die, they wanted to be buried in near tombs of imams. Thus they would be neighbours to them in doomsday and arrive at their intercessions in this way, because they thought to die where near the imams would allow them a privilege in hereafter. In this frame, it was believed that if a person was buried in the *Vadi es-selam* (in Najaf city), he would be a neighbour for Hz. Ali who decides on heaven and hell. In this way, it was also believed that the person buried near the tomb of Hz. Ali could benefit from his superiority and arrive at his intercession. Undoubtedly according this belief, that person would be freed from the punishment of the hereafter.

Indeed, while roots traced to the fourth hijri century, this thought took place between religious reasons for orientation region in Safavid period. The atebat places hosted Shi'ite imams tombs as Najaf, Karbala, Samarra and Kazimiyye took place in the between firsts for the visitation and the migration choices. Undoubtedly Shi'ite people coming and settling in the region for these thoughts started even effective over the Sunni communities in the region. In this way, Safavids by the Shi'ite people came from Iran arrived to an ambiance that could be effective the Sunni communities in Iraq as religious understanding and belief.

It can be say that it isn't possible to shift of the religious colour or sectarian structure of a community in a short time. There was need to spread Shi'ism for a long time. It could be seen this situation in period of Shi'ite spreading in Iraq. Thus the period started with Safavids and continued by the successor administrators. At the

same time, the process of Safavid was quite significant as starter of the Shi'ite period in Iraq. Thus it could say that the spread of Shi'ism was started systematically in Safavid process and it also still continued on the underground prepared by them in this period.

Thus it was remarkable that the Shi'ite population arrived to two-thirds of the general community. At the result of the declaration monarchy and the withdrawal of the Ottomans from the region, Iraq's Shi'ite population estimated increased to 53-56 % between 1919-1932. It is estimated that this rate is between 60-65 % in this age.

3. Were there any effects of Safavid rule on social events that emerged under Ottoman rule for spreading Shiism in Iraq?

It was continued the Safavid period from 1501 to 1736 in Iran. In this process Iraq had been dominated between 1508-1533 by Safavids. But it passed to Ottoman the administrative in Iraq in a short time. It was considerable that the Safavids strove to establish an infrastructure for spreading Shi'ism in Iraq. In this context, the atebats were repaired as it was seen to move to Iraq as the main reason and opened the new water canals for improving the life quality of the environment. At the same time, an economic infrastructure was also constructed. Thus the region was endeavoured to convert more attractive for Shi'ite civilians. In this way, although visitors were coming for visit to Iraq at the beginning, they started to come for settling in time. Undoubtedly, these people were under the influence of Iran and it was seen that these Shi'ite civilians oriented by the Iranian rulers time to time. This relationship began with the Safavids was kept by the successor rulers in Iran. It was seen the results of this relation both in Safavid process and later. So this relation was also justification for some events in Iraq under the Ottoman rule. As a result of this, Iraq geography passed from Ottoman rule under the Safavid administration. It was probably for a short time between 1623-1638. End of this process, Ottomans took back again the administration in this region. But the important thing was that Shiite groups in Iraq contributed this battle for Iran. It looked to us that this event that there was effect of Safavids on the some political or religious events under Ottoman rule in Iraq.

As known, Iran has a perspective blending politic aims with Shi'ite thought after the Safavids. That's why, it wasn't considerable that Iran would leave indifferent

for people who settled or contributed to settle in Iraq. Thus it was remarkable the activities of that people, structures of the tribe and their fights against the Sunni tribes in the region. It was known that these tribes resisted against the Ottomans in opposition attitudes after the Safavid rule. It was remarkable that the heads of these attitudes was Shiites from Iran.

It was seen some events laid the foundations by the Safavids in their process. At this time some events also appeared in Iraq during the next period because of Iranian policies. One of them was an agreement between Iran and Ottoman rules on justice. According to this agreement, the Iranian consul and attendants would have the same rights and opportunities with the counterparts of European. In this context, Iranian consuls had a wide authority on the civil law, criminal law and inheritance law etc. This agreement understood as a privilege for consuls relaxed the Iranian citizens, especially Shiite scholars and provided opportunity the more comfortable movement in Ottoman territory for them. The activities of effective propaganda raised over the Sunni tribes gave some results in period especially nineteenth century and accelerated the transitions to Shi'ism especially between the some tribes that Nakash gave their names as community. Undoubtedly this situation also meant the sectarian structure of the Iraq was changed in favour of Shi'ism. It also showed the effect of Iran on Shi'ite tribes and community in Iraq. As a result of these justifications and with applications started by Shah Ismail or Safavids resumed also the effects of Safavid in Iraq later eras as well. So we could say that the process was started by Shah Ismail continued under the effect of Safavids or their successors in Iran. Thus Iran was effective on the some social events in Iraq.

4. What were the effects of the migrants, merchants and scholars from Iran on spreading Shiism in Iraq?

As known, Shah Ismail constructed or repaired the tombs of Shi'ite imams in Iraq and strove to solve the water problem and endeavoured to facilitate the life of the people living at the atebats regions. At the same time, in the context of the interest towards the region, it even began to flourish some different theoretical thoughts contributed the visitation or migration to the region. Thus it was quite attractive attention that the Shi'ite imams was regarded as alive in their graves, could

be requested intercession from them, could conceivable their own specific locations in the sight of Allah. Probably, emergence of such ideas and sprung up in the community, it caused to be showed a special care and to be closed the tombs of Shi'ite imams by the Shi'ite people.

Shi'ite people began to come towards the region in the frame of Shah Ismail policy. This case was supported as religious, social and economic by Safavids. As a result of this, the visits and migrations started towards Iraq from Iran. These migrations can be classified in four categories. First category of these was that consisted of visitors for short-term. Second groups came with intention to settle for long period, some of these wanted to pass away or complete the end of their life there. Thus they desired to be buried near the tombs of imams. Third group came from Iran was traders who moved to Iraq and conveyed their trade activities there. The last group was scholars who came with different aims. These settled in Iraq and began to do scientific activities there.

Whatever purpose, all these groups came to Iraq for their Shi'ite believes. They wanted to near the atebats and arrive at the intercessions for the shi'ite imams. They also wanted to spread the Shi'ism that was seen as correct Islam. In this frame, visitors and settlers conveyed the culture of Shi'ism around the atebats, traders also spread it around the Iraq because they were in relationship with the other traders and people on the general of the geography. This group effected the counterparts and contributed the spreading of the Shi'ism in Iraq. Scholars were also more effective all over the community because of the studies and the narratives. Actually, activities all of these groups was very effective all over the different groups and total of these activities changed the colour of the Iraq community as sect and religious perspective. In the result of the activities of these groups spread the Shi'ism in Iraq.

5. Were there any other forces or states that supported the Safavids in spreading Shiism in Iraq? If there was/were, who was/were they?

According to our readings from the books located, we couldn't find any contribution for the other countries or communities to spreading of the Shi'ism in Iraq process the Safavid. As known, there were some relationships between like the countries Safavid Empire, England and Portugal on diplomatic and trade themes. But we haven't arrived any knowledge in the context of the contribution these countries

on spreading of Shi'ism in Iraq yet. At the same time, it will continue our readings on these themes.

6. What were the interests of the European states for the region in that period?

Safavid State was constructed at the beginnings of the sixteenth century when the Ottoman State also began to strengthen on the political and economic area in that process in its region. At the same time, it was slowly started to be felt the expansionism and colonialism pioneered by the western countries to other countries or regions as well. In this context, the western countries perceived the activities of the Ottoman State as a threat especially on the foreign policy and the dominances over the trade routes. Therefore they followed the emergence of the Safavids with enthusiasm. Because they looked the Safavids as a balancing force against the Ottoman State power. That is why the Safavid State was the focus of the attention by the western countries. Undoubtedly, it was the subject of another studies if there were any direct-support or not for the western countries on the birth of Safavids. But according to our readings, Venitians and Portugueses strove to be near the Safavids at the first time. In this context, some European countries like Germany, Spain, the Netherlands and England followed them. It was known that European countries endeavoured to improve a relationship with Safavids on the diplomatic ground against of the Ottoman State up to process of Shah Abbas. At his period, these relations had been strong by conveying to the commercial ground. Undoubtedly the Iran's history of a wealthy culture and civilization and also its desirable for the strong on the trade and political area had enabled these grounds.

It was also noteworthy the relationships between the Safavids and Britain in this point. It was seen that the first relation between these two states started with Anthony Jenkinson who appointed to the *Moskow Company* as director. This relation was developed on the trade ground and conveyed the other dimension with the tax-free sales of British goods and obtaining the free movement freedom in 1563. In this process, Britain revealed a special effort for improving the relations with Safavids and sent many delegations to the Safavid palace. It was note some people who made presidential for those delegations like Anthony Jenkinson (1562-1563), Thomas

Alcook (1563-1565, Arthur Edwards (1565), Thomas Bannister (1569-1574) and Shirley Brothers (1598).

It was seen that the commercial relations between the Safavids and western countries as England, France and the Netherlands developed from the seventeenth century. It was the greatest of the effect of some western commercial companies on the developing of the relations as Muscovy Company, British East India Company and France East India Company in this process.

4. Conclusion and Comments

As known, the Safavid State appeared in Iran which is host of a rich historical culture on the Persian and Sassanid culture basin. The rich geography incorporated many thought and belief schools and was dominated by the Muslims with the battle of the Qadisiyyah in the period of Hz. Umar's caliphate.

This post-war emerged a full political trauma for the history of Iran, because the Sassanid State that was a very strong was destroyed in a very fast way. So it was very important to dispose the trauma and resurrect the imperial goals again.

The Shi'ite emerged on the political ground and wrapped theological identity to contribute to these goals. Thus, the Shi'ite was transformed to a political instrument for Iranian expansionism. In other words, the Shi'ite which an Islamic sect was converted to a formal political ideology as Shi'ism by Shah Ismail constructed the Safavid State. Thus whatever the reason, Iran strove to make everybody accept Shi'ism for everyone in Iran and outside. In this way, it thought that could endeavour to improve its political and social power. In this context, it didn't avoid to apply pressure and violence. Indeed, in Iran before the Safavids, there were some quite small Shi'ite groups that had been lived in Iraq in Umayyad period. So Shi'ite in Iran was surely represented. However spreading Shi'ite socially in Iran came true with the religious policies for Safavid Empire. Then Shah Ismail, attempted to spread Shi'ism on the neighbour countries. He even brought it into state policy. Thus he thought that could be expand to Iran's political domain.

In this way, he started to spread the Shi'ism to other countries. Undoubtedly, one of these was Iraq, because it was very important geography for Shi'ism and expansionist policies for Iran, because Iraq occupied in a strategic position politically

was an attractive region because of close with Iran located in the same culture basin geographically and historically. However Iraq especially as to be located on the Tabriz-Damascus and the other different trade routes was in the relevant area of the Iranian merchants.

It was appreciated that the significance of Iraq with regard to religious was much greater for the Safavids. In fact Iraq was the host some events as Karbala Mourning, Tevvabun and Mukhtar Thaqafi movements effected emergence and development of Shia thought. It was also in Iraq tombs of imams sacred for Shia as Hz. Ali (Nedjef), Hz. Hussein (Karbala), Moses Kazim (Kazimiyyah), Mohammed et-Taki (Samarra) and Hassan al-Askari (Samarra). This case was remarkable as to show of the importance of Iraq on the context of religious thought. In this context, to remain indifferent all these for Safavids convert the Shi'ite into a state ideology couldn't be expected. It must be with these reasons Shah Ismail founder of the Safavid Empire entered Baghdad in 1508 and included the Iraq to his dominated area.

It was stated that relevance of Safavids to Iraq was based on historic, cultural, political and religious reasons. It was seen that the religious reasons had an important infrastructure to be shown a relevance and spread of the Shiite in Iraq by Safavids. Therefore Iraq was a centre of attraction with its tombs called *atebat* for important Shi'ite imams. In this case, the region was made more important for the Shi'ite Safavids. Thus Shah Ismail and subsequent Safavid sultans showed a special care to Iraq. In this context, it was remarkable to be encouraged the Shi'ite people in Iran to visit, migrate and even settle in Iraq. In this way, Shi'ite civilian citizens, scholars, traders started to go to Iraq and these situations contributed to spread and to be stronger of the Shi'ism on Iraq as believer and supporter.

It wasn't an effective ratio as population for Shia in Iraq community before the Safavids. But after sixteenth century began to improve this ratio and it arrived to % 60-65 nowadays. The process started by the Safavids has continued so far. Thus it is possible to say that Iran has an expansionist policies every time. Shiism is also a very important instrument for its expansionist policies.

According to our conclusion, Iran can apply this policies every time to every geography and country. So it can say that our country as a neighbour to Iran is also likely to be the target of the sectarian policies for Iran. So it is important to contribute

on the studies of Shiism, history of expansionist Iran and relationships with some groups which can be target of Iran in our country.

5. Outputs

It is an article that I have written it with contributes of Professor Oliver Scharbrodt.

EFFECTS OF SAFAVID IRAN ON THE PROCESS OF SPREADING OF SHIISM IN IRAQ

Introduction

Sent by God and delivered to humanity by Hz. Muhammad (PBUH), Islam has not any school or sect in the period first. However after His life in this world, some differences in approach on social, political and cultural grounds emerged in the Muslim community for the same or similar issues depending on social change and transformation. The institutionalization of these differences in the period in theological / political or jurisprudential / actions formed the rationale for the emergence of sectarian structure. In this context, five major different schools of thought in Islamic society appeared. Undoubtedly one of these sectarian structure was Shia.

Whenever a sect or school of thought emerged in the history after prophet, it tried to interconnect with the first source and the first period. It probably makes this for showing itself arguably superior against opponents or the other sects. We also think that it is also effective the idea of placing the thought that the real religion is represented by them. Thus, when we look at the Shia, we can see this approach on it. In this context, it claimed it existed in the first period. However, It can possible the formation of a sect or Theology School after the emergence of his belief or juristic structure (fiqh). Considering this situation, it is understandable the Shia is also a school or sects such as the others, emerged in subsequent periods. Indeed, the historical reality appeared that the theological approaches on the emergence of the Shia came up after the grandson of the Prophet Hz. Hussein brutally martyred in

Karbala. In this process, it draw attentions as Tevvabun and Mukhtar Thaqafi events. Like it is known, these movements have occurred around the Karbala and its environment. In this situation, it could be said that the first place in the early development of the Shi'ite theology or its fatherland was Iraq.

The Formation of the Shi'ite thought has been shaped around the Imamate and politic perception. In this context, different shi'ite approaches have emerged. Indeed, it is possible to see the Zaydiyya and Ismailiyya in this frame. But the interest of this essay is constituted by Imamiyya Shi'ite as our research area. The Imamate understanding of shi'te thought is constructed on the perspective of the caliph who is absolutely Hz. Ali by signs of religion texts and assignment of prophet. In this frame, Shia doesn't see the other caliphs who located in the administrative historically as legitimate caliph. This shi'ite approach is also called on account of isna aseriyya/twelve imams as it accepted twelve imams up to period of occultation. In this case, it is possible to say that the corporate structure of the shi'ite Imamiyya formed after occultation, in other words, it was the end of the 3rd century or the beginning of the 4th.

It seems like a paradoxical expression the assertion of the shi'ite thought emerged firstly in the geography of Iraq according to the allegation of the Shiism in Iraq disseminated by Safavids. Actually the meaning of that, at the beginning, the geography of Iraq was the homeland for Shia. But nevertheless it didn't has any power on social or political area. When it came to the fifteenth century, it didn't still has an effective ratio as population. As known, Shia in before the Safavids had a limited impact and in certain places in Iraq such as Karbala, Najaf, Kufa, Baghdad and Samarra. After with shah Ismail who constructed the Safavids State and transformed the Shia to a political instrument/official ideology for expansionist policy, Shi'ite started to become a massive power in Iraq. This study at your hands is determined to reveal the spreading process of Shiism in Iraq by placing Safavids policies on its center.

1. Shia Infrastructure on the Iraq Geography

On the emergence of Shia as a theological sect, the Karbala incident and events following had a major importance. As stated before, this situation introduced the Iraq geography as its first appearance and fatherland for Shia. But nevertheless,

It was known that it had a very limited influence on specific places in the Iraq geography. In fact, this situation meant that Iraq wasn't foreign to shi'ite thought and it had also a convenient ambience for the spread of Shia. They had significant effects of the Karbala incident and events following on the emergence of the ambience and experience of the Buyids in Abbasid period.

Buyids had emerged as a sultanate increasing the political and military power since beginning of the fourth century from the north of Iran. They reached a significant power with Ahmet was the youngest brother of Buyids family entered to Baghdad. Ahmet used Muizzuddavla title reduced sunni caliphate to a the symbolic authority. He stopped the near the shi'ite community because of improve the social and political power against the sunni caliph. As an indication of it, he formalized the Karbala Mourning and the Ghadir Khumm those are the most important for shi'ite thought. These days was started to be celebrate by the state.¹

It was encouraged on to be closed the markets and bazaars, to be weared black clothing and lament by the women during the Karbala Mourning. In this period also supported to be visited to Hz. Hussein and the other shi'ite imam graves. This situation was institutionalized in process.² In contrast, It was also showed the joy and happiness on the Ghadir Khumm days as an holiday.³ Shiism found both strengthening and expansion opportunities in this process. Thus It started to increase the population and influence of shi'ite community and their theological studies in around the Baghdad in this period. It was appeared important shi'ite scholars as Sheikh Mufid (413/1022) and Sharif al-Murtada (436/1044) and emerged very significant scientific works in terms of Shi'ite thought during this period. Insomuch that was even preferred word of "the Shi'ite Buyids"-even has not a historical basis for us-as a phrase by some historians.

Shia supported for a limited time by the Buyids gained a visibility in certain central regions of Iraq. However it didn't mean that Shia was efficient outside these centrals. As a matter of fact, Buyids management gave up the Shi'ite policies after

¹ Abu al-Faraj Abdurrahman Ali b. Muhammad b. Jawzi, *Muntazam fi Tarih'l-Muluk we'l-Umem*, Beirut 1992, XIV, 150-151; Izzuddin Ebu'l-Hasan Ali b. Muhammed b. Esir, *el-Kamil fi't-Tarih*, Beirut 1987, thk. Muhammed Yusuf, VII, 279.

² Ibn Cevzi, *Muntazam*, XIV, 150; Ibn Esir, *el-Kamil*, VII, 279; İbrahim Musevi az-Zencani, *Akaidü'l-İmamiyye el-İsna Aşeriyye*, Beirut 1982, 157; Abdu'l-Aziz Salih Mahmud ash-Shafi'i, *Avdetu's-Safeviyyin*, Mektebu'l-Masriyye 2007, 27.

³ Ibn Cevzi, *Muntazam*, XIV, 151; Ibn Esir, *el-Kamil*, VII, 280.

Muizzuddavla. In this case, it is possible to say that this policies was contributed as cyclical by the management. Thus next Buyids sultans didn't distinguish between the sects as a state policy and all of them moved freely. Shia was also effort to self-improvement like the other denomination structures. It was known that the Shia after Buyids was also limited contributed by period of Olcaytu from Ilkhanids. Undoubtedly all of these meant that the geography Iraq was familiar the Shi'ite thought and had a certain infrastructure to spread of Shia. In this phase of our study, there are also benefits to look at the general structure of Safavids which has an historical importance for spreading and being effectively of Shi'ite in Iraq.

2. In The Context of Emergence, The Safavid State/Empire

Safavid State appeared in Iran geography which host of a rich historical culture on the Persian and Sassanid culture basin. The rich geography incorporated many thought and belief schools was dominated by the Muslims with the battle of the Qadisiyyah in the period of Hz. Umar's caliphate. However, the general Islamization of the society took about two centuries of time. The spread of the Shi'ite in the Iran community began with Safavid State too.

In the Iran geography before the Safavids, there were some quite small Shi'ite groups had been lived in Iraq in Umayyad period. So Shi'ite in Iran was surely represented as individually. However spreading of the Shi'ite socially in Iran came true with religious policies for Safavid Empire.

The Safavid Empire was a state emerged in the result of the politicization of a religious order/sufi sect constructed on the basis of Sunni-Shafi.⁴ This sect structured by Sheikh Safiyyuddin (1334) in Ardabil region increased its recognition and respect in the community in process. Insomuch that it had been seen reverence by the Ilkhanate sultans. In this way, its reputation spread beyond the Ardabil. It appeared lovers in the geography of Iraq, Syria, Anatolia and Iran. Thus a lot of people came to visit the Ardabil from the other regions and this region transformed into a visiting place in process.

⁴ el-Mahmud ash-Shafi'i, *Avdetu's-Safeviyyin*, 7; Alessandro Bausani, "Religion Under The Mongols", *The Cambridge History of Iran*, vol. V. -*The Saljuq and Mongol Periods*-, Edited by: J. A. Boyle, Cambridge 1968, 547; B. S. Amoretti, "Religion in The Timur and Safavid Period", *The Cambridge History of Iran*, Ed. Peter Jackson and Laurence Lockhart, Volume 6, Cambridge 2006, 619.

Although initially based on the Sunni-Shafi thought, this sufi sect began to lean towards the Shia thoughts on the time of Hodja Ali (1429). At the same time, it was seen the politicization trends as well.⁵ This sufi sect increasing its supporters from the beginning started to improve power of social influence.⁶ Insomuch that administrators of the time even showed their interests to Ardabil as Ottoman sultans and Tamerlane Turkish ruler. In this context, it is remarkable that Tamerlane while returning from war in Anatolia against the Ottoman Sultan Yildirim Bayezid visited to Hodja Ali in Ardabil. However, Tamerlane donated the Ardabil with its villages and territories as a foundation to Safavids to be an expression of admiration to Hodja Ali.⁷ This was undoubtedly herald a new break in history of Safavids. Thus they started to gain a new perspective on management experience and political horizon with new rule areas donated by Tamerlane.

When it was arrived to period of Sheikh Junaid (1460), it began to strengthen the political trends in the sufi sect. At this time, it began obviously to make feel the shi'ite thought in the sufi sect as well. In this process Sheikh Junaid sent his supporters to other regions for propaganda. In this way he desired to add his strength to strength with new followers.⁸

Sheikh Junaid's son Sheikh Haidar came to management for sufi sect after his father tried to extend the expansion policy. It was even also increase the political and military activities in his epoch. Insomuch that he died on a battle field as his father (1488)⁹.

⁵ Bausani, "Religion Under The Mongols", *The Cambridge History of Iran*, 545–546; Edward Granville Browne, *A Literary History of Persia, Modern Times (1500–1924)*, Volume IV, Cambridge 1959, 19; H. R. Roemer, "The Safavid Period", *The Cambridge History of Iran*, Volume 6., Ed. Peter Jackson, Cambridge 2006, 198; H. R. Roemer, "Timur in Iran", *The Cambridge History of Iran*, Ed. By, Peter Jackson and Laurence Lockhart, Volume 6, Cambridge 2006, 80.

⁶ Roemer, "The Safavid Period", *The Cambridge History of Iran*, Volume 6, 197.

⁷ Mahmud ash-Shafi'i, *Avdetu's-Safeviyyin*, 7; Muhammed Suheyl Takkush, *Tarihu'd-Devleti's-Safeviyye, (Fi Iran)*, Beirut 2009, 42-43; Roemer, "The Safavid Period", *The Cambridge History of Iran*, Volume 6., 200; Adel Allouche, *The Origins and Development of the Ottoman-Safavid Conflict (906-962/1500-1555)*, Berlin 1983, 36.

⁸ Mahmud ash-Shafi'i, *Avdetu's-Safeviyyin*, 8; Takkush, *Tarihu'd-Devleti's-Safeviyye*, 44-45; Allouche, *The Origins and Development of the Ottoman-Safavid Conflict*, 31.

⁹ Mahmud es-Safi'i, *Avdetu's-Safeviyyin*, 9; Takkush, *Tarihu'd-Devleti's-Safeviyye*, 46; Abbas Ikbāl, *Tarihu Iran Ba'de'l-Islam*, Transtated from Farisiyye to Arabic by Muhammed Alaaddin Mansur, Kahira 1989, 640.

Although it was lived an interregnum for a short time after Sheikh Haidar, Ismail eventually came to management of sufi sect. Ismail showed a success to convert the political conditions based on fighting in Ag Qoyunlu reign to Ardabil favor. In this way, he achieved to structure a new state based on Tabriz in 1501 by taking the supports of the Turkmen tribes.¹⁰ Thus despite of emerging on the base of sunni-shafi religious thought at the beginning, this sufi sect with a set of transformations in it converted to a political structure on basis of Shi'ite thought in process.

As known, Shah ismail grew up on the culture of Ardabil sufi lodge adopted to Shi'ite thought in process and under control of the Shi'ite teachers.¹¹ Therefore he determined the Shiism as the official religious perspective for new state. Shah ismail shaped the institutional structure of the state on this perspective desired to be adopted by everybody under his management and to be strengthen the Shiism on the community.¹²

As previously stated, until the establishment of Safavid Empire by Shah ismail, It wasn't a massive shi'ite community in Iran. However it was a shi'ite population limited and scattered way in some residential places as Qom and Kashan. It was a dominant sunni appearance across community. As a matter of fact, scientists and managers have substantially sunni paradigma as in the large segment of the society.¹³

Following the formation of the new state, Shah ismail started heavily to effort to strengthen the Shi'ite. He took a first step with a sermon read the name of twelve

¹⁰Mahmud ash-Shafi'i, *Avdetu's-Safeviyyin*, 10, 12; Takkush, *Tarihu'd-Devleti's-Safeviyye*, 48-50, 53; Browne, *A Literary History of Persia*, 51-52; Roemer, "The Safavid Period", *The Cambridge History of Iran*, Volume 6, 213, 214.

¹¹ Roemer, "The Safavid Period", *The Cambridge History of Iran*, Volume 6, 197, 209.

¹² Mahmud ash-Shafi'i, *Avdetu's-Safeviyyin*, 10; Takkush, *Tarihu'd-Devleti's-Safeviyye*, 54-55; Ali el-Wardi, *Tarihu Iraq el-Hadis*, Baghdad 1969, I, 56; Roemer, "The Safavid Period", *The Cambridge History of Iran*, Volume 6, 190, 193-194, 197, 209; I. P. Petrushevsky, *Islam In Iran*, Translated from the Russian by Hubert Evans, London 1985, 323; Browne, *A Literary History of Persia*, 16, 53-54; Elise Perry, "The Rise of Shi'ism in Iran" *Cross-Sections, The Bruce Hall Academic Journal*, Australia, Volume VI 2010, 27-28; Abbas Ikbal, *Tarihu Iran Ba'de'l-Islam*, 641, 646-647; Allouche, *The Origins and Development of the Ottoman-Safavid Conflict*, 1, 31.

¹³ Mahmud ash-Shafi'i, *Avdetu's-Safeviyyin*, 12; Takkush, *Tarihu'd-Devleti's-Safeviyye*, 55; el-Wardi, *Tarihu Iraq*, 57; Browne, *A Literary History of Persia*, 22; Hala Fattah, Frank Caso, *A Brief History Iraq*, New York 2009, 114; Moojan Momen, *An Introduction to Shi'i Islam*, London 1985, 108.

imams in the Tabriz Mosque for Friday Pray. He asked the people to pass on the shi'ite thought and didn't refrain to apply violence in this way either.¹⁴

Shah ismail applied the different practices as well. Undoubtly one of those was added "Eşhedü enne Aliyyen Veliyyullah ve Hayya ala Hayri'l-Amel" expression to call to prayer (ezan). It was also written on the coins "La ilahe İllallah, Muhammedu'r-Resulullah, Ali Veliyyullah" phrases and the names of shi'ite imams.¹⁵

Similarly in this period, it was launched vilification (sebb) practices behalf of the Shi'ite to first three Rashidun Caliphs (Abu Bakr, Omer and Othman) on the bazaars, markets and streets.¹⁶ When they to go to war they screamed the phrase "Allah, Allah" and they started to add it in the new phrase "Aliyyun Veliyyullah".¹⁷ It was encouraged some important symbolic activities for shi'ite as Ashure, Karbala Mourning and walking to the tomb of imams in this period. These were undoubtedly practices took attention behalf of the Safavid Shi'ite policies.¹⁸

Settling and transforming of these practices as a tradition in the community was quite important for their permanences. For this, it was also needed to sit these practisec on a solid basic and to be constructed on a powerfull theologic infrastructure and needed scientists working and scientific studies in this regard. Because the majority of the society was sunni, it did not have sufficient number of scientists and scientific studies fed the shi'ite thought in the community. Even in this context, it was asserted an interesting rumor showing the general situation for the community. According to this, it was conducted a search for quest the shi'ite sources in the community. As a result of this research, it could just be found the first volume of the *Kavaidu'l-Islam* for Jamaluddin Mutahhar el-Hilli (726/1325). According to

¹⁴Mahmud ash-Shafi'i, *Avdetu's-Safeviyyin*, 11; Takkush, *Tarihu'd-Devleti's-Safeviyye*, 54-55; Petrushevsky, *Islam In Iran*, 323; Roemer, "The Safavid Period", *The Cambridge History of Iran*, Volume 6, 197; Ghulam Sarwar, *History of Shah Ismail Safawi*, Aligarh 1939, 39; Browne, *A Literary History of Persia*, 22; Fattah, Frank Caso, *A Brief History Iraq*, 114; Momen, *An Introduction to Shi'i Islam*, 109.

¹⁵ Mahmud es-Safi'i, *Avdetu's-Safeviyyin*, 12; Takkush, *Tarihu'd-Devleti's-Safeviyye*, 55, 146; Sarwar, *History of Shah Ismail Safawi*, 39; Browne, *A Literary History of Persia*, 54.

¹⁶ Mahmud ash-Shafi'i, *Avdetu's-Safeviyyin*, 11, 26; Browne, *A Literary History of Persia*, 22, 53-54; Takkush, *Tarihu'd-Devleti's-Safeviyye*, 55; el-Wardi, *Tarihu Iraq*, 58; Fattah, Frank Caso, *A Brief History Iraq*, 114.

¹⁷ Browne, *A Literary History of Persia*, 54; J. Spencer Trimingham, *The Sufi Orders in Islam*, Oxford 1971, 100; el-Wardi, *Tarihu Iraq*, 59.

¹⁸ Takkush, *Tarihu'd-Devleti's-Safeviyye*, 146; el-Wardi, *Tarihu Iraq*, 59.

claimed, it was not discovered any book or library apart from that book on the Shia in the community.¹⁹

The scholars were invited to Iran to collect on the sources and scientists from the other regions. In this context, they started to come to Iran from where like Iraq, Bahrain, Damascus and Jabal Amil.²⁰ It had attempted to establish Safawid Shi'ite Culture with these scholars.

Shi'ite Scholars presented important contributions to be settled the Shi'ite culture and ensured the legitimacy of the new state in the period of Shah Ismail and subsequent sultans as Shah Tahmasb and Shah Abbas. As a result of this, Safavid sultans and the state managers guarded these scholars as social and economic. In this case, Iran turned into a center of attraction for Shi'ite scientists in the other regions. At the same time, this situation had prepared a ground for the emergence of the class scholars obeyed the management.²¹ This class scientists were rewarded with some titles as Sadr, Mufti, Kadi, Imam and Muderis. In this way, with the offered contributions to scientists and acquired the facilities by them, Iran turned into a self-sufficient science basin towards the end of the Safavid Empire.²² During the Safavid period, these scientists made a significant effort in Iran and its outside to spread the Shi'ite thought.²³

In all these practices, it was seen how the Shi'ite turned step by step into a state policy by the Safavids in Iran. As it could see, while the community forwarding to the Shi'ite, the state also provided the political and theoretical infrastructure.

At this point, it was also important that question why Iran geography forwarded to the Shi'ite thought. Probably, it was impossible to replay it with a one-dimensional approach. Undoubtedly, it was possible to explain this question in the

¹⁹ Roemer, "The Safavid Period", *The Cambridge History of Iran*, Volume 6, 194; Browne, *A Literary History of Persia*, 54; Momen, *An Introduction to Shi'i Islam*, 108.

²⁰ el-Wardi, *Tarihu Iraq*, 63; Roemer, "The Safavid Period", *The Cambridge History of Iran*, Volume 6, 338, 346-347; Perry, "The Rise of Shi'ism in Iran" *Cross-Sections, The Bruce Hall Academic Journal*, Australia, Volume VI 2010, 129; Momen, *An Introduction to Shi'i Islam*, 108.

²¹ el-Wardi, *Tarihu Iraq*, 60-65; Mahmud ash-Shafi'i, *Avdetu's-Safeviyyin*, 30-31; Hasan Kerim el-Câf, *Mevsua'tu Tarihi Iran as-Siyasi*, Beirut 2008, III, 38; Roemer, "The Safavid Period", *The Cambridge History of Iran*, Volume 6, 346; Perry, "The Rise of Shi'ism in Iran" *Cross-Sections, The Bruce Hall Academic Journal*, Australia, Volume VI 2010, 129.

²² Perry, "The Rise of Shi'ism in Iran" *Cross-Sections, The Bruce Hall Academic Journal*, Australia, Volume VI 2010, 129.

²³ Momen, *An Introduction to Shi'i Islam*, 110.

context of faith. According to this, it could be said that Shah Ismail grew up in a Shi'ite culture and believed that the Shi'ite was the right way alone in Islam for him. So he desired to spread it everywhere. However, it was possible to explain it in the context of sociological or political ground. Thus, it can be also voiced the need to exhibit a strong sociological stance against powerful rival Sunni Ottoman. Perhaps, it could be even produced the other reasons on the context of the historical background of Iran. Indeed, it was known that the Sassanid State powerful empire of the time was removed in the Battle of al-Qadisiyyah occurred in the period of Umar (ra). This post-war was a full political trauma for political history of Iran. Because a very strong state as Sassanid was destroyed a very fast way. It was very important to disposal of the trauma and resurrected the imperial goals again. Whereas the Shi'ite emerged on political ground and wrapped theological identity could be contribute that goals. Thus, the Shi'ite was transformed to a political instrument for Iranian expansionism. In other words, the Shi'ite which an Islamic sect converted to a formal political ideology as Shiism by Shah Ismail. Whatever the reason, Iran strived to make everybody accept the Shiism for everybody in Iran or outside. In this way, it endeavored to improve its political and social power. In this context, it didn't avoid to apply for the pressure and violence.²⁴

Ultimately, Shi'ite was adopted as an official religious thought and appeared as a destiny for the Iranian community and in this context, the society configured in period.²⁵ Actually, the spreading of Shiism in Iran took largely a process covering the Safavid period. In this process, Iran in the context of efficiency of the Shiism overtook the Iraq where fatherland for Shi'ite thought.

3. Spreading of the Shiism on the Iraq by the Safavids

Iran had a regional influence power due to located in a geography host for the different culture and civilisations and based on strong Persian state tradition historically. Whereas, not protect this feature after battle of the Qadisiyyah, Iran reached to an atmosphere to perform its purpose to be a strong state again by Shah

²⁴ Oktay Efendiyev, *Azerbaycan Sefeviler Dövləti*, Baku 2007, 50; Browne, *A Literary History of Persia*, 53–54; Petrushevsky, *Islam In Iran*, 323.

²⁵ Petrushevsky, *Islam in Iran*, 323; Browne, *A Literary History of Persia*, 53-54; Sarwar, *History of Shah Ismail Safawi*, 39; Roemer, "The Safavid Period", *The Cambridge History of Iran*, Volume 6, 193.

Ismail founder of the Safavid Empire. New state founded by Shah Ismail effort to resurrect expansionist understanding existing on its politic culture, while striving to actualized state structure basics. One of the first places to be directed and desired effective in expansionist policies by Shah Ismail was Iraq. Undoubtedly there were some historical, political, commercial and religious reasons. Iraq directed for these reasons was the fatherland for Shi'ite thought converted a religious policy for Safavids. Despite there were some small shi'ite groups in just particular regions by then, Iraq was scene to be spreading of the Shiism on the community in process.

At this stage of our study, it will usefull to point out the interests of the Safavids to Iraq before not to talk about spreading of the shiism in Iraq.

a. Relevances of Safavids For Iraq

Shah Ismail transformed the Shi'ite which was the religious understanding of the Ardabil lodge to an ideology subservient to Iran's expansionist policy by converting the state's official denomination for Safavids. The potency on the religious thought of this ideology had a capacity to contribute the Safavid policy and to return it again the Iran old glorious days. On this ground, the expansionist policy began to seem in Iran with Shah Ismail. It was noteworthy that one of the first places Iran headed was geography of Iraq known as Iraq-ı Arap. Indeed Iraq was in the relevance area of Iran with some reasons as historical, political, commercial and religious.

Iraq occupied in a strategic position politically was an attractive region because of close with Iran located in the same culture basin as geographically and historically. However Iraq especially as to be located on the Tabriz-Damascus and the other different trade routes was in the relevance area of the Iranian merchants.²⁶ Undoubtedly this case for Iran owner a rich history culture emerged as an important fact.

It was appreciated that the significant of Iraq with regard to religious was much greater for the Safavids. In fact Iraq was the host some events as Karbala Mourning, Tevvabun and Mukhtar Thaqafi movements effected emergence and development of Shia thought. It was also in Iraq tombs of imams sacred for Şia as

²⁶Mahmud ash-Shafi'i, *Avdetu's-Safeviyyin*, 33-34.

Hz. Ali (Nedjef), Hz. Hussein (Karbala), Moses Kazim (Kazimiyyah), Mohammed et-Taki (Samarra) and Hassan al-Askari (Samarra). This case was remarkable as to show of the importance of Iraq on the context of religious thought. In this context, to remain indifferent all these for Safavids convert the Shi'ite into a state ideology couldn't be expected. It must be with these reasons Shah Ismail founder of Safavid Empire entered the Baghdad in 1508 and included the Iraq to his dominated area. He quickly endeavored to compose the new state structure and appointed Khadim Halife as governor. In this process, he also didn't forget to make celebrations for the capture of the Iraq.²⁷

b. Iraq Policy of the Safavids

It was stated that relevance of Safavids to Iraq was based on historic, culturel, political and religious reasons. It was seen that religious reasons had an important infrastructure to be showed a relevance and spread of the Shiite in Iraq by Safavids. Therefore Iraq was a center of attraction with its tombs called *atebat* for important shi'ite imams. In this case, the region made more important for the Shi'ite Safavids. Thus Shah Ismail and subsequent Safavid sultans showed a special care to Iraq geography. In this context, It was remarkable to be encouraged the Shi'ite people in Iran to visit, migrate and even settle in Iraq. In this way, Shi'ite civilian citizens, scholars, traders started to go to Iraq and these contributed to be stronger the shiism on Iraq as believer and supporter. Undoubtedly this case allowed to come out an ekonomik power between the shi'ite communities. Thus it was formed an important infrastructure with politic contributes of Safavid Empire, supports of scholars and ekonomik powers of the traders on the spread of the shiism in the geography of Iraq in process. In this case, It is possible to say that the Safavids located the center the atebats on their Iraq policies.

i. Putted Forward Atebats

After captured Baghdad, Shah Ismail headed towards visiting places believed as holy by shi'ite thought. Drawing the attentions to atebats, he exhibited the importance of the region for the shi'ite thought. In this way, he gave the first signs for

²⁷ Browne, *A Literary History of Persia*, 52; Sarwar, *History of Shah Ismail Safawi*, 54-55.

the region that would take shape in process. In this context, he instructed to be repaired the tombs for shi'ite imams around the Baghdad. As the tomb of Mosa Kazim (7th imam for Shi'ite) was fixed, it was constructed a dome above it too. It was remarkable that some rumors appeared in the news on destroyed the tombs for sunni scholars as Imam Abu Hanife (767)²⁸ and killed some important people from the sunni world in this period.²⁹

These applications continued by successors the other Safavid sultans³⁰ and contributed to be increased in relevance to Iraq and tombs of shi'ite imams. Thus Iraq was even also finally started to be perceived as qibla of Iran by some shi'ites in process.³¹

After leaving from Baghdad, Shah Ismail headed to atebat regions where were Shi'ite imam tombs as Kazimayn, Karbala, Najaf and Samarra. He visited the tombs in atebat regions and was repaired them too.³² He also strived to engaged in increase the attraction for these regions. In this context, he gave some instructs to be repaired the available canals and to be open the new water canals extremely important for the life in the regions.³³ In this way, he aimed to contributed to be increase the quality of the life in atebats. Because he thought that these activities would contribute to come the shi'ite people from Iran and the other districts and to spread the shiism in these regions. Thus it was contributed to head towards these regions for visiting or migrating from the other regions or countries as Iran. These case started by Shah Ismail continued increasing in process with supports of the successor Safavid sultans.³⁴

When Shah ismail established, strenghted and starting to spread the Safavid State towards the other regions, it was at the same time that Ottoman revealed the determination to be a world state. This case made inevitable confrontation of the two

²⁸ Mahmud ash-Shafi'i, *Avdetu's-Safeviyyin*, 20-22.

²⁹ Takkush, *Tarihu'd-Devleti's-Safeviyye*, 59; Petrushevsky, *Islam In Iran*, 323.

³⁰ el-Wardi, *Tarihu Iraq*, 75; Takkush, *Tarihu'd-Devleti's-Safeviyye*, 59; Petrushevsky, *Islam In Iran*, 323.

³¹ Matthee, "The Safawid-Ottoman Frontier: Iraq-i Arab As seen by the Safawids" *International Journal of Turkish Studies*, Volume 9, Nos 1&2, 2003, 157-158, 163.

³² Takkush, *Tarihu'd-Devleti's-Safeviyye*, 59; Rudi Matthee, "The Safawid-Ottoman Frontier: Iraq-i Arab As seen by the Safawids" *International Journal of Turkish Studies*, Volume 9, Nos 1&2, 159; Sarwar, *History of Shah Ismail Safawi*, 55.

³³ Yitzhak Nakash, *The Shi'is of Iraq*, 2th Edition, New Jersey 2003, 19.

³⁴ el-Wardi, *Tarihu Iraq*, 68-69; Takkush, *Tarihu'd-Devleti's-Safeviyye*, 59; Momen, *An Introduction to Shi'i Islam*, 116.

power exhibited growth aptitude. As known Ottoman adopted the sunni thought in islam, However Safavids also accepted the Shi'ite thought as formal religious policy. In this case, the struggle between the two power moved to sectarian ground and the fight between the two state occurred in the form of Sunni-Shi'ite. As a result of this, captured in 1508 under the leadership of Shah ismail by the safavids, Iraq passed back to the Ottoman State in 1533. Despite took back in 1623 by sultan Shah Abbas for a fifteen years, Baghdad entered under control of Ottoman State again in 1638. From this date to the end of the nineteenth century, Baghdad appeared under Ottoman rule. However Ottoman State in which socio-politic conditions couldn't very interested with Iraq geography. In this situation first Safavids and after the other Iran administrators always kept alive their interests on the Iraq.³⁵ This situation meant that it continued the interests started with Safavids in the subsequent processes too.

ii. In the Context of Migration to Iraq, the process of Spreading the Shiism

It was meaning to establish the infrastructure of the migration that Shah ismail constructed or repaired the tombs of Shi'ite imams, strived to solve the water problem and endeavored to facilitated the life of the people living the atebats regions.³⁶ At the same time, in the context of the interest towards the region, it even began to flourish some different theoretical thoughts contributed the visitation or migration to the region. Thus it was quite attractive attention that the shi'ite imams was regarded as alive in their graves, could be requested interseccion from them, could conceivable their own specific locations in the sight of Allah. Probably, Emergence of such ideas and sprung up in the community, it caused to be showed a special care and to be closed the tombs of shi'ite imams by the shi'ite people.³⁷

Shi'ite people began to come towards the region in the frame of Shah ismail policy. This case was supported as religious, social and economic by Safavids. As a result of this, the visits and migrations started towards Iraq from Iran. These migrations can be classified in four categories. First category of these was that consisted of visitors for short-term. Second groups came with intention to settle for

³⁵ Nakash, *The Shi'is of Iraq*, 14; Matthee, "The Safawid-Ottoman Frontier: Iraq-i Arab As seen by the Safawids" *International Journal of Turkish Studies*, Volume 9, Nos 1&2, 157.

³⁶ Matthee, "The Safawid-Ottoman Frontier: Iraq-i Arab As seen by the Safawids" *International Journal of Turkish Studies*, Volume 9, Nos 1&2, 159, 161.

³⁷ Imam Muhammed Sirazi, *The Shi'a and Their Beliefs*, Translated by, Ali Adam, London 2008, 37-40.

long period, some of these wanted to pass away or complete the end of their life there. Thus they desired to be burned near the tombs of imams. Third group came from Iran was traders who moved to Iraq and conveyed their trade activities there. The last group was scholars who came with different aims. These settled in Iraq and began to do scientific activities there.

As it seen, persian shi'ites in the period started and constructed its infrastructure with Shah Ismail came to Iraq and began to visit the tombs of imams. It was started to perceived these visits almost like pilgrimage as a religious identity to be wrapped. This situation became much more pronounced in Shah Abbas II period. Atebats visited by shi'ite people was even straved to be convert to centers of pilgrimage as Makka and Madina by Safavid sultans. Some communities appeared those believed the visits to atebat places were more mitzvah than the pilgrimage.³⁸ Undoubtedly, these understandings formed the infrastructure to be visited the tombs of imams in a way more intense in the developing process.³⁹ It was seen that the density of this visit increased in the pilgrimage seasons and Muharram months. In this way, these regions became more important places beyond tour places in process.⁴⁰

Visits promoted to holy places in Iraq contributed to increase the demands of settlement for long term. Many Shi'ite people also desired to spend their the last days of their life in these regions. In this case, when they die, they wanted to be bury in the near tombs of imams.⁴¹ Thus they would be neighbors to them in doomsday and arrive their interseccions in this way. Because they thought to die where near the imams would allow them a privilege in hereafter. In this frame, It was believed that If a person bury in *Vadi es-selam* (in Najaf city), he would be a neighbor for Hz. Ali who distributive the heaven and the hell. In this way, it was also believed that the person

³⁸ Matthee, "The Safawid-Ottoman Frontier: Iraq-i Arab As seen by the Safawids" *International Journal of Turkish Studies*, Volume 9, Nos 1&2, 167, 159; el-Wardi, *Tarihu Iraq*, 68.

³⁹ Matthee, "The Safawid-Ottoman Frontier: Iraq-i Arab As seen by the Safawids" *International Journal of Turkish Studies*, Volume 9, Nos 1&2, 171-172.

⁴⁰ Cafer ad-Duceyli (Published by), *Mevsuatü'n-Necef el-Eshref*, Beirut 1993, III, 39-41; Meir Litvak, "A Failed Manipulation: The British, the Oudh Bequest and the Shi'i Ulama of Najaf and Karbala" *British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies*, 27/1 (May 2000), 69-89; Nakash, *The Shi'is of Iraq*, 163; Amoretti, "Religion in The Timur and Safavid Period", *The Cambridge History of Iran*, Volume 6, 653-654; Perry, "The Rise of Shi'ism in Iran" *Cross-Sections, The Bruce Hall Academic Journal*, Australia, Volume VI 2010, 130; Shirazi, *The Shi'a and Their Beliefs*, 37-40; Momen, *An Introduction to Shi'i Islam*, 118.

⁴¹ Mahmud ash-Shafi'i, *Avdetu's-Safeviyyin*, 29.

buried near the tomb of Hz. Ali could benefit from his superiority and arrive his intercession. Undoubtedly according this belief, that person would be freed from the punishment of the hereafter.⁴²

Indeed, while roots traced to fourth hijri century, this thought took place between religious reasons for orientation region in Safevid period. The atebat places hosted shi'ite imams tombs as Najaf, Karbala, Samarra and Kazimiye took place in the between firsts for the visitation and the migration choices. Undoubtedly Shi'ite people coming and settling in the region for these thoughts started even to effective over the sunni communities in the region. In this way, Safavids by the shi'ite people came from Iran arrived to an ambiance could be effective the sunni communities in Iraq as religious understanding and belief.

It was also remarkable that it was brought the funeral of the shi'ites to Iraq beside comers from Iran for the visitation, the migration and the habitation. Thus it was desired to benefit them from the advantages of being close the graves of the imams as well. Undoubtedly these developments caused the emergence of a special economic sector on funeral ceremony. As a result of this, It occurred some business pitches in the region as funeral carriage, washing, shrouded, grave digging and crafting. It was even appeared some applications like to read the Quran with the money at the beginning of the grave. it also contributed to be strengthened the local economy to be donated somethings like money or gifts to people in the region by the relatives for the funeral. All these applications in the shiism context made the region more attractive in terms of the shi'ite people. This case emerged a convenient ambiance for the propaganda of the shiism and it caught an opportunity to be spread all over the Iraq.⁴³

It couldn't be expected to remain indifferent of the Iranian traders on the orientation to Iraq. They also came to Iraq and started to trade near places for atebats. Because of having important experiences, they have achieved significant

⁴² Duceyli, *Mevsuatu'n-Necefi'l-Eshref*, I, 478-479.

⁴³ Seyyid Muhsin et-Tabatabai el-Hakim, *Mustemleku'l-Urveti'l-Vuska*, Beirut trz, IV, 266; Ruhullah Musevi al-Humeyni, *Tahriru'l-Vesile*, Dimeshk 1998, I, 81; Shirazi, *The Shi'a and Their Beliefs*, 155; Duceyli, *Mevsuatu'n-Necefi'l-Eshref*, 461, 507.

successes.⁴⁴ This case contributed to spread of shiism on the commercial dialogue environments by them in Iraq as well.

In the context of the orientations from Iran to Iraq and the impact of the shi'ite propaganda, It started to seen some differentiations in the ethnic structures of the shi'ite communities in Iraq. Indeed in the period before the safavids, there were especially some small shi'ite Arab groups in particular areas in Iraq. But with Safavids, Iranians started to take part in effectively between the shi'ite groups in Iraq.⁴⁵

As seen, Safavids strived to spread the shiism transformed to state policy all over the managements period first in Iran later in different regions as Iraq. They even -as it said before- didn't refrain from applying the pressure. One of the places applied pressure was Kandahar region as well. Shah Husayn last Safavid sultan struggled to place the shiism and implemet shi'ite policies in this region was sunni most of the population. However, it was a pretty poor period for Safavids. Taking advantage of this, Mir Uveys rebelled against the pressures declared their independences. After a while, his son Mahmoud utulized from the weekness of safavid Empire attacked to Iran. He even defeat all the Safavid troops in 1722 and occupied the Isfahan Capital City of Safavids.⁴⁶ This event accelerated the process of destruction was a big justification for the instability in Iran geography. The population owerwhelmed in instability started to migrate intensively towards Iraq especially atebat places. In this case, it began to accelerate the rise of the shi'ite population in Iraq and even caused to spread of shiism already existing infrastructure fastly and strongerly in Iraq. It was also especially noteworthy that there were many shi'ite scholars among the immigrants.⁴⁷ Thus the transporting the scientific activities of these shi'ite scholars formed a more systematic ground on the spread of shiism in Iraq. Indeed shi'ite education began in safavid period and continued in later periods in Iraq was rather strenghened especially in places like Karbala and Najaf. In this case, persian

⁴⁴ Nakash, *The Shi'is of Iraq*, 15; Mahmud ash-Shafi'i, *Avdetu's-Safeviyyin*, 33-34; Takkush, *Tarihu'd-Devleti's-Safeviyye*, 59-60.

⁴⁵ Nakash, *The Shi'is of Iraq*, 15.

⁴⁶ el-Wardi, *Tarihu Iraq*, 101; Mahmud ash-Shafi'i, *Avdetu's-Safeviyyin*, 46; Takkush, *Tarihu'd-Devleti's-Safeviyye*, 234; el-Câf, *Mevsua'tu Tarihi Iran*, 60-61; Roemer, "The Safavid Period", *The Cambridge History of Iran*, Volume 6, 326.

⁴⁷ Nakash, *The Shi'is of Iraq*, 15; Perry, "The Rise of Shi'ism in Iran" *Cross-Sections, The Bruce Hall Academic Journal*, Australia, Volume VI 2010, 130.

scholars arrived a stronger position than Iraqi counterparts operating since past in the region.⁴⁸ As a result of this, Persian was a quite effective language in places as Baghdad, Karbala and Najaf.⁴⁹ Undoubtedly all these applications was concluded on spreading the shiism more effectively and converted the color of the community as religious understanding and sectarian view of the community.

It was occurred extremely important effects with the activities obtained by the Iranian scholars in Iraq on the sectarian view of the geography. They realised that the concentration of the shi'ite population in Iraq was very important to be strengthened the socio-economic structure.⁵⁰ They knew If the shi'ite population have increased in Iraq, the number of the visitors to atebats would have even multiplied the strenght of the shi'ite scholars as social and economical. At the same time, this case was valid for the shi'ite community. Because increasing the number of the visitors to Iraq would contribute the strenght the economy of the shi'ite community as well. Undoubtedly all these placed between the instruments of the spreading of the shiism in Iraq.

Shi'ite scholars mostly settled the atebat cities as Kufa, Najaf, Karbala Samarra and Baghdad. They teached shi'ite thought, educated the students and engaged in scholar activities in these places. This situation disclosed the theologic power and the community dominance on context of shi'ite idea. All these developments exhibited the justifications originated from the visiting places, visits and migrations, traders and scholars on spreading the shiism in Iraq.

It was possible to say that the effect of the comers to Iraq for the purpose of visiting or settling was the local or regional, but the effect of the traders or scholars was the general on the geography. Because these were in an efficient contact and communication with the people from the other regions by their professions. Thus the activities of these people were quite effective onto be strengthened the shiism and to be got under the domination the general of the Iraq.

According to our knowledge, most part of the comers to Najaf, Karbala and Kazimiyya was from Iran.⁵¹ These people desired to near the tombs of imams and

⁴⁸ Nakash, *The Shi'is of Iraq*, 16, 23.

⁴⁹ Nakash, *The Shi'is of Iraq*, 15.

⁵⁰ Nakash, *The Shi'is of Iraq*, 29.

⁵¹ Nakash, *The Shi'is of Iraq*, 164; Ismail Safa Ustun, "The hopeless Struggle of the Ottomans Against The Spread of Shi'a in The 19th Century Province of Baghdad", *Marmara Universitesi Ilahiyat Fakultesi Dergisi*, 33, (2007/1), 74-75.

Safavid Empire also contributed political support them. Because of this support, the shiite population strengthened in the Iraq and shiism arrived to an opportunity to spreading in that geography. It was remarkable that the two-thirds of the comers from Iran settled down in Iraq.⁵²

This process started in Safavid period contributed the activities on spreading the shiism in subsequent eras as well. Shi'ite scholars strived to concentrate their activities towards the ends of the nineteenth century. An agreement actualized between Ottoman and Safavids in 1875 recognized the privilege status of the iranians and it also contributed to spreading and strenghtening of the current situation of the shiism.

According to this agreement, the iranian consul and attendants would have the same rights and oppurtunities with the counterparts of European. In this context, Iranian consuls had an wide authority on the civil law, criminal law and inheritance law etc.⁵³ This agreement understood as an prililage for consuls relaxed the iranian citizens and provided oppotunity the more comfortable movement in Ottoman territory for them. This also accelerated the spreading of shiism in Iraq. The activities of effective propaganda arised between the sunni tribes gave some results -not at that time- in period especially nineteenth century and accelerated the transitions to shiism especially between the some tribes that Nakash gave their names as community.⁵⁴ Undoubtedly this situation also meant the secterian structure of the Iraq was changed in favor of the shiism. As a result of these justifications and with aplications started by Shah Ismail or Safavids and resumed in later eras, Shi'ite spread in geography of Iraq and these communities concentrated in the middle and the south Iraq regions. Shi'ite population arrived to a significant potential towards the end of the nineteenth century in Basra and Baghdad. When even entering to the twentieth century, most of the population in Najaf and Karbala consisted of the shi'ite communities that significant part of them was Iranian citizens.⁵⁵

As seen, the infrastructure constracted by the Safavids in Iraq provided the spread of shiism -if not complitely in Safavid period, but in the process with

⁵² Ustun, "The hopeless Strugggle of the Ottomans against the Spread of Shi'a in the 19th Century Province of Baghdad", *Marmara Universitesi Ilahiyat Fakultesi Dergisi*, 33, 74.

⁵³ Nakash, *The Shi'is of Iraq*, 17.

⁵⁴ Nakash, *The Shi'is of Iraq*, 27.

⁵⁵ Nakash, *The Shi'is of Iraq*, 21.

infrastructure constructed by Safavids- in Iraq geography. This spreading started first around the tombs of imams accepted the holy. But if it consantrated at the begenings in the middle and south Iraq regions, it surrounded the complitely of Iraq lately. It was seen that the transitions to shiism as community was towards the ends of the nineteenth century. Herein was seen that impact of the social ground constructed by Safavids was significant. At the same time, it could be also added the effective of the administratives with Bektashi mentality structure appointed to region by Ottoman and lack of the interest of Ottomans because of the inside the distressed process as politically. It was possible in addition to these the wahhabi incursions and reflections in the communities and especially between shi'ite community. It could be also add some advantages based on financial supports to atebats like *Outh Bequest* and the freedom of the propaganda due to the proclamation of the Tanzimat in Ottoman state as well.

It can be say that it isn't possible to shift of the religious color or secterian structure of a community in a short time. There was need to spread of shiism for a long time. It can be seen this situation in period of shi'ite speading in Iraq. Thus the period started with Safavids and continued by the successor administartives. At the same time, the process of safavid was quite significant as starter of the shi'ite period in Iraq. Thus it could say that the spread of shiism was started systematically in Safavid process, and it also still continue on the underground prepared by them in this period.

Thus it was remarkable that the shi'ite population arrived to two-thirds of the general community.⁵⁶ At the result of the declarational monarshy and the withdrawal of the Ottomans from the region, Iraq's shi'ite population estimated increased to 53-56 % between 1919-1932.⁵⁷ It is estimated that this rate is between 60-65 % in this age.

Conclusion

Shi'ite as a thought structure emerged appeared its first opinions and believes in Iraq geograpghy. Although it got some politic supports for a short time from Buyids based on Baghdad and Olcaytu from Ilkhanids, it could continue its

⁵⁶ Ustun, "The hopeless Struggle of the Ottomans against the Spread of Shi'a in the 19th Century Province of Baghdad", *Marmara Universitesi Ilahiyat Fakultesi Dergisi*, 70, 72.

⁵⁷ Nakash, *The Shi'is of Iraq*, 25.

existence as some small groups until the beginning of the sixteenth century in that region.

As the general of the muslim world, the geography of Iran had an also social structure predominantly sunni until the sixteenth century. Shah ismail constructed the Safavid State converted the Shi'ite to a formal policy for Iran and formed the ground for spreading the shiism in Iran.

Starting to spread the shiism in Iran, Safavids strived to expansion effects of the shiism on the other regions. Iraq also exposed to propaganda of Shia. However, it could be say that it wasn't possible to shift of any community as sect or religious perspective in a short time. This needed a process that would take quite a long time. In this case, it couldn't be assert to spread of the shiism in Iraq's entire in the short history of safavids. However it could be say that the period started with Shah Ismail facilitated the spread of the shiism in Iraq. Shah Ismail prepared the infrastructure needed for this. In this way, it was began the process of spreading for the shiism to entire community. It was constructed an infrastructure for the spreading the shiism by the interest to atebat places where tombs of shi'ite imams. In this frame, it was blessed like these places on the ground of the religious thoughts and supported to visit or migrate to these places. In this case, it started the visits and migrations to Iraq firstly especially atebat places by civil citizens, traders and scholars. It was seen the rise on the number of the comers especially at the ends of the Safavids. Because, these people preferred to come to Iraq beside of the religious justifications with the political caotic situation inside the Safavids. These comings of the people to Iraq made more effective the propaganda of the shiism. All the groups contributed to this situation. Undoubtedly, especially scholars contributions was more significant than the others. This prepared a ground started in Safavid period and continued on the successor processes on the spreading of the shiism in Iraq. The religious/sectarian color of the Iraq shifted on this ground and in on a long term.

It was seen that the activities of the Safavids, like to be transformed into visiting places the imams graves, contributed the visits and migrates, settled the scholars and their efforts and actions of trades, started with Shah Ismail was extremely effective on the spreading of the Shiism in Iraq. As known, successor administratives for Iran have continued to keep these policies until today. As a result

of all these, Iraq has appeared as a country nowadays that its shi'ite population is in the rate of 60-65 %.

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Note:

This project was thought with multi-dimensionals and multi-purposes. Undoubtedly, it was one of the aims of this project that the resources and the logic analysis of the western science world in related our studies was to be transferred to our country. At this time, it was important to prepare a text in frame project (as it was seen in previous pages) and open the new horizons for the new studies. We also aimed to form infrastructure for new studies, like book, articles and to be prepared new thesis studies within the framework of this project.

We have studied here for about ten months. In this period of our study here, we have been called immediately by Turkey (our university/Erciyes University) as it will seen in the documents attached. I have to return to Turkey early. So in current situation, it is possible to say that it has been fulfilled % 90 the aims of the project planned for a year.

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