

ALEVISM-BEKTASHISM FROM SELJUKS TO OTTOMANS AND SAFAVIDS; A HISTORICAL STUDY

Bir Tarib Arařtrması: Selçuklardan Osmanlılara Kadar Alevilik- Bektaşilik'

**Eine historische Untersuchung über das Alevitentum-Bektaschitum von der
Seldschuckischen bis zu Osmanischen Periode**

Fahimeh Mokhber DEZFOULI*

A
B
S
T
R
A
C
T

Alevi-Bektashi is one of the significant orders which was formed in Anatolia in 13th AD. Haj Bektash Veli, as the founder of the order, migrated to Anatolia from the focal point of Sufism, Khorasan. Probably Haj Bektash Veli was the caliph of Baba Elyas Khorasani, who was the leader of the Baba'i uprising that shook the foundations of the Seljuks in Anatolia in the first half of the 13th century. Eventually, the Seljuks could defeat them by the Frankish forces aid. Loss of his brother in the battle was enough for Haj Bektash to avoid a new military confrontation with the Seljuks, however, followed the intellectual path of the Baba'is in the rest of his life. Many factors such as the religious beliefs of Turks in the pre-Islamic era, the prevailing Sufi thoughts in Anatolia and Christianity affected the Bektashis during their long history. The backbone of the order was the cultural and religious tolerance that found several adherents in Anatolia. In Ottoman era Bektashiya became the official order that spiritually led the Jannissaries. Alevi-Bektashi also was influenced by other streams of thoughts such as Hurufis and the shi'i propaganda of the Safavid sheikhs. This article by historical approach examine the formation of Alevi-Bektashi order and clarifies how they were influenced and then had their impact on the history of Iran and Turkey.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Alevi-Bektashi, Anatolia, Haj Bektash Veli, Seljuks, Safavid.

* Assis. Prof., Department of History and Civilisation of Islamic Nations, Science and Research branch of Islamic Azad University, Tehran, Iran, f.mokhber@srbiau.ac.ir.

ÖZ

Alevilik-Bektaşilik 13. yüzyılda ortaya çıkan önemli hareketlerden biridir. Kurucusu Hacı Bektaş Veli tasavvufun merkez noktası Horasan'dan Anadolu'ya göç etmişti (taşınmıştı). Hacı Bektaş Veli büyük olasılıkla, 13. yüzyılın ilk yarısında Anadolu'daki Selçuklu Devleti'ni sarsmış olan Babai Ayaklanmasının önderi Baba İlyas Horasani'nin halifesiydi. Nihayetinde Selçuklular, Frankların yardımı ile ayaklanmayı bastırabilmişlerdi. Muharebede kardeşini kaybetmesi (öldürülmesi) Hacı Bektaş Selçuklular ile yeni çatışmalardan kaçınmak için yeterli bir sebepti. Ancak hayat boyu Babailerin fikirlerini takip etmişti. İslam öncesi döneme ait Türklerin inançları, Anadolu'da yaygın tasavvufi fikirler ve Hıristiyanlık gibi pek çok unsur uzun tarihi boyunca Bektaşileri etkilemişti. Hareketin temeli Anadolu'da birçok destekçisi bulan kültürel ve dini hoşgörüyü. Osmanlı döneminde Bektaşî tarikatı Yeniçerileri manevi olarak etkileyen resmi tarikat olmuştu. Alevilik-Bektaşilik, Hurufiler ve Safevi şeyhlerinin Şii propagandası gibi diğer fikir akımlarından da etkilemişti. Bu makalede Alevilik-Bektaşilik hareketinin oluşması tarihi yaklaşımla incelenmiş, İran ve Türkiye tarihinin Alevi-Bektaşiler üzerindeki etkileri ve sonra da onların söz konusu tarihe etkileri açıklanmıştır.

Keywords: Alevi-Bektaşî, Anadolu, Hacı Bektaş Veli, Selçuklular, Savafi.

ZUSAMMENFASSUNG

Das Alevitentum-Bektaschitum gehört zu den wichtigen Bewegungen, die im 13. Jahrhundert entstanden ist. Sein Gründer, Hadschi Bektasch Veli zog aus Chorasán, dem Zentrum des Sufismus, nach Anatolien um. Höchstwahrscheinlich war Hadschi Bektasch Veli der Nachfolger von Baba İlyas Horasani, einem geistigen Führer des Babai Aufstandes, welcher in der ersten Hälfte des 13. Jahrhunderts den Seldschuken Staat erschüttert hatte. Schließlich gelang es den Seldschuken diesen Aufstand mit Hilfe der Franken niederzukämpfen. Der Verlust seines Bruders im Krieg (er wurde getötet) war für Hadschi Bektasch Veli ein ausreichender Grund, um weiteren Gefechten mit den Seldschuken aus dem Weg zu gehen. Er blieb aber Zeit seines Lebens den Ideen der Babai treu. Die vorislamischen Glaubensvorstellungen, die weitverbreiteten Vorstellungen über den Sufismus in Anatolien und viele Faktoren wie z.B. das Christentum haben historisch gesehen geistigen Einfluss auf die Bektaschiten ausgeübt. Dabei bildeten kulturelle und religiöse Toleranz das geistige Fundament der Bektaschi-Bewegung, die über viele Anhänger in Anatolien verfügte. In der Osmanischen Zeit avancierte sich der Bektaschi Derwisch-Orden offiziell zu einer Bruderschaft, welche die Janitscharen geistig-seelisch inspiriert hat. Das Alevitentum-Bektaschitum wurde auch von anderen geistigen Faktoren geprägt, wozu auch die Schia-Propaganda der Scheichs der Hurûfi und der Safawiden zählt. Dieser Artikel analysiert die Entstehung der Alevitisch-Bektaschi Bewegung in historischer Perspektive und erläutert die Einflüsse der iranischen und der türkischen Geschichte auf die Aleviten-Bektaschiten und liefert auch Erkenntnisse über den Einfluss der Aleviten-Bektaschiten auf die betreffende Geschichte.

Schlüsselwörter: Alevi-Bektaschi, Anatolien, Hadschi Bektasch Veli, Seldschuken, Safawiden.

Introduction

The term Alawites/Alevi refers to the sons of Ali ibn Abi Talib from the Prophet Muhammad generation, as well as the followers of the Imām Ali; although the second group is known as Shiites. From the nineteenth century, the Alawite/Alevi term was used to name the mystical religious societies living in the Anatolian and Balkan districts. Their prior names were Qizilbash, Takhtichi, Abdal, Ishig, Hurufi, Qalandari and Bektashi. Using the term Alevi to name those groups means that the character of Imam Ali (AS) is at the heart of their ideas.

The emergence of Alevi-Bektashi in Anatolia was the result of political, social, economic and cultural developments in Seljuks era. Several factors, such as the religious tendencies of the Turks in Transoxiana, the presence of the sheikhs and Sufis in Anatolia, and the presence of Greek culture and Christianity in the region, along with the cultural policies of the Seljuk kings, played a key role in shaping the Alevi-Bektashi formation and their traditions.

There is a shortage of sources for studying of the formation of the Alevi-Bektashis. Because of the Haj Bektash secretive life and practices as well as his enmity with Seljuks, the Bektashis have been abandoned by historical sources. On the other hand, the mystical sources belonging to Alevi Bektashis are written much later than Haj Bektash's lifetime. For any research, we have to study the works of his contemporary authors such as *Manaqib al-'Arifin* by Aflaki and the *Manaqib Nama* of Awhad al-din Kermani, as well as the Alevi-Bektashi sources. Also, in order to discover the cultural-political atmosphere of Anatolia, we have to study the historical sources such as *Al Awamir al-'Aala'iyah fi umur al-'Ala'iyah*, by Ibn Bibi and *Tarikh Mukhtasar al-Duwal* by Ibn al-'Ibri. Among the Bektashi sources *Wilayat Nama* that is Haj Bektash Manaqib Nama, although is full of strange stories, is significant as through that we can find information about his personality or the personality that his followers was assumed. The works by Haj Bektash Veli such as *Maqalat*, which is his most important work, *Maqalat Ghiybiya* and *Al-Fawa'id* that attributed to him, consists of the principles of the Bektashi school of thoughts, especially if we would have a comparative study.

Although the study on Haj Bektash and the Bektashis by academic approach is in a preliminary stage, the effort of Turkish scholars such as Ahmad Yasar Qcak, Abdul Baghi Golpinarari, and Asad Cosan in introducing the Alevi-Bektashi's history

and thoughts is noteworthy. Among German scholars Irene Melikoff, the author of *Haj Bektash Veli* and among English scholars, the book by John Kingsley Birg, “*The Bektashi order of Dervishes*”, are valuable researches .

No long time passed since the Bektashiya and Haj Bektash studies initiated in Persian language; *emergence of Alevi Bektashi in Anatolia* by Fahimeh Mokhber Dezfuli (2010) and *Turkan, Islam and Alawigari-Bektashigari* by Mohammad Taghi Emami Khoei (2012) are the first academic works in this area. *Haj Bektash Veli and the texts of Bektashiya* from Muhammad Zadeh Sedghi has also been devoted to the collection and translation of Haj Bektash works, such as *Maqalat, Maqalat Ghibybiya and al-Fawa'id*. In the last decade, this topic has been of interest to some of the researchers, and so the valuable articles have been published in Persian with academic approach. There are the books that has been published in Persian under the title of “Alawites”, “Turk Alawites” and the “Alawites in Turkey” that usually deal with socio-political approaches, i.e., the role of the Alevis in the political developments in the Middle East and particularly in Turkey

This paper, based on historical sources and Alevi-Bektashi’s mystical works, clarifies the history and historical role of Alevi-Bektashis in from Seljuks to Ottoman era.

The Turks in Anatolia

The victory of the Seljuk Turks in the Battle of Milazgard (463AH) and their arrival to Anatolia was a new chapter in the history of this ancient land. The emergence of the Roman Seljuk government brought about widespread political, social and cultural changes in this region. Gradually, with the consolidation of the Seljuk government and in the wake of the welfare of the Anatolia, the groups pf Turks left their lands in Central Asia and went to Anatolia. This trend intensified with the Mongol invasion into Islamic lands. The massacre of people by Mongols caused the emigration of scholars, thinkers and Sufis to Anatolia and mostly were welcomed by Seljuks kings and their ministers (Mokhber, 2010: 91).

The presence of Sufis and scholars among the new-arrived Turks provided the basis for political, social and religious change. Speros, in his valuable work, “*The decline of Medieval Hellenism in Asia Minor and the process of Islamization from the Eleventh through the fifteen century*” mentioned that the behavior of the Seljuk kings with the Sufi

Sheikhs as well as the tolerance and the subtlety of Sufi thoughts had their impacts on the Islamization of Anatolia (Speros, 1971: 35). As such, Anatolia quickly became a fertile field for the formation of various schools of Sufism that mostly set up by the emigrant sheikhs (Mokhber, 2010:22). With the Mongol invasion and the lack of security in the Muslim world, the fitiyan, also known as Akhis, increased their activities in Anatolia (Mokhber, 2017b).

The support of the Seljuk kings from the Sufis Sheikhs, as they did not have a political risk, influenced the development of Sufi schools and thoughts. Bektashis, unlike the aforementioned schools, were the survivors of the Baba'i movement (638 AH) (Ocak, 1980: 25-37) and so they took the path of confronting the Seljuks and gradually played a significant role in the collapse of the Seljuk dynasty in Anatolia and the rising of Ottoman government.

The formation of Alevi-Bektashi should be initiated from the Baba'i uprising in the first half of the seventh century / thirteenth century. Almost all Alevi-Bektashi groups have considered their origin as anti-Seljuk revolt of the Baba'i. So, turning back the history of Bektashis to earlier course of time such as The Prophet era is a methodical error.

Anatolia in the 13th century AD

At the beginning of the 13th century, Islamic lands were burnt in dissension and dispute. Abbasid Caliph, instead of trying to unify the Islamic rulers, provoked them against each other¹ (Juwiyni, Jahangusha: 2/86). In the eastern lands of Islamic world, Sultan Muhammad *Khwarazmshah* fought with the kings of *Qarakhta'I* and *Ghur*; and at the same time, he planned to overthrow the Abbasid caliphate. Egypt and Syria were under Ayubid Kurds and they fought against each other as well as confronting the Crusaders. The Roman Seljuks also had not been stopped behind, they killed their turbulent family members as well as their viziers.

The horror of the Mongol invasion as well as the infirmity of the Seljuk rulers, which was the consequence of the death of the most eminent Seljuq king Ala'al-

1 The Abbasid caliph made the Muslim emirs against each other. In 612, he sent a message to Uzbek bin Pahlavan, and sparked a war between him and Kharazm Shah's representation Monkoli (Ibn Atir, al-Kamal: 12/306). Also, provoking Ghorian to revolt against Sultan Muhammad Khwarazmshah was one of his actions (Juwiyni, Jahangusha: 2/86).

din Kiykuabad (615-634), caused social disorder. The people witnessed the disputes between the Seljuk princes on the one hand and the conflict with their ministers on the other hand. The viziers opposed the kings and the rulers of provinces rebelled. Consequently, the Seljuks murdered their viziers and rulers (Aq sarai: 252)². Under such circumstances, the Baba'i uprising shook the foundations of the Seljuk monarchy.

The leaders of this uprising were the two Sufi Sheikhs, Baba Elyas and his caliph (successor) Baba Ishaq. They took the opportunity of the lack of stability in Anatolia that had been aggravated by the Mongol invasion and the migration of a large population to it. So, they arranged a widespread propaganda against Seljuks and many people followed them. They succeeded to defeat the Seljuk king and imposed him to escape from the capital, but finally he was able to overcome the Baba'is by using the Frankish army and killed Baba'i leaders (Ibn Bibi, Al Awamir al-'Ala'iya, p. 504). The Baba'is were massacred after the defeat and some of them fled to the distant lands. The life of Baba Elyas before the migration to Anatoli is unknown. The book of Manaqib al-Qudsiya is one of the oldest sources about him, which has been written by his nephew, Elwan Chalabi, about a century after the murder of Bábá Elyas. Elwan Chalabi, without mentioning Baba Elyas past, tells of the vast number of his *murids* (followers) at the village of Chat around Amasiya, where they gathered in his *zawiya* (Chalabi, p. 36). But, 'Ashiq Pashazadeh, that in the beginning of his book *Tavarikh -Al-i-Uthman* introduced himself as one of Baba Elyas descendants, claimed that Baba Elyas had depended to *Wja'iya* order whose founder was Taj al-'Arifin Sayed Abu al-Wafa al-Baghdadi (d. 501AH).

What we know about Baba Ishaq is that he was a shepherd in a village close to Amasiya who attracted the people by his kindness and piously and his house was used by the people who came over for taking his *ta'widh* (talisman) (ibn Bibi, p. 499). The Baba'i believed exaggeratedly in their leaders and called them *Baba Rasulallah*, and never believed their death. So, when the seljuks soldiers asked Bba'is that why you are still fighting when we killed your leaders? They said that our leaders position is higher than that a man can intervened in their life (so their death is impossible)

2 For example, Saad Al-Din Kopak, who had been in office for a long time and many of the Seljuks were killed by him. Also, Moin al-Din Parwana, who served many services to the Roman ruler, suffered the same fate (Aghareh, Momarah al-Akhbar and Masaira Elahiar: 252).

(ibid., p. 502). Ibn al-'Ibri also pointed out to the popularity of Baba Elyas and Baba Ishaq among the people that apparently avoided of fighting against them and eventually Seljuk king was forced to ask the Frankish for help (Ibn-'Ibri, 348).

Haj Bektash Veli and Bektashiya order

Although the Baba'i uprising was severely suppressed, it was slowly continued by one of the subtle followers of Baba Elyas. Haj Bekhtas Veli was the most prominent figure in Alevi-Bektashi's history that after the death of his brother during the Baba'i uprising, avoided the military confrontation and went to Suluja Qarahuyak (present Hajbektah). (Wilayat nama, p. 17). With the propaganda of his Sufi thoughts among the Turkmen, he laid the foundation stone of the Bektashiya. However, this was happened many years after his death.

He was named as Mohammad bin Musa Khorasani, who was born near Neishabur and was among wasilan Khorasan (comers from Khorasan) (Ahmad Aflaki, Manqib al-Arifin: 3; Ashiq Pashazadeh: 204; Waliyat Nama: 99; Massoum Alishah, Taraeq Al-Haqayeq: 307.2; Mudarris Tabriz, Reyhana al-Aladab: 7). Some of the sources has been introduced him as Haj Bektah (Aflaki, Manqib al-Afarin: 391, Ashiq Pashazadeh: 205). The sources indicate that he belonged to the Yassawiya and his tutor Loqman Paranda had been a caliph of Khwaja Ahmad Yasawi. The chain of Haj Bekhtas *tariqa* is as follows: The Prophet Muhammad, Imam Ali, Salman Farsi, Hasan Basri, Habib Ajami, Dawood Ta'i, Ma'ruf Karkhi, Sirr al-Saqati, Juniyd Baghdadi, Abu Ali Ruzbehani, Abu Ali Hassan, Sheikh Uthman, Abolqasim Garagani, Abu Hassan Khargaqani, Abu Ali Farmadi, Khwajeh Ahmad Yassawii, Hajj Yousef Hamedani and Luqman Paranda. (Kaya, 261) What can be found from his Manaqib Nama is that Haj Bektash Veli was a dervish who went to the top of the mountain and did *sima'* (Mystical dance) with his partisans, abdal, around the fire (p. 35-36). He was not interested in going to the mosque, and it might be the reason that Aflaki says," He does not pray and no fast (Aflaki: 1 / 497-8). During his stay in Suluja Qara Huyuq, however, he sent his caliphs to other lands. Among them, Sari Saltuq, the founder of Bektashiya in Balkan and Bariq Baba in Ghazan Khan court are well-known.

At the time that Anatolia was the scene of violent and conflict between the Mongols and the Seljuk kings, Haj Bektash was the messenger of peace and love to all creatures, and welcomed all people with various beliefs and religions. Maqalat by Haj Bektash has explained his beliefs in a way that is understandable for ordinary

people. *Maqalat, Sharh Bismila, Shathiya and Maqalat Ghibiyi* are attributed to Haj Bektash.

According to the *Wilayat Nama*, Haj Bektash Veli made a will to his Caliph Sari Seltuq that after his death, Seyed Ali Soltan, the son of khatun-Ana (or Fatima Nuriyah) the wife of Idriss, who hosted Haj Bektash in Suluja Qara huyuq, was his successor (p. 90). Seyed Ali Sultan had two sons, Rasul Bali And Morsal Bali, who respectively succeeded their Father. The question of marriage or bachelorhood of Haj Bektash caused a split. Chalabis believe that Fatima was Khwaja Idriss daughter who married Haj Bektash and Seyed Ali Sultan was their child. The Babas believe that Haj Bektah had never been married, but it was a miracle that happened when Fatimah unknowingly drunk water which was contaminated with Haj Bektash's blood and got pregnant (*Wilayat Nama*: 64-65), So, their children are the descendants of Haj Bektash by his Nafas (breath).

It should be noted that in this period, the Haj Bektash followers among dervishes were not called Bektashi, but they were among the dervishes known as *Abdal*. *Abdals* are one of the four groups that Pasha Zadeh mentioned as *mutsaviffa* in Anatolia (p. 205). They were a group of dervishes from various school of Sufism, such as Qalandari, Heydari, Yassawi, Baba'i and the dervishes belongs to Haj Bektash *dirgab*, who fighting along with Ghazis on the borders and at the same time propagate their thoughts and practices among the inhabitants of the border area. They called themselves as the partisans of Baba Elyas (Pashazadeh: 46). Those dervishes particularly presented in Ottoman lands and help them to expand their territories. Among Urkhan Ghazi fellows who participated in Bursa conquest, there are the names such as Abdul Musa, Abdāl Murad, Duqhlū baba, and Kilikū baba (Koprizadah: 13). By their tolerance many people attracted to them, and it is apparent that the Ottoman Sultans also benefitted from Abdals authority. Abdal Musa had a pivotal role in the continuation of Haj Bektah's intellectual path. He approached the Ottoman sultans and participated in their military operations and could successfully propagated Haj Bektash thoughts among Ottoman ghazis (Pasazadeh: 205; Koprizadeh: 12). He was also from Wasilan of Khorasan, who was joined Haj Bektash *dergab* in Anatolia and helped Urkhan Ghazi in the conquest of Bursa (*ibid*).

With the establishment of the Yeni Cheri Corps, which was the manifest of Ottoman power for centuries, they came under the domination of Haj Bektash (Oruc: 15-16). This event affected the Dervishes both in number and situation.

Ottoman Sultans supported the dervishes, building their own *zawiya* and giving gifts and benefits. The support had the two-sided results: the Ottoman Sultans used the Dervishes for the consolidation of their own government, especially in the border regions, and dervishes took the opportunity to improve their socio-political situations. At the end of the fifteenth century, by Ottomans effort, most of the dervishes which were called *abdals*, were approached to Bektashis and melted in their order.

Anatolian Alevi and Safavid Sheikhs

During (15th to 17th / 9th and 10th) centuries Alevi-Bektashis were influenced by two important streams of thoughts: *Hurufis* and Safavid. After the death of Fazlullah Hurufi and the massacre of *Hurufis* in Iran, many of them fled to Anatolia. Nasimi, the well-known Turkish poet, was the caliph of Fazlullah Hurufi as well as the famous Bektashi poet (Azhand: 116). Hurufi doctrines was fitted with the mysterious atmosphere of Bektashis and had a significant impact on their teachings, and so, entered the Shiites ideas in the form of alphabets and numbers into Bektashi order (Mokhber, 2017a).

Another stream was the widespread propaganda of the Safavid Sheikhs in Anatolia. They focused on the turbulent Alevi-Bektashis who lived in the villages and deprived from welfare. The Safavid propaganda, was spread among the Turks of Anatolia and attained a peak during the time of Shah Isma'il. One of the most crucial factors in the dependence of Anatolian Turks to Safavids was Sheikh Junayd. He fought against his uncle, Sheikh Ja'far, in order to gain military power, but defeated and left Ardabil for emigrating to Anatolia. Sheikh Junayd in Anatolia found the fertile ground for propaganda of Shiism and so contacted the villagers and peasants. He succeeded to draw their attention, and this made him able to form his own Armed Corps with 5,000 to 10,000 members. Sheikh, along with those partisans, went to the court of Uzun Hassan, the ruler of Aq Quyunlu. Uzun Hassan welcomed the Safavid Sheikh, and even allowed his sister Khadija Beygum to get marry sheikh (Rumlu,1357: 5-10). After a while, the Sheikh returned to Ardabil from Anatolia with his disciples.

After Sheikh Junayd, his son sheikh Hiydar was easily the leader of Safavid order. He also spent a couple of year in Anatolia expanding his organization. Many loyal disciples of Sheikh Hiydar in Anatolia were sent, as his caliphs, to propagate in other lands. The Caliph task was to propagate the Safavid tradition and collect property for the sheikhs. Sheikh Hiydar continued to propagate and consequently the number of

his disciples in Anatolia was increased. These disciples were coming from Anatolia to Ardabil for the pilgrimage of their sheikhs with many gifts and so there was a special district called "Anatolia" in the city of Ardabil. The death of Sheikh Hiydar on the battlefield not only had not diminished the faith of the disciples, but intensified it, therefore, they protected Isma'il and Abraham in a safe place. In 884 AH / 1481 AD, Ismail was hidden in the city of Ardabil and in the Anatolian district. Later his disciples made him fled to Gilan. During this period, his disciples did not forget him and eagerly came to the pilgrimage of the sheikh from Anatolia, with gifts and vows. (Rumlu, 1357: 14, 10, 5). When Isma'il decided to come out from Gilan, he was a 12 year old and according to Rumlu, around 1500 Anatolian warriors including *shamlus* were among those who support Isma'il at the beginning of the movement (ibid: 26).

In 905 AH / 1500 AD, Isma'il went around Gogche Gol after the pilgrimage of Ardabil khanqah. He sent messengers to summon his disciples residing in Anatolia (Sumer, 1371: 26). However many Ismail's disciples were at his side, the Safavid Sheik escaped in fear of being captured by Hossein Bey and went to Chekhur Sa'd [Iravan]. In Chekhor Saad, nine groups joined him. Isma'il settled in the Sarouqiya area (905 AH / 1500 AD). He went to Erzincan after two months; according to Ottoman sources, Ardabil Oghli (Safavid Sheikh) went to Arzanjan without any equipment that shows the decline of Aq Qyunlu. His disciples welcomed him. Rumlu described the situation that how the number of his disciples came from different parts of Muslim world to join him, the Turkish tribes such as Shamlu, Ustajlu, Rumlu, Takalu, Dhulqadr, Afshar, Qajar... (ibid: 27).

Isma'il took the opportunity to organize his forces and for taking revenge of his father from Aq Qyunlu attacked to Shirwan. He successfully defeated and killed Farrokh Yasar the governor of Shirwan and continued to conquest all area of Azerbaijan (Rumlu, ibid: 65). Eventually, Isma'il gained victory over Alwand Aq Qoyunlu near Nakhjawan (Ozun Charshili, 2, 1370: 256). With this victory, the Safavid Sheik captured and arrived Tabriz. The role of Anatolian tribes who helped Isma'il at the beginning of his movement to the capture of Tabriz was decisive. For example, Abdi Bey was one of the major *Shamlu* commander who joined Shah Isma'il with 300 people in Erzjan (Rumlu, 1357: 78). As far as the Safavid historical sources concerned, there are many references to Anatolian Turk tribes that helped Safavids in the battlefields as well as in their court.

Shamlu was a general name of the Turkmen tribes of Aleppo in Ottomans. They spent the summer in the south of Sivas and the winter in the areas between Aleppo and Ghazi. *Shamlus*, were among the old disciples of Ardabil. Hossein Bey was one of the first caliphs of Sheikh Hiydar, that was a *Shamlu*, and in the Safavid government, he received the title of Amir al-Umara'i (907 AH / 1502 AD). Isma'il later dismissed Hussein Bey from Amir al-Umara'i and sent him to one of the cities around Shirwan, and then in Khorasan conquest (916 AH / 1511), he designated as the governor of Herat (Ghafani Qazvini, 1342: 274, 271). He was a loyal follower of the Safavid order and one of the closest emirs to Shah Isma'il, that was eventually was killed in Chalduran War (Sumer, 1371: 60).

Rumlu tribe was originally consisted of Qizilbash villagers close to Sivas and other areas dependent on it as well as Tawqat of Amasiya. Nur al-Khalifa, Piri Bey and Diw Sultan are among the well-known *Rumlus*. Shah Ism'il sent Nour al-Khalifa *Rumlu* to Anatolia and ordered him to gather all Sufis in those areas. During the stay of Nur al-Khalifa in Qara Hesar, about three to four thousand families of the Turks from Sivas, Amasiya and the District of Tawqat gathered around him. *Rumlus* also played a vital role in the formation of the Safavid government. People like Badanjam, Qazaq Sultan and Iqod Bey (ibid) as well as Hassan Bey Rumlu, a historian, are among them.

Takalu were the Turks from Tekka province in Anatolia. Shahqoli Baba's rebellion in 916 AH / 1510-1511 and the migration of fifteen thousand of them to Iran strengthened their power in Iran (ibid: 164). Chawha Sultan, Ra'is Bey, and Sharf al-din Bey were the heads of the tribe who probably served Shah Isma'il before the Immigration of takalus to Iran. Even more, Shah Isma'il sent Chawha Sultan to identify Takalus, as soon as they entered Iran. (ibid: 59).

Ustajlu were originally from the tribes living in Sivas, Amasiya, Tawqat, and the populations that had been spread around Qirshahr. Many disciples of Sheikh Juniyd and Sheikh Hiydar were from Ustajlus. Mohammad Bey, son of Mirza Bey, who was joined Isma'il in 906 AD / 1500 AD, was the member of Ustajlu tribe. He is Muhammad Khan Ustajlu, who was the commander of the Safavid Army during the Chalduran War. Chayan Sultan the Amir al-Umara and Khizr Agha who saved Shah Isma'il life by giving his horse to him on the battlefield belonged to Ustajlu tribe (ibid: 194).

Afshar was also a Turk tribe that migrated from the land of Turkmenistan to Azerbaijan in Mongol era. From there, a group of their descendants followed Sheikh Safi al-Din and his children, and helped Shah Isma'il to gain power. This tribe was divided into two large divisions. One of them was *Qasimlu* and the other was Quroqlu which Nadir Shah Afshar was from this branch (Falsafi, 1353: 164).

In the Safavid sources, the tribe of Dhulqadr consisted of eighty thousand families that lived in Marash and Buzuq areas. Dede Abdal Bey, the very close disciples of Sheikh Heidar, has been from this tribe (Sumer, 1371: 60). After the formation of the Safavid government, he became *qurchibashi* and later became governor of Savojbolagh and Ray. He was dismissed from his position in 915 AH / 1510-1509, but in the following year he became the governor of the city of Marw. In the year 919 AH / 1514-1513, He abandoned Marw and escaped from the invasion of Uzbeks. The Safavid king punished him by wearing a lady dress and turned around but eventually, due to his long service to Safavid, returned to his previous job (Khwand Mir: 81-80). Elyas Bey from Dhulqadr was also involved in the formation of the Safavid government. In the year 909 AH / 1503, during the conquest of the Fars Province by Shah Isma'il, Elyas Bey was appointed as the governor of the region, but in the following year he was murdered by Shah Isma'il. His successor, Suliyman Bey, also had the same fate. Dhulqadrs held the post, as the ruler of Fars province, until Shah Abbas I reign.

The Qajar tribesmen were attributed to a Mongol commander Qajar Nowyan. He lived in the court of Ghazan Khan (694-703AH). The various groups of this tribe settled in Armenia and Syria after the collapse of the Ilkhanid state, and, like other Turkish tribes, they invaded and plundered. After Tamerlane (1369–1405) invasion to Asia Minor, he came to Iran bringing a number of Turkish tribes from the Levant ,Armenia and Asia Minor including *Rumlus*, *Shamlus* and *Qajars* tribes .Later, a group of them returned to Turkestan, and another group remained around the cities of Ganja, Iravan and Qarabagh. When Shah Abbas I started his way from Lahijan to Azerbaijan and joined his father's disciples, a group of Qajar tribal chiefs also joined him. They attained high positions during the Safavid reign.

Alevis helped Safavids to gain power and established their great empire and they were always the main problem in Safavid-Ottoman relationship. In the 16th century, the Ottomans faced numerous problems because of the relationship between the Safavids and the Anatolians. Shahqoli uprising (in 916 / 1510-1511) during the last years of Bayazid II reign(1481-1512 / 885-918) was a crucial challenge for his monarchy. Shahqoli claimed that he is the representative of Shah Isma'il. He finally failed by Ottomans but had such an effect that Shahshah, the son of Bayazid, who was the ruler of Ghuraman, w joined Qizilbash (Sumer, 1992: 4241). After Shahqoli death, his forces came to Iran. There were also other uprisings by Qizilbash in the Ottoman Empire, such as the uprising of Qadri Khoja Baba, known as Solon (933 AH / 1527 AD), and his son Shah Wali, the uprising of Baba Dhunun and the Qalandar Chalabi uprising known as Qalandarshah (Sumer, 1992: 46).

It seems that Bayezid II (1481-1512) tried to stop Alevis from approaching Shiite ideas. He appointed Balim Sultan (d. 1516/922 Hg.) as the head of the main zawiya of Haj Bektash and gave him some privileges. He is considered to be the son of a Bulgarian and Christian princess who got pregnant by eating honey from the hands of Mursel Baba, Khalifa of Haj Bektash, and Balim sultan (Balim means Honey) was born (Birge, 56). He was at the dargah of Haj Bektah Vahī in the Dimutiqa when he was a teenage. He was called as pir thani (Second pir) because he could regulate and shape Bektashiya. He appointed Dedes Baba to be the head of the Babas and sheikhs to manage the tikiyas.

Conclusion

Despite many researches that have been done about the Alevi-Bektashi beliefs and thoughts, their role in the historical transformations from the Seljuk period to the Ottoman Empire as well as Safavid era was less widely considered. With the Mongol invasion to the Muslim world, a group of Sufi and scholars emigrated to Anatolia to save their lives. The support of the Seljuk kings from the Sufi sheikhs and Fityan as well as the social and political developments in Anatolia led to the formation of various schools of Sufism in the region. Alevi Bektashi has been considered as one of the most influential Tariqa in Anatolia, which was influenced by the various religions and schools of Sufism. Bektashi dervishes, as the followers of Baba Elyas and Haj Bektash Veli, were against the Seljuks and finally they contributed to put an end on their political power in Anatolia. They helped first Ottoman emirs to establish their state in the area and Ottomans supported the dervishes quid pro quo. Anatolian Alevis also played a significant role in the formation of Safavid empire in Iran. Turk tribes migrated from Anatolia to Ardabil and assisted Shah Isma'il in gaining political power. The Anatolian tribes helped Isma'il at the dawn of Safavids to capture of Tabriz. The repetition of the names of Turkish tribes such as Rumlu, Shamlu, ... among the influential persons in Safavid court shows the authority of those Anatolian migrants in Safavid era and thereafter. As far as the Safavid historical sources concerned, there are many references to Anatolian that helped Safavids in the battlefields as well as in their court: Abdi Bey was one of the major Shamlu commander who joined Shah Isma'il with 300 people in Erzjan. Hasan Bey Rumlu, the great historian, Muhammad Khan Ustajl, the Safavid chief commander in Chalduran, and many others who served in court as qurchi, tofangchi and etc.

Persian and Arabic:

- AFLAKI, Ahmad (1362). *Mangib Al-'Arifin*. Second Edition. Dunya ketab.
- AQ SARAI, Mahmud ibn Muhammad (1982). *Musamare al-Akbbar wa Mosayira al-Alikbbar*. by Othman Turan. Tehran.
- AZHAND, Ya'qub (1369). *Hurufiya dar Tarikh*. Tehran.
- COPRIZADEH, Tāsh (1395). *Al Shaqayiq al-Numananiya, Dar al-Kitab al-Arabi*. Beirut.
- FALSAFI, Nasrallah (1353). *Zindigi Shah Abbas Anwal*, Vol. I, Tehran University: Tehran.
- GHAFFARI GHAZVINI, Qazi Ahmad (1342). *Tarikh Jahanara*. Tehran. Hafez.
- IBN AL-'IBRI (1377). *Tarikh Mukhtasar al-Duwal*. trans.A.Ayati. Tehran.
- IBN BIBI. *Al Awamir al-'Aala'iyab fi umur al-Ala'iyab*. No.905, Central Library of Tehran University.
- JUWEYNI, Ata Malek. *Tarikh Jabangusha*. Correction of Mohammad bin Abdul Wahab Qazvini. Leiden Printing.
- KHWAND MIR, Ghiyath al-Din Hosseini Shirazi. *Habib al-Siyar*. by the efforts of Mohammad Ali Dehir-e-Jiagi. Tehran. Khayyam.
- MASSOUM ALISHAH (1339). *Tarayiq al-Haqayiq*. Corrected by Mohammad Jafar Mahjoob. Tehran.
- MOKHBER DEZFOULI, Fahimeh (2010). *The Emergence of Alevi-Bektashi in Anatolia*. Elmi-Farhangi Publication: Tehran.
- (2017a). "Twelver Shiite and the emergence of Alevi-Bektashi in Anatolia". *The Journal of Religious Studies*. No.21.
- (2017b). "The Study of Relationship between the Tradition of Chivalry and Alevi-Baktashi in Anatolia". *Journal of History of Islam*. No.70.
- OCAK, Ahmad Yashar. "Az 'usyan Baba'iha ta Qizilbashgari". Translated by Shahab Vali. *Tarikh Islam*. 7th year. No.27.
- OZON CHARSHI, Hagi Ismail (1370). *Ottoman History*. Vol. 1-2. Translated by Vahab Wali. Tehran, Institute for Cultural Studies and Research.
- PASHAZADEH, Ashiq (1332). *Tavarikh Al-Uthman*. Istanbul.
- TABRIZ, Mirzam Mohammad Ali. *Riyanab al-Adad*. Khayyam Bookstore: Tehran.
- RUMLU, Eskandar Beig (1350). *Tarikh Alamaraye Abbasi*, Corrected by Iraj Afshar, Tehran, Amir Kabir.
- RUMLU, Hassan Beig (1357). *Absan al-Tavarikh*. by the efforts of Abdol Hossein Nawaci, Tehran, Babak.
- SUMER, Farooq (1992). *The Role of Anatolian Turks in the Formation and Development of the Safavid State*. Translated by Ehsan Eshraghi, Mohammad Taghi Emami. Tehran, Nashr Gostar deh.

Latin:

BIRGE, John Kingsley (1965). *The Bektashbi Order of Dervishes*. London.

CELEBI, Elvan (1995). *Manakibul-kutsiyye*. Ankara.

COSAN, Esad (1980). *Haci Bektasbeveli Makalat*. Ankara.

GOLPINARLI Abdalbaki (1995). *Vilayet-Name*. Istanbul.

KAYA, Haydar (1993). *Alevi-Bektashi Erkanı, Evradi ve Edebiatı*, Istanbul.

KUCUK, Hulya (1961). *The Role of the Bektashbis in Turkey's National Struggle*, Doctoral Thesis, University of Leiden.

MELIKOFF, Irene (1995). *Historical Bipartition and Its Consequences, Alevi Identity*. Istanbul.

NOYAN, Bedri (1985). *Bektashilik Alevilik Nedir*. Ankara.

OCAK, Ahmet Yaşar (1992). "Bektashilik". *DLA İslam Ansiklopedisi*. V.1.

ORUC BEG (1925). *Tarihi Aliosman*. Ed. Franzbabinger. Hanover.

SPEROS, Veryonis (1971). *The Decline of Medieval Hellenism in Asia Minor and the Process of Islamization from the Eleventh through the Fifteen century*. University of California Press.

