

HAYYAM'IN İNSAN ALGISI

Süreç Felsefesi Açısından Bir Çözümleme

METİN YASA*
DURSUN ALİ TÜRKMEN**

SUMMARY

The purpose of this article is to investigate that Khayyam has a unique perspective about the human being. The uniqueness in Khayyam's understanding human being is quite clear when it is discussed in the light of integrity of spirit-body which is the fundamental principle of process philosophy today.

Din felsefesinin sorunlarının Hayyam'ın rubailerinde geniş bir biçimde yer alması dikkate değer bir husustur.¹ Biz, rubailere özel atıfla, burada yalnızca bir sorunu tartışmak istiyoruz: Hayyam'ın insan konusundaki görüşü nedir?

Eğer din felsefesinin konularının iki gruba ayrıştığı kabul edilirse², bu durumda, Hayyam'ın insan görüşünün dinin içinde sayılması gerekir.

Hayyam, insanı anlamak için, yalnızca soru sormaz, aynı zamanda cevap da verir. Dahası; bu bağlamda, kimi felsefi düşünceler ileri sürer.

Bilindiği gibi, "süreç felsefesinin temeli, dünyanın, her an yenilenecek ve bütünüyle yeni form alacak şekilde yaratıcı bir sürece sahip olmasından ibaretir."³ Bununla birlikte, süreç felsefesinin bir ilkesi şudur: "Ruh ile beden birliğine ve karşılıklı ilişki içinde olduğuna inanmak."⁴ Bu ilke, açık konuşmak gerekirse, deneyimlerimizin de açıklayıcısıdır. Çünkü unutulmamalıdır ki varoluş ve taşıdığı özü, başkalarına ancak yaşayarak ve düşünerek aktarabiliriz.⁵ Dahası; deneyim sonucu meydana gelen faktörler de ikiye ayrılır: Sempatî ve gaddarlık gibi hayvani tutkular; güzellik ve entelektüel kavrayış gibi insani deneyimler.⁶ Şu halde, süreç felsefesi açısından, insanı anlamaya

*Doç.Dr., Ondokuz Mayıs Üniversitesi, İlahiyat Fakültesi.

**Yrd.Doç.Dr., İstanbul Üniversitesi, İlahiyat Fakültesi.

¹ Bkz.: Metin Yasa, Hayyam'ın Rubailer: Din Felsefesi Açısından Bir Çözümleme, Elis Yayınları, Ankara, 2009.

² [http://bashgah.net/pages-3688.html/\(10.12.2009\)](http://bashgah.net/pages-3688.html/(10.12.2009)).

³ <http://www.daneshju.ir/forum/archive/t-44507.html/> (10.12.2009).

⁴ <http://www.daneshju.ir/forum/archive/t-44507.html/>

⁵ Bkz.: A.N. Whitehead, Düşüncenin Serüvenleri, çev.: Yusuf Kaplan, Külliyyat yayımları, 2008, s. 11.

⁶ Whitehead, a.g.e., s. 12.

yönelik yeni bir araştırma ayrı bir öneme sahiptir. Acaba, anılan ilke açısından Hayyam'ın insan hakkındaki görüşü ne kadar açıklayıcıdır? Dahası; Hayyam'ın insan algısı doğa ile bütünleşmeyi dikkate alıyor mu?

Günümüzde pek çok varoluşsal sorunun sürece felsefesi açısından ele alınışı dikkat çekicidir. Bir varoluşsal sorun olarak insanı anlama da, kuşkusuz, bu yeni oluşum içinde değerlendirilebilir.⁷ Bilindiği gibi, çağdaş kozmolojinin, insanın değeri hakkında söyleyeceği şeyler vardır⁸; bunların bir kısmı, sürece felsefesiyle ilgilidir.

Rubailerdeki düşüncelerin derinliğini anlamak, biraz da, Hayyam'ın metodu bilmeye bağlıdır. Gerçekten de Hayyam'ın iki değerli mantığı aşmaya dayanan metodu⁹, insanı anlamada önemli bir rol üstlenir. Doğrusu, Hayyam'ın, insanı anlamak için, estetik çözümlemeden yardım aldığı da görülmektedir. Bu noktada, iki kavram öne çıkmaktadır: Mey ve Kadeh. Hayyam'a göre, mey-kadeh analojisi, insanı anlamada son derece önemlidir. Bununla birlikte, bu analogi, insanı tek açıdan ele almanın bir yarar sağlamayacağını da göstermektedir.¹⁰ Kuşkusuz, "Hayyam, insanı düşünmeye davet eder."¹¹ Zira insan düşünür; çünkü sonuçta kozmik enginliği yalnızca o anlar.¹²

Hayyam'ın insan algısı, yalnızca felsefi açıdan değil, aynı zamanda insanın yaratılışı açısından da değer taşır. Sözelimi, Hayyam'a göre, bir yandan ruhun varlığını inkâr etme öte yandan insanın aşkın değerlere özlemine dile getirme mümkün olmaz. Bu açıdan bakıldığında, acaba Hayyam'ın insan algısı, evrensel olanla uyumlu mudur? Ne yazık ki, Hayyam'a göre, "insan, suda yaşayan balık gibi, yaşarken, yaşadığı anın değerini bilememektedir. Balık da sudadır, ama ne suyu ne de suyun değerini bilir."¹³

Hayyam'a göre, insanın yaşadığı egzistansiyal sorunlar, insan tarafından deneyimlenmektedir. Bu deneyimi, doğru çözümlenmek gerekir. Çünkü yanlış bir çözümlenme, sözü edilen tedirginliği gerçek boyutunun dışına taşıyabilir; böylece de bir tür nihilizme gidilebilir. Bu nedenle, aşağıdaki rubaiyi iyi anlamak gerekir:

⁷ Bkz.: Yasa, Hayyam'ın Rubaileri: Din Felsefesi Açısından Bir Çözümleme, s. 89 vd.

⁸ Ian G. Barbour, *Bilim ve Din: Çatışma- Ayrışma-Uzlaşma*, çev.: Nebi Mehdi, Mübariz Camal, İnsan Yayınları, 2004, s. 92.

⁹ Bkz.: Yasa, Hayyam'ın Rubaileri: Din Felsefesi Açısından Bir Çözümleme, s. 22 vd.

¹⁰ Bkz.: Yasa, Hayyam'ın Rubaileri: Din Felsefesi Açısından Bir Çözümleme, s. 41 vd.

¹¹ <http://www.newproline.com/modules.php?name=News&file=article&sid=182/> (03. 10. 2008).

¹² Barbour, a.g.e., s. 92.

¹³ <http://www.newproline.com/modules.php?name=News&file=article&sid=182/>

با باده نشین که ملک محمود اینست
 وز چنگ شنو که لحن داود اینست
 از آمده و رفته دگر یاد مکن
 حالی خوش باش زانکه مقصود اینست

Mahmut saltanatı bu, otur badeyle
 Davut nağmesi de budur, çengi dinle
 Gelenle de geçenle de olma meşgul;
 İşte amaç bu, şimdi mutlu ol hele.¹⁴

Hayyam'ın bu rubai ile ulaşmak istediği nokta açıkça ortadadır: İnsan acı çekmektedir ve bu sorun çözümlenmelidir.

Hayyam bir nihilist midir? Bu soruya cevap vermek için iki kavram öne çıkmaktadır: Hiçlik ve ölüm. Bunlar aynı zamanda varoluşsal acıyı çağırışan kavramlardır. Düşünceler anılan iki kavram üzerinden üretilmeye başlayınca, sorular da ardı ardına gelir: Gerçek bir nihilistin ölümü hiçlik olarak algılanması nereden ileri gelmektedir? Ölüm deneyimine sahip olmasından mı? Bunun nedeni, doğrudan, ölüm kavramının içeriğinde gizlidir. Zira ölüme ilişkin olumsuz tutum, başka bir şeyden değil, deneyim eksikliğinden ileri gelmektedir.

Bir kimse, felsefe yaparken, dinsel verilerden yararlanmak istiyorsa, Tanrı'ya atıfta bulunmadan edemez. Hayyam, bu bağlamda anılacak güzel bir örnektir. Şöyle der:

گر بر فلکم دست بدی چون یزدان
 بر داشتمی من این فلک را ز میان
 از نو فلک دگر چنان ساختمی
 کازاده به کام دل رسیدی آسان

Olsaydım evrene Tanrı gibi egemen
 Kısa yoldan yok ederdim bu evreni ben
 Öylesi yeni bir dünya yaratırdım ki
 Hür olan, kavuşurdu muradına hemen¹⁵

¹⁴ Bkz.: Yasa, Hayyam'ın Rubailerini: Din Felsefesi Açısından Bir Çözümleme, s. 60.

¹⁵ Bkz.: Yasa, Hayyam'ın Rubailerini: Din Felsefesi Açısından Bir Çözümleme, s. 66.

Hayyam'a göre, ölüm ve hiçliğin felsefi açıdan tartışılması, tartışılmamasından daha iyidir. Bu noktada, ölüm-hiçlik ilişkisi konusunda derin araştırmalar yapılmalı ve şu hususun altı çizilmelidir: Eğer insan anlam arayışında ise, bu konuda hassas olmalıdır. Çünkü insan, yalnızca biyolojik bir organizma değil, aynı zamanda sorumlu bir varlıktır.¹⁶

Hayyam, rubailerinde 'hiç' kavramını kullanır.¹⁷ Ancak rubailerini bir bütünlük içinde ele alındığında, Ona nihilist demek kolay değildir. Çünkü "Hayyam, rubailerde, gizlice şöyle der: 'Mutluyum, öyleyse varım'".¹⁸

Bilindiği gibi, "süreç felsefesi, geniş anlamda, tüm görüşleri içerir ve temel olarak durağanlığı değil değişim ve hareketi kabul eder."¹⁹ Hayyam, bu değişimi, sıklıkla insan bedenine ilişkin değişim aracılığıyla ile açıklar.²⁰ Bu noktada pek çok örnek verilebilir:

هر سبزه که برکنار جویی رسته است
گویی ز لب فرشته خویی رسته است
پا بر سر هر سبزه به خواری ننهی
کان سبزه ز خاک لاله رویی رسته است

Her bir çimen ki ırmak kenarında bitmiştir,
Sanki melek huylunun dudağında bitmiştir,
Çiğnediğin her bir çimeni usulca çiğne,
Çünkü lale yüzlünün toprağında bitmiştir!²¹

Görüldüğü üzere, Hayyam bu noktada daha çok değişim tezini savunur. Bu bağlamda, "*panexperientialism*" süreç filozoflarının ruh ile beden konusundaki

¹⁶ Barbour, a.g.e., s. 16.

¹⁷ Bkz.: Metin Yasa, "Hayyam- Nietzsche Karşıtlığı: İki Farklı Düşüncenin Nihilizm Bağlamında Karşılaştırmalı Bir Çözümlemesi", tabula rasa: felsefe-teoloji, yıl: 7-8, sayı: 21, Eylül-Nisan, 2007/2008.

¹⁸ <http://www.newproline.com/modules.php?name=News&file=article&sid=182/>

¹⁹ <http://www.daneshju.ir/forum/archive/t-44507.html/>

²⁰ Bkz.: Yasa, Hayyam'ın Rubailerini, Din Felsefesi Açısından Bir Çözümleme

²¹ Metin Yasa, "Doğa ile Bütünleşmek: Ömer Hayyam'ın Rubailerinde Doğa Bilinci", Çevre ve Din Uluslararası Sempozyumu, 15-16 Mayıs, Cilt: 2, Yalın Yayıncılık, İstanbul, 2008, s. 267.

konumlarını ortaya koymaktadır.”²² Doğrusu, İnsan, süre giden varlıklar topluluğunun bir parçasıdır.²³

Söz konusu 'panexperientialism', rubailerde, insanın doğa ile bütünleşmesinde daha açık bir biçimde görülmektedir. O, bu bütünlüğe, yalnızca yaşarken değil, aynı zamanda ölümlerle de ulaşılabilen kanısındadır.²⁴

Hayyam, ölümü, rasyonel bir konu olarak görmez. Bu durumda, ölüm ve hiçlik konusunda rahatlıkla nasıl konuşabiliriz? Bugün, yaratılış, bize ne anlatmaktadır? Bağlılık ve sonluluk, güven ve şükür, düzen ve güzellik.²⁵

Açık konuşmak gerekirse, Hayyam'a göre şu iki ifade birbirinden farklıdır: "ruh vardır ve ölümsüzdür", "ruh vardır, ancak ruhun sonu yokluktur." Hayyam, ölümü, tüm canlılar için özsel bir fenomen olarak görür. Şöyle der:

آن قصر که جمشید در او جام گرفت
 آهو بچه کرد و روبه آرام گرفت
 بهرام که گور می گرفتی همه عمر
 دیدی که چگونه گور بهرام گرفت؟

O saray ki Behram, içinde kadeh tuttu,
 Ceylan yavruladı, tilki ise yurt etti,
 Bütün ömrünce zebra avlardı o Behram,
 Gördün işte; mezar Behram'ı nasıl yuttu²⁶

Ölüm ve ruh hakkında konuşmak, ruhun ölüme ve ölümün de hiçliğe konu olduğuna inanmak, kuşkusuz, felsefi tartışmalara neden olmaktadır. Dahası; ruhun ölümlü ölümün de yokluk olduğuna inanma, günümüz ateizminde, kavramlar ters çevrilerek, bir tür ölümsüzlüğe dönüştürülmektedir.²⁷ Bunda da bir gariplik yoktur. Çünkü yanlış bir kanıyı sürdürme zorunlu değildir. Dürüst olmak gerekirse, gerektiğinde, yeni düşünceler üretmek, doğa ve insan doğayı açısından daha iyidir.

Sonuç olarak, Hayyam'a göre, metafizik sonuçlara ulaşmak için yalnızca zihinsel veriler yeterli değildir. İnsanı ve ötesini anlama açısından, yaşam deneyimini ve metafizik sonuçları çözümleme daha yararlıdır. Bu aşamada,

²² <http://www.daneshju.ir/forum/archive/t-44507.html/>

²³ Barbour, a.g.e., s. 93.

²⁴ Bkz.: Yasa, Hayyam'ın Rubailer: Din Felsefesi Açısından Bir Çözümleme, s. 97 vd.

²⁵ Barbour, a.g.e., s. 80.

²⁶ <http://www.adabkade.com/library/hedayat/tarane-haye-khayam/>, (Erişim: 17. 02. 2006)

²⁷ Bkz.: Metin Yasa, "Çağdaş Dünyada Dinin Ateist Yorumu", Ekev Akademi Dergisi, Yıl, 7, sayı: 16, 35-42, Erzurum Kültür ve Eğitim Vakfı Yayınevi, 2003.

yaşam, parçacı bir yaklaşımla değil, organiklik ve genel yaratıcılık açısından dillendirilmelidir. Yaşam fenomeninin bir parçasının metafizik olanla doğudan bağlantısını kurmak belki zordur; ama yaşam fenomeninin bütünü metafizik ile iç içedir.

BİBLİYOGRAFYA

- Barbour, Ian G., **Bilim ve Din: Çatışma-Ayrışma-Uzlaşma**, çev.: Nebi Mehdi, Mübariz Camal, İnsan Yayınları, 2004.
- Whitehead, A.N., **Düşüncenin Serüvenleri**, çev.: Yusuf Kaplan, Külliyyat Yayınları, 2008.
- Yasa, Metin, “Hayyam- Nietzsche Karşıtlığı: İki Farklı Düşüncenin Nihilizm Bağlamında Karşılaştırmalı Bir Çözümlemesi”, **tabula rasa: felsefe-teoloji**, yıl: 7-8, sayı: 21, eylül-nisan, 2007/2008.
- Yasa, Metin, “Çağdaş Dünyada Dinin Ateist Yorumu”, **Ekev Akademi Dergisi**, Yıl, 7, Sayı, 16, 35-42, Erzurum Kültür ve Eğitim Vakfı Yayınevi, (2003)
- Metin Yasa, “Doğa ile Bütünleşmek: Ömer Hayyam’ın Rubailerinde Doğa Bilinci”, **Çevre ve Din Uluslararası Sempozyumu**, 15-16 Mayıs, Cilt: 2, Yalın Yayıncılık, İstanbul, 2008.
- Yasa, Metin, **Hayyam’ın Rubaileri: Din Felsefesi Açısından Bir Çözümleme**, Elis Yayınları, Ankara, 2009.
- <http://www.adabkade.com/library/hedayat/tarane-haye-khayam/>, (Erişim: 17. 02. 2006).
- <http://www.newproline.com/modules.php?name=News&file=article&sid=182>, (03. 10. 2008).
- <http://www.daneshju.ir/forum/archive/t-44507.html/> (10.12.2009).
- <http://bashgah.net/pages-3688.html/> (10.12.2009).

NADIR SHAH RELIGIOUS POLICY

MAHNAZ SARPISHEGI*

ABSTRACT

When the Safavid government had established in Iran, in 1501 A.D, Shiite had chosen as the official religious in this country. The establishment of Shiite in Iran caused lots hostility and enmity among the Ottomans and Iranians, which at the end, led to a war creation for a bout two century.

Among all authorities, Nadir Shah appeared, after Afghan's invasion and the decline of Isfahan. He accepted the monarchy during the announcement of some circumstances in Moghan field, after acting some important actions and establishing peace and immunity in the country. His circumstances for accepting the monarchy was the replacing of Sunni religious in stead of Shiite and establishing of Jafari religious in one the fourth essentials rules of Sunnis, which encountered with the disagreement of Ottomans. He decided to finish the hostility of Islamic countries and make them unit. But, these actions did not affect, despite of the traffic of embassies, the formation of Baghdad religious council, and many years attempts, and because of Ottomans prejudice and insistence and other hostilities in the country.

Introduction

Shah Ismail I, the founder of Safavid government in the first year of his monarchy in 1501 A.D, had chosen the Shiite religious as the official religious of Iran in Tabriz Jaame mosque, after overpowering of Shervanshahan and Agh Ghoyonloo and the victory entrance to Tabriz city. He commanded to the Friday pray preacher to preach about the Asna Ashara Imams, says curse upon the trial caliphs and announce it as the Safavid government slogan.

At the same time, some of his close advisers told him to not do such a thing, because two third of Tabriz population were Sunni and it would make their hostility and disagreement, and then make the country disorganized. The young Shah answered: I am said to do this commission and Imam Mahdi and the other salvation Imams would help me in this task. So if the poor people complain about that, I will kill them. So he commanded the Tabaraaiyan to move in the city and shout the slogan of "Tabara va Tavala", and if anyone did not answer "Bish Bad" (hope be more) and " Kam mabad"(hope never be less), kill him/her. After that event, they commanded to the city religious scientists to start collecting and distributing the Imam Shiite religious jurisprudence books.

* PhD Student in Islamic Azad University

Although the Shiite follower activities developed a lot after Islam, in the period of Safavid age in Mazandaran, Ale buye and Ismailiye, these followers trace in the Iranian religious motions against the Omayyad and Abbasi Caliphs, made the Shiite presence in Iran post Islam history clear. So before Safavid government took the authority of country, when it was hidden in Gilan, it owned the supports of Karkia Mirza Ali, the shiite governor of Gilan. Also the important role of Anatoly Turkish who were at the service of Safavid government about two century should be considered, later they formed the most important part of Shah Ismail army and his devotees.

The formation of Safavid government with the effaceable of Asnaa Ashara Shiism encountered with the disagreement of Uzbek and Ottoman governments soon. The second Bayzid Sultan who wasn't a quarreled person, shut his eyes at Shah Ismail I ,over ambitious. Even though, his successor Salim Sultan was so spiteful to the formation of Shiite government in the eastern borders of his territory. He abolished the government by His first brutal action that was the murdering of 40 thousands people from Anatoly Shiites who knows them as the main followers of Shah Ismail.

He set the first war with the Safavid government with 120 thousand solders, cannons and guns and defeated Shah Ismail near to the Khoy city in the Chaldoran field. Therefore, because of road hardness his presence in Iran by the relation of the hardness of the roads, the overflowing of army heads and the dissatisfaction in the war with Moslems, he had to come back to Istanbul. Although Chaldoran war caused Shah Ismail defeated and reduced his honor among Ghezelbashs, but the Safavid government abolishing hadn't done. Shah Ismail I ,successor, Tahmasb I, was so prejudice to Shiism. So he attempted a lot to strengthen the Safavid religious government base and creating the new organizations for the religious endurance. He invited the religious scientists of Jabalo Amel in Lebanon who among them, Muhagheh Karaki was so prominent, and gave the authority of religious tasks to him ,he and the other accompanied scientists had attempted to create religious organizations, schools and endowed affairs and played an important role in the consolidating of the Shiite founding.

In the Tahmasb monarchy period, Iranian were observed four wars with Ottomans which during these wars, there happened so many damages to Iran and only concluding the Amassiye peace contract could finish those wars. But it was continued by Shah Abbas I, monarchy among Iranians, Ottomans and Uzbeks. After shah Tahmasb I death, his successor Shah Ismail II ,was so eager to remove the role of government in the religious affairs. But he could not succeed in the fighting with the general presence of religious among the people. Finally, he died after one year governing.

Shah Abbas I, kingdom period was from the year 1587 A.D to 1629 A.D and was a new kingdom period in the history of Iran. He was a politician

king who attempted a lot to establish equilibrium between Shiite and Sunni and to protect the religious scientists' position and pretended concordance and harmony in relation with Christians and Jewish. After him, when the religious men took the authority and developed day by day, by forcing pressure on minority religious like Sunni, this equilibrium removed. Finally in the Shah Sulayman period, some not responsible men took the authority of country incumbency like, khaje sarayan (eunuchs), Hakim bashi (head-physician), mullah bashi (head mullahs) who governed and made decision instead of the king. These incompetent men acted more intense when Shah Sultan Hosien, the incapable son of Shah Sulayman settled on as king. Then the Ghalzayi tribe of Qandahar and Abdali tribe of Harat inundated and it caused the falling of Safavid government in the final monarchy years of Shah Sultan Hosein.

The revolution of some Sunni Ghalzayi clans with the head of Mahmud Ghalzayi who were not attracted any ones attentions, led to his military expedition to Isfahan in 1721 A.D. After some month siege and famine, the capital of the Safavid emperor crashed in 1722 A.D and the Safavid king gave the kingdom authority to the Qandaharian rebellions helplessly. So the long year government of Safavid declined easily.

At the time of Isfahan siege, the heads of Shah Sultan Hosein Court, sent Tahmasb Mirza to Qazvin confidentially to collect army by the help of Ghezelbashes and Safavid followers and to make resistance center to escape from the Safavid monarchy. This action done in bad condition of country which was encroached by Russian and Ottoman into Iran borders and with the presence of some power seeker men like Malek Mahmud Sistani in Khurasan, Fathali Khan Qajar and Nadir Gholi afshar who were busy with competition upon gaining power. Finally it was during this power seeking struggles that Nadir Gholi who was from Afshar tribe and Abivard area, played his important role in removing the chaos which was surrounded Iran from all sides.

Nadir Gholi Afshar was one of the heroes in escaping Iran of Afghanies power and the other synchronized local powers of third decade in the 18 century A.D. and played an important role to scare the Iran aggressors (Russia and Ottoman) away in the time of Safavid government falling. His insistence on making the Sunnite religious as Iran official religious instead of Shiite that was the main culture and people religious for 228 years from Shah Ismail I, to the falling of Isfahan. He wasn't successful, but was bold and unremitting.

The story truth is the military life and the conquests which done in order to help Safavid monarchy. His attempts for excretion of Shah Tahmasb II, enemies and respecting to the Shiite scientist, holy tombs, Imam Reza and Imam Ali and his fighting with Ottoman and Russians before Shah Tahmasb II ,election as an incapable Shah and his eight month old son selection as the successor, all makes clear that he wasn't satisfied with being a king. Shah

Tahmasb II, defeated from Ottomans in condition that Nadir was busy with Ibdaliyan revolutions in Harat; let him to prove Shah Incapability for protecting the west borders of Iran. Because of this he deposed from kingdom and chosen his son, Abbas Mirza under the name of shah Abbas III, and he, himself took the authority of the country affairs as regent. Nadir who hadn't believe on Ghezelbashes who were the most important haven for military, and believed that their deeds caused the Iran falling, so he tried to chose his main forces from Sunni Turkoman and Afghans. Finally, after the repeated victories to Ottomans and escaping Turkish and Russian away from country, thinks about monarchy. He was encounter with three obstacles in order to gain his goal: 1.Reducing the Ghezelbashes' power who was still the followers of Safavid kings. 2. Complete decline of monarchy inheritors by abolishing of Shiite religious and attracting religious heads attentions.3.Compromising with Ottomans and removing the long time religious problems of these two governments.He wanted to create some changes in religious affairs, considering the sever differences on religious between Iran and Ottomans. But such a matter couldn't happen so simple, considering to people sever beliefs during 220 years of Safavid kingdom. On the other hand, it was not a simple task to cut Tahmasb II, and his son's hand from the country monarchy because of Iranians historical interests to the Safavid monarchy continuation.

Despite of that Afshar tribe was one of the Ghezelbashes tribes which played important role in the appearance of Safavid, but the people ideas weren't the same as Safavid. The point that makes it clear is the Nadir religious policy. It should be mention that religious always had played important role in Iran society life, especially about Safaveid who strengthened his kingdom by making Shiite religious legal in the country. But finally, this religious government provided the needed background of difference appearing with Ottomans. Nadir tried to do an insured method to remove religious differences and make agreement in all over the country. Because of this, he gained to his important goal by gathering country heads in the Moghan historical council and by using them to gain his goal which was the Safavid government die out and gained the monarchy.

He commanded to form a council with the presence of rich people, village headmen, judges, patriarch and countries governor in the Moghan field in the coast of Aras river in January 22nd in 1736 A.D. he even invited the Ottomans embassy and the Armenian Caliph, and sent some special officials to advertise there. After guests entrance and entertained there for some days, the discussions begun and he mentioned some conditions to accept monarchy and declared that if such conditions provide, he will accept the monarchy. He told the guests that: since the death of the holy messenger, Muhammad, there were four caliphs after him that the people of Iran, India, Rom and Turkistan were under their caliphate. But Shah Ismail I, made common the method of Asna Ashara Shiite, made corruptions and religious sedition in the country,

while these two religious is believed by people, there would be no comfortable condition. So this religious which is anti coalition religious Islam, should be left and the Sunnis religious should be believed. Because Imam Jafar Sadegh is the holy Messenger's offspring and is extolled by the Imams, and for so many years the Iranian people became familiar with secondary religious rules via this Imam, so they should know him as the heads of this religious and obey his religious words.¹

This condition accepted by the present people in the Moghan council and council members provide a document involved this condition and signed it. Then they provided a text of mentioned suggestions that should be given to the Ottomans Sultan. according to this suggestion text, because Iranian passed time with the the method of Safavid Sultans (kings), and accepted the method of Sunnis from Imam Jafar Sadegh, the Ottoman judges and religious scientists should declare its truth and know it as the fifth number of the fourth religious and as there are some pillars for Sunni religious in holy Mecca city, the Imam of Jafari religious should shares to at least one of the pillar with them.² Therefore, it's clear that Nadir wanted to solve all the problems and differences with Turkish government for the sake of being thankful of Shiite people and also the Iranian religious would accept by them too. Although his attempt for solving the problems passed by so many embassies traffics and even by making a big council with the presence of Shiite and Sunni religious scientists in Najaf city, in 1743 A.D that didn't have any good result. But his deep mind and extended view in preventing most of ugly Safavid Shahs usual behavior and his attempt to make Islamic country unite are really appreciable.

Nadir's Efforts to Establish Sunnis Religious

There are lots of writers who criticized Nadir or made agreement with him about his religious policy ideas, and some of them called him a Sunni prejudice man and believes that he wanted to establish his own coalition religious beliefs in the country and make Iran Religious like the religious ago Shah Ismail I, period.³

In contrast with this group, there is another group who believe that he was Shiite and believed that to the end of his life. They prove their ideas by mentioning Nadir's attention to Holy religious place in Mashhad, Shiraz and

¹- Mirza Mahdi Khan Astar Abadi, *Jahangoshaye Nadiri*, by the attempt of Abdollah Anvar (Tehran: International council, 1962) p: 269.

²- *the Cambridge History of Iran*, vol 7, from Nadir Shah to the Islamic Republic, written by Peter Avery, Gavin Hambly, and Charles Melville, Cambridge; Cambridge University Press 1991, p: 36.

³- Mirza Mahdi Khan mentioned the religious of "ORUGH GHOTAAM" as his way of thought after coronation for so many times, and this caused lots of imagination. *Jahangoshaye Nadiri*, Published by Kalkate, 1922 A.D, P: 210 – 211.

the holy places.⁴ But there is a third idea which mentions his religious deed in Moghan field which was according to his political goals.⁵

The historian and the contemporary researchers believe that he was such knowledgeable man who was so familiar with the affairs quality, and he followed this method, because he understood the country situation very well, the neighbor countries situation and condition and he had great plans in his mind.⁶ Unfortunately, his life final events surprised so many people. But it should be considered that we should consider his motivations and goals according to his followed policy in order to judge better about his foreign policy. To make the truth clear, we mention his initial entrance to the story here.

He was come from the Afsharian Gharakhloy tribe. The Afshar tribe was one of the Azarkan and Shahsavan tribes who were the strength follower of Safavid monarchy⁷ and there is no doubt about their Shiite religious. According to his father's name which was Imam Gholi and his children names that were Reza Gholi, Morteza Gholi and Imam Gholi, it can be understood that these names are all Shiite Iranian and chosen according to this religious rule orders. His brother's name was Ibrahim and his two sons' names were Ali Gholi and Ibrahim, that choosing such names were usual among Moslems. When his grandchild, Shahrokh, had chosen as king, minted a coin with the name of Imam Reza⁸ also Nadir's nephew and his successor had claimed that they were Shiite and showed their interest and attention to all Imams by their behavior and deeds.⁹

In 1730 A.D, when Ghalzayians defeated and he gained Khurasan, Kerman and Mazandaran government, they minted a coin with the name of Imam Reza in Mashhad.¹⁰ According to Alams Araye Nadiri report, Nadir encircled Baghdad and visited Imam Hosein holy tomb and spend two nights till morning there because of being pure and sincerity, after that he went to

4- Muhammad Kazim Marvi, *Alam Araye Nadiri*, vol 1, corrected by Amin Riyahi, (Tehran: Elmi, 1995) p: 274, 276, 267, 335, 384, 385.

5- Laurence lockhart, *Nadir Shah*, translated by Moshfegh Hamedani (Tehran: Amirkabir, 1996), p: 140 And Lockhart, Laurence, *Nadir Shah*, London, 1938, p: 232-233.

6- Reza Shabani, "*Nadir Shah Religious Policy*, "Life Report" by the attempt of Haroon vo Human (Tehran: Paniz, 2005) p: 176.

7- V. Minorsky, *Nadir Shah Short History*, translated by Rashid Yasami, (Tehran: Simorgh 1984, third edition) p: 121.

8- Shabani, *Ibid* , p: 177-178.

9- Azadol Molk, *the Razavi Ghods Astan Dedicated Document Collection*, handwritten copy, central library of Tehran University, number 2987.

10- Minorsky *Ibid*, p: 119-120, and *Jahangoshaye Nadiri*, published by Kalkate, 1992 A.D, P: 90.

Najaf and visited Imam Ali's holy tomb. He commanded to put four golden candles in the four sides of his holy tomb.¹¹ This event was exactly the time that Baghdad was encircled and the forces of Topal Ottoman Pasha were moving to Baghdad in order to confront with them and Nadir's goal to go there was to ask help from this holy Imams.

After the defeat of Topal Ottoman Pasha and his death in the fighting field, which led to an agreement between him and Ahmad Pasha, Baghdad governor in 1734 A.D, Nadir visited the holy places of Kazemeyn, Karbala and Najaf before he departed for pursuing Baluch Muhammad Khan to Iran.¹² When he arrived Shiraz in the way of pursuing Muhammad Khan, visited the holy Shah Cheragh in that city and commanded to pay 200 Tumans (Iran money unit), in cash to repair his tomb mausoleum.¹³ He always visited Imam Reza holy tomb in his repeated trips to Mashhad. Muhammad Kazim Marvi has mentioned that in his book first volume.¹⁴ Not only he visited and paid money for Shiite holy tombs, but also did the same for the Safavid sheikhs in Ardebil one year before monarchy.¹⁵ After the Abdalyha second phase defeat, when Nadir became aware about the Tahamasb defeat in the war with Ottomans, wrote a letter for all of Iranian people and emphasized that "anyone who don't participate in this war with Ottomans, will be assume as Khavarej group, (an Arabic group who didn't follow their promise to Imam Ali and left him)".¹⁶ Also he declared that the treaties which abandon such a big country to enemies, are anti God's commands and Imam Morteza Ali's love and the angels will ask god to release Shiite people from that.¹⁷ Nadir mentioned in a letter that sent to the Baghdad's governor that visiting the Holy Places Iranian's absolute right.¹⁸

When Nadir decided to fight for the second time with Abdaly Afghans and succeeded to defeat them (1732 A.D), entered many of Afghan members to his army groups. They were such professional fighters who if there wouldn't be their nice services in the war with Ottomans and Baghdad surrounding time, none of the army members could be alive after the war. Therefore Nadir always regarded them and his visiting from, Abu Hanife

11- Muhammad Kazim Marvi, *Alam Araye Nadiri*, vol 1, P: 274-276.

12- Ghouzanloo, *Iran Military History*, vol 1, (Tehran: Central publication, 1936) p: 408.

13- *Alam Araye Nadiri*, vol 1, p: 384.

14- Ibid, p: 267, 274, 276, 325, 348 and Lockhart, *Nadir Shah*, p: 88.

15- Shabani, Ibid, p: 179.

16- *Jahangoshaye Nadiri*, p: 178.

17- Hasan Fasayi, *Farsnameh Naseri*, corrected by Mansour Rastegar Fasayi, (Tehran: Amir kabir publication, 1988), p: 170.

18- Jonas Hanway, *Nadir Shah Life*, translated by Ismail Dolat Shahi (Tehran: Elmi Farhangi publication, 1986) p: 96

tomb and preventing from insulting to this place were because of the afghan soldier's love and friendship.¹⁹ Also he commanded to adorn the holy mausoleum thousand times better than the first adorning.²⁰ Some times before Tahmasb disposal, Nadir remained a pious donation which its document exists right now in Mashhad, this worthy document shows that Nadir and his family were believed to Shiite religious places strongly.²¹ Therefore, it becomes clear that he was considered as one of Imam's sincere before gaining the monarchy position.

Nadir decided to provide the needed background to take the authority himself by organizing a council in Moghan field and with Hasan Ali Moayer Bashi's recommendation after repeated wars with Ottomans and defeating them. He got a testimonial from the present headmen in the council again with Hasan Ali's recommendation to fix more his monarchy position in front of Safavid dynasty.²² He knew that should think about strict and sever plans in order to fix his government. He acted like Shah Ismail I, who first planed about the government fundamental grades and then proclaimed Shiite religious as the official religious of Iran.

He criticized severely from Shah Ismail I, in the Moghan council and accused him that he made country corrupted and full of sedition by his Shiite innovation²³ and added that while such method obeyed in the country, there would be no solution for the differences among Moslems. But Minorsky does not believe in such wrong ideas and write about this case: "Nadir's reasoning for his beliefs and his aversion from Shah Ismail I, were all just lie and spurious because Afshar tribe was one of the strength pillars of Safavid initial sultans and came from Shahsavan.²⁴ His reasoning is completely correct. But, for sure one of Nadir's goals in doing such actions was to make peace between Moslems. Also he had more important goals which the most important of them was to make Islam world harmonious. He wanted to make such fix unity, proclaim unity in the field of rules and faith with Ottoman government, influence among Sunni citizens and owns the Ottoman's Sultans claim to himself which was relied on leading Islamic society in front of two Ottoman emperors in west and Indian emperor in east. Also despite of Ottomans people, he should concord the other Sunni neighbors, and expands his power domain, so by such deeds he could finish the old struggles,

19- Shabani, Ibid, P: 180-181.

20- Ibid

21- Azadolmolk, Ibid, handwriting copy, number 2987.

22- *Alam Araye Nadiri*, vol 1, p: 446-447.

23- *Jahangoshaye Nadiri*, p: 373.

24- Minorsky, Ibid p: 121

incompatibilities, brother killings and bleedings.²⁵ The unity background that he was considered to be, is still Islamic society wishes now in recent 250 years. Maybe his goal sources were come from his absolute Sultan aspect or his personal aspect influenced on the other aspects. But from the historical view, his goals should be praised, because it was in the period which world nations' harmony was mostly happened. Nadir was the first person who made Islamic countries unit. For sure, his such designs was important economically too. Because he could own most of the parts of commercial profits of Islamic Hajj trips himself.²⁶ He wanted to take out all the areas who were involved as Iran lands before, from the neighbor countries and revise the great authority and greatness of Iran. He knew that each of these areas people have special beliefs, therefore made his decision to establish Sunni religious which was most of Iranian religious, in order to gain his big goal to make Islamic country unit.

Gonas Hanway believes that he wanted to make Iran and Ottomans unit country by overpowering of Turkish.²⁷ Also Minorsky believes that Nadir intended to open the way of fighting to Ottomans, by removing religious hostility.²⁸ But for sure, Nadir thought that Safavid kings were all indebted to their authority and glory to Shiite religious and thought that, it would be not impossible, if the religious scientists take the authority as powerful as the Safavid period, they would provide the necessary back ground for Tahmasb II, Shah Abbas III or one of the other Safavid sons to take the authority of country. The point that is so important is that Nadirs Army which is indebted of their braveness and courage for its victories, was formed with great numbers of sunni solders and this plan would remove many of Sunni solders struggles with Shiites. Also would increase the Sunni solders' loyalty and cause solders' attachment and affection to Nadir Shah. Maybe if there would not be such great solders in his army, he would never let himself to do such thing.

Finally, Nadir accepted to be Iran king under following circumstance:

Iranians should leave the deeds refer to the Shiite religious that always caused war and bleeding between them and Ottomans and turn to Sunni

25- Abdol Hadi Haeri, "*Concordance and Anisotropy of Islam World*", *Iran and the Islam World*," (Mashhad: Astan Ghods Razavi publication, 1989) p: 69-70.

26- Ernest Tucker. "*Nadir Shah and the Jafary Religous Reconsidered*", *Iranian Studies*, vol 27, Number 14, 1994, p: 163

27- Hanway, *Ibid*, p: 157.

28- Minorsky, *Ibid*, p: 120.

religious. Also, because Imam Jafar Sadigh is the great Messenger's progeny, Iranians should obey and follow his words and rules in their life.²⁹

There is a document in this field in the Moghan historical council that made up of five parts suggestions that Nadir should delivered to Ottomans:

1. Iranians had stop believing on Shiite religious and now are believed Sunni religious. The new religious should be known formally as the fifth faction called Jafari.
2. Because each of four factions Imams had pillars in Kabe (mecca), so they should allocate a pillar to Imam Jafar.
3. One Hajj trip leader should allocate to Iranian pilgrims like Syria and Egypt pilgrims.
4. Both side's captives should exchange, their purchase and selling should be forbidden.
5. Each country dispatch agency council to the other one.³⁰

Therefore, it's clear that Nadir was still respect to his poor Shiite people and intended to force Turkish to accept that by some arrangements. Although he did such unrecorded deed in Iran political history by forming Moghan historical council and it was the best reflex of his liberal beliefs, but the repeated troubles that he provided for himself after that, didn't let this great man to produce the offspring of his efforts like Shah Ismail I.

After announcing Nadir's religious circumstances, there were some embassies in the way of Iran to Ottomans and vice versa for long times and the Turkish didn't want to accept such conditions by no means. Even one time, Nadir warned them in the presence of different religious agencies that if God is only one, so the religious must be only one.³¹ Nadir thought that he can force the Ottomans, who didn't want to accept such conditions by no means, like the suppression of Lesgian people after conquering India and Turkistan. But he encountered to some revolutions done by strangers and internal. There were some times that Nadir was forced to convince two sides of Ottomans and Iranians protest. to accept the new changes. Nadir went to Qazvin, after leaving Moghan field, and sent some letter to all around the country during three month living there. In that letters he declared that Iranians should respect to the three caliphs of Sunni religious, because the Jafari and Hanafi religious are so similar to each other and do not tell words anti them in the calling to prayer.³²

29- *Jahangoshaye nadiri*, p: 269.

30- *The Cambridge History of Iran*, vol 7,p: 36

31- Minorsky, *Ibid*, p: 121

32- *Nadir Shah Narration*, corrected by Reza Shabani, (Tehran: Besat, 1997), p: 168.

Sefat Gol believes that Nadir damaged Iran religious structures by taking the endowment privilege of the clergy and abolishing some of religious positions. In fact, Nadir Shah's harmonious policy and renewing some of opinions about charities and spending its money for military aims decreased the religious subject powers.³³ Oter declare about the charities that Nadir found out that the amount of yearly charity is more than one million Tuman and such money was so needed for the military, therefore he commanded to deliver the charity money to military. He added that if people want Mullahs, they should pay their costs by themselves. He even suggested them that if you don't want to be jobless, you should join to Army forces.³⁴ He gathered the religious scientists of Qazvin one day before doing according to his mind, and asked them about the charity salaries, they replied that we spend the money for the schools, mosques and the religious scientists, also we pray for the victory of Shah's Army in the mosques. Nadir answered them that you defected in your responsibilities, because it is about fifty years that the country condition got worst and worst and at the end, it was our solders who make it better. So these solders are the scientists who we are indebted to them, so from now on, the charity salaries would be theirs.³⁵

But James Fraiser called Nadir's action a kind of scaring the Mullahs and believes that the Mullahs gave the excuse to Nadir and the Mirza Abdol Husein Molla Bashi's disagreement that caused his death, the Mullahs reacted against Nadir Shah and Nadir reserved from giving gift to them.³⁶ On the other hand, people were not disagree to taking the charity money and spend it for military forces, because they were hopeful that Nadir will exempted them from paying the heavy taxes.³⁷

It should be mentioned that after the Turkish government establishment, the custom of "Tiuol" got developed that before Islam, it was custom as Hebeh (donation). According to this custom, some of properties dedicated to prominent Turkish people. But because they were not familiar with the statesmanship rules, had entrusted working on land to the Iranian poor people. Nadir didn't make this custom usual, because he didn't want that they effect on different parts of Iran. Just because Allah Yar Beyg succeeded to kill Topal Pasha in the fighting field, they dedicated the Blue Farm to him

³³- Mansour Sefat Gol, *Religious Thought Structure in the Safavid Age in Iran: the History of Iran Religious Revolutions in the Centuries of 16 to 18 A.D.*, (Tehran: Rasa, 2003), pp: 343-362.

³⁴- Juan Oter, *Oter Travel Account*, translated by Ali Ighbali, (Tehran: Javidan publication, 1984), p: 137-138.

³⁵- Hanway, *Ibid*, p: 160.

³⁶- James Fraiser, *Afsharian Nadir Shah History*, Unknown translator, by the attempt of AbolGhasem Naser Molk, (Tehran: Mojirol doleh, 1321) pp: 178- 181.

³⁷- Hanway, *Ibid*, p: 160.

as "Siyorghal" to him.³⁸ It should be mentioned about charity that it was so usual to dedicate lands as place of worship and scientific research place in Sassanian age.³⁹ But in the Islamic age, it was considered mostly to protect possessor rights and the dedicators were shown as good people of society. There was less systems in history which rose against charity or believed that it is vain. Because according to people's mind, rescinding it was an ugly matter.⁴⁰ Mirza Muhammad Kalantar believes that because mullahs distributed the gossip of "he is not religious king" between people, after Mirza Molla Bashi's death in Moghan field, Nadir did such thing.⁴¹

On the other hand Nadir did such thing, because in Safavid age, the charity bequest lands increased and Nadir needed this money to pay for his poor army. He always had good relationship with Mullahs and religious scientists in the deputation monarchy time. Also he was not able to do such thing before the year 1732 A.D. According to Dr. Shabani idea, Nadir commanded to make unalloyed all the Persian religious fiefs and charities and put the Isfahan and Astan Ghods Razavi fiefs in the tribunal court properties.⁴²

It should not be left unsaid that Nadir's behavior with religious society was so good and respectful before coronation. For example, his first embassy to Tahmasb court, Molla Ali Akbar Tarshizi who was one of his close members, gained country Mullah Bashi position in the coronation time. Also by his command, some of the country first level scientists gathered in Mosopotamia in the time of coronation or in the time of solving religious problems with Ottomans. After the defeat of Afghan Ashraf in 1731 A.D, he sent Mirza Abolghasem Kashani to Tahmasb in order to give permission to Nadir's son marriage with king's sister. After Tahmasb defeat from Ottoman, he sent Hasanali Beyk Moayer Bashi and Mirza Kafi Kholafa, accompanied by Mullah Ali Akbar Mullah Bashi and Mirza Abol Ghasem Kashi in order to say his disagreement with Tahmasb.⁴³

Nadir tried to prove Tahmasb incapability to these heads and masters when he entered Isfahan and again sent this group to the Tahmasb to announce the general intention and deposes him.⁴⁴ Also when he defeated

38. Alam Araye Nadiri, vol 1, p: 331

39- Hamze Isfahani, *Altanbih Alal Hoduthol Tashif*, translated by Muhammad Javad mashkur, narrated by magazin Sokhan, period 19, number 3, P: 305

40- Reza Shabani, *Iran Social History in Afshari Age*, (Tehran: Qumes, 1986) p: 356.

41- Mirza Muhammad Kalantar, *News paper*, by the attempt of Abbas Ighbal, Tehran 1946, p: 13

42. Shabani, *Ibid*, p: 367 and 389.

43- *Jahangoshaye Nadiri*, p: 137-138.

44- *Alam Araye Nadiri*, vol 1, p: 361.

from Topal Pasha in the Karkuk fighting, commanded to Mullah Bashi and Mirza Abolghasem Kashi to take Tahmasb from Mashhad to Mazandaran.⁴⁵ Therefore, all of above event shows Nadirs actions to religious scientists before gaining the monarchy.

Nadir didn't think about such ideas that he couldn't force people by sword power to accept the religious changes and it was the matter that should happened slowly and time. The main reason that made him unsuccessful was that he couldn't take out the kindness and love of Safavid Kings from the hearts of people. This love and kindness were existed from Islam first entrance and by the hostility that Iranians saw in Arabs in relation with Imam Ali's Family as in the Islam creation initial time, most of Iranian chosen Shiite religious. Because Shiite people known Imamate for Imam Ali's offspring, this belief had harmony with Iranians' ideas that known monarchy as the kings inheritance and from God's gifts. On the other hand, at first, Shiite formed as a religious-political subject in Iran and as a thing to protect Iranian nationality in front of foreigners and exactly such people did some efforts in front of the caliphs. Mokhtar Saghafi was disagreed with caliphs for protecting Shiite. Although Shiite religious changed by passing time specially in Safavid age that changed a lot by the kings' interference, but this religious was constant and lasted up to now.

Minorsky pointed that Mirza Mahdi Khan always named Khurasanian troops who were in front of Safavid Ghezel Bash. Nadir changed solders' hat by a command and made a hat usual which was different with the hats in Safavid age. This hat shape was square and there was a long piece of cloth around it.⁴⁶ We can mention other Nadir's action and effort for to remove safavid was to changing the capital of Iran from Isfahan to Mashhad. Mashhad was located in the center of native homeland. But the main reason was the important and pivoted position of Mashhad. It was in a huge area that formed his imaginary emperor. For sure his idea of military expeditions to Middle East, Qandahar and India were derived from such thought. His understandings refer to government was different from the Safavid one which was limited to just country borders. So Nadir's viewpoint of government is comparable with Timur viewpoint.⁴⁷

The embassies were traversed for long times, till in 1741 A.D, Nazif Afandi Ilchi, came Iran from Rom and declared that Ottoman Sultan refused to accept the Jafari religious as the fifth pillars. Nadir answered him that accepting my suggestion would cause benefit for Moslems. Because we

45- Ibid, p: 459.

46- Minorsky, Ibid, P: 119.

47- *Iran History* (Safavid Age), a research from Cambridge University, Translated by Yaghub Ajand (Tehran: Jaami publication, 1380) P: 139.

taught Iranian the meaning of insulting and heresy (Sabb Va Rafz) corruptions in Moghan field and everybody accepted it heartily. Then we send that to all governors to command their people to obey that. We commanded the religious scientists and the learned people to research about that to confirm my words and all of them declared that the holy Messenger, Muhammad, determined orthodoxies companions to propagate religion. After the fourth caliphs, again Islam was the same for essential beliefs. But because there were some differences in performing prayer and Hajj trip rules and some other matter, we want you to allocate pillar to Imam Jafar Sadigh in Mecca.⁴⁸

In 1742 A.D, again Ottoman caliph sent a letter to Nadir and mentioned that allocating a pillar to Imam Sadigh and accepting the Jafari religious is not possible for them and declared that they would accept anything else, but this matter. Nadir answered he will attack them after the doing Daghistan's affairs.⁴⁹ Therefore, Nadir decided to vanquish Musul. When he surrounded Musul castle, the fighting begun, he suggested to send 2 Musul scientists to Ottoman court and make them to accept his conditions, and some men went to the Kaiseri court, Rom Pasha said that we didn't expect that Nadir attack and violate our country, when there is friendship relation between our two countries establishing Jafari religion as the fifth pillar would cause sedition and intercourse in governing country. Therefore, Just take the word of "Khames (fifth)" and then speak with Rom Pasha about the peace contract.⁵⁰

After that Nadir went to visit Abou Hanife holy tomb. All the Blkh, Bokhara, Afghan and other Turkestan countries were attendant with Nadir and all of the said that Imam's attempts was just for Islam unity and solving the problems among Moslems. Therefore called Holleh and Baghdad religious scientist and formed a council. After the end of council, he proclaimed that since Shah Ismail I ,period up to now, such matters caused problems. Now, in 1743A.D that Islam Sheikhs and judges gathered in Najaf from Balkh, Bokhara, and religious scientists from Krabala, Najaf, Holle and around Baghdad to discuss about this matter and declare that because there is no shortcoming in Jafari religious except insulting and heresy (Sabb Va Rafz) that solved now, we emphasize to the fourth caliphs truth according to two chapters of Koran, number nine (verse 109) and number 48 (verse 18). Rom scientist and Sheikhol Islam confirmed that and all the other Najaf, Baghdad,Holle and Karbala religious scientists believe that Imam Jafar is the holy Messenger's offspring and he who do against and different with faction,

48- *Jahangoshaye Nadiri*, pp:371-375.

49- *Ibid*, p: 380.

50- *Ibid*, p: 386- 387 and Minorsky, *Nadir Shah Short History*, p: 94-95.

would be out of religion garb. The religious scientists of Balkh and Bukhara would confirm that the differences are in secondary rules.⁵¹

After that Mirza Mahdi Khan, composed the contract between Sunni and Shiite religious scientists, then all of them considered so kind and ten thousands Tuman (Iran money unit) dedicated for illuminating the holy tomb of Najaf and Nadir's wife, Guhar Shad Beigum, Imam Gholi and Nasrollah Mirza's mother, dedicated one hundred thousands Rupee to repair the glazed tiles of the wall of holy courtyard. After visiting Karbala, Raziye Sultan Beigum, Shah Sultan Hussein daughter dedicated twenty thousands Rupee for mosque and one thousands for Abuhanifeh tomb.⁵²

After some times Ottoman's scientists refused to obey the contract till Nadir decided to fight with Ottoman. The Turkish send their army forces to Arzum, Ghares and some other from Bakr and Musel to Iran borders. Nadir succeeded to defeat them hardly in that fighting, but it happened when there was the climax of revolutions in Iran and Nadir who got disappointed from the mental pressure, disease and the country revolutions. Therefore he decided to renounce the first and second articles of the contract. Finally, the last peace contract concluded in September 4th of 1746 A.D between the two countries and it was some month before Nadir's death.

The peace pact feature according to the Surah 5, Verse 1

Peace command was done according to one principle and one condition and three articles between the two countries:

Principle: the peace contract rules which concluded in the fourth Sultan Morad regarded and unchangeable.

Condition: from now on, whatever which is for the benefit and worthy of both countries and everybody should avoid doing anything which causes hostility between two countries. If God pleases, this friendship and love will last for ever between two countries.

Article number one: Iran Hajjis who are departed for Mecca via Baghdad and Syria should be protected and regarded to their destination by the middle way countries.

Article number two: to emphasize friendship and love between two countries, it should be some officials from each country in other one, for two years to issue any needed dismissal from each one.

⁵¹- *Jahangoshaye Nadiri*, pp: 387-394 and Minorsky, *Nadir Shah Short History*, p: 96-97.

⁵²- Lockhart, *Nadir Shah*, p: 293. and *Jahangoshaye Nadiri* 394-395.

Article number three: the two party captives should release, no sale, sedition or damage should be upon them and there should be no prevention for any of them to coming back to their homeland.

Notification:

the countries governor should avoid any reaction which is anti friendship.

Iranian should be cut off insulting and heresy and whenever they are traversing to holy Medina and Mecca, Rom governors should behave them like the other Hajjis and should not take any related costs from them and while they are not doing business, Baghdad governor should not take wise from them. If they were doing trading, the wise should be taken according to that special trade, not more than that. We will behave with the Rom people the same. From the holy Messenger's migration, Moharamol Haram 1159/1746 A.D.,⁵³

Signing such contract would disregard all the conditions and discussions of monarchy period, was so strange and was because of Nadir's mental and physical tiredness, his internal disturbance and country repeated revolutions.

Nadir's Behavior with Minorities

There are some utterances that show Nadir's religious thought negligence, heedlessness and easiness. This is enough just to know his good behavior with Abraham Catholicos, Ouchmiadzrin's Armenian Church's caliph, that shows his religious policy. This event happened in 1736 A.D, after Nadir's victory upon Cupper Oghli Abdullah Pasha near the Ghares castle.

When Nadir went to the Iravan castle, made a camp near that church and Abraham, companied by some coreligionists came to him and dedicated him some gifts with special regards. The caliph invited him to watch the church and at the same time Nadir commanded that nobody enter and interrupt to the church without his permission. Then he gave the caliph woven coat and commanded to carry the religious ceremony out, while he was sitting on a bench in the adytum of church.⁵⁴ When he exited from the church, told Abraham Gatoughi: "don't worry, here is my home too and will be populous". He dedicated one thousand Tuman to repairing and decorating the church and even commanded to deliver some precious carpet there. Nadir proclaimed a command there that nobody can damage the church and stated that also nobody should hurt the people who live there. Then issued two commands:

⁵³. *Jahangoshaye Nadeiri*, PP: 414-419 & Lockhart, Nadir Shah, P: 318.

⁵⁴. Kishmish ouf, *Nadir Shah Fightes in Harat, Qandahar and India*, translated by Mustafa Almusavi, handwritten copy of Tehran International Library, number 162 /F.

one to confirm Abraham as caliph and the other about the things that Iranian dedicated to the church before and declared that such dedicated things are not restorable.⁵⁵

Minorsky reminds that Nadir was not severe with Christians and behaved kind and respectful with Abraham. The caliph couldn't prevent Christians entering to Khurasan and they joined Nadir's army later too.⁵⁶ Lockhart also points to some Kermelits and Christians in Isfahan and Gilan. He declared that Nadir chosen his physicians from Christians.⁵⁷ It should be mentioned about Jewish that first Nadir did not pay attention to them, but later he became aware of their life condition via Sheikhol Islam in Kashan, and commanded to reopen their thirteen synagogues that were closed for 7 months. After that, Jewish condition became so good in Kashan that its synagogues turned to Jewish best Jerusalem. It was known as a center for all the Iranian Jewish and they developed in trading a lot too.⁵⁸ According to Shabani's mind, Nadir used the Mashhad and Qazvin Jewish to organize country economical affairs.⁵⁹

In 1743, when Nadir wanted to surround Musel, sent his nephew to suppress Yazidi Kords, because exactly the time that the country needed unity and solitariness, they established some revolutions and Ali Gholi Khand did whatever was needed to defeat Satan worshipers.⁶⁰

In 1741 A.D, Nadir who did pay attention to Jewish and Christians religious holy books according to Surah 48 (Fath surah), verse 29, commanded to translate the Old Testament and the Gospel under Mirza Mahdi Khan Protection that lasted for 6 months.⁶¹

Lockhart declares that some Catholic followers, two Armenian Catholics, two Armenian Orthodox and two clergymen plus some Jewish Rabbis chosen to translate those holy books. At the same time, the holy Koran translated to Persian.⁶² Nadir did pay for the translators travel costs and accepted to visit them in Qazvin. He told them that because I don't have the time to read the translations and there is only one God and one holy

55- Nasrollah Falsafi, *Some Literary and Historical Essays*, (Tehran: vahid publication, 1962 A.D, second edition) pp: 215- 219 and 222- 224.

56- Minorsky, *Ibid*, p:121.

57- Lockhart, *Nadir Shah*, p: 350-351.

58- Habib Levy, *Iran Jewish History*, vol 3, (Tehran: 1960), the foot of page 469-470.

59- Shabani, *Nadir Religious policy*, p: 192.

60- Shabani, *Ibid*, P: 193.

61- Minorsky, *Ibid*, P: 120.

62- Lockhart, *Nadir Shah*, P: 351.

Messenger. His words made the Armenians sad, because they thought that the Gospel's translations would cause Christian expansion in Iran.⁶³

Jonsas Hanway, whose most recorded about Nadir is self-interested, declares that Nadir looked to the translations so hasty and tantalized the Christian religious mysteries parts. He also jeered at Jewish religion and criticized Muhammad and Imam Ali and declared that if God gives him enough time to live, he will make a new religion by combining Christian and Islam which would be much better than the ex human religions.⁶⁴ Shabani believes that we should study carefully his recorded text to accept Hanway's words, because his information for such issues is not enough and his ideas in the book, *A Historical account of the British Trade over the Caspian Sea, volume 1, P: 338-339*, prove that he is unaware about Islam religion.⁶⁵

Conclusion

Nadir, the savior hero of Iran, appeared in hard condition that the country was attacked by Afghans, Russia and Ottomans invasion and the internal revolution. But he could defeat Ashraf Afghan and send them out of country bravely and by his high intelligence and make their seventh years government over. Finally, he involved in repeated wars with Ottomans and could take back the conquered areas and convinced Russians to come back to their country according to their concluded peace. At the end, he brought peace back to the country. He was faced with some problems to how force people to accept his new religious conditions after the Safavid Shiite governing for two centuries and people's interests in this religion.

He prevented lots of ugly deeds that Safavid kings were done in the cloth of Religion by his vast ideas. His got strict with Shiite was just because of religious diversity. His belief on government was more than international aspect limitations and he owned expanded and worldwide sight. He decided to establish a fix and inflexible Islam and make the hundreds years struggles end between the two countries. He tried to weaken Safavid followers and attracting Afghans and Uzbaks' attention and protection who were acting as a soldier in army, strengthen his position as society leader in front of two important Ottoman emperors in west and Indian Mughuls in east. But, Nadir couldn't gain to his holy and great goal because some Iranian people didn't accept his ideas and did repeated revolutions, the Ottoman Turkish insistence and prejudice on their ideas and at the end, because of Nadir's mental and physical diseases.

⁶³. Ibid, P: 352.

⁶⁴- Hanway, *Nadir Shah Life*, P: 265.

⁶⁵- Shabani, Ibid, P: 195.