

ian Republic of the U.S.S.R. The town, with a population, in 1956, of some 43,000 inhabitants, amongst them Rumanians, Ukrainians, Turks, Bulgarians, Russians and Jews, functions as a river port and commercial centre dealing above all in grain, timber and hides.

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(T. MENZEL—[V. J. PARRY])

ISMĀ'IL I (ABU' L-MUẒAFFAR), born 25 Radjab 892/17 July 1487, died 19 Radjab 930/23 May 1524, shah of Persia (907/1501-930/1524) and founder of the Šafawid dynasty [see ŠAFAWIDS].

1. *Biographical and historical:* Under Ismā'īl, Iran became a national state for the first time since the Arab conquest in the 1st/7th century. An important factor in this process was the proclamation by Ismā'īl of the Ithnā 'Ashari (Djā'fari) form of Shi'ism as the official religion of the Šafawid state. By this action, Ismā'īl decisively differentiated his dominions from those of the Ottomans, who were threatening to absorb Iran into their empire, and imparted a sense of unity among his subjects in the face of their arch-enemies, the Ottomans in the west and the Özbegs in the east.

Although Ismā'īl was related, through both his mother and his grandmother, to the Ak Koyunlu

rulers, the Šafawid-Ak Koyunlu alliance had broken down during the lifetime of his father Haydar [q.v.], and Ismā'īl, while still an infant, was arrested with his elder brothers 'Alī and Ibrāhīm, and imprisoned for 4½ years in the fortress of Ištakh in Fārs (end of Rabi' II 894/March 1489—end of Shawwāl 898/August 1493). Civil war broke out between rival Ak Koyunlu princes, and one of them, Rustam, made use of Šafawid support to defeat one of his rivals (Shawwāl 898/August 1493). In 899/1494 Rustam, realizing that rising popular support for the Šafawids constituted a threat to his own position, had 'Alī killed. Ismā'īl fled to Ardabil and thence to Gilān.

For nearly five years (899/1494-905/1499), Ismā'īl remained in hiding at Lāhldjān, where he had been given sanctuary by the local ruler. During this time he maintained close contact with his *murīds* in Rūm, Karādja-dāgh, Ādharbāydjān and elsewhere. Since these *murīds*, also known as *kizilbāsh* [q.v.], were mainly Turcoman tribesmen, Ismā'īl in order to make the Šafawid *da'wa* more effective, addressed to them simple verses in their own Turkish dialect, using the *takhalluṣ* of Khaṭā'i [see below]. In 905/1499 Ismā'īl emerged from Gilān to make his bid for power, and the following year some 7,000 Šūfis of the Šafawid *ṭarīqa* assembled at Erzindjān. After a campaign in Shīrwān in which Ismā'īl avenged the deaths of his father and grandfather (see DJUNAYD; HAYDAR), he defeated a large Ak Koyunlu army under Alwand at the decisive battle of Sharūr. This victory gave Ismā'īl control of Ādharbāydjān, and in 907/1501 he was crowned at Tabriz.

Ismā'īl spent the next decade extending the Šafawid empire: Fārs and 'Irāk-i 'Adjam were conquered in 908-9/1503; Māzandarān and Gurgān, and Yazd, in 909/1504; Diyār Bakr in 911/1505-913/1507; Baghdād and 'Irāk-i 'Arab in 914/1508 (the local rulers of Khūzistān, Luristān and Kurdistān acknowledged his suzerainty); Shīrwān in 915/1509-10. Finally, on 30 Sha'bān 916/2 December 1510, Ismā'īl routed the Shībānī Özbegs in a great battle at Marw. A few days later, Ismā'īl entered Harāt, and proceeded to consolidate his conquest of Khurāsān.

The following year, 917/1511, Šafawid troops penetrated as far eastwards as Samarkand, in support of the Timūrid prince Bābur, who was hoping, with their aid, to recover his Transoxanian dominions. Any idea Ismā'īl may have entertained of annexing Transoxania to the Šafawid empire was dashed in 918/1512, when a powerful Özbek army swept the Šafawid expeditionary force back across the Oxus. This was followed by an uneasy truce with the Özbegs which lasted some eight years, but Ismā'īl proved himself unable to arrive at a permanent solution to the problem of the defence of the north-east frontier.

By 916/1510, therefore, the whole of Persia was in Ismā'īl's hands, but the establishment of a militant Shi'ite state on the Ottoman border constituted a challenge which Sultan Selīm could not afford to ignore, and in 920/1514 he invaded Persia and inflicted a crushing, but not decisive, defeat on Ismā'īl at the battle of Čāldirān [q.v.]. His aura of invincibility dispelled, Ismā'īl never again led his troops in battle. During the last ten years of his life, he took a less and less active part in political affairs, and gave his viziers virtually a free hand in administrative matters.

After his defeat at Čāldirān, Ismā'īl became more interested in exploring the possibilities of an alliance with European powers, in order to attack the Ottomans on two fronts. In 921-2/1516 he received an

envoy from Louis II, King of Hungary, in the person of a Maronite monk named Fr. Peter, and an ambassador from Charles V of Germany also reached him about the same time. In *Shawwāl* 929/August-September 1523, Ismā'īl sent a letter to Charles, expressing his astonishment that the Christian powers, instead of devoting all their energies to fighting the Turks, were squabbling among themselves (details from unpublished material made available to me through the courtesy of Dr. L. Lockhart). The Ṣafawids thus carried on the series of diplomatic exchanges with the West, which had begun in Ak Koyunlu times, and which had as their chimerical objective the organizing of joint military operations against the common foe, the Ottomans.

Ismā'īl's achievements have been overshadowed, perhaps unfairly, by those of his illustrious descendant, 'Abbās I [q.v.]. Ismā'īl possessed the charismatic appeal, the powers of leadership, and the personal valour, to bring to a successful conclusion more than half a century of active revolutionary endeavour. In addition, he displayed a high degree of political acumen and statecraft. On his accession, he was faced by complex problems of great urgency. There was the problem of how to incorporate the Ṣūfī organization of the Ṣafawid *ṭarīqa*, of which Ismā'īl was the *murshid-i kāmīl*, in the newly established Ṣafawid state, of which he was the *pādīshāh*. There was the problem of how to reconcile the "men of the sword", the Turcoman military élite which had brought him to power, with the "men of the pen", the Persian bureaucrats on whom he depended for the efficient functioning of his empire. There was the problem of imposing doctrinal uniformity as rapidly as possible, while at the same time maintaining political control of the religious institution, in order to prevent the 'ulamā' from assuming a dominant position in the state (the undue growth of the power of the *muḍlakids* was later to become one of the principal causes of Ṣafawid decline). The fact that Ismā'īl's policies, original and ingenious though they frequently were, ultimately failed to solve these problems, indicates not so much the inadequacy of his policies as the insolubility of the problems.

On his death in 930/1524, Shāh Ismā'īl was buried in the Ṣafawid family mausoleum at Ardabīl. He had four sons: Tahmāsp [q.v.], who succeeded him; Sām; Alkāš [q.v.], and Bahrām; and five daughters.

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British Museum Ms. Or. 3248 (an anonymous history of Shāh Ismā'īl); *Sharaf al-Dīn Bitlīsī, Sharafnāma* (ed. Véliaminof-Zernof), St. Petersburg 1860-2; Budāk Munshī Kazwīnī, *Djawāhir al-Akhhār*, Leningrad Ms. Dorn 288. See now also the anonymous chronicle on the reign of Ismā'īl, recently discovered in Iran, entitled *Ālam-ārā-yi Ṣafawī*, edited by Vād Allāh Shukrī, Tehran 1971. (R. M. SAVORY)

2. *His Poetry:* The founder of the Ṣafawid dynasty was also a poet who wrote under the pseudonym (*takhalluṣ*) of *Khata'ī*. His poems, with few exceptions, are in the Turkish language of *Ādharbāy-djān*, or *Kızılbaşī* (a term used in the indigenous sources, as distinct from *Çağatā'ī* and *Rūmī*). *Khata'ī*'s poetical output consists of: (a) The *Diwān*, the oldest and most authentic Ms. of which was completed in 948/1541, eighteen years after Shāh Ismā'īl's death. This *Diwān* contains 254 *ḡasīda-ghazals*, three *mathnawīs*, one *murabba'* and one *musaddas*. The first twenty-four religious and didactic poems are, however, not in alphabetical order. Some of the poems of this Ms. contain outspoken utterances such as "I am the absolute Truth", and "I am God's eye (or God himself)", etc. These poems and a number of technically imperfect poems together with a poem in syllabic metre are omitted in the later Mss., which have apparently undergone a process of "expurgation". The great part of the content of *Khata'ī*'s *Diwān* consists of the lyrical poems. (b) The *Dah-nāma*, which was composed in 911/1506 in the *mathnawī* form, and in the *haradī* metre. The subject of this poem is the exchange of ten letters between the lover and the beloved, which ultimately leads to their union. It includes a number of *ghazals* in the same metre. This *Dah-nāma* belongs to a literary genre which was very popular in the Persian and Turkish literatures of the 8th/14th and 9th/15th centuries. (See T. Gandjei; *The Genesis and Definition of a literary composition: The Dah-nāma* ("Ten love-letters"), in *Der Islam*, xlvii (1971), 59-66).

A collection of poems in syllabic metre, which bear the *takhalluṣ* *Khata'ī*, and exist, not in the Mss. of the *Diwān*, but in various miscellaneous Mss., can with confidence be ascribed to poets of 'Alawī-Bektaşhī circles, in which the royal poet was venerated (see T. Gandjei; *Pseudo-Khata'ī*, in *Iran and Islam*, Edinburgh 1971, 263-266). The songs called *xatāi ~ calai* in praise of Shāh Ismā'īl and Shāh Tahmāsp, which Michele Membré mentions (*Relazione di Persia* (1542), Naples 1969, 48), were most probably the syllabic poems bearing the pseudonym of *Khata'ī*.

Khata'ī was greatly influenced in his poems by the work of the *Hurūfī* poet, Nesīmī [q.v.]. *Khata'ī*'s poetry, besides its literary merit, which is far from negligible, is important, in that it contains data concerning the true nature of early Ṣafawid *Shī'ism*. Although the poets who composed Turkish poems in Ṣafawid Persia were for the most part influenced by *Nawā'ī* and *Fuḍūlī*, there is evidence of a certain influence by *Khata'ī* on some poets of this period, such as *Amānī*, *Zafar* and *Ṣā'ib*. But it was in 'Alawī circles that the poems and the person of *Khata'ī* exercised a lasting influence. His poems were recited for centuries in 'Alawī-Bektaşhī circles of Anatolia. In his native *Ādharbāy-djān*, the *Ahl-i Haḡk*, who incorporated him in the syncretic pantheon of their sect, considered him to be the *pīr* of *Turkeṣtān* (i.e., *Ādharbāy-djān* and the neighbouring Turkish-speaking lands), in whose person God spoke in Turkish, *Khata'ī de türki dedi*, and finally the adepts of the extremist *Shābak* sect in 'Irāk included the poems

ascribed to *Khāṭā'i* in their sacred book, the *Buyruk*.

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ISMĀ'IL II, born 940/1533-4 (this is conjectured from the available evidence; no chronicle gives his date of birth), died 13 Ramaḍān 985/24 November 1577, second son of Shāh Ṭahmāsp [q.v.], shah of Persia (984-5/1576-7) of the Ṣafawid dynasty.

After the rebellion of his uncle Alkāš [q.v.], Ismā'il was appointed governor of Shīrwān (954/1547), and conducted several successful campaigns against the Ottomans in the Caucasus and eastern Anatolia. In 962/1555 he married a daughter of the marriage between a sister of Ṭahmāsp and Shāh Ni'mat Allāh Walī [q.v.]. The following year, in Sha'bān 963/June 1556, he was appointed governor of Khurāsān.

After only a few months at Harāt, Ismā'il was suddenly arrested (Ṣafar 964/December 1556), and taken to the fortress of Kāhḳaha in Aḏharbāyḏjān, where he remained a prisoner for nearly twenty years. Various reasons are put forward to account for Ṭahmāsp's action. Some sources point out that Ismā'il's arrest followed closely upon the signature of the Treaty of Amasya (962/1555), which ushered in more than thirty years of peace with the Ottomans, and that Ṭahmāsp feared that Ismā'il's bellicose nature might endanger this peace; but the transference of Ismā'il, from Shīrwān, adjacent to the Ottoman frontier, to Harāt, would seem designed to obviate just such a danger. Other sources declare that the puritanical Ṭahmāsp could no longer tolerate Ismā'il's dissolute way of life. The real reason for Ismā'il's sudden fall from favour, however, seems to have been Ṭahmāsp's fear that Ismā'il might be nursing an ambition to supplant him, a fear which was assiduously played upon by the powerful *wakil* Ma'ṣūm Beg Ṣafawī, who was a bitter enemy of Ismā'il. Ismā'il's high-handed behaviour on his arrival at Harāt gave colour to Ṭahmāsp's suspicions, and moved Ṭahmāsp, for whom the defection of his own brothers Alkāš and Sām was a recent and vivid memory, to take action against him. This situation may, then, be reflected by what at first sight appears the vague statement in *Tārīkh-i ʿĀlam-ārā-yi ʿAbbāsī* (i, 125), that Ismā'il was imprisoned "in the best interests of the state, and because of various improper acts which displeased the shah".

On the death of Shāh Ṭahmāsp (984/1576), 30,000 *khizilbāsh* assembled at Kāhḳaha and swore fealty to Ismā'il, who was enthroned as Shāh Ismā'il II at the capital, Iḳazwīn, on 27 Djumādā I 984/22 August 1576.

Ismā'il's mind, however, had been unhinged by his long imprisonment, and, on attaining power, his sole idea was to maintain his position at all costs. To this end, he carried out a widespread purge of *khizilbāsh* officers of the Ustāḏjlū tribe, which had supported an abortive coup in favour of his brother Ḥaydar. He then began systematically to murder, or blind, any prince of the blood royal who might conceivably become the centre of a conspiracy against him. Five of his brothers and four other Ṣafawid princes perished in this way. When Ismā'il began to put to death officers whose only crime was that of having held important positions under his father, the *khizilbāsh* regretted that they had placed him on the throne, and conspired to assassinate him. Ismā'il is alleged to have been a less than enthusiastic Twelver Shī'ite. This gave the *khizilbāsh* both an added incentive to remove him, and also a plausible excuse for their action. Ismā'il's addiction to narcotics made it easy for the *khizilbāsh* both to carry out the murder and to give it the air of death by misadventure. With the connivance of Ismā'il's sister, Parī Khān Khānum, the conspirators placed poison in an electuary containing opium, which was consumed by Ismā'il and one of his boon-companions. Ismā'il was succeeded by his elder brother Muḥammad Khudābānda [q.v.].

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(R. M. SAVORY)

ISMĀ'IL, MAWLĀY [see ʿALAWIDS and MAWLĀY ISMĀ'IL].

ISMĀ'IL B. ʿABBĀD [see IBN ʿABBĀD].

ISMĀ'IL B. AḤMAD, ABŪ IBRĀHĪM, called al-Amīr al-Māḏī or al-Amīr al-ʿĀdil, the first member of the Sāmānid family effectively to rule all Transoxania and Farghāna as an independent sovereign. Born in 234/849, he spent 20 years as governor of Bukhārā on behalf of his brother Naṣr, who himself resided at Samarkand (260/874-279/892). The unsettled conditions in Khurāsān during the years between the fall of the Tāhirids and the final establishment there of ʿAnūr b. al-Layth [q.v.] were reflected in Transoxania also. Ismā'il had in Bukhārā to fight off an invading army from Khwārazm under one Ḥusayn b. Ṭāhir al-Ṭā'i (who was not necessarily, *pace* Barthold, a member of the Tāhirid family, cf. Vasmer in *Num. Zeitschr.*, lxiii (1930), 148), and to maintain relations with his mistrustful brother Naṣr, who twice sent armies against Bukhārā.

When Naṣr died in 279/892, Ismā'il became master of all Transoxania, transferring the capital to Bukhārā, where it was to remain till the end of the dynasty, and securing recognition from the ʿAbbāsīd Caliph. In the following year he led an expedition into the Turkish steppes against the camp of the Karluk Kaḡhan at Talas (modern Djamul), capturing an immense booty of slaves and beasts and converting the principal church of Talas into a mosque; he also subdued the local Iranian dynasty of rulers of Ushrūsana in the Syr Daryā valley. In view of the claim of the Ṣaffārids [q.v.] to be successors in the east of the Tāhirids, ʿAmr b. al-Layth's attempt to assert his suzerainty over Khwārazm and Transoxania was predictable. Ṣaffārid might in Persia was such that in 285/898 the caliph al-Mu'taḏid was forced to issue a decree deposing Ismā'il and awarding an investiture diploma to ʿAnūr for Transoxania and Balḳh. ʿAnūr marched