



epigraphic evidence that Jonayd had a third son named K̄vāja Jamšid, who appears to have been killed during one of Ḥaydar’s military campaigns in southern Dagestan. K̄vāja Jamšid Şafavi is buried in Kubachi, a small village in Tābasarān, some sixty miles northwest of [Darband](#) (Aytberov, p. 283). Ḥaydar’s only surviving sister, Šāh-Pāšā K̄ātun had been married off to Moḥammad Beg Ṭāleš, a locally prominent military chief from [Khalkhal](#), who later became Shah Esmā’il’s guardian (*lala*) and played a crucial role in his rise to the throne in Azarbaijan early in the 16th century (Ḥayāti Tabrizi, fol. 124r; Rumlu, p. 14).

Ḥaydar succeeded his father as spiritual leader of the pro-Āq Qoyunlu faction of the Şafaviya Sufi order in circa 876/1471-2. This date is implied by Ḥayāti Tabrizi’s assertion that “Ḥaydar took over the mantle of spiritual leadership (*eršād*) [of the Şafaviya Sufi order] at the age of fifteen” (Ḥayāti Tabrizi, folio 74a). Two years later, he married a daughter of his father’s paternal uncle, Šayḵ Farid-al-Din Ja‘far b. K̄vāja ‘Ali. At that time, Ja‘far acted as the spiritual leader of the pro-Qara Qoyunlu faction of the Şafaviya *ṭariqa* in Ardabil (Ḥayāti Tabrizi, folio 91b). The death of Ja‘far, which must have taken place within a few years of this marriage, paved the way for the consolidation of Ḥaydar’s power as the undisputed spiritual leader of the Şafaviya *ṭariqa*. In Ardabil, Ḥaydar eked out an existence as a swordsmith. He had learned the art of sword making from a local master called Amir Fażlallāh Sayyāf, who later acted as a deputy (*wakil*) of Ḥaydar’s oldest son and successor, Solṭān-‘Ali Şafavi (Ḥayāti Tabrizi, folios 90b, 116a). Similarly, a late Āq Qoyunlu court historian admits that Ḥaydar “was unequaled in the making of tools of war and weaponry of slashing and jabbing. I heard that he had personally made and stored several thousands of sharpened spearheads, scimitars, pieces of armors, and battle shields” in Ardabil (Ḳonji Eşfahāni, p. 275).

As spiritual leader of the Şafaviya *ṭariqa*, Ḥaydar entered into alliances with a number of local grandees and military chiefs of [Tāleš](#), [Šervān](#), and southern Dagestan. He launched three military campaigns against the rural towns and village of southern Dagestan. To escape unwanted confrontation with the [Šervānšāhid](#) rulers of Sālian and Maḥmudābād, who had allied themselves with the Āq Qoyunlu ruler of Azarbaijan Sultan Ya‘qub (d. 896/1490), it is reported that Ḥaydar had hired a group of local woodworkers in [Khalkhal](#) and [Astara](#) to make boats for his armies. It had been planned that these boats would be used by Ḥaydar and his devotees so that they could reach the strategic city of Darband and coastal Dagestan, especially the towns of Āgriča

and Miān-Qeşlāq, without any confrontation with the hostile troops of the Şervānşāh (Ḥayāti Tabrizi, folios 92b-99b). In Rajab 888/August-September 1483, Ḥaydar deeded the superintendence of Ebrāhim Zāhed Gilāni's mausoleum in Şayka-Karān (present-day Shiekeran, also Hilya-Karan), a forested village midway between Astara and the port city of Lankarān, to his descendants (Zāhedī, pp. 103-4). Ḥaydar's first seaborne invasion of southern Dagestan, during which his devotees plundered the dominantly Circassian-populated town of Qaytāq and the plain of Ḥamīrī, can be assigned to around 878/1473-3, the year in which he married Ja'far's daughter (Ḥayāti Tabrizi, folios 94a). As it appears from Kōnji Eşfahāni's account, Ḥaydar's first expedition against Dagestan was overland and took place about five years later in 883/1478 (Kōnji Eşfahāni, pp. 276-7; Ḥayāti Tabrizi, folios 99a-101a). At the end of the third and last of his campaigns against southern Dagestan in 893/1488, Ḥaydar and his troops were cornered outside Bayqird Castle in Tābasarān, and he was killed in the battle that ensued. The Āq Quyunlu beheaded Ḥaydar, and his severed head was later buried in Tabriz. Under Shah Esmā'il, Ḥaydar's remains were transferred from [Tabriz](#) and Tābasarān to [Ardabil](#) and buried inside the Safavid shrine (Ḥayāti Tabrizi, 73b, 108a; [Romano], pp. 459-60).

In addition to his marriages to Uzun Ḥasan's and Ja'far's daughters, Ḥaydar had concubinage with several Circassian and Georgian women. Ten sons and four daughters are known to have survived Ḥaydar. Solţān-'Ali, Ebrāhim, and Esmā'il had been born from Uzun Ḥasan's daughter. Sayyed Ḥasan (d. ca. 931/1525), who under Shah Esmā'il acted as superintendent of the Safavid shrine in Ardabil, had been born in 878/1473-4 from Ḥaydar's marriage to Ja'far's daughter. Fakr-Jahān Kānom, the eldest of Ḥaydar's daughter, had been married off to Bayrām Beg Qarāmānlu (d. 920/1514), an influential tribal chief from Moğānāt. Her younger sister, Malak Kānom had been given away in marriage to 'Abdallāh Khan Şāmlu, also known as 'Abdi Beg (d. 912/1506-7), a high-ranking military chief from Ardabil and eponymous founder of the 'Abdallu clan of the Şāmlu. Ḥaydar's other two daughters were married off to Ḥosayn Beg Şāmlu (d. 920/1514), who later acted as Shah Esmā'il's guardian, and Şāh-'Ali Beg (d. after 920/1540), the ruler of Hazo and Sason in Anatolian Kurdistan who claimed descent from the [Sasanian](#) kings of Iran (Ḥayāti Tabrizi, folio 73b; Bedlisi, I, p. 411; Ghereghlou, pp. 107, 119).

Under Ḥaydar's leadership, the Qezelbāş confederate clans and their allies morphed into a well-organized military force capable of changing the balance



of power in Azarbaijan. It was Ḥaydar who introduced the uniform twelve-seam red cap after which his followers were originally called in a derogatory manner the *qezel-bāš* or “red caps.” One of the earliest known anti-Safavid polemical treatises dated from the closing decades of the 15th century associates Ḥaydar’s introduction of these red caps among his supporters with Shi’i “heretics” of the early Islamic centuries. The anonymous author of the same treatise then concludes that it is religiously binding on Muslim rulers in Iran and eastern [Anatolia](#) to punish Ḥaydar’s followers with mass murder, torture, and deportations (Tan, Teber, and Kalaycı, p. 368). The political and military alliances forged under Ḥaydar were to play a crucial role in Shah Esmā’il’s rise to the throne as the founder of the Safavid dynasty in [Azarbaijan](#) in the opening years of the 16th century.

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